

The Use of Ethnography Approach in Doing a Research About Disaster In Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: The issue of disaster is complex and multidimensional which can be studied from various scientific disciplines including social sciences. On the other hand, there is a change of orientation in disaster management that initially emphasizes the technical dimension shifting to human and community handling into new areas for social researchers to develop study in the field of disaster with various perspectives and approaches. Ethnography as one approach in social research that emphasizes exploration of social phenomena in its original setting is holistic-integrative, thick description and qualitative analysis deemed relevant and contextual used in current developing disaster studies. Through this writing, the writer offers the idea how important the ethnographic approach to be used in doing a research relating to the disaster.

Keywords: disaster issue; multi-dimension; multi-discipliner; disaster research; ethnography approach

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I. INTRODUCTION

Social studies about disaster has actually been conducted since 1950s, but some studies are based more on studies of the technical dimensions related disaster impacts and its tackling. The catastrophic earthquake and tsunami in Aceh that is happened in December 2004 has generated a new awareness for the world community to see the disaster from a more holistic perspective and an approach that emphasizes on dimension of the human and community. The change of orientation and approach about this disaster contributes to the development of contemporary social research from various perspectives and approaches in the field of disaster studies.

Ethnography as one of approaches in social research considered relevant and contextual is used for disaster social research. Ethnography that aims to explore the culture of society and certain groups from the perspective of the society itself makes social research about the disaster being richer data and thick description based on the experience of the people being the subject of research.

According to Atkinson (2001) that ethnography generally, refers to a form of social research that: (1) Emphasizes the exploration of social phenomena in the original setting. (2) The data used is unstructured. (3) The research conducted is micro; (3) Data analysis includes interpretation of meaning and function of human action, the result of the analysis is verbal description and explanation (Atkinson et al, 2001: 323). With these criteria, the characteristic of ethnographic research is holistic-integrative, thick description, and qualitative analysis in order to get the native's point of view. Through an ethnographic approach, the efforts to explore and gain views, responses and experiences about disaster from the perspective of the experienced community become more meaningful and can obtain a more comprehensive picture.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Development of Social Studies in Disaster Field

Social studies in the disaster field are progressing rapidly in various countries including in Indonesia in the last decade. The existence of orientation changes that initially focus more on the technical dimension, the effort of placing people and society as the main focus in handling disaster has opened the space for social science to develop studies in various perspectives and approaches. Anthropological perspectives include (Oliver-Smith, 1996, 2002, Hoffman, 2002, Ahimsa-Putra, 2012). In the work of *Catastrophe & Culture: The Anthropology of Disaster*, Oliver-Smith & Hoffman (2002) emphasizing the multidimensional nature of disasters that require holistic perspectives and anthropological theories in disaster research. Earlier Oliver-Smith (1996) developing three approaches: behavioral responses, social change and economic / environmental politics.

Geographical perspectives developed (Wisner, 2009; Sartohadi, et al, 2014) emphasizing the human ecology adaptation towards spatio-temporal threats.

The sociological perspective (developed by Kreps, Drabek, 1995, Pramono, 2016) emphasizes the vulnerability and disaster impact on human behavior patterns and their effects on the structure function of community and organizational. Ganapati (2011) and Mary Lalone (2012), use a micro-level social approach to test endurance of community against natural disasters. Kelman, (2009) uses a sustainable livelihood approach although it has been studied extensively, but the study of disaster from the socio-cultural dimension by using ethnographic approach is still limited, so it is considered important, interesting and still open up new opportunities to be done.

In a sociological perspective, disaster is often understood based on human or societal perceptions, and what they feel on emotional experiences on events that can threaten their survival. Disaster is one part of the definition that is arranged in a sociocultural context of living people who experience disaster. Therefore, according to Sjoberg (1962), in an effort to collect data and conduct data analysis in a research activity to get conclusions about what a disaster is, an understanding of the pattern of the community life in the past should not be ignored. The neglect of the context will cause collected data tending to disappear from research if the researcher tests the object too complex, so according to Britton (1988) research results is depended on how humans as subjects see an existence or event.

According to Sjober,(1962: 338) the study of disasters is focused on the behavior of individuals and groups in stressful conditions. Oliver-Smith (1999: 163) explains that disaster is a period when people experience emotions, between anxiety, fear, terror, loss, sadness, gratitude, anger, frustration, freedom, resignation in all shadows and intensity . Birkland (1996) also affirms the horror of a human of a disaster. Hazard is an phenomenon that is as important as the disaster to be studied in the sociology of disaster (Britton, 1987), because basically every danger always contains disaster risks (Kreps, 1995). Krep defines disaster as a nonperiodic event in a society or larger subsystem (regional, global, etc.) that cause social disturbance and physical damage. Disaster has common characteristics such as: (1) presence or absence of warning; (2) intensity of the resulted destructive effects; (3) Scope of destructive effects; And (4) duration of destructive effects (Kreps, 1995). Government as external party of people or community has impact on how disaster is defined and viewed by the community.

Dyer and McGoodwin (1994), state that the government often lacks understands of certain parts of the community in understanding the disaster, so that the government is less sensitive and does not cares the needs of individuals and communities in dealing disaster from a community perspective. It causes some decision-making authority that determines impacts and responds to disasters tends to ignore community perspectives, so the responses are not appropriate in answering community issues. However, the government must not always be responsible for all the impacts of all events that lead to a disaster.

According to Stallings (1991), the impact of the experienced disaster varies based on social classes. Often people fail to see the issues that exist before the event occurs. Community must critically recognize the nature of the disaster, and act based on the social system when risk is placed in relation to one another, their environment, mutual relationships that can be understood as vulnerabilities of individual, household, community or community. A catastrophic event is signed by the social and economic patterns destruction of existing communities. Britton (1988: 375-376) also shows that the crisis is disaster and disasters from a sociological perspective is an event beyond any social crisis that causes the maximum damage and dislocation of the community. Stallings (1991) also explains that disaster has functional and dysfunctional consequences. However, who does determine when an event is called a disaster?

Hoffman (2005) explains that the view of the out community in see the disaster is not affected by it. Something may seem normal, or back to normal after disaster. Shelton (1984) describes other barriers to define disaster to be a study of individual behavior in society. There is a tendency for social scientists to be biased and to follow the rationality of their views and goals (Shelton, 1984: 56). There is also a problem in command and control of the human life system, as Fischer (2001) notes that member of society who got the disaster often reject efforts to command or control them. Media is one of parties that has influence in disaster. News coverage is not only about how events or disasters are described at the time of the incident, but also affects how the event will be remembered. They can frame events in a show (fashion) and then re-emphasize errors that end with a "scapegoat" on an event. The media also has a way of influencing everyone's attention on "how bad an event" through direct interviews with people directly affected by the disaster. The media then concludes how bad the incident. The media can also make disaster seem to have an impact on one area and not on another. Button also sees that the media can frame disaster where the disaster impacts disastrous on the environment, ignoring its impact on humans and health that gets disaster impact (Button, 1999).

The study of disaster has developed rapidly in various countries and find its context when the earthquake and tsunami disaster in Aceh and Nias that occur at the end of 2004 with the victims about 200,000 inhabitants. This momentum has awakened a new awareness of the world community to care about disasters and

agree on Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 to build the tenacity of Nations and Communities against Disasters through World Conference on Disaster Reduction / CCDR 2005 in Kobe Hyogo Japan. The conference has opened space for researchers to develop social studies of disaster with various perspectives and approaches in order to minimize vulnerability and risk to hazards by emphasizing the need to identify ways to build the tenacity of nations and communities against disasters.

In Indonesia, the social studies of disaster are developed by; Irwan Abdullah (2008); reviews the construction and reproduction of natural disasters, Ahimsa-Putra (2012) develops ethnoscience in disaster studies and Wasisto Raharjo (2013) reviews disaster risk management in the perspective of cultural theory. Related to the earthquake in Yogyakarta (2006) Sudaru Mukti (2010) reviews the strengthening of local institutions in disaster management and Mawarni (2010) reviews the urgency of social capital in post-disaster development and Widyanta (2014) reviews the tenacity of communities based on local wisdom in disaster-prone areas of Mount Merapi. Soedarso & Windiani (2010) reviews the adaptation strategy of the community after the flood disaster in 2006 in Panti district Jember regency. Windiani and friends (2011) reviews Community-based Waste Management to overcome the flood disaster in the DAS Tawing, Kampak sub-district, Trenggalek regency. Rustinsyah (2014) reviews about the model of local community-based environmental management strategies to prevent and face disasters in villages around the slopes of Kelud Mountain, Kediri regency and Alie Humaidi (2015) reviews disaster handling based on the relationship between religion and local wisdom.

Disaster studies in Indonesia are growing rapidly and it is important to be done because based on a number of facts that Indonesia is a disaster prone area. According to UNESCO (2015), Indonesia is ranked 7th as a country that gets threat from natural disaster. Indonesia's geographical position on the Ring of Fire is an area that has the potential to experience earthquakes and volcanic eruptions that surround the Pacific Ocean basin, so Indonesia has many volcanoes scattered throughout the island of Sumatra to Sulawesi. According to Forum of Indonesia Living Environment(2012), Indonesia's position on the border of the world's active plate (African plate, Indian plate, Antarctic plate and Australian plate) and volcanic ring route has made Indonesia very vulnerable to natural disasters. This vulnerability is exacerbated by the ecological damage that the root of problem is caused by human.

Factually, Indonesia is quite vulnerable to natural disasters. Besides disaster-prone areas continue to expand, the number of victims also continues to grow from year to year. Based on data from KOMPAS R & D (2016), economic losses is caused by the disaster in 2004-2013 period reaching Rp. 162.8 trillion. The last five years the economic impact of the disaster averaged Rp 30 trillion per year. The National Disaster Management Agency notes several major disasters that have occurred in the last decade after the earthquake and tsunami of Aceh (2004), followed by earthquake in Nias(2006), earthquake in Jogjakarta and Central Java (2006), earthquake and tsunami in Pangandaran (2006), flood in Jakarta (2007), earthquake in Bukittinggi (2007), mud in Sidoarjo (2006), the broken of Situ Gintung (2009), earthquake in Tasikmalaya (2009), earthquake in Padang (2009), landslide in Ciwidey (2009), and various volcanic disasters such as eruption (2006), Eruption (2010), Sinabung Eruption (2010), (2011), 2014-present, Kelud Mountain (February 13th 2014), landslide in Banjarnegara (2014). There is the annual flood disaster that is evenly happened throughout the country. Throughout the year 2016, The National Disaster Management Agency has noted that the number of disasters reaches 2,151 incidents.

The rapid development of social studies in the realm of disaster ultimately has implications for the choice of approaches or methods relevant with the studied social phenomenon. Ethnography as one of the fastest growing approaches in social research has become the choice of writers to be offered as an approach in disaster social studies in Indonesia. Furthermore the following article discusses how the development of Ethnography in Social Research and how to use Ethnography in disaster studies.

Why does use an Ethnographic Approach in Disaster Studies?

There are several reasons why ethnographic approaches are considered attractive and important in the context of disaster studies; First, the phenomenon of disaster is actually not a natural phenomenon, but it also contains a social phenomenon, because it is related to the vulnerability of society or community in facing disasters that can result the number of victims, damage, and loss. According to Irwan Abdullah (2012) despite it repeatedly occurs, disasters are still often regarded as new experiences, something that has never happened previously, so it has not become a collective knowledge and experience. Finally disaster has not been integrated into life and social policy, so exploring the view of society and find new ways of disaster is important and urgent to be done in the study of social science.

Second, people's understanding of disasters is also problematic thing; when community members have different understandings, it can create different responses and preparedness in facing disaster. Some see disaster at the theological level, where disaster is a destiny of God, disaster is a curse, some see disaster as something to be accepted in submission. On the one hand, there are members of society who are fatalistic character, on the other hand there is a rational-technocratic nature. Some view disaster as a marker of nature as a result of its

relation (interaction) with nature, and some see disaster in the context of risk that can be managed and predicted, so it can be reduced.

Third, disaster areas such as mitigation, awareness, preparedness, awareness and strength in disaster tend to be viewed as 'country domains', so the effort to prevent, reduce and overcome disasters becomes duty and full responsibility of a country. There are things that are often forgotten, when disaster occurs. The presence of the state can not necessarily be expected as desired by the people especially for the disaster victims. Especially if the disaster comes not as predicted previously or comes suddenly. Cultural responses in the context of emergency response, preparedness and strength in facing all possibilities of disaster risk are important to be part of the awareness that must be had by society, so when there is a delay or absence of 'state presence' in an emergency, people can survive and do 'something' that can save himself, his family and his community or even save his important assets.

Fourth, the complexity and challenges faced in disaster management in Indonesia can be found in various cases and previous research. For example the case that is happening in the area of Mount Merapi and Mount Kelud. Disaster management is characterized by the dynamics of the relations of the parties involved in disaster management. Disaster often presents phenomenal figures such as 'Mbah Maridjan' in Mount Merapi, 'Mbah Ronggo' around Kelud representing local people, such as 'Mbah Rono' representing volcano experts from the government and 'Mbah Darmo' representing Intellectual figures born from local communities and attempt to bridge between different perspective figures. The basic differences of used science in disaster management add to the complexity of issues in disaster management. Local people through figures such as 'Mbah Maridjan' and 'Mbah Ronggo' are more based on local knowledge, while the government uses a base measurable knowledge such as a seismograph. This has implications for the emergence of diverse knowledge contestations and meanings in disaster management. Sindhunata (2008) and Maa'rif (2014) in their research reveals the fact of knowledge contestation between local figures represented by Mbah Maridjan who uses the basis of local knowledge in reading the signs of eruption in 2006 and 2010 with intellectuals using technology and knowledge modern.

Fifth, the social reality of the disaster also presents new actors involved in disaster management such as volunteers, NGOs, private donors, *Satkarlak*, Non-Tax State Revenue areas with various attributes, identities, cultures and diverse interests. Humaidi's research (2014) reveals an interesting phenomenon: the presence of actors in disaster management such as local government, regional disaster management agencies, volunteers, humanitarian agencies. On the one hand, the 'encounter' of actors from various institutions and socio-cultural backgrounds in the "uncertain" situation has generated social solidarity. On the other hand, the presence of various actors in the evacuation process, humanitarian activities; aid distribution, recovery and so on enable the birth of dynamic relationships between actors in the disaster management process. It can even open up opportunities for the emergence of 'friction' which leads to differences in understanding, customs, culture, identity and the spread of issues that can lead to misunderstandings either members in the community or outside the community. If this condition runs continuously, the resilience community that requires participation of its members will be torn. The presence of local leaders or local figures that can bridge become 'necessity' in community resilience.

Based on the reason, social studies in the realm of disaster need an approach that can explore the phenomenon in a holistic-integrative and in depth from the point of view of the experiencing community. For that, using ethnographic approach for social researchers involved in the study of disaster is considered more relevant and contextual.

III. DISCUSSION

3.1 The Development of Ethnography in Social Research

Etymologically, the term Ethnography comes from the Greek, The *ethnos* term in Greek is the person, race, or culture of a group of people (Smith, 1989, Atkinson, in Denzin, 2009: 25). If "ethno" as a prefix is combined with graphics, ethnographic formation is a discipline that examines the culture of a group.

Ethnography Research itself begins from anthropological research that observes the culture in a place. This is done by preliminary researchers such as Taylor, Frazer, Morgan approximately the 20th century, this research only focuses on cultural development in an area. In 1915-1925, Racliffe-Brown and Malinowski develops this ethnographic research which emphasizes more on the present life by the community members is *the way of life* of a society. This ethnographic research tries to describe and build socio-cultural structure of a society and compare social system in order to get general rules about society. In modern ethnography, social and cultural forms of society are constructed and described through the analysis and reason of the researcher. The described cultural structure is the social and cultural structure of the society based on the researcher's interpretation.

Atkinson and Hammersly in their work "*Ethnography and Participant Observation*" (2009: 316-317) explain that ethnography refers to forms of social research with a number of characteristics as follows:

- a. More emphasizing on exploration towards the nature of certain social phenomena, rather than testing hypotheses for the phenomenon.
- b. Prefer working the unstructured data, or in other words, data that has not been formulated in code as a set of categories that still receive opportunities for certain analysis.
- c. Conducting research on a small number of cases, perhaps only one case in detail.
- d. Analyzing data including interpretative meanings and functions of various human acts explicitly as a product generally, taking the forms of description and many verbal explanations without having too much use of quantification and statistical analysis.

Furthermore Hamersley & Atkinson (2009) mention that the observation of participation is not only put the researcher as part of the research subject, but also how a researcher can present world view of research as part of the research characteristics. The most important instrument in this technique is the researcher himself, where a researcher should be able to build or position himself as an "insider" as well as the "outsider" of the community. To achieve that goal, an ethnographic researcher is required to master the language of his informant.

While Brewer in his work "Ethnography" (2000: 6-7) explicitly defines ethnography as follows:

"the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on the externally".

Referring to the definition, Brewer (2000) has placed ethnography as one of the principles of research methods in social science that fall into the category of qualitative research. In the midst of ethnographic debates as a methodology or as a theory, Brewer places ethnography as a method of collecting data.

Marvasti (2004: 35-36) in his work "*Qualitative Research In Sociology*" emphasizes three ethnographic dimensions, they are involvement and participation in the studied topics, attention to the social context of data collection, and sensitivity to how the subject of the researcher is represented in the research text. For Marvasti (2004) ethnography, it is more than a method of data collection, but it requires involvement and participation in the investigated topic. Another dimension of ethnography is the methodical concern for the social context where information about cultures or people gather.

Tedlock (2000: 455) states that 'Ethnography involves an ongoing effort to place certain meetings, events, and understandings into meaningful contexts' (2000: 455). For ethnographers, research findings can not be isolated from specific location and environment where research data are collected. Baszanger and Dodier show that, 'A study becomes ethnography when the researcher is careful to relate facts and the underlying background of facts that occur especially related historical and cultural contingencies' (1997: 10).

In other words, the study will not be considered ethnographic if it ignores the relevant context and conditions where actions and statements of the person observed and recorded. The third and perhaps most important ethnographic of worry with the representational of final product space problem of an ethnographic study is a manuscript that explains in detail how the way people live to readers. In many cases, the reader's first meeting with the subject of research is through the ethnographic text itself.

According to Creswell (2012: 462) Ethnography is a qualitative research procedure for describing, analyzing, and interpreting elements of a cultural group such as patterns of behavior, beliefs, and languages that evolve over time. The focus of this research is culture. The culture itself according to LeCompte and friends (in Creswell, 2012: 462) is anything related to human behavior and belief. These include language, ritual, economy, and political structure, life stages, interactions, and communication styles.

Simply ethnographic research is a qualitative research that examines the life of a group or society scientifically aiming to study, describe, analyze, and interpret the cultural patterns of a group in terms of behavior, beliefs, languages, and shared views.

From the development of ethnography, then various types of ethnographic research are known, but Creswell (2012) distinguishes into 2 most popular forms of realistic ethnography and critical ethnography. The explanation is as follows:

1. **Realist ethnography.** Realist ethnography is a popular approach used by cultural anthropologists. Creswell (2012: 464) describes that ethnography reflects certain attitudes taken by researchers on the individual being studied. Realist ethnography is an objective view towards the situation, usually it is written in the perspective of a third person, reporting objectively about information learned from research object in the location (Creswell, 2012: 464). In this realist ethnography: (a) The ethnographer tells the research from a third-person perspective, participant observation reports, and their views. The ethnographer does not write his personal opinion in the research report and remains behind the scenes as a reporter covering the facts; (B). Researcher reports objective data in a form of information that is measurable, uncontaminated by biases, political goals, and personal assessment. Researchers can describe the daily life in detail among the

researched people. Ethnographer also use standard categories for cultural descriptions (eg family life, work life, social networks, and status systems); (C). Ethnographer produces participants' views through edited quotations without changing meaning and have conclusions in the form of interpretation and presentation of culture (Creswell, 2012: 464).

2. Critical ethnography. What is called critical ethnography is developing nowadays. Critical ethnography is a type of ethnographic research where the writer is interested in championing the emancipation of marginalized groups in society (Creswell, 2012: 467). Critical researcher usually thinks and seeks through their research, advocating towards inequality and dominance (Creswell, 2012: 467). For example, critical ethnographer examines schools that provide facilities for certain students, and creates unjust situations among different members of the social class, and allow gender discrimination. The main components of critical ethnography are factors such as value-requirement of orientation, empowering society by granting more authority, challenging the *quo* status, and worry about power and control (Creswell, 2012: 467). These factors include; (A). Investigate about social issues of power, empowerment, inequality, injustice, domination, repression, hegemony, and victimization; (B). The researcher conducts critical ethnography, so their research does not further marginalize the individual being studied. Thus, the questioners collaborate actively to participate, and cooperate in the writing of the final report. Critical ethnographer is expected to be cautious in entering and leaving the research location, and providing feedback; (C). Ethnographer provides an understanding and recognizes that interpretations reflect our own history and culture. Interpretation can be only temporary and depends on how participants will see it; (D). Critical researcher positions themselves and is aware towards their role in research report writing; (E). This position is not neutral for critical researcher, it means that critical ethnography will be a defender of change to help changing our society, so no one is oppressed and marginalized; (F). Ultimately, critical ethnographic reports will be multilevel, multimethods approaches to inquiry, full of contradictions, unthinkable, and tension (Creswell, 2012: 467).

In the context of social studies about disaster, using ethnographic approaches is considered important by placing disasters as one part of the definition that is arranged within a certain socio-cultural context. For example every human being or community group has knowledge and ways to face the environment for their survival. Knowledge and this way are known as "wisdom to cope with the local events" or commonly called as "local wisdom" , All knowledge is dynamic, constantly changing, evolving and adapting because of the community's response to their changing environment. During the years local people have responded to their environment and adapted to change, using both modern science and local knowledge (Agrawal 1995). The interaction between modern knowledge and local knowledge is not new thing. However, in many events this interaction exacerbates the vulnerability of local communities in facing environmental threats and inadequate consideration to effectively integrate between modern knowledge and local knowledge in disaster risk reduction. The management of many disasters shows that it is needed for an approach that emphasizes the importance of understanding how the patterns of individual or community knowledge of a disaster threat and how their patterns in dealing the threat.

3.2 Using Ethnography in Disaster Studies

The ethnographic approach in social research has been widely used in various scientific disciplines and applied field, but it should be noted that none of these disciplinary area contains only a single philosophical or theoretical orientation that can provide a unique claim to the basic principle for ethnography. Throughout the realm of the social sciences the use and justification for ethnographic is more marked by diversity than consensus, so each different theoretical positions may support a certain version of ethnographic work. In this context it is hoped that the objective of using ethnographic approach can be achieved. The purpose is to understand the clump of society, so this ethnographic study can provide theories of cultural, find grounded theory, understand the complex society, and understand human behavior. It is also important that the next objective of ethnographic study is to contribute in solving the practical problems faced by the subjects being observed.

Creswell (2012: 462) explains that a person conducts ethnographic research when the group's research is able to provide an understanding of the broad problem. Someone does ethnography when having groups to learn to share culture and have been together for some time and develop value of togetherness, beliefs, and languages. The person will catch the rules of behavior as when the teacher does an informal relationship to gather in a favorite place to socialize (Creswell, 2012: 462).

Ethnography is able to provide detailed information about daily activities, such as thinking and committee activities to find new school (Wolcot, in Creswell, 2012: 462). When conducting ethnographic research, researcher has long-term access for sharing culture in group, so it can make detailed note of the behavior and beliefs of group members over time

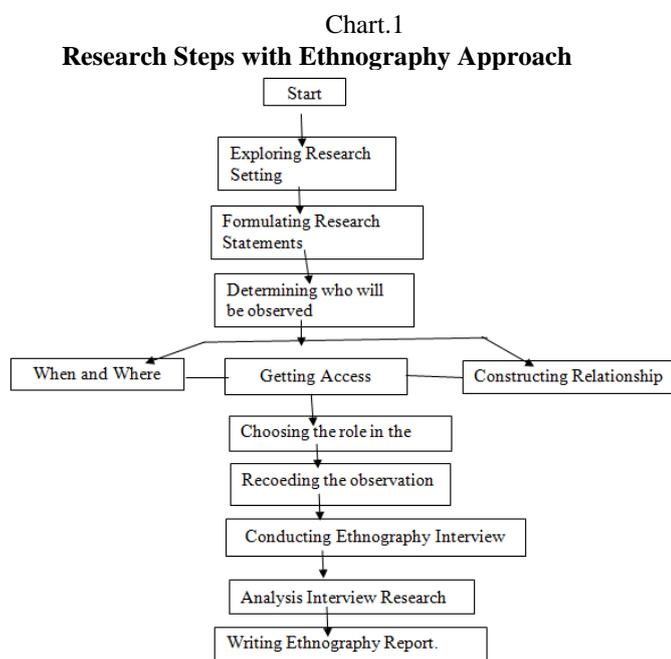
Using ethnography in social research especially in the realm of disaster can refer to Windiani & Farida's work (2016), it is necessary to pay attention to certain steps that distinguish from other qualitative research approaches. How to do Ethnographic research? To answer this question Marvasti (2004: 43) proposes 9 stages in "The Practice of Ethnographic Research"; Namely: formulating research questions; Choosing a research location; Deciding who will be observed, when and where; Getting access; Building relationships; Choosing a role in the field; Do agreement with informants; Recordings of observations and; Conducting ethnographic interviews.

Different steps are done by Spradley (1997). Spradley reveals that ethnographic research steps must begin by determining the research location. According to Spradley without determining the clear location, ethnographic work is impossible to be done. In this stage direct observation (participant observation) is a work to be done by an ethnographer. Furthermore, Spradley (1997) proposes 12 steps in conducting ethnography (1) establishing informants; (2) interviewing informants; (3) making ethnographic notes; (4) asking descriptive questions; (5) analyzing the interview result; (6) proposing domain analysis; (7) asking structural questions; (8) making a taxonomic analysis; (9) asking contrast questions; (10) making component analysis; (11) finding cultural themes; (12) writing an ethnographic report.

From the opinions of the two experts above, there are the weaknesses and the strength of each expert. Critical notes that can be given of the working steps of ethnography are:

- a. if the beginning step of the ethnographer is to determine the formulation of the problem, then the researcher will not be able to do it, because without determining the research location and observation directly first, then the researchers will not be able to map and construct the research problems. This is what is seen in the steps taken Marvasti (2004). Meanwhile, if following the steps of Spradley, ethnographer must first find the location and make observations directly;
- b. While if following the spradley step that builds the problem at the final steps of the research, it can make critical analysis less sharp. this is criticized by ethnographers nowadays;
- c. The steps proposed by Marvasti basically can not be categorized as the full step of ethnographic research because the most important final step of an ethnographic research is the writing of an ethnographic report, while this is not done by Marvasti. This is in line with Paul Benson (1993), the new ethnography is begun when the researcher writes his report, both in the form of reports, books and articles. In writing this is the searched data in the field should be able to tell, and this is where the ethnography is just rung, so that ethnography can make sense.

Based on the arguments, Wndiani & Farida (2016) offers an ethnographic step which is the synthesis of the two experts, as follows: determining and exploring research settings, formulating research questions; Deciding who will be observed, when and where; Gain access; Building relationships; Choosing a role in the field; Doing agreement with informants; Recordings of observations and; Conducting ethnographic interviews; Analyzing interview results; And writing ethnographic reports. The following flow chart is a research step by using ethnographic approach that can be used as a reference in designing research in the realm of disaster:



Source : Adopted from Ethnography Steps of Marvasti (2005) and Spradly (1997)

IV. CONCLUSION

Ethnographic approaches in social research have been used in a variety of scientific disciplines and applied fields. It is needed to take note that no one of disciplinary field contains orientation of a single philosophical or theoretical that can provide a unique claim towards the basic principle of ethnography. In the realm of social science, the use and justification for ethnography is more characterized by diversity than consensus, as well as when implemented in disaster studies, so different theoretical positions may support a certain version of ethnographic work. In this context it is hoped that the objective of using ethnographic approach can be achieved. The purpose is to understand the society, so the existence of this ethnographic study can provide theories of cultural, finding grounded theory, understanding the complex society, and understanding human behavior. It is also important that the next objective of ethnographic study is to contribute in solving the practical problems faced by the subject of the investigating community, including some disaster issues as a part of daily life of contemporary society.

For the social science, the research relating to the disaster can be said as a relatively new research that is why in its development, it needs a relevant approach and method. In the context of disaster studies, the ethnographic approach is seen not only as an approach that is able to present knowledge and culture of a certain society or group, but also a mutual understanding process among stakeholders in developing programs, priorities and strategies in disaster management involving local communities with their distinctive culture. And other parties involved in disaster management with all the complexities that surround it. Ethnography as one approach in social research becomes an option of a relevant and contextual approach used in disaster studies, especially to explore the culture of a certain society and group from the standpoint of the society itself. How people's views of disasters, how people respond to disasters, how local wisdom and cultural adaptation in dealing with disasters and so on becomes interesting, relevant and contextual issues to be explored with ethnographic approaches, especially for communities and regions of Indonesia, that is categorized disaster-prone, so it is richer data and thick description based on the experience of the community who become the subject of research.

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