



The Impact of State Intervention on Social Capital of Fishermen Community in Small Islands

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Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the impact of state intervention on social capital of fishermen community in small islands. The research was conducted in Barrang Lompo Island, Makassar. The data was collected through in-depth interview and limited observation from twelve informants determined by snowball sampling. Questionnaires were also spread to about 40 respondents. The data was then analyzed qualitatively to explain research's data and facts. The results of the research show that state intervention for the last ten years on small islands communities has impact on various aspects such as the diminishing loyalty and trust among locals to the government. Therefore, the intervention reduce the community's participation, individually and collectively, in development activities. The situation, in turn, could affect the diminishing political capacity of the locals and government in the implementation of development in the islands. The state intervention, however, strengthened social solidarity, local value practices and the enthusiasm to understand religious values which in turn could tighten the internal bond of a community. This bond can become a potential strength to build communities in small islands.

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mendiskusikan dampak intervensi negara pada kapital sosial komunitas nelayan di pulau-pulau kecil. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Pulau Barrang Lompo, Makassar. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam dan observasi terbatas dari dua belas informan ditentukan oleh *snowball sampling*. Kuesioner juga menyebar ke 40 responden. Data tersebut kemudian dianalisis secara kualitatif untuk menjelaskan data penelitian dan fakta. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa intervensi negara selama sepuluh tahun terakhir pada masyarakat pulau-pulau kecil memiliki dampak pada berbagai aspek seperti, mengurangi loyalitas dan kepercayaan di antara penduduk setempat kepada pemerintah. Oleh karena itu, partisipasi mereka, secara individu dan kolektif, dalam kegiatan pembangunan kurang. Ini akan berakibat pada berkurangnya kapasitas politik penduduk setempat dan kapasitas pemerintah dalam pelaksanaan pembangunan pulau. Kendati demikian intervensi negara juga memperkuat solidaritas sosial, praktek nilai lokal dan semangat untuk memahami nilai-nilai agama yang pada gilirannya dapat memperkuat ikatan internal masyarakat. Ikatan ini selanjutnya dapat menjadi kekuatan potensial untuk membangun masyarakat di pulau-pulau kecil.

Keywords: impact; state intervention; social capital; local communities; trust; social network and values/norms

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INTRODUCTION

State intervention in a development program has both caused a massive progress in a society and various problems as well. For example, it creates an unbalanced relationship (state hegemony to locals) between ideology (cultural aspect) and social structure (Lala M.K, 2011). That condition brings on social disruption which loosens and distorts harmony that has been achieved so the de-capitalization or diminishing of social capital occurs. De-capitalization which goes along with the development process is a social cost that must be accepted by the locals (Fukuyama, 2002).

The decreasing quality of social life which affects social solidarity needs to get serious attention because the penetration of new cultures and values that goes hand in hand with the development process can possibly de-capitalize or even wither the social capital away (Fukuyama, 2002). Due to the change of new regulations, it might have opposite local values and norms. On the other hand, without any intervention (modernization), society can be stagnant (Hayami & Kikhuci, 2002). However, if the diminishing process keeps arising, it will eventually cause the society losing their true identity and it will be easy for them to be oscillated by the changes because they do not have anything to rely on in their life (anomaly).

Society in poor natural resources areas (small islands community) often only has social resource as an important asset in their development process (Arif Satria, 2002). The implementation of development program in small islands community so far considers material and economic development as the most important or gives priority to solely on economic fulfillment (charity) and rather ignores the development of social resources of the local community (Hamka Naping, 2013). The ignorance of social resources development can cause de-capitalization in a certain dimension. Later, it can suppress work productivity and lead to an inefficient network, weakened norm, diminished values, and capacity of community and local government which will harm all interrelated sides in the development process (Lala M.K,

Santoso, Susetiawan, 2011).

State intervention in a community as the purpose of this writing can be explained by looking at how the development programs are implemented in the community. Generally, there are three development programs explained in this study as parts of development program which affect social capital change in a community. *First*, developing the state institutions; it's a change from village governing system to a groove governing system. *Second*, making/renovating road; it consists of constructing the main roads and alleys using pavement blocks. *Third*, constructing a harbor bridge "PBL". The question is how do they affect the process of social capital change of fishermen in small islands?

METHODS

Barrang Lompo Island ("BLI") is determined as a purposive case research considering that the island is one of the areas which for about ten years, has undergone development programs -whether it is sponsored by government or other institutions intensively. Besides that, "BLI" is one of groups of small islands near Makassar that is considered as the most advanced and becomes a tourism site, so we can feel the market penetration in the flow of goods, services, and monetization in the island.

This research had lasted for about six months. The analytical unit is the fishermen groups that consist of: financial capital owner (Juragan), official and worker (Sawi). The respondents are 40 people who were determined intentionally by the informants categorized into five socialites, two groove instruments (public figures), three businessmen, one person from LSM instrument, and one more from youth organization. All of the informants were determined by *snowball* method. The data was gathered from questionnaires, in-depth interview and limited observation. Then, the data was analyzed qualitatively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For about a decade, state as the development agent has been incessantly implementing

the development programs in “BLI” through its doers. There are three development programs which have contributed so much to the change of those islands, especially the change of social capital. Those three development programs will be discussed respectively as below explanation.

The Development of Government Institutions

The two lowest structures of government institutions in Indonesia are Village Governing System and Groove Governing System. Village Governing System is in coordination with sub district government. In this case, chief as the governing person of a village is responsible to a regent (Regency Government) while Groove Governing System which is also in coordination with sub district government is responsible to a mayor (City Government). A chief of a village is elected by the villagers and nominated by the regent so a chief will have legitimating and strong authority to the villagers. While a chief of a groove is nominated directly by the mayor. Despite having strong authority from the mayor, the position does not always come from the villagers. Such circumstance is one factor which makes the Village Governing System and Groove Governing System distinct. That condition will surely affect the process and the situation of the government that happen in each area/region.

Initially, Barrang Lompo Island (“BLI”) used to apply Village Governing System as the lowest governmental unit under Tumpa Biring subdistrict area, Pangkep Regency. However, this island then changed the system into Groove Governing System and is administratively placed below Ujung Tanah sub district area, Makassar. This status change came from the villagers’ longing to integrate with Makassar because this island is geographically closer to Makassar than to Pangkep Regency. The other reason must be from Makassar government that wanted to make “BLI” as a tourism island. Based on those two reasons above, in 1971 Barrang Lompo Village officially changed into Barrang Lompo Groove and became one of areas under Ujung Tanah sub district area, Ma-

kassar which was governed by Drs. Patompo as the mayor. Then, several years after, Kodingareng Island, Barrang Caddi Island, and two more islands followed as grooves below Ujung Tanah sub district area, Makassar and the name of the grooves followed each island’s name.

The change of the governmental status has brought consequences to the people of “BLI”, as explained by an informant (ARDT) in the interview as follows:

The change of governmental status in Barrang Island from Village Governing System to Groove Governing System has caused so many changes in our society. One of those changes is the disobedience of the locals to the government. When we were governed by our village chief, we were obedient because the chief elected was highly regarded figure who was a descendant of the past king. He was originally from here and lived here too. But when we are governed by our groove chief, we become less obedient, even we seem to hate our groove chief because the elected chief is not originally from here and doesn’t live here. Even often, the elected chief rarely comes to the office. Maybe he comes only twice a week. That’s why it makes us unfamiliar with our own chief so we don’t really get along well. When there’s a village event like communal volunteer work, only few people participate in the event, usually they are people who live near the chief’s office and some of the groove workers’ family. (Interview, 9/6/2012).

The interview above shows that the loyalty of the locals in the island has been diminished. The diminished loyalty of the locals to the government after its status changed into a groove happens because the chief is not family-related to the locals so the inner-relation among them is very weak. This weak connection affects the level of obedience and trust of the locals to the government. Then, it makes the locals, as an individual or a community, become less participative in the development program from the groove chief (government). In this case, the groove chief has lost his own authority from his own people. Such view strengthens

Table 1. The level of trust of the people to the government

The level of trust of the people to the government	Period of Time			
	Now		10 years ago	
	F	%	F	%
Really trust	11	27.5	25	62,5
Less trust	19	47.5	12	30.0
Distrust	10	25.0	3	7,5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: Tabulation of the Primary Data, 2012

the opinion of Kolopaking, Santoso dan Susetiawan (2011) that since the new order until the reformation era, local government had lost the authority from its own people. The opinion above is supported by the data of questionnaires: Table 01 shows that people's trust to the government has decreased compared to the past ten years. This is not advantageous for both sides (government and the people), because of the occurrence of distrust or even suspicion to each other so the government can't go on effectively. Surely, it will affect the development process that has temporarily been going on.

The other factor that is affected by the change of governmental status is the decreasing community capacity of Barrang Lompo Island. *First*, "BLI" community has lost its political capacity. When the status of the community was still a village, all organization in the village such as youth organization, fishermen organization, and housewives organization were formed by the locals and controlled by the village. But since its status became a groove, all organizations have been formed and strongly controlled by the state. As a result, all activities of the organizations must be reported to the state, according to Gramsci; the state spreads its hegemony towards village community. By having that change, we cannot create new organization with new spirit and more democratic organization pattern straight away. In fact, people's ability in creating community and organization is scraped. Island's community has clearly lost its political capacity and they do not really understand the mechanism and how to have arguments to convey their aspirations robustly. Moreover, so far, people often feel disappointed every

time they have election (legislative, mayor, etc.) because the elected one usually forgets the promises to the people after the election. *Second*, the groove instruments have apparently lost their ability to do the development in their own area. The development of the infrastructures was established by the government (state) that used to be helped by ABRI when it was in New Order era. Now, it is at project manager's control who wins the tender of infrastructure development. In this case, the project manager, in the name of the state, is hegemonic to the authority of groove/village government, so the government loses their authority in carrying out the development program in the area. Their task and function are only to give stamp seal from the state government.

Project-based development program which rather pursues profit than quality of the result has caused the manager to hire workers from outside the island than people from the island itself. Even if there are people from the island who participate in the program, it must be only a few and they do the lowest job. The impact of the lack involvement of the people in the project (non-participative) is that it decreases the sense of belonging of the people in the island to the result of the development. Consequently, when the government asks them to participate in the road maintenance activity such as cleaning the ditch and the others, only a few people involved in the activity. The people of the island prefer to do their own activities for example painting the boat, fixing the net, and even some of them only talk to each other at the terrace of their houses. This condition emphasizes that how high someone is regarded and charisma of

a leader determine to put in motion to the development process especially in the village community level. Because of this, there will be feeling of high loyalty marked by the obedience of the people to their chief.

The Development of the Road Infrastructure

Road infrastructures, such as island's ring road and some streets that connect the villages, alleys, and the houses have been available. However, the condition is still in form of sandy soil just like common characteristic of the roads in small islands of South Sulawesi and around Indonesia perhaps. The people of the island have used the road with that condition for a long time until the situation changed after the coming of the road renovation program by using pavement blocks that needs a long time for the implementation because it has stages to finish.

General Affair Department of Makassar started the first stage of road renovation by attaching pavement blocks in 1999 from state budget. The island's ring road and street building had caused higher mobility of the people in the island and become the most important part of the society's upturn. Then, because of the facility development, there were people capable of buying mo-

torcycle; even there was once public transportation in the island. However, because of the inefficient usage of it (the unbalance of operational cost and the result), in 2004, it was replaced by modified motorcycle (the people in the island call it *Bentor*) which is like trailed motorcycle as the main local transportation in "BLI". *Bentor* is not only used to transport goods and people to the pier of the harbor but also used as a recreational transportation especially in the afternoon and at dusk. There will be a lot of *Bentors* passing by the street taking all kinds of passengers such as children, teenagers, and old people especially housewives during that schedules. Besides that, *Bentor* really helps to increase the intensity of visiting each other's house and solidarity in the society. Then, it is easy for the people to feel empathy, care to each other, and feel their togetherness. It means that the social capital bonding among the people in the island is evident in their daily life.

The other development occurred along with the improved road facility is the availability of electric lamps on the main roads from PLN or people's initiative so at night, the main roads and alleys will be bright. The people, especially teenagers children and their parents, use this condi-

Table 2. The certainty level of the people about their neighbors being good

The certainty level of the people about their neighbors' being good	Period of time			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Very sure	14	35.0	22	55.0
Not really sure	26	65.0	16	40.0
Unsure	0	0.0	2	5.0
Total	40	100.00	40	100.0

Source: Tabulation of the Primary Data, 2012

Table 3. The agreement that people of the island are honest

The agreement that people of the island are honest	Period of Time			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Really agree	12	30,0	23	57,5
Not really agree	24	60,0	16	40,0
Disagree	4	10,0	1	2,5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: Tabulation of the Primary Data, 2012

tion to relax. Often, they make a plank bed in front of their houses as a place to relax, have a chit-chat, and joke around especially in the evening and at night. Those facilities make the intensity of people's interaction especially to neighbors become higher so they know each other even they can know people from all over the island.



Source: taken on August 4th, 2012

Picture 1. The interaction of the people in front of their houses in the afternoon and while they are playing pool at night

A community consisting of people who know each other will help to create social solidarity and also grow trust among the people easily, in Fukuyama's term, it's called *high trust*. On the contrary, if the trust level of the people is too low, Fukuyama calls it a *low trust* society because it has been rubbed down by the development process. It's difficult to create solidarity. It goes along with the result data of the questionnaires in Table 2 and 3 which show that now (after the state intervention) the trust of the people in the island is rather weak compared to ten years ago (before the intervention) but it's strong enough even if it's not as strong as it was ten years ago. The diminished trust among the people and the neighbors is caused mainly by a strong desire to compete to have higher

salary in order to have great houses furnished with expensive household furnishings to look luxurious. Based on that behavior, they can have prestige in a society. They will be regarded highly and respected by others. It can be seen when they attend an invitation. They will have a special seat that is different with seats for common people.

The other change occurred as the impact of the favorable road in "BLI" is the process of their traditional wedding ceremony. Before the implementation of *Bentor*, the groom and the bride were marched around the island on a sedan chair before they were sat on a dais. The march was followed by groups of guests and families also music in the background from a traditional musical instrument named *Kendang* and the harmonica which was a special song of the people in the island (they call it *Djidor*). However, after the road renovation, they use *Bentor* to march around the bride and the groom instead of a sedan chair even if they still use the same ceremonial pattern. Using *Bentor* as the way to march the wedding couple is considered as an effective way and less costly compared to using sedan chair. It's just like the statement of an informant (Hi.D) as follows:

If there was a marriage in Barrang before we sat the groom and the bride on a dais, we used to march them around the island by using a sedan chair lifted by 12 people on foot in order to let the people see them. Behind the groom and the bride were groups of guests and families who were following them with *Djidor* as the background song played by the traditional musicians. However, after the road becomes favorable, the people in the island prefer to march them around the island by using *Bentor*, because it's more efficient and less costly. If we use *Bentor*, the march of people is put far behind the couple while the traditional musicians are put in front, following them in the middle are groups of guests and families while in the past, the march was put in front, followed by *Djador* traditional musicians and the last are groups of guests and families (Interview, 7/9/2012)

This information explains that before and after the availability of *Bentor*, the people still do the activity of marching the bride and the groom around the island although they use different pattern and method which is using *Bentor* instead of a sedan chair with a bit of modification in the way of doing it. This happens because the way of thinking of the people has already changed to be more pragmatic. It's more efficient and less costly to use *Bentor* than a sedan chair.



Source: Informant's documentation, 1995
Picture 2. Bride and Groom were marched around the island (ten years ago)

The program of renovating the road that was continued in 2003 was the second stage of attaching pavement blocks on the street through *ABRI Coming to the Villages program* (ABRI Masuk Desa-AMD). In this stage, pavement blocks were attached on some lanes so they looked neater. Then, in 2010 was the third stage through National program of Village Empowerment (PNPM Mandiri program). The aim of the program is to widen the paved street from 2 meters to 3 meters wide along the ring road and to attach pavement blocks to the other lanes and streets.



Source: taken on September 9th, 2012
Picture 3. Bride, Groom, and some companions were temporarily marched around the island (recent situation)

Togetherness and happiness of the people in the island because of the road renovation do not mean that it is flawless because actually the implementation of that program did not fully involve the people in the island. The project-based road renovation hired more workers from out of the island but through AMD program, it involved the people even if it was only to prepare food and accommodation. Because the program did not really involve the people so they don't participate in the maintenance of the road. It is proven when there is communal activity to clean the street and the ditch; the people are less participative, as said by the informant "AG" as follows:

This road renovation program is truly advantageous for the people in the island but unfortunately they feel that they were not involved in the process so they become less participative in the maintenance activities. It is reflected in their attitude when they have an invitation to do communal activities. If they are invited to clean the streets or the ditches, they rarely participate in those activities. The feeling of laziness of the people to do

the communal work is not only caused by not being involved in the road renovation program, but also the acknowledgement factor of the people to their chief who is not from the island. (Interview, 7/6/2012).

The statement above shows how important it is to involve the people in every activities especially the implementation of development program in the island to get their participation. The other important things are how high the chief is regarded and the close relationship between the chief and the people because it's more common for the people in the island to obey their chief through emotional relationship (informal) than through rational and structural relationship (formal).

Building Harbor's Pier

Through the development program, state intervention which has big impact in the change of social capital in "BLI" is pier renovation program as the place to tie up the trading ships, fishermen, and ships used to transport goods or people. This program covers two piers that are the first pier and the second pier. The first pier was built through self-effort of the people in 1950s. The first pier had ever been used by Japanese to tie up their ships ("BLI" community calls it anchoring), that was why it was chosen as the first location. After the pier had finished, it started to get crowded. There were a lot of boats tied up at the pier. Indeed, it affected the life of the people especially they who lived near the pier. In the interview, an informant said:

The first pier was built by a local Chinese-born businessman in 1950. The early purpose of building the pier was as a place to tie up his ship, to stock up and to discharge what he'd got and his load. Moreover, it can be used to tie up the other ships too. It used to be a place to tie up Japanese ships in the past. The existence of the pier made it easy for the people to load and discharge the cargo so it became more and more crowded. (Interview, 7/6/2012)

The growing technology of motorboat

followed by the people using it made the situation in the first pier was getting more and more crowded. There were many kinds of ships tied up at the pier. Some of the highly regarded people started a fund-raising and asked for the participation of the people in the island to build a new pier named the second pier. The source of the budget to build the second pier came from the government and people's effort which was done in 1970s. The need to build the second pier emerged from the incapability of the first pier to be a place to dock big capacity motorboats or ships. The cause of such problem was the condition of the pier had already been bad at that time and the location was not really strategic and too narrow.

The existence of the second pier increased the mobility of goods and people from and to "BLI" which directly and indirectly increased the economic condition of the people in the island. Since 2012 (until this research finished), the second pier had been repaired by General Affair Department through PNPM Mandiri program which was bridge/pier renovation. The development included widening and lengthening the pier so it was easy for heavy and big capacity motorboats and ships to dock at the pier.

Following the previous development, a pier gate was also built. In addition, the park of the pier was decorated so it looked more beautiful and attractive. The increase of load capacity of the second pier had caused the quantity of the ships that docked at the pier to increase with various weight and capacity and raised the volume of loading and discharging goods and people. This condition has caused the economic condition of the people in the island to rise. It can be seen from so many houses which had semi-permanent and/or permanent architecture in the island like the buildings in the city. The increase of people's prosperity in the island showed by the form of their houses has affirmed the social stratification of the owner. How the village people in general including the island community stratify their social level is the condition and the model of their houses. People who have a good and luxurious house (based on community le-



Source: taken on October 27th, 2012

Picture 4. The situation at the gate of the harbor in finishing stage

vel) surely have better social level than the others and so on until the lowest social level.



Source: taken on August 9th, 2012

Picture 5. The condition and the situation at the pier "BLI" after the renovation

Since the prosperity of the people has improved, their aspiration and lifestyle have changed too. The other consequence is the increasing desire of the people whether it comes from their job, education or recreation to the other island. There are also people who come to the island especially people who want to work as fishermen, study in a

college, and/or researchers who want to do research there. So many people from the other island working as fishermen's worker are especially caused by the high demand of man power. Because the price of sea cucumbers in the market is very high, the owner of the ship including *Ponggawa* and *Sawi* are motivated to increase their production besides to raise their crew's payment/income.

In keeping with the situation above, there is no wonder if some people in the island can interact with the people outside the island. Furthermore, from the interaction, they build good social network either as friends or as work relation. Through the social network, they can grow better in quantity and quality. As explained by an informant (Hi.D) below:

Since the bridge/pier of the harbor in this island got better, the relation between the people in the island and the people outside the island has improved. Moreover, after the increasing demand and price of sea cucumber, it makes businessmen to hire more worker even try to hire people from outside the island because workers from the island are limited. That is why a lot of people come to this island especially islands from Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) such as Bima and Sape; from Central Sulawesi such as Banggai and Toli-Toli; from Maluku Archipelago such as Ambon; and from North Sulawesi such as Bitung. Those workers mostly live in this island for several months because their job of fin-

ding sea cucumber takes about one until one and a half months on sea then they can go back to this island. The finding takes place in the east area of Indonesia for example the area near Maluku, Ambon, Papua and even border area of Australia. Because they stay on the ship for months to find sea cucumbers, some of them make friends and make good coordination. They always keep the situation until they go back to the island and even until they have already separated to each other, for example if the migrant workers have gone back to their hometowns.(Interview, 12/6/2012).

This information explains that the impact after the bridge/pier renovation is the better relation and interaction between people in and outside the island. The interaction happens not only between people with the same social level (between workers) but also between people which have different social level (between workers and Ponggawa or Juragan).

The social interaction among the fishermen workers which passes the limit of the island area has built friendship and fa-

mily-like connection which become stronger and stronger as the time goes by. It builds social solidarity between them (bridging social capital). Whereas, the social interaction between the fishermen workers and their *Ponggawa/Juragan* which passes the limit of geographical area and social level has made them into beneficial working partners (linking social capital). The interaction is kept and developed by both sides even though they don't have any working relationship anymore (end of contract).

The change of social capital in "BLI" is not only caused by the existence of state intervention but also the development of mosque in "BLI". This is described as follows:

The Impact of Mosque Development on Social Capital

Generally, it is known that mosque has become a symbol of the existence of Islam in an area. Even the history explains the important role and effect of Islam and mosque in building the character of the society around it. As in Barrang Lompo Island, there are two sturdy and glorious mosques. The first mosque is called the "old" mosque located

Matrix 1. The Impact of State Intervention on Social Capital of Fishermen Community in Small Islands

No.	State Intervention	Social Capital Change of Fishermen Community in small islands
1.	Government Organization Development	The diminishing of : The Island community's trust to the government, The Island community's loyalty to the government, Social participation of the island community, The capacity of politic and organization of the island community. The capacity of government authority in the development program.
2.	The Development of the Road Infrastructure	The improvement of social solidarity among the people in the island community (<i>bonding social capital</i>). The change of methods in the process of traditional wedding ceremony.
3.	Building Harbor's Pier	The improvement of: Social mobility of people going in and out the island. Social network. The development of social solidarity; bridging social capital and linking social capital.

in RW III while the second mosque is called the “new” mosque located in RW IV. The existence of these two mosques enlivens the situation in the island especially after the renovation of both mosques.

The first mosque (the old mosque) was built in early 1900s through people’s effort. The construction of this mosque was inspired by an Islamic proponent, Syekh Tuan Karama’ Bah Alwi Assegaf, who came to the island in 1625. The proponent’s arrival day was Friday, so he gathered the people to do Friday prayer but because there were less than 40 people, he only did Dzuhur prayer. It’s said that the place where the proponent kneeled and bowed is the place where the mosque was built in 1900. The people in this island say that the old mosque was the third mosque built in Gowa Kingdom at that time.

Meanwhile, the second mosque was built in 1960s through people’s effort. The second mosque (the new mosque) located in RW IV has a lot of Muhammadiyah Moslems while the first one has a lot of NU Moslem. We need to know that both mosques started to be built when this island was administratively still a village included in the area of Pangkep regency and the status was a sub district at that time. At first, although there had been renovation for both mosques, the effect to the situation of the society was not really good.

As explained by one of the informants “IJ” below:

At that time, Barrang had already had two mosques, the “old” mosque and the “new” mosque, but there were only few people coming to the mosque. They felt lazy to come to the mosque even if there was nothing to do at home. It was because the religion teacher never gave them any advice to the people. After they had finished praying, the Imam directly went home, so there was no one to talk with in the mosque. But, if it was Friday, there were a lot of people coming to the mosque to pray. It also happened in Ramadhan (one of Islamic month), a lot of people would come to the mosque to do Taraweh prayer but if it was Five Times Prayer especially Subuh prayer, only few people would come.(In-

terview, 12/6/2012).



Source: taken on September 8th, 2012

Picture 6. The “Old” Mosque (left) and The “New” Mosque (right)

The information from “IJ” shows how difficult it was for the Islamic proponents to build religious awareness to the people in the island because their religious spirit or their faith was still too low at that time. As a result, they could not understand any religious values so it was difficult for them to apply it in their daily life. That was why at that time, they often found irreligious behavior from the society. One of the irreligious behaviors that often happened was adults and teenagers’ habit of drinking beer (arak/tuak) which sometimes made disturbance and noise at night and they often fight to each other.

Island community’s condition above had bit by bit changed since the crossover transportation to “BLI” got smoother. Therefore, there were a lot of religious proponents who came to the island. A group of proponent who greatly affected the society was “*Jamaah Tabliq*”. This group came to the island in 2000s. This religious group which has a headquarters in the hollowed part of Makassar is known by the society as “*Pa’jango-janggo*”. The people called them that way because of their habit to grow their

beard so long as an identity of the group. The group did their missionary endeavor in turns in both mosques to persuade Moslem to have faith and obey the Islamic law. “*Jamaah Tabliq*” also asked people from door to door and on the street/alleys to pray regularly and go to the mosque to pray together. One of the routines of “*Jamaah Tabliq*” in mosque was every time they finished praying, they would recite/tell story and *hadist* of Prophet Muhammad SAW which contained persuasion to obey the rule of Islam. They always did their missionary endeavor in turn by coming to “BLI” and stayed for about two or three days.

Because of the proponents’ working hard, the society’s religious spirit and faith slowly grew. That moment was used by the proponent to create Islamic group discussion which had an activity named “*arisan*” (gathering). The participants of that group discussion were generally women but there were also a few men. The activity had done in turn in the houses of the people and sometimes they held it in the mosque. Through that activity, the people got enlightenment and knowledge about their religion. In addition, it created interaction among the people so they could be close to each other. It could then strengthen the social solidarity and friendship among them; like what was said by a woman informant (MM) as follows:

The existence of *Jamaah Tabliq* (“Pa’janggal-janggal”) was very helpful to build the religious spirit and faith of Barrang’s people. Because of them, we could create Islamic group discussions that involve the people in the island. Then, because of that group discussion, we got good religious knowledge so we became so diligent to come to the mosque to pray together. Moreover, we could meet every time we had gathering so we could be close to each other.
(Interview, 20/6/2012).

Based on the information given by MM, it is clear that the existence of both mosques followed by the coming of “*Jamaah Tabliq*” to do their missionary endeavor greatly affect the society’s religious spirit and

faith. Then, it strengthens people’s feeling and togetherness so it is easier for them to get close and make friends. Generally, in a society which has the same point of view, needs, and pint interest is usually easy to make coordination (mechanical social solidarity). The implementation of local values strengthened by good religious understanding can reinforce friendship and family-like feeling among the people in the island community.

“*Jamaah Tabliq*” in the island not only succeeded in improving the people’s understanding about Islamic rule but also slowly changed people’s habit not to do any rituals or traditional ceremonies which don’t go along with Islamic rule such as a habit of taking a bath (*syafar*) before Ramadhan month, lighting up candle at night in mosque before Ramadhan, going to ancestor’s grave when there is celebration, doing offering ceremony (*pa’rappo*) before finding sea cucumbers or fish.

CONCLUSION

State intervention through development program of government organization, road infrastructure and harbor’s pier has some impacts in: 1) The diminishing of the island community’s trust and loyalty to the government, social participation, the capacity of politic and organization of the island community and the capacity of government authority in the implementation of development program; 2) The improvement of social solidarity among the people in the island community (*bonding social capital*), social mobility out and inside the island, the existence of new social network; 3) The growing of social solidarity among people with the same/different social levels in the island (*bridging social capital*) and out of the island (*linking social capital*); and 4) The change of methods in the process of traditional wedding ceremony in the island community.

The change of social capital in “BLI” is not only caused by the existence of state intervention but also the development of mosque in “BLI”. It has contributed its existence to change the condition in the island

Matrix 02. The Impact of Mosque Development to Social Capital Change in the Island Community

The Impact

- The improvement of religious spirit, faith and social solidarity in the island community,
- The existence of new social network,
- The diminishing of local values and traditions that don't get along with the rule of Islam. Then, they're replaced by values and traditions that are suitable with the rule of Islam.

such as: 1) The improvement of religious spirit, faith and social solidarity in the island community; 2) The existence of new social network; 3) The diminishing of local values and traditions that don't get along with the rule of Islam and replaced by values and traditions that are suitable with the rule of Islam.

Based on those conclusions above, it can be concluded that state intervention through development program in the small islands' community has some impacts in the diminishing of social capital in certain elements (de-capitalization) and the improvement in some other elements (re-capitalization) not to mention some elements of social capital that only have form displacement.

Social capital in a society can be beneficial power in supporting the implementation of development program whether in state level, region level (province and regency), or in community level (village). Therefore, the utilization of local potency (social capital) owned by the people, mainly maintaining people's trust to the government and their involvement in all development process must be the most important and serious concern for the government not to mention the effort to get the local values that have diminished back up must be persuaded. It can't only be a plan but it must be put into reality. Through the involvement of the society, there will be responsibility and strong support from them so the development process will run smoothly and it can reach its expected target.

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