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Social capital based fisherman empowerment in Lombok Utara regency, Indonesia

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Abstract

This article discusses the empowerment of fishermen who rely on social capital in Indonesia, especially Lombok Utara regency. Fisherman empowerment is conducted by depending on social capital that includes network, cooperation, local institution and local leadership empowerment. That social capital has been through interpretation, redefinition, and influence from the recently emerged social powers. The results of the redefinition and influence are the growing social awareness towards cooperation, the establishing of new and old network within the daily interaction and communication among the fishermen, such as the “transformation’ from *begibung* to fishermen community. It also results in the growing of new life principles, such as the reconstruction of *merariq* which gives birth to the acculturation of marriage system, cooperation between old institutions with formal organizations like the cooperation between *Banjar* with its family welfare education and local leadership empowerment. The study was conducted by using qualitative methodology.

Keywords: Empowerment; Social Capital; Local Wisdom; Fisherman; Lombok Utara

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1. Introduction

Community development has been the common development paradigm since early 1990s, replacing the modernization paradigm that focuses on economic growth. Ife and Tesoriero (2011) called it as the new paradigm after the failure of welfare state which drained state's finance. The modernization paradigm which covers every aspects of people's life is unsatisfactory, especially to those who live in the lower layer since they enjoy it less rather than those in the upper layer. The main critique towards modernization is that it is too focused for developed states or western states (west oriented), over-depending on the economic growth that is driven by the capital owner, eroding local identity and widening the social gap.

Critic to modernization has been long spoken by the theorists. The latest study conducted by Matunhu (2011) in southern Africa revealed that modernization has always been connected to developed states' aids. Development projects in rural areas for farmers and coastal communities could only be executed with the aid of foreign finance and foreign consultants. Those kinds of process are slowly killing the local people's creativity and initiative. After going on for about thirty years, the young generation understands less towards the local wisdom and gets oriented more to the West. The identity of the southern African community is almost completely eroded.

Peet and Elaine (2014) showed another weakness of modernization theory. Both classical and modern modernization theories equate the concept of development to the concept of growth, that the rising expectation from the changes driven by this foreign capital causes emptiness for the people. This trickle down effects process that is promised by the modernization theory *vis a vis* growth theory fails to meet the expectation because it is opposite to the behavior of the upper middle class society. Those who work as farmers, labors, and fishermen do not enjoy the result as promised by the trickling down effect. The research of Luintel (2014) in India also found similar conclusion. Rural modernization fails to lift the dignity of women since important decisions regarding to the future of the people are taken by the men. Public policy tends to strengthen the position of men and set women aside. Women are slowly ditched from essential institutions in social, economic, and cultural fields, and the best alternative is affirmative action through women empowerment.

The acceptance of people empowerment concept in Indonesia was firstly limited among the NGO activists. Unlike the government that focused on the development program's effectiveness, the NGO activists were driven by ideology (ideological compatibility) (Fakih, 2010). Hence, they worked at the root, the scope was small but they touched the core problem. They used different terms, such as assistance, advocacy, development, empowerment, strengthening, and so on. It is clear that the development orientation of the government and the NGO activists is not in the same line. After the fall of the New Order, many of the NGOs' works were adopted by the government. Each ministry had its own people strengthening program which is then known as the community empowerment. Institutions were then reformed. Each ministry had a body that functions to empower people. Even corporates are obliged to run Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program as stated in Law No. 40 in 2007 about Limited Liability Company, in regards to empowering the people around the company's location, especially to companies which utilize natural resources.

The President's Decree No. 10 in 2010 about the Acceleration of Poverty Countermeasure mostly adopted the empowerment model that the NGOs had been doing. The most outstanding program was the National Program of People Empowerment (PNPM). Under the program, every fishermen and people living in coastal areas were empowered. Since they aimed to counteract the previous development that eroded the local wisdom and institutions, this program obliged the executives and local governments to focus on the local values. Almost all regions had trouble in the execution due to the weak local resources and very few assistance that suggested ideas and implementation design. Many regions took a shortcut by building cooperatives or shops and joint ventures, although the members did not have any entrepreneurship background and motivation.

Fishermen empowerment in Lombok Utara regency has been continuously run since the beginning of 2000 while the place was still a part of Lombok Barat regency. As stated in Law No. 26 in 2008, the regency of Lombok Utara (KLU) stands as independent regency. These fishermen and coastal community empowerments aim to improve the welfare of the people of Lombok Utara, in which the majority (57.13%) are farmers and fishermen. The number of fishermen alone reaches 30% of the total people working in farming/agricultural field (BPS, 2014). The importance of this fishermen and coastal community empowerment is not only about the big number of the fishermen, but it is also because of the region's condition which is included as an overfishing region as well as the position of Lombok Utara regency as the poorest region in Nusa Tenggara Barat province. The poverty rate in KLU is 43.1%, while the potential of the region- in terms of economic, cultural, and social- is very huge to be well managed in order to overcome the poverty rate. Fishermen empowerment in Lombok Utara is conducted through several approaches, including economic approach (through coastal community economic empowerment program, people empowerment on maritime resources control) or the socio-cultural approach which focuses on the cultural values of the local people. The process is very unique, that is by mixing the cultural aspect with the people economy program in order to face the capital's power, like the tourism industry in Gili Trawangan. Based on the aforementioned background, this study tries to understand the process of social capital based fishermen empowerment in Lombok Utara.

2. Literature review

Social capital theory is rooted in classical sociology theory that explains about society based on social ties such as Durkheim's theory of solidarity. Marxist sociologist from France, Pierre Bourdieu is the first scientist who raised the theory of social capital. In his view, social capital is the aggregate of actual or potential resources, tied to create a mutually beneficial network that can last a long time (in Portes, 1998). This concept gives a broader meaning to Durkheim's concept of social ties by positioning relationships as long-lasting (durable) network. Because the network is a social construct, then the character of mutual benefit can't be separated from the dominant class in the society. In such position, the dominant group is the most benefited.

Coleman (1988), sociologist from the United States, known for his rational choice theory, extends the Bourdieu (1986) concept by incorporating community norms and resources. Specifically, social capital according to Coleman is a norm, social network and the relationship between adults and children that is very

valuable for the growth of children. Social capital is in the family and in the community. Coleman understands social capital as a public stuff, giving benefit to those within the structure. What is meant by the social structure here approaches the concept put forward by Nan Lin (2001), namely a set of social units that have valuable resources; relative to the owner of authority; rules or procedures in utilizing the resources available and trusted by the person to act on those rules or procedures. Through this Coleman concept, social capital not only has a broader meaning but also a strategic position for development activists in developing countries to actualize cultural values. Culture or socio-cultural values of society that was previously regarded as a barrier for development, through the concept of Coleman is considered otherwise, so that development is interpreted as community empowerment through the actualization of owned norms and social networks.

Putnam (1995) gives a further contribution that makes development activists of developing countries more confident. Putnam emphasizes that social capital includes social networks, norms and beliefs which facilitate mutual coordination and cooperation. By incorporating the concept of "social trust", the beliefs of local communities that have been built for thousands of years and beneficial in development have gained widespread recognition and not become contrary to advancement. In the theory of classical modernization, there is an assumption that the underdevelopment of developing countries is caused by socio-cultural factors (Hout, 2016), such as norms, traditions, customs and people's views on the future. The concept of Putnam has been widely acclaimed among academics, especially in Third World countries for adopting local values and beliefs in development.

Considering the above opinion, there are at least four perspectives. First, the perspective of networks and social ties. The social ties builds up first, both *gemeinschaft* and blood ties. If in the primary solidarity individuals should be part of it, social networks are bridging individuals and collectives. This type of social capital in the sociology literature is known as primary solidarity, which is the relationship between community members who are more oriented towards the personal relationship. Sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies calls it *gemeinschaft* where relationships between community members are bound by tradition and often personal. However, not all networks or relationships have a positive impact. A study by Yee (2015) in South Korea found that relational capital work or *inmaek* also created inequality. This conclusion reinforces Bourdieu's findings (in Field, 2010) in which the dominant class will maintain and utilize social relations to strengthen their position. Kobayashi (2015) who examines the labor market in Japan also draws the conclusion of the limited role of social capital. In this perspective, it can be concluded that social networks which working as a social capital do not provide the same benefits to community members. In addition, too strong social ties could close the opportunities of other groups to access them.

Second, the perspective of social institutions. In this perspective, social capital is formed through a very long social process. Sociologically, such capital is formed through ideas or ideas from community leaders. Ideas become behaviors, habits and through repetitive actions, eventually becoming a tradition. Noticing the benefits of tradition for society, the tradition is transformed into institution through the institutionalization process. Social institutions such as community mutual help, village deliberation / village meeting, village barn are the result of the institutionalization. What is new in social capital theory from such sociological theory? According to the author, the novelty lies in the view of local institutions as the capital, not just the institution solely. By

positioning it as a capital, then there is an opportunity to develop without losing identity. This is the largest contribution of this theory for development of Third World countries.

Third, the perspective of norms and beliefs. In developing countries, every community has norms and beliefs. Not infrequently norms are formed through the process of institutionalization above, while the belief is based on faith in forces beyond human capabilities, both polytheism and monotheism. As Fukuyama (1996) puts it, "Community depends on mutual trust and will not arise spontaneously". The belief of the members of society against the supernatural forces is so strong that it underlies the daily behavior. Social norms are in line with beliefs and in daily life they are mutually supportive. The belief is practiced with rituals and is believed to link people with the macro cosmos. The surviving belief is determined by its ability to give a way out of the problem at hand. In addition to belief (belief system), the type of trust among humans in a community is very important. Trust in traditional communities is very strong, especially in accessing resources. A research by Fafchamps (2006) says that with strong trust, efficiency can be achieved even though formal institutions are weak. Barrios and Blocker (2015) also shows the important role of trust in the informal economy of urban areas in Latin America. In both cases, however, the largest beneficiaries were the well established groups.

Fourth, a view of synergy that integrates the above three perspectives. Such a view is evident in Evans's concept that the synergy between government, society and business entities is based on a complementary principle (Yustika, 2010). Hador (2017) found that private, intra-organizational and external networks support each other in improving performance and working atmosphere. However, social capital is also ambivalent. A synergy view is also seen in Fuzer's (2015) work on trust and social capital. Various types of social trust such as interpersonal and institutional combined with norms and cooperation, the result is the strengthening of social networks, social ties and social bridges. Therefore, trust can be said to be the core of social capital.

In conclusion, appropriate action in research on social capital is to integrate various aspects such as norms, social institutions, beliefs, belief systems, social networks and social ties as in this study.

3. Methodology

This fishermen empowerment study was conducted through qualitative method. Since this study was conducted by directly interacting with the research subjects, this methodology is also known as naturalistic methodology. Neuman (2013) called this kind of research as a field research, which aims to learn, comprehend, or describe the interacting group. This is the only methodology that is able to discover the social capital based fishermen empowerment's process. The fishermen's contribution within the interaction was by showing their culture (thought, value, and belief) in certain social contexts. Researchers could not get fully get the whole social meanings. The explicit knowledge seen from the fishermen's behavior was the real expression of explicit knowledge (Neuman, 2013). Therefore, this research discovers the process of the creation, emergence, and development of action or norm system in the research location. This research uses detail description or thick description by Geertz (1973) and systematic analysis to understand and rearrange the past events through fishermen empowerment.

Data were collected through interview with informants and through direct observation in the research location. The informants were Jauhari (Chief of Gondang Village, Head of LMNLU), Muhlin (Secretary of LMNU), Mahyudin (Majelis Krama Adat), Putu Heri (Fishery Head of Marine and Fishery Department of KLU), and Lalu Samada (Head of Indonesia Fishermen of NTB Province, KLU Section). Informants were selected because of their knowledge in understanding the cultural values of the Lombok people, the fishermen's problems, fishermen's empowerment, as well as their willingness to provide the information. In order to test the quality of the information, cross check among informants were conducted (source triangulation). Only information that is supported by at least two informants is believed to have quality.

Data analysis was conducted through successive approximation strategy by Neuman (2013). This strategy's data analysis was started by the research question, concept, and theory. The data seeking was guided by questions and field data, and then they were connected with the concepts and theories of social capital and people empowerment. These evidences were then used to arrange concepts or modify concepts and theories. This kind of process was a successive approximation because the old data was modified with the new data (field data) until it resembled the approximate facts.

Although the observation was conducted in every regions of Lombok Utara by visiting coastal villages and interacting with the fishermen and the activists, but it focused more to Gondang Village in Gangga District. Life and socio-culture values were mostly from this Gondang Village.

4. Result and discussion

4.1. After territorial reform

The social reality of the coastal people in Lombok Utara after the territorial reform in 2008 was marked by several underdevelopment characteristics. The poverty rate is very high (43.13%) and the majority is the fishermen, farmers, and women who live in coastal and rural areas. Most fishermen in Lombok Utara are labor fishermen who work for an employer or ship owner. The number of fishermen was 12% of the total people living in Lombok Utara (BPS, 2014). The fishermen's reliance to the nature is very high. In 12 months, there are only 6 effective months that the fishermen could use to look for fish in the sea and get their income. Good timing for sailing is between April to July when the tide is calm and the fishermen can fish in big number. Within these months, the quality of life of the fishermen improves. The fishermen can send their children to school; go to hospital if they are sick, as well as buying house furniture. The consumption of television, refrigerator, handphone, and motorbike also increase within those months. However in August and September, the fishermen's income decreases because of the very strong Sorong's tide which makes the fishermen do not want to sail too far. In October to mid-November, the fishermen take advantage of the calm tide and stable wind stream. The economy of the fishermen improves again. In December to March, the tide is very high and the fishermen are unemployed. In this condition, the fishermen work as motorbike taxi riders, souvenirs sellers, or freelance labors. Many of the fishermen sell their goods to survive.

Women hold lower social status than men (interview with Mahyudin, Muhlin dan Jauhari in December 2014 and January 2015). An old saying “*selembah tipaq mama, sepoto tipaq nina*” (one for boys and half for girls) in terms of inheritance clearly shows the position of women within the society. Although Lombok is called as the “island of thousands mosques”, this island is also known as the “widow island” due to its high rate of divorce. Divorce is quite a normal phenomenon in this island. In the time of New Order which strictly applied the Government Law No. 10 in 1983 about the Permit for Marriage and Divorce for Civil Servants, regulating any civil servant who wanted to marry must have the consent of the wife, the divorce number was lower. However, the civil servants who wanted to marry again would choose early pension (interview from Putu Heri in January 2015). With the increasing number of jobseeker abroad, the number of divorce rose again. Even a lot of women are divorced by the husband only through phone call. Economic condition is the main reason of the divorce. There is a divorce pattern that is understood by the fishermen, the rate of divorce increases during Sorong tide period. On the other hand, the marriage rate increases when the fishing rate increases.

The low position of women in Lombok society is also shown by the high number of domestic violence. The Province of Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) ranks second after Papua for that case. According to Lombok’s Chief of Custom, Mahyudin (interview in December 2014), the high rate of poverty in Lombok is inseparable from the misinterpretation of the young generation towards eloping, husbands working abroad do not give information and the marriages are not registered in the Kantor Urusan Agama (Office of Religious Affairs). *Merariq* is a tradition of Lombok people where a man kidnaps a woman from her parents with the intention of getting the attention of the woman’s parents and showing chivalry attitude. The man should do *nyelabar* (telling the women’s parents) by visiting the house and then ask for permission to *kliang* (chief of custom). This mechanism is intended to show the man’s responsibility and tell the people about the man’s feeling to the woman. But since the economic crisis in 1998/1999 and the transformation of Lombok into a tourism place, *merariq* has been misinterpreted by the young generation. The youngsters often disregard the chivalry aspect and take the girl away. Unofficial marriages are not uncommon and mostly the relationship ends quickly. The values of culture, family, and ancestors are ignored.

The relation between labor fishermen and ship owner is a patron-client relation. That relation is a characteristic of pre-capitalist society as explained by Keith R Legg (1983). Legg stated that the patron-client relation is marked by a domination of resources; the relation is special, private, and mutual. Ship owner is the owner of the ships and boats used by the fishermen for fishing. Half of the ship owners are from outside of Lombok. They often lend money for the fishermen’s needs, like for school tuition fee, circumcision fee, medication fee, marriage fee, and religious events fee. A lot of fishermen are in debts and the debts are paid by cutting the fishermen’s fee or income. If the condition has come into that, then the patron-client relation between them has transformed into exploitative.

The fee of the labor fishermen is under the minimum wage of the city (UMK). The UMK of Lombok Utara in 2013 was 1.1 Million rupiah, in 2014 it increased to 1.21million rupiah and in 2015 it reached 1.33 Million rupiah (BPS, 2015). However the average fee of the fishermen in 2014 was only 850,000 rupiah/month or 70.24%. There were even fishermen who got less fee. Based on the minimum wage set by the Ministry of Labor, it can be concluded that labor fishermen still lives under the poverty line. It may be understood the background

of the strong motivation of the fishermen and Lombok people to migrate abroad to another country. NTB is one of the most contributive provinces for migrant workers other than Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT).

Job vacancies in Lombok are very limited. The unemployment rate is very high and surpassing the national rate, which is 9.8%. While the workforce participation rate in 2014 was just 66.94% (BPS, 2015). Job opportunities for women are even fewer. Woman is considered as a family member who does not contribute to the family's economy. Although BPS reported that the job opportunities rate in 2014 reached 97.8%, this number is doubtful. It is easy to find unemployed people in many places, especially in rural areas in Lombok. The youngsters waste their time for unclear purpose. It is easy to find them sitting in crowded places not doing anything. Most of them do not finish school in which some of them did not have the money to continue the education. They are also not interested to work as farmer, fisherman, or labor. They see that these jobs hold no future and prestige. Becoming public transportation drivers or motorbike riders are their alternative. These youngsters are part of modernization theory victims that rely on economic growth. Regions with bigger economic magnet and social change like Bali and Surabaya become migration destinations. These migrants from Lombok are well known for controlling underground economy, including criminals and commercial sex industry. The newspaper of Denpasar Post edition 10-14 January 2007 reported about the Lombok migrant's behavior in Dewata Island deeply. Informal sectors in Bali are controlled by migrants from Lombok, and so are the security and thug sectors.

The difficulty of looking for job opportunities provides logical explanation towards the stagnation of poverty rate in Lombok Utara, and so is the increase of criminality. Although Lombok Utara is known as one of the safest places in NTB, but conventional crimes like robbery and pickpockets are still frequent. The existence of tourism destinations in three islands (Trawangan, Meno, and Air) becomes the new economic growth center in NTB, and KLU in particular. This has consequences of making it a more opened region, especially with the coming of people from many nations, with different lifestyles. Economic sector is more opened for the people of Lombok to participate more in off-farm and non-fishing sectors. The low rate of human resources, the lack of capital and network, make these local people losing competition of job opportunities and the enlarging "pie" in Lombok with the newcomers. Several disputes in Lombok are also inseparable from this resources struggle.

4.2. Fishermen empowerment

The description above shows the helplessness of Lombok Utara people. The ongoing development that keeps ignoring the socio-cultural aspect of the local people does not only put the people aside, but it also marginalizes them. There needs to be an affirmative action with focus on the fishermen that rests on their perspective and socio-cultural values. This is what is meant by social capital based fishermen empowerment in this study.

The Central Government and the Local Government of Lombok Utara, since the beginning of 2000, has had fishermen empowerment program, such as Coastal People Economic Empowerment, Coast Potential Development, People Empowerment for Sea Resources Control, Fishery Development, Fishery Infrastructure Development, and so on. Paying attention to those programs, moreover with the big number of financial support, that poverty and social gap should have been overcome. But the fact shows the opposite. Not only the program implementation was bad, but the result was also far from expectation.

Shortly, social capital can be interpreted as a socio-cultural potential of the people that can be used and developed to build common cohesiveness and welfare. The potentials may be in form of value system, social bodies, trust system, and social structures that had been developed for a long time and is trusted by the people to be the milestone for daily life. This concept is different to Putnam (1995) who defined social capital as a network, norm, and social belief which facilitate mutual coordination and cooperation; while Fukuyama (1996) emphasized a set of common values or informal norms among the group members which enables the establishment of cooperation among them. The main idea of these two theorists is about norms and cooperation that can be optimized to achieve common goals. Furthermore, Fukuyama stated that social capital is based on trust which is an expectation of order, honesty, and cooperative attitude. That kind of trust is very beneficial in order to create a good economy because it may reduce cost.

The people of Lombok Utara have very rich and proven social capital, for years, which has been able to keep the harmony, cohesiveness, and hard work of the people. Institutions like *dasan*, *banjar*, and *subak* protect the people's cohesiveness. Value system that becomes the life guidance for Lombok people is recorder in *sesengak* (old saying), *perteke*, or *lelakaq* which is known as poem, like *begibung* and *awig-awig*.

The belief of the Lombok people is Islam, a religion which has just come in the XVI century. Previously, the beliefs were *boda* and *wetu telu* which are still exist until today. *Boda* is the original religious system of Lombok people which worships the spirits of the ancestors and things that are believed to have spiritual power. This belief system is double-edged, it may be an integrative power to show its role as the social capital within the people empowerment, but it could also be a disintegrative factor.

4.3. Networking

The efforts to fishermen empowerment were conducted by reconstructing to *begibung* and developing the Lombok Utara Fishermen Institution (LMNLU) (researcher's interview with Jauhari and Mahyudin in December 2014 and January 2015). *Begibung* is a local typical culture of Lombok where people sit and make a circle to eat together. The foods are in one plate (*nare*) and are eaten by using hand. This tradition is done to build togetherness as well as to show their equal position or status. In its development, *begibung* does not merely become a "eating together forum", but it is also a forum for informal discussion for the fishermen, discussing problems that they are facing.

From this forum, then came the idea to strengthen the solidarity of the fishermen by building the Institution for Lombok Utara Fishermen (LMNLU). This then became the fishermen's movement in showing their awareness to strengthen their positions. In the theory of community development by Ife and Tesoriero (2011), the fishermen used social capital as the glue for the crumbled process that they had been experiencing due to the strong stream of rural modernization. Fishermen realized that they have social obligation toward the community and resurgence can only be from their own efforts. The destruction of traditional community structure that has been occurred since the early 1970s is very hard to rebuild because it had involved foreign economic capital and strengthened the position of the educated, bureaucracy, and military which quickly replaced the position of the *perwangsa* (nobles). Fishermen, who are mostly *jajar karang* (lower class group), re-obtained their ladder to do vertical mobility through *begibung* and LMNLU.

It is very unfortunate that current development of LMNLU is getting farther from the effort to strengthen the position of fishermen's socio-economic and *begibung* (As stated by Lalu Samada and Putu Heri in the interview in January 2015). The LMNLU activists are more interested to practical politics, seeking for power through political party. In order to get the people's support, LMNLU is used, that the true nature of this institution is drastically altered. The labor fishermen feel betrayed and exploited to get political positions by the activists, which weakens the trust to the leaders and the institution. Trust is one of the most essential pillars in social capital (Fukuyama, 1996). However, this is the other edge of social institution. It is very vulnerable to alter to politics, either from cultural institutions to religious institutions.

The lesson learned from this case is that the growing awareness of the fishermen to build networking and cooperation. Social institutions which had been the source of ideas and behavior guidance can be combined with formal institutions which have clear goals. The awareness to build togetherness sense for better welfare is a very important thing to the role and power of social capital. There is no dichotomy among the traditional values in classical modernization theory with rational thinking that orients to clear purposes, like what LMNLU has.

4.4. Marriage system

The misinterpretation of the young people towards *merariq* had given birth to many social problems. There are many young families who neither of the spouse have income, which gives heavy burden for the economy and social condition of the family. This condition has been realized by *Banjar*, a social institution in Lombok (also Bali) which plays the role of handling marriage and death. *Banjar* actively does socialization about the preparation for marriage and promotes the real meaning of *merariq*. *Merariq* is a chivalry attitude, brave and responsible. This attitude must be shown by the man before the parents of the woman. Working together with the agents of *Keluarga Berencana dan Perkumpulan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (PKK), *Banjar* does dialogue about the importance of having mental, psychological, and economic preparation before marriage. "There are a lot of woman get pregnant before marriage and they say it as *merariq*, it is a big mistake", said the Chief of Custom, Mahyudin (interview in January 2015).

Fishermen and their children become the focus of the empowerment, because fishermen families are vulnerable to divorce. Unstable economy and a lot of debts often end up with divorce. The economic burden shifts to the mother's family. *Banjar* and boards of PKK of Desa Gondang told the fishermen to educate their children about how important it is to suspend marriage in such young age. They also informed about the risks of young marriage. Besides, many newcomers who have different marriage traditions, like men proposing women by giving dowry, have brought change. The improvement of education and health shown by the increasing life expectancy has also played a part in the marriage system. Although it still happens in several places, *merariq* is no longer the common pattern for marriage in Lombok Utara. There has been acculturation with the proposing system (proposing to the woman's parents). In the "getting to know each other" phase, the parents always remind the children how important it is to have economic preparation for the future family. That is expected to reduce the number of unrecorded marriage as well as reduce the rate of divorce. The rights of women are also slowly being fulfilled.

Lesson learned from the case above is that the alteration of Lombok Utara to become an opened region (Lombok Utara becomes a tourism destination), the Lombok people's mobility to another country or city, and the flows of visitors, help the people to understand their social capital (inward looking) and try to preserve it for their life sustainability. As explained by Giddens (2010) that runaway world also sparks reaction from within the local society. In this case, the reaction is the role reconstruction of *banjar* and the acceptance of women's role in fisherman empowerment through PKK. The mobility of Lombok Utara people as the residents of an opened region makes the fishermen to be having mental transformation. Also, they are now more opened for others' value system that is shown by the acculturation in marriage system.

4.5. Re-strengthening local leadership

After since the Law No. 5 in 1979 about Village Government, all lowest units in Indonesia has been equated. The unique characteristics of each region in terms of governance system are gone. The Village Head who is supposed to be an agent of development becomes a government's tool. Its presence requires the approval of the government, especially from the District Military Commander and the District Head. The dominance of the government (bureaucracy and military) has eroded the local leadership. The society's cultural values as well as the local wisdom and tradition playing prominent roles as the integrative power have eroded. Through a well-preserved typical characteristic of a region, dignity and honor are built. Dignity is an important element for social capital, because through honor towards tradition and cultural values preservation, the society still has *libensraum* (life space) that is not disconnected from the ancestors. The fishermen community, for instance, they have been craving for a leader from the fishermen community who well understands about the sea, coast, and problems that they face.

Local leadership was reborn through the Law No. 22 in 1999 and Law No. 32 in 2003 about the Local Government. The election of the village chief was then more opened and able to give birth to a people leader. Although there are still several negative aspects from the open and liberal contestations, like money politics and political transactions, the village chief was conducted more openly and more democratically rather than the closed system. In opened election, the people assess the candidates' skill and resources by considering their track records. Historical and genealogical aspects are often the milestone for determining the decision, but there are still those who consider rational and emotional aspects as well.

Fishermen's empowerment in Lombok Utara was also achieved through the re-strengthening of the local leadership. The elected Jauhari, a fishermen figure and a people empowerment activist as the Chief of Gondang Village in Gangga District, gave hope to the fishermen towards the actualization of their aspirations. In its development, Jauhari even succeeded to become the leader of Village Chief Assembly in Lombok Utara and then became the leader of LMNLU. His name is very famous and his track record is well-known among the fishermen community. Under Jauhari's leadership, the fishermen empowerment was directed to prevent the ship owners' exploitations by regulating sufficient fee. Furthermore, he revitalized the *awig awig* power as a social institution which regulates the fishermen's behavior in the interaction to the nature and to the people. The habit to use explosive materials in fishing was strictly forbidden by setting certain fishing zones.

The people still remember that the decentralization policy was overly responded by the local people. There were forest, sea, mountain, and strait plotting. There were unilateral claims done by the fishermen in Lombok Utara that prevented the entry of another fisherman from another region. There were conflicts among fishermen who used *muroami* nets in fishing ground zones with the entrepreneurs in tourism destination in Gili Air and Gili Trawangan (Satria, 2014) and also conflicts among fishermen who used different fishing tools. Jauhari's leadership provided answer to the fishermen's needs, such as the sea custom right's reconstruction of Lombok's coastal community by revitalizing the *sawen* and *awig-awig* ceremonies.

The lesson learned from this case is that a leader who is the expected figure of the voters, born from among the fishermen, and understands about the problems faced by the fishermen, will be able to better overcome the problems that the fishermen are facing. The fishermen's obedience rate to leader is higher and so is the leader's success in conducting the construction of *sawen* and *awig-awig* which are familiar to the fishermen, giving an own pride. Primary identity construction by this kind of local leadership is successful in creating a more harmonious relation between the nature and human being.

5. Conclusion

The empowerment of fishermen in Lombok Utara was conducted through the reconstruction upon social capital which included networking, cooperation, local institution and local leadership strengthening. That social capital does not work as how it was hundreds of years ago, but it has been through a new redefinition and has been influenced by social powers which emerged recently. The result of the redefinition and influence were the growing awareness of the people toward cooperation, the establishment of old and new networks within the daily interaction and communication among the fishermen, like the transformation from *begibung* to LMNLU. It can be also in form of the entry and the development of new life principles, like the reconstruction of *merariq* which gave birth to marriage system acculturation, cooperation between old institutions with formal institutions like between Banjar and PKK and the local leadership empowerment.

Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that the fishermen society in Lombok Utara have been in the empowered and independence phase. There still needs a quite long time, cost, and very big power to be able to reach that phase. The situation in Lombok Utara is very complex, marked by a serious social gap, the swift development of capitals, social pluralism which frequently creates tension and the big number of unemployed widows. In responding to countermeasure this condition, a specific empowerment strategy is absolutely necessary. This research is limited to empowering fishermen in North Lombok with actual social capital. Subsequent research is recommended to explain the role of social capital in increasing social inequality. Better-educated migrants are able to find better jobs and lives while indigenous people remain in the lower classes.

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