SOCIAL CAPITAL ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLE: THE COMMUNITY WAYS TO LIFE WITHIN GLOBAL CHANGING

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Indigenous community does not experiencing many changes in its life cycle. Different with community in common is depended on changes in their environment. The indigenous community can survive from changes occurring around it. The challenge of the indigenous community to experience change has made the community seem like remote area compare to its surrounding more modern neighborhood. As the result of that, the indigenous community should be able to meet its daily lives needs.

The endurance of indigenous community to survive the changes and to fulfill their daily needs is coming from social capital owned by the indigenous community. Social capital owned by the indigenous community in either in West Java or other indigenous community covering belief, social norm and social network. All the elements in social capital have made the indigenous community survive because those elements enable the community to become productive.

The research method used is descriptive method with qualitative approach. The location of the research is at Kasepuhan Ciptamulya and Indigenous Community of Cirendeu. The informants serve as source of information are community leaders, community members and other community members who understand the existing condition of the research location.

The result shows that in both indigenous communities, the social capital still well served. This is because there is a blood tied feeling connection. The significant difference from both communities is about the use of communication tool and relation with outside authority. The condition is because the community indigenous of Cirendeu is located near urban area which is bring influence toward the community around the Kasepuhan Ciptamulya.

Keywords: Social capital, indigenous. People/community.

I. PRELIMINARY

Indonesia is a country with a high degree of heterogeneity. This heterogeneity is characterized by social stratification from modern to traditional. Traditional societies are categorized as indigenous peoples, ie a collection of people who live in a certain area in which their life is governed by the values and cultural heritage of their ancestors. Data of Ministry of Social Affair of Republic Indonesia in 2009 recorded there are 501,283 families who belong to indigenous communities scattered throughout Indonesia except Lampung and DKI Jakarta. The largest number is in West Java of 126,257 households.

Indigenous peoples often become marginalized communities in the implementation of development. Changes in development are judged to be contrary

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to the rules they have. Therefore, to meet their various needs, they provide their own local resource-based services that they have. Indigenous peoples have social capital in providing services, especially social services to meet their needs. This social capital is an important foundation in the survival of society. Social capital is not only in the form of financial strength but rather the ability to mobilize all members of society to participate in community activities. Social capital is a key key for indigenous peoples to maintain the existence of communities amidst societal change to a more modern society.

Suharto (2007) defines social capital as "the sources arising from the interaction of people in a community of people". Furthermore, Ridell (in Suharto, 1997) describes the form of social capital in community groups that is focused on three main pillars of trust, norms, and networks that have the potential for community productivity. Social capital is a great capital for indigenous peoples to solve all the problems that exist in the community concerned. Indigenous Peoples Kasepuhan Ciptamulya and Kampung Adat Circundeu are indigenous peoples in West Java who retain customs and culture even though their surroundings of development and modernization take place. They consider that the customs and culture they have is the best capital to live their lives. Social capital that has given birth to forms of social services for the community in solving problems and meet the needs of life. This is interesting because the indigenous people of Kasepuhan Ciptamulya and Kampung Adat Circundeu managed to survive the onslaught of change in the name of modernization.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Indigenous peoples are defined as "a group of people based on ancestral origins, living in a specific geographical area, possessing distinct, socio-cultural values and societies and governing and sustaining their livelihoods with customary law and institutions" (Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of Indonesia in http://communityadat.org/id/about-kita.html).

Remote Indigenous Communities or indigenous people as a term now widely used to replace the term "isolated society". The connotations of isolated peoples get poor ratings because they show the backwardness of a society compared to the surrounding environment. Purnama (2002), defines remote indigenous communities "as a socio-cultural group that is local and scattered and lacks or is not involved in social and economic, as well as political and social networks and services".

In the social work literature are termed indigenous people or aboriginal people. The term indigenous or aboriginal people are refers to the offspring or grandchild of the indigenous population of a particular area (Bird, 2008).

Every community has a social capital that is born from the interaction between members of a community or community. Social capital can increase cumulatively by itself (Putnam, in Suharto 2002). Social capital relates to networks, norms, beliefs that grow and develop in a society or community. The thing that distinguishes

social capital with other capital is social capital will not be damaged or discharged if continuously used. On the contrary social capital will be damaged if not used (Suharto, 2002: 97).

Putnam later (in Suharto, 2002: 98) defines social capital as a mutual trust between members of society and between society and its leaders. Social capital involves existing social institutions in community or community-related networks, social norms, and social trusts that will strengthen social collaboration (coordination and co-operation) aimed at the common good. Social networks, social networks, and social norms that exist in society or community will encourage people's productivity. Woolcock (in Huraerah, 2008: 57) defines social capital as information, trust, and norms that belong to a social network.

This good social capital is characterized by the presence of solid social institution which will then underlie a harmonious life (Putnam, 2002). So in the indigenous communities the beliefs that exist in these societies become the basis for maintaining the existence of life. High levels of trust both between community members and the community leaders are shown by harmonious behavior. The rarity of conflicts and obedience to the leader becomes a reference to the existence of such harmonious life.

Social norms can be interpreted as understanding, values, expectations, and goals that are believed by society and run together by a group of people. Social norms are built and evolved based on a history of past cooperation that is then applied to support cooperation at the moment (Putnam in Suharto, 2007). The sources of social norms are many, can be derived from religious values held by society, moral guidance, and secular standards.

Social networking is a dynamic infrastructure of social capital embodied in networks of cooperation between people (Putnam in Suharto, 2002). Social networks will encourage the creation of interaction and communication in which turn generate trust marked by cooperation (Putnam in Suharto 2002). This emerging cooperation is characterized by participation from the community.

The social capital has two types (Kahne and Bieily (in Suharto, 2002). The first type is togetherness, the social capital with the characteristics of strong bonds in a community. For example this type of togetherness is a kinship system built on blood ties. This relationship gives rise to a sense of togetherness. The second type is engagement. That is the social bond that arises as a reaction to the various characteristics of group members. This type may arise because the group's plurality becomes a weakness for the group concerned. Thus to minimize the weakness caused by the heterogeneity Will build strength above those weakness.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This study intends to examine social capital in indigenous communities of West Java with locations in Kasepuhan Ciptamulya and Kampung Adat Circundeu using

descriptive method. This research using qualitative approach to have deeper meaning of social capital on indigenous community by depth interview, refers to Rubin and Babbie (2008: 417)

"qualitative research methods attempt to tap deeper meanings of particular human experiences and are intended to generate qualitative data: theoritically richer observations that are not easily reduced to numbers."

This research was conducted in two local communities namely Kasepuhan Ciptamulya and Circundeu to know the differences, similarities, and tendencies of existing social capital that managed to make these two communities retain their culture in the original era of global.

Kasepuhan Ciptamulya is located in Sukabumi District, West-Java. The community holds customs in various aspects of life, such as religion, social organization, livelihood, technology system, arts, language, and traditional knowledge. Religious system adopted by this community is colored two important things, namely the religion of Islam and beliefs inherited by the ancestors called *karuhun*. The Kasepuhan Ciptamulya community has unique features in the architecture of buildings built of wood, bamboo, and leaves. Some buildings are made as the main facility in life such as meeting hall, art place, place of heirloom, food barn, room of equipment. The concept of this building is the result of experience of the ancestral interaction with nature.

Kampung Adat Circundeu is located in Cimahi City, West-Java. It has another uniqueness, the people not against the changing era but follow it. They are using the technology, such as television, communication device and lighting. Meanwhile, to maintain the needs in their lives have the norms and rules that are held firm by the whole society that is the existence of 3 (three) types of forest. The forest is the main element that causes the community lack of food. The people believe a proverb that is held as a value in their life that is: *have no rice field of origin has rice, has no rice origin can cook rice, have no rice from eating, do not eat strong origin*. With the other intention that God's human creation is not dependent on just one, for example as the staple food of the country of Indonesia that is rice, but Circundeu people has an alternative in the staple food such as cassava.

III. SOCIAL CAPITAL OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY: COMPARING AND CONTRASTING

Relate with what Putnam Said, the existing capital in both consist of trust, social norms, and social networks. Social trust includes the growing beliefs in society related to activities and associations and beliefs to fellow members of society, social norms and values relating to traditional norms and values that are still present and maintained. Meanwhile the social network can be an internal network or external.

We found similarity on social trust in Cireundeu Village and Kasepuhan Ciptamulya, trust grows among them because of the familial ties both among the people in those village or outside the two indigenous communities. The confidence that exists among the people of Kampung Adat Cireundeu and Kasepuhan Ciptamulya is seen from borrowing items in examples: money or tools for farming. These two indigenous peoples will never let other members of the community to suffer due to lack of necessary equipment. The social trust between the people of both indigenous communities and outsiders who still have hereditary ties is evident from the belief that tone of siblings outside the area will help if they again travel outside the region. They believe that would be some member outside who will help them such as give any money or food even in the night.

Both communities strongly believe in elders. Elders are people who will provide solutions to the problems they faced. Likewise the elders believe that the people will seek advice. The belief is also evident from the public's respect for the elders.

Norms and social values as social capital between Circundeu Village and Kasepuhan have little difference exist. It can be understood because of different the location or area. Circundeu village area is very close to the city, so they become more permissive in accepting the influence of city life. Ownership of electronic goods and communication tools and higher education make changes to traditional norms and values. The Circundeu Village community has no longer a taboo to discuss about politic or development happen outside Circundeu village.

In contrast to Kasepuhan Ciptamulya which is far from the influence of urban life. The norms and traditional values have not changed much. Electronic goods such as televisions and mobile phones may only be owned if they are deemed to be of benefit to the development of agriculture. Not all citizens can have it. This is done to keep life always in harmony with nature.

While norms and values related to arts development and maintaining the integrity of indigenous peoples between Circundeu and Kasepuhan Ciptamulya show similarity. Circundeu community require the children of their citizens to learn traditional art such as karinding, angklung, and pencak silat. Likewise, adults meet every two weeks to discuss the problems and integrity on there. Traditional norms and social values are still maintained such as manner in associating. People's behavior when faced with older, peer, and younger people is different. One example, language used to communicate should be in accordance with the Sundanese language step. The sanction given in violation of courtesy is an address to be given by the elders of Kampung Adat Circundeu.

The same condition is also seen in Kasepuhan Ciptamulya society. The Kasepuhan Ciptamulya community still holds the courtesy in association. Language manner is still used in the daily interaction. Younger people should respect the elderly and the older must adore the younger. Similarly, in the development of art closely related to norms and social values are still maintained. Children must learn

the art, this is done because to maintain the continuity of art and often used in the ceremony held in Kasepuhan Ciptamulya.

Other social capital is social network both internal and external. The internal social network of Circundeu Cultural Village community with Kasepuhan Ciptamulya looks the same. Both of them have leader who maintain and keep the whole norms, rules, and being the most respected people. But there is any difference, the internal social networks in Circundeu is not formally organized because the community believe if the formalized will be easy for other parties, especially the government to dissolve the organization so that it will threaten them.

On the contrary, Kasepuhan Ciptamulya organizes its internal social network in the government structure and the structure of traditional elders called *Abdi Dalem*. The community must understand if there any issues and activities to be done must face to what elders. Likewise the structure of the courtiers who have the duty to help the greeting as supreme leader by giving advice on various life in society Kasepuhan Ciptamulya.

The external social network between Circundeu Cultural Village and Kasepuhan Ciptamulya shows similarity. The external social networks in these two indigenous peoples are directed to economic development and the development of traditional arts. However, from these two aspects there are differences in the implementation.

Economic development in external networks within the Circundeu is more two-way. They not only sell superior products such as cassava rice and cakes to another village outside, but also receive products from outside for daily consumption.

Contrasting to what the people of Kasepuhan Ciptamulya did. They are doing one-way economic development. Total population is growing while the agricultural land is static. They became encouraged to look some job outside of the village. The people than working outside but still being a farmer. Kasepuhan Ciptamulya people believe that social networks with outsider will give big opportunity for them.

Differences are also seen on the development and maintenance system on art and cultural. Circundeu Cultural Village also doing two-way systems with the outsider. This means that art performances from Circundeu can be displayed outside of Circundeu Village. Likewise, on the contrary art from outside such as wayang golek can be displayed in Circundeu.

Different things are shown by Kasepuhan Ciptamulya traditional art. They allowed their art and cultural performance shown only in their village. While outside parties only as tourists who watch the show. This is because artistic performances are closely related to certain vapors held in Kasepuhan Ciptamulya. On the contrary the system on Kasepuhan Cintamulya not allowed the people to watch the other art performance on their village.

With the various social capital developed and used in everyday life, the model of social capital of indigenous peoples is seen. Models in social capital between Kampung Adat Circundeu and Kasepuhan Ciptamulya there is a huge difference. In Kampung Adat Circundeu community with not formally organized social structure, we found model of social capital is single. Elders become central leaders without any level. Any society who has problems or wants to get advice can contact all elders. There is no special role to be performed by each of the elders.

Different things are shown by Kasepuhan Ciptamulya. Social capital is organized to a strict structure then the model developed multilevel. Elders who enter into the structure have roles and tasks that vary according to their status. Thus, people who have problems and want advice should be tailored to the problems at hand. But every group in the community will get an elder. While the affairs associated with *incu putu nyepuh* (Kasepuhan Ciptamulya descendants which is living outside the village but still regard elders as ancestors) is handled directly by elders.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research and discussion then the conclusions that can be taken as follows:

- 1. The social beliefs of these two indigenous peoples have seen the similarity of both beliefs to fellow citizens and to elders. This is because there is still a blood bond
- 2. Social norms have traditional differences. This is because the location of different areas and environmental influences.
- 3. Social network in the same macro that is in the framework of economic development and art, but in the implementation there are differences.
- 4. The developed model differs significantly. Kampung Adat Circudeu is waiting because it is not a formal organization while Kasepuhan Ciptamulya is multilevel because it has been formally structured.

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