

Full Length Research Paper

The impact of market penetration on social capital changes at the fishing community in Small Island: A case in Barrang Lompo Island Makassar City, South Sulawesi Province

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This paper is based on one of the topics in a dissertation “Capital Social, State and Market in Fisherman Communities in Small Islands (a Case Study in Barrang Lompo Island Makassar-South Sulawesi Province)”. The research was conducted approximately in one year and specific for this paper, the research lasted for six months. Data were collected through in-depth interview and limited observation on twelve informants selected through snowball sampling. Data then were analyzed qualitatively to explain research’s data and facts. Research result shows that market penetration through the rapid flow of incoming goods, services and people to the island and commercialization of marine products in fisherman communities in small islands for the last ten years has diminished the values prevailed in and obeyed by the communities. On the other side, however, it has created additional values in the communities, whereas some other values have shifted to new forms.

Key words: The impact, social capital changes, fisherman communities, market penetration, commercialization, local community and trust.

INTRODUCTION

Background

Market penetration through the commercialization of marine products and the rapid flow of incoming goods to a community has created huge change (improvement) within the community as well as various problems. One of crucial problems created by the market penetration is imbalance relationship (market is dominating the local community) between ideology (cultural aspect) and social structure (Benedetto, 1993; Kolopaking, 2011). The condition has diminished the social capital and caused social disruption that disturbs and distorts the achieved social life harmony. The diminishing of social capital (decapitalization) due to market penetration is the social

cost bore by the local community (Fukuyama, 2002).

This decrease on social life quality influencing the community’s social solidarity deserves more attention. The emergence of new cultures and values brought by market penetration most likely will diminish or even wipe out the social capital (Fukuyama, 2001; Lin, 2004.). It is due to the replacement by new institutions that is probably against values and norms followed by the society. Society, however, will be stagnant without intervention (modernization) (Hayami and Kikhuci, 1997; Santoso, 2011). On the other hand, if the diminishing process continues, societies may lose their self-identity and will put them into a situation where they are prone

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to any change that makes them lose their grip (anomaly).

Societies in areas with poor natural resources (small islands communities) often time only have social resources as their important asset in development (Satria, 2002; Damsar, 2009). The implementation of development program along with its market penetration in small islands communities has been prioritizing on material or economic development. In other words, the development has oriented on the fulfillment of economy (charity) and tended to ignore social resources development of local communities (Naping, 2013; Field, 2010; Lawang, 2005). Ignorance on social resources development will decrease social solidarity among the citizens (Durkheim, 1986 in Ritzer and Goodman, 2007). Whereas, social solidarity as a value should be maintained by a community (Sumardjan, 1991).

Research problems

Based on research background, research problems can be formulated as how does market penetration affect social capital change of fisherman communities in small islands?

Research purpose

The research aims to analyze the effect of market penetration on social capital change of fishermen communities in small islands.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Social capital was analyzed using Fukuyama theory. The theory states that social capital is about trust, network and value/norm. Some supported theories, such as Social Solidarity theory of Durkheim and Theory on Value from Selo Sumardjan were also used. Whereas, in analyzing the relationship between market and community, the research used Gramsci's Hegemony (Domination) Theory stating that there is imbalance relationship (interaction) among classes within a society in which capital owners have hegemony over the worker (labor) in their work relationship.

METHODOLOGY

Barrang Lompo Island, hereafter BLI, was purposively selected as a research case. The selection was based on consideration that the island is one of the most developed small islands group in Makassar and it is a tourism object; therefore, market penetration through incoming goods and services is deeply felt in the island. The research was conducted approximately in one year and to be specific it was done around six months. Unit of analysis was

fisherman communities, consisting of capital owner fishermen (employers), retainer (*punggawa*) and labors (*Sawi*). There were 40 respondents and informants consisted of five society's figures, two village officials, three entrepreneurs, and one person each representing NGO and youth organization. All respondents were selected using simple random sampling and informants were selected using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling was chosen because secondary data were unavailable regarding the number of population based on occupation. There was also limited time and cost for the researcher to conduct a census for those types of data although access to the community was not an issue. Data were collected using questionnaire, in-depth interview and observation and then analyzed qualitatively. The research used a comparison between a period before and after the intervention with 10 years of timescale in order to see the change.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The eroded and increased social participation of fishermen communities in Barrang Lompo Island

Social participation is generally defined as the participation of each society members in various mutual life activities (development process) in a community. This participation determines the success of development process. With strong participation from the citizens, the ongoing development process in a community will achieve its goals and objectives. Therefore, social participation of every citizen in development process is a power that needs to be built and quality needs to be increased. The research explains the change on social participation as one of social capital dimensions in island communities through two sub-discussions, citizen participation inside and outside island communities.

The eroded social participation of citizen inside the island

The research explains the change on social participation, as one of social capital dimensions of islander community, in a development process using various variables: citizen's intensity to attend an invitation, citizen's activity as social organization's committee, and the intensity of citizen's involvement in a social organization.

Research result shows that citizen's activity as a committee and their activity in a mass organization is lower (after state's intervention) than ten years ago (before state's intervention). It means that the quality of citizen's social participation in their community ten years ago is better than at present, as it can be seen in Tables 1, 2 and 3. It is due to their preference to do productive activities such as working as fishermen or fishermen labors than being involved in useless activities. Market penetration causing the increase of sea products such as

Table 1. Citizen's activity as social organization's committee.

Activity as a committee in a social organization	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Active	2	5,0	8	20,0
Less active	1	2,5	4	10,0
Not active	37	92,5	28	70,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 2. The intensity of citizen's activity to participate in a social organization.

The intensity of activity to participate in a social organization activities	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Often	2	5,0	10	25,0
Seldom	10	25,0	16	40,0
Never	28	70,0	14	35,5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 3. The position of citizen's social participation index in the island.

Citizen's Social Participation Index in Island Community	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
3 and less (low)	7	17,5	2	5,0
4 s/d 6 (medium)	22	55,0	14	35,0
7 and above (higher)	11	27,5	24	60,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

sea cucumber has brought many job opportunities for the islanders. Therefore, capital or ship owners try hard to increase their catch. In turn, demand on worker is increasing, either as labor (*sawi*) or as retainer (*punggawa*). The islanders and even outsiders utilize this work opportunity.

This eroded citizen's social participation level in island communities has influenced society's social structure as indicated in Table 4.

In explaining data in Table 4, the following appraisal categories were used:

1. 120 – 200 Low
2. 201 – 280 Medium

3. 281 – 360 High

Based on those criteria, data in Table 4 show that, at present, the level of citizen's social participation in island communities is lower than it was ten years ago. It means that the level has been eroded since the last ten years. Li's research in mountain areas in Central Sulawesi Province found that market penetration due to the state's intervention through development programs has led to a decline in local values (social capital) maintained by local communities; in fact, it tended to cause social integration (Li, 2012). The eroding of citizen's social participation level occurs in all social strata; the significance, however, occurs in middle and upper social strata.

Table 4. Citizen's social participation related to social strata.

Social Strata	Citizen's Social Participation Level in Island Community (Total Score)	
	After	Before
Lower	200 (low)	213 (medium)
Medium	185 (low)	210 (medium)
Upper	185 (low)	202 (medium)

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

The capital owners' foresight in utilizing market opportunity – high price on product and marketing access – followed by the utilization of job opportunity by the islanders and outsiders has caused economic increase for the islanders. These activities brought social status change for the citizens; a labor (*sawi*) became a boat retainer (*juragang*) and *juragang* became a boat owner (capital owner). There are also some boat owners (capital owners) or trader fishermen (*pedanggang*) that became sea cucumber's fishermen and fishermen on fish product (pa'ES) became sea cucumber's fishermen. The change into a sea cucumber fisherman is due to the high price of the sea cucumber since early 2000s. It can be stated that market penetration in "BLI" has led to the eroding of citizen's social participation in the island, such as citizen's activity in an activity and social organization. On the other hand, however, this market penetration has caused the changes on citizen's social structure, which is in islander's social status and job structure (type) aspects.

The increase of citizen's social participation outside the Island

The development of a community requires social participation inside the community as well as outside the community. Through participation, a network to the outside world will be created as well as other opportunities. To explain the citizen's social participation outside the island, the research collected data on the citizen's involvement intensity and activity as a committee and citizen's activity in social organization activities outside the island and the quality position of citizen's social participation outside the island.

Research result shows that both before and after market penetration, the intensity of citizen's involvement as a committee and activity in a social organization outside the island is generally low. However, the involvement and activity after the penetration are better than before the penetration. The same goes to citizen's activity in participating in social organization activities as indicated in Tables 5 and 6. In other words, citizen's social participation outside the island after the penetration is

higher (better) than before the penetration. It means that for the last ten years, citizen's social participation outside the island is increasing. It is due to the easiness of people's mobility to and fro the island.

Data in Table 7 clarify the condition that BLI citizen's social participation in social organization outside the island is lower before market penetration than after market penetration. In other words, citizen's social participation outside the island for the last ten years has increased.

The low social participation of "BLI" citizen in social organization outside the island before market penetration is caused mostly by difficulty in transportation to and fro the island. Another factor is less knowledge of citizen on the existence of the mass organizations. It affects low motivation and interest for the citizen to participate in social organization outside the island. It is in line with informant's opinion "Hi.D" as follows:

"Barrong people were less interested in mass organization existence because they thought it was only wasting their time. Even if there were people willing to participate in the organization, transportation was their burden. However, although the transportation is easy right now, not many people are interested to participate in the organization because they do not know the purpose and benefit of participating in the organization. But, if a local society's figure joins the organization, some people might follow. However, not many society's figures are interested in joining the mass organization outside the island" (Interview, 8.8/2012).

Social participation of "BLI" citizen outside the island has affected society's social structure as indicated in Table 8. The following appraisal categories were used to explain the data in Table 8.

1. 120 – 200 Low
2. 201 – 280 Medium
3. 281 – 360 High

Based on those appraisal criteria, data in Table 8 show that even though the level of citizen's social participation outside the island both before and after market

Table 5. The Intensity of Citizen's Activity as a Committee in Social Organization Outside the Island.

The intensity of activity as committee in social organization outside the island	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Very active	9	22,5	4	10,0
Less active	21	52,5	15	37,5
Not active	10	25,0	21	52,5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 6. The intensity of citizen's activity in social organization activities outside the island

The intensity of citizen's activity in social organization activities	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Very active	8	20,0	3	7.5
Less active	12	30.0	8	20.0
Not active	20	50,0	29	72.5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 7. The position of quality index of citizen's social participation outside the island.

The quality of citizen's social participation outside the island community	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Less than 3 (low)	12	30,0	20	50,0
4 to 6 (medium)	20	50,0	19	47,0
More than 7 (high)	8	20,0	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 8. Citizen's social participation outside the island and social stratum.

Social Stratum	The level of citizen's social participation outside the island community (total score)	
	After	Before
Lower	205 (medium)	150 (low)
Middle	210 (medium)	155 (low)
Upper	220 (medium)	160 (low)

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

penetration is in the medium position, the level has been increasing for the last ten years. The increase on social participation generally occurs in all society's social

stratum and the significant increase occurs in the upper strata. It is due to the access and facility owned by people in the upper strata, which support their

Table 9. Citizen's acceptance on the existence and influence of newcomers.

Citizen's acceptance on newcomers	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
High acceptance	33	82.5	18	45,0
Less acceptance	7	17.5	20	50,0
No acceptance	0	0,0	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 10. Citizen's attitude toward newcomers' difference attitude.

Citizen's attitude toward newcomers' difference attitude	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Happy	1	2,5	0	0,0
As usual	19	47,5	8	20,0
Hate (doesn't like it)	20	50,0	32	80,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

involvement in activities conducted by government or organization outside the island.

The increase in Social Tolerance in "BLI" Fisherman Communities

Social tolerance is defined as the level of people's or organization's agreement or acceptance on the existence of other people or organization. Social tolerance is also a social cohesion or lubricant in a community. Community with high social tolerance will facilitate the creation of unity and integrity, which then create togetherness as one of the potentials or social capitals for development. On the contrary, it will be difficult for a community with low social tolerance to create unity and integrity. As it is known, development program will not work as it is planned without unity and integrity. Therefore, the issue on how to create good social tolerance among various elements in the society is an urgent issue for the success of development program in an area. For this reason, social tolerance as social capital is an important discussion.

Research result shows that after market penetration, citizen's acceptance on the existence and influence of newcomer is much better compared to before the penetration. High enthusiasm of islanders, at present, to

accept newcomers is not merely in line with their attitude. Most of them do not like newcomers who have different attitude or view especially if the newcomers are more successful. It means that for the last ten years, local citizen no longer pay attention to newcomers with different attitude. In other words, social tolerance of the islanders has increased as shown in Tables 9 and 10.

Strong rejection by islanders on the different attitude showed by newcomers before market penetration mostly caused by an opinion among the native islanders that newcomers should adjust themselves with local society. Theoretically, it can be explained that local society in general wants to be respected (superiority). Therefore, it creates egocentrism on their belonging and unwillingness to accept any influence from the outside. However, this attitude slowly faded away and people now are more open to accept newcomers and their influence. In turn, the hatred toward newcomer's different attitude before the penetration is diminishing. It means that, at present, the native islanders are more open toward influence from outside their island. This local openness can be a driver for their advancement.

Another explanation related to the citizen's tolerance is their attitude if being led by newcomer and their willingness to get along with other people without considering their social, cultural and economic background. Research data show that islanders' attitude toward newcomers has

Table 11. Citizen's agreement if being lead by newcomer.

Citizen's agreement if being lead by newcomer	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Strongly agree	23	57.5	4	10,0
Less agree	11	27.5	16	40,0
Not agree	6	15,0	20	50,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 12. Citizen's willingness to get along with people from various background.

Citizen's willingness to get along with people from various background	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
More willing	28	70.0	10	25,0
Less willing	10	25.0	22	55,0
Not willing	2	5.0	8	20,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 13. The position of quality index of tolerance on "BLI" communities.

Tolerance quality of Barrang Lompo Island's communities	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Less than 3 (low/bad)	5	12.5	2	5,0
4 to 6 (medium/fair)	10	25,0	23	57.5
More than 7 (high/good)	25	62,5	15	37,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

changed. They were resistant or contrary to them; however now they become permissive or pro toward them. It means that after market penetration, citizens are more open. It can be seen by the agreement of most citizens to be led by newcomer compared to ten years ago. It is in line with the citizen's willingness to get along with other without considering their social, cultural and economic background, as indicated in Tables 11 and 12. The willingness of local citizens to accept newcomers and their openness to get along with other show that BLI citizen's tolerance after penetration is better than previously.

The last fact in explaining the change of tolerance attitude of Barrang Lompo Island's communities is through

the position of citizens' tolerance quality. Data show that, at present, islanders' tolerance toward the existence of newcomers is higher compared to ten years ago as indicated in Table 13.

The tolerance attitude has shifted from social relationships with tendency of similarity on interest, fate, tribe, and so on into tolerance based on different interest, tribe, and originality. The shift on tolerance attitude of "BLI" citizens is stated by Durkheim as the change from society with mechanical social solidarity to society with organic social solidarity. According to Tonnies, however, this is the shift from *geme in shaft* society to *gessel shaft* society.

The change on tolerance attitude of "BLI" citizen has

Table 14. Level of social tolerance of citizens toward newcomer.

Social stratum	Level of social tolerance (total score)	
	Before	After
Lower	260 (Medium)	310 (Medium)
Medium	295 (Medium)	340 (Medium)
Upper	300 (Medium)	375 (Medium)

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 15. The quality to respect each other in islanders.

The quality to respect each other	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Highly respect	25	62,5	35	87.5
Less respect	14	35,0	5	12.5
No respect	1	2,5	0	0.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

affected social structure of the society as indicated in data in Table 14.

The following categories were used to explain data in Table 14:

1. 160 – 267 Low
2. 268 – 374 Medium
3. 375 – 481 High

Based on the criteria, data in Table 14 indicate that, generally, social tolerance level in the island's communities both before and after market penetration is on the medium level. However, for the last ten years the social tolerance toward newcomers has been increasing in all social strata and upper strata show significant increase. It means that citizens in the upper social strata are more open than that of lower strata. It is due to the experience and social networking owned by citizens in upper social strata, which allow them to have better access to the outside.

The shift in the value of life

A value cannot be separated from the development of a community. It is even the community's identity. Therefore, every society has a perception or opinion on everything they consider valuable or good for their life. Soemardjan (1989) states that everything valuable for society's life is

called value. A value will be different in each society. Therefore, it can be a characteristic for a community maintained from generation to generation that become local tradition and in the end, it become a custom.

In explaining the values followed by the island communities, the research used sub-variables of mutual respect and the causal factors for people being respected in a community. Data show that the attitude to respect each other among the islanders is high both before and after penetration; however, the situation is better before market penetration. In other words, for the last ten years the attitude to respect each other among citizens in Barrang Lompo Island "BLI" has diminished as indicated in Table 15.

The attitude to respect each other among the islanders either before or after market penetration is shaped based on personal factor, such as wealth, honesty, courage, kindness, piety, heredity and cleverness. However, there are factors on what makes a person being appreciated. Courage was the main reason for a person to be appreciated; however, after market penetration wealth has become the main reason as indicated in Table 16. Yet, honesty still becomes the main factor for a person being respected in a society both before and after market penetration. It means that honesty as a value continues to be maintained by "BLI" communities. Courage is no longer the main value in their life. Wealth factor is the main reason to respect other, which is an old value recently practiced by the islanders after market

Table 16. The main reason for a person to be appreciated in a society.

The main reason for a person to be appreciated in a society	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Wealth	25	62.5	6	15,0
Honesty	7	17.5	13	32,5
Courage	2	5.0	14	35,0
Cleverness	1	2,5	0	0.0
Piety	2	5,0	2	5,0
Kindness	3	7,5	3	7,5
Heredity	0	0,0	2	5,0
Total	40	100,0	40	100,0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 17. Citizen's appraisal on life achievement.

Appraisal on life achievement	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
More than enough	34	85.0	1	2.5
Ordinary	6	15.0	37	92.5
No progress	0	0.0	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

penetration. It is an indication that “BLI” communities have been possessed by materialism spirit.

In line with the description above, the following is a statement from an informant “Hi.D”:

“Barrang people used to respect each other. We were following the principles of respecting each other, protecting each other and maintaining mutual feeling. Children were very obedient to their parents especially to society figures. Members of society respected the society figures because of their charisma. At present, however, these attitudes have changed. Even though it seems that people still respect each other but it is not the same. Now, if you do not have anything (poor), people will not respect us. Therefore, here (refer to Barrang Lompo Island) if you are rich, especially if you have a beautiful house, and even the title, Haji Tommi, you will be respected by others” (Interview, 9/8 2012).

The interview clarifies that before market penetration, “BLI” communities respected each other; however, after market penetration the attitude has slowly shifted from social oriented value to economic one.

Regarding live achievement for “BLI” communities, data show that their achievement is increasing compared to ten years ago as indicated in Table 17. However, the islanders feel less satisfied in their life achievement both before and after market penetration. It can be seen in Table 18. In other words, improvement in life has not brought happiness to the islander. This feeling of unhappiness is mostly because they have to be separated from their family members, especially in seasons when they have to go to the sea for fishing that will last from a week until three months. It means that happiness of life is not measured by material, instead by being together with family, which is priceless. It is indicated in Table 17.

The eroded reciprocity in fishermen communities in “BLI”

Reciprocity refers to a movement among individuals or between related symmetrical groups. The movement will occur if there is frequent interrelationship among individuals or groups. A symmetrical relationship occurs if relationship among various parties has relatively similar

Table 18. Citizen's appraisal on happiness in life.

Citizen's appraisal on happiness in life	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Very happy	18	45,0	7	17,5
Less happy	21	52,5	30	75,0
Unhappy	1	2,5	3	7,5
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 19. Citizens' intensity to help their neighbors.

Citizens' Intensity to help their neighbors	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Often	30	75,0	35	87,5
Seldom	9	22,5	5	12,5
Never	1	2,5	0	0,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012.

Table 20. Citizens' intensity to give food to their neighbors.

Citizens' intensity to give food to their neighbors	Period			
	After		Before	
	F	%	F	%
Often	26	65,0	36	90,0
Seldom	14	35,0	4	10,0
Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Source: result from primary data processing, 2012

positions and roles in an exchange process. This research explains the change on reciprocity in an island community through such sub variables as intensity to help each other and intensity to give food to neighbors.

Research result shows that intensity to help each other and to give each other food among citizens in an island for the last ten years has been decreasing or eroded. As shown in Table 19 that both before and after market penetration, the intensity to help each other among citizens often occurs especially in a tragedy. However, the attitude to help each other among citizens when their neighbors are in a tragedy was better before market penetration than after. The same goes for citizens' efforts to give food to each other as it is shown in Table 20.

The eroded reciprocity principle in "BLI" communities occurs due to market penetration. Market penetration

within BLI communities can be explained by two main issues: 1) the rapid flow of incoming goods, people and services to the island and 2) the commercialization of marine products.

The Rapid Flow of Incoming Goods, People and Service to the Communities in Barrang Lompo Island

After the port has been restored, it automatically increases the number and capacity of boats berth at the port. It gives implication to the increase in the volume of goods and services loading at the port as well as people entering the island. This situation influences consumptive behavior of people in the islands especially the passion to own industrial products such as mobile phone, TV,



Figure 1. Loading activities at BLI Port. Source: Photos taken on August 9, 2012.



Figure 2. The wagon traders (*pa'lili*) are selling their products. Source: Photos taken on August 8, 2012.

computer and furniture. The easiness in transportation to cross the island allows fishermen to sell their fishing products to Makassar, Maros and Pangkep. The result for this situation is that fishermen no longer sell their product in their own island (Figure 1).

The strong passion to own industrial goods and the easiness to market the fishing products has developed a thinking pattern of island communities on the importance of money value in societal life in addition to fulfilling basic needs. It further influenced the development of local trade service. This situation is marked with the increasing number of various traders using wagons to sell basic needs. Household goods traded, among others, are fish, spices (such as salt, pepper, vinegar, turmeric, onion) and vegetables. There are also traders who sell fruits or traditional cakes. The existence of these wagon traders (*pa'lili*) has spoiled the islanders in the availability of household needs right in front of their houses. Later, this has impaired the principle of mutual borrowing or asking for kitchen needs to the neighbors. It shows that the market penetration in "BLI" has caused the principle of needs reciprocity and sharing among islanders has eroded (Figure 2).

Commercialization in Barrang Lompo communities

Road improvement has clarified the strength of market

penetration in "BLI" characterized with fishermen who carefully calculate their fishing products as market commodities (commercialization of marine products). Every time the fishermen come home from fishing they will directly sell their product outside the island; therefore, they no longer share their catch to their neighbors even if it is abundant. In other words, market penetration as an attitude toward the catch as profitable trade commodity (commercialization of marine products) has changed society's view on the importance of money value. In this stage, change on social rationality has occurred within the islanders, which was based on social norms, mores, and traditions now has shifted to economic rationality based on pragmatic rational thinking. For example, stinginess is considered a deviant (irrational and not common) behavior in a social rationality society; in economical rationality society, however, this is considered logic (righteous) behavior because being stingy means being thrifty.

The change has caused diminishing in reciprocity principle among the societies because all catches are calculated as trade commodity (commercial). When the fish price is high, fishermen and their retainer (*punggawa*) will sell all their catch and none are for family consumption. However, they will set aside their catch for guests who visit their home.

Commercialization on the catch has affected dishonesty and injustice in yield distribution among labors,

Table 21. Index of citizen's reciprocity quality in social status.

Social stratum	Level of citizen's reciprocity (total score)	
	After	Before
Lower	430 (high/good)	451 (high/good)
Middle	375 (high/good)	440 (high/good)
Upper	380 (high/good)	432 (high/good)

punggawa and employer, as stated by an informant as follows:

"We (fishermen or sawi) were very happy to go for fishing because punggawa and employers both were honest in distributing the catches; we even received bonuses. However, now punggawa and employers sometimes are dishonest and unfair in distributing the catches, including in calculating initial capital when we are going for fishing. Therefore, we receive less result distribution that even unable to pay our debt. Thus, when we go out to the sea we usually also go for fishing (as additional job) and the fish we catch will be sun-dried or salted and then we will sell it to traders who are usually ready to pay the fish. We do this to get additional income" (Interview, 9/10/2012)

Although reciprocity attitude among islanders has diminished; the attitude, however, still exists in different situations such as when approaching fasting month. In this situation, wealthy people usually will invite their relatives and neighbors to have meal together. Approaching Eid Al-fitr day, they will give money to their employees (*sawi*) and neighbors depending on how much profit they gain in the year. The diminishing of reciprocity principle in fisherman communities in "BLI" affected its society's social structure as shown in Table 21.

In explaining data in Table 21, the following appraisal categories were used:

1. 120 – 200 Low/bad
2. 201 – 280 Medium/fair
3. 281 – 360 High/good

Based on those criteria, data in Table 21 show that reciprocity level of the island's communities before and after market penetration is high; however, it has been diminishing for the last ten years. The decline (diminish) on reciprocity level is happening in all society's social stratum.

The most significant decline happened in the middle to upper social stratum. One factor affecting the diminishing of reciprocity value in fisherman communities in "BLI" is the commercialization of marine products.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION ON POLICIES

Conclusion

Market penetration through the rapid flow of incoming goods, services and people into an island and commercialization of marine products within small islands fisherman communities for the last ten years has eroded the values followed by the islanders. On the other side, however, the market penetration has caused an increase on value stocks in the communities. In addition, there are values that shifted from one form to another new form.

The eroded values are reciprocity and social participation of the islanders. Values that increase in stocks are social participation outside the island and social tolerance toward newcomer. The only value that shifted is the value of life for the islanders.

Implication on policies

Social capital in the society can be a potential power in supporting development process either in national, regional (province and regencies), or community levels. To date, however, social capital in terms of local values is often being ignored in the development process. Thus, with the ongoing development process, these values are eroded and society's self-identity will be lost and the achieved social harmony will be disturbed. In turn, this condition will create social disintegration that leads to social conflict. Therefore, the use of local potentials (social capital) owned by a society, especially in building reciprocity spirit and social participation of the society in all development process stages should receive serious attention from the government. Also, the effort to revive the eroded local values should be encouraged and not merely as a discourse but also must be realized at the level of implementation.

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