

THE ENVY AS THE CAUSE OF THE WEAKENING OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE COMMUNAL COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to find the cause of the weakening of social capital in a communal community. The study was conducted using qualitative methods in a village where people lived communally for generations. The findings of this study are that it turns out that communal life that has lasted from generation to generation makes people live in a strong brotherhood with an egalitarian spirit. However, at this time when more and more modern times occur people are experiencing cultural shock because they are not ready to see their neighbors more prosperous than they are. This causes jealousy because they previously lived with the same level of welfare. As a result, the social capital potential due to strong brotherhood has not developed. During this time the weakening of social capital is usually associated with the formal institutions that play a role in it. However, this article found that jealousy can also weaken social capital in a society.

Keywords: spiritual capital, community empowerment, economic development

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mencari penyebab melemahnya kapital sosial di sebuah komunitas masyarakat komunal. Penelitian dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif di sebuah dusun yang masyarakatnya hidup secara komunal turun temurun. Temuan dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa ternyata kehidupan komunal yang sudah berlangsung dari generasi ke generasi membuat masyarakat hidup dalam persaudaraan yang kuat dengan semangat egaliter. Namun, pada saat ini ketika zaman semakin modern terjadi masyarakat mengalami keterkejutan budaya karena tidak siap melihat tetangganya lebih sejahtera daripada mereka. Hal ini menimbulkan rasa iri hati karena sebelumnya mereka hidup dengan tingkat kesejahteraan yang sama. Akibatnya, potensi sosial kapital karena adanya persaudaraan yang kuat selama ini tidak berkembang. Selama ini melemahnya kapital sosial biasa dikaitkan dengan kelembagaan formal yang berperan di dalamnya. Namun, dalam tulisan kali ini ditemukan bahwa perasaan iri hati dapat pula melemahkan kapital sosial di sebuah dusun.

Kata kunci: kapital spiritual, pemberdayaan masyarakat, pembangunan ekonomi

INTRODUCTION

People who live together in the atmosphere of strong brotherhood from generation to generation turns out to be envious when the era becomes modern. Such is the case experienced by a group of communal people who live in a hamlet called Kobeng and becomes the main findings of this study. The impact is the envy makes existing social capital becomes weak so that economic development is difficult to develop.

In previous studies, the problem of envy is rarely associated with social capital because social capital is generally found to be weakened due to the absence of altruism, trust, reciprocal spirit, and so on, which ultimately weakens social networks in the community (Brown, 2009; Hernandez & Shaver, 2018; Sammut Tanya, 2014). Some studies discuss the envy (Britain & Journal, 2012; Izquierdo, Johnson, & Shepard Jr., 2008; Journals, Coricelli, & Rustichini, 2010), however, the envy is rarely associated with social capital. A study has related social capital with envy gives a different finding (Mcgrath et al., 2018). Mcgrath (2018) said that envy that can make social capital weak can be minimized by involving all members participating in the same program. On the contrary, this research actually has found the togetherness of a community for generations can lead to the emergence of envy which ultimately can weaken social capital.

Kobeng is the name of a hamlet located in Bengkayang Regency, West Kalimantan. Actually the location of Kobeng provides many opportunities for the community to be able to advance economically. First, the location of the village is located at the foot of Bukit Jamur, a well-known tourism site in Bengkayang. In addition, Bengkayang Regency is a border area directly adjacent to Malaysia. This should provide benefits in cross-border business matters. However, the reality is that the people who live in Kobeng Hamlet do not experience economic prosperity either because of tourism or cross-border business. Most of them are farmers. The crops planted are rice which is harvested once a year. In addition, they also grow corn, but the amount of production is not much. In the field of farming, people still do it more manually than using machines. Their agricultural system can still be considered traditional so that its influence on the economy of the local community is insignificant.



Figure 1 The bridge to Kobeng and Bukit Jamur as the background

In general, the Kobeng community are Dayaks. The Dayak community is known as a community that lives communally, because since a long time ago they lived in togetherness and close brotherhood. Thus, the potential for social capital among the Dayaks is also large because in a communal community there are certainly important elements in social capital, namely social networks, mutual trust, and norms or values that are shared. However, every time the Headman invites the community to gather together to do various things in the common interest, it is very rare that people want to come. This shows their weakened social capital. Everyone only thinks about their own interests and does not care about the common interests.



Figure 2 Farms in Kobeng

This study departs from the paradoxical phenomenon found in the Kobeng Hamlet. A place that has a tourism icon, is located in a border district, and should have a great potential for social capital, in fact there is not much to gain any economic benefits from all the advantages that exist. This study aims to find the cause of the weakening of social capital in Kobeng Hamlet which makes the community ultimately less prosperous economically.



Figure 3 People of Kobeng

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research departs from the curiosity of what is the cause of the weakness of social capital in poor hamlets that actually have a lot of potential for economic growth. The study was conducted with qualitative methods, in-depth interviews using the snowball method, and the active involvement of researcher in the daily life of the hamlet community. This research is limited to finding the cause of the weakening of social capital in the Kobeng hamlet. The main informants are local residents, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the headman.

Some of the people interviewed were from Kobeng who were hereditary, while some were migrants. The purpose of the interviews with indigenous people and migrants is to obtain information from two different sides, so that the data becomes more valid. The validity of this data can also be justified because the researcher was actively involved in community activities and established close relationships with residents for approximately 6 months. All of these efforts were made to minimize data bias that might occur.

The Kobeng hamlet is located far from the central government so it is not possible to rely on a helping hand from the central government. It is important for the people of Kobeng to be independent and empower all potentials. The main empowerment that is important to do is of course community empowerment by strengthening social capital. At this time, social capital is still very weak. If the headman does not promise the distribution of rice, the community is difficult to get together. Each person is busy with his own interests so that the atmosphere of the village seems less clean and disorganized.

This study also uses the Triangulation Method to maintain the validity of the data. Data obtained from the field based on the results of interviews and in-depth observations, validated by discussions with peer reviews and faced with a variety of existing reference literature. The findings of this study were obtained through an inductive process with qualitative methods and ethnographic approaches.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AS CAPITAL FOR INCREASING ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Social Capital is a capital that is not too often discussed, but actually is a capital that can also lead people to economic progress as other capitals. This can be done because social capital can increase the participation members of a community for the success of a project (Mcgrath et al., 2018). A similar sentiment was also conveyed by Pranadji (2006) who said that community empowerment would generally fail if it was not accompanied by strengthening the social capital of local communities. Haridison (2013) said that Social Capital is a collection of resources and potentials whose entities consist of various aspects of social structure. These entities facilitate the actions of various individuals in the structure. Social capital is also related to organizations or associations that are horizontal, the ability of a person to guarantee benefits, information, norms and values that are shared, reciprocity and cooperation, and social networks. Social Capital can be seen as a social process that works towards the common good based on trust, reciprocity, and solidarity (Cristina et al., 2015). The definition of Social Capital is indeed quite numerous and each researcher tries to describe it according to their research and educational background. What is clear, the more comprehensive the understanding of a Social Capital, the more potential it provides solutions to the problems faced by a community (Villalonga-Olives & Kawachi, 2015).

The Social Capital was written for the first time in 1916 about the cooperation of neighbors to organize the school (Hanyfan 1916 in Szkudlarek, 2017). Social capital refers to various tangible assets that actually exist in human daily life, namely sympathy, brotherhood, social relations among individuals and families, all of which can form a social unit. While Bordieu (1980, in Szkudlarek, 2017) defines social capital as an aggregate of actual sources. Pranadji (2006) said that social capital has several basic elements, namely values, human

competence, social management, community organization, social structure, leadership, and good governance.

For an area located in a border area, social capital is an important capital that needs to be developed. This is because the border area is far from the central government so it is impossible to expect continuous intervention from the government to advance the community in the local area. An area that has a society with strong social capital will be more independent in its development and economic progress. Social capital in the family, health, and social and economic status are important indicators to see the condition of a community's social capital (Zhang, 2019). If the social capital of a community is good, this will help members of the community to be more supportive and trusting, willing to work together for the common good, thus helping to develop development for the common good in the community.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In relation to the Kobeng Hamlet, social capital is a capital that should be relied on to make all the potential in the region have economic value that can prosper the people. As a society that still lives traditionally, the social capital of the Kobeng community should be quite strong because they still live in kinship and live with the same values and norms inherited by the ancestors. Unfortunately, this did not happen. The social capital in the village of Kobeng is very weak, as indicated by the difficulty of raising the community to carry out various activities for the common good. The Headman who became a community leader acknowledged the difficulty in coordinating his citizens. This research found several things that made Social Capital in Kobeng Hamlet weakened. However, the root of all the factors causing the weakening of social capital is none other than the communal nature that is owned by the community for generations and the envy that arises from it. To be able to see the existing community in society, the following is a brief description of the history of Kobeng Hamlet.

A Short History of the Kobeng

The original Kobeng Hamlet was named the Sampokjio Hamlet and the majority of the population was Chinese. Their livelihood is farming or mining gold conventionally. Around 1965-1967 there was an event that the Chinese were driven out

of Kalimantan because they were considered part of a rebel called the PGRS (Serawak Rakyat Guerrilla Forces). At that time PGRS was considered to be part of the PKI, a party that was trying to be crushed by the Indonesian government at that time. This made the whole of the Kobeng Hamlet community which in fact Chinese people left their village and scattered in various places to find hiding places.

Since that incident, Kobeng Hamlet has become an empty hamlet because there are no residents left. In the mountainous area next to the Kobeng Hamlet, there is a village called Teluk Bayur which is inhabited by Dayaks. Seeing that the Kobeng Hamlet was empty and unoccupied, the Dayaks who lived in Teluk Bayur immediately went down the mountain and changed the name of the Sampokjio Hamlet to Kobeng Hamlet, which means the Chinese Rice Barn. The background of the name is because in the empty village there was rice barn left by the owner. Thus, now the hamlet has changed its name from Sampokjio to Kobeng Hamlet and its inhabitants have also changed from what was originally Chinese, now Dayaks.



Figure 4 Situation of Kobeng

The people of Kobeng Hamlet for generations have lived communally in togetherness and carried on the inherited ancestral traditions. Their movement from Teluk Bayur to Kobeng was carried out together and beforehand their ancestors had also experienced a shift of their homes several times together. It can be said that this togetherness has been passed down for generations so that they live in a strong communal atmosphere.

Apparently, the togetherness that is usually lived for generations began to become a problem when life became more modern. In this modern era the welfare of each family is no longer the same, the economic progress of each person is different, and

there are also migrants who are actually more advanced than them both educationally and economically. Apparently this is what gave rise to jealousy, precisely because they used to live communally in togetherness in various fields from generation to generation. They live in the same place, cultivate land together, have more or less the same level of welfare. In this modern era they suddenly realize that they are no longer the same. Each family has a different fortune, there is a higher income and a lower income. There is a kind of cultural shock at this changing situation, especially with the presence of newcomers among those who are also more successful.

The envy towards migrant leaders

Leadership is quite influential in social capital. It can be said that relational leadership can produce social capital organizations (Akram, Lei, Hussain, Haider, & Akram, 2016). In addition, relations between members of an organization are also often influenced by their leaders. A good leader can create a good community atmosphere so as to produce good social capital.

Unfortunately this did not happen in Kobeng Hamlet. The Headman honestly who is a community leader complained how difficult it was to mobilize and coordinate the community. Villagers tend to think about their own interests and do not care about joint events. To be able to gather residents in an activity, the Headman needs to lure with the distribution of rice, money, or other things that make them want to come. If nothing is promised, they will not want to come even if the event is for the common good, such as mutual cooperation to clean the village, community service to make a trash can together, and so on.

A resident said that the old Headman was more heard by the community than the new one. It turned out that this was due to the fact that the Headman who was born in Kobeng, but his father came from another area or in other words was descended from migrants. While the old Headman was hereditary an indigenous resident of the village.

Previous studies relating to social capital generally discuss that the weakening of social capital in a social network is due to the absence of *trust* (Grabner-kra, 2015; Yenkey, 2017). This actually happened in Kobeng Hamlet, but what made the results of this study different was that the basis for the absence of trust was envy. More

specifically, it was found that this envy was addressed to its leader, in this case the Headman. This has a significant effect because it makes difficult for Headman to coordinate or mobilize his citizens. While all this time the link between social capital and leadership is more about the style of leadership or the relationships that occur between leaders and their subordinates, which influence the existing social capital. (Akram et al., 2016) Thus, through this study a new finding was found that this social capital could be weakened also because of the envy of social network members towards their leaders because of the origins of their leaders who were migrants. The presence of outsiders is a sensitive issue for a solid communal society. Especially if the outsider then becomes their leader, apparently this is difficult to be accepted even without words. The absence of the community in various joint activities expresses their resistance to people they consider not part of them. Especially the fact that outsiders are more successful and become their leaders evokes envy that weakens social capital.

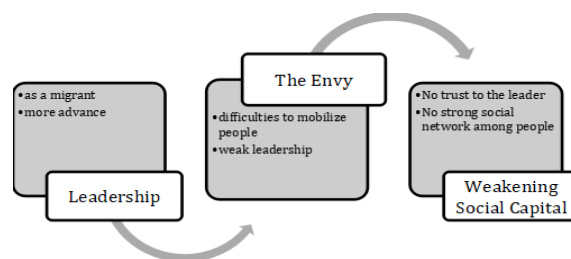


Figure 5 Relation of Leadership, The Envy, and Weakening Social Capital

The envy towards migrants

Envy towards these newcomers apparently was not shown only to the leader, but also to other migrant residents. A migrant resident tells of his sadness because his banana tree was cut down by his neighbor without notifying him in advance, "The banana tree that I planted was cut down by neighbors without my knowledge." In fact, he has a stall that is quite in demand because he sells fried bananas from the tree he planted himself near his house. However, now the neighbor has cut down his tree so he has to buy bananas at the market if he wants to sell fried bananas.

Another migrant suffered a worse fate. After successfully working and raising money, he

built his house to be better. Unfortunately, the neighbors were jealous and did not like to see its success so that when the house was empty the people burned the house. This feeling of envy is not just destructive but makes it difficult for society to advance because any progress will arouse the envy of its neighbors. As a result, until now the houses of residents remain simple for fear that if they build a nice house, some will be jealous. It can be understood that this envy actually weakens the existing social capital, making it difficult for residents to progress and develop.

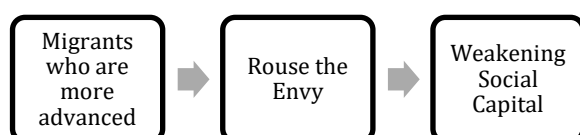


Figure 6 Relation of Migrants, The Envy, and Weakening Social Capital

The envy root of weakening social capital

The strong social capital contains elements of social networks, shared norms, and trust (Fukuyama (1999), Putnam (2000) in Grabner-kra, 2015). The Kobeng Hamlet has these three elements which should make them have a strong social capital. They live together for generations so their social network is very strong. They know each other from generation to generation so that there is high trust among them. In addition they also continue to maintain ancestral customs and live by the same norms. Thus, the three main elements of social capital, namely social networks, norms, and trust, exist among the people of Kobeng Hamlet.

However, the reality of the weakened social capital is evident from the difficulty in raising the community to carry out activities for the common good. This research found that the root of the weakening of social capital in Kobeng Hamlet is the envy because it is accustomed to living communally with levels of welfare and education that are more or less the same for generations.



Figure 7 Harvest

Spiritual crisis weakens social capital

The people of Kobeng Hamlet still carry out the customs inherited by their ancestors. Every traditional ceremony and prayers and traditional customs are still carried out well and quite rooted in the community. However, at the same time the majority of people were baptized into Christianity. Due to the lack of spiritual guidance, their faith did not develop and did not really understand the religion they professed. As a result, there is an identity crisis because it seems to stand on two different sides, the right foot in the Church and the left foot in traditional beliefs. It turns out this also results in the weakening of existing social capital. As is known a religious organization can give birth to social capital (Brown, 2009). However, traditionally and Christianly they are not strong so that social capital is weak. Both tradition and Christianity are practiced but without appreciation so there really aren't certain norms that they live together.



Figure 8 Praying together in the church

Thus, another root of the weakening of social capital in Kobeng Hamlet is also the weakening of spiritual capital. If people have a united heart in their spiritual appreciation, there will be strengthening of spiritual capital. From this will flow a social capital because they live together by living the same norms.

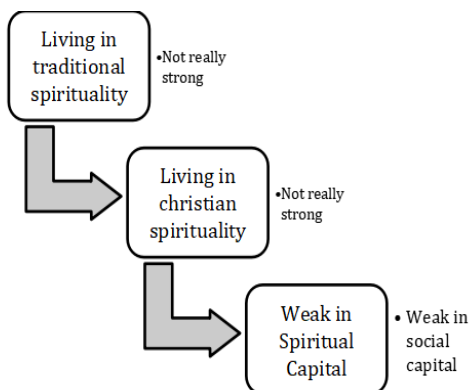


Figure 9 Relation between Spiritual Capital and Social Capital

CONCLUSION

The social capital of a community can be weakened precisely because the people are accustomed to living communally for generations. Of course this is unusual because generally people who live in strong and communal kinship have strong social capital as well because there is a strong social network, trust, and norms between them (Kirori, 2018; Nengah, Ketut, Wayan, & Made, 2016; Putnam & Putnam, 2009). This can happen because after entering modern times they realize that the welfare and level of education of one another can be different from one another, no longer as before more or less the same. In this case there was a cultural shock because they were no longer the same in terms of shared prosperity as before. This gives rise to jealousy which breaks the existing community.

In addition, this jealousy develops when migrants who are not actually part of them have always been more advanced and developed both economically and educationally. The envy became very influential on the weakening of social capital after the migrants became their headman, the figure who led them. Their ignorance of each headman's appeal is a form of resistance to migrants, resistance born from an envious heart.

This jealousy is difficult to overcome because spiritually they do not have a distinct spiritual life. The majority have been baptized catholically but due to lack of guidance they still carry out all the traditional rituals inherited by the ancestors. This partial appreciation of spiritual life also weakens social capital because in fact a religiously based community organization can give birth to a strong social capital. This happens because they live by the same norms. However, when living halfway between tradition and the Church, the norms that must be followed are no longer clear.

CLOSING

Kobeng Hamlet has a lot of potential to be able to prosper the community. In terms of geographical proximity to the border with Malaysia, the beautiful nature of Bukit Jamur and the Sebalu River which has become an icon of Bengkayang tourism, and is located not far from the center of Bengkayang city, the residents of Kobeng Hamlet should be quite prosperous even though they are far from the central government.

However, the reality is that most of them live in poverty and earn money by farming or becoming illegal gold miners. For this reason, a form of community empowerment needs to be considered, in this case through strengthening social capital. Social capital that continues to be strengthened will be able to roll out an economic development that can improve the welfare of its people.

After seeing everything that happened in the Kobeng Hamlet, envy needs to be overcome by providing true spiritual life formation. The appreciation of spiritual life in accordance with Christian faith can become a spiritual capital because of it flows an reinforcement for social capital in the Kobeng Hamlet. The practical implications of this research are the need to think about forms of coaching that can erode feelings of envy among the population, instill the values of love to be able to compete in a healthy manner, and humility to accept defeat.

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