

Papalele: *The Forgotten Campaign*

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Abstract— True peace is still being fought in various countries. Life of the compound (*plural*) remained a major constraint. Awareness of the importance of diversity should continue to be fought for individuals and groups. Therefore, peace is still indispensable in countries with diverse identities such as Indonesia. The values of peace are related to the cultivation of the values of tolerance in the face of conflicts, especially of tribal, cultural, and more prominent ones are conflicts in the name of religion. Various peace scenarios have been undertaken by governments, educational institutions, NGOs and other independent institutions. Includes strategies to strengthen peace through formal activities such as workshops, training, seminars, *focus group discussions* (FGDs) and so on. But the impression of the results seems not optimal. Regardless of the effort to build a genuine peacekeeping force, this paper will contribute to the idea of an informal peace built by small economic actors in Ambon City known as *papalele*. *Papalele* provides a lesson about the essential peace of economic activity; not knowing tribe, race, and religion. Although, their role of peace building, escape from the attention of many parties, and not talked (*untold story*) in building peace in Ambon City. With a qualitative approach, with the type of case study research, this research will reveal that they are a true 'bridge' of peace.

Keywords— *identity, social capital, trust, papalele, Ambon.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The conflict between two groups of Muslim-Christian communities from 1999 to 2003 had a significant impact on the Ambonese community.[1] The conflict, practically separating the two by their respective group lines. Conflict between the two groups of society is a very severe physical conflict and many cause loss of life and property. Unrest within months, costing thousands of human lives and destruction of physical buildings.

In May 1999, since the riots struck the city of Ambon, there were about 3,783 heads of families or 15,941 people from all over Ambon Island lost their property and fled.¹ Furthermore, it was also stated that due to the riots stood 55 refugee camps in various locations. At that time, to accommodate residents who evacuate the Church and the Mosque is a safe haven. Due to the large number of refugees these two places, no longer able to accommodate the community.

¹ Koran Kompas, 5 Mei 1999.

As a result of the conflict, the impact on the economic activities of the community, especially the destruction of economic facilities and infrastructure. As in the center of Ambon City, there are three market locations of each market behind the City (old market), Mardika Market and Pasar Batu Merah. Two of the three markets, did not escape the rampage of the masses. The market as an economic means is burned and destroyed, so it can no longer be utilized. The prices of basic necessities soar out of control, because the markets are destroyed, the goods are scarce because the flow of distribution is not normal.

Difficulties really felt the community both sides because of the scarcity of needs. Supply of goods needs obstructed and late entry. The safety and security factors of the managers and the organizers of air, sea and land transportation are the main causes. They do not dare to take risks to supply the goods the community needs. Both groups of societies that do not live side by side as brothers, were destroyed in minutes, during the riots. The adhesive power that has been the social order of *pela-gandong* is no longer a powerful medium to bridge the conflict.

II. METHODOLOGY

The qualitative approach is the paradigm choice used in this study, and the type of research is the case study. Case studies are a common method of providing information that equally cultivates attention to the review of incident diabilities [2]. This method seeks to provide an honest and thorough explanation of a particular case. This makes it possible to check the truth with the data writer to find some appropriate options, which became the foundation for building the case study.

The research location is located in Hatalai Village, South Leitimur District, Mardika Market, and Pasar Batu Merah in Ambon City. These three locations are the center of economic activities of the people in Ambon City. This is the center of activity and *papalele* encounter.

The observation unit is something that is used to retrieve data in order or quantitative analysis.[3]. Related to that, *papalele* as a giver of information, as well as a unit observation and analysis unit. Determination of the magnitude of this analysis is done by using purposive sampling. Informants are deliberately determined.[4] Data were obtained

through interviews, focused discussions, and process documentation.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Who is Papalele?

The term and term '*papalele*' for the people of Maluku is a local term that has been known to those who seek to peddle merchandise on a tour (*baronda*). There are also peddling goods are settled in one particular location. This terminology is very strongly inherent in the community which is then understood that those who do this work are people who come from rural areas.[5]

If then this local term, in terms of etymology, then *papalele* consists of two words namely *papa* which means 'carry or bear' and *catfish* which means 'around'. So *papalele* means "going around carrying or carrying".[6] *Papalele* can also be interpreted as "doing goods buying activities, after which sold again to get a little profit".[7]

B. Minute of Peace Through Risky Transaction

For almost two years, the two communities in the city of Ambon do not communicate, let alone meet. Therefore, never imagined for *papalele* that in the course of his business, must earn a living in an atmosphere of unrest. But for the *papalele* the bulkhead between the two conflicting groups is successfully penetrated through communication and mutual trust, caring, respecting and protecting. The penetrated by the *insulation papalele* did not occur suddenly when the atmosphere of unrest was still felt, but long before the conflict, their relationship had been established. So from the process of interaction they obtained many experiences and stories that are not revealed (*untold stories*).

When the unrest somewhat subsided and the security conditions gradually began to improve, the group *papalele* was part of the community that began to break the deadlock between inter-group communication. They are one of the groups among the citizens who break the deadlock of economic activity; transactions of goods and services. Recreating communication between them, not just for the economic benefit but implied contribution as a peace actor (but not the only one). At least with the economic transactions of communications deadlock resolved between the warring groups.

There are some cases that describe the story of *papalele* while transacting in an atmosphere of riot in Ambon. *Papalele* started trading after the escalation of unrest began to decline. To stay afloat in situations of unrest, wherever possible they seek and buy fruit with makeshift conditions. Especially how they transact and meet at border nodes.

Case (1): atmosphere three days before the conflict. As in previous days, *papalele* spread over many locations in the market. In general they occupy the front of the storefronts that sell the various needs of the community. Such as clothing store, shoes and sandals, grocery and so on. This row of shops

is located in the market center and Mardika terminal to Batu Merah Ambon terminal. Location *tandeng* occupied *papalele* deliberately chosen because of crowds of people and the number of buyers. While *papalele* the other, often clustered at one particular location. The *papalele* grouped usually choose the same location so they can help each other out.

In the location around where the *papalele tandeng*, many traders adjacent to them. Generally the traders come from various tribes such as Bugis, Java, Makassar or other local traders; Seram, Kailolo, Pelauw and from the island of Lease Saparua. Three days before January 19, 1999, when the first conflict occurred, about noon, the time before the signs of abnormal conditions such as days usually begin to appear.[1] They saw people and some merchants around him start running away from the place of sale while carrying goods. While there are also some shops on the left side, right and front they look suddenly closed faster than usual. Keeping their eyes on the panic of the people, they begin to ask themselves what's really happening, while continuing to take notice of some of those people, some busy on the phone.

Papalele looked confused when she saw changes in the behavior of other merchants around the venue. Changes in trader behavior are seen when traders start packing goods or lowering prices. While the panic of the people in the market at that time made some of the *papalele* start to get confused because the people and many merchants should quickly leave the vending place, so they run around indiscriminately. In this condition, there is also a change in the behavior of traders in general. One looks at traders who come from the Javanese who often close together selling *papalele*. The panic atmosphere of traders in the market increasingly makes the people around him not feel comfortable. Signs of unrest in Ambon are not known to many people. It seems that some people have suspected the unrest will occur, but some others do not even know it; including the *papalele*. Nevertheless, there is still mutual attention between the two. Like the closeness between one *papalele* (Christian) with a Bugis merchant. As the atmosphere became more and more uncertain, the Bugis merchant (Muslim), offering services to sell merchandise *papalele* the remaining to the top. The merchant proposes and asks for the *papalele* to return home immediately.

Case (2): Experience Ibu Habsah (57) is Muslim. Long before the rioting in Ambon, he was always a *papalele baronda* are conducted to various locations through almost all neighborhoods, especially in a predominantly Christian neighborhood. But since the riots, he can only transact in border areas. Exchanging fruit between *papalele* that comes from the Christian community. Especially local fruits such as *salak*, *kecapi*, *gandaria*, *bicang* (a kind of mango). While the vegetable materials in the form of vegetables are widely produced in the Islamic community, such as Rumah Tiga Village, Taeno Village, Talaga Pange Hamlet, Air Ali Hamlet, and Waringin Cap Village of Waiyame Village in Jasirah Leihitu Kecamatan Baguala. They know the place/border to buy or buy each other.

During the riots, although Mrs. Habsah had to flee at Al-Fatah Mosque, she kept selling even though the situation was not possible. When the riots, many traders from outside the region have returned to their respective areas. Practically the number of people who keep trading is reduced. He bought ingredients like *halia* (ginseng), basil leaves, lemongrass, yellow (pigtail), fine pepper and some others. All materials are brought to the mosque where the refugees. The next morning, all the ingredients are cleaned, tied and brought to the transaction node for sale to the *papalele* group Christian.

Case (3): The escalation of the dispute between two groups that has not subsided has resulted in the city of Ambon having a considerable demarcation area. *Papalele* and merchants usually meet at a particular region's node. Sometimes in this area there are frequent physical clashes between the two groups, not infrequently the illegal shootings directed to the two communities. These nodes are formed naturally by the community, which then continues to grow as a place of buying and selling among traders.

Meet and transact on the border should be done as soon as possible for security reasons. The story of transactions *papalele* in this border area is very touching for Mrs. Rina for example. When trading in one of the locations, the bombs made *papalele* and merchants scatter to run apart, but they did not become victims. Apparently several times he and his friends transact in that place. In that place there is always the Rattles they already know. Although they are actually afraid, but they (Muslim traders) are always calling for transactions. At the time they were talking and asking each other the price, suddenly a large explosive power bomb sounded very strong, not knowing the origin of the explosion. They quickly ran apart to save themselves. But the next day they met again and paid the price of oranges that yesterday had taken. These two brothers, no longer worried and afraid to meet, even trust each other are used among them.[1]

C. Identity and Social Capital

We study a little bit about the identity and social capital. These two scientific perspectives can at least assert the role of *papalele* to build their version of the peace process. Indeed sometimes, the strengthening of identity as a legitimacy of self and group can strengthen social capital, and vice versa. In this position, we want to explain that identity strengthens social capital.

1. Identity(Identity)

Identity is a central concept in the social sciences.[8] By looking at identity in a merchant's activity it is easy to identify the identity of the actors through behavior. However, it does not mean that the theoretical view of identity is not discussed. It is fitting that reference to identity theory can be matched to capture the meaning of identity, but not to justify that identity.

An understanding of identity is a common phenomenon, demonstrated through performance or construction interpreted by others. Social identity membership occurs because it has a

causal relationship of action and behavior.[9] Identity characterizes individuals based on many positions in society, and it is important to note that both individuals and societies are also closely related in the concept of identity.[10] Ashton argues that it is to know who we are, and how we know who others are, and others know who we are, we know what they think about us, and so on-a multidimensional classification or mapping of the human world within it, we as individuals as well as members of the group.[11, 12] This means that identity can be observed in everyday life and can be verified.[13]

Generally the identity that is often discussed in the field of psychology, departing from the view of Herbert Blumer. Blumer invented and elicited the term symbolic interaction term in 1962 and later developed again in 1969.[13] Blumer himself explored the interpretation of George Herbert Mead's thought, to show a perspective focusing on the unique character of human interaction centered on the use of symbols. The symbol system, can be used to represent objects and events in certain situations even when objects and events are not physically present, including the words used to communicate.[14, 11]

Therefore, in any identity construction system, there is a hierarchy of norms, as a reciprocal relationship to measure behavior or judgment. Without a value hierarchy, which may also be hidden in the mind, we cannot find the collectivity to face new challenges. This construction system can be found in one of the studies in Germany. Casey and Dustmann present the identities associated with the process of immigrants switching to other countries by including their identities from the country of origin. The identity is closely related to the formation of an individual economy-the labor market.[15]

From the identity perspective outlined above, we can get the idea that the real identity is a subjective reality. An objective state which then gets meaning. As Berger and Luckman have pointed out:

Identity, by itself, is a key element of subjective reality, and as all subjective reality, dialectically connected with society. Identity is shaped by social processes. Once acquired, it is preserved, modified, or re-formed by social relationships. The social processes involved in shaping and preserving identity are determined by the social structure. Instead, the identity generated by the interaction between organisms, individual consciousness, and the social structure already given, nourishes, modifies it, or even reshapes it.[13]

From this view, we can understand that the individual will not be separated from society as his social environment. Both are bonded, mutually reacting. Or it may be said that the individual affects society through action, and on the contrary the society binds the individual through certain rules of values and norms.

At this stage, the debate about identity really depends on which side we interpret the identity itself. Meaning of identity is a step to justify this phenomenon. Or at least can identify it.

With that identity debate, I am of the view that identity is actually an individual action based on the preferences and backgrounds held in the social environment. The action is supported by a set of media or tools as a symbol to distinguish individuals and groups from other individuals and groups. Similarly, the *papalele* as individuals as well as one group have a social identity attached to them. In addition to having a certain medium, they have a common view of effort and have a collective consciousness as a form of identity. At the same time, others have also justified them as one group or one particular business community.

In this position, the *papalele* has identity an identifiable through the mechanism of self-defense for the long term.[16] Such self-defense mechanisms can be called *resistancy identity*, as Manuel Castlles (1997) has pointed out:

"Resistance identity is generated by those actors who are in positions / conditions devalued and / or stigmatized by the logic of domination survival on the basis of the principles of different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institution of society".[17]

Referring to this Castle, it can be understood that the identity of resistance is the effort that the actor generates to create a limit of defense when under pressure.[12]

2. Social capital

Theories of social capital, up to now has been the consumption of the academic community, bureaucrats and various circles to be used as a tool to analyze and dissect the development process is more related to social relations, the economy in relation to community development. Even the concept of social capital has been integral as other concepts such as human capital, capital (*physical capital*), financial capital, *manufacturing capital* and natural capital.[18, 19]. It is therefore important to understand the theoretical perspectives of social capital working in a community or group as well as in an individual perspective.

In the development of the concept of social capital, it turns out not only as an economic approach, but has developed in various disciplines such as law, political science, sociology and anthropology.[20] This development has led to the emergence of various opinions and ideas that often lead to a serious debate about the use of the concept of social capital [21]. Therefore, it is good that the use of social capital by some experts can be put forward as-where the meaning in this paper. As Serageldin and Grootaert says:

A variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they are composed of certain actions of actors - whether personal or corporate actor - within the structure. [22]

Coleman explains that it is not just one entity in a social structure that facilitates an individual or group action, but rather more than one category of different entities with two common elements: they all comprise several aspects of social

structure, and they facilitate action - certain actions of actors both individuals and institutions - within a structure. While Robert Putnam: *"A set of horizontal associations among people who have an effect on the productivity of the community".[22]*

It is different with Putnam who sees social capital as a collection of horizontal associations among people who have an influence on the productivity of the local community. Horizontal relationships are used by Putnam as a force capable of making basic changes, especially when individuals and groups have certain goals to be achieved. The relationship is not only of limited importance, but of mutual interest, so that it can be attained. The study of Putnam departs from social institutions in which there are networks, norms and beliefs. These relationships are the key to economic success and democracy.[22]

In line with Putnam's opinion, another idea was also raised by Turner that in society there is a force from which it can tie the potential to be utilized for the process of economic development of society, so that power can create and maintain social relationships and patterns of social organization. The social relationships created by individuals are potent forces for economic development. On the other hand, Woolcock and Narayan lead to norms and networks that enable communities to act together. Furthermore, Woolcock and Narayan developed a concept that is often used in various analyzes empirically in the field of sociology, economics and others.[22]

The concept of Woolcock and Narayan is known for the three types of *social capital*: the first type, the *bonding social capital*, associated with relationships among the same groups as tribes, religions, where this group will strengthen the social ties to its group. The second type, *bridging social capital*, refers to the relationships between different groups, and these different groups will strengthen the bonds between the groups. The third type is, *linking social capital*, which refers to relationships between individuals and groups in different social strata within a structure. The views of Woolcock and Narayan can be said to have a correlation with the activity of *papalele*. *Bonding social capital* occurs when *papalele* only builds relationships with the group, while the cooperation between *papalele* and business partners; traders reinforce *bridging social capital*. [22]

Some ideas above, underlie the conclusions of different views. But in reality, this view leads to one main goal, namely the effort to build and strengthen a community / society that can develop themselves and their groups for the development of quality of life. Thus social capital is not individually, but through a common social interaction, as Pantoja views that *social capital is nested in structure and not within individuals*. [23]

That's why it can be said that social capital is an inseparable part of the individual. Individual action will have implications for the ongoing social relationships. Bourdieu emphasizes the difference in social capital in society or

community with individuals. Bourdieu explicitly defines the concept of social capital in terms of a long lasting relationship network at the individual level. Therefore social capital is inseparable and closely related to the concept of social networks. Individuals will benefit from social capital if they are *embedded* in social networks that provide a state in sustainable social relations.[24]

As it has been described that in social capital, there is a measure to assess social capital process may take as the norm, trust and network. If it refers to the role of *papalele*, of course, trust and networking collaborate into the determinant aspects of sustainability and business survival. Both are also the trigger of collaboration with other parties, so it can be said that trust and network to be the driving force of the business.

The social capital in question does not appear by itself without going through a process, but social capital is strongly influenced by various internal and external factors. Internal factors in question include organizational patterns that grow in a pattern (*setting*) culture of local communities such as social order of society associated with traditional beliefs, patterns of distribution of power in society, patterns or systems of production and reproduction and the values and norms that.[1] External factors such as religious influence, globalization, urbanization, government policy, law and legislation, education, politics and government expansion and universal values such as democracy, equality, freedom and civilization.[25]

Thus, the framework of social capital is actually a point, to explain and understand the conditions, relevance and implications for the actions of *papalele*. Especially that is closely related to the trust in the network. Jaringan relationship provides the basis of trust and identity within the group closely, and informal norms allow the actors to engage in collective action to realize their interests.[26] All matters related to decisions, commitments, agreements, solidarity and solidarity and common goals in and between groups, are not things that are created without any particular consideration. All these things are part of the process of thinking and acting rationally that leads to the goal.

D. Values of Peace Visitors

Before the riots between relationships *papalele* and merchant were established and acquainted. So the incidence of rioting is not enough to make them split just like that. Relationships that have long established and continue to stick, affirmed with the consideration that Christians are brothers. The strength of your relationships is not only based on the economic motive solely, but inside it is full of strong local values. The strength of local values and norms has been firmly entrenched in the mind especially about the meaning of '*basudara people - pela gandong*' as the value of their ancestors.

Therefore, trading is not merely looking for economic benefits, but the value of the (local) fraternity that it holds is

also put forward in conflict conditions. Although *papalele* and traders often occasionally receive misleading issues when they meet at the border. Issues or rumors are exposed to make the atmosphere more tension. Issues are then often used to frighten society into avoiding meetings and transactions, so the instability of the security situation remains durable.

Courage to meet and transact between *papalele* and merchant because of mutual trust. In certain situations the aspect of trust does have a risk, a risk that sometimes happens unexpectedly before. As long as the trust is actually implemented and in accordance with the agreement, then avoid the bad risks and vice versa. They have reinforced the identity of the localization to build peace. Reasonable peace is not the result of social engineering but arises from an awareness of the importance of mutual belonging.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Positive effects perceived *papalele* from periodic meetings between them and the merchant during the conflict. The intensity of regular encounters between *papalele* and the merchants increases the relationship and mutual trust of one another. They no longer feel worried and afraid to meet. The social aspect becomes much more powerful, compared to the economic aspect.

In the process of building true peace, trust capital is an important aspect of it. Although sometimes vulnerable due to group pressure, but the belief in peer relations should take precedence. Experience building trust in the atmosphere of conflict, must be upheld and maintained.

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