

INTENSIFICATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL THROUGH RITUAL CAPITAL IN INDONESIA

Intensifikasi Modal Sosial melalui Modal Ritual di Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This article will examine the process of forming social capital through rituals which result in collective value reconstructions as local wisdom, and contribute to the village development. This study used a qualitative method with a case study approach to the Seri Kodoba tradition of the Limau village community in North Galela District of North Halmahera Regency in North Maluku Province, Indonesia. The results of this study indicate that rituals are one of the capital forms that support the intensification of Social Capital (trust, norms, social networking and collective action) in rural tourism development. Based on the results of the study, researcher offered the idea of defining ritual capital as a manifestation of norms and the accumulation of symbolic communication as one of the factors forming social capital. The author hopes that this finding will enrich knowledge in debates about the form of capital and contribute to tourism development, especially in the importance of social capital.

Keywords: ritual capital, rural tourism development, seri kodoba tradition, social capital

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini menguraikan proses terbentuknya modal sosial melalui ritual yang terjewantahkan dalam tindakan kolektif berbasis kearifan lokal serta berkontribusi bagi pembangunan desa. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan studi kasus pada ritual Seri Kodoba, Masyarakat Desa Limau di Kecamatan Galela Utara, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, Provinsi Maluku Utara, Indonesia. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ritual merupakan salah satu bentuk modal yang mendukung intensifitas modal sosial (kepercayaan, norma, jejaring, tindakan kolektif) dalam pembangunan pariwisata di wilayah pedesaan. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian ini, peneliti menawarkan gagasan untuk mendefinisikan modal ritual sebagai manifestasi norma dan akumulasi komunikasi simbolik yang membentuk modal sosial. Peneliti berharap hasil penelitian ini dapat memperkaya pengetahuan dalam terkait dengan perdebatan bentuk modal serta berkontribusi bagi perkembangan studi pariwisata terutama tentang pentingnya modal sosial.

Kata kunci: modal ritual, pengembangan pariwisata desa, tradisi seri kodoba, modal sosial



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INTRODUCTION

Social capital becomes such social glue, connecting individual perceptions in a community based on collective values for a village development. In the context of developing rural tourism in Indonesia, Baksh et al. (2013) showed a relationship between the development of ecotourism in the village and community participation in which there are collective values as the social glue. On the other hand, Sunkar et al. (2016) illustrated that social capital is the basis of community participation in tourism development. Furthermore, Fatima et al. (2015) stated that tourism development was able to empower the community and strengthen social capital, especially in rural areas. In addition, Pandi Putra and Pratama (2014) showed that social capital could develop and be integrated in the development to control land use, especially in developing tourism in rural areas. Community involvement in tourism development is integrated with interests to foster entrepreneurial spirit, so that local communities obtain economic benefits from the tourism sector (Fong and Lo 2015). This means that social capital is a patron for rural tourism development. Each regional context has different social and cultural characteristics, making the collective values formed become diverse, considering that these need to be studied deeply on the formation of social capital and its use in tourism development.

In the Indonesian context, cultural diversity has become a unique and rich nation that has its own charm. As the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*, NKRI) with the Pancasila ideology, the diversity of cultures and languages became unified, reflecting the complexity of social networks, norms and beliefs formed in the social circles. This shows that the social capital supports the Indonesian social relations. When it is deeply investigated to the regional context, collective values are formed among the community in accordance with their respective beliefs and traditions. Thus, the community-based-regional development depends on the social capital formed which is in accordance with a particular cultural context. This also indicates that the study of social capital in Indonesia is contextual, considering the process of forming different social capital according to their respective cultural backgrounds. In this article, there will be a discussion on the formation of social capital in the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba*, according to the cultural context of the Limau village in North Halmahera District of North Maluku Province, Indonesia. The social capital formed in the Limau community in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition becomes the patron of community-based or local-community-based-village development.

The discussion in this article emphasizes social capital in developing tourism in the Limau village. The social capital formed from the *Seri Kodoba* tradition influences the perception and behavior of the Limau community in participating to the village development. The development orientation of Limau village has now shifted from traditional villages to touristy villages, giving rise to the potential for degradation of cultural values due to the commercialization of sacred traditions to meet the needs of the tourism market. Nonetheless, the Limau community has preventive measures to preserve the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* embodied in collective actions (mutual cooperation) in terms of *balilila*, *balelean*, *babari*, and *makiriwo* so as to strengthen social capital. This means that the social capital mobilizes community collective actions in the Limau village development to be integrated with various development approaches, including the tourism development approach. Thus, this article shows that the development context in Limau village relies on the social capital formed from the *Seri Kodoba* tradition to achieve various village development goals through tourism development in the village.

In the context of Indonesian tourism, social capital plays an important role in tourism development in rural areas. Heimtun and Abelsen (2012) show that social capital as a heuristic instrument could describe the development of tourism which is based on the socio-culture and sustainability. The social capital can influence life quality (Mbaiwa 2011). Community participation and elements of democracy such as equity and empowerment. In relation to tourism, the social capital can be seen from various perspectives. Moscardo et al. (2017) outlines the importance of trust, leadership and the relationship of local communities in the social capital for the tourism sector

development. Furthermore, the social capital can be used to measure the success of developing tourism in the village (Taylor 2017). The process of forming social networks that connect stakeholders in the field of tourism also determines the sustainability of the social capital itself (Birendra et al. 2018). This shows that social capital in tourism development can increase the community involvement because of the integration of interests based on norms, beliefs and social networks (Mbaiwa and Stronza 2010; Yang, Ryan, and Zhang 2014). Thus, a community-based-development approach can utilize the social capital to achieve a sustainable development.

Tourism development involving the community or local community is one form of the utilization of social capital. Manaf et al. (2018) outlines the successful implementation of a tourism approach by involving the community so as to create a synergy of interests among the stakeholders in the field of tourism in the form of collaboration. In addition, the results of their research emphasize the role of youth organizations in the tourism development. Still in the context of the same region, Putri and Adinia (2018) emphasize communication aspects that influence social changes and contribute to increasing participation in tourism development. They discussed the process of achieving sustainable tourism using the perspective of social capital because of the use of networks, beliefs and norms to collaborate and increase participation to achieve sustainability. Furthermore, Musadad (2018) emphasizes that the form and level of community participation in tourism development was an essential part in achieving successful tourism development. Meanwhile, Sunkar et al. (2016) emphasizes that social capital was the basis of community involvement as a progressive step towards achieving sustainability.

Tourism is a sector that greatly benefits the village community. Cioban (2016) states that tourism was conceptually formed as the results of interactions and economic activities of rural communities that showed major implications for economic, social and cultural aspects. This means that tourism for the village community is inseparable from the livelihood issues as well as its perspective (Singgalen and Simange 2018). One of the livelihood assets in this case is social capital which has a strong influence on other forms of capital. Fatima et al. (2015) also states that social capital could initiate the diversification of forms of capital during the transition to tourism development in the village. This shows that the social capital has become an instrument of rural community development (Lee et al. 2005). Further, social capital becomes a form of coping in the context of tourism economic culture for the community (Jóhannesson, Skaptadóttir, and Benediktsson 2003). Through a rural tourism development approach, social capital is not only a study of interaction or community relations in development (Korstanje and George 2012), but is a stimulant for the emergence of new perspectives on development, both infrastructure-oriented and culture-oriented perspectives (Phillips 2016). This shows that social capital plays an important role in rural development with various approaches involving local communities.

Scientific results show that social capital has a relationship with the context of rural community livelihoods in a livelihood perspective, as well as being a social glue capable of mobilizing various development approaches to achieve sustainability. Tourism is an approach to improve the economy of rural communities, maintaining the continuity of cultural and environmental values. Cultural diversity in Indonesia shapes norms, beliefs and networks that are contextual in nature. This article aims to describe social capital in the development of tourism in the village, which emphasizes on strengthening the relations or social interactions of culture-based rural communities, as well as coping with the shift in livelihoods of agrarian societies into industrial societies in the disruptive era of the 4.0 industrial revolution. This article also outlines the role of the government in integrating cultural and structural aspects to achieve tangible sustainability from the village tourism development approach. Thus, the results of this study contribute to the development of literature in the field of tourism, especially related to the social capital in rural tourism development.

METHOD

Starting from the idea of tracing various tourism destinations in North Halmahera Regency, researchers obtained information about the local wisdom of the Limau village community in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition. The preliminary assessment process of the research was to collect as much information as possible about the Limau village and to conduct interviews with several informants who had been involved in the *Seri Kodoba* festival, while at the same time understanding the context of socio-cultural, economic and environmental life in the Limau village. To support the data, researchers traced documents as a secondary data that were relevant to the *Seri Kodoba* tradition to obtain accurate information. After obtaining sufficient information as a guide and a description of the lives of the Limau community, the researchers conducted observations in the *Seri Kodoba* of Limau village. During the observation, the Limau community was cleaning up the environment and arranging the location of the *Seri Kodoba*. The researchers used this condition to conduct interviews with them in the *Seri Kodoba* location. The in-depth interview process continued with the community leaders who had an in-depth knowledge of the *Seri Kodoba* tradition. The research process took a long time, even the researchers experienced sea accidents in the process of data collection. There was a deep admiration for the social relations of the Limau community that were harmoniously established due to the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba*, even during the conflict period, the social relations remained harmonious. Myths and legends believed by the Limau community and the traditions that had become a local culture, should be understood as a wisdom that guided them so that they were not greedy with materialistic things in nature, but they could also balance them with spiritual things.

The research method used was a qualitative method with a case study approach. The research was located in Limau village of North Galela District in Halmahera Utara Regency, North Maluku Province, Indonesia. The summary of the data and information obtained can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Data and Information

No.	Social Capital Elements-Based Data	Resources
1	Trust: building relationships or social interaction and social networking; trust in outsiders (based on expectations of behavior or sensitivity to collective norms); trust in government institutions (including policies, official procedures, dispute resolution, and resource allocation).	Village Heads, Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, Customary Figures, Members of the Limau Tourism Awareness Group.
2	Network: density of membership; diversity of membership; contact to other groups (extent of connection to other groups).	Village Heads, Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, Customary Figures, Members of the Limau Tourism Awareness Group.
3	Social norms: implementation of norms, politeness, obscene, religion, culture, and government regulation.	Village Heads, Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, Customary Figures, Members of the Limau Tourism Awareness Group.
4	Collective action and cooperation: participation in social organizations and policy making; frequency of attendance in social organizations; motivation to help others; motivation to preserve the environment.	North Galela District Government, Manyawa Creative Multimedia Entrepreneur, Chair of the Dabiloha Art and Culture Studio, Local Tour Guide.
5	Information about Limau village	Village Monographs; Documentation of the Traditional <i>Kodoba</i> Code (April 12 th , 2011); Documentation of the Northern Galela Festival (August 14 th , 2018); <i>Seri Kodoba</i> Ritual (March 25 th , 2019); Supporting literature; Field Observation for Map Digitation with QGIS.

Adopted from Sunkar et al. (2016)

Table 1 is a summary of data collection process using in-depth interview techniques, observation and document study. Meanwhile, the informants involved included: village government (MN), sub-district government (OBM), chairman of the Dabiloha art and culture studio (JRB), Hibualamo Creative Community (RM), Manyawa Creative Multimedia Entrepreneur (SRK), Local Tour Guide (AM), Limau Tourism Awareness Group (RC), Limau Customary Figures (AL), Limau Community Leader (MS), and Limau village Religious Figures (IML and PJJ). Field observations were carried out in Limau village and *Seri Kodoba* environment. Meanwhile, the document study was carried out by analyzing the documentation of the *Seri Kodoba* traditional procession carried out in Limau village, on April 12th, 2011 with the theme of "*nanga oho de nanga sininga imarimote*" which means life was a balance between physical and spiritual bodies. The North Galela festival document on August 14th, 2018 and the *Seri Kodoba* ritual held by the Limau community on March 25th, 2019 were analyzed to identify the collective values built by the Limau community in the *Seri Kodoba* traditional procession. In addition, the researchers also observed the shape and level of community participation and stakeholders in the tourism sector in planning, implementing, and evaluating the *Seri Kodoba* cultural attractions in Limau village. Thus, the researchers obtained accurate information related to the portrait of the life of the Limau community in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition, the social values that developed in the community and the transition from customary/traditional village to touristy village.

The location of the *Seri Kodoba* customary procession in Limau village, while other tourism potentials are the natural beauty of the Limau, which is known as the location of the breeding of the *Mamoa* bird known as *Gilitopa*. Trip to the research location from the Capital City of Tobelo Regency took two hours to travel using public transportation. Constraints in the data collection process were inadequate road conditions and limited access to the internet network, so that it took a long time to get to Limau village and explore natural resources that would be developed as a Limau touristy attraction. Nevertheless, the potential of cultural resources became a potential cultural touristy attraction. Selecting the location of the study was also based on several ethical considerations based on the condition of the people of the Tobelo district capital who were facing various challenges of globalization, the Asean Economic Community (AEC), and the 4.0 industrial revolution. Under these conditions, the Limau community, who were privileged of available transportation, accessibility, accommodation and communication services, were faced with various challenges which had the implications for shifting the livelihoods of agrarian societies into industrial societies. Meanwhile, the Limau community strengthened the social capital through the *Seri Kodoba* tradition to deal with these challenges with wisdoms in socio-cultural, economic and environmental life. For these reasons, the researchers chose a qualitative method with a case study approach to the *Seri Kodoba* tradition by selecting credible information sources.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Seri Kodoba Ritual : History of Seri Kodoba

The initial settlements in the Galela region, known as *Soa Mogiowo* (ten early villages) consisting of Pune, Towara, Barataku, Toweka, Togaya, Igobula, Ori, Liate, Ngidiho and Limau. The story of the *Seri Kodoba* originated from Ngidiho village where two brothers namely Dokukuhi and his younger sister, Marasamalukahi, while building a *bangsaha*, came the wife of Marasamalukahi bringing a traditional cake (*waji*) to her brother-in-law, Dokukuhi, but a misunderstanding occurred because Dokukuhi's hands touched her sister's breasts. The feud happened for seven days and nights, until finally Marasamalukahi cut the *bangsaha* that had been built and said to Dokukuhi to stay in Ngidiho while they, in this case Marasamalukahi and his wife, would move to another village to build their own *bangsaha*. Their departure was also followed by two brothers namely Nebete and Rahaguna. They headed north through the coast to occupy the right place to settle and the place was named Limau which means the place of completion. After arriving at the new residence, they hurried to build a *bangsaha* house by dividing the tasks. Marasamalukahi looked for the pillars (*Golinguasu*), Nebete

searched for bamboo trees to make the bars (*Tora*), while Rahaguna sewed several roof claws as a cover (*Pona*), so that the house was easily built in a day. After building the nation, they saw eagles in large numbers flying around the coastal area around the nation. They became aware that this was a sign of the many fish in the waters around the sea where the *bangsaha* was built. At that time, they started fishing in the sea.

Every time an eagle flew, they immediately went fishing, until one day the number of fish caught was very large and not able to be consumed. As a result the fish are buried to form a hill called a fish grave (*Nao Mabosu*). The greedy overfishing made them aware of the importance of the balance of environmental ecosystems. In the end, there were no eagles flying above the nation. With full regret and sincere requests, they made a duplicate of a pair of eagles from wood as a form of maintaining the natural balance in order to survive. In both of the eagle duplicates' necks, the white *ruki* tree (*ganemo* tree) fibers were tied together, and the *ruki* tree fibers dipped in the concoction of the tree were teased so that they were red, and the cloth was called *kasuba*. The *bangsaha* house where the eagle duplicate was placed was then called as the *Seri Kodoba*. Since then, their generation had lived in the Limau village from generation to generation to carry out the rituals at the *Seri Kodoba* house to ask for guidance from the rulers of the Universe (*Jou Maduhutu*), so that they were kept away from various wrath and maintained a balance between physical and spiritual life.

The ritual process of the *Seri Kodoba* was divided into several parts, namely the *Seri Kodoba Yodagali* (replacing the *Seri Kodoba* house), *Seri Kodoba Yogiloli* (circling the *Seri Kodoba* house), *Seri Kodoba Maino* (eating fraternity at the *Seri Kodoba* house), *Seri Kodoba Simomoku* (handovering crafts from children the grandson of the *Seri Kodoba*), *Seri Kodoba Makabata* (rhyming by son and daughter in-law) and *Seri Kodoba Mangale* (eating together). During the *Seri Kodoba Yodagali* ritual, the grandchildren of Marasamalukahi carried their pillars (*golingasu*), the children of Nebete grandson brought bamboo to make crossbar (*tora*), Rahaguna's grandchildren brought a roof to the cover (*Pona*). This ritual was always based on natural conditions and carried out on Tuesday because that day was the ninth day after seven days of feud in Ngidiho and one day trip to settle in Limau. This ritual indicated that the integrity of brotherhood was always followed by a spirit of mutual cooperation. The *Seri Kodoba Yogiloli* ritual was the one performed by surrounding a completed house built through a *tokuela* dance where all women and men hold hands and a child walked on his hands while dancing and singing. This ritual showed that they should grateful for their work results with a spirit of togetherness.

The *Seri Kodoba Maino* ritual was the one carried out by the daughter-in-law (*mohoka*) with a *waji* to be given to everyone in the place, while the sons-in-law (*toroa*) carried fish and other side dishes. The *Seri Kodoba Maino* ritual meant that their ancestral misunderstandings must be interpreted as human negligence so that peace and peace of mind with the nature or environment (*pomademi*) was needed for the sake of the values that must be maintained together in the form of true brotherhood. In addition, the *Seri Kodoba Simomoku* ritual was the handover of *tagan* crafts from the grandchildren of the *Seri Kodoba* where the sons-in-law were given harvests or handicraft materials intended for those who came when the *Seri Kodoba* house was built. The procession implied that giving each other reinforcement by supporting each other to maintain harmony in life should be done. Meanwhile, the *Seri Kodoba Makabata* ritual was an expression of gratitude for the results of work reciprocated by rhyming between the son-in-laws and the children of the *Seri Kodoba*. The procession was so meaningful to strengthen the brotherhood in the eternal fellowship.

The *Seri Kodoba Mangale* was the end of the *Seri Kodoba* ritual procession where the food provided by the daughter-in-laws would be enjoyed together. Meanwhile, the completion of the *Seri Kodoba* tradition could be divided into three parts, namely the cutlery, main course, and side dishes. The cutlery was: *tari* (plates of leaves), *sibi* (glass of bamboo), *siburo* (bamboo kettle), *kiloha*

(bamboo place of water), *galimo* (a place for rice and soup from *sago* leaf midrib), *kamboti* (trashbin from coconut leaves), and *wowe* (rainbow flag from *seho* leaf). In addition, the main course consisted of: *gunange* (sago), *sibi* (sweet potato), *bole* (banana), *boboko* (*bulu sago*), *gumi* (*batatas*), *kupa* (*ketupat*), *pupusa* (round *ketupat*), and *soru* (popeda). Meanwhile, the side dishes consisted of *gupuo* (red beans), *dodilibu* (vegetable candles), *yamou* (vegetables mixed in bamboo), *papaco* (menu of *bia* / freshwater clams), *kalenge* (menu of *bia* / freshwater clams), *kohoru* (boiled spices), *boro* (*mamoa* eggs), *ngawaro* (*julung* fish menu), *ola-ola* (*cakalang* coconut milk soup), *lema* (sour soup), *dabu-dabu*, spices, and *gopoa* (young coconut). The various features in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition showed that the Limau village used natural resources in local wisdom to develop it into an instrument that supported the needs of life, clothing, shelter and food.

The *Seri Kodoba* tradition was still preserved by the grandchildren of Marasamalukahi, Nebete and Rahaguna, although along with its development, the use of the family names into a clan has caused several changes such as Sidangoli, Aleman and Rahaguna. Nonetheless, the relationship of blood transfer in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition became the social glue and influenced the development of the Limau village. Thus, the *Seri Kodoba* tradition became a benchmark for obtaining an overview of the portrait of the socio-cultural, economic and environmental life of the Limau community in relation to development.

Socio-Cultural, Economic and Environmental Life of the Limau Community

The success of a development was determined by the social and cultural aspects of the community and each community empowerment program would run optimally if there was a community support in the form of participation. The form and level of community participation in development was a synergistic representation of the interests of stakeholders to achieve common goals (Singgalen and Kudubun 2017). In the context of accelerating rural economic development, the Limau village community integrated social and cultural values in economic actions to improve shared prosperity. Local economic institutions were formed collectively based on social values, as well as management of natural resources for popular economic sovereignty sought through local wisdom, although the facilities and pre-facilities were limited (Ferreira 2011). The social ties existed in the community were able to minimize agrarian conflicts and even conflicts due to SARA issues (ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup), and culture became the conflict resolution (Abidin 2014). The socio-economic life of the Limau community which upheld tolerance and mutual cooperation was embodied in local wisdom The *Seri Kodoba*, as a universal value that influenced the division of social roles while binding relationships between individuals and collective values (*balelean*, *babari*, *balilila*, and *makiriwo*). The challenge of the Limau community facing social change due to acculturation and assimilation and changes in the trend of the global economy was an effort to maintain social and cultural values. The form of adaptation to these changes was manifested in the synergy of interests between the local government and the village government in the village community development program to accelerate public economic growth that was able to improve the welfare of local communities without ignoring the socio-cultural and environmental aspects.

The Limau community had the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba*, a ritual to reflect on the social relations of local communities that had been formed and bounded in brotherly relations, as well as the relationship between humans and nature, in this case the *eulipoa wallacei* known as mamoa (*gosong* maluku) and eagles. The *Seri Kodoba* had become a cultural symbol of the Limau community interpreted as social bonding and traditional conservation practices. The *Seri Kodoba* as a social glue could be seen from the process of planning and carrying out rituals. Cultural material objects in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition took the form of a stilt house with a replica of an eagle in it. Preparation of the *Seri Kodoba* ritual was carried out by gathering the Limau community to discuss ritual preparations based on each clan (*Rahaguna*, *Sidangoli*, *Nabete*) in charge of preparing the *Seri Kodoba* cultural

material objects. The descendant of Rahaguna was in charge of preparing the roof of the house, the descendants of Marasamalukahi preparing the pillars of the building of the nation, the descendants of Nabete in charge of building. The replica of the eagle and the pillar of the building must be made of choice wood, as well as the size set in accordance with the conditions inherited from the ancestors.

Assimilation and acculturation were part of the dynamics of community in the Limau village, however the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* did not distinguish between the religious background of the Limau community. In addition, the *Seri Kodoba* tradition provided an opportunity for the Limau community to participate in the rituals. The division of tasks applied to sons and daughters-in-law from other regions who were married to the descendants of the Rahaguna, Marasamalukahi and Nabete clans to bring fish and traditional specialties made from rice and beans (*waji* and *halua*) as part of the *Seri Kodoba* ritual. The wider community participating in the *Seri Kodoba* ritual could contribute in the form of material objects of local culture (*procosigi*). Local indigenous dance performed by the descendants of the Rahaguna clan, Marasamalukahi and Nabete was a *tokuwela* dance, while the *cakalele* and *tide-tide* dances were performed by the wider community who wished to participate in the dance. Material objects of local culture carried in the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* are *parang*, *salawaku* and spears (used in *cakalele* dances). Meanwhile, home appliances in the tradition of local communities also became material objects of cultural woven in accordance with the local cultural symbols in motifs with diverse color patterns. The household utensils in question were sieves (*susiru*), lazars for beds (*mats*), and claws (*gata-gata*). This shows that diversity in the culture of local communities formed a harmonious atmosphere. The *Seri Kodoba* tradition formed an attitude of tolerance among religious people and collected cultural diversity in the wider community. Thus, assimilation and acculturation did not have the potential to cause social inequality. The results of the interview with Muhamad Nabete, can be described as follows:

"The Seri Kodoba tradition is an ancestral heritage that we continue to do today. This tradition is an effort to honor the eagle as a symbol of our appreciation for the environment. This is originated from the story of our ancestors that in ancient times, around the coast of the Limau village, there were settlements that we called old villages (kampong tua). The community of the village saw large numbers of eagles around the waters of the Limau village. A high sense of curiosity made the community of Limau who had a boat go to the sea to see the environment around the crowd of eagles, apparently there were many fishes around the eagle crowd. They made eagles as a guide for the fish around the sea, but because of their greed, it made the population of Limau caught large quantities of fishes that could not be consumed, eventually the fishes become carcasses that resemble hills. This condition made the eagle no longer crowding as it should, and the fishes were no longer the same as before. This condition made the ancestors of Limau aware of the importance of eagles and the environment that must be managed properly without greed. Thus, the Seri (love) Kodoba (eagle) is interpreted as a ritual to respect and preserve the ecosystem. The Seri Kodoba ritual is very sacred, so the process is carried out very carefully, the shape of the house where replicas of eagles are built by involving three clans in Limau village namely Rahaguna, Marasamalukahi and Nabete. The roof of the house is made by the descendants of Rahaguna, while the pillars of the house are made by Sidangoli, while the one that assembles it into a building is the responsibility of the Nabete family. The traditional tokuwela dance is the responsibility of the descendants of the three clans, while the cakalele and tide-tide dances can involve community of Limau and community who want to participate. In addition, the ceremony procession also involves the mohoka, the daughter-in-law of the descendants of Rahaguna, Marasamalukahi and Nabete to bring waji and halua food, while the son-in-laws are obliged to bring fishes. Meanwhile, donations from other community can be in the form of porocosigi. The documentation of cultural material objects in question can be seen in the following picture."

Ideological differences tended to form social inequalities that led to conflicts; conflict mapping showed two forms of ideological conflict and physical conflict. Physical conflict might occur if the development of radical understandings influenced the attitudes of individual and group intolerance towards other ideas. If a conflict occurred, leadership played an important role in re-establishing tolerance through the tradition of local communities as conflict resolution. The Limau community, before embracing Islam and Christianity, adhered to the notion of cosmology so that the values of Islam and Christianity adopted were integrated with universal values in cosmological understanding. This can be seen from the conflict caused by the issue of SARA between the Christian and Islam in 1999-2000, where Muslims in the Limau village informed and helped Christian community to immediately flee to Duma Village, which was predominantly Christian, after which Muslims in Limau village also fled to the capital city of the sub-district of Soa Sio-Galela, which was predominantly Muslim. Thus, there was no horizontal conflict between the Limau community due to the issue of SARA. After the conflict ended in 2003, social inequalities due to reluctance to interact with others showed deep trauma in post-conflict conditions. In 2007, the Village Head of Limau and the Regent of North Halmahera District accelerated the development in North Halmahera Regency based on the culture and local wisdom. Culture became a conflict resolution, the *Seri Kodoba* tradition became a social glue, the habit of helping each other (*babari* and *balelean*), visiting each other and sharing (*balilila*) and mutual cooperation in working to gain economic benefits (*makiriwo*) re-colored the social life in Limau village. This shows that culture as conflict resolution was optimal if it was integrated with the leadership style in the policies produced by the village government and the regional government. Thus, it can be seen that the integration of interests between local government and village government in fostering cultural values could create a peaceful atmosphere between post-conflict people.

The livelihoods of the Limau community were very dependent on natural resources. The majority of community had plantation land planted with coconut, cloves, nutmeg and other horticulture crops. The settlements located on the coast made it easier for community to fish as subsistence fishermen. In maintaining life, the community depended on agricultural products and fishes. In addition, the copra was a leading commodity in the Limau village, where the proceeds could be used to meet the household needs, both primary and secondary needs. Meanwhile, fishes were mostly consumed by the community than being sold to the market. The Limau community had an established social bond in mutual cooperation solidarity to facilitate the landowners of coconut plantations to process coconuts into copra. The processing of coconut fruit done voluntarily to alleviate the burden of the landowners of coconut plantations was known as the tradition of *makiriwo*, namely the condition where the coconut plantation owners did not spend money on rent for workers in picking and collecting coconuts, splitting and dredging coconut meat, until fumigation coconut meat to copra. *Makiriwo* is a form of spontaneous participation by citizens helping coconut plantation owners to voluntarily produce copra. In addition, there were traditions of *babari* and *balelean*, namely the initiative of citizens to participate in and provide energy and material assistance to grieving families and community who were celebrating wedding ceremonies and religious ceremonies. Meanwhile, the *Balilila* tradition was when the Limau community showed social practices by helping one another in social relationships. This shows that the livelihoods of the Limau community were sustainable because of the access to natural resource capital supported by the social capital (networks, norms and beliefs) in local traditions. Thus, it can be seen that there was an influence of strengthening natural resource capital and social capital towards increasing access to financial capital. The results of in-depth interviews with Muhamad Nabete as the Head of Limau village illustrated the existence of social relations that influenced tolerance and mutual protection among religious people in Limau, as well as cooperation to facilitate the processing of coconut plantation products in the *Makiriwo* tradition, as follows:

"During the conflict in North Halmahera in 1999-2000, we, villagers from Limau, protected each other. Muslim community told those who converted to Christianity and helped Christians to flee to Duma village, the majority of whom were Christians. After that, we, Muslims, also fled to Soa-Sio in Galela, where the majority of community were also Muslim. Thus, there were no community from outside the Limau village that provoked us so that there was a split in blood-related relations due to the SARA issue. In 2003, after the situation returned to be conducive, we returned from the refugee camp. At that time, the social conditions still showed post-conflict trauma, causing tension among the community. Efforts to overcome this problem were carried out by regaining the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* as an ancestral heritage to remind the relationship between the bloodshed of the Limau community, especially the children of *Rahaguna*, *Marasamalukahi* and *Nabete*. When cultural values became a conflict resolution, the Limau community began to blend in as usual. The habit of visiting neighbors and helping each other, known as the tradition of *balilila* being *habitus*, the tradition of mutual assistance in the big religious community events known as *babari* and *balelean* strengthens the social relations of the Limau community. Furthermore, the tradition of mutual assistance in gaining economic benefits from the results of coconut plantations known as the *Makiriwo* tradition shows the existence of social values that developed among the Limau community after the conflict in 1999-2000. In 2007, the *Seri Kodoba* tradition was recognized as an intangible cultural heritage by the Regional Government. This makes the Limau village as a customary/traditional village. The social values that have been formed will be maintained so that they do not experience changes due to interactions with the ones from outside the Limau village. Conflicts that occur because of agrarian problems such as plantation boundaries and misunderstandings between citizens can be overcome by a family approach in the tradition of the Limau community. Thus, the Limau village is a safe settlement because of the preservation of cultural values."

Meanwhile, contextually, the local wisdom in the Limau tradition can be explained in the following Table 2.

Table 2. Local Wisdom in the Tradition of the Limau Community

Tradition of Limau Community	Explanation
<i>Makiriwo</i> Tradition	The term <i>Makiriwo</i> was a tradition commonly used as a symbol of mutual assistance between citizens in various ways including the management of coconut plantation products, where community voluntarily helped landowners to produce copra without being paid.
<i>Balelean</i> or <i>Babari</i> Tradition	The terms <i>Balelean</i> and <i>Babari</i> had the meaning of helping each other in terms of doing things for the common good, as well as helping each other at the wedding of one of the community, as well as mutual cooperation to complete the construction of the house of one of the community.
<i>Balilila</i> Tradition	The term <i>Balilia</i> had the meaning of visiting each other as a form of caring among citizens. It was a condition in which one of the community continued to pay attention to the economic conditions of their neighbors to foster social relations. This practice was embodied in the <i>habitus</i> of distributing harvests or fishing for togetherness.

Table 2 shows the existence of social values in the Limau community formed as local wisdom in addition to the *Seri Kodoba* tradition. This shows that the *habitus* expanded social networks, fostered

norms in the community and strengthened trust between citizens. Thus, tolerance was based on the local cultural philosophy.

Higher education is a priority for the Limau community. Therefore, the *makariwo* tradition was considered as a local wisdom that was able to mobilize natural resource capital and social capital into economic capital for the accumulation of human capital. The Limau community who already had a degree in higher education synergized with the village government in carrying out the village development programs. Although differences in perceptions appeared as ideological conflicts, this did not change the social and cultural values of the Limau community. This shows that the availability of human resources to accelerate development was very essential. The capacity of qualified human resources could encourage the acceleration of development through ideas that were relevant to the context of local resources so as to support the decision of the village government and local government to set priorities for the construction of facilities and pre-facilities in the Limau village. In a livelihood perspective, natural resource capital and social capital supported the accumulation of economic capital and economic capital supported the accumulation of human capital, as well as human capital supported the accumulation of physical capital. In the context of the Limau village development, the access to capital influenced the development policies that were pro to people and economic institutions that were relevant to the capacity and availability of the local resources to face changes in global economic trends, technological developments and creative industries, competition in the context of ASEAN economics and challenges in the era of 4.0 industrial revolution.

The challenge in the Limau village development facing changes in the global economic trend was the level of community acceptance of different cultures in interactions with citizens from outside the village. The ability to adapt in the transition of agrarian societies to industrial societies determined the sustainability of local livelihoods. The majority of the Limau community had coconut plantation land managed into copra through the *makiriwo* tradition, so that the fluctuations in the price of copra can be wisely responded through business diversification that was able to meet the economic needs of the household as well as the cost of children's school education. On the other hand, the subsistence fishermen was a side job to fulfill the people's food needs and were carried out if the sea waters of the Limau village did not have high wave. When the rainy season and the sea did not support the fishermen to look for fish, the community in the Babari tradition carried out horticulture plantation activities by planting rice and beans as well as other productive crops that could be commercialized to obtain additional income. In addition, the mammal habitat in the Limau village is maintained by the community so that the eggs could be consumed to meet the food needs of the local community. The myths and legends inherited in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition were used as traditional methods of environmental conservation to prevent environmental damage by local community and the community from outside the Limau village. Meanwhile, the results of the interview with Muhamad Nabete as the Head of Limau village are as follows:

"There are several young people in our village who have completed higher education, around 40 people, but we have concerns about the new culture brought by students after taking higher education outside the region. Anticipating the problem of differences in views, we involve citizens who have completed tertiary institutions to participate in the village development. The majority of Limau community' livelihoods are coconut plantation farmers; while the subsistence fisherman is the activity to meet food needs every day. Makiriwo is an activity that is often found when the results of coconut plantations are to be managed into copra. In addition, around the Limau village, there are Mamo bird habitats commonly known to community as the Maleu Pantai. These birds breed and benefit the Limau community. Mamo bird eggs can be sold or consumed by the community, and they can be easily found in the morning by noticing the bird's footsteps. The bird has its own uniqueness; birds will faint after laying eggs. At present, the bird has been protected because it is increasingly scarce. Since long ago, the bird's eggs were

always consumed or sold without control, but now, all of this is done by considering its sustainability. Every six months, we take enough eggs to consume or sell, but we also pay attention to the bird population. The Limau community have trust in their ancestors, cultural values are not only about relationships with others or with the almighty, but also with the natural environment, so that some locations believed to be sacred or full of local myths and legends, will not be exploited by community. Thus, the mamoa habitat is maintained."

This showed that the availability of human resources in the Limau village, especially community who had completed higher education could contribute to the acceleration of the village development. The cultural values that had been built into the *Seri Kodoba* tradition became the social glue as well as values that must be maintained in the anticipation of ideological conflicts due to the influence of outside culture. In addition, the culture of the Limau community illustrated the relationship between humans, humans and God, and humans and the environment. Thus, rural development through a cultural approach became relevant to the concept of tourism development which was similar with the social capital in accordance with the cultural values of the Limau community.

The availability of natural resources and people's access to manage and utilize resources in the perspective of local economic institutions showed the existence of problems due to the lack of group-based business managerial skills. Local economic institutions formed in the form of cooperatives experienced changes in institutional aspects to become Village-Owned Enterprises (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara*, BUMDes) to mobilize citizens to optimize the management of natural resources as a source of income. The resources managed by the BUMDes were initially related to livelihoods as farmers in the field of coconut plantations through the provision of transportation equipment to collect coconuts. In its development, the business had not brought profit when fluctuations in the selling price of copra became a problem for the farmers. The results of the BUMDes performance evaluation indicated a decision to change the superior products of the village to be "sold" so as to bring economic benefits and improve the welfare of the local community. Thus, a Tourism Awareness Group was formed which was integrated with BUMDes to make the Limau village tourism potential as a superior product that followed the changes in global market trends and was integrated with the Nawacita program.

The efforts to optimize the potential of tourism in the Limau village were driven by the motivation to preserve local culture while at the same time increasing the living standards of the prosperous community. Awareness in the economic benefits of the tourism sector was the motivation of the Limau community to implement the concept of tourism development. The District Government was the catalyst and facilitator of the aspirations of the Limau community through the Village Government to adopt a community-based tourism development approach. Participation from the stakeholders such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), tourism observer communities, and creative multimedia entrepreneurs to encourage acceleration of rural tourism development was manifested in the aspirations of networking and documentation of village tourism potential to be marketed through social media. This showed a collaboration between the stakeholders in the tourism sector based on the pentahelix elements, namely the public sector, private sector, associations, media and the community. Thus, tourism in the Limau village could accelerate the development. Meanwhile, the results of the interview with Muhamad Nabete as the Head of Limau village are as follows:

"Economic institutions in the village have changed, initially in the form of cooperatives. However, as the development of cooperatives is not optimal, it turns into a Village-Owned Business Entity (BUMDes). BUMDes runs a three-wheeled motorcycle rental business to help community collect coconut fruit so that the processing of turning coconut into copra is easier to work with. Even so, the results of the business have not been optimal so that they have been

stopped for one year. At present, with the encouragement from the sub-district to develop the tourism sector in the village, we will develop the *Seri Kodoba* location into a tourist attraction that will be managed by the Tourism Awareness Group (*Pokdarwis*) as well as integrated with the BUMDes. The Tourism Awareness Group Chair in question are Mr. Rustam Can (the Chair), Nurbaya Daud (Secretary), Taiba Rahaguna (Treasurer), Mudalifa Rahaguna, Mudarin Rate, Irsal Rahaguna, Sarifun Nabete, George Bush Bua, Amran Ligua, Sudan Marsal, Rahmi Yusup, Nurlaila Lesibato, Julma Yusup, and Jainap Sikunyir. In addition, art and culture studios are also involved in developing tourism objects as local art and cultural attractions. The organizers of the community are Arahaji Ligua, Hamadon Sigui, Ajudin Ngongano, Mumin Saban, Rahaguna's Adjunct. In an effort to develop tourism in Limau, we also involve local youth to participate in optimizing tourism management. In the past, Limau was known as a customary/traditional village because of the *Seri Kodoba*, through tourism development, we hope the culture will be maintained even though it has become a touristy village".

Meanwhile, the form of collaboration between the stakeholders involved in tourism development in the Limau village, can be seen in the following Figure 1.

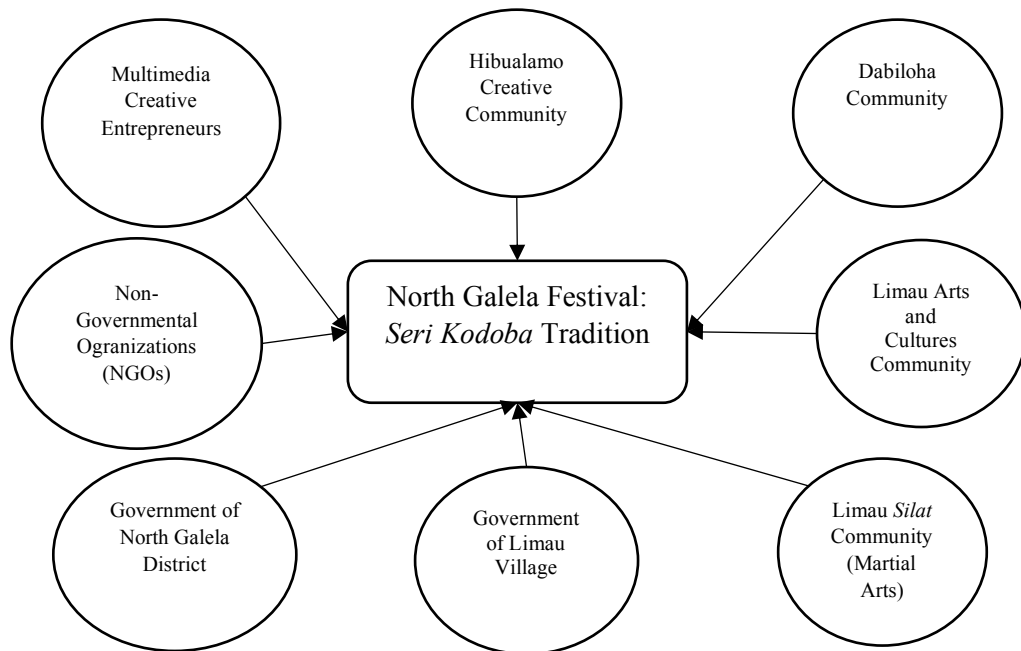


Figure 1. Collaboration in the Development of Limau village Tourism

Figure 1 is a portrait of the Limau village tourism development based on local communities. In planning and implementing tourism development programs, there was a cooperation between the Galela North sub-district government, the Limau village government, the World Vision Indonesia (WVI) non-governmental organization (NGO), Manyawa Creative Multimedia, the Limau cultural arts studio and the Limau *silat* community (martial arts). The participation of each element in building tourism could be seen from the village tourism development planning meetings and the implementation of the construction of facilities and infrastructure in the tourist attraction environment. The local community was very enthusiastic to work together to build tourism facilities and infrastructure without having to be paid, as long as it was for the common interest. This shows the existence of social values that had been manifested in mutual cooperation in developing the village. Portraits of the life of the Limau community in the social and cultural aspects illustrated the existence of social values in the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* which formed a communal lifestyle and reconstructed the values of local wisdom in *babari*, *balelan*, *balilila*, and *makariwo* habitus. The social and cultural life of the Limau community influenced economic aspects, where activities as farmers

and fishermen were integrated with local wisdom values. Likewise, the environmental conditions of Limau village could be maintained because of the awareness of suppressing the ego in utilizing natural resources to achieve sustainability. This awareness was derived from the cultural values of the traditional *Seri Kodoba* with myths and legends that encouraged local community to maintain environmental sustainability. Strong social values were capable of becoming resolutions of the 1999-2000 conflict while fostering tolerance values without worrying about acculturation and assimilation. Thus, it could be seen that the Limau village was very dominant in the social and cultural aspects integrated with economic and environmental interests, so that it was proclaimed as acustomary/traditional village. In the transition to customary/traditional village, the local economic institutions in the form of cooperatives turned into Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes) to optimize village potential, but BUMDes superior products underwent changes since the agreement to optimize tourism potential in the Limau village became a joint decision to preserve the *Seri Kodoba* culture while increasing welfare through economic benefits from the development of the tourism sector. Efforts to achieve the tourism development goals were supported by the stakeholders in collaboration based on the pentahelix elements. The participation of the public sector, private sector, associations, media and communities showed the integration of interests between sectors to develop the tourism sector. Thus, the portrait of social and cultural life, economics and the environment of the Limau community during the transition from customary/traditional village to touristy village showed the contribution of the stakeholders to achieve the development goals in the villages and regions.

Trust, Social Norms, Collective Action and Social Networking in Rural Development

Social capital in the development of tourism in rural areas could be seen in trust, social norms, collective action and social networks which played an important role in development, especially in efforts to alleviate poverty through improving the family economy (Islam et al. 2013). Furthermore, social capital could encourage the growth of community-based entrepreneurship in rural areas to improve the economy and lifestyle (Dhesi 2010; Kaján 2013). This shows that strong social capital could accelerate development in the village. One approach to tourism development integrated with social capital was a tourism approach that involved local communities. In implementing the rural tourism development approach, trust, social norms and social networks were manifested in collective action and cooperation in developing the potential of natural resources and cultural resources to become the object of tourist attraction (Nault and Stapleton 2011).

In the context of the Limau community, social capital was formed and strengthened in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition. The traditional philosophy of the *Seri Kodoba* adopted by the Limau community was "*nanga oho de nanga sininga imarimote*" which means "life is a balance between physical and spiritual bodies" that influenced the actions of the Limau community in interacting with others, paying attention to the relationship between humans and God and relationships between humans and the environment. Portraits of the life of the Limau community during the conflict due to the issue of SARA in 1999-2000 in North Halmahera Regency showed that the social capital formed through the *Seri Kodoba* tradition was able to prevent the occurrence of conflict in Limau village. If it was investigated further, the Limau community consisted of two different religious groups, namely Christianity and Islam, but the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* carried out every year was a warning about the relationship between bloodshed before religion was spread by religious practitioners. Thus, various problems that had the potential to trigger conflict could be resolved in a family manner in accordance with local cultural values. In the Indonesian context, the philosophy of Balinese culture "*Tri Hita Karana*" also became a local wisdom that shaped norms, beliefs and networks and influences the behavior or collective actions of the people in Bali (Mustika et al. 2013). Meanwhile, the context of the Limau village tourism development based on elements of social capital can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Elements of Social Capital in Limau village Tourism Development

Trust	Social Norms	Social Networks	Collective Action and Cooperatives
The Limau community built relationships or social interactions using the <i>Seri Kodoba</i> philosophy. Likewise, trust in outsiders was very high based on the expectations of behavior or sensitivity to collective norms. The development of customary / traditional village into a tourism village was also based on the trust in the institutions of the District Government and Village Government.	Social and religious norms could be implemented properly. The <i>Seri Kodoba</i> ritual did not conflict with the religious teachings adopted by the Limau community. Social harmony was a portrait of the life of the Limau community who embraced Christianity and Islam. The <i>Seri Kodoba</i> tradition was the social glue that reconstructed these social norms	There were various social organizations and tourism stakeholders who collaborated in the development of Limau village tourism. It was started by developing networks based on joint decisions (the Limau community) through representation of the village government. The local community also helped building social networks with other stakeholders.	The frequency of attendance in social organizations was very high as well as the level of involvement in the village development decision-making process. Collective action and cooperation in development were also part of the implementation of social values and beliefs embraced in the <i>Seri Kodoba</i> , <i>Balilila</i> , <i>Balelean</i> / <i>Babari</i> , and <i>Makiriwo</i> traditions.

Adopted from Sunkar et al. (2016)

Table 3 provides an overview of beliefs, social norms, social networks, and collective actions of the Limau community. The Limau community highly upheld social values so that tolerance between religious communities and visitors from outside the village could be well established. In the *Seri Kodoba* tradition, the sons and daughters of the descendants of Marasamalukahi, Nebete and Rahaguna also had different regional backgrounds, but they were involved in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition in order to have the same understanding as the collective values of the Limau community. This shows an effort to integrate different cultures so that they got a common understanding. Local cultural values could endure various changes in the era of globalization, overcome various potential conflicts, and maintain harmony between religious communities through local wisdom (Abidin 2014; Sumbulah 2016). On the other hand, the *Seri Kodoba*-based social relations formed the character of the Limau community to collaborate with the village government, sub-district government and local government to form mutual trust. Good cooperation created a harmonious social and safe and comfortable social environment. The initiative to build networks with stakeholders in the field of tourism could be accepted by the Limau community as a positive idea. Meanwhile, the Limau community actively participated in the decision-making stage in the planning, implementation and evaluation of development activities in the village. This can be seen from an active of participation of the Limau community, the arts and martial arts community in Limau village during the festival held by the village and the district government. The openness of the Limau community was the power of other stakeholders to participate in these activities, thus social networking was increasingly expanding to accelerate tourism development goals in the Limau village. The collective action of the Limau community to work together had become a habitus of the *Seri Kodoba* tradition continued in daily life to help one another in the context of *balelean* or *babari*, *balilila*, and *makiriwo*. Thus, it could be seen that the power of social capital owned by the Limau community was a catalyst for rural development through the tourism sector.

The development of tourism in the Limau village was inseparable from the role of the village and sub-district government through the 4G concept which stood for Genuine, Governable, Green, and Global as a community development model. Genuine emphasized efforts to develop the potential of natural resources and original cultural resources so as to provide economic and social benefits in development. In addition, Governable emphasized a transparent and accountable administrative system that supported the process of optimizing the potential of natural resources and cultural resources in development. Meanwhile, Green emphasized the alignment of the beauty of the environment as part of natural resources as an effort to avoid exploitation that caused environmental degradation. While Global emphasized the efforts to market natural resources and cultural resources as superior products of local communities, as well as indicators of competitiveness to improve the economic welfare of local communities that were adaptive to changing global market trends. Thus, in the context of the development of underdeveloped rural communities that were identical to the issue of poverty, the 4G concept was such a model of pro-community development, environment (pro environment), as well as local economic growth (pro growth). Enz (2009) illustrates that the government could encourage the development of tourism in the village, especially those who had a background in post-conflict areas. This shows that the government had a very important role in mediating and mobilizing the aspirations of the Limau community to accelerate development in the village. Jaafar et al. (2013) shows that the government could involve communities in the village to be involved in the development of local tourism by utilizing local natural resources so as to obtain economic benefits. In addition, Singgalen et al. (2017) illustrates that the government could delegate the authority to manage village tourism objects by involving local communities in the form of local tourism management organizations so as to provide space for the community in the decision-making process to determine the direction of local tourism development.

The tourism development approach that empowered local communities had illustrated that the social values that were formed and become the social glue could mobilize public interests and increase public participation in development. In the development of tourism objects, the culture of community that formed the norms and beliefs in the relationships of social interaction could encourage social integration to direct the public's perception of achieving common goals. This could be seen from the enthusiastic attitude of the Limau community to work in mutual cooperation in various local traditions, either in *makriwio*, *balelan*, *babari*, or *balilila*. Culture as a social glue was also a stimulant for increasing public participation in planning and implementing tourism development. The practice of socio-cultural, economic and environmental conditions of the Limau community in various traditions that were mutually beneficial showed that local community participation was at a spontaneous level where the planning and implementation of the program was in accordance with the perspective of the local community. The problem of cultural value degradation which was commercialized as a tourist attraction was realized by Limau community as a dynamic in maintaining the sacred nature of the *Seri Kodoba* ritual. Nonetheless, the values built by Limau community to perform dances in the *Seri Kodoba* tradition were not based on the motives of financial gain, but rather to preserve the culture of the Limau community which had been passed down by ancestors. In other words, efforts to maintain the continuity of tradition, inheriting the cultural values of the *Seri Kodoba* to the next generation, make the *Seri Kodoba* as a tourist attraction were not considered as a threat to the degradation of cultural values but the placement of appropriate cultural meanings to achieve sustainability. This reflected a conservative nature, but on the other hand it showed the openness to display local cultural traditions whose values were vulnerable to degradation when the disorientation of traditional practices became dominant in economic interests, rather than the sustainability of local culture. This became a stimulatory recapitalization of the meaning of the *Seri Kodoba* ritual for the Limau community to reconstruct the identity of the traditional village into a touristy village, so that the *Seri Kodoba* tradition had the potential to be a traded commodity when it was packaged in the form of tourist attractions to bring economic benefits while also achieving local cultural sustainability.

Packaging of undisputed cultural attractions in the *Seri Kodoba* festival might cause degradation of cultural values if there was disorientation in the preservation of cultural values in the motive of economic profit. Lee et al. (2014) describes the impact of tourism development that exploited culture and urged a shift in orientation to preserve culture into a financial profit orientation. Nevertheless, Mair and Laing (2013) show that the role of festivals actually strengthened social capital for the rural communities. This could be seen from the relationship or social interaction and community participation in organizing the festival. On the other hand, Agheorghiesei and Nita (2009) describe the benefits of utilizing social capital in tourism festival activities as an opportunity to improve the economy of the community through entrepreneurship. Furthermore, Birendra et al. (2018) and Budiasa (2016) also explain that social capital could be used to stimulate rural economic development through tourism business. This shows that cultural attractions packaged in the form of festival activities did not always cause the degradation of cultural values, if the main orientation of the community was focused on preserving culture. In fact, Jarvie (2003) shows that social capital could preserve tradition or culture in facing the challenges of globalization. Thus, social capital formed from the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* by the Limau community became such a coping in response to various challenges of globalization. Meanwhile, the tourism development approach involving local communities was a development approach to optimize tourism development in the Limau village.

Discussion : The form of Social Capital through Ritual Capital

In the Limau context, social capital was formed from the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* and then formed habitus to work together (*balilila*, *babari / balelan*, and *makiriwo*) so that beliefs, norms and social networks were established in collective action or collaboration with other stakeholders. Shifting the orientation of the development of traditional villages into tourist villages based on the initiation of the Limau community was integrated with the interests of the sub-district government and local governments to achieve national development goals that prioritized the tourism sector. Meanwhile, the community could be involved in the decision making process starting from planning, implementation to evaluation. The form and level of participation of the Limau community were manifested from collective action to work together to build various facilities and infrastructure in the *Seri Kodoba* environment. Nikkhah and Redzuan (2009) show that participation and empowerment had an important role in a community development. In relation to the Limau community context in tourism development, government policies to involve the community in developing tourism objects were part of the local community development. Thus, the community was empowered in the development to achieve sustainability. Meanwhile, the description of social capital in tourism development in Limau village can be seen in Figure 2 as follows.

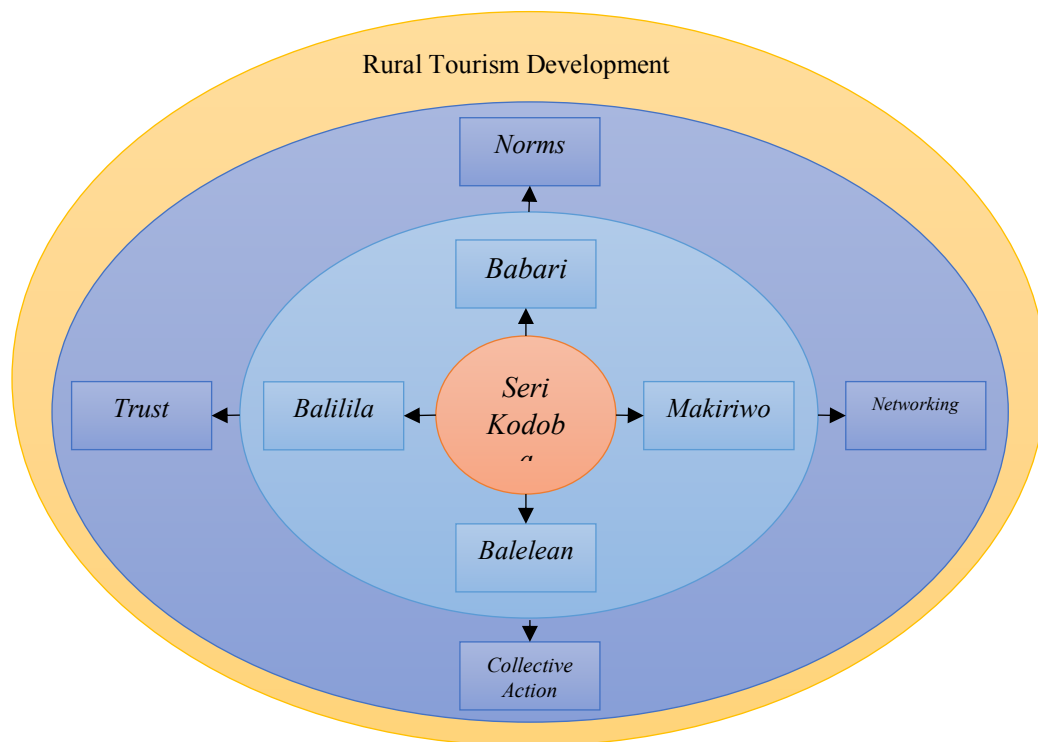


Figure 2. Intensification of Social Capital through Seri Kodoba Ritual in Rural Tourism Development Framework

Figure 2 shows that the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* as the forerunner of the ideology of the Limau community about the nature of community embodied in the form of *Balilila*, *Babari*, *Balelean*, and *Makiriwo* as forms of mutual cooperation or patterns of life helping one another. The form of the life style of mutual cooperation of the Limau community formed the norms, beliefs, social networks, and collective actions as the social capital. Furthermore, social capital was integrated with the tourism development approach in the Limau village. Meanwhile, the process of forming social capital in tourism development in the Limau village, can be mapped as follows: the forerunner of the ideology of the Limau community was the *Seri Kodoba*; the first layer included the traditions of *Babari*, *Balelan*, *Makiriwo*, and *Balilia*; the second layer included norms, beliefs, networks and collective actions; the third layer was the approach to rural tourism development. This showed that the Limau community was involved in the village tourism development process in accordance with the culture. Fong and Lo (2015) illustrate that community involvement in the development of tourism in the village could encourage the achievement of sustainability in the social, cultural, economic and environmental fields. Furthermore, the intended involvement was participation in decision making, exchange of knowledge, empowerment and public understanding of tourism. Thus, it could be seen that the ideology of the Limau community was formed from the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* and then developed into social capital which was currently integrated with the approach of rural tourism development.

"Forms of Capital" cannot be generalized considering diverse socio-cultural, and economic phenomena referring to the contextual uniqueness and authenticity. Ritual Capital was put forward by Ji Ruan in 2017 as a critique of Pierre Bourdieu's idea in 1986 that classifies the forms of capital based on the culture of society in Europe into four forms of capital namely social capital, cultural capital, financial capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986; Ruan and Chen 2019). The author agree with Ji Ruan's view comparing the Chinese cultural context of "Guanxi" (ethnic-based personal relationships) as a comparison of "cultural capital", "social capital", and "symbolic capital" put forward by Pierre

Bourdieu. The researcher agrees with Ji Ruan's view, that "rituals in the traditions of ethnic Chinese communities" build personal connectivity that ultimately connects groups with the same ethnicity in the form of stronger networks. This shows that the ritual needs to be considered as a stimulus for the formation of social capital put forward by experts such as Francis Fukuyama in 1995 with the view that trust as a social virtue to achieve prosperity is currently classified as social capital (Fukuyama 2001). In addition, social capital in Robert Putnam's view in 1993 shows that trust between fellow citizens and leaders forms a broader network to facilitate coordination and cooperation (Putnam et al. 1993). In its development, social capital is seen as the norm, trust and networking in various development contexts, as James Coleman studies social capital in relation to education (Coleman 1988) so as to produce the idea that social capital also shapes human capital. Importantly, the classification of capital forms used by the Department for International Development (DFID) is used as a reference for the sustainability of rural livelihoods in developing countries, by classifying resources into five forms of capital namely human capital, social capital, financial capital, physical capital and natural capital (DFID 2008). This shows that the classification of forms of capital should consider the process of accumulation of resources into contextual capital.

The author argues that the Asian context especially Indonesia has a process of accumulating resources into different forms of capital. The difference in the process shows that the process of social capital formation cannot be generalized as the western culture put forward by the views of experts such as Pierre Bourdieu, Francis Fukuyama, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam. In fact, the process of social capital formation is also different from the cultural context proposed by Ji Ruan. In the context of this study, the process of resource accumulation into a form of capital in the Seri Kodoba tradition shows a significant difference. "Ritual" becomes a space that places the equality of individuals in the same position, then limits each individual to not get out of the norms in the same tradition. The ritual process of the Seri Kodoba establishes binding connectivity (social engagement) between individuals in fraternal relations as an "obligation" or "necessity". Ritual becomes a form of capital when it is accumulated to solve social problems such as land disputes or religion issues. Even rituals become a form of capital when they are accumulated to support local communities such as weddings, funerals, and education. The researcher tries to understand the ritual context of the Seri Kodoba so as to build the argument that in the context of the Limau Village community, Social Capital Intensity can be achieved because of Ritual Capital.

The intensification of social capital supported by ritual capital plays an important role in development, especially in the process of developing the potential of villages to become tourist villages. The intensification of social capital can be seen from the efforts of village leaders to control the community and build social networks to develop the Seri Kodoba tradition as a tourist attraction. These efforts indicate developments in the development of tourism in the villages that support the livelihoods of local communities. Considering this, the author gives the title Intensification of Social Capital through Ritual Capital in Indonesia. Thick Description becomes essential in writing this article to describe the process of the formation of ritual capital that supports social capital. Based on the results of the study, researchers offered the idea of defining ritual capital as a manifestation of norms and the accumulation of symbolic communication as one of the factors forming social capital. The author hopes that this finding will enrich knowledge in debates about the form of capital and contribute to tourism in the importance of social capital.

CONCLUSION

The social capital formed from the *Seri Kodoba* tradition influenced the perception and behavior of the Limau community in participating to the village development. The development orientation of Limau village has now shifted from a traditional village to a touristy village. Nonetheless, the Limau

community had preventive measures to preserve the tradition of the *Seri Kodoba* embodied in collective mutual cooperation actions in terms of *balilila*, *balelean*, *babari* and *makiriwo* so as to strengthen the social capital. This means that social capital mobilized community collective actions in the development of the Limau village to be integrated with various development approaches including the tourism development approach. Thus, this article shows that the development context in Limau village relied on social capital formed from the *Seri Kodoba* tradition to achieve various village development goals through tourism development in the village. Meanwhile, every element of social capital in the aspect of trust showed that the Limau community buildt relations or social interaction using the *Seri Kodoba* philosophy. Likewise, the trust in outsiders was very high based on the expectations of behavior or sensitivity to collective norms. The development of customary/traditional village into a tourism village was also based on the trust in the institutions of the District and Village Government. Besides, on the aspect of social norms, it could be seen that the social and religious norms could be implemented properly. The *Seri Kodoba* ritual did not conflict with the religious teachings adopted by the Limau community. The social harmony was a portrait of the life of the Limau community who embraced Christianity and Islam. The *Seri Kodoba* tradition was the social glue that reconstructed these social norms. Meanwhile, on the aspect of social networking, it could be seen that there were involvement of social organizations and tourism stakeholders who collaborated in the development of Limau village tourism. The initiation to develop networks was based on joint decisions (by the Limau community) through representation of the village government. The local communities also helped building social networks with other stakeholders. In the context of collective action and cooperation, the frequency of community presence in social organizations was very high as well as the level of participation in the village development decision-making process. Collective action and cooperation in development were also parts of the implementation of social values and beliefs embraced in the *Seri Kodoba*, *Balilila*, *Balelean* / *Babari*, and *Makiriwo* traditions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The researcher would like to express gratitude to all parties contributing to the research writing. The researcher's deepest gratitude goes to the Head of Hospitality and Tourism Management Department of Faculty of Administration Business and Communication Science, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, LLDIKTI III for the publication financial support in 2020.

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