



Economic resilience: How social capital supports community in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia

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Abstract

This article seeks to understand the communities' resilience in responding to the negative impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the economy. Included in this impact are unemployment and poverty issues which increased when the lockdown was implemented to reduce the transmission of the Corona virus. The communities that suffered from these impacts should find strategies to have economic resilience to overcome these issues. This study examines how the community implements social capital to have economic resilience during the pandemic. The study was conducted in Giligenting Island, a small and remote Island, which is part of Madura Island, East Java, Indonesia. People living in this Island faced economic problems due to the lack of infrastructure, environment deterioration, clean water crisis and poverty issues. Many people left this Island to go to other cities to become migrants, looking for jobs or running stalls or store business for living. During the pandemic, most of them returned to Giligenting because of the decline in economic activities which occurred during the lockdown. This has aggravated the poverty issues. This study finds two mechanisms by which social capital has been utilized by the community on this Island, both local and migrants, to address their economic deterioration. Included in these mechanisms are the use of *tanean lanjeng* (kinship) tradition in their daily activities and more mutual trust that has been employed by the migrants and their assistants to keep their business run during the pandemic.

Keywords: the COVID-19 pandemic, social capital, economic resilience

Introduction

The transmission of the Covid-19 pandemic has surged as the number of people who confirmed positive for Covid-19 has increased globally. From the WHO dashboard, it could be seen that until December 16, 2020 there were 72.196.732 confirmed cases of Covid-19, including 1.630.521 deaths (World Health Organization, 2020) ^[40]. Various factors have been identified as contributing to this problem, including individual commitment to follow multiple protocols in combating Covid-19 (wearing mask, social distancing or staying 6 feet apart and avoiding crowds), the government's capability to provide a health care system and establish policies to respond to this pandemic, as well as community involvement which potentially increase the risk of transmission (Makridis & Wu, 2020; Wong & Kohler, 2020; Xu *et al.*, 2020) ^[25, 38, 42]. Moreover, there are also several factors which could limit the government's ability to respond effectively to critical public health needs such as economic, legal, technological, geographic and cultural barriers (Wong & Kohler, 2020) ^[38].

The question that remains is whether there are any factors which could contribute to containment the spread of the covid-19 pandemic in the absence of a panacea for this virus. Research studies showed that human behavior is still considered a key factor in containing the spread of the pandemic (Bavel *et al.*, 2020) ^[5]. Individual commitment or actions are required to follow the Covid-19 pandemic protocol, not only to protect oneself but also others. Therefore, policymakers and health experts around the world have appealed to the social responsibility of their citizens, asking them to limit social contacts and follow strict

hygiene and distancing recommendations (Bartscher, Seitz, Siegloch, Slotwinski, & Wehrhöfer, 2020) ^[3]. In addition, this responsibility will be needed when the vaccine of the Covid-19 pandemic is found and distributed which requires willingness to be vaccinated. This kind of willingness and responsibility are known as collective action or community engagement which termed by Putnam as social capital (Putnam, 1993) ^[31].

The newest research demonstrated that social capital is one of the factors which might influence the spread of Covid-19 virus as well as other pandemics. It should also be noted that the influence of social capital is ambiguous (Makridis & Wu, 2020) ^[25]. On the one hand, higher social capital could imply greater personal interaction and risk of transmission and on the other hand it could endow individuals with greater benefit for others, thereby leading to more hygienic practices and social distancing as social capital is associated with greater trust and relationships within community (Makridis & Wu, 2020) ^[25]. On the other hand, several research studies revealed the positive contribution of social capital in responding to the negative impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. Nugroho (2020) ^[29] promoted online social capital which could be mobilized to encourage people to follow multiple protocols in combating Covid-19 in Indonesia. Bian (2020) ^[7] and Sun and Lu (2020) ^[36] stated that specific social capital, namely epidemic-specific social capital which is a certain degree of social connectedness is recommended to overcome the negative consequences caused by social isolation including weight gain and obesity, health deterioration and mental breakdown among elderly people. Result studies showed that communities in Japan

dan the US that have social capital would adapt better to new conditions as well as demonstrate greater resilience to the pandemic than others (Fraser & Aldrich, 2020; Makridis & Wu, 2020) [15, 25]. Wong and Kohler (2020) [38], also found that policies and social capital together could improve healthcare delivery and strengthen health systems in the Covid-19 response.

The research presented above demonstrated the positive contribution of social capital in responding to the Covid-19 pandemic. This article aims to robust the prior research studies which found that community engagement, particularly social capital, has contributed to communities to have better response in overcoming the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly on economic life. These studies assumes that communities with social capital would adapt better to new conditions and demonstrate greater resilience to overcome the negative impacts of the pandemic and other crisis condition. Furthermore, this articles also demonstrates the key role of social capital in promoting community economic development before and after the Covid-19 pandemic.

Literature Review

Demonstrating the Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic has shocked all countries in the world, the severest crisis caused by a viral pandemic in a century since influenza 1918. A new strain of severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus, SARS-CoV-2 has been identified as the cause of the spread of an infectious disease known as Coronavirus disease (Covid-19) (Lu *et al.*, 2020; Nishiura *et al.*, 2020) [36, 28]. The number 19 in the Covid-19 pandemic means that disease first emerged in December 2019, in Wuhan, China, as pneumonia with an unknown etiology linked to a seafood market exposure (Lu *et al.*, 2020) [36]. Three months later, in March, World Health Organization (WHO) declared the Covid-19 as a global pandemic. The Covid-19 pandemic has a complex impact on people's livelihood. The direct impact is related to the health aspect, namely the increase in the number of million people around the world who confirmed positive, 72.196.732 cases and 1.630.521 deaths due to this pandemic until December 16, 2020 (World Health Organization, 2020) [40]. The World Health Organization has required individual commitments to follow Covid-19 protocols including wearing mask, social distancing or

stay 6 feet apart from others and avoiding crowds in order to break the chain of transmission of the Covid-19 pandemic. These protocols have caused several consequences including other health deterioration, economic and psychological aspects of life. Several researches revealed evidence that individual physical isolation affected various negative impacts including weight gain and obesity as well as mental breakdown (Bian, 2020; Sun & Lu, 2020) [7, 36]. Moreover, other research studies demonstrated several physiological impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic around the world including Saudi Arabia, China, Spain, Italy, Iran, the US, Turkey, Nepal and Denmark. This study showed those impacts are high rates of anxiety symptoms (6.33% to 50.9%), depression (14.6% to 48.3%), post-traumatic stress disorder (7% to 53.8%), psychological distress (34.43% to 38%) and stress (8.1% to 81.9%) (Alkhamees, Alrashed, Alzunaydi, Almohimeed, & Aljohani, 2020; Xiong *et al.*, 2020) [2, 41].

The Covid-19 pandemic has also caused massive socio-economic impact all over the world, not only at the macro level but also at micro level, for instance at the individual and household level. This economic shock emerged due to business disruptions and cessation from social-distancing policy (Martin, Markhvida, Hallegatte, & Walsh, 2020) [26]. At the macro level, the governments of each country were challenged by an economic crisis of global dimension which needed immediate response to overcome the crisis by establishing monetary and fiscal policies (World Health Organization, 2020) [40]. These governments were challenged to strike a balance between the demand for health safety and the livelihood requirements of its people (Buheji *et al.*, 2020) [9].

The socio-economic impact of the Covid-19 at the micro level, including individuals and households, particularly those with middle and lower income were expected to be more suffering. These people would suffer the most from this pandemic, especially when social distancing through quarantines, lockdown and curfew continues (Buheji *et al.*, 2020) [9]. They would potentially lose their jobs or become unemployed, then reduce their standard of living as well as the ability to consume, save and finally push them into poverty (Buheji *et al.*, 2020; Martin *et al.*, 2020) [9, 26]. This picture below shows the flow on how the socio-economic impact of Covid-19 pandemic has caused poverty on middle and low income households.

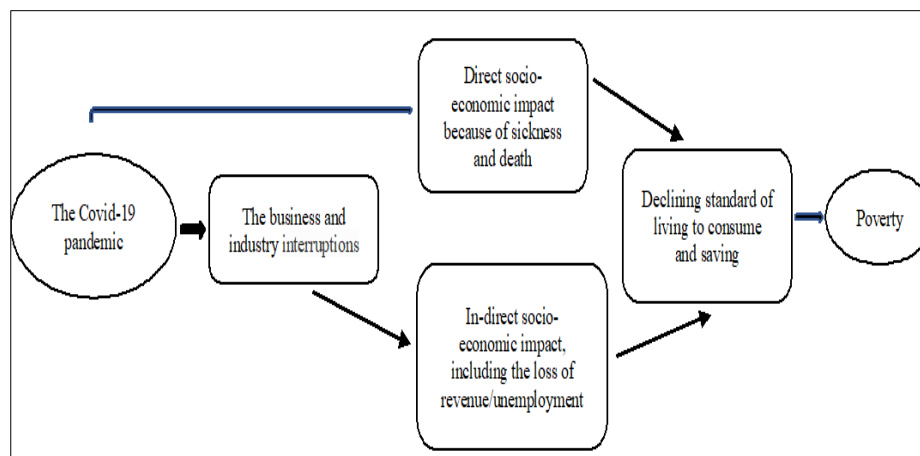


Fig 1: The Flow of the Socio-Economic Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic

The figure illustrates the social impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on individuals and households with lower and middle income. There are two kinds of impacts, first the household loses revenue because the breadwinner is sick and even died from the pandemic. Second, these individuals and households lose their jobs or revenue due to the implementation of social distancing through quarantine, lockdown and curfew to stop the chain of transmission of the pandemic. As a consequence, the standard of living of households with low and middle income, particularly in saving and consuming declines, then pushes them into poverty. In Indonesia, the Covid-19 pandemic will increase the poverty rate by up to 12.4 percent, implying that more than 8.5 million people will become poor (Suryahadi, Al Izzati, & Suryadarma, 2020) [37]. The same consequence has also been experienced by other developing countries which are struggling to respond to the socio-economic impacts of the pandemic.

Defining Social Capital and Its Contribution to Economic Resilience of Community

A number of theorists have offered definitions of social capital. Coleman (1988) [11] stated that social capital refers to resources that are embedded in one's social network and are productive in nature. Putnam (2000) [32] defined social capital as 'the relationship between individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. Another definition of social capital from Putnam refers to social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, 1993) [31]. Fukuyama (2001) [17] explained that 'social capital is shared norms or values that promote social cooperation, instantiated in actual social relationships'. Lin (2002) [23] emphasized two essential components in defining social capital concept, namely 'resources embedded in social relations rather than individuals and access and use of such resources reside with actors'. Moreover, Bourdieu (1986) [8] explained that social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group. All the definitions presented above stated that social capital is a collective action to pursue social cooperation and particular objectives which are existed or mobilized based on the norms of reciprocity and social networks as well as trustworthiness that arise from them.

The three essential elements of social capital which dominantly discussed are trust, norms and networks. Related to trust, Putnam argued that it is an essential element of the norms that arises from social network (Putnam, 1993) [31]. Coleman (1988) [11] contended that a system of mutual trust is an important form of social capital on which future obligations and expectations may be based. Fukuyama (1995) [16] also argued that trust is a basic feature of social capital, "social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it". Thus, based on those definitions, trust relates to social capital in two conditions. First, trust is a precondition for social capital. Second, trust could be a product or a benefit of social capital. Other scholars argued that social capital is based on shared norms, mainly generalized reciprocity. Putnam (1993) [31] stated that each individual acts in a reciprocal system usually characterized by a combination of "short-term altruism (benefiting others at the

expense of the altruist)" and "long-term self-interest (making every participant better)". This norm of generalized reciprocity is enhanced by networks of civic engagement. These networks also facilitate coordination and communication and amplify information about the trustworthiness of other individuals.

In the context of Covid-19, several research studies showed that social capital has positive contribution to the resilience of individuals and communities as well as society and country in responding to and recovering from this pandemic, both in terms of health and economics. In relation to the health aspect, strong social ties have supported people to regulate their emotions, cope with stress and remain resilient during the pandemic (Lu *et al.*, 2020) [36]. Bridging social capital also helps community members to follow Covid-19 protocols to reduce transmission of this virus as well as respond its impact (Bartscher *et al.*, 2020; Buheji *et al.*, 2020; Fraser & Aldrich, 2020; Makridis & Wu, 2020; Wong & Kohler, 2020) [3, 9, 15, 25, 38].

In relation to economic aspect, prior research studies showed that there is a positive relationship between social capital and economics. Putnam (1993) [31] argued that the difference in the long-run economic growth between the southern and northern regions of Italy was mainly driven by the capital stock. At the macro level, other research studies also demonstrated the role of social capital, in promoting economic growth of as well as shaping economic development in several countries (Knack & Keefer, 1997) [21]. Coleman (1988) [11] stated that social capital could increase economic growth by facilitating the accumulation of human capital. At the community level, studies showed that societies with higher level of social capital are richer (Knack & Keefer, 1997; Woolcock, 1998) [21, 39]. At the micro level, scholars provided empirical evidence that social capital has significant impacts on aggregate economic activity (Knack & Keefer, 1997) [21]. Strong social networks of social capital foster entrepreneurial activity (Doh & Zolnik, 2011; P. H. Kim & Aldrich, 2005) [13, 20]. Research studies also depicted that there is a significant effects of social capital to increase income as well as improve job prospects of individual, household and neighborhood (Chawa, Al Yusainy, Adila, & Kusumastuti, 2018; Erickson, 2001; Hanka & Engbers, 2017) [10, 18].

Research studies demonstrated that social capital also help communities to have resilience in responding and addressing various crisis. Radu (2018) [33] showed that communities which have stronger bonding social capital can easily overcome a major disruption, whether it is a natural disaster (such as flood, fire or earthquake) or a social upheaval (such as a terrorist attack or a major work accident). Social capital also identified as social componen which is most important determinant of community resilience to recover from natural disasters (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014; Bastaminia, Rezaei, & Saraei, 2017; C. Kim, Nakanishi, Blackman, Freyens, & Benson, 2017) [1, 4].

The literature presented above explains the positive contribution of social capital to people's lives from individual, community, societies and even countries. This contribution can be seen from the empirical evidence which shows that higher level of social capital has positive impact on various aspect, including health, economy as well as community resilience to overcome and recover from various disruption and crisis. This study draws on the need to link the concept of social capital with community resilience, particularly economic resilience in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Method

This study employed qualitative descriptive approach. This approach attempts to achieve a comprehensive summary, in everyday terms, of specific events experienced by individuals or groups of individuals (Lambert & Lambert, 2013; Sandelowski, 2000) ^[22, 34]. Based on this definition, this study was conducted to describe and make a comprehensive summary of the role of social capital helping communities to have economic resilience in the covid-19 context of Giligenting Island-Madura, East Java Province, Indonesia. This Island is a remote area which has been challenged by several issues including lack of various public infrastructure and services, including employment, environment deterioration, clean water crisis and poverty issues. Environment deterioration was caused by the mining industries which operated next to this island. As a result, most people in Giligenting Island live in poverty and go to other cities outside Giligenting to become migrants by finding jobs or running stalls or store businesses for living.

Purposive sampling was utilized to select participants of this study. Purposeful sampling is widely used for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2015) ^[30]. Including in these participants are individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Creswell & Clark, 2011) ^[12]. Moreover, Bernard (2002) suggested that these participants should have availability and willingness to participate as well as the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive and reflective manner. In this study, participants were selected based on their experience in responding the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly in recovering from the economic downturn caused by this pandemic. Included in these participants were the community members of Giligenting Islands who become migrants in big cities, for instance Surabaya and Jakarta. The Covid-19 pandemic has forced migrants to go back to their homeland due to the lockdown policies which has been conducted by Indonesian government to reduce the transmission of corona virus.

Data of this study was collected from three methods, namely semi-structured interviews, observation and documents. Semi-structured interview is data collection method which allows participants to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits, but still provides a greater structure for comparability over that of the focused or unstructured interview (May, 2011) ^[27]. The interview method was employed to gather data from participants in relation to the way they overcome the economic impacts caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, for instance what they do for living in Giligenting Island and how they respond to this pandemic. This study utilized

observation to collect physical data of Giligenting Island. This study also used documents to obtain various data including journal articles and secondary data from Giligenting Island.

Result and Discussion

The Role of Social Capital in Urbanization Process from Giligenting Island

This study was conducted in Giligenting Island which is located in the southeast of Madura Island (main island), East Java Province-Indonesia. As a small Island, Giligenting Island becomes a remote area which has limited infrastructures and livelihood. They depend on small boat to go to the main island (Madura Island) and another island to get rice, cooking oil, sugar and other basic needs. Most of these people live as small merchants, civil servants as well as subsistence ^[1] fishermen and farmers which always depend on the season to get more fish and cultivate the land. Consequently, they have other jobs as second occupation for instance, cattle and sheep farming, tapping *nira* (the sap of palm tree commonly used as raw material of palm sugar) and harvesting *siwalan* fruit (palmyra palm fruit) to fulfill their basic needs. As a consequence, many local people of Giligenting Island have migrated to big cities (urbanization), such as Surabaya and Jakarta to find jobs or occupations for living. Research study showed that the poverty issues, lack of infrastructure and livelihood have become driving factors for local people to migrate (Siegel & Waidler, 2012) ^[35].

Many local people of Giligenting Island move to the big cities to find other occupations as migrant workers or run various businesses in these cities. Most of them become owners of food stalls or small convenience stores that sell basic necessities, such as rice, sugar, cooking oil and so on, as described in the interview excerpt below:

....on this island we cannot do much to live, that is why people went to Surabaya or Jakarta to find job or become merchants. we have to do that to feed our family...we have food stall in Jakarta...from there we could buy house, motorcycle, send our children to boarding schools and help our neighbors (Sholeh: a merchant from Desa Aenganyar)

Sholih, a merchant from Giligenting stated that he was forced to go to Jakarta to become a merchant of several food stalls to meet the needs of his family because there was not enough employment available on this island. He continued to explain that he has managed to run his food stall and use the income to build a house, send his kids to boarding school and buy motor sport as well as contribute or donate to neighbors in Giligenting who have cultural events, for instance weddings and circumcision ceremonies. There were various kinds of donation which could be given by migrant workers to their neighbors, including cash, cattle, wedding venues, and musical entertainment. The more donations that migrant workers share for those ceremonies, the higher the prestige they would get from the people of Giligenting. The various donations, luxurious houses, motorcycles and cars are symbol of wealth and success for migrants. This became a magnet or a driving factor for others to become successful migrants or wealthy entrepreneurs like their neighbors. As a result, Giligenting residents left the island to go to other cities to

¹ This means that the production of these fishermen and farmers only enough to feed family members and contribute in the social and cultural events. There is no much surplus left which can be saved and invested.

find jobs or become owners of food stalls or stores. The obligation to return the donation back to their neighbors also forced them to become migrants in big cities

In addition to the previous notion, people in this Island have also used the 'donation tradition' as an investment. For instance, if someone has received donation for a wedding ceremony from his neighbors, that means he has to return the donation to those neighbors later when they have the same events. Therefore, the people of Giligenting have no hesitation to give donation to the neighbors because they will receive the same donation they previously gave to neighbors. The obligation to pay or return the donation has created mutual trust and reciprocity which generated social capital for the community in this island. Moreover, mutual trust and reciprocity have been replicated in the urbanization or migration process as a strategy to maintain economic resilience during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Networks

Networks were the main factor to indicate that communities or informal organizations have social capital or were starting to build their social capital. These networks facilitated coordination and communication and amplify information about the trustworthiness of other individuals. In the case of migration process in Giligenting Island, people who wanted to migrate would try to find their family members or relatives who have become migrant workers or merchants as illustrated in the following interview:

...my brother went to Jakarta long time ago...he became a successful merchant and needed an assistance to help him run his new food stallso I decided to follow him so I could renovate my house and buy a car...many people in Giligenting have family members or relatives in Jakarta when they want to migrate to Jakarta.... (Nurul: a food stall assistance)

The interviewee explained that usually local people of Giligenting would contact their family members or relatives before going to other cities to become a migrant. Soon upon their arrival in the cities, they have to work as an assistant in food stalls or mini stores owned by the family members. By working as an assistant, they would learn the skills and have experience in how to manage and run a stalls or stores. This assistant would also save their wages as an investment to build their own business. When the business has developed, this new merchant would try to find assistant from family members or relatives to help him run the stalls or stores and so on. This kind of network is maintained in the process of urbanization or migration of local people on Giligenting Island. The owners of food stalls or stores always needed support of the assistants to run their stalls or stores. This was because many of them have more than one food stalls or stores which were located in different areas and even cities. Moreover, the support from these assistants were needed by the owners because they often left for Giligenting Island on several occasions, for instance Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, circumcisions and wedding ceremonies. The stall or store owners felt save to leave their businesses to be run or managed by their assistants as they were still family members or relatives from Giligenting Island. Thus, this trust has emerged during the networking which has been built by the owner and assistant.

Norms

The relationship between the owners of stalls or stores and their assistants was built based on several norms. First, the owners who required assistant should originated from Giligenting Island whether from the family members or relatives. These norms have been established due to the fact that the owners often went back to Giligenting for several events and left their stalls or stores were run by their assistants. The status of the assistants as family members or relatives guarantees that the businesses would be safe while the owners were away to their hometown. Second, there was an agreement between the owners and their assistants regarding profit sharing of the stalls or stores. This agreement regulated the percentage of profit which should be received; the owner would get 60% and 40% for the assistant. For instance, if the income of the stalls or stores is about Rp15.000.000 (fifteen million rupiah) per month, this means that Rp10.000.000 (ten million rupiah) of this income will be taken as capital to re-run the stall or store. The remaining income which is Rp 5.000.000 is the profit that will be shared for the owner, which is Rp3.000.000 (three million rupiah) and Rp2.000.000 (two million rupiah) for the wage of the assistants. Third, the owners of the stalls or stores should provide place and food or meals for their assistants free of charge. Usually, these assistant would stay in the owners' houses. In return, they would do various households duties to help their owners, such as cooking, cleaning and shopping at traditional market.

The common norms that have been established during the migration process have provided benefits for the assistants who tried to live as migrants, as explained by the interviewee as follows:

....luckily I have relative who always teaches me marketing strategies so the food is always sold every day in this stall....I have a plan to do the same as soon as my savings are sufficient and I have my own food stall....sometimes I feel bad because I sleep and eat for free in his house (Ilham: an assistant who lives with his relative in Surabaya)
I need assistant to help me run my stores when I go back to Giligenting....I feel save leaving my business when I am away....(Hasan: the owner of the store from Giligenting)

Both interviews illustrated shared informal norms which have resulted in reciprocity between owners and their assistants. The assistants also implemented the norms as a strategy to build their own businesses. This strategy can be demonstrated in two mechanisms. First, the assistants have experienced and learned the strategy of running and managing the stalls or stores businesses while working as assistant. Second, the assistants have the opportunity to save their wages that could be invested as capital to build their own businesses. The assistants could minimize their living cost because they get free shelter and food from the owners.

The norms that have been shared by the owners and assistant of stalls have generated the reciprocity between them. On the one hand, these assistants will need savings, knowledge and experience from the owners in order to build their own businesses or to find the better jobs. On the other hand, the owner will need support from the assistants to run their business because they often took a leave to Giligenting Island to attend various events.

Trust

The element of trust could be related to social capital in two conditions, either became a precondition or a product of social capital. In relation to the urbanization process in Giligenting Island, the element of trust was related to social capital in both conditions which was not only a necessary precondition for forming social capital but also a product of social capital. First, as a precondition, trust was needed to build networks between shop owners who were already migrants and their assistants who were 'potential' migrants. These owners required that the assistants should come from Giligenting Island, including their family members, relatives and their neighbors. The owners argued that they could trust their families or relatives more than anyone else outside the island, as described in the interview excerpt below:

....it feels safer to have my family or relatives from Giligenting run my stores....if something happen I know where I could go and talk to.... (Hasan: the owner of the store from Giligenting)

The above interview illustrated that the trust has been embedded in the status of assistant as family member, relative or other local people who came from Giligenting Island. Based on this trust, social capital has been formed in the network between the owners and their assistants. Second, the element of trust has become a product of social capital. This emerged from the norms shared in the networking between the owners and assistants regarding the status of the assistants, profit sharing, the owner's obligation to provide free shelter and food for their assistants. These shared norms have generated mutual trust between the two parties. The assistants of stalls or stores have trusted the owners that they would carry out their obligation to provide wages from profit sharing and free facilities (shelter and food) as long as they work as assistants. On the other side, the owners have entrusted their assistants to run and manage the businesses properly while they went back to hometown for attending various events. In order to maintain the owner's trust, the assistants were even willing to do various households duties including cleaning the house, cooking and shopping at the market.

Social Capital and Economic Resilience during the Covid-19 Pandemic

The first outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic reported in Indonesia occurred in March 2020. Since then, the rampant cases of this pandemic have affected and frightened Indonesian people daily living, including on Giligenting Island. When the lockdown was implemented in several big cities, including Jakarta and Surabaya, many migrants of Giligenting Island returned to this Island. These migrant workers have at least two reasons why they decided to leave their jobs and businesses in these cities. First, these migrants were truly terrified of the impact of pandemic on their health. They felt safer staying in Giligenting Island than staying in Jakarta or Surabaya. Second, the lockdown policy affected their jobs and businesses. Many of these migrants lost their jobs or become unemployed due to many of the industries or companies they work for have closed or gone bankrupt. Moreover, the pandemic has caused many migrant businesses to lose most of their revenue due to reduced economic activity during the pandemic.

There were several strategies that have been carried out by migrants to obtain economic resilience during the pandemic in Giligenting Island. First, they returned to Giligenting Island and stayed for a while with their family members or relatives. These migrants also brought many of the basic necessities they sell in their stalls or stores, such as rice, sugar and oil, coffee, shampoo and soap to their homes due to the fact that living cost in Giligenting Island was more expensive compared to big cities, such as Surabaya and Jakarta as illustrated by an interviewee as follows:

....we lost most of our income because of this pandemic....my saving is almost finish too...even the price of fish is very expensive here...luckily we have nice family and relatives on this Island...they help us and we help them too... (Romlah: a migrant of Giliketapang)

The interviewee illustrated that most of the migrants who returned to Giligenting also used up almost all of their savings and implemented the *tanean lanjeng* (kinship) traditions to minimize the expenditures during their stay in Giligenting. This kinship tradition required mutual support, trust and reciprocity from its members. For instance, they practiced reciprocity in preparing food every day. The migrants supported local people by providing them with rice, oil and sugar, while the local people provided protein and vegetables which they get daily from the sea or from their cultivation. This mutual support has helped them reduce the expenditures during their stay in Giligenting. In relation to migrant workers who lost their jobs, they returned to their previous jobs in Giligenting, for instance becoming subsistence farmers, fishermen as well as running online shop business.

Second, the migrants who were owners of the stalls or stores have strengthened the reciprocity and mutual trust that have been established with their assistants. The owners decided to stay in Giligenting Island during the pandemic and left their business to be run by their assistants while they were away on the island. They renewed the shared norms due to the fact that the business profits were decreasing because of the economic impact of the Covid pandemic. This norm was related to the profit sharing between the owner and the assistants. Previously, before the pandemic, the assistants would receive a monthly profit share. However, during the pandemic, the assistants would receive this profit per three months, six months, or even once a year depending on the agreement between the owner and the assistants. Moreover, the owners still have obligation to provide free shelter and food for their assistants. On the other hand, these assistants must report to the owners about the revenue and profit of the stalls or stores while they were away in Giligenting. This mutual trust and reciprocity have generated social capital which has crucial role to support the community of Giligenting Island, including the migrants and local people who become their assistants, to obtain economic resilience and overcome the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Conclusion

This study showed that social capital has a crucial role to overcome various impacts caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. Several research studies demonstrated that this pandemic has significant impact on economic aspect, both micro and macro,

reducing economic or business activities and increasing unemployment as well as poverty issues in global world. Communities have responded differently to overcome these economic impacts. This study demonstrated two mechanisms by which social capital could be employed by community on Giligenting Island in responding to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. First, the local people on this Island has taken advantage of the *tanean lanjeng* (kinship) tradition which required mutual support and reciprocity among its members. This tradition provided strategies for local people and migrants to cope with the economic impact of the pandemic. For instance, by conducting this kind of social capital, both parties have reciprocated in daily cooking to minimize their expenditures. The migrants provided basic needs that were expensive in Giligenting, such as oil, rice and sugar while the local people provided protein and vegetables that they get every day from the sea or from farming. Second, the role of social capital could be illustrated from the shared norms and mutual trust established by the migrants and the local people of Giligenting who became assistants in running the stalls or stores. During the pandemic, the owners of these stalls or stores decided to go back to their Island as a strategy to minimize the loss of revenue caused by the pandemic. They left their business to the assistants while they were temporarily staying in Giligenting with several agreements which required more mutual trust between the two parties. This mutual trust has saved the owners' businesses as well as supported the economic live of the assistants. This study illustrated a small instance in relation of the role of social capital in supporting community in responding to the Covid-19 pandemic, including having economic resilience to address the significant economic impact of this pandemic.

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