

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ON SALT SMALLHOLDER SOCIETY OF MADURA INDONESIA IN LAND CERTIFICATION OWNERSHIP

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Abstract

Salt land as most important unit on salt production needs legal certainty in the form of certificate. Besides having law certainty, certificate has other function as cash capital that may help salt business. In order to deliver the importance of land certification, one of method is by using existing social capital. This research aimed to understand certified salt land area condition and analyze social capital related to salt land certification. The analysis method was by qualitative method. Research result showed that most of Madura salt land area has not certified yet. This is caused by low consciousness on the importance of certification ownership and perception of high cost and also difficulties in the procedure of certification as well. Salt business has been part of culture in Madura by long time experience of smallholder. Salt smallholders are mostly low educated and still in productive age. Social cognitive is not optimum yet. Likewise cognitive social capital related to solidarity, trust and cooperation are at the average level. High trust of salt smallholder is given to communal leader and informal leader (Kyai/Ulama).

Key Words: Social Capital, Salt Smallholder, Certification

1. Introduction

Certificate as result of land registration does not only give legal certainty and law protection but also deeper meaning on those. As the growth of times period and more dynamic economic business, then certificate can be cash capital for business. Therefore this will bring many benefits to owner.

Land certificate is basically legal evidence to the land registration that based on The Indonesian Law Number 5 of The Year 1960 about Basic Regulation of Main Agraria. It was mentioned at article 19 that in order to guarantee law certainty by Government of Republic Indonesia, then land registration is available to all area of Republic Indonesia as regulated by Government Regulation. Implementation of the Law was through Government Regulation Number 24 of The Year 1997 about Land Registration. Distinctly this regulation stated that principle of land registration implementation consist of several items. First principle is simple, means that the procedure of registration is not difficult and complicated. Second is safe, means that land registration should have legal base. Third is achievable which means that the cost could be paid and easily accessed by people. Fourth is sophisticated, in which effort of land registration must apply sophisticated technology that enables acceleration and easiness in the procedures. Meanwhile fifth is open which means the land registration process should be able to be monitored or transparent.

Effort of land registration has two important purposes as mentioned in article 3 of Government Regulation

Number 24 of The Year 1997 about Land Registration. First purpose is to give legal certainty and law protection to the right seizer of land, stacked houses and other listed rights to give jurisdiction of ownership evidence. Second purpose is to provide information to the stakeholders including government to market it easier in obtaining data concerning with law activity on land, stacked houses for land orderliness implementation.

Based on study of several regulations, it revealed that land certification is valid for all land kinds including salt land. Discussing on salt land, it is definitely Madura Island as most famous in Indonesia. Nationally, Indonesia has potential land as much as 34,731 Ha, meanwhile it is still 20,089 ha used as productive land. Meanwhile 60% of national productive land is in Madura island (consisting Kabupaten Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep) by 11,625 Ha of total potential land as much as 16,421 Ha.

Empowerment of salt land in supporting production and productivity could be done through various approaches, such as in technical, in socio and economics, institutional as well as by policy. Ihsannudin (2012) stated that in order to encourage salt self-supporting could be done by land policy. Land policy is related to certification, consolidation and land redistribution. Main and beginning thing for individual salt land ownership is by certifying.

This effort needs to be further studied considering that there are technical, social economic and institution covering those salt smallholder. Salt smallholders are people categorized as coastal area society, which is generally depending their life from sea resources and

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beaches that may need high investment and highly dependency on season (Widodo, 2010). Based on this condition, salt smallholders oftentimes meet limitation starting from unfriendly climate and weather, price mechanism and salt market that tend to cause salt smallholder under powerlessness. Furthermore majority of people education level are low and limited skill (Syafi'i, 2006). Meanwhile Rochwulaningsih (2007) stated that salt land ownership will determine accessibility of salt smallholder on production surplus. In socio and economic, salt smallholder owning wide land is relatively richer than small land, moreover, those who are as labor generally under poor condition. Thereby, polarization of salt land ownership by capitalist is significantly contribute on marginalization of smallholder especially laborer. Further, it describes by number of salt smallholder in Madura that over 4000 peoples. Salt production of smallholders averagely has productivity by 52.68 ton/ ha on the average land as much as 2.06 ha per production period. In one year (one production season), salt smallholder gain Rp 277,659 per month or Rp 9,255 per day (Ihsannudin, 2011). By the criteria of World Bank that stated poverty is a person with unders 2 dollar income per day, then smallholder of salt with 1 hectare land area needs serious attention. It needs to consider that salt work highly depends on natural condition, therefore, it is seriously high risk. Moreover, low education and limited skill of peoples worsen the condition.

There are many methods and approaches could be applied so that salt smallholder society realize and has willingness to registrate their land to obtain certificate. One of effort is by utilizing social capital. As revealed by Fukuyama (2001) that social capital has significant role in functioning and strengthen society. Next Grootaert and Bastelaar (2002) stated that social capital has been productive factor that give benefits on individual who construct relationship with individual or other groups so that it is useful for sustainable development. Existing concept in social capital as released by Potnam (1995), it is as public goods created by society. Social capital is created based on norms or social institution as well as trust in which those both aspects are underlying cooperation and collective action to reach benefits. Based on above statements, it may conclude that social capital has been very important thing in society due to:

1. Social capital understanding makes problem that exists in the society being faced collectively so that it ease them in their life. Cooperation and sharing among people make better life.
2. Social capital can increase life wheel rotation on society so that there is slow stepped progress on life.
3. Social capital raised public awareness on surrounded event.

Nevertheless, Pranadji (2006) criticize that social capital relying on trust cooperation and network are not enough. It needs to include existing culture and norms on society. Besides, it is necessary to pay attention on human resource competence, social management and strong organization, balance social structure, strong morality system and law as well as good governance. Inter-relation

of those unshures shows that government existence is not as main factor. It is more important on public participation (Malvicini dan Sweetser, 2003).

This research aimed to understand certified salt land condition of Madura. In addition, there is analysis of social culture and social capital of salt smallholder society.

2. Methodology

This research was held at 3 districts in Madura as salt producer namely Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep district. This is based on consideration that Madura has 60% of total national salt land area by productive land reaches 12,326.73 Ha of total potential land as much as 16,421 Ha. Besides, Madura island is also represent of conflict phenomenon between salt smallholder with state, which in this case is PT. Garam.

Method of data collection was adjusted to the research purpose. Data needed in answering first problem (condition of salt land viewed from land mastery, ownership, and using) is by description on salt land, land status and conflict map of salt land. The data was obtained primary and secondary. Primary data was taken from salt land mapping that synchronized with secondary data gained from Land Agency of Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep District as well as Marine and Fishery Agency of those three districts.

Data needed to answer second problem (social capital and other element related to certification of salt land) is primary through questionnaire and deepen interview. Questionnaire filled by salt smallholder and interview with key informants consists of salt smallholder leader, local leader, religious leader, village/subdistrict/district government and salt commodity related agencies (Marine and Fishery Agency, Industrial and Trade Agency, Cooperative Agency and Small Scale, Micro Business Agency).

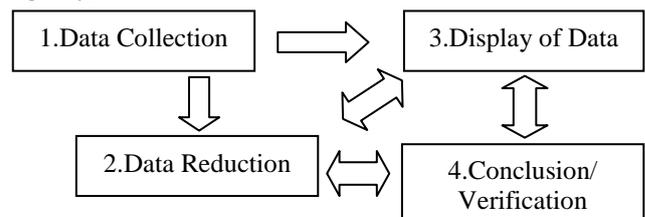


Fig 1. Qualitative Analysis Path

1. Data Reduction

Data gained from field were to be well arranged, in detail and in systematic. Every after data collection, it is necessary to select main items related to the research. Furthermore, reduced data shows sharper description about research result.

2. Data Display

More number of data had shown less comprehensive description. In descriptive research, quantitative data is also needed to support qualitative data. Therefore, data display in the form of map, chart, table, graphs or descriptions are needed.

3. Conclusion or verification

Based on collected data, researcher attempted to conclude. Verification was taken to reconfirm data being collected or to find other data for checking validity of certain phenomenon.

Conclusion generation in the form of society empowerment model on salt smallholder concerning with asset and land access was conducted together between researcher and society through agreement. Researcher has role in verifying based on feasibility in economic, socio, economic and ecology of reserach site. In addition, reseracher will describe role of each components in creating society empowering of salt smallholder on their land asset and access.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Condition of certified salt land

Salt land in the production consist of bozem for water accomodation, evaporating pond (peminihan) of ripen water and crystalization table. Optimum engineering on bozem settlement, evaporating pond (peminihan), and crystalization table will affect salt production (Ihsannudin, 2012). Location to produce salt is specific, as revealed by Adi (2006), that salt land needed is near sea, low porosity or non-sandy land. Technically items that affect salt production are sea water quality, weather condition, land porosity, waterline management, picking method and bittren (Purbani, 2008). Discussion of salt land will be detail described for each district as salt producer in Madura consisting of Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep district.

1. Sampang District

Sampang district is located at east area of Bangkalan district by land area 1,233.30 Km², at 113⁰ 08' - 113⁰ 39' Longitude 6⁰ 05' - 7⁰ 13' Latitude. Administratively Sampang district has 14 sub district, 6 town-village and 180 villages. Boundary of Sampang district at north is Java Sea, at east was Pamekasan district, at south bordered with Madura strain and at west bordered with Bangkalan district. Climate that exists in Indonesia for rainy season happens in Oct-April and dry season take place in May-September.

In average, highest rain day happened at sub district of Robatal and Karang Penang, meanwhile, the lowest happened at sub district of Sokobanah and Sreseh. Type of land dominate Sampang district is Mediteran, Grumosol, Regosol and Litosol (42.26% of Sampang area), red mediteran and litosol (13.43% of Sampang area). Meanwhile geological condition of Sampang consists of sediment either soft and solid. Physichologically, Sampang district is mostly goffering hilly area (about 75.84%), land (22.43%).

Sampang district is central production of salt smallholder and nationally widest area. Based on newest satellite mapping, it is mentioned that Sampang district salt land area has 4,713.7 Ha consisting smallholder salt land area as much as 3,556.8 Ha and salt land belongs to PT. Garam as much as 1,156.98 Ha. Salt smallholder land is spread on 6 subdistricts and 23 villages by total 1,201 fields. Table 1 describes Pengarengan sub-district is the widest of salt land. Furthermore, the wide of salt land in each sub district can bee seen in the following table.

Table 1.

Land area of Salt in Sampang District

No	Sub district	Fields Number	Land Area (Ha)
1	Camplong	14	54.7
2	Jrengik	93	409.9
3	Pengarengan	451	1.905.6
4	Sampan	147	585.1
5	Sreseh	481	1,758
6	Torjun	15	37.5
Total		1,201	4,751.1

Source: Industrial and Trade Agency of Sampang District, processed (2013)

All salt land at Sampang is at south coastal area and all has been utilized as salt land. As increase of government attention on salt commodity, there is trend of new opening salt land by smallholders. It is not surprised that south area of Sampang utilized as salt production considering that soth coastal area has beach topography more slight with land structure suitable for salt production.

As revealed before that salt production is also held by State business namely PT Garam. Salt land belongs to PT Garam has land area 1,156.98 Ha is under subdistrict of Pengarengan of Sampang district. PT Garam is side that has using right of salt land in which land property ownership belongs to Department of Industrial of Republic Indonesia.

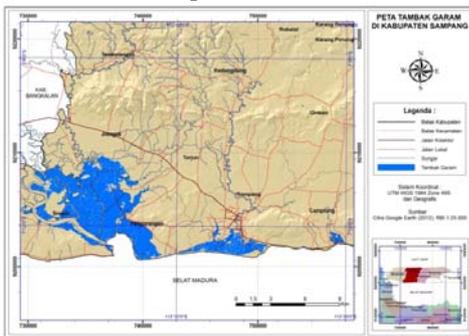


Fig 2. Map of salt land at Sampang District

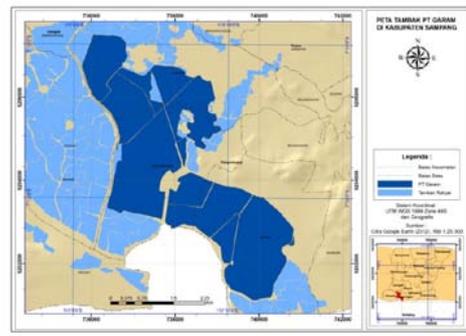


Fig 3. Map of Salt land belongs to PT. Garam of Sampang District

On total land of 1,156.98 Ha managed by PT. Garam, there are 65.6 Ha managed by salt smallholder surrounded area by result sharing system. But, based on information gained from saltsmallholder, the land is actually rented by PT Garam to certain peoples. At around salt land area belongs to PT Garam, there is state land at about 100 Ha which is still under mangrove forest. During this time, society demands for redistribution of this land to be used as salt land. However, considering the mangrove forest is surely useful for conservation and restrain sea water overflow.

Smallholder salt land at Sampang is mostly managed by *mantong* or salt worker by using result sources system with land owner. Yield sharing is generally 30% of result for *mantong* and 70% of yield is for owner of salt land. *Mantong* manages salt land as much as 1-2 ha that divided into crystallization table, evaporating pond, management and bozem.

In related to the status of land registration, data gained shows that most of salt land has ownership evidence in the form of *pepel* (98%) and there are only 2% has been certified. Salt smallholder still consider that existing condition is enough and no any problem exist. Consciousness of certificate importance is still low by justification of high cost and difficulty on procedure access.

2. Pamekasan District

Pamekasan subdistrict is salt producer which east bordered with Sampang district by land area 732.85 Km² that located in 113°19–113°58 Longitude 6°51–7°31 Latitude. Pamekasan district has 13 subdistrict with 11 town-villages and 178 villages. Salt land at Pamekasan district has 2,074.6 Ha consisting of salt land owned by PT. Garam (Salt Land II) as much as 1,086.32 Ha and the rest as much as 988.28 Ha is smallholder land. Salt land at Pamekasan district distributed at 4 subdistricts that completely can be seen at following table.

Table 2

Salt Land Area at Pamekasan District			
No	Sub District	Land Number	Land Area (Ha)
1	Galis	435	1,293.3
2	Larangan	9	20.5
3	Pademawu	457	745.2
4	Tlanakan	15	15.6
Total		916	2,074.6

Source: Marine and Fishery Agency of Pamekasan District, processed (2013)

Salt land at Pamekasan has characteristic that tends to spread along line at coastal area in south of Madura Island. Salt in Pamekasan is famous with good quality compared to smallholder in other area. Meanwhile, land productivity per hectare per season reaches 50 tonnes. Business of salt at Pamekasan is usually in May-September. Then, in other months the land used as fish and shrimp ponds.

Salt land at Pamekasan district tends to be widened by salt smallholder. Salt land is mainly managed by *mantong* or saltworker using yield sharing system with land owner. Yield sharing system that generally used is 30% for *mantong* and 70% of yield is for salt land owner. Some also apply yield sharing by 50-50 if land owner also give capital on salt business.

are 587 fields that has not certified yet. Reason revealed is similar to Sampang district, that certificate hasnot thought as important thing. Opinion on expensive of certification and difficultness in procedures is also most thought of salt smallholder in Pamekasan.

Besides being produced by smallholder, salt business at Pamekasan district is also conducted by PT Garam. As happened in Sampang district, salt land at Pamekasan district is also using right Land.

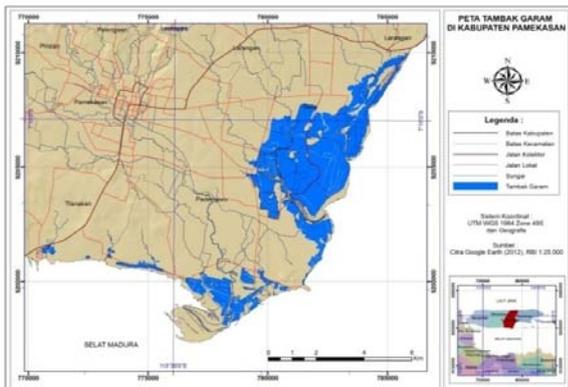


Fig 4 Map of Salt Land at Pamekasan District

Number of land area at Pamekasan district is divided into 916 fields by average land ownership as wide as 1,2 Ha. Based on sampling result, there are 2% already certified and 98% others has not certified. Therefore there

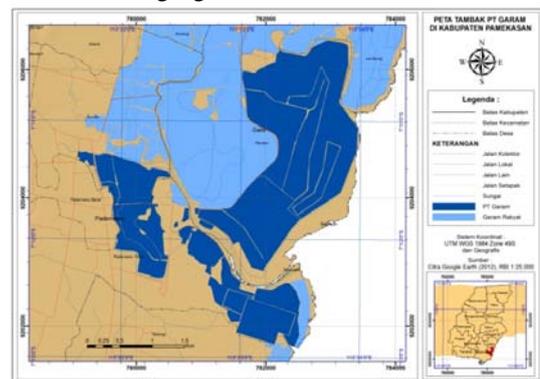


Fig 5. Map of Salt land belongs to PT. Garam Pamekasan

Salt land owned by PT. Garam spread at Galis and Pademawu subdistrict. At the salt land as much as 78 Hacooperated with surrounded salt smallholder. Location of land being cooperated existed in Pandan village of Galis subdistrict. Number of salt smallholder conducting production is 173 smallholders by cooperation duration for 1 year and will be confirmed every year. Salt smallholder who do not commit on agreement will be stopped.

3. Sumenep District

Meanwhile Sumenep district is most east part of Madura island by land area 2,093,457 Km² located at 113°032' - 116°16' Longitude 4°55' - 7°24' Latitude. Sumenep district has 27 subdistricts with 4 town-villages and 328 villages. Salt land at Sumenep district is widest salt land area in Madura. Salt land area at Sumenep is 5.131,8

Ha that mostly done by PT. Garam (Salt Land IV). PT Garam produces salt at 3.358,34 Ha and the rest is as much as 1,773.46 Ha belongs to smallholder salt land. Nevertheless, there are many salt smallholders as samples were those who rent land from PT Garam. Salt lands at Sumenep district are spread at 9 subdistricts and 41 Villages that completely can be seen in following table.

Table 3
Salt Land Area at Sumenep District

No	Sub District	Field Number	Land Area (Ha)
1	Saronggi	21	1,382.1
2	Kota Sumenep	50	143.5
3	Kalianget	25	2,110.6
4	Gapura	22	886.1
5	Talango	7	5.5
6	Pragaan	12	167.2
7	Dungkek	110	188.9
8	Gili Genteng	56	181.5
9	Raas	8	66.2
Total		311	5,131.8

Source: Marine and Fishery Agency of Sumenep District, processed (2013)

Data of salt land area at Sumenep district gained from Empowerment of Smallholder Salt (Pemberdayaan Usaha garam Rakyat/Kugar) of Sumenep. Based on data, smallholder salt land is divided into 311 fields by ownership average at 2.6 Ha. Based on sampling result, there are many certified land enough as much as 70% or 217 fields.

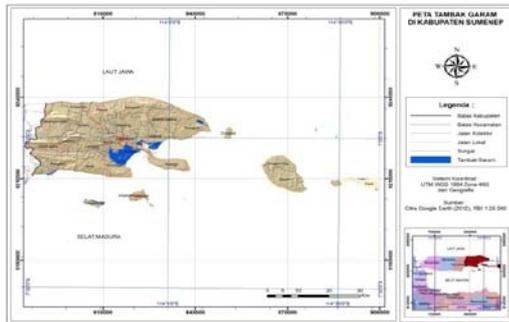


Fig 6. Map of Salt Land Area at Sumenep District

Salt land area belongs to PT Garam at Sumenep can be said as the widest one. Total salt land area belongs to PT Garam is 3,358.34 Ha spread at 5 subdistricts. Based on this, more than 200 Ha of PT Garam salt land being rented/yield share-rented/cooperated with salt smallholder. Location of PT Garam land covers several subdistricts, namely Gapura, Kalianget, Sumenep town, Lenteng and Saronggi.

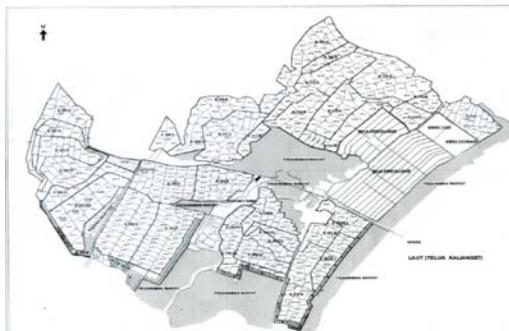


Fig 7. Map of Salt Land belongs to PT Garam Sumenep

3.2 Social capital of Salt Smallholder in Land Certification

In the effort of people consciousness due to salt land certification, then study of social capital need to be held. This is important that this effort keep paying attention on local wisdom that later may constructively give role for empowerment effort. As mentioned by Widodo (2010), access on social capital is very dominant and becoming bridge to access other capital.

Generally, age of smallholder at 3 districts has range between 27 up to 62 years old. However, most of salt smallholder at Sampang and Pamekasan are at age over 40 years. Meanwhile saltsmallholder at Sumenep is relatively less than 40 years. Therefore, distribution of salt land at Sumenep district is relatively in young age. This young age enable acceleration of change on society dynamics. Elder society tends to be more difficult in accepting new thing that uncommonly acted (Kartasaputra, 1991).

Age of salt smallholder is closely related to skill of salt smallholder. Experience of salt smallholder in doing the business is deserve to be studied since experience of saltwork on those smallholder had made precise decision for business. Actually, Madura society had done the salt business for long time (De Jong, 2011). Salt smallholders who had done the salt business are mostly having long experience namely 18-28 years. Long standing of skill has been contributed in decision making for the salt business. Most of salt smallholder time uses their experience, intuition, local wisdom and cunning in the business. Some respondents thought that salt business is hereditary custom being done every dry season. Thereby, uncertain condition doset not stop for doing the business.

Education of salt smallholder needs to be further studied since education is one of factor determining success on human resource quality development. Education may increase work performance because education may change life pattern of human which is less rational into more rational that lead into modern thinking and act positively as well as resulting high performance at work. Therefore, salt

smallholder education need to be studied as well due to effect on decision making. Information about education of salt smallholder is duration in having education. However, in order to ease information delivery, education of respondents will be delivered into categories. Categories of those are salt smallholder who does not pass Elementary School, pass Elementary School, Junior High School and the continuation. There are many respondents who had not finished their school especially for Elementary School.

Based on finding, it is stated that most of salt smallholder is Elementary School graduation or even not passed. This describes low quality of salt smallholder. Meanwhile at Sumenep, there have been many salt smallholders already Senior High School graduated. This shows that Sumenep is relatively having better education quality. Actually, education will give rational thinking pattern concerning with effort of precise solution gaining (Ban dan Hawkins, 1999). Therefore, decision taken is not only based on expectation and intuition but also logical consideration.

In culture, salt and Madura society is inseparable thing. As example, Kabupaten Sumenep is known as foremer of salt production. As the story, Syeh Anggasuta found crystal and let it for weeks that eventually formed salt. At Pinggir Papas Village of sub district Kebun of Kabupaten Sumenep, there is *nyadar* ritual. This ritual is for knowing Syeh Anggasuta who started salt production. He was also a hero saving escaped troops of Klungkung Bali kingdom that defeated by Sumenep kingdom. These escaped troops were as first inhabitant of Village Pinggir Papas.

Salt farmer usually works for 5-6 months in dry season. During rainy season, salt farmers use the land as fish and shrimp ponds. Nevertheless, some farmers also change their job as labors in the city. *Mantongs* who do not gain any money at this season, will borrow money from salt land owner or salt monger by agreement. This situation had caused mantongs trapped on dependency to land owner..

Salt farmer owning salt land at Sampang and Pamekasan district mostly still have no certificate and there are only by 2 % of farmers already certified. As involved culture, land is one of honor of owner in Madura island, therefore it will end up with duel if there is any bother on this. Public acknowledgement of local people and villages is considered to be enough. High cost and difficult bureaucracy grievance has been main reason of salt farmer obstacles in certifying land. Therefore, more socialization is needed. In addition, unique obstacle comes from *pepel* book. *Pepele* book is special book for land ownership note and tax paymet given by village official since Dutch colonialism. This book oftentimes "hostaged" by ex head of village if the person not being elected in the next period. Peoples should pay if they want to take the book back. This is different compared to salt farmer in Sumenep. Majority of farmers realized the importance of land certification and they warrant it to bank for obtaining loan due to supporting salt production such as buying *geo membrane*.

Another unique finding was in Tanjung Village of sub district Pademawu of Kabupaten Pamekasan that there is rotation culture of salt production in the family. Salt land is not bequeathed to each child but rotated by per family member per year so that salt land is still intact. So as at Karangayar Village of Kalianget sub district of Kabupaten Sumenep, there is salt farmer have applied corporate farming in salt work.

In social aspect of salt smallholder, there is also social capital. This has important role in constructing strategy for poverty level decrease (Grootaert and Van Bastelaar, 2002). Initiation of social capital discussion is by seeing structural and cognitive social capital. Structural social capital is discussed based on dimension of organization number related to salt smallholder, diversity of member and participation in decision making. Meanwhile cognitive social capital can be seen from solidarity, trust and cooperation as well as conflict resolution.

In related to structural social capital, most of salt farmer group were created by top down due to Smallholder Salt Empowerment program (*Pugar/Pemberdayaan Usaha Garam Rakyat*) from Marine and Fishery Ministry of Indonesia that called as Group of Salt Smallholder (*Kugar/Kelompok Usaha Garam rakyat*). *Kugar* membership consists of land owned farmer, *mantong*, and tenant farmer. *Kugar* number in Sampang district is 219, Pamekasan district 123 and Sumenep 142. As nowadays, *Kugar* membership has not covered all salt farmers and future plan is how to add more membership over years. Farmers were group based on program, not at own volition. Farmers also doesnot understand right and duty as well as regulation in the group. They just followed farmer considered as local leader who understood for any aid gaining for groups. Therefore, salt farmer members participation is less taking role and tends to be dominated by certain elites in the group.

Meanwhile, Others groups were by bottom up created, there are about 15 associations of salt farmer in Sampang, Pamekasan and Sumenep district. At subdistrict Pengaregan of Sampang district, there is "Cooperative Al Amin". Although in bottom up scheme, this cooperative organization takes ivory tower concept. It consist of educated peoples and elites who use to play double roles as both farmer and trader. This oftentimes causes conflict of interest. Bigger scale of organization had established National Salt Council at Pamekasan district. Salt council makes effort in coordinating independent associations that fight for salt farmer interest. Still, most of salt farmer has not known existence of National Salt Council. Smalle scale of independent institution such as Together Business Group (*KUB/Kelompok Usaha Bersama*) at salt sector also exists in Pademawu of Pamekasan district. There are KUB Sumber Segara and KUB BUMi Makmur. This organization exists as coaching forum for salt farmer held by community empowering initiated by University. This is also as learning and means forum for salt farmer to learn about organization for prosperity achievement purpose.

Based on social capital study, then consciousness effort on certification will be precise by using structural social capital that has been deeply planted in the society such as Islamic Boarding School. Islamic Boarding School as religious leader can contribute on social change process (Madya, 2003). Unfortunately, the salt business which has been part of Madura culture does not have strong structural capital yet. Long stand time experience of salt smallholder has been incredible capital in salt business.

Study of cognitive social capital at solidarity dimension is still in medium level. Community solidarity of salt worker is at the communal scope consisting family, neighbor and informal leader. Yet, external existence has no any meanings. Trust and cooperation of salt farmers is at medium level. Mutual aid culture still can be seen among farmers. Although rarely happen at salt work related, but mutual aids exists in the public and religious activity. The last issue is conflict dimension which rarely found at salt work concerning with water distribution, etc. Conflict happens at land boundary issue, and solution still trusted to be given by local religious leader.

Based on cognitive social capital, it is necessary to increase social capital in solidarity, trust, cooperation (mutual assistance) at the society. Considering that one of important component is trust to create intern strength power of a group (Utari, 2006). Mutual assistance that directly touches salt production business is rarely conducted need to be paid attention. As revealed by Subejo (2007), that mutual assistance (gotong royong) is not only giving benefit to public interest but also individual. One effort can be used is by leadership of communal and informal leader in the society that highly exist. The local leaders are religious leader (Kyai/Ulama) and salt business owners. This is suitable as revealed by Masyrofi (2000) that Kyai leadership as informal leader is effectively proven in moving social change at rural society.

4. Conclusion

Based on discussion result, then it may concluded that most of salt smallholder society has not own certificate for their land. This is caused by low consciousness on the importance of land certification ownership and expensive perception as well as difficulty on the procedure. Salt business has been part of culture in Madura society by long time experience of the smallholder. Most of smallholders are under low education by range on productive age. Social capital is structurally not optimum yet, so as cognitive social related to solidarity, trust and cooperation which is still in moderate level. High trust is given to the communal leader and informal leader (Kyai/Ulama).

5. Suggestion

Based on conclusion, then it may suggested that it is necessary to have consciousness on the society through massive illumination and socialization on salt smallholder by setting out local society condition concerning with the importance of land certification, cost and easy procedures. Utilizing ulama leadership through islamic boarding school in order to give illumination and socialization due to importance of land certification.

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