

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: How They Go Together among Bugis-Makassar Migrants in the Small City of Ternate, North Maluku

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Abstract: Many studies on the success of migrants in urban areas are often associated with the use of social capital both bonding capital and bridging capital. However, there are many studies that show less success or failure of migrants to adapt maximally in urban areas because they only rely on bonding social capital and ignore the importance of bridging social capital in their social networks. While most of these studies were conducted on migrants from rural to urban, from small towns to metropolises migrants, and from developing to developed countries, my study deals with understudied topics, seeing the successful adaptation of migrants from more complex urban cities to small less complex towns and how they use and develop bonding and bridging capital in their adaptation. Taking the case of adaptation of Bugis-Makassar migrants in the city of Ternate, also an understudied area, this study reveals that the successful adaptation of Bugis-Makassar migrants mainly due to their ability to fully utilize and develop social bonding and bridging networks together.

Keywords: Migrant, Ternate, Bonding, Bridging, Social capital, Bugis, Makassar.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on the social adaptation of Bugis-Makassar migrants from outside North Maluku living in Ternate city, North Maluku. The main concern of this study is the use of social capital in the process of adaptation. This decision is based on several reasons, both empirical and theoretical. The studies of the Bugis-Makassar migration tradition have been widely published. Many of them show a fairly strong migration habit in Bugis-Makassarese (Andaya, 1995; Hussin, 2008; Sutherland, 2001).

With regard to the issue of success or failure in the social adaptation of Bugis-Makassar migrants, there are two relatively contradictory conclusions that can be drawn from some previous studies. The first conclusion shows a successful adaptation of the Bugis-Makassar migrants in their host communities and the second shows a failed adaptation of Bugis-Makassar migrants which creates problems in both the natural and social environments. Among the findings demonstrating the successful social adaptation is (Carnegie, 2010) study on the island of Roti Nusa Tenggara Timur revealing the successful adaptation of Bugis migrants with local people even though they have different religions, Buginese are Muslims and the locals are Christians. Similarly, another study in South Kalimantan revealed not only the success of sociocultural adaptation but also the migrants contribute to the enrichment of local culture (Budhi, 2015).

On the other hand, there are studies that give a less positive picture of the social adaptability of Bugis-Makassar migrants in new places. One study reveals that the economic success of Bugis-Makassar migrants in Central Sulawesi often has to be paid for with the weakness of social adaptation with local people and the deterioration of the natural environment (Acciaioli, 2014). In addition, other study concludes that the weaknesses in social adaptation have led to social conflicts, which in part have resulted in the expulsion of Bugis-Makassar migrants by local residents (Ammarell, 2002).

Studies in the city of Ternate found a conclusion that supports the first conclusion. Observations and interviews conducted in Ternate reveal no social tensions between Bugis-Makassar migrants and local people. Local Ternate people and the migrants, so far, have developed harmonious social relations. One of the factors that could be an explanation for this harmony of migrants from Sulawesi with local people is the historical account.

Historically the local population and the local social system have been accustomed to interacting with Bugis-Makassar migrants from the beginning. Since the 16th century Bugis-Makassar merchants have been dominant in the Maluku sea (North Maluku) and developed interaction with the local people and local rulers (Andaya, 1995). Even since the late 17th century, at least in 1680, they have settled and formed a community in Ternate which until now is called Kampung Makassar (Leirissa, 2000). Thus, culturally, the local people of Ternate consider the Bugis-Makassar people, not as suspicious foreign invaders.

The above history-based explanation puts emphasis on welcome attitude of the local people towards the Bugis-Makassar settlers. In this article, in contrast, I seek to understand the adaptability of the migrants not from the local people attitudes but from the strategies migrants develop to adapt to local communities and to other local conditions. Studying this adaptation strategy is important because the local culture, language, socio-political conditions and the natural environment in the city of Ternate are different from the socio-cultural and environmental backgrounds of migrants. These absolutely require adjustment on the part of migrants to be adaptive in Ternate.

Beside cultural and linguistic differences, in the realm of socio-political environment, the people of Ternate are often strike by ethnic-based political tensions that almost always occur every time there is a political event such as local elections (Ahmad, 2012). In addition, open conflict-based religious sentiment between Muslims and Christians has also ravaged the region and left many traumas (Smith, 2009; Van Klinken, 2007). In the realm of the natural environment, frequent earthquakes and Mount eruption from Gamalama Mount, natural disasters that have never taken place in South Sulawesi, have been seen by informants as threats. In fact, Ternate city is actually located right at the foot of this Gamalama volcano.

Despite these challenges, migrants seem to be able to adapt well in this city. This is evident from the fact that demographics data show a relatively high population growth per year.

Population growth rate of Ternate city from 2010 - 2016 amounted to 2.73% (Kota Ternate in figure 2017 - Ternate Manicipality in Figures, 2017: 52). Demographically, a population growth of above 2.5% indicates that the growth was contributed predominantly by inward migration instead of natural growth (Mamas 2000 cited by Noveria, 2010: 107, 109).

In the same period the population density per sq.km continued to increase constantly from 1727.19 in 2011 to 1957.34 persons / Km² in 2016. Field observation as well as official data show that population density is concentrated primarily in sub districts of Central Ternate and South Ternate, the favorite zones for migrants to reside in. In addition, although no official data available, data drawn from field observation and interviews show that the number of Bugis-Makassar migrants is one among the biggest ethnic-based migrants in the city.

The above demographic facts and the findings through observation and interview indicate that the migrants are able to deal with and adapt well to the sociocultural and natural environments in the city of Ternate. Of course many factors enable this adaptability to occur. This article, however, will explore the adaptation of migrants from the aspects of social capital. More specifically, this article focuses on how the migrants employ and develop social capitals as important factors for their adaptiveness in the city.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In general, many studies have found the importance of social capital for the social life of a community, group, family, and even individual. These studies, among others, are about the positive impact of social capital on health (Kitchen, Williams, & Simone, 2012; Sapag et al., 2010), the role of social capital in adaptation to climate change (Adger, 2003), the contribution of social capital to governance performance (Andrews, 2011), the impact of social capital on access to employment (Aguilera, 2002), the contribution of in helping young people to tackle the problems they face (Furstenberg Jr & Hughes, 1995) contribution of social capital to entrepreneurship of a community group (Kwon, Heflin, & Ruef, 2013; Westlund & Bolton, 2003), and certainly many more.

Studies related to the use of social capital in adaptation have also been widely published, and some of them focus on adaptation in urban environments. So far there have been studies focusing on the impact of social capital on incomes of migrants (Aguilera, 2002). Specific studies on adaptations using social capital are among others the studies of the role of social capital for the ability of rural migrants to adapt in urban areas (Korinek, Entwisle, & Jampaklay, 2005), and the role of social capital in the life and attainment of the aspirations of migrants from developing countries living in cities of developed countries (Van Meeteren, Engbersen, & Van San, 2009), including adaptation of migrant descendants from developing countries living in the cities of developed country (Smith-Morris, 2007; Zhou & Bankston III, 1994).

Those studies pay more attention to the adaptation of rural-to-urban migrants, from smaller towns to larger cities, or from developing countries to cities in developed countries. This article, in contrast to the general trend above, is more concerned with the adaptation of migrants from big cities of Makassar in South Sulawesi to the smaller city or town of Ternate in North Maluku. The two main areas to be explored are the use of bonding and bridging social capitals in the adaptation.

With regard to the use of bonding and bridging, some experts have found that in certain cases there is an emphasis only on one aspect, especially bonding capital, causing the detriment to migrants themselves. Putnam, for example, argues that "too strong an emphasis on bonding capital among immigrant communities impedes integration into the broader society" (Madhavan & Landau, 2011, p. 476). Several other studies commented on by Portes and other also show the conclusion that the emphasis on internal relations (bonding) leads to a lack of bridging relationships in certain migrant groups, which makes them face difficulties in some aspects of their socioeconomic life (Adger, 2003; Portes, 1998). I argue in this article that Bugis-Makassar migrants do not emphasize only one capital either bonding or bridging, and this is to be the reason of their success in adaptation in Ternate city. Buginese and Makassarese have no problem running both bonding and bridging together, even bonding capital has been a crucial step towards bridging to the broad host community.

Portes (1998) traces concept of social capital from first introduced by Bourdieu (1986) and later followed by (Coleman, 1988). After that the concept is developed very rapidly in academic discourse and is given some varied perspectives. Regardless of the different meaning given to the concept, the concept refers to the ability of social actors to gain profit and access through participating in or belonging within a particular social group or community (Portes, 1998).

This study employs two central concepts in social capital namely bonding capital and bridging capital. Several studies have shown the important contribution of the both capital to migrants. Lancee (2010) examines the correlation between bonding and bridging capital with opportunities for employment and income for migrants in the Netherlands. He found that bridging capital is positively correlated with employment and income, while bonding capital has no impact on economic revenues. Bonding social capital is a social capital that includes relationships, trusts, cooperation, and social support based on similar ethnic or regional backgrounds among migrants. Bridging social capital is a social network that crosses the boundaries of one's own group and develops relationships and exchanges supports with people from outside of one's own group. While on bonding solidarity and network reinforcement are internal in nature, on bridging an external-oriented network is extended.

Several previous studies have shown that bonding and bridging social networks can contribute positively to the economic improvements of migrants (Amuedo-Dorantes & Mundra, 2007; Portes, 1998; Zhou & Bankston III, 1994). In this article, I try to answer the question of why Bugis-Makassar migrants are relatively successful in adapting in Ternate by tracking how they use and develop both social capitals (bonding and bridging) in their daily life in Ternate.

III. MATERIAL AND METHOD

This article is based on a six months fieldwork conducted in the city of Ternate in 2016. Due to the nature of the study is to explore what people think, behave, and experience, the appropriate method employed is qualitative descriptive method. The data collection techniques are qualitative in nature, and they are qualitative deep interview and field observation. These rely much on what migrants told me based on their subjective experiences as migrants in Ternate and what I see directly during the fieldwork. These techniques were guided by qualitative interview and observation guidance which were set before doing the actual fieldwork. The guidance for doing interviews and observation deals with various issues, covering many things related to migrants' life, their social relations, careers, houses, and how the migrants develop and use bonding and bridging social capital as crucial points in their adaptation process.

Since there is no standardized procedure in qualitative data analysis, the data analysis employed model proposed by (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2013) which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusion. The analysis starts with presenting the cases which is followed by analysis of the cases.

The informants were chosen purposefully based on their place of origin that is South Sulawesi, who has been more than five years living in Ternate. Because most of the migrants from South Sulawesi are Buginese and Makassarese, I have chosen some of them to be my informants. By reasons of the need for detail description on the one hand and the limited space available on the other, only three out of 17 informants I could present here.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There are only three informants that I put forward in this article. Each of them has different levels of human capital. The first informant has the lowest level of education, the second informant has the highest level of education with a master degree background, and the third informant has the highest level of education who has a doctoral degree from a Japan university. Although each of them has different educational levels representing a specific aspect of human capital, they are not treated as representing other migrants. In short, as a qualitative research, the findings cannot be generalized to the whole migrants with the same education level. What the findings suggests are the variations of bonding and bridging capital strategies that migrants have developed, employed, and exploited for supporting their adaptation.

4.1. First Case

Murni, age 46 years.

Life in Makassar is quite difficult for Murni's family because her parents are among those who live in the lower economic classes. The family who lives in Maccini in Makassar had to work hard in everyday life. His father was only as a seller of children's toys on the streets and his mother did not work. In 1983, when Murni was only 13 years old, they decided to move to Ternate. They went to Ternate to try their fate in Ternate because there was already Murni's mother's sister who had lived in Ternate. When first arrived there, they stayed in her aunt's house in the BatuAnteru village.

In Ternate, Murni's first job was to work in a nutmeg company owned by a businessman from Manado. There he worked as a nutmeg sorter with a law paid salary. In addition, at home, his mother made fried bananas and Murni sold them at her workplace. In this new city, his father continued his work on making children's toys and sold them on the streets.

Murni got acquainted with a young Ternate named JufriJafar. They then planned to get marriage. In 1987, Murni married JufriJafar who lived in the village of Maliaro, exactly next to BatuAnteru. Her marriage was challenged by the husband's family, especially from Jufri's mother, Mila. At that time Mila was actually planning to marry Jufri with other woman among her relatives. The marriage between Murni and Jufri took place even even without Jufri's mother's support.

After married, Murni's husband worked odd jobs. Sometimes her husband works as a mason with salary around Rp. 1,750 per week at that time. After that, her husband worked as a street sweeper in front of Ternate's mayor's office. While Murni still keeps selling fried banana and were sold around the village by her children, she also become a clothes launderette in several families's home. With the money earned from the work, Murni and his husband financed their life and paid the school needs of their four children.

In around the year of 2014 Murni's husband has started being unhealthy and sick so that he gave up his job as a street sweeper. His job was handed over to Murni, his wife. Work as a street sweeper, Murni must starts at 04.00 to 07.00 am and 15:00 and 17.30 pm. The salary earned from the work is 1.2 million from Ternate city government. Murni's find that life burden getting heavier because she has to take care their 4 children and husband who is sick and unable to work. Responsibility for earning a living is charged merely to her. Besides that, Murni has a disabled daughter, whom she should take care as well.

Their house has been a permanent house now. Land for the house is a gift from her husband's uncle. Before the year of 2014 their house was not a permanent house, all the parts of it made of wood, walls made of stem and midrib of sago palm called gaba and roofed with woven sago leaves. In 2014 they got help from the Ministry of Social Affairs under the Assagaf minister to build a permanent home. Murni recounts,

"In 2014 social minister, pakUstadJufriAssagaf, provided housing assistance to us. He came to this house, entered this house, which was still gaba-gaba (midrib of sago palm). He looked our house directly and spoke with us. We are assisted for the construction of a permanent house, Alhamdulillah, now we have a permanent home".

According to Murni, her husband's relatives have given a lot of support although sometimes they get disagreement for certain issues. To prove the support from her husband's relatives, she said "for example, the land for this house was given by my husband's uncle".

4.2. Second Case

Pak Aan & Bu Ani

At the age of 46 Mariani, frequently called Ani, came to Ternate in 2011. Before her family went to Ternate, they already had friend living in Ternate. This friendship, in fact, had been built long ago since they were in Makassar. Ani admitted that her family migrated to Ternate was due to their effort to find a suitable job for her husband. Previously, after completing master's and doctoral degree at Gifu University in Japan (2001-2009) specializing in chemistry, her husband, Aan, was admitted to be a lecturer at Pahang University in Kuantang, Malaysia.

There he worked only 2 years. According to Mr. Aan, he did not continue working in Malaysia because he wanted to be close to his father and mother and her elderly mother-in-law in Indonesia, so he decided to return to Indonesia hoping to serve at any university that would accept him as well as be able to be close to his beloved people. In Makassar he worked as a non-permanent lecturer at Alauddin State Islamic University (UIN Alauddin) Makassar before leaving to Ternate. Before leaving for Ternate, there was a friend who promised to offer Aan a lecturer position at HaluleoKendari University, but after a while, there seemed to be no sign for that. Therefore, at that time he was rather unclear what university he would work in.

Initially they had not imagined going to Ternate. But, in 2010 sisters of Ani's close friend which is her friend as well who lives in Ternate called her, informing that there was a vacancy admission for chemistry

lecturer in Ternate. Ani says "in 2010 I received a call from my friend's sister who lives in Ternate. She is a Makassarese who married to Ternate man and has worked in Ternate, North Maluku". She also said,

"At that time my husband worked at UIN Makassar, he had not become a permanent lecturer as a civil servant because there had been no vacancy of a new lecturer majoring in chemistry. In 2010 there happened to be my friend's sister in Ternate informed that there was a lecturer vacancy in Khairun University Ternate for chemical department, so we immediately sent all the required documents to her then we came to Ternate where my husband took test. Alhamdulillah, my husband was accepted as a permanent lecturer at Unkhair Ternate".

She continues to say "First time to set foot in Ternate for lecturer test, we stayed at friend's house. After the test we returned to Makassar while waiting for the test results. Thanks God, Alhamdulillah, the result as expected, my husband was accepted". After the announcement, they prepare everything to go to Ternate. During the first six months only Pak Aan stayed in Ternate. His wife and four children still live in Makassar while waiting the children to complete their school year at that time. Whereas in Ternate Pak Aan lived in a boarding house with a newly selected lecturers. Later pakAan decided to invite his wife and children to stay in Ternate. On April 4, 2011, Mr. Aan brought his family to Ternate. At the beginning, he rented a house belonging to a friend who is also a lecturer, which at that time is still studying in Yogyakarta, central Java. Information on the rented house was also obtained through Sa, sister of Ani's close friend, as previously mentioned.

Since arriving in Ternate, the family has developed social networks both internally with Makassarese as well as with local people or other migrants in the city. This was conducted through two social mediums: network at work and network in the religious group. At Amin's workplace, on the campus, he was in charge of teaching in the faculty of agriculture, but then he was transferred to the faculty of education. He teaches subjects related to chemistry education. Friendships and relationships have expanded Aan's social networks on campus. He was also asked to head one of the work units on campus focusing on overseas cooperation since 2011 until now.

Outside of the campus, Mr. Amin is quite active following weekly Islamic gatherings in the city of Ternate involving local people and migrants. Similarly what his wife does. All those activities also help expand Amin's social network in the community. Not infrequently Mr. Amin also offers his home as a place of that gathering.

According to Ani and Aan, there are many benefits of joining such kinds of gathering. By engaging in it, in addition to increasing their religious knowledge, they became acquainted with local Ternate and others who participate in it. The gathering members are from various ethnic backgrounds both local and migrants, and various professions. Aan says, "through involving in such gathering I know many people, begin to understand local daily habits, customs, and daily language used Ternate".

Through such gathering group, Mariati, Aan's wife, got the job information that is suitable for her. Sa, who previously informed pakAan about vacancy for being lecturer in Ternate, introduced Ani to the board of Albina educational foundation that has elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Ani was then accepted to teach in these schools since 2011. During the year 2011-2016 Ani taught at Al-Bina Integrated Islamic School. There she established good relationship with students' parents who come from different ethnic, occupational, and socio-economic backgrounds. Ani liked her teaching activities in that school, but because she faced a particular problem in that school, she eventually moved to another school whose owner was still associated with the gathering group that Ani is one of the members.

Ibu Ani and Pak Aan are also actively participating in ethnic-based organization, KerukunanKeluarga Sulawesi Selatan - a South Sulawesi Family Gathering (KKSS) which often organizes social gatherings. Ani said "in addition to KKSS organization that I follow, I also join my sub-ethnic Islamic gathering. Each has its own activities".

Along with the expanding social network that was built in Ternate, Ani see a business opportunity in the network. By comparing the prices of clothing between Ternate and Makassar which are so different, Ani found that the price of clothes in Ternate could be 3 to five times as expensive as the price of clothes in Makassar. Ani then established a relationship with her friend in Java who has a garment business to send clothes to Ternate. Because the goods directly sent from the manufacturer so that it can cut the chain of distribution, hence the clothes sold by Ani are much cheaper than the market price in Ternate. This attracted many buyers. She sold the items to friends among teachers, parents of students and to neighbors and gathering friends.

Living more than 5 years in Japan gives benefits to pakAan's family in terms of human capital. All of their children are fluent in speaking Japan. In order to keep this skill, their everyday language at home is Japan. Ani also opens Japanese language private course, which consists of three categories namely children class, teenager class, and adult class. During 2 years of opening Japanese class, more and more people are interested in joining the class. She says this also adds to their household income. In terms of housing, during the first two years, Aan family lived in a rented house. But since 2014 this family has owned their own house. Aansyas the price of the house if they wanted to sell it now would be around Rp 600 million.

Ani is quite active in social organizations called Salimah (Muslim women organization) and KKSS (*kerukunanKeluarga Sulawesi Selatan* – South Sulawesi Family Gathering). Salimah has played many roles in Islamic social activities in North Maluku and well-accepted by Muslim community. Probably because of this involvement, Ani is frequently asked to give preach in other organizations. "I am frequently asked to give *ceramah* (speak) in the meeting of the wives of bank employees association. In this meeting I speak about child education and other topics", Ani said. The meeting is held monthly but sometimes, due to some busy situations, once in three months. The association of wives of bank employees has members consist of wife of heads of branches and heads of sections. Ani says "at the beginning when I gave speak in their meeting, there seemed to be a rejection from them, probably because of my appearance that wearing veil. But over time their acceptance has been good and I also enjoy the activities, I feel happy".

4.3. Third Case

Asmih

Asmih is a lecturer at Teacher Education Faculty (FKIP) in Khairun University (Unkhair) Ternate. After graduating from S2 at Makassar State University (UNM), she decided to try his fortune in the city of Ternate. The decision was taken for several reasons, especially economic issues. First, she had to finance her sister's college fee because her father had left them with her mother. Long before being real lecturer, she already had planned to become a university lecturer. She always kept it in her mind. Secondly, during her study in master degree, she made a good friendship with Ahmad Kabir, a lecturer of Khairun University (Unkhair) Ternate who was taking master degree at the same university with Asmih. Friendship was what made Mad (called name of Ahmad) persuaded Asmih to go to Ternate to be a lecturer at Unkahir. She also approved the invitation. She recalled MrMad's invitation, "Asmih, you just go to Ternate. At our university, we still need lecturers, we have only limited numbers of lecturers. You just work over there, stay patient, then you will be appointed a permanent lecturer ". At that time Unkhair had not become a state university, it was still a private university under a local foundation.

In 2001 she graduated from UNM, and in the same year she decided to go to Ternate to find a job as a lecturer. In the same year, in North Maluku, the impact of communal conflict between communities still felt. From 1999 to 2000 a conflict between Muslim and Christian communities broke out in North Maluku. Even until 2001, the situation was still not safe because, to some extent, people still suspected each other.

The first time she arrived in Ternate, she lived with her aunt from Tobelo (a district in North Halmahera) at a refugee shelter in Ternate. Her aunt is from Makassar who married a local Tobelo man. Because of the trouble unrest between the Christian and Muslim communities broke in Tobelo, her aunt's family had to flee to Ternate. At the refugee camp, she stayed until 2003 when refugees began to be returned to Tobelo. Although the situation was quite difficult, she still did not want to go back to Makassar. Her determination was "I must be success", and success in her mind was able to reach her desire to be a lecturer and able to finance her sister's college.

Hearing that Asmih stayed in the evacuation shelter, Mr Ahmad called her to come to his house and told her "you do not stay in the refugee shelter, all the way you come here just to stay with the refugees. From now on, you just stay in my house with my family ". But she refused it politely and convinced him that it was ok that she lived in a shelter because her aunt took care of her. Finally they agreed, and Mr Ahmad told her that if she had time when she did not teach, she should come to Mr Ahmad's house, and if necessary on holidays she had to stay there.

In Khairun University Mr Ahmad introduced Asmih to Mr Aba, the nickname for Mr. Said Hasan, one of the important figures at the university and in his faculty as well. Aba offered Asmih several subjects to teach. Asmih immediately took the opportunity. Since her presence in Ternate, Asmih has received many teaching offers in schools other than teaching at Khairun University. Before teaching in university, in vocational school she got 4 subjects. When she knew a teacher from Alkhairat high school, she then was offered to teach there as well. The money earned from her teaching activities was sent to her sister to be able to finance her study. The more she taught in the schools the more acquaintances and friends in the city of Ternate she got. From time to time she feels more comfortable to stay in this city.

In 2003 central government changed Khairun University to be a new state university in that province. The lecturers were also required to take a test to be state lecturers. Asmih as a lecturer of Unkhair Foundation at that time decided to take the test to become a state lecturer at the university. This is the first time the recruitment of lecturers at the university was directly handled by the Directorate General of Higher Education from Jakarta because it is a consequence of the change of status to become a state university.

Unfortunately, the announcement of the test results showed that Asmih did not pass the test. She was overwhelmed by an incredible disappointment and almost desperate. Under the shady trees on the faculty of Teacher Training and Education where she taught for, she expressed her disappointment and sad feelings to Mr. Aba. "Aba, I did not pass, I want to go back to Makassar", while tears. Mr. Aba responded by motivating her not

to give up and keep staying in Unkhair, and asked her to make preparations for the next year's test. While rubbing the head of buAsmih, Mr. Aba said "this is just your first time test, that's bad if just because you did not pass it made you so disappointed like that. Do not give up, you have to be strong, stay here and study harder to take another test next year".

According to Asmih, Mr Aba and Mr Ahmad were the people who made her calm down in facing that failure and struggled again to pursue her goal in the city of Ternate. On the advice and motivation from both people, Asmih found her strength and continued to teach while preparing for next year's test. As a result, she successfully passed the test and became lecturer in the following year, in 2004.

In 2005 she married a local man, a nephew of Mr. Ahmad. It was Mr. Ahmad who introduced Asmih to his nephew when they met at Ahmad's house. Mr Ahmad and Aba were among those who came to Asmih's aunt on behalf of the candidate husband to arrange the marriage. In general, Asmih feels that the people in schools where she thought and in campus have been very supportive to her either financially, job access, as well as social and moral support when she faces shock events or important events in her life such as failing to pass the lecturer recruitment and when she got married.

4.4. Pre-Departure Bonding/Bridging Networks

The data of the three cases indicate that prior to migrating to Ternate, the Bugis-Makassar people already had some social networks with relatives or fellow Bugis-Makassar friends who had already lived in Ternate, or friends from Ternate people who took them to Ternate. Some are based on familial ties just like Murni, some are friendship ties like Ani, while others are mix of the two ties like Asmih. Murni has aunt (mother's sister) who had lived in Ternate City before Murni's parents with Murni migrated to Ternate. Her purpose is to improve her economic condition of her family and the existence of relatives of her mother who had already lived in ternate influenced Murni's parents to take decision to move to Ternate. This is familial Ties.

Aan and Ani also have friend in Ternate, the younger sister of Ani's close friend, who is married to the Ternate man and has lived in Ternate. While in Makassar, Mr. Aan and Mrs. Ani who often visited the house of Ani's friend in Panaikang Makassar, Ani often met and chatted with Sa, the younger sister of her friend, who later invited them to Ternate. This relationship is what makes Sa invites Mr. Aan to submit the application as a lecturer at Khairun University Ternate when the opportunity exists. Luckily at that time Aan was looking for a job as a lecturer in Indonesia after deciding not to continue the work contract as a lecturer at Pahang University Malaysia. The invitation of a familiar person who had lived in Ternate and together with the desire to be a permanent lecturer at the university in Indonesia made MrAan decided to apply to be a lecturer in Ternate. After Aan passed the test, he and Ani and children moved to Ternate as their new hometown. This is typically a kind of friendship ties that brought them there.

Asmih is a case representing mixed form of familial and friendship ties. Since she did her master degree in IKIP Makassar, Asmih had already close friends with Ahmad, Ternate man, who also took a master's degree in the same university but in different major. Asmih took in the history department while Pak Ahmad took the Indonesian language. This friendship between Ahmad and Asmih made Ahmad often invited Asmih to become a lecturer at Khairun University of Ternate. At first Asmih did not care much about the invitation, but slowly she began to think of future opportunities there. She also thought that her aunt had already lived in Tobelo North Maluku who married Tobelo man. She also have known Mr Ahmad who promised to bring her in at UiversitasKhairun as a lecturer (at that time the university was still a private, not a state, university). Based on all those considerations, she decided to follow Pak Ahmad's invitation. She moved to Ternate.

4.5. Bonding and Bridging Networks of Migrants in Ternate

We find in all three cases that when these migrants actually arrived in Ternate, their existing social networks (both bonding and bridging) before coming to Ternate were maintained and even strengthened. In fact, the social networks became ways to expand the new and further social network either bonding or bridging to parties that have not been known before. The migrants were/are able to develop new social networks both bonding and bridging outside and beyond their previous and existing networks.

Murni, when in Ternate, she was introduced to people who were her aut's networks. Through these networks, she got a job at a nutmeg company belonging to a businessman from Manado. Due to an inadequate educational background, the social network that was built to access employment was limited. Working as a nutmeg sorter while selling her mother's fried banana at work were her first job. After marrying a young Ternate man, Mr. Jufri, Murni social network extends to Mr. Jufri's relatives. Access to jobs and other resources also opens up to Murni, although it is scarce to migrants with low human capital (low educational level) such as Murni. Murni gained access to informal urban work such as washing clothes in some surrounding families. In addition, her husband's social network that allows her husband to get an informal job like a street sweeper organized by the city government can be continued by Murni since her husband has got sick. Murni's salary is obtained from Ternate city budget. In her family, she and her husband were granted land to build a house from

her uncle, and on certain social networks with others, she and her husband received financial assistance to build their house to a permanent house from Minister JufriAssagaf, the social minister in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono.

Unlike Murni, Aan and Ani are among those with high level of education and much experience. Aan is a chemistry doctor graduated from Gifu University, Japanese, and Ani graduated from agriculture faculty, Hasanuddin University. Ani has accompany her husband in Japan, in Malaysia, and then returned to Indonesia. When arriving in Ternate, Aan and Ani relied on their existing network of friends which had been established in Makassar long before their coming to Ternate. The house where they rented when they first came in Ternate was recommended by Sa, Ani's friend's sister. As mentioned earlier, it was Sa who informed Aan about vacancy in university and suggested Aan to apply for a lecturer in Ternate. Similarly, the school where Ani first taught in Ternate was obtained through Sa. Sa introduced Ani to the school board.

Furthermore, both Mr. Aan and Ani, with their human good human capital (education and experience), they can easily develop and expand their networks both among migrants from Bugis-Makassar itself and others of local ethnic background and other migrants. They involve themselves in the organization of the Association of South Sulawesi Family (KKSS), involve themselves in Islamic gathering groups, Ani is also active in the SALIMAH women's organization, and has access give speak in bank women association. Meanwhile, Aan's career in campus is growing, besides being a lecturer he is also entrusted to lead the foreign cooperation section for Khairun University.

Asmih, like Aan and Ani, has an adequate educational background of master's degree in history education. When she came to Ternate to meet Ahmad's invitation, Mr. Ahmad introduced her to the campus, and she was immediately accepted to teach at the Faculty of Teaching of Khairun University (FKIP), where Mr. Ahmad taught. She also relied on her aunt who was living in refugee camp in Ternate. On the campus she became acquainted with many people, including important figures in his faculty like Mr. Aba who continued to help her in any difficult situation. Mr Ahmad introduced Bu Asmih with his future husband, Mr Ahmad's nephew, and then Mr Ahmad and Mr Aba went to further to support her caree in campus and her marriage.

By teaching on campus, Asmih became acquainted with many teachers who also attended college. This helps to expand Asmih's networks. As a result, she was asked to teach in many public and private high schools. With the wider networking, both within the ethnic community itself and with local people, Asmih gets plenty of opportunities and access to increase her monthly income. This income is partly sent to finance his sister's college until finish in Makassar. After marrying a local, Asmih's network grew wider among her husband's relatives, as well as with other local people, and in workplace.

V. CONCLUSION

My earlier assumption stands that migrants living in less complex society who come from more complex urban society would develop unique mode of social adaptation which substantially differ from the mode of adaptation developed by migrants from less complex society who adapt in more complex society. This assumption is incongruously with the findings on adaptation developed by Bugis-Makassar migrants in the small city of Ternate. This conclusion is specifically true in terms of how they use their existing social capital and develop new social capitals which significantly help them to adjust better in the host community.

I have proved that, not like other migrants that cannot develop successful adaptation in urban setting (Adger, 2003; Madhavan & Landau, 2011, 2011; Portes, 1998), Bugis-Makassar migrants are quite successful in Ternate due to their ability to use and develop both bonding and bridging social capital in the city. They put both bonding and bridging social capital as similarly important for their daily life in Ternate.

Migrants used their existing social networks before migrating to Ternate. The social network is in the form of a kinship relationship in case one, a friendship relationship in case two, and a combination of both in case three. When they have lived in Ternate, they not only rely on social networks that have been formed before coming to Ternate, they are creatively developing new social networks more broadly both bonding among the Bugis-Makassar people themselves and bridging with local people as well as with other migrants outside their ethnic communities living in Ternate.

The expansion of social networks transcends their ethnic boundaries in part because of marriages with local people (cases one and three), partly because of friendship in workplaces, and because of the organization they are involved in. The utilization of existing social relationships and developing new ones, both within and outside of their communities, brings benefits to the migrants in terms of access to employment, social rewards, ease of affairs, and even material benefits in the form of land for homes, and more.

In short, the main finding of this study is that the key of adaptability of Bugis-Makassar migrants in small city of Ternate is their ability to utilize and creatively develop both bonding and bridging social capitals. The Bugis-Makassar migrants in Ternate do not emphasize a single social capital. They do not emphasize bonding capital (familial or ethnic background ties) and neglect bridging capital. These two capitals, as shown in all three cases described earlier, have some sort of associations with the human capital of the migrants. The

data in all three cases, although cannot be generalized to all Bugis-Makassar migrants, show that migrants who have better human capital appear to be more likely to expand bridging social capital, access to better jobs, and have better income.

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