



Mosque-Based Social Capital Mobilization for Sustainable Community Development in Bandung's Urban Area

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Abstract: Mosques in urban areas possess various resources that can function as community assets, yet their existence does not automatically generate collective capacity for sustainable community development. This study aims to analyze mosque assets, examine their transformation into social capital, explain the mechanisms by which social capital is mobilized to drive collective action, and formulate an asset-based social capital mobilization model for sustainable urban community development. This study employs a qualitative case study approach. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, documentation, and community asset mapping involving mosque administrators, religious leaders, worshippers, youth, women, professionals, community organizations, and external stakeholders. Data were analyzed thematically by identifying community assets, forms of social capital, mobilization mechanisms, collective actions, and their contribution to community development. The findings indicate that mosque assets consist of human, social, institutional, physical, economic, and knowledge resources. These assets generate social capital through repeated interaction, participation, trust, solidarity, reciprocity, and social networks. Social capital is subsequently mobilized through facilitative leadership, intermediary actors, coordination, communication, and inclusive participation, thereby transforming social relations into collective action across social cohesion, economic empowerment, education, public services, environmental initiatives, and institutional strengthening. The study contributes to social capital and community development scholarship by emphasizing mobilization as the mechanism that connects community assets and social relations to collective capacity and sustainable urban development.

Keywords: collective action; community development; mosque assets; social capital; sustainable development; urban community.

1. Introduction

The development of urban areas not only changes spatial form, settlement density, and economic activity patterns but also changes how communities build social relationships. Cities become spaces of high mobility, diverse interests, and intense interactions that do not always lead to social closeness. Urban growth can expand economic opportunities and access to various services, but at the same time can present issues of social fragmentation, competition for space, unequal access, and weakened relationships between residents. In the context of Bandung, these issues are crucial because urban development occurs simultaneously with changes in spatial structure, settlement patterns, and increasingly complex community activities. Studies on urbanization in Bandung show that physical and ecological changes in the city also influence patterns of social interaction (A'yuni et al., 2024). Thus, urban development cannot be understood solely through physical and economic indicators; it also requires attention to the social capacities that enable communities to build a shared life.

This issue is more concretely evident in community life at the neighborhood level. Amidst urban density and mobility, the existence of social spaces that enable people to meet, interact, build trust, and

engage in shared activities is becoming increasingly important. Research on residential communities in Bandung shows that limited interaction spaces can hinder the formation of social networks and reciprocal relationships between residents. Interestingly, religious facilities are one of the spaces that enable social interaction among residents (Gunawan et al., 2021). These findings demonstrate that urban community development depends not only on the existence of formal public spaces but also on the ability of local institutions to provide meaningful interaction spaces for the community.

This context demonstrates that urban communities do not necessarily lose their social capacity simply due to modernization and urbanization. Instead, social capital can persist, transform, and find new spaces through institutions closely tied to people's daily lives. Research on urban kampung communities in Bandung demonstrates that community participation and local social practices remain crucial in the process of urban environmental development. Community strengthening cannot be achieved solely through external intervention, but requires the involvement of the community as actors with local experience, knowledge, relationships, and resources (Sari, 2021). This perspective directs attention to more fundamental questions: not merely what problems urban communities face, but rather what assets the community already possesses and how these assets can be mobilized to address shared challenges.

The city of Bandung itself provides a relevant context for this question. A study of the Bandung City community index shows that social capital is a crucial dimension in assessing a community's capacity to participate in development. In this context, social capital relates not only to interpersonal relationships but also to participation, trust, social norms, shared values, respect, and social relations (Khalid et al., 2018). This means that urban community development requires attention to social resources that are often invisible in economic statistics but influence a community's ability to organize and act collectively.

This perspective becomes increasingly important when community development is geared toward sustainability. A sustainable community is not simply one with facilities or development programs, but one with the ability to maintain social relationships, develop internal capacity, manage resources, and build cooperation in the face of change. Therefore, a development approach that focuses solely on community deficiencies or needs risks positioning the community as the recipient of interventions. In contrast, an asset-based approach focuses on the capacities already available within the community and how these capacities can be connected and mobilized to bring about change (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). In the urban context of Bandung, this perspective opens up the opportunity to view religious institutions, particularly mosques, as social assets with significant potential for community development.

The mosque is an institution that holds a unique position in the lives of Muslim communities. While its function is rooted in worship, its presence also creates a social gathering space that brings together individuals and groups from diverse backgrounds. Regular congregational attendance, educational activities, religious studies, social services, religious fundraising, youth activities, and various community activities create ongoing social connections. Therefore, the mosque can be understood not merely as a physical structure, but as a social ecosystem with various assets to support community life.

These assets include human, social, institutional, physical, economic, knowledge, and religious values. The congregation is a human asset, bringing diverse skills, professions, experiences, and capacities. The inter-congregation network is a social asset that can provide channels for communication and collaboration. The management structure is an institutional asset that enables coordination. The mosque building and facilities are physical assets that can provide a space for interaction. Meanwhile, zakat, infaq, sadaqah, waqf, and various forms of philanthropy are economic assets that can be managed for social benefit. All of these assets become increasingly valuable when there is a mechanism that connects them to the needs of the community.

The asset-based approach emphasizes that community development should begin with recognizing existing capacities, then building relationships between these assets to generate collective action (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). In the context of mosques, this approach shifts the perspective

on religious institutions. Mosques are no longer seen simply as venues for religious activities, but as local institutions that can connect people, networks, spaces, economic resources, knowledge, and religious values.

Several studies in Indonesia demonstrate this trend. A study of the Jogokariyan Mosque, for example, showed that the congregation can serve as a source of social capital through the formation of trust, norms, and networks that develop from mosque activities (R. Hidayat, 2015). Research on the revitalization of mosque management also shows that strengthening mosque functions can link religious fund management with education, welfare, and community empowerment (Muhlis et al., 2023). These developments demonstrate that mosques have the potential to function as social institutions beyond their ritual functions.

However, this potential does not automatically mean that every mosque becomes a center for community development. Available assets can remain fragmented without leadership, coordination, participation, and networks that connect them. This is where the concept of mobilization becomes crucial. The issue is not simply whether a mosque has assets, but how those assets are activated, who mobilizes them, how relationships between actors are built, and how these resources are converted into collective action.

The concept of social capital provides an important framework for understanding these processes. Social capital refers to the resources available through social networks, trust, norms, and reciprocal obligations that enable individuals or groups to obtain certain benefits. Portes suggests that social capital operates through social relationships that can provide support, access to resources, social control, and benefits gained through networks (Portes, 1998). Thus, social capital is not simply the sum of the relationships an individual or community has, but the resources that can emerge and be used through those relationships.

In the development of his theory, social capital is also understood in terms of different forms of relationships. Bonding social capital relates to relatively close and homogeneous internal relationships, bridging social capital connects different groups, while linking social capital connects communities with institutions and actors possessing different resources or authority. Woolcock emphasized the importance of distinguishing between these various forms of social relationships, as overly closed networks can foster internal solidarity while limiting access to external resources (Woolcock, 1998). This distinction is relevant for mosques, as a strong network of congregants within the mosque requires connections with other community groups, government, social organizations, educational institutions, the business world, and other external actors. Thus, there is an analytical distinction between possessing social capital and mobilizing it. A mosque can have a large congregation, an extensive network, and a high level of trust, but these conditions do not necessarily indicate that social capital has resulted in community change. Mobilization occurs when these social relationships are directed toward specific goals through processes of communication, leadership, coordination, role allocation, and collective action. In this perspective, social capital is a relational resource, while mobilization is the process that transforms these resources into the capacity to act.

An asset-based perspective strengthens this understanding because community assets are not treated as a passive list of resources. They need to be mapped, connected, and mobilized. Kretzmann and McKnight position the process of asset mobilization as a crucial part of building a community from within, as sustainable change requires the direct involvement of the community in recognizing and utilizing their existing capacities (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). In the context of a mosque, this process can occur when the congregation is positioned not only as participants in religious activities, but also as possessors of knowledge, skills, networks, resources, and organizational capabilities.

This mobilization must also be understood critically. Social capital can generate benefits, but it can also create exclusivity if the network is only open to certain groups. Portes cautions that social capital can have negative consequences, including limiting access for those outside the network and pressures for conformity on group members (Portes, 1998). Therefore, mobilizing mosque assets for sustainable community development requires attention to the dimension of inclusivity. The strength of internal

networks needs to be maintained, but at the same time, broader relationships need to be built so that mosque assets can benefit the community in a more inclusive manner.

The study of mosques as social institutions is not entirely new. Research on the Jogokariyan Mosque has demonstrated the relationship between mosque activities, congregations, beliefs, norms, and social networks (W. P. Hidayat, 2015). Studies on mosque management have also shown that mosques can develop educational, welfare, and empowerment functions through the management of religious resources (Muhlis et al., 2023). Even more recent research has begun to explore mosques as centers of social innovation in urban communities, including through educational programs, entrepreneurship, youth empowerment, and environmental activities (Hadi, 2025). Nevertheless, significant analytical space remains. Most studies tend to start from the mosque's functions, such as *da'wah* (Islamic outreach), education, philanthropy, social services, or economic empowerment. Meanwhile, asset-based approaches begin with questions about what the community owns and how these assets are mobilized. These two perspectives have not always been systematically reconciled to explain the process of converting mosque assets into social capital, and then from social capital into collective action and community-building capacity.

This gap is increasingly relevant in the urban context of Bandung. Studies on social capital in Bandung City indicate that social capacity is a crucial component of community participation in development (Essa, 2018), while studies on residential communities indicate that religious facilities can be important spaces for social interaction when formal public spaces are unable to fully fulfill this function (Aldianto & Phahlevy, 2023). However, these two findings do not specifically explain how mosques, as local institutions, can mobilize their various assets into social capital and then direct it towards sustainable community development. Therefore, this article does not start from the assumption that mosques automatically generate social cohesion or development. The focus is on the mechanisms. The key questions are how the human, social, institutional, physical, economic, knowledge, and religious assets surrounding mosques are interconnected; how these relationships shape social capital; how social capital is mobilized through leadership and organization; and how this process generates community capacity to address the needs and changes of the urban environment.

With this focus, this article seeks to fill the gap between social capital studies, asset-based development approaches, mosque studies, and urban community development. Its orientation is not merely to identify mosque potential, but also to explain the process of transforming assets into social capital and social capital into collective capacity. This perspective is important because community sustainability is determined not only by the existence of resources, but by the community's ability to connect, manage, and use them collectively. Based on this issue, this study aims to analyze the mobilization of social capital based on mosque assets for sustainable community development in the urban area of Bandung. Specifically, the research is directed at five interrelated objectives. First, identifying mosque assets that can become community resources, including human, social, institutional, physical, economic, knowledge, and religious values. Second, analyzing the forms of social capital formed from the interaction and utilization of these assets, particularly in the form of trust, networks, norms, solidarity, and bonding, bridging, and linking relationships.

Third, this study explains the mechanisms of social capital mobilization, including the role of leadership, congregational participation, organizational coordination, and relationships with external actors. Fourth, the study analyzes the contribution of this mobilization to sustainable community development, particularly in strengthening social, economic, institutional, educational, and environmental capacities. Fifth, the study formulates a model of social capital mobilization based on mosque assets that can explain the relationship between assets, social capital, collective action, and urban community development. Thus, this study positions mosques not merely as institutional objects, but as arenas for mobilizing community assets. This focus allows the analysis to move from questions about what mosques do to more substantive questions: how mosques organize their assets, how social relationships are converted into collective capacity, and how this capacity can support the sustainability of urban communities. This framework also positions the community as the primary actor in

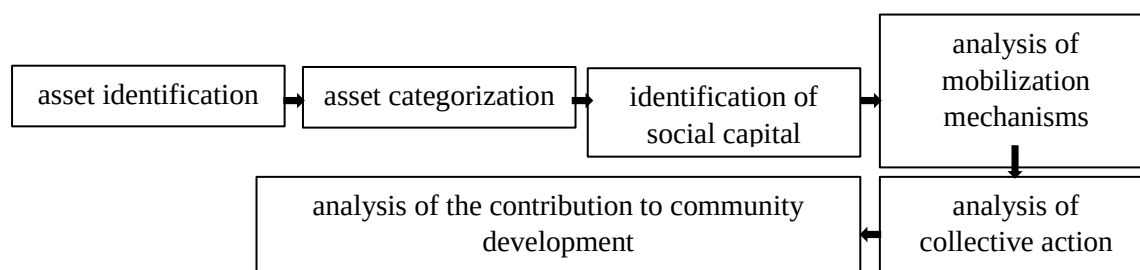
development, while understanding the mosque as a local institution that can bring together values, networks, knowledge, resources, and collective action in the community development process.

2. Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design to deeply understand the process of mobilizing social capital based on mosque assets in urban community development in Bandung. Case studies are appropriate for analyzing a phenomenon in a real-life context by utilizing various data sources, such as interviews, observations, and documentation (Cheryl N. Poth, n.d.). The qualitative approach was chosen because the research focuses on experiences, social relations, participation practices, and mechanisms that connect assets to collective action. The asset-based community development (ABCD) perspective is used to identify and understand the resources available within the community. This approach places capacity, skills, associations, institutions, physical space, and local resources as the basis for community development (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Thus, the research not only identifies mosque assets but also analyzes how these assets are activated, form social capital, and mobilize into collective action.

The research was conducted in the urban area of Bandung, focusing on mosques with social activities and community involvement. Site selection was purposive based on the presence of activities beyond ritual functions, such as education, philanthropy, economic empowerment, youth, women's activities, and community social activities. Informants were purposively selected based on their knowledge and involvement in mosque and community activities. Informants included administrators or the Mosque Prosperity Council (DKM), religious leaders, congregants, youth, women, business owners, surrounding communities, social organizations, local government, and external partners. The diversity of informants was intended to gain perspectives on community assets, networks, participation, leadership, and internal and external relationships. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, documentation, and mapping of community assets. The use of multiple data sources is important in case studies because it allows researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Cheryl N. Poth, n.d.).

Observations were used to observe activities, interactions, participation, and utilization of mosque space. In-depth interviews were used to explore informants' experiences regarding assets, trust, networks, reciprocity, leadership, cooperation, and resource mobilization mechanisms. Documentation was used to supplement information regarding organizational structures, programs, and community activities. Asset mapping was used to identify human, social, institutional, physical, economic, knowledge, and network resources available around the mosque. Asset mapping is an important part of the ABCD approach because it helps identify and connect existing capacities and resources within the community (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Punterney, 2014). Data analysis was carried out in stages through the following flow:



The assets found were first identified and categorized by type and function. Next, the data were analyzed to identify forms of trust, norms, reciprocity, solidarity, and social networks that developed around the mosque. The analysis then focused on mechanisms for mobilizing social capital through leadership, communication, role allocation, internal networks, and external relationships. The next stage identified forms of collective action and their contribution to strengthening the community's social, economic, knowledge, participation, and institutional capacity. The analysis was conducted

systematically through organizing data, grouping themes, interpreting relationships between themes, and drawing conclusions. A systematic and transparent analysis process is essential to maintaining the credibility of qualitative research (Nowell et al., 2017). Data validity was ensured through triangulation of sources and methods, namely comparing information from various informant groups and correlating the results of observations, interviews, documentation, and asset mapping. Triangulation of various data sources can strengthen the credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative research findings.

3. Research Results

Mosque Assets as Social Infrastructure of Urban Communities

The research findings indicate that mosques in urban areas cannot be understood solely as buildings providing space for worship. In the context of urban life, mosques serve as hubs that connect people, space, organizations, economic resources, knowledge, and various forms of social relationships. This position gives mosques their character as community social infrastructure, namely institutional and material spaces that enable people to meet, interact, develop activities, and organize resources for the common good. Research on the Grand Mosque of Bandung shows that the function of mosques in urban society goes beyond ritual and is related to efforts to respond to various social issues in the surrounding environment (Safei & Armstrong, 2024). These findings demonstrate that the presence of mosques in urban structures has a social dimension that cannot be separated from their religious function.

In this study, mosque assets are broadly understood as the totality of resources available, embedded in the community, or accessible through the mosque's institutional relationships. This perspective is important because assets do not always take the form of something physically tangible. Individuals with skills, congregants with social networks, administrators with organizational capacity, shared mosque space, collectively managed social funds, and the knowledge held by community members are all different forms of assets, but they can reinforce each other. The Community Capitals Framework perspective places community resources in a number of interconnected forms of capital, including human, social, financial, political, cultural, and built or infrastructure capital (Flora et al., 2004). This framework helps view communities not only in terms of the deficiencies or problems they face, but also in terms of the capacities they possess and the relationships between these resources.

In the context of urban mosques, human capital is one of the most important foundations. Human capital includes DKM administrators, religious leaders, congregants, youth, women, professionals, educators, business owners, and other individuals with specific knowledge and skills. The presence of these individuals demonstrates that a mosque's capacity extends beyond the number of congregants or its formal management structure, but also lies in the competencies distributed within the community. A congregant with accounting expertise, for example, can contribute to financial management; educators can support educational programs; information technology professionals can assist in the development of digital systems; and business owners can open economic networks for productive community activities. Therefore, human capital must be viewed as a capacity that can be linked to the needs and agendas of the community.

An asset-based perspective positions individuals not as passive recipients of development programs, but as possessors of capacities that can contribute to community change. Mathie and Cunningham (2003) assert that an asset-based community development approach shifts attention from one that primarily focuses on deficiencies to one that recognizes the capacities already available within the community (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). In the context of mosques, this shift in perspective is crucial because congregants are no longer merely viewed as recipients of religious or social services. They can also be positioned as resources possessing knowledge, skills, time, networks, and experience that can be used to strengthen community life.

Human assets also have an intergenerational dimension. Young people, for example, are important not only because of their numbers as part of the congregation, but also because they bring digital skills, organizational experience, creativity, and a diverse network of friends compared to previous generations. Women's groups also possess social capacities often related to managing family education, social activities, philanthropy, and community networks. Meanwhile, religious leaders possess the knowledge

and legitimacy that can help guide community activities. Thus, the diversity of actors around the mosque is actually a resource that enables the institution to have broader social capacity.

In addition to human assets, research has found that social assets are inherent in the relationships between mosque users and the surrounding community. Social assets include relationships of mutual trust, solidarity, helpful habits, friendship networks, intergroup relationships, and experiences working together. Unlike physical assets, which can be directly observed, social assets reside in patterns of relationships. Their value arises when these relationships enable people to get to know each other, exchange information, provide support, and collaborate. Within the community capital framework, social capital is understood as the relationships and networks that connect individuals and organizations and enable collective action (Flora et al., 2004). Therefore, the presence of a large congregation does not in itself indicate the strength of social assets. What is more decisive is the quality of the relationships formed between them.

In the urban context of Bandung, this dimension becomes increasingly important because urban life brings together people with diverse levels of mobility, interests, occupations, and social backgrounds. Mosques can provide a relatively stable space for social encounters amidst these changes. Religious studies, education, social services, community gatherings, youth activities, and economic activities create opportunities for community members to meet in contexts different from formal workplace relationships or neighborhood administrative relationships. Asif, Utaberta, and Sarram (2019) show that urban mosques can be designed and function as community centers that support social relations and community development functions (ASIF et al., 2019). Thus, mosque spaces have a broader meaning than simply worship facilities because they enable repeated social interactions.

Institutional assets are the next layer. The DKM (Islamic Community Development Council) is the primary structure that organizes various mosque activities, but in practice, the institutional ecosystem can be much broader. Majelis taklim (Islamic study groups), youth organizations, women's groups, educational institutions, zakat units, social communities, congregational cooperatives, and various activity groups can all be part of the institutional network that develops around the mosque. The existence of these organizations provides structure, role allocation, rules, leadership, and communication channels that allow for the consolidation of individual and group resources. Therefore, the institutional strength of a mosque is determined not only by the existence of a formal organizational structure, but also by the ability of that structure to connect various groups within and around the community.

Research on urban mosque management shows that the expansion of mosque functions presents management challenges because mosques must address more complex social issues than simply organizing ritual activities (Safei & Armstrong, 2024). In this context, the DKM is not only an administrator of religious activities but can also serve as a manager of various community resources. The institutional capacity to identify needs, organize activities, manage resources, and build relationships with others is part of the asset itself. In other words, an organization is an asset because it provides the capacity to transform scattered resources into more targeted activities.

Physical assets are the most easily recognized form of asset. Mosque buildings, courtyards, meeting rooms, educational spaces, libraries, sanitation facilities, activity equipment, and other supporting facilities provide the material infrastructure for community activities. However, research shows that the presence of facilities is not synonymous with social functionality. A large meeting room, for example, only becomes a community asset if it can be used for relevant activities and is accessible to community groups. Similarly, a mosque library is valuable not only for its collection but also for its ability to provide the community with access to knowledge. Effendi (2022) shows that mosque libraries can serve as part of educational services and meet the community's intellectual needs. Thus, the value of physical assets is determined by the relationship between the facility, its users, its management, and its social function.

These dimensions demonstrate that mosques, as social infrastructure, are closely linked to community spatial planning. The same space can have different functions depending on how the community uses it. Worship spaces can serve as social gathering places; educational spaces can serve as knowledge-transfer venues; mosque courtyards can be used for economic or social activities; and

administrative spaces can serve as community coordination centers. Asif et al. (2019) demonstrate that urban mosque planning needs to consider community functions because limited urban space demands more effective use of facilities. Therefore, physical infrastructure becomes part of social capacity when it is able to bring together and support community activities (ASIF et al., 2019).

Economic assets are also a crucial part of the mosque ecosystem. These assets can take the form of zakat (alms), infaq (donations), sadaqah (charity), waqf (endowments), congregational donations, business units, or economic networks owned by community members. Economic assets not only serve to finance mosque operations but also have the potential to become resources to support social programs and community empowerment. A study on mosque-based economic empowerment in Cirebon City, for example, showed that mosques' potential includes income from alms, home-based businesses, kiosks around the mosque, and religious study groups (Majelis Taklim), which can be developed into the basis of congregational economic activities (Chandra et al., 2022). These findings demonstrate that the economic resources around the mosque can be understood as part of the community's assets, not simply as operational funds for the institution. However, economic assets present their own challenges. The availability of funds does not automatically lead to empowerment. Funds concentrated on routine activities, lacking planning, or disconnected from community needs can have limited social impact. Conversely, relatively small resources can have significant significance when managed transparently and directed toward activities that expand community benefits. Therefore, this study views economic assets not only based on nominal value, but also based on their function and connection with other resources.

The final asset of concern is knowledge. Mosques provide an environment that fosters the exchange of knowledge through lectures, religious studies, education, discussions, consultations, organizational experience, and intergenerational interactions. Religious knowledge is one form of this, but community knowledge extends beyond religious issues. Experience managing activities, administrative skills, technological knowledge, entrepreneurial skills, advocacy experience, and an understanding of environmental issues also constitute knowledge assets. When this knowledge is shared and accessible to community members, mosques gain additional capacity to address social issues.

At this point, knowledge assets demonstrate that mosques can function as both production and distribution spaces for knowledge. This function is becoming increasingly important in urban communities facing rapid technological, economic, and social change. Literacy programs, skills training, children's and youth education, community discussions, and business mentoring can transform knowledge into a development resource. Therefore, community capacity is determined not only by material possessions but also by the community's ability to learn, share experiences, and develop relevant knowledge.

Asset identification shows that mosques possess a multidimensional resource ecosystem. Human assets provide individual capacity, social assets provide relationships, institutional assets provide organizational structures, physical assets provide space and facilities, economic assets provide material resources, and knowledge assets provide intellectual capacity and learning. These six forms of assets do not exist in isolation. The strength of an asset can increase when connected with other assets. For example, mosque space becomes more productive when managed by an organization capable of mobilizing the congregation; social funds become more meaningful when managed by individuals with capacity; and the skills of the congregation become more useful when there are organizations and spaces that enable them to be used.

This is where the research findings yield an important proposition. Mosques do not become social infrastructure because they possess numerous assets, but because these assets can be connected within a community ecosystem. Mathie and Cunningham (2003) emphasize that an asset-based approach gains strength when local capacity is linked to community participation, social relationships, and action (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). Thus, the key issue is not simply how many assets a mosque possesses, but rather the extent to which these assets can be identified, accessed, brought together, and utilized for the common good.

Therefore, in this study, mosque assets are not positioned as a static stock of resources. Assets are potentials whose value depends on the relationships between actors, organizations, spaces, knowledge, and material resources. This approach also prevents the study from falling into the trap of assuming that the presence of a mosque with complete facilities automatically creates a strong community. Conversely, a mosque can have a large building, relatively available funds, and a large congregation, but still have limited social capacity if the relationships between actors are weak, participation is uneven, or resources are not connected.

Thus, the findings in this section position mosques as social infrastructure within urban communities, comprising a network of material and non-material assets. This infrastructure provides a basis for interaction, learning, organization, and social services, but does not, by itself, generate community change. The strategic value of assets only becomes apparent when these resources begin to be connected through social relationships and utilized for shared purposes. In other words, the asset identification stage is the foundation for understanding the subsequent process: how relationships between asset owners and users shape social capital within the mosque ecosystem. The following section will therefore focus specifically on the process of social capital formation.

Formation of Social Capital in the Mosque Ecosystem

The research findings show that the presence of various assets around mosques begins to acquire social value when they are used in repeated interactions. Mosques provide relatively regular meeting spaces through congregational worship, religious studies, education, social services, youth activities, women's activities, and various other community activities. These repeated encounters create opportunities for individuals to get to know each other, build expectations, exchange information, and develop more stable relationship patterns. Thus, social capital in the mosque ecosystem does not emerge spontaneously from the presence of religious institutions, but grows through ongoing experiences of interaction. Studies of worship communities indicate that religious communities can be sources of social capital through networks, shared identities, social services, and the involvement of their members in public life (Foley & Hoge, 2007).

The first visible form is trust. Trust develops when community members experience directly that others can be relied upon to carry out roles, fulfill commitments, maintain trust, and provide assistance when needed. In mosque activities, trust can be formed through simple experiences, such as involvement in committees, managing activities, raising funds, distributing aid, teaching, and volunteering. These experiences create social knowledge about who can be trusted, who has certain abilities, and who to turn to for assistance. Therefore, trust is not simply an individual psychological attitude, but a relational resource that facilitates coordination.

Trust also has an institutional dimension. Congregants build trust not only with individuals but also with the DKM (Central Mosque Council), educational institutions, social groups, or service units operating within the mosque ecosystem. When activities are managed consistently and transparently, trust in the institution can broaden participation. Conversely, when there is ambiguity, conflict of interest, or a lack of transparency in resource management, trust can weaken. Therefore, social capital within the mosque is inextricably linked to the quality of institutional practices that govern relationships between actors.

The second form is shared norms. Routine interactions create expectations about appropriate behavior within a community. These norms can include habits of mutual assistance, respect for administrators, maintaining facilities, attending social events, assisting congregants in distress, or contributing to shared activities. Norms make social action more predictable because community members have an understanding of what is expected of them. In studies of social capital and shared resource management, norms, trust, reciprocity, and institutional connectedness are seen as elements that enable communities to overcome collective action problems (Pretty, 2003).

Shared norms become increasingly important because mosques bring together individuals with varying levels of involvement. Not all congregants participate in activities with the same intensity. Some are active as administrators, some are involved in specific activities, while others are present only

for rituals. In such situations, social norms help establish a minimum threshold of responsibility and concern for the community. Thus, participation depends not only on formal instructions but also on social expectations that develop through interaction.

The third form is solidarity. Solidarity emerges when community members begin to view certain issues as shared concerns. Mosque social activities can bring individuals together in situations that allow them to directly see the needs of others. Assistance to families experiencing hardship, support for children's education, social activities for the underprivileged, health care, and emergency response can strengthen the awareness that the lives of community members are interconnected. Solidarity, therefore, is a process of shifting from individual relationships to an orientation toward the common good.

Solidarity is also related to reciprocity. Social relationships within a mosque community do not always take the form of direct exchanges between two individuals. One person may contribute to an activity today without expecting assistance from the same person again. However, this experience fosters confidence that the contribution will elicit a response from the community in another form. This reciprocity allows assistance to circulate through social networks and does not necessarily follow a direct reciprocal relationship. Sturtevant (2006) suggests that social capital and collective action have a two-way relationship: social capital can support collective action, while collective action can also generate new social networks and resources for subsequent activities (Sturtevant, 2006).

From this process, an internal network developed. The internal network consists of relationships between the DKM (Citizen Council), religious leaders, congregations, youth, women, educational groups, business actors, and other social groups. Networks enable information to move more quickly, needs to be identified by relevant actors, and resources to be connected. An administrator might know the needs of a family, a congregation member might possess a specific skill, and a business actor might have access to goods or a marketing network. Networks facilitate the connection of information and resources.

However, internal networks are not always synonymous with open social capital. Networks can be exclusive if they only connect groups with similar characteristics or interests. Therefore, the formation of social capital within the mosque ecosystem needs to be differentiated into bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. This distinction is important because each form serves a different function in community development.

Bonding social capital is formed through relatively close relationships among members of a group with shared identities, experiences, or activities. In mosques, this can be seen in regular congregational groups, youth groups, women's groups, religious study groups, or specific committees. Bonding strengthens a sense of belonging, internal solidarity, emotional support, and the group's ability to work together. Worship communities can be a source of bonding because routine activities create a relatively strong sense of identity and connection among members (Foley & Hoge, 2007). However, overly closed bonding can limit access to other groups and reduce the mosque's capacity to build broader relationships.

Therefore, bridging social capital is crucial. Bridging connects different groups so that resources, information, and experiences are not confined to a single social circle. In a mosque ecosystem, bridging can occur when youth groups interact with women's groups, businesspeople collaborate with educational groups, congregants from different neighborhoods join in social activities, or the mosque opens up activities to members of the community who are not always active members. Worship communities that are more diverse and have broader connections with the community have a greater opportunity to generate forms of social capital that bridge group differences (Foley & Hoge, 2007). Thus, bridging extends the reach of social capital benefits from the internal circle to the broader community.

The third form is linking social capital, which is a relationship that connects a community with actors or institutions that have access to resources, authority, and capacity outside the community. These relationships can take the form of collaborations with local governments, zakat institutions, universities, businesses, social organizations, health institutions, and other institutions. Linking is important because not all community needs can be met by internal resources. Through these vertical

relationships, communities can gain knowledge, legitimacy, facilities, funding, program access, or institutional support.

Thus, the formation of social capital within the mosque ecosystem occurs through a gradual process. Regular interactions create opportunities for mutual understanding; shared experiences build trust; trust strengthens norms and reciprocity; norms and reciprocity strengthen networks; and networks develop into bonding, bridging, and linking. These findings suggest that mosques function not only as gathering places but also as spaces for the reproduction of social relationships. Social capital is continuously renewed as community members experience, repeat, and strengthen these relationships in their daily lives.

However, the formation of social capital is not the same as its mobilization. A community can possess strong trust, networks, and solidarity, but may not be able to use them to solve shared problems. The distinction between possessing social capital and being able to mobilize it is crucial for understanding the dynamics of the mosque ecosystem. It is at this point that the discussion shifts from how social capital is formed to how it is activated into collective action.

Mosque Asset-Based Social Capital Mobilization Mechanism

Research results indicate that social capital mobilization occurs when established social relationships begin to be directed toward specific goals. Thus, mobilization is not understood as simply inviting people to participate in an activity, but as a process of connecting resources, actors, networks, and shared goals, thus generating the capacity to act. Lin (2001) explains that social capital relates to resources embedded in social networks that can be accessed and mobilized to achieve specific goals (Lin, 2001). This perspective helps explain why social networks only become strategic when actors are able to access and utilize the resources within them. Networks provide pathways to access resources. Mobilization connects these resources to specific needs or goals. Ultimately, the connected resources generate collective action.

The first mechanism is asset activation through interaction. Assets don't move by themselves. A congregant's expertise, for example, only becomes a community resource when there's a space that allows that expertise to be recognized and utilized. Similarly, mosque facilities only become social resources when there's a mechanism in place that allows the community to use them. Therefore, interaction is the initial mechanism that transforms dispersed assets into recognizable resources. The more frequently actors interact in meaningful contexts, the greater the chance they will discover each other's capacities.

The second mechanism is connecting assets through networks. Once capacity is identified, networks enable disparate assets to be brought together. Educational needs can be connected with congregations with teaching expertise. Business capital needs can be connected with business owners or financial institutions. Social activities can connect zakat and alms funds with community groups in need. Environmental activities can connect youth, mosque administrators, community groups, and local governments. In this perspective, networks are not simply social connections, but infrastructure for the flow of resources.

The third mechanism is the role of mobilizing actors. Mobilization requires actors capable of identifying needs, communicating objectives, connecting resourced parties, and coordinating actions. These actors can be DKM (Village Council of Religious Affairs), religious leaders, youth, women's groups, or other individuals with legitimacy and organizational capacity. A study by Foley and Hoge (2007) showed that the leadership and organizational character of religious communities influence the community's ability to build social capital and broader engagement (Foley & Hoge, 2007). Thus, social capital does not move automatically through network structures, but requires the capacity of agents to activate it.

The fourth mechanism is the formation of shared goals. Social networks can be used for various purposes, but collective action requires a shared orientation. Mosques can be a space for forming these goals because social activities are often linked to concrete needs felt by the community. Issues such as children's education, the need for social assistance, family economic empowerment, youth development, environmental cleanliness, or services to vulnerable groups can become meeting points

that transform individual concerns into shared agendas. Kim (2018) shows that bonding, bridging, and linking networks are related to collective action for community development, with bridging and linking playing a crucial role in opening up opportunities for resource mobilization (Kim, 2018).

The fifth mechanism is mobilization through social activities. Social activities are one of the most direct forms of social capital activation because they require a combination of trust, networks, time, energy, information, and material resources. When urgent needs arise, such as assistance for residents experiencing hardship, the mosque's internal network can be used to identify needs, gather resources, identify beneficiaries, and distribute aid. This process demonstrates that solidarity is not simply a value but is translated into organized action.

The same mechanism can occur through education. Mosques have access to congregants with diverse knowledge and skills. When this knowledge is connected to the needs of children, adolescents, families, or the community, educational activities are formed that leverage the community's internal capacity. In this process, knowledge assets become collective resources because social networks provide mechanisms for accessing and utilizing them.

Philanthropy also exhibits unique mobilization mechanisms. Zakat, infaq, sedekah, and waqf are not only sources of funds, but can also serve as a medium connecting the trust of the giver with the needs of the recipient. For these resources to become collective action, systems of collection, management, distribution, and accountability are required. Research on religious communities shows that religious organizations can provide social services and organize resources for both members and the broader community, although their form and reach are strongly influenced by organizational culture and leadership (Foley & Hoge, 2007).

Mobilization can also be directed at economic empowerment. In this context, social capital serves to connect business actors, potential beneficiaries, funding sources, business knowledge, and market networks. Mosque-based economic activities become more than just providing assistance if the existing networks are utilized to increase the capacity and independence of community members. Rarasati and Priyadi (2024), for example, show that managing zakat, infaq, and alms through mosques can be directed at empowering micro-enterprises and developing community economics (Priyadi et al., 2024).

In youth groups, mobilization mechanisms can operate through networks of friendship, creativity, technology, and organizational experience. Youth are not merely participants in activities but can also serve as liaisons between mosques and digital social spaces and the broader community. When these capacities gain institutional space, youth networks can be utilized for education, social activities, resource mobilization, environmental campaigns, and community service. Thus, mobilization expands the function of human capital from individual potential to collective capacity.

In environmental activities, mobilization mechanisms demonstrate the relationship between shared interests and actions that generate public benefits. Environmental cleanliness, waste management, reforestation, energy conservation, and maintenance of shared spaces require participation that does not always yield direct individual benefits. Therefore, trust and norms of reciprocity are essential for community members to be willing to contribute. Research on the relationship between social capital and collective action suggests that regular social interactions can provide the foundation for participation in activities that generate shared goods or benefits (Dolšák, 2017).

The final mechanism is community service, which expands the mosque's network beyond its internal congregation. At this stage, bridging and linking become increasingly important. Mosques can collaborate with local governments, social institutions, universities, businesses, health institutions, or community organizations to address needs they cannot address alone. These relationships enable the community to obtain external resources while simultaneously expanding external access to community needs. Thus, linking social capital serves as a bridge between local capacity and broader institutional resources.

Mobilization is a series of processes that begins with the recognition of assets, followed by interaction, trust building, network strengthening, shared goal setting, resource coordination, and finally collective action. Sturtevant (2006) suggests that this relationship is circular because successful

collective action can also generate new networks, expand trust, and create additional social capital (Sturtevant, 2006).

These findings clarify the main contribution of this study. Mosque assets do not automatically translate into social capital, and social capital does not automatically translate into collective action. Social mechanisms connect the three. Assets must be recognized and activated through interaction; interaction must generate trust and networks; networks must be accessible and coordinated; and resources within the network must be directed toward shared goals. Thus, mobilization is a conversion process that transforms resource potential into the capacity to act.

Within this framework, mosques can be understood as platforms for community mobilization. Their strategic function lies not only in possessing a certain amount of assets, but also in providing a space where these assets can converge. When spaces, actors, networks, knowledge, funds, and institutions can converge in a purposeful way, mosques have the ability to transform social relationships into actions that generate mutual benefits. Conversely, when networks are closed, leadership is overly centralized, or access to resources is unequal, the mobilization process can be hampered.

Thus, the mobilization mechanism in this study can be formulated as follows: assets provide potential, interactions open access, trust reduces uncertainty, networks connect resources, driving actors coordinate relationships, shared goals provide direction, and collective action produces community change. This formulation demonstrates that the mosque's strength as a basis for community development lies not solely in asset ownership, but in its ability to convert assets and relationships into collective capacity. It is at this point that the mosque's asset-based social capital acquires a more concrete development function.

The Role of Leadership and Liaison Actors

The research findings show that the mobilization of social capital based on mosque assets does not occur automatically simply because a community possesses networks, trust, and various resources. Among these assets, networks, and collective action, there are actors who function as connectors, directors, and motivators. These actors hold a crucial position because they are able to identify available resources, understand community needs, bring together parties with different capacities, and direct social relationships toward shared goals. Therefore, leadership in the mosque ecosystem is not simply understood as the ability to manage organizational administration, but rather as the ability to connect various community assets to generate collective action. Research on social capital mobilization shows that the success of community action is strongly influenced by the presence of agents with the skills, network access, resources, and legitimacy to mobilize existing social relationships (Ramón-Hidalgo et al., 2020).

In this context, the DKM occupies a relatively strategic position because it has the institutional legitimacy to regulate asset use, determine the direction of activities, manage communications, and build relationships with the congregation and external parties. The DKM is not merely an implementer of ritual activities, but can also be an institution that orchestrates various community resources. When the DKM is able to recognize the congregation's potential, open up spaces for participation, and provide coordination mechanisms, previously scattered assets can be connected into collective resources. Conversely, if the DKM is only oriented towards managing routine activities, the social potential within the community can remain fragmented.

Therefore, the leadership of the DKM in this study is more accurately understood as facilitative leadership. The DKM does not have to be the sole implementer of activities, but rather needs to create conditions so that various actors can play roles according to their capacities. An administrator does not have to be an education expert to develop an educational program, but must be able to identify members with those competencies and provide a space for them to be utilized. Similarly, the DKM does not need to master all of the community's economic issues, but needs to have the ability to connect business actors, financial institutions, social fund managers, and community groups in need. From this perspective, leadership strength lies in the ability to organize relationships, not in the ability to individually control all resources.

These findings demonstrate that liaison actors have a different function than formal leaders. They can emerge from both within and outside organizational structures. A religious figure can act as a liaison due to his or her moral legitimacy and the trust of the congregation. Young people can act as liaisons due to their network of friends and the ability to reach digital spaces. Women can act as liaisons through family networks and established social activities within the community. Professionals can connect communities with specialized knowledge and skills, while social organizations can provide access to broader institutional networks. Thus, mobilization structures are neither singular nor entirely hierarchical.

Religious leaders hold a unique position because their leadership often stems from religious legitimacy and social recognition. In the mosque context, this legitimacy can help build a shared orientation, especially when an activity requires cross-group participation. However, religious legitimacy does not in itself generate effective mobilization. Religious leaders still need the ability to interpret social issues, understand community needs, and create space for other actors. Research on faith-based organizations shows that solidarity and agentic capacity are crucial elements in linking religious values to community development agendas, including through collaboration with government and non-governmental organizations (Tarpeh & Hustedde, 2021).

The congregation's position also needs to be more substantively recognized. Congregants are not merely recipients of programs organized by the DKM, but rather owners and bearers of community assets. They possess time, energy, experience, expertise, information, social networks, and economic resources that can be utilized for the common good. Therefore, effective mobilization does not position the congregation merely as a mass gathered during activities. Mobilization begins when the congregation is given the opportunity to identify problems, express ideas, determine priorities, and participate in the implementation of activities.

At this point, participation becomes a crucial mechanism connecting leadership with community ownership. Programs designed entirely from the top down can potentially result in temporary engagement because the community lacks ownership of the process. Conversely, when the congregation is involved from the needs identification stage through evaluation, activities have a greater chance of being understood as a shared agenda. Studies on community development based on religious organizations also demonstrate the importance of agency, or actor capacity, in building solidarity and strengthening the community's capacity to implement development agendas (Tarpeh & Hustedde, 2021).

Youth are becoming increasingly important connecting actors in urban communities. Their strategic position is not only because they are the next generation of mosque organizations, but also because they have access to digital technology, social networks, popular culture, and different forms of communication than previous generations. In the context of asset mobilization, these capacities can be used to expand information reach, organize activities, develop digital literacy, connect mosques with creative communities, and introduce new forms of participation. Recent research on the development of mosque-based urban Muslim communities shows that participatory communication models can be used to connect mosques with youth digital literacy activities, microfinance, and environmental awareness.

However, youth should not be positioned solely as technical implementers of digital activities. If youth are only asked to manage social media, create documentation, or serve on field committees, their potential as liaisons is not fully utilized. They need to be given the space to participate in determining program direction, identifying youth issues, and building relationships with external networks. Therefore, leadership regeneration means not only replacing old leaders with new ones, but also expanding organizational capacity through the incorporation of new ways of thinking, networks, and competencies.

Women's groups also play a crucial role in the mobilization ecosystem. Women's networks often develop through family, children's education, social activities, religious study groups, community service, and economic activities. These networks can serve as channels for information about community needs that are not always visible within the formal mosque structure. Therefore, women's

involvement should not be viewed as an add-on to existing programs, but as part of a system of needs identification and resource organization. When women's networks are connected to the institutional structure of the mosque, the community's social capacity can be expanded as information and resources move through more diverse social channels.

Professionals and individuals with specialized expertise have a different function. They can act as bridges between community knowledge and professional knowledge. An accountant can help ensure transparency in financial management, a health worker can develop public health programs, an academic can assist with social mapping and program evaluation, and a technologist can develop information systems or digitize services. From an asset-based perspective, the presence of professionals among the congregation constitutes human capital that only generates community benefits when there are institutional mechanisms capable of activating them. Therefore, the challenge for DKM is not simply to identify who possesses expertise, but to build a system that enables that expertise to be matched with concrete needs.

In the next stage, social organizations serve as liaisons between mosque communities and broader civil society networks. Social organizations can provide organizational experience, technical knowledge, access to programs, interagency relationships, and experience working with specific community groups. These relationships are crucial because mosque communities do not always have the capacity to implement programs independently. Asset-based partnerships between religious communities and academic institutions, for example, can strengthen communities' capacity to develop social innovations through approaches that center on local relationships and assets (Coley et al., 2023).

Relationships with the government are more vertical in nature. The government possesses authority, public resources, development programs, and administrative capacity that are not always available at the community level. Mosques, on the other hand, have close social access to residents and local knowledge of community issues. The intersection of these two types of capacity can create a complementary relationship. Communities can articulate local needs and realities, while the government can provide program support, facilities, data, or specific resources. Fitzgerald (2009) suggests that faith-based community development organizations can build relationships with the state through a collective action framework that connects religious values with community development goals (Fitzgerald, 2009). However, relationships with the government need to be framed as partnerships, not dependencies. If communities simply rely on government programs, their internal capacity can weaken, and their orientation toward empowerment can shift to accepting assistance. Conversely, if mosques possess strong organizational capacity and internal networks, government support can be used as an additional resource to expand programs that already have a social basis. In this sense, external relationships serve to enhance local capacity, not replace it.

The same applies to other external partners, including universities, philanthropic organizations, businesses, health institutions, non-governmental organizations, and professional communities. External partners can provide resources not available within the community, but these relationships need to be built on clear needs and objectives. Healthy partnerships are not simply an exchange of favors; they are a process of bringing together diverse assets. Communities provide local knowledge, social networks, and social legitimacy, while external partners can provide technical know-how, financing, technology, market access, or institutional capacity.

Thus, liaison actors function as social brokers who bring together three key elements: assets, networks, and needs. Assets without networks are difficult to mobilize; networks without understanding needs can result in irrelevant activities; and needs without organizational capacity are difficult to translate into action. Liaison actors operate at the intersection of these three. They recognize that a need requires specific resources, identify who possesses those resources, and then develop mechanisms to bring the two together. Ramón-Hidalgo (2020) shows that the mobilization of social capital is strongly influenced by the characteristics of agents, their position within the network, their ability to access external resources, and the level of trust and cohesion among agents.

Consequently, leadership in the mosque ecosystem cannot be reduced to the most formally influential figure. Leadership is better understood as a distributional capacity, namely the ability to create space for various actors to carry out their respective functions. The DKM provides structure and coordination; religious leaders provide legitimacy and value orientation; congregants provide participation and resources; youth provide regenerative energy and new networks; women expand the community's social network; professionals provide expertise; social organizations provide organizing capacity; the government provides resources and policy support; and external partners expand access to knowledge, technology, financing, and networks.

From this perspective, connecting actors not only accelerate mobilization but also determine the direction of benefit distribution. Therefore, leadership quality should be assessed not by the number of activities organized, but by the ability to expand access to assets and bring together previously unconnected groups. This finding is important because social capital can generate unequal benefits when access to networks and resources is limited to certain actors. Recent studies on social capital and collective action have shown that unequal position in a network can lead to some actors gaining greater access to resources, while actors in peripheral positions risk marginalization (Wang & Zhang, 2026). Therefore, effective leadership in the mosque ecosystem must have an inclusive dimension. Openness to youth, women, professionals, diverse social groups, and external partners is not simply a matter of organizational ethics but directly related to the ability to expand the community's asset base and networks. The more diverse actors that can be connected, the more likely the community is to find a combination of resources that best suits its needs.

Ultimately, the research findings demonstrate that the mobilization of social capital based on mosque assets relies on the presence of actors capable of transforming social networks into productive relationships. The DKM provides institutional nodes, religious leaders provide legitimacy, congregations provide a basis for participation, youth and women expand internal networks, professionals strengthen expertise, social organizations open civil society networks, the government provides access to public resources, and external partners expand community capacity. These actors do not operate in isolation but form a configuration of relationships that determines whether assets can be converted into collective action.

Thus, the main contribution of this section lies in affirming that mosque-based social capital is determined not only by the existence of networks, but also by who is able to connect those networks, how those connections are managed, and the extent to which access to resources is made available to the community. Mosques can become mobilization platforms when their leadership is able to orchestrate diverse actors, connect internal assets with external resources, and ensure that the mobilization process remains oriented toward community needs. In other words, bridging actors are the mechanisms connecting social capital and collective action. Without such mechanisms, social networks can remain passive relationships; with them, networks can be transformed into community capacity for action and growth.

4. Conclusion

This research shows that mosques in urban areas possess a variety of assets that can be mobilized for community development, including human, social, institutional, physical, economic, and knowledge assets. These assets do not automatically become collective resources, but acquire social value when connected through interaction, participation, trust, solidarity, and networks between actors. This process forms social capital, encompassing both internal relationships within the congregation and relationships across groups and with external institutions. Social capital can then be mobilized into collective action through the leadership of the DKM, liaison actors, role allocation, coordination, communication, and citizen participation. Mobilization occurs when networks and trust are translated into joint activities directed at community needs. This process contributes to strengthening social cohesion, economic empowerment, increased educational and knowledge capacity, community service, environmental awareness, and strengthening community institutions.

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