

Social Capital and The Empowerment of Poor Society

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Abstract

This article deeply examines the PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) which is related to the way to make social capitals, such as bonding, bridging, and linking of the poor people. The specific research problems here are :1) are there social capital such as bonding, bridging, and linking, in the poor people?; (2) can the PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) make social capitals such as bonding, bridging, and linking in the poor society?. The perspective of this study is the sociology development. This research is conducted in five sub-districts Mojokerto, Mojokerto. The five sub-districts are Sarirejo, Mojokerto, Wonokusumo, Sawahan, and Kauman. The data are collected through depth interview and analyzed by flow analysis model through explanation. The result shows that; (1) social capital bonding, bridging, and linking stay on the poor people if their commitment can become the element of social capital. (2) if the government still use their basic project and fund form the abroad in developing poor people, the government's position will be very weak. It will give effect to the society's low trust to the government. Finally, social capital such as bonding, bridging, and linking cannot be created in the poor people.

Keywords: social capital, bonding, bridging, linking and society development

1. Introduction

This article examines the social capital and poor people development in conducting PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban). The focus of this study is to examine bonding, bridging, and linking as social capitals in poor people which are handled by the PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban). Bonding is an adhesive between social capitals which create an internal family relation, family and friends, and families and neighbor. Bridging is a bridge of social capitals in the form of relationship between family and environment, stand up for the right and duty equality, deliver the freedom of speech, idea of life, and interest to help another people. Linking is a link of social capital in the form of applying the policy which has been agreed and become the rule (Woolcock, 1998). All of them must be developed fir the empowerment. Unfortunately, there are still many things which are left or less to be considered in making the policy about development.

The point of view of this article is the sociology of development, because it places law, policy, and government programs, as the important tools in improving the quality of social capital which will be useful for the national development. This point of view is different from economics point of view which has talked about capital for long time, especially about financial capital. Financial capital is the money which can be used to buy facilities and company production tools now (such as, factory, machine, official tools, and vehicles) or money which can be collected and saved to be an infestation for the future. This financial capital is relatively easy to be understood, even by layman. It is because spending or investing money is part of human daily life and involves the thought and clearer indicators. The financial capital is easily measured (Suharto, 2006).

Poverty problems have been stayed in our country since our republic born. Almost in every era (old era until reformation era), the government put the poverty problems as the priority program to be solved. Poverty can mislead us if it is only understood as the reality or objective situation, independent, because poverty cannot only be measured by mastering indicators or materials owner. This statement is strengthened by the poverty rate which cannot be used similarly for all people. It is stated by Ariel Heryanto (Kompas, 21st April 1994), "Poverty" cannot be discussed absolutely, but relatively in its dichotomy with the "rich" one. The term of poverty always states and is very popular in the developing society. This term is easily spoken but is not easily to be decided how the poverty is, and who included in the poor people is.

The writer's analysis is related to many kinds of poverty dependence programs. There are IDT (President's instruction of lagged village) in 1994-1998, social group prosperity with Prokesos KUBE KMM (independent young family), Takesra (Society Savings Prosperity), Kukesra Society (Prosperity Business Credit), Middle Class Business Credit, JPS (Social Safety), Developing Food stocks (P2KP), PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban), etc, still shows many problems and weaknesses in their implementation.

The result of the evaluation of many kinds of government programs which are related to poverty dependences are:

JPS (Social Safety Programs) and OPK (Special Market Operation); JPS is a program of poverty solving problem which is conducted by the government in the economic crisis era. It is purposed to the educational and healthy fields which are followed by another program. There are from nongovernmental organization or international foundation organization. Some of them are in progress until now although their names and orientation have been changed. One of the examples is OPK (Special market Operation). That is a food aids which has been conducted since 1998 as the part of JPS to minimize the economic crisis effects. In 2001, to make the object more accurate, this program is changed. It becomes Raskin (Rice for Poor people). Many kinds of evaluation and study of OPK and Raskin show the weaknesses of both programs, especially in choosing the target. It is because there are many aids to be distributed to the wrong target. It can be because of the invalid data or the minimal application of good governance principal in the organization who has right to distribute the rice (Singgih, 2004). Although there are some weaknesses, that program has not stopped until now, and there is no serious way to improve the choosing target. If there is a way to improve it, that improvement is only on the written guidance, and never goes to the practical process.

BLT (Directly financial aids) and SLT (directly financial subsidy) are government programs which are used to be compensation of oil price inflation since 2005. BLT or SLT are distributed directly through the branches of PT Pos Indonesia. The allocation of the fund for each poor family is Rp. 100,000.00 in a month, and it is given once in a month. Since the third period of 2006, that program has been stopped and changed by CCT program (Conditional Cash Transfer) or conditional directly financial aids which are directly arranged by Social Department of Indonesia Republic. There are many researches who show that these programs are not effective. Because the characteristics is only to fulfill the people's basic needs and there are many people criticize these programs (Zainal Abidin, 2008). Beside because of the improper target (it can be because of the invalid data or irresponsible individual), these programs are categorized as programs which cannot make people to be an independent people. Society's dependent to the government aids is very high, and finally it can disturb the country's economic growing.

P4K program (Farmer Fisher income guidance program) is a program made by farmer department and BRI in 1979-2005. The successful indicator which is used is the growth and development of KPK (small farmer and fisherman group). They are supported to be an independent group which is marked by the administrators and active members, developing fund, and the integrations of this program to the development area programs. Unfortunately, based on the many literatures and research, they cannot find guidance about how the successful indicators can be achieved and how the strategy to end this program are. One of the motor of this program is PPL (Field Extension agents), which has a job to support the KPK in developing their business and to help them organizing their dept. When the program is ended, there is not further incentive which can be received by the PPL to support the KPK. Moreover, it can be asked the continuity even the existence of KPK without PPL. Because of that reason, the program will stop by itself. PPK (District Development Program) and P2KP (Solving problem of Poverty in the City), is a program to solve the poverty based on the society which is a corporation between the Indonesian government and World Bank. . This program was run between 1998 and 1999. The purpose is to improve and develop city's infrastructures (P2KP) and village's infrastructures (PPK). The purpose of these programs is handing over for the society and district government in order to the purpose, principals, and system of PPK can be organized as the participative development system in the village and district. Meanwhile, the strategy in the P2KP is focused to guarantee the indicators of P2KP, therefore the successful indicators can be achieved. The steps which are conducted in this progress are: participative evaluation of P2KP in the sub-district level, the strength of local institution, the larger program by the society, and integrating P2KP with others (Lawang, 2005). Meanwhile, in 2007, as long as there is a policy keeper to the development society program, PPK and P2KP are integrated below the PNPM (National Program of Society development).

PNPM (National Program of independent society development) is a National Program in the form of basic policy and Standard operational Procedures of preventive programs which is based on the society empowerment. PNPM (National Program of independent society development) was conducted trough harmonization, systemic development, mechanism, and procedures. Besides that, the existence of accompaniment and stimulating fund can support the innovation of the society to prevent the continued poverty. PNPM (National Program of independent society development) aims to empower poor people by involving the entire society components (government, private, and society) by applying participative development concept consistently, dynamically, and continuously. National Program of independent society development was conducted by using decentralization base where the governments have responsibility to run the program by involving local society totally to prevent the poverty. Based on the guidance book of PNPM (National Program of independent society development), the process of society empowerment in the National Program of independent society development include the improvement of society

capacity building. This activity focuses on the accompaniment process through facilitator, mediation, and capacity development. The volunteer is the main society motor. Besides that, the provide of fund for the society is used to fund the activities which are related to the preventive program of poverty. Factors which cannot be left are the supply of physical infrastructures, social infrastructures, and economical structures. The program to improve the capacity is also purposed to the local actor in the government in the form of seminar, workshop, training, visits intensively, selectively, etc (Hasbullah, 2006). The result of the research conducted by PSKK (Population and Policy Study) of UGM in 12 cities in 2007 shows that P2KP which is changed into PNPM still use the logical project. There was not government's consistency to empower the society naturally. In the beginning of the introduction to the P2KP to the society, their present levels in involving poor group are still less optimal. They should collect all of the poor people to be given information in a certain forum. Many poor people less understands about the explanation which come from their socialization model which are not in line with their understanding level.

The high Poverty rate after there were preventive poverty programs indicates that poor preventive programs cannot solve the poverty problems in Indonesia. It is caused by two factors. First, preventive poverty programs tend to focus on the distribution of the social aids for the poor people, such as rice and preventive social net (JPS). This way will be very difficult to solve the problem, because the given aids is not for the empowerment, moreover it can create dependent people. The orientation of the program which is based on the government generosity can decrease poor people's attitude and morality. Second, the lack of understanding about the causes of the poverty, therefore the development program is not based on the poverty issues, especially which relates to local social financial. Because of the failure in understanding the causes of the poverty, the way to solve it will be failed. The impact is the poverty will be grabbed by the society (Alfiasari, et al., 2009). The alms distribution case in Pasuruan 2009 have many victims, the number of the BLT's receiver are increased, PKH (Expected Family Program) grows, the distribution of meat in 2010 at Istiqlal mosque was disorganized and there was scuffle which almost cause serious victim. All of the examples indicate that the poverty is misused to get the aids. These cases must be learnt by the government to look for new solution in prevent the poverty.

The pro and cons held in the society which are related to the poverty in Indonesia is placed on the government development strategy. When the orientation of the development is on the Economic Capital, therefore its developmental focus in by using the successful measure in the form of numbers of economical growth (Guiso, 2001). If the orientation of the development is on the Social Capital, the values such as trust, which is the main factor in the social financial is very important in the development process to solve the poverty.

The study of Woolcock states that poor people have bigger bonding and less of bridging as social capital. Both of them are needed to get the more development result. Furthermore, Woolcock (1998) believes, trust is a collective energy source in the society to develop institutions to achieve the development, affect the spirit, and the competitive skill fairly in the society (or nation).

Social context which have been delivered shows that social capital has not been optimized as a compulsory idiom to arrange the society life since the government born. It is because the implication of the development policy in the government era based on the economic capital, not in the people oriented which is oriented to social capital.

The study of social capital in solving the problem in Indonesia can be given many kinds of examples. First, Educational development case in Manggarai, West Flores in the beginning of 20 century. In this case, there are three social capitals which can be identified. There is cooperation which is stopped by Manggarai's kinship social structures such as work motivation, supports, and commitment on the job and obligation which are stopped by educational organization arranged by Chatolists, and beliefs which is stopped the western values. Without social capital, this case cannot be run et al. Manggarai's macro social objective structure (Lawang, 1989) is the root and the basic which is possible to make mutual cooperation and to achieve the certain purpose collectively. Without organization,, the educational infrastructures which is held by chatolist will not be provided by local potency. The given beliefs of Manggarai people to educational organization which is arranged by Chatolist is very important, it is under the Europeans management.

Second, Seka in Bali. It is like what Geertz and Hildred explain (1963) that there are Banjar's seka, Pura's seka, Gamelan's seka, irrigation's seka (well known as "Subak", and may other seka which are created because of the needs in the society. Based on Geertz, Seka is a work group in permanent membership and periodical membership. Banjar's seka, Pura's seka, and Irigation's seka are the example of permanent membership. Therefore, the basic needs are fulfilled by mutual cooperation by the member of the Seka. The Pura's maintenance which includes cleanliness is coordinated to the relative fixed schedule. It also happens in the Banjar's bale, the irrigation maintenance has been arranged in the irrigation management by using permanent subak system. When there are

some problems break the pura, banjar, or irrigation, they will directly activate the organization. Although the people or the members are different, the organization has the similar structure and distribution. Meanwhile, seka has a periodical content, where there is the similar need of the member, then they make workshop organization to fulfill that needs. Geerts gave the Art Seka as the example of periodical seka. When there is a performance, they will gather and fulfill the equipment needed in that performance. When the performance is ended, seka will be finished.

Third, river protected area case in South Tapanuli, which is managed by local community. In less than 15 years, a treatment and new status decision on the river flows area are decided in many villages of south Tapanuli. The citizens labeled it river protected area. Based on the fish department in South Tapanuli 1994, those river protected areas are in the 60 villages in seven district. It becomes 71 locations in nine districts in 1997. The treatment and new status to be river protected area are done by the people as a way to collect the funds which will be used to the village development. How the management of the river protected area is very interesting to be discussed. The answer of that question is on the citizen's ability to arrange and use the social capital which can be seen from; 1) the ability to arrange the institutions as the basic, 2) the similar participation, and 3) there is a growth in the process or river protected area management. Something which is important is the soldier's role in the local government is very limited. The soldier's role is only on the form of permit giving as the formal legal permission in the river protected area and to solve the conflict in the process of the management (Lubis, 2009).

The three of that examples on the study of social capital roles in the society empowerment if it is linked with the Michael Woolcock's concept about bonding, bridging, and linking can be drawn how big the effect of social capital in the empowerment process is. Bonding can be seen in the mutual cooperation in the family relationship, bridging can be seen in the larger participation between citizens and linking can be seen in the growth of trust which is made from the policy which has been agreed (educational organization which is managed by catholic in Manggarai, permanent seka which has been agreed in Bali, and the trust growth in the management process of river protected area in Tapanuli).

The important thing which is interesting to be deeply discussed in this article is how the difference of interactions term and their consequences between bonding/exclusive, bridging/inclusive, and linking which can be used to examine the poor empowerment program which is in progress until now such as PNPM (The National program of the empowerment of urban development).

Bonding Social Capital tends to be exclusive. The basic character which close to this ideology and its special character in the context of idea, relation, and attention is get more orientation inward looking rather than outward looking. The group of this society is homogenous. In the other language, bonding social capital is well known as sacred society. The certain dogma of sacred society dominates and maintains the totalitarian, hierarchical, and closed. The daily social interaction is always supported by the values and norms which can give advantages to the certain hierarchy level and feudal.

Social capital in the form of Bridging social capital is also called as the modern form of grouping, group, association, or society. The principals of organization is based on the universal principals about: (a) equality, (b) freedom and (3) pluralism and humanitarian (humanity, extrovert, and independent). In the equality, every member in each group has the similar right and obligation. Every group's decision based on the egalitarian agreement of each member. The leader only runs the agreement which has been decided by the members. In the freedom, every member is free to speak, deliver the argument and idea which can develop their groups. The freedom era can create the creative idea in the group, that is the member's thought which will grow the creative idea in that group. Pluralism and humanitarian, the humanity value, the respect of right of every member and other is the basic principal in developing association, group, or society. The strong interest to help others, empathy to other's situation is the basic idea of humanitarian. As the consequence, the society who depends on the bridging social capital are usually heterogeneous from many kinds of ethnic and cultural background. Every member has similar access to make a net or connection with the people out of their group by using their own certain principals, such as equality, humanity, freedom.

Another dimension is linking. It explains the relation about economical and political aspects which have greater potency. The relation of accesses which can influence the policy making will also influence the poor living (Flassy, 2009).

Based on the Woolcock's study about social capital, this article deeply examines the social capital of poor society in the National program of the empowerment of urban empowerment. The fact that there are many economists, planners, and developmental practitioners are surprised and anxious in looking at the achieved development result. The stimuli which are given to the areas are similar, but the result is totally different. So far the study of this difference is given to the human capital variance in the certain area and many other's factors, but it neglects the

cultural variance which are reflected by the variance of configuration and the typology of social capital. The effect is that the preventive poor programs are not well directed and cannot catch the social capital typology and tends to be directed on the charity program, that is the giving of directly aids.

The poverty problem in Indonesia is not about the disability in getting the food, house, etc, but it is all about trust, the lack of workhard and limited networking. Based on the Woolcock, those are called as the lack of bonding, bridging, and linking. Based on the writer, those are categorized as the social poverty.

The purposes of this study are to explain how the social capital work in empowering the poor society through National program of the empowerment of urban. The specific purposes are (1) to know the social capital such as bonding, bridging, and linking in the poor society, (2) to know the role of National program of the empowerment of urban in making the social capital such as bonding bridging, and linking in the poor society.

The advantage of this study is it can theoretically adds the concept of social capital in empowering the poor society in the developmental process. It means that the developmental model focuses on the social capital which will be the idiom of the future development. Therefore the practical advantages of this study are (1) the evaluation of the developmental concept which is oriented on the economical capital and can decrease the social capital to grow the society's participation in the development; (2) to change the society's mind set in accepting the aids (charity) to be the interest to empower themselves.

2. Method

This study is conducted in the explanative field research. Firstly, the fact and social phenomenon about poverty fact in the PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) are collected, especially the data which are in the form of social capital (bonding, bridging, and linking). Then, based those phenomenon, the relation between those phenomenon and the fact of National program of the empowerment of urban in the research area are examined. Furthermore, that fact is interpreted through its definition as the reality of National program of the empowerment of urban. It is about whether National program of the empowerment of urban can create the social capital bonding, bridging, and linking in the poor society to prove the research problem.

This study is located on the city area of Mojokerto. There are five sub-districts as the sample to Mojokerto development. They are Sarirejo, Mojokerto, Wonokusumo, Kauman, and Sawahan. The fifth sub-districts gets the directed society aids (BKM) since the beginning of the preventive poverty program (PP2KP) until now. The background of this research by deciding the Mojokerto as the focus of the study is because Mojokerto is the only district which is visited by the fund team (ADB) in East Java 2009. It is because this district is categorized good in empowering the society through National program of the empowerment of urban.

The subject of this research is the city people who are directly involved in the National program of the empowerment of urban which are the continuity of Preventive poverty city people program (P2KP). Because of the National program of the empowerment of urban in each city is basically similar and the consideration of homogeneity, this research was conducted in the certain sub-district. The subject are chosen by purposive sampling. There are the people who are the administrator of BKM in the National program of the empowerment of urban or the administrators of self-reliance Society group (KSM) and the receiver of the social aids or physical aids, the subjects of the research are 38 respondents. They consist of 20 people of the administrators of BKM, UPK, UPL, UPS, and 18 people of the receiver of the social aids or the physical aids. The subjects of this study are divided into two categories. First, the subject who are actors are chosen to be the primer data, there are those people who directly involved as he stakeholders of the National program of the empowerment of urban and are collected in the KSM (as the leader or the member) and the society who are directly given the social aids and the physical aids as the new social structure. Second, the subject of the study as secondary data is focused on the collective leader of BKM, secretariat, UPK, UPL, and UPS.

The data of this research consist of the primer and secondary data. Based on their characters and kinds, the data are collected through two ways. First, the secondary data are in the form of the condition of BKM's in five sub-districts in Mojokerto which involve monography, poverty rate, and related document about BKM's document (the meeting's note of BKM, the program and the report of UPK, UPL, and UPS). Second, the primer data are collected through interview by using interview guidelines which is conducted through depth interview. These data are collected through key person, the people who can be the administrator of the BKM, the administrator and the member of KSM, and the society who get the aids as the subject of the research. The data which are collected through depth interview are explained qualitatively.

This research was conducted in steps. First, collecting the secondary data about the condition of the (PNPM) National program of the empowerment of urban in five sub-districts of Mojokerto which include monographs, poverty rate, and related document about BKM's document (the meeting's note of BKM, the program and the report of UPK, UPL, and UPS). Second, after getting the data and the number of the informant who will be interviewed, the next step is having interview in the home or in the BKM's office. Interview are repeatedly conducted in the researcher are still lack of the data and information. Based on the data from interview, the editing and tabulating process are conducted. The results are in the form of categories. Third, after collecting the data and phenomenon, the explanative interpretation is conducted to comprehend the meaning of that phenomenon as a way to answer the research questions. The data analysis used in this research is by using flow model of analysis. It is a relationship of three major components to analyze the data, there are data reduction, data presentation, and getting the conclusion. The procedures are data reduction is conducted since in the process of collecting the data, then it is continued when the researcher is collecting the data, and their relation with two others components. Both components still run well until the data collecting process is finished and the process of writing the report is started.

3. Result

The result of this research focuses on the two majors, there are (1) social capital which develops in the poor society and (2) the organization of society institutions and National program of the empowerment of urban which are related to bonding, bridging, and linking in the poor society.

The result of the research about social capital bonding, bridging, and linking in the poor society of the five sub-districts can be analyzed as follows:

3.1 The important things of bonding in the poor society in the five sub-districts of Mojokerto can be seen as follows:

- Bonding which is related to the internal relation between the families' member in the five sub districts are: (1) Sarirejo is good enough. It can be proven by the poor families' daily activities. They live with the cooperation between each other in their job. The activities are conducted by the families' member together; (2) Mojokerto is good enough. The poverty conditions do not make them lack of the confidence to give the respectful live for their family. This statement shows that Mojokerto still has the commitment to retain the internal families' relation for its poor people, they still help each other, they care each other, and they are empathic what the difficulties felt by others. At least, it can break the assumption that poverty consist of irregular things; (3) Wonokusumo are still well maintained many poor family work hard to maintain their image. Their thought which is only about harmonic relation between families' member is the highest value in the society; (4) most of the family relation in Sawahan are good, but there are still many bad internal relation in the poor people; (5) Kauman has specific characteristics, that is the religious point will influence the kinship relation.
- Bonding which is relation between poor families can be summarized as follows: (1) in Sarirejo, the relation between poor family and their relatives is very good. It can be shown when a relative has an activity (KHITANAN OR wedding). The relatives and neighbours will take a role in that activity. At that time, the poverty seems lost, because the relatives and neighbours help them in the form of (TENAGA), materials, or money to support the event. This kinds of relation will stop when the event is finished. That is only a meaningful relation. The relation between poor family and their relatives is not intense anymore. The previous people visit their neighbours' for the sake of brotherhood, because each poor family borrow something, or even ask something each other. Unfortunately, visiting neighbours is only for the sake of importance.; (2) Mojokerto. The relation between poor family are still exist, unfortunately it just on the moment of wedding, funeral, etc. In that moment, they will gather, if there is not a kind of certain moment, they will not gather with their relatives. (3) the condition of the society in Wonokusumo are categorized strange by the administrators of the UPK. To fulfill their own needs, they still needs debt, but they can help their relative's difficulties. (3) the condition of the society in Sawahan run well. It means the family and their relatives still can borrow and help each other when they need help. There are still any visit to the relative's house, although they visit their relative's house to get the help. (5) The condition of the society in kauman run well. It cannot be separated from the roles of the Islamic leader , religious leaders, society leaders to teach the givenness and care values to the family and relatives as the capital to live in the hereafter
- Bonding about the relation between poor people and their neighbour. From five sub-district, the opinion are similar. It is good enough. The relation is naturally happened because that relation has the traditional relation.

Bonding about relation between internal poor family members, poor family and their relatives, and poor family and their neighbors in the five sub-districts in Mojosari show the cohesive relation. This cohesiveness of the group can develop. It is proven by the internal emotional relation between family's members.

Bonding In the poor society in the five sub-districts in Mojosari can be analyzed that the cohesiveness of the relation between families, neighbours, and relatives in the poor family is still exist. Unfortunately, there is a changing from the traditional format which based on the empathy, care, and feel to be another's part become a rational relation. It is a relation which helps each other, a feeling of being their life which based on the interest. What he needs and what I can get from that relation. For example, the poor family need dept and the rich family need a power to clean the house.

3.2 Bridging in the poor society in the five sub-districts of Mojosari has the different varieties, it is because the habitual life which are also different. The society in the Sarirejo, Mojosari, and Wonokusumo tend to the extrovert society, because there are many comers, therefore the society is more heterogenous. On the other hand, Sawahan which is located between markets, their life tend to be hard and irregular. Kauman, the life is based on the religion and introvert in the relation. The different relation of social capital bridging in that five sub-districts can be categorizen into three relations. There are extrovert, irregular, and introvert people.

The First type is the extrovert society (Sarirejo, Mojosari, and Wonokusumo). In this type, the bridging is well developed. The relation between poor people with the environment is wider because the society is very extrovert in the form of family's relation. It means that the rich people respect the poor people and the poor people respect the rich people. Therefore, the harmonious bridging in that three sub-districts are good enough, that is a similar life with the family which is called good by the society, almost in all of the life aspects. Poor family also has similar right in the all activity of the sub-district. The family gathering like that can be in the form of Yasin group, Art group, young group, PKK group, and religious group have similar right and obligation. The poor family has great potency to have a relation with the environment in this sub-district, they still can interact well with the rich neighbour, they can try to get their right similarity, they still can do their obligation as the usual people, they still have a similar chance to deliver their aspiration through arguing, delivering their idea in a procedures, and they have emphatic with other people around them. Solidarity of the relation cannot be separated from the people variation in the three sub-districts above. Therefore, in the extrovert society, the relation between the poor and the rich is still intense. It means that there is not stratified social line which is made through the difference of the wealth, but tends to improve human's moral in order to be able to relate with larger society.

The second type is irregular society. This condition happens in the Sawahan, where their life is on the market. Therefore many members of the families earn money in the market. Bridging in Sawahan is in the form of asking the equality of right and obligation, deliver the freedom of speech or delivering the idea, and the interest to help other cannot run. Their routines from their homes to the market and from the market to their homes, they do not have chance to build largely their relation with the environment.

The third type is introvert society which is based on the religion, in Kauman. Bridging in the poor people cannot do anything to make largely relation with the environment, asking the equality of the right and obligation as the citizens and deliver the freedom of speech, and the interest of helping others. It is because they follow their religious leaders' argument.

3.3 Linking in the poor people of five sub-districts in Mojosari can be analyzed as follows:

The real condition of the poor people in Sarirejo, there are not all people can run the policy which have been agreed as the applied roles. There are still many poor people who break the roles, such as the poor people in the KSM (society group) agree to pay the debt in 12 months and they must pay it not more than 25th, but until now there are 16 KSM which cannot run their program because the debtor do not pay their debt. The other example is the poor people agreement to keep the environmental cleanliness on the poor people ways, unfortunately when the road has been built, it becomes dirty and the broken road which should have been minimalized by MENAMBAL DENGAN SEMEN, are not paid attention so that the broken become larger.

The poor people in Mojosari cannot totally support the policy which have been agreed. For example, the policy about the payment of the debt and contract with the KSM. In the process of payment, the creditor stopped their payment. Another agreement is the public bathroom maintenance. Every people who use the bathroom must pay some money

and must keep the cleanliness. The fact was not like that, the poor people do not pay and has attitude always stay there. The big problem in the running of this policy is the low people's commitment.

The poor people in Wonokusumo relatively obey the policy in the sub-district. The policy about taxes payment can run well, the societies pay the tax regularly. The policy which is related to the BKM especially about the the rules of KSM to give the debt ANGSURAN is still 87-90%. At least, there are 87-90% poor society which are involved in the KSM still pay regularly their debt or they can be called as the society who still have commitment in the agreement. The policy which is related to the maintenance of the work result of UPL is still bad. For example, the people must maintain and repair the broken road or drainase which do not well work as the result of physical BKM program run by UPL. The fact in the firel, there are still many tembut road which are dirty, small broken which are not solved, etc.

The poor people in Sawahan which are related to their obey of the agreed policy as the rules is the form of irregularity. It means, among five sub-district, Sawahan is the most irregular district. Therefore, almost most of the agreed rules/ policy are broken by the poor people. The fact are that the fund in BKM is delivered based on the agreed rules, but they make a new agreement that the delivered fund is the government giving, therefore, there is no need to pay it. This is the fact in Sawahan, they state legally that they will not pay the debt.

The poor people in Kauman can run the policy well. Their tax payment is well. Unfortunately, there is a problem in the process of paying the debt from the fund of BKM, it is also stopped. The failure of this payment is indicated by the low commitment of the poor people to maintain the agreement.

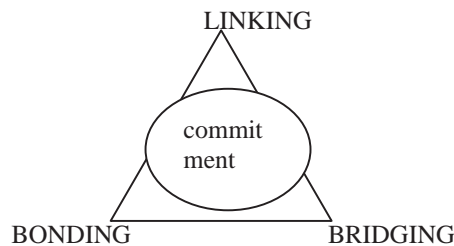
The result of the identification about linking in the five sub-districts in Mojoseri is that the linking cannot be done totally by the poor people in Mojoseri. Because they just focus on how they can fulfill their needs with their usual habits. The poor people there think that the empowering ways has high risks to fail, therefore they will do their daily job regularly. Except sawahan, the important note is that four sub districts have potency to create the linking, but they just lack of the commitment of the agreement. The analysis of the bonding, bridging, and linking in poor people of the sub-districts in Mojoseri is used by the Woolcock (1998). The identification of the specific social capital in the fictive sub-districts in Mojoseri are:

First, bonding is still in the poor people of the five sub-districts in Mojoseri. There are the poor people's life do respect their group, therefore the internal relation of the family's members, relation between their relatives, and the relation with the neighbors are very close. This kind of relation tends to the one dimension relation. Bonding is limited to one dimension. The cohesiveness of the group will be the cause which creates the poverty which is very dangerous and difficult to be solved, because there is a strong emotional cohesiveness of the factors. This cohesiveness is also caused by the values in each interaction which is also have traditional values. This bonding will affect (a) the lack of modern people's principals who prioritize the efficiency of the productivity and competence which are built on the friendship principals which are egalitarian and free, (b) the poor people is very difficult to develop new idea, new orientation, new values and new norms which can richer the norms and value which have been stayed in the society, (c) having the strong resistance on the changing. Based on that reason, bonding focuses on the cohesiveness of the group which causes the poverty is difficult to be solved. Therefore, building internal relation between family's member, family and their relatives, family and their neighbors cannot rely on the one dimension, cohesiveness. Therefore they need to be directed on the rational family relation and pay attention to the modern people live which focuses on the efficiency, productivity, and competition.

Second; bridging which causes the poverty in the five sub-district of Mojoseri is that the poor people are lack of the ability to create the networking. Meanwhile, if each member of the family can build the network with the member out of their group in the similarity, humanity, and freedom, they will open their way to be quickly developed as the empowered group.

Third; the linking which cause the poverty in the five sub-district in Mojoseri is the low commitment from the poor people to obey the agreed policy. This agreement becomes the rules which involve all people to obey it. Therefore, one effort to empower the poor society is they must have high commitment to obey that agreement. If this agreement is failed to be obeyed by the poor people, it will cause the specific strong poverty.

Based on the condition of the bonding, bridging, and linking on the poor people and which social capital which causes the poverty, so the commitment will strength the relation between three kinds of social capital based on the Michael Woolcock. The results of this research complete the Woolcock theory that the social capital in the form of bonding, bridging, and linking are not enough to empower the poor people, it must be completed by the commitment. Therefore the formula of the social capital are bonding, bridging, linking, and commitment. The development of the Woolcock idea can be given below:



Picture : 1. Woolcock Development Theory

- Bonding social capital tends to the individuals relation in the premier group or neighbourhood environment. The community which show the internal cohesion will be very easy in delivering the knowledge.
- Bridging social capital is the relation between different people. They come from the different community, culture, and economic cultural background. Individuals who are in the bridging social capital will be very easy in collecting the knowledge from the environment out of their community and still get the actual information from another group. This kind of social capital focuses on the individual relation who have power and access to the business and social relation through secondary groups.
- Linking social capital give chance to the individuals to get and arrange the sources, idea, information, and knowledge in the certain community or groups in the level of making and participation in the formal organization, especially in the policy which is agreed to be the rules which must be obeyed.
- Commitment social capital. That is the individuals which have strong will to maintain the cohesiveness of the of the homogenous premier group, have strong will to maintain the heterogeneous environmental relation, and strong will to maintain the implementation of the policy which has been agreed to be the policy which must be obeyed.

The proposition which is declared based on the research findings can be stated below: “Social capital bonding, bridging, and linking can empower poor people if the individuals in that community have the strong commitment to maintain the cohesiveness of the group relation, maintain the larger environment, and maintain the implementation of the policy”.

Based on that reason, the further and deeper research must be conducted. Besides that, the specific theoretical findings which based on the sociology development is needed to deliver the social frame work which cover the thoughts poor people.

The result of this second research shows that National program of the empowerment of urban still has low contribution to create the social capital, but it will weaken the social capital bonding, bridging, and linking. This condition can be seen when all of the National program of the empowerment of urban get the troubles to develop the Society group which is expected to be the foundation of the growth of social capital to be the civil society.

The description of the case PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) case in Mojosari shows that this program does not give the effect of empowering for the poor people optimally. According to the researcher, they can be identified because; (1) the monitoring of the program (sub-district facilitator or city coordinator) only work to optimalize the process (the present of citizen’s meeting, long election, work report, etc) to make a target for their activities. It means the implementation of the project is the purpose of the program monitoring. It is not the process which become the tools to achieve the purpose in improving poor people’s wealth. Based on the fact, according to the researcher, PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) which is conducted by BKM/LKM. UPK, the monitor of UPK, secretariat, UPS, and UPL, is a process which is interfered to the poor people e in order they can follow the program in the long procedures and boredom for the poor people, (2) the rigid responsibility which tends to be strict by using the project style which become the certain problem for the administration of the National program of the empowerment of urban (PNPM Mandiri) because they lack of the knowledge and time, moreover they are demanded to be the volunteers.

The depth examination and analysis about National program of the empowerment of urban (PNPM Mandiri) cannot create the social capital bonding, bridging, or linking because the lack of government and their elements toward the foreign. It can be said that the more dominant side is the foreign, while the government or the country only have the poor people with all of their complexity. It must be admitted that the participative principals of PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) is applied, but most of the decision maker to develop sub-districts still come from the abroad (especially foreign and central government). This kind of reality shows that so far, in empowering the poor people, the government uses the basic project and the fund comes from the abroad, therefore the government’s position will be very weak. It will cause to the lack of the society trust to the government, and when

there is a government program, it will be assumed as given fund. Therefore, the society will depend on the next program and never be empowered society.

The result of the analysis of this research can build the proposition as follows: “The government’s intervention so far in the poor people is project oriented and based on the outboard fund, therefore the social capital will never be built in the poor society living”.

The overall result of this research are (1) the commitment is the social capital which can strength the social capital bonding, bridging, and linking which have been developed by Michael Woolcok, (2) the government process can be interfered for the poor people and can create the social capital as long as it is not project oriented, therefore the government program’s role only the supporter of the social capital growing, and not for doing activities out of their ability. For example, if PNPM (National program of the empowerment of urban) is not project oriented, the KSM will not be seem as the debtor group, gathering group, the group which only orientates on their group only, moreover the group which are only made because of the economic reason and purpose or the facilitate delivers only. Furthermore, KSM must be understood as the place to grow the trust and gathering in the society, the growing of general smart, the develop of independent spirit to solve the problem in the sub-district, build the social trust, and discuss the social problem.

The chance which must be created is how the social capital which have been able to empower the society in the form of bonding, bridging, or linking must be supported in order the social capital will be the pioneer of the growing of social capital in the future.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

Social capital is the energy of the development which is not to be doubt. The development which ignores the social capital as the supporter of the society strength and nation strength will lose not only their basic strong society but also will get stagnancy and difficulties to go from the crisis. Social capital as the development energy will be very effective to support the success of the policy which is conducted by the government and the non government. This beliefs is based on their strength to stimulate the society develops voluntarily, and the result will maximize the achievement of every development policy which is made by the government. In the historically study, this nation do not have the tradition to create the social capital.

Michael Woolcock (1998) states that social capital comes from the tradition and the experience which always happen continuously in the society. Bonding is a bond between the internal family relation, bridging is the bridge to build the outer relation, and linking is a link to run the policy. This element is out of the government’s control and ability. When the policy is arranged, the government must realize that the social capital which grows in the society is the product of that society. The government is still able to support the grow of the social capital energy, but it is not the creation.

The result of this research strengthen the Woolcock findings about bonding, bridging, and linking in the poor people. Woolcock states that poor people have the social capital in the bonding which involve family, relatives, and community net which help to make the important risk management strategy. Unfortunately, they do not have social capital in bridging and linking. This statement is not correct if the poor person is in the extrovert society which palace the poor people in the same position, right and obligation in the society life.

The result of this research can develop the Michel Woolcock’s idea which states that social capital is the relation between the three components, bonding, bridging, and linking. The result of this research is the commitment which has the important role to strength the relation between the three elements in the poor people. Therefore the relations of those elements are bonding, bridging, linking, and commitment. That relation can be explained as follows; (1) bonding social capital tends to the relation between individuals in the premier group or the neighbourhood environment. The community which shows the strong internal cohesion will be easier in sharing the knowledge; (2) bridging social capital is the relation between different people, includes the people from the community, culture, and social economics factor. The individuals in the bridging social capital will be very easy in collecting the information and knowledge from the community out of their environment and they still get the actual information from the other group. This kind of social capital show the relation between individuals who have power or access to the business and social relation through the secondary group; (3) linking social capital possibly the individuals to get and manage the source, idea, and knowledge in a certain community or group in the development level and the participation in the formal organization, especially on the agreed policy to be the roles which must be obeyed; (4) commitment social capital is the individuals which has the strong intension to maintain the cohesiveness of homogenous premier group

relation, has the strong intension to maintain the cohesiveness of heterogeneous premier group relation, and the strong intension to maintain the application of the policy which is agreed to be the role which must be obeyed.

Based on the discussion, the conclusions are as follows; first, the poor people, especially the extrovert poor people have social capital such as bonding, bridging, and linking, the irregular and introvert poor people only have bonding. The result finds that those social capitals will be very strong in the social capital if the commitment involves in the social capital. Second, whatever the programs, as long as the government is still projects oriented and the fund comes from the foreign, the social capital will not be grown in the poor people. This condition will continue the previous experience about workshop program, when the project is done, the empowering process is finished.

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