

Social Capital as Mechanism the Survival of the Tribe Alienated Mandras in Bengkulu Indonesia

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Abstract

This research focused the function of social capital on a community tribe Mandras, alienated living in the middle of the wilderness in the Province of Bengkulu based on theories Nan-Lin perspective. This study uses qualitative methods with an ethnographic approach. Data collected by participant-observation through direct observation and in-depth interview and documentation. Data analyzed by interactive based on interpretation in inductive by approach emik. The research found that Mandras tribal person who lives in the wilderness develop the social life of relatively established and they as officials of the forest. For they woodlands having spiritual, the value of social, moral and economic. On that basis, the elements of social capital-forming The Mandras is transformed from the resource of the value derived from customary rules that are singular. The concept of social capital theory of Nan-Lin is a resource within the social structure facilitating social networks to access the aim of action for tribal people Mandras, is seen as a function of survival mechanism was not linear, but rather the dialectic of social structure and the purpose of the act. Social capital that lies in social structures, social networks that are accessed by the tribe for the purpose of the action Mandras a factor controlling the whole of community life of the tribe is the Mandras of transformation of social capital.

Keywords. Social capital, Social Structure and Social Action.

1. Introduction

The Indonesian nation is a the unitary state, where its inhabitants diverse peoples. Diversity nations were classified as tribe alienated that life based on customs and lifestyle be inherited by his fathers. In Indonesia number of syllables alienated still is too high as many as 226.380 heads of households or about 1.298.225 people (ministry of social affairs general directorate pemberdayaan social, directorate community customary remote, deptsos Indonesia 2011).

Tribe alienated this spread almost all the big. One such as in the island of Sumatra. The southern part of Sumatra island territory precisely in province Bengkulu there are several tribes alienated as the child in, tribe Karubi, the gutters, tribe Kaur and tribes Semendo. There is a tribe of Tribes that have not been much Mandras is known by many people who live in the wilderness and yet no mapping in the development of the social sciences as well as untouched by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia's development and private.

This condition raises the question why people keep Mandras Tribe survival in the midst of the wilderness, isolated, rejected the relocation of settlements. In addition to their appropriate resistance against foreign policy in terms of them physically living in poverty. On the other hand they keep a relatively balanced life developed in the social order, economic and social cultur²

Does that mean there is something the power resources outside the powers of tribal people owned Mandras to

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² Balance in economic and social life settings social culture identified through keberfungsian families in performing the role, fulfilling the needs and solve the problems (Edi. S, 2004: 84) in carrying out the functions of the family. According to Yaumul.C.A (1993: 32) there are eight dimensions of family functions: (1) religious functions, which encourages families to become human-developed human full religion faith and piety to God Almighty. (2) socio-cultural function, which gives to its members about the cultural richness and motivation keep Excellency budi. (3) the function of love in the family provide a solid grounding in the relationships between the child, the husband and wife, parents and kerabatan relations. The family became the main place to get life ideals of spiritual birth and love. (4) the function of protection (protection), which fosters a sense of security. This function could be developed so the family can be a safe place of birth and spiritual. (5) the reproduction function. (6) the function of socialization is a function which gives a role to the family to instill the values of life gradually in educating children in order to make adjustments to the nature of life in the future. (7) the economic function of the elements supporting the ability of self-reliance and family members within the economic community so they can choose the shape and direction of the work was carried out. (8) the function of the construction of the environment gives the ability to each one's family to put ourselves in harmonious aligned and balanced in the circumstances that changed dynamically so that each family member is not excluded in the broad environment.

keep survival. The Kekuatanan one of them is the presence of the existence of the social capital that has direct relevance to the community, how The purpose of the Access Act Mandras.

The study of the existence of the social capital on The alienated is required based on the reasons that (1) the reorientation towards poverty, that we are very easy to classify poor people physically, but it's hard to classify physically not poor people. This is certainly a necessary perspective on the strength of such social capital which is owned by the poor in depth than the mere concept of poverty globally. (2) social capital as a means of social mapping because elements of forming social capital provides information about tribal culture alienated so it can be disubtiskusikan in the process of community empowerment. (3) prevent the susceptibility for isolated tribes Imaging social conflict, because of the stigma of isolated tribal community life have always been backward, destroyer forest ecosystems, disrupting the continuity of economic, social and even more Ironically they were condemned because the interests of mining companies. It required firmness to protect their lives one of them based on the power of social capital.

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1.1. Research Questions

In an outline in outline question the research can be formulated into three questions basic intertwined, namely: (1).How the form of social capital in interaction among members in the family who support mechanism survival access to resources dilingkungan tribe Mandras. (2) Where do elements forming social capital that originates from the relations of the family to build a mechanism survival as a goal the act of to the tribe Mandras. (3) How the power of social capital that originates from a community tribe Mandras in support of the mechanism of survival.

1.2. Research Objective

The goal of the study is to obtain clarity of the phenomena of cultural and social that is in the components of the alienated Mandras, social capital and is dialectics between social structure and actions. Other purposes is to get clarity about the source of capital social derived from the relationship between the members of a family, among the family and the community, to the tribe Mandras in developing the mechanism of survival. Specifically the purpose of study this mencabar perspective theory social capital nan-lin (2001). Besides study this would also explain practices cultural and social practices as elements of the alienated Mandras social capital that can be used for entry point to open the imaging of reality social and cultural life of the alienated Mandras.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Society Alienated

Community alienated citizens are still wedded to a way of life based on the lifestyle and customs passed down by their ancestors (Koentjaraningrat, 1993: 347). Objectively they live in groups and inhabited locations are still isolated that is generally located in the highland areas (mountainous areas), lowland areas (swamps), Outback, watersheds, border areas and even staying on a boat or the shore area with the location of orbitasi is generally hard to reach (Depsos RI, 2003: 8).

The concept of community classifications alienated undergo a change by depsos of Indonesia. 1976 until 1998 emphasis limits the tribe of alienated is a group of people and certain or tribes who categorized still alienated in socio-culture so that it could not assimilate with the people around him. They are the people who live in kesatuan-kesatuan Socio-Culture that is spatially localized and terepncar and less / has not been involved in the tissues and services both Social, Economic and Political National (Kepmensos RI no. 69 / HUK / 1998 on training social welfare society alienated in remote indigenous community empowerment, 2003).

In 1999 there were changes in the nomenclature of Indigenous Communities being isolated communities remote (KAT) is a group of social culture that is local and scattered and lacking or not yet involved in network and service good social, economic or political (Presidential Decree No. No. 111/1999 concerning the construction of the social welfare of indigenous communities are remote and Kepmensos No. 14/PEGHUK/2003 on the implementation of the guidelines for Remote Indigenous Community Empowerment). In operational applied in accordance with the criteria and characteristic of community customary remote (kat) in each daerah. kriteria community remote as stipulated in keppres no. 111 / pansus includes 7 (seven) element that is, (1) a relatively small community closed and homogeny, (2) of social organization or social pranata resting on the kinship relation condensed by customary norms, (3) remote in socio-culture, geographical with people who are more broadly, (4) live with economic system subsistence, (5) technology still simple, (6) dependence with the nature and relatively high, local resources (7) the lack of social services, economy, and politics.

In addition to Sociological-Anthropological community customary remote or isolated communities remote in public life can be categorized based on life patterns that are still wandering (navigate them, no contact with the outside world), settling temporarily (they move and settle within a specified time, there have been contacts with the outside world and getting to know to farm). There are also those who have settled down (they settle in everyday life and there has been contact with the outside world, a larger number of groups, already know the simple technology acquired from the outside, gardening and still tend to deny access from the outside.

Change nomenclature society alienated be community customary remote in essential not reduce the conceptual society alienated. Tribe alienated it directly objective describe order community life that deals with socio-culture that is inherited from ancestors and localized, relatively small covered, left behind, homogeneous, scattered or, migrating or settle. Besides their lives are still cling to customs relatively tight and dependent on natural resources with simple local technology and economy structure is still in subsistence, and lacking or very little to gain access to basic social services. Thus researchers continue to use concept of community alienated not community customary remote, because there is no difference between a concept whose essential kat with the concept of the tribe of alienated put forward by the experts.

Capability of being alienated survival, fixed rates though they had not been touched by service socio-culture and economic from the government and even those living in poverty, but they remain survive develop the life survival) and (relatively based on forces of rules established customary bequeathed by ancestors from generation to generation. Provisions for customs culture can be assessed by the alienated through elements of social capital.

2.2 The Theory of Social Capital

Social capital is simply a series of values and norms that are shared by members of a group that allows the occurrence of cooperation among them in achieving shared goals. Invalid constructs teoritik social capital is developed from the study of Sociology with the structural flow. The concept of social capital to borrow a concept from economics and social capital can be invested, developed as well as the need for the development of the maintenance element of the constituent when accessing resources.

Word Bank explains the elements forming social capital i.e. the norms and social connections that are embedded in a social structure and make a person or an actor capable of co-ordinating action to achieve goals that correspond to the desire (Cohen, 2001: 3). Similar things expressed Bourdieu (1986: 240-260) that element of social capital will be potential when supported by (1) the economic capital in the form of the material, (2) a capital of culture (cultural capital) is a symbolic and meaning in the process can be converted into economic capital, (3) social capital (social capital) that consists of social obligations. Bourdieu explain firmly that social capital-forming elements deriving from resource groups through the relationships that are owned by someone with a membership and each Member of the Group provide collective support. In other words the social capital built up between members of the Group and between groups builds social networks for reciprocity.

Bourdieu (1986) theorists then critiqued Coleman (1988-1990). The formulation of elements of social capital by Coleman (1990: 372-373) does not work alone but rather a combining elements of social capital is developed based on human capital (human capital), in the form of intangible skills, knowledge gained individually and distinctly tangible form of physical capital owned and controlled material (physical capital). Social capital as a resource, there is sourced within the family or outside the family group, or between groups within the Community (Coleman 1988: 302-334).

Social capital as a social resource and encourage certain behavior in the lives of individuals and groups that deal with the obligations and expectations are balanced, so cultivate trust. Social trust is growing in the life of associative when bonds and expectation run well and are in the nature of social structures which facilitate actors according to their functions to achieve social mobility (Coleman 1988 and 1990: 95-120).

Even further, Putnam (1993a: 166-167) shed some light on social capital resource is permanently residing in social structures and facilitates the choice of the function as a collective action. Social capital refers to the source organisasi social institutions, which are forming networks (networks), norms (norms), and social trust (social trust) that is pushed on a social collaboration (coordination and cooperation) for common interests that exist in society.

Fukuyama said that not all of the norms, values, from culture together can complement each other to support economic growth, but rather the norm, the value of which has elements of togetherness between the actors who are able to support the country's economic growth. He stated that the elements of social capital are forming norms and shared values are generated by the trust that comes from individuals, community groups, working together for a common goal (collective action). The main argument of the Fukuyama is explained that the role of the trust (the trust) is a valuable element of the menbentuk of social capital, in the process of economic development terms with networks as the facilitation coordination of cooperation in creating mutual benefit all members in (The Social Values and the creation of Prosperity, 1995: 20-26).

While Woolcock (1998: 27, 151-210) distinguishes three types of social capital-forming elements, (1) social bounding. Social values, norms are bounding, perceptions and traditions or customs (custom) are sourced within the group, (2) bridging social (social bridge) sourced between groups, as institutions, mechanisms and networks which is a result of social bonding rules that arise in response to a wide range of characteristics of the group. (3) social linking relationships is a social network of social forces and social status that the source exists in the community that engages with society's elite (elite, political figures, figure) as a person who believed to channel aspirasai kolektifas action groups, as well as the empowerment. The third type of social capital-forming elements

can withstand access resources when supported (1) bonds of solidarity (2) reciprocity (reciprocal exchange transaction), (3) the value of the idea of the sublime and noble moral values, and commitment through contractual relationships with achievement of goals, (4) fostering a belief that formal institutions and informal groups/partikuler uses a different mechanism to guarantee the fulfillment of needs based on the deal.

Portes (1998: 7-8) explain that maintaining the availability of social capital based on history, through membership in the network structure and social structure. Item availability of social capital, namely: (1) social relation itself that make it possible for actors as invividu, groups and communities have access to resources that belong to a group and (2) the number and quality of resources. Sources of social capital that is: (1) the values that live in the community, (2) bonds of solidarity, (3) the exchange of mutually beneficial reciprocity, (4) understanding to implement obligations.

The development of the concept of social capital quickly in the 2000s among the social capital concept hatched by Lin (2001) the more universal and sociological (in Julia Storberg, 2002: 39-60). Lin (2001: 56-60) social capital is sourced from individuals in groups, between groups and communities are differentiated based on social structure, social networks and social action.

Meaning of social capital-forming element attached to the 3 (three) aspects: structure, social networking, and social action. The first Unit in the theory of social structure that is Lin resources worth structural embeddedness into position. Describing the differential between levels of Embeddedness resources valued at different levels in the structure. the social structure is made up of people with different levels of resources and with varying levels of authority. The size of the resources and authority they are determined by their place in the social structure.

The first Unit of the social structure is examined from several components (1) a set of social unit (position) that has one or more types of differential resource value: (2) related relative authority hierarchy (control and access to resources): (3) share certain rules and procedures in the use of resources: and (4) entrusted to liaison (agents) that Act on the rules and procedures. The second Unit in the theory of Lin's network, or Lin mentions the ' opportunity ' aspect of social capital. Aspects of the opportunity to explain the various ways that people are encouraged to access the social capital. In theory this network, called a types of relationship can patters cohesion or bonding relationship that is very easy to access social networks, not only in the form of a pattern of relationships between people, but also includes a resource worth having patterns when accessing through the Exchange System. Finally, the third unit is a component of this action is the motivation of people to engage in social relations that are supported by the trust. The purpose of the Act in the form of actions on the action more likely instrumental oriented resource additions and expressive action is the action that maintains the resource of trust (Lin, 2001: 41).

Social capital-forming elements based on the perspective of Nan-Linian conceived of resources inherent in social structures, social networks and social actions which are aspects of the values, norms, networks, trust, reciprocal exchanges (reciprocity) kohesifitas. Social capital-forming element is the dialectic of social structure and the purpose of the Act is seen as a mechanism to access resources. Elements of this social capital is a compilation from the perspective of social capital Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), Putnam (1993) and Fukuyama (1995), Woolcock (1998) and Portes (1999-2000).

2.3. Social Capital As A Mechanism Of Survival Of Life Community Alienated

Mandras

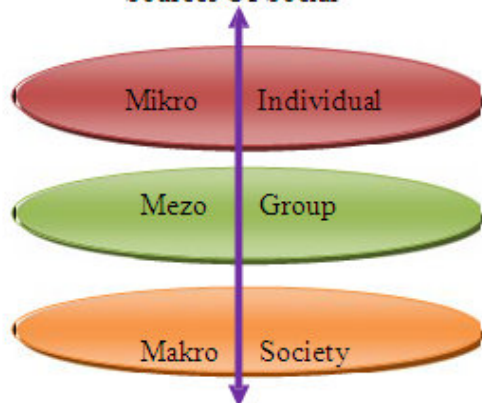
The social capital theory perspective of Nan-Lin (2001)¹ is used to understand and analyze the phenomenon of culture elements in the source and the strength-forming social capital owned by the Tribe as a

¹ The theory of social capital of Nan-Lin books abstracted from *Social Capital: a Theory of Social Structure and Action* by Nan-Lin, Duke University, 2001. Cambridge University, pp. 19-80. Social capital has become a relatively new developments in theory and research. While previously (Loury, 1977, 1987; Ben-Porath 1980) pointed to the phenomenon or capital resources through social relativity or even used the term social capital, only in the 1980s, when several sociologists, including Bourdieu, Coleman, and Lin, freely explored the concept in some detail, did catch the attention of the research community. Lin (2001) social capital is understood from the explanation of the capital itself. The concept of capital is tracked from the writings of Karl Marx, where capital as part of surplus value (created through the process of the production of commodities and Exchange) which then created the next advantage. Based on Marx's views, then Lin (2001: 7-8) describes the first capital, i.e. the capital closely related to production and the exchange of commodities. Both capital investment and production is a process requiring the accumulation to process komuditas. In the process of komuditas requires an exchange for a profit. The third capital following the results of the process of surplus value or profit. That means when the market value is equal to or less than the cost of it will be incurred losses or deficits or debt. Social capital is the fourth view is intristik because it involves social activities such as process values to depend on labor

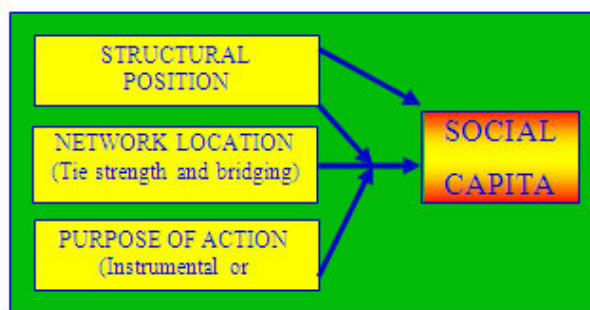
mechanism of survival Mandras. There are many theories of social capital, but Lin (2001: 20-25,56) build social capital theory of macrostructure, and nature in history built to accommodate the perspective of theory of social capital Bourdieu (1995), Coleman (1988), Putnam (1993), Fukuyama (1995), Woolcock (1998) and Portes (1999-2000). Thus the theory of social capital in Nan-Linian more comprehensive build and source of strength-forming elements of social capital.

Social capital-forming elements i.e. the norms, values, network, kepercayaan, and kohesifitas as a functional Exchange of social structure, the network used by an actor to access the purpose of the action (see Figure 1). While Lin (2001: 75-77) also explained that the source of social capital comes from the pattern of relationships between members of the group, between groups and societies based on law or certain rules or regulations thoroughly (see Figure 2) formed by social structures. This illustration depicts the perspective of the function of social capital among them as a function of the mechanism of community life including a survival community alienated.

Gambar 1. Interactions Between Sources Of Social



Gambar 2. : Model of social capital Theory perspective of Lin (2001)



It means the theory of capital social perspective Nan-Linian very deterministik, by its very nature because the idea the purpose of the act of formed through a process based on the relationship between the parts of a law or a certain rule. It is caused by essensi and a force of one social structures are in terms of the mechanism of a holistic and not terms atomistik actor part to pieces in facilitating access to resources the act of (Lin, as a purpose 2001: 29-76). The theory is very relevant to the tribe of alienated Mandras social reality.

The social reality of these tribes, the community is not an individual, but the individual images from the society and individuals not in the practice of autonomous social and cultural resource management, but rather the rules that bind all members of the community to access and distribute resources for the survival of their lives. The social structure is a factor in steering and control the entire life of the masyarakat. In this situation, individuals are in a system which regularly assures the existence of the life of the community, so that less doesn't even provide a place on individuals as members of the community wanted to free access resources.

The reality of the social community alienated Tribes Mandras, relevant to social capital theory perspective of Nan-Lin, in theory less essential gave on the subject or actor for the purpose of co-ordinating action free willed. Each goal action actors to access and distribute resources, control and are controlled by a social structure that was formed by the community. The reality of the social community alienated Tribes Mandras, relevant to social capital theory perspective of Nan-Lin, in theory less essential gave on the subject or actor for the purpose of co-ordinating action free willed. Each goal action actors to access and distribute resources, controlled and controlled by a social structure that was formed by the community.

3. Research Methods

This type of qualitative research using ethnographic approach, with census data gathering techniques, through direct observation of partisipant observation and in-depth interviews, field notes, genealogical, interview and documentation. Field research for primary data collection was carried out for a period of five months starting year (2011-2012) in forest area and forest TNKS Missed the Heart of the Rejang Lebong Regency is located in the Province of Bengkulu. A period of five months of field research is divided into three stages: the first stage one and a half months (between September-November 2011), the second phase for 2 months (May- July 2012), stage three and a half months (October-December 2012). Secondary data collection, studie libraries in the framework of deepening the theories of social capital and the analysis of the results of the study will take two years (2011- beginning 2013).

Data analysis has already started while in the field, ranging from the process of classification and categories of

data between what is retrieved from the documentation with data obtained through interviews and observations with regard to the social and cultural components as Shaper and a source of social capital the Mandras estranged. The Data were analyzed qualitatively through three (3) the process of reduction, withdrawal and presentation of conclusions that moves back and forth among the three processes in a loop which is interactive.

4.Results

People of Mandras are the native tribe inhabitants of Sungai Lisai who call themselves as *Pemangku Hutan*. As forest dwellers, they live in group in forest. Their life are adjusted to the carrying capacity of the forest and have been settled. However, they do not get any social, economical, political as well as institutional services from the government of Republic of Indonesia. The total number of Madras tribe member is 169 head of families (453 people), which consists of 225 men and 228 women.

Mandras tribe people always build *unity of house (o maa)* on the banks of the river in the area of forest (*ooh-tan*). Each house is only occupied by a nuclear family. They build their own the totality of the house in a *unity of settlement*. The distance between the totality of the house and unity settlement is not specified and definite, depending on geographical nature.

Mandras tribe settlement pattern has been settled, but there are families who still have a moving habit in their lives, either fixed move or temporary move. Fixed move means once a person leave the totality of the house, he will never go back to the same the totality of the house. While the temporary move means leaving the totality of the house for a while (a few days or weeks or months), then come to inhabit the same the totality of the house back on another occasion. Displacement performed as member of the totality of the house permission of the totality of the house as other households. The main reason of fixed move is usually because there are family members who marry a person from outside the tribe, the carrying capacity of the forest is no longer possible to open a new farm land, a family member dies, or the concerned the totality of the house is affected by natural disasters. While the main reason for temporary move is usually associated with a particular food quest, primarily to hunt forest animals.

In reality, Madras tribe's settlement patterns is never be exactly materialized in terms of both quantity and composition of population, as it is adjusted to the carrying capacity of forests based on their calculations, such as number of the totality of the house unit near by a stream and forest borders that may be cultivated to establish a location of settlements. Thus in this way, the unity settlement could properly describes social unity and natural carrying capacity. Each household is not free to move to build a new unity in the dynamics of social life even though it is based on the principle of equality ('equality).

Unity settlement is functional in its relationship with *the totality of the house* in context of family life as members of its inhabitants. The existence of house is absolute and fundamental, because the *the totality of the house* is not only a settled place to stay but at the same time, it is also considered as identity of existence and dynamics of family life. This can be seen from description of spatial structure of the house that physically has four sections, namely; a hall for sleeping (*kama t-ooii*), a hall for cooking and fireplace (*daapoo*), family hall for receiving guests (*ro-ta-moo aan*), and a hall for storing food, as well as a special hall in connection with the ancestral spirits which is functionally related to each other in context of the inhabitants' life. In Mandras tribe's view, the existence of *the totality of the house* does not only describe *unity settlement* but also describes *kesatuan hutan* as totality of life as a whole; relationship among human, human with ancestors, and human with natural environment.

The totality of the forest has an important meaning in the reality of Mandras people lives. For Mandras people, forest is not only as shelter locations, but more like an estuary of life to their creator as well as their source of life. Forest with all its content, for the tribe of Mandras, is containing spiritual, economic, social, and moral values. Forest is a place of interaction among them and their ancestors (*le'loouhou*). Because the forest and its contents are owned and controlled by the ancestors, so they only have the opportunity to cultivate and harness it together. On the basis of this interpretation, then the system of exchange (*exchange system*) and the system of distribution (*sharing system*) developed based on the principle of *reciprocity* in the order of life as a source of strength to survive. One source of strength possessed by the tribe Mandras is a form of social capital that contributes in mechanisms to survive on order of life through the exchange system. The existence of system of exchange that is done tribe person Mandras it does not mean ignoring economic value over goods which it is interchangeable, but economic value that is soluble in totality values in life thoroughly, as the process of farming the nuclear family, reproduction and economic activities.

Economic activities in Mandras tribe's livelihoods are rice farming, cinnamon gardening, hunting forest animals, and fishing. In addition, they also collect a variety of fruits and do simple farming that is located not far from the residential houses. Some of them distill patchouli oil for sale or make rattan woven and pandanus mats. Unitary household is the smallest economic unit that is independent and has economic security to meet family need for food or non-food. Donating resources contribute to survive in family life and include economic

security is in form of social capital that is built in synergistically derived from the relationships between actors, as individual relationships within the family, between family to family relationship, and support from the society. Essentially, the social capital of Mandras tribe is based on provisions of the customs as local genius that transforms through social structures that facilitate social actors to take action and use social networks to access and use social capital. Thus, the social structures and social networks which direct actors in doing social action, is simply a transformation of social capital.

Social capital is sourced within the family that supports the survival mechanism to access resources obtained through (1) the Exchange system the system of marriage, (2) inheritance, (3) economic activities (4) as well as the meaning of education and health which is attached to the social structure, social networks and social action are constructed in the interaction between family members through a system of exchanges (the exchange system) and the system partition (sharing system) based on the principle of reciprocity (resiprocity) that is internalized in the form values and norms, trust and kohesifitas. This case is aimed at achieving balance on order of family survival. Resources it is inherited through the process of socialization and affection which takes place in a social interaction between members of the family, so that it becomes an energy source which describes the dynamics of family survival.

Social capital is sourced within the family Tribe Mandras that is potentially inherent in the social structure, which facilitates actors' social action as individual in maintaining resources necessary for purposes of family's, is a division of works for family members by organizing family members in various positions resting on a system based on sex (men and women) and age. On purpose of foodstuffs searching, men are responsible in the main business of rice farming, gardening, hunting, and fishing. While women are working to maintain the rice fields, gardens and fields as well as gathering fuel, fruits, and vegetables.

Fundamentally, the concept of employment of men and women according to the customary rules is that men's work relates to the source of life, while the women work relates to elements of *growth* and *development* and *maintenance* of a life. Sex difference is not only important in relation to economic life, but it also appeared relatively dominant role in other aspects of life. People of Mandras tribe put roles of men and women in relation to the nature of human life. In this case, the man is considered as decision makers and authorities as well as the giver of life resources including a destroyer of life, while women are considered as the manager, a giver or a spreader of life. Both of these are opposites, but at the same time they need each other and complement each other for maintaining the continuity of human life both as individual and social beings.

Placement position and roles of men and women are based on a sexual, but in hierarchical structure. However, it does not form classes that create differences in the acquisition of rights and obligations in form of resources. Mandras tribe simply views such structured family members just have different roles and functions in term of the essence. It still based on the principle of equality (equality) and it is natural and innate. Works and roles division between men and women in everyday life is also related to a very basic element of belief that is the view of the existence and nature of human itself in the world. In the concept of custom rules, people should be honest, obedient and loyal, and have generosity in their works, which is bound by the provision of *anak sekato bapak, bini sekato laki*. It means that an unmarried child in the family should follow the rules derived from father as well as a wife should be obedient, faithful to their husbands in all aspects of life. In the event of breach of the things that have been commanded as a duty, then a person would get a penalty in form of fine or penalty of deprivation even exile.

System of reciprocal relationship between father-male family members and between father-female family members with a metaphoric system of *stem-fruit*. Boys are described as an integral and inseparable part of the *stem* itself. While girls are associated to *fruit* that is considered as part of the *stem* that could come out or can be removed at any time in order to spread offspring. Thus the social structure of the family has positioned the father as controller and divider of power in social action. It means that, conceptually, the social network accessed by family members is based on the authority of father when doing social action. Tendency of social action by members of the family is oriented in expressive action, not instrumental action. This is due to that people of Mandras' social action maintain family economic resources consequently based on the principle of provisions, procedures, rules and traditional mechanisms. In practice of everyday life, this basic element of social networking is obviously manifested in form of *exchange systems*. The development of the *exchange system* basically serves as an important factor in maintaining balance, as in the process of marriage, exchange labor in activities of economic and ceremonies to an ancestor worship. The balance aspect is not only in economic, but also an integration of balance aspects of spiritual, moral, and social values.

The *exchange system* can be regarded as a phenomenon that contains elements of ratification process of law or the rules of customary, and mechanisms and role of family members in activities of controlling family economy. Family economic control events are comprehensive involving spiritual (value of custom rules), moral (harmony), and social (norms and values in relation) elements that are inherent in social structure in which it is formed based on process of customary law. Therefore, control of family economic security is inherent in a not relative and not flexible social structure. This is not only a set of part where each of which is fixed and lies in a bond of elements

themselves are, but overall has been woven into a single unit that functionally integrated forming a social network that functions to access expressive action.

The Mandras expressive action in controlling family economic resilience is an action oriented on efforts of maintaining possessed resources to form a system that contains binding rules as well as social life guidance for every member of family. In the analysis of social structure, social networking and social action are containers of social capital strength where social capital lies in terms of the holistic mechanism, not in term of the atomistic one. Social structures that facilitate action and social networking is accessed to conduct a purposive action that is in essence, contains elements of transformation, direct or indirect, which occurs in context of attachment of family members on factors of social capital existence that can be used to access family economic resources.

Family economic resources sustained by subsistence economies are not only derived from the social capital built on relationship system within individuals in nuclear family, but also derived from social capital gained from the support of relationship within families or households in the lives of Mandras tribe people; this is based on reciprocal economic exchange system and kinship. The phenomena of economic exchange system is related to kinship and residential adjacent. Every farming crop even little, such as rice from rice fields, crop from gardens, crop from fields, animal from hunting, and catch fish are always be shared to relatives or neighbors. The share is indefinite, who will get? What part of share? Or how much someone get? The most important for them is that every crop of farming and food from forest should be shared to others on a reciprocal way. In addition, the value of this kinship system is basically not letting family members suffer. They always help if there is trouble, whether it is in form of cost, food or non-food needs.

Capital social viewed as mechanism survival and taken from between family through the kinship relation as a medium interrelasi access *sumber daya* as a goal from action with a system of centralizing 3 generation above ego (+3, +2, + dan 3 (three) generation under ego (-3, -2, -1). Resources accessible pertaining to the additional labor at economic activity grouping family in unit economic activity and exchange in marriage. Unity among family access they are absolute, because any pattern of interaction that facilitates purpose an action to be berdasarakan rules customary

Relationship within families in Mandras tribe is very harmonious. It will always be help if there is a family need it, although the family does not form social organization as an institution to associate. This because the exchange and distribution system based on the principle of reciprocity is not intended merely as a way of distributing the work result, but it is more as an effort to put everyone into purpose process of work itself. In this case, the family does not only work to meet economic needs, but at the same time it fulfills its obligation in life which is sourced on relationship among families. They always work in the manner of maintaining natural balance and ensuring sustainability of their food seeking gains. The balance of nature and balance of food quest is set in a structured manner. Every family has no freedom to overpower and possesses lands because in control by force stuktur built on shared commitment of members of a community or people.

Community tribe Mandras of the individual, not constitute a unit of but individual was an image of a community. The power of unity community organized unitary of a member of the family derived from one offspring based on the line of descent father and mother who *se-darah* and collectively they as a community officials of the forest. Social capital as a component of power in favor of the mechanism of survival to the life of a community which is customary as a source of value in the orderly social, a system of belief in the creators and grandparents what defines the forest in life, the dynamic economy business, cooperation among residents were organized by *pemimpin* customary, *penggorganisasian* community by a leader in social structures, social network and the social act of, and of social integration).

Integration member of a tribal society Mandras woven based on the kinship relation, reflecting type capital social, then capital existing social on a community is the fundamental social bound (bonding social capital), as it tends to be exclusive (multiform homogenius society). Characteristic as habitude his trademark, namely good groups and members of the group, in context relation retaining integration, more oriented into (inward looking) than oriented to the outside (outware looking).

Social capital that exist at the level of society into a source of energy to the mechanism of survival for citizens resting on trust to the leaders of local (*traditional leaders*), primarily in determining economical farming processes and mechanisms such as planting time, type of plant, labor, and farming location. The mechanism is set out in rules of social norm maintained constantly and run consistently. Every member of community fully participates in economic activity and decision-making process when citizens get trouble like crop failure, need for illness expenses, need for education fees, need for building house costs, or need for land clearing costs. In addition, people build social network limited to the lineage. Thus, it is not surprising that the community of Mandras tribe is exclusive and reclusive to the outside community; it does not build relationships with various stakeholders or collaborate with governments outside the village. It means that social capital owned by society or community contributing to the family economical strengthening only has the quality of *bonding social capital*, while *bridging social capital* and *linking social capital* have not built yet.

Citizens consciously perform such social actions since they are believed that these social actions will give

salvation in this world and after death. Violations on the applied rules are believed will lead to disaster, crop failure, and accursed that would make miserable life in this world and after death.

Infact, the dynamic of social capital of Mandras tribe people is controlled by principles of relationship in society outlined in custom. Nan-Lin's social capital theory states that social capital is embedded in social structures that facilitate social actions and social networks accessed and used by actors to define social actions. In context of Nan-Lin's theory, the study found that basically, elements of social structure, social networking, and social action are merely transformation of social capital.

5. Conclusion

Social capital is sourced within the family in the form of resources obtained through the Exchange System of marriage, inheritance and economic activities as well as the meaning of education and health which is attached to the social structure, social networks and social action are constructed in the interaction between family members through a system of exchanges (the exchange system) and the system partition (sharing system) based on the principle of reciprocity (resiprocity) that is internalized in the form of values and norms, beliefs and kohesifitas for the achievement of balance on order of family survival. Resources it is inherited through the process of socialization and affection which takes place in a social interaction between members of the family, so that it becomes an energy source which describes the dynamics of the survival of the family. The pattern of relationship interactions between family members are authoritarian, because families of the tribe embraced a doctrine of total institution Mandras sourced on one provision that is customary rules as one single truth.

Social network among family members describe the relationship of husband and wife, parent-child relationship and the relationship between the brothers is cyclical. Hungan's socially constructed for the relationships between the family members either in the form of the relationship between husband and wife, parent and child relationships between brothers, identifying a social network that facilitates the objectives of action that access resources economy. It is explained that the resources inherent in social networks would be able to improve the results of an action.

Second, social capital as a survival mechanism sourced from family relationships access resources resources as the goal of actions by centralizing system

3 (three) generations above ego (3, 2, 1) Y3 (three) generations under the ego (-3,-2,-

1). The resource accessed is related to increased economic activity in the workforce, family grouping in units of economic activity and the exchange in marriage. Unity between families access resources is absolute, since every interaction patterns that facilitate the objectives of the action to be berdasarakan custom rules. This kinship, basically won't let other families suffer. They tend to always help if there are family problems, good help food and non-food needs (tuition or medical expenses) is based on the concept of concentration system based on the calculation of 3 (three) generations of upward (1, 2, 3) and 3 (three) generations down (-1,-2,-3) from the lineage of his father and mother lineage.

Third, the Tribal community is not the individual unit Mandras, however is a picture of the individual community. The strength of unity organised community of members of family unity that comes from a lineage based on the lineage of the father and mother of se-blood (se-Ward) and collectively their community as a functionary of the forest. Social capital sourced from the community support mechanism for survival on community life accessible Mandras Tribe based on customary law, a system of belief in the creator and ancestors, the existence of the forest, the dynamics of economic efforts, cooperation between the citizens organised by peminpin custom.

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