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## Social Capital Empowerment in the Designing of Poverty Mitigation Model

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### **Abstract:**

*The importance of social capital in mitigating poverty was determined by network and mutual trust in the community. The poor with higher social capital should be those who can pass through economic crisis.*

*Research was aimed to understand, analyze and interpret how social capital can support poverty mitigation through Expectant Family Program (PKH = Program Keluarga Harapan), and also to formulate social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model in PKH in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency, Central Sulawesi.*

*Method of research was descriptive qualitative with case study approach. Data collection technique included interview, focus group discussion, observation and documentation. Informant was selected through purposive sampling. The scope of research was about social capital empowerment for poverty mitigation in PKH.*

*Result of research indicated that the social capital empowerment in Expectant Family Program in Masigi Sub-District had successfully changed perception, interaction pattern (social relationship), participation rate, and shared-work among the beneficiary groups of the Program. The success was measured from trust, norms, and network. Trust was growing in the group and it can be seen from the presence of honesty behavior, regularity, and cooperation based on collectively attended norms. This situation was established due to the sense of kinship and equality regardless background and social status. It may also create an engagement or bonding social capital among the beneficiary groups of Expectant Family Program. The strength of bonding social capital can further be enforced by the effect of bridging social capital and linking social capital. However, linking social capital was not optimally influential.*

**Keywords:** Social Capital, PKH, and Poverty Mitigation

## **1. Introduction**

### *1.1. Background*

Social capital was a component of human resource empowerment in favor toward national development and also mutual progress. This empowerment involved developing mutual trust, and the later was needed for building the collectivity and mobilizing the idealism. Social capital as community social resource can act as a refreshing resource. This resource can also be used for investment, and from which, term "capital" derived from. Group with social capital may have good interaction or relationship among individuals inside or across the group. Such group may also contain with trust, network, norms and value. Being a component needed for mutual progress, thus social capital was believed as enabling collectivity and mobilizing the idealism through developing mutual trust. Unemployment and criminality only increased and worsened poverty and also understated the importance of shared-work (gotong-royong). Initiatives toward improving community welfare were hampered by poor social capital. However, social capital can still be powerful enough to solve complexity of problems by introducing dramatic change into the community (Fauziah, 2014).

Kamarni (2012) considered social capital as the adhesive bond in the community, and the nature was almost exclusive. The context of idea, relation and network, and also trust were developed alone by the community, or by the members of the group. Norm, value, interaction and knowledge were daily applied and always homogenous.

Social capital can also be defined simply as a set of norms and informal values owned collectively by community members that their agreement on both will induce the cooperation (Fukuyama in Suryanto, 2011:7). Robert Putnam understood social capital as a collective strength in the work system of civil community. Such social development was expressed in the following words:

- “it is complexly contextualized as the network of associative activities, or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms and psychological capacities, notably trust, which are essential for civil society and productive of future collective action or goods, in the manner of other forms of capital”.

According to Putnam, “social capital involved many components of social organization, such as trust, norms and network that improved the efficiency of community in facilitating coordinated action.

Ganarsih (2011) described the role of social capital in empowering women in informal sector by stating that there was an interaction pattern in the group that brought them to develop collective action through cooperation and trust. Kinship relation among merchants had developed into a collective value, meaning that kinship bond among them was strong inner bond. Kinship relation was often found among traders, including food merchants with their customers/buyers, government officers, hoodlums, and raw material suppliers. Their action reflected informal norm that was enforced through trust and collective values (sociability) between traders and people transacting with them. Certain values were also developed based on the agreement of pricing between traders and buyers or between traders and raw material suppliers. Trust was indicated by traders by paying security retribution as their compulsory fee in return of expectation that their trading location was secured. The relation between trust and women empowerment started from the values (sociability) developed by traders and people transacting with them. It may open wide opportunity of creating certain behavior that will induce motivation, expectation and passion for self-independence.

This research was conducted in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency, and it examined what was the significance of social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model in PKH. Poverty mitigation at Parigi Moutong Regency was clearly stated in one of strategies proposed in the final draft of RPJMD (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah*) for Parigi Moutong Regency. This strategy was to improve the quality of productive economic to satisfy fundamental rights relevant with poverty mitigation. Indeed, poverty mitigation needs a certain program to build self-awareness of the target, in this case, the very poor household (RTSM = *Rumah Tangga Sangat Miskin*).

PKH was a program designated by central government to apply humanitarian development paradigm that positioned human as the subject of development. The design of PKH engaged a component of women empowerment, and this internalization should be important to help reducing the gap between men and women. In PKH, the delivery of grants was allocated to women to be used for the health of toddlers and pregnant mothers, and also for the education of children. Women in the household play important role in managing periodic expenditure for the education and health of their toddlers. This role was usually the domain of women responsibility.

The design of PKH was aimed to improve the investment of human resource for the interest of future generation. This program placed women into unique standing, precisely as the grant receiver or beneficiary. Women as beneficiary should manage grant-in-aid on conditions guided by program facilitator. The guidance may be about how the money must be used to satisfy the demand of health and education of the children. In the context of PKH implementation, it seemed that participants or beneficiaries, including women, must meet requirements. Among these requirements was the participation of beneficiary women into every path of PKH implementation.

Empowerment strategy was then used and it became the part of the achievement of *Millennium Development Goals*. It was applied through conditional cash grant. Such grant was given to maintain life-survival with education and health as base necessity. PKH was implemented as National Social Security as stated in Law No.40/2004, Law No.11/2009 about Social Welfare, President Decree No.15 and President Instruction No.3/2010 about Acceleration Plan for Achievement of Pro-People Program.

RTSM as the beneficiary of PKH must utilize basic social service properly to eliminate social gap and powerlessness that often attributed to the poor. This utilization must also involve improvement on education, health, food and nutrient (Ministry of Social; 2009, 2013). PKH itself delivered economic benefit to RTSM as its short-term goal. The long-term goal was to break poverty chain.

PKH was developing the model of social security protection for RTSM. This program was sustainable until the Year 2015 and contributed to the acceleration of the achievement of *Millennium Development Goals* or MDG.

Cash grant-in-aid to RTSM was the key principle of PKH, as expressed in the words “to deliver cash grant-in-aid to RTSM on predetermined terms and conditions”. In reality, however, the PKH (Program) was not implemented maximally because it understated social capital owned by PKH beneficiary. The implementation of PKH and other empowerment program in Parigi Moutong Regency, particularly in Masigi Sub-District, still remained problematic. The government and its associates as the mediator of poverty mitigation failed to exploit social capital as a very crucial factor in dealing with problems of development and poverty. Social capital strength was not seen as a policy needed for planning and implementing the development comprehensively. Therefore, a research was conducted to examine the problems behind social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model.

### 1.2. Problem Formulation

Problems of research include:

- (1) How is the role of social capital in supporting poverty mitigation through PKH in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency?
- (2) How is the formulation of social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model in PKH in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency?

### 1.3. Research Objectives

The objectives of research are:

1. To understand, analyze and interpret how social capital can support poverty mitigation through PKH in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency.

2. To formulate social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model in PKH in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency, Central Sulawesi.

#### 1.4. Research Benefits

##### (1) Academic Benefit

It provides contribution and comparative material for other authors which may allow them to find out more focused, accurate and systematic steps as the guidance for further empirical review about the concept of social capital application into poverty mitigation in PKH.

##### (2) Practical Benefit

It generates important insight for decision-maker and also for community development actor in Parigi Sub-District about the process and the role of social capital in efforts of poverty mitigation and PKH implementation in Parigi Moutong Regency.

## 2. Method of Research

Research was descriptive qualitative. It described and interpreted the object of research as it should be. The object of qualitative research was usually scientific or natural setting. Qualitative data may involve words, pictures or other documents. Qualitative approach was often instrumental case study because this research attempted to describe the practice of applying social capital for poverty mitigation and also to analyze the role of social capital within poverty mitigation.

The location of research was in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency. According to Moelong (2012:94), two things must be considered in utilizing focus in qualitative research.

(1) Focus can limit the research. The author limits the coverage to find relevant theory from the base. It risks of understating field observation.

(2) Focus can be set from information on the field because it will be functional to satisfy the criteria of inclusion-exclusion.

Informants in this research were expected to provide information about PKH implementation mechanism. In this case, informants were selected through "*purposive sampling*". The selected informants must be informative enough about phenomena relevant with research object. Besides, being one source of the data, informants must be dependable to give accurate information about situations and conditions of research. The informants included PKH beneficiary (8 persons), PKH facilitator in Parigi District, PKH operator in Parigi Moutong Regency, regency officers (the Official of Social in Parigi Moutong Regency; 2 persons), district officer, community figure, and chair of farmer group (each for 1 person).

Data collection involved several stages.

##### 1. Interview

Depth interview was conducted involving direct conversation using interview manual that contained a set of questions aimed to informants.

##### 2. Focus Group Discussion

FGD was used to collect the data by discussing how PKH implementation model should be applied.

##### 3. Observation

It involved direct or indirect checking the object of research on research location. The aim of observation was to deepen and to sharpen descriptive analysis, and to improve analytical quality in scientifically accountable way. The observed data related with physical condition of PKH beneficiary, such as their house, behavior, interaction (relation) pattern, socio-economic and socio-culture, and any other habits.

##### 4. Documentation

Documentation was done by inventorying all documents relevant with the observed object. Documents were then arranged to facilitate the "selection" of relevant sources/documents. It must be suitable with type of research that concerned with a review, thus allowing the author to obtain comprehensive and objective description of research phenomena.

Data analysis was perpetuated until no newer information or no data were obtained. It was a continuing and interactive process. Data presentation may provide a meaning to every phenomenon relevant with locus of research. The focus of this research was given upon social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model. Data analysis technique was referred to Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014:31-33) but it only complemented Miles and Huberman's previous analysis. Data analysis comprised of three stages.

##### 1. Data Condensation

Data condensation was analytical process to sharpen the result or the data in such way that it will facilitate the drawing of tentative conclusion and its verification. Data collected from informants should be grouped into certain category based on the answers to questionnaire, or based on relevant theories and practices.

Not all data from interview, observation, FGD and informants were used, but only those related with the focus of research. Data may be sorted with the use of social capital theory as its analytical theory. Social capital theory discussed about social capital components existing in the community at location research. Among these components included network, trust and norms.

##### 2. Data Presentation

Data presentation was organizing information pieces and unifying them in logical and systematical ways to be more understandable by the reader. Data were organized based on theories and concepts, and the relevant theory in this research was social capital theory, in accord with Putnam perspective. Research data were various ranging from social capital owned by the beneficiary as key informant,

PKH facilitator in Parigi Sub-District, and PKH operator in Parigi Moutong Regency. These data were then selected and grouped based on category to facilitate the drawing of tentative conclusion.

### 3. Drawing the Conclusion/ Verification

Verification represented a review against the notes made on the field to ensure the regularity and clarity of cause-effect path. In this conclusion stage, the author reviewed the conclusion by comparing it with comparative data or other theory. The aim was to seek for further justification to the analytical result to obtain more confidences.

Moleong (2001:173) asserted that data validation in qualitative research was done through examination technique. It involved some criteria such as:

#### (1). Credibility

The degree of credibility fulfilled some functions, such as 1) facilitating an *inquiry* in such way that the result and finding of research were trustable or met with confidence; and 2) showing certain degree of confidence by verifying double-reality examined by the author.

#### (2). Transferability

Transferability was external validity that showed the degree of precision. It was arranged systematically based on formulated problems. It helped preventing discussion from wandering around, and it also assured that discussion was responsibly conducted based on field reality.

#### (3). Dependability

Dependability was understood by replicating the research. This replication was aimed to assess the quality of research to ensure whether research met relevant quality or not. Dependability was focused on the process, not on the data.

#### (4). Confirmability

The meaning of research objectivity corresponded with the acknowledgment of research by many people. Testing for *confirmability* was almost similar to testing for *dependability*. In *confirmability*, the author can assure that the collected data were compatible with field data. In this case, social capital empowerment in the beneficiary groups that received benefits from Expectant Family Program was becoming research locus.

## 3. Result and Discussion

### 3.1. Expectant Family Program (PKH)

PKH was a social policy for poverty mitigation targeted to RTSM. The design of PKH was aimed to improve the investment on human resource for the favor of future generation. Women as beneficiary of the Program were expected as capable to manage grant-in-aid on conditions guided by program facilitator. Grant-in-aid must be spent for the demand of health and education of the children. In achieving the goals, the group was guided by PKH facilitator who always accompanied, motivated, and monitored the progress of RTSM. Intimate interaction that produced mutual trust was then developed. The beneficiary of PKH in Masigi Sub-District performed some activities.

#### 3.1.1. Social Gathering (*Arisan*)

Social Gathering was an instrument to improve the welfare beyond formal economic sector. It represented other system of keeping the money. Social gathering may also be an important activity to tighten kinship relation, to fertilize shared-work, and to develop kinship relation through making many friendships.

#### 3.1.2. Poor Rice Grant (*Raskin*)

This program provided the subsidized rice grant to the low-income household (RTSM and Poor-Vulnerable Household). Each PKH beneficiary must share the help if one must not have enough money to take rice grant from the Sub-District Office.

### 3.2. Role of Social Capital

As noted by Robert Putnam, social capital included physical capital and human capital in the social organization with its social network, norms and trust that could bridge the mutual cooperation across communities. By utilizing social capital, people will then have a social organization that should manage trust, norms and social network in order to facilitate the organization in coordinating the works and to ensure that organizational members have been participative and effectively working together to achieve mutual goals. Social organization meant in this case was the group of PKH beneficiary in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency. Social capital built up by this group will become a huge potentiality that benefits all members of the community, especially when one must develop relation with external members.

Form and existence of social capital among PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District were confirmed through three components of social capital, respectively trust, network and norms.

#### 3.2.1. Trust

Fukuyama (2002) declared that trust was an attitude of believing. It allowed one community to mix with other, and this mixture contributed to social capital empowerment. Trust was a very important capital to develop partnership (cooperation) network with the outsider. It brought a positive sense to PKH beneficiary groups. Moreover, PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District showed their trust in following ways:

1. What so called “shared-liability” (*tanggung-renteng*) was by the group to ensure that each member will obtain Raskin. The sense of kinship and solidarity across this group member was very obviously respected. Both values found its respectful standing within shared-liability system. It led them to show empathy to other PKH beneficiary members, especially those who did not have money to take or to pay even cheaper price of the rice. It was always spontaneous. Result of interview with Mrs. Hajar shows:

- “I help Mrs. Indolaya once to pay her allotment. The sub-district officer had announced that the rice came, but she did not have the money. The rice from Logistic Depot can only be taken after paying the price. We also must entrust some front-monies to the officer before the rice came. I pay her charge and she payback me anytime.”

Kinship relation among members of PKH beneficiary group was their collective value. Such kinship bond among them resembled to a strong inner bond, and it must be stronger than their relation with those outside their family.

2. “Shared-Contribution” (*Sumbang-Menyumbang*) was a traditional conduct, and its popular name was *netambani*, meaning that everyone can pay sincerely to contribute the host of the event. Such activity symbolized a fraternity because the event will be the place where relatives, neighbors and families were gathering. The participation may take a form of money, goods, energy and morality. All the participative forms reflected the values of shared-work and cooperation.

Fukuyama (1995) underlined that the collectivity was very important matter to achieve the goals of the collective. Such goals typically contained with values and norms that had been grown and respected by the collective. Traditional community had been along ago familiar with the activity of sharing help, work, participation and respect, as well as of giving and receiving something, and even sharing trust. The attended values and norms were the spirit of social capital and should be meaningful to develop a strong relation between groups or communities. A quote from interview with Mrs. Saripa was as following:

- “The moment was Alquran Recitation for my kid. I invited neighbors, relatives and families, including members of PKH beneficiary group. They come and give me an envelope of money. Some of them handed over goods, such as mineral water, rice, sugar and others. I feel relieved.”

Above interview showed that kinship and solidarity of the community were indeed social capital. The contribution to the cost of the event was given sincerely disregarding the expectation of return. There was a habit that the receiver will be automatically acting similar in the next event. Hasbullah (2006:4) said that a community was born from the simplest social group. Each group united together by using social capital as the base of gathering on which the group mobilized collective work to achieve collective goals.

PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District also grew a specific kinship value. It was a benefit. This activity of giving a benefit was aimed to relieve the burden of the host, either for party or condolences. Several relation patterns were also built to grow the sense of collectivity, among other social gathering, that aimed to unify different interest and demand.

Trust was an important capital to develop partnership (cooperation) network with outsider. Trust-based cooperation was a typical manifest when the cooperation was made based on justice, honesty, openness, mutual-care, mutual-respect, and shared-help among group members. Outsider of the group can also provide support, help and cooperation to the group, especially when the group was trustable.

### 3.2.2. Network

A strong social network across group members must absolutely be needed to maintain synergy and cohesiveness. As said by Putnam (1995), social network was an element of social capital that was needed for building cohesiveness and solidarity. Indeed, solidarity was a key factor to cling a social relation into a community. Network of PKH beneficiary consisted of:

1. Group establishment.
2. Cooperation.

### 3.2.3. Norms

Norms will represent the agreements on the rules-of-the game that must be collectively recognized by showing submission and loyalty to the group, at least to ensure that what their belief should not be corrupted. Norms may derive from religion, moral code, and secular standard, including professional ethical code. Norms were developed and applied to support cooperative climate (Putnam, 2002). The agreements must be executed by group members, and it implicated not only to group members but also to those related to PKH implementation, such as facilitator, operator, PKH Managing Unit, and sub-district officer.

Hasbullah (2006) stressed that norms comprised of a set of rules that must be obeyed and followed by community members in certain social entity. Norms could be a very effective instrument to measure behavior, at least to ensure that group interest overwhelmed personal interest. Norms in here may cover several items such as tolerance, honesty, solidarity and reciprocity.

Above condition was quite evident in PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District. Norms were manifested within the collectivity of group members. The group organized a monthly gathering with monthly contribution of IDR 15.000. The goal of this fund-raising activity was to strengthen work capital of each member and to compensate other RTSM who did not yet receive empowerment program aid from the government.

## *3.3. Form of Social Capital in PKH Beneficiary*

### 3.3.1. Bonding Social Capital

Putnam (2000) explained that *Bonding Social Capital* was a social capital that attended the importance of equality or facilitated the cooperation between group members and across members of a certain association (club). The value of trust in PKH beneficiary groups

in Masigi Sub-District can be seen from the frequent organizational meetings that were held monthly. It showed the form of trust among group members, and it was used as an element of their social capital.

Members felt a sense of kinship because each group member showed a care to each other, especially when one must suffer from hardship or problem. Each member will share the help or assistance to keep the sufferer strong to cope with the problem, and to maintain group coherence. The care to the peer may keep membership stronger and motivate them to develop a cooperation to maintain group coherence. The group should be the driver of social capital in mitigating poverty among members of PKH beneficiary group. Main goal of this effort was persuading members to relieve from poverty handcuff and also reducing poverty rate through participative and democratic approaches. In achieving these goals, the group was aided by a facilitator and one operator, and this kept the group to be more focused on planning and monitoring their activities. It was just expressed by PKH facilitator:

- “During my facilitation, I give them an understanding about what PKH is and how to implement it. This lesson was given on the start of the program. The purpose was to keep them understanding the essence of program implementation in such way that the beneficiary can have a feasible live and the poverty chain can be broken. The materials were anything about education and health. Being as facilitator, I motivate them, especially pregnant mothers and lactating mothers, to be more proactive to check their condition at health facility. For education, I persuade them to send their kids to school.”.

### 3.3.2. Bridging Social Capital

*Bridging Social Capital*, as noted by Putnam (2000), was a social capital concerning with the relation between members of one group with those of other group. It did not talk about relationship across the members of similar group. *Bridging Social Capital* was a reaction to various characteristics of the group. The dimension of social capital development was a responsible factor to this reaction. It oriented beyond the limit because it attempted to look for answers for the problems encountered by the group. Any networks, including individuals in the group, were used. *Bridging Social Capital* delivered great contribution to the progress and strength of the community when the community must interact with other group. The exchange of idea, experience, knowledge, norm and value outside the group could produce new innovation in solving the problems of the group. Diversity of professions from the beneficiary may enhance the network coverage to achieve collective goals. *Bridging Social Capital* of PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District was apparent through the presence of relationship with some social institutions or certain groups other than members of similar group. There was an *outward-looking* manner that allowed the development of mutual connection and favorable network.

### 3.3.3. Linking Social Capital

*Linking Social Capital* of PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District was formed through the participation of stakeholders, such as:

1. PKH Managing Unit (The Official of Social)
2. Local Income Agency
3. The Official of Health
4. The Official of Education and Teaching

## **4. Social Capital Empowerment**

Social capital owned by *Nosimpotove*, a PKH beneficiary group in Masigi Sub-District, can successfully maintain social norms attended by the group by reducing the egoistic behavior of group members. This group was founded on August 2015, and initiated as the batch to retain empowerment funds. Main goal of this group was to cut poverty handcuff, to free from poverty trap, and to reduce poverty rate through participative and democratic approaches.

The values behind the trust of PKH beneficiary can be seen from the frequent periodic meetings held by the beneficiary every month. Some elements of social capital were very influential. These included solidarity, harmony and unity of membership. It can be improved through friendship, experience share, cohesiveness, and others. Solidarity kept community members equalizing their perception and selecting what should be strived for. Group was founded based on the similarity of background and social status, and typically aimed to increase better participation rate of membership with more extensive network.

Social capital built by the group should be a very huge potential or capital for community life when a community must interact with other, including the outsider. Relationship between members can precede the development of network or social capital, either in form of *bonding social capital*, *bridging social capital*, or *linking social capital*. Social capital phenomena owned by PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District were trust, network, norms, *bonding social capital* and *bridging social capital*. All of them were maximizing and can be the driver for poverty mitigation.

Social capital empowerment was perfectly experienced by PKH beneficiary groups in Masigi Sub-District. It was supported by role and participation of relevant stakeholders, including the Official of Education and Teaching and the Official of Health in Parigi Moutong Regency. Both officials were considered as the enabling agency for their capacity as UUPKH, or PKH Managing Unit, and also for their implementation of annual coordination assembly. In other hand, there was weakness in the social capital of *Linking Social Capital*, and it related with the fact that budget allocation for PKH implementation was under expectation.

Integral approach was applied by government institution through social capital development by enhancing local participation into community development program. The aim was to increase the capacity of community and also to improve the relation and network between government, private agency, voluntary agency and household institution. Government must be able to access and to utilize any sources surrounding, and then to manage them for improving participation rate of the community in open, democratic, and

accountable ways. The growth of self-confidence among community members in meeting their demand and aspiration will allow the achievement of collective goals. The goal of PKH was to convert RTSM behavior into supporting welfare improvement effort. The designing of the model of poverty mitigation acceleration program, especially PKH in Masigi Sub-District, can be illustrated as following:

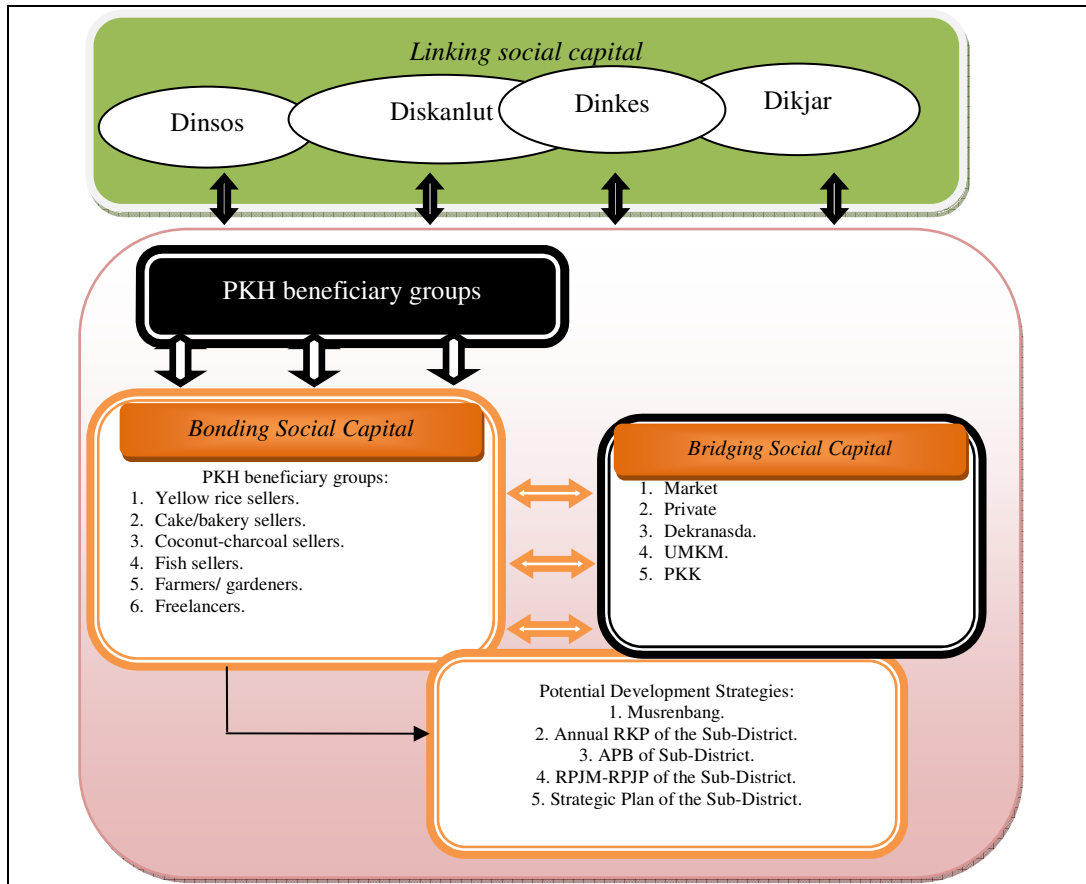


Figure 1

## 5. Conclusion

Based on the result of research on social capital empowerment in the designing of poverty mitigation model (case study of PKH in Masigi Sub-District, Parigi District, Parigi Moutong Regency, Central Sulawesi Province), the following conclusions were drawn:

1. In reality, social capital empowerment in PKH in Masigi Sub-District can successfully change perception, interaction pattern (social relationship), participation rate, and shared-work among PKH beneficiary groups. It was said so due to the presence of network, norms and trust. Trust grows in the group and remains strong through the presence of honesty behavior, regularity, and cooperation. All of these are based on sense of kinship. This condition also creates a strong *bonding social capital* among the beneficiary groups of Expectant Family Program. The strength of *bonding social capital* can further be enforced through the effect of *bridging social capital* and *linking social capital*. However, *linking social capital* is not optimally implemented.
2. The form of the expected social capital empowerment in PKH implementation is the empowerment of *linking social capital* that connects PKH beneficiary groups with the other relevant elements in the PKH empowerment program, either the stakeholders or the policy makers.

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