POOR COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: A STUDY ON SOCIAL CAPITAL IN MAJALENGKA DISTRICT

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Abstract

Purpose of the study: This study on poor community empowerment focuses on poverty which is becoming the target group of developers in the Majalengka district. The main problem in poverty reduction is the large number of people living in poverty.

Methodology: This study uses social capital approaches and theories. Also, a qualitative descriptive method is used.

Main Findings: The results show that the program can be carried out with significant changes in community empowerment and proves useful based on the social capital approach. Moreover, the social capital study can enrich social capital applications by strengthening solidarity, relationship and networks. Although the network is still very premature, efforts to develop it are still being made by community groups. The community empowerment program developed by the government is for assistance in the agricultural sector.

Applications of this study: Social capital convergence in community empowerment can be a force to improve welfare and overcome poverty. This study on social capital proves can make an academic contribution to the empowerment of the poor.

Novelty/Originality of this study: To eradicate poverty, the Indonesian government has carried out a variety of methods including The Hope Family Program, hereinafter referred to as PKH and The Urban Poverty Reduction Program as P2KP along with other Central and Regional government programs. However, unfortunately, these programs have not been able to reach all regions, so there are still many areas needing such solutive treatments from the local government. Therefore, the empowerment of poverty requires institutional efforts and togetherness between parties with the poor (integrated approach) as an effort to empower the poor. This paper critically analyses the poverty reduction programs and highlights the problems associated with them.

Keywords: Poor Community, Empowerment, Majalengka District, Social Capital, Poverty Reduction.

INTRODUCTION

Many studies on poverty have been carried out in various countries. One of which is written by Rossi (2017) ‘The Poor’s Struggle for Political Incorporation. The Piquetero Movement in Argentina’ reviewed by Fontana (2019), as a social movement. In Indonesia, poverty is considered a social problem becoming part of the target and priority development group. The main problem in poverty reduction is the large number of people living below the poverty line. To eradicate poverty, the Indonesian government has carried out a variety of methods including The Hope Family Program, hereinafter referred to as PKH and The Urban Poverty Reduction Program as P2KP along with other Central and Regional government programs. However, unfortunately, these programs have not been able to reach all regions, so there are still many areas needing such solutive treatments from the local government. Therefore, the empowerment of poverty requires institutional efforts and togetherness between parties with the poor (integrated approach) as an effort to empower the poor.

Data on poverty in Indonesia shows that in Majalengka, West Java, which has the area of 120,424 Ha and the population of 1,182,109 people, there are 1.2 million people (38%) included in partial poor categories and as many as 180,000 people (12%) included in the permanent poor category. Partial poor people must obtain several programs from the government, such as PKH, premium payments of BPJJS (Social Security Organizing Agency), or PSKS program (Prosperous Family Savings Program). However, poverty alleviation in Majalengka is declared not to work as expected or PSKS program is not on target; although an error has been found in the program's target, there is no effort made to fix it (Pikiran Rakyat Online, 2015).

The empowerment of the poor is related to development efforts, from political, social, economic, cultural, and social capital perspectives. From the perspective of social capital, community empowerment can influence and drive development, such as lubricants and glue that can bind and encourage people to become active citizens. Therefore, this study is expected to explain the importance of increasing social capital as the main capital besides physical and economic ones. By prioritizing social capital as a driver of development, moreover, it can reinforce human resources as actors in the process of empowering the poor. Whereas social capital functioning as a theoretical concept that can be applied to provide a framework for exploring development in its meaning is influenced by trust, relationships and networks. Besides, it is also a catalyst influencing social cohesiveness in society. Some important components in it include bonding which can drive solidarity and cooperation within the group, bridging which can be used for connecting...
groups with various resources outside their network, and linking as a special form of bridging is a vertical relationship. Accordingly, community empowerment can use social capital to reinforce human resources as the main actor in the community empowerment process (Punluekdej, & Srisorn, 2017).

The focus of this study is the empowerment program of the poor as well as the supporting and inhibiting factors. This study examines whether the empowerment program undertaken by Majalengka District Government supports the strengthening of social capital in the empowerment of the poor and how social capital in the poor is. This study is expected to contribute to scientific development, especially the role of social capital in community empowerment and development. The practical benefits for the district Government of Majalengka are that this research results can be an input for improving community empowerment programs to reduce poverty. Besides, for actors or facilitators of community empowerment, it is expected to pay more attention to aspects of social capital in the process of implementing community empowerment programs to reduce poverty.

LITERATURE STUDY

Community Empowerment

The term "Community Empowerment" was first used in 1948. It emerged in India in 1952 during the reign of Nehru. Then, the Ministry of Community Development was established, which until now has about 40,000 empowerment workers reaching 400,000 Indian citizens (Lagasse, 1967). The development of community empowerment is identified by reconstruction to increase development in developing countries (Wise, 1999 in Phillips & Pittman, 2009). In 1954, at the Ashbridge Conference, community empowerment was defined: “A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the whole community” (Lotz, 1967). There is an emphasis on the word movement, active participation, and community initiative, (Lotz, 1967) also defines it in Social Progress through Community Development. This definition shows the process, economic and social progress, active participation and community initiatives.

Another source came from the movement of ‘War of Poverty’ in the 1960s by emphasizing on solving housing and social problems affecting the development of contemporary community empowerment. Community empowerment develops in sociological, economic, political science, planning, geography, and other disciplines (Cuyugan, Agus, Dasig Jr., Nidea, Claricia, Taduyo, & Camacho, 2017; Phillips & Pittman, 2009). The wide range of scientific discipline giving attention to the development of community empowerment has implications for the development of theories and concepts of empowerment itself. Some theories become the basis for the formation of community empowerment disciplines at both micro and macro levels. Some other theories are in the middle range theories one of which is the grand theory, the focus of economic development studies. If social capital is integrated into the community empowerment, the results will increase the community well-being and welfare.

Various studies show that the role of social capital can move other variables in development. Putnam (1993) states that social capital becomes lubricant and glue that can bind and encourage people to become active citizens. Community empowerment can be used to solve social and economic problems by building systems so that people can help themselves (self-help) and coordinate their various actions. The concept of self-help then became popular in various community empowerment literature. History has proven that no traditional society can function without self-help ability, mutual support, and cooperation. This discipline also implies the importance of equal relationships and exchanges so that in the process, all can give and receive, share and learn from each other.

Social Capital and Development

Bourdieu’s (1992) social capital concept was strongly influenced by the various results of research on networks. According to Bourdieu (1992), social capital contains network elements integrated into society and institutions. Network relations can drive several capitals (economic, cultural, and symbolic) that can be obtained through the relations of other actors, moreover, the theory of social capital provides a framework for development exploration in broad terms; influenced by trust, mutual relationship and social networks. Social capital contributes measurably to economic development and an increase in all degrees of life, especially in developing countries. Social capital has a direct influence on productivity where it can increase human capital accumulation through greater investment in the education system, public participation and facilitation of the physical capital accumulation.

World Bank provides an analogy that social capital as other types of capital is like input and output in the development process, inhibiting development and is not easily changed in a short period. This social capital has existence and stock that can increase or decrease (Bebbington and Perreault, 1999).

Woolcook and Narayan (2000) simply describe social capital as follows:

After Hanifan, the idea of social capital disappeared for several decades but was reinvented in the 1950s by a team of Canadian urban sociologist (Seeley, Sim and Loosely, 1956), in the 1960s by an exchange theorist (Homans, 1961) and an urban scholar (Jacobs, 1961), and in the 1970s by an economist (Loury, 1977)… The seminal research by Coleman (1988) on education and by Putnam (1993) on civic participation and institutional performance, however, has inspired most of the current work...
Many studies show that social capital in government can increase the income of all groups including the poor, increase economic capacity and social justice, reduce poverty and increase income. In the field of performance of trading companies, traders having good relations with other traders, suppliers and customers get greater profits and it will eventually be able to improve economic performance. The benefits of social capital are proven through the reduction of high-cost transactions, especially in the agricultural commodity market. The fact shows that social capital facilitates traders to conduct transactions with other parties, thus giving the higher possibility of obtaining supports and loans, exchanging information on prices and making savings by checking quality with each other. Research in Central Java, Indonesia, shows that social capital can improve project design, construction and supervision then increase the impact of irrigation services. The results of research in Dhaka, Bangladesh, have found that voluntary organisations in solid waste management proved to have good social capital due to referring to trust, reciprocity and resource sharing. In fact, among these three aspects, reciprocity is more important than trust, for example in the case of collaborating in solid waste management. Furthermore, research in the rural Andean region highlights the importance of organisation of the poor to building structural social capital. The organisation has a role in development and empowerment in reducing poverty (Bebbington & Carroll, 1999; Isham & Kahkonen, 1999; Knack, 1999; Pargal, Gilligan & Huq, 1999; Purwanto, & Purba, 2017).

Colletta and Cullen (1999) examined changes in social capital due to violent conflict in Cambodia and Rwanda. The relationship between social capital and community cohesiveness is expressed in the construction of social cohesion or integrated relations both horizontally (bonding & bridging) and vertically (linking). Income and wealth inequality, racial and ethnic tensions and differences in political participation, as well as weak citizen involvement, are all related to low social cohesion. The weakness of social cohesion comes from the weakness of community relations with the government (linking) or the occurrence of polarisation between bonding and bridging in society (Woolcock, 2000). Social cohesion is a variable between social capital and violent conflict. More bonding and bridging (horizontal social capital) with vertical social capital will make society more cohesive and then have an inclusive mechanism needed to mediate or manage conflict before turning into violence. The weaker social cohesion, the weaker the channel of reinforcement in socialisation and social control. The weakness of community cohesion increases the risk of social disorganisation, fragmentation and exclusion potentially manifested in violent conflict.

Capital in Community empowerment

In various literatures, several factors facilitate and lead the occurrence of community empowerment, some of which refer to the role of social capital or social capacity. In addition to social capital, there are several other types of capital playing a role in the success of community empowerment. Greene and Haines (2002) identified four forms of "community capital" often mentioned in the community empowerment literature. The overall type of capital is very important in community empowerment, namely human, capital, financial, and environmental capital. According to Emery and Flora (2006), there are seven types of capital in community empowerment, i.e. Natural, Cultural, Human, Social, Political, Financial, and Built Capital. Capital is related to one another so that it can be more effective because it is reinforced by other resources (Siegert et al. 2001).

Coleman (1988) stated that social capital could be a "vehicle" for creating human and financial capital. Bourdieu and Coleman also stated that social capital helps create human capital. However, human capital influences social capital where education and well-trained individuals tend to move social circles and resources (Lin, 1999). Lin (1999) found that human capital has the greatest influence on income when social capital is low and on the contrary has little influence when social capital is high. The theory of social capital is a new sociological theory starting from the theory of social resources (1970-1980s) leading to the theory of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Social capital refers to resources that can be accessed on social networks. Therefore, social capital is often associated with sociability, social networks, family ties, social support, trust, reciprocity, group solidarity, community strengthening, social justice and participation in civil society. Actually, before this theory, there was a theory becoming the basis of social resource theory. Lin formulated and tested several propositions regarding the relationship between embedded resources in social networks and the level of socio-economic achievement. Social capital refers to a set of resources inherent in a relationship of mutual trust and cooperation between individuals. Resources are defined as valued good in society; classification, personal and social resources; personal resources owned by individuals that can be used and regulated freely without requiring too much replacement while social resources are those can be accessed through direct and indirect ties from someone (Lin, 1999).

The development of social capital is supported by four factors: 1) When communities form self-initiated organisations, 2) When they develop their own rules in regulating collective business, 3) When leaders are helping initiate the establishment of local organisations and developing various rules and 4) High level of inequality can hinder the development of social capital; then both structure and agency are components to build social capital. (Krishna, 2007).

Putnam (1993) described social capital because of differences in forms of government between northern and southern Italy in medieval times. In conclusion, regions in Italy, their governments as well as their economies were more efficient, effective and inclusive characterised by horizontal relations. Putnam also observed civic tradition, democracy and regional development there. The focus in the context of overcoming the problem of poverty, social capital cannot directly eliminate poverty but must be invested in human capital and financial resources. Social capital is understood as a
collective asset and is one of the social aspects rather than just the property of individuals so that individuals other than being able to contribute can also use it but cannot have it. However, social relations and actions in the community can improve family welfare even though these communities lack financial resources (Mohd, & Yakin, 2018; Saegert et al., 2001).

Social capital has two dimensions: 1) Structural dimensions, related to various elements such as networks, roles and rules. 2) Cognitive dimensions related to norms, values, attitudes and beliefs. While cognitive elements influence individuals through mutually beneficial collective actions, the structural elements work to facilitate the actions (Krishna & Uphoff, 1999). The World Bank and the OECD agreed that social capital consists of two components, namely the city and the government component. Civil social capital includes trust, cooperation norms and association networks. While government social capital refers to the effectiveness of formal institutions in facilitating collective actions, some of these components later became a core element in social capital; namely Network, Closure, Bonding, Bridging and Linking.

Based on the description, this study on poverty focuses on community empowerment with the approach of social capital theory. Community empowerment is intended to increase social capital as the main capital besides physical and economic ones. The development of social capital reinforces human resources as the main actor in the process of community empowerment and provides a framework in exploring the meaning of development in the social capital components including bonding, bridging and linking, especially for the poor in Majalengka District.

Research Method

This study applies a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Phenomenological studies describe the general meaning of several individuals for their various life experiences related to concepts or phenomena. The aim is to reduce an individual's experience of phenomena to be a description of essence or universal essence (Creswell, 2015). Moreover, the qualitative approach is used to obtain specific, complete, and in-depth data about the subject and object from the perspective of social capital. The research on empowering the poor focuses on empowerment programs, supporting factors and obstacles, how social capital in the poor supports programs carried out by Majalengka District Government. To obtain detailed and in-depth data, data collection is carried out through observation, interviews, literature studies, and document studies. Then, the data analysis process is carried out in two stages, namely the analysis process during and after data collection. This study involves informants consisting of various parties who knew or were involved in the Majalengka District Empowerment Program for the provincial Government of West Java. This study took place in Majalengka District, West Java, and was carried out during 2017 and 2018.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Condition of the Region and Poverty

The Majelangka district is part of West Java Province, with an area of 120,424 ha, and a population of 1,182,109 people. Majalengka is divided into government administrative areas consisting of 26 sub-districts, 13 administrative villages and 330 villages. The population is 1,182,109 people. Without oil and gas, the biggest contributor to Majalengka regional income comes from agriculture, forestry, fisheries, trade and industry/manufacturing sectors. Majalengka is in a transition period from the agrarian sector to industry, trade and services. The poor population in Majalengka is 151,704 people. In 2011-2015, the poor continued to decline. This shows that the poverty alleviation programs carried out in Majalengka had an impact on the decline in poverty rates. The largest number of poor households is in Lemahsugih with 9,095 households. Whereas based on the number of individuals, the largest poor community is also found in Lemahsugih, reaching 30,274 people.

Poverty Reduction Program

In Majalengka, there are various poverty reduction programs managed by various official agencies between Social Agency, Food Agency, Education Agency, Agency of Officers Examining Receipt of Logs (P3KB), Agency of Village and Community Empowerment (PMD) focusing on empowering communities and villages, Health Agency and the Manpower and Industry Agency. The description of poverty alleviation programs in Majalengka is based on related management agencies.

PKH, the Hope Family Program

PKH is a top-down program of the Social Affairs Ministry, funds channelled to the poor, elderly, severely disabled, mild disabilities, pregnant women, and elementary, middle or high school children (Pikiran Rakyat Online, 2015). However, in 2016, the criteria for PKH participants were limited to only for the elderly and severe disability. PKH's assistant duties, ensuring PKH participants fulfill the specified conditions, advocate for PKH recipient communities to receive assistance from Majalengka district government such as KIS (Healthy Indonesian Card), KIP (Smart Indonesian Card), Rastra (Prosperous Rice), Raskin (Rice for the Poor), and other health and education services. The facilitator’s jobs deal with guiding PKH participants and managing the money following the rules, for the sake of education and health. Besides, there are several principles of community empowerment that should be fulfilled in PKH, namely independent, responsible, participatory, representation. In terms of quantity, PKH is not enough to represent the poor in Majalengka, there are still many poor people who have not reached by this program, but in terms of quality, PKH recipients are
considered to have represented the poor. The supporting factor of this program is the commitment of local governments, both in terms of funding and support. While the obstacles are the honesty of program participants, and economic conditions, for example when people who have better economic conditions and have no longer fulfilled the requirements as program recipients, have not reported changes in their status and economic conditions to immediately end their status as participants in the empowerment program.

In empowering the poor with social capital, there was PKH network, a top-down stimulant, so there was a lack of networking for its members. The money channelled was not focused on building a business, but used for education and health. There are some formal rules sourced from the government agreed upon by PKH recipients, namely if the beneficiary has changed their status, that they no longer fulfill PKH recipient's requirements, the next phase of disbursement will be postponed, until the status is clear, i.e. no longer a PKH recipient. In bonding, the value of cooperation grows through meetings conducted once a month between PKH recipients and facilitators; as for bridging, the PKH team of Majalengka once conducted a comparative study in Cirebon and Subang. Whereas for the linking, there have never been any collaborations made with outside parties such as CSR and State-Owned Enterprises.

**PMT, Supplementary Feeding Program**

PMT is a program of the Health Ministry to improve the nutrition of Indonesian children. This program is prioritised for malnourished and underweight children under five years old by giving them biscuits and motivating their mothers. The main priority is children under 5 years old suffering from malnutrition and born from poor families (Pikiran Rakyat Online, 2015). The predicate of malnourished children is determined from the calculation of both height and weight. In this case, the Health Ministry in collaboration with IDI (Indonesian Doctors Association) allocates a budget. The examination in puskesmas (health unit for the community) and the distribution of biscuits are done every three months. PMT does not have a facilitator. As for the mentoring process providing input on nutrition and good food for children's consumption, the examination stages, weighing, monitoring the body weight, and digging for errors in baby food, all are carried out by the officers of the health unit concerned. The community empowerment principles fulfilled in PMT are independent and responsible. This program is a top-down stimulant program helping alleviate poverty through improving child nutrition so that it can directly make people free from poverty. The representation of poor people, the biscuit distribution was not entirely received by the participants, so that the left biscuits were then distributed to all children, whether they suffer from poor nutrition or not or whether they were poor or not. A supporting factor for PMT was the activity of the Family Welfare Movement (PKK) in holding Posyandu (integrated Health Services) in their villages. While the inhibiting factors are the community's acceptance of the biscuits distributed. Babies are more easily bored, making so many biscuits left.

In empowering the poor with social capital, the network of its members is less developed. There are no formal rules; there are only suggestions submitted by health workers regarding child nutrition, children's food, and solutions for babies. In terms of Bonding, the value of cooperation and the strength of relationships between members are formed through meetings of the mothers at Posyandu. About Bridging, they have only ever conducted a learning exchange for Kadiapaten. The exchange was initiated by the Health Agency, not by the community. As for the Linking, there is a collaboration with IDI and Pos Indonesia, similarly initiated by the Health Agency, not by the community.

**RUTILAHU, uninhabitable Housing Improvement Program**

RUTILAHU aims at giving indirect help to the poor through housing improvements, making a liveable house. The District Government provides a budget for purchasing building materials for heavily damaged houses, medium-damaged houses and lightly damaged houses. RUTILAHU socialisation is done in all villages; the request for revamping the house is carried out by the Village Head. Application submission is accommodated at PPSDA (Sub-Directorate of Water Resources Management) which is then proposed to the Ministry, but there is also a program of RUTILAHU whose funds come from the government of Majalengka district. In 2017, a total of 100 housing units were built. Participants in this program were poor people with houses below the feasibility standard and low income, under the condition that it should be their own houses and land. Moreover, the recipients should come from villages with high self-esteem or high cooperation values. The program ran 6-8 months with 3 program facilitators from related official employees. The principles of community empowerment fulfilled in this program are participatory, poor community representation, and agreement between beneficiaries and counsellors or facilitators. In the proposal, items needed for the house construction are determined according to the agreement between the recipient and the supervisor. The counsellor directs and gives advice, while the decisions come from the recipient. Supporting factors for the running of this program are the high community self-reliance while inhibiting factor is the low community self-reliance. Formal rules agreed upon are based on a statement of self-sufficiency submitted by the prospective recipient, meaning that the prospective recipient's neighbours are ready to help build the house in the form of money, goods, or labour. Informal rules only exist between local communities, namely the willingness to help build houses. Related to Bonding, the value of cooperation is formed through self-reliance agreements meanwhile for the Bridging, Majalengka once conducted a learning exchange, but via telephone. As for the Linking, there has never been any collaboration with outside parties (The World Bank, 2012).
KRPL, Sustainable Food House Area

KRPL is a program to increase community food by optimising the yard to be a minimalist garden processed, optimised by the community itself. The goal is to improve the nutritional quality of the community, minimise expenditure and maximise income. The source of KRPL budget comes from the ministry and from programs of the Majalengka District Government itself. KRPL whose budget comes from the ministry assists every active group in the village in the form of money to buy polybags, seeds, fertilizers, and other gardening needs. Whereas KRPL whose budget comes from the District Government assists the community in the form of goods needed for yard farming through gapoktan (farmer group families) in each village. KRPL facilitators come from BP3A (The Agency of Women Empowerment and Child Protection) in each sub-district. They serve as an instructor, supervisor, motivator and informants for agricultural suggestions. Independent and participatory principles of community empowerment are fulfilled in KRPL with representation on direct poverty eradication, consensus and focus on problems in recipients with the criteria of active gapoktan through whom the distribution of recipients is done. Supporting factors for this program are village openness and community activity while the inhibitors are weather and passivity of the community. Sometimes some individuals do not routinely care for the seeds given and are reluctant to consult counsellors or assistants if there are problems with the plants. Empowering the poor with social capital, the KRPL network does not develop its network of members. About Bonding, it is carried out by the recipient community to other communities, in addition to fostering a sense of sharing the yield of the members. As for building relationships out, the interests of selling yard crops have not yet been realised in the villages receiving KRPL. Several villages through learning exchange to other villages only carry out network development. In terms of Bridging, there is a learning exchange from Dauwan village to the KRPL group in Curug. The agency has conducted the learning exchange in Majelang, Sukabumi and Bogor. Meanwhile, for Linking, there has never been any aid (Mahrunniisa, Agussabti, & Kasimin, 2019).

P2WKSS, Program for the Improvement of Women role towards Healthy and Prosperous Families

P2WKSS is a cross-sector empowerment program where all OPDs (official service organisations) are involved. The main objective is to increase women role still lagging in villages. The program target consists of 100 pre-prosperous family cards (KK) in a community unit (RW). It was considered very difficult to do so that as a solution, in the end only two community units were taken. The mechanism for selecting the program target of 100 KK recipients was based on data and verification of poor welfare in the village. P2WKSS was implemented to see whether this program has succeeded in changing the environment and other aspects given by the empowerment program. Independent and responsible, participatory and representative principles in this program have not been fully covered by poor villages in a year. Supporting factors of this program include the budget, participation from the recipient community, and the commitment of the Regional Government to keep the program running while the inhibiting factors are the culture shock towards change. When the community is reluctant or unwilling to change, it will be hard to make any poverty reduction program successful (Karlina, 2019).

As empowerment of the poor with social capital, P2WKSS encourages community networks with other services related to its programs requiring the community to the network to all agencies to ensure the program run well. As for Bonding, cooperation was emphasised when the assessment of the problem discussed in the village required the participation of all community elements. In terms of Bridging, a Learning exchange has been conducted from the province involving the calling of village heads and PKK cadres assessed as successful by P2WKSS. Moreover, related to Linking, there was no CSR yet and no one has entered yet, but there was assistance in cement provision from a bank (a submission from P2WKSS). P2WKSS program for the community, especially women, becomes more open and more aware of their potential and strength that P2WKSS is also required to make business groups aiming at improving welfare, at least after the women's role program is recognized and makes changes in the way of thinking. The coming of the P2WKSS program hopes to alleviate poverty by looking after the program evaluation whether there are an increase and change in the community. As for formal rules, there is a Certificate stating that P2WKSS will be held in villages and this year, the informal rule, as well as the commitment, are always emphasised.

LDPM, Program for Community Food Distribution Institutions

LDPM is a community food distribution institution that has a business program carried out once a year, in a sustainable and rolling manner. The program provides granary assistance to farmer groups in Majelengka that have rice milling units (RMU). The mechanism runs by buying crops from members or gapoktan as a community food reserve materials intended for the planting period as a loan for seeds, or made into largely processed food; the community may submit to the agricultural or food Agency for assistance according to the budget. The assistance comes from the Provincial Government and the Ministry. Supporting factors of this program involve activeness of Gapoktan members to submit assistance to the Food Agency, and the obstacle is that the activities of members who own land are those who have enough capital while those with little capital experience difficulties, affecting their productivity because the poor become cultivators only not landowners. For example, if in a year a farm or plantation actually can be harvested several times but because there is no capital, the planting and the harvest period will be inhibited.

As the empowerment of the poor with social capital, LDPM is considered to lack in developing the network of its members because the assistance is in the form of money managed in only one gapoktan group. In terms of bonding,
collaboration and cooperation are emphasised since they highly influence the success and circulation of the capital. Collaboration on buying grain from members of gapoktan is the same as producing. About bridges, there has never been a learning exchange. Likewise linking, there is no assistance from CSR or state-owned enterprises. Meanwhile, for formal rules, there must be groups and legal entities or parties from the village government (gapoktan). Whereas in the LDPM, there are several agreements agreed and depending on the gapoktan group, using a system same as the cooperative’s; every member who borrows seed from a barn must return it in excess according to the agreement agreed upon by the members at the meeting, and each gapoktan has different regulations (Mahrunnisa et al., 2019).

**Poverty Management Program**

The poverty management Program facilitates provincial assistance through KUBE (Joint Business Group). The facilitators of this program consist of PKH assistant, Karang Taruna, community leaders. This program is selected by the central and provincial governments. For the time being, it has rural and urban poor people management whose assistance is carried out in the form of monitoring and opening access or relations to the market. The target is poor. As for the number of beneficiaries, it depends on provincial and central decisions. The mechanism of this program comes from BDT (Integrated Data Base) which then submits a proposal for realizing the poverty management program through KUBE. Factor supporting this program is the existence of a budget from the Central and the Provincial government while the inhibiting one includes the commitment and awareness of the group and the assumption that grant funds do not require a report while it is highly required (The World Bank, 2012).

In terms of empowering the poor with social capital, the KUBE community is required to attract relations to develop their business assisted by assistants or facilitators. Bonding is represented in the form of cooperation, collaboration, group consensus to determine the business to cultivate, and agreement in terms of profit sharing. This KUBE program uses a revenue sharing system between its members. Bridging, there has never been a learning exchange of KUBE members. Linking, there was budget assistance from tobacco excise in 2014.

**PIP, Smart Indonesia Program / BSM, Poor Student Assistance**

BSM is a government program aiming to alleviate long-term poverty through education. The facilitator informs the school or beneficiaries regarding information about PIP and the fund disbursement. In fact, in the field, there were still programs lost from supervision, PIP recipients were not poor and did not have KIP (Smart Indonesian Card) so they did not get the aid. The school plays a role when there are poor students who do not have KIP but are eligible to receive PIP program assistance; the students can use a School Proposal Letter (PUS) from the school. Until the schooling period is completed for 12 years, every student who gets PIP assistance in Elementary School must do a re-registration to get PIP assistance in Junior High School and high school. The supporting factors of this program are data linkages and students that must be active at school while the obstacle is that the selection is still not on target due to difficulties in assisting the right students; there are still students who deserve KIP but do not get PIP.

Empowering the poor with social capital in this program lacks the network of its members. The money channelled is not focused on building a business, but is used for education. Bonding is in the form of cooperation required when some do not receive the program but deserve to get it, supported by the school by submitting them through the school proposal. In terms of bridging, there has never been a learning exchange. While about linking, there has never been any CSR or assistance from state-owned enterprises.

**Empowerment of the Poor: Social Capital Analysis**

Empowerment programs of Majalengka District Government, the provincial government and the central government are a synergy to improve welfare and alleviate community poverty. If studied according to social capital theory, programs that have been run not only have led to an increase in economic aspects but also have encouraged increased social indicators, such as solidarity, relationship, and social networks in the society. The increase in social capital from the empowerment program undertaken is a necessity. Social capital gives a measurable contribution to economic development and enhances all degrees of life (Cuyugan, et al., 2017; Phillips & Pittman, 2009). The entire program made by the district, provincial and central government is an effort to trigger the independence of the community. Every program encourages the creation of a climate of cooperation between communities, community independence, as well as social and economic welfare for the community. According to the form, type and method of the empowerment program, it can be categorised into three types as follows:

1. **Substitutive program**

Substitutive programs are direct assistance programs used as a substitute for expenditures that should be spent by the community so that the community can utilize the funds that should have been spent on consumptive purposes into productive funds. Some programs of this type generally prioritise the provision of cash or in any kind according to the needs, for example, PKH, BSM or PIP, Healthy Indonesian Program/KIS and Rice for the poor. The program assistants play a role to help recipients to develop themselves to be free from poverty.

However, in terms of PKH in Majalengka, there are two criteria of graduated communities, namely those who have succeeded in escaping from poverty conditions and increasing their welfare, and those who no longer have the
dependency criteria required by the program so that they no longer receive the program assistance even though they still really need it. This program was given for a long time, so not a few people managed to get out and improve their lives because of the program's financial assistance. If analysed using the social capital theory, what gets stronger from substitutive programs is solidarity, for example, to help give some aid to pay the cost of renting transport. As for the level of participation, it was only seen when there are a meeting and disbursement of funds. This substitutive program shows that there is a change in the level of welfare in the community, but not a few also make it dependence, meaning that the time for disbursing funds every three months is a matter that is very much awaited.

The research findings show that the database becoming the reference of the central government to determine program beneficiaries sometimes is not on target and creates jealousy for the people who should receive but not receive because of its inaccuracy. Research results on the PKH program show that the financial incentives for school children, infants and the elderly have provided family freedom to manage family finances. If all this time, the needs of schoolchildren, babies, or elderly are all excluded from the business income and daily income of the family, PKH program has provided flexibility for the recipient's family to manage their money so that it can be used productively in line with the following informant's statement:

“I am a mobile vegetable trader. Before receiving assistance from PKH, all of the school needs of my child were always fulfilled using my income from selling, but after getting financial assistance from PKH, I can fully use the profits from my selling to increase business capital, so that what I sold is more diverse and the benefits I got are also even greater”.

2. Community exchange rate improvement program

This program is identified by increased indicators in the community; assistance in-home repairs, in providing products and capital assets, and others that put forward the increase in the exchange rate of fishers to see indicators of improving rural community welfare. Community exchange rates can be a measure of the ability of goods produced by the community to exchange for goods and services needed for household consumption and production needs. In this program, the values of social capital have increased solidarity and relationship. These two indicators have improved because the program does indeed require cooperation and solidarity, especially the formation of groups so that people interact and develop themselves. Whereas in the home improvement program, solidarity is an important factor since the better the solidarity of the community, the higher the possibility of the program to run well.

3. Empowerment program encouraging independence

The main purpose of community empowerment is to encourage the Realisation of community independence. However, these programs cannot stand-alone, there must be other programs to encourage this independence, characterised by the large number of individuals joining the groups, and the variety of companion programs developed. This program is recognised in the agricultural sector where one program with another has relevance so that with a large number of people in groups involved, this program shows an increase in social capital in the community. In addition to solidarity and relationship, this program encourages network expansion in the community. The wider the network, the more productive and efficient the communities they lead.

In addition to programs substitutive in fulfilling educational and health needs, other programs developed are economic empowerment programs which are still the main focus handled by the government. However, with the approach of providing skills, training, capital and assistance, the targets to encourage welfare improvement for the recipients of the program to become realistic, therefore, leading to an increasing increase in solidarity and social networks.

The ideal relationship between the government and the poor in empowerment programs in Majalengka shows that the poor form groups, get capital assistance, form joint ventures, and choose a type of business. The government facilitates the provision of capital, provides knowledge, opens access to consumers, and prepares follow-up plans. The impact of this relationship on the community is related to the availability of income sources, increased welfare, and opportunity to access capital institutions while the impact on the government includes the reducing number of the poor, increasing regional economies, possibly increased regional income from levies and taxes.

The existence of empowerment programs that can run according to the government's planned influences on the occurrence of structural changes in the community. Empowerment programs developed by the government in Majalengka are efforts to encourage social change. Social change occurs in the structure and function of the community forms (Soelaeman 1998). These programs are one of the strategies to gradually improve people's welfare, especially for the poor. At least, three things influence the success of a program to increase the social capital of the community, namely trust, relationship and social network. Of the three, trust has an important meaning to improve social capital of the community.

Social Capital Convergence - Community Empowerment

1. Synergy model of structural change

The synergy of empowerment programs in Majalengka has led to changes in structure in the community. The changes in structure can be seen from the ability of the community to organize themselves in groups with the common purpose of...
the government to improve their welfare. From the perspective of social capital theory, the development of networks in a society where the network originates from the similarity of identity increasingly strengthened with the occurrence of recurring interactions eventually develops a set of rules and norms that are common consensus becoming a sign in the interaction between fellow community members (Coleman, 1988; Candland, 2000; Szreter, 2002). This empowerment model in social capital is done in a top-down manner. Although in the practice of empowerment currently carried out by the community it has been formed as a group, the formation of the community as social groups is an initiative of the government to encourage control by fellow group members related to community empowerment programs. This form of empowerment is interpreted as an outside intervention that has a purpose. The government as an institution outside the community with all the policy instruments it develops can develop social capital in the community through the process of forming groups, providing capital assistance, and assisting processes. Thus, in the end, these programs can develop solidarity in the community, connect them, and encourage them to form solid social networks.

The flow of the community empowerment program in Majalengka is carried out by the government by setting criteria, determining goals and targets, determining the program type, and establishing prerequisites. The community accepts the criteria, accepts being the target of the program, accepts any type of program, and also accepts the prerequisites set. Hence, the flow of synergy between structural changes in community empowerment programs reflects the convergence dynamics in social capital.

2. Strengthening the synergy of social capital - Community empowerment

Strengthening the synergy of social capital-community empowerment is based on the meaning of social capital influenced by trust, relationship and network. Social capital is also associated with sociability, family ties, social support, reciprocity, group solidarity, community strengthening, social justice and participation in civil society; there is social resource theory. In community empowerment, social capital as a catalyst influences social cohesiveness. The component of social capital consists of bonding that can help drive solidarity and cooperation within groups, bridging that can connect groups with various resources outside their network, and linking that is a special form of bridging whose relation is vertical. Community empowerment is a movement, active participation and community initiative. The concept of social capital and community empowerment are related relationships in practice according to the results of this research shown in each program of community activities.

The government based on the social rights of the people has carried out synergy, but the development policies still prioritise a sectoral approach that is centralised, uniform and short-term. Therefore, it affects the desired target of the program. To measure the success of empowerment programs, in addition to increasing social capital from the community, there must be evidence in the form of increasing solidarity, the development of relationships between individuals or groups in the community, and the development of social networks in the community; the extent to which the community can release dependence on assistance or programs provided by the government or other outside parties. Programs run show changes in the community. Although these changes have not reached the ideal point, the synergy has shown an increase in social capital in the community.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results obtained from the field, it can be concluded that Majalengka has many poverty reduction programs managed by various agencies; Social Agency, Food Agency, Education Agency, Agency of Housing, Settlements and Water Resources, Agency of Officers Examining Receipt of Logs (P3KB), Agency of Village and Community Empowerment (PMD) focusing on empowering communities and villages, Health Agency and the Manpower and Industry Agency. The program initiated by the government can be categorised into 3 program types that have a different focus, namely; first, a program that is substitutive, wherein this type the social capital appearing to be strong in society is solidarity. Second, programs aimed at increasing the exchange rate of the community. In this type, it is characterised by capital assistance, asset production assistance, and skills assistance. In this type, the social capital of the community seen to experience strengthening is solidarity, interrelation, and network. Although the network is still very premature, efforts are still being made to develop the network by the community groups. Third, most of the programs carried out as an effort to purely empower the community, which were programs developed by the government, assistance in the agricultural sector. Theoretically, the convergence of social capital in community empowerment is a force to improve welfare and overcome poverty. The study on social capital is proven to give an academic contribution to the empowerment of the poor.

Based on the results in the field, there are several recommendations. First, the government must have an economic development master-plan that must be synergized with empowerment programs developed so far, so that the empowerment program carried out also has characteristics following the resources and characteristics of the community. Second, for substitutive programs, in addition to facilitating the disbursement of funds, the government must also start developing productive business programs so that people receiving assistance can be empowered once they declared graduated. Third, the government is responsible for being a facilitator connecting the community to a wider network so that the empowerment efforts that have been carried out empower the community. With the development of the network, the community has a free option to determine their destiny. In addition to assisting with government programs, it must
also be a motivator expected to develop the community and release community dependence on other parties, especially the government.

**LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD**

Some limitations of this study enlisted here must be taken into account by future researchers and practitioners. Authors went through rigorous data search for this study and data through interviews, surveys, observations and document search was obtained in the year 2017-2018; future researches might refine the current findings by analysing more new projects started in the Majalengka district after 2018. Since this study took place a year ago, now is the time to measure the effectiveness of the poverty reduction programs and social capital development programs in Majalengka district. Future researchers must analyse how well these initiatives have been able to serve their cause and what improvements (if any) in the Majalengka district are witnessed due to such programs.

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**AUTHORS CONTRIBUTION**

Wahyu Gunawan worked on the initial write-up, whereas Saifullah Zakaria refined the initial draft and performed the language proofreading on the final draft. Sahadi Humaedi and Muhamad Fadhil Nurdin worked collectively on data collection, analysis and interpretation.

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