

THE EXPRESSION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE COMMUNITY'S ROLE IN THE CONSERVATION OF GAJAH WONG RIVER, IN YOGYAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

The Gajah Wong River Community Forum (Forum Silaturahmi Daerah Aliran Sungai, or Forsidas) in Yogyakarta is a community forum consisting of twelve local organizations whose river conservations efforts are supported by the Municipal Development Planning Agency (Bappeda). This forum began with the action of a number of individuals who were concerned about the river's condition and the large amounts of garbage and waste. These initial actions had little impact until Bappeda became involved and established the Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong forum on 24 June 2012. This forum has formulated programs integrated with the government's development program, enabling better implementation and greater benefit for the community. This article aims to recognize and discover the factors influencing the success of river conservation efforts and to identify the expression of social capital in the community's role in these efforts. A grounded research methodology was used, with a literature study of relevant material, to identify concepts for constructing a framework of understanding for the phenomena addressed. These concepts were used to guide the questions presented in interviews with key actors and to design a questionnaire that was distributed to related stakeholders. Respondents were selected through purposive sampling from communities involved closely in the conservation efforts. Observation focussed on the expression of social capital related to norms and values, interaction in program implementation which influenced work mechanisms and decision making, and increased capacity building, leading to trust and cooperation. An open coding analysis was used, and data was sorted and grouped into concepts or variables. Data was grouped according to its various connections, with a view to identifying concepts for constructing a framework to discover the relationships between the concepts.. The conclusion of this research found that the stronger the leadership and social capital expression in the community, the more effective the collective action efforts in reaching the community's goals and objectives.

Keywords: leader, social capital, collective action

INTRODUCTION

A river is a source of life that must be preserved and conserved for the sustainability and continuity of human life and the environment in which people live. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of water quality degradation as a result of river pollution is becoming an increasing cause for concern, especially in urban areas. This is due to the increase in human population living in areas near rivers and the various activities they engage in, producing garbage and waste that are then discarded directly into the main river body and smaller river channels. This is also the case with Gajah Wong River, one of the three large rivers that divide the city of Yogyakarta. Its level of pollution and the threat to its sustainability began to cause concern amongst a number of NGOs and organizations located along the length of the river. These different organizations subsequently united in a forum, Forsidas Sungai Gajah

Wong, which was officially established on 24 June 2012 and is facilitated by Bappeda of the city of Yogyakarta. After its formation, this forum held meetings for a period of two months to determine what form the organization would take and the types of activities it would carry out, as well as forming a management team consisting of thirty two people from twelve community organizations belonging to Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong.

Initially, conservation efforts were carried out individually by a number of community figures, and as a result there was only partial success. Consequently, the problems along the river remained difficult to resolve because since a river is an ecosystem, it must be handled in an integrated and comprehensive manner. After these initial efforts, the Yogyakarta city Development Planning Agency took the initiative to unite the initiators and their community organizations in a forum which would enable them to resolve the problems comprehensively with systematic planning and collective action. The support from the Yogyakarta city Development Planning Agency was based on its “top-down” policy which encourages its citizens to play an active role in the process of planning and development.

The goal of Forsidas is to prevent the problems of Gajah Wong River from becoming more complex or to reach the stage when it is too late for them to be resolved. It should be kept in mind that a river is a water source, and water is a source of life that can be utilized for household consumption, agriculture, and industry, as well as for supporting the biodiversity in the healthy ecosystem of the river (its ecological function). Therefore, the first activity carried out by Forsidas was to educate local communities, by concentrating on developing their awareness and increasing their capacity on a regular basis in every community meeting that took place. Socialization about the importance of looking after the river was carried out seriously and dogmatically, presenting a real picture of the problems faced by playing videos showing the conditions of various rivers in the world which were then compared with the current condition of Gajah Wong River. It was hoped that this approach would increase people’s awareness and cause them to change their mind set so that they would become more conscious of the need to participate in efforts to conserve the river.

After a period of about three years, the impact of the various activities of Forsida Sungai Gajah Wong started to become apparent in the changed attitudes and behaviour of the people living alongside the Gajah Wong River. The amount of garbage being thrown in the river had decreased by 80% because it was now being processed to become fertilizer or compost. These changes were noticed and appreciated by a number of external stakeholders. Amongst other, those who gave donations were the Yogyakarta city government, Yogyakarta provincial government, and other related institutions such as the Director General for Spatial Planning. The donations included ten billion rupiah, books for a library, and gabions to help prevent the process of erosion and sedimentation on the river banks.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong is an example of one of only a small number of community movements that has consciously shown its initiative and commitment to building a better living environment. Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong has successfully passed the stages of development of (1) building a collective awareness; (2) mobilizing and setting common goals; and (3) establishing a formal organization with proper programs and budget.

The role of a leader is extremely important in a paternalistic society such as Indonesia. Leaders play a central role in creating awareness and directing the action and power needed to carry out real efforts which require financial and material support.

Raising awareness and motivation to create better conditions for the purpose of achieving a common benefit within a realistic time frame is a method that can be used for building

cooperation. According to Huntington (1990), the foundation of community participation is awareness, which subsequently gives rise to autonomous and invited participation, or participation mobilized by other people (mobilized participation). The process of mobilization itself, meanwhile, consists of the process of developing interest (the cognitive dimension), the process of forming a community (the affective dimension), and the process of instrument utilization (the instrumental dimension). A community whose initiative is said to no longer exist needs to have its consciousness reawakened through a process of mobilization that is instigated by people who already possess such consciousness, through training (capacity building) so that the community has direction and knows the stages of the collective action (community readiness).

Community readiness means preparing people to implement development programs. According to McKnight (1995, from Chazdon, et al., 2010), the goal of community development is to encourage involvement in decision making and planning processes. There are five components of community readiness: bonding networks, bridging networks, linking networks, communication, and leadership, which indicate the potentiality of a community to be involved from the perspective of time and resources in long-term development, and provide information to the community about diversity of issues, acceptance of newcomers, agreement of relationships between citizens, leaders and organizations, and changes of policy in the community.

Through mobilization, the community gains experience in interacting and working together to deal with various problems in its local environment as well as the chance to find the confidence to resolve problems more effectively by using its own power. This process requires the self-motivation of the community, as explained by Mowrer (1939) and Miller (1948a) who describe motivation as a process related to a primary need, a secondary need, or a need that is felt after going through an experience or a process of learning. People need motivation to achieve a better situation, which means there is a hopefulness. Hope, meanwhile, is a reinforcing stimulus (enforcement) associated with “reward/ pleasure/ success.”

In the long term, mobilization that offers the experience of cooperation will develop feelings of mutual trust and responsibility, thus giving rise to the norm of reciprocity. The norm of reciprocity facilitates cooperative relationships in groups, or what is known as a bonding network. This phenomenon is made possible because of the existence of social capital, which according to Putnam is made up of trust and cooperation. Social capital consists of networks and norms that enable all those involved to act collectively (with trust) and effectively to reach a common goal.

In the process of community development, social capital requires the ability of individuals in the community to mobilize resources in order to achieve the desired goals (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Forse, 1999; Dyk and Wilson, 1999 in Agnitsch et al., 2006). Social capital can be divided into two types: bonding networks (relationships in homogeneous groups) and bridging networks (amongst heterogeneous groups). The heterogeneous links can be distinguished further into horizontal relations and vertical relations. Vertical relations are characterized by different levels of power and social status, referred to as linking networks. Bonding social capital is the social links between people from the same group; while bridging social capital is the fragile links between heterogeneous groups, which connect a person to a resource (from outside his or her own homogeneous group) in order to achieve success (de Souza Briggs, 1998; Gittel and Vidal, 1998 in Agnitsch et al., 2006).

Collective action, meanwhile, refers to an effort to mobilize a community and its local resources to achieve a community goal (Wilkinson, 1970; 1991; Luloff, 1999; Zekari, 1999;

Sharp, 2001). Woolcock states that collective action requires the existence of both bonding and bridging social capital. Similarly, Kavanaugh et al. (2005, in Agnitsch et al., 2006) writes that the most effective way to organize collective action is if a community has two forms of social capital, namely bonding and bridging. Temkin and Rohe (1998, in Agnitsch et al., 2006) find that when bonding and bridging social capital both exist in a community, the community usually has a better commitment and ability to act collectively for itself and its own group. Commitment is related to the role of bonding, while the ability to act is related to the role of bridging. The table below shows the variables observed in this research study.

Table 1. Research Variables

No	Variable	Explanation
1	Initiator, path-finder, or leader, mobilizer a. Path-finding b. Aligning c. Empowering d. Modelling (Covey, 2006)	The presence of leadership – strong leadership with a (positive) influence by community figures who inspire their citizens to carry out collective action to achieve the goals set by motivators or mobilizers. An activist/leader also has the ability to recognize and mobilize the skills and abilities of human resources in the community (Goodman, 1998)
2	Social capital: a. Bonding, bridging and linking b. social capital c. Trust d. Networks (Putnam, 1995)	Bonding: a strong link in a community made up of people with a similar background, two-way communication, and sustainable interaction in the community; Bridging: the formation of cooperative relations between two or more communities with different backgrounds and of a more heterogeneous nature. Norms of reciprocity.
3	Capacity building: a. Joint commitment b. Leadership c. Reformed rules d. Reformed institution e. Admission of strengths and weaknesses (human resources, facilities and infrastructure) (Soeprapto, 2003)	Capacity building is the effort to improve the skills needed to perform a task so that a group or organization can implement its program properly. Community readiness – the ability of a community to translate its collective interests through a consensus in deciding its priorities to solve the problems it faces.
4	Collective action : a. Collective decision making b. Setting rules of conduct of a group and designing rules c. Implementing decisions d. Monitoring adherence to rules (Dick, Ruth Meinzen et al. 2004)	Participation of stakeholders is a basic condition for establishing the existence and developing the ability or capacity of an organization. The role of the leader becomes clear when he or she is able to motivate various different interests to form a collective effort in the form of “collective action” in order to achieve a comprehensive and integrated solution.

Source: Analysis, 2016

Essentially, social capital already exists in a community but is still latent. It requires a leader (a person respected by other members of the community) to bring this social capital to the surface. According to Stephen R. Covey (2006), there are four functions of leadership which display the capacity of a leader, as shown below:

Table 2. Function of Leadership

No	Function	Basic characteristics of a leader
1	Path-finding	Understands and fulfils the primary needs of his or her stakeholders, formulates a vision, mission, and values to be followed and strategies to reach the desired goals.
2	Aligning	Aligns the entire system in the organization so as to work well and synergize.
3	Empowering	Understands the assigned tasks and delegates responsibility: who does what; for what reason; in what way; what resources are needed and how are they accounted for.
4	Modelling	A leader should be a role model and responsible for his or her words, attitude, behaviour, and the decisions he or she makes.

Source: Covey (2006)

In addition to the characteristics mentioned above, a good leader should also be willing to sacrifice money, energy, and time, and should have no concern for personal material wealth (Herawati, 2011). According to Dr Ruslan Abdulgani (Herawati, 2011) there are a number of criteria for becoming a leader, including temperament, personality, mental state, knowledge, skills, and behaviour. Meanwhile, Keith Davis (Herawati, 2011) states four characteristics that a leader should possess: intelligence, maturity and knowledge of social issues, motivation and a desire to participate of his or her own free will, and the ability to form relationships between human beings.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SAMPLE SELECTION

This research is an observation of the process of growth and development of the collective action of a community in its management and conservation of Gajah Wong River through the Forsidas organization. The observation focusses on the forms of expression of the organization's activities that are concerned with the expression of the leaders, and the elements/variables of social capital as the basic means that enables positive interaction to take place in establishing cooperation for environmental cooperation along the Gajah Wong River in Yogyakarta.

Expression is important to understand because leadership is essential for motivating the involvement (participation) of the community and discovering how the social capital that is still hidden in the community can be reawakened and directed towards collective action for the purpose of development. In this way, people feel a sense of ownership and consciously and voluntarily cooperate in ways they are able to discover through a consensus and in accordance with their skills and circumstances to take care of and improve the quality of their environment. These forms of cooperation subsequently give rise to what is known as "local wisdom" which is essential for the sustainability and development of the community's resources and the living environment.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research study was a hypothesis which was built upon a literature study. The concepts that formulated the hypothesis were observed and identified in order to explain the phenomena being studied (grounded research). A study of literature related to the title of the paper aimed to identify concepts for helping to construct a framework of understanding for the phenomena addressed. These concepts were then used to direct the questions presented in interviews and questionnaires. The results of interviews and

questionnaires were analyzed using a method of open coding in which the data obtained from interviews, questionnaires, and observation in the field was sorted and grouped into categories and sub-categories. The grouping was based on the connections between the data observed and studied, with a view to detecting connections that existed in order to formulate the meaning of the phenomena being investigated.

The goal of the research was to recognize and discover the factors that have influenced the success of the Gajah Wong River conservation efforts and to discover the expression of social capital in the community's role in these efforts. Therefore, an interpretation and grouping of data was carried out to create categories of data related to the phenomena that were relevant to the variables for establishing the concepts of social capital and community role. Data was collected by means of a primary survey through in-depth interviews with key actors, namely the head of Forsidas to discover the activities implemented by Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong, and members of the community involved in these activities, as well as an observation of the area of the study, and a secondary study through related institutional documents. The results of a secondary survey and questionnaires provided a picture of the area and showed the factors that have influenced the level of success of the program implementation, namely leadership, social capital, capacity building, and collective action. From the areas that possess all the factors of success, an observation was then made of the expression of social capital that has emerged in relation to the norms/values and interaction in program implementation, which has influenced organization work mechanisms and decision making, and increased skills or capacity, thus leading to trust and cooperation.

The analysis (coding) was carried out openly (open coding), whereby the data obtained from the data collection was sorted, then the relevant data was observed thoroughly, looking for its connection to the contexts of leadership and social capital in an effort to develop cooperation in the river conservation by Forsidas. In this research, the variables consisted of:

Table 3. Research Variables

Fixed Variable	Changing Variable	Response Variable
		Expression of social capital related to:
	✓ Social capital	✓ <i>Bonding Capital</i> (cooperation within an organization/institution)
<i>Path finder</i>	✓ <i>Capacity building</i>	✓ <i>Bridging Capital</i> (networks with outside organizations/institutions)
	✓ <i>Collective action</i>	

Source: results of analysis, 2016

DISCUSSION

Process of Community Role (Participation) in Conservation of Gajah Wong River

The process of increasing and developing the role of the community (participation) in the conservation of the Gajah Wong River began with the condition of the river which was declining on a daily basis. The degradation of the river was due to the bad behaviour of the community, beginning with their habit of building houses next to the river but facing away from the river. Consequently, the river was viewed as an area at the back of their houses and a place for discarding any kind of waste, ranging from household garbage to factory waste. Subsequently, a small group of people in the community began to feel concerned about the condition of the river, including a number of community figures who realized that the river was a source of life that their children and grandchildren deserved to enjoy. Several

mobilization efforts took place to encourage river conservation but they were carried out either by individuals or by small groups. This partial mobilization led by community figures ultimately failed to achieve its desired goal. Since a river is a system, it needs to be handled in a more systemized and organized way.

After witnessing this phenomenon, the Yogyakarta city government, with its policy on community participation in city planning and development, helped to bring the different groups together to create a form of collective action with a more integrated goal. After a number of meetings, the organization Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong was formed. Through this forum, the movement to promote awareness about Gajah Wong River became better organized.

As a preliminary step, this forum provided education for the community by holding routine meetings to explain the purpose and activities of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong in the hope that the community would have a better understanding and knowledge, thus raising awareness and support for the activities of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong. The information was presented dogmatically, bearing in mind the urgent need for conservation of the river that was becoming increasingly worse as a result of the bad behaviour of the majority of the community. Throughout this process, mobilization continued to take place but this time in a more organized manner, as proposed by Huntington (1990). This began with an interest or concern for the conservation of Gajah Wong River, continued with the initiative of a number of community figures and subsequently the initiation of the Yogyakarta city Development Planning Agency, thus establishing Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong, and finally using Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong as a unifying instrument to conserve the Gajah Wong River. Mobilization was important because the community's awareness would not have appeared of its own accord without coercion and encouragement. After raising the community's awareness, it was hoped that there would be a gradual change in their thought pattern about the river as a part of their living environment. After their thought pattern had changed, it would be easier for Forsidas to invite the community to participate in each program related to the conservation of Gajah Wong River. On the other hand, Forsidas also acted as a mediator to reconcile the community's wishes with the government program so that there would be no clash of interests. This meant that the programs that were designed were not simply government programs but were also truly needed, understood, and implemented together by the community.

The process described above shows that mobilization provides an experience of interaction and cooperation between members of a community. Community readiness is needed to encourage the community's involvement in development. This process consists of five components, namely bonding networks, bridging networks, linking networks, communication, and leadership, and involves the component of social capital to create sustainability in the relationships within the community. The process of interaction (networks) and cooperation (bonding networks) between members of the community leads to mutual trust and responsibility. This indicates that the five components of community readiness have been met. Bonding networks refer to the relationships in the Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong community, linking networks and bridging networks refer to the relationships between Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong and the government or other communities, communication is an important component to ensure that the cooperation works well and reciprocal relationships founded on trust and responsibility are built, and leadership is the role played by the motivator of the conservation movement for Gajah Wong River. Social capital, meanwhile, is an important component in this process, and takes the form of cooperation, trust, networks, and norms that form links and reinforcement for continued relations and cooperation in the Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong community.

The Role of Leadership in the Conservation of Gajah Wong River

The process of growth and development of community participation in the conservation of Gajah Wong River cannot be separated from the role of community figures (leadership), social capital, social capacity, and collective action in the community. These four factors provide the main key to success in the conservation of Gajah Wong River. These four factors were also used as the variables in the questionnaires that were distributed to members of the community in four different locations along the Gajah Wong River, namely Singosaren, Muja-Muju, Warung Boto, and Mrican. These four communities were chosen because of their intense involvement in the program. The results of the questionnaires are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Compilation of Results of Questionnaires in the Areas of Study

No.	Location	Factor	Result	Explanation
1.	Singosaren	Leadership	33 %	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Adults (aged 33 – 48). ▪ Dominated by males. ▪ Education lower than Middle School. ▪ Work relies on physical strength. ▪ Less than 4 family dependents. ▪ Living in the area more than 10 years.
		Social Capital	44 %	
		Capacity Building	33 %	
		Collective Action	17 %	
2.	Mrican	Leadership	77 %	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Adults (aged 33 – 48). ▪ Dominated by males. ▪ High School education. ▪ Work relies on brain power. ▪ Less than 4 family dependents. ▪ Living in the area more than 10 years.
		Social Capital	56 %	
		Capacity Building	46 %	
		Collective Action	38 %	
3.	Muja Muju	Leadership	71 %	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Adults (aged 33 – 48). ▪ Dominated by males. ▪ High School education. ▪ Work relies on brain power. ▪ 4 family dependents. ▪ Living in the area more than 10 years.
		Social Capital	71 %	
		Capacity Building	53 %	
		Collective Action	59 %	
4.	Warung Boto	Leadership	84 %	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Older adults (aged >49). ▪ Dominated by males. ▪ High School education. ▪ Work relies on brain power. ▪ Less than 4 family dependents. ▪ Living in the area more than 10 years.
		Social Capital	89 %	
		Capacity Building	68 %	
		Collective Action	53 %	

Source: Analysis, 2016

Based on the results of the questionnaires, it was found that in each area – Singosaren, Mrican, Muja-muju and Warung Boto – the role of leadership earned a high score, with the exception of Singosaren. This shows that leadership plays an important role in motivating the social capital in the community along the Gajah Wong River because:

1. A leader should stand at the front as a initiator and be a role model who is willing to work together with other people;

2. A leader should be able to convince people to offer their energy for the collective interest of the community;
3. A leader should be able to direct and guide the work that needs to be done, and although decisions are made together, most of the ideas are thought up by the leader;
4. A leader should be firm and willing to make sacrifices for his people so that they feel assured of his sincerity and are not hesitant to follow and participate in what has been decided;
5. A leader should be persuasive and have strategies to lead, recognizing that his people come from a variety of different backgrounds. He must be able to find ways to make his people willing to make sacrifices for the common interest of the community;
6. A leader should be decisive and authoritative in the way he leads, and any rules that have been agreed upon should be adhered to and upheld;
7. A leader should be able to convince people that the activities they are participating in will be successful and beneficial;
8. A leader should be able to convince his people that they can implement his ideas. A leader's optimism has a strong impact on the optimism and enthusiasm of his people;
9. A leader should display responsibility and be ready to take risks;
10. A leader should be able to act as a spokesperson for those below and those above, especially at moments when this is urgently needed.

According to Putnam (2000, in Agnitsch et.al, 2006), social capital refers to social organization, including the trust, norms, and networks that can increase the efficiency of a community's work performance by facilitating coordinated action. In other words, social capital contributes to collective action by eliminating expensive wages and supervision costs as well as administrative costs for supervising the participants/members of the community involved in the action, and by facilitating, communicating appropriately, and encouraging effective collaboration. In order to activate this social capital, a leader is needed who will set a good example and show authority. If a leader can be trusted and is able to set a good example, the people will follow and this can become a great asset for building the environment. Thus, in order to motivate the social capital in a community, a leader is needed who will display a good example, advice, authority, and charisma.

In this case, the leaders who have played an active role in the conservation movement of Gajah Wong River and are also active in Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong include Bapak Agus Supriyanto (Pak Agus Supri), Secretary of Forsidas, and Ibu Purbudi Wahyuni (Bu Pur), Head of Forsidas Work Group, as well as the heads of community organizations from the Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong area. In this research, the two leaders mentioned above are the main informants. They have both been motivators for sustaining the conservation activities of Gajah Wong River from the time prior to the establishment of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong up to the present time, and have been involved in the implementation of various important activities related to the conservation of Gajah Wong River. Both of these leaders have a passion for the environment and believe that their lives are not only for themselves but rather that they should also dedicate their strength and ideas for the greater interests of the community, specifically by ensuring the preservation and conservation of the Gajah Wong River environment.

Expression of Social Capital in the Conservation of Gajah Wong River

The expression of social capital in the conservation and management of Gajah Wong River can be seen in Table 5. This table shows that social capital is one of the important factors for realizing the participation of the community in a development program. Social capital is a

latent element and as such, requires a trigger so that it can emerge and become stronger over time. In this research, the trigger was the concern of a number of initiators about the condition of the Gajah Wong River which had been declining as a result of the behaviour of people in the community, many of whom tended to throw garbage and waste into the river. This issue, which was originally personal, subsequently developed to become a collective issue that needed to be addressed collectively by the community in order to ensure that the condition of the Gajah Wong River did not continue to deteriorate and become more difficult to resolve. This collective issue ultimately developed further to become a norm that was agreed upon by consensus. It then triggered collective action founded on the mutual trust and responsibility between members of the community and leaders of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong. In this collective action, the factor of leadership also played a role, primarily in the figures of Pak Agus Supri and Bu Pur, and also in networks such as the Yogyakarta city Development Planning Agency.

RESULTS OF OBSERVATION OF EXPRESSION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Results of observations of expressions of social capital in the field based on analysis of researcher are presented variable wise in following:

1. NORMS (Bonding and Bridging)

- i. There was a common understanding that rivers are a life source and Gajah Wong River is a legacy of the Mataram Court, expressed through the attitude and behaviour of no longer throwing garbage and waste into the entire length of the river.
- ii. Bu Pur and her colleagues (river activists/volunteers) had an agreement that they were not looking to seek a living from the river but were looking to form relationships. This norm produced mutualistic relationships and enabled easier cooperation and information-sharing, thus facilitating coordination and accelerating the implementation of existing program activities without the need for costly supervision.
- iii. Bu Pur and Pak Agus especially believe that what they are doing for the environment at the present time is part of their preparation for death. This belief positions work as a form of worship that acts as a provision for the hereafter, and this made other members keener to make sacrifices for the environment.
- iv. There was a designated study time from 18.00 – 20.00 (helping people to use their time more productively). This influenced the pattern of activities in the community so as not to interfere with each other in the development of human resources.
- v. There was an agreement not to hang out or loiter aimlessly but to create positive activities with a goal, even if the goal was only recreation, including games such as jump rope, jacks, swinging, reading, and group study. This was possible because the facilities for a park and also a library were already available. There was also an agreement that Gajah Wong Educational Park may not be used for courting and may not be entered after 18.00, which is a norm that is consistent with the norm of education.
- vi. The houses were changed so that the front faced the direction of Gajah Wong River. A slogan was invented, M3K (Munggah Mundur Madep Kali, which means Go up, Go back, Face the River). This was an expression of how the river had become a part of the community's identity and an integral part of the environmental image and the Forsidas community. Or in other words it helped to form their sense of community.
- vii. Forsidas enforced the rule that no buildings were allowed along the riverbank or protruding out into the river. If anyone violated this rule, Forsidas would reprimand them and put pressure on the government not to issue a building permit.

2. TRUST (Generalized trust)

- i. In the stage of developing trust, Forsidas paid more attention and gave more funding to places where communities were enthusiastic and supported the activities of Forsidas. Hence, accountability was a prerequisite for being trusted.
- ii. The Sultan of Yogyakarta gave his full support to the Forsidas movement, attending a festival organized by the organization and donating funds to help with various Forsidas activities. For example, the Merti Kali grant of Rp 500 million for socialization and a joint activity to clean up the river. The Sultan's high level of trust was an expression of bridging capital for the development of Forsidas and the area along the banks of Gajah Wong River.
- iii. Forsidas held regular meetings every Saturday and Sunday evening, which they called "Ngangkring". The commitment to participate was only made possible with the mutual trust and respect amongst members of the community.
- iv. A number of educational institutions entrusted their students to hold Community Service Program activities (KKN) in areas along Gajah Wong River. This was an expression or reflection of their trust in the reputation of Forsidas.
- v. Forsidas acted as a facilitator and mediator between the community and the government, especially in the planning and development of areas along the Gajah Wong River.
- vi. A number of donors entrusted funds to be managed by Forsidas, to be used for buildings or other material objects that would offer direct benefit for the community, such as gabions to prevent erosion along the river banks, provided by the Public Works Department.
- vii. Forsidas was willing to provide advocacy for communities that wanted to fight for their rights. For example, Baciro, a kampong that had had its access blocked by a new housing complex built by a private developer.
- viii. Communities worked together twice a month to clean up the area along the river.
- ix. The area managed by Forsidas was not only the city of Yogyakarta but also included the districts of Sleman and Bantul.
- x. All the policies and rules followed by Forsidas applied directly to the Gajah Wong River area, regardless of whether a person was rich or poor. For example, all buildings on the banks of the river or protruding out into the river had to be dismantled and were not given a building permit.

3. NETWORKS

- i. Local government departments in the city of Yogyakarta, and the districts of Sleman and Bantul:
 - a) Bappeda
 - b) BLH
 - c) DPU
 - d) Kimpraswil
 - e) BPDAS
 - f) BBWSO
 - g) PUPESDM
 - h) PJU
 - i) Agriculture Department
 - j) Fishery Department
 - k) Manpower Department
- ii. SOEs/Private Companies:
 - a) Bank Mandiri

- b) Bank BNI 46
- c) Jasa Raharja
- d) Martha Tilaar
- iii. Community Organizations such as the NGO Walhi.
- iv. Formation of workgroups in 77 places in 7 zones along the Gajah Wong River.
- v. Public Notaries.
- vi. Legal Aid Agencies.
- vii. Educational Institutions:
 - a) UPN
 - b) UGM
 - c) APMD

4. LEADERSHIP

- i. Formulation of Forsidas vision and mission.
- ii. Formulation of a Grand Design for the Gajah Wong River area.
- iii. Bu Pur, Pak Agus, and Forsidas administrators were willing to work in the field, to socialize their programs to the community. For example, every Sunday Bu Pur cycled around various areas of Gajah Wong River, especially visiting places that had an ongoing project.
- iv. Bu Pur managed to make people understand that the funding that Forsidas received was not used personally by its administrators because all of the funding was immediately given to partners working on various projects. If people wanted the money, they were told to ask the work partners themselves but they were told not to become angry but instead to participate in every project. Bu Pur also explained that the projects were for the development of the Gajah Wong River. The more projects there were to improve the condition of the river, the better the condition of the river would be and the more people would come to visit, meaning better prosperity for the community. However, if people extorted the work partners, there would be no more projects. As a result, the prosperity people hoped for would remain a dream.
- v. Bu Pur and Pak Agus constantly brainwashed the 77 heads of work groups and the 7 heads of zones to replenish their enthusiasm so that their work performance would improve.
- vi. Bu Pur and Pak Agus always handled strategic issues themselves because these required capacity, trust, and networks that not everyone possessed.
- vii. In order to select personnel, Bu Pur and Pak Agus always looked at people's track records rather than choosing by process of acclamation. This was easy due to the proximity with the location of activities and the trust among members whose reputation had been tested through their experience working together over a long period of time in various different activities.
- viii. If anyone appeared not to like Bu Pur and Pak Agus, the two of them paid no attention to what people were saying. They only focused on their work, believing that time would tell the real story. They both believe that God will always find a way for their good intentions. An example of this is what the head of PU Cipta Karya said, as an unintentional form of clarification which nevertheless managed to convince the people. According to the head of PU Cipta Karya, the communities around Gajah Wong River were fortunate to have an activist living in this area. Everywhere she went, Bu Pur worked hard on projects that would advance the development of the Gajah Wong River, and was never paid a penny for her work, and that was why the forum itself had no money of its own. It was hoped, therefore, that the community

- would support the activities of Forsidas because they were the ones who would feel the benefit. He also explained that after a project had been decided, it was PU Cipta Karya who chose the partner and decided on the stages of implementation, not Forsidas or its administrators. Forsidas was merely the initiator. So if there was any incongruity from the partners or even from Cipta Karya, then Forsidas or even the people themselves had the right to keep track.
- ix. Bu Pur personally received a gift of Rp 50 million from the Sultan but she donated it to be used as capital for starting the Forsidas cooperative. This cooperative has since helped solved numerous financial problems for members of the community since it charges virtually no interest.
 - x. The proposals for Forsidas activities did not always come from the administrators themselves but sometimes also from any of the work groups or zones. However, concerning strategic matters, generally the administrators themselves made the decisions. For example, at the end of 2016, Forsidas received a donation of 20 billion rupiah, which people wanted to be distributed evenly between all the different areas along the river. The administrators insisted, however, that the money be used for areas that had shown the most significant changes so that the results would be more visible. This decision was accepted because the other members realized that the decision was made with the consideration that those who achieve will get results.
 - xi. In the event of deadlock, the forum would make an evaluation, because a decision cannot be made based on the words of a single person but must involve a number of different people in order to gain a balanced picture. Decisions were also made based on research about what a problem involved and what its potential was, and then various people were asked for their opinions before a decision was made.
 - xii. Bu Pur and Pak Agus have managed to put pressure on the government based on their work performance. For example, how a training center (*balai besar*) has benefitted from Forsidas because without having to work very hard, the center is already able to create a work program and enjoy its success, in accordance with the community's needs and the needs of the program itself in terms of evaluating work performance and issuing building permits for buildings on the riverbank or protruding out into the river.
 - xiii. Bu Pur has managed to provide mediation and advocacy for members of the community in need of such services. For example, the Baciro case and the case in which a community created an 'L' shaped bend in the river, thus creating a whirlpool that eroded the edge of the river, both of which were resolved well.
 - xiv. Bu Pur has managed to influence members of the community to pay more attention to river conservation to show their support for Forsidas programs.
 - xv. Bu Pur has always been involved in positive activities, such as coercing citizens who owned a pig farm to move, arranging prayer meetings (*pengajian*) for women, encouraging women to find ways to make their own income, by making vegetable floss made from the *kluwih* tree or making clothes, and organizing prayer meetings (*pengajian*) for children near the bus station so that they have a positive activity to participate in and are less likely to drop out of school and take up prostitution. To support her empowerment efforts in the activities described above, Bu Pur has founded an Islamic boarding school (*pesantran*) that offers scholarships to children from poor families.
 - xvi. Bu Pur and Pak Agus have mobilized the community to support the activities of Forsidas, including the Gajah Wong River Festival which is held every year.

- xvii. Bu Pur has managed to motivate people to fight for their rights, such as in the Baciro case, so in the community's eyes, the leadership of the forum has succeeded in providing solutions for its problems.

5. COLLECTIVE ACTION

- i. Twice a month, the people worked together to take part in a scheduled program to clean up the river.
- ii. The people showed their support by playing an active role in every activity held by Forsidas. One example is in the Baciro area, a densely populated kampong with no proper access, which has obstructed the mobility of the community. With its collective awareness, the community worked together to build a new means of access (road) along the side of the river that is wide enough for a car to pass through, and can also be used for various other activities, thus improving the quality of life in this community.
- iii. The connotation of the Giwangan Bus Station as a prostitution district has been changed by developing new economic activities for the local community, such as food stalls, hair salons, tire repair services, massage services, etc.
- iv. Forsidas has managed to motivate the community and act as a facilitator and mediator between the community and the government. Every time the forum receives a donation for the development fund of Gajah Wong River, Forsidas merely acts as an institution for mediation and evaluation. In other words, Forsidas does not hold onto the money. It simply endeavours to ensure that the result of the development matches the budget and the specifications. In this way, Forsidas maintains the trust of the people and preserves its own reputation to ensure continued good cooperation.

CONCLUSION

For the communities living along the length of the Gajah Wong River, the presence of strong, positive leadership has inspired them to participate in collective action to achieve their goals. Hence, the leaders act as activists, motivators, and mobilizers. This is also the case with leading figures in the districts that fall under the management of Forsidas. One of these influential figures is Bu Pur, whose reputation is well known by local communities, and especially by the members of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong.

Bu Pur's leadership, which has supported her success in developing and mobilizing the social capital of the people to work together, is due to a number of indicators:

1. She carries out her mission to change and improve social values.
2. She identifies various opportunities to make improvements.
3. She continuously involves herself directly in the process of innovation, adaptation, and learning.
4. She acts without concern for the various obstacles and limitations she encounters.
5. She maintains accountability and responsibility to the community for her results.

The social capital that has been activated through interaction directed by activities that are beneficial for the community and for the environment has created trust amongst members of the community and a willingness to engage in collective action. This trust has emerged because the community has managed to build shared norms that can regulate the procedures and responsibility for each activity they perform. They are able to implement this responsibility properly because members of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong have been given training to improve their skills and capacity so that they are able to carry out their duties responsibly. Internal trust and its inherent nature is the agreement of internal norms which

forms what is known as “local wisdom” that belongs specifically to the members of Forsidas Sungai Gajah Wong. Meanwhile, the rules and norms that regulate outward interaction on a broader and more formal scale is referred to as generalized trust. Both are needed so that internal interaction (bonding capital) and interaction with outside parties (bridging capital) can play a role in facilitating collective action.

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