

SUBAK'S SOCIAL CAPITAL :
COULD THEY ENHANCING THE EXISTENCE ?

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ABSTRACT

Subaks are traditional organization in Bali which managing water for rice field. *Subaks* have existed for centuries and characterized by a common source of water with the subak's water temple in close proximity, one or more rice field temples, written or unwritten rules and full autonomy for managing its own affairs. A *subak*, with its carefully crafted rules, roles, right and responsibilities, is one of the world's best example of long-enduring, local resource management system (Asian Development Bank, 1997). Recently, where demand for non-agricultural lands have been sharply increased, *subak* has significant role on controlling land use conversion and many social environmental resource rent. As a traditional organization, subak have a strong norm that correlated with religion activity. That is why all members of *subak* have high participation on every collective action. The existence of *subak* not just only depend on norm but also on social capital as a whole such as trust and network. The organization need to strengthen the trust building and develop its network to achive high social capital level. The aim of this research is to analyze the social capital of *subak* and its role on agricultural and natural resources. The data collected from the several villages in Bali Province include four regency that is Jembrana, Karangasem, Badung and Gianyar. In this paper, therefore, we compare between *subak*'s social capital as a tradisional organization in agricultural community and social capital of modern organization e.g tourism. The Result indicate that there is significant relationship between kind of job and level of thick trust. *Subak* have lower level of general trust and higher network density than modern organization. The general implication of this research is involving on organization not depend on trustworthy but depend on norm and sanction only.

Keywords : rice field, subak, social capital, agricultural water management

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INTRODUCTION

The Research Question

Bali Province has a land area of 5 632.86 square kilometer (km²) and a population of 3 179 918 million, with a density of 565 persons per km². Bali have a beautiful scenic and unique culture which is encourage a growing tourist and associated handicraft industry.

Initially, the economy of the island is predominantly rural and depends on agriculture. Recently, there has been structural transformation on Bali's economic performance so that the economy of this island depends on tourism. This phenomena caused so many land transformation from agricultural used to others used e.g. housing, tourism service and infrastructure. Huge investment on rice farm became ineffective.

Table 1. The Economic Performance of Bali, 2004

	Employment (person)	RGDP (Rp. 000)	Growth (%)
Agriculture	681 320	4 406 176.32	2.66
Mining and Quarrying	18805	129 042.07	4.38
Manufacturing	190 420	1912465.14	3.71
Utilities	8090	293 696.43	3.76
Construction	104 595	777 745.96	5.09
Trade, restaurant and Hotel	489 750	6 114703.22	4.65
Transport and Communication	86245	2 051 578.76	5.17
Financial Service	21215	1 462 272.55	7.97
Public Administration and Service	234 725	2 815 563.35	4.02
Total	1 835 165	19963243.80	4.62

Source : Bali Membangun, 2004

Decreasing quantity of the agriculture land use will affect the existence of *subak*. *Subak* is a traditional organization of water management on agriculture especially on rice farm. *Subaks* in Bali were formed as socio-religious, agriculture communities to develop and sustain irrigated rice production. Each *subak* is characterized by a common source of water with the *subak's* water temple in close proximity, one or more rice field temples, written or unwritten rules, and full autonomy for managing its own affairs. *Subaks* range in size from a few hectares (ha) to over 700 ha. A *subak*, with it's carefully crafted rules, roles, rights, and responsibilities, is one of the world's best examples of a long-enduring, local resource management system.

Table 2. The Quantity of Rice Farm Area and Subak in Bali, 2004

Regency/ City	Rice Farm (Ha)	Quantity of Subak	Farm Productivity (Kw/Ha)
Jembrana	9520	83	54.88
Tabanan	43 524	278	52.90
Badung	21 326	114	59.53
Denpasar	5 154	46	57.99
Gianyar	31520	515	56.64
Klungkung	5757	42	55.53
Bangli	5556	52	51.39
Karangasem	11290	127	56.68
Buleleng	19474	279	51.26

Source : Bali Membangun, 2004

Transformation of economic structures will impact on the existence of *subak*. On the other side the existence of *subak* depend on its social capital. Aims of this paper are (1) to analyze the social capital of *Subak*; (2) to analyze the relationship of *subak*'s social capital and its existence.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Subak : Common-Pool Resource Management

Water for farming activities in Bali is common-pool resource. It is difficult to prevent someone from using that water. The decisions made by one farmer will affect all of the other farmer. Common-pool resources have two characteristics : (1) Sub tractability or rivalness, one person harvests from or deposits in a resource subtract from the ability of others to do the same (Ostrom, Gardner and walker (1994) *in* Dolsak and ostrom (2003)); (2) The cost of excluding potential beneficiaries from access to the resource (Dolsak and ostrom (2003)). They may be able to gain benefit without contributing to the costs of providing, maintaining, and regulating the resource involved. The characteristic of water irrigation, as a common-pool resources, need a wise institutional or regulation to manage that resources so that sustainable for future generation. So that, it is urgent to maintain and revitalize the social capital of *subak* for manage the water for farming activities.

Subak is an organization that widely known effective to manage water resources for farming activities. The *subak* member is farmer that holds and cultivates farming area in the same path of water stream. Dependability of each member for water availability for their agriculture farm is binding the *subak* member with the same objective to maintain irrigation

system sustainability. Problems or conflict among the *subak* member will be settled using *awig-awig* or *sima*.

Subak is water management organization that has been established for along time and at present still has important contribution on farming success in Bali. As so far, there is no formal contract system that ruled by each *subak* members. Water distribution was carried out with sense of trust among *subak* member that fit with defined regulation. The established norms was known as *awig-awig* and agreed and obey by the members. The *awig-awig* is in form of written and unwritten rules, however with the same power.

Recently, *subak* is the one of traditional organization that managed common-pool resource successfully. Trust and traditional norm are the key of it success. The members of *subak* trust each other reciprocally. The other side, traditional norm still binding all member of *subak* in the same way.

The Role of Social Capital To Suppress Rice Field Conversion

Balinese structure has gradually changing. The agrarian people have change and migrate to the urban area to be tourism society. The people ethnical composition becomes changing, *kasta* and the people become a tool to achieve political goal. The changing will cause decreasing role of traditional social institution. Cooperation and safety feeling as product of maintenance of traditional institution will be costly to be achieved.

Fast growing of tourism sector is also having negative impact on agriculture land availability in Bali. Local government policy to develop 21 tourism areas will support the farmer to sell their productive rice field due to high price offered. The case of tourism development facilities at Tanah Lot tourism area, Tabanan Bali is still fresh in our mind where is large productive rice field is converted for the development. Unfortunately, the Residency of Tabanan is one of rice source in Bali. The same case also hold for the Residency of Gianyar.

Beside tourism development, fast growing population as a result of high migration among region is also increasing demand for non agriculture land to be converted into settlement, service and trading activities. Land owner, mostly is farmer, hesitate to sell their land and replacing with relative low fertility agriculture land. The weakness of policy to increasing living standard of farmer community is also to be one factor that support the farmer to sell their agriculture land.

When the tourism activities decrease as result of intern and extern factor, the people become reconsider the role of agriculture sector. However, development bias that as so far tend to stand on tourism sector and resulting large land conversion, automatically will disappearing subak organization that the existence has close relationship with the agriculture land availability.

Large conversion of agriculture land will impact on *subak* existence in Bali. Therefore, it is needed an effort to suppress the conversion. Many of policy has been implemented, however the converted agriculture land is still increasing from year to year. Exactly, *subak* has strong bargaining power to protect land conversion by consideration that building license needs permission from surrounding community.

Social capital of *subak* is one component that strengthens *subak* position to protect land conversion. On partial perspective, the developed norms in *subak* have strong binding for each member therefore it is required formal contract for each activity that conducting by *subak* member. However, the strong norms are not sufficient condition to build social capital. Social capital is consisted of some component including trust each other, norms and network. Social capital is build from individual interaction, regularly and reciprocally, that finally give economic advantage because decreasing of opportunistic behavior. Social capital will increasing sense of trust each actor than will suppress contract cost, contract and control that finally will resulting efficient and effective process. Some of research result shows that social capital will facilitate : (1) higher level of regional economic growth, (2) Function of labor market will be more efficient, (3) lower criminal level, (4) higher education achievement, (5) better health and (6) more effective government.

Social capital is a social structure attribute for an individual inside. Social capital is not private property from many people who get advantage from the social capital building. Social capital is embedded in social structure and has public goods characteristic, and equivalent with financial capital, physical capital and human capital (Coleman, 1990). A strong social capital will make possible for a group to increasing the bargaining power in face of other groups.

World Bank has stated more specific definition of social capital, that is social capital as norms and social relationship that embedded in social structure of community that making possible for the person to coordinate activities and achieve desirable goal. Social capital is welfare or advantage that resulted from social relation among individual. There is three dimensions that affected the development of this advantage namely relationship structure,

interpersonal dynamics in the structured and context and general language that used by the individual in the structure (Lesser, 200).

Therefore, social capital is expected able to improve productivity of agriculture land and strengthen *subak* position. Productivity improvement will increase farmer welfare in turn will disappearing supporting factors that caused farmer change their livelihood or shifting their land ownership. Social capital that developed in community is differentiated by bonding social capital and bridging social capital. In many cases, strong bonding social capital will impact on group *arrogance* or community on others. However if the power of bonding social capital is directed for strengthen bargaining position of a group, certainly it has no negative impact.

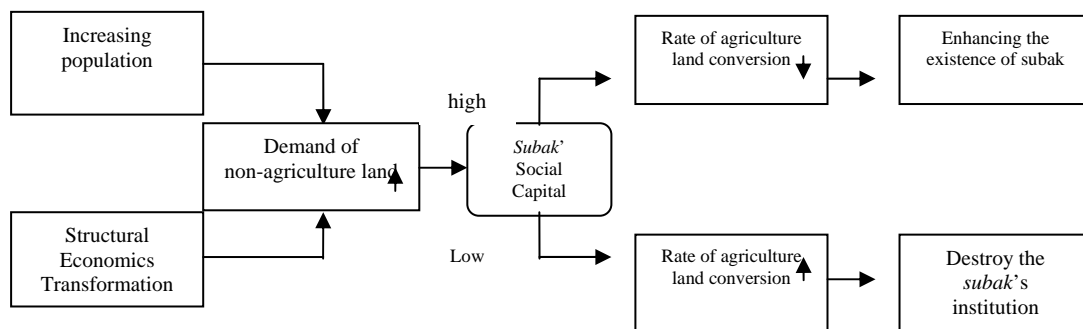


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Social Capital Strengthen In Bali

Social Structure of Agriculture Community in Bali

Discussion about development of social capital and social structure is embedded on Bourdie suggestion (1985) that useful to understand the social capital. refer to Bourdie, social capital was established from network and social relation that always has link with capital, while the capital is understanding in terms of relation between economic and the strength. Therefore it is a close relationship between social actions of a person with the economic result. Bourdie tend to focus on class development and the social impact as result from existing class in the community.

Social capital that has been established in a community has close relationship with the social structure. in general, social structure was grouped into three, namely : (1) micro social structure, including role status, norms, value, and social control; (2) mezzo social structure that describe social institution in a community and ; (3) macro social structure that define the

social stratification. The social structure than classified into address, profession and *kasta* system such as *desa pakraman*, *banjar pakraman*, *subak*, *tempek*, *sekehe* and others.

The social structure in Bali was divided into traditional and modern structure. Traditional social structure has close relationship with the development of Hindu religion in Bali and agriculture community activities. Therefore, the traditional structure has relative homogenous member from religion perspective. The existing traditional social structure is a social structure that was established by Mpu Kuturan that comes first to Bali to disseminate Hindu religion. Value system that holds in traditional social structure is static. Progress in technology as result of globalization process is disabling to change the value system. Strong effect of religion in the traditional social structure has resulting rigid relation in the community that not respond with the time progress. the rigidity will result conflict between social and economic requirement. Dichotomy between the present and the future goal in Hindu religion is should not be happen because has regulate in *Catur Asrama* where is every person should pass through many level in their living process therefore achieved goal for each level should not in conflict. In the other hand, rigidity in community relation will support bonding social capital particularly sense of trust among the same ethnic.

Social structure of agriculture community that generally living at rural area is still a traditional social structure where is the classification is establish on the basis of religion, *kasta* and livelihood. Structure of agriculture community is consisted of land owner and tenant farmer. The relationship between land owner and the tenant was establish on family relation such as *keluarga batih*, *dadia*, *sekaa*, *suitra* and settlement location. The relationship is relative maintain in the long term and there is no formal conflict.

SOCIAL CAPITAL OF SUBAK

The existence of *subak* is depending on agriculture field availability. *Subak* was divided into wet rice field and dry field. *Subak* organization that has been widely known is *subak* for wet rice field, while *subak* for the dry field is known as *subak abian*. However, the two organizations have the same goal namely improving agriculture production. Beside the *subak*, other active traditional organization in Bali especially in rural area is *sekaa*. *Sekaa* is a group of individual with the same activities both temporary and permanently such as in art, social and to protect environment sustainability. As so far, *sekaa* activities that still exist and get the government fund support through the culture department is art activities. However, for some region, *sekaa* activities for social productive is still exist namely *sekaa nandur*,

sekaa manyi, sekaa semal, sekaa nampah and etc. The *sekaa* is seasonally and most of the member is family of one dadia (the same place for pray in a large family). While *sekaa* in art field is formally, including *sekaa gong, sekaa geguritan, sekaa pesantian, sekaa tari* and etc. Training of the formal *sekaa* was carried out both by the residency and provincial government. *Subak* membership is not determined by address location but by location of the rice field. Therefore, frequently the *subak* member is not neighborhood or living in the same administrative rural and *desa pakraman*.

Table 3. Number of Subak and Subak Abian in Bali, 2004

Regency/City	Subak	Subak Abian
Jembrana	83	122
Tabana	278	137
Badung	114	69
Gianyar	515	41
Klungkung	42	29
Bangli	52	63
Karangasem	127	64
Buleleng	279	133
Kota Denpasar	46	-
Bali	1554	658

Source : Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, 2005

The descriptive analysis of social capital indicators show that the deference of address location is not resulting that the *subak* member has low sense of trust among each member. Thick trust of the *subak* member on other member is higher than the thin trust. In general, sense of trust has significant positive relation with participation in organization. This implied that increasing participation is able to be improved with increasing of sense of trust among individual in the organization. The participation dynamics of the *subak* member shows that there is a significant relation between participation dynamics and the member thick trust.

In lower level of significance (80%), there is a significant negative relation between sense of trust and number of free rider. It other words, it means that larger number of free rider behavior tend to decreasing sense of trust among the member. In other hand, for higher level of significance (99 %), it was concluded that there is a significant negative relation between numbers of free rider member with willingness of the member to give physical support for other person. It means that the higher number of free rider is, the lower willingness of the member to give physical supports.

Social capital of *subak* group is describe by observed indicator that consisted of organization proximity, leadership, linkage with other organization with the same goal in the

same region and other region, linkage with other organization with deferent goal in a region and other region, and appreciation on group fund and initial fund. The latent variable is sense of trust, network and norms.

On the basis of Goodness of Fit of a model, the Aggregate Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) value, the model of *subak* social capital is able to be used to describe relation between endogenous latent variable, exogenous variable and observed indicator because has AGFI value 0.914, higher than Segars and Grover (1993) criteria. Due to the criteria, a model is good if any has the AGFI value higher than 0.8 although the chi square value and RMSE is higher than 0.08. In fact, the significance of chi square value shows limited goodness of fit between the model and the data. It means that researcher should aware to make any conclusion.

The SEM analysis result shows that all of indicator for latent variable of trust has positive value and significant. It means that higher sense of trust of a group, is higher organization member proximity and more democratic in the selection of group leader. Large contribution of leadership indicator shows that effort to build sense of trust in *subak* community should be conducted through democratically decision making process in selection of group leader and decision making that involved all of the members. However, sense of trust has no significant contribution for social capital building.

Network in this research was defined as binding that facilitate cooperation among *subak*. Most of network indicator has negative sign except for linkage indicator of *subak* organization with other organization that has the different goal in other region. However the indicator is the one that shows not significant relation on network latent variable. The result implied that the power of *subak* network is not only caused by a wide relation building between *subak* and other organization in the same or different region. The result is contradictive with research of Asian Development Bank that shows that established social capital especially in poverty region is unsustainable if any not followed with establishment of network that bridging with other community or higher level of existing organization. However the contradiction is not means that social capital of *subak* is unsustainable, but is still sustain as so far.

Farming is an activity that need a right timely and could not be cancelled. Canceling of a work for each stage will effect on the yield production. As an example is paddy planting, where is each activities should considering climate condition and therefore can't be cancelled. Canceling of seedling, planting and harvesting will affect on paddy production and other production of other farmer in a *subak* organization. The requirement usually is

ignore if any a farmer or a *subak* member do other work and it is implied that the research results is logic. Canceling implementation for each stage will effect on quality and quantity of the yield. Therefore, there is a limited time for farmer. It means that higher frequency interaction with other organization will decrease cooperation binding in the *subak* it selves.

Norm, in this research, is defined as willingness of group member to share burden for group funding. The analysis result shows that norm indicator that consisted of willingness to pay for organization funding has positive sign but contrary with initial funding. *Subak* is an organization that has been established since *Majapahit* period. The organization is not economic oriented but the togetherness. The higher norms that binding the member are, more activities will be conducted in relationship with *upakara* to maintain and make success their farming activities. This condition will impact on high cost that should be pay by the members. However, the member will pay the burden voluntary. It is deferent with initial funding that on their perspective should be subsidized by the government.

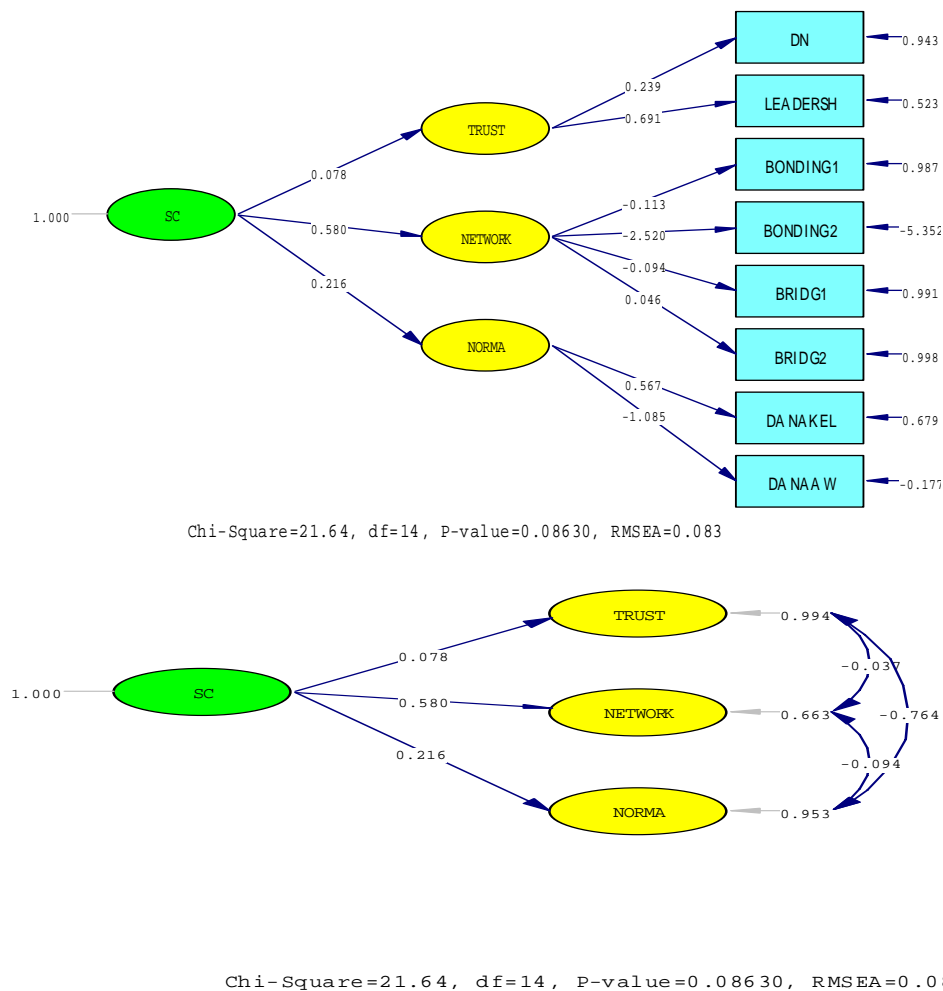


Figure 2. Path Diagram for Structural Model of Social Capital of Subak in Bali, 2005

In *subak* community, efforts to build social capital is able to be conducted by network strengthen and the norms because the latent exogenous variable has significant contribution on social capital where is network contribution has larger value. Strengthen of norms could be conducted by improving sense of ownership of each *subak* member on the organization that reflected by willingness of the member to give contribution in every group activities. The larger government intervention particularly in group activities will decreasing ownership senses of the member that finally will decreasing social control of *subak* member for the *subak* it selves.

Table 4. Latent Variable and Significance of Each Indikator on Latent Variable of Social Capital in Subak Community of Bali, 2005.

Latent Variable	Indikator	Coefisien	t
Trust	1. Organization Density (DN)	0.346	4.534*
	2. Leadership	0.893	7.768*
Network*	1. Bonding (1)	-0.109	-4.162*
	2. Bonding(2)	-3.881	-44.596*
	3. Bridging(1)	-0.075	-2.861*
	4. Bridging (2)	0.044	1.705
Norm*	1. Organization Fund	0.827	8.430*
	2. Initiation fee	-1.187	-8.871*

Source: Primary Data, 2005

* significant at 0.05

Social Capital in Agriculture and Tourism Community

The research result shows that there is a significant difference on some social capital component that was established in agriculture community (traditional sector) and tourism (modern sector). Farmer is tending to aware because sense of trust to other person is lower. Senses of trust is a response of question about general speaking. Community in subak has lower of social trusty. The lower thick trust and social trust in the agriculture community shows that number of trustable person is lower than tourism community, both for known and unknown person.

However, the lower trust is not imply that agriculture community has lower social capital by the fact that in the community physical support is more easy to get than in tourism community. In other hand, farmer community has involved in higher organization and the

number of free rider is lower. Only the financial support that hardly to get. Low income and cash ownership is one reason why the money support is hardly to get in agriculture community.

Table 5. Difference of Social Capital Component Between Agriculture and Tourism Community, 2005

Component of Social Capital	Agricultural	Tourism
Careful behavior	2.65	1.71
Thick trust	3.01	3.36
Thin trust	1.76	2.71
Free rider	3.21	3.82
Organisasi Number	3.51	2.81
Participation	2.44	2.69
Fisical Support	3.91	2.10
Cash Support	1.79	2.87

Sources : primary data, 2005

Result of mean difference test for social capital component in the two communities is described at Table 6. Public participation in agriculture community and tourism community show not significant difference. It means that whole community has relative high participation in every activity. The result is relevant by consideration that socio-cultural condition for Balinese is still strongly binding with village and *banjar pakraman*. In *Banjar Pakraman*, a person has the same responsibility in every adat activities such as in dead, married (*manusa yadnya*), *dewa yadnya* and all of activities to protect surrounding environment.

Table 6. Mean Difference Test Of Social Capital Component Between Agriculture And Tourism Community In Bali, 2005

	Mean Difference	P-value
Careful behavior	0.14	0.003
Thick trust	-0.28	0.007
Thin trust	-0.59	0.000
Free rider	0.43	0.001
Organization Number	0.71	0.001
Physical Support	1.81	0.000
Cash Support	-1.12	0.000

Sources : primary data, 2005

(-) : show mean of agriculture community lower than tourism

Analysis on relationship of social capital component shows that there is a significant relationship between sense of trust and availability of cash support, sense of trust for

unknown person for willingness to give physical support and number of free rider in agriculture and tourism community. The analysis result shows that willingness of a person to help other person in agriculture community or tourism has close relationship with how large of trustable person. This is not generally hold and only for unknown person or from different ethnic.

Table 7. Relationship between social capital components in Bali, 2005

	Agriculture	Tourism
Careful behavior*physical support	0.154	0.645
Trus*cash support	0.057	0.54
Thin trust*physical support	0.008	0.009
Thin trust*free rider	0.9	0.017

Sources: primary data, 2005

CONCLUSION

Thick trust of *subak* member is higher than the thin trust. It means that there is large potency to build intern strength in the group. The strong sense of trust among *subak* member should be maintain and directed to strengthen group bargaining position in challenging of land conversion. However, willingness of member to maintain their agriculture land should be supported by policy that increasing selling price of agriculture product. As so far, farming is the last choice for community. It is need an incentive to change the condition.

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