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1 THE ROLE OF BONDING, BRIDGING AND LINKING AT TRADITIONAL MARKETS IN INDONESIA: A Study at Lok Baintan Floating Market Banjar Regency South Kalimantan

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the role of bonding, bridging, and linking among the economic actors in Indonesian Traditional Markets. By applying the analysis of social capital framework and empirical data from the well-known cases, Lok Baintan Floating Market South Kalimantan is analyzed through a qualitative approach and phenomenology research strategy. This study confirms previous findings that market participants rely more on informal institutions for financial problems than on formal institutions, as dealing with formal institutions is too complicated for them. The novelty of this study is that it reveals the role of social capital not only from the point of micro aspects but also from the macro aspects. This study further confirms that the three types of relationship (bonding, bridging, and linking) are attached to individual actors and the market in which the level of social capital "linking" between the market participants and the government is still low due to the difficulty of changing ingrained value among market participants. The "bridging" level between the market participants with formal and informal institutions is very high for assistance, excluded bonding and a wider customer network. Social capital of "bonding" is also important in the exchange of capital, price and goods information among sellers, although the relationship too close is provento potentially lead to the emergence of misappropriation of trust and lead to distrust.

Key words:

Social capital; Bonding; Bridging; Linking; Traditional market.

INTRODUCTION

Traditional markets and modern markets have become part of people's lives of urban and rural communities. In their existence, traditional markets face a threat from the development of the modern ones. Several studies, such as Dewi et al, (2012), affirm on a decrease in traditional markets' revenue due to the construction



of supermarkets and hypermart. In contrast, Suryadharma (2010) provides different argument, the number of traditional markets decline due to internal problems of the traditional markets.

Along with the debate on what causes a decrease in the role of traditional markets, in fact, the role of traditional markets is increasingly important as the majority of Indonesia's population lives in rural areas and they depend on the agricultural sector. This is supported by data from BPS (2014) that the number of poor people in Indonesia reached 28.55 million people (11.47%) up to September 2013 and the majority of these poor people in Indonesia live in rural areas, as many as 17.92 million people, compared to those living in cities, as many as 10.63 million people. Based on this, the majority of the population belongs to the middle-income class and below who live in the countryside.

The Floating Market is inseparable from the formation of Banjarmasin city and its surroundings as a living community of Banjar. The existence of Floating Market is very closely related to the indigenous people's culture, which is based on Islam. As well as traditional markets, social networking is defined as a consideration for the trading activities or subsequent transactions in the Floating Market, and as social relations in general, this always involves market participants.

Based on this framework, the Floating Market as one of the traditional markets in South Kalimantan is considered feasible and challenging to be investigated in order to maintain and develop its presence for local people.

Traditional markets in Indonesia have suffered a setback in their existence (Dewi et al, 2012; Suryadarma et al, 2010). The opposite occurs in Lok Baintan Floating Market. This market continues to exist until today, and is even more crowded, contrast to the disappearance of other floating markets. Naturalness and authenticity of this market remains well preserved. The local government is trying to preserve and raise the cultural side of Lok Baintan Floating Market as 'Leading Tourism Icons'.

The study aims to identify the relationship between the existence of Lok Baintan Floating Market and the role of bonding, bridging, and linking in Lok Baintan Floating Market. This article starts with a brief overview of the conceptual and theoretical review on social capital in relation to the existence of traditional markets followed by a presentation of the methods applied. Finally, the authors integrate the findings with the theory of social capital and draw conclusions.

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL STUDY SOCIAL CAPITAL

Some scholars introduced the concept of social capital in their works such as Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam (Yustika, 2010). Nevertheless, in its development,

other researchers also submitted the concept of social capital with essentially the same meaning. At an intuitive level, social capital is a resource arising from a relationship and can be obtained either individually or collectively (Bartkus et al, 2009).

According to Olajide (2013), social capital is a concept of a network of social relationships characterized by norms of trust and reciprocity. The essence of social capital is the quality of social relationships. The definition by Mulunga and Yazdanifard (2014) is somewhat different from the ones developed by previous scholars. Mulunga and Yazdanifard (2014) define social capital as individual sacrifice in terms of time, labor, and consumption made in an effort to improve cooperation with others. Heenan (2010) reinforces previous scholars that the key indicators of social capital such as trust, reciprocity, and cooperation greatly affect and determine social relations.

Social capital consists of five elements, namely trust, networks, norms, values, and reciprocity. Fukuyama (2002) suggests that trust is a very important side effect of cooperative social norms that results in social capital. Trust allows sellers to have the opportunity to build a reputation of reliability, as well as making transactions cheaper and more stable. Good reputation generates trust and eventually will help spread information quickly and inexpensively (Murshid, 2011). The importance of the role of trust in a relationship is also delivered by Groenewald (2013) trust explains why some people find it more easily to catch the opportunities created by the expansion of the market, while others are left behind in poverty.

Fukuyama (2002) defines network as a group of individual agents sharing norms or values beyond the informal values or norms important to ordinary market transactions. Network provides the basis for social cohesion because it encourages people to cooperate with each other and not merely with those they know in person to obtain mutual benefits (Field, 2003).

McDonald and Crandall (2015) define social norms as an expectation of appropriate behavior that occurs within a group. Putnam (1995) describes norms as consisting of understandings, values, expectations, and goals that are believed and run by a group of people. The norms can be derived from religious, moral guidelines, and secular standards as well as code of professional ethics. Cash sale to farmers is one of the norms (Murshid, 2011).

According to Fukuyama (1995), values can strengthen social capital shall they are managed to be more beneficial and helpful. Social capital development must also consider the development of organizational or system capacity in order for it to run efficiently, effectively, and continuously.



Reciprocity is a dimension of social capital where people are definitely giving benefit to others and receiving kindness from others. In principle, there is a passion for helping and altruism (Fukuyama, 1995).

Based on the relationship between actors situated at different levels, social capital has been presented as bonding, bridging, and linking. According to Chou (2006), bonding refers to the relationships between family members, close friends, and neighbors. Bridging is for further associates and colleagues who may have different demographic characteristics. Linking strengthens relationships between groups and other organizations.

According to Oztok et al, (2015), bonding refers to the strong relationship between relatively homogeneous individuals, by enabling individuals to share history and their experiences, and by building shared values and prosocial goals. Bridging, according to Tseng and Kuo (2010), refers to individuals with similar interests or backgrounds to develop a higher level of social capital, which leads them to establish and maintain peer relationships. Beugelsdijk and Sjak (2009) considers the model of social capital as participation in social networks of two types: first, the network of family and close friends, and, second, an open network bridging different communities.

According to Mohsenzadeh (2011), social capital is divided for different types of bonding, bridging, and linking. Bonding is built among people who have a close relationship with each other, such as close friends and relatives and family members because there is trust and forgiveness is easy to seek, and matters are resolved friendly without reference to the courts. Bridging exists when trust and cooperation among people or group who happen to not have close relationship but they are related in some manners such as NGOs and political groups at any levels. Some research shows that bridging social capital has a positive effect and bonding social capital has a negative effect on economic development.

As quoted by Mulunga (2014) that bonding social capital refers to the intracommunity bond where members can depend on each other when the situation requires. The relationship can be a source of valuable services, such as emergency cash assistance, and it has been found that social groups provide an important bonding and bridging social capital in the form of protection, risk management, and solidarity, especially in the case of poor people in rural areas.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL TOWARD THE MARKET

Markets have emerged not only as a social meeting place of people, but also as a political grassroots organization to disseminate and to debate on current issues.

Markets reflect the characteristics of users, various levels of access to diverse populations, and state policies towards market (Stillerman, 2006).

Markets can help build community as they involve all the local sectors. These markets employ local people and usually sell local products, so they keep the money in the local economy (Chamhuri & Batt, 2013). Therefore, markets act as a very valuable tool to improve low-income communities, to create jobs for retailers, help people with their financial needs (Marten, 2010).

The role of social capital on the sustainability of a market both at home and abroad has been investigated. Fatimah (2012) describes social capital has been utilized in a wide range of innovative activities. Network, trust, and solidarity is created from cooperation undertaken in the implementation of Forum Silaturahmi Paguyuban Pedagang Pasar Yogyakarta (FSP3Y).

Another study by Suryadarma et al, (2010) aims to determine the factors leading to the decline of traditional market through qualitative and quantitative approaches; the results show that supermarkets is not the major cause of the decline, it is the internal problems of traditional markets and the increasingly harder competition from street vendors (PKL).

Besides research in Indonesia, studies abroad also link social capital and markets. Research in Bangladesh by KAS Murshid (2011) describes how the markets in Bangladesh are able to solve complex exchange problems, especially the ones faced by the dominant participants in the market facing the most complex trading risks by building trust and personal transactions that are crucial to the successful implementation of complex exchanges.

Research linking social capital and traditional market has been done. However, this study is of difference from previous studies (Dewi et al, 2012; Fatimah, 2012; Suryadarma et al, 2010) whose focus is on competition between traditional and modern markets. This study identifies not only on how Lok Baintan Floating Market competes with the modern markets, but also on how it competes with other traditional markets; this study also seeks to improve the **existence of Lok Baintan Floating Market** through bonding, bridging, and linking.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research is qualitative under phenomenological research strategy. **Lok Baintan Floating Market is in** Banjar Regency of **South Kalimantan**. Researchers spend quite long time (from July 2014 to June 2015) at the site. This period is sufficient to help the researchers immerse in situations and activities of economic actors in this market, particularly in relation to social and economic interaction. The researchers also take the advantage of an interview using the local language (Banjar) so they could easily communicate with the subjects of research as well as develop an understanding of economic behavior in Lok Baintan Floating Market. The researchers observed how



people behave and interact, and how decisions were made in this market. In-depth interviews were conducted to the subjects, and triangulation of information was done such as through semi-structured interviews, meetings, and discussions with relevant agencies such as the Department of Agriculture, Plantation, and Farm of Banjar, the Department of Culture, Tourism, Youth, and Sports of Banjar, as well as the Regional Development Planning Agency of Banjar.

RESULTS

This study was conducted to answer the research question on the factors supporting the existence of Lok Baintan Floating Market – whether because of the nature of a strong bond between market participants (mostly the Banjarese), or whether because of their bridging and linking social capital. This section presents an analysis of three different types of social capital introduced in the previous section: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. This section begins with information on market participants at Lok Baintan Floating Market.

Characteristics of the Floating Market and the Market Participants

The area around the Lok Baintan Floating Market located in Sungai Tabuk Sub-District produces agricultural and plantation products. As an area of agricultural products, the Floating Market acts as a market of agricultural products for local residents.

Lok Baintan Floating Market is physically different from the traditional markets in general. More detailed information can be seen in the following table:

TABLE 1. DIFFERENCES OF TRADITIONAL MARKETS AND LOK BAIN TAN FLOATING MARKET

Table with 3 columns: Differences, Traditional Markets, Lok Baintan Floating Market. Rows include Physical, Appearance, Activities, and Transactions.

Source: Data processed. 2014

This difference also makes market participants in Lok Baintan Floating Market slightly different from most traditional market participants. The uniqueness of this market has attracted local and foreign visitors. Sellers, buyers, and visitors can reach the market from both land transportation and river channel. However, the most of them prefer to use the river channel, by using jukung or kelotok (a kind of traditional boat) to get to its destination.

Market participants have their own reasons for choosing the river channel. Sellers choose the river channel because it is more practical and they can carry more stuff; they are known as *dukuh*. Buyers choose the river channel because most of them buy in large quantities to resell to consumers in the traditional markets; they are called *penyambang*. People around the Floating Market usually do small quantity purchase. Other visitors usually buy in small quantities as the focus of their visit is more on recreation.



FIGURE 1. TRADER ACTIVITY IN LOK BAIN TAN FLOATING MARKET

Bonding in Lok Baintan Floating Market

Bonding social capital is a strong horizontal network between individuals, groups, or institutions that have similar characteristics (demographic characteristics, background, identity, as well as norms and values). In terms of the activity of Lok Baintan Floating Market sellers, bonding social capital is formed based on the similarity of work.

Bonding, bridging, and linking each has a special way of capital formation, goods flow, and transactions. The findings show that capital formation in bonding social capital happens through the division of roles within the family as social capital assets, kinship, and trust. A trader explained as follows:

“I start after the morning prayer until 8 AM. When I do my job in the market, my husband takes care of the children. My husband supports my job so much. If my husband does not agree, I cannot do my job well, I feel like something is not right. I bring many things to sell, whereas sometimes I have to go against the water flow, especially when it rains.” (An interview on October 24, 2014)

The above statement explains the important role of a family in supporting the career as a seller at Lok Baintan Floating Market. It has been the reason why sellers in this market are dominated by housewives.

Bonding social capital can be seen from the flow of goods including “taboos”, doing “*jual beli di atas*” (customary law in trading), the culture of “*kurang*



labih"(norms of tolerance), the agreement on transfer of ownership of goods is made orally (no written contract).

There is a prevailing norm among sellers not to buy and sell goods in the farmhouse. As expressed by one of the sellers:

"Sell in Sungai Lutut Market. Shop here. Not accustomed to shopping at the farmhouse. Only on the floating market. Better here. Many goods are available; you can always have many options to choose. It is not a problem if you do not buy for the goods do not suit what you want, even if it is between family members or relatives. We continue these purchasing habits." (An interview on November 1, 2014)

The transactions involve *bepanduk* (barter), trade-ins (barter and money), and cash money transaction.

Bridging in Lok Baintan Floating Market

According to Chou (2006), bonding refers to the relationships between family members, close friends, and neighbors. Bridging is for further associates and colleagues who may have different demographic characteristics. Because of the homogeneity of sellers in Lok Baintan Floating Market, bridging which helps building relationship of people of different ethnic groups is irrelevant for Lok Baintan Floating Market. However, in this study, the researchers focused on bridging formal and informal relationships with different functions conducted by market participants of Lok Baintan Floating Market to achieve collective goals in addition to the achievement of personal goals.

Bridging social capital seen from the existing capital formation shows that there is a relationship of sellers with capital outside of the capital obtained from bonding relationship. The capital is an incentive and is temporary in nature, but the capital obtained from this bridging relationship is beneficial for sellers. The capital can take forms of cash money and physical assistance such as the provision of *jukung*, *ketotok*, painting for *jukung*, and art tools. Bridging is established through "Tambangan Balarut" Cooperative, BI in Kalimantan, capital support from the private sectors (XL and Telkomsel) and Pokdarwis (Tourism Awareness Group). The complexity of bridging relationship that exists between sellers with various parties proves that their presence in this market gets attention from various interest groups in South Kalimantan in an effort to increase their revenues.

Some sellers have become members of "Tambangan Balarut" Cooperative, but some others do not so as they do not want to borrow money to a bank or to the cooperative as additional capital:

“It has been decades I sell goods in this market, and I rely on my own for capital. Many refuse to get loans from banks. The interest is far too high for us, and monthly payment is unaffordable. If we take days off or we are sick, how can we pay it? This is the same for the cooperative. We will have to pay the interest and monthly payment as well. We prefer to borrow money from family and relatives. If we borrow 100,000, we will pay back as much as 100,000. We do not need to borrow in such big amount.” (An interview on October 24, 2014)

Bridging social capital seen from the flow of goods, the ways sellers do to attract shoppers and visitors are by getting close to the boats of the visitors and consumers, preparing fruit and vegetables in such beautiful arrangement, and showing friendliness. Selling goods in reasonable market price, satisfying the desire of visitors, and maintaining the trust of visitors are ways sellers do to keep customer loyalty.

Linking in Lok Baintan Floating Market

Linking also occurs in this market. Farmers and sellers are linked to the the Department of Agriculture, Plantation, and Farm of Banjar, the Department of Culture, Tourism, Youth, and Sports of Banjar, as well as the Regional Development Planning Agency of Banjar. Each agency has an interest in the existence of Lok Baintan Floating Market.

The area around the Lok Baintan Floating Market located in Sungai Tabuk Sub-District produces agricultural and plantation products. As an area of agricultural products, the Floating Market acts as a market of agricultural products for local residents. This success is closely related to the work of the Department of Agriculture, Plantation, and Farm of Banjar. Specifically, the role of this Department for farmers in areas around Sungai Tabuk Sub-District ranges from provision of seeds, marketing, socialization, and training in an effort to empower farmers—producing more agricultural products.

Linking social capital is indirectly related with the Regional Development Planning Agency of Banjar. However, the Regional Development Planning Agency of Banjar holds such a big role for the development of the Lok Baintan Floating Market. Its role includes planning based on input from relevant agencies and approving the budget proposed by related agencies in the development of Lok Baintan Floating Market.

The findings reveal that the social relations of farmers and sellers in this market have gone through a long history. The involvement of market participants starts from bonding social capital, and over time, the interaction among market participants has been growing with the coming of bridging relationship. Bridging relationship arises because the relationship among market participants is no longer homogeneous, but



it involves a variety of communities. Market participants start to realize that an organization, such as “Tambangan Balarut”, farmer groups, Pokdarwis, may accommodate their aspirations and this will secure them from a variety of risks. The communities involved are diverse, yet the same goal is the same—to develop Lok Baintan Floating Market for the welfare of all.

DISCUSSION

Forms of bonding and bridging that occur in the Lok Baintan in terms of capital formation, goods flow, and transactions signaling that the three types of relationships go hand in hand. In line with the statement by Mulunga (2014), that bonding social capital refers to intracommunity bond where members can depend on each other when the situation requires. This means that the results of the study support the study by Mohsenzadeh (2011) and Chou (2006).

Bonding, bridging, and linking in Lok Baintan Floating Market is a complementary relationship. In situation where relationship is less beneficial for those involved, they will move to other social capital in solving the problems. Thus, much of the literature accept that bridging and linking social capital is very important to mobilize external resources and to benefit-mediated tissue, while bonding social capital maintains family support and social control (Woolcock, 1998).

The role of the three types of social capital relationships in Lok Baintan Floating Market can be explained as follows. Bonding social capital takes the form of good prices offered among acquaintances, information (price, availability and quality of desired goods and potential consumers), reduced transaction costs, and customer relationships. Bridging social capital includes latest price information, capital, and a wider customer network. Linking social capital takes the form of capital assistance, network marketing, network promotion, and integrated area management planning for tourism sector

The three forms of social capital interact and complement each other. Concrete manifestation of these relationships is the survival of Lok Baintan Floating Market from internal and external threats. This is consistent with the findings of Krishna Prasad Dahal and Adhikari (2008), confirming that trusting local communities to manage their natural resources will not bring success if the local communities only have a certain kind of social capital. The incorporation of several types of social capital (bonding, bridging, linking), rather than trying to execute one type of it, can be useful in solving public problems and improving welfare.

CONCLUSION

Bonding is not just relationship between individuals economic and social interaction because of demographic similarity (family members, close friends, and

neighborhoods), but also similarity at work done. Bridging is trust and cooperation between a group of people having the same goals in terms of a common source of raw materials, capital, and in the formal and informal relationships. Linking relationship is trust and cooperation between market participants with a higher authority in an effort to increase revenue. Normally, authorities have an interest in the establishment of the relationship.

This paper attempts to develop a form of relationship of bonding, bridging, and linking to the existence of Lok Baintan Floating Market. Increased existence of the market is because economy actors play such an important role through bonding, bridging, and linking.

Bonding will facilitate sellers and sellers in carrying out their activities like getting lower price than the market price, getting pricing information, and getting goods with the desired quality, and reducing transaction costs. Bridging will facilitate sellers and sellers in the form of latest price information, capital assistance, and a wider customer network. Linking is at the macro level in which ease is intended for groups of market participants in obtaining capital, network marketing, promotion, and tourism planning.

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