

Bonding, Bridging and Linking Capital: How Social Capital was Mobilized During the PPKM Micro in Malang Raya

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Abstract

This article aims to explain how community based approached has been adopted during the implementation of PPKM mikro (micro restriction) which is assumed to be more effective in handling the covid-19 pandemic. The implementation of PPKM mikro involves various parties ranging from the lowest level of Indonesian government (RT/RW or households) to the central government and community members. By utilizing Putnam's social capital perspective, this study examines how all these parties established the social relations or networks during the PPKM mikro. This study employs a case study approach to examine the implementation of PPKM mikro in Malang Raya, East Java Province. This study found that the PPKM mikro has used the social capital pre-existing in neighbourhood circumference (RT/RW). This social capital was expanded and enforced during PPKM mikro under the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs No.3 of 2020 concerning PPKM mikro. Moreover, this enforcement also generates all the types of social capital which are bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital was established at RT/RW level. Bridging social capital emerged from the relations between or inter RT/RW levels established by visual information represented by flags of different colours ranging from green, yellow, orange, to red informing the number of households confirmed with positive covid-19 in each RT/RW. Linking social capital was formed from social relations between RT/RW with the highest levels of government including the village, district, municipality/regency and central government.

Keywords: Covid-19; Pandemic; PPKM mikro; Social Capital. .

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INTRODUCTION

Covid-19 cases keep decreasing in number; its global impacts on health, social, and economic aspects, and also the mitigating strategies have provided us with references to study. A community-based strategy has been reported to be one of the most effective strategies to deal with the infection of Covid-19, as applied in several villages in Bali (Agustina, 2020; Artajaya & Wiasta, 2020; Dewi, 2020; Sukamerta, 2020), Kampung Tenggep Mandiri in Bangka Belitung (Rahmadona et al., 2021), Jogo Tonggo in villages in Central Java (Tyesta, 2020) and Kampung Tangguh Semeru in East Java (Fariha et al., 2020; Megasari et al., 2020). This approach was adopted and further applied by the government through PPKM mikro (Micro-scale Restrictions Imposed on Public Activities or shortly referred to as micro lockdown following the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 of 2020. Several centers (Pos Komando) intended to deal with Covid-19 were established in villages/sub-district areas and the areas within a neighbourhood association (henceforth referred to as RT) and Community Association (henceforth referred to as RW), all aiming to prevent, handle, counsel, and support the mitigation of Covid-19 in rural and sub-district areas.

Since this micro lockdown was in place, there have been several studies conducted to investigate the effects and effectiveness of the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, it was reported that the enforcement of the micro lockdown left some impacts on socio-economic aspects where economic activities in industrial, transportation, and tourism sectors were weakened, coupled with significantly increasing poor population, unemployment rate, and other social issues such as divorces and domestic violence (Andriyani et al., 2021). On the other hand, some research results also reported that this micro lockdown was proven effective in controlling the transmission of the virus and tackling the impacts of the pandemic (Anggraini et al., 2022; Mawuntu et al., 2022; Pramudita et al., 2020).

Prior research findings indicate that this micro lockdown has been proven effective in mitigating the Covid-19 pandemic since it has involved the governments at the lowest level representing villages, RW, RT, and other members of the public. This is in line with the provisions outlined in the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs that serve as the basis for the enforcement of the lockdown. The involvement of several elements or the representatives of the governments or the members of the public has contributed to the effectiveness of micro lockdown enforcement. Furthermore, the neighborhood association (RT) and the community association (RW), representing the lowest government position, are deemed to understand the conditions of the people in their neighborhood better (Pujaningsih & Sucitawathi, 2020). The involvement of other parties such as the Indonesian Armed Forces and Indonesian National Police is also essential to help create a safe neighborhood when the micro lockdown is

in place. However, there have not been any studies investigating how all these parties have been involved with and connected to others in dealing with the pandemic. Previous studies on lockdown have mostly seen how the lockdown was implemented from the perspective of law, the evaluation of the enforcement effectiveness (Angelin et al., 2021; Prasetyo et al., 2022; Saraswati et al., 2021), responses or sentiments of the people (Krisdiyanto & Nurhayanto, 2021; Yahyadi & Latifah, 2022), the participation of the people (Furqan et al., 2021; Rining Nawangsari et al., 2021) and the impacts caused (Andriyani et al., 2021; Wahyudi & Samputra, 2022). To fill this gap, this research aims to investigate the nexus or network built by several parties involved in the enforcement of the micro lockdown. To see this nexus, this research employed the social capital perspective with its types consisting of bonding, bridging, and linking social capitals. This concept was used by Putnam (2000) in his book 'Bowling Alone', seeing the reciprocal connection between the members of the community involved in a bowling league and enterprises or businesses at the bowling arena. At first, these business activities gained significant profits coming from Americans who came in a flock with their teams to play bowling, and this community represented the strong social capital at that time. However, Putnam saw this social model fade away when the number of bowling teams in America was shrinking and Americans started to like playing it alone. This shrinking social model also affected the business activities operating at the bowling arena. Furthermore, this research also aims to see how all the members of the public involved in the enforcement of micro lockdown build connections through the perspective of social capital.

Social capital has been defined by many theorists, Putnam, Coleman, Bourdieu, and Fukuyama are some of many. Putnam defines social capital as social relations between individuals—or a network between individuals and norms which forming the reciprocal relations between them and the trust rising from this networks (Putnam, 2000). Fukuyama sees this social capital as the enforcement of informal norms that triggers cooperation between two individuals or more (Fukuyama, 2001), while Bourdieu argues that social capital represents the collection of actual or potential resources regarding the ownership of the nexus emerging from a structured connection or, in other words, from the members of a group or community (Bourdieu, 1986). All those definitions show similar meanings of social capital, all of which refer to an individual connection that leads to cooperation or a networked connection built based on mutual norms, commonly known as reciprocity, and trust.

Furthermore, Putnam and Coleman also define social capital according to its function or contribution at either individual or community level. Putnam, for example, argues that social capital contributes to better health conditions and higher education for a particular

community (Putnam, 1993, 2000). Coleman (1988) explains the function of social capital as a source that is capable of triggering certain actions performed by an individual to achieve a goal that results in mutual benefits. Coleman gives an example implying that social capital within a family or community (representing social structure) plays an essential role in establishing human capital that can demonstrate the know-how as expected. The establishment of the human capital results from the obligation of the individuals and sanctions ensuring that the obligations are appropriately performed in social structures in which social capital exists.

Social capital emerges under two circumstances, either as a blessing or as consequences from social activities intended to reach particular objectives. As a blessing, this circumstance refers to a conventional social capital in the form of cohesivity or social solidarity that pre-exists or is owned as a blessing by a community. Social capital is also intentionally established by the members of the community through social activities involving networked relationships and reciprocity to achieve particular objectives. Furthermore, Putnam and Coleman both agree that this type of social capital can continue to exist or even diminish. Therefore, this social capital will need to be maintained (Field, 2010). Putnam believes that the formation of this social capital will include three main aspects including network, norms, and trust (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001; Putnam, 2000). A network is defined as a relationship or nexus between the members of a community, forming the corporation to achieve a goal that brings mutual benefits. This networked connection is based on the norms such as reciprocity (Putnam, 2000) or cooperative norm (Fathy, 2019). These norms are placed in a vital position recalling that they fasten the network established by the members of the community. Fukuyama describes them as informal norms or the norms not written or announced (Fathy, 2019). Trust, the third aspect, results from the impacts of the enforcement of the norms or networks (Putnam, 1993). Fukuyama defines trust as the consequence of reciprocity adhering to shared norms for the sake of all people (Fathy, 2019). The trust will grow stronger if every party shares the same expectations that are met by the two parties. Putnam (1993) further explains that trust can refer to generalized or impersonal trust in modern society. Individuals will behave toward others not because of their acquaintance, but simply because they believe what they do will earn them respect or even lead to a reward or a positive communal connection.

Theorists divide social capital into three types, namely bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998). Bonding social capital refers to cooperation and full trust between members or individuals that form a network on the grounds of equality of social aspects (social identity) and demography such as the same ages, ethnicities, groups, classes, and others (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Several

characteristics in bonding social capital involve both deep trust and strong networks among members or homogenous groups, informal collaboration, and lengthy reciprocity, or it is called closed networks by Coleman; these networks are not many and the connection among members is personal, they know each other, and these networks mostly represent face to face relationship (Coleman, 1988; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). The bonding social capital binds social actors according to their residences, kinships, ethnicities, religions, and traditions. Neighborhoods, peers, friendships, and families are examples of networks in bonding social capital.

Unlike bonding social capital, bridging social capital or social capital serves as a bridge in the bonding among various networks to allow for collaboration and coordination that are more formal and have the characteristics of wider but weak networks and weak trust (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). This bridging social capital is established from the networks among heterogeneous communities, and examples of this involve the networks among consultants, government staff, and business groups in agriculture. The third social capital is linking social capital referring to weak ties, enabling people to use sources, ideas, and information from formal institutions beyond the reach of the communities and related to open networks (Granovetter, 1985). The nexus built within the linking social capital network takes a vertical direction, represented by individuals establishing relations with formal institutions and or other individuals with more controlling power and authorities in society such as banks and governmental institutions (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock, 2001).

Research findings reveal that social capital often manages to exist as an effective strategy and mechanism represented by a community or society in dealing with crises. Critical conditions are sometimes defined in various ways; sometimes people define a critical condition as a turning point that marks historical changes or unique and vital development (Barrow, 1989). Departing from this definition, the definition of Covid-19 may be understood as a crisis since it represents a turning point or a factor that triggers a massive change affecting all aspects of people's life. This has caused varied negative impacts experienced by people globally. This change is on its way to being recorded in world history.

To face a crisis, some communities or people establish the social capital they are embedded in. Some researchers argue that this social capital reinforcement can offer a more effective solution to tackle critical periods either on a domestic scope or overseas. Social capital, including bonding, bridging, or linking once rescued the community consisting of 40 families living in New Orleans, Louisiana from Hurricane Katrina (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010). In several regions in Indonesia, social capital often serves as an effective strategy or mechanism to prevent or mitigate disasters like the flood in the Regency of Bandung

(Muhamad et al., 2017) and mitigate and reduce the risk of earthquake and tsunami in East Lombok (Azhari Evendi et al., 2021). In terms of the crisis of the Covid-19 pandemic, several studies have reported that social capital can be optimized to handle the spread of the virus and the effects caused, and this measure may also involve the establishment of a virtual community, trust-building among policymakers, health service workers, and the members of the public (Makridis & Wu, 2020).

RESEARCH METHODS

This research employed case studies. According to Simons (2009), a case study aims to build an in-depth understanding of a particular topic (as in a thesis or dissertation), program, policy, institution, or system to generate knowledge and or inform development policy, professional practitioners, and community movements. With a single case study, this research requires a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the enforcement of micro lockdown in Malang Raya.

To obtain comprehensive data, this research employed three data collection techniques such as interviews, observation, and documentation. The observation was conducted to gain research data regarding activities of the locals in providing care to the patients confirmed positive and in handling the effects raised. The interviews required informants to give information regarding the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic through the micro lockdown policy. The data were obtained from interviews to gain information on the Covid-19 pandemic in connection with PPKM-Mikro (micro lockdown). The informants were selected using purposive sampling following the criteria that were set earlier, involving all parties who were, directly and indirectly, involved in PPKM mikro. The informants represented several government institutions ranging from the village, RT, RW, District, Community Health Centre in the district, and the community members directly involved in the PPKM Mikro center such as Karang Taruna (Youth Organization), Dasa Wisma (Ten Family Representatives), PKK (Family Welfare Program), and Quran Recital Community.

The community members came from six PPKM Mikro centers selected to represent three zones consisting of the green, yellow, orange, and red zone in Malang Raya in terms of the cases that were confirmed positive. These three centers selected were circled by campuses in Kalisongo village, Dau; the sub-District of Dinoyo and Tasikmadu, the District of Lowokwaru. The two centers were located in the District of Singosari and Lawang within the Regency of Malang flagged as a red zone with the longest period of cases and another center in Batu, specifically in the District of Bumiaji, a district known as the local tourism center. All these samples were set based on the data obtained from Health Agency.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Bonding Social Capital in RT/RW

The enforcement of micro lockdown can be performed by optimizing the pre-existing social capital embedded in early communities and people. Bonding social capital, in this case, is owned and established by the members of the public within the area of RT. Formally, RT and RW serve as the government's partners appointed according to the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 5 of 2007 through the process of deliberation. The RT and RW are then appointed by rural governments or the Head of sub-district office to allow the elected ones to be committed to giving services in the government and society. As the bottom position of the government, RT/RW are required to assist the rural government and the Head of sub-district office to run the government. The RT/RW are led by the chief of RT and the chief of RW.

However, in an informal scope, RT represents a community of families or households living in one neighborhood. This proximity allows them to interact with each other in a more intensive and personal way since they usually know each other. The relationship among households within the scope of RT generates bonding social capital simply because the families are living within very close proximity in a neighborhood. This social capital formed within the scope of RT is congruent with the information from Ling & Dale (2013), implying that bonding social capital is formed by the connection among family members, friends, and close neighbors within a closed network, and usually there is little or no difference among them with dense characteristics, multifunctional and strong bonding, and personal trust. Thus, in this study, the social capital within the scope of RT is formed due to the connection among the close neighbors. Bonding social capital in RT can be strong, moderate, or weak, depending on the bonding factor among the community members in terms of similarities in ideology, interest, and social and demographic characteristics such as religions, ethnicities, classes, and races (Putnam, 1993). Furthermore, Putnam explains that social capital is formed according to the three main aspects such as networks, norms, and trust. The following are further explanations of the three aspects of social capital forming RT.

a. Network

In definition, a network represents a relationship or connection among members of a community or group, in the form of cooperation to reach a particular goal that is mutually beneficial. As outlined in the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 5 of 2007, the network within the scope of RT is intended to run the following functions: a. population registration and other government administrative services; b. the guarantee of security, order,

and peace among people; c. ideas to perform development by stimulating the aspiration and community self-reliance; and d. the encouraging aspect of mutual work and the participation of the neighbors in their neighborhood. Several activities of this kind are obvious in arisan (more like gatherings whose members deposit some amounts of money as shared savings) of RT, a neighborhood security system (locally known as Siskamling) usually performed by the on-duty residents patrolling in a neighborhood to ensure the security, Pre/Postnatal Healthcare (locally known as Posyandu) for both elderly and toddlers, social funds collected for sickness, death, birth, mutual work, and other incidental activities such as the celebration of the 17th of August Independence Day, and many more.

Before the RT is formally established, there are several forms of activities representing networks and relations as part of the activities run within the scope of RT such as *sinoman*¹ (*karang taruna*), religious events such as the recital of Quran and Yasin (locally called as *tahlil*), mutual work, *tektur*² (neighborhood security system), and also *rewang*³ or giving one of the neighbors a hand in a special occasion such as wedding, helping a sick neighbor or a bereaved family facing the loss of the family members. In several regions, these neighborhood activities may be termed differently.

b. Norms

Norms serve as the fundamentals serving as the basis for the establishment of social nexus or networks among community members. In the scope of RT, reciprocity and cooperation are the norms in building a relationship or network. Reciprocity usually takes place between households or families within the scope of RT. In the preparation of a wedding party, for example, the family usually accepts contributions from other family members within one RT such as direct help like helping in the kitchen, donating staple food, or funds. This family holding the wedding party will usually return this help by doing the same later when another family is having an occasion. Arisan or gatherings in RT are another activity that uses reciprocity.

In terms of cooperation, this norm often serves as the basis for particular activities that require the involvement of a great number of members of RT such as neighborhood mutual work, social funds, patrolling, and *sinoman*. In social funds, the members of the neighborhood are required to make a financial contribution with the amounts agreed upon by all. These funds are managed by the person in charge in the RT as the shared cash of the members of the neighborhood. Road construction in the neighborhood, the development of a

¹ *Sinoman* is derived from a single word *sinom* in Javanese meaning youth or *muda/pemuda*

² *Tektur* refers to patrolling activities in the neighborhood. This term is derived from the sound produced by bamboo cylinder beaten by residents as on-duty watchmen patrolling around the neighborhood

³ *Rewang* is a Javanese term meaning '*teman*' in Bahasa or friends or a big group of people helping big occasions such as wedding parties and the celebration of the circumcision of a boy.

musholla (a small mosque), and a meeting hall usually take these funds.

The reciprocity and cooperation within RT usually come in two forms: formally written or informal or unwritten. The written norm is usually related to services or programs required by the government such as the distribution of social funds, Dasa Wisma, the Family Welfare Program, and many more. This norm highlights the rights and obligations that the members of the neighborhood have to perform and the sanctions imposed. In social funds, for example, the neighborhood members are required to report the data accurately to get access to social funds. If there is any indication that the data submitted looks suspicious, the social funds will be discontinued and no further distribution is performed.

In addition, several activities at RT level are informal based on unwritten rules. These norms are implemented according to the agreement of all neighbors, passed as a tradition throughout generations. In *rewang*, for example, the reciprocity runs voluntarily, and the social impacts accepted as a sanction usually take place when one of the neighbors neglects his/her responsibility to help others on a special occasion; this person will also be neglected later when he/she holds a special celebration in his/her family.

c. Trust

Networks or social nexus that run on reciprocity and cooperation within the neighborhood of RT will eventually build trust among the members when the obligations and rights among the members are obeyed and performed appropriately and justly. For example, a member actively involved in activities in the neighborhood such as mutual work, patrol, social funds, and the Quran recital will be rewarded by others in the RT, and vice versa. This condition indicates that the norm (sanction and reward) will lead further to strong trust, and vice versa. That is, trust (Putnam, 1993) fastens social capital since it holds expectations and obligations that must be fulfilled and performed by all parties (Coleman, 1988). The trust will grow stronger when every party has an expectation and performs the obligation met by the parties involved.

Localized trust, for example, is more personal, and this trust is created when every individual performs a kind deed to another neighbor simply because this neighbor knows the characteristics or the personality. Within the scope of RT, a neighbor, for example, believes in another resident because of particular traits attached to the person, the profession, or because he/she holds a particular social status as the chief of the neighborhood association, an Islamic cleric, or a helpful individual. This type of trust can come up as a precondition to the emergence of social capital. Generalized trust, on the other hand, is created when a person does something kind to another, not because of the personality of that person, but simply because the person concerned believes that his/her deed will earn a respect or reward

from another person, or the person believes that it will take the positive communal nexus to another level. The generalized trust results from the norms or networks.

In detail, the bonding social capital within the scopes of RT/RW is illustrated in the following figure:

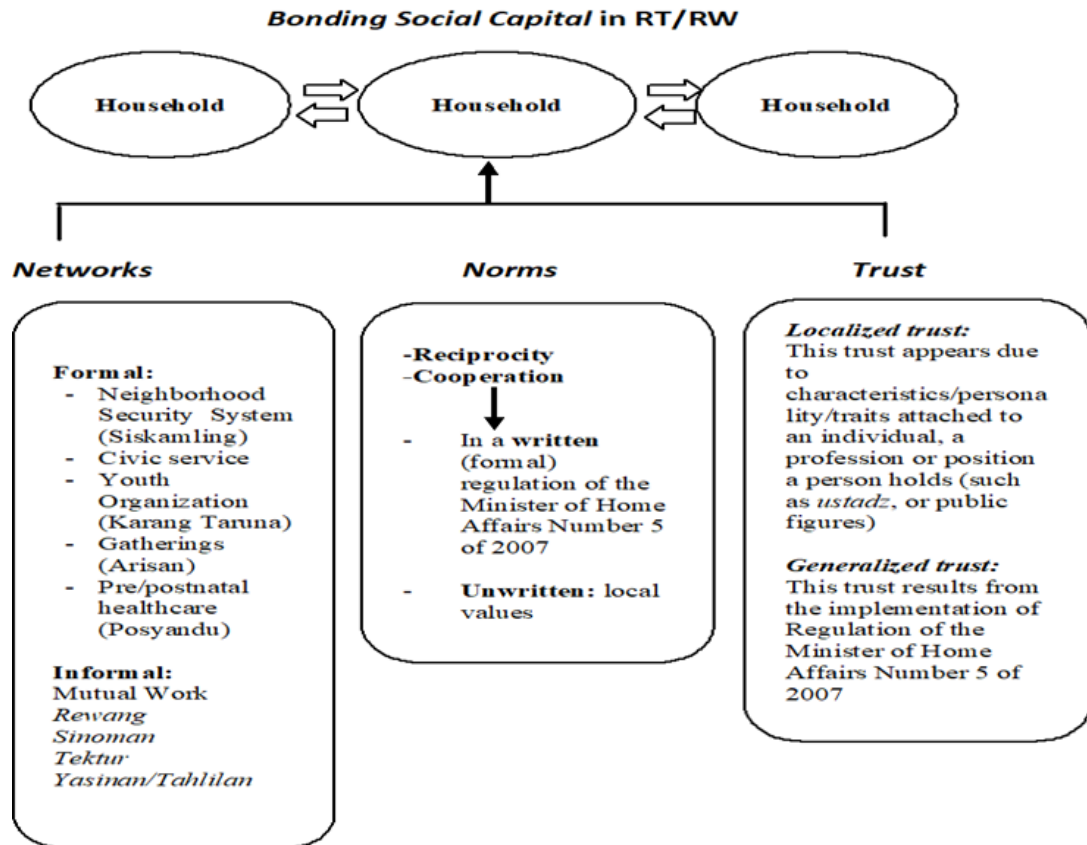


Figure 1. Bonding Social Capital within RT

Source: Author's conceptual framework

Figure 1 shows bonding social capital developed within RT. This bonding social capital is created within the scope of RT from three aspects of social capital, such as networks, norms, and trust. This bonding social capital is optimized into a community-based strategy, which is intended to ward off any chances of virus transmission and to deal with the impacts caused.

Reinforcement of Social Capital during PPKM mikro

Bonding social capital within the scope of RT has been proven able to serve as the most effective strategy to deal with the pandemic. This type of social capital is optimized or reinforced through the community-based strategy adopted from the micro lockdown policy intended to prevent the virus transmission and all its effects. This reinforcement is reflected

in the development of the three aspects mentioned above that contribute to social capital to be further adjusted to the enforcement of micro lockdown. Furthermore, the optimization reinforces the bonding social capital at RT/RW level and connects the RT/RW to others (bridging social capital) and also to other authorities with a higher power (linking social capital).

a. The Networks in the Enforcement of PPKM Mikro at RT/RW Levels

Bonding social capital within the scopes of RT/RW has been triggered by the proximity and similar demographic characters of the neighbors. His social capital is then optimized by connecting all the neighbors residing in the neighborhood at RT/RW levels for the same visions of stopping the infection and tackling the consequences caused. This is in line with the idea of Putnam (1993) implying that the bonding social capital is created due to similarities in ideologies, interests, and the characteristics of social demography such as religions, ethnicities, classes, and races. In terms of the enforcement of micro lockdown, the network at RT/RW levels is extended to prevent any virus transmission and mitigate the negative effects caused by Covid-19. This network is established based on the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 of 2020 according to the zones distributed based on the numbers of people confirmed positive.

The zones for the implementation of micro lockdown are classified into the green, yellow, orange, and red zone. The green zone means there are zero cases of Covid-19 within the neighborhood at RT level, the yellow zone represents the condition where there are up to five houses with the occupants confirmed positive for seven days, orange zone indicates that there are 6 to 10 houses with the occupants confirmed positive, and red zone indicates that there are more than 10 houses whose residents are confirmed positive. The network of the residents within one RT is getting more intensive when the numbers of those confirmed positive are higher. For example, the red zone encourages people to 1) find people suspected to be infected by the virus and trace people in close contact with infected others, 2) perform self-isolation or centralized isolation under strict supervision, 3) close down places of worship, playgrounds, and other public facilities except for places of essential sectors, 4) forbid people from creating a crowd consisting of three people or more, 5) strictly restrict the time of access to neighborhood area at RT level not more than 8 in the evening, 6) omit social activities in the neighborhood at RT level that can trigger a crowd and increase virus transmission.

Moreover, the residents also perform some activities of pre-existing traditions such as mutual work during the enforcement of micro lockdown. Most mutual work has taken place to build the Gandul market providing free food to help people meet their needs during the lockdown. In this market, people can leave staples or take staples for free.

“Gandul market is supported by those, such as farmers, who have spare crops for them to leave in the market, or any spare food. It has many, ranging from rice, soy-bean cakes, veggies, and many more, so whoever needs the stuff can pick it at a reasonable amount while they pass by the market. (the chief of RT Dau, 2021)

The statement above shows how people worked together to manage the market giving food for free to ensure that no single resident had trouble finding food or ingredients during the enforcement of the lockdown. Moreover, the residents has also organized rice sharing, catfish cultivation in a barrel (known as Beletong or catfish in a barrel) as illustrated in the following part of the interview:

We have beletong—blue barrels where we breed catfish. This activity was funded by the cash collected by housewives as the members of the Family Welfare Program and gatherings. The fish seeds are bought from the store owned by the chief of RW or they are sometimes given for free. We do not intend to sell the fish but we share them for free. And once the veggies were cheap. (Kepala Desa Dau, 2021)

In addition to this beletong program, people also collect staples through a particular program, in which people are encouraged to contribute only a glass of rice or a bigger bowl or in whatever amount they can afford to be further handed to the local village apparatus. The collected rice is then passed to those in need. This program runs once a week and the rice is collected every Saturday at 10 in the evening by the guards in charge before it is distributed the next morning.

This collection of rice in a glass is also locally called jimpit which means a pinch of rice. As it is termed, people spare only a small amount of rice to be put in a bowl placed in the front yard of each house. This rice is collected on a day-to-day basis. Beletong represents a combination of catfish breeding and hydroponic vegetable farming in barrels. People can harvest fish and veggies on their own. Beletong and rice sharing require people, the members of the Family Welfare Program at both RT and RW levels, and village instruments to get involved in the programs. The fish and veggies were distributed for free to the people with economic problems during the enforcement of the micro lockdown. The rest of the distributed yields are often placed in Gandul market. People also helped others during self-isolation periods for those infected with Covid-19. During this period, other healthy neighbors helped the vulnerable ones by contributing food, stuff needed for bathing and washing, and also moral support. Tektur is another social activity that is still intensively performed to guarantee the safety of the residents recalling that the incidence of crime is still high during the pandemic.

b. The Norms During the Enforcement of PPKM Mikro

During the implementation of micro lockdown, the norms in place involved reciprocity and cooperation. This cooperation implemented during the lockdown involved activities such as rice sharing and beletong. Moreover, the reciprocity is strongly reflected in the help

given to the infected people during self-isolation. The norms are given both orally and in written form. The written one serves as the basis of the network that has to be done by the residents according to the provisions in the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 of 2020. Some other activities in the network as mentioned earlier such as rice sharing, beletong, and mutual help given during self-isolation are performed by the residents are not written in the norm.

c. Trust During the Enforcement of Micro Lockdown

This research shows that there are two types of trust when the micro lockdown was in place in the scopes of RT/RW. First, this trust is triggered by the implementation of the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 governing the social relations between residents and village instruments authorized in the management of the neighborhood at RT/RW levels in terms of the enforcement of micro lockdown (generalized trust). This regulation required the residents to perform their tasks when the lockdown was in place within the scopes of RT/RW. Second, the pre-existing localized trust within the scope of RT also fastened the policy of the micro lockdown, which is obvious in the role of the prominent representatives in the society, such as tribal heads and also religious figures in the mitigation of the Covid-19 pandemic as illustrated in the following:

“Kalisongo village can come up with a good program called Kampung Tangguh (Tough Kampong). This is good since the representatives have active roles. Once this kampung served as an example of pandemic control. The record is well maintained, and other villages are stimulated to do the same thing as what Kalisongo village has done” (Interview with Health Agency, 2021)

“Yes, the task force involves the government instruments and the members of the public. The representatives of the neighborhood are also involved in the task force, such as religious figures, the representative of a youth organization, or Karang Taruna, all are taking part in the task force. All people are involved and they will interact with people who have little awareness of this covid.” (the staff of the District of Dau Malang, 2021)

The above responses highlight the vital role of the members of the public in all respects to assure active participation of the people in the enforcement of micro lockdown. Some studies also report the influences given by the people's and religious figures' roles in preventing the spread of the virus, assuring compliance with the health guidelines, mitigating the effects left by the pandemic, and reducing the stigma growing in society about the infected residents or those exposed to the disease (Muchammadun et al., 2021; Rosidin et al., 2020; Wildman et al., 2020).

The reinforcement of the social capital within the scopes of RT/RW during the en-

forcement of micro lockdown is given in Figure 2:

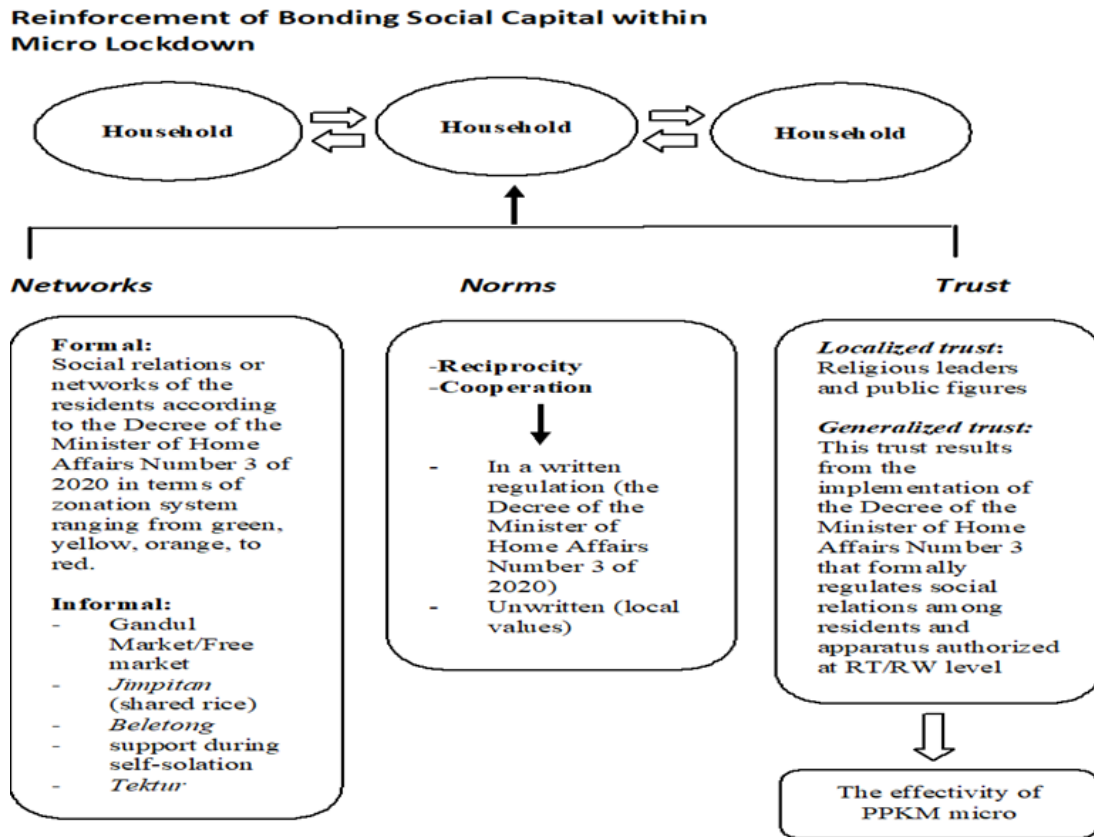


Figure 2. Reinforcement of Bonding Social Capital at RT/RW levels during the Enforcement of Micro Lockdown

Source: Author's conceptual framework

Figure 2 illustrates the reinforcement of bonding social capital formed during the micro lockdown at RT/RW levels. This social capital pre-existing even before the outbreak was reinforced to back up the lockdown based on a community-based strategy.

The Establishment of Bridging and Linking Social Capital during the Enforcement of PPKM Mikro.

The research results indicate that not only was the bonding social capital formed but bridging and linking social capital were also established. Bridging social capital connects ties between networks allowing for formal collaboration and coordination with extensive but weak characteristics and shallow trust (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). In terms of the enforcement of the micro lockdown, the bridging social capital was formally formed, involving social networks or relations among the residential areas at RT/RW level according to the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 of 2020. The nexus between RT and RW

falls on the zonation that involves zone classification according to the number of residents confirmed positive in RT. Bridging social capital was formed between RT as illustrated in the following:

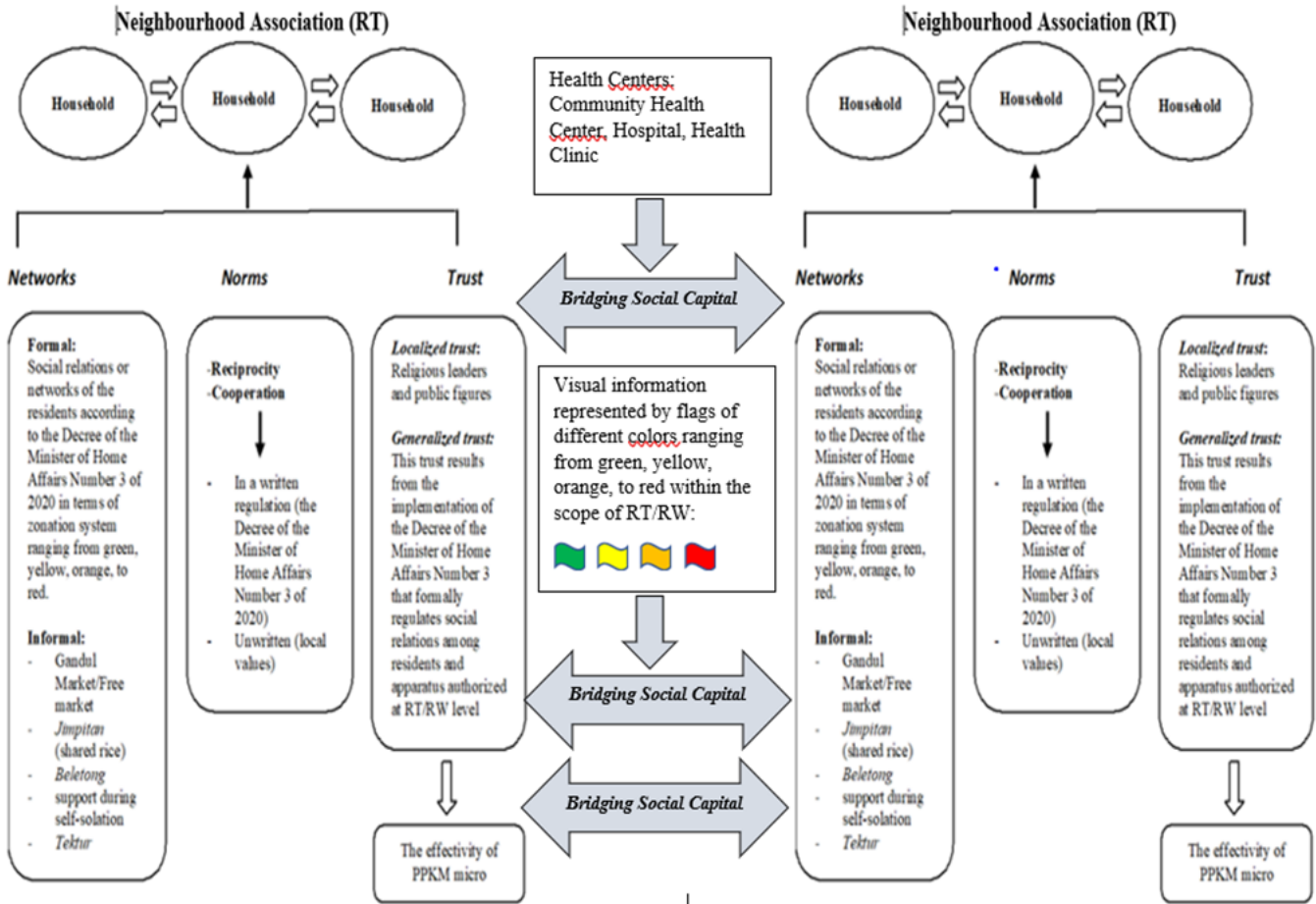


Figure 3. Bridging Social Capital During PPKM Mikro

Source: Author's conceptual framework

Figure 3 above shows bridging social capital established by social relations or networks among the neighborhoods of RT by confirming the status of the zone in a particular RT visually to other RTs. This visual communication was represented by flags of different colors representing the zone level within the scope of RT. With such zonation status at RT level, people could make quick decisions and stay alert before they entered a neighborhood with a high risk of Covid-19 such as in orange and red zones. Bridging social capital was also formed among RTs/RWs and health institutions such as community health centers, health clinics, and hospitals. These institutions play an important role during the pandemic by providing antigen, PCR test kits, and inpatient wards for those tested positive and requiring more intensive health care.

The research findings also indicate that the enforcement of micro lockdown results helped form linking social capital. The network established through this social linking type takes a vertical direction involving individuals or institutions with a higher power in society (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock, 2001). Figure 4 illustrates the linking social capital in the enforcement of micro lockdown:

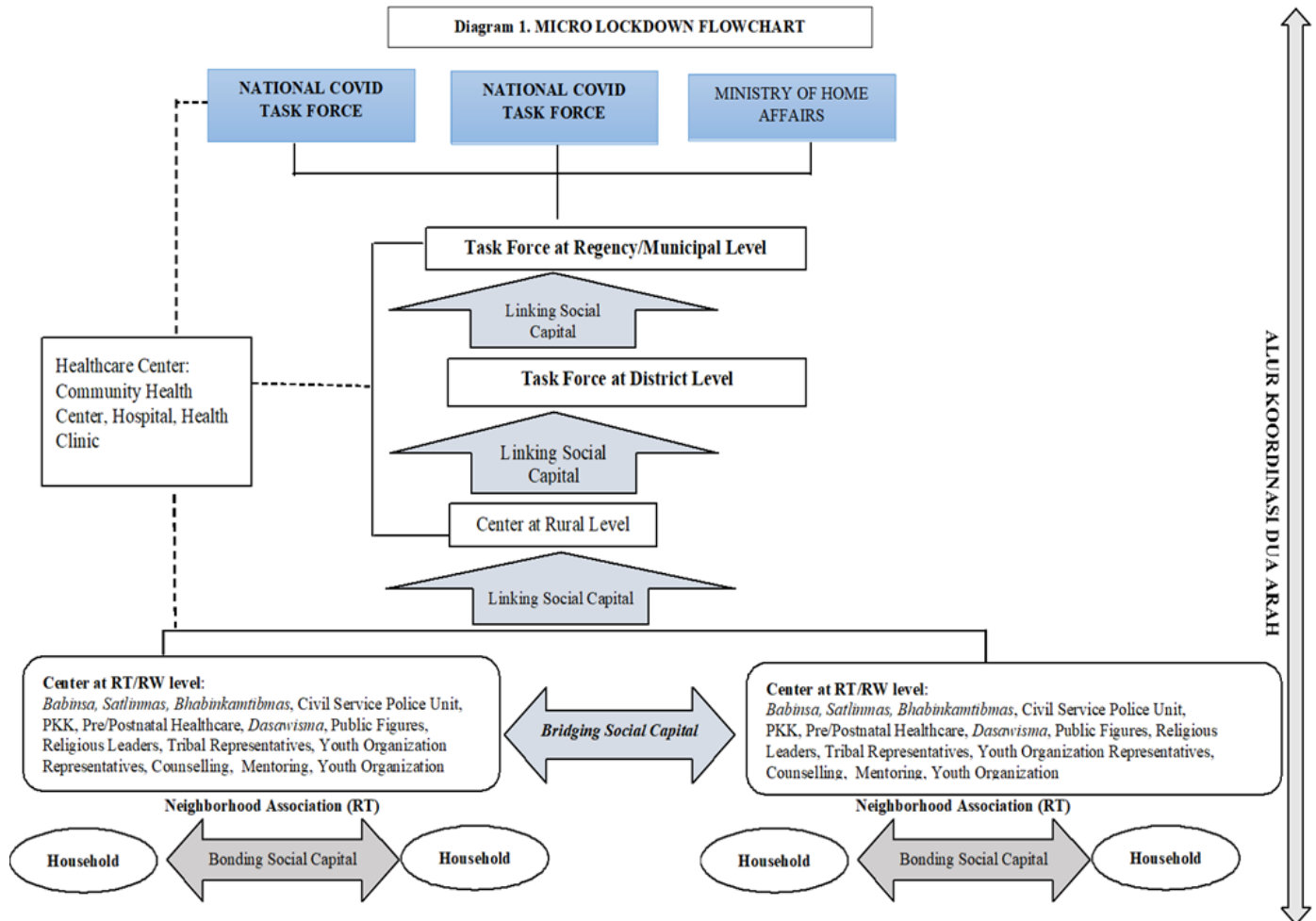


Figure 4. The linking social capital in the enforcement of micro lockdown

Source: Author's conceptual framework

Figure 4 shows the establishment of all four social capitals in connection to the enforcement of micro lockdown. The bonding social capital was formed within the scope of RT/RW according to oral or written norms as outlined in the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 of 2020. Several parties such as Babinsa, Satlinmas, Bhabinkamtibmas, Civil Service Police Unit, Family Welfare Program, Posyandu, Dasa wisma, public figures, religious leaders, tribal representatives, youth representatives, instructors, mentors, and Karang Taruna were all involved in the enforcement of micro lockdown.

In addition to bonding social capital, the other two social capitals were also established. Bridging social capital, for example, was established from a visual communication network among RTs/RWs to pass the information on those tested positive through the flags representing the risk level according to zonation in the neighborhood at RT/RW levels, ranging from a green, yellow, orange, to red flag. Bridging social capital was also formed among RTs/RWs and health centers such as community health centers, health clinics, and hospitals where people tested positive had to receive proper health care. Moreover, this research has also found that linking social capital 'had to' be established in the enforcement of micro lockdown through social relations shaped across RTs/RWs and other higher authorities such as villages, districts, regencies/municipalities to the central government at a national level. All these governmental institutions are connected through coordinating lines, and this system has been intended to ward off the virus infection and mitigate the effects raised by the Covid-19 pandemic. This bottom-up or up-bottom coordination in linking social capital aims to assure data or information flow on those tested positive ranging from the lowest governmental level to the central government. Based on these data, the central government can set the policy and start to distribute funds for the mitigation of Covid-19 in all areas of Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

This research study shows how the community-based strategy was implemented during PPKM mikro. This approach requires the participation of a significant number of people and parties either those from the governmental scope or the members of the public to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. This is deemed to be the most effective factor in the enforcement of the PPKM mikro. With the theoretical social model introduced by Putnam, this research explains how several parties established relations or networks to avert the transmission of the virus and mitigate the effects left by the pandemic.

The research findings indicate that the enforcement of the PPKM mikro implemented bonding social capital such as networks, norms, and trust that were established earlier by the community members at RT/RW levels. The practices of these networks or relations were carried out in an organized way through the neighborhood security system (Siskamling), civic work, social funds, gatherings (arisan), pre/postnatal healthcare (Posyandu), mutual work, rewang, sinoman, Quran Recital (Yasiin/Tahlil). All these networks follow the reciprocal tenets and cooperation congruent with unwritten local values and written regulations applicable for RT/RW elections. In terms of the enforcement of PPKM mikro, all the forms of networks were adopted and adjusted to the needs of PPKM mikro to tackle the pandemic. This tendency is obvious in the establishment of Gandul market offering free food and ingredi-

ents, jimpitan, beletong, the support given during the self-isolation period, and tektur. The practices of networks and norms during the enforcement of the PPKM mikro led to the emergence of trust of the community members, and this is represented through the effectiveness and the success of the PPKM mikro in mitigating the pandemic.

The research finding also shows that the reinforcement of the social capital in the circumference of RT/RW, in addition to the bonding social capital, also rises from bridging and linking social capitals. Bridging social capital was formed by social relations or networks at RT level where information on the status of the zones at RT level was passed in a visual form to other RTs. This way of passing information is represented by the flags of different colors ranging from green, yellow, orange, to red, depending on the risk level in each RT. This bridging social program was also established between RT/RW and health institutions such as community health centers, health clinics, and hospitals, which have played vital roles since the outbreak by providing patients with testing facilities such as antigen and PCR to help identify the virus and provide inpatient wards for those confirmed positive. Furthermore, linking social capital is also established from social relations (coordination flow) across governmental levels ranging from the bottom governmental elements such as RT/RW to higher governmental institutions such as the village, district, regency/municipality, and the central government at a national level.

This study illustrates an instance that social capital could become an effective strategy or approach to handle various crisis, including a pandemic. This strategy could employ either the existing social capital or building the new one. This social capital also could be enforced and scaled up from bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Further research studies in different level, issues and context are required to enhance theoretical as well as practical understanding in how to mobilize social capital to overcome a crisis.

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