

## The Models of Private Islamic School Based on Social Capital (PISSC) in Purwokerto Indonesia



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**ABSTRACT:** Research on social capital in non-educational areas has been carried out by many experts, such as Bhandari & Yasunobu, Putnam, Coleman, and Paxton, etc. And, researches on social capital focused on educational institutions among others, carried out by Stoddart, Ju'subaidi, and Behtoui and Strömberg. They concluded that social capital is a determining factor in developing educational institutions. However, not all educational institutions are aware of this. This study aimed to analyze the social capital used by SMP Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah and SMP Putra Harapan Boarding School in Purwokerto which have succeeded in building their schools. Meanwhile, the collection method used is interviews, observation and documentation and then analyzed by collecting, reducing, and displaying data which ends with a drawing conclusion. The findings indicate that two institutions have the same model of bonding, bridging, or in trust building. However, Sample A is homogeneous exclusively and sample B is heterogeneous inclusive. The relationship built on Sample A is vertical, while Sample B is horizontal. Meanwhile, in building a branding image, Sample A uses the label of Al-Irsyad Islamiyah and in Sample B offers a boarding program that must be followed by all students. The trust development carried out by the two institutions has created a distinctive development identity in Islamic schools and it has become a good value in the society.

**KEYWORDS:** Private Islamic school, Social Capital, Integrated Islamic School

### A. INTRODUCTION

Social capital is a social means for the men who want to enclose and to access in it. This concept introduced by Bhandari and Yasunobu in 1980 as a new issue. (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Beginning from that time, scholars propose their definition of social capital in different perspectives and paradigm (Qi, 2018). Coleman (1994: 368) said the discussion of social capital was originally used to explain interrelationships and social systems. This reciprocal relationship gives birth to social structures and various social relations. These social relations are seen as a source or capital for individuals or groups as an important component of social structure.

Another point of view is that the concept of material capital was originally introduced to explain how material tools such as device or machines promote the development of economic production. Schultz (1961) proposed the concept of human capital and believed that personal vocational training could maintain their ability to promote production. The recent concept of social capital recognizes that certain social relationships (such as dense networks, reciprocal norms) can also drive production. In addition, with the introduction of social capital, researchers began to talk about non-economic product efficiency gains (Paxton, 1999).

Then, study of social capital has increasingly become significant in the institution field as a mechanism to make and keep organization run well. (Timberlake, 2005; Roberts, 2013). However, there is not a fix definition in the commonly accepted (Kliksberg, 2004)

Some experts, such as Putnam (2001) cited by Roberts (2013), define social capital as the relationship between personals, social relationship, and the resulting shared norms and beliefs. In addition, Coleman (1988) cited by Healy (2006) defines social capital functionally and emphasizes three important parts of social capital; compulsions and hopes, sharing information on social networks, as well as sanctions and regulations. Although some researchers and policy makers use the social capital term, the condition is not used by public in general.

In the education world, the study of social capital is also carried out with approaches in several perspectives and objectives. Behtoui and Strömberg (2020) said that students' academic accomplishment welfare coming from different identity in school-

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based social capital (SSC) can develop or shrink. Ethnographic studies conclude that there is a meaningful correlation between SSC and the ethnic students' identity in a education institution. Teachers' performances and motivation are influenced by higher socioeconomic background and intensive parental involvement (Apfeld B, 2022). As a result, there is a more positive and kindship relationship among pupils in that school. Meanwhile, students who have low economic income, school staff try to create a close emotional connection and build trust between them. Beames & Atencio refers to Stoddart (2004) says that to increase the competence of adolescents in productive age through non-formal schools is to be focus of social capital study. Non-formal education is expected to be a medium for them to build a wider relationship, both internally or externally (Tašner and Gaber, 2018).

Research that focused on the function of social capital related to *madrasas* has been conducted by Ju'subaidi (2012). He concluded that *madrasas* have a big responsibility for the success of the national education program, namely the formation of a community who has spiritual, social, cognitive and affective competencies. To achieve this goal, *madrasas* must synergize with the community surrounding the school and optimize their social capital.

This research analyzed the effectiveness of the schools involvement level with their communities. Effective schools demonstrate the success in developing social capital within their institutions. A good school always tries to promote its social capital to the community around the school by explaining the vision and mission in an aspirational way. It is hoped that the community will not only be involved in helping to improve schools, but in building trust also. School personnel are fully aware that community empowerment is the key to success for students and their families in the wider social context. From this description, it can be concluded that reciprocal action is needed to consider the relationship between education institution and the community (Boda and Tom. 2020). It should be noted that schools has significant position in creating a large society as a resource of social capital development (Flint, 2011).

The above explanations shows that the discussion of education based social capital is very interesting for scholars. However, studies of social capital that examine Islamic educational institutions are still rarely found. So, this article will examine the model of social capital development in Private Islamic Junior High Schools of Al-Irsyad al-Islamiyah (Sample A) and Private Yuniior High School of Putra Harapan Boarding School (Sample B) in Purwokerto. These schools are interested to study because of the following academic reasons.

When viewed from the institutional structure, activities, and social impact in the world of education, the two schools have successful indications in the development of social capital. Referring to Putnam (1993), the symptoms of social capital development can be studied if there are participation and organization, habits of cooperation, solidarity, thinking, and the development and spread of trust. In the context of trust, this can be seen from the highly parents' interest to send their children to the institution. Based on the principal's notion, sample A was only able to accept 240 new students (8 classes), even though there were more than 300 applications, so there was very tight competition. Meanwhile, sample B is only able to accommodate 180 new students or six classes, although there are more than 250 potential applicants.

In addition, Coleman (2000:16) directed the discussion of social capital needed to identify the forms and characteristics, values and benefits that can be obtained by personal, collectives, and brotherhood from social networks and relationships. The elements described by Coleman are fulfilled in Samples A and B, because the two schools are private schools and are relatively the same because they are formed from the participation and organization, cooperation and solidarity. However, they have both different shapes and characteristics.

So, the writer wants to explain the comparison between Samples A and B in building social capital in the field of Islamic education with structural social capital and cognitive social capital approaches (Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000). The used of structural approach will produce a description of associations, groups of institutions with rules, orders and modelling which handle Samples A and B. Besides that, the application of cognitive social capital theory will be presented.

Finally, this article attempts to answer the former studies which pay attention to the tradition norms agreed by the community and the level of relationship practiced by the groups, sample A and B (Dahal & Adhikari, 2008). Based on the preliminary research, it was found that sample A has a strong bonding social capital cohesion in the community of indigenous peoples. While in sample B, there is a social structure without mass community with strong ties, but it can be managed well.

## B. THEORITECAL FRAMWORK

The development of research focused in social capital is very intensive, although research in educational field is still relatively new. Unfortunately, there is until now no single and universal meaning for the definition of social capital. They explain that the first person to introduce the idea of social capital was Lyda J. Hanifan in 1916 (Smith 2007). This concept explains that society has an important role in relation to school performance. Seely et. al. (1956), in Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009), they point out the notion

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or idea of social capital was rediscovered after a serious disappearance, while Homans (1961) studied urban society, Jacobs (1961) social interaction theory, and Loury (1977) discussed neighboring city life and income distribution.

However, names who discuss the issue of social capital, (i.g.) Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), Robert D. Putnam (1996), Nan Lin (1999), Francis Fukuyama (2000), OECD (2001), and World Bank (2007). From these many opinions, it is concluded that they emphasize social connection which produce advantage thing. By using different point of view in looking at the personal or social resource, the definition of social capital is also not similar.

Bourdieu (1986: 16, 21) defines that social capital can be shaped into other capital such as cultural and economic capital. Furthermore, he explained that social capital is a number of truly sources correlated with enduring network ownership. Recognition and mutual acknowledgement supported by each members will make social capital collectively owned. And, this kind of relationship model must be institutionalized

Coleman (1988) proposes the concept of social capital which is associated with different types and interactions, namely; human, physical and social. This concept imitates the principle used by economists, for the analysis of social systems without leaving the processes that occur in their social organization. Furthermore, he connected sociology and individual social action with economists' scientific idea. This opinion is a form of compromise between two different theoretical views. The first opinion represents the functionalist's notion of social benefit kept on by social structures. The second statement is a theory of rational which shows that the actor's main goal is how these personal needs can be fulfilled and useful. Nan Lin (1999) tries to simplify the notion that social relations must be useful because they are intangible investments. Each member should toake benefit from his involvement in a community. All of these understandings lead to the views of Bourdieu, 1980, 1983; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Burt, 1992; Erickson, 1995, 1996; Flap, 1991, 1994; Lin, 1995; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1993, 1995).

Cooperation between community members based on informal norms is considered as social capital by Fukuyama (2000: 3). The forms of the agreed norms can be in simple forms, from between friends, up to the sacred and abstract one. The rules made by group members are mutual agreements exclusively. However, all the systematically compiled opinions are actually rooted in the views associated with Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James S. Coleman (1988). Based on this opinion, Robert D. Putnam (1993) is a scholar who pioneered and popularized the new condition among social experts, thus it attracts the researchers' interest and policy makers. However, it is difficult to hope a general meaning of social capital. The different definition occurred is strongly influenced by the interests and motivations of the authors (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). In a broader context, Bhandari & Yasunobu (2009) describe that the definition of social capital is a multidimensional phenomenon.

Meanwhile, Schiff (2002) describes that social capital related to norms and networks that support collective conduct. This action is an potential aspect which can produce welfare both individually and collectively. Therefore, he argues that social capital is a number of elements of social structure that affect the relationship between people and can be used as a reason for obtaining profits and benefits of production.

In line with the above opinion, Loury in Coleman (1994) says that social capital as a set of potential aspect including in family relationships and in unbenefit organizations. These resources has a meaningful for developing the rational and social domains of kids or youth. The opinion of social capital is based on socio-cultural terms to describe the increasing product.

Uphoff and Wijayaratra (2000) describe the kinds of social capital related to different features and advantages. The most common forms of social capital are structural and cognitive. The former has a close relations to the shape of social relationship and other organization in a society. While, the latter is contained primarily of a set of shared norms, pure rules, behaviour, and person's beliefs related to trust, mutuality, and collaboration. Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001) distinguish theory of social capital into important elements. The bonding proved shows a hard ties among people who are very esteem and understand each other, like main family, intimate friends, and neighbours. Person who are in bonding networks usually have special features. Oorschot et al., 2006).

Bonding can bear effective transmission and relation to reach planned and specific goals. While, bridging denotes to more further relationship, like unfamiliar friend and employee in the same office, and they have, off course, different background and habit. By this feature, bridging has outward-looking view, informally engaged, community with the same feature, inclusive to all members, but they have the same goal (van Oorschot et al., 2006).

Bridging is an important way to solve the problem undergone by a community. Assisting, understanding each other, formatting a relationship, open with new information, and empowering the members are the way to solve it. The aspect of linking may include correlation and bind of a specific society. (Anheier and Kendall, 2002; Woolcock, 2001). But they are, in practice, different (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

Several researchers have conceptualized the difference between binding and bridging relationship in relation to trust. The basic concept of bridging social capital consists of cultivated trust, while bonding social capital is a given trust (Bengtsson, R. and

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Brommesson, D., 2022); (van Staveren and Knorringa 2007). Ante (2008) explains that bonding and bridging social capital is also explained by Putnam. Bonding denotes to the given value to social networks in a community with different background. (Healy 2002 cited in Claridge 2018). To provide easier understanding, here is a chart of the differences between them:

**Table 1. The differences between Bonding and Bridging Social Capital**

Bonding social capital	Bridging social capital
Within	Between
Intra	Inter
Exclusive	Inclusive
Closed	Open
Inward looking	Outward looking
Getting by	Getting ahead
Horizontal	Vertical
Integration	Linkage
Strong ties	Weak ties
People who are alike	People who are different
Thick trust	Thin trust
Network closure	Structural holes
Public-good model	Private-good model

Granovetter (1985) distinguishes social capital according to the firm of the social ties it has. Firm or hard ties usually denote to esteem, tidy, and binding correlation, kinship and close groups of friends. Furthermore, fragile or weak relationship explains connection which are causal, transient, and contingent, such as relationships in communities of diverse backgrounds or friendships coming from different social statuses.

According to Macke and Dilly (2010), social capital links are divided into two approaches, namely relationships that consider horizontal social relationships and vertical social relationships (rulers). In this regard, the authors propose a model for analysing linking social capital in collaborative networks, and endeavour to unify the two different approaches. Bourdieu (1986) in Richardson (ed.) distinguishes social capital to be 3 kinds, namely; economic, cultural, and social.

To give a good narration about the difference between social capital from physical capital in the concept of economics, that is, measurable and tangible, and skilled and trained human capital, Coleman (2000), as quoted by Nieman, identifies certain forms that refer to social capital based on the obligations, expectations and trust of those included to build it.

Gonzalez (2013) explains that Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as a potential resource for each individual based on group membership, relationships, influence and supported networks. It was also explained that social capital is owned by all group members, but the members with lower economic level are usually not appreciated by the dominant group with high social status. The men coming from more higher level in social life will usually tend to resist it and keep expanding their social network from time to time.

In line with other experts, Page (2017) concludes the principle sources of social capital are networks, norms, and social trust that coordinate and cooperate for reciprocal advance (Putnam 1995). This pattern acts as an engine that drives the formation of relationship and connection among families, friends, colleagues and stakeholders to achieve certain goals or expectations (Coleman 1988; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000), (Putnam 2000), (Bourdieu, 1986), friendship making, mutual interest, and social committed (Hanifan, 1916). All these parts are significant factors to generate and keep social capital and do not stand in the same element.

The relationship between these nodes forms the social structure and facilitates the emergence of action within it. The effectiveness of social capital does not depend on the actors in the community, but established on the social relationships built and applied to all members in a particular social structure (Coleman, 1988; (Putnam, 2000).

### C. PRIVATE ISLAMIC JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL AS SOCIAL CAPITAL BUILDER

Private Junior High School of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiah and Private Junior School of Putra Harapan Purwokerto are the alternative Islamic schools besides *madrasas* in Purwokerto, and people usually call them the Integrated Islamic Junior High School (*SMP Islam Terpadu*). The Indonesian Integrated Islamic Schools Network (JSIT) website explains that integrated Islamic schools are the

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institutional structure of Islamic education which is integrated in learning and teaching. This is the main spirit in Islamic educational institutions as a resistance to secular dichotomy understanding between religious and general sciences in the education system.

In the development of Islamic education in Indonesia, Islamic schools with the integrated label (*Terpadu*) are new one. However, from the component of social capital development, mainly in the trust aspect, it shows the existence and trend for some Muslim communities in suburban areas. They think that this school model offers more complete competencies compared to schools in general. Although, it takes a relatively expensive fee to register as a new student at this school.

If traced back, schools which are similar to the Integrated Islam model have actually been established under the Al-Azhar Jakarta Islamic Boarding School (YPI) Foundation in 1952. Then, followed by the emergence of the Madania Foundation which was founded by Nurcholis Madjid, in 1990. Madania School began to be developed as a Integrated Islamic school that explores 4 potential students, namely; potential physically, emotionally, socially and academically, in 1996 (Jarir 2016). Until the year In the 2000s, the number of integrated Islamic schools had reached ±10,000 schools throughout Indonesia (Suyatno, 2013).

According to Lubis (2018), Integrated Islamic Schools are basically Islamic schools such as *madrasas*. However, it is handled by modern management. This institution offers the concept of integrative Islamic education by eliminating the dichotomy, the separated point of view between religion and science. Otherwise, Islamic and general knowledge synergize with each other, because science in the view of Islam is inseparable. Bashori (2002) also explained that the concept of integrated Islamic school education is a combination of the concept of Islamic education with modern educational methods. This combination can be seen in several things, such as the application of the moving class model, learning by doing, Islamic exemplary, and the application of three languages of instruction: Indonesian, Arabic and English. This is implemented in the junior high school curriculum which contains religious subjects in various subjects such as *madrasas* (Marwazi, 2016).

### D. METHOD

This study used a qualitative descriptive approach with Coleman's social capital, namely trust, social network and norms. The location of this research took place at SMP Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah (sample A) and SMP Putra Harapan Boarding School in Purwokerto (sample B). The research subjects selected were the heads of the foundation, the principals and vice-chairmen of the schools, several teachers and students' parents. The data collection techniques used were in-depth interviews, observation and documentation. Qualitative data analysis techniques were carried out by matching the empirical reality with the applicable theory using descriptive methods. The first process of analyse the data begun with digesting all sources using the perspective of Coleman's theory. Data analysis used was inductive in nature, starting with specific data and then moving on to more general data, and qualitative research resulted emphasize meaning rather than generalization. Second, the data reduction process is by compiling a summary of the observation results and interviews considered important or a selection process focusing on organizing, abstracting, transforming rough data that emerges from field notes and other data findings. Third, interpret and explain the data findings with relevant theories and in this study the data were analyzed using Coleman's theory of social capital (Miles and Huberman, 2007).

### E. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

#### 1. Development of Bonding Social Capital

Based on Claridge's opinion, there is a common understanding of the theory found in samples A and B about the occurrence of bonding social capital development which is motivated by the relationship of a group or community that has the same perception in information, resources, interests and goals ( Kyne & Aldrich, 2019). However, there are different processes of formation because the background of the establishment and dedication of the two samples are characteristically different (Claridge, 2018)

To identify the differences between them, it can be rooted to the theory of structural social capital and cognitive social capital (see Uphoff and Wijayaratna, 2000). In this context, it is found that in building the structure of bonding social capital, sample A is more militant and seems to offer exclusivity. *First*, the label of Al-Irsyad is an institutional structure that has been equipped with established rules and procedures founded in 1913 (Fauzi, 2013). This condition tends to a double precedent. *First*, it can be positive from an internal point of view or inward looking, because it has succeeded in providing Islamic education in several places, such as in Jakarta, Tegal, Pekalongan, Lawang Surabaya, and others. *Second*, the structure of Al-Irsyad as a fraction of *Jam'iyatul Khoir* can also have a negative value from an external point of view or outward looking, because the label is an Islamic social organization which in some aspects of values and teachings are considered non-mainstream, especially regarding views on Islamic values on customs and traditions in Indonesia (see Fauzi, 2013; Thalib, 2018; Hasyim & Haryono, 2019).

Apart from the two points of view above, sample A has already all the elements in the construction of a bonding social capital structure in education (see table in Healy, 2002). For the case in Purwokerto, sample A in the construction of bonding social capital



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is also very strong and entrenched. And From the structural aspect, it is also supported by Al-Irsyad Center. It has been, from the historical aspect, proven by the success of the school structure with the label of Al-Irsyad mainly at the Elementary School of Al-Irsyad Purwokerto which has been initiated since 1947 and officially notarized in 1975 (see <http://sdalirsyad01pwt.sch.id>).

If we looked the documentation, it shows that the success of Sample A is a continuation of the development of social capital bonding at Al-Irsyad Purwokerto whose existence has had very high public trust. Structurally, Basic School of Al-Irsyad has important promoted transmission and relationships to meet the common objectives (see van Oorschot et al., 2006). In this context, the purpose and existence of Sample A has been embedded in the students' souls of Al-Irsyad Basic School who will continue their studies to this institution. With this basic capital, they can automatically build trust form elements of bonding social capital, especially in inward looking, getting by, integration, strong ties, and people who are alike (see table in Healy 2002).

From the managerial aspect, the development of bonding social capital in sample A tends to be as revealed by Woolcock and Sweetser (2002). The relationship formed by the school is exclusive because they do not permit a person coming from the outgroup. The organization structure of sample A is a representation of a identical group, namely people and kinship systems that tend to be homogeneous, Arabic tribes, people of Arab descent (see Thalib, 2018; Hasyim & Haryono, 2019). The main board in the Al-Irshad Foundation is dominated by the Arab kinship, as in the Central Structure of Jam'iyah al-Irsyad 1439–1444 H/2017–2022 AD which was held by popular Arab clans such as Bin Madi, Basalamah, Bawazir, and Basyarahil. This phenomenon is not different from the management of the Al-Iryad Foundation in Purwokerto.

From the side of bonding social capital development, the managerial structure of the Al-Irsyad model is very significant to form the strong bonds and ethnicity is a very potential factor to form social capital (Putnam, 2000), (Woolcock, 2001), (van Oorschot et al., 2006). But, this phenomenon has a weakness or negative aspect if it is looked from the conventional managerial structure aspect (Claridge, 2018). In fact, Al-Irsyad foundation in Purwokerto has opened himself up to positions held by non-Arabs personal, these positions are, even though, still complementary to organizational and business needs.

As for sample B, the aspect of bonding social capital development has similarities with sample A, especially in a structural context. It is undeniable that the establishment of sample B was inspired by the successful development of bonding social capital in Sample A. However, there is a striking difference between them. Sample B offers a social bonding structure based on Islamic education by choosing the Indonesian nationality diction and is not labelled with the word Islam. That is *Putra Harapan, Junior High School Boarding School, Sekolah Calon Pemimpin*. (see, <http://smp.putra-harapan.sch.id/>); (Drouhot, and Victor Nee. (2019). So, the organizational structure of Putra Harapan is not based on ethnicity (contrary to Putnam's theory, 2000; Woolcock, 2001), and is not affiliated with national-scale mainstream Islamic community organizations like sample A. Sample B has only a local-scale social structure in Purwokerto and does not show as an Islamic community organization, but purely an organizational structure engaged in education.

Referring to the structuralist and cognitive social bonding (Uphoff and Wijayaratna, 2000), Sample B is unique in its success in forming the structure of elements, local, heterogeneous people with different backgrounds but can associate them well, because they have the same interest to found an educational institution named Putra Harapan. This condition is contrary to the theory of relationship within a homogeneous group in Woolcock and Sweetser (2002) which is suitable for Sample A.

In Sample A, the relationship is exactly the opposite of that of Sample B. It has strong ties of homogeneous group and ethnicity within Arab tribes, while Sample B in the field of relationship is built on weak ties between individuals and heterogeneous groups which then proceed to form inward looking or people who are alike, and form strong ties (see table of Healy, 2002). The success of Sample B is a model of bonding social capital development that is closer to the theory of mutual benefit (Putnam 1995), and cohesion between friends to achieve a given goal or outcome (Coleman 1988; Woolcock and Narayan 2000), not because it is motivated by homogeneous group relations (Woolcock and Sweetser, 2002), or ethnicity (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001; van Oorschot et al., 2006).

### 2. Development of Bridging Social Capital

Bridging is a kind of social capital describing the relationship which connects people in associations between communities, groups, or organizations. In this context, the analysis of bridging social capital development is to describe many aspects of various social exchanges existed in Samples A and B. The following discussion will be divided into two; first, the vertical and horizontal linking, and second, creating an empowering linking with the community around the institution. (Boxman et al., 1991).

#### a. Vertical and Horizontal Linking

These two approaches refer to the theory developed by Macke and Dilly (2010) which is also influenced by Gelderblom's opinion (Gelderblom, 2018). He explained that there are criticisms of the theory of vertical and horizontal linking in Putnam's bridging social capital model, as if it can automatically be a solution to intolerance and other social ills. In fact, to unite various social

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relationships to form social capital, a deeper social process is needed, the relationship that occurs is not only for cooperation, but also for competition.

In linking social capital, it relates to relationships with people in power, political or financial positions (Woolcock and Sweetser, 2002). This condition will affect to vertical relation to formal institutions (Woolcock, 2001; Mayoux, 2001). Some factors which have contributed to the shaping bridging social networks is building infrastructure, communications tools, educational policy and political decisions (Westlund, et al., 2010).

The above statement shows that in building bridging social capital elements of a vertical relationship needs good relationship between school leaders whose political and economic are powerful with various formal institutions considered which can increase the bond, strength, and communication. All of them contribute positively to Samples A and B. In bridging social capital can also optimize horizontal linking to replace the limitations on vertical linking.

### 1. Vertical linking

Viewed from the institutional aspect, Al-Irsyad has long been in the field of education. Al-Irsyad has established the first school in 1914 and has a wide educational network using the Al-Irsyad label that spreads in several places (Thalib, 2018). This shows that the nationally vertical linking of Al-Irsyad has been strong and automatically affects the entire Al-Irsyad network, including in Purwokerto. Vertical linking owned by Sample A is very strong. Even some influential mosques in Purwokerto, such as the Fatimatuz Zahro Mosque and the General Sudirman Mosque are the mosques structurally controlled by the Al-Irsyad network which has political legitimacy (vertical) which is marked by the absence of political opposition (local government policies) against their existence in the development and management of the two mosques.

It was also found that Al-Irsyad's personnel built vertical linking through political parties. Like Ali Umar Basalamah, he was a member of the Golkar Faction, DPRD Banyumas regency period 2009-2014. The involvement of Arab business minority groups in local practical politics directly or indirectly strengthens their economic dominance at the local level which has a positive impact in building branding image. As a result, sample A has also developed into a politically and economically strong and popular Islamic school. Good vertical linking built with the local government has a positive effect to develop and expand its infrastructure. It is proved that this institution was given a land lease by the Banyumas Regional Government for a football field and integrated sports arena around the school (Umar and Ershad, interview, 2022).

As for Sample B, SMP Putra Harapan, in developing local and limited in building vertical linking is not as wide as Sample A. There is no extraordinary data that shows the success for the school committee in dedicating themselves to build vertical linking with successful people in economies in regional scale or through practical politics. In addition, sample B is mostly doing vertical linking in a narrow scope with government administrators at the sub-district level where the school is located (Mikiewicz and de Araújo, 2021)

However, in developing social ties and conducting networks, vertical linking, sample B built it with policy makers, although in a small scale in the surrounding environment, but it is very effective in improving its existence, goals, and organizational structure. Thus, the network can develop as social capital to be a strong ties, mutual, and trust. Looking at the activities and teaching and learning processes in sample B, the local vertical linking process and approach is indeed very appropriate. Because, the location of sample B takes place on the second road and is integrated with the community. Even, the Head Office is only in the house building which is located on Jl. KS. Tubun Gang Slobor No. 3. There is no majestic physical capital with multi-storey buildings on the side of the main road. But, this condition is not a handicap to continue growing and discovering the process of bridging social capital by optimizing small and local vertical linking.

It was also found that this school was able to optimize the network through good communication with formal institutions, even at the village level government (Westlund, et al., 2010). Meanwhile for Sample A, vertical linking of social capital was built through political parties, local government power, economic power networks, and formal networks. It strengthens the theory of Woolcock and Sweetser (2002), Woolcock (2001), and Mayoux (2001).

### 2. Horizontal linking

In social capital, horizontal linking plays an important role as described by Dewey (1900, 230) as cited in Plagens (2011), that social capital as something positive lying beyond the individual, and it will be available when the individual connects with others in a meaningful way. Thus, good or bad values will be seen when individuals, associations, and educational institutions have been connected with other individuals, associations or communities outside themselves.

The findings show that Sample A has a strong example of vertical linking in the Purwokerto area, but weak in horizontal linking. Structurally, the label of Al-Irsyad is a centralistic organization, in the form of top-down and the majority of its policies. This centralistic nature becomes an obstacle in building horizontal linking with outside individuals or communities because the values

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and norms offered by Al-Irsyad are non-mainstream in the Purwokerto area. And in addition, the location of Sample A which is far from other social activities and elements increasingly has an effect on the limitations of building horizontal links.

The main line of horizontal linking that can be optimized by Sample A is only through communication and interaction with other elements, namely students' parents. The data shows that the students' parents of Sample A have upper middle class socioeconomic backgrounds. This is based on the ability of parents to meet the burden of registration fees and the relatively high cost of education (the most expensive school in Purwokerto) compared to Sample B or other private schools. This condition is a very significant capital, because programs that support horizontal linking are easily fulfilled even though they require expensive economic capital, such as family gatherings, *zakat*, *qurban*, and *infaq* programs for students, or the development program for *tahfiz al-Qur'an* to Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt. The *qurban infaq* program held has a strategic process for Sample A in the context of horizontal linking, not only with individuals around the school but with community who are far away and have no ties to the school. In every year, an average of IDR 200,000,000 is collected which can be spent on 7 cows and 16 goats distributed to 17 poor areas, such as Samudra, Gumelar, Kemawi Somagede, Kotayasa, Sumbang, Melung, and Kedungbanteng village etc. (see <https://smpalirsyadpwt.sch.id/tebar-kapal-kurban-1441-h-3/>). On the other hand, Sample B is not strong in vertical linking but strong in horizontal linking. It succeeds through a horizontal linking approach and cognitive social capital. (see Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Uphoff and Wijayaratna, 2000).

As previously explained, the existence of Sample B has already a strong bonding social capital, but it is weak in physical capital which is not integrated but is spread over several buildings and located in densely populated locations. However, this condition actually creates a positive social process, because the elements interact with each other. In the process of developing horizontal linking, Sample B prioritizes relationships with students' parents by communicating and interacting about the successful implementation of the mandatory boarding program for all students (Demi, 2021).

The development of horizontal linking with the students' parents creates strong ties along with the outputs achieved from the boarding school program which has fostered good values and norms in students. Referring to Behtoui and Strömberg (2020), the boarding school program at Putra Harapan can be called a speculative program which will, if it fails, actually create inequalities in the eyes of students and parents, especially on academic aspects and socioeconomic status. However, the data show that Sample B can create equalities among students in many social and religious norms.

In addition, it shows that the development of cognitive social capital (i.g. individual norms, values, belief systems which then lead to trust, and reciprocity) of Sample B is successful. It does not only comes from students and their parents, but it also comes from residents around the school. From here, several elements of bridging social capital structure can be looked at the success of Sample B in positive value and reciprocity. This condition has then a positive effect on some people transforming into bonding social capital, especially in terms of inward looking and integration (see figure 1, Healy, 2002). The surrounding community has strong ties and some take a part their children to study at this institution.

### c. Social Empowerment

To build bridging in the context of empowering the surrounding community, sample A has a weakness because its physical capital meets difficult access to the surrounding community. Because, the location is on Jl. Prof. Soeharso, so it is far from residential areas, so it has an unmeaning effect on the development of bridging social capital. As a result, this institution feels slow in reducing the thin trusts and weak ties of the surrounding community (Cox & Quinn, 2021).

On the other hand, sample B has limitations in physical capital but is very successful in building bridging social capital through social empowerment from weak ties and it can then unite in strong nodes in understanding, interrelationships with the structure and objectives of institution. Then, the elements of bridging social capital, especially the elements of people who are different, thin trusts, and weak ties can be managed positively by Sample B.

In addition, Sample B shows similar findings to the study conducted by Flint (2011), that effective schools in creating a large amount of social capital are schools which involve the surrounding community who are aspirational towards learning programs in promoting their institutions. Borrowing Flint's language, through horizontal linking with student's guardian and local residents, Sample B can create a big society with strong ties and mutual trust. In addition, this institution has also succeeded in building and maintaining bonding social capital in the organizational management structure established by the Foundation.

### d. Development Trust based on Norms and Networking

Judging from the two samples A and B in building trust, they have the same model, namely both of them offers schools based on superior and Islamic norms. The institutions excellence are manifested in students' academic and non-academic achievements in various competitions, local and national. Meanwhile, Islamic characteristics are manifested in a hidden inclusive and integrative curriculum structure. The extracurricular activities carried out are also very fulfilled by Islamic and noble characters that support



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the realization of norms, such as; morning and evening *dhikr*, *dhuha* prayers, congregational prayers, and the *tahfidz* al-Qur'an program, memorizing Hadith, Al-Quran literacy, and Arabic (Fayzullin & Fayzullin, 2022).

Although both have the same activity platform as mentioned above, sample B has more advantages, namely by requiring all students to stay on boarding school. This academic atmosphere is used as a branding image and becomes a magnet for the surrounding community. This multidimensional instrument that covers many aspects of social norms, obligations, and other relationships is very effective in building trust (Bhandari & Yasunobu 2009).

In the networking element as explained in the previous section, Sample A is stronger in creating vertical linking, while Sample B is stronger in networking through horizontal linking. If the differences between the two institutions are depicted in the form of a diagram, it can be seen as below.

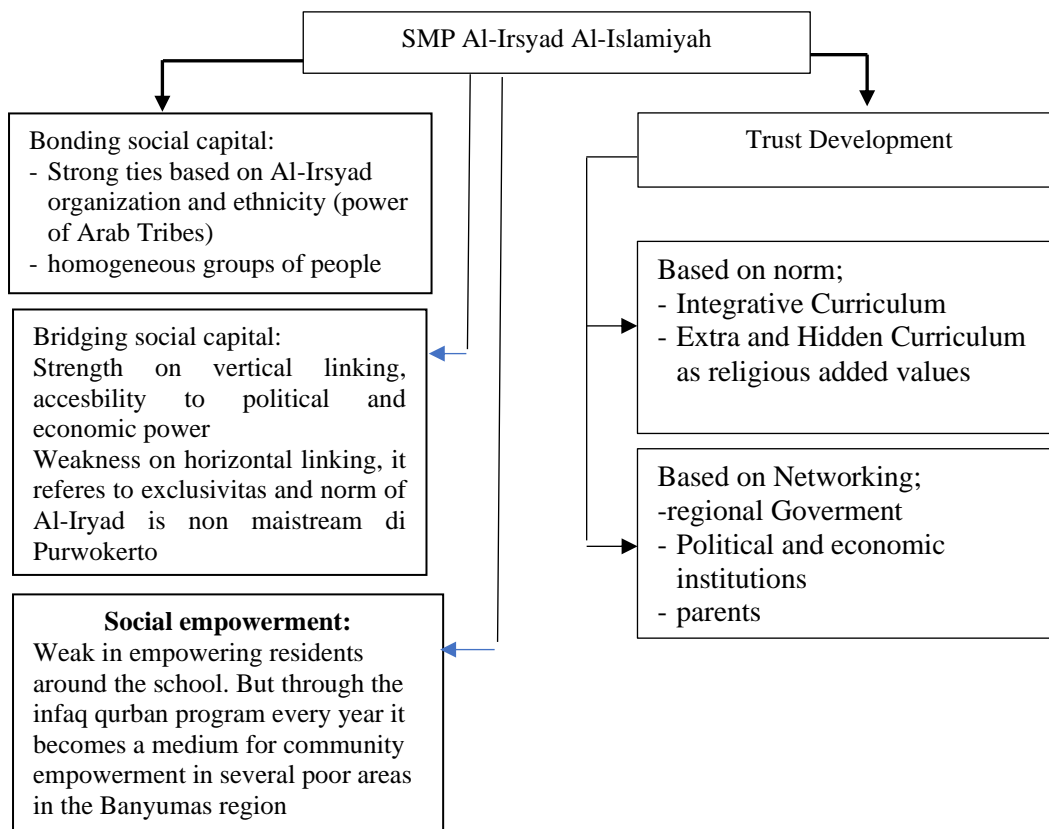
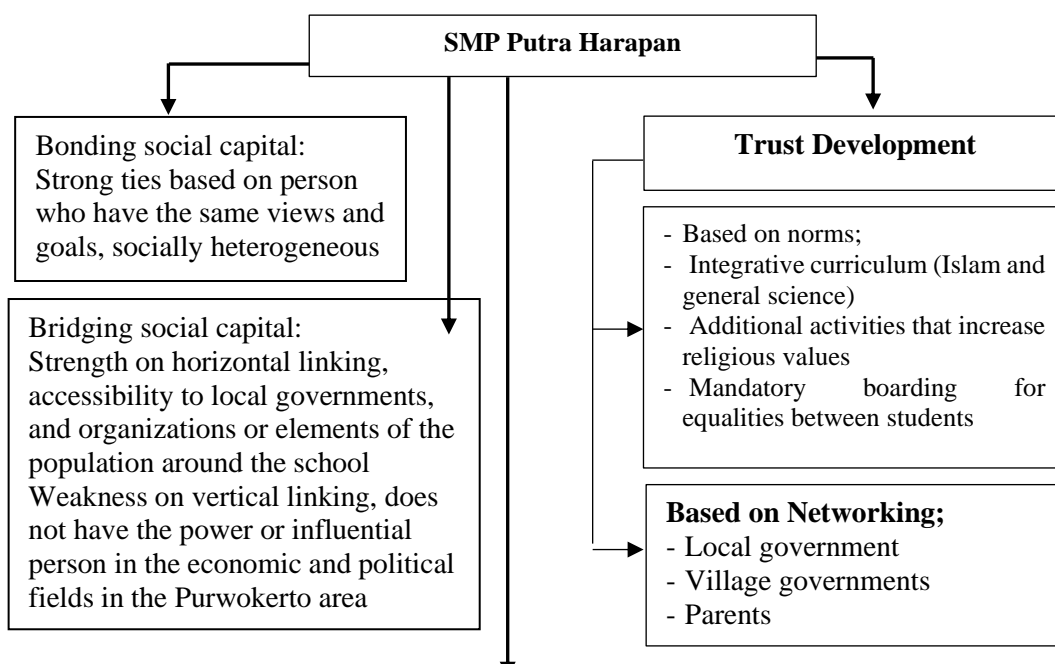


Figure 1. The Models of Islamic School based on Social Capital (ISSC) Sample A



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Social empowerment:  
Very strong in establishing social relations with residents around the school and cooperation in achieving the process, goals, and success.

Figure 2. The Models of Islamic School based on Social Capital (ISSC) Sample B

### F. CONCLUSION

Private Islamic Junior High School of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah (Sample A) and Junior High School of Putra Harapan (Sample B) have the same model in social capital development, that is bonding, bridging, and building trust.

Apart from these similarities, there are differences between them. Strong ties in the bonding social capital built in Sample A were motivated by the strength of Arab tribes or homogeneous groups. Meanwhile, Sample B is more inclusive and dynamic in building strong ties because it is socially heterogeneous.

In the development of bridging social capital, Sample A can optimize vertical linking, especially in local government relations, but it is weak in horizontal linking, and empowering the surrounding community. On the other hand, Sample B is not as strong in vertical linking, but it is very strong in optimizing horizontal linking, so the knots unrevealed in the surrounding community are transformed into strong ties through empowerment and cooperation.

In trust development, Samples A and B have the same characteristics, namely through norms, mandatory boarding for Sample B and optional for Sample A. Then the development carried out by the two samples has created a distinctive development identity in Islamic schools and has become a good value in public perception. This makes it easy to create networking with students' parents as the main stakeholders in the process and continuity of education.

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