The Role of Network for Alternative School: The Ways Indonesians CSOs Manage Networking to Support Their Agenda on Education

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Abstract

This article discussed the role of civil society organization networks to their educational agenda. Several member of civil society formed voluntary based organization to organized informal schooling institute on that is commonly known as *sekolah alternatif* or alternative school. This school is a community based institution that aims at delivering education service for underprivileged children. Four CSOs were chosen as case studies to learn how they maintained their networks to mobilize resources for the alternative school. The networks were classified into two, namely internal networks based on voluntarism value, and external networks that maintained to provide additional resources as means to improve the learning services. The network dynamics indicated that both the individual social capital and the institutional social capital contributeed to the breadth of network.

Key word: civil society organization, social capital, network

Abstrak

Penelitian ini membahas peran jaringan organisasi masyarakat sipil terhadap agenda pendidikan mereka. Beberapa anggota masyarakat sipil telah membentuk organisasi berbasis kerelawanan untuk mengelola sekolah alternatif. Sekolah-sekolah ini merupakan organisasi berbasis komunitas yang menyediakan layanan

pendidkan bagi anak-anak miskin. Empat organisasi masyarakat sipil dipilih sebagai studi kasus untuk mendalami bagaimana cara mereka mengelola jaringan kerja dalam rangka mobilisasi sumber daya bagi sekolah alternatif. Jaringan kerja tersebut diklasifikasikan menjadi dua, yaitu jaringan internal yang berdasarkan pada nilai kesukarelaan, serta jaringan kerja eksternal yang dikelola sebagai sumber daya tambahan untuk meningkatkan kualitas layanan pendidikan. Dinamika jaringan kerja menunjukkan bahwa baik modal sosial individual serta modal sosial institusi sama-sama berkontribusi bagi keluasan jaringan kerja.

Kata kunci: organisasi masyarakat sipil, modal sosial, jaringan kerja

INTRODUCTION

Education for all is a profound value, which pursued by many actors who were involved in education. Civil society in Indonesia becomes one of those actors. Several members of civil society formed voluntary based organization to organize informal schooling institution that is commonly known as *sekolah alternatif* or alternative school. The idea of *sekolah alternatif* is to give a wider access of schooling for the poor. Since the cost of education these days is rising, while purchasing power in aggregate is stagnant. Moreover, formal schooling providers have their own limitation in maintaining theirs economical efficiency. Therefore, an innovation in educational service is needed. This is where civil society take their role by providing *sekolah alternatif* to offer promising solution with affordable education.

Despite theirs contribution in education, civil society still have their limitation. Civil society faced many challenges to deliver a standardized service in terms of quality and quantity (Rahmat. et al., 2007). Resource limitation frequently forced voluntary organization to compromise their service, such as unable to provide a daily class for their students, limited learning resources, or unspecialized teachers or tutors. The same limitation also hindered civil society to apply various approaches in regards of education for

the poor. Mostly they only used empowerment approaches by providing learning services, but rarely they provide advocacy. Hence civil society contribution in education failed to reach public attention and have small influenced in public policy.

Civil society contribution in education was also frequently analyzed in micro level. *Sekolah alternatif* for underprivileged children often times studied in respect of its routines, such as student learning process (Suminar 2005; Hendriani, 2005), curriculum development and development of life skills (Kusmiadi 2000; Mulyadi 2005), school administration management (Dedi 2005; Suharno 2005; Agung, 2007), or the poor orientation for offspring education. This limitation made the discourse of civil society role in education unable to cover broader aspect, such as education policy and political economic context.

Lack of attention to the structural context needs to be addressed. Since civil society action can not be separate from structural contexts, whether it is social, economic or politic. What make civil society give attention to the poor are because of the failure of structural institution to provide inclusive social services. Therefore, civil society contribution, by providing education for the poor, should be considered as public participation to achieve sustainable and inclusive development agenda. Civil society members had managed to organize themselves by forming civil society organization (CSO) to exercise their social agenda. Many people involved in the provision of education through CSO. The form of contribution were varied, some CSO chose to be partners with the government to formulate and monitor education policy (Mundy 2008). The other CSO stood opposites the government by consistently monitors and criticizes the education policy, while at the same time, they also mobilized resources to provide educational service for people (ICE 2001). Thus CSO could be understood as an agent of development that provided educational services.

CSO" s efforts in managing a school for underprivileged children could be analyzed by using social movement theory. There were two reasons that underlying the use of social movement theory. *Firstly*, *Sekolah alternatif* was more as an empowerment action

than advocacy. Civil society intervention was aiming to emancipate the community by using cultural approach to build the capacity to stand by themselves. *Secondly*, the actors were community members, not the state. It wasn‟t involve masses to handle the need of children to study (Porta and Diani, 2006: Pichardo, 1997; Larana, et al, ed. 1994). CSO had the tendency to utilize network in achieving its agenda. Network determined the ability to mobilize resources in order to support social movement‟s agenda. In fact, networking was the most influential dimension for achieving its end (Diani & Mc.Adam, 2003).

This article analyzed various way of CSO network management in order to support *sekolah alternatif*. Four CSO were studied to capture the pattern of social network that they built and maintained to support their agenda. The four CSO were: PKBM Harapan Mandiri in Depok, Sekolah Master in Depok, PKBM Remaja Masa Depan in Jakarta, and Sekolah Smart Ekselensia in Bogor. The finding section of this article intended to elaborate the role of civil society in facilitating underprivileged children to attain education. Peoples contribution were formulated under the new social movement perspective, where their contributions were analyzed as an organized, systematized, and continuaus form of inter-related networks. This kind of networks was believed to mobilized useful resources to provide educational service for underprivileged children.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT FOR EDUCATION

Social movement is collective action to achieve long-term goal. Social movement involve several people who then work together to alter or defend particular social system (Porta dan Diani, 2006; Melucci 1996). There are three dimensions of social movement that can be elaborated, namely the issue, the agent, and the network. The issue of social movement usually relate with social deprivation, which is reflected from social grievance of

society members regarding certain social situations. Social deprivation could generate empathy from wide members of society who is not victims of such adversity, since the empathy can distribute the sense of justice and then encourage them to take action and start social movements (Walker, et al 2002: 288; Diani and McAdam 2003: 282; Larana, et al 1994: 21-24).

Agents of social movement are the actors that represented social group or community. These actors are often be identified as middle class people. This dimension also include the leader, the follower, and the value which they uphold (Melucci, 1996; Case and Caragata, 2009). These actors decide to work together, since they believe that they share the same value and goal, and collectivity is the only rational means to reach their shared goal. The third dimension is network. Networking is a pattern of cooperation between the actor of social movement, which determine the amount of resource, and power of the movement to create change (Kaufmann, 1997). Thus, networking could be the most influential dimension for the success of a new social movement (Diani and Mc Adam 2003). Social networks are the result of social capital. Based on the underlying factor for network formation, social capital in organization can be divided into two categories, namely personal social capital and organizational social capital (Lee and Brinton 1996: 182). Personal social capital is social capital that is owned by someone. So he or she then managed to build a network. While organizational social capital is social capital that is gained by his or her involvement in particular organization.

As a discourse, Civil society is a two dimensional concept. Firstly, it covers social space (civic sphere) that is free from the influence of state and market. It demonstrates the independence of collective action in expressing public interest that is free from bias of the elite. The positioning of civil society in separate space is needed to ensure the public interest always presence in every action by the state and the market. Civil society would take action and build their capacity when the public interests were left behind. Thus, civic sphere becomes the ideal space where society can learn to live under the value of civility (Cohen and Arato, 1997; Hikam,

1999; Woolstein and Koch, 2008). The second dimension covers the meaning of civil society as agents of civic sphere. They are characterized as social groups that are emancipate, voluntaristic, and non-profit (Rahmat, 2003; Morris, 2000). They organized themselves to ensure the well being of community or for the group which they represent. As collectivity, civil society are identified as civil society organization (CSO). Several studies have been conducted to measure the effectiveness of CSO in pursuing social agenda. One pioneer study worth mentioning here was written by Mansur Fakih, in his book *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial* (1996). In his opinion, CSO has contribution in Indonesian development to achieve certain social changes. In pursuing their ends, Fakih found that every CSO in Indonesia has concerns for education. Whatever form of action the CSOs take, they always use educational approach to decimate their vision for good society. The CSOs used educational approach to advocate social concerns, or built collective consciousness and collective capacity of the people as their beneficiary.

However, Fakih‟s thesis only discussed general role of CSO‟s in education. His focus attention was in general term of education, not as specific as schooling. Most of the educational roles by the CSOs were given for the young and elder people, which meant that it was an education for adults (andragogy). Hence, the role of CSO‟s in providing wider access of education for underprivileged children still needs more attentions.

The role of CSO‟s in providing basic education for underprivileged children should not be overlooked. CSO can organize informal school for the children. For example, the role of *Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Mengajar* (PKBM) or Community Learning Centre (CLC) in providing basic educational services for children of the poor (Rahmat et al., 2007). This CLC was a community-based organization that was specially founded to run specific educational service. Mostly they operate independently, but in several cases, CLC can cooperate with the apparatus of sub-district government. The learning process used learning material in packages, which were also recognized by government officials. Therefore, the students may participate in special exam conducted

by government apparatus to obtain a certificate, which were recognized by formal educational institution.

In social policy context, what the CLC does is bridging the gap between educational services and people's ability to access those services. Since 2003, a new policy was introduced by the enactment of law on the national education system. The law encouraged private sector to provide quality education for all. However, this law also had latent meaning in itself, which liberalized the service of education. As a result, educational services was transformed into commodities that distributed in exchange of economic resources. Thus, educational services became luxury for the poor, since imperfect market mechanism had been widen the gap of economic inequality.

The CLC managed to delivered both andragogy and pedagogy educational services for community. Pedagogical approaches were used when the goal of the CLC is to help the community to fullfil their immediate needs. For example, one CLC in Bandung district used pedagogical learning to improve people" s capacity by teaching them about life skills (Hendriani, 2005). Another example was also found in Mulyadi's thesis, which reported his finding about the effectiveness of CLC to provide entrepreneurship training for community members to help them build their economic independence (Mulyadi, 2005).

In contrast with their profound contribution, the CLC struggles with managerial limitation to provide good education. This condition forces CLC to compromise their services with flexibility in many ways. Dedi (2005) in his thesis stated that CLC" s achievements depended to its organizer managerial capacity. Bureaucratic intervention also influenced CLC performance, especially for CLC that ran under local government authority (Agung 2007). Managerial limitation forced the CLC to compromise their services. As result, the service was far behind formal education service, such as insufficient courses offered to their students, flexible schedules of weekly classes, and limited enrollment. Limitations were caused by CLC weakness in building

and maintaining networks, since they only managed to build networks with local stakeholders.

METHOD

This article was written based on a field study which used qualitative methods as the approach of inquiry. Research documents, observation of schools facilities and interviews with informants were conducted to collect data. Those techniques were applied to four schools organized by CSO, including PKBM Harapan Mandiri, and Sekolah Master in Depok, along with PKBM Remaja Masa Depan in Jakarta, and Sekolah Smart Ekselensia in Bogor.

The four CSOs were chosen because of four reasons. The first was the availability of preliminary research. The second was the ease of access to sources of data and information. The third was the duration of the educational services had been offered for more than five years. The fourth was the CSO" s capacity to mobilize resources and raise funds.

The main resource of the research was the transcript interview of key informants. Several people who were represented the CSO were interviewed as key informants. Some of them were not the leader of those CSO, but they had sufficient knowledge about their organization agenda and how they worked to achieve it. Along with key informants, there were several other informants who also had been interviewed to triangulate the validity of key informant" s statements. It was intended that the data collected had coherence with the concepts involved in this study (Cresswell 2003: 196).

FINDING: FOUR SCHOOLS, FOUR CSOS, AND FOUR STORY
CSO Remaja Masa Depan: Relying on Prominent Leadership
The Mission

Remaja Masa Depan (RMD) is a social foundation that was established in 2001. Since their early years up until 2012, they had organized school for underprivileged children in the form of *program kesetaraan* (equality program). Equality Program is a government-recognized education service that was intended for people who cannot enter the formal schools. RMD had provided two learning packages, including Package B which was equal to junior high school (class 7 to class 9) and Package C, which was equal to senior high school (class 10 to class 12). In 2013 they altered the learning package program with learning tutorial program. The alteration of the learning program was decided after the board of RMD realized that many other CLCs in Jakarta provided similar services. With free learning tutorial program, they could focus to help under privileged children improve their learning outcomes, particularly their national exam result.

RMD was not really consistent with their claim that they offered free education service. In fact RMD charged their student for Rp 30.000 ($US 3) per month. However, the reason for that policy was not for profit, rather to stimulate pupils sense of responsibility. In RMD" s experience, giving free service brought undesired backlash. The pupils became irresponsible with their study, especially frequently absented in class.

The pupil of RMD schools came from poor family. At the early year of its service, most of the students stayed near to the school. However, children from outside Jakarta had started to join when RMD opened their own orphanage in 2003. Improving educational attainment in local level was RMD" s priority. They wanted to solve the problem of school dropouts around their neighborhood. As stated by one of RMD official,

> "*We want to eradicate school dropouts in Tebet sub-district, whether they are scavengers, street children, or children from poor families.*"

In the board of RMD" s point of view school dropouts were the result of structural cause. Financial matters hindered underprivileged children for entering formal schools. Economic constraints force poor families to set their spending priority. Daily spending forced to be placed before education expense. With this understanding, RMD administrators felt compelled to hold affordable education. Through RMD service children can complete their primary education up to Senior High School level.

> "*They can acquire education at least until Senior High School. Then they can obtain Senior High School certificate for their credential to look for employment, since Senior High School certificate were required to get a proper job these days,*" said one of RMD administrators.

RMD activist and volunteer believed that what they did in *learning tutorial* service would helped their pupils in the future. As their official claim that "*This CLC had gave benefits to the community, since many of [our] graduates had been employed even though they only had Senior High School certificate.*" RMD's alternative school was a social innovation from CSO that open a wider access of education. Their concern for the structural barricade has build collective consciousness within community to participate in social movement to improve underprivileged children educational attainment.

The Network

The network that was maintained by RMD could be divided in to two categories. The first category was internal network based on personal social capital, and another one was external network based on organizational social capital. RMD developed internal networks as a means to build internal bond among its administrator. As a non-profit organization RMD needed to emphasize solidity, since it could not offered rewards for those who contribute with its mission. Internal solidity in RMD was based on shared values. Therefore they always tried to unify their vision and motivation between administrator and volunteers in order to build commitment. Since working with RMD would not

bring any fortune, the spirit of devotion had became valu that was shared among those who became part of RMD internal networks.

The board of RMD developed family value and togetherness among colleagues. Social interaction in RMD also promoted dialogue and openness. Therefore leadership in RMD became prominent. Mr. Firdaus, as the chairman, oftentimes provided motivation to his colleagues via internal briefing. He also gave his attention to all children, by sharing his experienced with them. He always tried to motivate all the children, since he was also came from the street a long time ago. Consolidation that was built between leader, administrators and students had helped to create harmonious internal relationship.

RMD external network covered other CSOs, grant organization, government organization, private enterprise, individual, and local communities. RMD" s interest in developing network was to strengthen its presence in the community, and to open channel of information, idea, and resources. RMD participated in CLC Forum of East Jakarta (Forum PKBM Jakarta Timur), and had also collaborated with the World Bank, NZAID, and other donors.

The RMD built networks with a variety of ways. Although Mr. Firdaus as the chairman had his contribution through his hard work and charisma, these networks were established upon the foundation of RMD as organization. They liked to foster closed relation with other organization through communication and *silaturahmi* (visits) with various parties. In addition, the RMD also built network using internet by creating a website and utilizing social media.

RMD faced some obstacles to maintain external network. Firstly, they had uncertainty over the place where the teaching services carried out. The land where the orphanage and learning tutorial located was owned by the state. Thus at any time they could be evicted. The second was how heavily dependent RMD was on donation from donors. Yet, at the same time, they also had difficulties to gain support from the government because of bureaucratic obstacles.

Regardless of RMD weakness to preserve networks, they had proven that they could contribute to improve underprivileged children educational attainment. RMD administrators believed that their action had became a part of new social movement in the form of educational service. They gave the children opportunity to achieve upward social mobility.

Sekolah Master Network: Relying on Dedication and Performance
The Mission

Sekolah Master (Master School) is a program of Bina Insan Mandiri (BIM) Foundation. However, people know this CSO better from the name of its learning program. The Master School was founded by Mr. Nurrohim and Ms. Ikrama in 2000. They were concerned to see many children fail to enter school because of economic reason in Depok. They thought that some people in Depok had fallen to structural poverty. Yet, they refused the notion that people became poor because of laziness. If children do not go to school, it is because the state has failed fullfil its obligation to provide education services instead. For that reason, both of them decided to take action by taking the children around Depok bus terminal to study with them. As Mr. Nurrohim said,

> *We were concerned. Everyone knows that Depok is the city of education, the city of trade and religion. Everyone knows that public and private universities are present in Depok. Thousands of students are study here, yet so many children of school age are not able to get education. They do not just drop out of school, but most of them quit from school. So we decided to establish an alternative school, even without classrooms. We did it in a bus station mosque. That was where we started.*

In general, the Master school offered three types of learning services. The first was equality program in three packages, including: Package A that is equal to Elementary School (class 1 - class 6); Package B that is equal to Junior High School (class 7 - class 9); and Package C that is equal to Senior High School (class 10

- class 12). The second program was life-skill learning, such as graphic design, screen-printing, and music. The life skill-learning program was meant to help the children to be independent in the future. The third program was moral and religious education. The children learned about religious values and the manner of worship. This learning program cannot be separated to Mr. Nurrohim‟s background, as he spent several years learning in *pesantren* (Islamic traditional boarding school).

Master School had managed to facilitate underprivileged children to get education. They intervened with educational service, when the state failed to execute its obligation to guarantee children‟s education. More importantly, all activists who were involved in Master School carried out his or her role with sincerity. That made the children satisfied, as stated by one of them,

> "*The school is fun. I can make so many friends. And more importantly it is free … although the tutors are not paid, they are serious to teach us and very attentive.*"

The Network

The leader had central role in maintaining internal networks. At the early years he was actively involved in teaching as a tutor, but now he spent more time as administrators and gave more attention to find opportunity in creating new external networks. To build a solid cooperation between administrator and tutor, he always used religious approaches, such as mentioning tutorial as a necessary action for the revival of the *ummah* (people). He used religious beliefs as the basis of ideology and norm to maintain the dense of social capital in Master School‟s internal network.

In general, all administrators and tutor volunteers had the spirit of devotion. They realized that Master School was CSO that made underprivileged children as their target groups. It was not the kind of work to expect for wealth. The reason for their involvement were the call to do good deeds in religious path. They shared the same vision and felt comfortable with that. However,

there were several tutors, who did not share the same vision. Those tutors usually came and went, but did not really affect the continuity of the Master School Service.

Religious based ideology did not hinder Master School to welcome various parties to cooperate with them. So far, Master School external networks covered other CSOs, government, grant institution, private enterprise and, individuals. Event though Mr. Nurrohim was in prominent position to maintain external networks, he encouraged all administrators to actively searched for new networks to help Master school mobilize more resources. As he said,

> "*We must be consistent, promote openness with any parties, and resilient when we face challenges and obstacles. Determination is important, since nothing will be in vain.*"

Eventually Master school had managed to mobilize resources from its network. Cooperation with local government institution was carried out to ensure children protection, and recognition of the learning service. Economic resources were also obtained from donors institution, such as World Vision, Save the Children, and BAZNAS. Those resources that came from external networks reflected the ability of Master School to maintain trust with performance and transparency.

PKBM Harapan Mandiri: a CLC that Believed in Local Resources
The Mission

CLC Harapan Mandiri was established in 1 July 2002 by Harapan Mandiri Foundation in Depok. It was said that this CLC was founded by teachers. As many other CLCs, Harapan Mandiri offered equality program in three learning packages, namely Package A, Packaged B and Package C. They submissively served underprivileged children who were excluded from the structure of society and unable to reach formal school services.

In their early years, the learning process was carried out in the house of one of the cofounders. When the learning room could

no longer accommodated the number of students, then CLC administrator began to search for a new place. They were able to rent several classes in one elementary school at Meruyung sub-district. The class was carried out in the evening, so that the student could continue their work at daytime.

Several changes were made in each level of learning packaged curriculum to accommodate the student needs. The administrators replaced the subjects that were considered as less important with new courses. For example, health subject was replaced with religion education that emphasised the aspect of character. Since the administrator considered character building is important for the student who become a victim of structural disadvantage.

The equality program has a quite successful outcome. Every year, many students who graduated from learning Package C program were able to continue their education to college. Some of them even managed to enroll at a state university. CLC Harapan Mandiri also reflected most of CSO approach in education that was to use education as means to help people fulfill their immediate needs. Seeing that apart of giving equality program, Harapan Mandiri had established pedagogical approach to practice entrepreneurship skill for their adult students.

The Network

Both administrator and tutor of CLC Harapan Mandiri shared the value of *kesukarelaan* (*voluntarism*). For them, working in CLC was like making savings for the afterlife. Voluntarism is the value and norm that bound the internal network.

The CLC used external network to generate additional fund. For some time, CLC Harapan Mandiri was able to cultivate orchids seed, and had sold it to pay its tutor. They were also able to raise fund to finance the administration by cooperating with the local government. Although, cooperation with the government seemed to be the only significant external network that they manage to establish.

The board of Harapan Mandiri recognized the lack of external networks. They understand the importance of making new networks with other parties, but they just did not know how. Building a broader network had became a challenge for Harapan Mandiri to maintain their role of providing educational service for the community.

Smart Ekselensia School: Mobilizing Philanthropy for Underprivileged Children Education
The Mission

Smart Ekselensia School is a boarding school that was established under Dompet Dhuafa, an Islamic philanthropic institution. Dompet Dhuafa collects zakat, donation, and alms from the Muslims, and distributes it in various forms of social programs. Dompet Dhuafa intentionally established Smart Ekselensia School to help underprivileged children build a better future through education. The norms of zakat explicitly mention social groups that deserve to receive the fund, including the poor and those who strive to study *fi sabilillah* (in the way of god). Therefore, Smart Ekselensia School reflects how Dompet Dhuafa interpreted religious norms to contribute in education development.

Smart Ekselensia School annually selected students from across the country. Through Dompet Dhuafa representation office, potential students were invited to take the entrance test. Those who passed then enrolled and lived in the dormitory, which were prepared for them in the school area. The entire cost of education and personal needs of the students were borned by Dompet Dhuafa.

Smart Ekselensia School was a well established institution. Actually, in terms of curriculum and facilities, the Smart Ekselensia School could be considered as a formal school. They were even authorized by the government to carry out acceleration program that allowed students to finish their study for High School in five years only. The details were three years for junior high school (class 7 to class 9), and two years for senior high school (class 10 to class 11). The only regret for the administrator and volunteers were that

their service of free education stoped after the students finish his lesson in class 11. Although the board of Smart Ekselensia School would try to find sponsor for each student who wanted to continue their study to college, in general they had to pay their college by them self. As one of the administrators said:

> We still try to help them even after they graduate. We try to find sponsors from cooperation, person, scholarship scheme, or tuition waivers from the college. Unfortunately, we can't do much, although we do have many person who wish to contribute in their future education… we will monitor their education until they manage to have salary.

Smart Ekselensia School was designed to overcome the structural poverty, since education had been seen as the driving factor to promote social mobility. By providing knowledge and religiosity, underprivileged children were motivated to reach success in the future.

The Network

The internal network in Smart Ekselensia School was baund by religious voluntarism. As they selectively recruited their employees and volunteers, whom were shared the same vision that was to alter the *mustahik* (those who is allowed to receive *zakat*) to become muzakki (those who give zakat and alms). Religious value was used to maintain the administrators motivation. They organized their office, class, and learning process with Islamic symbols and norms. Nevertheless, they also managed their work with rational principle where everything was accounted.

Smart Ekselensia School was organized with rational bureaucracy. The planning, decision-making and program implementation were based on that principle. Hence organizational performance did not depend on certain individual. The collectivity approach that was applied in Smart Ekselensia School kept on the cohesion among the administrators, as mention by one of the administrator,

> "*although the director changed, we can still [work]. We call it gerak bersama [joint motion]. We don't highlight figure. Everyone complements each other.*"

The board of Smart Ekselensia School strived to build external network only to gave better educational services for the children. The patron relationship with Dompet Dhuafa ensured the input of fund to finance their daily operation. Therefore the board gave more interest to build cooperations with organizations or individuals that offered services to increase knowledge and skills for the student, such as psychologist, information and technology expert, and education practitioners.

DISCUSSION

The four CSOs described in previous section showed that social capital had influences to the dense of organization network. Each type of social capital had different levels of influence to both internal and external network of the CSO. The personal capital had a stronger influence to internal network than organizational capital. On the contrary, organizational social capital had more influences to external network than personal capital.

Table 1 Type of Social Capital and Its Implication to CSO Networks

	Internal Networks	External Network
Personal Social Capital	Shared the value of voluntarism Organizational solidity	Acquaintance
Organizational Social Capital	Value and Norms Reproduction	Trust and accountability Resource exchange

The internal social capital strengthened the internal network through shared vision and solidity. Being part of social movement

gave advantages to the CLC with the easiness in finding volunteers who shared the same visions. Moreover, the internal network of CSOs were bounded by voluntarism value. Usually both administrators and volunteers of alternative schools did aware that their contributions were not rewarded with wealth. Voluntarism was always been the driving factor for the activists to contribute in the alternative school, whether or not religious reasons underlied the value (Morris 2000; Rahmat 2003). The persona of the CSO founders may influenced internal bonds. Yet, such persona could be replaced with familial working atmosphere.

Religious reason enhanced voluntarism spirit. Master School and Smart Ekselensia School showed how religious values had motivated volunteers to give their contribution despite of the lack of financial rewards. Religiosity made people work with sincerity. Moreover, since most of the administrators and volunteers share the same value, religiosity could become one of the norms that strengthen individual social capital, apart from the devotion as the other norm.

Internal networks were also maintained with cooperation among actors. From the four CSOs, two ways of cooperation were reflected. The first was familial cooperation, which was reflected in CLC Remaja Masa Depan, CLC Harapan Mandiri, and Master school. The three CSOs had relatively loose operational procedure regarding how to work in the alternative school. This could be because of the flexibility applied in the organization due to the lack of resources. Although it was necessary to note that a wide range of discretion would only give a positive impact when all the actors shared the same value, in this case devotion to help underprivileged children.

The second type was rational cooperation, which reflected in Smart Ekselensia School. Being under Dompet Dhuafa, an established Islamic philanthropy institution, made these CSOs being organized with rational bureaucracy principle. Every action and policy regarding the activities in this alternative school was accounted. Therefor, persona was not too prominent in the internal networks. The effectiveness of each role was scalable

administratively so that each party in the organization could complement each other.

Personal social capital only gave a small influence to the cooperation between CSO and other institutions. The relationship between a prominent figure with organization are just as acquaintance, since organizations managed by rational principle would only exchange resources in accountable manner.

The external networks of a CSO were greatly influenced by organizational capacity. While individual social capital had its influence with the bond of internal network, but it did not really influence the external network, especially for a long term relation. Organizational social capital could underlie cooperation among institution because of its impersonality. CLC Remaja Masa Depan" s experience, individual social capital held by its founder managed to built several network between the CLC with several parties. Yet, the cooperation was only for a short terms, such as only for several months, one year, or just for one activity. Meanwhile, the other three CSOs has shown that they could maintain cooperation with other institutions for a longer terms, whether with public organizations or with private organizations.

The purpose to built external relation was to accumulate resource. However, the resources were not always in a form of fund. It could be in a form of human capital, such as expert adviser or information that was related with learning activities. For example, the four CSOs that was been studied had joined local CLC forums, although the cooperation among them in the forums were relatively loose, since they did not shared the same value of devotions. Nevertheless, the CSOs involvements in CLC forums were still needed in regards to update information.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this research confirmed several previous studies that concluded social capital could create a bridge of cooperation between various parties. From the finding of this research, it was organizational social capital that promoted long-

term-cooperations between the actor of social movements. Therefore, all CSOs had to put their attention in developing managerial capacity. Since, individual social capital held by its leaders were effective only to maintained the cooperation between administrators and volunteers. While building trust and networks with other organizations and institutions, the CSOs must prove their capacity to work with rationality and accountability.

A strong management capacity could deliver inter-CSO cooperation in achieving their shared agenda. Since, local CSO had the tendency to rely on prominent leadership, and sustainable interorganizational cooperations carried out with rational principle, which was impersonal and accountable. A further research should focus on the importance of building organizational social capital to improve CSO external network capacity.

Further researches should focus on the importance of building organizational social capital to improve CSO external network capacity. Local CSO had the tendency to rely on prominent leadership, yet sustainable interorganizational cooperation carried out with rational principle, which was impersonal and accountable. Therefore, a strong management capacity could deliver inter CSO cooperation in achieving the shared agenda.

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