



Power Relations between *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH) Facilitators and Beneficiary Families (KPM) (Study on PKH Implementation in Malang Regency)

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ABSTRACT: Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) is a government social assistance program that aims to reduce poverty and improve the welfare of poor families in Indonesia. The PKH program seeks to reduce this social and economic inequality by providing financial assistance based on certain conditions to beneficiary families. However, a paradox also occurred in Malang when the program budget and number of PKH recipients were from 2018 to 2021. This actually shows that PKH has not succeeded in releasing poor people from the abyss of poverty. Using the phenomenological method, this article was created to understand the business process of implementing PKH. Second, it is related to the social dynamics of PKH implementation. The author discusses how the orientation of PKH assistants as social workers is the key to supporting social and economic change for PKH Beneficiary Families (KPM). And finally, the author discusses Power Relations in the context of PKH. This discussion explains the impact of social dynamics in implementing PKH. As a result, bureaucratic and social pathology, especially in the form of corrupt behavior accompanying PKH, has become a challenge that must be overcome. Social pathology among KPM also influences the implementation of PKH. In a deeper analysis, the power relations between PKH assistants and KPM can be explained using Michel Foucault's power relations approach, which can be correlated to understand the dynamics and interactions in PKH implementation more thoroughly.

KEYWORDS: Poverty, PKH, PKH Facilitators, KPM, Power Relations

INTRODUCTION

Poverty is a complex problem that has long been the focus of attention in various parts of the world (Prawoto, 2008). Even though various programs and efforts have been made to overcome poverty, there are still many people who are trapped in the trap of poverty. One factor that is often overlooked is the role of the mentality of poor people in maintaining or even strengthening their poverty status. One characteristic of the mentality of poor people is a passive attitude and low level of self-confidence. People who are accustomed to material limitations tend to feel that they have no control over their destiny. They think that efforts to achieve success are in vain or too difficult. As a result, they tend to avoid new opportunities or have no motivation to try things that are outside their comfort zone. Thus, the community empowerment process as described by the United Nations (Tampubolon, 2001) also discusses fostering self-confidence or growing self-confidence.

The mentality of poor people is also often driven by feelings of limitation. They feel that they do not have the knowledge, skills, or resources necessary to succeed. Fear of failure is often the main barrier for them to take risks and try new things. This causes them to tend to limit themselves to familiar environments, even if these environments do not support economic growth or development. Poverty is a condition that is completely limited and occurs outside the will of the person concerned. This condition is characterized by low levels of education, work productivity, income, health and nutrition as well as living in a disempowered welfare environment. In poverty, primary and secondary aspects which are basic needs are often not met optimally. The lack of knowledge and skills assets is a primary aspect that is not met in poverty. Meanwhile, secondary aspects include lack of social networks, financial resources and several things such as lack of nutrition, water, and lack of access to housing, health and education (Kadji, 2015).



There are many things that cause poverty. According to Suryawati (2005) there are four models of poverty, Absolute Poverty, Relative Poverty, Cultural Poverty and Structural Poverty. Absolute poverty occurs when a person's income is below the poverty threshold or is insufficient to meet basic needs such as food, clothing, health, housing and education needed to be able to live and work. Relative poverty occurs as a result of development policies that are not evenly distributed across society, thus creating inequality in income. Cultural poverty refers to problems with the attitudes of individuals or groups of people who are influenced by cultural factors, such as lack of initiative to improve their standard of living, laziness, wastefulness, and lack of creativity, even though there is help from outside parties. Finally, structural poverty is a situation of poverty caused by limited access to resources in a social, cultural and political system that does not support poverty alleviation efforts, and often even causes poverty to continue to develop. (Suryawati, 2005).

There are many ways that can be used to overcome the problem of poverty, one of which is social development. There are two interdependent aspects in this social development, namely the first is developing the capacity of human resources to work continuously to achieve the welfare of themselves and the wider community. The second is to change or develop the social institutions of society so that they can meet human needs at all levels, especially at the lowest level, through a process that improves the relationship between society and socio-economic institutions and while continuing to realize that human and natural forces continually intervene between expressions. from needs and means to achieve them (Azzasyofia and Isbandi, 2017).

The definition of social development is planned social change, and is aimed at improving the welfare of the population as a whole in relation to economic development and sustainability (Henny, 2017). According to him, in social development, policy implementation should not only lead to handling a section of society. Therefore, according to him, most experts in social development recommend a more strategic and holistic approach, including community development, corporate or corporate social responsibility, strengthening civil society and guaranteeing human and social rights, throughout the flow and dimensions of life. .

In Indonesia, social policy exists to carry out social development with the aim of reducing poverty. One form of social policy in Indonesia is the Family Hope Program (PKH). In Indonesia, social policy is regulated in Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation (Permendagri) number 13 of 2018 which explains that social assistance funds are provision of assistance in the form of money/goods from local governments to individuals, families, groups or communities on a tentative and selective basis which aims to protect of possible social risks. The Family Hope Program (PKH) is a government social assistance program that aims to reduce poverty and improve the welfare of poor families in Indonesia. The government has implemented PKH every year, always experiencing improvements. Since 2011 the PKH budget allocation has been in the nominal billion rupiah, even in 2016 as many as 6 million poor families had reached a budget of 10 trillion rupiah, in 2017 as many as 6,228,810 poor families were allocated a budget of 11.5 trillion rupiah, and in 2018 as many as 10,000. 232 poor families were allocated a budget of 17.5 trillion rupiah.

There is one instrument to run the program. PKH facilitators are social workers assigned to provide assistance, strengthening and guidance to PKH beneficiary families in distributing PKH (Suleman & Resnawaty, 2017). In the process of distributing aid, the Family Hope Program (PKH) has an instrument, namely the PKH Companion. The main task of PKH facilitators is to help beneficiary families plan and implement development programs that can improve family welfare, such as increasing access to health, education and economic development. The PKH program seeks to reduce this social and economic inequality by providing financial assistance based on certain conditions to beneficiary families. The assistance and guidance provided by PKH facilitators is expected to help Beneficiary Families (KPM) optimize the benefits of this program, improve their social and economic conditions, and achieve a better level of welfare (Hasan et al., 2017).

Looking at the vision of PKH, PKH provides social assistance to people with all types of poverty, regardless of whether there are groups of poor people who fall into absolute, structural, cultural or relative poverty, as long as these people meet the requirements to be recipients of aid, then they have the right to receive PKH social assistance. This is what the author sees, that PKH only has the impact of dependency on its recipients.

Paradoxes also occur when PKH is expected to become a superior program for alleviating poverty, but the reality is that PKH recipients actually increase every year. In Malang Regency, the number of PKH recipients from 2018 to 2021 appears to have increased in the number of PKH assistance recipients. In 2018, the average number of PKH recipients in Malang Regency was 70763.75, but in 2021 the average number of recipients increased to 80649.33. Meanwhile, the actual budget required to meet these needs, in 2018 the average budget required was IDR 30,571,218,488 per stage and in 2021 it will increase by IDR 53,698,275,000 per stage. Where every year the distribution of PKH assistance consists of 4 stages.



Table 1: Average recipients and budget required for implementing PKH in Malang district

	Recipient Average	
	2018	2021
Total Average Recipients	70763.75	80649.33
Total Average Budget Per Stage	Rp 30.571.218.488	Rp 53.698.275.000

(Source: Malang Regency Social Service PKH data 2018-2021)

However, between the process of implementing the PKH program which has a vision of alleviating poverty, in fact from 2018 to 2021 the budget increased, as well as the dynamics in the implementation process that occurred in the field, especially in Malang Regency, in this journal we will discuss three important points that correlate with each other and influence success. and the impact from a socio-political perspective, business processes, and power relations between PKH facilitators and beneficiary families (KPM) on the Family Hope Program (PKH). This condition was made worse by the potential for political intervention that began in 2017, symbolically, Rendra Kresna, who was the Regent of Malang Regency at that time, invited the residents of Malang Regency to 'remember' Khofifa Indar Parawansa at the moment of "2017 PKH Distribution" at the Malang Regency pavilion. At that time, Rendra Kresna was already Chairman of the East Java Nasdem DPW. Where Nasdem has expressed its support for Khofifah. During 2017, Khofifah as Minister of Social Affairs also routinely carried out symbolic activities to hand over PKH in Malang district. This was done a year before the 2018 East Java Gubernur election contestation. (Aminuddin, 2017; Avirista Midaada, 2017)

At its peak in 2020, PKH was used as a political tool for one of the pairs of regent candidates and deputy regent candidates, namely the pair Lathifah Shohib and Didik Budi Muljono. PKH recipients are asked to take up their rights, but there is pressure from PKH assistants who have political affiliations on them to intimidate KPMs into voting for couples supported by the PKH companion. Apart from the issue of political intervention, the revelation of corruption committed by one of the PKH assistants which cost the state approximately 450 million is also a fact that makes the author even more interested in researching this theme. Because the author believes that PKH assistants have significant power to change the status of poor people to KPM. (Rachmawati, 2021)

In this article the author wants to discuss 3 points. The first point is related to the PKH business process, explaining the business processes and Integrated Social Welfare Data flow that underlies the implementation of the PKH program. This includes the mechanism for determining KPM candidates and their validation. The meaning given by KPM to PKH also has major implications for the effectiveness of this program. The second point is related to the social dynamics of PKH implementation. This point discusses the mechanism for implementing PKH. This point discusses the orientation of PKH assistants as social workers as the key to supporting social and economic change for PKH Beneficiary Families (KPM). The socio-economic conditions of KPM also have a central role, because they influence their daily activities and routines, which have an impact on the success of this program. The second point is related to the social dynamics of PKH implementation. This point discusses the mechanism for implementing PKH. This point discusses the orientation of PKH assistants as social workers as the key to supporting social and economic change for PKH Beneficiary Families (KPM). The socio-economic conditions of KPM also have a central role, because they influence their daily activities and routines, which have an impact on the success of this program.

METHOD

This article was written using phenomenological research methods. Phenomenology is an instrument for further understanding the relationship between individual consciousness and social life. Phenomenology attempts to reveal how social action, social situations and society are products of human consciousness. Phenomenology assumes that society is the result of human construction. Seeing a phenomenon or symptom is an absolute requirement in all scientific activities. For this reason, in the process of understanding a phenomenon, patience is needed in seeing, listening, witnessing, and understanding the expressions behind it (Hasbiansyah, 2008).

The selection of informants used a purposive method. According to Sugiyono (2007) that: "purposive is a technique for collecting data from informants with certain considerations." The reason for using purposive techniques is because not all informants



have criteria that match the phenomenon being studied. Then to explore data, the author used the interview method. The purpose of the interview is to construct information, then reconstruct the information to become more complete, after which to project the information into information that can be verified. In practice, discussions are carried out flexibly, where conditions are adjusted to the circumstances, conditions and flow of the conversation. However, even so, the writer remains the main control so that the ongoing conversation remains in line with the interview theme. Interviews have an important role in obtaining research data, because in interviews core data will be obtained which is the answer to the problem formulation. In the interview process, it is hoped that the writer can hear the narrative in the form of the meaning of the actions of the subject and observe their actions, then record and observe them, then further the writer will transform the data obtained into a phenomenological text.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. PKH Business Process

1. The Central Role of PKH Facilitators towards KPM

There are several actors who play a role in the initial process and validation of KPM. These are the sub-directorate (sub-directorate) of PKH membership, Regional Coordinator, APD (Database Administrator) at district/city and provincial levels, district/city Coordinator, PKH companion, Social Service, and Sub-directorate of VT (Sub-directorate of Technical Verification and Validation) (Shafira & Ahmady, 2022). Where each of these actors has an important relationship in the implementation of the Family Hope Program (PKH). To carry out the PKH business process, the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs is recruiting PKH companions. PKH companions are prioritized for people who want to become social workers and become one geographic unit with PKH recipients according to the designated area. The important role of PKH facilitators and PKH recipients is to coordinate program sustainability involving communication, cooperation and collaboration between the two. PKH recipients and PKH companions will maintain regular communication to exchange information and update developments related to the program. This communication can be done through face-to-face meetings, telephone, text messages, or other communication media. PKH recipients can provide input, report changes in conditions, or ask about steps that need to be taken to maintain program sustainability.

Apart from that, PKH facilitators carry out a mechanism for measuring the achievements of the PKH program. The mechanism for measuring the achievements of the PKH program towards the initial goals of PKH is carried out through several indicators and evaluation methods. The PKH program aims to improve the economic welfare of beneficiary families. The economic welfare indicators used can include increasing income, reducing poverty levels, increasing access to productive assets, and increasing the sustainability of family economic businesses.

PKH facilitators have a significant role in influencing the social and economic life of Beneficiary Families (KPM). The following are several ways in which PKH facilitators can provide influence and support to KPM: 1) Access to Program Benefits: PKH facilitators assist KPM in accessing various program benefits offered by PKH, such as financial assistance, educational assistance, health, and skills training. With the assistance of companions, KPM can utilize available resources to meet their needs and improve economic welfare. 2) Education and Training: PKH Facilitators can provide education and training to KPM to improve their knowledge and skills in various aspects of life, such as financial, agricultural, entrepreneurship or marketing skills. By improving these skills, KPMs have a better opportunity to earn additional income and develop their economic businesses.

PKH facilitators have an important role in helping PKH KPM to achieve economic independence, increase access to education, and improve family health and welfare. This article will explain the importance of the role of PKH assistants for PKH KPMs. PKH Facilitators act as partners for KPM PKH in planning and developing their potential. They help in identifying family needs and potential, as well as designing appropriate action plans to achieve economic independence. PKH facilitators provide guidance and assistance in building skills, starting a small business, or increasing the productivity of an existing business. PKH facilitators have access to the personal and confidential information of beneficiary families. If involved in another organization, there is the potential that this information could be misused for the benefit of that organization, which could endanger the privacy and security of the beneficiary family. Being involved in community organizations can also result in PKH facilitators experiencing a division of time and attention between mentoring duties and organizational activities. This can reduce the quality and consistency of services provided to beneficiary families.

2. Mechanism for Determining Prospective Beneficiary Families (KPM)

DTKS (Integrated Social Welfare Data) and the Family Hope Program (PKH) are two interrelated programs in efforts to improve social welfare. DTKS is a system used to identify beneficiaries of various government social assistance programs. DTKS



collects and verifies data on households that are entitled to receive social assistance based on certain criteria, including levels of poverty and social vulnerability (Muhammad et al., 2021).

DTKS plays an important role in determining beneficiary families from various social assistance programs. DTKS is a system used to collect, verify and store data on households that are entitled to receive social assistance. Through a rigorous process, DTKS identifies families that meet the criteria and need social assistance. Data such as poverty level, social vulnerability and other factors are used in determining beneficiary status. Poor people can become beneficiary families through several steps and processes which are generally determined by the government and related institutions. The following are some general steps that can be taken, namely poor people need to register as potential beneficiaries at institutions or programs that provide social assistance. For example, in the Indonesian context, registration can be done through the Social Service or a designated office. After registration, a verification process will be carried out to ensure that the family meets the specified criteria to become a beneficiary. These criteria can vary, such as income level, socio-economic conditions, or other relevant indicators (Susilowati & Oktariyanda, 2023).

Poor families who register will be asked to provide necessary information and documents as proof of income, asset ownership, and other information relevant to their needs assessment. The data collected will be evaluated and assessed by the relevant institutions to determine the family's eligibility as a beneficiary. This selection process can involve comparing data with established criteria and available budget allocations. After going through the assessment process, the responsible institution will determine the family's status as a beneficiary if it meets the specified requirements.

3. Business Processes and Integrated Social Welfare Data Flow

In the process, the refinement of the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) went through two processes, the first was the old proposal through the Decree determining the DTKS for the previous period and the second was through a new proposal which had to go through many processes. The old proposal was to update the DTKS carried out by two parties. The first is the matching of population and civil registration data (dukcapil) by the Center for Data and Information Technology (pusdatin) and local governments (Aldar, 2023). This process aims to validate people who are still eligible or not registered with the DTKS.

Then for new proposals, starting from the results of field assessments carried out by Executor Work Unit (UKE) officers who are tasked with verifying and validating citizen data included in the new proposal. UKE is an implementing unit or officer assigned to verify and validate data on potential social assistance recipients in DTKS. UKE's duties include examining and verifying data on potential recipients of social assistance through visits to potential recipients' homes, collecting supporting documents, and checking the correctness of data that has been input into the DTKS system. UKE is also responsible for distributing social assistance to recipients whose data has been verified and validated (Hidayat, 2020).

There is a close relationship between the Execution Work Unit (UKE) field officers and the Family Hope Program (PKH) companions. The Family Hope Program (PKH) is a government social assistance program that aims to reduce poverty and improve the welfare of poor families in Indonesia. PKH facilitators are social workers assigned to provide assistance, strengthening and guidance to PKH beneficiary families (Suleman & Resnawaty, 2017). The main task of PKH facilitators is to help beneficiary families plan and implement development programs that can improve family welfare, such as increasing access to health, education and economic development.

UKE field officers and PKH facilitators are closely related to the implementation of the PKH program. UKE field officers are tasked with verifying and validating data on prospective PKH beneficiaries, while PKH facilitators are tasked with providing assistance to PKH beneficiary families in implementing development programs (Rahmawati & Kisworo, 2017). These two tasks are interrelated and require good coordination between both parties to carry out the PKH program effectively and efficiently. In other processes, the village also has a big role in recording its residents who are deemed entitled to enter the DTKS, namely through village/subdistrict meetings (Sesuwuk et al., 2021). People who feel they are unable and have the right to enter DTKS can also register themselves individually on the 'social assistance check application'. These two processes will lead to proposals from the Regional Government (Pemda) through the SIKS-NG application. The SIKS-NG application is an abbreviation of the National Social Welfare and Gakin Information System (SIKS-NG). This application is one of the information systems owned by local governments to facilitate the implementation and monitoring of social welfare programs, including the Family Hope Program (PKH) and Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), which are based on Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) (Harliana et al., 2022).



B. Social Dynamics of PKH and KPM Companions

1. The meaning of PKH and KPM companions regarding PKH implementation

Almost all informants said that PKH was assistance provided by the government to help poor people. The main objective of implementing the Family Hope Program (PKH) is to reduce poverty and improve the welfare of underprivileged families in Indonesia. The following are some of the specific objectives of PKH: Reducing poverty levels: PKH aims to reduce the number of families living below the poverty line. This program provides regular financial assistance to families who meet the criteria and are in vulnerable economic conditions.

However, PKH also faces several obstacles. The following are several obstacles that often occur in the implementation of PKH. One of the obstacles according to informants is the difficulty in identifying families who are entitled to receive assistance. An ineffective identification process can result in families who should receive assistance not being registered or, conversely, families who do not meet the requirements being registered. As happened in Jatisari Village, a Cultural Actor like Mr. Amir emerged. They identified it and the community called it the PKH coordinator. Even though they are not someone who is included in the PKH staff structure. those who have been involved in implementing PKH since 2013. It is precisely these cultural actors who have a role in determining which village residents have the right to enter and be registered as potential PKH recipients.

¹**R:** How long have you been accompanying or understanding PKH? **I:** Since 2013 or when PKH was launched. At that time, you can include your own brothers, bro. Now, in this area (Jatisari Village) I will also go down. But I don't know the assets (rice fields or land) owned by the KPM candidates in the data. So the person who told me was a relative or neighbor." (Interview with Mr. Amir, Tajinan District Community Leader)

Not only in the early days of PKH, to this day these cultural actors have a role in influencing villages to determine who will be potential recipients of PKH assistance. Therefore, data accuracy will definitely not be implemented optimally. PKH requires accurate and up-to-date data to determine which families qualify. Obstacles can arise if the data used is incomplete or not properly verified. This can result in families who really need help not being covered by the program.

Delays in the distribution of aid are also a serious obstacle for beneficiary families. Families who need immediate and appropriate assistance may face difficulties in meeting their basic needs if assistance is not distributed in a timely manner. KPM who rely on PKH assistance to meet their basic needs, such as food, clothing, education and health, may face difficulties if assistance is not distributed on time. Such delays could result in food insufficiency, lack of access to medical care, or difficulty in purchasing essential goods.

"It's time to get it, but it's slow. For example, this month (July 2023) the release is slow" (Interview with Mrs. Nurul Majadi KPM, Tajinan District)

R: "Well, have you ever had a negative or unfavorable experience regarding pkh?" **I:** "It's just that sometimes it's slow, sometimes a week. Because now it doesn't flow all at once." (Interview with Mrs. Candra Purnama Wati KPM Tajinan District)

KPM who are already in a vulnerable economic condition and rely on PKH assistance to survive can be further plunged into poverty due to delays in aid distribution. They may be forced to take detrimental economic actions, such as taking on debt at high interest rates or selling important assets, to meet their daily needs. Delays in the distribution of PKH assistance can cause economic instability in the household. KPMs may have difficulty managing budgets and face heavy financial pressure, because their hopes for aid that should come in are delayed.

Then, the obstacles to PKH are also added to by the motives and orientation of the PKH assistants, who the author believes do not meet the standards as social workers. The motives of PKH assistants who are 'only' looking for work, considering that their salaries do not match their workload, their activities in community organizations, plus they also have other jobs outside of their work as PKH assistants are considered to be serious obstacles to the implementation of PKH in Malang Regency.

¹ R: Researcher / I: Informant



"The motivation is to work, bro. Looking for money, I used to think it was like a civil servant..." (Interview with Mr. Diki, PKH Facilitator for Poncokusumo District)

"So in 2013 PKH in Malang district, at that time I was a student at the boarding school here, the kiyai was suddenly sent to register with the PKH companion. Because of him, finally (I) registered for the first batch in 2013. If PKH started in 2007, it was actually only in Malang district entry in 2013..." (Interview with Mr. Abdul Ghofur, PKH Facilitator, Sumberpucung District)

2. Politicization of the Family Hope Program

The Family Hope Program (PKH) is one of the social protection programs launched by the Indonesian government. The main aim of this program is to reduce poverty levels and increase access of beneficiary family members (KPM) to education and basic health services. PKH provides financial assistance to poor and vulnerable families on a regular basis. However, there are concerns that programs such as PKH could create dependency on beneficiary families. A summary of previous research conducted by the author looks at several factors why PKH can cause dependency for KPM (Puspitasari 2023, Wula 2021, Renata 2020, Sofianto 2020, and Nabila 2020), namely:

- Financial Dependency: If beneficiary families rely on funds from PKH as their main source of income, they are less motivated to seek employment or other economic opportunities. This could result in long-term dependence on government assistance.
- Education and Health: If programs only provide incentives for education and health, but are not accompanied by efforts to improve skills or train for employment, beneficiary families are focused solely on meeting program requirements without developing their potential to be economically independent.
- Cycle of Poverty: If programs are not supported by other initiatives that help families move beyond poverty, they are trapped in a cycle of poverty and continually need help from the program.

Therefore, it is important for social protection programs such as PKH to be integrated with economic empowerment efforts, skills education, training and business opportunities that can help KPM achieve economic independence. The aim is not only to provide financial assistance, but also to help KPM to become independent, contribute to the economy, and improve the welfare of their families. The government, through PKH, must be astute in looking at the social problems that exist in the implementation of PKH and also within KPM. In implementing PKH, the mentality of bureaucrats must be instilled with a high social spirit, not only in the form of carrying out their duties according to the Standard Operational Procedures (SOP) they have, but also must have social sensitivity to truly achieve the goals of PKH. If not, illness or work dysfunction of policy implementers in PKH will not work optimally, this is what is then called bureaucratic pathology. On the KPM side, KPMs are supervised, educated, accompanied and coached seriously so that their mentality is much better. So they don't see PKH as a 'salary' from the government, but only in the form of temporary assistance so that they can hope to be independent in the future and escape the poverty line. This is what happened to one KPM from Jatisari Village who admitted that he had received PKH assistance funds from 2013 until now (Interview with Mrs. Triyani KPM from Jatisari Village). If not, they will continue to be on the brink of poverty and consider this assistance as a bonus and use it inappropriately, including consumptive behavior. This is what is then called social pathology.

In its political development, KPM is also vulnerable to political interests. KPM should receive assistance because of their status as poor people. However, they have to submit because of their relationship with political actors at the grassroots level. Political intervention in the implementation of the Family Hope Program (PKH) has had a detrimental impact. Political intervention can lead to uneven or unfair distribution of aid. More aid may be allocated to groups or regions that receive political intervention, while other groups or regions that should receive assistance do not receive adequate allocations. This can lead to disparities and injustice in providing assistance to poor families.

"As for the choice when voting, I was asked by someone (village PKH coordinator) to choose one of the candidates (Sanusi-Didik Couple) because they had already received PKH assistance." (Interview with Mrs. Siti Mariam KPM Tajinan District)



Political intervention in PKH can open up opportunities for misuse of funds and corrupt practices. As happened in Tumpang District, one of their PKH assistants was accused of corruption in PKH assistance amounting to 473 million Rupiah. Parties involved in implementing the program use their political influence to manipulate or obtain personal benefits from PKH funds, so that resources that should be intended for poor families can be diverted or misused. As a result, the implementation mechanism becomes ineffective. The process of selecting beneficiary families, verifying data, and distributing aid can be disrupted or influenced by political interference. This can lead to delays, inaccuracies, or errors in program implementation, which in turn has a negative impact on beneficiary families.

Political intervention that occurs in the implementation of PKH can create instability and uncertainty in the program. Frequent policy changes or political interventions that change priorities and allocation of funds can affect program continuity and sustainability. This can create uncertainty for beneficiary families, implementation partners, and other related stakeholders. The focus of the program which should be on providing appropriate assistance and empowering poor families can be diverted by political intervention oriented towards political interests or fulfilling personal interests.

Indirectly, this political intervention also fosters bureaucratic disease (pathology) in PKH assistants and social pathology in KPM. As stated by Didik Lestariyono, Penny Tri Herdiani's attorney, he explained that his client misused the social assistance funds because he understood there was a loophole. Because according to him, his seniors in the PKH assistant had already carried out this practice (Kiswara 2021). Penny Tri Herdiani (Former Pagelaran District PKH Facilitator) admitted that she did this because the honorarium she received was not enough to meet her needs. Then the source of social pathology lies in the mentality of KPMs who are not ready to be independent. This is made worse by their consumerist behavior. Consumer behavior is considered a form of social pathology if it leads to a significant negative impact on individuals or society as a whole.

Table 2: Forms of Bureaucratic and Social Pathology in PKH Implementation

Bureaucratic Pathology	Social Pathology
Corruption	Social assistance dependency
Abuse of Authority	Consumptive behaviour
Nepotism & Clientilism	Social jealousy

C. PKH - KPM Companion Power Relations: Michel Foucault's Power Relations Approach

Foucault argues that power is not something that is only possessed by certain individuals or groups, but rather is a complex and diverse social relationship that involves interactions between various entities in society (Kebung, 2017). In the context of bureaucratic pathology, Foucault proposed a new understanding of how bureaucracy can become pathological or experience disruption in its implementation. In the context of power relations between PKH assistants and KPMs in the implementation of PKH, from the perspective of Michel Foucault's theory of power relations, this relationship has quite serious challenges considering the facts that occur in the field. Basically, every social assistance program involves complex power dynamics between those providing assistance and those receiving assistance. Michel Foucault's theory of power relations provides a useful framework for analyzing power relations in the context of the Family Hope Program (PKH) in Indonesia.

By understanding these basic concepts, we can apply Michel Foucault's theory of power relations in analyzing the relationship between PKH facilitators and beneficiary families. In the PKH context, PKH facilitators have an important role in determining who is entitled to receive assistance, what type of assistance will be provided, and how the assistance will be provided. In this case, power relations are manifested in several ways:

- Identification and Validation Power: PKH Facilitators have the power to identify and validate prospective PKH recipients. They act as "arbitrators" who determine who is eligible to receive aid based on criteria established by the program.
- Power of Supervision and Control: PKH Facilitators also have the power to supervise beneficiary families and ensure that they comply with program requirements. This includes checking whether the children in the family are attending school and whether the family is following other program rules.



- Power of Knowledge: PKH facilitators have knowledge about programs, regulations and procedures that beneficiary families do not always have. This knowledge gives PKH facilitators the power to provide information, guide families, and explain the consequences if requirements are not met.
- Social and Emotional Power: Apart from power related to rules and knowledge, PKH facilitators also have social and emotional power. They can influence the feelings, attitudes and motivations of beneficiary families through social interactions.

Foucault describes power as something that is spread throughout society and is not limited to government institutions or particular individuals. In this article, we will explore the power relations between PKH facilitators and beneficiary families by utilizing Foucault's theoretical framework. In Foucault's theory, there are several important concepts that are relevant to the analysis of power relations in the PKH context (Bevir, 1999):

1. Distributed Power (Decentralized Power): Foucault argues that power is distributed throughout society and is not limited to government structures. Power is everywhere and can be found in various forms of social interaction. Corruption can influence this identification process, where KPMs who actually do not meet the requirements can be included in the program. This can encourage consumptive behavior, because KPM who initially did not receive assistance end up receiving PKH funds.
2. Knowledge and Power: Foucault links power with knowledge. He argues that knowledge is not neutral, but is always related to power. The person or institution that controls knowledge also has the power to define norms and values in society. PKH Facilitators also have the power to supervise KPM and ensure that they comply with program requirements. However, if PKH facilitators are involved in corruption, they may be reluctant to monitor KPM closely. KPMs who feel they are not being properly supervised can feel freer to use PKH funds for higher consumption.
3. Power and Resistance: Foucault highlights that power always triggers resistance. Individuals or groups who are controlled often try to resist this power, even if in indirect or hidden forms. KPMs who know or suspect corruption by PKH assistants may choose not to report it for fear of the consequences. In this case, resistance to corruption occurs in a hidden way, and consumerist behavior may continue because KPM does not feel they have the power to fight corrupt forces.

In Foucault's concept, this relationship can be explained as a power relationship that occurs in the government and administrative structures that regulate PKH. PKH facilitators play the role of power agents who control beneficiary families' access to social assistance and information related to the program. Foucault also emphasized that power always triggers resistance. In the context of PKH, resistance can appear in several forms, 1) Rejection of Rules: Beneficiary families refuse or are reluctant to comply with program rules that are deemed not in accordance with their needs or values. 2) Manipulation of Information: Some families may try to manipulate information or documents to qualify for the program, even if they do not actually qualify. 3) Protest Against the Companion: If the family feels treated unfairly or is dissatisfied with the escort service, they file a protest or complaint. This resistance reflects the efforts of beneficiary families to maintain some of the power threatened by the structure of the PKH program.

In the perspective of Michel Foucault's power relations theory, the relationship between PKH facilitators and beneficiary families in the Family Hope Program is a complex power dynamic. PKH facilitators have power in various aspects, from identification to supervision and control. However, resistance is also part of this relationship, because beneficiary families can try to fight the power granted by the PKH program. This analysis aims not to criticize PKH or PKH companions, but to explore the power dynamics in social assistance programs. In efforts to increase program effectiveness, it is important to consider how power relations can influence implementation and how resistance can be overcome or managed. The potential for culturally developed power relations needs to be of concern to policy makers. Because the potential for the power relationship between PKH assistants and KPM to evolve into a patron-client relationship is very large.

PKH Facilitators are individuals assigned to assist KPM in undergoing the PKH program. They have an important role in providing information, supporting administrative processes, monitoring KPM progress, and connecting KPM with other resources they may need. PKH facilitators have a better understanding of the social and economic conditions in their area. On the other hand, KPM are beneficiaries of the PKH program. They are families who meet certain criteria set by the government to receive financial assistance from this program. KPM usually live in less prosperous conditions and require economic assistance to meet their basic needs, such as food, education and access to health services.

The relationship between PKH assistants and KPM often reflects a patron-client pattern. PKH facilitators have the knowledge and expertise needed by KPMs, while KPMs need assistance and access to resources provided by PKH facilitators. This dynamic creates a hierarchy that can have positive or negative impacts depending on how these relationships are managed. However, this research found that the results of the power relationship between the two actors had a negative impact. Even though PKH facilitators have an important role in implementing the PKH program, there are several negative impacts that can occur in the context of this patron-client relationship.

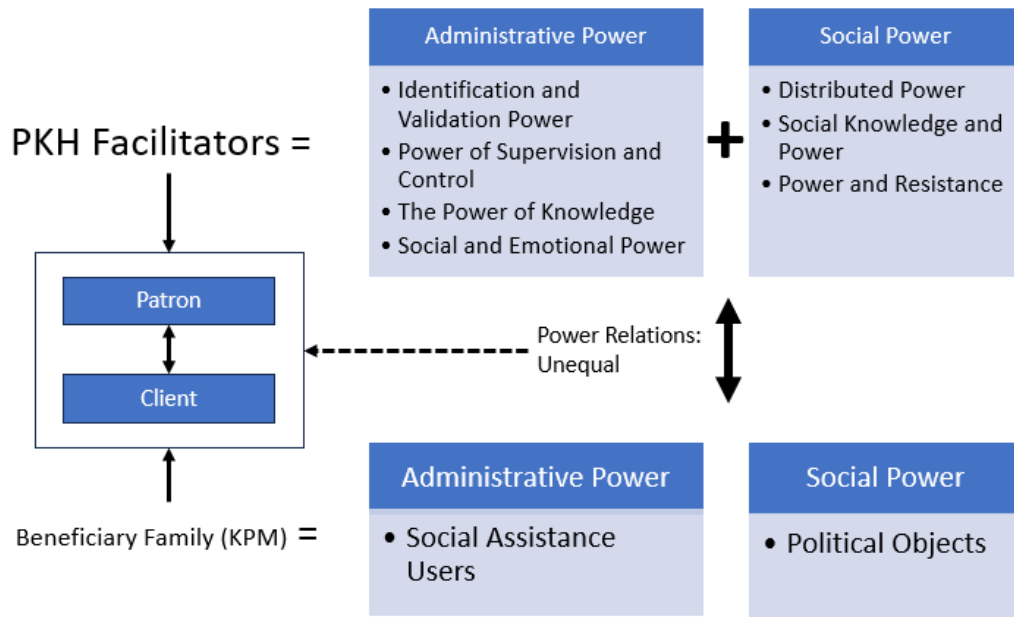


Figure 1: Relationship between PKH and KPM Facilitators

CONCLUSION

One of the negative impacts that occurs is the creation of KPM dependency on PKH assistants. KPMs can become too dependent on assistants in their economic decision making and financial planning. This can hinder KPM's efforts to become independent and plan their future without external assistance. In patron-client relationships, there is a significant power gap. PKH facilitators have greater authority and knowledge than KPMs, which can result in an imbalance in this relationship. This gap can cause KPM to feel they have less control over their own lives. Because PKH assistants have a significant influence in the lives of KPMs, there is the potential for abuse of authority by the assistants. This could include misuse of PKH funds, discrimination against certain KPM, or other unethical actions. Unbalanced patron-client relationships can hinder the empowerment of KPM. Empowerment is one of the main goals of the PKH program, but if KPMs are too dependent on PKH assistants, they may not feel they have the ability to take control of their own lives. Unbalanced patron-client relationships can lead to conflict and dissatisfaction. KPMs may feel that they are not being treated fairly or that PKH facilitators are not fulfilling their responsibilities well.

There is a negative impact of patron-client relationships in the PKH context. Therefore, it is necessary to take various efforts to overcome this problem and improve program implementation. It is important to provide good training to PKH facilitators so that they understand their role well and understand the importance of empowering KPM. Coaching can help them develop effective communication skills and ethics in serving KPM. More efforts need to be made to empower KPM. This can include skills training, providing adequate information, and support to develop a more independent living plan.

The government needs to establish a complaint mechanism that can be used by KPM if they experience abuse or injustice in their relationship with PKH facilitators. Apart from that, there needs to be strict supervision of the performance of PKH assistants. Increasing awareness among KPM about their rights and obligations in the PKH program can help reduce dependence on assistants. Continuous education about the PKH program can also help KPMs understand how best to utilize this assistance. The PKH program



needs to be continuously evaluated to identify problems and negative impacts that may occur. The results of this evaluation must be used to improve the program to make it more effective and fair.

The patron-client relationship between PKH facilitators and KPM is an integral part of implementing the PKH program. Although this relationship has the potential to provide great benefits, we should not ignore the negative impacts that may occur. It is important for the government and related organizations to work together to overcome this problem and ensure that the PKH program functions well, empowers KPM, and reduces poverty levels in Indonesia. With the right efforts, the relationship between PKH facilitators and KPM can be an effective tool in achieving the noble goals of the PKH program. Because the PKH problem is not only the potential for patron-client relationships created by power relations that are built up during interactions between them, but also the presence of interventions that come from external factors.

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