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by Jurnal Mediasosian

Submission date: 05-May-2023 05:33AM (UTC-0400)

Submission ID: 2084946057

File name: revisi Social Policy Article 1.docx (139.74K)

Word count: 8669 Character count: 47980

Social and Bureaucratic Problems in Social Policy Implementation in Indonesia: A Study on the Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)

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Abstrak

Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dituntut memiliki kebijakan sosial dalam menekan angka kemiskinan salah satunya melalui Program keluarga Harapan (PKH). Faktanya, beberapa oknum justru menyalahgunakan wewenang pada program ini. Pendamping PKH melakukan korupsi (patologi birokrasi) dan perilaku konsumtif (patologi sosial) yang ditunjukkan penerima PKH. Metode penelitian kualitatif dan studi literatur digunakan untuk melihat banyaknya masalah sosial dan birokrasi pada implementasi PKH. Sehingga peneliti dapat mendeskripsikan dan mengkaji kenapa permasalahan tersebut terjadi. Dengan menggunakan teori pertukaran sosial, artikel ini membahas permasalahan sosial yang dihadapi para penerima PKH. Hasilnya, perilaku konsumtif mereka terjadi karena proses evaluasi yang kurang maksimal dari pendamping PKH. Sehingga mereka dapat menyalahgunakan bantuan sosial yang mereka terima. Jeratan hutang yang mereka dihadapi juga menjadi permasalahan kompleks tersendiri. Berikutnya, faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan pendamping PKH melakukan korupsi. Kompleksitas relasi kuasa politik, birokrasi dan masalah mentalitas mereka adalah faktor-faktor yang dominan. Kunci permasalahan ini berada pada pendamping PKH. Jika mereka dapat melakukan perannya dengan baik, penerima PKH juga tunduk kepada setiap aturan yang ada.Negara juga harus memastikan profesionalisme dan kesejahteraan pendamping PKH untuk menutup kemungkinan mereka melakukan korupsi kembali.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan Sosial; PKH; Bantuan Sosial; Pendamping PKH; Korupsi PKH

Abstact

Indonesian Goverment is required to have social policies in reducing poverty, one of which is through the *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH). In fact, some individuals abused their authority in this program. PKH Facilitators commit corruption (bureaucratic pathology) and consumptive behavior (social pathology) shown by PKH beneficiaries. Qualitative research methods and literature studies were used to see the many social and bureaucratic problems in PKH implementation. So that researchers can describe and examine why these problems occur. Using social exchange theory, this article discusses the social problems faced by PKH beneficiaries. As a result, their consumptive behavior occurs because the evaluation process is not optimal from the PKH assistants. So they can abuse the social assistance. The debt bondage they face is also a complex problem. Next, the factors that cause PKH assistants to commit corruption. The complexity of political power relations, bureaucracy and their mentality problems are the dominant factors. The key to this problem lies with the PKH assistants. If they can carry out their role properly, PKH beneficiaries are also subject to every existing regulation. The state must also ensure the professionalism and welfare of PKH assistants to prevent them from committing corruption again.

Key Words: Social Policy; PKH; Social Assistance; PKH Assistant; PKH Corruption

Introduction

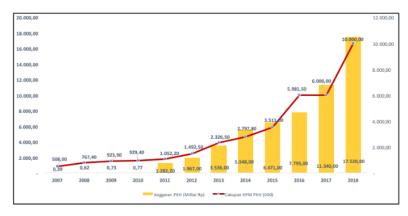
Poverty is a classic problem that always occurs in the development process of a country (Bahauddin et all 2021 in Faradila & Imaningsih, 2022). Poverty can be seen from the conditions of low education, poor health, inability to live life, lack of money, low income (Desinta & Sitorus, 2021) Therefore, each country has a strategy contained in social policies that aim to reduce the poverty rate in each country. In Indonesia, one form of social policy implementation is the Family Hope Program (PKH).

PKH as a social policy cannot be formulated in a relatively short period of time. In the implementation process, various social conditions will be found that go hand in hand with community dynamics, both in terms of social movements, conflicts, disintegration, and other social risks. This social condition will indirectly become an indicator of how social facts can be verified, so that policy formulation requires authentic and measurable data in making a joint decision.

In Indonesia, social policy is regulated in the 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 that are tentative and selective with the aim of protecting of possible social risks. In fact, as implied in the regulation is not in accordance with its implementation. It is evident that there is a tendency for social assistance managed by local government structures to be used to support personal interests. Through social assistance programs, the popularity and electability of local authorities are used as a springboard for performance and even become a medium for corruption by politicians and other public officials. Reports, complaints, and criticism of this deviant behavior came from various walks of life. Each claim shows that the implementation arrangement of grants and social assistance programs is ineffective.

Conditions that affect this ineffectiveness are caused by management mechanisms and the opening of opportunities for corrupt practices in the implementation system and process. In addition to managerial issues, social assistance programs are considered ineffective around data collection, which has implications for the inaccuracy of targeting beneficiaries. Through these problems, it has an impact on the high rate of cases of mistargeting beneficiaries, inappropriate activities, and the use of programs by groups who are not entitled (Haliim, 2020). This can be proven from the results of research conducted by Halim (2021) showing that social assistance in the form of the Family Hope Program (PKH) in Malang Regency has been used as a political instrument ahead of the regent election in 2018. Meanwhile, there is a lot of social assistance that is in Developing countries also have the same case.

Based on its initial establishment, in 2007 PKH was a social assistance program aimed at Poor Families (KM) and was subsequently designated as beneficiary families. The sustainability of PKH is alleviating poverty faced by developing countries, especially the problem of chronic poverty. Based on the data, Indonesia until March 2016 was still 10.86% of the total population or 28.01 million people (BPS, 2016). The government has set a poverty reduction target of 7-8% in 2019, as stated in the 2015-2019 RPJMN. PKH is expected to contribute significantly to reducing the number of poor people, reducing inequality (gini ratio) while increasing the Human Development Index (IPM) (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2022). The increase in the provision of PKH assistance from 2007 to 2018 can be seen in the graph below:



Graph 1. PKH KPM Budget and Coverage (Source: Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia (kemensos.go.id))

Based on the graph above, it shows that the government has implemented PKH every year, always increasing. Since 2011 PKH budget allocations have entered nominal billions of rupiah, even in 2016 as many as 6 million poor families have 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 are allocated a budget of 17.5 trillion rupiah. Looking at the increase in the number of PKH budget allocations, it shows that the government is serious in dealing with the problem of poverty. But it is very unfortunate, when the PKH policy was implemented, there were many political interests, abuse of authority, to the complexity of the cultural problems that existed among PKH beneficiaries.

There are several research findings regarding the implementation of PKH which often become sustainable problems. The results of research by Najidah and Lestari (2019) with the title The Effectiveness of the Family Hope Program (PKH) in Rowosari Village, Tembalang District, Semarang City. The results showed that out of a total of 459 PKH recipient household heads (KK) indirectly helped provide economic activities to families, however, unfortunately there were several

major obstacles during the implementation process, namely the lack of coordination between PKH assistants, UPPKH, and PKH targets. So far, the digitalization system carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs and up to the district level has been quite good, but unfortunately the planning up to the facilitation level is not synergistic enough. So that what happened was the complexity in building a two-way communication pattern, the target PKH beneficiaries were not effective enough to receive various instructions from assistants. In the end, the output and outcome of the PKH program did not reach the target.

The results of this study indicate that the capacity of PKH facilitators in mobilizing PKH targets is important. This is because the plans prepared either in the form of technical guidelines or a series of program stages have not been consolidated between PKH assistants. So that without integrated planning, each PKH assistant runs on its own, there is no monitoring, monitoring, or assessment of the progress of target achievement. In this context, it is necessary to carry out a planned and systematic stage in integrating planning elements in an integrative and measurable manner, in the development of which it is very possible that PKH activities are not just development rhetoric ridden by political elites.

The dynamics of PKH implementation is also evidenced by the results of Sofianto research (2020) as an employee of the Regional Research and Development Development Planning Agency (BAPEDA) with the title Implementation of the PKH Program in Central Java Province. Some important indicators that the author notes find PKH's weaknesses are; First, the implementation of PKH in Central Java from a procedural and managerial aspect has been considered good, but the program's targets are not precise because the data is invalid, 21.54 (%) PKH beneficiaries are not poor, and only 13.99 (%) PKH beneficiaries are poor, and 26.21 (%) are very poor. Data accuracy is very necessary when faced with certain situations such as the Covid 19 pandemic, where accurate data determines the accuracy of program targets. Second, the community feels the benefits of PKH to reduce their living expenses and if possible, the amount is increased, on the other hand there are still many poor families who have not received assistance, causing conflict and suspicion. Third, the PKH renewal that is needed is to have a dimension of sustainability, involving the community in program planning, as well as educating the poor so that they are empowered and productive.

The author strengthens the perspective of thinking by using several theories related to social benefits. According to several definitions, it shows that community social actions and behavior can be studied through social exchanges in society (Wirawan, 2012). The objects exchanged between interested parties can be in the form of material and non-material. In the material category, humans exchange and do financial or trade transactions. In the non-material category, which relates to the burden of living, individual and communal hopes, and achievements. Social exchange can have

direct or indirect effects on a study of political behavior, political preferences and interactional relations between society and political elites (Wirawan, 2012). Through social exchange schemes, social relations can be used as the basis for actor conditioning when behavior between actors is modified by the consequences that arise.

This article attempts to observe that the validity and updating of prospective PKH beneficiary data or poverty data is the key to the accuracy of the program provided. The impact is, when the data documentation process in the DTKS is ineffective, the next process for PKH beneficiaries is certain to be off target. This situation ultimately stimulated social problems such as the abuse of the PKH companion's authority and the misappropriation of assistance received by PKH beneficiaries. This article aims to analyze the reasons why PKH assistants abuse their powers and misappropriate aid occurs.

RESEARCH METHODS

Qualitative research was chosen as the type of research used in this study because qualitative research emphasizes the description and explanation of a phenomenon to be studied. In the process qualitative research aims to explain contextually by using the researcher as a natural part. Provide detailed explanations and analyze processes and meanings based on the subject's point of view (Bogdan & Taylor, 1993). Qualitative research that is open and transparent is possible to provide more in-depth data collected. In addition, in this study it is also important to find the meaning and nature of the subject's experience. Not just looking for an explanation or looking for measurements of a reality.

To support the writing of this article, researchers also use literature studies. Literature study is a scientific study that focuses on a particular topic. Literature studies can provide an overview of the development of a particular topic. Literature study can enable researchers to identify a theory or method being studied (Knopf, 2006; Rowley & Slack, 2004). Literature studies are used to examine social facts related to the social dynamics of PKH beneficiaries and assistants. After that, these facts are examined using the Perspective of Social Exchange Theory. Because people's social actions and behavior can be studied through social exchanges in society.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Social Problems and Lifestyle of PKH Recipients

As explained in the Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation (Permensos) No. 1 of 2018 concerning the Family Hope Program, guidelines for implementing the 2021 Family Hope Program, and strengthened by Decree of the Director General of Social Protection and Security No.

Assistance for the 2021 Family Hope Program. The regulation describes the PKH implementation process starting from pre-implementation (data collection and identification of PKH beneficiaries), implementation (socialization, debriefing, and mentoring) and the monitoring and evaluation stage. Within the framework of implementing the regulations above, the initial process of formulating acceptance of the PKH program began with an initial meeting held when the Beneficiary Family (KPM) data was submitted from the Social Ministry (KEMENSOS) to the Local Social Service (DINSOS), then from the Social Service it lowered the data to the District Level through the subdistrict the data goes down to the *kelurahan*, and then is distributed through the *kelurahan* by inviting the KPM registered in the data to attend meetings, then they are declared as recipients of social assistance in the form of the Family Hope Program and given information to be facilitated by PKH assistants.

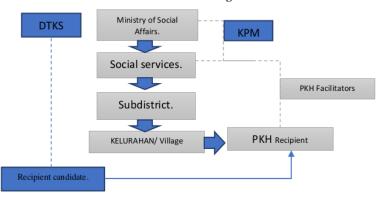


Chart 1: Process for Determining PKH Beneficiaries

(Source: Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia (kemensos.go.id))

Based on the above scheme, it shows that the process of determining PKH beneficiaries uses data sourced from the results of online data input. In terms of input data, not all people can access it, because this program is in accordance with the mandate of the Minister of Social Affairs aimed at poor families or RTSM (Very Poor Households). On an ongoing basis the PKH program seeks to reduce the poverty rate in Indonesia, by helping and assistance it is hoped that all citizens can be more productive, such as carrying out various forms of entrepreneurship. By having business activities, it is hoped that they will be able to create independent situations, be able to turn around capital, have good capital management, produce local products, and be able to network their businesses. So, with these conditions, the status of this RTSM can meet the needs in the economic, social, health, and educational fields for their children.

During the five years from 2018 to 2022, there have been many findings in the field related to the implementation of the Family Hope Program (PKH), even though the central government has regulated the implementation system properly and systematically, but many findings have been made by several top actors, such as PKH beneficiaries, assistance, and the politicization of infiltrated budgets. Following is some of the findings from previous research as authentic evidence regarding the problems that occur in the field. The results of the research conducted showed that there were several factors that caused wealthy families to also receive PKH assistance (Family Hope Program). Several important findings regarding the implementation of PKH were carried out by beneficiaries; 1). Relationship between PKH beneficiaries and data collection officers; PKH participating communities are also very cooperative and kind, making it easier for assistants to obtain the necessary data. The cooperation of PKH participants can occur because of the approach and family attitude shown by the assistants, so that the relationship that is built between PKH assistants and PKH participants is not limited to a work relationship but is like a family relationship. 2). Lack of understanding of PKH beneficiaries about the use of assistance, in general, families who receive PKH assistance are on average families with low education who do not understand what this assistance is given for. There are still many families who use the assistance supposedly to help pay for the education of elementary, middle and high school children, but in reality, they use the assistance for personal needs such as buying clothes and paying off debts.

The results of the research above seem to correlate with the results of research conducted by Prakoso and Handoyo (2016). minimalist and carry out activities to survive by reducing the number of servings to be consumed and selling livestock owned. Furthermore, other findings are in the form of utilizing social relations and networks in several ways including a). Ask a friend for a job. b). Indebted to you. Apart from meeting the necessities of life, PKH beneficiaries also have other consumption needs, such as buying clothes, owning a vehicle, and so on. The use of PKH assistance in terms of education is used appropriately, but health assistance tends not to be used optimally, the benefits of PKH for RTSM are reducing the burden of living, and various other benefits.

PKH program recipients should not be positioned as PKH program objects, a study is needed to assess their economic assets and knowledge related to government programs that have been provided so far. The two research results above clearly explain that the position of PKH recipients depends on their habits in their household; both in consumption level habits, buying habits of types of goods, habits of processing government aid goods. Thus, the recipients prioritize their habits and knowledge regarding how to live in a family. However, it does not position PKH as a program that can reduce and help them get out of their daily burdens. As the second author found, explained that the PKH program was also used to buy certain types of products and pay off debts.

This means that during the data collection process for prospective beneficiaries, an assessment has not been carried out regarding dependents or routines that touch the needs of the family budget. As it should be, that RTSM who have limited access and resources, they will look for certain ways to meet their needs, such as savings and loans at the nearest bank, *bank titil* savings and loans, arisan, pawnshops, and others. The needs assessment must also know the mindset and way of life of prospective PKH beneficiaries regarding their own lives.

This condition was also driven by several research findings related to other matters, namely consumption patterns and misuse of the PKH program by assistants and beneficiaries. In accordance with the implementation scheme determined by the central government and statutory mandates, in this case, all stakeholders are required to make a breakthrough, especially regarding community empowerment and strategies for developing beneficiaries from other approaches. The results of research conducted by Arif and Sabilla (2021) on PKH consumption patterns and economic inequality in Semarang Regency show that the spatial distribution of the poor is an analysis that can describe the distribution and grouping of areas where the poor are concentrated in Semarang Regency. In this study, data on the distribution of the poor were obtained from the economic and social census which was summarized in the Unified Database (BDT). From the UDB data, 90,349 household heads were identified, and 309,296 individuals were categorized as less prosperous in 2018. This number experienced a decrease in the number of poor people in Semarang Regency in 2020 by 1.56%, it is known that the number of household heads decreased to 90,171 and individuals decreased to 304,451 people.

Other findings show that the distribution of the poor in Semarang Regency is concentrated in 3 sub-districts, namely Suruh, Tengaran and Getasan sub-districts, which are directly adjacent to Boyolali district and Salatiga City, so it can be concluded that this area is an area with quite high community mobility and is influenced by by economic activity from the external area. In the economic sector, it is known that the average economic growth in Semarang Regency is 5 percent which is supported by the industrial sector. The results of calculating income and expenditure inequality using the Gini index approach show that the poor in Semarang Regency do not show any significant inequality. An interesting finding from this study is that debt is a very burdensome problem for the community so that their income must be deducted a lot to pay debts. It is also known that the distribution of debt needs is almost the same between regions, namely for consumption, schooling and as business capital, thus to unravel and overcome the problem of poverty requires intervention through social safety nets and higher education assistance programs for the poor in Semarang Regency (Arif & Sabilla, 2021).

As explained by the findings above, if examined from a sociological perspective and approach, it explains that PKH beneficiaries remain at the same root of the problem, which is related to debt bondage and the burden of family responsibilities, especially regarding fulfilling primary and secondary basic needs. The mentality and way of thinking of PKH beneficiaries needs to be considered, a condition of habit (habitus) tends to encourage this behavior. Both in terms of social capital, how do they relate to neighbors, relatives, co-workers, and other relations related to economic activity. Another factor is related to cultural capital, the productions of RTM's knowledge about their own lives greatly determine their relation to their subsistence ethics. However, there are things that have not been anticipated related to the impact of the RTSM family habitualization on the use of the PKH program. As the results of this study indicate that the KPM-PKH misuse of KKS is to practice pawning KKS. In the practice of pawning KKS, the authors found that there were two stages that the KPM-PKH person went through, namely negotiation and transaction. The motives of the KPM-PKH persons in carrying out the practice of pawning KKS are divided into two, namely motives for causes and motives for purposes. The objective motives behind KPM making KKS pawn transactions are (1) financial difficulties (2) ease of making transactions (3) environmental influences (4) monitoring and prevention efforts that are less than optimal (5) imposition of sanctions that are not firm. Meanwhile, the objective motives of the actors to pawn KKS are to meet unexpected, urgent needs and shop for basic needs.

The discussion above provides important findings that are characteristic of RTSM recipients, namely regarding family habitualization related to daily activities, standardization of life (feeling poor or not) and the inclusion of economic services that see PKH as an opportunity. In this case, it is interesting to study when the government issues several standards regarding poverty, for example the standards issued by the World Bank, IMF, Bappenas, and by other institutions. That consists of several indicators including home ownership, type of house used, daily income, asset data, and daily consumption patterns. This standardization is the measure used by the government to categorize poverty, but unfortunately in the context of development in Indonesia these indicators cannot be used in general.

Poverty areas from various regions have characteristics according to ecological conditions, culture, and regional economic cycles. It is proven that the poverty that occurs in farmers' areas, the strong production of farmers' cultural knowledge makes them not feel poor. By living simply and sufficiently to meet their daily needs, the amount of salary they get is between (Rp. 17,000 to Rp. 60,000 rupiah) usually consumption patterns and other activities are directly adjusted to the amount of income they have, such as buying rice, variety side dishes, children's pocket money, children's education, and other needs. The condition of this deficiency was seen by economic service

organizations such as banking, cooperatives, and foremen who provided loans in the form of money to farmers during a famine. This situation is not impossible, if farmers are targeted by PKH which is eventually read by economic service institutions as an opportunity to add customers or consumers. Because they already thought that with PKH, at least the RTSM already had guarantees in the form of assistance that would be provided by the local government. So thus, these conditions can be understood as influences that shape the character of PKH beneficiaries as described in the beginning below;

Subsistence

be in debt

Family habitualization

Unmanaged

PKH beneficiaries

Economic service organization

Abuse

RTSM standardization

Chart 2: Social Problems of PKH Beneficiaries

(Source: Arif and Sabilla, 2021)

Basic human behavior, especially in this case is PKH beneficiaries, who are still considering the pros and cons that impact internally. Profit and loss here include things like material, expectations, ideas and achievements. PKH social assistance in the form of material is included. The theory of exchange or exchange built by George Homans is a reaction to the paradigm of social facts, especially the ideas put forward by Durkheim. Homans' reaction to Durkheim is divided into three parts.

First, the view of emergence. Homans acknowledges and accepts some of the concepts about the emergence of a new phenomenon caused by an interaction process (Haris, 2020). However, according to Homans, the problem is how to explain the phenomena that arise from the interaction process. According to Homans, new prepositions are not needed to explain the nature of phenomena that arise because of interactions, because they would be more than what is needed to see simple behavior.

Second, his views on psychology. According to him, the theory compiled by Durkheim was very outdated because it was made at the end of the 19th century. At that time, psychology assumed that universally humans had the same nature and only focused on instinctive behavior. And today sociology is very different from the sociology of Durkheim's time. Today's sociology is no longer

the adopted child of psychology like Durkheim at his time, but already stands on its own (Wardani, 2016). Nonetheless, Homans does not deny that psychological factors cannot be separated from social exchange theory. Social conditions affect their mindset in receiving social assistance. Including the behavior of those who use social assistance not for their primary needs. They consider that social assistance is 'only' as additional income.

Third, related to the method of explanation. Durkheim explained that the object of study of sociology is something that is considered as goods (Amrulloh, 2022). To be able to explain something, the causal factors must be found first. Social facts can be explained if other social facts are found to be the cause. Such is the condition that researchers found in Tulungrejo Village, Donomulyo District, Malang Regency. Several KPM saw that the PKH social assistance they received was only a 'bonus'. Very few of them take advantage of the assistance for primary needs or even convert it into business capital.

Homans agrees that social facts are always the cause of other social facts. But according to him finding the cause is not yet an explanation, that what needs to be explained is the relationship between the cause and the effect of that relationship. To explain why a social fact becomes the cause of another social fact, it is necessary to use a behavioral (psychological) approach. According to Homans, psychological variables (behavior) are always intervening variables between two social facts. Therefore, human activities are no longer bound by an abstract contract between one person and another. The principle of exchange theory is a general description of the elements of this theory, namely units of analysis, motives, benefits, and social legitimacy (Wirawan, 2012).

- Unit of Analysis: In social order the unit of analysis is something that is observed in writing and plays an important role in explaining the social order and the individual. This theory, although it does not start from questioning, intuition, or general opinion, will eventually focus on things related to intuition, their group, and their feelings. Exchange theory also does not only focus on individuals, but also focuses more on order and change.
- 2. Exchange Motives: In exchange theory, motives are assumed to be desires that are shared by everyone. They will need something, but something that is not a common goal. Therefore, this theory assumes that people exchange because they are motivated by a mix of different goals and desires. Exchange theory sees motivation as something personal and individual. however, motivation will later refer to an individual's personal culture. Motivation refers to the goods to be obtained, joy, satisfaction, and other emotional things. For example, a donor who gives goods or some money and helps people who are

- drowning in water, these actions can be explained in exchange theory, namely, to achieve emotional satisfaction.
- 3. Benefit or Gain: Even the most selfish person is not in the void of life, for he gives something to everyone and derives pleasure from his feelings. The costs incurred by someone will receive a 'gift', sometimes the costs incurred are not considered. Thus, 'cost' can be interpreted as the effort required to achieve a satisfaction, coupled with potential rewards that will be received when doing something. Satisfaction or rewards obtained can be assessed as a benefit or advantage.
- 4. Social Validation: Social validation is a satisfaction and a major factor in the exchange system. The importance of the meaning of appreciation is not easily limited, because it is personal and emotional depending on the diversity of each person. However, according to this theory, rewards are rewards that have the power of social approval. In everyday life, everything they like will be sought in their social relations. People will prefer or match with others to validate themselves.

Thibault and Kelley concluded the social exchange model, in which individuals voluntarily enter and stay in a social relationship if the relationship is satisfactory in terms of rewards and costs. Rewards, costs, results, and levels of comparison are the four main concepts in this theory (Sapari, 2018). A 'reward' is any positive outcome a person gets from a relationship. These rewards can be in the form of money, social acceptance, or support for the values he holds. The value of a reward varies greatly from one person to another, and changes from time to time. For people who have more economic resources, it is possible that social acceptance is more valuable than money. However, for the poor, interpersonal relationships that can overcome their economic difficulties are more beneficial than relationships that increase knowledge.

Costs are negatively evaluated outcomes that occur in a relationship. These costs can be in the form of time, effort, conflict, anxiety, and self-esteem and other conditions that can drain individual resources or cause unpleasant effects (Haliim, 2017). Like rewards, costs can take various forms depending on the time and people involved. The result or profit is the reward minus the cost. If in an interpersonal relationship an individual feels that he does not get any benefits, then he will look for other relationships that are more profitable. For example, you have a friend who is stingy and stupid. You help him a lot, but only so that your friendship with him does not fall apart. Your help (cost) is greater than the value of the friendship (reward) you receive. Then you can be said to have suffered a loss.

If viewed from this theory, the behavior of beneficiaries who use assistance not to support their family's primary needs occurs because the concept of the costs they incur are very small, almost non-existent. So, they don't feel that to get PKH social assistance, they have to spend more energy. They are only required to obey and comply with administrative rules that prove they are a person or family that is eligible to receive PKH social assistance. So that in this perspective, social exchange does not only make humans as beings who have the capacity to interact or work together, but there are opportunities that are considered together, namely economically, socially valued and several rational choices in continuing in the future.

B. Bureaucratic Pathology of PKH Facilitators

Indicators of the success of PKH implementation depend on how the capacity of PKH facilitators carries out a process of increasing the capability and capacity of program beneficiaries. From the capability building sector, it can be seen how the assistants make assistance efforts so that recipients can network, help each other, and form patterns of effective behavior in utilizing the PKH program. Meanwhile, the role in the field of capacity building can be seen from the companion's efforts to carry out socialization strategies, debriefing, Training of Trainers (TOT), training and other strengthening of skills and knowledge. This condition is in accordance with the mandate of the Minister of Social Affairs No. 1 of 2018 concerning the Family Hope Program, guidelines for implementing the 2021 *Program Keluarga Harapan* and Decree of the Director General of Social Protection and Security No. 02/3/OT.02.01/12/2020 concerning Technical Guidelines for Distribution of Non-Cash Social Assistance for the 2021 PKH (Kemensos, 2021).

In its implementation, the regulations above explain that the Analysis of the Role of PKH Social Facilitators consists of four roles attached to companions, namely the facilitative role that should be carried out by PKH social assistants according to the rules that the authors refer to, namely in the form of conducting initial meeting activities. This initial meeting was held when the KPM data was sent down from the Ministry of Social Affairs to the Social Service, then from the Social Service, the data was passed on to the sub-district, through the sub-district, the data was sent to the *kelurahan*, and then distributed through the *kelurahan* by inviting the KPM registered in the data to attend the meeting, early after they were declared as recipients of social assistance in the form of the Family Hope Program. Then carry out mentoring, meaning that PKH KPM are introduced to assistants who will assist them if they become PKH KPM then that is to provide group facilitation, this group facilitation is carried out by PKH social assistants, they provide group facilitation in the form of deliberations forming group administrators, starting from the election of the chairman, treasurer, and secretary. With this facilitative role, assistants are required to facilitate the KPM they are assisting in the best way possible and there is less possibility of problems occurring around KPM PKH.

While the educational role is the role of the companion in providing knowledge, skills, and experience for the individuals, groups and communities being assisted. In this **educational role**, assistants carry out motivational activities, visits to KPM houses, and P2K2. As well as the **role of representatives** is a role in interacting with outsiders for the benefit of society and provide benefits to society. This role relates to the interaction between the mentor and external agencies on behalf of and for the benefit of the assisted group. In this role, the assistant advocates or defends the beneficiary he assists who does not receive complementary assistance in the form of KIS, KIP, BPNT or basic food assistance, and other social assistance. Then the assistant completes the handling of complaints received from KPM, and the assistant holds regular group meetings. The last is **the technical role**, which is related to various technical matters in community development. The technical role relates to the technical affairs of the assistant as a social assistant. In this role, the assistant carries out data updating activities, verification of commitments and reconciliation of distribution.

However, in its implementation PKH assistants also face external and internal problems. One example of an external problem is communication barriers with PKH beneficiaries. Communication barriers to PKH assistants show that the Family Capacity Building Program (P2K2), its activities are called Family Development Sessions (FDS). This article focuses on the problems that occur in social assistance activities, especially on communication barriers between social assistants and residents as Beneficiary Families (KPM). The existence of social assistants as the spearhead of implementing government social programs is very important in influencing program effectiveness. Social companions are often stuck with communication barriers. Ineffective communication has an impact on client acceptance. Clients will tend to be closed and difficult to accept. This client's closedness becomes a companion obstacle in carrying out social assessments and interventions (Alfi & Saputro, 2018). The social assistant's communication skills are not solely a matter of theory, but skills/skills of the companion that must be honed continuously by practicing social work. The experience of a social companion will help him discover new skills that may not be found in college. With the synergy of theory, skills and experience that continues to be developed, social assistants will be skilled and good at adapting to clients and ultimately communication barriers can be minimized as early as possible.

Apart from external problems, PKH Facilitators also face internal problems. Namely the morality and mentality of PKH assistants must also be a major concern. If this is ignored, it is unlikely that there will be abuse of authority and criminal acts of corruption by PKH assistants. Aji and Mahyani (2022) conducted research that the social assistants for the Family Hope Program in Pagelaran District, Malang Regency, in the period from January 2017 to December 2020 had

misused funds in the Family Hope Program in Sidorejo Village and Kanigoro Village by means of did not submit the Prosperous Family Card (KKS) and Savings Book to the Beneficiary Families (KPM) then the defendant disbursed the funds through Bank BNI which should have been received by the KPM but these funds were not given to the KPM and personally owned by the accused.

Another way is that the perpetrator did not update the eligible KPM's data to receive assistance and the defendant also did not update the Prosperous Family Card (KKS) whose status was eligible (eligible) to non-eligible, and the defendant controlled and did not distribute KKS to KPM. Then the perpetrator who had become the accused, disbursed the Assistance Fund to KPM which was not on target because it no longer had the components that were required as KPM.

So that because of the abuse committed by the defendant in the form of acts of corruption to enrich themselves or others and resulted in state financial losses totaling approximately 500 million Rupiah. Therefore, the actions committed by the defendant mentioned above are punishable and regulated in Article 2 paragraph (1) in conjunction with Article 18 of Law Number 31 of 1999 concerning Eradication of Corruption as amended and supplemented by Law Number 20 of 2001 concerning Amendments to Law Number 31 of 1999 concerning the Eradication of Corruption in conjunction with Article 64 paragraph (1) of the Criminal Code (Aji & Mahyani, 2022).

The following are PKH assistants who are accused of corruption in PKH facilitators in 2022, including:

Table 1: PKH Facilitators who commit Corruption

No	Name	Assistance Area
1	Asep Dede Priatna	Tangerang District
2	Yenni Novianti	Tangerang District
3	Abdul Manab	Bangkalan District
4	Penny Tri Herdhiani	Malang District

(Source: processed from various sources)

Corruption is indeed a disease (pathology) of the bureaucracy, especially in Indonesia. Not only corruption, but political interests were also infiltrated in the distribution of PKH social assistance to KPM. This happened in the elections for the Malang Regency regional head in 2022. Based on the results of observations and secondary data sources, the author states that other cases besides corruption cases were carried out by PKH assistants. Namely the politicization of PKH that occurred ahead of the Malang Regency Regional Head Election (Pilkada) in 2020. The politicization of social assistance was politicized by the Malang Regent and Deputy Regent candidate pair number two, namely Lathifah Shohib and Didik Budi Muljono (Ladub). This social assistance took place in Mulyosari Hamlet, Harjokuncaran Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan in RT

31/RW 32 and RT 32/RW 09 (Haliim, 2021). The evidence in the field shows that the social assistance received by the beneficiaries is also followed by the provision of candidate pair stickers. In addition to having a sticker for the candidate pair, beneficiaries of social assistance are also directed to vote for candidate pair number two. The social assistance was carried out at Hudaifah's house as Chair of the PKH Group in Mulyosari Hamlet, Harjokuncaran Village. Beneficiaries are given PKH assistance in the form of 5 to 10 kg of rice and fruit. Through this assistance, the recipient is directed by the giver to choose candidate pair number two on voting day.

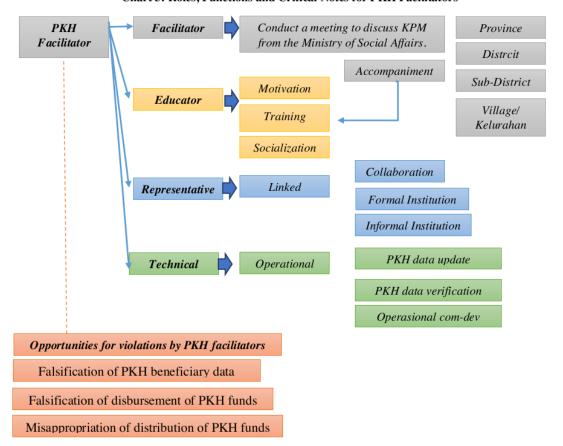


Chart 3: Roles, Functions and Critical Notes for PKH Facilitators

(Source: Kemensos, 2021; Alfi & Saputro, 2018)

Viewed from the perspective of Social Exchange Theory put forward by Peter Blau, for Blau the phenomenon of individual attraction to social rewards is something that is "given" and is the origin of social structure. Attract individuals into associations expecting intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. Extrinsic rewards can be in the form of money, goods, or services, while intrinsic rewards can be in the form of affection, praise, honor, and beauty. In Blau's book (2017), Exchange and

Power in Social Life, can provide a systematic explanation of Exchange Theory. There is a main objective which is to show how imbalances in exchange transactions result in differences in status and power, with power structures providing the basis for a larger (meso or macro) level of structure. Blau had previously anticipated some of the basic tenets of his approach in a case study of the informal power and status that developed between agents in a bureaucratic organization. Specifically, skilled individuals share expertise with less experienced peers; they develop different ranks, using their different knowledge. At the micro level, Blau's exchange theory aims to apply to behavior in anticipation of rewards from others, and which does not continue in the absence of a beneficial response (Blau, 2017).

The Corruption of PKH Facilitators reflects the corrupt behavior of our bureaucrats which is the excess of the existence of aristocratic attitude & mental problems among the bureaucracy that the community wants to serve. Local governments represented by PKH Facilitators think that they are elites who have the authority to collect 'tribute' from the community to supplement their income. Now the pattern of attitudes and values is manifested in the form of corrupt behavior by cutting social assistance that should be given directly to KPM. On the other hand, many KPM do not know and understand the amount or rights they should receive. They already 'feel' grateful for the PKH social assistance provided by the state to them. This complexity is what Blau calls social consent.

Blau emphasizes social approval as a common gift. Even "altruistic" behavior may be motivated in part by the expectation of receiving social gratitude and approval, but engaging in such behavior may mean that the individual must go beyond self-interest to show concern for the needs of others (Tome & Funay 2021). Blau also revealed about the perspective of exchange theory for love relationships, this clearly shows the importance of emotional ties that encourage individuals to identify carefully the various types of rewards in exchange, especially socio-emotional. Material items such as gifts exchanged between lovers are not seen from practical value or economic value, but as an expression as a symbol of their shared emotional bond. The contrast between this type of relationship and the economic exchanges that occur in impersonal markets is reflected in Blau's distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.

There is a difference between Contemporary Social Exchange Theory and psychology and microeconomics which lies in its emphasis on social structures where exchange occurs (Mighfar, 2015). If it is seen that previous exchange theorists examine the relations of two parties more, contemporary rat theory places exchanges in the context of a larger network, as well as investigates the effect of structural opportunities that actors must exchange with partners alternately, on power, forming coalitions and related processes (Ritzer & Smart, 2011). Furthermore, there are two qualifications that must be met for behavior that leads to social exchange. These qualifications are

behavior must be oriented towards goals that can only be achieved through interaction with other people and behavior must aim to obtain the means for achieving these goals.

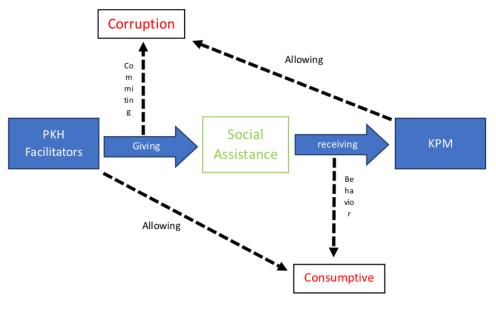


Chart 4: Social Approval of Diversion of PKH Social Assistance

(Source: Ritzer & Smart, 2011; Mighfar, 2015)

The main attention of Blau's theory is directed to changes in social processes that move from simple social structures first to more complex social structures. This can be seen from the development of a stratification system in more complex groups (Putri, 2020). In the early stages of group formation, individuals try to show their value to the group. The members will give different values so that there is a difference in status. Not all communities are able or willing to take on the responsibility of group leadership. As a result, some of them will back down and give others a chance to get a position. The existence of power differentiation can raise the level of the need for social integration of different statuses. So, in this case there is an exchange relationship related to the problem of stratification. Exchange can occur if the relationship is beneficial to members of high or low ranking. However, if the coercive power relationship occurs, an unequal exchange relationship occurs and is maintained by using negative sanctions. The existence of power creates problems because it triggers resistance. In order for society to function properly, those at the bottom are required to obey and carry out their daily obligations under the direction of those in power.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

A. Conclusions

The success of implementing PKH to reduce poverty cannot be separated from the role of PKH assistants. Because it is the PKH assistants who are very close to the beneficiaries. But the fact is that PKH assistants are trapped in a vortex of corruption. Even though PKH assistants have three central roles. The educational role which is the role of the companion in providing knowledge, skills, experience, to providing motivation for the individuals, groups and communities being assisted. Instead of ignoring the consumptive lifestyle of beneficiaries. PKH Facilitators must be able to direct and monitor PKH beneficiaries, so that the funds received can be used as best as possible so that their welfare can increase.

Then is the role of the representative. This role is an internal role carried out by PKH assistants to interact with outsiders for the benefit of the community and provide benefits to the community. This role relates to the interaction between the mentor and external agencies on behalf of and for the benefit of the assisted group. This role will not be achieved if PKH assistants still have a corrupt mentality. The impact of this corrupt behavior is clearly unable to carry out its final role optimally. That is a technical role. The technical role deals with various technical matters in community development. PKH Facilitators carry out activities to update data, verify commitments and reconcile distribution. The fairness of corruption committed by PKH assistants by beneficiaries is also the impact of neglecting the important roles that PKH assistants should play.

B. Recommendation

Researchers see that there are several keywords that the state must pay attention to through social services in each region so that PKH implementation can run optimally. Namely Integrity, Dedication, and Loyalty. Integrity is a virtue, a good human character or good organizational culture, which creates an impetus for the owner to make decisions and actions for the common good. This character or culture is clearly in conflict with corruption, because corruption is an act of abuse of power by manipulating the common good for the sake of certain personal interests. Thus, the character of integrity and a culture of integrity are directly in conflict with corruption. The development of the character of integrity and a culture of integrity contains a logical necessity to ward off corruption (Endro 2017). Being a PKH assistant is not an arbitrary profession. Therefore, in recruiting PKH assistants, there must be in-depth interviews with prospective PKH assistants. The state must be able to see that prospective PKH assistants are working, not just wanting the job. However, they have a vision and social enthusiasm to solve poverty in their area.

So that prospective PKH assistants who have integrity must also be dedicated. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, the definition of dedication is the sacrifice of energy, thought and time for the success of a business or noble goal. Because PKH assistants are not haphazard jobs, therefore, the reward or income they receive must be commensurate. PKH Facilitators do not only deal with beneficiaries or KPM. PKH Facilitators are faced with temptations from corruption to practical political interests. Therefore, the appreciation for PKH assistants must be greater than today. Increasing the salary of PKH assistants with a longer contract is a recommendation from this article to stakeholders. Providing PKH assistants to become Government Employees with a Contract Agreement (P3K). This can be the answer so that PKH assistants can have more integrity, dedication, and loyalty to their work.

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