



Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH): Examining the Social Relation Approach on Poverty Alleviation Policies in Indonesia

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Abstract. "No Poverty" is the first goal that must be achieved in the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Indonesian government is responding through the Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) to alleviate poverty by providing social protection to poor families. PKH has special programs for women, in this case pregnant and lactating women, including children's health to reduce stunting and malnutrition rates. Women are a priority as the main beneficiaries of the PKH program. However, understanding policy requires in the local context, where women and man have a different access to and distribution of opportunities. The purpose of this study is to analyze gender relations in PKH policies as an effort to reduce poverty in Indonesia. The analysis carried out in this essay uses the Social Relation Approach (SRA) method and analysis by Naila Kabeer. This research will analyze the position of women in the family, community, state and market as beneficiaries of the PKH program. The results of the study show that women's position are still vulnerable, weak, and domesticated that were inherent in poor family. As the main beneficiaries, women's control over resources, access, and benefits obtained from PKH services were also minimum. This also hinders the achievement of the SDGs goal, namely poverty alleviation in a sustainable manner. The recommendation from the study results is that sustainable poverty alleviation needs to have a gender perspective, through empowering man in resource management, access, and management of the division of labor and understanding of gender for PKH assistants.

Keywords: Family, Gender, PKH, Poverty, Sustainable Development.

1 Introduction

Poverty is a person's inability to fulfill fundamental needs. The problem of poverty is often a challenge for developing countries in development. Based on research from Indonesia.id, Indonesia is ranked as the fourth poorest country in Southeast Asia in 2022. The Ministry of Finance noted that the number of poor people in March 2023 reached 25.90 million and decreased by 0.46 million people starting in September 2022. In addition, from March 2021 to March 2023, 1.6 million people managed to move out of the poverty line in both urban and rural areas. However, the poverty decrease does not guarantee family empowerment, both for men and women in the fami-

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ly sphere. Poverty in Indonesia has reached a critical level that requires immediate and comprehensive action.

The Indonesian Government responds to poverty through the Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) policy. This is a family-based government flagship program to address the low quality of life of needy families from a health, education, and economics perspective. PKH is designed to help the poorest population in the bottom cluster through conditional assistance with a policy scheme that also provides social protection for needy family members [1]. PKH is the Government's flagship policy to achieve national development goals, namely poverty alleviation. PKH is claimed to be an effective and equitable empowerment program for the entire community because this program provides access to powerless people [2]. In this case, empowerment is measured by the quality of human resources, especially in poor communities. This can encourage sustainable development as one of the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) targets for 2000-2015.

PKH is expected to be a means for the government to realize development has the aim of increasing the availability and expanding the distribution of basic needs for many people, increasing the standard of living in the form of income, employment opportunities, education, social, physical and spiritual welfare, and broadening the socio-economic choices of individuals by providing freedom from dependency [3]. In the Regulation of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2018, beneficiaries of the Family Hope Program have the right to receive social assistance, PKH assistance, services in the fields of health, education, energy, economic and housing subsidies, as well as fulfillment of other basic needs.

From the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation, there are details of the PKH program recipients and the components obtained by beneficiary families in the health, education, and social welfare sectors [4]. In the education sector, beneficiary families receive assistance for elementary and equivalent school children, junior high and the equivalent, and high school and the equivalent. Meanwhile, in the health sector, beneficiary families receive health assistance for pregnant and lactating mothers, and children aged 0 to 6 years. In the sector of social welfare, beneficiary families receive social aid for family members who are 60 years old and people with disabilities.

When seen from the components of aid and its targets, this policy is a gender-neutral policy. Access to education, health, and social welfare services for all family members who are most vulnerable and entitled to receive aid [5]. However, in this policy, women are also specially targeted elements, such as pregnant and lactating mothers. This is also one of the implementations of the SDGs, that increased social capital, and reduced levels of poverty and diseases, are needed by women in particular [6]. In this case, the PKH policy is expected to reduce the gender gap in education, health, and social welfare by the ideals of the SDGs.

Based on the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation, PKH is a policy that can summarize community needs. Even among the community, PKH is a program that is always awaited by beneficiaries or not. PKH provides empowerment for needy people in determining their life opportunities, fulfilling life's needs, empowering over reproduction, and access to sources of life as stated by Life research [2]. Therefore, for some parties, PKH is a long-term program that can help poor people get up and have a

better quality of life. Program Keluarga Harapan as a family-based policy needs to be reviewed for its relevance at the policy and implementation levels. For this reason, this article aims to further analyze the objectives of the PKH policy from a gender perspective and the effectiveness of the PKH program for lower-middle-class groups in Indonesia. Apart from that, this article will examine how PKH has the potential to significantly impact families from a social perspective (welfare aspect), boosting economic, educational, and even health aspects as stated in the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation regarding the objectives of PKH. This article does not ignore the humanitarian aspect as a form of government empowerment towards a prosperous, sustainable, and independent society, as the global goal of the SDGs program. The specification of gender aspects that emphasize women is a breakthrough and renewal in social research, which sees that the struggle for economic aspects, especially PKH, is not only oriented towards patriarchal power (men). Therefore, this research analysis uses Naila Kabeer's theoretical perspective as a reference to the approach to social relations in the household; including social control, division of labor, financial management, and access to resources.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)

The PKH programs as a poverty alleviation program refer to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that include elements of gender equality. The MDGs are to eradicate poverty and hunger, improve health, justice in education, gender equality, clean water and good sanitation, clean and affordable energy, decent work and economic development, good industry and infrastructure, reduce inequality, sustainable cities and places to live, prevent climate change, protect terrestrial and marine ecosystems, peace, justice, strengthen institutions as well as possible [8].

Under ministerial regulation no. 1 of 2018, PKH is a program that provides conditional social assistance to families or needy and vulnerable people who are registered in the integrated data of the poverty handling program. Meanwhile, the goal is to improve the standard of living of beneficiary families, reduce expenses, create behavior changes and family self-sufficiency, and decrease poverty and inequality [9]. Therefore, PKH has special programs for women, i.e. for pregnant and lactating mothers, and children's health to decrease stunting and malnutrition rates. This is expected to improve people's quality of life, especially for the needy. As a social welfare program targeting various fields, PKH is quite comprehensive, such as providing access to education and health for needy families.

It might be mention that PKH are poverty reduction policies that also provide social protection to needy families. PKH as subsidiary programs of the SDGs still need to be critically reviewed regarding their implications and implementation. Some indicators that need to be seen from the goal of women's empowerment in the MDGs are the absence of gender gaps in education, employment, and political participation. However, the conceptualization of women's empowerment in PKH is still unsustainable.

First, the PKH program provides access to health and education, such as reproductive health for pregnant and lactating mothers. The program briefly gives women access to health resources. The PKH program provides free health services for pregnant and lactating mothers that beneficiary families must participate in. This is a long-term program because it is provided in the form of health services that have affected the health of mothers and children and have been able to reduce the stunting rate. Under these policies, pregnant or breastfeeding mothers are mandated to attend and undergo health checks with an 85% attendance rate.

Second, a health program for children aged 0-6 years. This policy is not much different from the policy for pregnant and breastfeeding mothers. Third, the PKH program is provided to elderly and disabled family members. Fourth, the conditional cash transfer program is given to families with particular standards. Fifth, providing and increasing the capacity of companions. One of the things stated in the Minister of Social Affairs' Regulation on PKH is the provision and capacity building of companions. To run the PKH program well, PKH has a PKH assistant who is tasked with controlling the running of the PKH program in each sub-district. Along with that, the task of PKH assistants is also to guide beneficiary families to become independent families.

2.2 Social Relations Approach (SRA)

Next, the perspective used is the Social Relations Approach (SRA) proposed by Naila Kabeer. SRA is a perspective used by feminists and the women's movement perspective for gender analysis and a tool to help carry out program planning, implementation, and evaluation [10]. So, gender-based or gender-neutral policies can be analyzed using the SRA approach, such as family-based policies, namely PKH. SRA is an analysis that focuses on gender issues by looking at a static understanding of gender roles and relationships that fails to see the dynamics of gender-social relations. Naila Kabeer provides a feminist approach to complex issues, between gender and power relations, institutions, policies, and locations. SRA focuses at the grassroots, household, and community levels on structural systems that produce injustice too. The structural system in question is the state and the market. Empowerment aims to give women the ability to choose. This ability can be seen from agency, resources, and achievement dimensions [11]. Three dimensions are interrelated and women's independence to be empowered is the most underlying thing, especially in the household. This is also called women's "human well-being" to survive life and feel safe and autonomous.

3 Research Methods

The literature review method analyzed research on PKH in sustainable poverty alleviation. The literature review method was chosen because it can explain systematically and explicitly to identify previous research data, books, journals, and the ideas of researchers and practitioners. Data sources were obtained from the PKH documents

from the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, SMERU research results, and various similar documents to understand more contextually related to PKH policy analysis on sustainable poverty alleviation in terms of Naila Kabeer's Social Research Approach. Data analysis was carried out by analyzing the collected documents and then analyzing, and criticizing the implications of the PKH policies on social relations in families.

4 Finding & Discussion

4.1 Analysis of the PKH based on the Social Relations Approach Perspective

The PKH policy has several programs provided to needy families, especially to women which has been discussed previously and certainly has an impact on gender relations in the family, especially for women themselves. The PKH policy under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs, which is the superior policy if reviewed further, does not fully take a gender perspective, including at the implementation level [12]. If we refer to the development analysis from Naila Kabeer's model, the PKH policy is still far from expectations. As a family-based policy, PKH has not adapted to the existing family culture. In society, there are differences in nutrition, food allocation, health status, education, mortality rates, and life expectancy between men and women. Women have excessive burdens because of their inferior position and represent the poorest group [13]. Development policy in this case still does not use gender mainstreaming, but rather the status quo as the mainstream.

In family-based policies, homemakers are the main targets of policy, and women are not considered competent actors responsible for their own choices [13]. This means that gender-neutral policies would be unfair if applied in patriarchal households. So, no matter how women or homemakers are targeted in family-based policy, the main role that occurs is cultural. The cultural role here emphasizes the responsibility of men in providing protection and sustenance to women and children. Women do not have their own decisions in the family. This will also happen in family-based PKH policies, women or homemakers will not have the power to make decisions within the family. Gender relations in the household are still closely related to patriarchal culture [13]. That lives by the norm of men as heads of families who are responsible for women and children. Thus, PKH will have the potential to reproduce the vulnerability of women in the family.

A policy needs to be analyzed from the local context how women and men have different access and different opportunities distribution [14]. PKH analysis must assess how family relationships remain in place before, during the acceptance process, and after acceptance. As a family-based program, PKH cannot deny that the family has a pre-rooted division of roles and responsibilities. In a patriarchal society, there is an unequal distribution of roles in decision-making and control within the family. So far, women have had multiple roles in the household, in production, consumption, and domesticity fields. Men have a role in the earning field, while women have a role in all fields, such as production, consumption, and chores activities. research conducted by Puspitawati [15] in Bogor District can be an example that in public activities

women have a role in the family and in domestic activities most arrangements are carried out by women. instead of just receiving PKH, the wife's burden increased because she had to disburse the PKH funds and decide how to consume and manage them. In fact, in managing and taking the family's PKH funds, the wife is still under the husband's control.

The different distribution of tasks and responsibilities, as well as hierarchical family relations, impact women's strategies to maximize their sense of security and optimize their life choices. Gender differences and relations in the family also create different risks between men and women [16]. Women need good self-management to undertake family life, especially as PKH beneficiaries who are vulnerable to resource conflicts. Moreover, with decisions determined centrally and the process of distribution responsibilities carried out by women, there is the potential for conflict over resources among PKH beneficiary families.

However, at the center of the family hierarchy, women's strategies tend to be seen as agreeing with all decisions made and contributing to the continuing process of perpetuating the hierarchy itself. sometimes this strategy is used to keep women safe in the long term and build maternal altruism. In addition, not all women in needy families have good family-management skills. This is also because women in needy households have a relatively low average level of education and low ability [17]. These conditions can also hinder the negotiation process between women and men in the family as PKH beneficiaries.

PKH, whose basic policy is gender equality, has not impacted beneficiary family relations. The gender relations of beneficiary families remain the same as before receiving PKH, even getting more complex because they have to make decisions and distribute PKH to family members. In addition to the potential for conflict, PKH beneficiary families also have the potential for abandonment between husbands and wives because their wives' needs for health are fulfilled, especially for pregnant and lactating mothers. This abandonment will put more workload on pregnant and lactating mothers because the state is considered to have been on hand to meet their needs. Pregnant women in needy families will experience many obstacles and burdens. These obstacles range from reproductive responsibilities, economic responsibilities, generational health responsibilities, and others that show women do not have control in the household, both economically, health, education, and others. Childbirth and breastfeeding are social phenomena that put pressure on women in the struggle of the state, religion, head of household, and even the market [18]. Women's lack of control over their own bodies also indicates that in this policy women are only objects of the state that can help the state system work properly. The state wants to ensure good human resources through women. This can also be exploited by the market and shaped by the market as a patriarchal capitalist.

Male control can also occur in health care programs for children that are left entirely to women. In the end, women's relations in the family remain not in an 'empowerment' framework but under male control. Where men have the most power in controlling the labor of women and children and mediating women's relationships with things outside the family [16]. The women's agency goal should not be forgotten in the planning and implementation of PKH to dismantle power relations within the

family, especially health responsibilities. Women as individuals can pay attention to the meaning, motivation, and purpose of doing something to be included in healthcare efforts and provide access to men to be responsible for family health [11].

In addition to hierarchical gender relations and excessive workload on women, PKH also has the potential to create dependency in beneficiary families, especially women as the main beneficiaries of this policy. This will create a vicious cycle of poverty that is difficult to break, especially for women. This patriarchal risk also decreases the personal welfare of other family members in providing long-term protection for the assistance provided. In addition, patriarchal households will highly value women's compliance and discourage open conflict within the family [16]. Women who work excessively, including in terms of reproduction, will not become more prosperous and will not improve their quality of life. The position of women who are willing to have greater responsibility as negotiators in the family cannot be interpreted as women's welfare, but this contributes to poverty among women.

The PKH policy has made the gap in gender relations in the family even wider. This happens because the PKH policy does not refer to the cultural conditions in the family. This policy fails to strive for equality between men and women because the social hierarchy in the family still subordinates women. As a result, PKH policy is potentially contributing to the perpetuation of hierarchy and inequality in PKH beneficiary families. Empowerment to make women as agents, and resources, and have good welfare achievements is not well reached due to the encouragement of the state and society that does not have a gender perspective. Gender relations must pay attention to how authority can be distributed within the family and the allocation of work to equal family members [16]. PKH policies ultimately make no difference to women's social control, labor, sexuality, bodies, and life choices that are instilled by society, the state, the market, and the family in the name of patriarchal structures.

Table 1. The Position of Women in PKH Policy

Organizational Level in PKH Assistance	PKH Intervention in The Position of Women	Criticism
Country	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Women's access to welfare services 2. Women as a lever of welfare at the family level 3. Women as a lever of welfare at the family level 4. Women as welfare agents 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The concept of welfare services for the community is only short-term, as a form of response to the impact of fuel oil increases and the pandemic 2. The state has not paid attention to women in a better investment scenario for women in the long term 3. The existence of PKH cannot be a space for evaluating improvements in welfare policies specifically for women
Market	Women receive social in-	1. The approach used by

Organizational Level in PKH Assistance	PKH Intervention in The Position of Women	Criticism
Community	vestment, both capital and increased human resources to be independent in carrying out business activities through KuBe (joint business groups)	modernists assumes that women are less empowered in terms of human resources 2. Unhealthy markets are a problem in women's emancipation that is not read
Household	Capital investment assistance uses gender construction and joint responsibility groups 1. Women have access to welfare directly through assistance for physical conditions (health) and fulfilling gender aspects (sembako) 2. Women have full authority/access to the program At both points, PKH becomes a direct lever for women's welfare	1. Joint responsibility groups force women into a single business unit which is difficult to manage 2. Gender construction is utilized in the circulation of capital flows 1. The PKH program has not focused on improving women's welfare in the long term but rather in short-term scenarios. For example, there is no mechanism for exiting the aid program 2. PKH only uses women as an entry point for household welfare 3. Women's relative power in consuming aid at the household level is still within the framework of a patriarchal culture 4. PKH does not merely respond to women's strategic gender issues

Source : analyzed by the author

The analysis conducted in this paper uses the perspective of the social relations approach (SRA) proposed by Naila Kabeer. Naila discusses the social relations that exist within patriarchal households. She provides an explanation of the hierarchy in households that can occur because class and gender mediate social relations [16]. Gender and class differences then have an impact on social changes such as subjects who are disadvantaged and advantaged between men and women in the household. This difference is also driven by the strengthening interests of the market, state, and society in a patriarchal culture in society that increasingly subordinates women.

Gender relations in Kabeer's analysis are seen from a macro-structural perspective involving capital accumulation. She argues that the root cause of this inequality is not that women are not integrated into policies, but that women are integrated into the basis of a hierarchical and contradictory structure of production and accumulation [16]. Just as PKH policy is integrated into policy, at the same time women are also

integrated into the hierarchical structure of production and accumulation. Women's control over resources and the access and facilities that women get in services are nothing but a form of control over the ongoing capital accumulation process. Not only that, the poverty that occurs in beneficiary families is also related to the process of international capitalism that increases the number of needy families.

Kabeer's model has integrated the role of gender and class in its analysis, which can assist in macro-analyzing gender relations that occur in households caused by the market, state, and society. The characteristics of power relations that depart from class and gender can open discussions about household-based policies before investigating further in an intersectional manner. This relationship is enough to answer how household-based policies cannot ignore the capitalist and patriarchal hierarchies that have occurred in local communities. Kabeer seems pretty obvious how the development agenda fails to see capitalist patriarchy. However, the macro stage concept when related to the micro stage of the household has its challenges to describe it clearly in the household stage.

4.2 PKH Policy Implications for Sustainable Poverty Alleviation

Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) is a government effort to reduce poverty in Indonesia. In line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that will be achieved by 2030. This means that the government hopes that the poverty rate will reach 0 percent or there will be no more poor people in urban and rural areas. The central government, local governments, and village governments strive to increase the income of the needy, ensure access to essential services, and protect the entire community from all forms of disasters. Today, poverty is a problem in all countries of the world. Therefore, it is relevant to include the first goal of the SDGs, which is to eradicate poverty by 2030. As stated in the Outcome Document Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, it is explained that the major purpose of the SDGs is to end poverty in all its forms everywhere.

In the national context, the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2005-2025 looks at the problem of poverty from a multidimensional perspective. This is because poverty is not only measured by income but also by the vulnerability of people or communities to become poor, whether or not the fundamental rights of the community are fulfilled, and whether or not there are differences in the treatment of individuals or groups of people in living their lives. So far, the Indonesian government by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) has used the concept of the ability to meet fundamental needs (fundamental needs approach) to measure poverty [19]. With this approach, poverty is seen as an economic inability to fulfill fundamental needs such as food and non-food as measured in terms of expenditure. It can be defined that the needy are people who have an average monthly per capita expenditure below the poverty line.

The Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia set a poverty reduction target in the SDGs. By 2030, extreme poverty will be eliminated for all those currently earning less than 1.25 US dollars per day. By 2030, Indonesia will reduce by at least half the proportion of men, women, and children of all ages living

in poverty in all dimensions.¹ PKH as the government's effort in addressing poverty issues, needs to be studied further, especially in terms of women's involvement and empowerment in it. PKH, which emphasizes women as the beneficiaries, actually hinders the empowerment process and gives more workload to women. As the main beneficiaries, women's control over resources, access, and benefits obtained from PKH services is also still minimal. This also hinders the achievement of the SDGs' goal of eradicating poverty sustainably.

Sustainable development targets, namely by implementing appropriate national systems and social protection measures for all, including the poorest groups, and by 2030 achieving substantial coverage for the poor and vulnerable groups. In this context, women occupy a vulnerable position in the family sphere. PKH output will not be optimal if gender relations in managing social and economic resources do not work smoothly. In contrast, to achieve sustainable development targets, an important aspect that must be prioritized is to build the resilience of the needy who are in vulnerable situations, to reduce their vulnerability to extreme events related to climate, economic, social, environmental, and disaster shocks. Gender relations in PKH need to ensure significant resource mobilization from various sources, including partnerships for better growth, and providing adequate and affordable infrastructure for developing countries to implement poverty reduction programs and policies in all dimensions.

On the other hand, it can be stated that PKH has been unable to achieve sustainable women's empowerment. There is a connection between women and the conditions of poverty they experience. Patriarchal culture has indirectly provided restrictions, injustices, and inequalities that result in the close identity of women with poverty. Phenomenologically, the poverty experiences of women and men are different. Women are left behind in accessing economic resources as the door to eliminating numerous injustices in society. This condition indicates that the poverty reduction that is the basis of PKH must be able to encourage increased participation and welfare of women. Therefore, if women are not targeted for poverty alleviation and gender analysis is not used to look at the root causes of poverty, then PKH will not be able to reach the majority of women who have limited access to public spaces.

All people, both men and women, especially the poor and vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, access to essential services, ownership and control over land, and other forms of property such as inheritance, natural resources, new technologies, and financial services. Governments need to develop strong policy foundational frameworks at the national, regional, and international levels which are based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies to support rapid investment in poverty reduction actions. PKH policies need to prioritize gender equality aspects. To achieve sustainable development, an essential element in poverty alleviation is the involvement of male household members by empowering households in resource management, access, and division of labor.

Institutionally, views on the roles of men and women are still dichotomous. This is reflected in the fact that on the one side, the government recognizes that gender equality needs to be improved, but on the other side, the government does not change existing policies, including the PKK. The definition of the husband's role as the ultimate breadwinner and the wife as a housewife has been regulated under the legal Undang-

Undang No. 1 Tahun 1974 about marriage. Meanwhile, the reproduction of gender ideas can perpetuate the current pattern of unequal relations. The Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) defines the term work as includes productive activities. However, this term results in gender bias in the concept behind the numbers that cannot accurately represent the conditions, problems, and society's needs, as well as what types of programs should be further developed.

If examined further, the implementation of the PKH policy places women in a vulnerable position in decision-making. According to a study by SMERU, this is due to the absence of interventions that touch on fundamental issues related to aspects of control that lead to changes in the prevailing patterns of gender relations in society [20]. A practical effort that can be made in poverty reduction programs, including PKH, is to develop training without prioritizing a particular gender. Men and women become program participants and participate together. Sustainable poverty alleviation is not done by only providing material assistance but also by improving the quality and capacity of women and men in the family, such as training in financial management or toddler health. As is impact analysis of development programs, every poverty alleviation program must consider the gender impact angle. this analysis, the control and benefit aspects cannot be ignored and efforts to improve gender equality can be more effective. The efforts towards transformative gender equality requires considering both men and women. It's necessary to understand that efforts to empower women need to involve men because the dynamics of gender power relations have an impact on both. This study comprehensively illustrates the dynamics of PKH beneficiaries' power relations patterns in the family realm. Conditions of poverty and vulnerability are very gendered, so the placement of women should not only be as a benefits receiver, but more on the conditions of relations between household members so that the most vulnerable groups (both men and women) get the right assistance. Narayan explains that gender-based poverty alleviation programs will stimulate empowerment [21]. Someone who is empowered can at least be independent in meeting their own economic needs. The long-term goal of community self-reliance is to improve their standard of living, conditions where people can make decisions and control resources to achieve a better life.

Women's participation in poverty alleviation can encourage inclusive PKH policies. On the other hand, men have a role to play in having knowledge and awareness of women's rights. Financial management as a form of benefit from PKH is not only imposed on women. The involvement of one member of the family has the potential to paralyze women's economic and social empowerment. In addition, to support the empowerment of all family members, one element that also needs to be considered is the PKH facilitator. This policy requires assistance from PKH facilitators from the start so that PKH facilitators have a qualified gender perspective. it will be easier for the government to implement the policies so that they remain in line with the goal of gender equality. PKH policies also need to look at the economic and power structures that occur at the local and national levels together with policy stakeholders. Thus, policies are more contextualized, not only planning to provide free assistance or services but can provide significant changes in poverty alleviation.

5 Conclusion

The existence of PKH program regulations without in-depth assistance and socialization for recipients (the community), will perpetuate the relay of poverty, dependence, and relational conflict within the family. The PKH program, initially oriented towards the humanitarian aspects of economic, social, educational, and health aspects in Indonesia, has 'failed'. The neglect of gender relations in the management of assistance that is less emphasized in the articles of the PKH Law results in the colonization of women. Colonization occurs when women receive PKH assistance in the form of money and maternity health services, which are managed independently in the household, which will trigger conflict (between husband and wife) in the allocation of funds.

It cannot be denied that the patriarchal cultural system in Indonesian households is still the goal of absolute social control. However, with the PKH program, the control of men (husbands) who should be responsible for providing economic and health services for wives and children tends to be deferred to women. Meanwhile, in cases like this, the government seems to be ignorant because it feels that it has been present in fulfilling its obligation to 'improve the welfare of the community'. As a result, women in the family are in a powerless position but are under the control of men. In a simple case, PKH assistance that promises easy access to health, education, and economic services is nothing else but an indirect form of social control over the process of capital accumulation.

Eventually, PKH policies without legal affirmation, supervision, mentoring, and regular outreach will only lead to social control over women's bodies. The worst impact of PKH without assistance is an increase in the poverty rates, due to the failure in the distribution of funds. In addition, the colonization of women's bodies due to PKH is also a consideration that needs to be evaluated by the government. Facilitation of gender aspects is the main indicator in providing assistance services to the community. Therefore, it is necessary to update or revise the law that explains the tasks in the division of labor for the assistance provided. So that PKH does not become a boomerang that perpetuates and even increases poverty, oppression, and conflict in Indonesia. Re-implementing the MDGs in PKH regulations is the first step to show the government's seriousness in realizing a sustainable development program. Therefore, the synergy between the government, stakeholders, and women participants are needed to make PKH a 'creative solution', not an 'alternative shackle' for a more independent and sustainable society.

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