

COLLABORATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL-BASED STAKEHOLDERS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FAMILY HOPE PROGRAM (PKH) IN TELUK DALAM DISTRICT, SOUTH NIAS REGENCY

Versi Oktaviani Harita^{1a}; Badaruddin^{2b*}; Agus Suriadi^{3c}; Lina Sudarwati^{4d}; T.Ilham Saladin^{5e}

¹ Student of the Master of Sociology Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of North Sumatra, Medan, Indonesia

^{2,3,4,5} Lecturer of the Master of Sociology Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of North Sumatra, Medan, Indonesia

(*) Corresponding Author

badaruddin@usu.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

The Family Hope Program (PKH) is a government social policy that aims to break the chain of poverty through improving the quality of education, health, and welfare of poor families. However, the effectiveness of the program does not only depend on the distribution of cash assistance, but also on the social dynamics and collaboration of stakeholders at the local level. This study analyzes how social capital bonding, bridging, and linking are utilized in the implementation of PKH in Teluk Dalam District, South Nias Regency. The research uses a qualitative approach with interview, observation, and documentation study techniques. The informants consisted of beneficiary families (KPM), village officials, PKH companions, as well as community and religious leaders. The data were analyzed descriptive-analytically to understand the social constructs formed from interactions between actors. The results of the study show that social capital bonding is reflected in the solidarity of KPM who remind each other of the program's obligations. Bridging social capital can be seen through the coordination of villages, facilitators, and KPM in the meeting forum. Linking social capital can be seen from the role of PKH companions and village officials who maintain the legitimacy of the program in the eyes of the community. The challenges that arise include the limited access of villages to the SIKS-NG system, the resistance of some KPM to program obligations, and social jealousy due to the inaccuracy of the targets. This study confirms that the success of PKH in Teluk Dalam is influenced not only by administrative mechanisms, but also by the strength of social capital that sustains inter-stakeholder relationships. Collaboration based on local social and cultural values is key to strengthening the effectiveness of social protection programs at the village level.

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INTRODUCTIONS

Poverty in Indonesia is a structural problem that requires sustainable and integrated policy interventions. The Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Social Affairs organizes the Family Hope Program (PKH) as conditional social assistance to improve the welfare of poor families through fulfilling access to education, health, and improving the quality of human resources. PKH is designed not only to reduce the short-term economic burden, but

also as an instrument of long-term social development to break the chain of intergenerational poverty as affirmed in the national social protection policy regulations Utami & Nugroho (2023)

Various studies show that social capital plays an important role in the success of social protection programs, including PKH. Utami (2023) emphasized that KPM's social capital, both in the form of social networks, trust, and mutually supportive norms, is a factor that allows beneficiary families to be able to improve social competence and achieve better social functioning after PKH graduation. This social capital can act as a mechanism to strengthen the effectiveness of program implementation, especially at the community level. Utami & Nugroho (2023)

The local context in Teluk Dalam District, South Nias Regency, shows distinctive and relevant socio-cultural characteristics to be analyzed through the perspective of social capital. The people in this region have strong social ties based on kinship, mutual cooperation traditions, community solidarity, and significant influence of traditional and religious leaders in shaping social norms. These characteristics show the high potential of *bonding social capital* which can play a role in strengthening PKH receipts and internal support among KPM.

The implementation of PKH at the local level cannot be separated from the role of various stakeholders, including PKH companions, village officials, community leaders, and government agencies. Collaboration between stakeholders greatly determines the effectiveness of the program implementation. The PKH implementation study report conducted by the SMERU Research Institute and the Ministry of Social Affairs shows that coordination between facilitators, village governments, and central institutions plays an important role in the success of data verification, aid distribution, and implementation of Family Capacity Building (P2K2) Meetings. However, the limited number of companions, limited access by villages to the SIKS-NG system, and uneven understanding of KPM are often obstacles in the implementation of programs in the field Surtiari et al. (2024)

In addition, the implementation of PKH is also influenced by informal forms of *social protection* that operate in the community. Surtiari (2024) emphasized that in Indonesia, informal social protection networks such as community-based assistance, traditional leaders, and religious institutions often interact with the government's formal social protection system. These interactions create a pattern of *linking social capital* that connects the community with state institutions, including programs such as PKH Surtiari et al. (2024)

Research from also shows that the implementation process of conditional social assistance programs is greatly influenced by the ability of local actors to translate central policies into the social context of the community. Cross-institutional coordination, the quality of communication between actors, and social trust are the determining factors in the effectiveness of the implementation of conditional cash assistance programs in Indonesia Larasati and Jannah (2022)

This is relevant to the conditions in Teluk Dalam, where the dynamics of relations between stakeholders greatly affect the public's perception of the fairness of the program, the smooth verification, and the effectiveness of mentoring. Thus, the success of PKH implementation in Teluk Dalam District does not only depend on program design and administrative mechanisms, but also on the strength of social capital built in the community and the quality of collaboration between stakeholders. *Bonding social capital* plays a role in strengthening solidarity between KPM, *bridging social capital* is seen in the interaction and synergy between companions, village officials, and communities, while *linking social capital* is reflected in community relations with central government systems and policies.

This condition shows the need for an in-depth study of how social capital can be the foundation for collaboration between stakeholders in the implementation of PKH, especially in areas with socio-cultural and geographical characteristics such as Teluk Dalam District. Therefore, this study focuses on the analysis of social capital-based stakeholder collaboration as a key factor in the effectiveness of the implementation of the Family Hope Program in Teluk Dalam District, South Nias Regency.

PKH is a *conditional cash transfer program* that was first launched in Indonesia in 2007. This program targets poor families with certain criteria, especially those that have educational, health, and social welfare components. The main goal of PKH is to improve the quality of human resources through increasing access to children's education, the health of pregnant women, toddlers, and the care of the elderly and people with disabilities.

In practice, PKH is not only financial assistance, but also an effort to empower beneficiary families (KPM) through Family Ability Building (P2K2) activities. Through this forum, KPM was given an understanding of health,

education, parenting, and household financial management. However, various studies show that the implementation of PKH often faces obstacles, such as limited companion resources, low literacy of recipients, and social jealousy due to inaccuracy of targets.

Social Capital in the Implementation of Social Programs

The concept of social capital was first popularized by Pierre Bourdieu, then developed by Coleman and Putnam. Social capital is understood as a non-material resource that manifests itself in the form of networks, norms, and beliefs that facilitate coordination and cooperation for the common good. Robert Putnam (1993) differentiates social capital into three main forms:

1. Bonding social capital close ties between individuals in homogeneous groups for example, solidarity between KPM in reminding
2. obligations of PKH.
3. Bridging social capital relationships between different but equal groups, for example, the communication network between KPM, village officials, and PKH companions.
4. Linking social capital vertical relationship between society and institutions that have a higher authority, e.g. the relationship between KPM and the government through PKH assistants.

In PKH, social capital can be a factor that strengthens the effectiveness of the program, but it also has the potential to weaken if trust, solidarity, or coordination between actors is not built.

Social protection programs such as conditional cash transfers (CCT) such as PKH (Family Hope Program) not only function as an economic instrument to reduce poverty, but also affect social dynamics in society. explains that social protection programs have an impact on the three elements of social cohesion: trust, cooperation, and inclusive identity—which also determine the success of the implementation of social programs in creating community stability and acceptance Burchi et al. (2022)

Strong social cohesion allows the community to more easily accept government interventions, including PKH, because of mutual trust and a collective orientation towards the common good. A number of studies have shown that CCT can strengthen social capital through increased social interaction and trust between citizens. A longitudinal study by found that CCT recipients in Tanzania experienced a significant increase in the level of trust in community members and the ability to access informal social support after several years of participating in the program. These findings suggest that cash assistance programs can strengthen horizontal social capital, rather than weaken it as is often feared. Evans & Kosec (2023)

In addition, Attanasio et al. (2009; 2015), as cited in , show that CCT recipients in Colombia experience increased cooperation and public participation through mechanisms that expand community-based social interactions. Research in Indonesia shows that PKH also has the potential to increase social capital and household capacity. found that PKH can strengthen Burchi et al. (2022) Fitritinia & Matsuyuki (2022) *social capital* which serves as a source of strategic support for poor households when facing shocks, especially through strengthening community social networks. The results of the study underlined that social protection programs "can improve social networks and avoid social isolation" in poor families receiving assistance

However, the positive impact of CCT on social capital does not always occur automatically. One of the main challenges lies in the targeting mechanism. It shows that while cash assistance programs often increase generalized trust, they can also lead to social jealousy, a sense of exclusion, and tension between recipients and non-recipients, especially in areas of evenly distributed poverty where people feel they have equal needs. Bashur (2025)

When the process of determining recipients is considered non-transparent or unfair, social conflicts and a decline in trust in institutions can increase. Research by McCarthy et al. (2024) shows that the PKH targeting process is often considered incompatible with the logic of local justice and triggers "dissatisfaction, jealousy, and division of community solidarity" due to mistargeting aid recipients, including protests and threats against village officials when residents feel left out. The study also notes that technocratic CCT mechanisms "often conflict with local norms of fairness" leading to an erosion of social trust. It also found that perceptions of injustice in targeting can undermine the

legitimacy of local and central governments, as well as trigger demands to use a universal assistance approach in response to emerging social tensions McCarthy et al. (2024) Bashur (2025)

Within the broader framework of social relations, Burchi et al. (2022) emphasize that the relationship between social protection and social cohesion is bidirectional. Social protection programs can increase trust and cooperation, but the success of such impacts is greatly influenced by the level of social capital that already exists in society. Hossain et al. (2012), as cited by , found that cash assistance programs in Indonesia only have a significant impact on communities with strong social cohesion, indicating that social capital serves as a prerequisite for the success of social interventions Burchi et al. (2022)

These findings are in line with those that show that in the context of villages in Aceh and Java, exclusion from the list of PKH recipients makes some residents withdraw from social activities such as McCarthy et al. (2024) *mutual cooperation*, as well as "harbor hatred towards village heads," suggesting that weak social capital can exacerbate the negative impact of CCT programs on community cohesion. These findings highlight the importance of collaboration between stakeholders in the implementation of programs such as PKH. The social protection literature views collaboration as a strategy to increase transparency, strengthen communication, and reduce community resistance. Trust in public institutions can be strengthened through the involvement of community leaders, traditional leaders, village governments, and social companions as mediators between programs and residents. When these local actors work together, the social capital of the community can be mobilized to increase the legitimacy of the program and reduce the potential for conflict around targeting. The McCarthy et al. (2024) study noted that villages often develop "informal work mechanisms" such as internal redistribution of aid, repeated explanations to residents, as well as the use of village deliberations to defuse tensions due to mistargeting, suggesting that local collaboration is an important strategy for maintaining social stability

In the context of areas such as Teluk Dalam District, which has high social capital in the form of mutual cooperation and close interpersonal relationships, the literature shows that this social force can be an important foundation for the successful implementation of PKH. However, strong social capital also risks raising high expectations for equitable distribution of aid, which can ultimately lead to social jealousy if program communication and targeting mechanisms are not adequately explained. Thus, an understanding of the dynamics of social capital, social cohesion, and collaboration between stakeholders is an important theoretical foundation in analyzing the implementation of PKH in Teluk Dalam.

METHOD

The design of this research uses a descriptive qualitative approach. The qualitative approach was chosen to understand in depth the role of social capital in the implementation of the Family Hope Program (PKH), while the quantitative approach was used in a limited way to support the description of field data. The research data was collected from two sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through *in-depth interviews*, participatory observations, and *Focus Group Discussions* (FGD) with the main informants consisting of beneficiary families (KPM), village officials, PKH companions, and community and religious leaders. To ensure accuracy, triangulation of sources and methods is carried out. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from official documents such as KPM lists, companion reports, village profiles, and publications related to PKH in South Nias Regency.

The research location is in Teluk Dalam District, South Nias Regency, North Sumatra Province, which was chosen because it has a large number of KPM and distinctive socio-cultural dynamics. Informants were determined by purposive sampling by considering their direct involvement in the implementation of PKH. Data analysis was carried out in a descriptive-analytical manner by following the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The focus of the analysis is directed at *how bonding, bridging, and linking social capital* are formed and affect the implementation of PKH at the village level.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

Results

Understanding and Perception of Beneficiary Families (KPM)

The understanding of the Beneficiary Families (KPM) regarding the Family Hope Program in Teluk Dalam District shows that most of the recipients interpret PKH as economic assistance that functions to alleviate the basic needs of the family. KPM RD (In.1) revealed that

"This PKH is given to poor and difficult people like us. To people with many children and going to school. So this PKH is like the mercy of the government".

This statement affirms the perception of PKH as a form of short-term economic relief, not as a sustainable development intervention. The same thing was conveyed by KPM SD (In.2) who said that PKH helps meet the educational needs and fulfillment of the needs of their children, because

"If we ourselves are not able to meet all the needs and shop for all the needs for the children".

Understanding of health aspects is also seen in KPM SB (In.3) which emphasizes that this program allows them to meet children's nutritional needs, such as milk:

"This PKH is given to help the poor so that their children can go to school and can buy children's nutritional needs such as milk".

Meanwhile, KPM RS (In.4) highlighted the long-term dimension of PKH for children's education, stating that the assistance allows children to continue attending school in order to "become smart people" and stay healthy because their nutritional needs are met.

In addition to KPM, religious leaders and traditional leaders in Teluk Dalam District also provided views that enriched the discussion of social perception of PKH. Religious leader Nasowolo'o Harefa (NH) considers that this policy is in line with religious moral teachings:

"Even though the Word is spoken of helping the poor... It is very appropriate that the government provide assistance so that they can be helped."

Rendi's traditional leader M. S. Duha (RD) reinforces this assessment by emphasizing the economic inequality of poor families who work odd jobs or as farm laborers:

"If you have to add the cost of children's education, then it is quite difficult... PKH's purpose is very good to provide relief".

On the side of the village apparatus, the Head of Ugahari Laia Village (UL) emphasized that the village government actively seeks to assist the implementation of the program through data coordination and facilitation of activities:

"The village government always coordinates with PKH assistants... including participating in group meetings".

However, he also revealed that the limited access of villages to the SIKS-NG application hinders the process of proposing and validating KPM data. Sopan Gowasa (SG), another Village Head, added that this condition makes the village often suspected by the community when there is a data problem, even though the determination of the recipient is entirely carried out by the central system.

PKH facilitators are key actors in connecting policies with the reality of KPM in the field. EL's companions explained their main duties, which are to ensure that KPM accepts their rights, conducts verification, and provides education about the responsibilities of the recipient:

"Reminding MOE of the objectives of the programme... They must make commitments according to the family component."

The DZ companion added that the determination of new recipients is not the authority of the companion, but the result of the SIKS-NG decision, so that their role is more technical assistance and education through P2K2.

In the aspect of social capital, the KPM interview showed the practice of social capital bonding which is reflected in the habit of reminding each other of PKH meeting information. KPM In.1 explained that he even asked for the help of community leaders such as si'ulu to convey the needs to the village apparatus if there were things that were not conveyed, because

"If they are the ones who convey it, it may be more heard".

This shows the strong social relationship that is able to mediate communication between residents and the village government. At the level of bridging social capital, the involvement of village operators and PKH facilitators

in program coordination can be seen from the statements of KPM In.2 and In.3 which stated that cooperation most often occurs between facilitators and the village government, especially during PKH group meetings.

Linking social capital is evident through the relationship between villages, companions, and communities. For example, KPM In.4 explained that they collect files from village officials which are then forwarded to PKH assistants, so that there is a hierarchical mechanism that connects the village structure with the program assistance system. At the level of community leaders, the role of traditional and religious leaders is important in maintaining the community's legitimacy towards PKH. RD traditional leaders highlighted that some of the recipients were not on target and this caused social jealousy, but traditional leaders played a role in reducing the tension because their understanding of the program procedures and objectives was better than the general public.

Overall, these findings show that the implementation of PKH in Teluk Dalam District is greatly influenced by the dynamics of KPM understanding, social support from community leaders, and the coordinating relationship between facilitators and the village government. The three layers of social capital—bonding, bridging, and linking—are closely intertwined in the implementation process, and each has an important contribution to ensuring the sustainability and effectiveness of the program. However, challenges such as misunderstandings about the goals of PKH, limited access to village data, and inaccuracy of targets are still obstacles that need to be addressed so that the program truly supports long-term social development.

Views of Village Apparatus

Village officials in Teluk Dalam District view the Family Hope Program (PKH) as a very important social intervention in supporting poor families in their area. According to the Head of Ugahari Laia Village (UL), PKH is indeed designed to help underprivileged families meet basic education and health needs. He emphasized,

"The PKH is given to residents who are underprivileged or economically difficult so that they are helped in terms of finances such as the needs of school children and the health of children under five."

In line with that, the Head of Sopian Gowasa Village (SG) explained that PKH is intended for poor families who are recorded in the system and have educational components, toddlers, the elderly, or with disabilities:

"The family must have components such as school children, young children, elderly parents, and people with disabilities."

This statement shows that village officials understand PKH as a strategic program that significantly reduces poor household expenditure. Although they consider PKH useful, village officials often face public misunderstandings about village authority. Many residents consider the village apparatus to determine who is entitled to receive assistance. This condition makes village officials often accused of being unfair when there are residents who feel entitled but are not registered. SG complained about this by saying,

"We have not been able to access SIKS-NG for several years... But people often suspect the village government if their data is problematic."

UL also asserts that the village does not actually have access to add or remove recipients:

"For our area, the village currently does not have access... So we can't do the problem of data proposals."

This testimony shows how limited the authority of the village is in the PKH determination system. These limitations often place village officials as the target of community protests. Residents who are disappointed because they are not recipients usually go to the village office to ask for an explanation. Village officials must calm the community and straighten out perceptions so that social conflicts do not occur. SG explains the importance of transparency in de-escalating tensions:

"All the recipient data is open, we paste their names in front of the village office. We have nothing to cover up."

This statement confirms that village officials are often in a difficult position because they have to explain central policies while maintaining social stability at the local level. Despite facing pressure, village officials continue to play an important role as facilitators. UL emphasized that the village always cooperates with PKH companions:

"We can't walk alone... our coordination is usually around recipient data, solving KPM problems, and finding solutions together."

SG also added that the village is actively facilitating meetings and technical needs of PKH companions so that the activity runs smoothly. This shows that the village is an important extension that bridges the interests of the community with PKH and social service companions.

Village officials also play a key role in maintaining social stability when jealousy arises due to the inaccuracy of the target. Many residents feel that the registered recipient is not always the one who needs it most. SG explained that the village apparatus tried to calm the community through socialization and deliberation:

"We always urge the public that the one who determines the recipient of social assistance is from the Pusdatin."

Thus, village officials function as mediators to prevent horizontal conflicts due to differences in perceptions about the fairness of aid distribution. In addition to functioning as administrative facilitators, village officials also act as information agents. Residents often come to the village to seek an explanation of the program's mechanism, even though the village has limited access to information. UL explains that they can only help to the extent that they are able:

"Our role is to provide the right information... If there is hoax information, we will straighten it out."

This shows the role of the village in educating the community about PKH even though it does not hold technical authority. Several village officials hope that the involvement of the village in the PKH mechanism can be expanded, especially in the validation of recipient data. They assessed that the village understands the social conditions of residents better than the central system. SG said that data issues are often the biggest obstacle:

"The general problem is actually KPM data, because some are invalid. We always urge the public to correct the data, but it is often too late."

This statement shows that villages have great potential to improve the accuracy of targets if given greater access and authority. From the social side, the village apparatus admitted that PKH caused new dynamics such as social jealousy and prejudice between residents. But they try to dampen it through deliberation and social approaches. UL explained that traditional leaders and religious leaders are involved in every discussion related to PKH:

"We generally discuss PKH issues together... they are involved in PKH activities."

This social capital-based approach helps maintain social harmony in the village. Overall, the views of village officials show strong support for PKH as a social protection program, accompanied by criticism of mechanisms that are too centralized and lack of village involvement. Village officials act as administrative liaison, social mediators, and community facilitators, although limited authority makes them often misunderstood. More inclusive collaboration between the central government, regions, and villages is needed to optimize the role of village officials in the successful implementation of PKH in Teluk Dalam District.

The Role of Community Leaders and Religious Leaders

In the context of the Nias community, community leaders and religious leaders have a very strategic position in the social structure. They are not only respected as informal leaders, but also become moral and social references for citizens. This role is very decisive in the effectiveness of the implementation of the Family Hope Program (PKH) in Teluk Dalam District. The legitimacy of the program often depends on the support or direction of local figures. This is acknowledged by religious leader Nasowolo'o Harefa (NH) who stated that PKH is a form of concern that is in line with religious values, \

"Even in the word it is said to help the poor... The government is providing assistance so that they can be helped."

This statement shows that the support of religious leaders can strengthen public acceptance of PKH. Community leaders, especially traditional leaders, have an important role as mediators in the social dynamics that arise due to the establishment of KPM. When there is social jealousy due to the existence of families who are considered capable but still receive assistance, traditional leaders are present to explain the mechanism for determining recipients. Rendi's traditional leader M. S. Duha (RD) emphasized that the determination of PKH is entirely based on the central system:

"We have been told that the PKH is determined from the center... So we only give an explanation if there are residents who ask."

With their social authority, indigenous leaders are able to reduce potential conflicts and maintain harmony at the community level. The role of religious leaders is also very significant in providing moral direction to the community regarding the purpose of using aid. NH explained that he often reminds residents that PKH assistance should be used according to educational and health needs:

"PKH assistance should be used for the needs of school children, health, not for snacks or things that are not important."

This kind of moral message makes religious leaders agents of behavior change, especially for KPM who still tend to use assistance in a consumptive manner. In addition, religious leaders strengthened the moral legitimacy of PKH as a program that is not only economically oriented, but also supports family responsibility. NH added that PKH helps poor families carry out their moral obligations in educating children:

"Poor parents find it difficult to meet all their needs. So this assistance helps them keep their children in school and are nutritional."

This statement shows that religious leaders see PKH as part of a social welfare mission that is in line with the teachings of religious values.

Community leaders and religious leaders are also often involved informally in PKH activities such as P2K2, especially in providing advice and encouragement to KPM. RD explained that he was often involved in discussions or asked for opinions by residents regarding PKH:

"Usually if someone is confused about the data or PKH rules, they come to ask me first."

The presence of local figures in this kind of activity makes PKH material easier to accept because it is delivered by respected figures. In addition to providing legitimacy, community leaders and religious leaders also have an important role in building social solidarity. RD traditional leader stated that he often reminded residents not to stigmatize KPM as a poor family that became a burden, but as a family that needed to be empowered:

"We tell the public, do not consider PKH recipients as a burden. This is assistance from the government so that their children can go to school."

This approach serves to erode jealousy and maintain social cohesion. Some local figures even played the role of informal social supervisors. They are often the first party to receive community complaints before forwarding them to village officials or PKH assistants. NH explained that residents often bring problems to him:

"There are also those who come to complain that aid does not come in, so I direct them to the village or companions."

This role helps reduce miscommunication and create a more organized flow of information. In terms of social capital, community leaders and religious leaders play a very strong bridging and linking function. Bridging can be seen from their ability to bridge the relationship between recipients and non-recipients, thereby reducing social tensions. Linking can be seen from their capacity to connect the community with the village government structure and companions. RD confirms this:

"If it is conveyed by traditional leaders, the community usually listens more."

Despite their large role, community leaders and religious leaders still function informally in the PKH structure. Their involvement is based more on personal initiative and social legitimacy than on formal mandates. In fact, if it is involved more systematically, for example in the village coordination team, the effectiveness of PKH implementation can increase significantly.

Overall, community leaders and religious leaders in Teluk Dalam District play a role as legitimacy enhancers, conflict mediators, moral messengers, as well as social supervisors in the implementation of PKH. Their role proves that the success of the program does not only depend on bureaucratic mechanisms, but is heavily influenced by the power of local social capital. With the support of traditional leaders and religious leaders, PKH is accepted and internalized better by KPM and the wider community.

The Role of PKH Companions

PKH Companions are the spearhead of program implementation in the field. They are the direct liaison between the central government and the Beneficiary Families (KPM). Their main duties include verifying data, monitoring

KPM's compliance with program obligations, and organizing Family Capacity Building (P2K2) Meetings. This was confirmed by Erwin Lase (EL) who stated,

"Its task is to assist KPM, especially in accessing basic services... ensure that the MOE accepts what is its right, verifies... and remind the MOE of the objectives of the program".

The statement shows that the companion not only carries out administrative functions, but also continuous social coaching. The number of companions in Teluk Dalam District is relatively limited compared to the number of KPM they have to handle. One companion can handle more than 200 families so that assistance cannot be carried out intensively. This limitation was acknowledged by informants who said that many KPMs need different services, while time and energy are not proportional to the workload. This condition makes some KPM feel underserved, especially related to guidance on the management of assistance and program information.

The limited number of companions also has an impact on the implementation of P2K2. Although these activities are designed to increase KPM's insight into education, health, and family economics, KPM's attendance rate is often not optimal. Dasmawarni Zebua (DZ) explained that P2K2 is carried out using a phased module, *"Usually we adjust it to language that is easy for KPM to understand... we interspersed with ice breaking so that it was not monotonous, then asked the KPM to tell their experience."*

This shows that the facilitator not only delivers material, but also tries to adjust the method so that KPM better understands the program's objectives. Despite facing limitations, companions play an important role in building communication between KPM, villages, and the government. They are the main source of information, including about rights, obligations, and procedures for disbursing aid. KPM who actively interact with companions generally have a better understanding of the purpose of PKH. On the other hand, the companion also becomes a mediator when there is a misunderstanding between the KPM and the village apparatus. EL emphasized that the companion does not have the authority to determine the recipient of assistance,

"The determination of prospective recipients is carried out by the system... We only update status such as pregnancy, death, or school synchronization."

This quote is important because it explains the root of the misunderstanding of the community that often blames the village or its companions. In addition to carrying out formal duties, the companion also provides social and moral motivation. They encouraged KPM to pay more attention to children's education, maternal and toddler health, and family financial management. DZ says,

"We motivate and educate KPM through P2K2, including overcoming obstacles such as damaged ATM cards, administration, and other complaints."

This shows that the companion has a dual role as an educator as well as a problem solver for KPM. PKH companions function as *social capital links*, namely vertical links between government policies and the poor. Their presence ensures that policies formulated at the center can be translated practically at the village level. Without a companion, the program has the potential to run administratively without a social touch. In addition, the facilitators also strengthen *bridging social capital* through group and P2K2 activities that allow interaction between KPM, share experiences, and build solidarity.

However, the heavy workload makes the companion prone to burnout. Administrative pressure, many community complaints, and expectations of villages and KPM often cause psychological pressure. Despite this, the companions still show high commitment. This can be seen from the PD.3 statement which highlights the obstacles in the form of KPM resistance:

"There are KPM who do not want to participate in activities, even refuse if they are reminded... they consider this PKH to be their full money".

This situation reinforces the view that companions work in complex social contexts. With all its limitations, the companion still performs the dual role of administrator, educator, mediator, and motivator. They see PKH as a program that has a real impact on the welfare of the poor. The dedication of these companions is what maintains the sustainability of PKH in Teluk Dalam District. Optimizing the role of companions through policy support, training, and additional manpower is absolutely necessary so that the effectiveness of PKH can be improved in the future.

Challenges of PKH Implementation

The implementation of the Family Hope Program (PKH) in Teluk Dalam District still faces various challenges that affect the effectiveness of the program, even though the positive impact has been felt by the community. These obstacles arise from structural, technical, and socio-cultural aspects inherent in the characteristics of the people of South Nias. These challenges need to be analyzed in depth so that improvement strategies can be formulated more comprehensively. One of the biggest challenges is the limited access of villages to the Next Generation Social Welfare Information System (SIKS-NG). The village apparatus does not have the authority to update the recipient data, so when there is a mismatch between the field conditions and the system data, the village is the party to blame. This was conveyed directly by the village apparatus, SG, who emphasized that:

"We have not been able to access SIKS-NG for several years, because the village account has not been activated. So if there is a data problem, the public immediately blames us."

This limitation shows the weak structural support for villages, even though villages are the closest actors of the community.

The problem of target inaccuracy is also a trigger for social conflict. Some families that are considered quite capable are still registered as recipients, while some poor families are not netted. The injustice felt by the community caused social jealousy and suspicion of the village government. TM.2 community leaders said that the lack of clarity of information often leads to misperceptions:

"If the information is not clear, the public is quick to suspect. Some say that the village deliberately hides data, when in fact it is not so."

Resistance from some KPM is also a significant obstacle. Not all recipients are willing to fulfill program obligations, such as attending P2K2 or regular health checkups. Some feel that these activities are burdensome, especially those who live far from health facilities or have dense work activities. The PKH companion (PD.3) describes this situation clearly:

"Obstacles often occur because there are KPM who do not want to participate in activities, and even refuse if they are reminded. There are also those who misunderstand, think that PKH is their full money, even though there are obligations that must be fulfilled."

The limited number of companions is a structural challenge that has a direct impact on the quality of mentoring. One companion has to handle more than 200 KPM with difficult geographical conditions, so the intensity of visits and education is not optimal. This is acknowledged by the PKH companion (PD.1) who said:

"The number of companions is small compared to KPM. So it's hard to keep an eye on everything in detail."

This condition causes communication not to be delivered evenly to all KPM. From a technical perspective, the delay in disbursing funds is a complaint that is often submitted by the KPM. Dependence on assistance makes some families very dependent on the disbursement schedule. When there is a delay, there is disappointment and even protests to the village and its companions. This shows that cash assistance is still understood as a source of routine consumption, not an instrument of long-term welfare improvement. Coordination obstacles also often arise due to inconsistent information flows between the center, facilitators, and villages. The PKH Companion (PD.2) explained that information from the center sometimes comes suddenly:

"Sometimes the information from the center drops suddenly, so we don't have time to coordinate with the village first."

As a result, villages are often the party that the community asks, even though they do not receive information early. The socio-cultural factors of the Nias people also affect the implementation of the program. A society that still strongly upholds the social hierarchy makes the role of traditional leaders and religious leaders very influential. If these figures are not involved in socialization, KPM resistance tends to increase. This is in accordance with what the community leaders said in the interview that public trust is highly determined by the legitimacy of local figures. In addition, obstacles also arise from the dense activities of people who work in the fields. UL village officials said:

"Sometimes it is difficult to gather residents for P2K2, because they are busy working in the fields. So not everyone can attend."

Finally, low financial literacy and understanding of program objectives cause some KPMs to use assistance funds for short-term consumptive purposes. Companions often have to provide repeated education so that KPM

understands that PKH is a conditional program and has a long-term goal of improving the quality of human resources. Overall, the challenges of implementing PKH in Teluk Dalam District not only come from technical factors, but are also strongly influenced by local social and cultural dynamics. Through increased coordination, data transparency, strengthening the capacity of companions, and the involvement of community leaders and religious leaders in a more formal manner, these obstacles can be minimized so that PKH can have a more optimal impact on beneficiary families.

Discussions

The results of research in Teluk Dalam District show that the implementation of PKH is not only influenced by administrative aspects, but also by social dynamics that develop in the community. This is in line with the view of Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam (1993) that social capital plays an important role in shaping social interactions, beliefs, and collective work mechanisms. The social capital formed in PKH beneficiary communities has been proven to be able to strengthen or weaken the success of the program.

In terms of Beneficiary Families (KPM), the findings show a double understanding: some see PKH as an investment in education and health, while others still place it in a consumptive framework. This phenomenon is similar to the research of Rahman (2020) in Malang, which found that the perception of KPM is greatly influenced by the level of social literacy and the quality of mentoring. Thus, education through P2K2 has a central role in shaping KPM's awareness of the long-term goals of PKH.

Village officials, although they have limited authority in determining recipients, still play an important role as *bridging social capital*. They became the link between the community and the central government. However, the community's misunderstanding regarding village authority in determining KPM causes social conflicts. These findings are consistent with the Lestari (2020) study in West Java, which found that limited access to village data to SIKS-NG often leads to accusations of injustice from residents.

Community leaders and religious leaders in Teluk Dalam District serve as a reinforcer of the legitimacy of the program. They help reduce resistance, prevent conflict, and instill moral values in the utilization of aid. This role represents *bonding and bridging social capital*, where family ties and extensive social networks strengthen public acceptance of the program. Dewi's research (2021) also emphasizes that the role of traditional leaders is very effective in reducing conflicts due to the inaccuracy of PKH targets.

PKH companions play a vital role as *linking social capital*. They bridge the vertical relationship between the government and the community. Without a companion, PKH policy is only limited to administration without understanding local socio-culture. However, the findings in Teluk Dalam show that there is a limited number of companions, so that the effectiveness of the companionship is reduced. This condition is in line with the findings of Utami (2021), who stated that the ratio of companions to the number of KPM greatly determines the success of the program, especially in increasing KPM participation in P2K2.

The challenges of PKH implementation in Teluk Dalam, such as delays in disbursement, inaccuracy of targets, KPM resistance, and limited village access to data systems, show that this program still faces structural and technical obstacles. However, the existence of social capital at the local level helps to reduce the negative impact of these challenges. For example, solidarity between KPM who remind each other of the activity schedule shows the function of bonding social capital in maintaining program compliance.

These findings confirm that PKH cannot only be seen as a top-down policy, but needs to be understood within the framework of community participation. This program runs more effectively when there is close collaboration between stakeholders, namely KPM, village officials, community/religious leaders, and companions. Thus, PKH in Teluk Dalam shows a *multi-level governance* pattern based on social capital, where the success of the program depends on cross-actor coordination and social trust.

When compared to Andriani's (2021) research in South Sumatra, the challenges of PKH in Teluk Dalam are relatively similar, namely the still strong resistance of KPM and the limited number of support workers. However, the role of religious leaders in Teluk Dalam seems to be more dominant than other areas, considering that the people of Nias highly uphold religious values. This is proof that social capital is contextual, influenced by local culture.

This discussion shows that social capital is not only a supporting variable, but a determining factor in the success of PKH. Bonding strengthens solidarity among fellow KPM, bridging mediates inter-group relations, and

linking bridges public relations with the government. These three dimensions complement each other and form a collaborative framework that is important for the implementation of PKH in rural areas.

Thus, this study emphasizes that strengthening social capital is an important strategy in overcoming the challenges of PKH implementation. In the future, the government needs to strengthen the role of companions, increase village involvement in data validation, and utilize the influence of local figures more formally. Without paying attention to social factors, PKH risks only becoming a short-term aid program without producing sustainable change for the poor.

Bonding Social Capital: Inter-KPM Social Bonds and Local Solidarity

In the perspective of Putnam (1993), bonding social capital refers to strong social bonds in homogeneous groups such as family, neighbors, or fellow poor people. In Teluk Dalam District, bonding emerged very strong between KPM because they lived close together, had kinship relationships, and faced relatively similar economic burdens. Interview data shows that between KPMs there are emotional solidarity and social support, especially in maintaining participation in PKH activities. The PKH facilitator explained how KPM reminded each other and asked questions when one of the group members was not present at the meeting:

"If someone does not go to the group meeting, they will usually ask the reason for their absence, share information from the group meeting, and even encourage fellow recipients to be diligent in attending the meeting." (EL – PKH Companion)

KPM itself acknowledges that their daily relationship is close, so helping each other is a natural activity:

"Because the average PKH recipient in this village still knows each other, not others." (In. 4 – KPM)

Another form of bonding is mutual concern for problems experienced by fellow KPMs, for example when the disbursement of funds does not come in:

"Other recipients showed concern and felt concern... even report to the companion." (DZ – PKH Companion)

Bonding can also be seen in local solidarity practices, such as the *faoma fanolo tradition* and the saying "Aoha noro nilului wahea" which emphasizes the culture of helping:

"There is a help-to-help system such as faoma fanolo... group will help those who are in distress." (NH – Religious Figures)

This customary-based social capital helps to mitigate potential conflicts, especially when some residents question the accuracy of PKH's targets. On the other hand, bonding that is too strong can also produce collective misperceptions, for example regarding the process of determining the recipient. A MOE stated:

"I heard that if we were released from PKH, it was because our names were released in the village SIKS-NG application." (In. 1 – KPM)

Although not procedurally accurate, this perception spreads through internal bonds between citizens. Overall, bonding social capital in Teluk Dalam serves as a driving force for compliance with the program, strengthen the flow of internal information, and create emotional support that is important for the sustainability of PKH.

Bridging Social Capital: Inter-Group Relations and the Role of Village Officials, Religious Leaders, and Indigenous Leaders

Bridging social capital refers to the relationship between different groups but remains in one horizontal structure of society. In the context of PKH, bridging arises mainly in the relationship between KPM, village officials, community/customary/religious leaders, and other social groups. Village officials are the most prominent bridging actors, as they facilitate meetings, disseminate information, and assist in the administration of KPM. The village chief explained:

"Most of the KPM before going to the companion, they submit complaints to us first." (UL – Village Head)

On the KPM side, this is recognized as a form of closeness:

"If there is a PKH problem, we convey it to the village officials... those who pass on to the companion." (In. 3 – KPM)

Bridging also occurs through the role of religious leaders and traditional leaders as a link between local values and program goals. Religious leaders, for example, conveyed a moral message in the use of aid:

"We convey that PKH assistance must be managed properly as a blessing entrusted to us." (NH – Religious Figures)

Indigenous leaders also gave more direct moral advice regarding the abuse of aid:

"I often tell mothers, don't want social assistance money to be bought by your husband... That is the right of your children." (RD – Traditional Figure)

The role of these local figures is very relevant in the cultural context of Nias which has a communal social structure and respects customary and religious authorities. This makes the advice of local leaders more receptive. Village officials also use social capital in the form of deliberation (orahu) to support cross-group coordination:

"PKH issues are usually discussed together in village deliberations... We don't walk alone." (UL – Village Head)

In addition, bridging can also be seen in the efforts of village officials to encourage solidarity between KPM:

"If there is a KPM who does not want to participate in the meeting, we look for recipients who are close to him to invite and motivate him." (SG – Village Head)

However, bridging doesn't always go smoothly. There is tension in the form of social jealousy and misinformation about the authority of the village in determining PKH recipients. For example:

"Sometimes the village government prioritizes their families." (In. 1 – KPM) and *"Residents often suspect villages because they do not have access to SIKS-NG, even though they do not know."* (SG – Village Head)

These findings suggest that successful bridging requires transparency and consistent communication.

Linking Social Capital: The Vertical Relationship between Companions, Village Governments, and State Structures

According to Bourdieu, linking social capital concerns the relationship between grassroots communities and institutions that have power and resources. In the context of PKH, PKH companions are the main actors linking, because they link national policies to the social conditions of poor families. The companion explained that they carry out verification, education, and P2K2, but do not have the authority to determine the recipient:

"The determination of prospective recipients is carried out by the SIKS-NG system... We only do verification and assistance." (EL – PKH Companion)

On the KPM side, the dependence on companions is very high:

"We are more inclined to companions... If there are problems, we go to them." (In. 4 – MOE)

Linking social capital is evident in the coordination of companions with villages and Social Services:

"We really need cooperation with the village and the Social Service... Without it, our work stagnates." (EL – PKH Companion) and *"The village government always coordinates with PKH companions... We can't walk alone."* (UL – Village Head)

Linking also plays a role in ensuring the fulfillment of education and health obligations. The companion describes how schools and health centers provide important information:

"The school reminds parents whose children often skip school... This information became our material to reprimand the KPM." (DZ – PKH Companion)

However, the effectiveness of linking in Teluk Dalam is hampered by a very high ratio of companions, which is more than 600 KPM per companion:

"Normally we accompany 100-150 families, but we accompany more than 600 families." (EL – PKH Companion)

This limitation has implications for the low intensity of assistance and the unaffordability of some KPM in areas where road access is damaged. Nevertheless, linking social capital still plays an important role in ensuring that PKH runs. Village officials recognize the role of companions as the "main bridge" between the village and the center:

"If the PKH information, we immediately confirm it to the companion... those who know best." (SG – Village Head)

Overall, linking is the foundation of PKH's success because it brings together the central scheme (SIKS-NG), village structure, and KPM's micro-conditions.

Analysis of the Role of Social Capital in Encouraging Stakeholder Collaboration in the Implementation of the Family Hope Program in Teluk Dalam District using Nvivo 12

Word Cloud Analysis: Communication Patterns and Social Dynamics in PKH Implementation



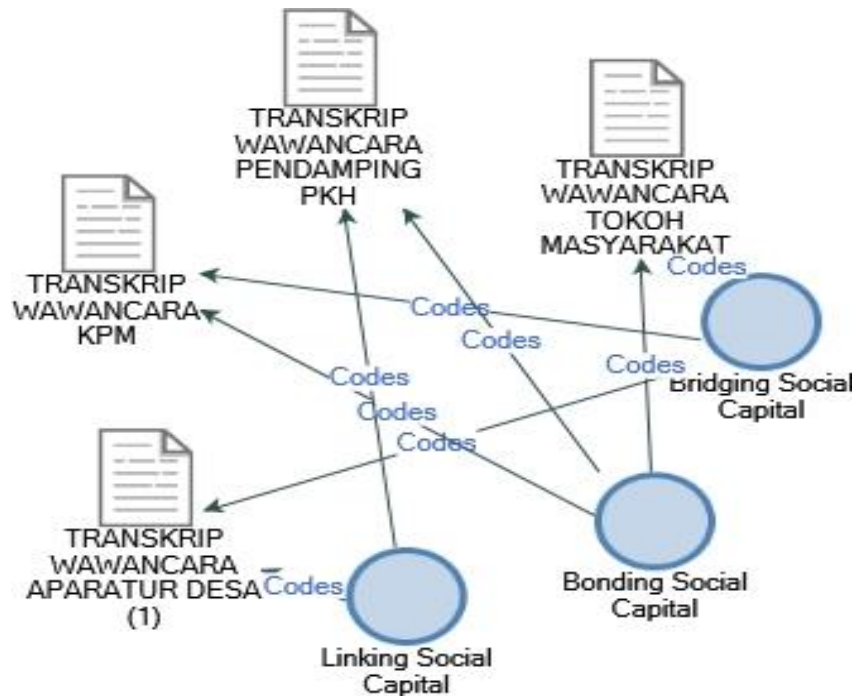
Source: Nvivo 12 Data Processing Results

Word cloud results show that words such as *"recipient"*, *"PKH"*, *"village"*, *"we"*, *"them"*, *"meeting"*, *"companion"*, *"group"*, and *"problem"* appear with high frequency throughout the interview transcript. The appearance of these words reflects that the implementation of PKH in Teluk Dalam District is very marked by an intense process of social interaction between aid recipients, social companions, village officials, and community leaders.

The frequency of the words *"meeting"* and *"companion"* indicates the central role of the social companion as a link between the program structure and the recipient community. The words *"problem"*, *"help"*, and *"support"* emphasized that the dynamics of program implementation cannot be separated from the challenges that are responded to through social capital in the community, such as mutual support between PKH recipients and coordination with the village government. Social relations characterized by the use of the pronouns *"we"* and *"they"* show a social cohesion that affects the level of participation and adherence to program commitments.

Overall, word cloud illustrates that the implementation of PKH is not only administrative, but also a strong social practice, where social capital plays an important role in solving problems and maintaining the smooth implementation of the program.

Code–Data Source Relationship Analysis: Stakeholders' Contribution to Social Capital



Source: Nvivo12 Data Processing Results

The visual model of code-based relationships shows that all interview transcripts—including interviews with KPM, PKH companions, village officials, and community leaders—produce three main clusters of social capital, namely *bonding social capital*, *bridging social capital*, and *linking social capital*. These three social capital functions as a framework to understand the pattern of collaboration in Teluk Dalam District.

a. Social Capital Bonding (Internal Bond Between PKH Recipients)

The codes derived from the KPM interviews show that the internal relationship between PKH recipients is very strong. This solidarity comes in the form of helping each other understand program information, sharing experiences in fulfilling education and health commitments, and working together in attending group meetings. This bonding is an important social foundation that helps PKH recipients overcome administrative and technical obstacles in the implementation of the program.

b. Bridging Social Capital (Jembatan Antar-Kelompok Sosial)

Bridging social capital can be seen from the interaction between companions, village officials, and community leaders. PKH companions serve as the main mediator who connects the recipient group with the general public and the village government structure. Community leaders strengthen this bridging capital through moral support, information dissemination, and involvement in village deliberations. This relationship creates a space for cross-group dialogue that encourages acceptance of the program by the wider community.

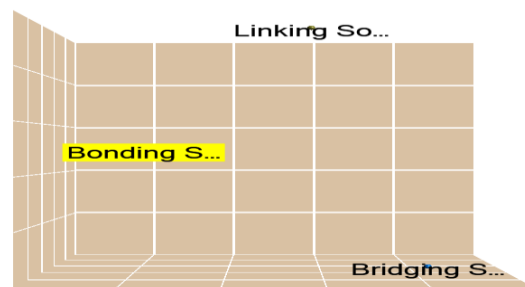
c. Linking Social Capital (Vertical Linkage with Formal Institutions)

Linking social capital is seen mainly through the role of village officials and PKH assistants in establishing relationships between the community and formal institutions, especially social services. Village officials are involved in verifying poverty data, determining eligibility, and distributing official information related to PKH. This vertical connectivity strengthens the legitimacy of the program and ensures that administrative coordination runs according to the provisions. The code-source relationship model shows that

collaboration between parties does not run separately, but forms a social network that supports each other in the implementation of PKH.

Cluster Similarity Analysis: Social Capital Integration in Program Implementation

Items clustered by word similarity



Source: Nvivo12 data cloner analysis results

The results of the analysis of the cluster based on word similarity show that the three categories of social capital *bonding*, *bridging*, and *linking* are in significant proximity. This position indicates that all types of social capital interact with each other and work simultaneously in the implementation of PKH.

The closeness of the bonding-bridging dimension reflects that the internal solidarity between recipients runs side by side with their external relationships with companions and community leaders. Meanwhile, the closeness between bridging-linking shows that the horizontal relationships established in village communities have a direct influence on vertical relationships with government agencies.

These findings reinforce that the successful implementation of PKH cannot be separated from the integration of the three types of social capital that form a multi-level collaboration between communities, facilitators, local leaders, and village governments.

Synthesis of Findings: Social Capital as the Foundation for PKH Stakeholder Collaboration

Overall, NVivo's analysis shows that social capital is the main pillar in collaboration between stakeholders in the implementation of PKH in Teluk Dalam District. The collaboration takes place through:

- Social capital bonding that strengthens internal support in the PKH recipient group so as to increase compliance with program commitments.
- Bridging social capital that facilitates cross-group dialogue through social companions and community leaders, thereby expanding the coordination space and legitimacy of the program.
- Linking social capital that strengthens the vertical relationship between the community and the structure of village government and social services.

These three dimensions support each other and form a collaborative ecosystem that ensures that the implementation of PKH is not only administrative, but also adaptive to the social conditions of the community. Strong

social capital makes PKH more acceptable, more effective in achieving program goals, and more responsive to problems that arise in the field.

CONCLUSION

The success of PKH in Teluk Dalam does not only depend on administrative mechanisms, but also on the strength of social capital. Social capital bonding can be seen from solidarity between KPM, bridging social capital from the role of village officials, and linking social capital from PKH companions. Therefore, strengthening social capital through more inclusive collaboration between stakeholders is the key to making PKH not just short-term assistance, but an instrument for sustainable empowerment of the poor.

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