

Knitting New Village Traditions: A Study Of Local Initiatives In Building A Village-Based Social Protection System

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Abstract

In the absence of more systematic and institutionalized welfare policies, local initiatives and innovations have emerged in building village-based social protection systems. The context behind this includes the rise of populist leaders, who have succeeded in developing schemes and programs that directly address the needs of the community, especially the basic needs of vulnerable populations. The emergence of similar populist local leaders is not only at the regional level, but is now even emerging and developing in the village realm. This phenomenon is closely related to the desire to weave a new tradition of village life, by going beyond the function and role of the village so far, which has only been a "firefighter" and a mere provider of administrative services. The new tradition of village life actually wants to present a village that is useful for residents through local innovation initiatives in building a village-based social protection system. Therefore, exploring and reviewing the experience of how certain villages are able to organize social protection has strategic value for the development of a village development model that is oriented towards the social welfare of residents in the future. Unfortunately, various existing literature shows that studies related to the discourse of social protection policies and practices have not paid adequate attention to experiences involving villages as central actors in organizing social protection. The discourse and practice of village development has so far been dominated by infrastructure development and BUMDes development. This study aims to elaborate on how the practice of implementing a social protection system in the village realm and its implications for improving the welfare of village communities, strengthening social capital, and reshaping the relationship between citizens and the state in the village realm. To uncover this, this study uses a qualitative approach and descriptive analysis with a theoretical/conceptual lens of the social protection system as part of the politics of welfare distribution. Data collection was carried out through observation, in-depth interviews, secondary data searches in the form of official documents and reports, and literature reviews. The locus of this research is in Bantul Regency, DI Yogyakarta, where there is a formal or integrated village-based social protection system in the village (government) system. This study produces a conceptual model related to the implementation of village-based social protection that is in accordance with the socio-cultural context, capacity, potential, resources, and diverse village challenges. In an academic/scientific context, this research seeks to contribute to enriching theoretical and empirical understanding related to the village-based social protection system as a political instrument for welfare redistribution, which provides space for the growth of local initiatives, strengthening social capital, and reforming citizen-state relations in the village realm.

Keywords: *social protection, village innovation, village development.*

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I. Introduction

Background

The village-based social protection discussed in this paper takes place in Panggungharjo, a village in Sewon District, Bantul Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta. This semi-urban village located in the south of Yogyakarta City has been implementing a social protection program since the beginning of the leadership of Village Head Wahyudi in 2014, as an implementation of the welfare policy of the Panggungharjo Village Government. In the rural context, rural studies experts view the presence of a social protection system as part of the politics of welfare distribution which is one of the mainstays to compensate for the loss of various livelihoods and environmental damage as an impact of the agrarian transition in rural areas (Li, 2014). The need for a welfare system arises from the awareness of the risks and importance of social security ongoing transformation and change. Moreover, the 21st century order shows a strong tendency towards increasingly uncertain socio-

political and environmental conditions. For example, the climate and environmental crisis, recession, epidemics, and others, which bring us to what is called an era full of risk, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (*Volatile, Uncertain, Complex and Ambiguous / VUCA*) (Codreanu, 2016 ; Purwanto, 2019) . On the other hand, the World Bank report claims that Indonesia in the last twenty decades has succeeded in building a strong foundation for a future social protection system (Holmemo et al., 2020) . However, the World Bank's optimism seems to be at odds with studies that show that Indonesia is still looking for a form of welfare regime that is more compatible with the economic, political and cultural context of its society (McCarthy & Sumarto, 2018) .

In Indonesia today, inequality and poverty are still glaring problems in everyday life. World Bank data itself shows that the majority (44.5%) of the Indonesian population is in the middle class group living with an expenditure of IDR 0.5-1.2 million per month, followed by vulnerable groups (24%), and poor groups (11%) (World Bank, 2016). Meanwhile, the Human Development Index (HDI) ranking, as an indicator of development achievement, Indonesia is still relatively low, even compared to a number of countries in Southeast Asia. Human Development Report (UNDP, 2020) placing Indonesia at 107th place out of 189 countries. With that position, Indonesia is ranked 5th, below Singapore (ranked 11), Brunei (47), Malaysia (62), and Thailand (79).

A survey entitled Power, Welfare and Democracy (PWD) conducted by UGM and UiO in 2014 showed that the provision of welfare has become a major concern and is considered an important issue by the Indonesian people (Mas'udi et al, 2018). The majority of respondents see the most basic welfare services, such as education, health and social security as important public needs that must be managed by the state. However, due to the limited ability of the state to provide welfare infrastructure and the pressure of pro-market reforms, the public has no choice but to turn to welfare schemes outside the state (welfare mix), such as community-based, religious and market institutions.

Unfortunately, in the midst of the absence of more systematic and institutionalized welfare policies, local initiatives and innovations have emerged in building village-based social protection systems. This is related to the rise of populist leaders, who have succeeded in developing schemes and programs that directly address the needs of the community, especially the basic needs of the population classified as vulnerable groups. (Mas'udi et al., 2018) . The emergence of similar populist local leaders is not only at the regional level, as experienced by Jemberana, Purbalingga, and Yogyakarta which pioneered universal welfare policies, but now even appears and develops in the village realm, such as Panggungharjo Village. This similar phenomenon arises among others from the desire to build a new tradition of village, by going beyond the function and role of the village so far which has only been a "firefighter" and a mere provider of administrative services. The new tradition of village actually wants to present a village that is useful for residents (Eko, 2014 ; 2015) . With all the resources and authorities it has, since 2013 the Panggungharjo Village Government has developed a village-based social protection system whose benefits are directly felt by residents, especially vulnerable groups (elderly, pregnant women, and the poor). By focusing on three types of services, health, education, and elderly protection, the Panggungharjo Village Government wants to bring the state into the village realm and provide benefits to residents.

However, literature that examines the implementation of village-based social protection programs, such as those taking place in Panggungharjo, is still relatively rare or even non-existent. Several recent studies related to the implementation of welfare policies generally focus on social protection programs or welfare guarantee schemes organized by state entities, both central and local governments (Sukmajati & Rahmawati, 2018 ; Djani et al., 2018) , as well as non-state actors such as religious institutions (Kurniawan et al., 2018) , community (Kurniawan & Rahmawati, 2018) , and market (corporate) (Edi et al., 2018) .

Based on the points above, this paper aims to elaborate on the dynamics and practices of implementing a social protection system by the Panggungharjo Village Government, identifying supporting factors, and their implications for strengthening the social capital of village communities. This paper aims to discuss 3 (three) things: 1) the scheme for implementing village-based social protection programs in Panggungharjo Village; 2) factors that enable the Panggungharjo Village Government to implement village-based social programs; and 3) implications of implementing village-based social protection programs in Panggungharjo Village for social capital, both related to the level of trust in state/village government policies and strengthening reciprocity norms in the local community.

II. Literature Review

Social protection is a concrete manifestation of welfare policy. In the context of industrial capitalist countries in the North, the emergence of welfare policy can be traced back to the end of the 19th century, in Germany during the era of Otto Van Bismarck. The welfare policy, which was later known as Bismarck's insurance, was certainly inseparable from the efforts of western capitalist countries in responding to social upheavals as an excess of the Industrial Revolution that had been going on since the previous century, such as inequality and the strengthening of the labor movement demanding a fairer system and working conditions. It was TH. Marshall (1950) who then tried to formulate the concept of social rights in order to link citizens and the right to welfare. Marshall stated that the right to welfare is a concept that is closely related to the concept of

citizenship. The concept of citizenship itself includes three basic components, namely civil rights, political rights, and social rights. Social rights are the right to welfare with the consequence that government institutions are responsible for welfare services. In other words, the concept of social rights determines: 1) the power relationship between citizens and the government/state; and 2) the position of the state which is obliged to fulfill the state's social rights. However, the development of a welfare system is highly dependent on how a country translates and practices the concept of social rights. Indonesia, for example, accommodates these social rights as part of human rights specified in the 1945 Constitution Article 28H.

In the academic realm, the study of new welfare policies developed rapidly after the publication of Esping-Andersen (1990). Based on his study, Andersen (1990) mapped the practice of welfare regimes into 3 categories, namely liberal (represented by Western European countries), conservative (United States), and social democratic (Scandinavian countries). However, the concept of welfare regimes explored based on Andersen's study is biased towards industrial capitalist countries, so it is not relevant to explain the welfare system in developing countries. Therefore, this study refers to the concept of welfare mix, as formulated by Gough (2004), to explain the implementation of village-based social protection and its contribution to strengthening the social capital of rural communities as it takes place in Panggungharjo Village, Bantul Regency. Observers and reviewers of welfare policies distinguish the welfare mix between developed and developing countries based on the diversity of the number of actors involved. (Sumarto, 2017). The welfare mix component in the context of developed countries involves the role and interaction of three actors, namely the state, private/market and household in the distribution of welfare. While in the context of developing countries, the welfare mix component involves the role and interaction of four actors, namely the state, private (market), household, and community, in the distribution of welfare, as presented in the following chart :

Welfare mix di negara welfare state

Welfare mix di negara berkembang

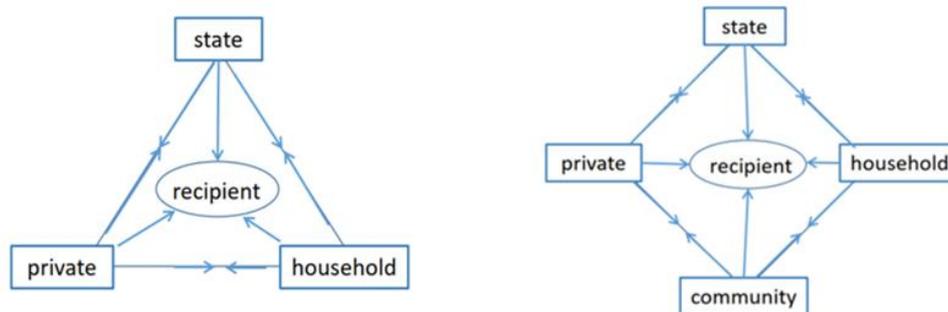


Chart 1. Differences in the composition of actors in the welfare mix scheme in welfare states and developing countries.

(Source: Sumarto, 2017)

In the context of welfare mix in developing countries, social capital plays an important role. This is possible because in addition to involving the role and interaction of the state, private sector, and households, welfare mix in developing countries also involves community actors. Social capital, as explained by Robert Putnam (Putnam, 1993) consisting of three components (trust, social networks and social norms) can strengthen relations between community members through mutual trust, which in turn becomes a driver of social network development. While trust arises from reciprocity norms (solidarity, mutual cooperation, etc.) and social networks, which in turn can later encourage the development of reciprocity norms. Thus, there is a reciprocal relationship between trust, reciprocity norms, and social networks, which "work" in a community that allows their role in realizing the welfare mix, for example through informal welfare provision schemes or informal social protection (sickness insurance, health care, death insurance, income maintenance, housing, food security, neighborhood security), which in the context of Indonesian culture we can find in the form of social gatherings, village food barns, layatan traditions, and so on.

According to Sumarto (2017), welfare regimes in developing countries can be divided into two categories, namely informal security regimes and insecurity welfare regimes. Therefore, actors outside the state, such as communities and religious organizations, play an important role in the provision of welfare services. Likewise, international donor agencies, such as the World Bank, and philanthropic institutions, also still play a role in the provision of welfare services.

III. Research And Methodology

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive approach, focusing on the implementation of social protection by the Panggungharjo Village Government and its implications for strengthening the social capital of village communities. Data collection was carried out through telephone interviews and secondary data searches in the form of documents and reports, as well as reviewing relevant literature. The reason for choosing the Panggungharjo Village locus is based on the ease of access to information or data needed in the study by relying on the author's network, as well as the fact that this village is one of the few villages in Indonesia that organizes villages- based social protection programs.

IV. Findings And Discussion

1. The Structure : Demographics, Potential, and Village Assets

Panggungharjo Village is 1 of 75 villages in Bantul Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta Province. In 2018, the population of Panggungharjo Village was more than 28,141 people. However, the population domiciled in Panggungharjo is actually around 40,000 people, because in this area there are 4 universities and 1 large Islamic boarding school with a number of students and students of around 15,000 people. The area of Panggungharjo Village is around 560 hectares which is administratively divided into 14 hamlets and 118 RTs.

Because most of its area borders directly on the provincial capital, Panggungharjo Village is a strategic economic area of the city of Yogyakarta. However, based on its nature and characteristics, the village area can be divided into three areas. First, the agricultural area located in the southern part of the Panggungharjo Village area which includes 5 hamlets. As an agricultural area, this area is a buffer for rice production for Panggungharjo Village. Second, the central government area is located in the central part of Panggungharjo Village. In this area there is the Panggungharjo Village Hall and is the center of village government that covers 5 hamlets.

Third, the urban agglomeration area located in the north. The area that covers 4 hamlets has developed into an urban agglomeration due to the high conversion of rice fields to residential areas. Based on land use, Panggungharjo Village includes industrial areas, shops, offices, rice fields, dry land (yards), and waqf land. Meanwhile, based on its designation, the land area of Panggungharjo Village includes roads, settlements, rice fields and fields, cemeteries, and others (ditches and rivers).

Sociologically, the characteristics of village residents more or less characterize the character of urban communities, where the source of economic income is no longer supported by the agricultural sector in a broad sense, but is dominated by the service and trade sectors. Poverty in Panggungharjo village more or less characterizes the urban poverty, namely a condition of poverty characterized by a homeless/not having a house, landless/not having land, jobless/not having a job.

Table 1 General Description of Panggungharjo Village

Total population	28,609 souls	Based on Usage	
Population growth	1.89% (2017)	Industry	11.85 ha
Number of Families	9,299	Shops	9.25 ha
Number of Hamlets/RT	14 Hamlets / 118RT	Office	1.56 ha
Population Livelihoods		Rice fields (semi-technical irrigation)	278.87 ha
Employee/Staff	8,256	Waqf Land	5.79 ha
Self-employed	769	Dry Land (Yard)	151.8 ha
Farmer	750	Based on Land Status	
Laborer	7,087	Right of ownership	332.58 ha
Farm workers	219	Right to Use	8.84 ha
Etc	2,022	Village Land	63.38 ha
An area	560 ha	Sultan Ground	1.11 ha

Source: (Panggungharjo Village Government, 2018b)

Panggungharjo Village has assets in the form of land and buildings that can be rented out at any time for community business activities. By optimizing the use of these assets , Panggungharjo Village obtains quite significant income. The source of income comes from the harvest of bent land rice, rental of buildings and shophouses, and contributions from the Village-Owned Enterprise (BUMDes) Panggung Lestari (see Table 2). In 2018, the village's original income from the use of these assets reached IDR 1,055,795,083.

Table 2 List of Land and Building Assets Owned by the Paanggungharjo Village Government

Asset	Information
Village Treasury Land	21.64 ha
Village Buildings	
Meeting Hall	1 unit
Sport Centre	1 unit
Warehouse	2 units

Shophouse	2 units
Workshop	1 unit

Source: (Panggunharjo Village Government, 2018a)

2. Adaptive Leadership and Bureaucratic Reform as Village Innovation

The success of Panggunharjo Village in organizing governance including in the implementation of village-based social protection is certainly not something that just happens. Several factors that support the implementation of a village-based social protection system include the character and vision of the village head's leadership and village bureaucratic reform.

The improvement of village bureaucracy is one of the important milestones in the implementation of government, thus enabling villages such as Panggunharjo to organize a social protection system. The bureaucratic reform they are carrying out does not only include developing the capacity of village officials. As emphasized by Wahyudi, the Village Head, the most fundamental thing to reform village bureaucracy is to build a new relationship pattern between the village government and its citizens. Why is this crucial? So far, the relationship between citizens and the state has been problematic because the existing relationship pattern is only administrative. For example, villagers who come to the village office or communicate with the village government only to take care of ID cards, land certificates, or marriage letters. There is almost no other reason for the government or villagers to communicate outside of these administrative matters.

Therefore, Panggunharjo seeks to establish a new relationship between the government and villagers. The method is to restore the dimension of public services not only covering administrative services, but also concerning services for public goods and services. This means that as long as the interests of the goods/services are in the domain of public goods/services, the Village Government is obliged to provide services. For example, when a child cannot go to school, or a pregnant woman is unable to access health services, and they are not covered by central and regional government programs, this becomes the business of the village government as a representation of the presence of the state. Likewise with other matters, such as waste management and other public issues in the village realm.

When villagers or the private sector are unable to develop mechanisms for handling social problems, the village government is present to provide expanded public services. For this purpose, the village government adjusts the village institutional structure. Initially, with the additional burden of providing services for public goods and services, the village apparatus seemed hesitant. This is because so far they have interpreted public services only in the scope of administrative services. Therefore, the strategy taken by the Panggunharjo Village Government is to give some of its authority to village institutions, village community institutions, and village community organizations. They help carry out some of the functions of the village government. This simultaneously opens up channels for participation and encourages the process of institutionalizing participation. In the context of implementing social protection, Panggunharjo formed the Social Safety Net Implementing Agency (Bapel JPS).

Panggunharjo Village also built a new bureaucratic culture by developing a performance-based salary system. Previously, they first conducted job analysis, workload analysis, performance determination, performance measurement, and provided additional income in the form of performance allowances. This is what makes the village bureaucratic machine slowly run effectively. Based on the results of the job analysis, the Panggunharjo Village Government can understand the minimum qualification requirements for someone to occupy a position. For example, in Panggunharjo, ideally to become a hamlet head, the minimum education level required is a diploma three. In terms of competency, at least being able to understand participatory planning, community empowerment, and development management.

If the current hamlet head is still below the required qualifications, it is the village's obligation to facilitate them so that they can meet them. Since 2016, the Panggunharjo Village Government has assigned 7 village officials to attend lectures facilitated by the Panggunharjo village government itself. In this case, the Panggunharjo Village Government has built networks and cooperation with local universities. As a result, efforts to improve the capacity of the village bureaucratic apparatus have now yielded a number of quite significant achievements. This is indicated by, among other things, the increase in the competence of the village apparatus.

The experience of Panggunharjo Village is indeed very specific. The steps and strategies taken in reforming the bureaucracy at the village level are certainly closely related to the challenges faced, potential, and resources it has. However, the achievements it has achieved to become one of the leading villages in this country show that village revival is not impossible. On the contrary, Panggunharjo's experience has brought new optimism that has inspired tens of thousands of other villages in guarding and maintaining the momentum of village revival. Moreover, with synergy and support from supra-village actors, through policies, facilitation, assistance, and supervision, the weak capacity of villages is not an eternal fact. The existence of mentoring, utilization of networks, and continuous learning has proven to be able to boost the capacity and performance of villages in organizing village governance and development.

Based on field findings, this study shows that the realization of village-based social protection programs is influenced by local leadership factors at the village level. The leadership of the Panggungharjo village head is based on the existence of a strong political spirit and vision to realize village change combined with technocratic capabilities, as well as a democratic leadership character that provides space for the growth and development of ideas for change themselves. The transformative leadership figure inherent in the village head is a factor that underlies the success of village development. Village leadership that carries a transformative spirit becomes a lever for opening up spaces for community participation, optimizing the use of village resources and potential, distributing welfare, networking and collaborating, and being responsive to community aspirations.

Extraction capability in mobilizing village income sources, by optimizing the management of village potential and assets, Panggungharjo Village can generate significant village income. This is possible because it is supported by the village's capacity in building networks and collaboration to optimize the extraction capability. The efforts of the Village Government in raising *Corporate Social Responsibility* (CSR) funds from companies operating in the village administrative area, can be seen through the framework above. Likewise, at the beginning of the implementation of Bapel JPS, of course it would not have been realized without the Village Government's ability to build collaboration with Universities and health service providers. In this case, the Panggungharjo Village Government collaborated with Rumah Sehat Baznas and Larasati Hospital for social protection services in the health sector. Since 2015, Bapel JPS has also recruited one village midwife. Meanwhile, for the education sector, the Panggungharjo Village Government collaborates with the Bumiputera insurance institution and several nearby universities, namely the Yogyakarta Midwifery Academy, STIE Business Science, Polytechnic of the Leather Technology Academy, and Taman Siswa College, as well as several other private universities in Yogyakarta.

In other words, to realize and build a social protection system as promised during the 2012 Village Head election campaign, the Head of Panggungharjo Village mobilized all village capacities. First, *regulatory capacity*, namely the ability to regulate village life and its contents with village regulations based on the needs and aspirations of the community. This can be seen from the ability of the Village Government in regulating and implementing village-based social protection schemes for vulnerable groups. Second, *distributive capacity*, in the form of the ability to distribute resources in a balanced and equitable manner according to the needs of the village community. Every year, the Village Government allocates a budget for Bapel JPS as the social protection implementing agency at the village level as a form of consistency in realizing fair budget management. Third, *extractive capacity*, namely the ability to collect, mobilize and optimize village assets to support the interests of the government and village community as well as the ability to consolidate various actors in the village. With its extractive capacity, the Panggungharjo Village Government is able to mobilize village income sources and optimize the use of village assets so that it contributes significantly to the creation of original village income (See Table 3). Fourth, *responsive capacity*, namely the ability to be sensitive or responsive to community aspirations as a basis for planning village development policies. The existence of a village-based social protection program shows the high sensitivity and concern of the Panggungharjo Village Government to present the state in the village realm, especially to help villagers who are classified as vulnerable groups. And fifth, *collaborative capacity*, namely the ability of the government and villagers to build cooperation networks with external parties to support extractive capacity. As mentioned earlier, the ability to build networks and collaboration enables the Panggungharjo Village Government to organize a village-based social protection system.

Table 3. Budget Allocation of Bapel JPS Panggungharjo Village 2016-2021

Fiscal year	Income Original Village (Rp)	Amount Village Budget (Rp)	Budget JPS Development Agency (Rp)	Percentage	
				Against PADes	Regarding the Village Budget
2016	1.194.223.359	4.335.067.416	136.313.000		3.14%
2017	667.206.171	5.199.282.340	177.315.000		3.41%
2018	1.055.795.083	5.574.696.083	127.690.000		2.29%
2019	688.576.003	4.713.589.542	129.790.000		2.75%
2020	690.671.346	5.549.338.554	153.692.500		2.76%
2021*)	882.347.154	6.846.079.041	161.122.500		2.35%
Total			885.923.000		16.7%
Average			147.653.833		2.78%

Source: Panggungharjo Village Government (*Data processed*)

*) Referring to the 2021 Panggungharjo Village Budget Ceiling

3. Institutional support

To implement welfare programs, the Panggungharjo Village Government established the Social Safety Net Management Agency (Bapel JPS). The establishment of Bapel JPS has administrative legality with the Decree (SK) of the Head of Panggungharjo Village Number 07 of 2013 concerning the Establishment of the

Social Safety Net Implementing Agency and Village Head Regulation No. 1 of 2013 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of the Social Safety Net Management Agency. Both regulations provide legal certainty for the implementation of social protection. In the village government structure, Bapel JPS is a village institution established due to the need to carry out certain functions that are within the authority of the village, in this case implementing welfare programs by providing social services especially for underprivileged residents. In carrying out its duties and functions, Bapel JPS coordinates and is responsible to the Head of the Panggungharjo Village Government Service Section.

In addition to institutions/organizations at the village level that are corporate in nature, such as Karang Taruna, PKK, Gapoktan, LMD, in Panggungharjo Village there are indeed several village community institutions. They are formed according to the needs to carry out the functions and authorities of the village government because the village government cannot move its functions alone. They manage 40-50 percent of the Village Budget through village institutions based on the principle of *nomadic legal funding* (delegation of authority accompanied by a budget) as a concrete manifestation of strengthening participation through empowering village institutions. In the implementation of government, there are 80 village authorities implemented by village institutions, village community institutions, village social organizations in order to open up space for participation while encouraging the process of institutionalizing participation. Bapel JPS itself is a village institution with the aim of organizing a social safety net program. The social safety net program itself is a form of social protection to ensure that all people of Panggungharjo Village can meet their basic needs for a decent life by using funding sources from the village government or the community.

It is within this framework that Bapel JPS is present and carries out its functions. Every year Bapel JPS manages the budget allocated from the Village Budget to run welfare programs that are the village's priorities. In addition to budget support, Bapel JPS also receives facilities in the form of a special office with a staff of six people, consisting of the Chairperson, Secretary, Surveyor Coordinator, Surveyor, and Village Nurse (See Table 1).

Table 4. Management of the Social Safety Net Management Agency of Panggungharjo Village

Name	Position
Jamiluddin	Chairman
Dita	Secretary
Feny Winarti	Village Nurse
Adihtya Nur Hafnie	Surveyor Coordinator
English	Surveyor
Fitri	Surveyor

Source: LPPD of Panggungharjo Village 2013-2018 (Panggungharjo Village Government, 2018b)

To support the activities of Bapel JPS, the Panggungharjo Village Government provides the following facilities: 1) Honorarium for Management Officers; 2) Honorarium for Village Nurses; 3) Office Stationery (ATK); 4) Duplication/photocopying and Printing; 5) Shopping for food and drinks for meetings and activities; 6)

Nursing Equipment; 7) Procurement of tension, stethoscope, minorset, and easy touch; 8) Provision of assistance for: a) Education assistance b) Families with orphans c) Families with neglected elderly people d) Families with chronic diseases e) Families with malnourished toddlers f) Families with high-risk pregnant women g) Families with disabilities h) Families with school dropouts.

4. Implementation of Social Safety Net Programs

The Panggungharjo Village Government views that social services and security are very necessary for the weak and underprivileged community. The government is required to play an active role in providing these services and social security. In organizing the social security program, the Panggungharjo Village Government refers to Law No. 40 of 2004 concerning the National Social Security System, which states that *"the development of a social security system for the entire community and the empowerment of the weak and underprivileged community in accordance with human dignity is the responsibility of the government."*

a. Education Sector

Bapel JPS services for education are a real effort from the Panggungharjo Village Government to create intelligent, educated successors to the nation who can eradicate poverty. This is based on the belief of the Panggungharjo Village Government that the only way to break the chain of poverty is through education. This assistance is given to underprivileged people who have arrears in education costs, both from kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, high school, and university levels.

Administrative requirements by attaching: 1) a letter of application addressed to the Village Head; 2) a cover letter from the RT and Dukuh; 3) a photocopy of the parents' ID card; 4) a bill from the school. Then if the

files have been completed properly, the applicant goes through several procedures. First, deliver all the complete files to the service section, then the files will be recorded by the officer. Second, Bapel JPS will conduct a survey of prospective beneficiaries and their schools. Third, if the survey results show that the prospective recipient is entitled to receive assistance, the surveyor will then coordinate with the village treasurer for the payment process as determined by Bapel JPS. Fourth, payment is made no sooner than 1 week after the survey is conducted. For residents who have been determined as beneficiaries of this program, Bapel JPS provides a smart card as follows. This is to provide convenience so that with this card the school already knows that its students receive educational financing from Panggungharjo village.



Figure 1. Smart Cards given to residents participating in the JPS Field program

Education

Services for JPS Education include: 1) Education insurance services with premiums paid by Bapel JPS; 2) Education Scholarship Services; 3) Cash education assistance services; 4) Free college scholarship services. According to Jamiludin, Head of Bapel JPS, each of these programs is run according to the needs or applications from prospective recipients who apply to register. So, the number fluctuates every year. However, for cash education assistance, almost every month there are always those who apply to become beneficiaries of this program. Meanwhile, for the One House One Bachelor scholarship program, up to 2018, 11 people have participated. However, only one person has successfully completed his undergraduate education in the Public Administration Department of the University of Proclamation 45 Yogyakarta, namely Nafa Safira Putri. Furthermore, details of the beneficiaries for this program can be seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Number of Beneficiaries of the One House One Graduate Program 2013-2018

No	Name	Address
1.	The Truth	Horse
2.	Strong Bagas Pangestu	Horse
3.	Frankie	Horse
4.	Hanif Ikhwan M	The Great Weekend
5.	N. Grant Rafifah Putri	Horse
6.	Beautiful Lady	Friction
7.	Rohman Nurul Izzah	Going for a walk
8.	Riris Lestariana	Horse
9.	M. Nur Dwi Aryanto	The Great Hall
10.	Fatoni Rahmad D	The Great Weekend
11.	Sutrisno	Pandey

Source: LPPD of Panggungharjo Village 2013-2018
(Panggungharjo Village Government, 2018b)

b. Field Health

JPS Kesehatan provides services in the health sector, including: out-of-house services, consultation fees and medical examinations; costs for minor/simple medical procedures; costs for purchasing medicines according to the National Essential Medicines List (DOEN) or medicines available at PPJPS Kesehatan according to medical indications; emergency service costs; and *homecare* by Village Nurses. To villagers who participate in this program, Bapel JPS provides health cards to provide convenience when providing services. Since it was first launched in 2013, the number of beneficiaries of this program has continued to increase every year. Until 2018, the total number of health card recipients was 192 families (details can be seen in Table 3), and then increased by an average of 20 families each year.

Table 6. Number of Beneficiaries of the Health Card Program

No	Year	Amount
1	2013	94 families
2	2014	123 families
3	2015	125 families
4	2016	138 families
5	2017	167 families
6	2018	192 families

Source: LPPD of Panggungharjo Village Government 2013-2018
(Panggungharjo Village Government, 2018b)

In 2015, the scope of the health program added one more program, namely the Dependent Elderly Nursing Care Program. This program is a form of concern from the Panggungharjo Village Government towards the elderly in order to create a healthy society until the end of life. This program is aimed at the elderly who come from underprivileged communities, with indicators of unsuitable housing, minimal family income, no relatives to accompany, or deteriorating health conditions.

**Figure 2. Health Card**

As with other service programs, families or elderly residents who want to receive this program service must first complete the administrative requirements and go through a series of certain procedures. To provide services to the elderly who participate in this program, village nurses will visit twice a month to check their condition and health, and to ensure that they get sufficient food intake, decent living conditions and adequate health. No less important, this program also pays attention to the psychological and mental aspects of the elderly because not all families pay attention to this. Therefore, Bapel JPS officers come to visit them not only to provide material assistance but also to invite them to chat, communicate like close friends, so that they do not feel lonely.

As a form of village responsibility towards its citizens who are entering old age, this program is quite popular and every year its participants continue to increase. Until 2018, 72 elderly people were recorded as beneficiaries of this program (See table).

Table 7. Number of Elderly Beneficiaries
Dependent Elderly Nursing Care Program (2016-2020)

Year	Amount
2016	34 elderly
2017	3 elderly
2018	6 elderly
2019	14 elderly
2020	15 elderly

Source: Documentation of the JPS Development Agency of Panggungharjo Village

c. Maternal and Child Health Sector

This program is intended for pregnant women in Panggungharjo Village who are economically vulnerable and do not have health insurance. To run this program, the Panggungharjo Village Government is collaborating with two maternity hospitals in the Panggungharjo Village area, namely the “Laras Hati” Maternity Hospital in Dukuh Glondong and the “Basuki Amalia” Maternity Hospital in Dukuh Kweni. Pregnant women participating in this program will be given a KIA (Maternal and Child Health) Card. With the KIA Card, participants will receive the following free services/facilities: a) Seven Pregnancy Check-ups; b) One normal delivery; c) Two postpartum check-ups; d) Five complete immunizations for babies.



Figure 3. KIA card given to pregnant women participating in the Maternal and Child Health Program

In the period of 2015-2016, this program was attended by 11 pregnant women (See Table 8). The following year, it is still running until now with the number of participants reaching 25 residents who have been recorded or are currently participating in this program.

Table 8. List of Beneficiaries of the Maternal and Child Health Card 2015-2016

No.	Year	Name	Place and date of birth	Address (Hamlet/RT)	Date
1	2015	Sri	Bantul, 05/05/1980		06/16/2014
2		Juliana	Bantul, 07/05/1978	Cabeyan RT 02	06/16/2014
3		Yatmi	07/02/1974	Cabeyan RT 02	06/16/2014
4		The Truth	Mount Kidul	Cabeyan RT 01	
5		English	Bantul	Cabeyan RT 04	
6	2016	Ade Yurmita	East Kalimantan, 10/29/1985	Village RT 04	01/04/2015
7		Estri Wulan	Bantul, 12/03/1976	Pelemsewu RT 06	05/27/2015
8		Dessy	Sedau, 12/05/1985	P. Glondong RT 07	01/08/2016
9		Sri Wahyuni	Ngawi, 02/18/1988	P. Glondong RT 07	01/13/2016
10		Murtini	Blora, 10/03/1981	Krapyak RT 06	01/21/2016
11		Iin Herlina	Cirebon, 06/09/1973	Village RT 03	01/29/2016

Source: Documentation of Bapel JPS Panggungharjo Village ; *processed data* .

5. Implications for Social Capital

The ability of villages to develop initiatives and innovations by building a village-based social protection system cannot be separated from the ability of villages to renew village social (community) institutions. There are a number of reasons why this is important to be one of the units of analysis in explaining the implementation of village-based social protection, both normatively, theoretically, and empirically. Normatively, Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning Villages regulates village community institutions. Article 94 states that village community institutions: a) assist in the implementation of village authority in organizing village governance, implementing village development, fostering community and empowering village communities; b) are a forum for village community participation and function as partners of the village government; 3) are tasked with assisting village community empowerment, participating in village planning and development, and improving village community services; and 4) the implementation of programs and activities from the government and supra-village institutions must strengthen existing community institutions in the village.

Theoretically, village social institutions have a close relationship with social capital (norms, trust and networks). (Putnam, 1993) which makes the village more socially powerful in supporting economic development and local democracy, and gives birth to solid local institutions. This is reflected in the formation of Bapel JPS, the implementing agency for the social protection program of Panggungharjo Village, as a civil institution born from the womb and initiative of civil society and village democracy.

Empirically, in the implementation of village government in Panggungharjo Village, there are 80 village authorities implemented by village institutions, village community institutions, village social organizations in order to open up space for participation as well as encourage the process of institutionalizing participation. Around 40-50 percent of the Village Budget is managed directly by village residents through village institutions. Bapel JPS is one of 12 institutions that carry out part of the functions of the village government, because the village government cannot move its own functions, by focusing on organizing social protection for village residents.

Local initiatives and innovations in building a village-based social protection system in Panggungharjo may be an interesting case study of how a policy also has an impact on social capital as theorized by social

scientists (Field, 2010). The Panggungharjo Village Government's initiative to develop a social protection system has proven successful in strengthening public trust in the village government. We can see this from the support that flows towards government programs as reflected in community involvement in them through various institutionalized participation channels above, and the re-election of Wahyudi Panggungharjo as Village Head in the 2019 Pilkada contest with an absolute victory.

V. Conclusion

The Panggungharjo case shows that welfare policies with village-based social protection programs are not impossible to realize in Indonesia. Moreover, amidst the country's limitations in building a more systematic and well-institutionalized welfare system. For rural communities in developing countries, the provision of welfare itself is nothing new. It's just that so far the provision of welfare in rural areas has been more communal, or working outside the village system. Meanwhile, the Panggungharjo case shows a completely different phenomenon. The Village Government as a representation of state administrators in a more micro realm is the face of the state itself. However, with all the local authority they have, they are present to serve citizens, relying on existing local initiatives and resources. However, the socio-demographic context, political vision that shows a bias towards the audience that is inherent in the character of village leadership and the capacity of the village to optimize potential, resources and networks, as well as a strong understanding of the meaning of social protection, make the Panggungharjo-style village-based social protection model rather difficult to find its equivalent elsewhere in the country.

One important lesson from the Panggungharjo case is that villages have the ability to develop local initiatives and innovations in building a social protection system. Of course, this assumes a number of prerequisites and preconditions that support it, as shown by this study: leadership, bureaucratic capacity and village extraction, networks, and institutional support.

Based on the Panggungharjo case, this study recommends several things. *First*, villages need to be given space, flexibility, or even encouraged, to be creative and innovative in managing their potential and resources, as well as in developing various local initiatives based on the aspirations and needs of village communities, including in developing welfare policy schemes at the micro level. As part of the rights and authorities of villages, the use of Village Funds does not need to be limited and regulated by the Government, as long as it is in accordance with the needs and aspirations of village communities and is managed transparently and accountably. *Second*, the Government and Regional Governments, based on their respective levels and scopes of authority, need to intensify the development of village capacity, such as through assistance and facilitation. Village capacity is one of the determinant factors that allows villages to develop various local initiatives and innovations to address various issues and challenges in village development that are more in line with the aspirations and needs of local communities, including in building village-based social protection systems or schemes.

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