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The impact of *Program Keluarga Harapan* Implementation to community resilience in East Nusa Tenggara*

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Abstract

East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) is a province in the eastern part of Indonesia. NTT has limitations in terms of access to health facilities, education, food, and information compared with provinces in the western part of Indonesia. In addition, other challenges faced by NTT are natural disasters, especially hydro-meteorological disasters such as floods and droughts. The global phenomenon El Niño also has a significant impact on NTT province that resulted in drought in NTT province, in mid-2015 to early-2016. The drought in the region has threatened the source of livelihood for many, especially farmers, in the community. The Indonesian government has prioritized interventions in NTT which provides social protection such as the Program Keluarga Harapan (Family Hope Program). Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) is a conditional cash transfer (CCT) program with objective to improve outcomes for communities by promoting the utilization of education and health services. Since 2007, Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) has been implemented in 7 districts in the province of NTT and now covers all regencies and cities in NTT. PKH has also had an impact on community resilience especially to lower the vulnerability to disaster. This chapter will focus on the impact of PKH on the resilience of communities, particularly to those facing slow onset disasters, such as NTT.

Keyword: Program Keluarga Harapan; Flood; Drought; Community resilience.

1. Introduction

Indonesia has launched many social protection programs to protect the poor and vulnerable society (Sagala et al 2016). This includes *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (PNPM) or the national community empowerment program and cash transfers. One of the biggest programs in cash transfer is *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH) or Family Home Programme. It is a social protection that was first launched in 7 provinces in Indonesia and was regulated by the Social Affairs Ministry. It is related with institutional arms, namely, the National Team of Accelerating Poverty Reduction or *Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan* (TNP2K). PKH belongs to the cluster 1 out of 4 clusters of the poverty reduction program in Indonesia (Habibullah, 2013). PKH is a government's initiative to develop a system of social protection and poverty reduction by adopting a conditional cash transfer (Irmayani, 2015). The distribution of funds is tied to conditions which build positive social outcomes. Under PKH, cash is distributed to extremely poor households through the post office based on certain conditions, which include children must attend school until junior high school, toddlers are immunized and pregnant women should complete routine checks (Kemensos, 2013).

Every year the number of beneficiaries and the amount of assistance provided by PKH has increased. The total number of recipient households was expected to reach 3.2 million RTSM in 2014 (Achmadi, 2014). Since 2012, the family hope program has garnered widespread support and has been successfully nationalized, reaching all provinces in Indonesia. This program has been carried out jointly by the respective ministries / agencies in accordance with the duties and functions of each (Habibullah, 2013).

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NTT Province is one of the seven provinces that first implemented the family hope program. NTT introduced the program in 7 districts / cities, namely, Kota Kupang, East South Central, West Sumba, West Manggarai, Sikka, Ende and Alor. In the province of NTT, the number of recipients in 2007 reached 66 583 people with a total fund of Rp 98,413,822,000, - (UPPKH NTT, 2016). Until 2015, PKH recipients have reached 115 564 people covering all districts / municipalities in NTT province. Increasing the number of beneficiaries in cities / regencies in NTT province is an ongoing process which requires consistent data collection so that it can effectively identify, target and reach the greatest number of households which are very poor and will receive the greatest benefit from the program.

The number of poor people in NTT reached 1.14992 million people in 2016, or 22.19% of the province, which constitutes a large challenge in providing social protection (BPS NTT, 2016). In addition to poverty, educational facilities, health, food, and information is limited compared to the eastern regions of Indonesia, and in order to build resilient communities, greater infrastructure must be developed. Such efforts are somewhat limited by the conditions of the area. Limited facilities to support community life are put at risk by the natural disasters that strike several places in the province of NTT, such as floods, landslides, droughts and tornados (Boer et.al, 2015).

One of the provinces that experienced El Niño impact in Indonesia, specifically drought, is Nusa Tenggara Timur Province. El Niño began to affect Indonesia during March 2015 and grew stronger until December 2015. This phenomenon has been felt in Indonesia until early 2016 (ACAPS, 2016). NTT is a province which is experienced the effects of drought due to global phenomenon El Niño. The drought is a slow-onset disaster, meaning that its impacts are felt gradually by the community over a longer period of time. The majority of the population in NTT work as farmers and water shortages greatly disrupt their livelihoods.

Giving money to the community through CCT has been employed in response to this disaster, which gives directly in the form of cash to the target group (Vishwanath & yu, 2010). In some places in South Asia, this approach has been found to be an effective social protection measure. It can reduce the vulnerability of communities, such as those in India and Bangladesh, which both showed progressive advances in social protection and disaster risk reduction (Heltberg 2007 in Davies et al., 2009; Bene et al 2014; Davies et al., 2013). Social Protection such as PKH can help reduce disaster risk, but it should be seen as a long term process to achieve community resilience (Davies et al., 2009). PKH is a form of Social Protection, though cash transfer, yet it is necessary to study the relationship between PKH as a social program and its effects in facing hydro-meteorological disasters and especially drought impacts. This chapter will consider PKH as one form of social protection – in the form of conditional cash transfers to the public – which are able to provide resilience to disasters, especially hydro-meteorological hazards. The main question of this paper is to what extent the social protection, such as PKH can contribute to community resilience?

2. Methodology

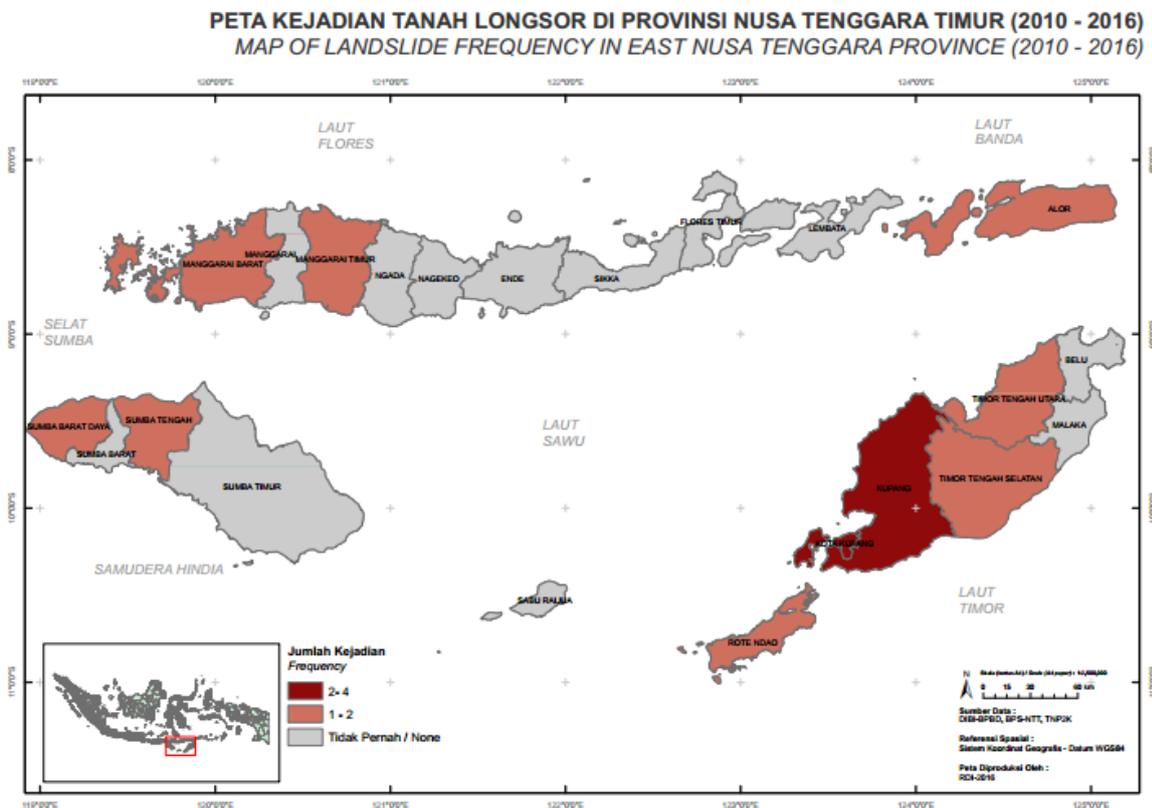
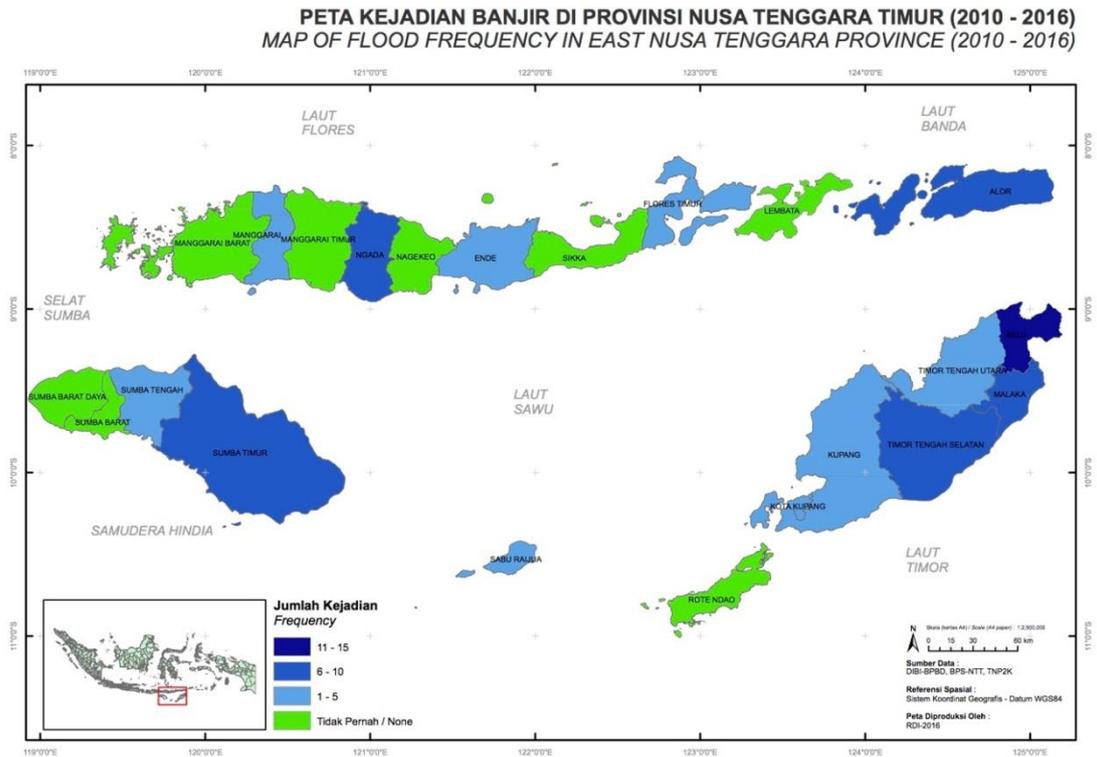
This research was conducted with qualitative and quantitative approaches. This study also uses content analysis of documents with relevant information. The collection of data and information is done through study of literature, desk review, and analysis related to this topic. In addition, the observation was also conducted on several districts of the NTT province such as West Sumba District (2016), and Belu District (2016), Lembata District (2012), Sikka and Ende District (2013, 2015).

2.1 Hydro-Meteorological Disaster in East Nusa Tenggara

In the province of NTT, there are several hydro-meteorological disasters that can occur, such as floods, landslides, droughts and typhoons. In some areas of the province, the occurrences of these events are quite frequent. Disaster events during 2010-2016 can be seen in Figure 1.

During 2010-2016, several districts/cities in NTT province experienced floods. Belu and Malaka district and also East Sumba are the districts which most often experience flood. Climate change also can impact the intensity of rainfall in NTT. After El Niño, Indonesia will face another climate change phenomena, La Niña. La Niña is the opposite phase of El Niño, resulting in increased high tides,

heavy rains, and storms, causing widespread flooding and landslides (ACAPS, 2016). It will also affect areas of eastern Indonesia such as NTT. The districts that have experienced flood will be exposed to more risk because of La Niña.



The local government in NTT has taken measures to face La Niña. Regional disaster management agencies of NTT Province have made a plan addressing how to deal with disasters. On the local level, the Belu and West Sumba districts have made contingency plans for flood. The plan was made through collaboration with Red Cross Indonesia. Contingency plans were formulated to help guide the coordination, especially between local government agencies, to minimize the loss and destruction because of flood (BPBD West Sumba, 2014).

Landslide is hydro-meteorological disaster that occurs in NTT province. During 2010-2016, Kupang districts and Kupang were the areas that more often experienced landslides. The frequency of landslides, however, has been relatively small compared to other area in Indonesia, occurring only 1-2 times for last 6 years. The impact of landslide was relatively large, for example in the Kupang district during the last 6 years, thousands of people were evacuated because of incoming landslides and further hundreds of people experienced the impact of landslide (BNPB, 2016). The potential risk of future landslides has also increased because of La Niña, which is predicted to occur at the end of 2016.

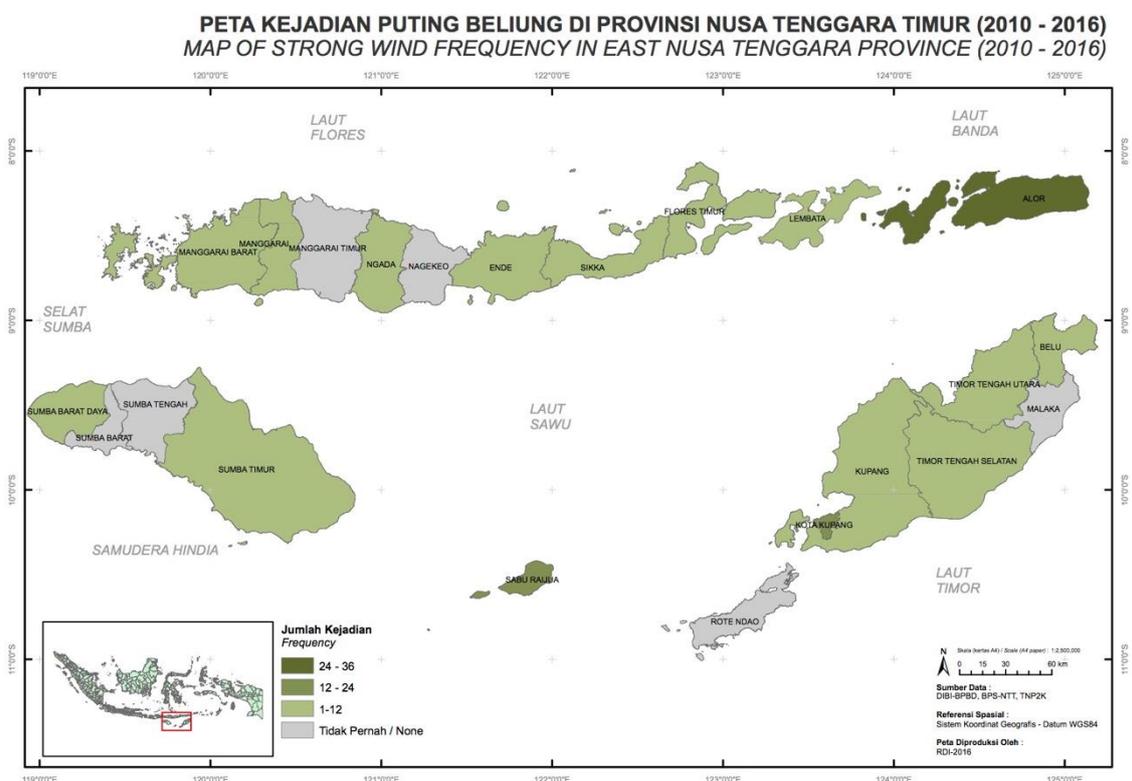


Figure 3 Map of Strong Wind Frequency in East Nusa Tenggara Province (2010-2016)

Strong winds were a hydro-meteorological disaster that happened in NTT province during 2010-2016. There were districts in which these strong winds occurred more often, such as Alor district. Alor is known as a district which faces strong winds more than other about 24-36 times in last 6 years. However, the district of Manggarai has more victims, with 6 deaths in the last six years.

During 2010-2016 there were districts/cities that experienced drought such as East Sumba, Central Sumba, West Manggarai, Ngada, Nagekeo, and Belu district. Belu and West Manggarai district experienced drought more often than another districts. The frequency at which droughts occur was relatively low, about 1-4 times in the last 6 years. Even with lower intensities, such slow-onset disasters can still have a large impact on communities, especially when viewed in the long-term.

Drought strikes in almost every year across NTT especially in Manggarai Barat, Belu, and Malaka. The odd thing is Manggarai Barat only undergone the drought while Belu experienced both as well as Malaka, since Malaka was formerly south part of Belu district. Hence those areas are more vulnerable. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Indonesia affected the El Niño phenomenon which cause drought

In rural areas, the majority of villages are not properly serviced by basic facilities such as water and electricity (Rahayu et.al, 2008). The limited scope of utilities in rural areas means that accessing to water amongst such communities is low. The inability of communities to access reliable water, is another factor which exacerbates community vulnerability when drought disasters occur.

The drought, which occurred in part due to the El Niño phenomenon of mid-2015 to early 2016, adds to the distress of people who need to obtain good water for daily use as well as for agriculture. Impact of drought slowly affects the lives of people, especially farmers, who have lost their livelihoods, reducing their income. The main response of income reduction is reduction in food expenditure. (WFP, 2016)

Food security is also affected by El Niño. In Central Sumba and South East (*Timur Tengah Selatan-TTS*), only 8% and 6% were classified food secure, while the rest were classified as either marginally food insecure (about 40 %), moderately food insecure (about 30%) or severely food insecure (about 6%) (WFP, 2016). During 2010-2016, these districts were fewer often experienced droughts than other districts such as Belu or West Manggarai districts, logically the impact of drought at Belu or West Manggarai were more severe.

Communities tried to adapt with drought with diverse coping strategies. These include borrowing money, borrowing food or groceries, eating less preferred foods or less expensive foods and also reducing portion sizes of meals (WFP, 2016). Communities also got assistance from the government of Indonesia, although this was not specific to relieving impacts of drought, but rather, through existing social protection programs such as RASKIN (Rice for Poor People) and Family Hope Program (PKH).

World Food Program who researched the impact of drought in four provinces in Indonesia, found that the government of Indonesia should provide cash to poor household dependent on food crop production, especially in NTT Province where the extreme dry season has reduced already weak purchasing power and harvests of main crops (WFP, 2016). However, GoI has provided cash to poor household through social protection program such as *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH). The beneficiaries of PKH are very poor household, which in NTT province would include families of farmers. PKH has great potential to lowering vulnerability of communities who experience disasters, especially drought.

2.2 Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) and Drought in East Nusa Tenggara

The PKH program seeks to improve the quality of life of poor families, especially through improving education and health. This has had positive effects, demonstrated by the increase in the value of the HDI in each regency / city in NTT, driving beneficial outcomes along with other programs of the government related to improving quality of life. PKH complements other social protection programs for very poor family to fulfill their basic needs.

Table 1 Criteria of Number of PKH aid's per year

Component of cash that give to PKH beneficiaries	Per-family/year
Fixed Aid	500.000 Rupiah
a. Pregnant/lactating mother/children under 6 years	1.200.000
b. Elementary school children	450.000
c. Junior high school children	750.000
d. Senior high School Children	1.000.000
e. Persons with disabilities	3.100.000
f. Elderly people	1.900.000

Source: Ministry of Finance, 2016

In 2016, PKH altered the criteria for the beneficiaries of the program. PKH was expanded to include elderly people and persons with disabilities as their target group of beneficiaries. It is shown below that PKH will expand their targeting to increase the number of beneficiaries. The target for 2016 will be expanded and become twice more beneficiaries, about 6.000.000 poor households (Kemensos, 2016). PKH will become more effective in the future with more cash given to a higher number of beneficiaries.

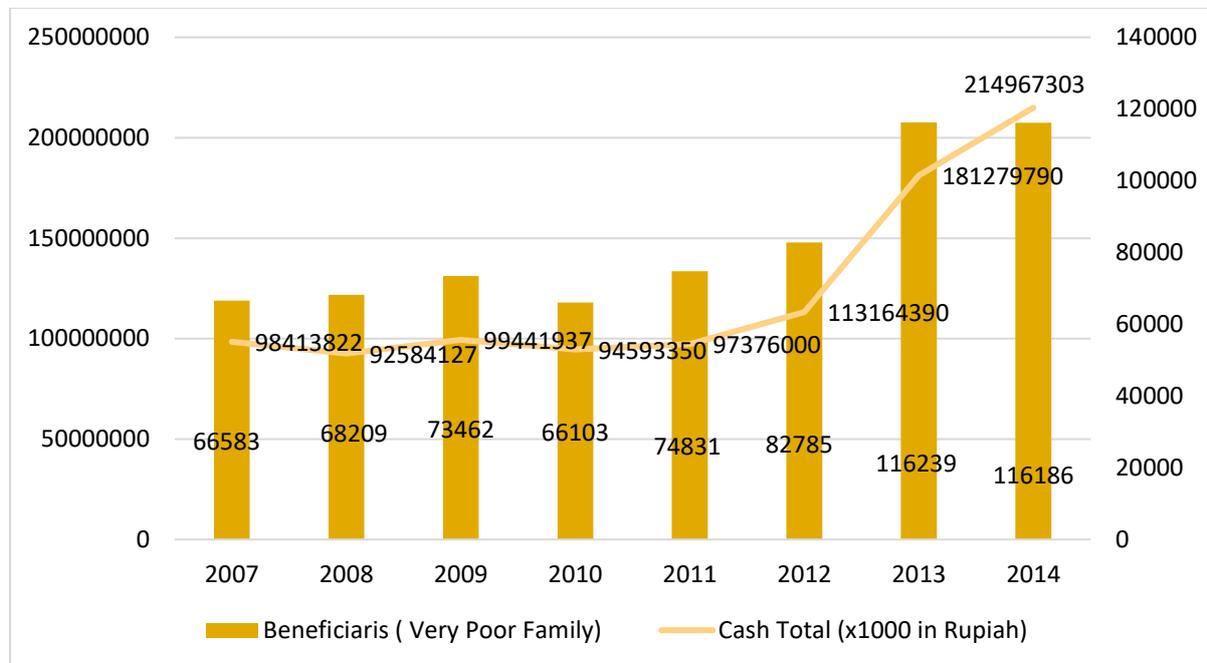


Figure 6 The amount of money and Beneficiaries PKH program in NTT

Source: Indonesian Ministry of Social Services, 2016

NTT Province was one of the few provinces that initially implemented PKH. PKH in NTT province started since 2007 has been running until now. In 2007 there were only 7 districts until now has been covered the entire county and city in the province of East Nusa Tenggara. Until 2015, the number of beneficiaries has reached 115 564 extremely poor families with funds at one stage reached 44 billion rupiah (UPKKH NTT, 2016).

PKH did not provide lasting impacts for very poor families to be raised above the poverty line but it could give communities more capability to raise their consumption and acquire higher-quality food. The population of poor people in NTT increased since 2010 to 2016. Increasing number of poor people in NTT is also a result of the changing metrics for the poverty line. The poverty line is measured by income per capita of communities. In 2010, the poverty line was Rp.193.298,- per month and in 2015 the poverty line raised to Rp. 307.224,- per month.

Although, PKH gave good benefit to the people who experienced disaster, especially drought disaster like NTT province. The drought effect such as limited intensity of rainfall that experienced slowly, result communities to lost their livelihood especially farmer and also majority of farm field in NTT province is rainfed field. The limited of income in communities also exacerbates the quality of life of communities, especially to fulfill their basic needs. The cash from PKH which was obtainable every 3 months gave communities aid to face the impact of drought that slowly affected communities. Cash from PKH could be used to buy food and another basic household needs.

PKH process is carried out in the districts / municipalities in NTT can be seen in the following figure:

PETA KEJADIAN KEKERINGAN DI PROVINSI NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR (2010 - 2016)
MAP OF DROUGHT FREQUENCY AND PKH IN EAST NUSA TENGGARA PROVINCE (2010 - 2016)

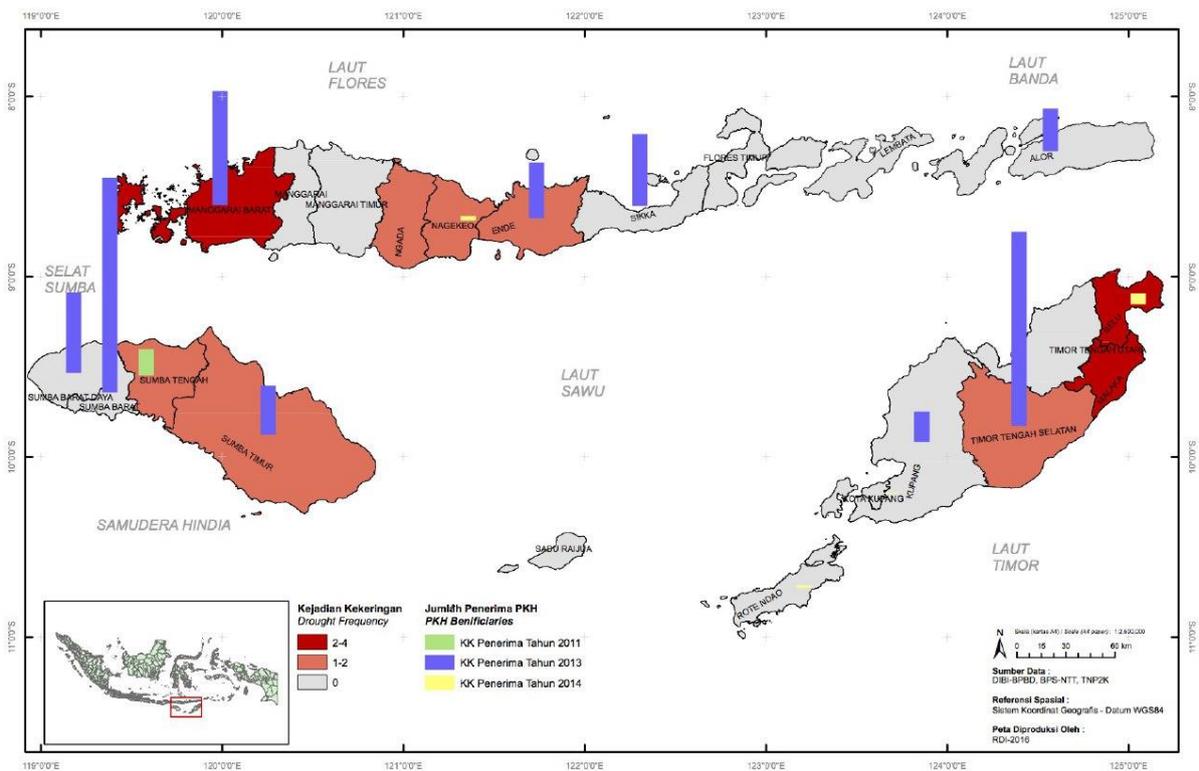


Figure 7 Map of drought Frequency and PKH in East Nusa Tenggara

This analysis is simple analysis and the data could be debated but it can show the intervention process that PKH could affect to the district that experienced drought. In 2015 to 2016, almost all districts and city have experienced drought as result of climate change El Nino. In other hand, the impact of drought could reduce with cash from PKH but it could not happen optimally in some districts.

The impact of drought as result of El Nino at the districts that have more frequent drought will be worse than other districts. Some districts like Belu and Malaka which experienced drought more frequent than other districts, have fewer beneficiaries of PKH compared to other districts. However, there were districts such as West Manggarai district which was affected by drought saw higher number of beneficiaries of PKH about 10052 very poor family (Kemensos, 2013), which would have a positive impact in reducing the effects of drought on communities.

Although, every districts/cities in NTT province have distributed cash from PKH in 2016, but the number of beneficiaries was different. The number beneficiaries were different because was determined by criteria. Consistent with the objectives of PKH, disaster such as drought was not considered, however the cash could help communities to not conduct negative coping strategies.

International non-government organization also response with drought disaster in 2015/2016 such as World Vision International (WVI) especially in NTT province. WVI distributed cash to households in 6 villages as a response to through drought disaster in East Sumba district (WVI, 2016). WVI distributed about 1.95 billion rupiah to 1,575 household that received about 908,000 IDR (WVI, 2016). The first recommendation of WFP survey report that issued in February 2016 became basic reason to provide cash aid to poor households that rely on food production. WVI used Bank NTT as the media to distributed cash aid and different compare to PKH that used Pos Indonesia as partner to distributed cash aid.

2.3 Linking Cash Transfer and Community Resilience

Distributed cash as aid to communities that have poor people is not new. There are different type of cash transfer program from government of Indonesia that have a national scope. In NTT province, there are social protection program that use cash as the form of assistance such as KUBE *Kredit Usaha Bersama* (Group Business Credit), UEP or *Usaha Ekonomi Produktif* (Productive Economy Business), and local social protection program, *Program Anggur Merah* (Red Wine Program). PKH is a social protection program that complements other national social protection program.

In NTT, Drought strikes in almost every year, especially in Manggarai Barat, Belu, and Malaka. The odd thing is Manggarai Barat only undergone the drought disaster while Belu experienced both as well as Malaka, since Malaka was formerly south part of Belu district. Hence those area are more vulnerable. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Indonesia affected the El Niño phenomenon which cause drought period longer than in normal climate and drying water sources. Most people are farmers who are required water to irrigate their fields and it becomes worse because the characteristic of lands are rainfed. So that when no rain and water sources run out, almost impossible for them to irrigate their field and farming. Communities tried to coping with the condition with different strategies such as borrowed money, borrowed food or groceries, ate less preferred food or less expensive food and reduce portion size of meal (WFP, 2016)

PKH as a conditional cash transfer program, helps community to cope with disaster, especially drought. Cash that is distributed to communities could be used as a short-term intervention which supports the coping strategies of communities who are affected by disaster (Davies et al., 2013) such as drought. Beneficiaries have the choice of how they spend the cash while at the same time the funds can stimulate the local market (Gentilini, 2014). The cash also can also enable the affected community members to strengthen coping strategies, build adaptive capacity and help to protect the most vulnerable communities.

On the other hand, PKH also contributes in long term to strengthen community capacities. The aim of PKH to improve quality of human resources and also change community behavior in accessing health and education services. It hoped that these change can help to break the cycle of poverty. It is shown from the value of HDI that increase amid the rising of the amount of poor people (BPS, 2016). The significant different of very poor family condition before and after become participant also can be seen in participating at health and education indicators (Nainggolan et al., 2012). Although there is different found in NTT after the implementation of PKH that the resilience of communities is decreasing (Nainggolan, et al., 2012), but the research was conducted in 2012, so the implementation of PKH was shorter.

There are many social protection programs provided by the government indicates that NTT needs improvement both for social and economic. Almost impossible to change the cause of natural conditions but decrease the impact that directly affecting people's live looks more reasonable plan. PKH is one of the programs which has effects to make community more resilience, in other words the vulnerabilities are reduced. Because it is also force people to do something arranged by a particular program, since they received money from program respected.

3. Conclusion

NTT province has experienced various hydro-meteorological disasters from landslide, flood, strong wind, and drought. In 2015, communities in NTT province have experienced drought disaster which affected their quality of life. Drought also impact their livelihood especially farmer who have the rain-fed field, and reduced their income. Social protection program such as PKH which gave cash to communities could reduce impact of drought. Although, there was another INGO that gave cash aid to communities namely, WVI, but cash transfer program such as PKH has great potential to reduce economic and social vulnerabilities. PKH also provides short-term benefits and also contributes in long term to strengthen community capacity that experienced disaster.

The Government of Indonesia (GoI) needs to consider cash as aid to respond to disasters, especially with slow-onset, and wide-ranging disaster impacts like in NTT. The cash transfer tends to be at least twice more efficient than food-based intervention (Gentilini, 2014). Such programs empower communities by giving them choices, while also stimulating the local market. GoI also needs to consider other methods to distributing the cash aid to communities such as WVI that used local bank (Bank NTT) or like PKH that used Postal Service of Indonesia as a partner.

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