Dynamics of Poverty Reduction in the Era of President Joko Widodo

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	A B S T R A C T

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis permasalahan kolaborasi dalam suprastruktur politik Indonesia dalam mengatasi kemiskinan. Khususnya di Indonesia, kebijakan telah dibuat untuk menurunkan tingkat kemiskinan, namun dalam pelaksanaannya masih terdapat kendala yang belum dapat diatasi. Pendekatan studi kasus Creswell dengan metode kualitatif dijelaskan untuk menguraikan permasalahan kolaborasi suprastruktur politik dalam mengatasi persoalan kemiskinan di Indonesia. penelitian ini mengaplikasikan teori suprastruktur politik dari Almond dan Coleman serta teori kemiskinan dari Amartya Sen. Temuan penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa permasalahan pengentasan kemiskinan muncul karena minimnya koordinasi antar lembaga yang dipicu oleh ego sektoral, sehingga pelaksanaan program-program pengentasan kemiskinan tidak mencapai hasil yang optimal. Temuan analisis mengenai hubungan kerja sama suprastruktur politik dalam penanggulangan kemiskinan di Indonesia adalah: 1) Ketidakselarasan kerja sama antar lembaga suprastruktur politik dalam mengatasi kemiskinan; dan 2) Kompleksitas birokrasi yang berlarut-larut menyebabkan kesulitan para aktor suprastruktur politik dalam mengambil keputusan yang tepat dan efisien. Sementara itu, situasi kemiskinan di Indonesia mencakup beberapa permasalahan seperti: 1) Keterbatasan sumber daya pada suprastruktur politik yang menghambat kapasitas masyarakat; dan 2) Penurunan partisipasi masyarakat akibat ketidakpuasan terhadap pelayanan yang diberikan oleh suprastruktur politik.

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the phenomenon of poverty in Indonesia, a significant problem despite efforts to reduce it through government programs. This study focuses on understanding the role of the political superstructure in alleviating poverty in Indonesia, particularly in the context of Joko Widodo's administration. The study will analyze the relationship between poverty and political superstructure dynamics and identify structural barriers hindering the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs, such as overlapping policies and suboptimal institutional coordination.

A high poverty rate is concrete evidence that the government's efforts to create public welfare have not been optimal (Arifin, 2020; Lasaiba, 2022; Sinurat, 2023; Wulandari et al., 2022). This situation shows that the distribution of economic resources is not yet equitable, leading to significant imbalances and a high number of impoverished people in society (Irham & Putri, 2023; Septiadi & Nursan, 2020; Wijaya, 2010). The persistently high poverty rate demands that the political superstructure (the government) strengthen poverty alleviation efforts through coordinated and sustainable programs. By focusing on providing basic needs, the political superstructure can ensure that all citizens can enjoy a prosperous life (Isdijoso, 2024; Marthalina, 2018).

The nation of Indonesia affirms its commitment to achieving the poverty eradication target by 2025, as stated in Presidential Instruction No. 4 of 2022. This instruction mandates that all ministries and local governments actively participate in poverty alleviation (Puspitasari, 2022; Putra, 2023b). Although there has been a downward trend in poverty rates, challenges in tackling poverty still exist in underdeveloped regions (Hestyarini, 2024; Putra, 2024; Revo, 2024).
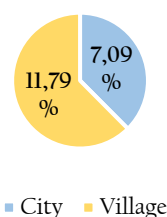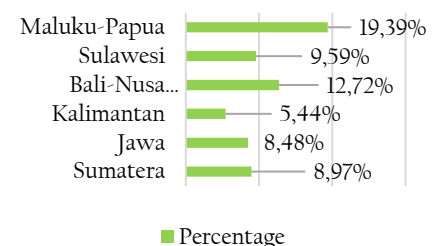

Figure 1. Poverty Trend Distribution in Indonesia as of March 2024

Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in March 2024, the number of poor people in Indonesia in March 2024 reached 25.22 million people, or about 9.3% of the total population. The poverty line was Rp. 582,932.00 per capita per month in 2024 (BPS, 2024). The trend in poverty by island in Indonesia shows that the Maluku-Papua islands are the region with the highest poverty. The Maluku-Papua islands consist of several provinces, namely Maluku, North Maluku, Papua, West Papua, South Papua, Central Papua, Highland Papua, and Southwest Papua (Gischa, 2022). The province with the highest

poverty rate in the Maluku-Papua islands is Highland Papua, at 32.97%, due to a low provincial minimum wage and limited regional access (BPS, 2023). To address this, Indonesia's political superstructure has taken various poverty alleviation efforts, including increasing the minimum wage (Rahmawati & Sebayang, 2023).

Indonesia's political superstructure has undertaken various poverty alleviation efforts, including increasing the minimum wage. Poverty alleviation programs have become a priority agenda for the political superstructure, as evidenced by the different agendas in each government period (Kaukab, 2023; Sitorus & Budiman, 2021). Various national programs have been launched, from the time of Soekarno's leadership to Jokowi's (Agustina & Megawati, 2022; Arliansyah et al., 2024; Hakim & Giovani, 2012; Pratomo, 2018). In the early days of independence, poverty alleviation efforts were carried out through a national development approach oriented towards social justice and equity (Multifiah, 2011). This shows the political superstructure's efforts to continuously adapt to the dynamics of poverty issues.

The problems with the political superstructure's relationship are a complex historical legacy. Rapid constitutional changes and political dynamics have made the duties and authority of the political superstructure unclear, resulting in disputes between institutions (Sumarna & Maulana, 2024; Susrianto et al., 2023). During Jokowi's leadership, the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) made it possible for the cooperative relationship of the political superstructure in Indonesia to address poverty more effectively (Tempo, 2022). The Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the Coordination of People's Welfare (KORKESRA), Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar, stated in 2023 that coordination among the political superstructure is still overlapping and tends to operate independently. This condition can make poverty alleviation programs not run optimally, especially in addressing extreme poverty (Maris, 2023).

The political superstructure faces challenges as a formal institution with great responsibility (Anggara, 2013; Luthfi, 2024). These challenges can come from both internal and external sources, which can affect the stability and effectiveness of the political system (Sayyaf, 2023). Internal problems of the political superstructure in Indonesia include overlapping authority due to unclear division of tasks and responsibilities between institutions. This causes coordination among ministries and political superstructure institutions to result in overlapping aid distribution and a lack of coordination (Zastrawati, 2023).

Internal problems of overlapping authority to inefficient social aid distribution because the beneficiary data is not integrated (Agustina & Megawati, 2022). There are 154 poverty alleviation programs spread across 27 ministries and institutions, leading to many recipients receiving double aid or some not receiving any at all (Mantalean & Prabowo, 2024). There is an overlap in authority between the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos) and the Ministry of Finance in implementing social assistance programs, such as the Family Hope Program (PKH) and the Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), which both aim to improve the welfare of poor families (Fatmawati & Mulazid, 2023; Mendrofa, 2024).

The condition of overlapping authority in the implementation of poverty alleviation programs can create broader opportunities for corruption. During Jokowi's leadership, 6 ministers and 1 vice minister were involved in corruption cases, one of which was a social aid corruption case committed by the Minister of Social Affairs in 2020 (Suwiknyo, 2023). This made Jokowi's cabinet break the record as the government with the most members entangled in corruption in post-reform Indonesian political history (Saptohutomo, 2023). The role of the political superstructure in overcoming poverty still faces internal challenges. Cases of tax embezzlement and alleged money laundering (TPPU) by employees of the Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu) have damaged the ministry's image. In 2023, Finance Minister Sri Mulyani mentioned that 29 Kemenkeu employees had been put on a red list for being at high risk of embezzlement (Alfarizi, 2023). In addition, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham) came under scrutiny due to a report of gratuities received by the Vice Minister of Law and Human Rights (Wamenkumham) Eddie Hiariej in 2023 (Nufus, 2023). Kemensos is being investigated by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) regarding a rice social aid corruption case, and the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo) is also being investigated by the KPK regarding a corruption case related to the Telecommunications and Information Accessibility Agency (BAKTI) program (Fikri, 2023).

External problems in poverty alleviation are unavoidable, as climate change worsens economic instability (Purwadinata & Batilmurik, 2024). In addition, more frequent natural disasters can worsen the condition of the poor (Yani, 2024). The economic crises of 1997 and the Covid-19 pandemic have had a significant impact on the increase in poverty in Indonesia (Aprianto, 2018; Bolung et al., 2022). Both events have worsened the economic conditions of the people. As a result, the political superstructure is faced with increasingly complex challenges in poverty reduction. This requires the political superstructure to involve various stakeholders in formulating and implementing poverty alleviation programs (Fajri et al., 2022; Liwiya et al., 2018). For this reason, this research will refer to the problem of cooperation between formal government institutions in overcoming poverty in Indonesia.

Several studies have been conducted by other researchers. Studies conducted by Luthfi, (2024) found that the phenomenon of poverty is influenced by a country's economic growth, which represents the interests of all its people, and therefore carries a moral and constitutional responsibility to achieve equitable welfare. Furthermore, local research (Sari & Novianti, 2024; Sholikhah et al., 2024) explains the importance of the involvement of power holders as a key element in the process of poverty alleviation at the national and local levels, who play a role not only as regulators but also as facilitators in creating social conditions conducive to community growth and development. In the study, the success of Brazil in reducing poverty was examined in terms of economic growth and increased access to labor market needs, as well as the achievements of the Bolsa Familia program, which effectively provided financial assistance to poor families. Meanwhile, research from (Nazmi & Ajidin, 2024) examined the implementation of poverty policies in the city of Payakumbuh, which was deemed unsuccessful due to inadequate This study inspired us to examine the relationship between political

superstructure and poverty. We carefully examined how political superstructure affects poverty alleviation in Indonesia. Therefore, we will analyze the construction of political superstructure and poverty during Joko Widodo's administration. This analysis is important in explaining the relationship between these two concepts.

Unfortunately, research on poverty in Indonesia still focuses on sectoral and macroeconomic aspects, such as infrastructure development, fiscal policy, or social distribution, while the political superstructure dimension has not received adequate attention. Various existing studies do show the government's efforts to reduce poverty, but these efforts are often hampered by classic problems such as sectoral ego, overlapping authorities, and weak coordination between political superstructure institutions. As a result, even though there are more than 150 poverty reduction programs being implemented across ministries, the results are often less than optimal and actually create new problems in the form of overlapping assistance and opportunities for corruption. On the other hand, Amartya Sen's theory of poverty emphasizes the importance of the ability to live a decent life, which in practice is often neglected because programs focus more on short-term consumptive assistance. Therefore, this study is important to fill this gap by analyzing the relationship between poverty and the dynamics of the political superstructure, thereby providing a more comprehensive understanding of structural barriers and offering more strategic and sustainable policy recommendations to overcome poverty in Indonesia.

This study aims to examine inter agency cooperation within Indonesia's political superstructure during President Joko Widodo's administration (2014-2024), particularly in poverty alleviation efforts. The main focus is to understand the role of inter agency collaboration in overcoming the complex challenges of poverty. Through in depth analysis, this study will assess the extent to which coordination and policies implemented can contribute to poverty reduction in Indonesia. The research question raised is: How can we explain political superstructure cooperation during President Joko Widodo's era in addressing poverty? This will explore the dynamics and obstacles faced by relevant institutions in creating effective policies and evaluate the impact of the implementation of these programs on poverty alleviation.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach from Creswell. The qualitative method is an important research process for a study to explore a deeper meaning of the social problems being researched (Creswell & Creswell, 2019). The type used in this research is a single instrumental case, focusing on one specific issue and involving several informants related to the political superstructure in poverty alleviation. This method was chosen to provide an in-depth explanation of poverty issues in Indonesia during the Joko Widodo era.

The study relies on factual data collected through interviews with key informants at the central level, based on their direct experiences with policy making and implementation. These informants include TNP2K expert staff and the Presidential Coordinating Staff from the 2014–2024 period. Additional perspectives on the issues under study were provided by secondary informants. The researchers conducted a literature review to examine developments in research related to poverty

issues through journal publications, research reports, books, and current news. The researchers also included documentation as supporting data sources. In this case study, the data analysis process involved organizing, grouping, and interpreting data to identify patterns, themes, and deeper meanings.
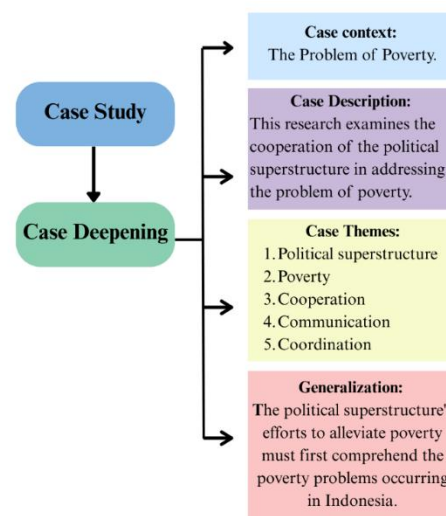

Figure 2. Case Study Analysis

This case study approach involves several stages of analysis to explore the case being studied. This case study will be used to analysis the problem of poverty in Indonesia, with a focus on the influence of the political superstructure. The research will involve several stages of analysis to explore the case being studied, including analysis poverty trends and government efforts to overcome them. In addition, this research will also analysis the dynamics of conflicts related to poverty and the responses from the parties involved. After conducting an in-depth analysis, this research will summarize the main findings and formulate relevant generalizations (Creswell & Creswell, 2019).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Discourse on the Relationship Between Poverty and Government

Poverty is a complex and multidimensional social problem that must be resolved by the state. The problem of poverty is a fundamental issue that is the concern of the political superstructure, and efforts to alleviate poverty are an important aspect of achieving the welfare of the people. Efforts to overcome poverty are not only the responsibility of the government, but also the responsibility of all levels of society (Wahyuni, 2022). In addition, synergy between government policies and community participation can create more effective and inclusive solutions in reducing social and economic inequality.

The problem of poverty does not stand alone but is interrelated with other social problems. Various factors are interrelated in the cycle of poverty. In addition, widening economic inequality is also one of the main causes of poverty (Nurgroho et al., 2021). The political superstructure, as leaders, has a major responsibility in initiating and implementing effective policies to overcome poverty (Saepudin, 2024). To overcome this, a comprehensive approach is needed so that all sectors can be involved in poverty alleviation. An integrated

approach will create strong synergies to increase the effectiveness of poverty alleviation efforts. Based on the informant's statement regarding the definition of poverty in Indonesia, as conveyed by Nugroho:

"Poverty in Indonesia is not only measured from an economic perspective but is understood as a multidimensional phenomenon. The official definition records poverty as the inability to meet basic needs (food, clothing, shelter, education, health). With this definition, poverty also includes social dimensions such as access to education and health, and even political and cultural aspects."

The definition of poverty was emphasized by Amartya Sen, who researched modern social issues, particularly poverty, which encouraged the political superstructure to make poverty alleviation one of its top priorities. Poverty is a complex and multidimensional social problem that presents various challenges in people's lives. For Sen, "Poverty is not just a lack of money; it is not having the capability to realize one's full potential as a human being." Poverty is not only a lack of money, but also the inability to realize one's full potential as a human being.

From the perspective of (Saepudin, 2024), the political superstructure is the main actor that plays a crucial role in solving problems in a country. The political superstructure includes formal institutions in government that play a role in decision- making. According to them, a country's success in overcoming social, economic, and political problems is highly dependent on the effectiveness of this superstructure.

The role of cooperation between institutions responsible for ensuring that these programs run according to their objectives is to reduce poverty and improve the welfare of the community. This cooperation enables these institutions to convey demands, manage interests, and effectively formulate and oversee policies in a political system that is interconnected with both internal and external environments. In implementing various poverty alleviation policies in Indonesia, cooperation between institutions is key to the success of poverty alleviation, as stated by Ari:

"The key to poverty alleviation is cross-ministerial consolidation and coordination to overcome the sectoral ego that often arises. Because poverty alleviation is a priority for the president and a direct order from the president, this effort is comprehensive, including the involvement of various parties such as the National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN) for the prevention of stunting, which has an impact on the next generation. The president's direct leadership is very important in discussing this issue regularly in cabinet meetings to ensure that poverty reduction targets, even ending extreme poverty, can be achieved."

Decisions on poverty alleviation are inseparable from government policy. Various poverty alleviation programs have been created as a manifestation of this commitment. Poverty alleviation programs have become a priority agenda for the political superstructure, as evidenced by the differences in agenda during each period of government (Kaukab, 2023; Sitorus & Budiman, 2021). Various national programs have been launched, from the leadership of Soekarno to Jokowi (Agustina & Megawati, 2022; Arliansyah et al., 2024; Hakim & Giovani, 2012; Pratomo, 2018). This shows the efforts of the political superstructure to continue to adapt to the dynamics of poverty issues.

Table 1. Poverty Reduction Programs

Period	Program
Soekarno 1961-1969	Eight-Year Planned National Development Program
Soeharto 1967-1998	Five-Year Development Plan (REPELITA)
B.J. Habibie 1998-1999	1. Social Safety Net Program 2. Subsidized rice
Gus Dur 1999-2001	1. Health and education services 2. Development of business culture among the poor
Megawati 2001	1. Cheap electricity for poor households 2. Subsidies for low-income residents
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono 2004	1. National Program for Community Empowerment 2. Family Hope Program 3. Assistance for Poor Students 4. Rice Subsidy (RASKIN) 5. Health Insurance Program
Jokowi 2014	1. Indonesia Smart Program 2. Indonesia Healthy Program 3. Family Hope Program 4. Non-cash food assistance
Prabowo 2024-2029	1. Family Hope Program 2. Non-cash food assistance 3. 3 million homes assistance program 4. Social Assistance Program for the Elderly

Since the beginning of the president's term, the Indonesian government has established various policies to alleviate poverty. However, the effectiveness of these policies is often influenced by debates and differences of opinion among the political superstructures. Ultimately, this affects the stability and success of the programs implemented in each period. Poverty Conditions in the Joko Widodo Era.

President Joko Widodo's administration set a target to reduce the poverty rate to 7- 8% in his first term and 6-7% in his second term (Movanita & Djumena, 2018; Sari, 2018). By the end of his term, this target had not been achieved. During Jokowi's nearly 10 years of leadership, the poverty rate fell from 11.25% in March 2014 to 9.36% in March 2023 (BPS, 2023), and then to 9.3% in March 2024 (BPS, 2024). During the Jokowi era, poverty alleviation has always been a major focus of development (Adawiyah, 2020; Sari, 2018; Sulfadli et al., 2023). Indonesia itself has succeeded in reducing its poverty rate from around 40 percent in the mid-1970s to 9.22 percent in 2019 (Amin, 2021; Movanita & Djumena, 2018). During this period, poverty rates increased, especially during the crises of 1997-1998 and 2006-2007 (Amin, 2021). A similar situation occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic, where the poverty rate increased to 9.78 percent in March 2020 and 10.19 percent in September 2020 (BPS, 2020).
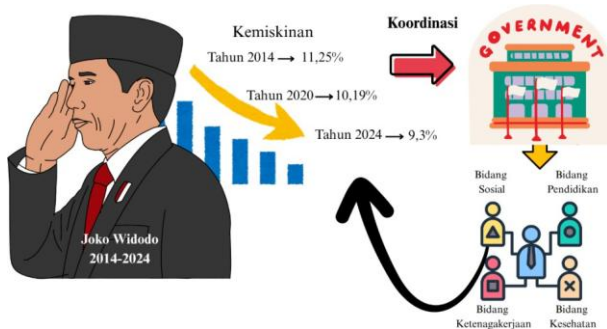
Figure 1. Poverty during the Joko Widodo era

The downward trend in poverty over the last four decades, accompanied by an increase in poverty during several periods of "crisis," shows that the issues of poverty and welfare are highly dynamic (Maris, 2023; Putra, 2023; Revo, 2024). The weak cooperation between government agencies in poverty alleviation hinders synergy between institutions, which can lead to a spike in poverty and result in the failure of poverty alleviation efforts. Therefore, it is important for the political superstructure to have close relationships to build effective and sustainable cooperation. Poverty occurs when a person is unable to meet their basic needs to achieve a decent life (Mahardini, 2023; Oktavianti, 2008; Sauki & Sudihartono, 2023).

Figure 2. Political Superstructure Commitment

The National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) was formed in 2010, led directly by the Vice President with members from various ministries (Sholikhah et al., 2024; Widianto, 2019). Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2010 concerning the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction, which is an improvement on Presidential Regulation No. 13 of 2009 concerning Coordination of Poverty Reduction, mandates the formation of a National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) at the national level and a Poverty Reduction Coordination Team (TKPK) at the provincial level (Nazmi & Ajidin, 2024; Rizal & Purnaiwan, 2024). In the Jokowi era, the government prioritized poverty reduction as one of its main focuses (Mahardini, 2023; Sari & Novianti, 2024; Septiadi & Nursan, 2020). The political superstructure focused on these

measures through various forms of assistance programs (Harefa, 2022; Saputra, 2022). These programs include direct cash assistance, Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT)/basic food assistance programs, the Indonesia Smart Program (PIP), and the Family Hope Program (PKH) (Anindita & Nurhayati, 2024; Fajri et al., 2022; Hermawan et al., 2021).

This can be seen from the significant increase in the social assistance budget for poverty alleviation during the Jokowi era. The allocation for social assistance in 2014 was around IDR 11.92 trillion (Saputra, 2022). In his second term, Jokowi budgeted IDR 19.79 trillion (Djamhari & Lutfi, 2024). In 2019, the budget allocation reached Rp22.5 trillion (Nugroho, 2023). However, this fantastic allocation of social assistance is not proportional to the decline in poverty rates in Indonesia over the last 10 years. Economic acceleration programs such as social assistance are aimed at increasing the purchasing power of the poor and meeting their basic needs (Dwita et al., 2023; Wulandari et al., 2022). However, social assistance is only a short-term solution because it is used for consumption and cannot solve long-term economic problems (Agustina & Megawati, 2022).

The Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture in 2023, Muhadjir Effendy, revealed that coordination and synchronization issues are the political superstructure's homework in tackling poverty (Syahputra & Purwanti, 2023). For example, the data collection of citizens who are entitled to receive BPJS Health insurance contributions is still not optimal. In the field, there are still residents categorized as extremely poor who do not have BPJS Health insurance. This shows that there needs to be improved coordination between the central and regional governments so that all extremely poor residents are registered and receive their rights

Weak Synergy Hinders Poverty Alleviation in the Jokowi Era

In the Indonesian context, cooperation between governments is crucial for formulating appropriate policies (Mahfuat, 2024). Furthermore, strong social networks in the community also contribute to the success of government programs (Jatnika et al., 2024). Without public trust, efforts to resolve problems will be hampered (Syafiqurrohman, 2023). Therefore, evaluation and accountability in policy implementation are also important aspects that must be considered (Warman et al., 2023). Thus, the political superstructure not only functions as a regulator but also as a driver of significant change in society.

During the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla administration, the Nawacita Program was launched, which contained nine development priorities, including poverty alleviation efforts. The Nawacita Program was continued in Jokowi's second term (Jokowi-Ma'ruf). Therefore, it can be said that the Jokowi administration in its two terms of leadership has continued to make poverty alleviation the focus of its development (Rizal & Purnaiwan, 2024). Nawacita is committed to reducing the burden on the poor. This encourages the political superstructure to implement various policies to accelerate poverty alleviation in Indonesia (Putra, 2023).

Figure 3. Disharmony in Political Superstructure Relations

First, the government's efforts to distribute social assistance, particularly PKH and BPNT, involve coordination between the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, and the House of Representatives. For example, in March 2024, the Ministry of Finance distributed Rp43.3 trillion for social assistance, including Rp20.4 trillion for PKH (Wijaya, 2010). However, in the context of policy dynamics and oversight, a conflict arose in 2024 regarding the blocking of social assistance funds by the Ministry of Finance. This conflict arose because the Ministry of Finance implemented an Automatic Adjustment policy, which temporarily blocked part of the budgets of ministries and institutions, including social assistance funds, to maintain fiscal flexibility. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Finance ensured that the social assistance funds needed for regular distribution remained available, but this situation caused concern and sparked debate. The House of Representatives then took an active role in overseeing the policy's ensuring that the rights of beneficiaries were fulfilled, and that the distribution of social assistance was not hampered. They urged the Ministry of Finance to be transparent and ensure adequate budget allocation so that social programs such as PKH and BPNT could run optimally. The DPR supported the strengthening of the Ministry of Social Affairs' budget and encouraged improvements to the mechanism for providing recipient data so that PKH and BPNT distribution could be targeted accurately. The DPR also conducted working visits to directly oversee the distribution of social assistance in the regions and to channel the aspirations of the community into social policy (Maris, 2023).

This was emphasized by DPR RI member Wisnu Wijaya in 2023 as follows:

"In order to carry out its oversight function regarding the effectiveness and accuracy of social assistance beneficiaries, Commission VIII of the DPR is the only party with the authority to propose and revoke social assistance beneficiaries and has direct access to the Minister of Social Affairs to convey evaluations."

Second, the Ministry of Manpower, which focuses on labor issues, partners with the DPR to draft and enact policies that can create jobs and improve workers' welfare. One of the most significant and widely discussed policies is the Job Creation Law. Although enacted with the primary objectives of simplifying licensing, attracting investment, and creating jobs, this law has instead sparked widespread conflict over its enactment. Many parties, especially labor unions and civil society organizations, rejected the substance of the law because it was considered detrimental to workers. Workers highlighted issues such as the ease of termination of employment (PHK), reduction of severance pay, and the elimination of sectoral minimum wages. The DPR and the government argued that this law would facilitate investment and ultimately reduce unemployment. However, these differing views have sparked massive demonstrations and a judicial review in the Constitutional Court, which shows that there is deep disagreement between the government and the majority of the public regarding the implementation of programs in the field of employment.

Third, the Ministry of Health seeks to improve the health and nutritional status of the Indonesian people. This program is also supported by financial protection and equitable health services through cross-sectoral institutional cooperation. The Ministry of Health is working with BPJS Kesehatan to manage the National Health Insurance (JKN) program, which provides affordable access to health services for the poor through the KIS (Kartu Indonesia Sehat)
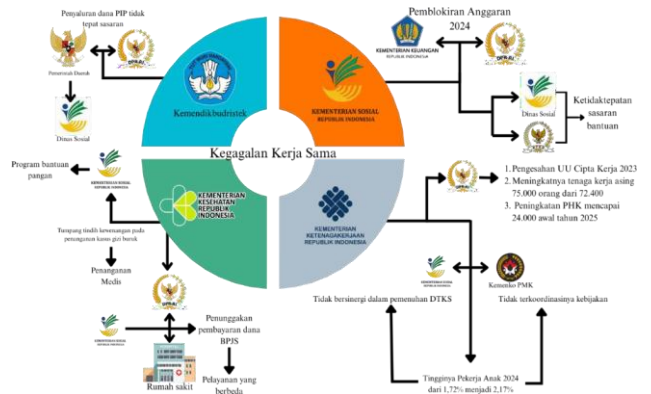
card. However, one obstacle encountered is the slow disbursement of BPJS funds from the Ministry of Social Affairs to the Ministry of Health. This is evident in the suboptimal services provided by hospitals. As a result, the poor, who are highly dependent on KIS for health care, are the most disadvantaged. This hampered synergy shows that even though the program is in place, financial coordination between institutions still needs improvement so that its benefits can be optimally felt. This was emphasized by Robert Na Endi Jaweng, as follows:

"It must be acknowledged that BPJS is currently passive, lacks persuasiveness, and allows these claim disputes to pile up, even though the delay in claim payments clearly impacts the decline in the quality of health services" (Quoted from Tribun News, published on February 2, 2025).

Fourth, the implementation of PIP in the education sector involves the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos), and the House of Representatives (DPR) as legislators who regulate budgeting, supervision, and socialization of KIP policies. The failure to distribute PIP funds has raised questions from the DPR to Kemendikbudristek, as the DPR highlighted complaints from local governments that saw the PIP funds being misdirected in 2023. The Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) noted that the Indonesia Smart Program (PIP) assistance funds amounting to Rp 2.86 trillion given to 5,364,986 students were misdirected (Sembiring, 2021). Meanwhile, PIP funds are often cut by unscrupulous school officials through a collective system.

According to Almond and Coleman (1960), major poverty alleviation programs such as PKH, BPNT, KIS, KIP, and the Pre-Employment Card are concrete implementations that have succeeded in improving the welfare of the Indonesian people (Domri et al., 2019; Rohman & Novitawati, 2020). One example is the collaboration between the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos), the Ministry of Finance (Kemenkeu), and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) to ensure that conditional social assistance from PKH is received by families who are truly in need and has a positive impact on their welfare (Anggraeni & Nugroho, 2022; Anindita & Nurhayati, 2024; Harefa, 2022).

Achieving holistic and well-coordinated synergy is not easy. There are many challenges, such as sectoral egos between institutions that can hinder the flow of information and collaboration. In addition, differences in data and administrative systems often pose obstacles, making program synchronization difficult. Other challenges stem from complex bureaucracy and a lack of integrated evaluation mechanisms, which can lead to overlapping programs or unmet targets. Therefore, strong political commitment, clear regulations, and effective communication platforms are needed to overcome these

obstacles.

Amartya Sen's theory of poverty emphasizes that poverty is not merely a lack of income, but also the inability of individuals to live a decent life (Sen, 1999). He argues that the focus should include broader aspects beyond economic indicators such as income, including health, education, and social participation. He introduced the "capability approach," which emphasizes the importance of giving individuals the ability to achieve the goals they consider important in their lives (Sen, 1999). In this context, poverty is seen as a condition that limits individuals' choices and freedoms.

Poverty alleviation programs that have been implemented focus on income generation, especially in the PKH program, which provides social assistance in the form of nominal cash to the community (Rohman & Novitawati, 2020). Ironically, however, the distribution of funds received by the community is not in line with daily living expenses (Domri et al., 2019). The Ministry of Social Affairs shows that PKH recipients use the funds they receive for urgent needs such as paying debts or buying consumer goods, rather than meeting basic needs such as food and education. This is exacerbated by the increase in the prices of basic necessities in several regions, which has caused the purchasing power of aid recipients to decline. In addition, a report from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that although the poverty rate has statistically declined, many PKH recipient families are still vulnerable due to the imbalance between income and living costs (Andri, 2025). Other factors such as access to quality health and education services remain major challenges for the poor.

Improving welfare is a key point in solving the problem of poverty. Sen states that capability is the point at which individuals have real freedom to achieve various functions (Sen, 1999). Indonesian society is highly dependent on the government system; many aspects of their lives are greatly influenced by the government system, especially in the fields of economy, education, health, and social welfare (Haryanti & Lestari, 2019).

For example, the Family Hope Program (PKH) and the Smart Indonesia Card (KIP) greatly help underprivileged communities in meeting their basic needs (Rizal & Riski, 2024). However, the question is whether they are free to access these basic necessities. A report from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that access to health services remains a challenge for the poor, especially in rural and disadvantaged areas (Ahmad, 2023). Many beneficiaries of the Family Hope Program (PKH) find it difficult to obtain quality health services due to the limited number of community health centers and hospitals in their vicinity. In fact, in some cases, health assistance such as the Healthy Indonesia Card (KIS) has not fully met the needs of the community due to administrative constraints and budget limitations (Permata et al., 2023; Sari & Novianti, 2024).

There is dissatisfaction with the performance of the political superstructure in resolving poverty issues, especially in the health sector (Misdawita & Sari, 2018). Not only has the quality of health program services declined, but there is also public dissatisfaction with the benefits of these health programs (Erawantini et al., 2022). Many people feel that the assistance provided is not commensurate with their needs in the field. As a result, there is dissatisfaction with the benefits of health programs that are supposed to be a solution for vulnerable groups (Indrawan, 2020). This shows the need for improved coordination among stakeholders in the political superstructure so that health policies are not only designed but also have a real impact on the people who need them.

Amartya Sen's theory of poverty provides a critical framework for analyzing solutions to poverty in Indonesia (Sen, 1999). One of the main criticisms is that many poverty alleviation programs in Indonesia still focus on economic aspects, such as direct cash assistance or subsidies, without considering other more holistic dimensions, such as education, health, and social capabilities (Sen, 1999). This results in an incomplete approach, where individuals remain trapped in the cycle of poverty despite receiving financial assistance. Sen emphasizes the importance of community participation in the decision-making process related to poverty alleviation programs (Sen, 1999).

CONCLUSION

The results of this study suggest that the political superstructure's commitment to alleviating poverty in Indonesia is weak. This results in ineffective coordination between overlapping institutions and policies. The lack of synchronization between programs hinders optimal results in poverty alleviation, and sectoral egos impede collaboration between political elements. Therefore, stronger synergy and a shared commitment are needed to overcome these problems. Additionally, strengthening the participation of the community and other stakeholders in planning and implementing poverty alleviation programs is important. Active involvement from various parties ensures that policies align with local needs and provide sustainable solutions. Further research should explore the political superstructure at the regional level to understand the dynamics of interagency cooperation in the local context.

This study is limited by the subjective interpretations and perspectives of the informants, which may be influenced by bias or personal experience. Additionally, this study does not include a direct evaluation of the impact of policies at the field or community level, which could provide a clearer picture of the effectiveness of poverty reduction policies.

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