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## Dear Friends,

For the past few months the position of fuel subsidies has been one of the most prominent issues in many discussions about the national economy as the Indonesian government considers the pros and cons of a significant reduction or the complete removal of these measures. What will be the likely reaction of the wider community if these subsidies are removed? If there is a substantial rise in the price of fuel, what will be the social and economic impact-especially on the poor and the underprivileged within the community? What strategies can the government adopt to offset the negative effects?

This issue of our newsletter reports on several recent investigations by SMERU researchers which have direct relevance for these questions. Our data analysis group presents some interesting findings about who actually benefits from the existing subsidy on the price of kerosene. We also report in some detail on several short-term government initiatives put in place late last year that were intended to assist poor households to cope with fuel price rises. Upon completion of the field investigations, the SMERU team prepared a memo for the relevant government departments and agencies involved, reporting on the main findings from the study. These findings were also presented in early April at a SMERU public seminar which provoked lively discussion. Since this remains a topic of current concern - especially since the government has recently announced that it will increase fuel prices in mid June - we are confident that our readers will find this edition a useful and timely introduction to some of the relevant issues.

## Para Sahabat yang Baik,

Selama beberapa bulan terakhir ini masalah subsidi bahan bakar minyak (BBM) telah menjadi isu penting dalam diskusi-diskusi mengenai perekonomian nasional setelah pemerintah Indonesia mempertimbangkan pro dan kontra pengurangan atau pencabutan subsidi BBM sepenuhnya. Kira-kira bagaimana reaksi masyarakat luas bila subsidi BBM dicabut? Bila terjadi kenaikan harga BBM yang cukup tinggi, lalu apa dampak sosial dan dampak ekonominya, terutama bagi mereka yang miskin dan masyarakat yang selama ini selalu terpinggirkan? Langkah strategi apa yang bisa diambil oleh pemerintah untuk mengatasi dampak negatif yang ditimbulkan?

Edisi buletin kita kali ini melaporkan tentang beberapa penelitian SMERU terakhir yang berkaitan langsung dengan pertanyaan-pertanyaan di atas. Kelompok data analisis menyajikan beberapa temuan menarik mengenai siapa yang betul-betul menikmati manfaat subsidi minyak tanah. Kami juga melaporkan secara cukup rinci beberapa inisiatif jangka pendek pemerintah yang diambil pada tahun lalu untuk membantu keluarga miskin dalam menghadapi kenaikan harga bahan bakar. Setelah penelitian di lapangan selesai, Tim SMERU menyiapkan memo yang ditujukan kepada beberapa departemen pemerintah dan instansi-instansi terkait mengenai temuan utama penelitian tersebut. Hasil penelitian tersebut juga disampaikan dalam seminar SMERU pada awal bulan April yang mengundang diskusi hangat diantara para peserta. Karena isu subsidi bahan bakar masih akan terus menjadi topik pembicaraan - apalagi baru-baru ini pemerintah mengumumkan akan menaikkan harga BBM sekitar pertengahan bulan Juni - kami yakin edisi ini akan bermanfaat dan mengajak pembaca memikirkan tentang beberapa isu lainnya yang relevan.

Regards/Salam,





The recent controversy and widespread concern over the increased price of fuel, resulted in the government reallocating Rp800 billion in fuel subsidies in several short term emergency measures in the final months of 2000. The objectives of the program were to ease the financial burden of increases in the price of fuel on various sections of the community, particularly poor households, to sustain the purchasing power of these households to buy fuel; and to maintain social stability which was threatened by the impact of the new fuel policy. The community has two main concerns regarding these measures. Firstly, the funds have been distributed within a relatively short time frame, of only three months, and hence may not have reached the intended recipients. Secondly, the utilization of the funds may not be in accordance with the original objectives of the policy.

These concerns provided the impetus for the SMERU research team to investigate the implementation of this new policy. Throughout the first two weeks of February,

## Has the Reallocation of Fuel Subsidies Addressed Community Concerns?

## Mampukah Kebijakan Reorientasi Subsidi BBM Menjawab Kekhawatiran Masyarakat?

*Kontroversi dan kekhawatiran di banyak kalangan masyarakat mengenai kenaikan harga Bahan Bakar Minyak (BBM) telah mendorong Pemerintah Indonesia mengalokasikan Rp800 milyar subsidi BBM sebagai upaya darurat jangka pendek. Kebijakan ini dilaksanakan pada penggal akhir tahun 2000. Tujuan program ini adalah untuk melindungi masyarakat, terutama keluarga miskin, dari dampak langsung kenaikan harga BBM; mempertahankan kemampuan daya beli kebutuhan energi keluarga miskin; dan menjaga stabilitas dan menahan gejolak sosial masyarakat yang rentan terhadap pengaruh psikologis akibat kebijakan baru mengenai harga BBM. Masyarakat mempunyai dua kekhawatiran mengenai upaya tersebut: pertama, karena waktunya singkat, yaitu hanya tiga bulan, maka dana tidak sampai kepada mereka yang layak menerima; kedua, pemanfaatan dana mungkin tidak sesuai dengan tujuan utama program.*

*Kekhawatiran tersebut mendorong Tim SMERU untuk meneliti pelaksanaan kebijakan tersebut di lapangan. Pada awal Pebruari 2001,*

2001, the SMERU team conducted an appraisal in two areas, Kabupaten Jember and Kabupaten Kapuas (Kabupaten Barito Kuala was subsequently added as an area for further investigation). Initially, Kabupaten Kotawaringin had been selected because it was the region that had received the largest allocation of funding for the Community Empowerment and Infrastructure Program (PPM Prasarana), one of the three new programs created to reorient the previous fuel subsidy policy. However, Kabupaten Kapuas was finally chosen instead because of concerns over security. These turned out to be well founded for ethnic conflict broke out in the Sampit area one week after the team returned from conducting their research and subsequently spread to Kabupaten Kapuas.

The government's decision to raise the price of fuel (BBM) by 12% led to a reduction in the fuel subsidy from Rp44 trillion to Rp43.2 trillion, freeing up Rp800 billion in available funds for use by the government. Compared to the size of the actual fuel subsidy provided by the government this is a relatively small sum. However, the government's action made funding available for three separate short term programs which were designed to increase prosperity within the community, and to alleviate poverty. The particular programs were as follows: 1) cash transfers providing direct subsidies to poor households; 2) revolving funds supporting the development of small business and micro enterprises through strengthening Savings and Loans Cooperatives, Savings and Loans Units, and Micro Finance Institutions; and 3) community empowerment programs generating employment opportunities, by supporting the development of infrastructure projects in both rural and urban areas (PPM Prasarana). Provinces outside Java received all three programs, while the provinces in Java only received the first two. These Fuel Subsidy Reallocation programs were implemented over a 3 month period, between October and December, including planning, execution and evaluation. However, the implementation of the PPM Prasarana program was extended until March, 2001.

The SMERU team's key findings are presented in this edition of our newsletter. We invite other researchers and observers to conduct further analysis. We want to emphasize that the SMERU Research Institute is not entering the political debate over the appropriateness of the government's decision to reallocate the fuel subsidy as a way of deflecting community panic and anger over fuel prices rises. Nor are we able to provide answers to a number of other important questions. For example, were the recipients the most appropriate target for assistance considering their level of fuel consumption and the increase in the price of fuel? To what extent is the middle class willing to accept lower subsidies so that others who are in greater need may benefit? Such matters require further investigation and were simply outside the scope of the present inquiry.

selama dua minggu Tim SMERU melakukan pengamatan di dua lokasi, yaitu: Kabupaten Jember dan Kabupaten Kapuas (Kabupaten Barito Kuala kemudian juga ditambahkan sebagai lokasi penelitian). Semula pilihan pertama jatuh ke Kabupaten Kotawaringin Timur, penerima alokasi dana terbesar se Indonesia untuk Program PPM Prasarana, salah satu dari tiga program reorientasi kebijakan subsidi BBM. Karena alasan keamanan, pilihan dijatuhkan ke Kabupaten Kapuas, penerima alokasi dana kedua terbesar. Pertimbangan Tim ternyata tepat. Seminggu setelah tim kembali dari lapangan konflik etnik pecah di Sampit. Konflik tersebut bahkan kemudian merembet ke Kabupaten Kapuas.

Kebijakan pemerintah menaikkan harga BBM sebesar rata-rata 12% mengurangi subsidi BBM dari Rp44 triliun menjadi Rp43,2 triliun, sehingga pemerintah dapat menghemat dana Rp800 milyar yang dapat digunakan untuk kebutuhan lain. Jumlah ini sangat kecil dibandingkan dengan subsidi BBM yang saat ini diberikan oleh pemerintah. Namun dana dari upaya penghematan ini digunakan untuk tiga program jangka pendek terpisah yang dirancang untuk meningkatkan kesejahteraan rakyat dan mengentaskan kemiskinan. Program tersebut adalah program (1) dana tunai (cash transfer) yang langsung diberikan kepada keluarga miskin; (2) dana bergulir (revolving funds) untuk mengembangkan usaha kecil dan usaha mikro melalui perkuatan KSP/USP-Koperasi (Koperasi Simpan Pinjam/Usaha Simpan Pinjam-Koperasi) dan LKM (Lembaga Keuangan Mikro); dan (3) penciptaan lapangan kerja melalui program pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam pembangunan prasarana umum perdesaan dan perkotaan (PPM-Prasarana). Propinsi-propinsi di luar Pulau Jawa menerima ketiga jenis program ini, tetapi propinsi-propinsi di Pulau Jawa hanya mendapat dua program pertama. Tiga program Reorientasi kebijakan Subsidi BBM ini dilaksanakan hanya dalam waktu tiga bulan, dari bulan Oktober hingga Desember 2000, mulai dari tahap perencanaan, pelaksanaan, hingga pelaporan. Khusus program PPM Prasarana diperpanjang hingga Maret 2001.

Beberapa temuan utama Tim SMERU di lapangan disajikan secara khusus dalam edisi buletin SMERU kali ini. SMERU berharap para pemerhati dapat melakukan analisis lebih lanjut. Tim SMERU tidak bermaksud memasuki wilayah perdebatan politis apakah kebijakan pemerintah untuk merealokasikan subsidi BBM ini sudah tepat untuk menghindari kepanikan dan kemarahan masyarakat karena adanya keputusan kenaikan harga BBM. Kami juga tidak mencoba memberikan jawaban atas beberapa pertanyaan penting lainnya. Misalnya, apakah penerima bantuan tersebut sudah tepat sasaran jika dikaitkan langsung dengan tingkat konsumsi dan kenaikan harga BBM? Atau, seberapa jauh masyarakat kelas menengah bersedia menerima subsidi lebih kecil agar mereka yang lebih membutuhkan dapat memperoleh manfaat nyata dari program ini? Jawaban pertanyaan tersebut membutuhkan penelitian lebih lanjut yang saat ini di luar jangkauan studi SMERU. ■ Sri Kusumastuti Rahayu, Divisi Pemantauan Sosial dan Analisis Kualitatif (PSAK) - SMERU

# The Cash Transfer Program: Handing Out More Money? Program Cash Transfer: Bagi-bagi Duit Lagi?

Rp200 million has been allocated to the Directorate General for Village Community Development (PMD) of the Department of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy in order to implement the fuel subsidy cash transfer program. In accordance with the program, these funds have been distributed to 6,666,667 poor families or around 47% of the total number of poor families in Indonesia in 321 *kabupaten* and *kota* (based on the 1999 National Census data). Each family deemed suitable to receive funds was given Rp10.000 per month for 3 months, from October until December 2000. The funds were distributed directly through the account of the Administration Activities Office at the village or *kelurahan* level<sup>1</sup>.

Based on the findings of SMERU in Kapuas and Jember, the cash transfer recipients have been accurately selected from among the poorest families in the village. This was achieved by using data from the National Family Planning Agency (BKKBN). Despite the reliability of this data, the available funds are limited and are insufficient given the number of poor families who require assistance. Consequently, the program implementers at the community level experienced difficulties and a degree of stress and it was difficult to maintain a transparent approach to the implementation of the program. The majority of recipients were poor elderly widows who generally received a lump sum of Rp30.000 in December 2000. However, some cases were detected where these funds were cut to cover operational costs or because the available funds were voluntarily divided up amongst several poor families.

In Jember, data about the potential recipients collected by local officials at the RT and RW level was then discussed in a Village Development Meeting attended by various village members. In several villages and *kecamatan*, political parties and NGO's were also involved in the selection process, resulting in a more transparent program. In Kapuas, however, the implementers did not involve the community and village officials in the decision-making process.

According to many of those interviewed, the *cash transfer* program was considered to be a practical measure as the recipients were able to enjoy the benefits directly. However, it appears that from the perspective of community leaders and from the government (program managers and officials at the *kabupaten*, *kecamatan* or *kelurahan* level), the program contains many weaknesses:

- the program did not promote self-reliance through encouraging people to engage in productive activities.

Dana sebesar Rp200 milyar telah diserahkan kepada Direktorat Jenderal PMD (Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa), Departemen Dalam Negeri dan Otonomi Daerah untuk menyelenggarakan program cash transfer subsidi BBM. Menurut rencana, dana tersebut disalurkan kepada 6.666.667 keluarga miskin atau sekitar 47% total keluarga miskin di Indonesia (menggunakan acuan data Susenas 1999) di 321 kabupaten dan kota. Masing-masing keluarga layak terima memperoleh Rp10.000 per bulan selama 3 bulan, dari bulan Oktober hingga Desember 2000. Dana disalurkan langsung melalui rekening PjAK (Penanggung Jawab Administrasi Kegiatan) di tingkat desa/kelurahan<sup>1</sup>.

Berdasarkan temuan SMERU di Kapuas dan Jember, penerima cash tranfer dinilai tepat, yaitu keluarga paling miskin di tingkat desa, sesuai dengan kriteria data BKKBN. Meskipun data ini cukup dapat diandalkan, alokasi dana sangat terbatas dibandingkan dengan jumlah keluarga miskin yang membutuhkan bantuan. Akibatnya, pelaksana program di tingkat masyarakat mengalami kesulitan, mempunyai beban psikologis, dan transparansi pelaksanaan program sulit dilakukan. Sebagian besar penerima adalah janda miskin lanjut usia yang menerima dana Rp30.000 sekaligus pada bulan Desember 2000. Meskipun demikian ada beberapa kasus pemotongan dana untuk biaya operasional, atau dana yang tersedia dibagi rata di antara keluarga miskin secara sukarela.

Di Jember, pendataan calon penerima dilakukan oleh petugas RT/RW, kemudian dimusyawarahkan dalam Musbangdes dengan melibatkan berbagai unsur di desa. Beberapa desa dan kecamatan juga melibatkan partai politik dan LSM, sehingga lebih menjamin transparansi program. Sebaliknya, di Kapuas pelaksana program tidak melibatkan aparat desa dan masyarakat dalam proses pengambilan keputusan.

Banyak responden menilai bahwa program cash transfer praktis dan langsung dapat dinikmati masyarakat, namun sejumlah reponden dari pihak pemerintah (pengelola program dan aparat di tingkat kabupaten, kecamatan ataupun kelurahan/desa), serta tokoh masyarakat berpendapat bahwa program cash transfer ini memiliki beberapa kelemahan, antara lain:

- program ini kurang mendidik karena hanya untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sehari-hari dan tidak mendorong tumbuhnya kegiatan usaha produktif;
- berpotensi rawan konflik sosial karena alokasi yang sangat terbatas dikaitkan dengan waktu yang singkat tanpa disertai sosialisasi, transparansi, dan pendampingan yang memadai;
- tidak tersedianya dana operasi menyebabkan pelaksana di tingkat masyarakat harus menyediakan dana sendiri. Beberapa harus mengambil dana operasi dari kas kecamatan atau kas desa, atau terpaksa meminta kerelaan penerima untuk mengganti biaya operasional dari dana yang diterima;
- sekitar 30% dana cash transfer yang dialokasikan terpaksa tidak dapat dicairkan karena faktor sarana transportasi dan komunikasi yang sulit di Kabupaten Kapuas;



- Rather, the funds were used for immediate daily needs.
- there was the potential for social conflict to occur because of the limited amount of funds allocated and time constraints that resulted in inadequate community preparation, transparency and facilitator support.
  - a lack of operational funds forced the program implementors at the community level to provide funding themselves. Some had to draw on kecamatan or village funds whilst others were forced to seek the consent of the beneficiaries to reduce allocated funds to cover these costs.
  - 30% of allocated funds have not been released in Kabupaten Kapuas because of the difficulties caused by the transport system and poor communications
  - the allocation of Rp10.000 per month for recipients in Kabupaten Kapuas was regarded as insufficient relative to the cost of living in that area.

Based on the above findings, SMERU suggests that such cash transfer programs should not be carried out as a quick-fix program providing only a temporary solution to problems. Such an approach is sure to create difficulties and social unrest at the community level. Assistance for the poorest sections of the community who are unable to work should be provided through an appropriate long-term social security program. The BKKBN data on poor families has been used as a primary reference source, but the final determination about who should receive assistance should be made only after discussions with the local community. Finally, it would be preferable for program funds to be allocated through the central government budget and not from special funding such as the fuel subsidy cash transfer program as was the case here.

<sup>1</sup> Technical Guidelines - Cash Transfer Program, Directorate General of Village Community Development, Department of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy, 2000

A beneficiary of the cash transfer program in Desa Terusan Raya, Kabupaten Kapuas. She does not own a house and at present is living in the abandoned office of the Transmigration Settlement Unit with her three young children. Her husband and two older sons, who come home every one or two months, work as timber gatherers in the forest.

*Penerima Program Dana Transfer di Desa Terusan Raya, Kabupaten Kapuas ini tidak mempunyai rumah sendiri, sehingga terpaksa menempati bekas kantor Unit Pemukiman Transmigrasi dengan tiga anaknya yang masih kecil. Suami dan dua anaknya yang sudah besar bekerja sebagai pengumpul kayu di hutan. Mereka pulang setiap satu atau dua bulan sekali.*

- jumlah Rp10.000 per bulan di Kabupaten Kapuas dianggap terlalu kecil dibandingkan dengan tingkat biaya hidup setempat.

Berdasarkan temuan tersebut, Tim SMERU menyarankan agar program cash transfer tidak diterapkan dalam bentuk program sesaat yang cenderung menimbulkan kesulitan, kerawanan sosial, atau konflik di tingkat masyarakat. Bantuan bagi masyarakat paling miskin yang tidak mampu bekerja produktif sebaiknya dilakukan melalui program jangka panjang seperti program jaminan sosial. Data keluarga paling miskin yang telah ada seperti dari BKKBN dapat digunakan sebagai acuan utama, tetapi penentuan akhir sasaran penerima harus tetap dilakukan melalui musyawarah yang melibatkan masyarakat. Akhirnya, dana program sebaiknya dialokasikan dalam APBN, tidak dari dana khusus seperti dana subsidi BBM seperti yang dilakukan saat ini. ■ Tim PSAK – SMERU

<sup>1</sup> Petunjuk Pelaksanaan – Penyaluran Dana Tunai (Cash Transfer) Subsidi BBM, Ditjen PMD, Depdagri dan Otonomi Daerah, T.A 2000



# The Revolving Funds Program:

## Who Benefits?

### *Program Dana Bergulir: Siapa yang Mendapat Manfaat?*

The Revolving Funds and Fuel Subsidy Program is managed by the State Minister of Co-operatives and Small to Medium Scale Industries. The objective of the program is to develop small businesses and micro enterprises through strengthening Savings and Loans Cooperatives (KSP), Savings and Loans Units (USP), and Micro Finance Institutions (LKM). The total amount of funding which has been provided for the program is Rp350 billion. This has been distributed to 2,925 KSP/USP Cooperatives (referred to below as cooperatives) and LKM in 314 kabupaten and kota. Each cooperative received Rp100 million in funding, while each LKM received Rp50 million. Furthermore, these cooperatives and LKM have been managing the distribution of the funds to small businesses and micro enterprises, which are each able to receive up to Rp1 million.

Based on SMERU's field investigations, there has been a sharp contrast in the implementation of the Revolving Funds Program between Kabupaten Jember and Kabupaten Kapuas, due to the different conditions in each region. Generally, there are a large number of cooperatives in East Java which are already well established both in terms of experience and performance. On the other hand, the cooperatives in Kabupaten Kapuas are underdeveloped and require further guidance in managing their affairs. Given these conditions, the implementation of the program in Kapuas was rushed and prematurely implemented. Consequently, the cooperatives and the facilitators selected to implement the program were inadequately prepared. The NGO members of the working groups who participated in the selection of the cooperatives and LKM which received the funding have questioned the sustainability of the program because they consider these bodies to be ill prepared.

Nevertheless, the results of SMERU's investigations of various microcredit programs at the end last year, suggest that the Fuel Subsidy Revolving Funds program has several advantages compared to other funding programs. Firstly, the distribution of the funds to increase the capital of small businesses has been conducted through existing financial institutions within the community and with a system that has already proved effective. Secondly, the program has a system of rewards and punishment to encourage compliance. In addition, the program sets out clear selection processes and criteria to choose the recipients of the funds, which is a feature not always evident in the implementation of many other credit programs.

In Kabupaten Jember, the distribution of information

Program dana bergulir (revolving fund) Subsidi BBM dikelola oleh Kantor Menteri Negara Urusan Koperasi dan Usaha Kecil dan Menengah. Tujuan program adalah untuk mengembangkan usaha kecil dan mikro melalui perkuatan KSP/USP-Koperasi (Koperasi Simpan Pinjam/Usaha Simpan Pinjam-Koperasi) dan LKM (Lembaga Keuangan Mikro). Jumlah dana yang tersedia Rp350 milyar, disalurkan kepada 2.925 KSP/USP Koperasi (selanjutnya disebut sebagai koperasi) dan 1.000 LKM di 314 kabupaten/kota. Masing-masing koperasi memperoleh Rp100 juta, sementara LKM Rp50 juta. Selanjutnya koperasi dan LKM menyalurkan dana tersebut kepada pengusaha kecil dan pengusaha mikro (pedagang atau usaha jasa), masing-masing maksimal Rp1 juta<sup>1</sup>.

Berdasarkan pengamatan lapangan, pelaksanaan program dana bergulir di Kabupaten Jember dan Kabupaten Kapuas sangat berbeda karena faktor perbedaan kondisi wilayah. Secara umum koperasi-koperasi dan LKM di Jawa Timur sudah maju, baik dalam jumlah, pengalaman, maupun kinerjanya. Sebaliknya, kondisi perkoperasian di Kabupaten Kapuas belum berkembang serta masih memerlukan pembinaan. Dengan kondisi seperti itu pelaksanaan program di Kapuas dinilai terburu-buru sehingga persiapannya tidak matang. Akibatnya, seleksi terhadap koperasi/LKM serta fasilitator program kurang siap. Anggota Pokja dari LSM yang turut menetapkan koperasi/LKM yang berhak memperoleh dana meragukan kelangsungan program dana bergulir ini.

Sekalipun demikian, temuan dan saran SMERU pada penelitian mengenai kredit perdesaan pada akhir tahun 2000<sup>2</sup>, menunjukkan bahwa program dana bergulir Subsidi BBM ini memiliki keunggulan dibanding dengan program dana lainnya, antara lain: pertama, penyaluran dana untuk penambahan modal usaha kecil dilaksanakan melalui lembaga keuangan yang sudah dikenal masyarakat dengan skema yang telah terbukti efektif; kedua, adanya sistem reward dan punishment. Keunggulan lainnya adalah program ini mempunyai proses seleksi dan kriteria penerima program yang jelas, hal yang tidak selalu ditemui dalam pelaksanaan banyak program kredit lainnya.

Di Kabupaten Jember, karena penyebaran informasi mengenai program ini cukup meluas, maka koperasi/LKM yang terpilih sebagai pelaksana adalah koperasi yang mempunyai potensi dan berbasis masyarakat. DPRD, radio, dan surat kabar turut dilibatkan dalam proses pengenalan program, sehingga penetapan sasaran terlaksana dengan baik. Sebaliknya, di Kabupaten Kapuas karena kondisi perkoperasian belum berkembang, kondisi geografis sulit, dan waktu program singkat, maka pengenalan program hanya dilakukan melalui radio. Akibatnya informasi program hanya mampu menjangkau sedikit koperasi/LKM yang memenuhi kriteria. Di kedua wilayah tidak semua anggota koperasi/LKM penerima program mengetahui nama program atau sumber dana pinjaman.

Hal lain yang perlu dicatat adalah adanya konsekuensi dari penyeragaman besarnya alokasi koperasi/LKM per kabupaten, alokasi dana per koperasi/LKM, dan batas maksimal pinjaman per anggota atau nasabah. Sistem distribusi dana seperti ini dinilai kurang mencerminkan kebutuhan

about the program was quite comprehensive, thus the cooperatives which were chosen to implement the program were community-based bodies with considerable potential. The local assemblies, radio stations, and newspapers were all jointly involved in publicizing the program, so that the process of selecting the beneficiaries was carried out effectively. On the other hand, in Kabupaten Kapuas the cooperatives and LKM are often underdeveloped and the region is itself remote and geographically inaccessible. This made it difficult to successfully promote the new program on the radio in the short time available. Hence, the information about the program only reached a few cooperatives and LKM that were deemed suitable candidates. In fact, in both areas not all the members of the cooperatives benefiting from the revolving funds program are actually familiar with the name of the program and the source of their loans.

There have been several consequences of the decision to standardize both the number of participating cooperatives in each kabupaten, and the amount allocated to each cooperative and LKM, as well as to limit the size of each loan that members and borrowers can receive. The system for distributing the funding has not really reflected the actual needs of the regions, the capacity of the cooperatives, nor the needs of their members. For example, the size of the funding allocation to Kabupaten Jember is considered insufficient, whereas in Kabupaten Kapuas the reverse is the case. In Jember, of the 900 registered cooperatives, 64 applied for funding. While nine cooperatives were deemed to have fulfilled the selection criteria, there was only sufficient funding for eight cooperatives. In Kabupaten Kapuas, of the 264 cooperatives registered in the region, only 30 actually applied for funding and of these only three cooperatives satisfied the selection criteria. However, because the region received an allocation for a total of eight cooperatives, a further five recipients received funding even though they did not actually meet the selection criteria. Some of these cooperatives did not have the stipulated membership quota, and consequently had to recruit new members. Other cooperatives that were previously inactive, were reactivated. Of course, under these conditions the objectives of strengthening cooperatives and LKM have not been achieved. Some cooperatives argued that the allocation of funding was too small when compared to their organizational capacity. Others are of the opinion that the funding they received was too large for them to manage. Furthermore, a large number of the members and customers considered the amount available for loans of Rp1 million, to be too low.

In Jember, almost all the available funds have already been distributed by the cooperatives to their members, whereas in Kabupaten Kapuas a large proportion of the funds has not yet been disbursed. For the moment, the undistributed funds are either being stored with the banks or the manager of the cooperatives, or are being used by other units in the cooperatives for their own activities. There are several reasons for the delay in the distribution of these funds. There has been a lack of interest amongst the members of some cooperatives to access the loans and there have also been defaults in loan repayments from previous rounds of the program. Furthermore, the insufficient number of members has forced these cooperatives to offer the funds to the general public.

The SMERU team's field research found that two cooperatives

nyata daerah, kemampuan koperasi/LKM maupun kebutuhan anggota. Sebagai contoh, alokasi untuk wilayah Jember dinilai masih kurang, sementara untuk Kabupaten Kapuas justru sebaliknya. Di Jember, dari 900 koperasi yang ada hanya 64 koperasi yang mengambil formulir untuk seleksi koperasi penyalur dana program. Meskipun ada sembilan koperasi yang memenuhi kriteria, hanya 8 koperasi yang dapat dipilih. Di Kabupaten Kapuas, dari 264 koperasi yang terdaftar hanya 30 koperasi yang mengambil formulir, namun akhirnya hanya tiga koperasi yang memenuhi syarat. Karena alokasi yang tersedia untuk delapan koperasi, maka kekurangan lima koperasi diambil dari koperasi yang sebenarnya tidak memenuhi syarat. Ada diantara koperasi tersebut yang jumlah anggotanya kurang dari ketentuan, sehingga harus mencari anggota baru, atau koperasi yang sebelumnya 'tidur' diaktifkan kembali. Tentu saja dengan kondisi seperti itu tujuan perkuatan koperasi dan LKM tidak tercapai. Sebagian koperasi menganggap alokasi dana per koperasi/LKM terlalu kecil jika ditinjau dari kapasitas mereka, sebaliknya sebagian LKM berpendapat dana yang diterima terlalu besar. Demikian juga tentang batas maksimal pinjaman. Sebagian besar anggota atau nasabah menilai jumlah pinjaman maksimal Rp1 juta terlalu kecil.



A meeting initiated by the local community in Jember to discuss the formation of the Communication Forum for the Recipients of Fuel Subsidy Program. The local co-operatives and micro-finance institutions receiving revolving funds, the village working groups and facilitators, all agreed to establish this forum. The meeting was attended by all parties, including SMERU's researchers.

Pertemuan masyarakat di Kota Jember ini membahas pembentukan Forum Komunikasi Penerima Program Subsidi BBM. Koperasi setempat, lembaga keuangan mikro yang menerima dana bergulir, kelompok kerja dan fasilitator desa sepakat untuk mendirikan forum ini. Diskusi dihadiri oleh berbagai pihak, termasuk Team Peneliti SMERU.

Di Jember hampir seluruh dana sudah disalurkan melalui koperasi kepada anggota, sedang di Kabupaten Kapuas sebagian besar dana belum dapat disalurkan. Untuk sementara dana tersebut disimpan di bank, di pengurus koperasi, atau digunakan oleh unit-unit kegiatan koperasi yang lain. Keterlambatan penyaluran dana antara lain disebabkan karena tidak banyak anggota yang mengajukan pinjaman, ada yang masih menunggak. Penyebab lainnya adalah jumlah anggota koperasi terbatas sehingga dana terpaksa ditawarkan kepada masyarakat umum.



in Jember and one cooperative in Kapuas receiving funding have set their membership fees as high as Rp1 million, consequently preventing the wider community and customers from becoming members, and therefore accessing the loans. This suggests that such cooperatives have been incorrectly selected as recipients, because the large sum of assistance distributed to them has only benefited a small number of members. As a consequence, only a small section of the community both controls and benefits from the revolving funds. Furthermore, the recipients of the loans are often only treated as customers, without any rights to receive dividends or a share in the profit of the cooperatives.

The implementation guidelines for the program stipulate that if the funds are well managed over a three-year period, the Revolving Funds Fuel Subsidy will eventually become a grant to these cooperatives and LKM. However, this approach has generated two chief concerns. Although this may spur cooperatives and LKMs to manage the program well, some believe that as soon as the revolving funds become grants, there will be little incentive for members to pay back their loans. Furthermore, there are also concerns that implementing the revolving funds program at the same time as the cash transfer program will cause confusion because the cash transfer program is characterized as a grant. Nevertheless, at the time the SMERU team was conducting its field research, there were reliable levels of loan repayments during the first month of the program.

The revolving funds program aims to increase available capital for small businesses and micro enterprises through using existing financial institutions. This is considered much more appropriate than distributing the funds through new financial institutions which have to be developed from the beginning. However, the implementation of the revolving funds program still needs to be improved, in the following ways:

- promoting the program and selecting cooperatives which have a base membership of small businesses and micro enterprises, and where the organizers are able to guarantee transparency;
- avoiding loan schemes and conditions that may burden members;
- allocating funds at the local and institutional level to encourage flexibility in the selection of members and customers, and in accordance with the conditions of the region, the capacity of the institution, and the needs of the members and customers;
- depositing regular monthly interest payments from the cooperatives at the bank, in order to pay the salaries of the program facilitators, and meet the costs of guidance, monitoring, and supervision activities. In addition, the use of the interest needs to be clearly detailed.
- encouraging the development of an effective independent system of public supervision by the government and the community (for example in Jember, efforts to institute internal control have been conducted through the formation of the Communication Forum for the Recipients of Fuel Subsidies);

Ketika di lapangan, Tim SMERU menemukan dua koperasi/LKM di Jember dan satu koperasi di Kapuas penerima program yang mensyaratkan iuran pokok anggota cukup tinggi, hampir mencapai Rp1 juta, sehingga menghambat masyarakat atau nasabah untuk menjadi anggota atau peminjam. Temuan lainnya adalah sebagian besar koperasi/LKM penerima dana bergulir sebenarnya tidak tepat sebagai koperasi penerima karena meskipun mendapat bantuan besar koperasi-koperasi tersebut hanya mempunyai sedikit anggota. Akibatnya, dana bergulir hanya dimanfaatkan dan dikuasai oleh segelintir orang, dan penerima kredit hanya dianggap sebagai nasabah yang tidak mempunyai hak atas SHU dan kekayaan koperasi/LKM.

Juklak program menetapkan bahwa dana bergulir Subsidi BBM akan dihibahkan kepada koperasi/LKM bila dalam jangka waktu tiga tahun dana dapat dikelola dengan baik. Hal ini menimbulkan dua kekhawatiran. Pertama, meskipun ketentuan ini mungkin memacu koperasi/LKM agar mengelola program dengan baik, tetapi dikhawatirkan anggota akan tidak disiplin dalam mengembalikan pinjaman karena menganggap dana dari pemerintah tersebut tidak perlu dikembalikan. Kedua, pelaksanaan program dana bergulir yang bersamaan waktunya dengan program cash transfer yang bersifat hibah dapat merusak sistem perguliran dana yang sedang dilakukan meskipun ketika Tim SMERU berada di lapangan pengembalian pinjaman pada bulan pertama cukup lancar.

Program perguliran dana untuk penambahan modal usaha kecil dan mikro melalui lembaga keuangan yang sudah terbentuk di masyarakat dinilai sangat tepat dibandingkan dengan jika disalurkan melalui lembaga keuangan baru yang harus dibina sejak awal. Meskipun demikian, pelaksanaan program dana bergulir ini perlu disempurnakan, misalnya:

- sosialisasi program dan seleksi koperasi harus menjangkau koperasi/LKM yang anggotanya pengusaha kecil dan mikro, dan pengurus harus mampu menjamin transparansi program,
- tidak menerapkan skema dan persyaratan simpan pinjam yang memberatkan anggota;
- pengalokasian dana di tingkat wilayah dan lembaga, maupun seleksi anggota dan nasabah sebaiknya lebih fleksibel, disesuaikan dengan kondisi wilayah, kemampuan lembaga, maupun kebutuhan anggota dan nasabah;
- pembayaran bunga dari koperasi/LKM ke bank pelaksana sebaiknya dilakukan setiap bulan karena terkait dengan biaya pendampingan, pembinaan, pemantauan, dan pengawasan. Selain itu alokasi pemanfaatan bunga harus jelas terinci;
- pemerintah dan masyarakat perlu menciptakan pengawasan publik secara terus-menerus dan mandiri (misalnya di Jember upaya pengawasan intern dilakukan melalui pembentukan Forum Komunikasi Penerima Dana Subsidi BBM); dan
- dana program tidak diberlakukan sebagai hibah, melainkan sebagai program kredit berbunga ringan yang harus dikembalikan, sehingga menjamin perguliran yang berkelanjutan.

Siapa yang meraih manfaat dari program dana bergulir ini? Selain para pengusaha kecil dan mikro, koperasi/LKM, dan pihak bank, ternyata dana bergulir ini juga dimanfaatkan oleh mereka yang berpenghasilan tetap seperti pegawai negeri dan pensiunan walaupun dalam jumlah kecil. Sebagian dana tidak digunakan untuk kebutuhan usaha, tetapi hanya untuk memenuhi kebutuhan pribadi, misalnya membeli sepeda motor, menyekolahkan anak, memperbaiki rumah, dan biaya lebaran.

Apakah dana ini akan bergulir? Pertanyaan ini belum terjawab. Kelancaran pembayaran angsuran bulan pertama tidak menjamin kelancaran angsuran berikutnya. Kinerja beberapa koperasi/LKM masih dipertanyakan, apalagi jika masyarakat mengetahui bahwa dana ini pada akhirnya akan menjadi hibah. ■ Tim PSAK - SMERU



# The Community Empowerment and

## Infrastructure Program:

### Must It Rely Only on Fuel Subsidy Funding?

#### Program Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (PPM) Prasarana:

#### Apakah Hanya dari Dana Subsidi BBM?

The third fuel subsidy program, PPM Prasarana, aimed to generate employment opportunities through a community empowerment program and the development of general infrastructure in rural and urban areas. The funding for this project amounted to Rp250 billion and was managed by the Department of Settlements and Regional Infrastructure. The program targeted rural communities with low levels of income and gave priority to communities outside Jawa, especially the eastern Indonesian provinces. The recipients of the funding were various community groups, including those with existing project proposals for local infrastructure development which had previously been discussed at village meetings, those who had been assisted by existing community empowerment programs (for example the Kecamatan Development Program), other working groups who had not yet been targeted by poverty alleviation programs, and those regions classified as “special territories”. The estimated target for the program was 14,685,000 working days across 5,097 villages, 250 kecamatan, 55 kabupaten, and 14 provinces. The allocation of funding per kecamatan ranged from Rp750 billion to Rp1.1 billion, which could be used for projects with unrestricted or ‘open menus’, within a framework of maintaining, rehabilitating, and developing local infrastructure development. The wages paid to the workers involved in the program were set at a level that did not exceed the official minimum wage in each locality<sup>1</sup>.

While conducting the study, the SMERU team found that Kabupaten Kapuas in Central Kalimantan, had actually been categorized as a “special region” due to the problems resulting from the Development of Peat Soil Lands (PLG) project, which is still unresolved. Kabupaten Kapuas received an allocation of funding from the Community Empowerment and Infrastructure Program for 10 of the 24 kecamatan in the province. Although it was widely perceived that this program was planned to curb social unrest, the PPM Prasarana program was not intended as a substitute for the PLG compensation being demanded by the local community.

The introduction of the fuel subsidy program and the process of deciding upon program activities were carried out in only 2 to 4 days in Kabupaten Kapuas. The proposed activities resulted from a one day meeting held in the kecamatan, which was attended by the Camat, local village or kelurahan officials, and the community leaders. Meanwhile, Kabupaten Barito Kuala in South Kalimantan, which received funding for five of the 16 kecamatan in the province, already had prepared a development proposal for the year 2000 under the Kecamatan Development Program. The planning process and

Program Subsidi BBM ketiga adalah penciptaan lapangan kerja produktif melalui program pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam pembangunan prasarana umum perdesaan dan perkotaan, atau dikenal sebagai PPM Prasarana. Dana proyek sebesar Rp250 milyar ini dikelola oleh Departemen Permukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah (Kimpraswil). Sasaran program adalah kelompok masyarakat berpenghasilan rendah di wilayah perdesaan, dan diprioritaskan untuk masyarakat di luar Jawa, khususnya wilayah Indonesia Timur. Kriteria penerima program antara lain: kelompok masyarakat yang telah mempunyai usulan rencana pembangunan prasarana lokal yang dibahas dalam musyawarah desa, atau kelompok tersebut difasilitasi oleh program pemberdayaan yang telah ada (misalnya oleh Program Pengembangan Kecamatan/PPK), belum pernah menjadi sasaran program Pengentasan Kemiskinan (Taskin), dan termasuk “daerah khusus”. Diperkirakan sasaran program ini adalah 14.685.000 hari orang kerja di 5.097 desa, 250 kecamatan, 55 kabupaten, dan 14 propinsi. Alokasi dana per kecamatan berkisar antara Rp750 juta hingga Rp1,1 milyar. Pemanfaatan dana bersifat terbuka atau ‘open menu’, namun tetap dalam kerangka pemeliharaan, rehabilitasi, peningkatan, atau pembangunan prasarana. Upah yang diberikan kepada pekerja yang terlibat dalam program ini ditetapkan agar tidak melebihi upah minimum yang berlaku di desa yang bersangkutan<sup>1</sup>.

Ketika di lapangan, Tim SMERU baru mengetahui bahwa Kabupaten Kapuas, Kalimantan Tengah ternyata dikategorikan sebagai ‘daerah khusus’ karena adanya kasus Proyek PLG (Pengembangan Lahan Gambut) yang hingga kini belum tuntas. Kabupaten Kapuas menerima alokasi dana PPM Prasarana untuk 10 kecamatan dari 24 kecamatan di propinsi tersebut. Meskipun terkesan bahwa program ini untuk meredakan gejolak sosial, PPM Prasarana bukan merupakan kompensasi santunan Proyek PLG yang sedang dituntut masyarakat setempat.

Sosialisasi dan proses usulan kegiatan PPM Prasarana di Kabupaten Kapuas hanya dilakukan dalam 2 - 4 hari. Usulan kegiatan hanya berdasarkan pertemuan sehari di kecamatan yang dihadiri oleh Camat, aparat kelurahan/desa, dan tokoh masyarakat. Sedangkan Kabupaten Barito Kuala (Batola), Kalimantan Selatan yang mendapat alokasi 5 kecamatan dari 16 kecamatan yang ada, telah mempunyai usulan melalui fasilitasi Program Pengembangan Kecamatan (PPK) tahun 2000. Proses perencanaan dan pengajuan usulan dilakukan melalui

the submission of proposals was carried out through several stages of discussion and approval, which involved the local community throughout. The first discussions took place at the hamlet (dusun) level, followed by three Village Meetings, and four other meetings at the Kecamatan Coordination Committee for Village and Kelurahan Development (UDKP).

The introduction and implementation of the PPM Prasarana program in both these regions was planned to be carried out between October and the end of December 2000. Since the time frame was considered too short, the schedule was extended until the end of March, 2001. Almost all the projects in Kabupaten Kapuas were in fact completed by December 2000. However, several projects in Kabupaten Barito Kuala remained incomplete at the end of March 2001 due to environmental obstacles such as heavy rain and high tides.

The key to the successful implementation of the PPM Prasarana program was community empowerment. Thus, the implementation of this program in Kabupaten Barito Kuala, facilitated by the Kecamatan Development Program, was generally considered to be more successful, compared to those areas that did not have similar assistance, for the following reasons:

- These village communities were already empowered by the previous support from the Kecamatan Development Program, before the PPM Prasarana program began.
- The project proposals were based on existing planning decisions which were subsequently verified and discussed at the UDKP II Plus Forum, a kecamatan coordination committee grouping organized especially to discuss the fuel subsidy program; and
- The facilitators from the Kecamatan Development Program provided constant support for the PPM Prasarana program.

The main aim of introducing community empowerment into the PPM Prasarana program was not only to achieve better results in terms of the quality of construction, but also to increase community involvement in the planning and implementation process. Where Kecamatan Development Program facilitators were involved in the implementation of the PPM-Prasarana program, better performance was achieved in both of these areas. Many consider the physical quality of buildings constructed by the community in these areas to be superior to the work by contractors.

Despite these advantages, the following problems remained evident where Kecamatan Development Program facilitators had assisted the PPM Prasarana program:

- The short time frame available to complete the PPM Prasarana program was a distraction for the Kecamatan Development Program facilitators and a disruption to the work of that program;
- There was an increased work load and greater responsibility for both the Kecamatan Development Program facilitators and the Kabupaten Management Consultant, without the incentive of any adequate extra compensation.
- Another problem encountered by the program was the reluctance of many members of the community to reprimand others for poor performance.

beberapa tahap musyawarah, yaitu Musbangdus (musyawarah di tingkat dusun), tiga kali Musbangdes (musyawarah di tingkat desa), dan empat kali pertemuan Unit Daerah Kerja Pembangunan (UDKP). Semuanya melibatkan masyarakat setempat.

Sosialisasi dan pelaksanaan PPM Prasarana di kedua wilayah semula direncanakan akan dilaksanakan mulai Oktober 2000 hingga akhir Desember 2000. Karena jadwal ini dianggap terlalu singkat, maka diperpanjang sampai akhir Maret 2001. Hampir seluruh pekerjaan di Kabupaten Kapuas telah diselesaikan pada Desember 2000, namun beberapa pekerjaan di Kabupaten Batola belum selesai karena kendala alam, misalnya pasang surut dan hujan.

Kunci keberhasilan pelaksanaan program terletak pada pemberdayaan masyarakat. Karena itu umumnya PPM Prasarana yang difasilitasi PPK, misalnya di Kabupaten Batola, dinilai lebih baik dibandingkan dengan yang tidak mendapat fasilitasi dari PPK, karena:

- masyarakat desa yang telah mendapat fasilitasi PPK sudah diberdayakan;
- usulan proyek diambil dari perencanaan yang telah ada, kemudian diverifikasi, dan dimusyawarahkan dalam UDKP II Plus yang khusus membahas PPM Prasarana; dan
- Fasilitator Kecamatan untuk PPK terus-menerus memberikan pendampingan.

Tujuan utama memperkenalkan pemberdayaan masyarakat dalam program ini tidak hanya untuk memperoleh kualitas bangunan yang lebih baik, melainkan untuk meningkatkan pelibatan masyarakat dalam proses perencanaan dan pelaksanaan. PPM dengan fasilitasi PPK ternyata telah menghasilkan kinerja yang baik dalam hal pelibatan masyarakat maupun kualitas bangunan. Beberapa pihak menilai kualitas fisik bangunan yang dikerjakan masyarakat lebih baik daripada yang dikerjakan oleh kontraktor.

Meskipun demikian, PPM Prasarana yang difasilitasi PPK juga mempunyai beberapa kelemahan, yaitu:

- beban kerja dan tanggungjawab Fasilitator dan Konsultan Manajemen Kabupaten (KMKab) bertambah tanpa diimbangi tambahan insentif. Kesan memanfaatkan fasilitas PPK tampak jelas;
- jadwal kerja yang singkat menyebabkan konsentrasi fasilitator dan kegiatan PPK terganggu; dan
- adanya keengganan menegur sesama anggota masyarakat apabila diantara anggota tidak menunjukkan kinerja yang kurang baik.

Pada saat yang sama kelemahan pelaksanaan PPM Prasarana yang tidak difasilitasi PPK, antara lain:

- sosialisasi dan pengumpulan usulan kegiatan sangat singkat (2-4 hari), dan waktu pelaksanaan kegiatan kurang dari 50 hari. Akibatnya, sebagian masyarakat tidak mengetahui kegiatan ini;
- organisasi pelaksana program terlalu besar tanpa diimbangi tugas dan tanggungjawab yang jelas. Dari 31 orang anggota Tim Koordinasi dan 25 orang anggota Tim Pembina Teknis, ternyata hanya unsur Bappeda dan Cabang Dinas PU yang aktif;

At the same time there were also several discernable weaknesses in the implementation of the PPM Prasarana program in those areas that were not facilitated by the Kecamatan Development Program:

- The promotion of the program and the collection of project proposals was carried out over a very short time period (2-4 days), and entire projects were meant to be completed in no more than 50 days. Consequently, some sections of the community were not even aware that projects were being implemented in their area;
- The organization of the program implementers was too unwieldy and there was no clarity about their precise tasks and responsibilities. From the 31 members of the Coordination Team and the 25 members of the Technical Guidance Team, only representatives from the Regional Development Planning Board and the Office of Public Works were actively involved in organizing the program;
- Program proposals were based on the outcomes of meetings that included the village elite and excluded the wider community. Hence, the proposals from 12 out of the 64 villages and kelurahan were rejected and had to be revised.
- There was no genuine process of community participation because the empowerment element had been interpreted in such a way that the community was only regarded as the workforce.
- Monitoring and supervision were inadequate.

The wage system and the level of wages varied in different locations. The system applied was either daily hire or contract arrangements with no difference in wages for men and women. Despite the stipulations in the project guidelines, the wages paid were higher than the Official Minimum Wage for the region and the wage rates that were usually being paid in any particular village. For example, the wage paid for road maintenance work on a PPM Prasarana project in one kelurahan was Rp19,400 per day (from 7am to 12pm), while skilled

- *usulan program disusun berdasarkan hasil pertemuan elit desa tanpa pelibatan masyarakat, sehingga 12 dari 64 desa/kelurahan menolak. Usulan tersebut harus direvisi;*
- *tidak ada proses pendampingan masyarakat yang sesungguhnya karena pemberdayaan hanya diterjemahkan sebagai mengikutsertakan masyarakat sebagai tenaga kerja; dan*
- *lemah dalam pemantauan dan pengawasan.*

*Sistem dan besarnya upah bagi mereka yang terlibat dalam program bervariasi di masing-masing lokasi. Sistem yang berlaku adalah sistem harian dan borongan, tanpa membedakan upah bagi pekerja laki-laki atau perempuan. Meskipun telah ada ketentuan mengenai upah, Tim SMERU menemukan bahwa upah yang diterima lebih tinggi dari upah di tingkat kabupaten maupun yang berlaku di desa yang bersangkutan. Sebagai contoh, dalam satu proyek PPM Prasarana upah bersih pekerja bukan ahli untuk peninggian jalan di satu kelurahan Rp19.400 per hari kerja (dari jam 7 pagi - 12 siang), sementara di desa yang sama upah biasa untuk tukang bangunan ahli Rp35.000 per satu hari penuh (delapan jam kerja), atau bila borongan Rp60.000 per m<sup>2</sup>. Tetapi di desa lain, pekerja dengan sistem borongan memperoleh upah hingga Rp40.000 per hari meskipun biasanya upah setempat biasanya Rp20.000 per hari.*

*Sebagian besar pekerja adalah keluarga miskin dari desa atau kelurahan setempat. Tenaga terampil yang tidak tersedia di desa atau kelurahan didatangkan dari luar desa. Salah satu kelurahan di Kabupaten Kapuas menggunakan sistem pemerataan. Masing-masing RT mendapat jatah tenaga kerja sehingga kebanyakan pekerja hanya bekerja 1-3 hari dari 15 hari kerja. Di desa lain yang termasuk IDT (desa tertinggal) mereka membentuk kelompok masyarakat dan menggunakan sistem borongan. Keterlibatan perempuan sangat kecil karena pekerjaan fisik dianggap pekerjaan laki-laki.*



construction workers in the same village only received Rp35,000 for a full working day of eight hours, and for contract work the rate was Rp60,000 per square meter of completed construction. In another village, the rate for contract workers on a PPM Prasarana was Rp40,000 a day, while the local daily wage rate was Rp20,000.

A large section of the workforce came from poor households in the local villages and kelurahan. If the necessary skills were not

Different types of village infrastructure projects were possible under the PPM-Program, including construction of roads, wooden bridges, small dams, and re-leveling the height of the village roads as seen in Kabupaten Kapuas and Kabupaten Barito Kuala. The selected infrastructure projects were those that would bring most benefit to the local community, such as this example from Desa Terusan Raya, Kabupaten Kapuas

*Beberapa proyek infrastruktur desa dapat dilaksanakan berkat Program PPM, termasuk pembuatan jalan, jembatan kayu, dam kecil, dan menaikkan tinggi jalan desa, seperti tampak di Kabupaten Kapuas dan Kabupaten Barito Kuala. Proyek infrastruktur yang dipilih terutama adalah yang membawa manfaat terbesar bagi masyarakat setempat, seperti misalnya di Desa Terusan Raya, Kabupaten Kapuas*



available in the village or kelurahan, they were acquired from other areas. One of the kelurahan in Kabupaten Kapuas used a system that evenly distributed the opportunity to work. Each Neighbourhood Association (RT) received a quota for workers that resulted in most of workers only being able to work no more than 3 out of 15 working days. In other villages, including those officially classified as “disadvantaged” (IDT) areas, community groups were formed and they used a contract system to carry out the projects. Very few women were included in the workforce because physical work was generally considered to be men’s work.

The role of the Kecamatan Program Facilitator was not actually included in the design of the PPM Prasarana program, even though in reality these facilitators became one of the most important forces driving the program’s success. In addition, Village Facilitators and Technical Assistants were urgently needed in the villages. However, due to limited local human resources some of those Village Facilitators who were recruited were unable to give the guidance or advice that was really needed.

Based on SMERU’s findings, community empowerment programs can continue to generate employment opportunities successfully through developing rural and urban infrastructure, as long as these are implemented in stages and include good support mechanisms. However, the question remains as to how appropriate it is for the fuel subsidy to be used for this purpose.

<sup>1</sup> The Reorientation of Fuel Subsidy Program, Fuel Subsidy Program Promotion Team, October 2000.

*Peran Fasilitator Kecamatan yang sebetulnya tidak ada dalam rancangan PPM ternyata merupakan faktor yang sangat penting dalam mendorong keberhasilan program. Sebetulnya itu Fasilitator Desa dan Tenaga Teknis (Bintek) sangat dibutuhkan di desa, namun karena sumber daya manusia di tingkat lokal masih terbatas, beberapa Fasilitator Desa yang ada kurang mampu memenuhi kebutuhan ini.*

*Temuan lapangan SMERU menunjukkan bahwa pendekatan penciptaan lapangan kerja dengan program pemberdayaan masyarakat melalui pembangunan prasarana perdesaan dan perkotaan dapat diteruskan selama prosesnya dilakukan sesuai dengan tahapan program, dan disertai pendampingan yang baik. Namun masih menjadi tanda tanya apakah upaya ini tepat dilakukan melalui program dana subsidi BBM. ■ Tim PSAK – SMERU*

<sup>1</sup> Reorientasi kebijakan subsidi BBM, Tim Sosialisasi BBM, Oktober 2000.



One of The PPM Prasarana Projects in Desa Pendalaman, Kabupaten Barito Kuala  
Salah satu dari proyek PPM Prasarana di Desa Pendalaman, Kabupaten Barito Kuala

# Are Other Programs Like This Viable?

## Apakah Program Semacam Ini Berkelanjutan?

Based on the results of earlier studies and the SMERU team's recent field research on the use of fuel subsidy funds, we conclude that whenever the government is implementing any community welfare or poverty alleviation program it is preferable for all the available funds to be used for programs that are sustainable, that are well integrated with other programs, and that emphasize community participation.

The example provided by the three programs for the reorientation of the fuel subsidy provides a satisfactory alternative but still requires some further refinements. Various local factors need to be taken into account in every area:

- the development of physical infrastructure remains a high priority in areas such as Kabupaten Kapuas, Kabupaten Barito Kuala, and other areas outside Java where public facilities and infrastructure are still limited;
- in those areas with satisfactory facilities and infrastructure, revolving funds should be a high priority so that small and micro business are guaranteed access to working capital;
- a long-term protection policy should be prepared for the poorest families who are unable to support themselves.

Berdasarkan temuan studi terdahulu dan temuan lapangan Tim SMERU terakhir mengenai pemanfaatan dana subsidi BBM, Tim menyimpulkan bahwa bila pemerintah melaksanakan program peningkatan kesejahteraan masyarakat atau program pengentasan kemiskinan, sebaiknya dana yang tersedia dipergunakan untuk program-program sejenis yang sifatnya berkelanjutan, terpadu dengan program lain, dan menekankan pelibatan masyarakat.

Tiga program reorientasi subsidi BBM adalah contoh alternatif pemanfaatan dana yang dinilai tepat, meskipun masih perlu disempurnakan. Beberapa faktor setempat yang perlu dipertimbangkan di setiap wilayah pelaksanaan program antara lain:

- pembangunan prasarana fisik masih sangat diperlukan di wilayah seperti Kabupaten Kapuas, Kabupaten Barito Kuala, dan wilayah lainnya di luar Pulau Jawa yang umumnya masih memiliki sarana dan prasarana sangat terbatas;
- di wilayah yang memiliki sarana dan prasarana yang sudah memadai, dana bergulir perlu diprioritaskan untuk menjamin akses pengusaha kecil dan pengusaha mikro dalam memperoleh modal kerja;
- kebijakan perlindungan jangka panjang perlu disediakan bagi keluarga paling miskin yang tidak mampu membantu dirinya sendiri. ■ Tim PSAK - SMERU



After local officials were accused of embezzlement of funds from the Cash Transfer Program - this turned out to be false - one of the village offices in Jember was attacked and set on fire by the local community. When the SMERU team arrived, the office had just been repaired. This is an example of the tension and conflicts such a crash program can arouse at the local level.

Setelah dituduh menggelapkan dana Program Dana Transfer, salah satu kantor desa diserang dan dibakar oleh masyarakat setempat. Tuduhan ini ternyata tidak terbukti. Ketika SMERU tiba di desa tersebut kantor desa baru selesai diperbaiki. Ini adalah salah satu contoh ketegangan dan konflik yang dapat ditimbulkan oleh crash program di tingkat lokal.

Ibu J, a 65 year-old widow, lives alone in a small house made of thatched bamboo in Desa Kebon Baru, Kecamatan Summersari, Jember. Despite her age, she is forced to support herself. When she was still young and healthy, she worked in a tobacco warehouse, receiving Rp8,000 a day. Now, because of her age, she can only find contract work which pays just Rp1,000 a day. Making ends meet is very difficult for Ibu J. For example, during the harvest season, she has to travel long distances just to gather the remaining stalks of padi scattered around the freshly harvested rice fields, which might provide her with just enough rice for the following few days. One of her children who runs a small warung in the neighbourhood, is sometimes able to help out with money for food when she doesn't have enough of her own.

When she received the Rp30,000 from the fuel subsidy Cash Transfer Program in December, 2000, Ibu J felt extremely grateful. She did not use all of the money immediately; some was set aside as small business capital whilst the remainder was spent during Lebaran.

With capital of around Rp. 15,000, she began producing rempeyek (crackers made of flour and peanuts, shrimp or small fish) which she sells at several of the warung near her house. She is able to make 150-200 packets at a time, which she sells for Rp150 each. The warung owners sell Ibu J's packets of rempeyek for Rp200. Because there are not many buyers, Ibu J only produces the rempeyek twice a week. From this, she makes a profit of about Rp12,000-Rp. 15,000 a week or about Rp2,000 every day.

Ibu J feels that she has been considerably assisted by this program. She now has a lighter workload as she only has to work for about half a day for 2 or 3 days per week. Moreover, her income has doubled and she is receiving income even on those days when she does not have to work.

*Ibu J, janda berumur 65 tahun, tinggal sendirian dirumahnya yang terbuat dari bilik di Desa Kebon Baru, Kecamatan Summersari, Jember. Meskipun sudah tua, ia harus mencari nafkah sendiri. Dulu, waktu masih muda dan kuat, ia bekerja di gudang tembakau dengan upah Rp8.000 per hari. Karena sudah tua, ia hanya bisa bekerja sebagai tenaga borongan dengan penghasilan sangat kecil, sekitar Rp1.000 per hari. Hidup Ibu J cukup sulit. Misalnya, pada musim panen ia terpaksa berjalan jauh untuk mengasak atau mengumpulkan sisa-sisa padi di sawah yang baru dipanen, sekedar memenuhi kebutuhan berasnya selama beberapa hari. Seorang anaknya yang mempunyai warung kecil di dekat rumahnya kadang-kadang membantu biaya makan ketika ia sedang kekurangan uang.*

*Ketika menerima bantuan uang tunai Rp30.000 dari Program Dana Tunai pada bulan Desember 2000 Ibu J merasa sangat bersyukur. Uang tersebut tidak langsung dihabiskan, sebagian untuk modal usaha, sisanya untuk keperluan Lebaran.*

*Dengan modal sekitar Rp15.000 ia mulai membuat rempeyek yang dijual ke beberapa warung di sekitar tempat tinggalnya. Ia bisa membuat 150-200 bungkus dengan harga jual Rp150 per bungkus. Pemilik warung menjual rempeyek Ibu J dengan harga Rp200. Karena pembelinya tidak terlalu banyak, Ibu J hanya membuat rempeyek dua kali seminggu. Dari kegiatan ini ia mendapat penghasilan bersih sekitar Rp12.000 - Rp15.000 per minggu, atau rata-rata sekitar Rp2.000 per hari.*

*Ibu J merasa bahwa hidupnya cukup tertolong karena adanya bantuan dana tersebut. Kini pekerjaannya menjadi lebih ringan, ia cukup bekerja setengah hari dua atau tiga kali per minggu. Apalagi sekarang penghasilannya menjadi lipat dua, termasuk pada hari-hari ia tidak bekerja. ■ Bambang S*



The recipients of the Cash Transfer Program were mostly elderly widows or those families where the breadwinners were no longer able to work. Here are three of the eligible recipients from Desa Tegalrejo, Kecamatan Mayang, Kabupaten Jember.

*Kebanyakan penerima dana Program Dana Transfer Program adalah janda usia lanjut atau keluarga yang kepala keluarganya sudah tidak mampu bekerja. Ini adalah tiga orang dari warga yang berhak memperoleh dana di Desa Tegalrejo, Kecamatan Mayang, Kabupaten Jember.*

## Profile of a Cash Transfer Program Recipient

## Profil Penerima Program Dana Tunai



# “Sekar Kartini” Profile of a Selected Women’s Cooperative

## Profil Koperasi Wanita “Sekar Kartini” yang Terpilih



Originally established in 1979, the “Sekar Kartini” Women’s Cooperative was finally able to build its own office in 1998. The office also serves as the cooperative’s shop selling daily needs. “Sekar Kartini” is one of the cooperatives in Kabupaten Jember chosen to disburse the revolving fund program of the Reoriented Fuel Subsidy Program.

Koperasi Wanita “Sekar Kartini” yang didirikan pada tahun 1979 akhirnya mempunyai kantor sendiri pada tahun 1998. Kantor ini juga berfungsi sebagai toko koperasi yang menjual kebutuhan sehari-hari. “Sekar Kartini” adalah salah satu dari koperasi di Kabupaten Jember yang terpilih untuk menyalurkan dana bergulir Program Reorientasi Subsidi BBM.

The “Sekar Kartini” Women’s Cooperative is an example of a successful cooperative chosen to receive financial assistance through the fuel subsidy revolving fund program. The cooperative was established on 21 April 1979 by the members of a neighbourhood savings group, arisan (a grassroots organisation that collects money from its members and carries out regular community draws) who live in the Mastrip housing estate in the city of Jember. The group was concerned about the economic situation of a large number of local women who were heavily in debt. Although they started with only 10 members, by the end of 1979 the number had increased to 20.

In 1983, Sekar Kartini merged with the East Java Central Women’s Cooperative (Puskowanjati) in Surabaya, the leading women’s cooperative in East Java. From that point, the cooperative made considerable progress as a result of the leadership provided by Puskowanjati and the development of a more effective relationship between “Sekar Kartini” and the government’s Office for Cooperatives. In 1989, “Sekar Kartini” had become established as a legal body.

Between 1987 and 1989, “Sekar Kartini” became involved with one of the Puskowanjati’s programs for small business and traders (KPPK). However, the program was unsuccessful due to a lack of management skills and had to be terminated. In 1990, “Sekar Kartini” started a savings and loans venture and also opened a small shop selling household supplies. Both business ventures are still running successfully to the present day. The same year, after receiving training from Puskowanjati, the cooperative re-established the KPPK program.

At the present time, there are 538 “Sekar Kartini” members divided into 26 groups, and its office system has been computerized since 1996. The members consist of groups of small business operators or housewives. Since 1998, the cooperative has owned its own office and shop, the land and buildings collectively valued at around Rp40 million. “Sekar Kartini’s” current assets total about Rp400 million, including property and credit in revolving loans. The cooperative has also received grants of a further Rp5 million.

“Sekar Kartini” is one of the few cooperatives to apply a teamwork approach to its operations. The use of a system of joint financial responsibility, tanggung-renteng, has enabled the establishment of a strong organisation, where each member is able to be responsible for fellow members. The cooperative’s activities have been running smoothly and effectively and “Sekar Kartini” is now regarded as one of the most successful cooperatives in Kabupaten Jember. As a result, it has been chosen to receive financial assistance through the Fuel Subsidy revolving fund program.

Koperasi Wanita “Sekar Kartini” adalah contoh koperasi yang berhasil dipilih sebagai penerima bantuan dana bergulir subsidi BBM. Koperasi ini didirikan pada 21 April 1979 oleh kelompok arisan ibu-ibu lingkungan perumahan BTN Mastrip di Jember. Kelompok ini prihatin mengenai kondisi ekonomi sejumlah ibu-ibu yang terjerat hutang. Meskipun ketika mulai jumlah anggotanya hanya 10 orang, tetapi pada akhir tahun 1979 jumlah anggota sudah mencapai 20 orang.

Pada tahun 1983 “Sekar Kartini” bergabung dengan Puskowanjati (Pusat Koperasi Wanita Jawa Timur) Surabaya, koperasi induk wanita di Jawa Timur. Sejak itu dengan bimbingan Puskowanjati koperasi mengalami banyak kemajuan serta dapat menjalin hubungan lebih baik dengan Kantor Koperasi. “Sekar Kartini” sah menjadi badan hukum pada tahun 1989.

Selama periode 1987-1989 “Sekar Kartini” pernah melaksanakan program KPPK (Kelompok Pedagang dan Pengusaha Kecil) dari Puskowanjati. Program ini gagal karena kemampuan mengelola mereka masih rendah sehingga terpaksa dihentikan. Tahun berikutnya koperasi mulai merintis usaha simpan pinjam dan membuka toko yang menjual kebutuhan pokok sehari-hari. Kedua usaha tersebut berjalan lancar hingga sekarang. Pada tahun 1997 koperasi menghidupkan kembali program KPPK setelah mendapat pelatihan dari Puskowanjati.

Saat ini Kopwan “Sekar Kartini” yang kegiatan kantornya sudah dikomputerisasikan sejak tahun 1996 mempunyai anggota 538 orang, terbagi dalam 26 kelompok. Anggota koperasi adalah ibu-ibu pemilik usaha atau ibu rumah tangga. Sejak tahun 1998 koperasi telah mempunyai kantor dan toko sendiri, dengan nilai tanah dan bangunan sekitar Rp40 juta. Kini aset koperasi telah mencapai Rp400 juta, termasuk gedung dan pinjaman yang beredar. Baru-baru ini koperasi juga mendapat dana hibah Rp5 juta.

Kopwan “Sekar Kartini” adalah salah satu dari sedikit koperasi yang menggunakan pendekatan kelompok dalam kegiatannya. Pendekatan tanggung-jawab sistem tanggung-renteng nampaknya mampu menghidupkan koperasi yang kokoh, karena masing-masing anggota bertanggung jawab terhadap sesama anggota. Kegiatan koperasi berjalan baik dan lancar, sehingga koperasi ini dinilai sebagai salah satu koperasi di Kabupaten Jember yang sukses. Hasilnya, “Sekar Kartini” terpilih sebagai penerima bantuan dana bergulir subsidi BBM. ■ Bambang S & Sri Budiwati

Ibu Mh is one of the recipients of the cash transfer program in Kelurahan Palingkau Baru, Kabupaten Kapuas, and is an elderly widow who is living alone. All her four children are married and now living with their own families. Without a rice-field as a source of income, Ibu Mh sells vegetables and agricultural produce to make a living. Her income depends on the price and the available supply of the goods. She requires capital of Rp25,000 to Rp50,000 per day for her business activities, making a net profit of between Rp4,000 to Rp 5,000 per day, which is just enough to buy her daily food. The cash transfer of Rp30,000 from the program was used as additional capital. However, despite this increase in capital, there has been little change in her income since sometimes Ibu Mh is unable to trade when she is unwell. While she is a recipient of the cheap rice program (OPK), she has not received a Health Card to enable her to obtain free medical treatment from the Health Social Safety Net program.

*Salah seorang penerima program dana transfer di Kelurahan Palingkau Baru, Kabupaten Kapuas adalah Ibu Mh, seorang janda usia lanjut yang hidup sendiri karena ke empat anaknya sudah berkeluarga. Karena tidak mempunyai sawah untuk menopang hidupnya, Ibu Mh berdagang kecil-kecilan, berjualan sayur atau hasil pertanian lainnya, tergantung dari harga beli dan ketersediaan barang. Modal yang dibutuhkan antara Rp25.000 - Rp50.000 per hari, dengan keuntungannya sekitar Rp4.000 - Rp5.000 per hari, cukup untuk makan sehari-hari. Dana tunai Rp30.000 yang diterima digunakan untuk menambah modal berjualan, tetapi meskipun mendapat tambahan modal penghasilan Ibu Mh relatif tidak berubah. Kadang-kadang ia terpaksa tidak berjualan karena tidak merasa sehat. Memang, sekalipun memenuhi kriteria sebagai penerima program bantuan beras OPK, Ibu Mh tidak mendapat Kartu Sehat dari Program JPS Bidang Kesehatan yang memungkinkan ia mendapat pengobatan cuma-cuma. ■ Hastuti*

# Profiles of Cash Transfer Program Recipients

## Profil Penerima Program Dana Tu- nai

Ibu M has a son who is currently attending a Primary School in Kapuas. Originally, Ibu M came from Kupang, but after joining a transmigration program about 16 years ago, her family resettled in Desa Terusan Raya, Kabupaten Kapuas. After experiencing much better living conditions in Kapuas, she is not interested in returning to her home town. Usually, Ibu M and her husband work as laborers, locally known as *membatang*, for a logging company in the forest, returning to their village every three months. Meanwhile, their son is boarding with the family of the Village Council (LKMD) which is costing them Rp60,000 each month to cover food and lodging.

At present, her husband is away working, while she tends her 4 hectares of land that is planted with 150 coconut trees. When both of them are working, their take-home pay is about Rp1.5 million every three months. From *membatang*, they have been able to buy a piece of land and a house. It seems that economically Ibu M's family has been doing quite well, but in reality, their life is far from easy, qualifying them as recipients of the cash transfer program. Ibu M was provided with Rp30,000 at the Village Office, but the amount was reduced by a Rp3,000 "administration fee". To collect the money, she had to spend another Rp1,000 on transport. When she received the money, she was asked by the Village Secretary not to mention the "administration fee" to the other villagers. The difficult geographic location in Kapuas and the lack of any operational expenses compelled many program implementors to deduct an unofficial contribution from the beneficiaries. In addition to assistance from the cash transfer program, Ibu M has also been given cheap rice on six occasions, and had recently been able to buy 17 kg of rice for Rp24,000.

*Ibu M mempunyai seorang anak yang masih sekolah di Sekolah Dasar. Ia berasal dari Kupang dan ikut program transmigrasi 16 tahun yang lalu. Karena merasa kehidupan di Kapuas jauh lebih baik daripada di Kupang, Ibu M sudah tidak ingin kembali ke daerah asalnya. Biasanya Ibu M bekerja membatang atau menjadi buruh penebang kayu bersama suaminya. Mereka pulang ke desanya tiga bulan sekali, sementara anaknya dititipkan di keluarga Ketua LKMD dengan membayar Rp60.000 per bulan.*

*Saat ini hanya suaminya yang pergi membatang, Ibu M harus mengurus tanah pertaniannya - luasnya sekitar 4 ha - yang ditanami dengan 150 pohon kelapa. Bila keduanya bekerja, mereka bisa membawa pulang uang sekitar Rp1,5 juta setiap tiga bulan. Dari hasil membatang itu mereka mampu membeli tanah dan rumah. Sekalipun keadaan ekonomi Ibu M kedengarannya tidak terlalu sulit, namun pada kenyataannya hidupnya masih jauh dari cukup, karena itu ia memenuhi kriteria sebagai penerima program dana transfer. Dana transfer Rp30.000 itu harus diambil di Kantor Desa, dipotong biaya pengurusan Rp3.000. Untuk mengambil dana tersebut ia harus mengeluarkan Rp1.000 untuk biaya transport. Ketika menerima dana tersebut, Sekretaris Desa berpesan agar ia tidak memberitahukan kepada orang lain mengenai pemotongan dana. Kondisi geografis yang sulit tanpa alokasi dana program untuk biaya transport menyebabkan pelaksana di lapangan meminta kontribusi penerima dana secara tidak transparan. Selain mendapat dana transfer Ibu M juga sudah menerima beras OPK sekitar 6 kali. Beberapa hari yang lalu ia mendapat 17 kg beras seharga Rp24.000. ■ Hastuti*



Although this cooperative does not have access to revolving funds, it has been able to remain relatively active because it has received support from the Institute of Productive Economy for Self-Reliant Communities.

*Koperasi ini tidak bisa memperoleh bantuan dana bergulir karena sudah pernah mendapat bantuan sejenis dari program Lembaga Ekonomi Produktif Masyarakat Mandiri meskipun koperasi ini cukup aktif*



# Kerosene: Government Subsidies and Household Consumption

## Subsidi Pemerintah dan Konsumsi Minyak Tanah oleh Rumah Tangga di Indonesia

The retail price of kerosene has traditionally been heavily subsidized by the government. The size of this subsidy has grown over the years and is now putting increasing pressure on the government budget. Attempts to remove the subsidy have failed so far due to strong resistance from the community. The explanation usually provided in favor of maintaining the subsidy is that kerosene is consumed primarily by the poor and consequently, this group would be adversely affected by its removal.

Household consumption of kerosene is mostly in the form of stove fuel. In rural areas, kerosene is also widely used for lighting, particularly in those areas without electricity. The Consumption Module of the National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS) is conducted by the Statistics Indonesia (BPS) every three years, recording the quantity and the value of kerosene consumption in approximately 65,000 households throughout the country.

Table 1 presents the average per capita household consumption of kerosene in 1996 and 1999. It indicates that the per capita consumption of kerosene grew by 11%, from 3.1 litres per month in 1996 to 3.5 litres per month in 1999. Since the population also grew during the period, the total household consumption of kerosene grew even faster by 14%, from 7.4 billion litres in 1996 to 8.4 billion litres in 1999.

Table 1 also attempts to reconcile the estimates of total household consumption of kerosene with the data on total domestic sales. It is interesting to note that reported sales of kerosene are always significantly higher than total consumption. Thus, consumption was only 75 % of reported sales in 1996 and 80% in 1999, which amounts to more than 2 billion litres in each year. Since the reported sales of kerosene to industry is less than 1% of total domestic sales, this discrepancy is probably a result of the widely-reported illegal practice of mixing kerosene with more expensive fuels such as diesel oil, which is then resold to industrial and commercial users.

Household consumption of kerosene varies across socio-economic groups. Figure 1 exhibits both the per capita consumption of kerosene and the proportion of household expenditure on kerosene. These figures are presented as a percentage of total household expenditure across deciles based on per capita household expenditure<sup>1</sup>. It is apparent that the per capita consumption of kerosene increases steadily from the poorest decile until the 9<sup>th</sup> decile, and then declines slightly for the richest decile. While the poorest

Harga eceran minyak tanah sejak lama telah mendapat subsidi yang tinggi dari pemerintah. Jumlah subsidi tersebut terus meningkat, dan kini mulai terasa membebani anggaran belanja negara. Berbagai upaya untuk mengurangi subsidi tersebut gagal karena ditentang keras oleh masyarakat. Alasan yang selalu diulangi agar mempertahankan subsidi ini adalah karena konsumen terbesar minyak tanah adalah masyarakat miskin, dan akibatnya si miskin yang nantinya akan menderita jika subsidi untuk minyak tanah dicabut.

Umumnya minyak tanah dikonsumsi oleh rumah tangga sebagai bahan bakar untuk memasak. Di daerah pedesaan, minyak tanah juga digunakan untuk penerangan, terutama di desa-desa yang belum dialiri listrik. Modul Konsumsi dari Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional (SUSENAS) yang dilakukan oleh BPS setiap tiga tahun mencatat jumlah dan nilai konsumsi minyak tanah oleh sekitar 65 ribu rumah tangga di negara ini.

Tabel 1 menyajikan rata-rata konsumsi minyak tanah per kapita oleh rumah tangga pada tahun 1996 and 1999. Data tersebut menunjukkan bahwa konsumsi minyak tanah meningkat 11%, dari 3,1 liter per bulan pada tahun 1996 menjadi 3,5 liter per bulan pada tahun 1999. Karena jumlah penduduk selama periode tersebut juga bertambah, maka jumlah total konsumsi minyak tanah meningkat lebih cepat, yaitu sekitar 14%, dari 7,4 milyar liter pada tahun 1996 menjadi 8,5 milyar liter pada tahun 1999.

Tabel 1 juga mencoba menggabungkan perkiraan total konsumsi minyak tanah dengan data total penjualan domestik minyak tanah. Yang menarik dari penggabungan kedua data tersebut adalah bahwa jumlah penjualan yang tercatat selalu jauh lebih tinggi daripada total konsumsi. Jumlah konsumsi hanya sekitar 75% dari penjualan yang dilaporkan pada tahun 1996 dan 80% dari penjualan pada tahun 1999, atau terdapat perbedaan lebih dari 2 milyar liter per tahun. Karena jumlah penjualan minyak tanah kepada industri yang dilaporkan lebih kecil dari 1% dari total penjualan domestik, maka perbedaan ini mungkin disebabkan oleh praktek gelap "mengoplos" atau mencampur minyak tanah dengan bahan bakar minyak lainnya yang lebih mahal, misalnya solar. Bahan bakar oplosan ini kemudian dijual kembali kepada pengusaha industri dan pengusaha komersial sebagai solar.

Masing-masing kelompok sosio-ekonomi mempunyai pola konsumsi minyak tanah yang berbeda. Gambar 1 menunjukkan konsumsi minyak tanah per kapita dan proporsi pengeluaran rumah tangga untuk membeli minyak tanah pada tahun 1996 dan 1999 untuk setiap desil pengeluaran rumah tangga per kapita<sup>1</sup>. Tampak bahwa konsumsi minyak tanah per kapita meningkat dari desil terbawah hingga desil ke sembilan, kemudian sedikit menurun pada desil teratas. Sementara 10% dari masyarakat termiskin mengkonsumsi sedikit di atas satu liter minyak tanah per orang per bulan, rumah tangga yang lebih makmur mengkonsumsi empat hingga lima kali jumlah tersebut. Temuan ini berlawanan dengan pendapat umum bahwa minyak tanah kebanyakan dikonsumsi oleh kelompok masyarakat yang miskin.

tion consume slightly over one litre of kerosene per person per month, the richer households consume up to four or five times that amount. This is contrary to the widely-held notion that kerosene is consumed primarily by the poor.

Furthermore, Figure 1 indicates that there is little change in the proportion of total household expenditure on kerosene from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> decile, and only the top decile exhibits a significantly lower proportion of expenditure. This demonstrates that the importance of kerosene in household expenditure is relatively similar across poor and non-poor households, except for the richest 10% of the population.

These results suggest that only a small proportion of the government subsidy on the price of kerosene actually benefits poor households, who use much less kerosene than the non-poor. There is also no evidence that kerosene is a more important element in household expenditure for the poor rather than the non-poor. Furthermore, the discrepancy between sales and consumption suggests that a substantial proportion of the subsidy benefits **unintended and perhaps unscrupulous individuals**.

| Table 1/Tabel 1<br>Household Consumption and Domestic Sales of Kerosene, 1996 & 1999<br>Konsumsi Rumah Tangga dan Total Penjualan Domestik Minyak Tanah, Thn. 1996 & 1999 |       |       |            |
|---|-------|-------|------------|
|   | 1996  | 1999  | Growth (%) |
| Average per capita kerosene consumption (litre/month)<br>Rata-rata konsumsi per kapita (liter/bulan)  | 3.13  | 3.47  | 10.9       |
| Total population (million)<br>Total penduduk (juta)   | 196.0 | 201.6 | 2.9        |
| Total consumption of kerosene per month (million litre)<br>Total konsumsi per bulan (juta liter)  | 613.4 | 699.5 | 14.0       |
| Total consumption of kerosene per year (billion litre)<br>Total konsumsi per tahun (miliar liter)   | 7.36  | 8.39  | 14.0       |
| Reported sales (billion litre)<br>Penjualan yang dilaporkan (miliar liter)  | 9.78  | 10.48 | 7.1        |
| Ratio of consumption to sales (%)<br>Rasio konsumsi terhadap penjualan (%)  | 75.3  | 80.1  | -          |
| Discrepancy between sales and consumption (billion litre)<br>Perbedaan antara penjualan dan konsumsi (miliar liter)   | 2.42  | 2.08  | -14.0      |

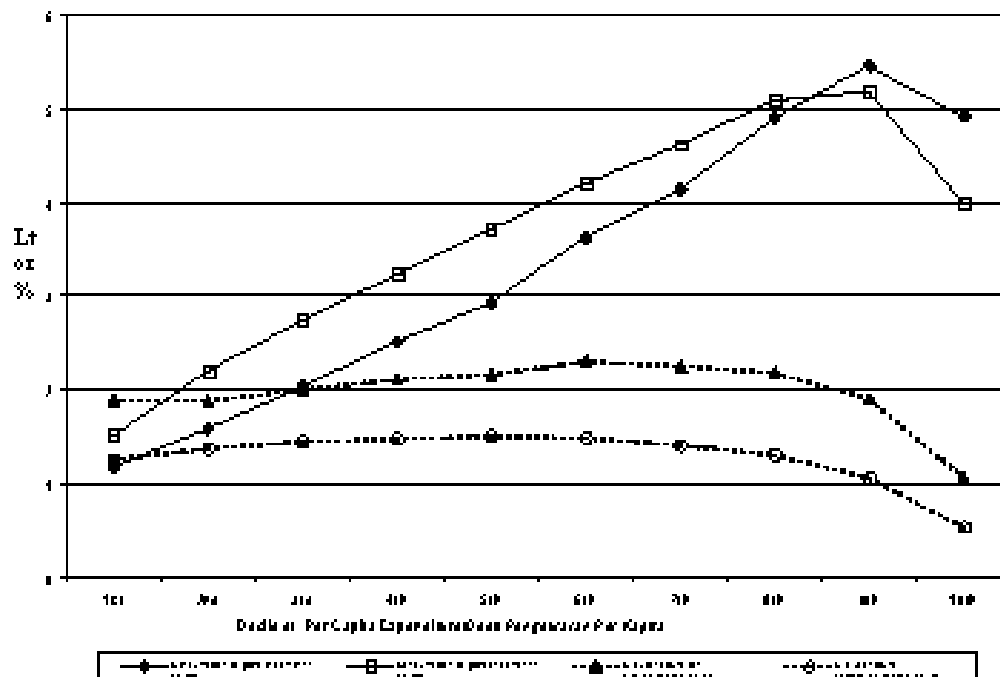
Lebih lanjut, Gambar 1 juga menunjukkan bahwa proporsi total pengeluaran rumah tangga untuk membeli minyak tanah dari desil pertama hingga desil ke sembilan relatif konstan, dan hanya desil teratas saja yang menunjukkan proporsi pengeluaran yang secara signifikan lebih rendah. Ini menunjukkan bahwa pengeluaran untuk minyak tanah dalam pos pengeluaran rumah tangga relatif sama pentingnya bagi rumah tangga miskin dan rumah tangga yang tidak miskin, kecuali untuk 10% penduduk yang paling kaya.

Hasil diatas menunjukkan bahwa proporsi subsidi harga minyak tanah dari pemerintah yang benar-benar dimanfaatkan oleh keluarga miskin yang menggunakan minyak tanah jauh lebih sedikit dari pada mereka yang tidak miskin – sebenarnya kecil. Juga tak terbukti bahwa minyak tanah adalah pos pengeluaran rumah tangga yang lebih penting bagi keluarga miskin daripada bagi keluarga tidak miskin. Lebih dari itu, adanya perbedaan antara data jumlah penjualan dan konsumsi menunjukkan bahwa sebagian dari subsidi harga minyak tanah hanya menguntungkan mereka yang tidak dimaksud sebagai penerima subsidi yang mungkin juga adalah orang-orang yang tidak bertanggungjawab. ■ Sudarno Sumarto & Asep Suryahadi, Analisis Kuantitatif terhadap Kemiskinan dan Kondisi Sosial

<sup>1</sup> To form these deciles, the households have been ranked from poorest to richest according to their expenditure per capita, and then the total number of households have been divided into 10 groups of equal number.

<sup>1</sup> Untuk memperoleh angka desil ini, data rumah tangga diurut mulai dari rumah tangga termiskin hingga terkaya menurut pengeluaran per kapita. Jumlah total rumah tangga ini kemudian dibagi menjadi 10 kelompok yang terdiri dari jumlah yang sama setiap kelompoknya. Dengan demikian, desil pertama adalah 10% dari rumah tangga termiskin, sementara desil ke 10 adalah 10% rumah tangga terkaya.

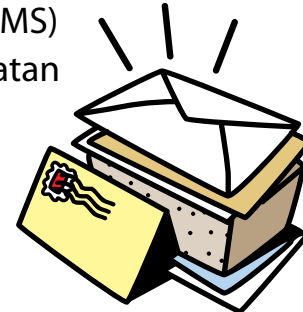
Figure 1. Household Consumption (litres per person per month) and Percentage of Expenditure on Kerosene, 1996 and 1999  
Gambar 1. Konsumsi rumah tangga (liter/orang/bulan) and persentase pengeluaran rumah tangga untuk kebutuhan minyak tanah, tahun 1996 dan 1999



Between January and April 2001, SMERU's NGO Liaison Officer visited a number of NGOs in Jakarta, including: LP2D, YAPPIKA, YASPPUK, LPPSE, Bina Sumberdaya Mitra (Bismi), Bangun Mitra Sejati (BMS) and Forum Indonesia untuk Transparansi Anggaran (Fitra). These visits gave SMERU opportunities to know better about other NGOs' activities. As well as this, SMERU also attended a presentation of the results of social safety net monitoring by the Central Kalimantan Social Safety Net Monitoring Consortium in Palangka Raya.

Selama bulan Januari hingga April 2001 SMERU NGO Liaison Officer sudah mengunjungi sejumlah NGO di Jakarta, antara lain: LP2D, YAPPIKA, YASPPUK, LPPSE, Bina Sumberdaya Mitra (Bismi), Bangun Mitra Sejati (BMS) and Forum Indonesia untuk Transparansi Anggaran. Kesempatan ini memberi peluang SMERU mengenal lebih dekat kegiatan teman-teman NGO. Selain itu SMERU juga menghadiri presentasi hasil Monitoring JPS oleh Konsorsium Pemantau JPS Kalteng di Palangka Raya.

■ Hariyanti Sadaly Samekto



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- ensuring that the program funding is not treated as a grant, but instead as a credit program with minimal interest that must be repaid to guarantee the sustainability of the program.

Who will benefit from the program? Apart from the owners of small businesses and micro enterprises (both trade and service), the cooperatives and many banks, the revolving funds have also been used by members of the general public, including government officials and retirees on fixed incomes. Some of the funds have not been used for business activities, but instead have been spent on personal consumption, for example, to purchase motorcycles, to pay for children's schooling, to renovate homes, and to offset the cost of lebaran.

Are these funds going to revolve? This question is remains be answered. Reliable repayments in the first month do not guarantee reliable repayments in the future, especially since the performance of several cooperatives and LKM is in doubt. Finally, the sustainability of the revolving funds program may be reduced, especially if the community becomes aware that this funding will eventually become a grant.

<sup>1</sup> Pedoman Teknis - Pengembangan Usaha Mikro dan Usaha Kecil melalui Perkuatan KSP/USP dan LKM dengan Pola Bantuan Dana Bergulir

<sup>2</sup> Lihat laporan-laporan SMERU mengenai kredit perdesaan di masa krisis di Kabupaten Kupang, Minahasa, Tanggamus, dan Cirebon, Nopember 2000.

<sup>1</sup> Technical Guidelines - The Development of Micro Enterprise and Small Business through Strengthening Savings and Loans Cooperatives and Savings and Loans Units (KSP/USP), the System for the Distribution of Revolving Funds.

<sup>2</sup> See the SMERU reports on rural credit programs during the crisis in Kabupaten Kupang, Minahasa, Tanggamus, and Cirebon, November 2000.