



Social Practices of PKH in Padang

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Abstract: From 2022 to 2024, Padang was the city with the highest number of PKH participants (KPM) in West Sumatra Province. The success of the PKH program is indicated by the number of KPM who achieve independent graduation. However, in 2024, Padang only managed to graduate 157 KPM, equivalent to 0.65% of 23,967 KPM. The purpose of this research is to analyze the social practices of KPM in Padang using Anthony Giddens' structuration theory. The data in this study were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and document studies. A total of 17 informants participated in this study, consisting of 11 key informants and 6 observer informants. The study found that the perceptions of KPM in Padang regarding PKH assistance included multiple perspectives: PKH as a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) assistance, as an opportunity, as assistance funds, as a regular assistance, and PKH as restricted funds. The KPM in Padang utilized PKH assistance by: (1) meeting their children's educational needs; (2) supporting pregnant mothers, toddlers, and the elderly; (3) covering daily necessities; and (4) saving. The barriers that prevent the KPM in Padang from achieving independent graduation include the lack of business opportunities, low economic conditions, aid dependency, mindset, uncontrollable behavior of KPM, and misdirected assistance. These findings highlight the structuration dynamics in the implementation of the PKH Program, where the independent graduation process cannot be understood merely as an individual decision or behavioral issue, but is shaped by the dynamic interaction between agents (KPM) and the surrounding structural conditions.

Keywords: Social Practices; Beneficiary Families; Program Keluarga Harapan; Independent; Graduation; Padang

A. INTRODUCTION

Poverty is defined as a lack of tangible well-being and resources. Individuals are considered poor if their income or consumption falls below a defined minimum adequacy threshold. Poor people often lack key capabilities, such as low income or education, poor health, or feeling powerless (Azevedo, 2013, p. 3).

To address poverty, the Indonesian Government has launched various policies and programs through the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K). Poverty alleviation efforts in Indonesia are divided into three main clusters:

integrated social assistance and protection programs focused on families; community empowerment programs to reduce poverty; and programs that support the empowerment of micro and small enterprises to improve economic welfare (Mahmud et al., 2020, p. 18).

In the context of poverty alleviation focused on families, the government launched a special program called the *Program Keluarga Harapan* or PKH. PKH is one of Indonesia's social protection programs in the form of social assistance (Husaini, 2022, p. 15828). Poor and vulnerable families who meet specific requirements and are listed in the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) are the targets of this program. The PKH program is a government initiative to accelerate poverty reduction and break the cycle of poverty from one generation to the next (Direktorat Jaminan Sosial Keluarga et al., 2021, p. 7). Launched in 2007 in seven provinces, including West Sumatra, it provides conditional cash assistance to Very Poor Households (RTSM), known as Beneficiary Families (KPM).

In the past three years, from 2022 to 2024, Padang has had the highest number of PKH participants among the regencies or cities in West Sumatra. In Padang, the PKH program has been implemented since 2014. The following table shows the number of PKH recipients in Padang by sub-district for the years 2022-2024:

Table 1. PKH Beneficiary Families in Padang 2022-2024

No.	Subdistrict	Years		
		2022	2023	2024
1	Bungus Teluk Kabung	1,333	1,754	1,812
2	Koto Tengah	3,732	4,034	4,077
3	Kuranji	2,981	3,277	3,388
4	Lubuk Begalung	2,128	3,475	3,672
5	Lubuk Kilangan	813	1,117	1,183
6	Nanggalo	1,037	1,435	1,548
7	Padang Barat	1,012	1,095	1,117
8	Padang Selatan	1,765	2,337	2,375
9	Padang Timur	1,528	1,905	2,049
10	Padang Utara	854	1,216	1,339
11	Pauh	1,427	1,305	1,407
	Padang	18,610	22,950	23,967

Source: Department of Social Welfare of Padang, 2025

From 2022 to 2024, the data indicate that the number of PKH Beneficiary Families (KPM) in Padang has increased, from 18,610 KPM in 2022 to 23,967 KPM in 2024. During this period, Koto Tengah has been the subdistrict with the highest number of PKH KPM in Padang. In 2024, the number of KPM in Koto Tengah reached 4,077, while Kuranji was in second position with a total of 3,388 KPM.

One of the indicators to measure the effectiveness of the PKH program is the increasing number of KPM (beneficiary families) who graduate (Darwin, 2020, p. 3). Graduation refers to the end of participation as a PKH beneficiary. In the PKH program, three (3) graduation models are recognized: natural graduation, forced graduation, and independent graduation (Harahap, 2023).

In 2024, there were 1,750 PKH beneficiaries who graduated independently in West Sumatra, of which the city of Padang contributed only 157 KPM, equivalent to 0.65% of 23,967 KPM (Primary Data, 2025). This figure is significantly below the target set by the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs, as Padang was expected to have 940 KPM graduating independently within one year. Thus, the PKH beneficiaries in Padang face obstacles that prevent them from achieving independent graduation.

Numerous studies have been conducted on the *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH); however, most have focused on its implementation and effectiveness. Darwin (2020) discussed the social practices of independently graduated KPM and Transition KPM, which demonstrate different values in utilizing the PKH program. Suryati, Rangga, Indriyani, Sayekti, and Syarief (2023) in their study identified the factors that drive and hinder PKH beneficiaries in Central Lampung Regency from achieving independent graduation. Komalasari and Nugroho's (2023) research aimed to describe the role of PKH social facilitators in realizing independent graduation by examining the relationship between their educational backgrounds and the level of involvement of local governments in supporting the implementation of this role. Sylvab (2024) sought to observe the implementation of the PKH program policy in Bandung City. The study conducted by Yasin and Aris (2023) analyzed PKH policy as an effort to alleviate poverty and found that the implementation of PKH in Banyumas Regency was in accordance with existing guidelines and had a positive impact on the community's condition. Meanwhile, the research by Fajri, Larasati, Alifkiah, and Herawati (2022) on the impact of PKH policy found that the implementation of PKH in Jati Negara Subdistrict was still mistargeted, as aid was distributed to residents ineligible to receive it.

Previous studies on the *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH) have generally focused on the implementation and effectiveness of the program. However, how KPM utilizes PKH assistance in their daily lives, as well as the forms of social practices that may hinder them from achieving independent graduation, have received relatively limited attention. Therefore, this study differs from previous research by specifically highlighting the social practices of KPM in utilizing PKH assistance and the barriers they encounter in their efforts to achieve independent graduation. Accordingly, this research seeks to analyze the social practices of PKH beneficiaries in Padang. The specific objectives are: (1) to describe the perceptions of KPM in Padang toward PKH assistance; (2) to describe how KPM in Padang utilizes PKH assistance; and (3) to analyze the barriers faced by KPM in achieving independent graduation.

This study contributes to the academic literature on social welfare, particularly in the field of social protection in Indonesia. The findings reveal that PKH beneficiary families in Padang perceive and utilize the PKH assistance, and face barriers in achieving independent graduation, as a result of the duality between the PKH program as a structure that is both constraining and enabling, and the KPM as agents possessing dimensions of knowledge, including discursive and practical consciousness.

B. METHOD

This study was conducted in Koto Tangah, a subdistrict of Padang, West Sumatra, selected for having the highest number of active PKH beneficiary families and independent graduates among the 11 subdistricts. Within this subdistrict, the

urban villages chosen for the study are Batipuh Panjang, which has the highest number of PKH independent graduates, and Pasir Nan Tigo, which has the lowest.

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive type to examine and understand the social practices of PKH beneficiary families in Padang. Descriptive qualitative research is a type of research aimed at describing the meaning of data or phenomena observed by the researcher, accompanied by the presentation of evidence supporting those observations (Abdussamad, 2021, p. 13).

Data for this study were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis (Sutra et al., 2021, p. 27). In selecting research informants, the researcher applies a purposive sampling technique, which is a deliberate sampling method based on certain considerations and criteria set by the researcher (Fraenkel et al., 2012; Sutopo & Shabrina, 2022). The informants in this study consisted of 17 individuals, comprising 11 participant informants and 6 observer informants, selected using the purposive sampling technique. The criteria for participant informants were: (1) active KPM from 2021 to the present; and (2) KPM who achieved independent graduation between 2022 and 2024. Meanwhile, the criteria for observer informants included: (1) PKH facilitators in Koto Tangah Subdistrict who assisted KPM that achieved independent graduation between 2022 and 2024; (2) PKH facilitators with a minimum of three (3) years of service; and (3) community leaders who understand the process of PKH assistance distribution.

The data in this study were analyzed using the NVivo 12 Pro software. NVivo is a leading software for data analysis that supports qualitative and mixed methods (QSR International, 2021). Using NVivo for data analysis enhances the accuracy of the findings, as it allows researchers to efficiently identify themes that might not be apparent through manual analysis (Limna, 2023). The data on the social practices of PKH program recipients in the City of Padang were transcribed and modified with the aim of examining their accuracy, completeness, and validity. The data were then classified into relevant categories based on research needs.

In conducting the analysis, the Miles and Huberman model was employed using NVivo software through three stages. First, coding data, where important information was distinguished by assigning interpretive codes to all field notes, followed by identifying relationships between the codes and organizing them into categories or themes. Second, data display, where the findings were presented in the form of categories or groupings. Third, conclusion drawing or verification, where the findings obtained from in-depth interviews, observations, and document studies were interpreted (Afrizal, 2016, pp. 178–181).

C. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)

The *Program Keluarga Harapan*, known as PKH, is one of Indonesia's social protection programs in the form of financial assistance. PKH assistance is provided to poor and vulnerable families registered in the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS). The program aims to provide access for beneficiary families, particularly pregnant women and young children, to utilize available health service facilities (FASKES) and educational services (FASDIK) near their place of residence. Currently, the scope of PKH also includes persons with disabilities and the elderly, with the goal of

maintaining their social well-being (Direktorat Jaminan Sosial Keluarga et al., 2021, p. 7).

Overall, the PKH program supports poor and vulnerable families through health, education, and social welfare components, targeting those registered in the DTKS data. The PKH program also includes several components that distinguish its beneficiaries, namely health, education, and social welfare components (Direktorat Jaminan Sosial Keluarga et al., 2021, p. 22). The PKH funds distributed vary depending on the components possessed by the beneficiary families (KPM), which can be seen in the following table:

Table 2. The Amount of PKH Funds by Beneficiary Category in 2025

No.	KPM Category	Amount of PKH Funds (per Year)
1	Pregnant/Postpartum Women	IDR 3,000,000
2	Early childhood (0-6 years old)	IDR 3,000,000
3	Elementary School (SD/MI) or equivalent	IDR 900,000
4	Junior High School (SMP/MTs) or equivalent	IDR 1,500,000
5	Senior High School (SMA/MA) or equivalent	IDR 2,000,000
6	Elderly individuals (aged 70 years old and above)	IDR 2,400,000
7	Persons with severe disabilities	IDR 2,400,000

Source: FAHUM, 2025

The table above presents the amount of funds received by PKH beneficiary families according to their respective categories or components. Pregnant women and toddlers receive the highest allocation, amounting to IDR 3,000,000 per year, whereas elementary school children (or equivalent) receive the lowest, at IDR 900,000 per year. PKH assistance is distributed in four stages throughout the year (FAHUM, 2025).

2. Structuration Theory

Structuration theory is a sociological framework that seeks to understand the duality relationship between agent and structure. According to Giddens, the relationship between agent and structure is a duality, not a dualism; the concept he refers to as the duality of structure. This duality occurs in repeated social practices that are organized across dimensions of space and time. These social practices, according to Giddens, should be the object of study in social sciences (Priyono, 2016, pp. 21-22).

Giddens describes structure as a means or medium through which social practices occur. Structure has the qualities of transcending space and time (timeless and spaceless) as well as being virtual, permitting its application across various conditions and situations. Besides having constraining properties, structure also has enabling properties and allows for social practices to occur. Therefore, Giddens views structure as both a resource and a medium (Priyono, 2016, pp. 22-23).

Three (3) major interrelated clusters of structure in social practices are proposed by Giddens. First, signification (structure of meaning), which includes symbolic schemas, meaning, naming, and discourse. This structure relates to how meaning is encoded and communicated through language and symbols. Second, domination (structure of power), referring to schemas of domination over people (political power) and domination over things (economic power). This structure involves control over resources and the exercise of power. Third, legitimation (structure of legitimation), which concerns normative rule schemas embedded in legal and moral orders. This structure governs the social norms and rules that justify and regulate behavior (Priyono, 2016, p. 24).

In structuration theory, Giddens emphasizes that structure is the result of the repetition of social practices, which enables social reproduction to occur. According to Giddens, this social reproduction occurs through the duality of structure and social practice. In his view, agents are knowledgeable and aware of their actions within the repetition of social practices. He argues that agents possess extensive knowledge (knowledgeable agent) and the ability to understand their own actions (Syahri, 2015, p. 11). However, being knowledgeable does not always mean being consciously aware. Therefore, Giddens identifies three (3) internal dimensions of agency, namely: (1) Unconscious motives, desires or needs that influence an agent's actions even though the agent may not be fully aware of their motivations; (2) Discursive consciousness, refers to the agent's ability to reflect on and provide detailed and explicit explanations of their actions; and (3) Practical consciousness, encompasses the kind of knowledge an agent possesses regarding the conduct of their everyday actions without continuously questioning what ought to be done (Priyono, 2016, pp. 28-29).

In the context of the social practices of PKH beneficiary families in Padang, the program is interpreted as the structure, while the PKH beneficiary families (KPM) serve as the agents. The PKH regulations function as a medium that both constrains and enables the actions of KPM in Padang. In other words, the PKH program limits the choices of actions available to KPM by setting certain rules or norms that must be followed. Nevertheless, it also provides them opportunities to act in various ways in utilizing the PKH assistance.

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The researcher used one of Nvivo's features, the project map, to illustrate relationships within the data. With the help of the project map, the results of in-depth interviews and observations were displayed in the form of nodes (themes) based on groups of related themes from the data. The results of these thematic groupings subsequently constituted the findings of this research, as presented in the following figure:

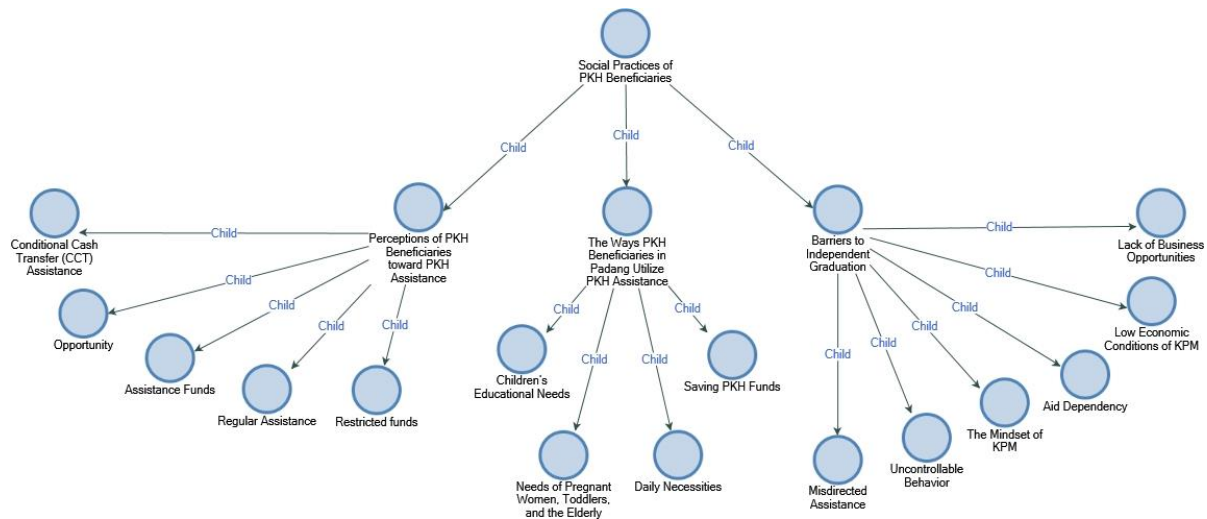


Figure 1. Project Map of Interview and Observation Results

Source: Processed by the Researcher using Nvivo 12 Pro, 2025

Figure 1 above shows the project map derived from the interviews and observations conducted by the researcher. It is evident that the social practices of PKH beneficiaries include the perceptions of PKH Beneficiaries in Padang toward PKH Assistance, the ways they utilize PKH assistance, and the barriers faced in achieving independent graduation.

1. Perceptions of PKH Beneficiaries in Padang toward PKH Assistance

The PKH beneficiaries in Padang are not merely passive recipients of the assistance; they interpret the aid in various ways. These interpretations determine how PKH assistance is utilized by KPM throughout the period of its receipt. Some perceive the PKH assistance as a means to improve their quality of life, whereas others consider it as a tool to meet their family's basic needs.

a. PKH as a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) Assistance

According to the PKH beneficiaries in Padang, PKH is a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) assistance program intended for underprivileged families. The principal requirements to receive PKH assistance are being categorized as poor and being registered in the DTKS database. The PKH conditions require all beneficiaries to attend the P2K2 group meetings held once a month, ensure that their children have a minimum school attendance rate of 85%, and require pregnant women and toddlers to undergo health check-ups at designated facilities or services. These conditions must be fulfilled by the beneficiaries in order to continue receiving PKH assistance.

Based on Giddens' perspective, PKH as a structure in this context functions as an enabling character for the agents (KPM), namely families who are in economically disadvantaged conditions, allowing them to receive regular cash assistance. However, on the other hand, PKH also constrains the actions of KPM because it requires them to consistently fulfill the program's conditions in order to remain eligible to receive the assistance.

b. PKH as an Opportunity to Improve Family Welfare

Most PKH beneficiaries in Padang perceive the PKH assistance as an opportunity to enhance their family's welfare. For these beneficiaries, PKH serves as a resource for receiving their well-being goals. The assistance is considered as highly

beneficial in covering the educational expenses of their children, as well as the needs of pregnant women, toddlers, and the elderly. KPM engaged in small businesses are able to focus on developing their enterprises to fulfill their families' basic needs, as their children's educational costs are already covered by PKH. With PKH support, KPM's economic conditions appear more prosperous compared to their previous circumstances. In this context, the PKH program enables KPM, namely poor families, to achieve better economic conditions. The cash assistance from PKH, which is received once every three (3) months, provides KPM with opportunities to enhance family welfare.

c. PKH as Assistance Funds

The PKH assistance has not been able to fully address the needs of beneficiary families; rather, it serves primarily as assistance funds to cover educational expenses and children's nutritional needs. The assistance is unable to fulfill all family needs because the program provides aid only according to its designated components. Essentially, the education component of PKH is intended to help poor families in ensuring that their children can continue formal education and become intelligent and high-quality individuals. Consequently, KPM continue to rely on their primary income to meet their families' basic needs.

According to Anthony Giddens in structuration theory, structure is not only constraining but also enabling. The meaning constructed by KPM that PKH assistance functions as a form of supportive aid reflects the PKH program's role as an enabling structure for KPM, particularly in supporting their children to continue formal education, meet nutritional needs, and so forth.

d. PKH as a Regular Assistance

Although the PKH program aims to improve family welfare, some KPM perceive PKH as a regular support to meet their family's needs, which diminishes their perceived necessity to undertake further efforts. Certain KPM have become overly comfortable with receiving regular assistance, resulting in a lack of motivation to work and hindering them from graduating from the PKH program.

The habit and comfort of KPM in routinely receiving PKH assistance without making efforts to obtain additional income reflect what is called practical consciousness according to Giddens. The perception that PKH assistance is a permanent form of support (signification) is maintained by some KPM. Consequently, KPM continue to reproduce actions that they consider appropriate without questioning what should actually be done.

e. PKH as Restricted funds

Many KPM in Padang recognize that the PKH assistance funds are allocated for specific purposes and limits on their use. Although the government cannot fully control how the funds are expended, KPM understand that the PKH funds are intended to address their family needs according to the components they receive. For instance, the education component of PKH is indeed aimed to cover children's educational needs.

KPM interpret the PKH funds as restricted funds, which in turn influences how they use them. In other words, the structure of signification constructed by KPM directs them to act and make decisions regarding the use of PKH funds, most of which are allocated to children's educational needs. Similar actions then become routines and habitual practices in the everyday lives of KPM, which tend to be carried out through practical consciousness. KPM allocate PKH funds primarily for their children's educational needs not always through consciously rational consideration each time, but rather as routines and habits that have been formed in their daily lives, as explained in the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens.

2. The Ways PKH Beneficiaries in Padang Utilize PKH Assistance

The PKH program, as a structure, can take the form of rules, resources, and norms that regulate how the assistance is provided and used. PKH restricts beneficiary families (KPM) in their use of the funds to ensure alignment with its objectives, while also providing allocative resources in the form of cash that may be utilized by KPM. With each disbursement of PKH assistance, KPM have established a plan or scheme for the utilization of the funds, making it a regular part of their daily lives.

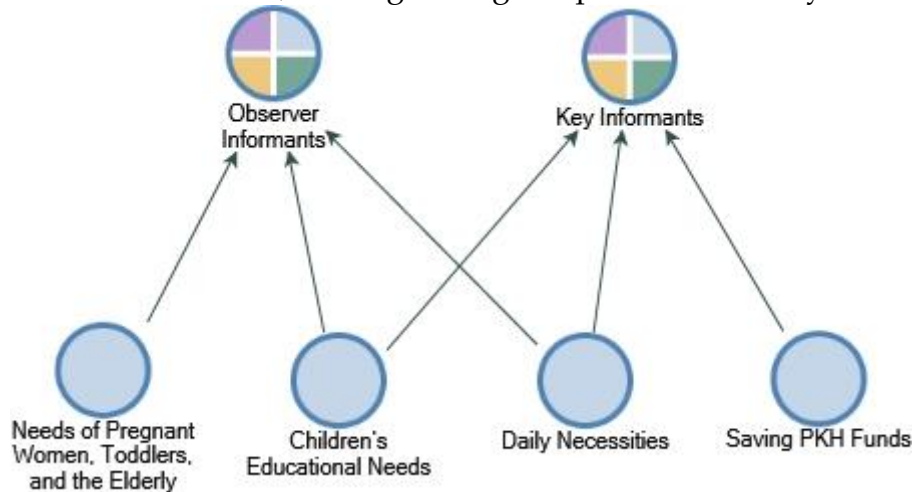


Figure 2. The Ways PKH Beneficiaries in Padang Utilize PKH Assistance

Source: Processed by the Researcher using Nvivo 12 Pro, 2025

Figure 2 above illustrates the various ways in which PKH beneficiary families in Padang utilize the cash assistance from the PKH program. Analysis of the project map indicates that both the key informants and observer informants stated that KPMs in Padang use the PKH funds to cover children's educational needs and daily household needs. Key informants added that KPM also use the PKH funds for savings, while the observer informants noted that the funds are also used to meet the needs of pregnant women, toddlers, and the elderly.

a. Utilizing PKH Assistance for Children's Educational Needs

Most PKH beneficiary families allocate the funds to support their children's educational needs, especially for families who receive the education component of the program. The fund is used to purchase uniforms, books, bags, shoes, and other related educational items. In other words, KPM under the education component prioritize using PKH assistance to support their children's schooling.

The use of cash assistance to meet children's educational needs reflects the beneficiary families (KPM) internalization of the norms and regulations of the PKH program. The KPM are consciously able to reflect upon and articulate the reasons and objectives behind their utilization of PKH cash assistance in accordance with its designated purposes. Based on Giddens' perspective, this form of awareness constitutes discursive consciousness, which refers to an agent's capacity to clearly articulate the reasons underlying the actions they undertake.

b. Utilizing PKH Assistance for the Needs of Pregnant Women, Toddlers, and the Elderly

Pregnant women, toddlers, and the elderly who meet the government's eligibility criteria are among the target groups of the PKH program. For pregnant women, the PKH fund assistance is intended to support maternal health and prevent stunting among unborn babies. The funds are typically used for regular prenatal checkups, nutrition, and childbirth preparation. Assistance for toddlers is directed toward fulfilling their basic needs, including health and nutrition, to prevent stunting and promote proper growth and development. Meanwhile, assistance provided to the elderly seeks to help satisfy their basic needs and improve access to healthcare services.

The KPM recognize that prioritizing the use of PKH funds for fulfilling children's nutritional needs is essential, particularly for their growth and development processes. Such knowledge and understanding, from Giddens' perspective, fall under the category of discursive consciousness.

c. Utilizing PKH Assistance for Daily Necessities

Some beneficiary families do not fully use the PKH fund assistance as intended. For instance, the educational component, which is intended to support children's schooling, is occasionally used for daily household needs, such as buying rice. Such practices can be considered as a deviation from the program's primary objectives. However, difficult economic conditions often drive KPM to use the PKH funds for urgent household necessities or to cover other financial shortfalls.

From Giddens' perspective, such actions by KPM fall within the category of discursive consciousness, even though these practices are regarded as deviations from the prescribed use of assistance under the PKH program. The KPM are aware of the intended objectives of using PKH cash assistance; however, they are also consciously and rationally able to articulate the reasons for reallocating the funds to meet unmet household needs.

d. Saving PKH Funds

Another way in which PKH beneficiaries in Padang utilize the assistance is by saving. KPM save part of their PKH funds to prepare for urgent financial needs. These needs may include education expenses for their children or unmet household necessities.

The practice of saving reflects a behavior of resource management and control, namely PKH cash assistance, carried out rationally and manifested in the social practices of the KPM. The KPM's action of saving PKH funds falls under the category of discursive consciousness, as they are able to consciously articulate the reasons and objectives behind their fund management strategy.

3. Barriers of KPM Padang in Achieving Independent Graduation

Barriers are defined as obstacles or hindrances faced by individuals in their daily lives that prevent them from achieving certain goals. The barriers to independent graduation for PKH beneficiary families (KPM) refer to factors that hinders or obstructs KPM from independently exiting the PKH program. The following are several factors that serve as barriers for KPM in Padang to achieve independent graduation from the PKH program:

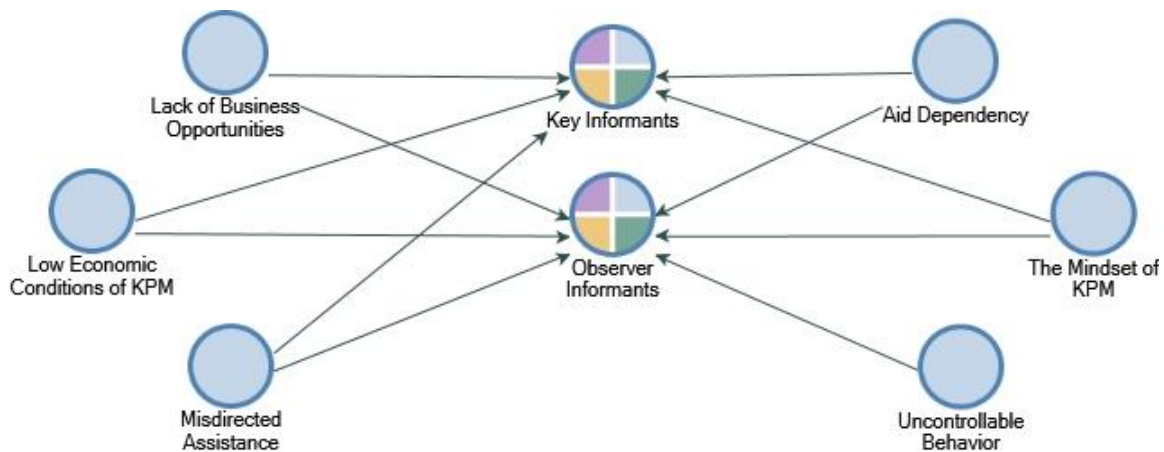


Figure 3. Barriers of KPM Padang in Achieving Independent Graduation

Source: Processed by the Researcher using Noivo 12 Pro, 2025

Based on Figure 3 above, five (5) main factors were identified by both observers and key informants as barriers to achieving independent graduation. Additionally, observer informants noted that the uncontrollable behavior of KPM also constitutes a significant hindrance to achieving independent graduation.

a. Lack of Business Opportunities

The foremost obstacle preventing KPM from exiting the PKH program is the lack of business opportunities. KPM engaged in business activities tend to have greater opportunities to achieve independent graduation compared to those who only act as housewives without additional sources of income. The PENA program benefits KPM who already have businesses, as it offers business capital assistance that can be used to support and expand their economic activities. However, efforts by KPM to maintain and develop their businesses often end in failure because they face various forms of structural constraints in the economic sector. These constraints include the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, rising rental costs for business premises, and the increasing number of competitors operating similar types of businesses.

The economic structure constrains KPM from achieving adequate financial conditions. KPM experience limitations in allocative resources, as well as authoritative resources, namely the capacity to organize and influence the socio-economic conditions within their environment. Consequently, KPM lack a sufficiently strong economic foundation to move toward independent graduation from the PKH program.

b. Low Economic Conditions of KPM

Most KPM in Padang rely on small sales or informal trading to meet household needs, with profit levels that tend to fluctuate depending on market conditions and the purchasing power of the community. In addition, some KPM lack supplementary income sources, and several live in households where the husband is unemployed. These conditions result in persistently low living standards for KPM due to unstable earnings. As a result, KPM's dependence on PKH assistance intensifies. Thus, awareness among KPM of pursuing independent graduation does not develop, as their economic circumstances do not yet support the attainment of such self-reliance. This situation reflects how the economic structure functions as a constraining factor for KPM in achieving economic independence.

c. Aid Dependency

For some KPM, PKH assistance is perceived as a stable and predictable source of income. This perception fosters dependency, as the assistance becomes integrated into household economic strategies and is no longer viewed as a temporary resource. Such dependency is not only caused by the low living standards of KPM but also by the sense of comfort and security that arises from receiving regular cash transfers. Consequently, KPM failed to develop awareness or motivation for independent graduation from the PKH program. Moreover, the phenomenon of dependency on assistance also affects the dynamics of labor within KPM households. In several cases, husbands become less motivated to work because the presence of social assistance, including PKH, is perceived as sufficient to meet the family's basic needs.

Within Giddens' structuration theory framework, these perceptions and actions of KPM reflect practical consciousness, namely the implicit knowledge that actors use in carrying out their daily lives without deep reflection. Through this practical consciousness, KPM indirectly reproduce interpretative schemes, which are structures of meaning (signification) that position the continuation of their beneficiary status in the PKH program as a strategy considered effective for maintaining household economic stability. Consequently, the choice not to pursue independent graduation is understood as a rational decision.

d. The Mindset of KPM

Mindset is both a key factor for success and a barrier to achieving independent graduation from the PKH program. KPM with a positive mindset and self-aware mindset tend to develop the initiative to pursue independent graduation. In contrast, KPM whose mindset tends to rely on assistance show a desire to continue receiving PKH assistance, even when their socio-economic conditions no longer qualify them as eligible recipients.

The manifestation of a negative mindset is evident in KPM's actions, particularly in the lack of motivation to improve their economic independence or to make the decision to voluntarily exit the PKH program. Giddens describes such KPM awareness as practical consciousness, a form of implicit knowledge embedded in the routines of their daily lives, serving as the basis for their actions without requiring reflective deliberation.

e. Uncontrollable Behavior

Over time, PKH policies have undergone several changes, particularly in implementation mechanisms. These adjustments have affected the authority of PKH social facilitators. Since 2020, facilitators no longer have the power to suspend aid as a sanction for non-compliant KPM. They are limited to issuing warnings. Although facilitators can monitor KPM commitment through the SIKS-NG system, they are unable to take direct action. Consequently, regardless of whether KPM attend group meetings (P2K2) or not, they continue to receive PKH assistance.

Furthermore, facilitators cannot fully control how KPM use the PKH funds. Not all funds are allocated as intended, some is misused. Some beneficiaries divert them to daily household necessities such as rice rather than applying them to the specific program components.

The uncontrollable behavior of PKH beneficiary families (KPM) indicates a weakness in the PKH policy, particularly because the program structure still enables KPM to continue receiving assistance despite incomplete compliance with requirements. At the same time, KPM's tendency to misuse the assistance contrary to program objectives and to disregard applicable rules manifests as practical consciousness in Giddens' perspective. KPM possess empirical experiences suggesting that violations of program regulations do not necessarily result in aid termination, as long as they still have PKH components that meet the eligibility criteria. These experiences are subsequently reproduced in everyday social practices, forming habitual patterns that are no longer questioned. Consequently, KPM do not develop the awareness to pursue independent graduation, because the program structure and past experiences shape an understanding that remaining in the PKH program is the safest option for maintaining economic conditions.

f. Misdirected Assistance

PKH policies allow the public to propose themselves as program participants through the Cek Bansos application. This platform enables individuals to register for inclusion in the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS). However, some people exploit this feature as a gateway to receive social assistance. Applicants may falsify or manipulate information, such as their income, assets, or housing conditions within the Cek Bansos system, allowing them to qualify as PKH beneficiaries despite being ineligible under the actual eligibility criteria.

The issue of misdirected assistance hinders opportunities for families who are truly in need and contributes to the low number of KPM achieving independent graduation each year. Economically capable KPM do not require PKH assistance to improve their economic independence; instead, they simply continue receiving the aid. Consequently, they lack the motivation or desire to exit the PKH program.

Thus, the PKH program indirectly enables individuals who are economically capable to continue receiving assistance through gaps in verification mechanisms. KPM in this category demonstrate the dimension of knowledge termed practical consciousness by Giddens, characterized by patterns of action performed routinely without explicit formulation. Based on past experiences showing that manipulating information could allow them to qualify as beneficiaries, these KPM reproduce similar practices to maintain access to PKH assistance.

Discussion

In this study, structure refers to the PKH program, including all the rules involved in its implementation, while the agents are the PKH beneficiary families, known as KPM. As a structure, the PKH program both constrains and enables KPM to take action in utilizing the assistance. KPM, as agents, are not merely passive recipients of PKH assistance; they interpret and make use of the assistance in various ways. As stated by Giddens (in Syahri, 2015), agents are individuals who are knowledgeable and capable of understanding their own actions.

From Giddens' perspective, human activity is not a one-time product of social actors. Similarly, the actions of KPM are not fixed outcomes but are continuously reproduced through their ways of interpreting and utilizing PKH assistance. Through these ongoing processes, KPM position themselves as active agents, as participants within the PKH program.

Structuration theory seeks to explain the duality relationship, that is the reciprocal influence between structure and agency. Within social practice, structure and agency are inseparable. According to Giddens, structure takes two forms: rules and resources, which function both as constraining and as enabling. The ways in which KPM Padang perceive the PKH assistance, utilize it, and experience barriers to achieving independent graduation are the results of structural reproduction, which occurs through the duality of structure and the social practices of KPM (Priyono, 2016, p. 27).

As agents, KPM rationalize their actions by providing reasons or justifications for their behavior. This indicates that agents possess knowledge about their actions and the surrounding social context, although this does not necessarily imply full conscious awareness. In other words, agents cannot always act with full consciousness or with the ability to explicitly explain their actions. Therefore, Giddens distinguishes three (3) internal dimensions of agency: discursive consciousness, practical consciousness, and unconscious motives (Priyono, 2016, pp. 27–28).

Based on the research findings, the internal dimensions possessed by PKH beneficiary families (KPM) in Padang as agents include discursive consciousness and practical consciousness. Discursive consciousness refers to an agent's ability to articulate or express their actions verbally, while practical consciousness encompasses actions that the agent perceives as appropriate or correct without necessarily being able to explain them in words (Ritzer & Goodman, 2010, p. 509). The discursive consciousness of KPM in Padang is reflected in their ability to explain the use of PKH assistance in accordance with the program's intended purposes and established guidelines. Practical consciousness, on the other hand, is reflected in their long-standing habits and learned behaviors, ways of acting that KPM apply to ensure continued receipt of PKH assistance and to sustain their daily lives. However, this study found no evidence of unconscious motives among KPM in Padang.

According to Giddens, every human action carries unintended consequences, which may become uncontrollable outcomes (Syahri, 2015, p. 14). In this context, the unintended consequence is the failure to achieve independent graduation, which manifests in various forms of barriers. Although the PKH program is designed to empower KPM and improve their living standards, it simultaneously generates a form of dependency on the assistance itself, thereby hindering their ability to graduate from the program independently.

E. CONCLUSION

This study analyzes the social practices of PKH program beneficiaries (KPM) in Padang. The findings show that, first, the perceptions of PKH beneficiaries in Padang toward PKH assistance include: as a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) assistance, as an opportunity to improve family welfare, as assistance funds, as a regular assistance, and PKH as restricted funds. Second, KPM in Padang utilizes PKH assistance in several ways: utilizing PKH assistance for children's educational needs, as assistance for the needs of pregnant women, toddlers, and the elderly, for daily necessities and saving PKH funds. Third, several barriers prevent KPM Padang from achieving independent graduation from the PKH program, including: absence of business opportunities, low economic conditions, aid dependency, mindset, uncontrollable behavior and misdirected assistance.

The independent graduation process cannot be understood merely as an individual decision or behavioral issue, but is shaped by the dynamic interaction between KPM and the surrounding structural conditions. How KPM Padang perceive and utilize PKH assistance, as well as the barriers they face in achieving independent graduation, are the result of a duality process between the PKH program as a structure, which both constraining and enabling, and KPM as agents, who possess knowledge dimensions encompassing discursive consciousness and practical consciousness.

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