http://journal.umy.ac.id/index.php/jsp

DOI: xx.xxx.xxxx

**Too many Stages, Too Little Time: Bureaucratization and Potential Impasse in the Social Safety Net Program in Indonesia**

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A R T I C L E I N F O A B S T R A C T

Article history: received revised accepted

Keywords: Covid-19, social safety net, social aid, poor family, woman as head of the family

Since its first announcement in March 2020, the number of positive confirmed patients as well as patients under surveillance has increased exponentially. Recognizing the impact of Covid-19 on the poor, the government reallocated expenditure budget by increasing the amount of aid to the community. This paper focuses on social safety net policies, mainly in two programs: the Hope Family Program and the *Sembako* Program. Both of these aids are actually not any new programs, as they have been around since 2017, but the Covid-19 pandemic is adding to the economic burden of the household so that both of these aids are then increased in amount. Specifically, this paper focuses on two things. *First*, how the social safety net policy must be implemented according to the rules. *Second*, mapping the potential impasse that arises from the complexity of the policy itself. It is undeniable that the problem of bureaucratization always comes up more in every policy, with no exception for this social aid policy. By mapping out potential obstacles, this paper can provide a number of key solutions for resolving obstacles in the field.

**Introduction**

On March 2, 2020, at the National Palace, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, together with the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, Terawan Agus Putranto, announced the first Covid-19 case in Indonesia. Since then, up to April 30, there have been more than 10,118 confirmed cases, with 792 deceased, and 1,522 recovered, and these data are only the confirmed data of people suffering from Covid-19 (Idham 2020). Outside of this data, the missing data numbers are suspected to still be very large. Since its inception, the number of people with Covid-19 has increased exponentially, and they are spread in almost all provinces in Indonesia, with Jakarta as the epicenter. With so many regions confirming positive patients with Covid-19, the government has had to take several important policies to stop the spread of Covid-19, especially in the society.

The government's policy to stop the spread of Covid-19 was not only carried out by the central government, but also the provincial government. Among the various policies taken, one of the most impactful is Large-Scale Social Restrictions, promoted by Minister of Health (2020). This policy, simply speaking, instructs everyone to stay at home, limit all social activities, dismiss schools, close all entertainment venues, limit public transportation, and ask offices to close their activities – with exception to very important things like hospitals, government agencies, food supply stores, logistics, fuel and banking.

With a large-scale social restriction policy in place, which is a continuation of various policies to ask everyone to work from home and learn from home, the impact is immediately felt in the community, especially for the poor whose income is highly dependent on daily wages (Djalante et.al 2020). Preventing greater turmoil in the community, then on March 20, the President of the Republic of Indonesia issued a Presidential Instruction 4/2020 on refocusing activities and reallocation of budgets that focused on the government's efforts to change the portion of the budget, which was initially more towards infrastructure and human resource development, into a budget for disaster management. These budgets will be reallocated to the Covid-19 prevention budget and the provision of social safety nets in the form of social aid, both cash and non-cash.

There are three interesting focuses of this presidential instruction: loosening of interest payments and installments for one year for lower class people who take vehicle loans and stimulus of giving subsidies on interest difference for those taking subsidized home ownership loans. This stimulus policy was taken because the impact of Covid-19 which significantly slowed down the economy, in addition to the government's efforts to maintain people's purchasing power. In addition to providing housing credit stimulus, the government also provides a social safety net in the form of direct cash aid and non-cash aid to encourage household consumption (Sugianto 2020). The government provides additional aid with the amount of fifty thousand rupiahs, so that each family who receives a *Kartu Sembako* (Basic Needs Card) will receive two hundred thousand rupiahs per month for six months. In addition, the government has allocated more than ten trillion rupiahs, through the *Kartu Pra-Kerja* (Pre-Employment Card) scheme, where each card holder will get an incentive of one million rupiah per month for three months.

One of the most major policies is the Hope Family Program (*Program Keluarga Harapan*/PKH) and the *Sembako* Program (see Suharto2015, Suleman & Resnawati 2017). The two programs are actually different, but are interrelated with one another. Both of these programs are implemented by the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs as part of the social safety net program intended for poor households in Indonesia. For the Hope Family Program, as of April 15, the government has distributed a budget of 16.4 trillion rupiah, out of a total ceiling of 37.4 trillion rupiah. The distribution of the budget has calculated the additional target families of as many as eight hundred thousand households. As for *Sembako* Program, the amount distributed will reach 14 trillion rupiah, covering the distribution period of May 2020. The budget has also included the addition of targeted families of beneficiaries in the midst of the Covid-19 emergency period (Astuti 2020).

As states in the Regulation of Ministry of Social Affair 10/2017, the Hope Family Program is a conditional social aid program aimed for poor families determined as Beneficiary Families (*Keluarga Penerima Manfaat*/KPM or just simply stated as Family). The Central Statistics Agency stated that the number of poor people in Indonesia in September 2019 numbered to 24.79 million, with the number in urban areas reaching 9.86 million and in rural areas amounting to 14.93 million. The main target of this program is pregnant women and children from poor families. Hope Family Program benefits are also intended for people with disabilities and senior citizens. It provides health care facilities and educational service facilities in the surrounding of the recipient (. The facilities include basic social services in health and education, food and nutrition, care, and aid, including access to various other social protection programs which are complementary ones in a sustainable manner. In order to receive benefits from the program, the recipient must meet several existing criteria. Criteria for Hope Family Program beneficiaries are intended for the poor and vulnerable families registered in the Integrated Data of Poor People Category Handling Program (Victoria 2020, Putri & Noer 2020).

In addition to Hope Family Program, the state also provides non-cash food aid known as the *Sembako* Program. The program began in 2016, and is effectively running since 2017 by providing Non-Cash Food Aid (*Bantuan Pangan Non-Tunai/*BPNT) to Family, since the beginning of 2020, this program has been developed as a Basic Needs Program (*Sembako* Program). In addition, the Sembako Program expands the types of commodities that can be purchased so that they are not only rice and eggs as in the previous Non-Cash Food Aid program. This is an effort of the Government to provide Family an access to staples with other nutritional content. This condition was later changed based on the latest instructions (Presidential Instruction 6/2020), that the initial aid fund of one hundred fifty thousand per month was raised to two hundred thousand rupiah, including the reallocation of School Operational Aid (*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah*/BOS) and Village Funds (*Dana Desa*) for handling Covid-19 in the community.

Although it has been done since 2017, moreover with the large amount of aid funds provided, no significant problems should occur in channeling aid to poor families in Indonesia, but the factual condition shows it is not the case. As will be explained further, the social safety net policy, on paper, is very good and beneficial for the poor. But factually, to obtain this aid, it requires one to go through a bureaucracy and very long and tiring stages, so that often the aid is not on target.

This paper focuses on the social safety net policy for poor families, mainly on two programs: the Hope Family Program and the *Sembako* Program. This paper puts the emphasis on two aspects: *First*, how the actual social safety net policy must be implemented, at least in the aspect of policy. *Second*, by describing the related policies, the next step is to map the potential obstacles and problems, especially in the earliest stages of policy implementation: in the data collection process and the availability of *E-Warung* facilities. By looking at these two aspects, this paper will open the perspectives and further research opportunities, that in the efforts to deal with Covid-19, the Indonesian government is still confused and trapped in an impasse over the bureaucratic process which actually makes the problem of poverty to never be resolved.

**Social safety net, revisited**

Research on social safety nets can be divided into three categories: how programs are implemented, the role of facilitators, and criticism of programs. The first category, focus on the model of policy implementation and praise that the program is running very well and actually reduces poverty in the community. Nazara & Rahayu (2013), Suharto (2015), Nainggolan & Susantyo (2018), and Sasmito & Nawangsari (2019) for example, their studies support the role of the Hope Family Program as a social protection program, which is very successful in overcoming poverty in Indonesia. With a focus on Income Support Scheme (ISS) through Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT), this program contributes to poverty alleviation, especially in improving access to education and health. This research tends to ignore that not all recipients are poor groups who really need help, because they are more focused on how policies are implemented, how the mechanism for transferring funds, and how the recipients respond to the assistance provided. Another studies by Suryana, Sugiana & Trulline (2016), Marnah, Husaini, & Ilmi (2016), Putri & Noer (2020), and Razali & Putri (2020) examine how program recipients respond in education and health services. In this case, they tend to see two different sides: on the one hand, how beneficiaries use the full potential of the program, and on the other hand how recipients are actually reluctant to use the assistance they receive. This happens for two reasons: *First*, the recipient's ignorance of all the potential assistance they have, so they do not use the services and facilities provided. *Second*, refusal to use assistance can arise from organizers who carry out discriminatory actions, for example refusing to serve until deliberately slowing down services, so recipients of assistance are reluctant to use the services available.

The second category is research that focuses on field assistance teams. Research by Aminuddin & Sari (2016), Aminuddin & Syirah (2016), and Rahmawati & Kisworo (2017) for example, explains that the program facilitator team must carry out four main points: facilitator, educator, community representative, and have knowledge of various technical matters related to the program. These studies found major obstacles that were often faced by the team, including difficulties in verifying and validating recipient data that had to be done manually, moving locations of assignments that often made the process of adaptation to the new environment, information and/or policies that often changed suddenly, and locations of assistance that were difficult to access.

The third category focuses more on criticism of social safety net policies. Research from Lee & Hwang (2016), Suleman & Resnawati (2017), Restianti (2017), Ayuningtyas & Rahaju (2018), Dehani, Hernawan, & Purnamasari (2018), Miranda, Sunyata, & Arifin (2019), Alexandri (2020), and Wulandari, Muchsin, & Khoiron (2020) criticized the program only as a top-down policy, from the government to the people. As the community is a passive recipient of the policy, so the policy tends to fail to lift poverty in the community. This happens because of the lack of community social participation in implementation and supervision. In beneficiary data collection, for example, although this program has significance in providing access to education and health services, in its implementation many poor families who should receive assistance are missed due to invalid data. Likewise in monitoring and evaluation by the community, because this program is not a bottom-up program, there is no participation and involvement of the community in this program, which, in most indicators used by the government, can be a successful policy indicator. On the other hand, some studies tend to blame the poor as recipients of the program, which still makes the assistance provided be limited to short-term assistance - for example to pay debts, not in the long term. So that the process of poverty alleviation is only patching holes rather than solving the root of the problems that exist in society.

The most crucial issue is, the various studies above missed one crucial point: bureaucracy. The implementation of the program, the process of implementing the social safety net created by the state, how the executive apparatus implements the policy, how the policy actually helps the poor, and the obstacles that arise in the process are the consequences of the bureaucracy. Another side, criticism of programs that are not on target, wasteful in the budget, lack of community participation in preparing the policy agenda and overseeing the course of the policy. Such criticism is indeed necessary, but ignores one fundamental phenomenon: that a very long bureaucratization process is a universal phenomenon and inherently within policy. So criticizing policies without understanding how a policy should be carried out, and how the policy makers and policy implementers respond when problems arise is careless and arrogant. On the other hand, to add to the complexity of the problem, this study will look at how a policy must be implemented in a quick time, especially in a pandemic such as now, which in a certain degree, will add to the complexity of the implementation problem of the policy itself.

Schmidt, Shore-Sheppard, & Watson (2016) note that when discussing food safety in the social safety net program, it is important to discuss the technical matters discussed in field implementation. The study of Mutchler, Li, & Xu (2018) for example, uses an elderly index, seeing that social safety nets are not very successful in establishing a stable economy and benefiting the wider community, especially for older people. How does the policy actually close access for the elderly because of the complexity of the bureaucratic issues. At this point, research on social safety net policies must not only look at *how* policies are carried out, but must also look at how policies *should be* carried out, as well as *predict* their impact when they are done. So that the resulting criticism will be able to provide input for improvement, especially when a policy must be carried out immediately.

**Research Method**

Initially, this research was not actually intended to study the social safety net within the framework of Covid-19, because this research had been carried out since 2018. Initially, this study looked at on how the implementation of the Hope Family Program and the realization of how the *Sembako* Program were being carried out. Both of these are not new programs that are deliberately created to help the community in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, as they have been around since 2016 and have started running since 2017. However, both of these programs are currently in the spotlight, because these two are becoming the backbone of the social security program for poor people that were directly affected by Covid-19. By making these two program as the main social safety net programs, it is important to see how these policies are formulated and must be implemented in various regions. To support the research, we collected various policy documents, talked with Hope Family Program officers and implementers of data verification and validation, interviewed various e-Warung partners, and interviewed various stakeholders in four cities: Depok City, Bekasi City, Bogor City, and South Tangerang City in relation to the implementation of this program, before Covid-19 and when the Covid-19 pandemic took place.

**Social Safety Net Policy**

Social security is basically an institutionalized intervention designed by the government and the private sector to protect the community from various risks arising from themselves (such as accidents, illness, death), as well as from their environment. Conceptually, social security consists of social aid and social insurance. Social aid, or what is often referred to as public aid, can be in the form of money, goods or social service benefits without regard to contributions or premiums from the beneficiary. While social insurance is a guarantee that is only given to participants in accordance with their contribution, namely premiums or savings allocated (Hill et.al 2017, Hardy, Smeeding, & Ziliak 2018). Social safety nets are general policies taken by the state to protect citizens, both from the impact of poverty that is structurally present, or poverty that arises as a result of natural disasters that directly affect the household economy (Brinch, Hernæs, & Jia 2016, Hardy 2016, Basu 2017).

According to the Law 40/2004 and 101/2012 on national social security system, the government is obliged to organize social security programs, from social health insurance such as the National Health Insurance (*Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional*), where there are certain groups whose contributions are covered by the government, to social security in the form of social aid both cash and non-cash. The government has various social aid programs, such as Direct Cash Aid (*Bantuan Langsung Tunai*), which was first given in 2004 to prevent the decline in people's purchasing power as a result of the conversion of kerosene to natural gas fuel for households. But this Direct Cash Aid model has drawn a lot of criticism because it is often not on target.

The social aid model currently used by the government is the provision of conditional social aid through Hope Family Program and *Sembako* Program. Both of these programs originated from the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, although they are managed by different directorates. Specifically, both target poor families, aimed at maintaining the economic survival of the family, but if Hope Family Program provides aid in the form of money that can be withdrawn in a savings account, the *Sembako* Program provides aid that is converted into food products that can be purchased at outlets or e-Warung that have been previously designated, both in terms of place and amount of goods.

The Sembako Program is a nutrition social protection of the community provided in the form of food social aid to Beneficiary Families from low income groups/poor people and vulnerable families. The Controlling Team for the Implementation of Non-Cash Social Assistance Distribution (2020) stated, that food social aid aims to reduce the expenditure burden of poor and vulnerable families in meeting their food needs. This program was previously known as Rastra (Prosperous Rice/*Beras Sejahtera*) Subsidy, and began to be transformed into Non-cash Food Aid (*Bantuan Pangan Non-Tunai*) in 2017 in 44 selected cities. Furthermore, in 2018 the Rastra Subsidy program was completely transformed into a social food aid program that was channeled through the non-cash scheme and the Rastra Social Aid Programs. At the end of 2019, the food social aid program in all regencies/cities will be implemented using a non-cash scheme. The Non-cash Food Aid is an effort by the government to transform forms of aid into cashless through the use of electronic cards given directly to Beneficiary Families. The social aid is channeled by using the banking system, which can then be used to obtain staple food in e-Warung, so that Beneficiary Families can also get more balanced nutrition.

The issue of nutrition becomes very crucial in the provision of social aid, because based on data from the Central Statistics Agency, the Food Poverty Line (*Garis Kemiskinan Makanan*) has a major contribution to the formation of the Poverty Line (*Garis Kemiskinan*). In addition, the price stability of staple food affects the reduction in poverty. The existence of the Sembako Program will reduce the burden of spending on poor families in terms of food, so as to ensure that some of the basic needs of the poor are met. On the other hand, the development of the type of food obtained from this program will be able to improve the nutrition/intake of the community, especially children from an early age so that it will have an influence on reducing stunting in the future.

Social safety net programs, in particular the Sembako Program, aim to: (a) increase food security at the Beneficiary Families level as well as social protection and poverty reduction mechanisms, (b) increase the efficiency of distribution of social aid, (c) increase public access to financial and banking services, (d) increase non-cash transactions in the agenda of the National Non-cash Movement, (e) increase economic growth in the regions, especially micro and small businesses in the trade sector, and (f) in the long run, prevent stunting by fulfilling nutrition in the First 1000 Days of Life. The Sembako Program is not provided in cash, but is transferred to the accounts of each Family. The amount of the benefits of the Sembako Program is Rp150.000/family/month. The aid cannot be disbursed in cash and can only be exchanged for food that is determined for the Sembako program at the e-Warung. However, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the amount was raised to Rp.200.000/family/month for four months.

The payment instrument used as a medium for distributing the Sembako Program aid funds is the Sembako Card. The card thus functions as a transaction tool, so that at the time of the utilization of the aid, it must be brought by the recipient of the program. The Sembako Card stores the value/amount of the benefits of the groceries program owned by Family, then they must utilize the entire Sembako Program aid fund, because the Sembako Program aid funds cannot be disbursed in cash. As is usually the case with ATMs issued by banks, Sembako Card also contains the names of Family Administrator, Sembako Card number, distributor bank names, and complains hotline. The usage of this card utilizes Personal Identification Number which is the full responsibility of Family Administrator, because are not allowed to be held and kept by parties other than Beneficiary Families.

Food items that can be purchased at e-Warung using the Sembako Program fund are: (a) carbohydrate sources like rice or local food such as corn and sagoo, (b) animal protein sources like eggs, beef, chicken, fish, (c) vegetable protein sources like legumes including tempeh and tofu, and (d) sources of vitamins and minerals like vegetables, fruits. The selection of food commodities in the Sembako Program aims to maintain the adequacy of nutrition. Prevention of stunting through the Sembako Program is carried out by the use of food for the fulfillment of nutrition starting from pregnant women, breastfeeding women, and children aged 6-23 months. For children aged 6-23 months, food from the Sembako Program is processed into breastmilk complementary food. The food aid program may not be used for purchases of: cooking oil, flour, sugar, manufactured breastmilk complementary food, canned foods, instant noodles and foodstuffs other than those specified. The aid also may not be used to purchase cellular credits, electricity tokens, fuel and cigarettes.

**Who are the beneficiaries?**

The social safety net policy through social aid is basically aimed at all poor people in need. However, bearing in mind that this aid is not provided free of charge, but rather conditional aid, there are a number of criteria that must be met so that families, not individuals, are entitled to receive this aid. The beneficiaries of the Hope Family Program and Sembako Program are the Family with the lowest socioeconomic conditions in the implementation area whose names are included in the List of Beneficiaries (*Daftar Penerima Manfaat/*DPM). This list was established by the Budget User Authority at the Ministry of Social Affairs, sourced from Integrated Social Welfare Data that can be accessed by the Provincial Government and Regency/City Governments through the Next Generation Social Welfare Information System (*Sistem Informasi Kesejahteraan Sosial* Next Generation/SIKS-NG) application in the Food Social Aid (*Bantuan Sosial Pangan*/BSP) menu. The list in Sembako Program which has been examined and finalized by the Local Government and approved by the Regent/Mayor is reported to the Ministry of Social Affairs through the integrated application.

The beneficiary unit of the social aid program is the Family. However, for distribution needs, the Family must determine one name in the Family Card as the Administrator who will be the owner of the food aid account. At this point, problems began to emerge. In order for a Family to be registered as a Beneficiary Family, they must record all the information needed. There are sixteen data items that must be owned by each Family, which must be listed in the SIKS-NG. The sixteen components are: (1) Population Identification Number (*Nomor Induk Kependudukan*/NIK) of Administrator, (2) Administrator ID number in Social Welfare Integrated Data, (3) Integrated Database ID number in Integrated Social Welfare Data, (4) Social Aid account number, if any, (5) Sembako Card number, if any, (6) Administrator name (prospective account holder), (7) Family Card Number, (8) place of birth of Administrator, (9) Date of birth of Administrator, (10) Maiden name of biological mother of the Administrator, (11) Hope Family Program participant number, if any, (12) Hope Family Program status, if applicable, (13) name of the head of family, (14) names of other family members, (15) family residence address, and (16) area code (province, regency/city, district, village/sub-district).

Initially, this social aid was intended for anyone representing the family, but since 2017, the aid has been specifically intended for women as the Administrator. The Administrator is determined in the following priority order: (1) prioritize on behalf of women in the family, either as head of the family or as the partner of head of the family, (2) if not, then a family member of women over the age of 17 years old and have a population identification document, (3) if the Family does not have any female member over 17 years old, then the Administrator is a male head of the family, (4) if there is not any, then male family members over the age of 17 and have a population identity document, (5) if the Family does not have any family members aged 17 years and over and has a population identity document, then the Family can be represented by other family members in one Family Card or guardian who has not been registered, (6) for Family who are Hope Family Program recipients, what is meant by the Family of this program is refering to individuals who have been designated as Hope Family Program Administrator.

The Family management data that has been registered must then be verified by the existing population system at the Ministry of the Interior, thus data from the Ministry of Social Affairs would be brought over and validated. If the data passes the validation process, then the data will be returned to the Ministry of Social Affairs for verification and validation by officers in the field by conducting a field visit. If the Family is declared to have passed verification and validation, then the data will be forwarded to the channeling bank to open the aid account. The data is used as a reference for the channeling bank to open a food aid account for each Beneficiary Family collectively and print a Prosperous Family Card or Sembako Card.

There are seven basic principles in this policy: (1) giving choices and control to determine the time, type, quantity and quality of foodstuffs purchases and e-Warung that can be accessed, (2) Family can utilize the Sembako Program aid funds at the nearest e-Warung, (3) E-Warung does not package food ingredients, i.e. sell foodstuffs with the type and amount determined unilaterally by e-Warung or other parties so that Beneficiary Family has no choice, (4) E-Warung can buy foodstuffs supplies from various sources with due regard to the availability of food supplies on a sustainable basis and at a competitive quality and price, (5) channeling banks are tasked with channeling aid funds to their accounts and not tasked with distributing food supplies, including not ordering food ingredients, (6) encourage people's retail businesses to get customers and increase income, and (7) providing access of financial services to people's retail businesses.

**How this program *has to be* run?**

In terms of regulations, the implementation of this program is carried out in stages, going up from the neighbourhood level to the central government, and back down to the Family as program beneficiaries. *First,* coordination at the central government level is carried out between the Ministry of Social Affairs as the Budget User of the Sembako Program and related Ministries/Institutions through the Central Food Social Aid Coordinating Team forum and reported/consulted to the Controlling Team. Coordination is done to obtain input and direction related to program implementation policies. In addition, coordination is carried out to ensure the implementation and consistency of legal basis, mechanism and stages of program implementation, as well as various other administrative procedures. After the process is complete, the program is brought down to the Provincial level. *Second*, the Provincial Government through the Provincial level Food Social Aid Coordinating Team forum coordinated in stages with the Regency/City level Food Social Aid Coordinating Team in regards to every stage of managing and implementing the Sembako Program in the Regency/City, starting from funding support through Regional Budget, budget ceiling coordination and Beneficiary Family data, socialization, complaints handling, monitoring, and other support needed. After that the program was further brought down to the Regency/City level. *Third*, District/City Governments through the Regency/City level Food Social Aid Coordinating Team forum coordinate in stages with districts and villages/sub-districts for all stages of program implementation, starting from preparation of regional budget funding and/or Village Funds, verification and validation of candidate data in the SIKS-NG BSP menu, Sembako Card registration/distribution process, checking the existence of recipient, education and socialization, monitoring, and complaints handling. The Regency/City Government coordinates with the Channeling Bank to arrange the registration schedule or Sembako Card distribution in each village/sub-district and ensure the involvement of village/sub-district officials in the process.

Regency/City Government provides support for facilities and infrastructure, education and outreach, ease of permission, exemption or relief of permit fees and tax facilitation to e-Warung in accordance with statutory provisions. The Regency/City Government coordinates with the Channeling Bank regarding location mapping and selection of food traders to become the e-Warung. The implementation of the Sembako program at the Regency/City level is coordinated by the Regency/City level Food Social Aid Coordinating Team. Implementation at the District level is coordinated by the District level Food Social Aid Coordinating Team. Implementation at the village/sub-district level is supported by the local village/sub-district apparatus and social aid facilitators.In the process, there are seventeen steps that must be carried out in order for the social aid to arrive at the hands of the beneficiaries. These seventeen stages must be carried out, and each stage requires its own reporting and monitoring.

**What is worse than a pandemic? Bureaucracy**

When the Hope Family Program and Non-Cash Food Aid Program were first rolled out in 2016, the criticism that emerged was that the program emphasized a long bureaucracy. The data collection model is leveled, starting from the neighbourhood level, village, district, regency/city, provincial, and central government levels. At the central level, the data must be verified and validated by the Ministry of Interior, and then returned to the Ministry of Social Affairs. For disbursement of aid, the existing data is taken to the Ministry of Finance, and only then it was given to the banks that are channeling aid. There are many crucial points in the implementation of this program, but this paper only focuses on two early stages: collecting beneficiary data and preparing the e-Warung infrastructure. At each point, there are several crucial issues that must be considered, some have been changed since the policy was first made, some are still the same, while some are potential problems that will arise as a result of the complexity of the policy bureaucracy.

The main problem lies in the data collection. In this case, it is how the List of Beneficiaries is compiled at the village level before being ratified at the Regency/City level. As already explained, that the List of Beneficiaries social safety net program is sourced from the Integrated Social Welfare Data that has been approved by the Regency/City government and then gradually rises to the provincial and national levels. The crucial point lies in the two main requirements to be included in the list: the ownership of the National ID Card and the financial condition which is indeed below the poverty line.

The ownership of National ID cards, especially e-ID, is a classic problem in population data collection in Indonesia. One crucial problem is that not all Indonesians have ID, not to mention an e-ID which is the main prerequisite for the Family to be recorded as a List of Beneficiaries. Various studies have shown that although the ID is mandatory, the ID ownership, especially in rural areas, is still very low (Nurtjahyo 2014). One of the reasons is the requirement based on marriage registration. The population registration model in Indonesia is based on the assumption that all marriages must be registered, and become one of the prerequisites for making a ID, both for the parent ID card and the Child Identity Card (*Kartu Identitas Anak*/KIA) (Irenes & Setiamadani 2019).

Marriage registration in Indonesia is a classic problem that cannot be resolved, especially with the number of child marriages and marriages that are not recorded (see Grijns et.al 2019). A serious consequence of unregistered marriages is that the marriage is not recognized by the state, and therefore every child born cannot obtain a birth certificate and cannot be entered into the Family Card. As a consequence, the children cannot obtain their civil rights as well as other rights as citizens. At the family level, unregistered marriages also cause vulnerability for women, one of which is that women, especially from poor families, cannot get social aid.

If the issue of ID cards ownership is still a crucial issue, then another problem that is also similarly serious is that priority is given to residents with ID Cards coming originally from that region. This is inseparable from the data collection model carried out by neighbourhood level in their respective regions. In Depok and Bekasi, for example, housing and settlement complexes are mostly filled by migrants who work in Jakarta. These workers are very rarely at home, even though one of the prerequisites for obtaining aid is verification and validation of the data through face-to-face meetings and interviews conducted by the social aid facilitation team. As a result, because the house is always empty, and because the related neighbourhood apparatus do not want to be bothered with data collection of residents who are migrants from other regions, their names are not included in the List of Beneficiaries. Another scenario is that, even though their names are included in the list, but since at the time of the verification and validation process, which is only one time, it failed to be conducted, the name of the prospective beneficiary is considered not passing the verification and data validation.

The data verification and validation process is a process that must be carried out by each Beneficiary Family candidate. This process will look directly into the condition of Beneficiary Family by seeing whether they are truly incapable, or as the Law 52/2009 stated as the Pre-Prosperous Family (*Keluarga Pra-Sejahtera*). Pre-prosperous families are families that do not meet one of the six Prosperous Family indicators, or indicators of basic family needs, which include: (1) family members generally eat twice a day or more, (2) family members have clothes that are different for occasions at home, work/school and traveling, (3) a house occupied by the family has good roof, floor and walls, (4) if a family member is sick then he/she is taken to a health facility, (5) if a couple of childbearing age wants to have a family planning - they can afford to - go to contraceptive service facilities, and (6) all children aged 7-15 in the family go to school. If the candidate does not meet any of this indicator, the name will be included in the list to be submitted as a Beneficiary Family.

One significant change in this policy is the change in Family replacement policy. According to Regulation of Minister of Social Affairs Number 11/2019, previously, if the Administrator died, the aid would automatically stop, but with this new policy, there are several ways to replace the Administrator. Family membership in this program can change because: (a) the candidate with a single member/no other family members, (b) the candidate whose family members all move to other villages/sub-district, (c) the candidate rejects/withdraws themselves in the list, (d) the candidate is multiply recorded (twice or more), and (e) the candidate are already capable socially and economically.

Although there is a policy that Administrator has the right to be replaced by other family members, or Family can move their domicile, but in practice, the implementation of this policy requires the Administrator to follow the process from the beginning again, which means it will take a very long time to carry out all stages from the beginning. In some cases, when the validation process was carried out by the social aid facilitation team, it was found that the Family was actually able and was no longer entitled to the aid program, but when the aid was stopped the Family raised a protest to the neighbourhood apparatus and the field team, and again, due to reluctance to cause greater commotion, the channeling continued.

The data verification and validation process is carried out periodically, generally at the beginning of each year. Specifically in Covid-19 conditions, this process is hampered because this process is usually done by gathering several Family recipients or prospective recipients at the neighbourhood level to be interviewed together. After the interview process is carried out, field monitoring is carried out directly to the beneficiary's home. Within the framework of the current Large-Scale Social Restrictions, it is not possible to conduct a validation process at the neighbourhood level, which has an impact on the data validation process at the home level that it cannot be carried out, thus the current Sembako Program is using the data from the previous year. Consequently, there are a lot of middle-income vulnerable households, who as a result of Covid-19 did not get any income, actually should be categorized as poor but were not recorded as List of Beneficiaries because the data used was the previous year’s.

The government is not unaware of this problem. The Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration (2020) has issued a policy to open up opportunities for the use of Village Fund to provide aid. Some municipalities act quickly by relocating village fund budget for social aid. In Depok for example, in each district there are on average more than two thousand names of potential recipients of social aid, both from the reallocation of village fund as well as regency/city social aid program. But the problem goes back to that of data, that the names must be rechecked again by field officers, because there are overlapping names in the data. The village ministry requires that the beneficiaries are those not registered as List of Beneficiaries who get routine fund aid from Hope Family Program and/or Sembako Programs, thus the field officers must list the names registered as recipients of aid for later verification and validation, which if passed the process, then these names will be submitted to the regency/city government for aid.

The second problem is the e-Warung infrastructure. This is important to understand, because it is different from the previous social aid program that was carried out manually, whereby the recipient of the aid received cash that could be disbursed, this program is carried out by involving e-Warung as an aid channeling agent. This is based on the development of a financial inclusion model for the community, where this policy is based on the Republic of Indonesia's Presidential Regulation on financial inclusion. With this policy, the Family Administrator will accept Sembako Card with a PIN that is used to shop at e-Warung that has been predetermined.

As with the very bureaucratic data collection stage, the availability of e-Warung is also the same. Basically, not all grocery stores or mini markets can become an e-Warung. E-Warung is an official outlet designated by the regency/city government to distribute social aid to Family in their respective regions. The initial stages were carried out by the channeling banks together with the regency/city government and the social aid facilitator in the regions identified bank agents or traders by taking into account the number and distribution of Family in the village/sub-district. Designation of e-Warung is fully the authority of the channeling bank by considering several criteria, including: (a) having the ability, reputation, credibility, and integrity in its operational areas as evidenced by passing due diligence processes in accordance to the policies and procedures owned by the channeling bank, (b) has a main source of income from ongoing business activities with a permanent business location and/or other permanent activities, and (c) consistently provides high quality food products at competitive prices and sells foodstuffs in accordance to the market prices.

The central government even creates the regulation of the e-Warung, one of which it is only applies to individuals or legal entities, not come from State-Owned Enterprises (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara*), Village-Owned Enterprises (*Badan Usaha Milik Desa*) and their business units, Indonesian Farmers Stores, Civil Servant, State-Owned Bank Association (*Himpunan Bank-Bank Milik Negara*) employees and Food Social Aid Implementing Personnel. For civil servants and Food Social Aid Agency Personnel, are not allowed to vendors or suppliers, both as individuals and groups forming business entities.

The initial process for an e-Warung to be designated is the submission of an individual or legal entity to the channeling bank. After that, the channeling bank, regency/city government, and social aid facilitator will carry out verification and validation. After the merchant agent is approved to become an e-Warung serving the Sembako program, the channeling bank issues a Cooperation Agreement document that will be signed by the Distribution Bank and the e-Warung. The Cooperation document contains the rights and obligations of each party, an agreement on the implementation of the program principles, rules and sanctions in the implementation of the Sembako program with reference to the applicable rules.

The e-Warung collaboration model with channeling banks that was expected to be completed in January has not yet been completed even now (end of May). In Depok, Bekasi, and Bogor, only 67% of e-Warung were declared to have passed verification and validation, and only 48% had entered into cooperation agreements with channeling banks. The consequence of the delay in the verification and validation process, as well as the delay in the signing of the cooperation agreement made many agents who registered as e-Warung still cannot operate. Moreover, the e-Warung model uses the Sembako Card payment system, in which the Administrator comes to bring the card they owned to purchase staple food. If the e-Warung has not completed a cooperation contract with the channeling bank, then they has not yet obtained the EDC account that is used as a transaction tool. As a result, the distribution of aid materials has been severely hampered. In the Bojongsari region, for example, with seven existing sub-districts, only eight e-Warungs have been operational. If in each village there are two hundred Family recipients, then there are at least 1400 Families that must be served. With so many Families that must be served, at least in every village there are two or three e-Warungs that should operate. However, due to delays in the bureaucratic process, the existence of e-Warung became a major obstacle in the process of channeling aid.

On the other hand, the social aid policy states that e-Warung is not permitted to package food, which is to sell foodstuffs of the type and amount determined unilaterally by e-Warung or other parties so that Family has no choice. Although e-Warung does not have to provide all types of food that are determined for the Sembako program, it must, at a minimum, provide a type of food which includes a source of carbohydrates, a source of animal protein, and one other type of food that includes a source of vegetable protein or a source of vitamins and minerals. Under normal conditions, this policy has no problems. However, in the current condition of Covid-19, where the distribution of goods is severely disrupted, the availability of staple foods is also very limited which causes selection of foodstuffs in e-Warung to be less.

**In a Chase Against Time**

The social safety net aid policy launched by the central government through the *Sembako* program and the Hope Family Program is basically aimed at helping poor families to maintain their household financial condition, especially in the current Covid pandemic. But this policy is very bureaucratic, with almost no room for any maneuver. This policy provides a very narrow space for implementers in the field; social aid facilitators only have until the end of April to complete the entire validation and verification process, especially for new recipients. Although Hope Family Program and Sembako Card funds have been transferred from the central government, but in its implementation in the field, it takes two weeks for the fund to arrive from the central to reach the recipients. Thus, it takes more time for Family to be able to get the social aid they really need.

On the other hand, regional governments began to roll out social aid by disbursing social aid funds or reallocating Village Funds, but the condition, none the less, same: the data is very raw. Data of aid recipients is still mixed, there are still routine recipients of aid, while there are also cases where the recipient has died or even fictitious. These things always appear in every region, even though Indonesia's population data collection has led to a single population data, but in the field there are still a lot of multiple data, data that cannot be verified, up to cases where the data and recipients are correct, but economically they should be categorized as capable so they are not supposed to deserve the aid.

For social aid facilitators, time is a luxury they don't have. Because all social aid policies in Indonesia are based on invalid and unreliable data, which makes the social aid facilitators to do multiple function, and be the backbone of data collection from below while ensuring aid is channeled to each Family. On the one hand, social aid facilitators are required to administratively be obidient and orderly, by carrying out all administrative procedures in the form of field verification and validation to all beneficiaries. On the other, the Large-Scale Social Limitation policy is an obstacle that appears precisely in the midst of a very narrow time period of verification and validation. This raises problems in the field and opens up the potential for the aid to not be received on time and on target.

Another problem lies in the availability of basic foodstuffs in e-Warung. The policy is very clear, that e-Warung cannot provide the foodstuffs in a package system and must provide staple foods of the types of carbohydrates, proteins and minerals. However, conditions in the field causes e-Warung to provide more on cooking oil, flour, sugar, manufactured breastmilk complementary food, canned food, and instant noodles. This is despite the case that these foods are the types of food that the Administrator cannot buy, because they can only buy staple foods that have high nutritional value. This dilemma is a problem that arises in every place, that foods that are expected to be sold, such as green beans, eggs, vegetables and fruits, are actually not available. From various discussions with e-Warung, this is more because the distribution of goods is badly hampered, which results in the product selling price being uncompetitive.

The problem was further complicated when the government, both central and regional, decided to hold the Large-Scale Social Restriction, which prohibits people from gathering. This means that the social aid provided through e-Warung must be arranged through a pick up schedule, because if it is not regulated, it will bring up the potential for a buildup of people in one place. Some regional governments have decided to bypass the aid distribution line by providing aid in the form of packages sent directly to recipients. In the Bekasi and South Tangerang regions, for example, aid packages were mixed between staple foods and complementary needs. In addition to receiving rice, eggs, canned sardines, recipients of aid packages also receive bath soap, washing soap, and toothpaste. In the Bogor area, several aid packages contained rice, cooking oil, instant noodles, bath soap and hand washing soap.

This ongoing aid is provided in two types: directly given or requesting the e-Warung to provide the aid items and then distributed through the social aid facilitators. This model seems easier to do, because by channeling directly to Families houses, aid is more easily channeled without raising crowds. However, this condition is actually more difficult for the social aid facilitators’ team, because those that know best whom needs it, at the same time must also ensure that the aid is received right at the homes of people who really need it. Consequently, they must arrange delivery schedules and bring all recipient data when traveling around delivering aid, because food aid is very vulnerable to damage if stored for a long time.

On the other hand, this policy actually violates the existing policies. E-Warung cannot, for any reason, provide aid in the form of packages. Moreover, the aid contained cooking oil, wheat flour, and canned food which are types of foods not allowed to be channeled through the Sembako Program. But urgency seems to make local governments ignore the rules or open up the policy discretionary space. The problem that may arise is that because this policy is very rushed, the whole process of procurement of goods is no longer carried out, which opens the opportunity to raise the price of goods from producers to e-Warung. Meanwhile, e-Warung itself only provides goods that are in accordance with the value of aid provided.

**Conclusion**

So, what can be learned from the impasse in the implementation of social safety net in Indonesia during this pandemic period? At this point, the social safety net policy developed by the government actually faces its biggest challenge ever: time and energy. When the Sembako Card and Hope Family Program program aid policies were implemented, it was not imagined before that time was a very non-negotiable condition. The data collection model that must be carried out periodically, every facilitator that must carry out formal data collection every year, with various forms to be filled in, pages of documents to be signed, and hundreds of data that must be verified and validated. Each facilitator produces an average of more than one thousand documents annually, and these documents must be kept for cross checking by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia.

Bureaucratization model with tiered stages, both in data collection, implementation, and reporting provides very limited space for maneuver, especially in pandemic conditions that require policy issuance in quick time. This was slowly responded by the state when issuing a social safety net policy. When the President decided to reallocate the budget, what was envisioned as a quick response, turned out to take more than thirty days to be done, and even then with the risk that the aid provided was not necessarily right on target. When the state decides on reallocation, the state often forgets the bureaucratic problems that are actually made by the state itself. Then it becomes an interesting question to explore in the future, how to model the data collection of the economically poor citizens so that when the pandemic happens again, the state does not need to waste a long time to provide aid to its citizens.

**Thank You Notes**

We would like to thank all social aid facilitators in Depok, Bogor, Bekasi and South Tangerang regions for their information, as well as to all Family recipients who were willing to be interviewed during the distribution process.

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