

Collective action (still) matters: transformation of government social assistance mechanisms during the covid-19 pandemic

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Abstract

This paper analyzed the Makassar government's public policy during the COVID-19 pandemic, namely the social assistance program. In this study, the perspective of stakeholders is taken, in which in this study the community is the main stakeholder. In addition, there are also other stakeholders such as the Social Service, District, sub District, Social Assistance Assistants. This research will explain the implementation of social assistance policies in Mariso District, Makassar and how the community responds to this policy. In addition, in this study, there were protests carried out by social assistance recipient communities in Mariso District, Makassar as a form of disappointment with the implementation of the Social Assistance policy in Mariso District, which proved successful enough to put pressure on so that aspirations and input could be realized and the government evaluated social assistance programs. COVID-19. This research conduct qualitative methods with data collection techniques using interviews with informants, in this case are the stakeholders. This study also uses the Stakeholder Mapping theory which was popularized by Eden, Ackermann and Bryson. This study uses 3 analyzes in this theory, namely 1) Power versus interest grid, 2) Problem-frame stakeholders map and 3) Policy implementation mapping. The Power versus interest grid is used by researchers to see and analyze from the side of interest and power for the community as the main Stakeholder in this research. The Problem-frame stakeholders map is used by researchers to see how the conditions of stakeholders, in this case, are the community. How does the community solve problems in this social assistance program and what actions are taken by the community to solve these problems. Policy implementation mapping is used by researchers to describe the strategies carried out by the community to influence social assistance policies, especially in Mariso District, Makassar.

Keywords: communities; government; social assistance; policy; pandemic; stakeholders

1. Introduction

This impact is felt so clearly in all levels of society even though those who are most affected are the lower middle class. Therefore, to overcome problems that occur in society, the Government of Indonesia issued policies such as Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) and the Implementation of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM). To keep the Indonesian people able to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially from an economic perspective, one of these policies is the provision of Social Assistance or (BANSOS). In practice, it has basically been explained in various policies and decisions both at the central and regional levels. One of them is Regulation of the Minister of Social Affairs No. 5 of 2021 concerning the implementation of the distribution of social assistance, it is stated in article 15 that data collection is carried out by Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) according to decisions taken by the Minister of Social Affairs every year. This data collection will be checked and finalized by the District/City Social Services which will also be assisted by District and Subdistrict data (Riyanto, 2021). To carry out this program there

is also a unit that specifically functions as a bridge or liaison between the government and the community, the unit is called Social Assistance Facilitator. With this unit, it is hoped that it will become a link between the community and the government in an effective, efficient and transparent manner.

Social assistance is a program that has been implemented by the Government of Indonesia for a long time to improve the welfare of its people, this can be seen in the formation of Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) as outlined in Minister of Social Affairs Regulation number 5 of 2019 concerning integrated social welfare data management. Through this regulation integrated data management is expanded not only to data on the poor but also to include other social welfare data, namely social assistance data, Social Welfare Services Requirement Data (PPKS), and Social Welfare Potential and Resources data (PSKS) (Ministry of Social Data, 2020). Thus the data collected by DTKS will always be the basis for distributing social assistance to the community, therefore DTKS changes data at least 4 times a year, namely January, April, July, and October (DTKS Ministry of Social Affairs, 2020). During the pandemic, the Indonesian Government's welfare program in the form of groceries and cash was needed by the community, this was because these incentives could make people survive amid the COVID-19 pandemic. To realize this, the Government of Indonesia established a program called the Social Safety Net (JPS). In this program, there is at least 7 assistance in the form of programs and incentives from the Government under the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs, namely (1) Family Hope Program (PKH), (2) Cash Social Assistance, (3) Direct Village Fund Cash Assistance (BLT Dana Desa), (4) Basic Food Social Assistance (BSS) for the Jakarta Bogor Depok Tangerang and Bekasi (Jabodetabek) Region, (5) Pre-employment cards, (6) Basic food cards, and (7) Electricity subsidies (Noerkaisar, 2020).

However, social assistance policies, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, did not work properly, and some people even complained about the implementation of this policy. One of the cities that feels this way is Makassar City, where the phenomena that occur in Makassar City regarding the distribution of social assistance are very bad. According to media reports, namely Sonora.id, the data of many people who will receive social assistance during this pandemic are fictitious and not real. This certainly affects the effectiveness of the process of distributing social assistance to beneficiaries of social assistance, besides that this problem has been going on for a long time and has not been repaired. In addition to data collection problems which are the biggest factor in the ineffective distribution of social assistance in Makassar, management problems are also a very bad thing. This is based on the mechanism and Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for providing assistance has been slow. Supposedly, distribution does not need to wait for administration or adjust to existing SOPs. So that this problem has an impact on the contents of social assistance, especially basic foodstuffs which have expired and are not suitable for public consumption, therefore the contents of these basic food items have to be thrown away which is the same as detrimental to the state.

The restlessness of the people of Makassar City regarding social assistance was also caused by delays in distribution to the community. According to Kompas.com, social assistance, such as groceries, has experienced distribution delays of up to two months. This certainly has an effect on the problems mentioned above, namely the contents of the basic necessities are no longer suitable for consumption. This problem is also felt by the people in Mariso District, Makassar City where the distribution of social assistance is not carried out every month and even some people have only received social assistance from the government for almost a year. The community also did not get clarity from the implementor who served as a provider of social assistance services and did not consistently go to the field to check social assistance problems that occurred in the community. So that the community does not know and do not understand the flow and mechanism of the distribution of social assistance. Coupled with problems regarding supervision and control which are often not carried out, especially members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Makassar City. Their absence is one of the factors causing many problems regarding Social Assistance, especially in its distribution. Members of the Makassar City DPRD are

individuals chosen by their constituents who are in the electoral district (electoral area), so basically they know best which characteristics of their community are entitled to receive and which are not entitled. Thus the DPRD's function as oversight should be carried out and the social assistance policy in Makassar City can run effectively and on target because it is regularly controlled and escorted.

Social assistance assistants as one of the implementers are in the spotlight of the community due to their minimal presence and contribution as a bridge between the government and the community. One well-known case occurred in Mariso District, Makassar City. In this case, the social assistance assistants abused their authority by taking funds from the beneficiaries they assisted, and according to some people, their ATM cards were held or controlled by their assistants several months before the aid funds were disbursed. Because of that, some people were very disappointed because as soon as the government announced the aid funds to be distributed, some of their ATM cards were empty, and once confirmed by the companion, they instead responded with various kinds of reasons that were irresponsible.

This phenomenon occurs in almost all of Mariso District, one of the cases that occurred was in the Bontorannu Village, the difference is that the beneficiaries of social assistance do not dare to complain about this problem. Andi Faiz, one of the people in the Bontorannu Village, explained that the problem of reducing the amount of social assistance by certain individuals is commonplace and has occurred several times (Personal communication, 1 March 2022). Thus the community has made sense of this and it has become an open secret for the people in Mariso District, especially for the government's welfare program. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, where the situation had quite a significant impact, especially on the economic aspects and people's welfare, the community was quite sensitive and made resistance if problems occurred that threatened their rights and welfare. Various problems that occur in social assistance programs, make people angry and protest actions as a form of disappointment with the procedures of social assistance policies. One of those who did this was the community in Mariso District, Makassar City, even the phenomenon of this protest action had an impact on social assistance policies, especially in terms of data collection and distribution mechanisms.

From the various problems mentioned above, this research would like to provide an overview of the process of implementing social assistance programs in Mariso District, Makassar City during the COVID-19 pandemic by focusing on the community as the main stakeholder in this policy who carried out protest actions. For this reason, this research will describe how effective the implementation of the distribution of social assistance to the community is by conducting observations and in-depth interviews with all actors procuring social assistance in Mariso District. Furthermore, in this study, researchers will focus on the 7 social assistance programs that are part of JPS, only 3 programs are the focus of this research, namely the Family Hope Program (PKH), Direct Cash Assistance (BLT), and Basic Food Cards. This is because the three types of assistance are the most frequently distributed types of social assistance to the community in the Mariso District. Thus the main focus of this research is to provide an overview of the protest actions carried out by the community in Mariso District which were affected by social assistance policies, especially in the mechanism of data collection and distribution. In addition, this research will also explain the dynamics experienced by the community, and how social assistance problems make the people in Mariso District protest against the COVID-19 social assistance policy. Furthermore, to add information so that it is validated and also accurate, this research also looks at other stakeholders such as the Makassar City Social Service, the Head of the Camat in Mariso District, and RT/RW.

From the various literatures that have been described above, the researcher divided into 2 groups with the intent and purpose to differentiate the literature study and also as 2 aspects that became the basis for researchers to conduct research with the same case. From the literature that has been described, it can be understood that there have been many studies on social assistance with various perspectives and approaches. In addition, the problems studied also vary, ranging from policies to implementers of these policies.

Therefore in this study, researchers will also do the same case but the focus of the approach and point of view will be different. This can be seen starting from the approach, the researcher will use a political science approach with his point of view focusing on people who are protesting against the COVID-19 social assistance policy. Furthermore, this research will also analyze the causes and effects of protests carried out by the community, why this happened and how this collective movement can influence the policy of social assistance for COVID-19. Thus, in terms of place, time and analysis, the results will be different from previous research, even though this research is in the same case and research object.

From the various pieces of literature that have been described above, the researcher divided into 2 groups with the intent and purpose to differentiate the literature study and also as 2 aspects that became the basis for researchers to conduct research with the same case. From the literature that has been described, it can be understood that there have been many studies on social assistance with various perspectives and approaches. In addition, the problems studied also vary, ranging from policies to implementers of these policies. Therefore in this study, researchers will also do the same case but the focus of the approach and point of view will be different. This can be seen starting from the approach, the researcher will use a political science approach with his point of view focusing on people who are protesting against the COVID-19 social assistance policy. Furthermore, this research will also analyze the causes and effects of protests carried out by the community, why this happened, and how this collective movement can influence the policy of social assistance for COVID-19. Thus, in terms of place, time, and analysis, the results will be different from previous research, even though this research is in the same case and research object.

The purpose of this study is to examine and provide an overview of the implementation of social assistance policies in Mariso District, Makassar City. By focusing on collective movements carried out by the community, namely protests against social assistance policies. In addition, this research will also focus on the community as the main stakeholder in the discussion of this research, so that it will be clear the role and struggle of the community to defend the right to social assistance that must be received as an incentive from the government during the COVID-19 pandemic and how this collective movement can change the social assistance policy in particular from the aspect of distribution and data collection mechanisms.

This research has significance as an additional discourse in the study of political science, especially regarding urban politics, with the community as the main stakeholder in social assistance policies for COVID-19. In addition to adding to the academic side, this research is also expected to be a reference and insight to the general public about social assistance programs in the COVID-19 pandemic era, where this research can describe the actual conditions for people who receive social assistance COVID-19 to become learning in addressing and acting towards public policies issued by the government. With this research, researchers hope to help people who receive social assistance gain insight into this program so that in the future they are not easily manipulated by those who want to benefit from this program. And finally, this research can be a reference for political science students who are interested in urban political discourse, especially regarding public policy with aspects of community welfare, in order to enrich other Political Science studies.

2. Methods

Research on social assistance for the people in Makassar City will use qualitative research methods. According to Craswell, qualitative method research is research that focuses on exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups in certain social problems (Craswell, 2014). Research using qualitative methods will focus on group and individual problems where researchers will explore in depth and detail to find out the interpretation of the object under study on a social problem. This research will use one of the existing designs in the qualitative method, namely case studies. According to Craswell, case study research is qualitative research in which the researcher develops an in-depth

analysis of a case such as a program, event, activity, process, or individual or community group. Cases are limited by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using various data collection procedures over a continuous period (Creswell, 2014).

This research will use primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources were obtained by conducting interviews with all informants online (Zoom Meeting/Google Meeting, Phone Calls, and Whatsapp) or offline (face-to-face interviews). Secondary data will be used as a support and complement to primary data obtained by researchers. To obtain secondary data, researchers will seek and obtain information through literature studies, and previous research that addresses the same topic. In addition, researchers will use various news sources both offline and online related to the research topic they wish to study. Furthermore, this research will use purposive/based-on-criteria data collection techniques, namely informants who are selected based on certain criteria by the research. The selected informants are expected by researchers to be able to represent each particular category (Margaret & Ardiansa, 2014).

The criteria for selecting informants for this study were those who were involved in all aspects of social assistance (Bansos). Parties that will be used as primary sources in this research are the government and society. The government will be represented by the Makassar City Social Service, the sub-district head in Mariso sub-district, the head of the sub-district head in Bontorannu, Panambungan and Mariso sub-districts and the Social Assistance Unit in Mariso sub-district, while the community will be represented by RT/RW and the community receiving social assistance. Researchers took informants from the government because they wanted to know the process of distributing social assistance, the data collection process, the relationship and the role between the Social Service, Camat, Lurah and Social Assistance Assistants as political actors who are responsible for this program and distribute social assistance to the community. For the perspective of recipients of social assistance, researchers will take informants from RT/RW as parties who know the conditions of the community on a small scale and how their relationships and roles are with other stakeholders who are responsible for the provision and distribution of social assistance to the community. Communities as recipients of social assistance are used as informants because they want to know how far social assistance is being used amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the problems and distribution faced by the community in obtaining social assistance from the government.

Selection of informant criteria for this study, the authors used the Purpose Sampling technique. The Purpose Sampling technique is a technique for selecting informants with certain considerations or criteria, for example the person is considered to know best about what we expect (Sugiyono, 2018). The reason for using the Purpose Sampling technique is that researchers see that the informants mentioned above are the entities that know best about the phenomenon the author wants to research, namely social assistance. Furthermore, by selecting informants, researchers will know the process of social assistance starting from the procurement process to distribution to the community, this can be known if there are informants from the procurement party (government) and recipients (community). In addition, with this technique, researchers will clearly know the role of the political actors who are responsible for procuring social assistance in Mariso District, especially for social assistance assistants in procuring social assistance. Furthermore, this researcher will find out how the relationship patterns are built, especially between social assistance assistants who are responsible for distributing social assistance as a bridge between the government and the community. So it is hoped that the information that will be obtained by the author regarding the phenomenon under study can be comprehensive, clear and detailed from both the government and the community.

The data analysis that will be used by the author in this study will refer to the book written by Creswell. In the book there are at least 6 steps in conducting data analysis, namely First, the researcher will prepare and process the data, then organize it into different types by looking at the information sources. Second, the researcher rereads the results of the data to translate back the information obtained through the informant. Third, coding by organizing words that contain the meaning of a data. Fourth, the coding results

describe the presentation of information according to categories. Fifth, the researcher will interpret the findings that have been divided into several categories into detailed narrative forms. Finally, the researcher will interpret the data to find out whether the results found justify previous studies or obtain new research results that do not match the results of previous studies (Creswell, 2014). These analysis steps are useful for both text and image data.

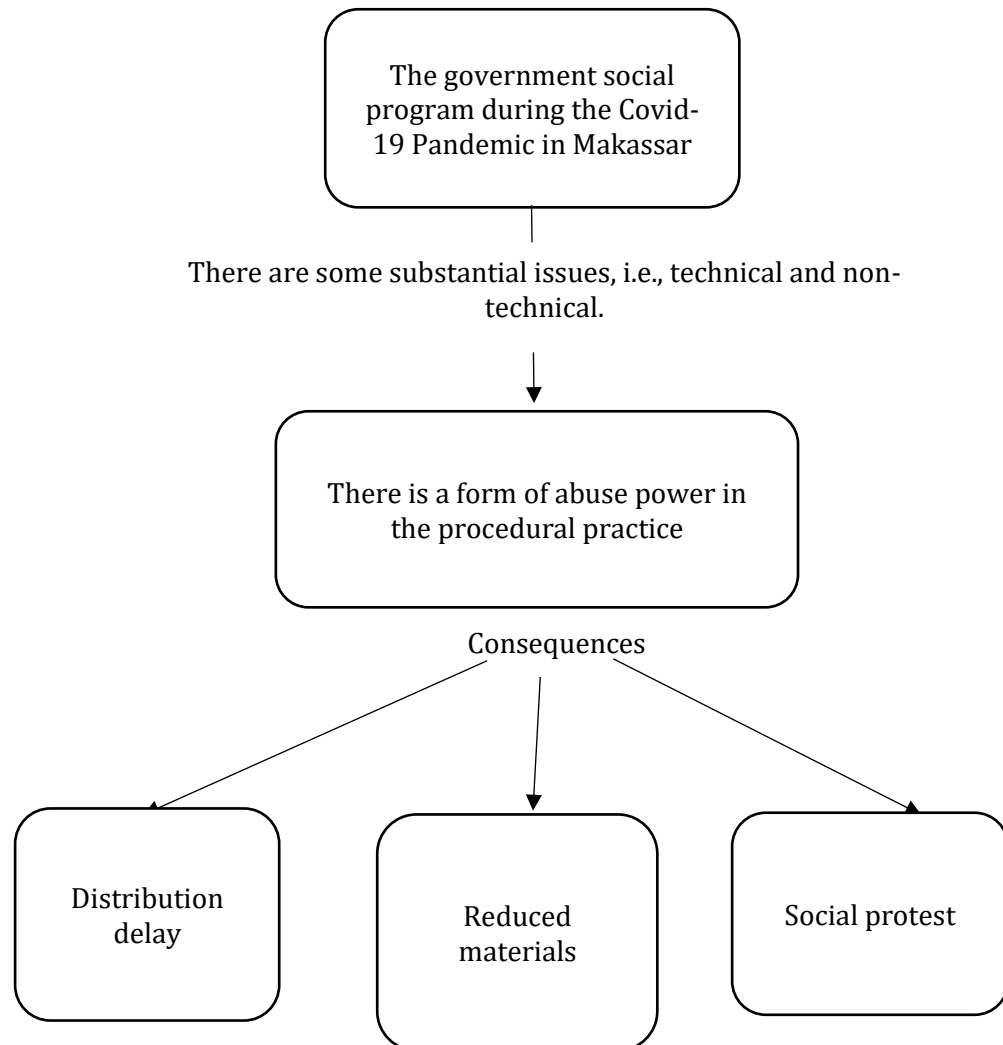


Figure 1. Research framework

Based on the framework of the flow of thought, the researcher intends to explain how the process of distributing social assistance and what kind of impact both procedurally and practically has on the people who receive social assistance. The flow of thought in this research began with the holding of COVID-19 social assistance for the people of Makassar City, but in terms of implementation, many things did not meet the expectations of the community and even tended to harm the people of Makassar City, especially in Mariso District. One of the things that happened was the abuse of authority by social assistance assistants. This phenomenon occurs due to the absence of strong oversight and control from both the government and the community itself, so that the access they have, such as access to information, distribution, or authority they have, is misused for their interests. Thus there are many impacts caused by the behavior of social assistance assistants such as: 1) delays in the distribution of social assistance to the community, 2) Social assistance funds are reduced as they should and 3) there are protests by the community at the Social Service as

a result of dissatisfaction with performance implemented by implementers. By looking at the phenomena that occur, especially social assistance in Mariso District, researchers have several hypotheses for this study, namely:

- 1) There is the abuse of authority by social assistance assistants as a result of weak oversight by the Government and the community over the implementing unit of this policy.
- 2) The phenomenon of social assistance in Makassar also occurs because the organizers of this policy are still incompetent and still stuttering so the implementation is still not in line with the expectations of the people of Makassar City.

3. Results and Discussion

In the previous chapter it was explained that this research focuses on 3 types of social assistance distributed by the City Government of Makassar in Mariso District, namely the Family Hope Program, Direct Cash Assistance, and Non-Cash Food Assistance (BNPT). Therefore, this sub-chapter will explain clearly the three types of social assistance, starting from the origins of these policies to the policy stage that oversees the three social assistance.

3.1. Different Social Assistance Programs by The Government

The Hopeful Family Program or commonly abbreviated as PKH is one of the social assistance programs that has existed since it was first launched in 2007. According to the Ministry of Social TNP2K, PKH is a social protection program through the provision of cash assistance to Very Poor Families (KSM), who have pregnant women, postpartum, or breastfeeding; or toddlers and preschoolers; or have children who are still attending elementary, junior high and high school equivalents; children aged 15-18 who have not completed basic education (TNP2K, 2014). The purpose of establishing PKH social assistance is to break the poverty chain by providing incentives to the poor and needy. But in general, this PKH aims to improve the quality of human resources and change the behavior of relatively small PKH participants. Efforts to improve welfare and break the intergenerational poverty chain are not supported. This goal is also to try to accelerate the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Murah, 2016). However, there are also specific objectives in this program, namely 1) Improving the health quality of RTSM/KSM; 2) Increasing the education level of RTSM/KSM children; 3) Improving access and quality of education and health services, especially for RTSM/KSM children (Cheap, 2016, p. 122).

This assistance program consists of various components of assistance which are divided into several types. Further details will be explained through a brief description below (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2019):

- A. Social support for each household
 - 1) Regular : IDR 550.000/Family/Year
 - 2) With the PKH : IDR 1.000.000/Family/Year
- B. Bantuan Komponen untuk setiap jiwa dalam Keluarga PKH
 - 1) Ibu Hamil : IDR 2.400.000
 - 2) Anak Usia Dini : IDR 2.400.000
 - 3) SD : IDR 900.000
 - 4) SMP : IDR 1.500.000
 - 5) SMA : IDR 2.000.000
 - 6) Diffable : IDR 2.400.000
 - 7) Elderly : IDR 2.400.000

The mechanism for procuring PKH social assistance has several stages which have been stipulated in the Decree of the Director General of Social Protection and Security Number 02/03/OT.02.01/12/2020 Concerning Technical Guidelines for the Distribution of Non-Cash Social Assistance for the 2021 Family Hope Program. In this stage it begins from the first stage of planning where this process begins to determine how much revenue for this social assistance comes from the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS). Second, Socialization and Education are carried out by special social assistance assistants for PKH

to beneficiary communities. The third distribution of KKS or ATM will be used by the recipient community if social assistance is disbursed. The fourth is the distribution of assistance and withdrawal of PKH social assistance funds which are carried out at ATMs that have collaborated with the Ministry of Social Affairs. Fifth Reconciliation of results of the distribution of PKH social assistance and Sixth Monitoring, Evaluation, and Reporting of Social Assistance. For more details, the following is a picture of the distribution flow of PKH social assistance.

3.2. Different social assistance programs by the government

In the previous chapter, it was explained about the implementation of social assistance in Mariso District, Makassar City starting from the stages, the number of beneficiaries to the types of social assistance distributed to the community. For this chapter, the author will explain the problems that arose during the process of distributing social assistance in Mariso District, Makassar City. In addition, this chapter will also explain in more detail the results of the interviews that have been conducted by researchers so that it will be clear what all forms of aspirations, complaints, and opinions regarding the social assistance program in Mariso District and the events experienced by the community during the social assistance program took place in during the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, this chapter will explain about stakeholders who have power and interest, whether to use these two things to influence each other so that phenomena that have been determined by higher power or vice versa occur. Likewise regarding the interests of each stakeholder in this social assistance policy.

When a program or policy is to be implemented, all elements involved in this program must work well together and carry out their functions and duties properly, so that there is synergy between all parties involved. In the context of the distribution of social assistance in Makassar City, especially in Mariso District, the synergy between stakeholders is still not good enough so in several cases mistakes have occurred which have resulted in the social assistance policy process not being maximized. Why is it that, the implementers do not synergize with each other, starting from social assistance assistants, RT/RW, to the Government itself (Lurah, Camat, and Social Services)? Of all these stakeholders, coordination is not synergistic with one another, so it spreads to other issues as previously mentioned namely Information, Communication, and Data Collection. Apart from that, there were also several matters relating to the implementor who acted not by the existing rules and regulations, resulting in several problems in the procurement of social assistance in Mariso District, Makassar City.

The two behaviors of social assistance assistants in the Panambungan Village that are of concern to the community are that all recipients of social assistance must spend their money on the spot. This is done so that the business can run smoothly while according to the provisions of the funds provided by the community can be spent according to the needs of the community itself. Thus it can be said that the social assistance assistant also carries out coercive actions on the community and is biased toward interests. In addition, there are also forms of coercion and intimidation carried out by this social assistance assistant, namely they will carry out blocking actions if the community does not obey what is ordered by the social assistance assistant. Because of this, many people ultimately obey the words of the social assistance assistant so that the ATM which is the access to get social assistance is not blocked by the social assistance assistant (Interview with Chaeruddin Dg Talle, 2022).

For funds that have been withdrawn, basically, it has been carried out from 2019 to 2021 with an amount of IDR 9,327,000. This action was carried out before the community protested against this social assistance companion. The recapitulation results are as follows:

Table 1. Recapitulation of money withdrawals

YEAR	DATE	AMOUNT OF MONEY
2019	31 January	IDR 2.050.000
2019	2 April	IDR 1.600.000
2019	4 July	IDR 1.000.000
2019	14 July	IDR 100.000
2019	5 October	IDR 420.000
2020	21 January	IDR 600.000
2020	16 March	IDR 457.000
2020	17 April	IDR 150.000
2020	16 May	IDR 150.000
2020	14 June	IDR 150.000
2020	8 July	IDR 150.000
2020	20 August	IDR 150.000
2020	4 September	IDR 150.000
2020	23 October	IDR 450.000
2021	5 January	IDR 225.000
2021	7 April	IDR 225.000
2021	17 May	IDR 100.000
2021	31 July	IDR 600.000
2021	13 November	IDR 600.000

3.3. Collective Action Protest Through The Stakeholder Mapping Lense

In this study, the community is categorized as a stakeholder subject. In the power versus interest grid analysis, the people, in this case, are stakeholders who have high interest but tend to have little power. What happened in the case of Mariso District where the community was able to change social assistance policies is a unique phenomenon. This is due to the existence of collective action carried out by the community affected by the unfavorable behaviors carried out by the implementor, in fact it succeeded in changing this situation so that it could benefit the community.

In the power versus interest grid analysis popularized by Eden and Ackermann, it is stated that every stakeholder who plays a role in social assistance policies can change the program by using the power they each have. But in this context, people who are categorized as subjects do not have power. However, by taking action against the Social Service, Kelurahan and Mariso Sub-District, they were able to change the policy. According to researchers what happened in the incident in Mariso District to social assistance programs is inseparable from the existence of the COVID-19 pandemic. Where in this situation all people are affected both economically, health and welfare of each of them. Social assistance during the COVID-19 pandemic can basically help the community to survive in this pandemic situation. But in reality the program was politicized by several implementers which resulted in the program not running as it should. Moreover, economically the people in Mariso District are areas that are categorized as urban poor. So it is not surprising that the community is protesting because social assistance, which is one of the hopes for survival in the COVID-19 pandemic situation, is actually being used by irresponsible individuals.

In the power versus interest grid analysis, it is explained that when a policy change occurs, there will be a process of influencing and being influenced among related stakeholders. In this case, the Office of Social Affairs, Kelurahan and Kecamatan as one of the stakeholders who can influence other stakeholders because of their very high interest and power. However, in reality the people who form coalitions with the mass media are assisted by community leaders who are quite influential in their area. So that what should influence is influenced, in this case it is the Office of Social Affairs as the one responsible for immediately evaluating and making changes to social assistance policies.

In the Problem-Frame Stakeholder Map analysis, it is stated that coalition stakeholders will take action to influence each other and even express their interests through various behaviors, such as what to oppose or support. As mentioned in this analysis there are 4 categories namely strong and weak opposition as well as strong and weak support. The phenomenon of protest actions carried out by the community in Mariso

District, where the collective movement was able to change social assistance policies in terms of distribution and data collection was the result of the hard work of the community to demand their rights and justice, one of the ways was by forming a coalition with the mass media to get support and be able to spread incidents of abuse of authority from implementers of social assistance policies to all people of Makassar city.

In this case, it is clear that the community opposes and acts as an opposition to this social assistance policy, because the people in Mariso District feel disappointed with the implementation of social assistance policies. At first the community was categorized as weak opposition, this was because the people who carried out the protest did not receive more attention, especially to implementers who carried out social assistance policies such as the Social Service. But when the community formed a coalition with the mass media and there were also community leaders who voiced the aspirations and complaints of the community, so that what was not heard before became heard by other stakeholders and even changed social assistance policies in accordance with the demands of the people who staged the protest. In other words, the people who were previously referred to as weak opposition (weak opposition) have become strong opposition by forming a coalition with the mass media. In addition, this analysis also explains that subjects who have weak power will be taken into account if they form a coalition with other stakeholders, where in this case the community does this by hooking up with the mass media so they can spread this event and put pressure on other stakeholders.

For analysis, the Policy Implementation Strategy Development Grid functions for stakeholders, in this case the community, to carry out various strategies so that they can influence social assistance policies, especially those that occur in Mariso District. As is well known, community protests are a form of strategy or effort to influence social assistance policies. Where in effect, this collective action has produced results by changing the distribution and data collection mechanisms of social assistance policies. Therefore this Policy Implementation Strategy Development Grid analysis will provide an explanation of the Mariso District community protest action as a form of strategy to influence social assistance policies. For more details, this analysis presents a table that can explain the success of the protest action as a form of resistance strategy against social assistance policies in Mariso District.

Table 2. Implementation Strategy Development Grid

Stakeholder's characteristics	Interest	Resource	Channel	Participation possibility	Influence's level	Implication	Action
<i>Supportive Opposing</i>	Social Assistance	The community who gets the funding	Mass Media	Almost everyone in the community	High	Change the distribution and monitoring pattern.	Collective protest.

As previously explained, the main focus in this research is the community as the main stakeholder in social assistance policies in Mariso District. Previously it has been identified that the community is a subject stakeholder who has high interest but has power. In addition, the community in this policy is the opposition party (opposing), namely those who oppose social assistance policies and changes must be made that emphasize the rights and interests of the community as the target of this policy. In the analysis of the Implementation Strategy Development Grid it is explained that there are 7 things that become the basis for Stakeholders to take action to influence and be influenced in a policy.

Interest: researchers identify it as social assistance, this is because the community is an affected entity and social assistance is a form of incentive from the government to be able to survive the COVID-19 pandemic. Resources: As an entity that receives social assistance, the resources in implementing its strategy are social assistance recipient communities. This is because they are victims of the abuse of authority by the implementer, so that the fate and suffering of the beneficiary communities have the same taste as other

communities. Channel: Basically the protest action was carried out by visiting the local Kelurahan and Kecamatan offices, but the results had no impact on social assistance policies. So that people use Mass Media as a channel to carry out protest actions so that they can raise what is being fought for to be known by the wider community, especially in Makassar City. Thus, when the community knows about this incident and everyone supports what the people in Mariso District are doing, there will be pressure on other stakeholders, in this case the Social Services, District and Village Offices, to fulfill the aspirations and demands of the people who are protesting. Possibility of Participation: The protest action carried out by the people of Mariso District had an effect on other communities, so that the participation was quite large, especially since the protest was accompanied by a community leader. Level of Influence: Protest actions carried out by the community have a very large influence, moreover the community has formed a coalition with the mass media so that the effects are felt by all the people of Makassar City and other stakeholders.

4. Conclusions

Based on the discussion and analysis of the Social Assistance Program in Mariso District, Makassar City in previous chapters, this research can conclude what has been done by researchers. This research was conducted based on research questions that had been determined and formulated in the previous chapter, namely Chapter 1 Introduction, namely: "Why can the Community Protest Action in Mariso District, Makassar City change the mechanism, data collection and distribution of COVID-19 social assistance?". This question is a question based on the protests carried out by the community in Mariso District against the implementation of social assistance policies in Makassar City. So that the impact caused by this event has affected the social assistance itself, especially the aspect of the distribution mechanism. Implications: The impact caused by this protest action is a change in the mechanism for distribution and data collection on social assistance policies, due to the pressure from the protests and the news coverage carried out by the mass media. Action: The purpose of carrying out this protest action is to demand a change in social assistance policies, especially in terms of distribution and data collection. This is because these 2 aspects have received great attention from the community as a result of these 2 aspects not going well during the implementation of social assistance policies in Mariso District.

The protest actions carried out by the community did not run smoothly at first. This is due to the power relations faced by the community towards implementers, especially for social assistance assistants. Where in this case, there is an element of threat and coercion if the community as recipients of assistance acts excessively and can threaten the position of social assistance assistants. Thus the protest actions carried out by the community did not have an impact on the situation, especially in the ongoing process of implementing social assistance policies. However, the people who received responses such as threats and coercion from the Social Assistance Facilitators took other methods so that they could be heard by the government of Makassar City. This is because social assistance is one of the incentives given to people affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, the people held protests again, no longer to the social assistance assistants but to the Kelurahan, Sub-District to the Makassar City Social Service. Apart from that, in this protest action, the community also formed a coalition with the mass media in order to disseminate the situation in Mariso District with the aim that the people of Makassar City could find out what was happening in the implementation process in Mariso District. Moreover, this protest action also presented a community leader named Chaeruddin Dg Tale as a leader in the collective movement, so that the protest action process was carried out synergistically, systematically so that the message conveyed could be conveyed properly to the government of Makassar City.

The theory used, namely Stakeholder Mapping, can be used to analyze the phenomena studied by researchers, namely community protests against social assistance policies, where the community is the main stakeholder in this policy. The analysis in this theory is 1) Power versus Interest Grid, 2) Problem-Frame Stakeholders Map and 3) Policy

Implementation Mapping is able to explain the protests carried out by the community and also the impact of these protests. The researcher uses the power versus interest grid analysis to see what kind of stakeholder the community belongs to and the researcher identifies it as the stakeholder subject. Where these stakeholders have high interest but have low power, so that it can be said in this social assistance policy that the community becomes a stakeholder who has very high interest but their strength as one of the stakeholders is not that great. What is unique in the results of this study is that people who are categorized as subject stakeholders can change social assistance policies, which should be done by stakeholders with higher power. But in reality the community is able to change social assistance policies by forming coalitions with several parties such as the mass media and using community leaders in carrying out protest actions so that their goals can be conveyed properly to the Makassar City government. As previously explained, the Mariso District community protest action was successful and social assistance policies were changed, especially in the distribution and data collection mechanisms.

Finally, the analysis of the Policy Implementation Strategy Development Grid functions as an analysis of stakeholders, in this case the community, to carry out various strategies so that they can influence social assistance policies, especially those that occur in Mariso District. This analysis has 7 bases where each base has a function to see how the strategy is and how the effect will be caused by the strategy. 1) The interest in this case is that the community has an interest in social assistance so that it can be carried out immediately in accordance with its original purpose, which is to help people affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. 2) Resources, in this context are social assistance recipient communities. This is because all people in Mariso District who receive social assistance have the same fate, namely to become victims of abuse of authority by irresponsible implementers. 3) Channel, in the phenomenon studied, the community uses access to carry out protest actions through several channels, such as visiting the Kelurahan, Sub-District to the Social Service. Communities also use the mass media as partners in carrying out protest actions so that they can have a broad impact and be felt by the implementers who are responsible for social assistance policies. 4) The possibility of participation can be said to be quite large because most people who receive social assistance become victims of irresponsible behavior by implementers. Moreover, in this strategy the community is led by a community leader named Chaeruddin Dg Tale so that this protest action can be synergistic, systematic and the messages conveyed are well conveyed to stakeholders who are responsible for social assistance policies in Mariso District. 5) The level of influence caused by this protest action was very large, especially when the community formed a coalition with the mass media, the news spread throughout Makassar City. 6) The implication or effect caused by this protest action is a change in the mechanism for distribution and data collection. 7) Lastly is action, where the protest action aims to change policies whose implementation is felt to be inappropriate, especially in the distribution and data collection aspects. So the strategy used to change this is to carry out protest actions and demand changes that lead to equity and justice for the community as recipients of social assistance.

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The author declares no conflict of interest.

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