



## **Labour-Intensive Program: A Transformation of Public Welfare Policy in Supporting Sustainable Development**

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### **Abstract**

The Labour-Intensive Program is a policy of the Surabaya City Government that is oriented towards empowering human resources and developing public welfare for low-income communities in the City of Surabaya after the COVID-19 pandemic. This research aims to describe; 1) the transformation of the Surabaya City Government's public policy from a social welfare orientation to a labor-intensive policy after changes in the implementation of PERWALI No. 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Surabaya Mayor's Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in the City of Surabaya; and 2) the implementation of the labor-intensive program policy. This research method is a qualitative-descriptive research with data collection techniques through literature studies, observations and in-depth interviews with policy implementers (Public Housing & Human Settlements Office) in the Dupak Village area, Krembangan District. This study produces several conclusions: 1) changes in the implementation of PERWALI NO. 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Regulation of the Mayor of Surabaya Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in the City of Surabaya, is the interest of the policy actor (Mayor of Surabaya) as a consequence of the shift in the policy paradigm from a social welfare-based program to a labor-intensive program. 2) The implementation of labour-intensive policies aims for public welfare in reducing poverty and unemployment, and national economic recovery in order to support sustainable development goals.

**Keywords:** Labour-Intensive Program, Public Welfare Policy, Surabaya City Government

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### **Abstrak**

*Program Padat Karya adalah kebijakan Pemerintah Kota Surabaya yang berorientasi pada pemberdayaan sumberdaya manusia serta pengembangan kesejahteraan publik bagi masyarakat berpenghasilan rendah di Kota Surabaya pasca pandemi Covid-19. Riset ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan; 1) transformasi kebijakan publik Pemerintah Kota Surabaya dari orientasi kesejahteraan sosial menjadi kebijakan orientasi padat karya pasca perubahan dalam implementasi PERWALI No. 35 Tahun 2022 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Walikota Surabaya Nomor 9 Tahun 2022 tentang Rehabilitasi Sosial Rumah Tidak Layak Huni Kota Surabaya; serta 2) implementasi kebijakan program padat karya. Metode penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif-deskriptif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi kepustakaan, observasi dan wawancara mendalam dengan implementor kebijakan (Dinas Perumahan Rakyat dan Permukiman) di wilayah Kelurahan Dupak Kecamatan Krembangan. Penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa kesimpulan; 1) perubahan dalam implementasi PERWALI NO. 35 Tahun 2022 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Walikota Surabaya Nomor 9 Tahun 2022 tentang Rehabilitasi Sosial Rumah Tidak Layak Huni Kota Surabaya, adalah kepentingan aktor kebijakan (Walikota Surabaya) sebagai konsekuensi atas pergeseran paradigma kebijakan dari program yang berbasis kesejahteraan sosial menjadi program berbasis padat karya. 2) implementasi padat karya secara politik bertujuan; untuk kesejahteraan publik dalam mengurangi*

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*kemiskinan dan pengangguran serta pemulihan ekonomi nasional demi mendukung tujuan pembangunan berkelanjutan.*

**Kata Kunci:** Program Padat Karya, Kebijakan Kesejahteraan Publik, Pemerintah Kota Surabaya

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## Introduction

The labour-intensive program is one of the breakthroughs carried out by local governments in Indonesia on an initiative that aims to create jobs and open economic opportunities for low-income or poor communities. This program often involves labour-intensive projects in the field of infrastructure, such as home repairs, road repairs, repairs to a number of public facilities, drainage channels, and mangrove planting in order to reduce poverty and poverty rates in various regions.

One of the areas implementing the labour-intensive program is the city of Surabaya. Labour-intensive is a program that focuses on community empowerment in the development of infrastructure and the local economy of the people of Surabaya. In fact, this program started from the economic situation of the local community (production, consumption, distribution), which experienced difficulties and decreased activity during the COVID-19 pandemic. Restrictions on community activities in socialising and economic activities (lockdown) during the pandemic resulted in stagnation of the economy of the people of Surabaya City and a number of other areas (domestic economy) until in 2021 the national economy was able to experience sufficient economic growth (GDP) of 3.69 per cent from 2020 (Kemenkeu, 2022; Widiyantara, 2023). When the COVID-19 pandemic ends, the central government wants local governments to make breakthrough initiatives that can indirectly restore the regional and national economy. The policy direction was accepted by the Surabaya City Government by forming several innovative policy programs aimed at helping to relax the regional and national economy in early 2022.

Among the innovative policy programs made by the Surabaya City Government at that time was the Uninhabitable House Repair Program (RUTILAHU), which was intended as a labour-intensive policy. The Uninhabitable House Repair Program in Surabaya City has been implemented for a long time, but Mayor Eri Cahyadi (serving 2019-present) saw an opportunity to maximize community empowerment as technical implementers so that with this thought, the Surabaya City Government could run the RUTILAHU repair program on the

one hand and run the national economic recovery program after the Covid 19 pandemic on the other hand.

However, behind the Surabaya City Government's policy innovation efforts, there is something interesting to note, namely the change in the policy of Surabaya Mayor Regulation (PERWALI) Number 6 of 2019 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in Surabaya City, to Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses which was not long after changed again with Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in Surabaya City. In context, the policies of Surabaya Mayor Regulation (PERWALI) No. 9 of 2022 and PERWALI No. 35 of 2022 have the same policy direction in overcoming slums (poor) post-pandemic. However, in terms of content, Surabaya Mayor Regulation (PERWALI) No. 35 of 2022 acts as an amendment (revision) to Surabaya Mayor Regulation (PERWALI) No. 9 of 2022 in terms of technical implementation.

Interestingly, the Surabaya City labor-intensive program, which has been considered successful in combining internal policy directions (Uninhabitable Houses) and national policies (national economic recovery) post-pandemic with the involvement of empowering poor communities, is currently developing and even massively promoting new programs that are oriented towards labour-intensive after the issuance of Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 83 of 2023 concerning the Labor-Intensive Program in the City of Surabaya and the technical implementation carried out virtually through the Labor-Intensive Application.

Thus, this article does not aim to measure, test or analyze the effectiveness, benefits and performance of its implementation or to analyze the implementation of labor-intensive programs using a policy analysis approach in the City of Surabaya (Algadry Mahendra & Rahaju, 2024; Aqila et al., 2022; Hadi et al., 2022; Lafina et al., 2023; Putri & Ismail, 2024). In addition, this article is also not intended to explain how empowerment and participation of low-income communities can achieve the implementation of labour-intensive programs (Fadhilah & Wahyudi, 2023; Fatihah & Azizah, 2024; Giani et al., 2021; Hapsari & Arif, 2023). For the author, the policy research topics mentioned above are already too many, so the author intends to discuss them from the aspect of how the transformation of public policy has shifted orientation from social welfare issues to labor-intensive issues and how the

implementation of labor-intensive policies in the city of Surabaya can support national development programs in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

## Method

This article is a qualitative research study that takes the case of the transformation of labour-intensive program policies in the city of Surabaya after the COVID-19 Pandemic. Conceptually, qualitative methods in a study are identified with the analysis of data obtained through the process of interview notes, observations and other data. Not through the process of testing and formulating certain hypotheses (LaMarre & Chamberlain, 2022; McMullin, 2023; Morgan, 2022; Vila-Henninger et al., 2024; Yadav, 2022). The use of qualitative research aims to reveal and understand the implementation of PERWALI NO. 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Regulation of the Mayor of Surabaya Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in the City of Surabaya as an embryo of the existence of a labor-intensive program policy in the City of Surabaya after the Covid-19 Pandemic. This use also aims to explain the implementation of the labour-intensive program policy that supports national sustainable development goals. Researchers see these two problems as cases that need to be studied in an investigative as part of a qualitative study (Bhangu et al., 2023; Hiebert et al., 2023).

This study used two data sources. The first is from the literature on the Surabaya Mayor Regulation (PERWALI) Number 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in the City of Surabaya and the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 83 of 2023 concerning the Labour-Intensive Program in the City of Surabaya. The second data is sourced from interviews with beneficiaries of the Uninhabitable House Improvement Program (Dandan Omah) in Dupak Krembangan Village, Surabaya and interviews with the Surabaya City Public Housing and Settlement Area and Land Agency (DPRKPP). Therefore, the collection techniques used are observation, documentation and interview techniques. The data collected were then analyzed using the display, member check, and conclusion methods.

## Result and Discussion

### Profile of Poverty and Low-Income Communities (MBR) in Surabaya City

Poverty is one of the fundamental problems, among other classic problems, that are often experienced by policymakers in a number of regional governments. Moreover, the problem of poverty is seen as an inherited disease that cannot be cured. The high number of poverty problems occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. Restrictions on mobility and social, cultural and economic activities of the community caused the poverty rate in Indonesian cities to increase. For the poverty rate in the city of Surabaya, based on data from the Surabaya City Central Statistics Agency, there were at least 145,670 poor people in 2020 (5.02%), from the 130,550 poor people in 2019 (4.51%). The increase reached 0.51 per cent. This figure was further exacerbated by an increase of 5.23 per cent or 152,490 people in 2021. This reality is the beginning of the chain of the COVID-19 pandemic and large-scale social restrictions (lockdown), so that the increase reached 0.72 per cent.

In the period of March 2022-March 2023, the number of poor people in the city of Surabaya decreased by 1.84 thousand people from 138.21 thousand people in March 2022 to 136.37 thousand people in March 2023. This means that this has decreased by 1.33 per cent. Based on the percentage of poor people in the city of Surabaya in the span of one year, it has decreased by 0.07% from 4.72% in March 2022 to 4.65% in March 2023. The decrease in the poverty rate from 2022 to 2023 is related to the increase in the Surabaya City Poverty Line (basic daily needs), namely, in 2022, 652,540 rupiah per capita per month. While in 2023, 718,370 rupiah per capita per month (Setiawan, 2023).

Tabel 1. Garis Kemiskinan, Jumlah dan Persentase Penduduk Miskin di Kota Surabaya 2015-2024

| Tahun | Garis Kemiskinan/GK<br>(rupiah per kapita sebulan) | Jumlah Penduduk<br>Miskin (ribu jiwa) | Persentase<br>Penduduk Miskin |
|-------|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1)   | (2)  | (3)                                   | (4)                           |
| 2015  | 418.930  | 165,72                                | 5,82                          |
| 2016  | 438.283  | 161,01                                | 5,63                          |
| 2017  | 474.365  | 154,71                                | 5,39                          |
| 2018  | 530.178  | 140,81                                | 4,88                          |
| 2019  | 567.474  | 130,55                                | 4,51                          |
| 2020  | 592.137  | 145,67                                | 5,02                          |
| 2021  | 611.466  | 152,49                                | 5,23                          |
| 2022  | 652.540  | 138,21                                | 4,72                          |
| 2023  | 718.370  | 136,37                                | 4,65                          |
| 2024  | 742.678  | 116,62                                | 3,96                          |

Sumber : BPS Kota Surabaya, Susenas 2015-2024

### Picture 1. Profile of Poverty in Surabaya

Meanwhile, the poverty rate in 2024 in the city of Surabaya also decreased by 14.5 per cent. In detail, in March 2023-March 2024, the number of poor people in the city of Surabaya decreased by 19.75 thousand people from 136.37 thousand people in March 2023 to 116.62 thousand people in March 2024 (down around 20 thousand people). Thus, in general, the decrease in the poor population in the city of Surabaya in the one-year period was 0.69 per cent from 4.65 per cent in March 2023 to 3.96 per cent in March 2024 (BPS, 2024).

The decline in poverty rates in the city of Surabaya after the COVID-19 pandemic was due to several factors. First, the economic growth of the city of Surabaya reached 5.76 per cent. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) of the city of Surabaya, the economic growth rate of the city of Surabaya exceeded the economic growth of East Java Province, which reached 4.93% in 2023, and was even considered the highest economic growth in East Java Province. The decline in poverty rates had an impact on the decline in open unemployment to 4.91 per cent and the Gini social gap ratio of 0.381 in the city of Surabaya. The decline in poverty rates is very rational if it occurs due to the economic growth of the people of the city of Surabaya (surabaya.go.id, March 5, 2025). Second, the existence of a labour-intensive program. Legally and formally, the labour-intensive program focuses on the poor in the city of Surabaya. Among the objectives of the program are to create new jobs for the Low-Income Community (MBR) and to increase the class of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) based on local-community orientation.

Low-Income Communities (MBR) are people who are in the lower middle socio-economic class, where they work every day to get enough income to meet their living needs. Low-Income Communities in the City of Surabaya are the objects or targets of policies that will get access to assistance from the Surabaya City Government related to labour-intensive programs. In addition, they will get access to government assistance in the form of education, health, job training, home repairs (RUTILAHU), basic food assistance and other social assistance (Algadry Mahendra & Rahaju, 2024; Fadhilah & Wahyudi, 2023). In overcoming poverty and unemployment in the city of Surabaya, it is very clear that people who fall into the category of low-income people are the main priority for implementing labour-intensive programs (Anggraini & Kurniawan, 2021; Lafina et al., 2023; Mayasari, 2023; Sari et al., 2024). Referring to Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 53 of 2020, Low-Income Communities (MBR) are people who have per capita consumption expenditure per month below the Poverty Line. (Giani et al., 2021; Putricia & Prathama, 2023). Meanwhile, the Central Statistics Agency of Surabaya City stated in March 2024 that the Poverty Line figure was 742,678 rupiah per capita per month, and the number of poor people was 116.62 thousand people. Thus, this statement can be concluded that the Low-Income Community (MBR) is the poor community in Surabaya City with an average monthly income of 742,678 rupiah per capita.

### **Transformation of Public Policy from Social Welfare Issues to Labour-Intensive Oriented Policies**

Chronologically, the labour-intensive policy in the city of Surabaya cannot be separated from the Surabaya City Government's initiative efforts in regional-national economic recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic. At that time, the Surabaya City Government started it with a political desire to overcome the problems of poverty and slums in Surabaya. This problem was actually included in the annual public policy agenda called the social rehabilitation policy for Uninhabitable Houses in the city of Surabaya since 2003. It's just that at that time, it was called the Slum Area Social Rehabilitation program or abbreviated as RSDK (Ulu & Sholichah, 2020). Entering 2015, the technical implementation of the Slum Area Social Rehabilitation program is regulated in the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 41 of 2015 concerning General Guidelines for the Implementation of the

Surabaya City Slum Area Social Rehabilitation Program which aims to improve the quality of life economically and socially for the community, especially those in slum settlements, improve the physical quality of housing, facilities and infrastructure, and improve business capabilities in the context of developing sources of income through various types of empowerment.

After four years later, Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 35 of 2022 emerged as a liaison between Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 6 of 2019 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in Surabaya City and the previous regulation in Surabaya Mayor Regulation No. 41 of 2015 which was considered still ineffective and not well-targeted, so that the goal is more clearly directed at returning social functions and improving the quality of poor places through repairing uninhabitable houses to be habitable, healthy and safe.

Regarding the requirements for recipients of the home improvement assistance program, both from the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 35 of 2022 and Regulation Number 41 of 2015, there are similarities such as the requirements for domicile and having an ID card from the local sub-district, the condition of the house is uninhabitable/fire/disaster, a statement letter that the house/land is not in dispute which is known regionally by the RT/RW/Lurah, has never received a home improvement assistance program from the Regional Government and has received a recommendation from the Head of the RT, RW and the local Lurah. However, there are different requirements, namely that the house stands on land that has a legal basis of control. This requirement is not found in the previous regulation, PERWALI NO. 41 of 2015, which in general this program can be given to people or residents of Surabaya City who have uninhabitable houses without the requirement of proof of legal ownership of the house or land. This change is considered to limit Low-Income Surabaya City residents as prospective recipients, so that the Unhabitable houses (RUTILAHU) assistance program is considered less targeted and effective.

In addition, there are differences in the categories of aid recipients, where in PERWALI NO. 14 YEAR 2015, it is stated with the condition of poor families. However, in PERWALI NO. 9 YEAR 2022, it changes to the term Low-Income Community, which is marked by per capita monthly consumption expenditure below the poverty line, as evidenced by a certificate from the Surabaya City Social Service. The term Low-Income Community is terminologically different from the concept of poor families. Terminologically, poor families are people who have no source of livelihood at all/or have a source of livelihood but are

unable to meet the basic needs that are appropriate for themselves and/or their families. However, philosophically, Low-Income Communities are poor people or families who have income from the work they do and have not met or fulfilled their daily needs. Thus, technically, the policies between the two have the same understanding of the priority of policy targets.

It does not stop there. The policy changes in Mayor Surabaya Regulation (PERWALI) NO. 14 of 2015 to Mayor Surabaya Regulation (PERWALI) NO. 9 of 2022, which was eventually changed back to Mayor Surabaya Regulation (PERWALI) NO. 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to Mayor Surabaya Regulation (PERWALI) NO. 9 of 2022 concerning the technical implementation of social rehabilitation of uninhabitable houses. This fact shows a paradigm shift in the Uninhabitable House assistance program. This proposition is proven by the change in the function of social rehabilitation into a physical repair action (house). The basis is the change in the term Social Rehabilitation Activity Plan Agreement (KRKRS) to the House Repair Plan Agreement (KRPR). Not only that, but related to implementing policies in the field, there has also been a shift in roles. The policy implementer is the Poor Family Development Unit (UPKM), shifting to the House Repair Technical Group (KTPR). The shift in tasks from the paradigm of fostering poor families by rehabilitating uninhabitable houses to house repair actions, where the implementers are people who have house construction skills. The implementation of policies from the City's service elements has also shifted from the Social Service to the task of the Surabaya City Public Housing and Settlement Areas and Land Service (DPRKPP).

The mention of social rehabilitation in Mayor Surabaya Regulation (PERWALI) NO. 14 of 2015 and PERWALI NO. 9 of 2022 has relational politics with its implementer, which the Surabaya City Social Service carries out. The relationship between social rehabilitation of uninhabitable houses and social services is that policy interests cannot be separated from the facts of the content and context of the policy. In this case, the Surabaya City Social Service considers that the problem of poor families and uninhabitable settlements in Surabaya City is included in its affairs (social affairs). Because of its affairs, the policy content must mention a term that is close to the social theme, so the term is social rehabilitation. Here, the Mayor of Surabaya for the 2009-2019 period, Risma, is more

popularly known by the term for this policy, the rehabilitation or renovation program for uninhabitable houses.

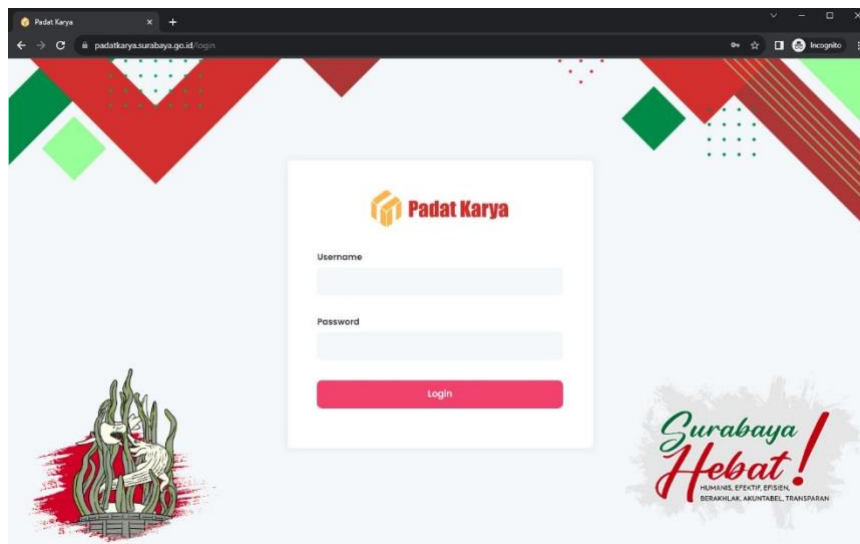
After the Mayor of Surabaya, Eri Cahyadi, replaced Risma, the policy on the rehabilitation of uninhabitable houses was changed in terms of content and context, so that from here the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 35 of 2022 emerged after the Covid-19 pandemic with the term uninhabitable house repairs, which means that there is no longer any technical involvement and work procedures for the Social Service in the program. The term here is no longer a rehabilitation program but has been replaced with the name repair. Eri Cahyadi, as the new Mayor of Surabaya, prefers to call it the "House Repair" (Dandan Omah) program so that the one repairing uninhabitable houses is now the Surabaya City Public Housing, Settlement Area and Land Office (DPRKPP), not the Social Service. Eri Cahyadi sees how the problem of Uninhabitable Houses (RUTILAHU) is no longer a matter of fostering the poor or solving it socially, but a matter for the Surabaya City government in repairing uninhabitable houses physically. Thus, it is clear that there is a difference and shift in paradigm and policy from the leadership of Risma, the old Mayor of Surabaya, to Eri Cahyadi, the new Mayor, regarding the same issue, namely the handling of uninhabitable houses (RUTILAHU).

This policy of repairing uninhabitable houses is the first policy oriented towards labour-intensive work in the Eri Cahyadi era since May 2022, after the lockdown period ended. The labor-intensive program through the repair of Uninhabitable Houses involves the community as workers (construction workers and laborers), food providers for workers (stall businesses), building material providers (building materials shops) and supervision carried out by RT/RW administrators where the community earns additional income that can improve their economy every month. This fact is considered the success of the program, which also influenced the improvement of the economy of low-income people while reducing poverty in the city of Surabaya from 2022 to 2024. This is where the policy underwent its first transformation from an issue of public welfare per se to an issue oriented towards labour-intensive work. The context of social welfare is not only given to the poor as recipients of assistance for repairing Uninhabitable Houses (public welfare) but also provides benefits to people around (MBR) who need work or additional income to improve the per capita economy per month (labour-intensive).

## **Implementation of Labour-Intensive Policy as a New Paradigm: Sustainable Development**

Implementation is a process of policy in every government program which is real evidence of an idea that has been created (Ismi, 2021). The implementation of labor-intensive policies in the city of Surabaya is influenced by several actors in it, such as the government and related Surabaya City agencies (executives) as well as non-governmental actors and the community. The impact of the implementation of the labor-intensive policy is also felt by the Low-Income Community (MBR) of the City of Surabaya as a leading program (best practices) in alleviating poverty, unemployment and economic growth in the City of Surabaya after the pandemic. In 2023, the Mayor of Surabaya Eri Cahyadi, together with the ranks of the Surabaya City Government (PEMKOT) intensified the Labor-Intensive program in various areas of the city. As a result, by the end of 2023, the Labor-Intensive program through business or entrepreneurship assistance and work distribution had absorbed 36,194 workers.

The implementation of labour-intensive policies in the city of Surabaya is based on the legal basis of the Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 83 of 2023 concerning the Labour-Intensive Program in the City of Surabaya. Even now, the Surabaya City Government has carried out digitalization innovations in the form of the Labor-Intensive Application in the context of a poverty alleviation program by providing jobs for the poor. The application built by the Communication and Informatics Service is used to manage the processes in the program such as managing data on the targeted poor, types of jobs, interventions by Regional Apparatus, management of Surabaya City Government assets utilized in this program, monitoring work, and evaluating work results. This application is a breakthrough by the Surabaya City Government which has succeeded in reducing the unemployment rate in the city of Surabaya, thus having an impact on reducing poverty.



**Picture 2. Home Page of the Surabaya City Labor Intensive Application**

The Labor-Intensive Program Application is an electronic information system developed by the Surabaya City Government with the Surabaya City Communication and Information Service as the technical implementer and person in charge which contains data on poor families involved in the labor-intensive program, assets that can be utilized, and information related to planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the program at the location where the program is implemented. In terms of the technical implementation of the program, the City Government, Sub-district and Implementation Coordinator are required to report progress and updates of data and activities at least once a month in the application. The reports and updates on the progress of these activities are intended as monitoring and evaluation materials for the implementation of the labour-intensive program in each of its agendas. The report can be in the form of target absorption and realization of the requested budget, target and realization of production and sales, target and realization of the amount of per capita income for low-income and pre-prosperous groups, target and realization of absorption of the number of empowered workers, and technical constraints proven by documentation methods. Here, the role of the Mayor of Surabaya is very large in monitoring the progress of the program that has been implemented in his area through the dashboard of the Labour-Intensive program application.

In Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 83 of 2023, it is stated that the labour-intensive program in the City of Surabaya is implemented in order to restore the regional economy, accelerate poverty alleviation and create jobs. Labour-intensive is a community empowerment program for poor families that is productivity-based on the utilisation of

natural resources, labour, and local technology in order to reduce unemployment and poverty, as well as increase income and maintain people's purchasing power. In this context, financial sources and funding come from the Surabaya City Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD), targeting poor families and the community involved (empowered).

This program is classified as 1) Procurement of goods or services, and 2) empowerment or management of micro-enterprises. The first classification shows how the Surabaya City Government procures goods or services to assistance beneficiaries. While the second classification shows that the Surabaya City Government acts as a facilitator for the empowerment of a community, so that they have special skills and are trained in business activities in the goods and services sectors. The implementing elements of the labour-intensive program are the Surabaya City Cooperatives, Small and Medium Enterprises, Trade Service, Social Service, Industry and Manpower Service. Meanwhile, the implementing elements of the labour-intensive Uninhabitable House Repair (RUTILAHU) program are the Surabaya City Public Housing and Settlement Areas and Land Service (DPRKPP).

In implementing the labour-intensive program in Surabaya since 2022, there are four labour-intensive program sectors that have been worked on by the Surabaya City Government after the COVID-19 Pandemic, including:

**a. Business Assistance or Business Equipment (Entrepreneurship)**

The Surabaya City Government through the labor-intensive program provides business or entrepreneurial assistance to poor families and Micro, Cooperative and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) in Surabaya by providing direct productive assistance such as equipment assistance for businesses such as sewing machines, car wash equipment, carts, washing machines (Laundry), and sewing production equipment. In addition, there is also business capital assistance such as capital for grocery stores, cafes or coffee shops and culinary tourism centres. This business capital assistance has a low interest rate of 3% intended for individuals or certain business group communities.

**b. Job Distribution Assistance**

The labour-intensive program also assists in distributing jobs for the poor people of Surabaya City by placing them as workers in formal and informal jobs, such as distributing them to work at the Surabaya City Government Regional Apparatus to support the implementation of the duties and functions. In addition, the work is distributed through the results of partnership commitments established by the Regional Apparatus with companies in Surabaya. Then, the distribution of work according to job opportunities in each domicile area of poor families, such as becoming a refill water officer, Household Assistant services, Baby Sitter, Expedition Package Delivery and others.

**c. Service Distribution Assistance**

Other assistance contained in the Surabaya City labour-intensive program is assistance in distributing services. This assistance is carried out by helping poor residents with training and skills related to job opportunities that Surabaya City Government partner companies need. After being trained, the Surabaya City Government, as a facilitator, distributes the poor residents as workers to hotel business actors. They become workers for meat and vegetable delivery services.

**d. Assistance for Repairing Uninhabitable Houses**

The next assistance is assistance for repairing uninhabitable houses (dandan omah). This program helps poor families living in uninhabitable houses to be repaired by the government by involving low-income communities as local workers, either as builders or construction workers. The Dandan Omah program is a labour-intensive program introduced and launched by the Mayor of Surabaya, Eri Cahyadi, on March 31, 2022. However, both the Dandan Omah and Bedah Rumah programs target low-income residents of Surabaya City (MBR) with the aim of improving the condition of their homes from slum conditions to habitable conditions in terms of function and quality. However, in the researcher's view, the two have fundamental differences in their basis.

The Dandan Omah program (repairing uninhabitable houses), initiated by Eri Cahyadi, is a labour-intensive Uninhabitable House Repair Program. In contrast, the Bedah Rumah program, launched by the former Mayor of Surabaya, Risma, is based on social welfare. The Bedah Rumah (home rehabilitation) program is carried out by renovating uninhabitable houses owned by poor residents in the city of Surabaya through proposals submitted by the community to the Surabaya City Government and from the results of a

survey by the Surabaya City Social Service (Novianty & Kurniawan, 2021; Yuananta & Umiyati, 2023).

The management and implementation of the Uninhabitable Houses program based on social welfare is based on the policy of Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 41 of 2015 concerning General Guidelines for the Implementation of the Surabaya City Slum Area Social Rehabilitation Program, Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 6 of 2019 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in Surabaya City, and Surabaya Mayor Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in Surabaya City (Nugroho & Pradana, 2021; Pratama & Niswah, 2021; N. S. Sari, Murti, & Rahmadanik, 2022). The provision of assistance for repairing uninhabitable houses to aid recipients can reach 5 million to 30 million rupiah, depending on the severity and damage to the house.

## Conclusion

The interest in change in the implementation of PERWALI NO. 35 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Regulation of the Mayor of Surabaya Number 9 of 2022 concerning Social Rehabilitation of Uninhabitable Houses in the City of Surabaya, is the interest of policy actors - in this case the Mayor of Surabaya - to shift the paradigm of political policy from a program based on poverty alleviation to a labor-intensive program. The labor-intensive Uninhabitable House repair program is considered a transformation of a new public welfare policy in order to realise two goals; namely assistance for the repair of uninhabitable houses and national economic recovery, especially the City of Surabaya with the output of assistance for the repair of physical infrastructure and the distribution of jobs in the economic and development sectors.

In addition, the implementation of labor-intensive programs is considered a legacy in the production of political policies that absorb many low-income people in various business sectors, procurement of goods and services so that this program indirectly has relevance to the goals of sustainable development through the initiatives of the Surabaya City regional government in reducing poverty and unemployment.

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