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by Gugun Geusan Akbar, Muchtar, Pupung Pundenswari, Seriwati Ginting

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Mapping Poverty Alleviation In Garut Regency: An Actor-Network Theory Perspective on Collaboration and Actor Interactions

Gugun Geusan Akbar[1*] , Muchtar[2] , Pupung Pundenswari[3] , Seriwati Ginting[4]

[1,2,3] Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Garut University, Indonesia
[4] Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Maranatha Christian University, Indonesia
*Corresponding Author :
Email: gugun.ga@fisip.uniga.ac.id

Abstract.

This study investigates the essential yet frequently ignored function of trust in data governance networks for poverty alleviation programs in Garut Regency, Indonesia, based on Actor-Network Theory (ANT). The research employed a qualitative method which included 35 in-depth interviews with government officials from Social Service, Regional Planning Agency, and Baznas together with beneficiary community members and Focus Group Discussions with Regional Government Organizations and Village Heads. The research demonstrates that poor trust between human actors (government-community) and non-human actors (Poverty Data) creates major obstacles for essential poverty alleviation programs including Non-Cash Food Assistance and the Family Hope Program. The main obstacles that emerged during the study included strong sectoral egos, uncoordinated and non-unified data systems and unclear data management transparency practices. According to ANT "translation" analysis the network faces important challenges at interest and enrollment stages which prevent successful mobilization. The research reveals two potential trust-building approaches through the productive training provided by Baznas and the local Lapad Ruhama initiative, but success depends on better coordination and community participation. The research contributes new understanding through its analysis of poverty alleviation networks using ANT while addressing a major theoretical and empirical gap about data governance in Indonesia. This study proposes three practical recommendations to boost poverty alleviation program effectiveness in Garut Regency: data integration improvement, inter-organizational synergy promotion, continuous community empowerment training and enhanced data verification transparency through community involvement.

Keywords : *Data governance; trust; poverty alleviation; Actor-Network Theory and Poverty Data.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Poverty alleviation programs in Indonesia rely heavily on effective data governance to ensure targeted assistance but are often challenged by the complexity of relationships between human and non-human actors. Data-driven programs, such as Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT) and the Family Hope Program (PKH), involve various elements, including central and local governments, data provider institutions, NGOs, beneficiary communities, and technology and information systems such as Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS). The relationships between these elements not only influence the flow of information but also play a role in building the trust needed to carry out transparent and accountable data governance (Latour, 2005; Matheus et al., 2021) . In Garut Regency, this challenge is clearly visible, where inaccurate Poverty Data often results in social assistance not being targeted properly, with around 25% of aid recipients reported not meeting the criteria for extreme poverty based on the Garut Social Service report (2023).The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) approach offers a way to understand these networks by mapping the interactions between human actors (e.g., government officials, citizens) and non-human actors (e.g., databases, software) that together shape data governance. ANT allows researchers to explore how trust is formed, not only between people, but also between people and technology, and how imbalances in these networks affect the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs. In this regard, ANT helps uncover how data, as a non-human actor, can strengthen or weaken trust depending on its accuracy, accessibility, and use (Law, 1992; You et al., 2024).

Trust plays a central role in data governance networks, both between people (Singh & Chandra, 2023) and towards technology (Latour, 1996; Lin et al., 2024). High trust can facilitate more effective information flows and close collaboration (Barrane et al., 2021), while low trust due to inaccurate data or opaque systems hinders interactions within the network, leading to data management failures and reduced

policy quality (Yang et al., 2022). In the Garut Regency, low public trust in Poverty Data is often triggered by the lack of transparency in the data verification process, which causes many extremely poor families to be excluded from social assistance programs. Conversely, local governments also face challenges in trusting fragmented information systems, making evidence-based decision-making difficult.Through ANT, this study identifies key actors in data governance networks, both human such as government and NGOs, and non-human such as Poverty Data, which determine information flows and trust dynamics. Poverty Data can act as a central actor connecting government and society, while NGOs or local communities act as mediators who build trust between the two parties. This approach provides a richer understanding of how data governance networks are formed and how their elements can be leveraged to improve the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs (Callon & Latour, 1981; Dias-da-Fe et al., 2024) .Poverty alleviation programs in Indonesia, including in the Garut Regency, are often hampered by weak data governance and low trust in networks involving human actors such as government, NGOs, and communities, as well as non-human actors such as technology and data (E. Tan, 2021).

Poor data management, such as outdated or fragmented Poverty Data between the central and regional levels, results in errors in identifying target groups and allocating resources (Law, 1992; Awaysheh et al., 2021). In Garut, a report from the Social Service (2023) showed that data fragmentation resulted in 15% of extremely poor families not being registered in the Poverty Data, thus not receiving the necessary assistance.Trust is a crucial issue in these networks, with public trust in data and technology often low due to processes that are perceived as non-transparent (Grimmelikhuijsen, 2023). This distrust also arises in the relationship between human and non-human actors, such as when the public doubts the reliability of Poverty Data, or when the government and NGOs do not trust the same information systems (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Ning et al., 2024). This low level of trust hinders collaboration and data exchange, which ultimately reduces the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs (Xue Ning et al., 2021). Therefore, this study aims to identify issues of trust and data governance in the implementation of poverty alleviation programs in the Garut Regency using the ANT approach.Although previous studies have extensively addressed data governance and trust within poverty alleviation programs, there remains a notable research gap concerning the interplay of trust dynamics involving both human and non-human actors, particularly in the Indonesian context. Prior research predominantly emphasizes technical challenges in data management or solely human-centered interactions, neglecting the critical role of non-human entities such as databases and technological systems. This study addresses this gap by applying Actor-Network Theory (ANT), a framework rarely utilized in analyzing poverty alleviation in Indonesia, to comprehensively map how interactions between human actors (e.g., government officials, beneficiary communities) and non-human actors (e.g., poverty data systems, technology) shape trust and influence program effectiveness. Consequently, this research provides a novel theoretical contribution by expanding ANT applications into poverty alleviation contexts, while offering practical insights for improving poverty reduction efforts in Garut Regency.

This study aims to examine the role of trust in data governance networks in poverty alleviation programs in the Garut Regency through the ANT approach. Specifically, this study maps the interactions of human actors (government, NGOs, communities) and non-human actors (data, technology) to understand how trust is formed and analyze its impact on the accuracy, transparency, and effectiveness of data governance. The results are expected to provide practical recommendations to strengthen networks and improve program success.

The research questions are as follows:

1. How does data governance, as a network of human and non-human actors, affect trust in poverty alleviation programs in the Garut Regency?
2. Which human and non-human actors play key roles in data governance networks, and how do their relationships shape trust?
3. How does trust in networks of human and non-human actors influence the effectiveness of data governance for poverty alleviation?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Governance Data in Poverty Alleviation Programs

Data governance is a key element in supporting the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs, especially to ensure that assistance is targeted and resources are allocated efficiently (Deng et al., 2022). Good data governance involves the process of collecting, storing, analyzing, and distributing information involving various actors, both human such as government and society, and non-human such as information technology and databases (Olimid et al., 2024). In relation to conditions in Indonesia, data governance challenges often arise due to the fragmentation of information systems between the central and regional levels (Benfeldt et al., 2020). Integrated Social Welfare Data (Poverty Data), which is the main basis for social assistance programs in Indonesia, is often criticized for inaccuracy and late updates, reflecting weak coordination in the data governance network (Putri et al., 2022).In the Garut Regency, this challenge is seen in the implementation of programs such as Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT) and the Family Hope Program (PKH). Based on a report from the Garut Social Service (2023), around 20% of extremely poor families in Garut are not registered in the Poverty Data due to delays in data updates, which causes assistance to be mistargeted.

In addition, data fragmentation between regional apparatus organizations in Garut exacerbates this problem, with much data overlapping or not synchronized between the Social Service, Bappeda, and villages. This is in line with studies on the implementation of information systems in developing countries, which show that technological failures are often not just technical problems, but also problems of relationships and coordination within actor networks (Heeks, 2002; Bagherian & Sattari, 2022). Setiawan's (2023) study on data governance in Indonesia adds that data fragmentation is often exacerbated by a lack of human resource capacity at the local level, which is also an issue in Garut, where many village officials do not have adequate training to manage poverty data. (Setiawan et al., 2023) . Therefore, effective data governance requires an approach that takes into account the dynamics between actors, both human and non-human, which will be discussed further through the lens of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in the next sub-chapter.

2.2 The Role of Trust in Data Governance Networks

Trust is the glue that enables collaboration in data governance networks, facilitating more effective information exchange and cooperation between human actors (Cerna, 2014; Bak et al., 2023). However, in the case of poverty alleviation programs, trust is not only limited to human relationships but also includes trust in non-human actors such as data and technology (Enayati et al., 2024). For example, the public may not trust a social assistance registration system if the data it produces is often wrong, while the government may be reluctant to use inconsistent technology (Chong, 2021). Low public trust in public institutions—including the data systems they manage—can reduce participation in social programs, ultimately reducing program effectiveness (Huq, 2021).In the Garut Regency, low public trust in Poverty Data is often triggered by a lack of transparency in poverty data management. For example, many people in villages feel that the data verification process is unfair, with some ineligible families still receiving assistance. This is in line with the argument that links trust to institutional accountability, where a lack of transparency can exacerbate public distrust (Bhutto, 2024).

In addition, case studies on e-governance show that the success of data governance depends on the extent to which technology is accepted as a trusted actor by humans in the network (Pandey, 2023). Concerning conditions in the Garut Regency, distrust in Poverty Data also affects collaboration between actors, such as between local governments and NGOs, which often have difficulty verifying data due to unreliable systems. Another study on social assistance programs added that low public trust in data is often exacerbated by a lack of communication between the government and the community, which was also seen in Garut, where the community felt they were not involved in the data management process (Paskarina, 2023). Therefore, trust is a crucial element that needs to be strengthened to support effective data governance, which will be further analyzed through its relationship with program effectiveness in the next sub-chapter.

2.3 Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as an Analytical Framework

Actor-Network Theory (ANT), developed by Latour (2005), and Callon (1999) offers a unique approach to understanding the complex relationships in data governance (Callon, 199 ; Latour, 2005; Latour, 2023). Unlike traditional approaches that focus only on human actors, ANT views humans and non-humans (such as technology, documents, or data) as part of a network that influences each other (Chitanana, 2021). In the context of poverty alleviation, ANT expands the understanding of data governance by viewing data and technology as active actors that not only support but also shape the dynamics of relationships between actors (Latour, 2023). Callon (1986) argues that non-human actors, such as information systems, can influence the success or failure of a network in the same way as human actors (Callon, 1999) .The concept of "translation" in ANT describes how these actors negotiate with each other to form a stable network, through stages such as problematization, interest, enrollment, and mobilization (Callon, 1999).

In the poverty program in Garut Regency, this process can be seen in how the government, NGOs, communities, and data systems such as Poverty Data "align" to achieve common goals or fail due to inconsistencies. For example, Poverty Data can act as a "mediator" that changes the relationship between actors, rather than just a passive tool (Latour, 2023). However, as found in studies of information infrastructure, powerful technological systems can be central to networks, but are also vulnerable to becoming sources of conflict if not managed properly (Hughes-Lartey et al., 2021). In Garut, Poverty Data is often a weak point due to inaccuracy and limited access, which affects the dynamics of trust and collaboration in the network. Another study added that ANT is particularly useful for analyzing networks in complex social contexts, such as poverty programs because it allows researchers to understand how non-human actors such as data can influence the behavior of human actors, which is relevant for understanding the dynamics in Garut (Hay, 2025) .

2.4 The Relationship Between Data Governance, Trust, and Program Effectiveness

The literature shows a reciprocal relationship between data governance and trust in determining the effectiveness of social programs. Brinkerhoff (2002) and Zhang et al., (2022) state that transparent and accountable data governance can increase trust between actors, which in turn supports better collaboration. Conversely, low trust—either towards institutions or technology—can hinder the flow of information and reduce program effectiveness (Tan & Saraniemi, 2023). In the ANT framework, this relationship becomes more complex because it involves non-human actors. Studies show that information system failures are not only caused by technical errors but also by the inability of the network to maintain trust between humans and technology (Spiekermann et al., 2022).In the Garut Regency, data inconsistencies in Poverty Data often trigger public distrust of the government, which then disrupts aid distribution. For example, the Garut Social Service report (2023) noted that 30% of BPNT recipients in Garut did not meet the criteria for extreme poverty, which triggered perceptions of injustice among the community. This is in line with research by Al Izzati et al., (2024) on social assistance programs in Indonesia, which found that data inconsistencies often worsen public trust in institutions. ANT allows for further analysis of how non-human actors such as Poverty Data contribute to these dynamics, by mapping how trust is formed or broken in networks, and how this affects the success of poverty alleviation programs (Compagnucci et al., 2022). In addition, this approach can also reveal the potential of intermediaries such as training or open data platforms to strengthen trust and collaboration in networks (Alrob, 2023).

Studies on shared resource management show that trust between actors can be increased through collective participation mechanisms (Guttmann, 2021), which is relevant for Garut, where community involvement in data verification can be a solution to increase program accountability and effectiveness.lthough many studies have discussed data governance and trust in the context of social policy, most still focus on the relationship between people without considering the role of non-human actors such as technology. The ANT approach is relatively rare to analyze poverty alleviation programs in Indonesia, even though this approach can provide new insights into how these complex networks affect program effectiveness. Previous studies on poverty have focused more on the technical aspects of data governance, such as updating the Poverty Data, without analyzing the dynamics of trust in the wider network. In addition, research on the role of local initiatives such as Lapad Ruhama in building trust is still limited, although this

initiative shows potential to strengthen community networks. This study aims to fill this gap by integrating an ANT perspective to understand the relationship between data governance, trust, and the success of poverty programs, focusing on the context of the Garut Regency.

III. METHODS

2.1 Data Collection

This study uses a qualitative approach to analyze data governance and trust in poverty alleviation programs in Garut Regency, Indonesia. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with 35 informants representing key stakeholders, consisting of government officials (25 informants from district and provincial levels, including the Social Service, Bappeda, and Baznas) and beneficiary communities (10 informants from villages). In addition, additional interviews were conducted through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with representatives of Regional Apparatus Organizations and Village Heads to gain broader perspectives on data governance challenges. Interviews were conducted between June and August 2024, focusing on programs such as Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS), Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), and Family Hope Program (PKH).Informants were selected based on their direct involvement in poverty alleviation programs in Garut. Government officials were selected from Regional Government Organizations responsible for data management and aid distribution, such as the Social Service and Bappeda, as well as Baznas as an institution active in community empowerment.

Beneficiary communities were selected from villages with high poverty rates in Garut, to ensure representation of the program's target groups. Semi-structured interviews were designed to explore informants' perceptions of poverty alleviation policies, trust in data and technology, and constraints in data governance. Questions covered topics such as the accuracy of Poverty Data data, collaboration between actors, community perceptions of transparency, and expectations of social assistance. Interviews ranged in duration from 60 to 90 minutes, were recorded with the informants' consent, and were transcribed verbatim for analysis.Secondary data were used to complement the interviews and provide a deeper policy context. Documents collected included the Regional Regulation (Perda) of the Garut Regency Poverty Reduction Plan (RPKD) 2019-2025, the Garut Baznas report on community empowerment programs, and FGD notes that included discussions on data governance challenges. In addition, the Garut Social Service annual report (2024) was used to understand social assistance distribution statistics, such as the number of BPNT and PKH recipients, as well as the level of inaccuracy of Poverty Data in Garut. The use of secondary data allows for triangulation to verify findings from the interviews and strengthen the analysis.

2.2 Data Analysis

The analysis was conducted using the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) approach developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and John Law, to map the network of human actors (e.g., Social Service officials, communities) and non-human actors (e.g., Poverty Data, technology systems) in poverty data governance in Garut. The focus of the analysis is the "translation" process with four stages: problematization, interest, enrollment, and mobilization (Callon, 1999), to understand how trust is formed and influences program effectiveness. Indicators for each stage of "translation" are adapted from (Ekomadyo et al., 2013), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Translational Moment Indicator

No.	Moment of Translation	Moment Indicator
1	Problematization	- There is one actor who throws an issue to the attention of other actors.
		- Circulation of the issue may take the form of media texts, direct conversations, or a spokesperson.
2	Interest	- Define a problem of common concern to the actors in moment 1.
3	Enrollment	- Actors explore each other's competencies and adjustments.
		- This moment is characterized by dividing roles for actors influencing one another. Examples include trustee, messenger, representative, and spokesperson.
4	Mobilization	- Various roles and competencies have been implemented.
		- If the analysis focuses on only one actor, it already represents the entire network.

Source: Compiled from (Ekomadyo et al., 2013)

The analysis process includes several systematic steps: (1) Identification of human and non-human actors from interview transcripts and documents, such as the government as data manager, the community as recipient, and Poverty Data as central technology. (2) Mapping of relationships between actors through sociotechnograms to describe information flows and trust dynamics, for example, the relationship between the Garut Social Service and Poverty Data, or between the community and local initiatives such as Serasan Peduli. (3) Breaking down the "translation" stage based on informant narratives, focusing on how each stage meets or fails to meet the indicators in Table 1. For example, problematization is identified from the issue of inaccurate data raised by regional apparatus organizations, while enrollment is analyzed from the role of the community in data verification. The results of the analysis are visualized in a sociotechnogram per stakeholder group (government, community, regional apparatus organizations) to show network variations in Garut. To ensure validity, triangulation is carried out by comparing interview data, FGDs, and secondary documents, so that the findings are stronger and more reliable.

2.3 Conceptual Definitions

2.3.1 Sociotechnogram

Sociotechnogram is a visualization tool in ANT that maps the network of human and non-human actors in the process of "translation" (Litherland & Mørch, 2024). In this study, sociotechnogram is used to illustrate the relationship between government, society, and technology (e.g., Poverty Data) in poverty data governance in Garut. This visualization helps identify strong relationships (e.g., aid flows through Poverty Data) and weak relationships (e.g., lack of coordination between regional apparatus organizations).

2.3.2 Intermediaries

Intermediaries are elements that are circulated between actors to form a network, such as policy documents (Perda RPKD Garut), technology (Poverty Data), or narratives (program success reports) (Bäumle et al., 2023). In this study, intermediaries were identified from interviews to understand how trust and information move in the network, for example, how the Baznas Garut report becomes a bridge between the government and the community in building trust.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Network of Data Governance in Poverty Alleviation Programs in Garut

This study identifies data governance networks in poverty alleviation programs in Garut Regency, involving human actors such as government officials (Social Service, Bappeda, Baznas), beneficiary communities, and non-human actors such as Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS), regulations (Regional Poverty Alleviation Plan [RPKD] Garut 2019-2025), and information technology. These networks are formed through formal interactions, such as policies and data verification, as well as informal interactions, such as community initiatives and cooperation. Based on interviews, two main groups of actors were identified: the government as data managers and the community as beneficiaries.

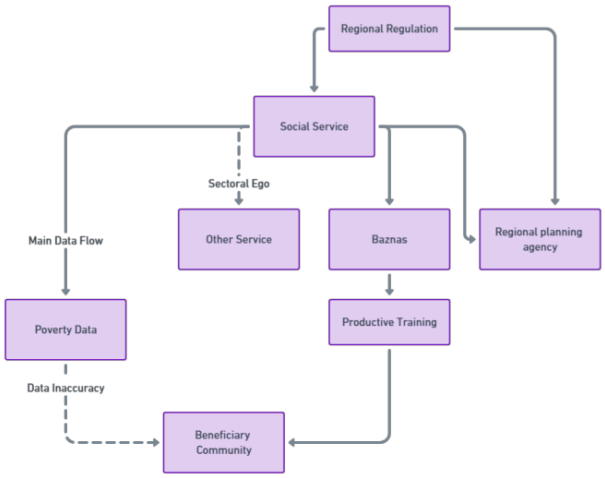
3.1.1 Government Network

The government, consisting of the Social Service, Bappeda (Regional Planning Agency), Baznas Garut, and other regional apparatus organizations (Other Services), acts as the main manager of poverty data through Poverty Data and programs such as Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT), Family Hope Program (PKH), and business capital assistance. Non-human actors such as Poverty Data become the center of information flow in this network, connecting the Social Service with the beneficiary community through the main data flow (Main Data Flow). However, Poverty Data is often considered inaccurate by regional apparatus organizations, with one informant stating, "*Data in regional apparatus organizations is different and not integrated…*" indicating data fragmentation between agencies, as indicated by the label "Data Inaccuracy" in the relationship between Poverty Data and the community. Regulations such as the 2019-2025 Garut RPKD Regional Regulation (Regional Regulation) serve as formal guidelines for poverty alleviation programs, linking the Social Service and Bappeda in policy planning, but their implementation is hampered by sectoral egos. Another informant emphasized, "*The sectoral ego of regional apparatus organizations is an obstacle in integrating data…*" which is described as a weak relationship (dotted line) between the Social Service and other regional apparatus organizations labeled "Sectoral Ego" on the

sociotechnogram.Baznas Garut plays an important role in distributing productive assistance, such as skills training for the poor (Productive Training).

"*Baznas provides welding training for the poor*.." which shows empowerment efforts through intermediaries such as culinary, sewing, and welding training, which connect Baznas with the beneficiary community through a solid line on the sociotechnogram. However, Baznas' coordination with other regional apparatus organizations is limited, with one Poverty Data Manager noting, "*Sectoral egos make the program unfocused*" so this productive assistance is not integrated with other regional apparatus organization programs such as PKH. The dynamics of trust in the Garut government network are also influenced by the lack of transparency in the management of Poverty Data, such as "*regional apparatus organizations and the community do not easily access data*" which creates distrust between actors. The sociotechnogram of the government network is visualized in Figure 1, which shows the relationships between the Social Service, Baznas, Bappeda, other regional apparatus organizations, Poverty Data, RPKD Perda, and beneficiary communities, with solid lines for strong relationships (e.g., Social Service-Poverty Data) and dashed lines for weak relationships (e.g., Social Service-other regional apparatus organizations due to sectoral ego), as well as labels such as "Data Inaccuracy" and "Sectoral Ego" to clarify barriers.

Fig 1. Sociotechnogram of Government Network



Source: processing results

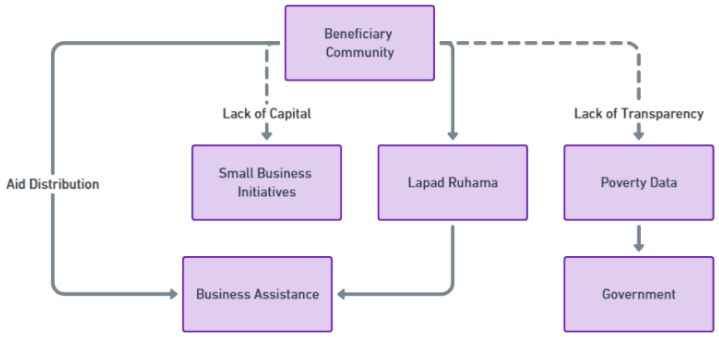
3.1.2 Community Network

Beneficiary communities in villages in Garut Regency interact with the government through Poverty Data to receive assistance, such as daily assistance, which provides financial support of IDR 300,000 per month. However, many people feel that this assistance is not enough to meet their basic needs, especially due to the high cost of living and the need for children's education ("*Not enough, want to be given capital for business*"). Inaccurate Poverty Data data is a major obstacle, with one informant stating, "*Data that is already rich still gets assistance…*" indicating that the distribution of assistance is often not on target. This is exacerbated by the lack of transparency in the data verification process, as indicated by the label "Lack of Transparency" in the relationship between the community and Poverty Data, which makes people feel they are not involved in data management ("*Data is problematic, should be checked in the field*").Initiatives such as the Integrated Community Hope House Service (Lapad Ruhama), show the existence of informal networks that attempt to overcome the limitations of government assistance. One informant explained,

"*Lapad Ruhama provides basic food assistance and road repairs…*" indicating the role of the community as an active actor in supporting each other through mutual cooperation, as shown by the relationship "Lapad Ruhama → Business Assistance" with the label "Aid Distribution" on the sociotechnogram. In addition, several individuals took the initiative to start small businesses (Small Business Initiatives) as an effort to escape poverty, as expressed: "*Want to develop a cracker business…*" despite being constrained by a lack of capital, as shown by the label "Lack of Capital" in the relationship between the community and small business initiatives.

Non-human actors such as Lapad Ruhama assistance become the main link between the community and the government, but their effects are limited due to the lack of coordination with local initiatives. The Head of the IPDS Team highlighted, a "*Lack of self-awareness and understanding of togetherness…*" indicating that low collective awareness among the community is an obstacle to forming stronger networks.The dynamics of trust in the Garut community network are greatly influenced by perceptions of Poverty Data and the government. The community tends not to trust Poverty Data because it often does not reflect real conditions in the field, as expressed: "Some people who get it are those who are not eligible for assistance." In addition, the lack of community access to information about data management exacerbates this distrust, the Baznas representative added, "We hope that the community can be given skills and assistance to change their mindset." Initiatives such as Lapad Ruhama have the potential to be a bridge to building trust but require more coordinated support from the government. The sociotechnogram of the community network is visualized in Figure 2, which depicts the relationships between the community, Poverty Data, government assistance, local initiatives such as lapad ruhama, and small business initiatives, with solid lines for strong relationships (e.g., lapad ruhama-food assistance through "Aid Distribution") and dashed lines for weak relationships (e.g., community-Poverty Data due to "Lack of Transparency" and community-small business initiatives due to "Lack of Capital").

Fig 2. Sociotechnogram of Community Network



Source: processing results

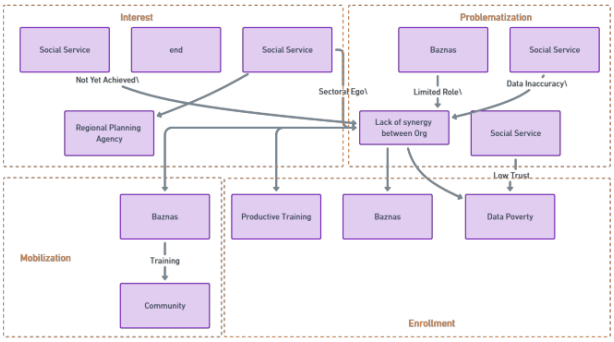
3.1.3 Translation Process of Data Governance and Trust in Garut

The process of "translation" in the Garut government network is analyzed using indicators from (Ekomadyo et al., n.d.) to understand how trust is formed or fails in the data governance framework. In the problematization stage, the indicator "There is one actor who brings an issue to the attention of other actors" is met ("Data is not always accurate, causing programs to be off-target"). This issue was disseminated through direct conversations during FGDs, involving other actors such as Baznas and Bappeda. Non-human actors Poverty Data became the main problem, with narratives of sectoral ego and lack of competent human resources exacerbating the problem ("Human resources are not competent in managing data"). In addition, another informant added, Data is not uniform (not yet one data)," highlighting that data fragmentation is a major problem in the Garut government network.Moving to the interest stage, the indicator "Determining

issues of common concern to actors at moment 1" is partially fulfilled because Baznas and Bappeda show interest in the issue of integrated data ("It would be better if we could have one data in the future to ensure accuracy of targeting"). However, sectoral egos hinder full consensus, with the statement: "Sectoral egos make the program unfocused," indicating that the common problem is not fully defined. This reflects the lack of alignment between regional apparatus organizations in handling data issues, which ultimately weakens trust between actors, as indicated by the label "Lack of Synergy between Organizations" in the diagram.
At the admission stage, the indicators "Actors explore their respective competencies and adjustments" and "divide roles for actors who influence each other" are met to some extent.

Baznas acts as a "messenger" by providing productive training ("Baznas provides welding training for the poor"), which aims to build public trust in government programs. Meanwhile, the Social Service acts as a "trustee" in data verification ("Currently being verified"), but trust between actors is still low due to a lack of synergy ("Lack of synergy between regional apparatus organizations"). The lack of competent human resources is also an obstacle, some informants add, "The budget determines the scope; the main thing is that the data must be valid first," which shows that the role given is not yet fully effective, as reflected in the labels "Limited Role" and "Low Trust" in the diagram.Finally, at the mobilization stage, the indicators "Various roles and competencies have been implemented" and "representing the entire network" were not achieved. The government network is still unstable due to sectoral egos and unintegrated data, with only a few Baznas programs successfully representing the network ("Baznas assists 89 RTLH houses in 2024"). The lack of transparency in data management further hampers mobilization, as emphasized in the discussion " regional apparatus organizations and communities cannot easily access data," indicating that the network has not been able to function as a cohesive unit, as indicated by the label "Not Yet Achieved" in the diagram.

Fig 3. Translation Process of Government Network in Garut



Source: processing results

3.1.4 Translation Process in Community Network

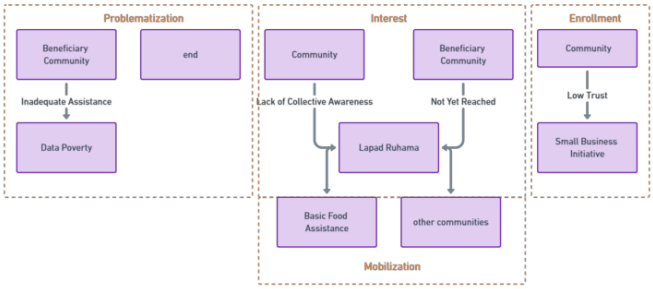
The “translation” process in the Garut community network reveals the dynamics of trust formation through four stages analyzed using indicators from Table 1. In the problematization stage, the beneficiary community begins by complaining about the inadequacy of assistance through “direct conversations,” fulfilling the indicator “There is one actor who throws an issue to the attention of other actors.” “government assistance helps, but I have never received necessities,” which reflects the main issue as indicated by the label “Inadequate Assistance” concerning Poverty Data. Poverty Data as a non-human actor is considered non-transparent, with one informant adding, “Data that is already rich still gets assistance,” emphasizing that data inaccuracy is a major concern. One village head informant also highlighted, “The data is problematic, it should be checked in the field,” indicating that the lack of transparency in data management is a central issue in the Garut community network.This stage flows into interest, where initiatives such as Lapad Ruhama emerge to address the issue of inadequate aid by providing basic food assistance to the community and other

communities (Other Communities), fulfilling the indicator "Define a problem of common concern to the actors in moment 1." Another informant explained, "Lapad Ruhama provides basic food assistance," indicating an attempt to define a common problem. However, a lack of collective awareness is an obstacle, as indicated by the label "Lack of Collective Awareness" in the image.

Another informant highlighted "Lack of self-awareness and understanding of togetherness," indicating that the common problem has not been fully defined. This is compounded by the perception of injustice in the distribution of aid: "We, the village apparatus, have corrected the data, but it is not used," indicating a lack of community involvement in the data management process, thus weakening trust between actors.Moving to the enrollment stage, actors begin to explore competencies and adjust their roles, fulfilling the indicators "Actors explore each other's competencies and adjustments" and "dividing roles for actors influencing one another," although only to a limited extent. Several individuals act as "messengers" by starting small business initiatives, as expressed: "Want to develop a cracker business," while Lapad Ruhama acts as a "representative" in cooperation, as noted by the informant "Lapad Ruhama provides basic food assistance." However, trust in the government is low because the data is inconsistent, as indicated by the label "Low Trust" in the image. Meanwhile, the lack of capital hinders small business initiatives, with the additional information "Not yet realized because there is no capital." An informant from Baznas suggested, "We hope that the community will be given skills and assistance," which shows that the role of the community has not been fully supported by the government, as indicated by the label "Not Yet Reached" in the image.Finally, at the mobilization stage, the Garut community network has not been able to meet the indicators "Various roles and competencies have been implemented" and "represents the entire network," as indicated by the label "end" in the figure. The community has not been able to represent the network as a whole, with only small initiatives such as Lapad Ruhama showing potential, as noted "Chevron provides capital assistance to MSMEs."

The lack of assistance and coordination with the government hampers mobilization, with the informant asserting "We are ready to provide financial assistance, but the community is more interested in training," indicating that the Garut community network is still fragmented and unstable. This failure reflects the fundamental challenges in building trust and collaboration between the community and the government, which are key to the success of poverty alleviation programs in Garut.

Fig 4. Translation Process of Community Network in Garut



Source: processing results

3.1.5 Classification of Intermediaries in the Translation Process

Intermediaries play a critical role in data governance networks for poverty alleviation programs in Garut, connecting human and non-human actors and influencing information flows and trust. In the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) framework, intermediaries are elements such as documents, technologies, or narratives that shape network dynamics (Latour, 2005). This study identifies intermediaries in government and community networks, summarized in Table 2, to understand how they influence trust and program effectiveness.

Table 2. Classification of Intermediaries in the Translation Process

Actor Group	Type of Intermediary	Content	Circulation Room	Impact on Trust
Government	Text	Reports on data inaccuracies (FGD reports)	apparatus organization meetings, FGD	Reducing trust between regional apparatus organizations because it shows inaccurate Poverty Data.
	Text	Policies (Garut RPKD Regional Regulation 2019-2025)	Official documents	Has the potential to increase trust if implemented well, but is often hampered by sectoral egos.
	Technical Objects	Poverty Data database	Data management systems	Decreased trust due to inaccuracy and lack of transparency
	Skills	Training programs by Baznas	Community training	Increasing public trust in Baznas, but the effect is limited due to a lack of coordination with other regional apparatus organizations.
Community	Text	Complaints about insufficient aid	Direct conversations	Reducing public trust in the government due to perceptions of injustice in aid distribution.
	Technical Objects	Poverty Data as a tool for aid distribution (DTKS)	Aid distribution process	Decreased trust due to data inaccuracy
	Skills	Local initiatives	Community gatherings	The potential to increase trust between residents through cooperation, but limited by a lack of coordination with the government
	Skills	Small business initiatives	Community initiatives	Potential to increase public trust in local initiatives, but constrained by lack of capital

Source: Compiled from interviews

In the Garut government network, intermediaries such as FGD reports on data inaccuracies play a dual role. They enable local government organizations to identify problems, but they also undermine trust between local government organizations because they demonstrate systemic failures in managing Poverty Data, reflecting broader challenges of data fragmentation. The 2019-2025 Garut RPKD Regulation has the potential to be a bridge to building trust by providing clear guidelines, but its implementation is hampered by sectoral egos, as noted by an informant, "Sectoral egos of local government organizations are an obstacle," which hinder coordination between agencies. Poverty Data, as the main technical tool, should be a trusted mediator, but inaccuracies and lack of transparency (local government organizations and the public do not easily access data) undermine trust, both between local government organizations and between the government and the public. This contributes to the failure of the mobilization stage in the "translation" process, as the network is unable to function as a coherent whole. On the other hand, Baznas's productive training, such as welding and culinary training, becomes a positive intermediary that increases public trust in Baznas. However, its effect is limited due to the lack of coordination with other regional apparatus organization programs such as PKH or BPNT, as expressed by the informant: "Sectoral ego, not focused," which indicates the need for better integration to strengthen the Garut government network.

Meanwhile, in community networks, intermediaries such as community complaints about inadequate assistance ("Government assistance helps, but I have never received necessities") become narratives that are circulated through direct conversations but reduce trust in the government due to perceptions of injustice. Poverty Data as a tool for distributing assistance also fails to build trust due to data inaccuracy (" Data that is already rich still gets assistance"), which reflects the lack of community involvement in the verification process and exacerbates network fragmentation. In contrast, local initiatives such as Lapad Ruhama act as skills-based intermediaries, with the distribution of necessities ("Lapad Ruhama gives necessities assistance") that have the potential to increase trust between residents through cooperation. However, its effects are limited by the lack of collective awareness ("Lack of self-awareness and understanding of

togetherness") and government support, which hinders Lapad Ruhama's potential to strengthen the network as a whole. Small business initiatives, such as one informant's cracker business, also become intermediaries that have the potential to strengthen community trust in their abilities but are constrained by a lack of capital ("Not yet realized because there is no capital") and mentoring. This shows that skills-based intermediaries have the potential to build trust and empowerment, but require more coordinated support from the government to achieve greater impact in Garut community networks.

Overall, these intermediaries influence network dynamics in diverse ways. In government networks, intermediaries such as Poverty Data and FGD reports highlight systemic challenges that undermine trust, while Baznas training shows the potential to build trust if well coordinated. In community networks, skills-based intermediaries such as Lapad Ruhama and small business initiatives offer opportunities for empowerment but are limited by a lack of external support. To increase the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs in Garut, the government needs to strengthen intermediaries that can build trust, such as open data platforms to increase transparency of Poverty Data, and ongoing mentoring to support local initiatives, so that networks can achieve more stable mobilization.

Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that the data governance network in the poverty alleviation program in Garut Regency involves human actors (government, community) and non-human (Poverty Data, regulation, technology) who interact with each other but fail to achieve full mobilization due to low trust between actors. The "translation" process in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) reveals this dynamic, in line with Latour's (2005) argument that networks do not only consist of relationships between humans but also involve non-human actors who have the agency to shape or hinder action.

4.1 The Role of Trust in the Data Governance Network

Low trust in the data governance network in Garut is a major obstacle to achieving the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs. In the government network, the problematization stage was fulfilled with the Social Service raising the issue of inaccurate Poverty Data data through FGD, according to the indicator "There is one actor who throws an issue to the attention of other actors" (Table 1). However, the interest stage was disrupted because sectoral egos prevented the definition of common problems so the indicator "Define a problem of common concern" was not fully achieved. At the enrollment stage, roles were divided (Baznas as "messenger" through training, Social Service as "trustee" in verification), but trust between actors was low due to a lack of synergy, in line with the opinion that trust between human actors is needed for effective collaboration (Nooteboom & Stam, 2008). Poverty Data as a non-human actor failed to become a trusted mediator due to inaccuracy, as it was found that unreliable technology can weaken networks (Wei et al., 2021). In addition, the lack of human resource capacity (“HR is not qualified in managing data”) exacerbates this challenge, indicating the need for technical training for data officers in Garut. Studies on innovation diffusion show that the adoption of technologies such as Poverty Data requires adequate training to build user trust (Tang, 2022), which is relevant for Garut to improve the capacity of officers to manage poverty data.In the community network, problematization occurs when people complain about inadequate assistance ("Government assistance helps, but they have never received necessities"), fulfilling the indicator "There is one actor who throws an issue," with the label "Inadequate Assistance" in the figure.

The interest stage is seen from the emergence of Lapad Ruhama which provides necessities assistance to the community and other communities ("Lapad Ruhama gives necessities assistance"), but the indicator "Define a problem of common concern" is hampered by a lack of collective awareness, as indicated by the label "Lack of Collective Awareness". At the enrollment stage, the role is limited to receiving assistance, with some individuals initiating small businesses ("Want to develop a cracker business"), fulfilling the indicator "dividing roles for actors influencing one another." However, trust in the government is low because the data is inconsistent, as indicated by the label "Low Trust" ("Problematic data"), in line with the opinion that transparency is key to building public trust. Intermediaries such as basic food assistance from Lapad Ruhama ("Lapad Ruhama gives basic food assistance") have the potential to strengthen trust between residents, but their distribution is limited due to a lack of coordination with the government. Studies show that the success of community networks depends on trust and collective participation (Kuzmuk, 2024),

which in Garut are still hampered by low collective awareness and lack of community involvement in data management. In addition, the perception of injustice in the distribution of assistance ("Data that is already rich still gets assistance") indicates the need for more inclusive mechanisms to build trust, such as discussion forums between the community and the government.

4.2 Impact of Data Governance on Program Effectiveness

The inability of the network to reach the mobilization stage indicates that data governance in Garut has not been effective in supporting poverty alleviation programs. In the government network, the failure to meet the indicators "Various roles and competencies have been implemented" and "represents the entire network" (Table 1) was caused by sectoral egos and unintegrated data ("Data spread across regional apparatus organizations is different"). This is in line with the opinion that data fragmentation reduces the effectiveness of social policies (Heeks, 2002). Poverty data is not a "black box " that is accepted without debate, due to inaccuracy and lack of accessibility ("Lack of data transparency is a problem"). In addition, the lack of competent human resources ("HR is not qualified in managing data") exacerbates this challenge, which hinders data verification and the distribution of targeted assistance, such as BPNT and PKH, in Garut. Studies on information systems in developing countries show that successful data governance requires investment in human resources and technology capacity, which is relevant for Garut to overcome data fragmentation (Shet et al., 2021). In addition, the lack of transparency in the management of Poverty Data ("regional apparatus organizations and communities do not easily access data") creates wider distrust, which impacts the effectiveness of the program, especially in reaching extremely poor families who are not yet registered.

In the community network, mobilization was also not achieved because the indicator "represents the entire network" was not met, as indicated by the label "end" in the figure. The community relies on cash assistance ("Cash assistance helps daily life"), but the lack of capital and assistance hinders empowerment ("Want to be given capital for business"). This supports the idea that low trust in institutions hinders collaboration (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2015). From an ANT perspective, intermediaries such as food assistance from Lapad Ruhama have the potential to be a network adhesive, but their effect is limited due to the lack of ongoing assistance. Studies on information systems in developing countries show that successful data governance requires active community involvement, which in Garut is still hampered by low collective awareness ("Lack of self-awareness and understanding of togetherness") and lack of coordination with the government. In addition, the perception of unfairness in the distribution of assistance ("Data that is already rich still gets assistance") exacerbates distrust, indicating the need for more inclusive verification mechanisms. A study on empowering poor communities shows that programs that involve communities in decision-making can increase effectiveness which is relevant for Garut to ensure that assistance reaches the families most in need (Rijal, 2023).

4.3 Implications for Poverty Alleviation in Garut

These findings suggest that trust and data governance influence each other in the poverty alleviation network in Garut. Low trust between human actors (government-community) and non-human actors (Poverty Data) causes programs to be poorly targeted, in line with studies that community trust in institutions is crucial for the success of social policies (Liu et al., 2022). In the ANT framework, failure to achieve mobilization suggests the need to strengthen intermediaries that can build trust, such as open data platforms or ongoing training (“We need to involve the community in data collection and validation”). Studies on digital governance suggest that open data platforms can increase transparency relevant to Garut to address perceptions of unfairness in aid distribution (Lněnička et al., 2021). In addition, studies on decentralization in developing countries suggest that the involvement of local actors, such as village heads, can increase accountability relevant to Garut to ensure a more equitable aid distribution (Sofyani et al., 2022) .The role of Poverty Data must be strengthened by improving accuracy and accessibility, to become a trusted mediator (Latour, 2023). In Garut, this can be done by involving village heads in data verification, as suggested by one informant, to ensure that Poverty Data data reflects real conditions on the ground.

Local initiatives such as Lapad Ruhama show the potential of communities as active actors, but require government support through training and business capital. In addition, programs such as BPNT and

PKH in Garut can be improved by ensuring that Poverty Data data includes extremely poor families who have not been reached, which according to the Garut Social Service report (2023) reaches 20% of the total poor families. Studies on development as freedom show that economic empowerment through training and business capital can improve the welfare of the poor (Singgalen et al., 2022), which is relevant for Garut to reduce dependence on cash assistance. By strengthening trust and data governance, the network in Garut can achieve more stable mobilization, so that poverty alleviation programs become more effective and sustainable, especially in reaching extremely poor families who are still neglected.

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This study shows that the data governance network in the poverty alleviation program in Garut Regency involvess human actors (government, community) and non-human actors (Poverty Data, regulation, technology), but fails to achieve full mobilization due to low trust between actors. Through the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) approach and the "translation" indicator, low trust in the government network is caused by failures at the interest and enrollment stages. Although the problematization stage is fulfilled with the Social Service raising the issue of inaccurate Poverty Data data, sectoral egos hinder joint problem definition and effective role division. As a result, the mobilization indicator "represents the entire network" is not achieved, with only a few Baznas initiatives successfully representing the network.In the community network, trust is hampered by the lack of data transparency and collective awareness. The problematization stage is met with the community complaining about the inadequacy of assistance, as indicated by the label "Inadequate Assistance", but the interest stage is disrupted by the lack of collective awareness, as indicated by the label "Lack of Collective Awareness" so that the indicator "Define a problem of common concern" is not fully achieved. In the enrollment stage, the role is limited to receiving assistance, with some individuals initiating small businesses, meeting the indicator "dividing roles", but low trust and lack of mentoring hinder progress.

Mobilization is not achieved, with the Garut community network still fragmented. Poverty Data, as a central non-human actor, fails to be a trusted mediator due to its inaccuracy and fragmentation, so programs such as BPNT and PKH become less targeted.Intermediaries such as basic food assistance from Lapad Ruhama and small business initiatives have the potential to strengthen trust, but their effects are limited due to the lack of coordination and ongoing mentoring. Low trust between human actors and non-human actors hampers the effectiveness of the program, confirming that good data governance and strong trust are interdependent to achieve successful poverty alleviation. This finding is in line with Latour's (2005) argument that non-human actors have the agency to form networks, but are only effective if supported by trust and collaboration between human actors. This study contributes to the theoretical understanding of the role of trust in data governance networks using ANT while providing practical guidance for the Garut government to improve the effectiveness of poverty alleviation programs.

5.2 Recommendation

Based on the analysis of the "translation" process, here are recommendations for strengthening data governance and trust in poverty alleviation in Garut:

1. Integrated Data Integration: Garut Social Service needs to build one poverty data that is updated regularly, supported by open access technology for transparency and trust.
2. Inter-regional apparatus organization Synergy: Form a poverty data management team by the Social Service and Bappeda for coordination and data sharing, overcoming sectoral egos.
3. Community Empowerment: Baznas Garut needs to expand productive training and ongoing mentoring to reduce dependence on aid.
4. Transparency and Participation: Involve communities and village heads in data validation to ensure that aid is targeted, especially for the 20% of extremely poor families.
5. Strengthening Intermediaries: Use open data platforms or discussion forums to facilitate collaboration and transparency between actors.

6. Future Research: Research the impact of digitalization (e.g., blockchain) and the role of local communities like Lapad Ruhama for economic empowerment.

This step will improve data governance, trust, and effectiveness of the BPNT and PKH programs in Garut, especially for extremely poor families.

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