

The Role of Participatory Communication among PNPM Urban Facilitators in Sustaining Community Institutions After the Program's Termination

Rochmad Effendy^{1*}, Dodot Sapto Adi¹, Aryo Prakoso Wibowo¹, Yuntawati Fristin²

¹ Communication Sciences Department, University of Merdeka Malang, 65146, Indonesia

² Business Administration Department, University of Merdeka Malang, 65146, Indonesia

*Corresponding author's email: rochmad.effendy@unmer.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Keywords

PNPM; Participatory Communication;
Authentic Communication; Critical
Moral Consciousness; Conscientization;
Empowerment

The post-Reformasi introduction of PNPM marked a shift in Indonesia's development paradigm toward community-driven approaches. PNPM positioned citizens as active agents across planning, implementation, and evaluation, and framed poverty as rooted in the weakening of moral virtues within community life. Facilitators were therefore tasked with enabling social learning and internalizing PNPM's values among residents. This literature-based qualitative study examines how participatory development communication contributed to behavioral change and institutional sustainability after PNPM ended in 2016. The findings show that facilitators employed participatory communication characterized by egalitarian dialogue, problem-posing methods, iterative reflection and action (praxis), the development of critical consciousness, and an ethical foundation built on trust and humility. They also practiced authentic communication emphasizing honesty, openness, and compassion. The integration of these approaches—participatory authentic communication—strengthened community empowerment by fostering sincerity, care, and solidarity. These moral foundations helped sustain community institutions such as the Lembaga Keswadayaan Masyarakat (LKM), even after PNPM's formal termination.

1. Introduction

In the aftermath of the Reformasi 1998 Indonesia, the Indonesian government launched a series of community-based poverty alleviation programs with the support of global donor institutions such as the World Bank. These initiatives included the Kecamatan Development Program (KDP) in 1998 targeting rural areas, the Urban Poverty Program (UPP/P2KP) in 1999 for urban settings, and their subsequent integration into the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM Mandiri) in 2007. Collectively, these programs marked a significant shift in Indonesia's development paradigm—from a top-down approach toward a community-driven development (CDD) framework that positions communities as central actors in planning, decision-making, and implementing local development initiatives.

Within this framework, PNPM—particularly PNPM Urban—has been recognized as the largest CDD program in the world, covering all urban neighborhoods and rural villages across Indonesia and reaching millions of beneficiaries with substantial international financial support (World Bank, 2015). The CDD approach emphasizes not only the provision of infrastructure and basic services but also the strengthening of democratic processes, social empowerment, and community capacity building. However, as argued by Ghazala Mansuri and Vijayendra Rao (2013), participation in programs such as PNPM is better understood as induced participation—that is, participation

engineered and facilitated by the state or donor agencies through structured program designs, procedures, and the presence of facilitators. In contrast to organic participation, which emerges naturally from within communities, induced participation does not necessarily lead to deep social empowerment, although it has proven effective in improving local development outcomes and access to basic services.

The National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) Urban Self-Reliance demonstrates its robustness as a model of community empowerment that extends beyond the delivery of physical infrastructure to the revitalization of moral values as the foundation of social development. Through a *community-driven development* (CDD) approach, PNPM creates space for grassroots citizens to act as primary agents of development, not on the basis of formal educational attainment, but through empathy, commitment, and a willingness to sacrifice for the collective good (Jakimow, T. 2017). As noted by Effendy, R (2015), the program constitutes a form of social learning that systematically revitalizes social and spiritual capital through intensive facilitation and block grant mechanisms. In doing so, it reconstructs collective ethics, trust, and social solidarity that may have eroded over time. PNPM can therefore be understood as a form of moral-based community development, in which ethical values are embedded at the core of the empowerment process.

Furthermore, the works of Tanya Jakimow highlight that PNPM functions as a site for the formation of moral subjectivity and identity among participants. Engagement in the program is not merely administrative, but constitutes a process of self-actualization often described as a “*calling of the soul*,” through which individuals find meaning by contributing to their communities (Jakimow, 2016). Participation is also interpreted as a form of spiritual expression, encapsulated in the notion of “*gaji sejuta*” (a million-salary), an acronym for *senyum* (smile), *jujur* (honesty), and *taqwa* (piety), symbolizing non-material rewards such as inner fulfillment and alignment with religious values (Jakimow & Harahap, 2016). Although volunteerism within PNPM may initially emerge within a state-structured framework and at times encounters structural constraints in community relations, these experiences ultimately contribute to reshaping models of citizenship and social interaction (Jakimow, 2018). Even when faced with suspicion, criticism, or lack of appreciation, volunteers remain committed, reflecting a deeply internalized moral dedication to collective welfare (Jakimow, 2018). More broadly, practices of care within PNPM—including among economically marginalized groups—demonstrate that material poverty does not preclude moral agency; rather, it can reinforce ethical engagement in community life (Jakimow et al., 2019). Thus, PNPM not only enhances economic capacity but also transforms individuals into morally grounded, reflective, and active agents of community development.

Formally, PNPM was discontinued in 2016 following the implementation of Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages, which aimed to institutionalize participatory development principles within the formal governance system at the village level. Nevertheless, empirical evidence and field observations suggest that the institutional structures established under PNPM have not simply disappeared. On the contrary, many local institutions—such as the Financial Management Units (Unit Pengelola Keuangan/UPK), revolving loan funds, and other community-based organizations—continue to persist and function to this day. This phenomenon can be explained through the concept of path dependence, which refers to the tendency of established institutions to persist and become increasingly resistant to change over time (Sorensen, 2015), as well as the notion of institutional residue, referring to the enduring presence of institutional structures and practices that continue to shape actors’ behavior even after formal interventions have ceased (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Empirical evidence of this institutional persistence can be observed in several cases. In Jombang Regency, for instance, former PNPM Mandiri Perdesaan assets—amounting to tens of billions of rupiah—have been transformed into inter-village enterprises (BUMDesma), which continue to perform local economic functions (Hafidz, 2025). At the provincial level, the East Java government has initiated the establishment of Microfinance Institutions (PT LKM) based on BUMDesma to manage former PNPM assets, which reach trillions of rupiah, in a sustainable manner (Redaksi, 2022). Beyond revolving loan services, the institutional legacy of PNPM is also evident in community-based water supply systems, such as those in Wonokerso Village, Pakisaji Sub-District, Malang Regency. Here, community institutions—specifically the Community Self-Help Organization (Lembaga Keswadayaan Masyarakat/LKM)—continue to operate effectively. Established through democratic selection processes grounded in moral integrity, the LKM functions

as a form of community trusteeship council and serves as a key driver of community-based development while strengthening local social capital.

In 2010, through a village deliberation process, the LKM of Wonokerso initiated a clean water supply project funded by PNPM with an allocation of IDR 47,000,000 (USD 2,760). A similar project was implemented in 2011 with an additional IDR 37,000,000 (USD 2,172). These funds were insufficient to cover the full costs of drilling, reservoir construction, procurement of land for waqf purposes (as required by PNPM regulations), electricity installation, and household piping networks. Consequently, infrastructure development was carried out incrementally with strong community involvement.

For operational management, the LKM, in collaboration with residents, established the Association of Drinking Water Users (HIPPAM). As demand for water services increased, infrastructure development continued progressively. To date, the system comprises two elevated water storage tank and one groundwater drilling project with a total investment of IDR 540,291,000 (USD 31,750). By 2024, the number of users had reached 912 households, representing approximately 70 percent of the village population. In addition, the institution implements social responsibility programs, allocating a portion of its surplus to public benefits such as drainage construction, road paving improvements, housing renovation for low-income households, sanitation provision, and support for orphans. Since its establishment, the total social contributions have reached IDR 100,022,000 (USD 5,880).

The persistence of PNPM's institutional structures cannot be separated from the central role of program facilitators. Within the CDD framework, facilitators function not merely as technical implementers but also as communication agents who transmit the program's values, norms, and moral principles to the community. Through participatory development communication practices, facilitators build trust, mediate competing interests, and foster the internalization of values such as transparency, accountability, and collective action within community practices (World Bank, 2015). Particularly in heterogeneous and socially fragmented urban contexts, facilitators play a crucial role in mobilizing participation, overcoming public skepticism, and cultivating a sense of ownership over development initiatives.

Against this background, this article seeks to examine how participatory development communication practices carried out by PNPM facilitators contribute to the persistence of community-based institutions even after the formal termination of the program. By analyzing communication dynamics, processes of value internalization, and institutional practices at the local level, this study aims to explain the social mechanisms underlying institutional sustainability while contributing to the theoretical discourse on development communication and community empowerment.

2. Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a literature review method, which emphasizes the examination and synthesis of various scholarly sources to develop a conceptual understanding of a particular topic (Creswell, 2014; Snyder, 2019). This approach is used to analyze participatory communication within the perspective of Paulo Freire, particularly regarding the characteristics of dialogue as elaborated by Maria Celeste H. Cadiz (2005).

The data used in this study are secondary data collected through documentation techniques from books, journal articles, and other relevant academic publications. Literature searches were conducted through academic databases such as Google Scholar using relevant keywords, and sources were selected based on their relevance and credibility. The primary references include the works of Paulo Freire and studies in development communication (Melkote & Steeves, 2015; Servaes, 2003). The collected literature was then synthesized to generate a comprehensive understanding of participatory communication concepts.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Communication as Praxis in Participatory Development

Communication as praxis refers to communication understood not merely as the exchange of information, but as a reflective–actional process through which individuals and communities construct meaning, negotiate social realities, and pursue transformative change. Within participatory development, this concept is grounded in the idea that authentic participation emerges when communication becomes a site of joint inquiry, critical reflection, and coordinated action among equal subjects.

Drawing on Habermas, Otto and Fourie (2016) conceptualize participatory communication as *communicative action*, a process in which actors coordinate their actions through mutual understanding rather than through strategic, goal-oriented manipulation. Communicative action requires that participants recognize one another’s validity claims—truth, rightness, sincerity, and comprehensibility—and engage within conditions approximating an “ideal speech situation” where no actor dominates, all may question or affirm arguments, and dialogue remains open and inclusive. From this perspective, praxis is realized when participants engage in ongoing cycles of dialogue, reflection, and collective decision-making that honor both technical and local knowledge.

Freire’s dialogical pedagogy reinforces this orientation by positioning communication as a praxis of liberation in which individuals “name their world” through reflection and action (Freire, 1970). Participatory dialogue is therefore not a passive process but a transformative encounter that cultivates critical consciousness and collective agency. Communication as praxis emerges when facilitators and community members co-investigate problems, co-generate solutions, and engage in relational learning that challenges oppressive structures.

Complementing this view, Buber’s philosophy of dialogue foregrounds the relational quality of praxis. A transformative community cannot arise from instrumental “I-It” relations but from “I-Thou” encounters characterized by presence, mutuality, and recognition of the other’s full humanity (Buber, as cited in Westoby, 2012). Praxis thus requires communicative relationships grounded in respect, openness, and ethical responsiveness rather than in control or reduction of individuals to project targets. Participatory development becomes meaningful only when built upon dialogical relations that affirm human dignity and create space for inclusive narratives and shared action.

Taken together, these perspectives position communication as praxis at the heart of participatory development. Communication becomes an active, ethical, and relational process through which communities co-create knowledge, negotiate meanings, and enact social transformation. Rather than treating communication as a tool for implementing predetermined interventions, communication as praxis centers on collaboration, dialogical equality, and the pursuit of understanding that leads to emancipatory action.

3.2 PNPM Facilitators’ Practices of Participatory Development Communication

The role of facilitators in the National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) Urban Self-Reliance is highly strategic, positioning them as frontline actors in community development and empowerment processes. Facilitators are not merely technical implementers; rather, they function as agents of change who mobilize social processes through participatory development communication. Their primary task is to ensure that community members understand the substance of the program while simultaneously fostering the internalization of its core values—such as transparency, accountability, collectivity, and social responsibility—into everyday social practices. Through dialogical and non-instructional approaches, facilitators create inclusive communication spaces in which community members actively identify problems, articulate needs, and engage in collective decision-making. In this sense, facilitation techniques are not only instrumental but also transformative, as they cultivate critical awareness and a sense of ownership among community members over development processes.

From a theoretical perspective, this facilitative role can be understood through the synthesis of participatory communication frameworks developed by Jan Servaes, Guy Bessette, and Srinivas R. Melkote and H. Leslie Steeves. Within the framework of *Communication for Development and*

Social Change (CDSC), Jan Servaes (2020) conceptualizes communication as a social process of knowledge nurturing that enables consensus-building through inclusive dialogue, taking into account the needs and capacities of diverse stakeholders. This perspective aligns closely with PNPM facilitation practices, particularly in community deliberation forums that serve as arenas for collective decision-making. Similarly, Guy Bessette (2004) emphasizes participatory communication as a planned activity that integrates interpersonal communication and media to facilitate dialogue among stakeholders in problem identification, decision-making, and collective action. In the PNPM context, this is reflected in structured empowerment cycles guided by facilitators from planning to evaluation stages.

Furthermore, Srinivas R. Melkote and H. Leslie Steeves (2015) frame development communication as a process of directed social change oriented toward empowerment and social justice. This perspective underscores that facilitators' roles extend beyond technical capacity-building to enhancing the social and political agency of community members. Through participatory communication, facilitators enable marginalized groups to gain greater control over decisions affecting their lives, strengthen their bargaining position within social structures, and reclaim their voice in shaping development narratives. Consequently, participatory communication in PNPM encompasses three interrelated dimensions: the cognitive dimension (collective knowledge construction), the procedural dimension (facilitation of inclusive and collaborative dialogue), and the transformational dimension (advancing empowerment and social justice). In this regard, facilitators serve as key intermediaries bridging technocratic development processes with community social dynamics, thereby enabling meaningful and sustainable empowerment outcomes.

3.3 Participatory Communication Characteristics

Participatory communication, as articulated by Maria Celeste H. Cadiz (2005), is rooted in Paulo Freire's dialogical pedagogy, which emphasizes an egalitarian and transformative dialogic process. This model comprises five key characteristics.

First, communication between equals, in which all parties occupy an equal position and may alternate roles as sender and receiver. The relationship between communicator and community members is horizontal, reciprocal, and grounded in the recognition of people not as "objects" but as partners. The interaction is two-way and marked by mutual respect for the dignity of all participants.

Second, problem-posing, whereby facilitators do not act as providers of ready-made solutions, but rather as mediators who encourage communities to jointly identify and address problems. Knowledge is not transferred in a top-down manner. Instead, communicators elicit people's experiences, local knowledge, and analytical insights through reflective questioning. The communicator thus serves as a facilitator rather than a prescriber of solutions.

Third, praxis, understood as the cyclical interplay of reflection and action that enables knowledge to be translated into concrete development practice. This process unfolds through alternating phases of action and reflection. Community members and facilitators observe practices, analyze them, derive lessons, and subsequently experiment with new actions. Knowledge emerges from the integration of theory and practice.

Fourth, conscientization, or the cultivation of critical consciousness, refers to the process through which communities develop a deeper collective awareness of social and developmental realities, enabling them to understand and transform their conditions. Dialogue fosters participants' critical awareness, strengthens their willingness to act, and supports systemic change. Evidence of success is reflected in collective initiatives and community-driven institutional mechanisms.

Fifth, this dialogical communication is grounded in core ethical values—love, humility, hope, faith in the capacities of others, and critical thinking—which constitute the conditions for authentic and meaningful dialogue. These values are manifested in communicative practices such as active, nonjudgmental listening.

Overall, this concept underscores that participatory communication is not merely an exchange of information, but a liberatory process that fosters awareness and community self-determination.

3.4 Authentic communication and Community Empowerment

Authentic communication is a communicative approach that emphasizes honesty, openness, and depth in interpersonal relationships. It serves as a means for building trust, deep understanding, and meaningful collaboration. According to Belmont (2024), authentic communication forms the foundation of a healthy community because it enables the establishment of psychological safety—a condition in which individuals feel secure in expressing their thoughts and feelings without fear of blame or judgment. This sense of safety fosters transparency, empathy, and mutual respect as the basis of community culture.

Meanwhile, Kohlriseser (2006) conceptualizes authentic communication as *authentic dialogue*, a process of shared inquiry aimed at discovering a greater truth. Authentic dialogue requires a discovery-oriented mindset, the courage to question, and the engagement of one's physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual capacities. At its core lies emotional bonding and the capacity for deep listening, which transform conversation into a shared process of meaning-making.

From a different perspective, Barrera and Kramer (2017) view authentic communication as a means of bridging diverse perspectives. Rather than merely accommodating differences, this approach leverages diversity as a source of strength to generate a “third option”—a solution that does not privilege one side but integrates the values of both. This approach is enacted through three relational pillars: respect (recognition of identity), reciprocity (equality of voice), and responsiveness (attunement to connection).

Cotten (2017) frames authentic communication as a form of communication rooted in moral motivation: a deep impulse toward truth, beauty, and goodness. Such communication does not emerge from self-interest, self-defense, manipulation, conformity to social expectations, or instrumental goals, but from the desire for honest mutual knowing, shared understanding of lived experience, appreciation of individual uniqueness, and the genuine nurturing of relationships. Overall, authentic communication is understood as a deep interactive process that goes beyond information exchange, focusing instead on honesty, emotional openness, integrity, and the co-creation of meaning. It is characterized by six key features.

(1) Honesty and Openness. Belmont (2024) highlights psychological safety as the condition that enables openness without fear of blame. Cotten (2017) adds that such openness involves deep disclosure, including vulnerabilities that are typically concealed. Authentic communication therefore requires the courage to be honest with oneself and with others within a safe relational space.

(2) Deep Dialogue and the Pursuit of Truth. Kohlriseser (2006) views authentic communication as dialogic discovery—a shared inquiry into greater truth. Cotten (2017) reinforces this by stating that authentic communication is driven by moral motivation to seek truth. It is a process of shared meaning-making through honest, reflective, and non-defensive dialogue.

(3) Empathy, Emotional Bonding, and Full Presence. Belmont (2024) emphasizes the role of empathy in shaping community culture. Kohlriseser (2006) describes bonding as the glue of dialogue. Cotten (2017) notes the intensity of emotional expression that fosters closeness and full presence (mindfulness). Together, these elements create emotional bonds that enable deep empathy and full presence with one another.

(4) Appreciation of Differences and Inclusive Relations. Barrera and Kramer (2017) frame authentic communication as an effort to transform differences into sources of strength, generating the “third option” through respect, reciprocity, and responsiveness. It is inherently inclusive, viewing differences as sources of meaning and new solutions.

(5) Non-Judgment and Absence of Instrumental Agenda. Kohlriseser (2006) underscores the strategic importance of a discovery-oriented mindset rather than one of debate. Cotten (2017) stresses that authentic communication is not driven by self-interest, manipulation, or judgment. It constitutes a safe, nonjudgmental, and non-instrumental space that enables sincere exchange.

(6) Wholeness of Self and Relational Transformation. Authentic communication is positively associated with personal integrity and the expression of the authentic self (Cotten, 2017), which in turn shapes the quality of relationships and social culture (Belmont, 2024; Barrera & Kramer, 2017). Authentic communication not only improves relationships but also strengthens psychological wholeness and fosters community transformation.

Based on the foregoing discussion, authentic communication may be defined as an interaction carried out with honesty, openness, and empathy within a nonjudgmental space that enables shared meaning-making and the pursuit of truth. It honors differences, builds emotional bonds, and nurtures personal wholeness, thereby producing inclusive, complementary, and transformative relationships for both individuals and communities.

3.5 Participatory Communication and Authentic Communication as Foundations for the Development of Critical Moral Consciousness (CMC)

The construct of participatory communication advanced by Cadiz (2005) and the notion of authentic communication elaborated by Cotten (2017) provide complementary theoretical lenses for examining how dialogical processes engender transformative consciousness at both social and moral levels. Although originating from distinct scholarly traditions—development communication and moral education—both frameworks converge on the premise that egalitarian, reflective, and ethically grounded dialogue constitutes a primary mechanism for cultivating critical, change-oriented consciousness.

Participatory communication, as conceptualized by Cadiz (2005), is anchored in Freire's dialogical pedagogy, which foregrounds communication among equals, problem-posing education, the reflection–action dialectic (praxis), conscientization, and an ethical foundation characterized by love, humility, hope, trust, and criticality. Within this model, dialogue transcends informational exchange; it functions as an emancipatory praxis enabling communities to recognize structural oppression and enhance their agency in reconfiguring social reality.

This orientation resonates with Cotten's (2017) articulation of authentic communication, which demonstrates that honest, fully present, and truth-oriented dialogue can catalyze the emergence of Critical Moral Consciousness (CMC) as defined by Mustakova-Possardt (2003, 2004). CMC reflects an integration of moral motivation, critical discernment, and agential capacity that empowers individuals to act upon universal moral principles. Cotten's findings indicate that authentic dialogical spaces facilitate vulnerable moral self-disclosure, non-judgmental listening, and the formation of emotional-spiritual communion—conditions that expand moral horizons, deepen empathy, and strengthen commitments to moral action.

Whereas participatory communication tends toward collective social emancipation and structural critique, authentic communication emphasizes intrapersonal moral transformation. Nevertheless, both frameworks rely on the same fundamental mechanism: dialogue as a reflective-relational process that enables participants to interrogate self and world more critically. Furthermore, the ethical values constituting the basis of Freirean dialogue—love, humility, hope, and trust—also underpin the authenticity required for the development of profound moral consciousness.

Conceptually, these frameworks can be understood as mutually reinforcing dimensions of a dialogical spectrum: participatory communication cultivates collective critical awareness, while authentic communication fosters individual moral depth necessary to sustain social transformation. Their integration yields what may be termed Participatory Authentic Communication, a model of dialogical engagement that is egalitarian, reflective, ethically grounded, and oriented toward both social and moral transformation. This integrated model comprises five constitutive elements:

1. **Egalitarian Relations and Authentic Presence** ; This dimension fuses Cadiz's (2005) "communication between equals" with the existential honesty and full presence emphasized in Cotten's (2017) authentic communication. Participants are recognized as subjects with equal dignity, speaking from lived experience and engaging in empathetic, non-judgmental listening—conditions conducive to trust, openness, and vulnerability.

2. **Critical-Reflective Dialogue.** Synthesizing Freire's problem-posing method with the moral-dialogical orientation of CMC, this form of dialogue centers on critical questioning rather than prescriptive solutions. Such engagement enables collective interpretation of social issues and fosters deeper critical reading of reality.

3. **Transformative Critical Consciousness.** Integrating Freirean conscientization with Mustakova-Possardt's CMC, this element facilitates the co-development of self-awareness, social awareness, and moral awareness. Participants develop an understanding of structural conditions, power dynamics, and their ethical responsibilities, resulting in a more mature moral-social orientation.

4. **Praxis: Integration of Reflection and Action.** Praxis, understood as the dialectical synthesis of moral reflection and ethical action, emphasizes that critical insight must be embodied in concrete moral practice. Actions are continually refined through reflective evaluation, enabling sustained and authentic moral transformation.

5. **Ethical Grounding of Dialogue.** Drawing on Freire's ethical commitments and the ethics of authentic communication, this principle underscores love, humility, trust, and hope as prerequisites for humane, inclusive, and transformative dialogue. In the CMC framework, moral consciousness develops only within dialogical relations rooted in universal moral values; absent this grounding, communication risks devolving into manipulation, persuasion, or procedural formalism.

Taken together, Participatory Authentic Communication may be defined as a dialogical process grounded in egalitarian relations and authentic presence, in which participants engage in critical-reflective inquiry, co-construct meaning, and develop social and moral consciousness. This consciousness is enacted through praxis—an iterative cycle of reflection and action—supported by an ethical foundation that ensures dialogue remains humane, inclusive, and oriented toward the common good. Accordingly, this model constitutes not merely a medium for exchanging messages, but a transformative communicative space that shapes consciousness, relationships, and collective action (as illustrated at figure 1).

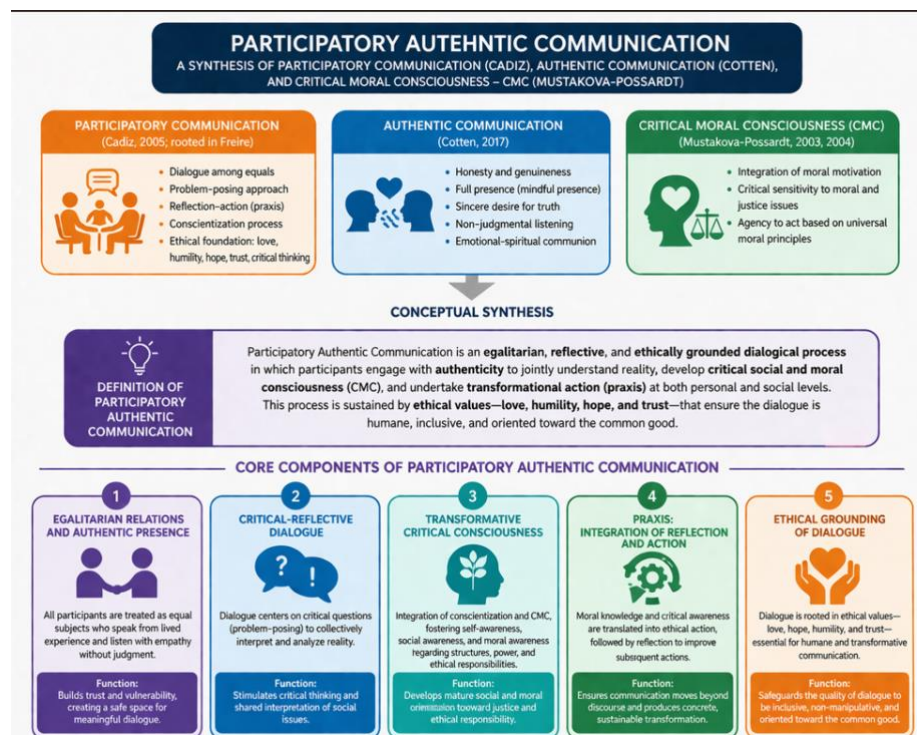


Figure 1: Participatory Authentic Communication

4. Conclusion

Applying a community-driven development (CDD) approach, PNPM positions community members as active agents in local development processes—from planning and implementation to evaluation. This orientation is operationalized through the adoption of values such as voluntarism and *development from within*. As a grassroots, community-based poverty alleviation program, PNPM views the root causes of poverty not merely in terms of limited economic resources but as grounded in a decline of moral values: the weakening of virtues such as sincerity, compassion, mutual cooperation, and social solidarity in community life.

Consequently, PNPM seeks to awaken and revitalize these moral values in tangible ways within the social fabric of communities. Genuine community empowerment is thus understood as the actualization of moral virtues in everyday life, rather than simply improving access to economic resources. Realizing this vision constitutes the primary task of facilitators, who function as mediators between the program and local residents: teaching them the program's principles, rules, and mechanisms, while simultaneously fostering the internalization of moral values through collective social learning activities.

In undertaking this work, facilitators employ participatory communication and authentic communication to advance the program's objectives. Through the facilitators' practice of participatory authentic communication, community empowerment becomes evident in the institutionalization of moral values such as sincerity, compassion, and mutual cooperation—values that form the moral foundation of grassroots, community-based poverty reduction. As a result, norms and institutions such as the *Lembaga Keswadayaan Masyarakat* (LKM) continue to function to this day, even though PNPM has been formally discontinued by the government.

5. References

- Barrera, I., & Kramer, L. (2017). *Skilled dialogue: Authentic communication and collaboration across diverse perspectives*. Balboa Press.
- Belmont, C. (2024). *Co-creating community culture: Authentic communication, empathy, and strategic time management*. Retrieved from <https://www.clarebelmont.net/post/co-creating-community-culture-authentic-communication-empathy-and-strategic-time-management>
- Bessette, G. (2004). *Involving the community: A guide to participatory development communication*. International Development Research Centre (IDRC).
- Cadiz, M. C. H. (2005). Communication for empowerment: The practice of participatory communication in development. In O. Hemer & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Media and global change: Rethinking communication for development* (pp. 145–158). NORDICOM & CLACSO.
- Cotten, G. (2017). The role of authentic communication in moral development and transformative education: Reflections on a case study. *Journal of Thought*, 51(1–2), 47–64. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/90010895>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Effendy, R. (2015). The Moral Values As The Foundation For Sustainable Community Development: A Review Of The Indonesia Government-Sponsored National Program For Community Empowerment Urban Self-Reliance Project (PNPM MP). *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 6(7). <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/JEDS/article/view/21460>
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.
- Hafidz, A. (2025, May 10). *Eks PNPM Mandiri Perdesaan di Jombang jadi BUMDesma, asetnya capai puluhan miliar rupiah*. Jombang Banget. <https://jombangbanget.jawapos.com/pemerintahan/2505100002/eks-pnpm-mandiri-perdesaan-di-jombang-jadi-bumdesma-asetnya-capai-puluhan-miliar-rupiah>
-

-
- Jakimow, T. (2016). *Called by the soul: Becoming a 'developer' in Medan, Indonesia* (Working Paper No. 247). Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. <https://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/bitstreams/143ce174-cfe5-420c-9a28-136849c3adbb/download>
- Jakimow, T. (2017). Becoming a developer: Processes of personhood in urban community-driven development, Indonesia. *Anthropological Forum*, 27(3), 256–276. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2017.1379005>
- Jakimow, T. (2018). Being harmed while doing good: Affective injuries in a community development programme, Medan, Indonesia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 24(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12860>
- Jakimow, T. (2018). Volunteers' practices of care in community development as a model for citizenship in Medan, Indonesia. *Citizenship Studies*, 22(2), 145–159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2018.1445491>
- Jakimow, T., & Harahap, A. (2016). Gaji sejuta: Moral experiences and the possibilities for self in a community-driven development program in Indonesia. *Critique of Anthropology*, 36(3), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X16646836>
- Jakimow, T., Dewi, K. H., & Siahaan, A. Y. (2019). The ethics of social care in Indonesia: Women's perspectives on care in politics, development and policy. *Asian Studies Review*, 43(4), 633–651. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1586830>
- Kohlrieser, G. (2006). The Power Of Authentic Dialogue. *Leader to Leader*, 2006(41), 36–40. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ltl.205>
- Lawrence, T. B., & Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutions and institutional work. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy, T. B. Lawrence, & W. R. Nord (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of organization studies* (2nd ed., pp. 215–254). SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608030.n7>
- Mansuri, G., & Rao, V. (2013). *Localizing development: Does participation work?* World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/dbf44593-5927-5acc-b1a2-3e1870600713/content>
- Melkote, S. R., & Steeves, H. L. (2015). *Communication for development: Theory and practice for empowerment and social justice* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Mustakova-Possardt, I. (2003). *Critical moral consciousness: A study of morality in a global age*. Praeger.
- Mustakova-Possardt, I. (2004). Critical moral consciousness: An alternative developmental psychology. *Journal of Adult Development*, 11(4), 245–258.
- Otto, H., & Fourie, L. M. (2016). Theorising participation as communicative action for development and social change. *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 35(1), 21–41.
- Redaksi. (2022, October 28). *Jatim awali pendirian PT LKM BUMDesma kelola aset eks PNPM*. Sahabat Rakyat. <https://www.sahabatrakyat.com/nasional/ekonomi/jatim-awali-pendirian-pt-lkm-bumdesma-kelola-aset-eks-pnpm/>
- Servaes, J. (2003). *Communication for development and social change*. SAGE Publications.
- Servaes, J. (2020). *Handbook of communication for development and social change*. Springer.
- Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research*, 104, 333–339. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039>
- Sorensen, A. (2015). Taking path dependence seriously: An historical institutionalist research agenda in planning history. *Planning Perspectives*, 30(1), 17–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2013.874299>
-

-
- Susilo, A. (2016). *Toward mainstreaming and sustaining community-driven development in Indonesia: Understanding local initiatives and the transition from the national rural community empowerment program to the Village Law*. Asian Development Bank. <http://hdl.handle.net/1765/95350>
- Tim Advisory P2KP. (2005). *Pedoman umum program penanggulangan kemiskinan di perkotaan (P2KP) 3: Bersama membangun kemandirian dalam mengembangkan masyarakat menuju permukiman yang berkelanjutan*. Direktorat Cipta Karya, Departemen Pekerjaan Umum Republik Indonesia.
- Westoby, P. (2012). Global challenges for community development practice: In dialogue with the wisdom of six thinkers. Paper presented at the Community Development Conference, Dublin, Ireland.
- World Bank. (2015). *Participatory and community-driven development in urban areas*. The World Bank Group. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/53146ab3-f374-56e6-a831-d2488c72a6ed/content>