POVERTY IN THREE VILLAGES IN PAPUA

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ABSTRACT

The principal objective of this thesis is to explore the issue of poverty in selected research sites in Papua. This objective is broken down to four questions: how is poverty understood, how is it measured, what are its causes and how is it alleviated?

Two approaches were utilised to investigate the above questions. Macro level investigation was based on exploring data available in the official publications while the micro approach was based on fieldwork carried out in the selected sites. The results of the first approach are examined in chapters two, three and four, and the second approach are discussed in chapter five, six, seven and eight.

In relation to the first question, the macro exploration found that poverty is understood mainly in terms of a lack of basic components of life such as income, consumption or basic needs. Understanding poverty from this approach normally uses the poverty line, which is set up based on these items, to separate the poor from the non-poor. According to this line, poverty refers to those people whose consumption falls below the line while the rest are non-poor. This view looks at poverty from one dimension that is an economic dimension. Hence, it does not provide a complete picture of human poverty, which covers not only the economic dimension but also others such as vulnerability, powerlessness, isolation, and a lack of choice.

The micro investigation adopts a poverty understanding stemming from the experience of the poor. This investigation found that the poor understand poverty from what they feel to be lacking in their environment. In this approach, poverty is a lack of assets, in particular natural, physical, human, social and financial assets. Nonetheless, those affected by poverty argue that their poverty is not related to nature, but to physical, human, social and financial assets. This view seems to offer a broader picture of human poverty and hence, it is useful for formulation of or as a basis for a poverty reduction policy.

With regard to the second question, the macro approach found that poverty measurement employs a quantitative measurement of both items and methods. The quantitative items can include income, consumption or basic needs (food and non-food), which are valued in monetary terms. The quantitative methods apply statistical techniques such as headcount index, poverty gap index, poverty severity index and others to measure poverty. This measurement only considers the quantitative aspect and, therefore, it does not pay attention to the qualitative aspect of human poverty.

The micro approach on the other hand, attempts to amalgamate both aspects into a poverty measurement. One of the approaches that attempts an amalgamation of the two is the participatory approach, which is utilised in this study. Although it is a qualitative-based approach, it still opens the window to the use of quantitative approaches. The micro approach seems to offer some benefits such as giving more depth of information regarding human poverty, directly touching the lives of the poor, and facilitating a bottom-up policy to alleviate poverty in the local context.

In the third question, the macro exploration demonstrates that structural forces such as agents, class and institutions bring about poverty through their policies, programmes and rules. The micro investigation on the other hand, shows that individual characteristics and a lack of assets contribute to poverty. This investigation sees that poverty at the micro level is a result of the mutual operation of structural forces, individual characteristics and a lack of assets.

With regard to the last question, both approaches demonstrate a variety of polices to eliminate poverty as discussed in chapters three, six, seven, eight and ten. One framework for a poverty reduction strategy is the Asian Development Bank (ABD) three pillars strategy: social development, pro-poor growth and good governance. However the emphasis is for government commitment and the political will to alleviate poverty. Some experts underline this as a prerequisite to implement a poverty reduction policy because, as they argue, without this the policy will either not exist or will develop only very slowly.

The selected sites experienced poor environments in terms of infrastructure, poor education and skills, poor health and nutrition. This is indeed a manifestation of poor government policies as identified by the poor. From the poor's point of view, it was found that all participants in the fieldwork identified poor policy as a contributing factor of poverty they experienced. This was also justified by looking at the ranking of institutions they gave. In these rankings, government institutions were generally given a rank of less importance by the poor. Participants stated that these institutions were not trusted and were not effective in providing support to the poor.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

Between the 1950s and the 1960s, economic growth was seen as a strategy for reducing poverty and improving quality of life. A large amount of investment in physical assets was seen as the prime mover for development activities to achieve growth. However, as this growth was seen to fail in reducing poverty, a shift was made to the provision of health, nutritional and educational services as a matter for public policy in the 1970s. This shift occurred because improvements in health, nutrition and education were seen as not only a right of the poor, but also a way to boost growth in incomes, both nationally and among the poor (World Bank, 1990b:2; 2001a:6; Laderchi et al, 2003:3).

In the 1980s the emphasis was again changed to improving economic management and to enabling a greater role for market forces. This emphasis appeared during macroeconomic crises at that time and encouraged some countries in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa to make this adjustment. There was doubt regarding the effectiveness of public policy and, hence, it led to a constraint on public spending. On the basis of this, the World Development Report 1990 examined how this approach could help the poor and investigated the prospects for the poor during the 1990s (World Bank, 1990b:2-3). This evaluation promoted two strategies for the 1990s: labour-intensive growth (via economic openness and investment in infrastructure) and basic services (in health and education).

In 2000/01, the issue of the vulnerability of the poor stimulated another stress for governance and institutions. As a result, the World Bank promoted three ways to tackle poverty: opportunity, empowerment and security (World Bank, 2001a:6-7).

Despite the above strategies, poverty is still the world's greatest challenge. In 1998, for example, of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 billion lived on less than $2 a day, and 1.2 billion lived on less than $1 a day. Of that 1.2 billion, South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia and the Pacific accounted for 44 per cent, 24 per cent and 23 per cent of this total, respectively (World Bank, 2001a:vi&24). In the next 25 years, according to the World Bank (2001a:vi), the world's population will roughly increase by an additional 2 billion. About 97 per cent of this increase will be in developing countries. This population increase encourages concern for the world, as it will result in problems of environmental degradation, unemployment, poverty and other social and political problems.

Poverty reduction is an important part of the coping strategies to solve the above problems. This is partly because poverty is often seen as a root cause of the problems, particularly problems occurring in developing countries. Hence, the elimination of poverty is currently a key concern of all those interested in developing countries. This is main justification for the central objective of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), that were agreed by more than 149 countries at the UN Millennium Summit in New York, which is the halving of poverty by 2015 (Laderchi et al, 2003:3). In addition, the World Bank, the UNDP and other major donors often assess their policies in relation to their impact on poverty, ranging from debt relief to macro economic stabilisation.

Ironically, while concern is given to poverty reduction, particularly among the donor community, the term poverty still means different things for different people. This means that people, according to their political, social and economic circumstances, will understand poverty differently. Laderchi et al (2003:3) argued "clarification of how poverty is defined is extremely important as different definitions of poverty imply use of different criteria for measurement, potentially the identification of different individuals and groups as poor, and the use of different policy solutions for poverty reduction".

This research attempts to examine the above issues. These issues are focused on the Indonesian and Papuan context to address how is poverty defined, how is it measured, what are its causes, and how is it alleviated and where can future policy be focused to better deal with poverty? The research will inform stakeholders, particularly the local elites, to understand the complexity of poverty in the region and, hence, it is expected that this understanding will boost a bottom-up and self-defined approach to eliminating poverty in the province.

The variation in meanings of poverty not only occurs in other places in the world, but also in Indonesia and in Papua. In chapter four, poverty in Indonesia is discussed, while poverty in three cases studies in Papua is examined in chapters six, seven and eight. The following paragraphs briefly explore the seriousness of poverty in Indonesia and Papua in terms of several issues: concept, measurement and causes such as centralised policy, poor policy, political status, and economic crisis.

The situation in Indonesia

Poverty is an important issue in Indonesia. Before 1997, Indonesia's national development was a success story, because it had brought about a reduction in poverty (World Bank, 1990a:1; Hill, 1994:104; 1996:192; Booth, 1998:128; Emmerson, 1999:133). This was observed in some indicators of development. First, it was seen from Human Development Index (HDI) measurement. Between 1960 and 1999, the infant mortality rate dropped from 159 to 45 per thousand live births. Adult illiteracy fell from 61 per cent to 12 per cent in the same period. Life expectancy at birth increased from 41 years to 66.2 years (BPS, BAPPENAS and UNDP, 2001:6-7).

The reduction in poverty was also shown by using per capita rice consumption to measure poverty, as discussed in chapter four. From this figure, it can be seen that in 1970, 60 per cent or 70 million of the Indonesian population was poor. This percentage had been

successfully reduced to 40.1 per cent (54.2 million) in 1976 and 11.3 per cent (22.5 million) in 1996 (World Bank, 1990a:3-7; Hill, 1996:194; BPS, 1999a:55; 1999b:91). This success was driven by government strategies for rural and agricultural development, which were supported by a large amount of government investment in physical capital and infrastructure (roads, harbours, water, electricity, sanitation), education, health, and nutrition, as well as international aid during that period.

The period from 1997 to 1998 brought disaster. The economic and political crises affected poverty rates, which increased from 11.3 per cent (22.5 million) in 1996 to 24.23 per cent (49.5 million) in December 1998, out of a total population of 204 million (BPS 2002:196). Foreign debt and staple food prices increased. Some industries went bankrupt and unemployment increased. Annual inflation reached about 65 per cent in 1998 (Hill, 1999:23-35). From a political point of view, Soeharto resigned after almost 30 years as president. Students in Java demonstrated and asked the government to bring people who were involved in *KKN* (*Koropsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme* - Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism) to justice (Huxley, 2002:13-27).

Due to the high percentage of people in poverty, the Indonesian government gave highest priority to addressing poverty through national development programs. In order to back up the priority, the government produced some regulations as a guideline to execute the programs. For example, the President signed Presidential Decision Number 124, 2001 on 7 December 2002 regarding the Poverty Reduction Committee. The main function of the committee is to coordinate and formulate all poverty policies at all stages, nationally and locally. In addition, the government enacted Law Number 25, 2000 regarding the national development program during the period 2000-2004. This law gives high priority to reducing the incidence of poverty from the 1999 level to about 28.86 million in 2004 (Kompas, 30 September 2002).

Even though many attempts have been made to reduce the incidence of poverty, these attempts were unsuccessful (Smeru, 2001:4). This was partly because of the narrow concept of poverty that was adopted, which tended to encourage ineffective government policy because this policy was just intended to address income and consumption, while other dimensions of poverty were not handled. This would suggest that a new strategy is needed to combat poverty in all its dimensions. This new strategy seems to require a concept of poverty that not only defines poverty from one dimension such as consumption or income, but also defines from other dimensions such as isolation, powerlessness and vulnerability.

The question is how can this be done properly? It is believed that one of the steps that needs to be taken in order to reduce poverty is to have a proper understanding of it. The concept of poverty should be broadened to include many dimensions of human well-being. At minimum, the broader concept would be helpful in designing poverty reduction policies in all dimensions. This research is expected to provide a better understanding of poverty and, therefore, it is important that this research should be conducted.

During the period 1966-89, development had been more concentrated in the western part of Indonesia, especially in Java, rather than in the eastern regions of Sulawesi, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB), Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), Papua and East Timor (Hill, 1994:108-114; Emerson, 1999:119-121). Hill (1994:115) argued that this was partly because there was a sharp division between ethnic and regional dimensions during the period. Some others argued that this focus had been encouraged by the fact that during the period, the bulk of the poor were in Java; about 66 per cent (World Bank, 1990a:31-32; Booth, 1998:130). Economic activities had been predominantly located in Java and, to a lesser extent, Sumatra (Hill, 1991:5). As a result, there was a dramatic decline in the incidence of poverty in western areas (Java and Bali), while in the east the incidence of poverty decreased very slowly.

Data on poverty shows that the poverty figures in the West were 10.5 per cent and in the East were 29.8 percent in 1984. In 1987, however, poverty in the West fell to 9.5 per cent, while in the East the figure decreased only by a very small percentage, to 24.9 per cent (World Bank, 1990a:15). This encouraged the national government to switch the pattern of development to concentrate on the East at the beginning of 1990, at the outset of the fifth Five Year Development Plan. This switch was extremely important because, even though there had been a reduction in poverty in the whole country, this success was unevenly distributed, as it was overwhelmingly concentrated in western regions of Indonesia.

The situation in Papua

Uneven national development in Indonesia led to Papua province lagging behind the rest of the country. Even though there had been a shift in national development to the East, including Papua, the incidence of poverty was higher in Papua than in other provinces from 1976 until 2004, as discussed in chapter four. Poverty in this province seemed to be an expression or a sign of a number of factors, not only economic factors such as extraction of natural resources and uneven national development; Weak law enforcement against human rights abuses and an unfinished debate between the Papuan people and Indonesia about the political status of Papua and its relationship with Indonesia were also factors.

This research does not cover this political status, but it is believed that the political aspect has also had a strong influence on poverty in the province since its integration into Indonesia from 1969 to the present. The following brief discussion will firstly address the incidence of poverty in Papua and its political status, and then it moves to investigate the incidence in some districts.

The incidence of poverty in the province is still high according to several indicators. Between 1996 and 1999, the Human Development Index (HDI) for the province fell from 60.2 to 58.8, which took the province into a very low HDI rank of 25th of the Indonesian

provinces (BPS, BAPPENAS and UNDP, 2001:89). The Human Poverty Index (HPI) was also still high at around 31.3 in 1998 and this index placed the province into a position of 22nd HPI rank (BPS, BAPPENAS and UNDP, 2001:110).

Biro Pusat Statistik (BPS) figures also demonstrate that poverty is still striking in Papua. In 1993, 24.16 per cent of the total population were poor (BPS, 1999a:32). This figure continued to rise to 42.28 per cent in 1996 and, during the crisis period, the figure increased sharply to 54.75 per cent in 1999 (BPS, 2000:19). Of these figures, BPS claimed that the rural poverty rate was higher than the urban poverty rate. For example, in 1996 urban poverty was 7.29 per cent while rural poverty was 54.37 per cent. In 1999, these figures increased to 9.03 per cent in urban areas and to 70.95 per cent in rural areas (BPS, 2002:198). This is the reason this study was focused on poverty in the rural areas.

Provincial economic growth rates declined at varying rates. This growth fell from 13.87 per cent in 1996 to 7.42 per cent in 1997, and then increased to 12.53 per cent in 1998 (BPS, 1998:464; 1999c: 472). However, mining and quarrying, as well as the agriculture sector, were still leading sectors in regional economic growth. During the period 1995-98, the mining and quarrying sectors contributed to Regional Domestic Product (RDP) by more than 50 per cent per annum and the agricultural sector by more than 17 per cent per annum, while other sectors contributed less than 10 per cent (BPS, 1998:460; 1999c: 468).

Ironically, even though regional economic growth rates were higher than population growth rates, unemployment rates were still high. In 1990-95, the annual population growth rate was 3.34 per cent. It then went down to 2.98 per cent in 1995-97 (BPS, 1998:73; 1999c: 71). However, unemployment figures were still high, almost equal to population growth rates. In 1990, the unemployment rate was 3.13 per cent and it then increased to 4.66 per cent in 1995 (BPS, 1998:73; 1999c: 71).

Why does Papua have the highest poverty rate in Indonesia? During the Soeharto regime, national development was focused on the West, especially Java. As a consequence, all natural resources were exploited and brought to Java (based on a centralisation system) to build various industries, while in Papua no industries were built and this resulted in people in the province remaining poor. Emmerson (1999:131) has, therefore, pointed out that poverty in Papua occurred because "the value of its RGDP (Regional Gross Domestic Products) was remitted to other parts of the country".

The above situations illustrate a dependency relationship between Java and Papua. Papua is on the periphery, while Java is at the core. As part of the periphery, the region only provides raw material and primary products to the core (Ghosh, 2001:10). The core processes the raw materials and primary goods into finished goods and then sells them back to the periphery at high prices. No industries have been developed in Papua, which mostly functions as a market area for industrial products coming from the core. Physical infrastructure, human resources, financial/economic resources and others have not been much improved in the periphery because policy decision-making has been interfered with at the core. The dependency relationship between the periphery and the core demonstrates an economically dependent cycle in which Papuan people do not control their own resources and development, and this contributes to local poverty.

In addition, poverty in the province is also seen as a result of an unfinished political debate between the Papuan people and the central government regarding the political status of Papua and its relationship with Indonesia. Papuan people argue that the implementation of *Pepera (Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat* or the Act of Free Choice), which was enacted on 12 February 1969 (Djopari, 1993:74-75; Irian Jaya government, 1997:52), broke the United Nations rule. This rule was explained by Ortiz-Sans, a UN representative who arrived in Jayapura at that time and became a historical witness of *Pepera.* Papua people also felt upset because the New York Agreement concerning Papua, which was made by three

nations on 15 August 1962 (US, Dutch and Indonesia) did not involve any representative from the Papuan people to discuss the agreement.

According to the UN rule, *Pepera* must be conducted based on a principle of *one man one voice*, but in fact this principle was not implemented and was replaced by a *representative system*. In this system, around 1,025 representatives, of 809,337 Papuans in total (Djopari, 1993:75), voted to integrate into the Republic of Indonesia because of intimidation by military forces and human rights abuses (Djopari, 1993:76). Currently, on the other side, the Indonesian government claims that the political status of Papua is final, meaning that there is no room to debate the political status further because, according to the government, the Papuan people have already voted to be a part of Indonesia. There is no room either for foreign countries to interfere with the political status of Papua, because Papua is an internal problem.

The above political debate seems to have lead to a low political will by the central government to develop the province. Since 1966 national development was implemented to include all provinces in Indonesia, including Papua and this was based on a centralisation system. Nonetheless, regional development, which began in Papua on 1 April 1969 until the present (Erari, 1999:113), was seen to bring about prosperity and creates businesses for people from Jakarta, Makasar, Surabaya, Medan, the Chinese and certain Papuan elites, while the Papuan people as a whole remained poor in their rich land of minerals, forests and sea (Kompas, 29 August, 2005).

The centralisation system gave political authority to the central government to implement national development and to take regional natural resources. The system only benefited Java in terms of national development while other provinces, including Papua did not benefit and, hence, in 2000 the central government introduced a decentralised system as a new strategy to spread national development more equally to all regions. However, some of the Papuan people only saw this decentralisation (Special Autonomy for Papua) as a new

political offer to strengthen the Indonesian position on the island. In fact, this special autonomy was rejected through the regional representative office on 12 August 2005 in Jayapura as a critique of the failure of special autonomy to bring about prosperity for the whole Papuan people (Tempointeraktif, 9 August, 2005; Kompas, 29 August, 2005). Some people argue that special autonomy only creates local conflicts and poverty among the Papuan people as natural resource extraction, human rights abuses and poor social services still occur on the island.

Even though this study has not investigated the above political debate, it is important to consider that special autonomy constitutes a good solution because it is potentially able to facilitate a bottom-up and self-defined approach to alleviate poverty, as recommended by this research. It gives good potential for the poor to take part in all activities affecting their lives in the regional development process. Nonetheless, this solely depends on the political good will of the central government to implement the special autonomy in Papua.

The local situation in some districts

Poverty varies from one district to another in Papua. From a HDI standpoint, most districts have a very low quality of human development. According to BPS, BAPPENAS and UNDP (2001:89) Paniai had a position of 294 in the national HDI ranks in 1999 (there are 294 districts in Indonesia), Jayawijaya 291st, Merauke 265th, Manokwari 252nd, Yapen Waropen 241st, Sorong 157th and Jayapura 104th. The other districts were under the HDI rank of 100.

From the BPS (2000) figures, poverty was higher in Paniai and Jayawijaya. In 1996 the percentage was 70.89 per cent in Paniai and 66.80 per cent in Jayawijaya. In 1999, however, these percentages increased sharply to 80.09 per cent in Paniai and 79.07 per cent in Jayawijaya. During the same period poverty figures in Biak Numfor increased from 14.80 per cent to 33.91 per cent, while in Jayapura the percentage increased from 10.73 per

cent to 11.28 per cent. In Sorong, the percentage also rose from 35.41 per cent in 1996 to 41.88 per cent in 1999 (BPS, 2000:19).

It is acknowledged that perhaps one of the crucial steps which need to be taken in order to combat poverty, in addition to broadening its concept, is to put poverty on the regional government agenda. Until now, very limited research has been carried out in the province to explore how local people understand poverty, how they cope with their problems and what their expectations are from the development process. It is for this reason that this research was conducted.

There are twelve districts and one municipality in the province (BPS, 1998:204). Most districts are situated in the coastal areas (Plate 1.1), except Jayawijaya, Puncak Jaya and Paniai, which are located in mountainous terrain. There are no roads built to allow communication from one district to another. As a result, domestic aircraft and ships can reach the coastal areas, while areas in the mountainous terrain depend only on domestic aircraft. Some roads have been built in the urban centres, and their surrounding areas, in order to facilitate development activities in the urban areas.

Several international companies have operated in some districts. In the West, the Indonesian Oil Company (Pertamina) has operated in Sorong. In the South, America's and the world's biggest gold and copper company has operated in Mimika district. In the centre of the island, British LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) has operated in Fakfak district. In the North, a multinational fishing company has operated in Biak Numfor district. In addition, there are other national companies that exploit some of the natural resources such as plywood, logs, coffee, palm and so forth. Even though these companies operate in the province, their economic benefits for the local people in solving poverty in the region are questionable.

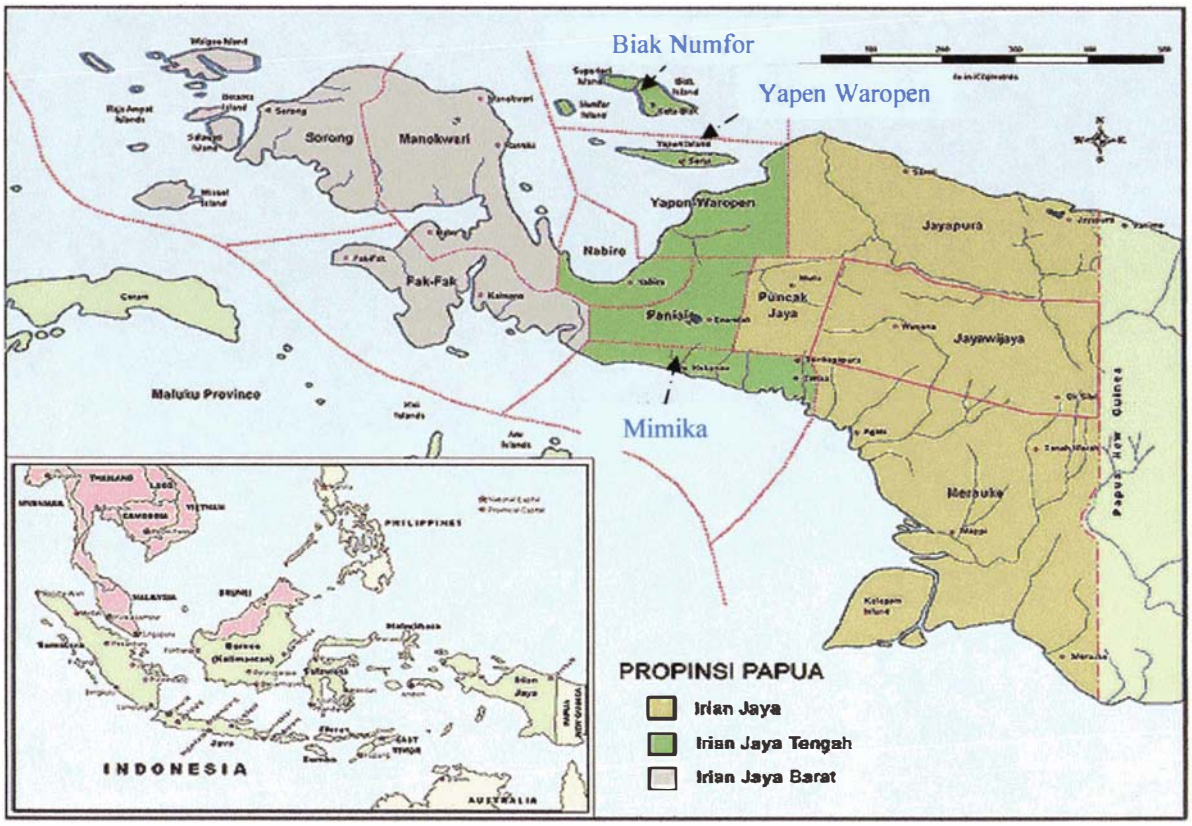


Plate 1.1: Papua and its districts (source: http://www.papuaweb.org/goi/pp/index.html#peta)

Objectives and significance

With this context in mind, the study raises a general research question: how is poverty understood in both the national and Papua context in Indonesia? Broadly speaking, the study aims to examine poverty first from a macro approach to understanding poverty. This aim is explored in chapters two, three and four. This macro analysis is conducted through the examination of macro data available in official publications to meet several specific aims, as follows:

a. Outlining and exploring the ways poverty has been officially defined.
b. Investigating the way poverty is officially measured and what data sources are used to carry out this measurement.

c. Examining the causes of national poverty.
d. Exploring how national poverty is alleviated.

After considering a macro perspective, this study moves to a micro approach, which focuses on poverty in the local context. This approach is investigated in chapters five, six, seven and eight. The micro analysis is carried out through three case studies to address specific aim, as follows:

a. Investigating the perceptions of poor people concerning poverty. This also includes how the poor distinguish themselves from the rich, and what criteria they used to determine the difference.
b. Examining the causes and the impacts or symptoms of poverty. This part investigates the dimensions of poverty. Also in this part the question is discussed about whether the poor are able to make a distinction between the causes and the symptoms. Also, of the two, which is addressed by poverty policy? And why?
c. Exploring the priorities of poor people, as seen against the problems they have experienced. What are the most important priorities to solve?
d. Discussing what coping strategies are utilised to alleviate poverty. What are the most important coping strategies? And why?
e. Exploring what institutions are available to the poor. This includes how the poor rank the institutions that are important or not important for their lives. What the most important institutions? And why?

The study has several areas of significance. Theoretically, it contributes to an understanding of poverty from an academic standpoint, especially the multidimensionality of poverty and how to address it. Practically, on the other hand, the study is expected to assist local officials to improve the way poverty is understood and to help them design effective strategies and responsive policies to reduce poverty. As this study is primarily based at the grassroots level, the study recommends a bottom-up and self-defined approach to poverty alleviation in the research locations.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of ten chapters. Chapter one is an introduction consisting of background, objectives and significance. Chapter two is a literature review discussing how poverty is understood, how it is measured, and what are the causes and impact of poverty. This review is investigated in terms of various perspectives emanating from the macro level.

Chapter three explores how poverty is alleviated. This chapter examines several coping strategies of poverty stemming from both macro and micro levels. In the macro level, several views from both experts and institutions are investigated. Also in this chapter a framework for a poverty reduction strategy utilised by the ADB (2004:1) is explored. This is intended as a basis for attacking poverty in the selected sites. At the micro level, the main focus is directed to livelihood strategies. This serves as a basis for understanding the complexity of poverty and also a way of coping with poverty.

Chapter four addresses poverty in the Indonesian context. This discusses the data sources of poverty, how poverty is understood and measured, the incidence of national poverty and its causes. This chapter serves as an initial basis for understanding how poverty is defined at the provincial government level in Papua. Also, in this chapter, how provincial government perceptions react to the perceptions of the poor is examined.

Chapter five discusses the research methodology and fieldwork. This chapter explores the experiences of fieldwork and the methods used in this study. This consists of preparation and implementation of fieldwork, site selection, selecting respondents, data collection, data analysis, experiences from the fieldwork, and participatory methods in practice, combining methods and triangulation, ethical issues and challenges.

Chapters six, seven and eight present three case studies of the selected sites. In these chapters, poverty is examined at the micro level to address several main issues: how poverty is understood, what the causes and impact of poverty are, what the priorities of poor people are to solve the problems they experience, what coping strategies are utilised to alleviate poverty and what institutions are present in the lives of the poor. To address these issues, chapter six focuses on Ayiaw village, chapter seven on Isuraf village and chapter eight on Tanjung Irausak.

Chapter nine focuses on discussing the research findings. This chapter primarily examines the findings from the micro point of view discussed in chapters six, seven and eight. These include how poverty is understood by the poor; how to differentiate the poor from the rich; what the needs and the priorities of the poor are; what institutions are critical in the lives of the poor; what the dimensions and the causes of poverty are; and what coping strategies the poor utilise to overcome their difficult situations. These findings are also investigated from a macro perspective, both experts and institutions, as explored in chapters two, three and four.

Chapter ten concludes the study. It begins with a summary of key findings relating to the research questions in chapter one. These questions were examined in both a theoretical manner and in the three cases studies. The chapter also explores areas for future research in this dynamic area of poverty study. Several policy implications are also examined in this chapter to provide a window of initiatives for follow-up policy interventions.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MEANING, MEASUREMENT AND CAUSES OF POVERTY

Introduction

This chapter investigates the meaning, measurement and causes of poverty by reviewing appropriate general literature. The first section of this chapter explores the meaning and measurement of poverty while the second section discusses causes of poverty. This latter part includes the causes from individual and micro levels, structural and macro levels, and causes and impacts. Following this is a final section concludes this chapter by highlighting the major findings of the discussion.

Meaning and measurement

This section explores meaning and measurement starting with uni-dimensional and moving on to multi-dimensional perspectives. As will be pointed out below, each perspective has different view regarding meaning and measurement. The following paragraphs investigate several perspectives.

Income/expenditure

Living standards comprise a set of possibilities available for a person or a household to meet its needs. The possibility of satisfying needs includes various items, material and non-material, but this approach generally represents all items needed as income/expenditure, which are the important indicators used to explore poverty. The concept of poverty is defined based on these items and the approach argues that a person or a household is

considered poor if its income or its consumption falls below a certain threshold, normally defined as a minimum level (Alcock, 1997:77-79; UNDP, 1997:16; World Bank, 2001a:16). The minimum level is known as the poverty line, which is calculated on the basis of obtained data from individual income or individual expenditure. Applying the poverty line to determine poverty, however, needs careful consideration because poverty lines are dissimilar between regions in terms of social culture and economic environment (Hoeven and Anker, 1994:17-19). For example, the poverty line for New Zealand is at a substantially higher income level than that for Indonesia.

The approach, in general, focuses on material needs. In gauging poverty, all human needs are measured by two main items of income/consumption which are part of material needs. In this regard, collected data on income/consumption are utilised to measure poverty. The method is considered to be the most dominant approach in poverty measurement partly because it uses relatively abundant data, which are easily obtained from sample surveys (World Bank, 2002). Moreover, the method is based on monetary terms which allows for simple calculation and, hence, this approach is often known as a monetary metric approach. The approach also employs some statistical techniques to gauge poverty, such as headcount index, poverty gap index and severity of poverty (square poverty gap index) (Dessallien, 1998:10; Hemmer and Wilhelm, 2000: 14-17; BPS, 2002:67-73). On the basis of these reasons, the approach is assumed to be an objective measurement.

An example of objective measurement can be contrasted with subjective measurement. Alcock (1997:68-73) argued that absolute poverty is objective while relative poverty is subjective. He asserts that "absolute poverty is clamed to be an objective, even a scientific definition, and it is based on the notion of subsistence. Subsistence is the minimum needed to sustain life, and so being below subsistence level is to be experiencing absolute poverty because one does not have enough to live on" (1997:68). Further he clams that:

> Absolute poverty is thus contrasted with relative poverty. This is a more subjective or social standard in that it explicitly recognises that some element of judgment is involved in determining poverty levels... Judgment is required

> because a relative definition of poverty is based on a comparison between the standard of living of the poor and the standard of living of other members of society who are not poor, usually involving some measure of the average standard of the whole of the society in which poverty is being studied (1997:69)

In choosing between income and consumption for poverty measurement, consumption provides more detailed information than income. An example from the fieldwork can explain this. In the selected villages the people have no regular income and most income they do receive stem from selling the production of both subsistence farming and subsistence fishing. However, such incomes generally fluctuate depending on the season. In the city, a large number of people have non-permanent income from the informal sector which also fluctuates. In this situation, it is difficult to recall income data correctly and, hence, it affects the quality of collected data. Consumption data, on the other hand, can be easily obtained by asking for the respondents to provide their daily expenditure or monthly expenditures, which recall their real consumption and, hence, the possibility to produce incorrect data is relatively small.

Comparing consumption to income, Hemmer and Wilhelm (2000:13) also argue that expenditure is assumed to be a more reliable yardstick than income in terms of possibility to meet needs because income is more affected in a short-term economic fluctuation than expenditure. It is also justified by Coudouel, Hentschel and Wodon (2001) that consumption is a better indicator for poverty measurement than income, for the following reasons:

- Consumption is a better outcome indicator than income: Actual consumption is more closely related to a person's well-being in the sense defined above, i.e. that of having enough to meet current basic needs. On the other hand, income is only one of the elements which will allow consumption of goods (others include questions of access, availability, etc.).
- Consumption may be better measured than income: In poor agrarian economies, incomes for rural households may fluctuate during the year, in line with the harvest cycle. In urban economies with large informal sectors as well, income flows may be erratic. This implies that it may be difficult

for households to correctly recall their income, in which case the information on income in the survey may be of low equality. For farmers, one added difficulty in estimating income consists in excluding the inputs purchased for agricultural production from the farmer's revenues. Finally, large shares of income are not monetized if households consume their own production or exchange it for some other goods, and it might be difficult to price these. Estimating consumption has its own difficulties, but it may be more reliable if the consumption module in the household survey has been well designed.

- Consumption may better reflect a household's ability to meet basic needs: consumption expenditure reflect not only the goods and services that a household can command based on its current income, but also whether that household can access credit markets or household savings at times when current income is low or even negative, due to perhaps to seasonal variation or harvest failure. Consumption can therefore provide a better picture of actual standards of living than current income, especially when income fluctuates a lot (Coudouel et al, 2001:2-3).

Basic needs

This view defines poverty as the deprivation of material requirements for meeting basic human needs. The concept of deprivation goes beyond the lack of personal income to include access to such necessities as food, shelter, schooling, health, water, sanitation facilities and opportunities for both employment and participation (UNDP, 1997:16; Dessallien, 1998:11) and these are used as indicators for measuring poverty. The approach endeavors to address the limitation stemming from the income perspective by highlighting the difference between personal income, public services and other forms of non-monetary income.

The approach raises questions of which needs are considered to be basic and which needs are considered to be a luxury. The answers to these questions differ from one community to another depending on social convention and judgments. However, Hemmer and Wilhelm (2000:4) argue that basic needs include private goods and publicly provided services. For example, private consumption includes food, clothing, shelter and some basic household

appliances and furniture, and essential public service includes provision of drinking water and public transport and access to health care, sanitary and educational facilities.

Because the concept of material requirements is assigned to basic needs, poverty measurement distinguishes basic needs for food (food requirement) and basic needs for non-food (non-food requirement). For those interested in the poverty line, this line is set up for each distinction by applying several statistical techniques, as mentioned earlier, and, thereby, the approach is considered an objective measure. However, if basic needs concept is considered a minimal standard concept, its measurement is not free from subjective measurement because it involves elements of value judgment, local prices and taste.

One of the advantages of the approach, compared to the income approach, is to add a wider range of dimensions to poverty than just the income dimension. Hence, the approach gives a bigger picture for human well-being than the income approach. For instance, when prices of basic needs items such as food, clothing and shelter increase, this increase is considered a decline in well-being because it directly affects human welfare. On the other hand, an increase in personal income is not always considered an increase in human welfare as personal income indirectly influences human welfare through increased prices for basic needs items. These reasons encourage its use instead of the income approach.

An example of using the basic needs approach can be seen in an Indonesia case where, in 2002, BPS established the poverty line. Persons falling below the established line were considered poor. For other practitioners who are not interested in the line, basic needs indicators are placed in a category and then they calculate the mean category. Based on the mean category, people falling below the mean are considered poor.

The approach is a monetary approach as to determine a poverty line or a mean category all indicators have to be converted into a monetary value. The conversion is adjusted to the local consumption patterns and market prices. After this adjustment, the poverty line is calculated by using several techniques.

The basic needs concept varies across populations as discussed earlier. Its concept is relative and it is not limited to physical needs for personal survival, but it includes community services, facilities such as infrastructure and other non-material assets. The International Labour Organisation (cited in Dixon and Macarov, 1998:6) defines basic needs as follow:

> The minimum standard of living which a society should set for the poorest groups of its people. The satisfaction of basic needs means meeting the minimum requirements of a family for personal consumption: food, shelter, clothing; it implies access to essential services, such as safe drinking-water, sanitation, transport, health and education... it should further imply the satisfaction of needs of a more qualitative nature: a healthy, humane and satisfying environment, and popular participation in the making of decisions.

Human capability

Parr and Kumar (2003:xxii-xxiii) and Monafi (2004:16) argue that the capability approach was developed by economist Amartya Sen in conjunction with his colleague and college friend Mahbub Ul-Haq. This was argued by Monafi (2004:16) as follows:

> Having accepted the position to develop the UNDP's human development reports in 1989, Ul-Haq insisted that Sen work with him to broaden the informational basis of the reports to promote a people centered approach to development. At the time, Sen was refining his ideas with regards to human capabilities, and this was clearly reflected in the overall aim of the HPI as well as its, albeit imperfect, choice of indicators to measure poverty.

Parr and Kumar (2003:xxiii) note that Sen published a paper entitled 'Development as an Expansion of Human Capabilities and Human Freedom' which was "written in 1989, a year before the publication of the first *Human Development Report*" in 1990. Development, according to Sen, who pioneered this approach, should be seen as the expansion of human capabilities, not as the maximisation of utility or monetary income (Sen, 1985; 1999, Laderchi et al, 2003:15-19). The approach rejects the income approach as a measurement of

well-being and focuses on indicators which describe the freedom to live a decent life. In this context, Dessallien (1998:11) asserts that human capability should be measured by life expectancy at birth, malnutrition, literacy, participation and so forth. However, participation is difficult to measure partly as it is not easily quantified. In this regard, the human capability approach endeavors to gauge poverty from outcomes and most of its indicators are straightforward: life expectancy at birth, nutrition and literacy rates.

Sen defines human capabilities as the substantive freedom a person enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value (1999:87). In this regards he defines "poverty as a deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as low income". He further argues that basic capabilities deprivation can be manifested in "premature mortality, significant undernourishment (especially of children), persistent morbidity, widespread illiteracy and other failures" (Sen, 1999:20).

Freedom in the context of the development process, as argued by Sen (1999:38), includes five elements: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. He further claims that these five elements form a general capability to enable a person to live more freely and they also serve to complement one another.

Political freedom deals with "opportunities that people have to determine who should govern and on what principles, and also include the possibility to scrutinize and criticize authorities, to have freedom of political expression and an uncensored press, to enjoy the freedom to choose between political parties, and so on" (Sen, 1999:38). Economic resources refer to personal ability to use economic resources and to have access to markets in order to generate income for consumption, production and exchange. Social opportunities link to the basic service provision for human development such as education, health and others. This is important as it not only influences a person's life, for instance, through decreased morbidity and mortality, etc., but it also affects personal ability to participate in development activities through, for example, literacy and awareness.

Transparency guarantees refers to the needs for openness and trust in a community. It is important that interactions a person has with institutions, both private and governmental in the community, should be conducted honestly and lucidly in order to develop integrated systems involving all people in participating and investing their capital in development sectors. Protective security deals with attempts to protect certain groups in the community who are more vulnerable to economic adversity than others. These attempts can be through safety net programs in the form of emergency services, unemployment securities or other ways to reduce any abject destitution for the groups.

Sen's work informed the 1990 HDR and, hence, human development at that time was defined as a "process of enlarging people's choices" (UNDP, 1997:15; Parr and Kumar, 2003:22). These choices include "a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. In addition, the choices include political freedom, other guaranteed human rights and various ingredients of self-respects" (UNDP, 1997:15). The capability approach defines poverty as a lack of human capability to function at a minimally acceptable level in a society (UNDP, 1997:16). This perspective still deals with Sen's reference, which defined poverty as capability deprivation.

The approach contains two concepts of capability and function. The concept of capability, according to Sen's reference, is broad and is not limited to basic capabilities such as income, education, health and nutrition, but also includes other capabilities such as human rights, opportunity, and so on. As Sen (1999:3) points out, capability includes the concept of freedom, which includes freedom in social and economic arrangements, and political and civil rights. The concept of function, in this approach, deals with the numerous valuable things a person could be able to do and be (UNDP, 1997:16), such as working, studying, being part of a society, resting, being respected, living long, being healthy, and so on.

The introduction of the 1990 HDR had a tremendous impact on poverty assessment. This can be traced through the proponents of HDR arguing that poverty must be gauged from a human development perspective, meaning that poverty is not just about lack of income, but

it is about "the denial of choices and opportunities for a tolerable life... to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem and respect of others" (UNDP, 1997:15). Poverty can, in this context, be viewed as a lack of freedom in the way people can not express their choices and in the way people can not utilize their opportunities in profitable activities.

The human poverty index

The Human Poverty Index (HPI) is a human poverty measurement that is derived from the human capabilities approach. UNDP introduced HPI in 1997 to measure poverty from social indicators. This is partly because issues of poverty in most developing countries at that time involved hunger, literacy, epidemics and the lack of health services or safe water (UNDP, 1997:17). These issues are indicated in the concept of deprivation and, hence, the HPI is developed to measure poverty from deprivation in the basic elements of human life which already reflected previously in the Human Development Index (HDI) in 1990: longevity, knowledge and standard of living (UNDP, 1997:18; Hemmer and Wilhelm, 2000: 20-22).

The first factor (longevity) is measured by the percentage of people expected to die before age 40. The second deprivation, knowledge, is gauged by the percentage of adult who are illiterate. The final deprivation, standard of living, is measured by three variables: the percentage of people having access to health services, to safe water, and the percentage of malnourished children under five.

The three deprivations exclude income from the HPI (UNDP, 1997:18) because, as discussed earlier, income cannot affect human welfare directly. The effect goes firstly to the prices of goods and services and then to human welfare. Therefore, an increase in personal income is not a guarantee of an increase in human welfare. Moreover, the UNDP (1997:180) argues that it is better to focus on material deprivation in hunger and

malnutrition rather than income because, as the UNDP asserts, for the poor, personal income normally goes to food and nourishment.

Nevertheless, the UNDP itself admits a few observations must be made regarding the last deprivation and why income is excluded from the HPI (UNDP, 1997:18). In addition, the HPI cannot describe the depth of poverty by means of the three deprivations (Hemmer and Wilhelm, 2000: 21). Furthermore, UNDP (1997:17) admits that the HPI also excludes some critical dimensions of human poverty. These are "lack of political freedom, inability to participate in decision-making, lack of personal security, inability to participate in the life of a community and threats to sustainability and intergenerational equity".

Measuring poverty from human capability is often difficult. This problem arises from how to translate capability concepts in practice. Laderchi et al (2003:18-21) argue that the difficulty links to four issues. These are defining basic capability, the measurement of capability, the poverty line and aggregation. Two of these issues are described below.

In relation to the first issue, Laderchi et al (2003) claim that Sen does not provide a specific list of the minimal capability concepts, even though he recommends basic concerns such as well-nourished, avoiding preventable morbidity etc. as a part of the list. They claim as well that he does not provide guidelines for building up a universal list for the capability concept that can be accepted to gauge human capability. They mention an attempt made by Nussbaum (2000) to define basic capabilities, but they argue that her concept was an overlapping consensus between communities regarding the human well-being concept and what is needed to be fully human.

In addition, they assert "Nussbaum's list defines characteristics of a full human life at a very general level, and does not specify cut off points for defining deprivation" (Laderchi et al, 2003:18). Nussbaum's list of features essential to human life (Laderchi et al, 2003:18), is as follows.

a. Life: normal length of life
b. Health: good health, adequate nutrition and shelter
c. Body integrity: movement, choice in reproduction
d. Senses: imagination and thoughts, informed by education
e. Emotions: attachments
f. Practical reason: critical reflection and planning life
g. Affiliation: social interaction, protection against discrimination
h. Other species: respect for and living with other species
i. Play
j. Control over one's environment, politically (choice) and materially (property).

The second issue deals with the translation of capability concepts into a practical measurement. There is a difficulty in measuring both functionings and capabilities. They claim, in practice, there is a tendency to gauge "functionings rather than capabilities (i.e. life expectancy, morbidity, literacy, nutrition levels) in both micro and macro assessments. Using functionings makes the approach virtually identical with the BN (Basic Needs) approach to the measurement of poverty" (Laderchi et al, 2003:19-20)

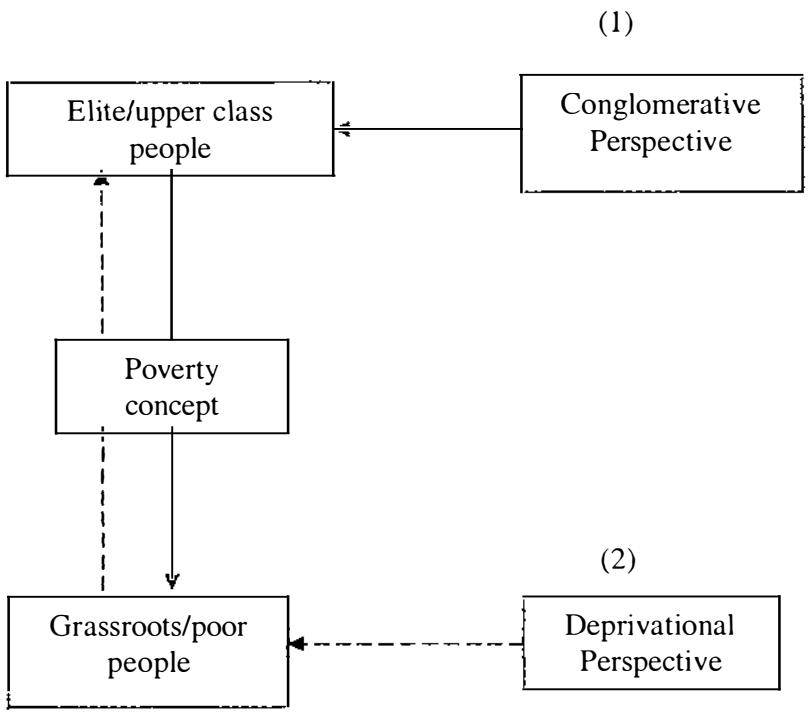
Institutions

The institutional perspective is important to discuss because the institutions are responsible for both designing poverty policy and making decisions affecting the poor. The institutional perspective to some extent stems from the above, or is called conglomerative perspective. According to the UNDP (1997:15) this perspective focuses attention on the progress made by all groups in a society, from the rich to the poor. This contrasts with deprivational perspective looking at poverty from the poor. These contrasted views can be explored from Figure 2.1 below.

The first perspective describes how poverty is conceptualised from the top to the bottom as depicted by the line. This perspective uses the progress achieved by development such as income, consumption and other social advances to judge poverty. As the indicator highlights the advance in development, it also defines the people who have not progressed in these indicators as poor. As a result, the direction in which poverty is eliminated stems

from above or a conglomerate perspective to the grassroots, as indicated by the line. In Figure 2.1 below, the line goes down from the elite to the grassroots people, meaning that the policy is designed at the upper level and then it is implemented at the bottom. The grassroots do not become involved in designing policies affecting their lives and, thereby, there is a possibility that the polices may not touch their needs.

Figure 2.1: A framework of poverty perspectives



The second perspective defines poverty from the grassroots. As shown in Figure 2.1, the deprivational perspective, which comes from the poor and is depicted by the dotted line, tries to understand how the poor consider themselves. The poor define poverty from what they experience as deprivation. They may use assets they own in their environment to judge poverty. Hence, it may be possible for the poor to consider that they are not poor, even though they in fact lack income. They may argue they do not have enough income to provide for their needs, but they still live because they have abundant natural assets such as

land, forest and sea that allow a sustainable life. This phenomenon is found in some villages where the people argue they are poor in income or assets such as a colour TV colour, a parabola, a car and a boat with a Johnson engine, but they are not poor in land, forest and sea.

As poverty concepts can come up from the bottom, this research endeavors to hear the poor's perception or, in other words, this view defines poverty from the local context. In Figure 2.1, this view goes up to the upper class and it tries to influence any poverty reduction policy. In this respect, the designed policy from the bottom is responsive to the needs of the poor and, hence, it affects their lives. In this sense it is arguable that policies that are born from the grassroots perspective are probably the most responsive policies to the poor's lives.

Grassroots

The grassroots people in most cases, if not always, are people living in the remote village areas. The grassroots perspective of poverty is generally linked with living conditions, the assets a person or a household owns, and their access to food, public services, common property resources and employment opportunity (Mukerjee, 1992:21). Most researchers and policy makers study the villagers' perception by using participatory techniques. Through these techniques, they aim at identifying poor through the villagers' perception by learning why and how the villagers consider themselves to be poor. This fieldwork applied these techniques with the same aims, as discussed in chapter five, and the results of the findings are explored in chapters six, seven and eight.

As found in the fieldwork, most villagers define poverty in terms of a lack of something. When focus group discussions and interviews were conducted, the villagers identified a lack of 'something' to a lack of sufficient food, sufficient income, credit, education and skill training, housing, employment, infrastructure and tools for fishing and farming. The notion of lack is indeed broad and includes many dimensions. It is not limited to this

perspective, but it goes beyond this to cover other dimensions. This perspective conforms to Amartya Sen's (1999) and World Bank (2001a) perspectives, which define poverty as a general state of deprivation in well-being that has more to do with entitlement and capacity rather than only income or consumption. This view includes deprivation in choices and opportunities to act in a profitable way such as running micro enterprises, borrowing from money lenders and others.

Multidimensional perspective

This perspective defines poverty not from one dimension, but from many dimensions. These dimensions go beyond a narrow perspective, which defines poverty from income, consumption or expenditure and other social indicators such as education, health and nutrition, to include a broader perspective (World Bank, 2001a:v; Pernia and Deolalikar, 2003:40). The broader perspective expands the narrow perspective to include powerlessness and voicelessness to influence political decision making that affects a person's life, and vulnerability to diseases, economic crisis, and fear or living without freedom in action and choice.

The emphasis on the multidimensionality of poverty indeed includes many dimensions of deprivation. This can be explored through the World Bank (2001a: 15) definition that poverty is "a pronounced deprivation in well-being". The key to understanding this concept is the notions of *deprivation* and *well-being*. The notion of deprivation includes physiological and sociological terms. The former argues that people are poor if they lack income, food, clothing and shelter. Previous perspectives, both income and basic needs, are considered to stem from physiological deprivation, even though the basic needs indicators are expanded beyond physiological deprivation. The latter sees that poverty exists as structural impediments. Broadly speaking the structural inequities stems from power structure, government policy and distribution systems. The structural barriers hamper the poor's access to external assets (such as credit, land, infrastructure and common property) and to internal assets (such as health, nutrition and education). The notion of capability

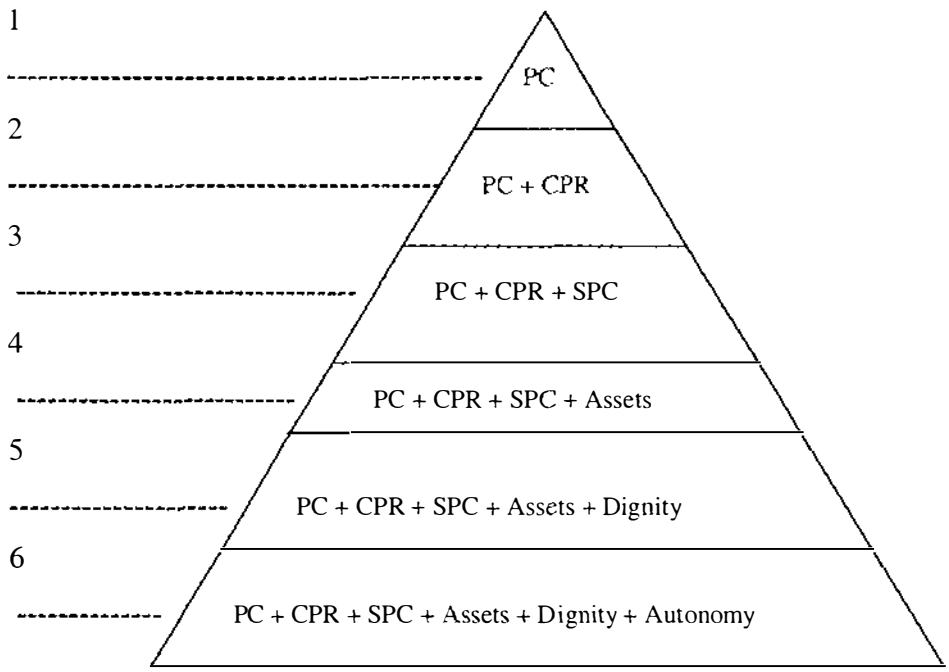
itself extends people's opportunities, but when they are poor, capability poverty spans deprivation both physiologically and sociologically. Accordingly, people are poor not only because the country is poor, but also because of a lack of real opportunity.

The notion of well-being differs among different people. For instance, the World Bank (2001a: 16; 2002) argues that in Russia people interpret well-being as "a life free from daily worries about lack of money". In Bangladesh, the World Bank (2001a; 2002) also claims that well-being is meant as "a life free from anxiety". In the villages where this fieldwork carried out, the people interpreted well-being by using various terms such as rich, safe, happy, prosperous, and wealthy and have many goods. According to them, a person or a household experiences this condition if he or she has many assets. In this regard, they interpreted well-being as having some assets, as discussed in chapters six, seven and eight. Nevertheless, Chambers (1995:vii) defined well-being as a good quality of life that a person can experience. This contrasted with what he called ill-being, which is linked to a bad experience in the quality of life.

A pyramid of poverty concepts

As discussed earlier, traditional poverty measurement has been dominated by income/consumption approaches. According to this approach, people are poor if their income/consumption below a stated minimum level or known as poverty line. This approach sees poverty from one dimension while other dimensions of poverty have been ignored.

Figure 2.2: A pyramid of poverty concepts



Source: Baulch, 1996:2

Baulch (1996:2) argues that modern sociologists have challenged the income/consumption approach. He agrees with some writers, mentioned below, who describe several drawbacks to this approach. For example, he cites Jodha's (1986) argument that the approach lacks attention to common property resources, Datta and Meerman's (1980) view that it fails to state provided commodities, and Maxwell and Smith's (1992) view that it does not address vulnerability.

In his view of poverty, Baulch (1996:2) defines poverty in a broader context as depicted in Figure 2.2. From the figure, it can be seen that he includes six dimensions of poverty consisting of PC (private consumption), CPR (common property resources), SPC (state provided commodities), assets, dignity and autonomy.

Baulch claims that the conventional income/consumption approach tries to focus on line three of the pyramid that is private consumption, common property resources and state provided commodities. However, Baulch argues, in practice, it often just focuses on line one because difficulty in measuring consumption stemming from state provided commodity and access to common property resources.

Line four is a broader concept that includes the vulnerability of the poor. On this line he includes assets such as human and physical capital, stores, and claims. On lines five and six, he adds dignity and autonomy to his broader concept of poverty including people's freedom to perform activities and their ability to choose self-fulfilling and rewarding life-styles.

Having discussed the poverty perspectives, it is clear that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, which can be defined in many ways. The variation in the perspectives shows the multidimensional nature of poverty. In practice, the concept of poverty is defined according to the political, social and economic contexts of each analyst or country (Chambers, 1983, 1995; World Bank, 2001a). This has been found from the fieldwork that the villagers tended to define poverty based on their environment in the village as discussed in chapters six, seven, and eight.

Causes of poverty

As the people at the grassroots generally experience poverty, it is reasonable to begin looking at what causes poverty at the micro level. This explains poverty from the bottom and it identifies individual characteristics as the causes of poverty such as behaviour and values. Then discussions on causes from the macro level are addressed. This explores the causes from the top and it identifies social forces as the cause of poverty such as social policy failure, market failure, stratification in a community, agency and institutions.

The distinction between the micro and macro levels is made in order to provide correct responses to the poverty. Broadly speaking, the responses made to poverty are related to its causes, but there must be a proper understanding of what level the causes are coming from. Understanding these levels is expected to provide the right solutions to poverty. In the end, the combined causes and impacts of poverty are addressed. It explains the causes and the impacts both in the micro and macro levels in multifaceted ways.

Micro level

The pathological perspective investigates the causes from individual characteristics. Broadly speaking, the perspective sees the causes of poverty from the internal side of a person. As will be pointed out below, the perspective is focused on personal traits as the causes and, therefore, recommends an internal solution to poverty.

Proponents of the pathological view identify two main approaches that explain poverty from individual traits. These are the genetic and psychological approaches. The first approach explains poverty from inherited characteristic while the second approach from developed individual traits (Alcock, 1997:37).

Both approaches explain a causal link between poverty and individual traits (Alcock, 1997:37-38), however, the link is not proven. Some evidence comes from one of the most well-known proponents of the pathological approach, Keith Joseph, who examined the operation of the circle of deprivation or transmitted deprivation in the 1970s. The results indicated that "most children of poor homes did not repeat the poverty of their families and communities, and that most of those who were poor did not themselves come from such a deprived background" (Brown and Madge, 1982; cited in Alcock, 1997:38). Similar evidence stems from Spicker (1993:77), who agrees with Kolvin, Miller, Scoot, Gatzanis and Feeting in 1990, that "there is little evidence to show that there are continuities particularly preserved in certain families, partly because most poor children are not poor as

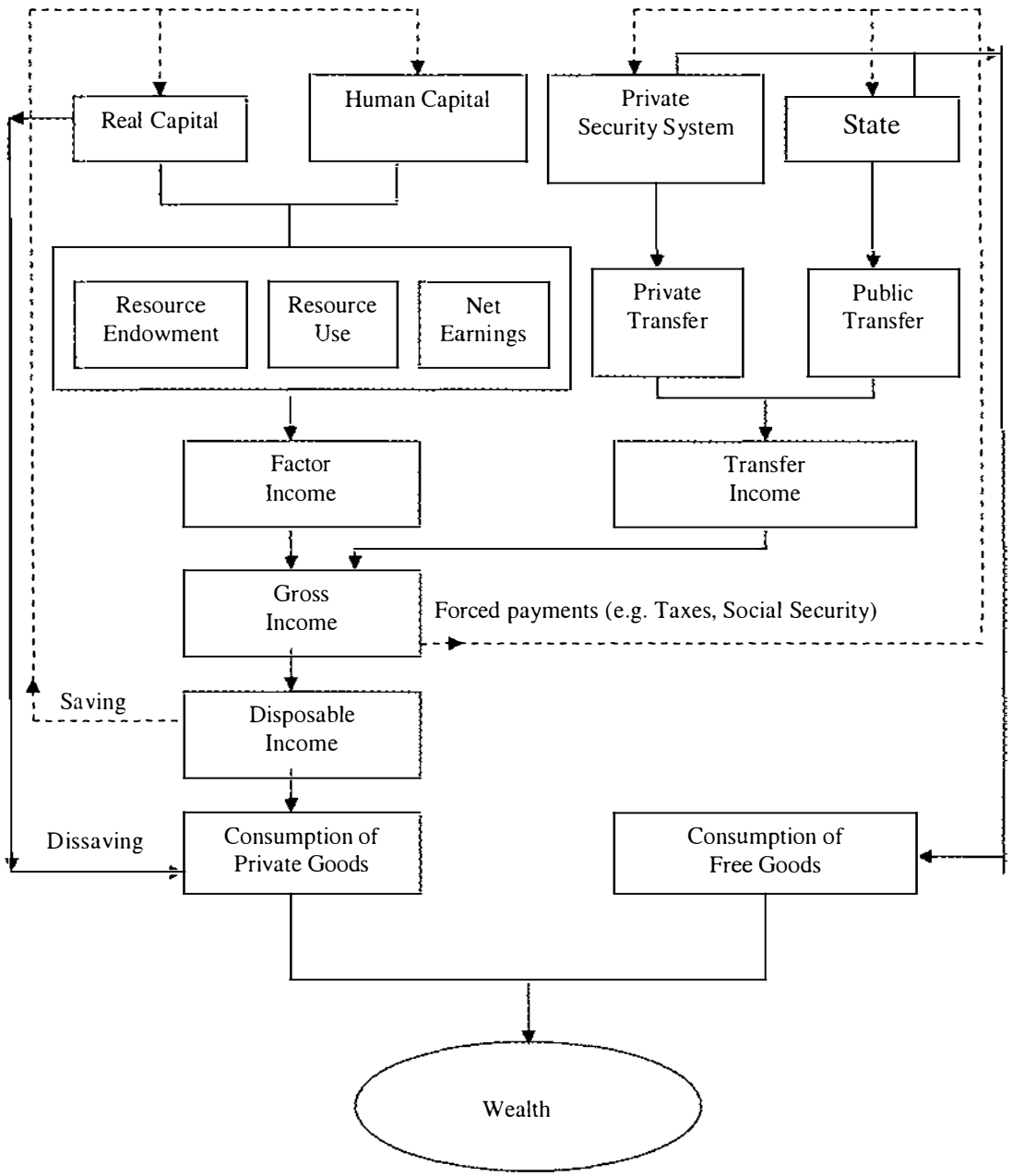
adults, and partly because people marry spouses who are not from similar family backgrounds".

Hemmer and Wilhelm (2000:45) also identify economic causes emanating from the micro level. These can be understood through analyzing the determinants of wealth at the household level as indicated by Figure 2.3. From the figure it can be seen that wealth at the household level is generated through various factors starting with the availability of real capital, human capital, security systems of private and consumption goods, and both private and free goods. They assert that wealth is affected by consumption depending on whether the provided goods are sourced either privately or publicly (free of charge).

The consumption of private goods is influenced by disposable income, which is real net income after deducting forced payment such as taxes, social contributions and protection fees. While gross income stems from two components namely factor income and transfer income. The first component results from the production process of resources whereas the second component comes from transfers by both private institutions (e.g. extended family, social security, village community) and government institutions. Also, in part, it can be financed by forced payments such as taxes and contributions.

Factor income is determined by the availability and use of, and payment for, the resources in the place where the production process is being conducted. These three things should exist to generate factor income. There are three possibilities in which income generation does not occur. First, even though the resources are available and are used in the production process, if they were not paid for to the owners, they would not generate factor income. Second, even though the resources were available, if they could not be used, they would not generate income. Third, even though there is a capability to use and to pay for the resources, if the resources are not available, they would not generate income. The availability, use and payment of the resources are influenced by the availability of real capital (e.g. money capital, machines) and human capital (e.g. education, skills, health).

Figure 2.3: The determinants of wealth at the household level



Source: Hemmer and Wilhelm (2000:46)

From the figure, poverty is seen as a consequence of an insufficient availability of the above factors. This includes lack of factor income (including a part of income in the form

of assets), lack of transfer income and lack of access to goods and services provided for free. They argue that any attempt to understand the determinants of poverty at the micro level can be investigated through the figure.

Ajakaiye and Adeyeye (2002: 26) identify some other causes of poverty at the household level. This consists of age and education of different household members, number of income earners, household composition and size, assets owned by the household, access to basic social services, gender, ethnicity of head, location variable (rural or urban), sector of employment and remittances to household and so forth. These causes are explored below.

First are the age and education of household members. Poverty mainly affects people who are under or above productive ages who are unskilled and have low education. These people, in general, are unable to work or are inactive in seeking work and, hence, they are unemployed. They may also be unemployed because their educational background prevents them entering the labour market. This also hampers them in utilising economic opportunities to create profitable jobs, such as micro-enterprises. The impact of age and education on poverty has been argued by several authors. For example Quibria (1993:36) argues from a case study in Indonesia that "illiteracy among rural poor was higher than among non poor of all ages but increasingly for older age groups. The proportion of illiteracy among the rural poor as a whole was 31 per cent as compared with 21 per cent among the non poor". Narayan and Petesch (2002:100-102) undertook a case study in Nigeria, especially in the village of Ikot Idem. A discussion group of women in the village claimed that they were better off because of education and skills acquisition. Further, Narayan and Petesch (2002:102) found that in the village of Ikot Idem "women's group agree that men have more opportunities than women, but that better education, skills acquisition, and women's increased empowerment have brought women more employment opportunities than they had in the past".

Second is the number of income earners in a household. This is linked to the relationship between the number of household members and number of income earners. Poverty can

occur in a household where the number of household members is more than the number of income earners. If income earning is just from a household head, for instance, when the members are many, the household burden is heavy and hence a household experiences poverty. Several authors argue that household burden is also linked to the sex of the household head. This has been pointed to by Ellis (2000:145) who found that that in Kenya and Malawi, "male-headed households have more potential income earners than do female-headed households, and this is reflected in the differences in levels of the dependency ratio (the number of children per adult) between groups". The difference also, as Hemmer and Wilhelm (2000:30-33) point out, deals with "inequalities in the intra-household allocation of resources which can hardly be changed by public policy". In some cultures, for example, women have been restricted from working outside the home and, hence, men have more earning opportunities than women. When a male-headed household dies and is replaced by a female as a household head, the woman faces a serious dilemma as a breadwinner.

Third is assets owned by the household. Assets have been argued by most empirical studies to be determinants of a household's wealth (Quibria, 1993; Ellis, 2000; Narayan, et al, 2000; Narayan and Petesch, 2002). If a household lacks assets, then they often face poverty. Assets have been classified by the studies to include natural, physical, human, social and financial assets. As assets are determinants of wealth, the poor tend to view the problems they experience as being a result of asset deprivation. For example Narayan and Petesch found in Bangladesh, especially in the village of Halkerchar, that communities classified themselves into the rich and the poor based on asset ownership. According to the communities, "rich people are those who have their own land and other properties, livestock for cultivation, and money for investment, and can afford sufficient meals, wear good clothes, send their children to school, have jobs and mobility, and are free from disability" (2002:120). Poor people are those who are denied access to credit and loans, suffer from periodic food insecurity and deficits, have no assets and no capital and are forced to seek credit to cover their daily expenditures, live in rented tin or bamboo houses, mostly work as day labourers and are landless (2002:121). The asset ownership

classification to determine the rich and the poor has been applied in this study and is examined in chapters six, seven and eight.

Four is availability of basic social services. These includes roads, electricity, water supply, transportation, communication, schooling, health and others. Previous empirical studies found that a lack of basic social services can contribute to poverty (Quibria, 1993; Ellis, 2000; Narayan, et al, 2000; Narayan and Petesch, 2002). For example, Narayan et al (2000:72-83) argue that when discussion groups are carried out to identify poverty in some places (Madana village in Malawi, Tash-Bulak in Kyrgyz Republic, Orgakin in Russia, Ayekale Odoorgur in Nigeria, Juncal in Ecuador, Little Bay in Jamaica and Ghetto in Bulgarisa), the groups produce a list that indicates that poverty is a result of a lack of access to basic services and infrastructure. They record several voices from the poor from different places as follows:

1. Water – inadequate and unsafe. The voices of the poor regarding this are:

   A women in Tash-Bulak, Kyrgyz Republic says: *I repeat that we need water as badly as we need air*. A participant in a discussion group of poor men and women in Madana village, Malawi cites: *We need boreholes because we rely on unsafe water from streams and unprotected wells. It is a critical problem because most of these streams and wells dry out during the dry season. We have to travel long distances searching for water*. A resident of Orgakin in Russia voices: *How can we sow anything without water? What will my cow drink? Drought is so often here. Water is our life*. A middle-aged man in Etropole in Bulgaria says: *Look at out river! The cows stop milking when they drink this water. When I was a boy we used to go fishing there, and there were good fish. Now even the frogs have disappeared. We have no choice but to use it for the gardens—so all the metals are soaking in the soil and we eat them. They can take more copper from my lungs and bones than from one meter of cable* (2000:72-73).

2. Isolation and poor access.

   A poor man in Juncal, Ecuador argues: *A community without roads does not have a way out.* A young woman in Little Bay, Jamaica says: *If we get the road we would get everything else, community center, employment, post office, water, telephone* (2000:75).

3. Bad housing and shelter.

   A group of young Roma men and women in Krasna Polania, Bulgaria says: *It's drafty, humid, leaking. Just try living here in winter. Our children have fallen ill. And the adults too. There are bugs, cockroaches, what have you. It's cold.* A woman in Malawi cites: *A dwelling leaked so much that it woke people up: it was like a court when the judge is arriving and people say "khoti lime!"—or "all rise!"* (2000:78).

4. Energy scarcity.

   A woman in Viyalagoda, Sri Lanka argues: *Finding firewood for cooking is the problem. Very soon we may have to go to the town to buy firewood.* A poor elderly man in Takhtakupyr, Uzbeskistan says: *Gas heating is a great joy for us—it was very difficult to stoke with wood that you first need to gather and fetch from far away* (2000:79).

5. No sanitation—Filth and stench.

   A poor woman in Cassava Piece, Jamaica argues: *Where I live has two toilets in it, and they broke. I have to eat and sleep on it (the sewage), and it is a mess.* A discussion group in El Mataria, Egypt says: *Dirty roads that are full of rubbish* (2000:80-81).

It is acknowledged from such studies that the causes of poverty stemming from individual and micro level are complex. They do not only emanate from a single aspect, but also from other aspects of life. In addition, as will be pointed out below, the causes can operate together with other causes from structural and macro level and lead to poverty. The following section explores the structural and macro level.

Macro level

This sub-section links to the causes coming from the external side of a person. The external causes come from social forces which continually create and recreate a condition in which people become poor. The forces, according to Alcock (1997:36), include class, groups, agencies, and institutions.

In the literature, this perspective that investigates the causes of poverty emanating from the social condition or social forces is named by a variety of terms, for example structural causes (Holman, 1978:238; Townsend, 1993:101; Alcock, 1997:39; Halman and Oorschot, 1999:3), situational causes (Waxman, 1983:27; Halman and Oorschot, 1999:3; Zekeri, 2003:4) and systematic causes (Ambert, 1998:23). These are used interchangeably to explore similar causes, which are social forces or macro variables, contributing to poverty. The following discussions use the term structural to represent this perspective.

Broadly speaking, the main factor differentiating the individual and structural perspectives is the way the perspectives view the poor. The first sees the poor internally, meaning that it views personal characteristics as the main barriers to improving life. The latter, on the other hand, views the poor externally, meaning that it sees the poor in terms of the social condition in which they live. In the social condition, as the perspective argues, there are social forces that because of their actions, through power and policy, cause people to experience poverty. This perspective is explored in the following paragraphs.

As mentioned earlier this perspective underlines the actions of social forces as determinants of poverty. Alcock (1997: 36) asserts that their actions are dynamic and, hence, they create and recreate a certain environment which people living in will suffer from poverty. The perspective acknowledges that poor people demonstrate certain patterns of attitudes, values and morals, but the perspective asserts that these patterns are not obtained internally, but rather externally, as a consequence of unfavorable structural conditions in the community

in which the poor live (Halman and Oorschot, 1999:3). In other words, the poor suffer as a result of external or social factors.

This perspective challenges the assumption of the pathological perspective by stating that poverty is experienced by the poor as a condition of the community, not a consequence of personal characteristics. In other words, a deficient social structure is the main cause of poverty (Alcock, 1997:39; Halman and Oorschot, 1999:3; Zekeri, 2003:5). For example, Alcock argues that "poverty is a product of dynamic social forces" (1997:39). This debate is encouraged by an opinion which does not blame the failure of the poor on their bad traits, but on the failure of the social security policy to eliminate poverty and the failure of the agencies and the institutions designing the policy.

Alcock also identifies other policies which are said to fail in coping with poverty such as housing policy, health policy and social service policy (1997:39). He further identifies a number of reasons for the failure of these policies. This is probably, he argues, due to low morale of the individual officers in the organisation, structural and operational practices of the organisation that do not support the policy implementation, policy implementation is charged for and people do not want or are unable to pay, and misunderstanding of the purpose of the policy (1997:40).

In this perspective on poverty, Zekeri (2003:6) lists some examples of actions stemming from the way social structure contributes to poverty. These are:

> 1) racial discrimination in employment where minority groups have been last hired and first fired and relegated to dead-end jobs; 2) educational opportunities, which are related to employment, are more accessible to upper and middle-class youth than to lower-class youth, and 3) conditions of employment of migrant farm workers are seasonal, uncertain and low paying.

Other causes coming from structural and macro conditions have been argued by other authors. Ajakaiye and Adeyeye (2002:21-26) point out that the causes include low economic growth performance, macroeconomic shocks and policy failure, labour market

deficiencies, migration, unemployment and underemployment, human resources, ill health/diseases, debt burden, governance, environment degradation, crime and violence. The Asian Development Bank (2002:33-52) cites the causes emanating from poor governance, economic determinants, social determinants and environmental degradation. Some of these causes are examined below.

The first cause links to low economic growth performance. There is a positive correlation between economic growth and poverty reduction, meaning that high economic growth brings about a reduction in the number of the poor and vice versa. Indonesia is often mentioned as one of the countries in the world which successfully reduced poverty because of its high economic growth (World Bank, 1990a; Ajakaiye and Adeyeye, 2002:21). For example, in 1970, 60 per cent or 70 million of the Indonesian population was poor. This percentage was successfully decreased from 40.1 per cent (54.2 million) in 1976 to 11.3 per cent (22.5 million) in 1996. This is because annual economic growth increased from 6.6 per cent in 1966-70 to 7 per cent in 1979-96 (World Bank, 1990a; Bresnan, 1993; Hill, 1994, 1996; Emmerson, 1999; Booth, 2000; BPS, 2002). The reduction has been achieved because high economic growth can bring about an increase in employment, income, labour productivity and others.

The second cause deals with human resource development. As Harbison (1973:3) argues, human resources constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. He said: "capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations, and carry forward national development" (1973:3). Human resource development is, therefore, seen as a key in developing human capital and capability to escape from poverty (Ajakaiye and Adeyeye, 2002:23). Developing human resources, as argued by Liem (1986), is not only limited to physical well-being of the people such as life expectancy at birth, infant mortality, rates of morbidity and levels of nutrition, but also to socio-cultural aspects such as education and employment, social cohesion and stability, political expression, cultural diversity and ecological harmony. However, empirical studies

conducted by Quibria (1993), Ellis (2000) Narayan, et al (2000), Narayan and Petesch (2002) provide evidence that people in some places become poor because they lack good quality human resources. For example, Narayan, et al (2000:237) assert as follows:

> Poor people are disadvantaged by lack of information, education, skills and confidence. Many factors contribute to limited personal capability, including physical isolation, being cut off from the powerful and wealthy, lack of access to media and limited schooling. All these contribute to limited confidence, and together they reinforce powerlessness and voicelessness and marginalization in society.

The third cause is poor governance. Poor government has been argued by authors as one of the key causes of poverty (Narayan, et al, 1999:14-17; Narayan, et al, 2000:197; Ajakaiye and Adeyeye, 2002:24; Asian Development Bank, 2002:33; Narayan and Petesch , 2002:91; Sadler and Akhmadi, 2004: 3-6). These authors recognize that good governance is a main pre-condition for pro-poor growth. It can establish the enabling regulatory and legal framework as a basis for designing whole development policies, especially poverty reduction policy, relating to land, labour, capital, market and others which can help the poor to escape from poverty. However, this expected pre-condition is not often achieved as the above authors argue that governments tend to be weak. This weakness has been pointed out by Ajakaiye and Adeyeye (2002:24) as follows:

> the persistence and pervasiveness of poverty in several countries has been linked to the lack of popular participation in governance and decision-making as well as a weak institutional base. This has led among other things to poor accountability, poor transparency in resource allocation, weak programme implementation and monitoring. Ultimately, development programmes are rendered ineffective poverty reduction initiatives are therefore ineffective and resources wasted.

The ADB (2002:33-52) describes how poor governance causes poverty in four main ways. These are political instability, non-transparency in resource allocation, weak public sector capacity and inadequate access to justice. Three of these causes can be examined as follows.

The first links to political stability in the county which is a prerequisite to enable development at both national and regional level to be implemented. All actors in the development process, including economic agents such as investors, should create conducive political stability in the county to support development implementation. This condition leads to an increase in economic growth in the country and is extremely important for poverty reduction.

The second impact of poor governance is non-transparency in resource allocation. Poverty is seen to occur because of poor service delivery. In many villages the poor do not have access to primary education, primary health care, social development and other public infrastructure such as water supply, markets and roads because the social service polices tend to be focused in urban areas rather than in rural areas (Asian Development Bank, 2002:35). Social service programs, especially projects which are intended to reduce poverty, often do not work because of corruption. It has been argued by Sadler and Akhmadi (2004:6) that "corruption makes poverty reduction efforts ineffective". These ineffective efforts, they claimed, can be found directly and indirectly in ten ways. Four of these ways are:

> (1) corruption diverts funds for poverty reduction to the pockets of corrupt officials; (2) corruption twists the budget allocation away from poverty reduction to other projects more closely associated with the interests of corrupt officials; (3) increasing the prices of goods and services and (4) reducing incomes by way of semi-legal and illegal taxes and levies (2004:6).

The third impact of poor governance deals with inadequate access to justice. This is considered to be a cause of poverty as it brings about powerlessness and voicelessness for the grassroots so they can not maintain their rights. In many suburban areas and villages the dominant issues deal with the rights to land, forest and sea where the ruling elite can take over these assets to build projects for themselves without the right compensation. The owners of the assets are often afraid to report this to the justice officials as they have been intimidated or they do report it but they do not have the needed judicial services.

Traditional custom regarding rights to the land, forest and sea often conflicts with government projects and leads to vertical conflicts.

However, these conflicts are often not solved. This situation, therefore, can strengthen social and economic disparity in the community as a whole (ADB, 2002:36). The conflicts frequently become issues preventing newcomers or investors investing their capital in development sectors. The conflicts also encourage other social crimes such as theft, killing and others as a consequence of unsolved conflicts. Because they are powerless and voiceless, people frequently feel that there is no law protecting them or they are lawless. The issues of conflict and lawlessness, which bring about misery for the poor in many countries, have been pointed out by various authors (Narayan, et al, 2000:54-55; Narayan and Petesch , 2002:478-479). For example, Narayan and Petesch argue that: "Despite formal rules meant to protect them, poor people have extensive experience with the illegal behavior of agents of the state and private sector" (2002:478). "Poor people feel the most exposed to crime and lawlessness. The police in many communities are viewed as agents of repression and extortion rather than as agents that uphold the laws of the country" (2002:479).

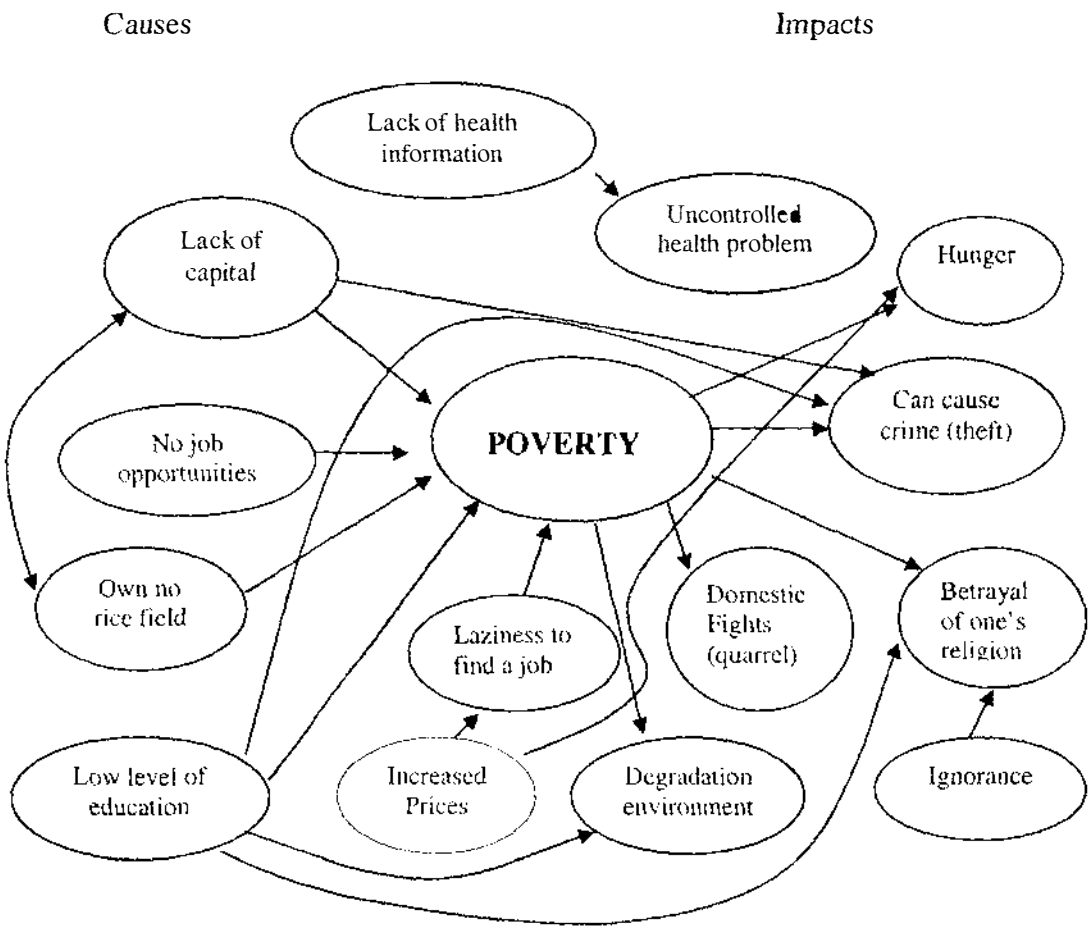
Even though the causes from both micro level and macro level have been explored separately, they operate in a combined way to influence poverty as discussed in the following paragraphs. This shows clearly that poverty can not be explored by examining a single cause alone. Poverty, rather, is caused by a large number of factors which can affect each other. This leads to the following investigation on the causes and impacts of poverty.

Causes and impacts

This section explains causal relationships influencing poverty. These reflect the results of empirical studies conducted by researchers such as Mukherjee (1999:30-35), Narayan, et al (2000:97 and 251), Mukherjee et al (2002:27-28), and Narayan and Petesch (2002:70 and 155). In Figure 2.4 below the causes leading to poverty are depicted on the left. A

circularity of each cause has been indicated by an arrow pointing from the circularity to poverty. The effects of poverty are demonstrated on the right. Each arrow is pointing from poverty to a circularity for each effect.

Figure 2.4: Causes and impacts of poverty, discussion group of younger men in Galih Pakuwon, West Java



Source: Adapted from Mukherjee, 1999: 35

This is an analysis of the causes and impacts of poverty by a group of younger men in the village of Galih Pakuwon in West Java, Indonesia. The group identifies some of the most important causes of poverty in the area as lack of capital, low level of education, no job opportunities, no rice fields and increased prices for local products. Deprivation in capital leads to no rice fields and crime (theft). Low education brings about crime (theft), the degradation of the environment and betrayal of one's religion, whereas increased prices result in hunger and laziness to find a job. These causes lead, as shown by the figure, not only to poverty, but also to impacts such as hunger, crime (theft), domestic fights, environmental degradation and betrayal of one's religion.

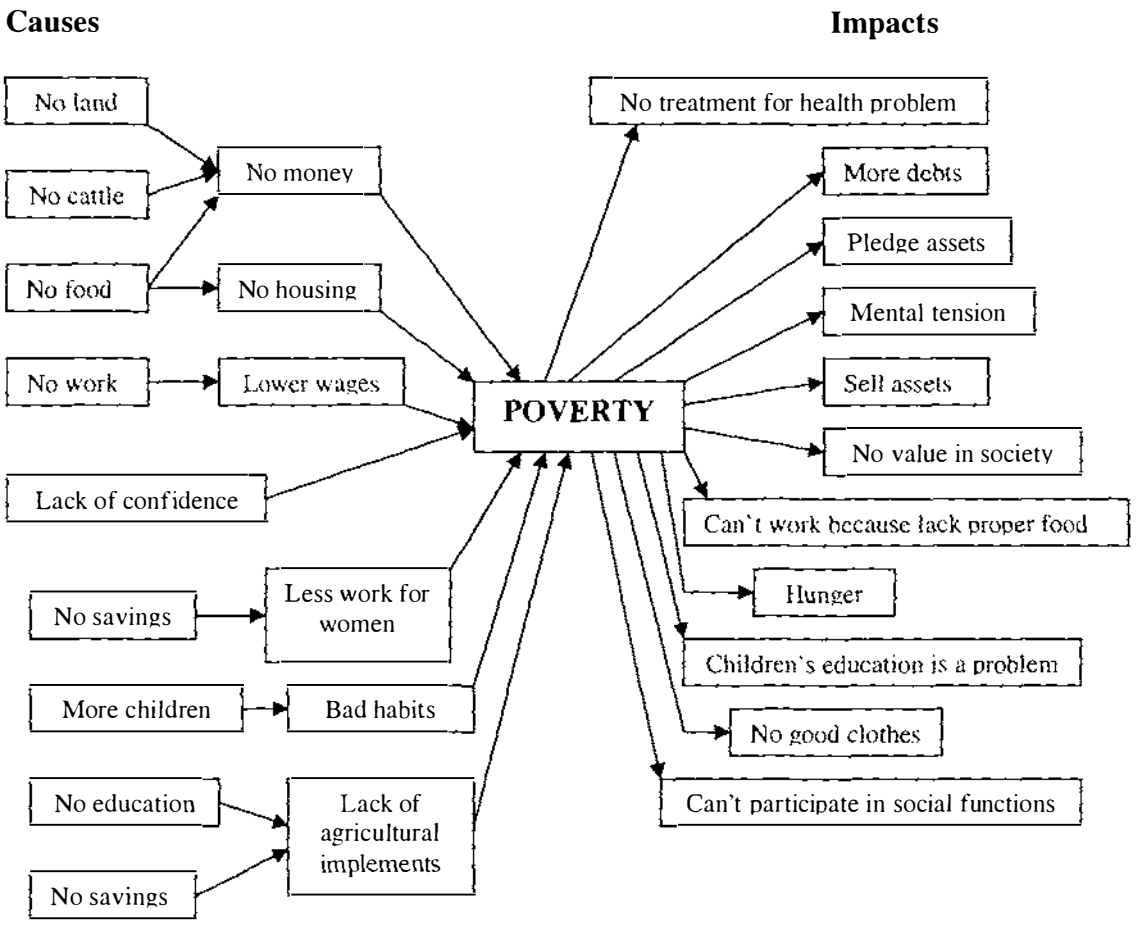
Figure 2.4 as a whole explains individual and micro causes in the rural area. However, the figure actually contains indirect causes stemming from the structural and macro causes as well. Deprivation in health and job creation are, in part, examples of basic social services which are lacking in the village area. Lack of land ownership, which is identified by the discussion group as the most important cause of poverty, occurs when some families lose their ownership. In the village of Galih Pakuwon, the group claims that the land had been "taken over by a housing developer with less than fair compensation" (Mukherjee, 1999:32).

The causes and impact of poverty emanating from both directions (individual and structural) can also be demonstrated by Figure 2.5. It describes the causal relationship leading to poverty from another discussion group in Andhra Pradesh. The figure demonstrates the multiplicity and inter-linkages of the causes and the impacts of poverty. On the left the group identifies the most important causes while on the right are the most important effects of poverty.

The causal relations have been examined from the basis of one of the most important causes, namely lack of income, which is a result of lacking various factors such as no land and no cattle. Lacking income is also the result of not working and low wages, even though on the figure there is no arrow pointing from no work to lack of income or from low wages

to lack of income. Another important factor is lack of agricultural implements, which happens because people lack education and lack savings. Both causes not only lead to deprivation in agriculture, but also to a lack of savings and to less work for women, as indicated by the figure.

Figure 2.5: Causes and impacts of poverty, discussion group of women in Jaggaram, Andhra Pradesh



Source: Narayan and Petesch (2002:155)

On the right, poverty leads to various impacts on the poor. They not only suffer from material deprivation, but also from mental tension. Narayan and Petesch (2002:156) define

the mental tension which is experienced by the poor as "the inability to participate in social functions, and having no value in the society". In relation to the mental tension, the discussion group in Jaggaram "says poverty results in sorrow and sickness and may lead to death" (2002:156).

From Figure 2.5 it can also be seen that poverty leads to misery in the form of more debts, hunger, no treatment for diseases and education problems for children. The problems of education, health and nutrition seem to be general phenomena experienced by the poor not only in Jaggaram, but also other places. In Jamaica, a discussion group of women argues: "*poorness causes education, particularly of children of secondary age, to be cut short. Leaving school early at maybe 14 or 15 years old means you can't manage a job and contributes to some early parenthood. It was considered that early parenthood led to more babies because of the resultant lack of a job. So the cycle continues with children having children and remaining poor so that they in turn cannot afford to send their kids to school*" (Narayan, et al, 2000:252).

Having explored the causes of poverty, it can be concluded that there is no single cause of poverty. The causes are complex and vary from one place to another. They are not only about lack of income, but also lack of other factors. These factors can stem from either individual characteristics or structural forces, but in fact the causes operate in a combination way in bringing about poverty. The impacts of poverty are complex as well, as a consequence of the broadness and complexity of its causes.

Conclusion

Poverty is a multi-dimensional concept. It is not only about income and consumption, but also covers other dimensions including shelter, education, health, nutrition, powerlessness, voicelessness, vulnerability, fear, freedom and the like. The conventional approach focuses on income and consumption to gauge poverty and it has become a dominant part of the literature. The approach is viewed as an objective and quantitative approach as its

measurement is expressed in monetary terms and it uses a statistical approach to measure poverty. In addition, the approach is viewed as an easy approach to carry out because data on income and consumption is readily available in each country and can be collected through a sample household survey.

Human capability or multidimensional approaches to poverty consider other dimensions. These are not just income and consumption, but also education, health, nutrition, powerlessness, voicelessness, vulnerability, fear and freedom. These approaches, however, do not provide a universal list of indicators and, hence, are difficult to implement in the local context. The participatory approach helps to reduce this problem because it focuses its attention on the local context and, hence, comes up the concept of poverty from the poor. As found in this field work, the poor define poverty as a lack of asserts which does not just include a lack of natural assets, but also a lack of physical, human, financial and social assets. This is a grassroots perspective and, hence, it is arguable that this perspective is also a broad view. The participatory approach attempts to catch the perspective of the poor and, therefore, the approach is suitable for studying poverty in the local context.

The participatory perspective contrasts with other perspectives in many ways. In studying poverty, the participatory approach actively involves the poor in the research process. It treats them not just as informants giving the needed information on poverty, but also involves them as analysts. This means that the poor can analyse what is poverty, why they are poor and how they cope with poverty.

Other approaches involve people other than the poor. Outsiders come to research the poor without involving the poor in the research process. Outsiders act as analysts of the questions of what is poverty, why people are poor and how they cope with poverty. Outsiders give an evaluation of poverty and, thereby, they include a judgment element from their own views. The participatory approach avoids this and gives the evaluation process to the poor themselves. The researcher in the participatory approach just acts as a facilitator to mediate with the poor or people from inside the community enabling them to evaluate,

analyse and design policies affecting their life. This approach is discussed in detail in chapters five, six, seven and eight.

It is necessary to understand the level which the causes of poverty emanate from. This understanding is linked to whether the causes come from the individual and micro level or from the structural and macro level or from both levels in a combined way. This will help address poverty in the right way. The right way is not only helpful in formulating the right strategies, but it also avoids problems of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the programs.

At the micro level, poverty is caused by a number of factors. It results from lack of income, lack of access to educational and health facilities, lack of access to credits and lack of access to public infrastructure. At the macro level, the causes stem from the actions of social forces such as classes, groups, agencies and institutions. The forces continually create poverty through their policies, programs, and projects. Bad governance and corruption are also parts of the actions of the social forces' which bring about poverty. In reality, the sources of poverty causes cannot operate individually, but operate together in leading to poverty.

Causes and impacts that are presented in previous figures are example of the complexity of poverty. This complexity suggests that poverty has to be solved in a multifaceted way, not in a single way. This will be investigated in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE

COPING STRATEGIES OF POVERTY

Introduction

This chapter investigates poverty reduction strategies used to address the causes of poverty examined previously in chapter two. First, it explores the strategies aiming at alleviating the causes of poverty operating at the micro level. This will be explored in the first section of this chapter. Second, the discussion will be given to poverty alleviation strategies at the macro or structural level. Some main findings of this chapter will be addressed in the last section.

How can poverty be alleviated?

The ways poverty is eliminated depends on its causes. There are various causes which lead to poverty, as discussed earlier in chapter two, emanating from individual to structural levels or from micro to macro levels. The following paragraphs examine the coping strategies stemming from both micro and macro levels.

At the micro level, livelihood is utilized to explain and understand the complexity of poverty at the individual or household level. The livelihood framework, as will be indicated below, helps to give a picture of the assets and activities of the poor, and the institutions that either prevent or facilitate the poor in securing their livelihoods over time (Ellis et al, 2002:21). The livelihood framework highlights the assets and activities which the poor struggle with when seeking to reduce the problems they experience over time. In this relation, livelihood can provide a useful tool for understanding both the coping strategies and the complex issues of poverty.

At the macro level structural coping strategies can be addressed. These originate from structural and macro features which are mainly in the hands of the elite. In this context, as argued by Sobhan (2001:3), "policy intervention, designed to redesign the structural sources of poverty bring into consideration issues of social, political as well as economic reform". As will be explored in the following paragraphs, macro coping policies also influence micro features through their impacts on market, infrastructure and prices. This interlink has been pointed out by Ellis (2000:169) who states that "macro policies link to micro level outcomes via the effects they have in various markets, in this respect, are output markets, labour markets, financial markets and input markets".

Micro level

Livelihood

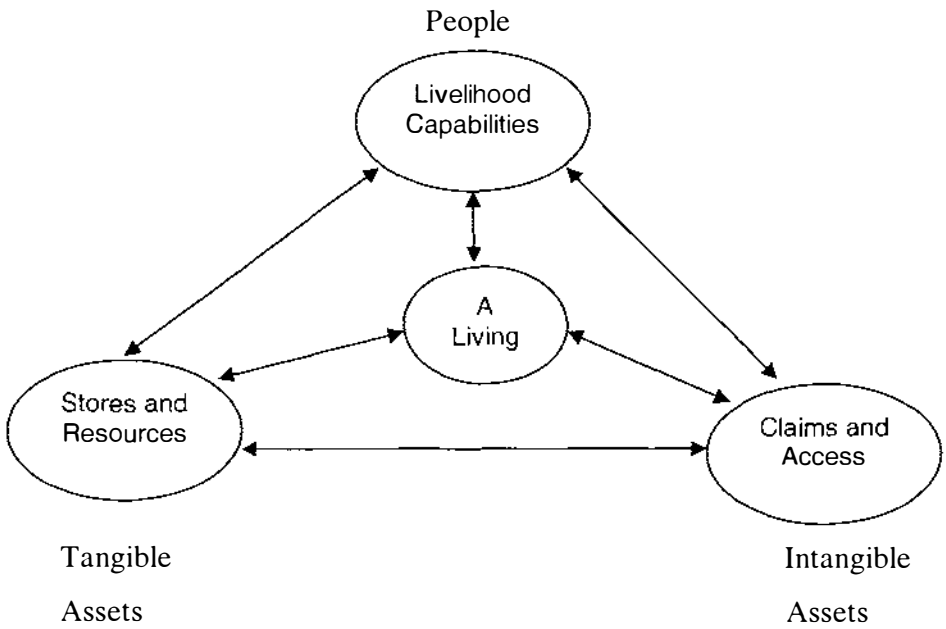
A livelihood is a means of getting a living (Chambers and Conway, 1991:5; Ellis, 2000:7). These authors view the living as an end that has to be achieved through a process involving people, assets and activities (Chambers and Conway, 1991; Soones, 1998; Carswell, 2000; Ellis, 2000). Chambers and Conway (1991:6), for instance, argue that: "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living". They underline four main components forming a livelihood: people (including their livelihood capabilities), assets (tangible and intangible assets), activities (what people do) and gains or outputs (a living), as depicted in Figure 3.1 below.

In Figure 3.1, a living is the centre of the livelihood. The living is circled by three components: people (livelihood capabilities), tangible assets (stores and resources) and intangible assets (claims and access). The arrows in the figure can be interpreted as pointing the reciprocal influence among the components, which indicates that if the components are not available in certain areas, whether one or some, then the living is

under threat. In other words, people experience poverty. The following paragraphs explore these four main components.

The first component is capability. This word is used by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1984; 1987; cited in Chambers and Conway, 1991:4) "to refer to being able to perform certain basic functionings, to what a person is capable of doing and being". Scoones (1998:6) defines this word as "what people can do or be with their entitlement".

Figure 3.1: Components and flows in a livelihood



Source: Adapted from Chambers and Conway (1991:7) and Chambers (1995:24)

The above authors acknowledge that the concept of capability is broad, more than just material concerns (food intake or income) and human capital (skills, knowledge, ability to labour, good health, and physical capability) that enables people to do things (Chambers and Conway, 1991:4; Scoones, 1998:6). They all emphasise that capability is a key component which determines livelihood sustainability.

It has been acknowledged that people can survive in the long term when they are equipped with good education and good skill training to carry out their livelihood activities, and even then they have to be supported by good health and good nutrition. Even though the capability concept is broad, as discussed previously, in practice, people seem to interpret it in terms of education, skill training, health and nutrition. This is partly because these components affect the ability to produce goods and services. In many discussions, conferences and seminars conducted in Papua, many regional government elites underline the importance of human capability in implementing regional development programmes. However, when they translate the capability concept into policies and programmes, they tend to refer it to education, skill training, health and nutrition.

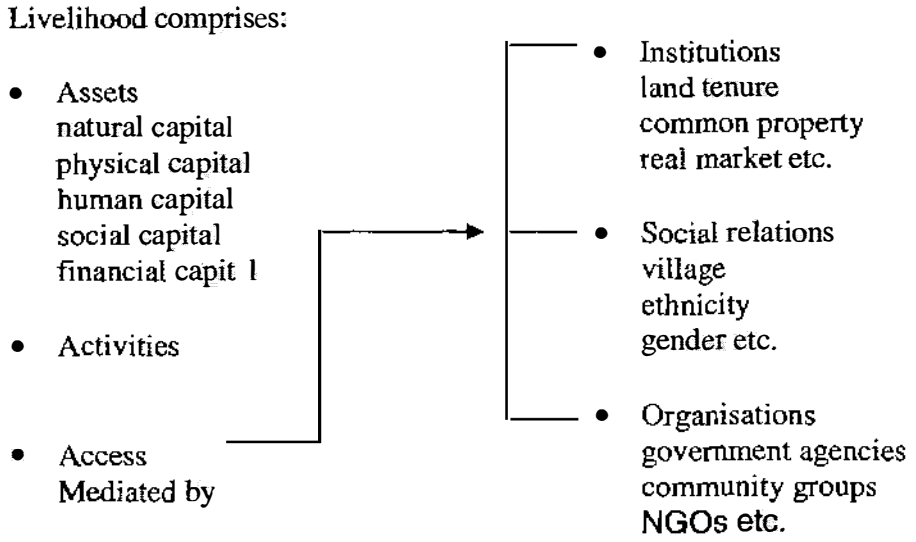
It is important that livelihood capability is, therefore, owned by people as it enables them to cope with any stress or shocks and be able to find and utilise any livelihood opportunities in order to make the livelihood sustainable (Chambers and Conway, 1991:4). It is a fact that people always encounter difficult situations in their lives and hence they should be motivated to utilise their own capability to diversify their livelihood.

The livelihood second component is assets. In order to make a living sustainable, the assets should be available to support the livelihood. Authors argue that livelihood can be achieved in many ways through access to various resources or capital: natural, physical, human, social and economic (Scoones, 1998:7-8; Ellis, 2000:16; Carswell, 2000:3). However, in Figure 3.1, Chambers and Conway (1991) and Chambers (1995) classified all the above assets into two main types: tangible and intangibles assets.

In comparison with Figure 3.1, Ellis (2000:16) provides a diversified rural livelihood model which also contains three main components: assets, activities and access. These are shown in Figure 3.2 below. Both figures recognise that the access of the poor to assets is extremely important if they are to cope with their problems. Therefore,

designed strategies are expected to facilitate the poor gaining access or removing any barriers preventing them having the access. From Figure 3.2 it can been seen that access is mediated by several elements in the community such as institutions, social relations and organizations and, hence, if the access has not been provided by these elements the poor continue to suffer from poverty.

Figure 3.2: A diversified rural livelihood



Source: Adapted from Ellis (2000:16)

The third component of a livelihood is activities. The livelihood is composed of one or more activities which form a means of household survival (Ellis, 2000:40). The activities a household carries out, vary and depend on the geographical environment in which people live. Chambers and Conway (1991:8) identified some of the rural livelihood activities as cultivation, herding, hunting, gathering, reciprocal or wage labour, trading and hawking, artisanal work such as weaving and carving, processing, providing services in transport, fetching and carrying, begging, and theft and the like. They argue that these activities provide human needs such as food, cash and other goods that can be consumed immediately or be stored for other purposes in the next

periods. If these activities are not undertaken, because the poor have no access to the assets, then they face difficulty in coping with their problems. Difficulties can be created by the above social elements in many ways through policy, customs and social stratification. If this occurs, it is important to take action to change the obstacles.

Ellis (2000:41) divides activities into two main classifications: natural resource based activities and non-natural resource based activities. The former includes collection or gathering, food cultivation, non-food cultivation, livestock keeping and pastoralism, and non-farm activities such as brick making, weaving, and thatching. The latter involves rural trade, rural services (e.g. vehicle repair), rural manufacture, remittance and other transfers such as pensions.

Both figures also underline another key component in the livelihood which enables people to get to assets (resources) and engage in activities. This is the component of access which, according to Ellis (2000), can be facilitated by institutions, social relations and organizations. Chambers and Conway (1991:8) define the term access as follows:

> Access is the opportunity in practice to use a resource, store or service or to obtain information, material, technology, employment, food or income. For the service they include transport, education, health, shops and markets. Information involves extension services, radio, television and newspapers. Technology includes techniques of cultivation and new seeds. Employment and other income-earning activities include rights to common property resources (CPRs) such as fuel, wood or grazing on state or communal land.

Having an access to livelihood resources, however, often becomes a complicated problem because it deals with institutions, social relations and organizations, as discussed previously. In a certain area, people may easily have access to the assets, but in other areas it seems to be difficult. This is stated by Scoones (1998:8):

> Different people clearly have different access to different livelihood resources. This is dependent on institutional arrangement, organizational issues, power and politics. A socially differentiated view to analyzing livelihoods is therefore critical, one that disaggregates the chosen unit of analysis -whether community, village or household - and looks at individuals or groups of social actors and their relationships, in relation to the range of relevant dimensions of difference (wealth, gender, age and so on) and the distribution of control over resources.

Determinants of livelihoods

Livelihood, as discussed previously, is partly about various activities which form a living. The activities people are going to do in order to make up this living deal with the environment in which people live. This includes the economic, social and ecological environment in which people struggle to live. In this regard, people can make a choice of the livelihood activities conducted based on their education, skill training, health and migration (Chambers and Conway 1991:6). The environment, therefore, has influence in determining the types of household activities carried out by people.

The economic environment, according to Chambers and Conway (1991:6) and Carswell (2000:24-28), includes money lenders, banks, products, prices, labours, employments, markets and shops. The social environment includes custom, culture, groups, education, skill, health, nutrition, road, transport, electricity, water supply and communication. The ecological environment includes land, technology, farm, climate, degradation and pollution.

The environment changes over time. It is dynamic not static, due to human activities, and continues to influence people's livelihoods. In relation to poverty, the structural approach (Alcock, 1997:39-43) argues that poverty is a product of mutual interaction of social forces in the environment such as actions of classes, groups, agencies and institutions, as investigated in chapter two. It is arguable that good management of

people's environment tends to establish sustainable livelihoods and bring about well-being for the people. It creates permanent jobs (employment), good infrastructure, good security, permanent incomes and the like. On the other hand, poverty exists when the environment is poorly managed.

Authors assert that in a certain community the livelihood activities are handed down to the children by their ancestors. This was occurring in some places in South Ethiopia and India (Chambers and Conway, 1991:6; Carswell, 2000:24). In these places, as they cited, children were born in a certain class as potters, tanners, blacksmiths, shepherds and washer people. The livelihood activities of these people were prearranged by accident of birth (Chambers and Conway, 1991:6); Carswell, 2000:24). In Papua there are some ethnic groups in Asmat, Biak and Wamena in which children are born as carvers (wood carving). Their carving arts are very popular and interest international tourists to visit.

There are also other people whose livelihoods are not determined by accident of birth, but who are socially trained to a certain livelihood. As Chambers and Conway (1991:6) claim, "a person may be born, socialized and apprenticed into an inherited livelihood – as a cultivator with land and tools, a pastoralist with animals, a forest dweller with trees, a fisherperson with boat and tackle, or a shopkeeper with shop and stock...". This type of livelihood determination is very dominant in almost all villages in Papua as a whole where the villagers depend on land, forest and sea for their livelihood sustainable.

Livelihood strategies

Livelihood and strategies are two important things in a living. Livelihood, as mentioned earlier, deals with assets, activities and access while strategy deals with the approaches people take to using these three components and making a living. In the livelihood strategies, a person or a household may diversify income sources in order to

add income. Through the additional income, people can reduce poverty or improve their quality of life. Livelihood strategies, therefore, are seen as the approaches people take to coping with poverty.

This should bring to mind that any policy to reduce poverty should address the various approaches of poor people to diversifying their livelihood activities. The policy should not only touch their activities in farming and non-farming, but also handle their education, skills, health and nutrition. Policies should also create a large opportunity for the people to empower themselves to diversify their own livelihoods

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When the policy is able to create a big chance for the people to diversify their livelihood, it attempts to reduce poverty through affecting people's livelihood. In this sense, policy affects livelihood and therefore it is potentially able to eliminate poverty (Quibria, 1993:124-1999; Ellis, 2000:169-171). Even though livelihood is a personal activity (a micro based activity), macro policy has a link to the livelihood through its impacts on general local prices and infrastructure. This study, therefore, recommends that future studies should focus on this link as this link helps to design strategies and policies to combat poverty.

Quibria (1993) and Ellis (2000) assert that the influence of policy on poverty can be examined through its influences on livelihood assets (resources) such as price, market and transport. This research is not intended to explore livelihood in detail, but it was found in the fieldwork that poverty is linked with people's livelihoods. People are poor because they lack livelihood resources, as will be discussed in chapters six, seven and eight.

Livelihood strategies are the approaches people choose to diversify their income sources and hence they are in part assumed to be similar to livelihood diversification. This has been found when some authors discussed the livelihood strategies, their intentions are livelihood diversification. This can be clearly understood through Ellis's

concept of diversification (Ellis, 2000:231-232). He defines the livelihood diversification as "the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival and in order to improve their standard of living" (Ellis, 2000:231-232). Nowak (2002:294) also points out that "diversification is the establishment of a broad repertoire of activities performed as a strategy for material continuation of the household or individual".

In the village setting livelihood diversification seems to be practiced everywhere. This means the villagers' lives do not depend only on farm activities including fishing activities, but also on other non-farm activities such as wage labour and micro-enterprise (Carswell, 2000; Ellis, 2000; Chambers and Conway, 1991). In fact, the livelihood activities which villagers carried out are different from one village to another (Hussein and Nelson, 1998:18). A dominant livelihood strategy in one place does not necessary appear to be used as much in another place which has a dissimilar environment. Or perhaps in certain places people have one or more similar activities because these places contribute similar characteristics. For instance, these places are probably alike in fertile land, climate, people's skills and other things which allow them to develop the same livelihood activities.

As discussed in chapters six, seven and eight, the villagers tended to vary their livelihood activities as a means of adding income sources in order to improve their standard of living. It is acknowledged that concepts of living standards vary across cultures. However, a simple concept of living standard, as found from the fieldwork, generally deals with the essential needs of food, income, housing, clothing, education, skill, health, nutrition, transport, shop, market, light, water supply, road with asphalt, and tools for farming and fishing.

Livelihood diversification, as discussed by several experts such as Chambers and Conway (1991), Scoones (1998), Carswell (2000) and Ellis (2000), includes farm, non-farm and migration sectors. They all point out the diversification of livelihood

activities as a means of increasing a household's income. This was happening when the family lacked income to provide their basic needs. During the fieldwork it was found that the villagers, as discussed earlier, varied their activities in order to add to the household's income. For instance a villager, in addition to farming, is fishing, raising livestock and being a ship labourer.

The tendency to diversify activities to add to the family's income increased sharply during the economic crisis in 1997 and 1998 when the farmers in the villages were unable to continue farming because of the increased prices of inputs such as fertilizers. Some villagers in this period were also hit by a bad drought which seriously affected farming. As a consequence, some farmers were forced to seek jobs outside farming as labourers in the building sector and in a ship harbour.

Another reason for diversification is to establish social relationships. Through diversifying activities, people make contact with other people in order to get a needed job. Just like a person seeking a formal job in both government and private sectors attempts to obtain information on vacancies in the labour market, so a person enquires of job vacancies from other people whether in an office or from close friends or relatives, or perhaps from people on the side of the road or from small shops where he/she can buy newspapers or magazines to read and find out if there are any vacancies.

Meeting people to ask for a job is a part of establishing the social network. Without this network it is difficult to find a job. This is asserted by Ellis (2000:3) who states "engagement in a diverse portfolio of activities also means nurturing the social networks of kin and community that enable such diversity to be secured and sustained". Thus "the livelihood diversity has both economic and social dimensions, and must be approached in an interdisciplinary way" (Ellis, 2000:3).

A livelihood approach is a sound basis for developing solutions to poverty and hence it should be targeted in the poverty alleviation policy. This strongly advises that any type of poverty reduction policy should be able to generate a sustainable livelihood for the poor. It is preferable that poverty reduction policy should be evaluated in practice based on how the policy successfully creates this sustainable livelihood.

Diversifying livelihood activities is not always easy work. In addition to dissimilar geographical environments (such as fertile land, climate, topography and others) that creates barriers to diversification, there are also other obstacles coming from household characteristics, economic variables, ability, location and access to credit. (Hussein and Nelson, 1998:19-20).

Hussein and Nelson (1998) identify and categorise constraints to livelihood diversification as presented in previous Table 3.1. From this table it can be seen that Hussein and Nelson (1998) claim that constraints to livelihood diversification probably occur in a variety of dimensions. They involve a large number of interlinked factors as presented in this table. At the micro level, they argue, the poor have limited access to credit which impedes them in diversifying their livelihood activities. They also point out lack of power in making decisions about allocation of land or common property resources at the village level to be used in order to vary activities.

Table 3.1: Constraints to livelihood diversification

Types of constraints/specific constraints
Macro-Economic and Policy Contexts
• low population
• no urban centres in proximity
• market access
• restriction on internal and/or cross border movement and trade
• government policies which extract surplus from people trying to diversify or which impede their preferred diversification strategies
• market regulations in the wake of liberalization and economic reform which adversely affect diversification
• availability of infrastructure (market, roads etc)
• policies that encourage decentralization and the development of small-sacle labour-intensive enterprise
• labour availability
• terms of trade failure for crop cultivators
Physical Environment
• degraded or insufficient natural resources (land, water...)
Seasonality
• climatic risk and uncertainty
• poor harvests
• seasonal attacks of disease
Lack of Flexibility
• lack of flexibility in ecological management, economic activities and livelihood strategies
Skills
• limited availability of education and skill training
Time
• primary activities, not leaving enough time to pursue diversification strategies
Institutions
• norms and religious values excluding women or other groups from participation in certain activities
• rules which exclude certain people from informal credit market (including borrowing and gift-giving)
• restrictions on the access to certain activities for lower classes
• monogamy and difficulty divorce constraining women's economic independence
Lack of Access to Community Property Resources
• exclusion of certain groups (in particular, the poor or women) from use of CPRs for the purposes of diversification
Membership of Organisation
• exclusion of the poorest from membership
Presence of NGOs
• lack of support from new income generating activities
Access to Other Means to Diversity
• unavailability of credit

Source: Hussein and Nelson (1998:19-20)

Table 3.2 below also presents two main factors affecting the livelihood activities of the poor: market and infrastructure. The market is where the poor can bring their products to sell to get income. On the other hand, it is also where the poor can utilise their incomes to buy their daily needs. Infrastructure such as road and public buses is important tools for the poor to carry their products to the market or to buy their daily needs in the city and the like.

In the villages where this fieldwork was carried out, these facilities (both market and infrastructure) were poorly provided and even in some places were not available. Hence, it was found from the fieldwork that subsistence farmers tended to consume their own products and they never brought to the market. This tendency was a consequence of unavailability of the public infrastructure which was poorly provided by local government. In this context, it is arguable that the local government lacked attention to alleviating poverty in their areas. This lack can be seen in the fieldwork where most villages experienced a deprivation in various assets including physical, economic and others as discussed in detail in chapters six, seven and eight.

At macro level, it is arguable that the government has responsibility for making rules and policies, which may be able to facilitate the poor to create self-employment such as running enterprises. Rules and policies are made to provide, for example, micro-credit for the poor. It is recognised that micro-credit policies have been made to help the poor and their number was increased during the period of economic crisis in 1997 and 1998. In reality, however, not all of the poor people can enjoy the credit provision schemes because the requirements seem to be hard for the poor to follow.

Table 3.2: Macro policies affecting the poor

MARKET
- A. Factors
  - 1. Labour
    - (i) Wage rates (low skilled, higher skilled as basis for expected return to education, medical personnel, teachers, trainers by sex, region and experience) for both rural and urban areas (since the latter may be important in migration decisions)
    - (ii) Employment/Unemployment by skill
  - 2. Non-labour
    - (i) Inputs for small-scale own –farms and other enterprises (prices and availabilities)
    - (ii) Inputs for human resource investment supply side (prices and availabilities)
- B. Products
  - 1. Major products of farms and other rural enterprises – prices and quantities
  - 2. Major consumption items
    - (i) Staple and other food prices
    - (ii) Non-food prices (e.g. clothing, housing, health inputs)
  - 3. Prices and availability of human resources services
- C. Financial
  - 1. Formal: interest rates, terms, availability
  - 2. Informal: interest rates, terms, availability

INFRASTRUCTURE
- A. Social
  - 1. Education
    - (i) Schooling: quantity and quality (e.g. teacher/student, education of teachers, books and other teaching materials per student)
    - (ii) Training: quantity and quality
  - 2. Health: quantity and quality of health services
  - 3. Nutrition: nature of nutrition programme
  - 4. Transfer programmes
- B. Economic-current and longer-run expenditures and staff
  - 1. Transportation
  - 2. Communication
  - 3. Employment related
  - 4. Extension (agricultural, other)

Source: Quibria (1993:151)

Livelihood policies

As livelihood is also a means of coping with poverty, livelihood policies should link with poverty and its dimensions. The dimensions, as mentioned earlier in chapter two, are broad and diverse from one place to another. There are no universal dimensions and, therefore, livelihood policies have to directly touch various local dimensions of poverty.

The local poverty dimensions are generally known from local people's perspective about what poverty is, what are its causes and impacts, and how they reduce poverty. When a good understanding of the local dimensions is obtained, then well-targeted livelihood policies will be produced.

It is arguable that poverty reduction policy so far is unable to solve poverty as a whole. This happens partly because the policy is normally formulated in a national context. Central formulated policy generally occurs when the central governments including national policy-makers, think that they are more informed about the regional and local contexts than local governments. This is happening in the countries where centralised system is very dominant as a means of national organisation. National policy including poverty alleviation policy is centralised in the capital city of the country. It is a reality that this system has often failed to cope with poverty in the local environment as the central government lacks understanding of the local contexts. As a consequence, policy is mostly based on the elite's view, not based on the local perspective.

In a practical context, it is expected that livelihood policies should link with people's lack and their coping strategies. In the village environment, people generally lack various livelihood resources or assets as discussed in chapters six, seven and eight. Hence policies should be referred to this lack. Even though the deprivation itself is diverse from a place to another, mostly it deals with food, job, land size, infertile land, technology, education, skill training, health, market, prices, road, electricity and communication.

Ellis (1998:28-30) advises a number of policies for a survival portfolio for the poor in rural areas. This comprises policies of targeting, reducing risk, micro-enterprises, rural services, rural non-farm enterprise, rural towns, infrastructure and education. Chambers and Conway (1991:22-23) also suggest three main policies: enhancing capability, improving equity and increasing social sustainability. These policies are appropriate when the policies are able to directly meet the local dimensions.

Some of the above policies are important and relevant to the Papuan case, and need to be described. The first policy is a targeting policy, which addresses a social group vulnerable to some phenomenon, such as trends, shocks or seasonality, in the community. Department for International Development (DFID) (1999:2.2) describes various phenomena affecting the poor through their livelihoods and assets. Trends include population trends, resource trends (including conflicts), national/international economic trends, trends in governance (including politics) and technological trends. Shocks include human health shocks, natural shocks, economic shocks, conflict and crop/livestock health shocks. Seasonality includes prices, production, health and employment opportunities. The groups that may be most vulnerable to these phenomena can be the landless, old, disabled, unemployed, self-employed and others. During the shocks, these groups, who probably have no regular income sources, are easily vulnerable to certain problems such as a sudden insufficiency food, increased general prices and diseases. These people should be given high priority when designing livelihood policies through safety network programmemes, which should directly address their need for survival.

During the economic crisis in Indonesia from 1997 to 1998, the poor in the villages selected for this study had been given a safety network programme called *Raskin (Beras untuk orang miskin,* rice for the poor). The amount of rice received by a family varied from 20kg to 60kg per family depending on the number of household members. The programme indeed helped people to cope with the problem of insufficient food. However, when the fieldwork was conducted, it was found that the villagers still expressed their grievance about the programme because what they needed were tools to assist in farming and fishing, but the programme only provided them with rice. Rice may have contributed to their survival but tools were needed for sustaining and improving their livelihoods.

The second policy is the reduced risk policy. Ellis (1998) argues that the risk referred to is the market, which failes to create well-being for the people. Market failure is

linked with poor law, poor information, poor infrastructure, high costs, increased general prices and so forth. These should be improved to enable the poor to have access to livelihood resources. Since the state is a powerful agency in the community, the state should play an important role in addressing this failure. However, the role should not interfere with the freedom of the community to engage in profitable opportunities to improve their living standards. For example, people should be given equal information on how and where to obtain credit. This information is very helpful in developing any profitable activity such as a micro-enterprise.

The third policy is a micro-credit policy. It is a reality that the poor are unable to cope with their problems because of a lack of credit as a capital source to diversify their livelihood activities. In the village setting the villagers' livelihood depends on farm activities, but sometimes the farm activities are not sufficient to fulfill their needs. During the crisis for instance they needed to seek a job outside the farm such as running a small business in order to survive or running a mechanical workshop, but this was constrained by a lack of credit. On the other hand, there were some examples of villagers who successfully developed small-scale industries such as handcrafts, food processing and tofu industries because of micro-credit provision.

During the economic crisis the poor in certain districts in Papua had financial grant support from the United States government to run micro-enterprises. The programme was called Trickle Up, and was intended to add to the incomes of the poor. The programme successfully improved their incomes and, hence, they were able to improve their houses, to buy a motorcycle, to have electrical installations and some were able to send their children to the University of Cenderawasih in Jayapura.

I was selected by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Trickle Up programme in Jakarta to evaluate the programme. The evaluation results indicated that around 80 percent of the programme successfully improved the living conditions of the poor (Rumbewas and Rumbiak, 2001:7; USAID TUP, 2001). Even

though the programme involved around 12,560 people with 3,140 micro enterprises, the programme only focused on certain districts such as Jayapura, Biak, Manokwari and Wamena. Other districts especially in the mountain areas of Papua were not covered by the programme because of a lack of communication and transport.

The fourth policy is rural services. Rural services, as argued by Ellis (1998), include marketing products, input supply, machinery repair and other services. Even though the services can contribute to income generation and employment, it is acknowledged that in the village setting as a whole the services are poorly provided for and often constrain the poor in diversifying their livelihood activities. During the fieldwork, it was found that rural services were very limited and impeded the poor in their attempts to improve their living standard. Therefore, it is important for policies to address this lack.

The fifth is a policy of increasing capability. Diversifying livelihood activities as discussed previously is not only affected by assets (resources) and activities, but also by capability. This means that livelihood is sustainable if people have good capability to support the livelihood. As argued by authors such as Chambers and Conway (1991), Scoones (1998), Carswell (2000) and (Ellis 2000), that livelihood is sustainable only if it is able to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base such as trees.

Increasing capability is not only referring to a lot of attempts to develop education, skill training, health and nutrition, but it goes beyond these, as mentioned earlier. When Amartya Sen used the term livelihood capability (Chambers and Conway 1991:4), he included "being able to cope with stress and shocks, and being able to find and make use of livelihood opportunities." It is reality that in some villages livelihood opportunities are present because of the availability of natural resources, but these opportunities are sometimes not utilised to produce profitable businesses due to a lack of capability. In this relation, increasing capability requires a poor-centred policy

which, in addition to increasing their capability to diversify the livelihood activities, also empowers the poor to be involved in development activities as a whole.

Macro level

Strategies for alleviating poverty

As can be seen from Table 3.3 below, the dominant development paradigm can influence poverty reduction strategies. After the Second World War, many countries in Asia and Africa obtained political freedom or independence. However, the countries still experienced difficulties caused by inadequate economic development and social progress (Maung, 2001:1) and, hence, the countries were trapped in a vicious circle of poverty as shown by Figure 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Development paradigm and poverty reduction strategies

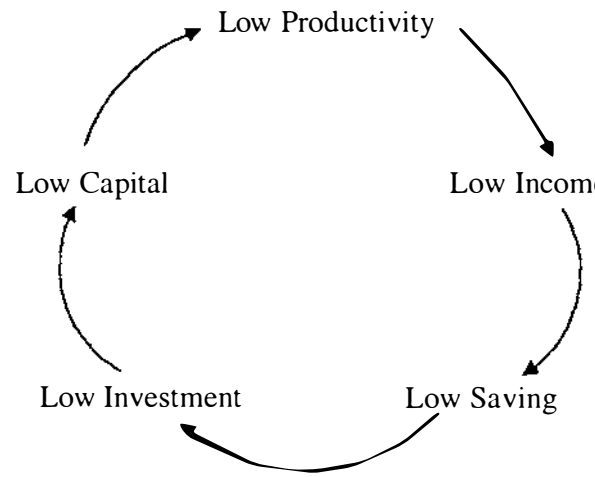
Period	Development Paradigm	Poverty Reduction Strategies
1950s	Industrialization	Community Development
1960s	Agricultural intensification, physical human capital development	Trickle down effect
1970s	Growth with justice	Basic Needs, integrated rural development (IRDP)
1980s	Structural adjustment, rolling back the state	Growth, Human Resource Development (HRD), safety nets and people's participation
1990s	Human Development	Labour-intensive approach, access to basic social services, programme of targeted intervention, safety nets
2000s	Quality of Growth (pro-poor)	Opportunity, empowerment and security

Source: World Bank (1990b:2-3), Lipton and Maxwell (1992:2), Maung (2001:3) and World Bank (2001a:6-12).

Figure 3.3 demonstrates that poverty occurs as a consequence of a vicious circle. This happens when low income brings about low savings, low investment and, then, low

capital. After that, low capital leads to low productivity. This circle continues over time and results in poverty.

Figure 3.3: Vicious circle of poverty



Source: Jhingan (2000:34)

To reduce poverty, the circle must be broken. This can be done through increasing the percentage of saving and investment, as discussed in the next paragraphs. The poverty circle pushes countries to improve the situation by accelerating economic growth. The expectation is that with accelerated economic growth, poverty can be alleviated and other social issues can be improved.

Maung (2001:1) cited the Harrod-Domar models of economic growth, which were dominant in the 1950s. For example, Lewis's model of two sector models of development regarding capitalist and subsistence sectors. In some countries the subsistence sector (non-capitalist sector) is more dominant than the capital sector.

This subsistence sector is dominant in absorbing labour, but wages are around 30 per cent lower than in the capital sector (Meier, 1995: 122; Maung, 2001:1; Jhingan,

2000:197). The capital sector has very high quality of human resources and higher capital than the subsistence sector.

Lewis recognizes that the main problem to growth in these countries is that the countries have previously saved and invested at about 4 or 5 per cent of their national income. Hence, to have high economic growth, this must be changed to an economy in which saving is about 12 to 15 per cent or more of national income (Maung, 2001:1; Jhingan, 2000:159).

Lewis concludes that, as argued by Maung (2001:1), the countries "save little not because their incomes are low but because their capital sectors are small". To improve the condition, industrialisation, which can generate national income, constitutes a key to economic growth and community development programmes and should be developed extensively to reduce the problems of unemployment and poverty.

In the 1960s, agricultural intensification (the green revolution) and physical and human capital development appears to have been dominant development paradigm (Lipton and Maxwell, 1992:2; Maung, 2001:2). The argument was that the agricultural sector, when strongly supported by technology, should be able to accelerate economic growth. If high economic growth can be achieved, then the trickle down effect will bring the fruits of the growth to the poor. To attain the expected growth, a large number of investments were required to be put in the agricultural sector and physical and human capital invested as a prime mover to boost economic growth. Nevertheless, the distribution gap of income and assets between communities and regions in the period was still large and, hence, trickle down was seen as ineffective in handling overall problems in the countries.

Poverty and inequalities returned to be big issues in the 1970s and authors claimed that these issues became critical for the survival of the countries (Maung, 2001:2). Some countries attained high economic growth, but their social services were severely

and seriously deficient (World Bank, 1990b) and income disparities between the rich and the poor were still large (George, 1988:2). This leads to the advent of a new development paradigm of growth with equity in the period. Economic growth was still important, but the growth must be distributed to all sectors and communities to enjoy. It was believed that the distribution of income and assets could be conducted through a basic needs strategy, which was supported by Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDPs). Rural areas where the majority of the poor live became targeted areas where the strategy was focused to include all sectors, but with the emphasis on the agriculture sector.

In the 1980s, the approach to development changed to a structural adjustment approach, which included a new emphasis on the market (Lipton and Maxwell 1992:1; Maung, 2001:2). Most developing countries especially non-oil exporting countries in the period suffered from debts because of the economic crisis and structural adjustment compounded their debt burden. Authors saw that government intervention in markets, import substituting strategies and protection of domestic industries were in part causes of the inefficiency and misallocation of resources which contributed to the economic crisis. The structural adjustment of development sectors (non-oil sectors) was stressed in order to develop or promote economic growth with the expectation that growth helps to increase the national income and, thereby, it can reduce the national debts. The adjustment must be strengthened by human resource development and people's participation in all sectors. Due to the crisis, especially the financial crisis, safety net programmes had to be designed and implemented to channel the economic fruits to the poor.

Despite structural adjustment in the development sectors, absolute poverty still existed and, hence, the issues of poverty were still important in the 1990s. The issue of poverty had been linked to human development and, hence, the World Bank's 1990 Development Report proposed two strategies to eliminate poverty, through labour-intensive growth (via economic openness and investment in infrastructure) and

providing basic needs to the poor (in education, health and nutrition). In order to touch the poor, especially people suffering from chronic poverty and easily vulnerable to crisis, targeted intervention programmes and safety nets were integrated with both strategies.

Some authors such as Lipton and Maxwell (1992:5-19), Baulch (1996:4-9), and Storey et al (2005:31-35) argue that since the release of the World Bank's 1990 Development Report and the Bank's 1991 policy paper entitled Assistance Strategies to Reduce Poverty, poverty reduction was again an international agenda. This report played an important role in fashioning the new poverty agenda which was introduced by the World Bank during the 1990s. This report was also seen as a powerful source through which the World Bank disseminated its knowledge, understanding and poverty policy reduction prescription to the world. In addition, the above authors claims that the 1990 WDR can serve as a legitimate tool for the World Bank to continue its attempt in designing development strategies and policies for the future.

The 1990 WDR was assumed to begin this attempt and the attempt achieved its peak when the World Bank published its report on attacking poverty in 2000/2001. The 2000/2001 WDR was considered to have a wide coverage of poverty reduction policies and opened a new agenda. This has been argued by Hubbard (2001:294) that "the new three-prong strategy for poverty reduction (opportunity, empowerment and security) replaces the two- and a-half prong strategy (labour-intensive growth, broad provision of social services, some safety nets) of WDR 1990. All this opens a new agenda". The new agenda approaches to poverty alleviation are summarized by Lipton and Maxwell (1992) in Figure 3.4 below.

Suffering through poverty continues to be targeted in the 2000s. The World Bank (2001a:6) enlarges the attempts to attack poverty through three strategies. These are opportunity, empowerment and security. Empowerment is a process of increasing poor people's capacity to affect the national institutions influencing their lives as a means

of strengthening their participation in political circumstances. Security is intended to protect the poor from adverse shocks through better management of macro economic shocks and safety nets. Opportunity aims at improving the poor's access to various assets especially physical and human assets and increasing the rates of return on these assets. Table 3.4 below presents a summary of the main pillars in the 1990 WDR and the 2000/2001 WDR.

Table 3.4: 1990 and 2000/01 word development reports: themes and associated policy recommendations

1990		2000/1	
Pillars	Associated policies	Pillars	Associated policies
Labour-intensity	Small-scale industry; special employment measures; promotion of green revolution in small-farm agriculture		
Investment in the human capital of the poor	Promotion of primary health and education, especially amongst females; microfinance	Opportunity	Microfinance; land reform and other asset redistribution policies; fiscal etc; measures to reduce inequality; 'pro-poor' public expenditure patterns
Social Safety-nets	Food subsidies; social funds; support for community-based redistribution	Security	'Tailor made' social protection measures; measures to support asset diversification; insurance; 'international public good' defences against economic crisis, e.g. financial regulation; conflict prevention
		Empowerment	Democratisation, decentralisation, measures to build 'social capital'

Source: Mosley (2001:309)

One of the approaches to poverty reduction as shown in Figure 3.4, is the aid programmes. Baulch (1996:6) claims that the aid programme has both direct and indirect impacts on poverty. The first is assistance through projects and programmes

Figure 3.4: The main principles common to all the new agency approaches

Poverty and Development: a statement of principles

1. To escape from poverty, poor men and women seek secure and sustainable livelihoods for themselves and their families, resilient in the face of external shocks and with sufficient buffers to guard against destitution.
2. Helping poor people to achieve the secure livelihoods they seek is a prime aim of development policy.
3. The state has a key, enabling role to play in poverty reduction: by generating information about the causes, extent and severity of poverty; by providing a peaceful and remunerative environment in which poor people and poor communities can pursue their livelihood strategies; by ensuring that the poor have access to physical, social and economic infrastructure; by providing a safety net beneath standards of consumption and social welfare; and, in general, though good governance.
4. The first requirement of a poverty reduction strategy is labour-intensive economic growth, designed specifically to increase the assets, employment and incomes of the poor. Releasing the potential skills and entrepreneurship of the poor can be the fastest route to growth (though the reverse is not necessarily true).
5. The second requirement is greater access to social services, and must normally be ensured to the poor by the state, in competition with the private and voluntary sectors. Provision of basic heath and full primary education for all is critically important if poor people are to realize their potentials and achieve tolerable security.
6. The third requirement is to put in place efficient and effective safety-net, to guard against sudden shocks, guarantee food security and prevent destitution. Responsibility for this may be divided among individuals, communities, firms, voluntary agencies and the state.
7. Wherever subsidies or welfare transfers are needed, for vulnerable groups or in resource-poor areas, they should be targeted on the poor. Cost, information and incentive problems usually impede direct means-testing. Self-targeting, or targeting on characteristics of the poor (e.g. location), are alternatives.
8. National poverty alleviation strategies have much better prospects where the international environment is conducive to appropriate, labour-intensive growth. This means in particular an appropriate trading environment, more debt relief for low-income countries and better targeted aid programmes.
9. Aid can do most to reduce poverty if it is directed to countries which have a) large concentration of poverty and b) appropriate policies for reducing it. A combination of balance-of-payment support, sector aid and project will be appropriate.
10. Poverty reduction strategies must be sustainable, not only fiscally, politically and administratively, but also environmentally, in the sense that meeting the needs of the present does not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Source: Lipton and Maxwell (1992:7)

directed to the poor. Targeting interventions such as public works schemes and social safety net programmes are example of this assistance. The second is through promotion of long-term economic growth. Donor aid for the purpose of long

investment in development sectors such as agriculture, industry and service in certain country can be included in this impact.

However, how the aid programmes can have direct effects on the poor often become crucial problem between government and donor. This problem is partly linked to how the aid programme can give maximal benefits to the poor. In this regard, it is important to negotiate how targeting programmes or resources can be addressed directly to the poor and to do this the recipient's country should provide poverty profiles for the donor agency (Lipton and Maxwell, 1992:25). Lipton and Maxwell (1992:24) assert that policy dialogue between government and donor is extremely important to set up a condition to implement the aid programmes.

The above dialogue needs to include the location where the number of the poor is high, the sector in which the largest number of the poor lives, where the gap between the poor and the rich is large or small, and others. The dialogue must also discuss capacity building for the recipient to carry out the programmes. In addition, the dialogue needs to set up an operational mechanism in the field to work through in allocating aid funds. This mechanism has a powerful benefit to avoid possibility of corruption against the aid funds.

One of the ways to eliminate poverty that became an interesting topic is globalisation. Even though globalisation has been recognised to brings about problems for the country such as destroying domestic industries and traditional crafts, and threatening the food security of poor families, it has also been believed to offer "enormous opportunities to developing countries through easier access to the world's knowledge, better technology for delivering products and services, and expanded markets" (Pernia and Deolalikar, 2003:15). An example of the East Asian countries can be used as particular explanation of their success in increasing their national economies. This success was often linked to their pursuit of economic openness. It is arguable that globalisation can be a good strategy to alleviate poverty as long as the country

endeavours to remove some barriers retarding the movement of goods, services and capital from outside to the country. The barriers can be removed, for instance, from regulations hindering export and import, and imperfect domestic market such as monopoly, government intervention.

One concern is how globalisation is expressed in the context of rural poverty alleviation. It is an important part to bear in mind that the poor are predominantly living in rural areas and they may be facilitated to have access to competitive markets in terms of production and marketing. From the production side, the country provides good education, good skill training, fertiliser, and micro-credit for the farmers and fishers so that they are able to produce a good quality of products. From the marketing side, the country improves the barriers coming from low farm prices, monopoly, and a lack of infrastructural support (such as road, bus and others). This is only a small part of the trade liberalisation which is created by globalisation for the villagers, but if it is managed well, it can give a great contribution to poverty reduction in the rural setting.

Land reform, micro-credit, and public employment schemes are often promoted as direct poverty alleviation policies (Pernia and Deolalikar, 2003:18-21). These policies stem from the above, but their influences go directly to the poor. As discussed earlier, land is the main source of livelihood for the poor both urban and rural areas (Mukherjee et al, 2002:67-69). In urban areas, unused land is increasingly taken by newcomers from rural areas or by local people who own settlements are overcrowded. Mukherjee et al saw this as a phenomenon of "squatters living in extremely poor conditions and frequently encountering problems with city authorities" (2002:67). In the village area, it was found that there was some productive land, but it had been converted to non-agricultural uses. Commercial land increased in some places and pushed out farmers and especially caused landless agricultural labourers to permanently lose their jobs. Land reform policy is important to give a voice for farmers and landless agricultural workers to participate in local institutions.

Employment schemes were dominant in poverty reduction programmes during the economic crisis in Asian developing countries (Pernia and Deolalikar, 2003:18). In chapter four, the Indonesian case is taken as an example of dominant employment schemes begun in the country to fight poverty in 1997 and 1998. The scheme consists of a self-employment creation programme and a wage-employment programme. The first programme is intended to facilitate the poor to create their own income-generating assets such as micro-enterprise and street trading. This is done by giving the poor access to credit and other forms of marketing assistance. Two popular credit schemes are *Kredit Untuk Pedesaan* (Kupedes), Credit for rural areas, and *Badan Kredit Kecamatan* (BKK), Credit Board for Sub-Districts.

The second programme is designed to provide labour opportunities for the poor particularly in public works projects. Because the number of the poor increased sharply during the economic crisis, the programme was incorporated as a regular element of the antipoverty strategy. When the fieldwork was conducted, it was found that the poor in both urban and rural areas had been involved in or looking for temporary jobs in the building sector and roads. Even though it is recognised that the wage is still low, mostly they felt secure to provide their daily needs. The wage-employment programme is usually used in emergency situation such economic crisis, drought and famine where there is a huge number of both unemployed and underemployed people.

Land reform, micro-credit and employment schemes do not meet separate needs. They should be combined as an integrated policy to attack poverty. It seems that what is important is a combination is of pro-poor economic growth with these three policies, because without growth the policies failed to be implemented. This brings us to discuss a framework underlining the importance of the economic growth.

To conclude that there have been various policies to alleviate poverty and these have different advantages for different environments. Nevertheless, they are in general all

quite similar. From the 1950s to the 2000/2001, it can be seen that the policies emphasise economic growth, social services including social protection and safety nets, good governance, aid and human resource development. Pernia and Deolalikar (2003:15) explore this similarity by arguing that:

> Despite superficial differences, it should be noted that the various approaches to poverty reduction are actually quite similar. All of them emphasize the importance of broad-based, labor-intensive, and inclusive growth; good governance and accountability; human and social development; and social protection and special poverty alleviation policies.

A framework for poverty reduction strategies

There is an argument that the main responsibility for alleviating poverty lies with all the countries in the world. This responsibility requires a united effort, which not only involves government but also civil society, and strong sustained support from the international community. The strategies to eliminate poverty must be comprehensive enough to address poverty in its all dimensions. The ADB (2004:1) proposes three approaches to cope with poverty. These approaches are called the three strategic pillars and consist of sustainable economic growth, social development and good governance. These pillars are presented in Figure 3.5 below. These three strategic pillars, as argued by the ADB (2004), influence all intervention programmes in the short, medium and long terms. This means that the programmes formulated should be based on these three pillars, which function as a guideline for designing and even implementing the programmes.

The first strategic pillar is sustainable economic growth (pro poor) which is extremely important in all attempts to fight poverty. Growth not only increases national income, but also allows a number of investments to be made in various development sectors. The investment created then opens a large number of employment opportunities that in

turn lead to increased productivity and wages for labour. Growth also raises national revenues, which can be utilised to finance public infrastructure such as education, health, nutrition, roads, markets, water supply, electricity, recreation centres, supermarkets, safety net programmes, small credit for micro enterprises and so forth. Growth, it is argued, has implications for raising income and employment and, thereby, labour-intensive growth has implications for reducing poverty. In this regard, strategies encouraging labour-intensive growth are intended to be pro- poor actions.

Figure 3.5: Matrix for poverty reduction

Poverty Reduction	Strategic Pillars	Intervention		
		Short-Term	Medium-Term	Long Term
	Pro-Poor, Sustainable Economic Growth ⇕ Good Governance ⇕ Social Development		Private Sector Development	
			Regional Cooperation	
		Agriculture and Rural Development		
		Environment and Natural Resource Management		
		Transport, Communication, Energy and Finance		
			Public Expenditure Management, and Administration	
			Decentralization (Devolution)	
		Stakeholders' Participation		
		Social Protection		
			Health and Education	
			Water Supply and Urban Development	

Source: Asian Development Bank (2004:4).

Sustainable economic growth is not enough to attack poverty in all its dimensions. It should coexist with social development in a broad poverty reduction strategy. Social development, which is the second strategic pillar as claimed by THE ADB (2004:3-4),

should be conducted in a broad way to include human capital, population policy, social capital, gender and social protection.

Human capital is the main asset the poor have to cope with poverty, so their education, skills, health and nutrition should be an integrated part of social development. These capabilities allow the poor to participate in decision making and, hence, they can influence all policies affecting their lives. This includes empowering the poor to access education, health, markets and other essential services.

Population policy is designed to reduce population in certain areas which have high growth rates, especially rural areas. Population growth that is higher than economic growth, as argued by Malthusian theorists, leads to deprivation in food supply and, therefore, should be controlled. If population growth is successfully reduced, then economic growth promotes opportunities for the future of children. For example, many investments could be put into education, health, recreation centres and employment opportunities for the children.

Social capital linked to culture, such as social stratification, attitudes or behaviour and other traits affecting economic progress and distribution, should be improved. This is also intended to provide opportunities for all the people, but especially the poor, to participate in the development.

In many countries, women seem to suffer more from poverty; therefore the issues relating to gender should be a part of the poverty reduction strategy. For women, improvement must be made including creating large opportunities for the women to participate in development through the availability of small credit to run micro enterprises, reducing fertility, reducing maternal and infant mortality, and increasing education and skills. Cultural blocks preventing women from entering the labour force must be removed to allow them to fully participate in the development.

Social protection is designed to protect the poor, both individually and as households, from vulnerability to various types of diseases, shocks and social conflict. Programmes for this protection include a social safety net against unemployment, crime and disability such as old age, disease, etc.

The above strategies can not be successfully implemented without good governance. This is a third strategic pillar as proposed by the ADB (2002). Good governance, according to the ADB (2002:33), "is an essential pre-condition for pro-poor growth as it establishes the enabling regulatory and legal framework essential for the sound functioning of land, labor, capital and the factors markets". From Figure 3.5, it can be seen that good governance lies in between the other two strategies, meaning that the good governance is important and is needed to encourage both pro-poor growth and social development.

Further, the ADB (2004:4) argues that "good governance facilities participatory, pro-poor policies as well as sound macroeconomic management. It ensures the transparent use of public funds, encourages growth of the private sector, promotes effective delivery of public services, and help to establish the rules of law". The problems related to poor governance, such as political instability, non transparency in resource allocation or corruption, weak public sector capacity and inadequate access to justice (ADB, 2004:33-36) are considered to lead to misery for the poor. The Asian crisis, which led to poverty, is often mentioned as an example of poor governance in accountability, transparency, programme implementation and monitoring (Ajakaiye and Adeyeye, 2002:24). Based on this, the ADB (2004:5) proposes good governance as an essential step to avoid economic crisis and, hence, reduce the incidence of poverty.

Good governance is extremely important for poverty reduction. It may be argued that all of the poverty reduction attempts will lead to nothing if the attempts are not supported by good governance. Bad governance, as discussed in chapter two, can

create poverty through its poor policies which are not handling the needs of the poor. As Sadler and Akhmadi (2004:4) argue:

> Poverty is a multidimensional concept and is not limited to the economic dimension alone. Beside a lack of income, the poor also suffer from a lack or complete absence of services (public utilities, public transport, healthcare, education and credit) and a lack of participation in social, economic, and political decisions at the local, regional, and national level. Because of this, the poor often feel that they are excluded and helpless when their rights are violated and exploited by the wealthy and the powerful.

The importance of good governance to poverty alleviation strategies is claimed by Sadler and Akhmadi (2004:5) as follows:

a. Without good government, the scarce resources available are generally not put to their best use in combating poverty. This is often due to a lack of transparency, rampant corruption, and an uncertain legal system that hinders economic growth that could help pull the poor out of poverty.
b. Good government is necessary if all aspects of poverty are to be reduced, not just through an increase in income, but also through empowerment and an increase in the economic, political and social opportunities for the poor

In this regard, good governance should be a priority agenda for each government both national and local to fight poverty in its all dimensions. However, it seems there is a challenge for all societies to create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains poverty alleviation policies. Nevertheless, the system should be generated because "governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences" (UNDP, 1994:1).

Good governance can be created in the country through a variety of elements such as transparency and accountability. As UNDP (1994:1) point out that:

> Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.

Differences between the perspectives of poverty

In chapter two it was found that different perspectives (models) of poverty imply different approaches to poverty and to policy. The main group of indicators is as follow: income/expenditure, basic needs, capabilities and a mixed group of indicators relating to the enabling environment such as access to assets, equity and governance (Dessallien, 1998: 9; Laderch et al, 2003: 8-26; Mowafi, 2004: 11-38; Nagata, 2004: 1-4; Riddell, 2004: 4-10). The indicators refer to living conditions or the environment in which the poor live and, to some extent, lead to poverty. Taking these four main models of poverty, a key question is the extent to which they provide different assessments of poverty as indicated by the following figure.

Even though the distinctions between the models are many, as presented in Figure 3.6, Dessallien (1998:7) proposed two categories of 'means' and 'ends' that can be utilised to distinguish poverty perspectives. Means refers to indicators of inputs that are intended to achieve an end result, whereas ends are linked to the final outcomes.

In the poverty models, capabilities are considered a means, while nutritional status, vitamin deficiencies, etc are ends and can be measured. These two things can theoretically be distinguished; however they really affect each other (the former responsible for latter outcomes). Means indicators includes income, basic needs and access to assets, equity and governance, while end indicators involve measurable outcomes (HDI and HPI). These different approaches can lead to different policy outcomes, i.e. growth oriented approaches and people centred approaches

Figure 3.6: Differences in poverty perspectives

Models of poverty	Deprivation	Methodology			
		Indicator	Dimension	Method	Source of data
Income/expenditure	Physiological/ economic	Monetary approach	one-dimensional	quantitative	Questionnaire, sample survey
Basic Needs	Physiological/ economic	Monetary approach	one-dimensional	quantitative	Questionnaire, sample survey
Capabilities (HDI, HPI)	Sociological/ Social	Non-monetary approach	multidimensional	qualitative, but it can combine both aspects of quantitative and qualitative	Participatory techniques, but also mixed with sample surveys.
A mixed qualitative approaches (participatory, a pyramid of poverty, multidimensional)	Sociological/ Social	Non-monetary approach	multidimensional	qualitative, but it can combine both aspects of quantitative and qualitative	Participatory techniques, but also mixed with sample surveys.

Source: Adapted from Boltvinik, 1995: 11-21; Dessallien, 1998:1-9; Shaffer 2001: 9-25; Nagata, 2004: 1-4.

The first approach, as explored earlier, stems from the elite (including international institutions such as the ADB) which tend to adopt top down policies to address poverty. Trickle down, community development, etc are the ways of the approach to distribute the economic fruits to the grassroots poor. The second approach, however, emphasises people themselves as both the subject and the object of development. As subjects, the people should act as development actors while they should also be the object of the development results.

Further, theories of poverty causation distinguish between two sets of causes: pathological and structural (Waxman, 1983: 7-68; Stitt, 1994: 13-45; Alcock, 1997: 37-43). In chapter two, the first theory underlines personal traits as leading to poverty while the second theory emphasises structural forces as a cause of poverty. As policy responds to cause, a 'personal' model recommends poverty policy to remove barriers

coming from individual isolation and poverty. In the second model, however, poverty policy addresses structural impediments resulting from structural inequality, poor government policy etc. As these two approaches are not really exclusive, as discovered in this study, both models need to be integrated into a broad context of regional development policy if poverty is to be effectively addressed.

Conclusion

Just as there is no one cause of poverty there is no single strategy out of it. It is not only about lack of income, but also lack of other factors. These factors can stem from either individual characteristics or structural forces, but in fact the causes operate in a combined way in bringing about poverty. The impacts of poverty are complex as a consequence of the breadth and complexity of its causes. This complexity suggests that poverty reduction strategies should aim to cope with poverty using multifaceted approaches. They should not just cope with income or consumption, but also education, skill, health, nutrition, infrastructure, opportunity and others.

It is necessary to understand the levels which the causes of poverty emanate from. This understanding is linked to whether the causes come from the individual and micro level or from the structural and macro level or from both levels in a combined way. This will help address poverty in the right way. The right way is not only helpful in formulating correct strategies, but it also avoids the problems of programme inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

At the individual and micro level, the livelihood framework offers useful information for dealing with poverty. It provides information about what assets the poor have so far, what types of capability they own, what activities they carry out and how they have access to their assets. In this way, livelihood is a very helpful tool to understand the complexity of poverty. It can provide information relating to the poor's perception about poverty, why they are poor and how they cope with poverty. In addition, as

found from the discussion, livelihood diversification is a coping strategy for poverty in the village environment. Most villagers do not only generate income from the agricultural sector (farming and fishing), but also from micro enterprises, labour in both construction and shipping, and others. In this regard, a strategy to cope with poverty should address the livelihood of the poor.

At the structural and macro level, a framework for poverty reduction is needed to alleviate poverty in a collaborative way. Government and civil society should work together to attack poverty in all its dimensions, but this must be strengthened by international community support. To facilitate the collaboration, good governance is a pre-condition in the country to generate a conducive environment for pro-poor growth and social development. Good governance can facilitate poverty reduction strategies through designing guidelines and rules which can be used to implement and monitor overall poverty programmes in order to avoid inefficiency and ineffectiveness of asset allocations. The guidelines and the rules can also enable the poor to have access to the assets by removing constraints stemming from the community.

Good governance is needed to generate sustainable livelihoods for the poor through making rules and policies that enable the poor to diversify their livelihoods. For example, good governance formulates policy relating to micro credit finance for the poor to run micro enterprises, or policy relating to capabilities such as increasing education and skill-training, so they can participate in the overall development sectors. To make livelihoods sustainable for the poor, their capability and access to livelihood resources should be addressed in designing livelihood policies. Even though capability is broad in its nature, as argued by authors, in practice policies should focus on developing skill training, education, health and nutrition.

The aid programme is an extremely important strategy for helping the poor. However, in order to support the programme, the government and aid donor should consult together regarding targeting programmes or resources that are suitable for the poor.

The consultation needs to set up an operational mechanism in the field to work through in channeling the aid funds. This mechanism is important to avoid a possibility of corruption diverting the aid funds from reaching the poor.

Chapters two and three examined the meaning, measurement, causes and coping strategies of poverty by reviewing relevant general literature. However, how are these issues implemented in Indonesia? Chapter four will explore this in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR

POVERTY IN INDONESIA

Introduction

This chapter is linked to the previous chapters exploring poverty in general and how it is viewed in Indonesia. In particular, the discussion focuses on several main issues relating to poverty. These are data sources, concept and measurement, incidence of poverty and its causes, and poverty alleviation. Each issue will constitute a section of the chapter.

The first section explores data sources for poverty analysis used in Indonesia. It examines where poverty studies in the country obtain their data to calculate the incidence of poverty. The second sub section investigates how poverty is defined and how it is measured according to BPS and several independent studies. Following this is third section examining poverty incidence and its causes. The next part is the fourth section which examines strategies both past and present in overcoming poverty.

BPS is an office given authority and responsibility by the government to conduct research in Indonesia for government purposes. All types of data from BPS are accepted as official data and hence it is believed that BPS' data has higher validity than other data. This office has been known as an institution publishing good reports for domestic and international consumption. As a result, BPS' concept of poverty is assumed to be an official concept and therefore all discussions relating to poverty in the following paragraphs link to the BPS' definition.

Data sources

There were a number of poverty studies undertaken in Indonesia in the early 1970s. These studies were carried out by Esmara in 1969/1970, Booth in 1969/1970, Ginneken in 1969, Sayogyo in 1971, Gupta in 1973 and Hasan in 1975 (Suseno Triyanto Widodo, 1990:126-127). These studies in general used the poverty line as a threshold to differentiate the poor from the non-poor. BPS (1999b:1) claims that the 1970s is the period in which studies concerning poverty were first conducted at a national level, undertaken by researchers such as Sayogyo, Penny, Sangarimbun, Sam F. Poli and Hendra Esamara.

Table 4.1 below demonstrates the criteria used and the poverty lines that were applied by the above researchers during the period from the 1960s through the 1980s. It can be seen from the table that all the researchers tended to utilise expenditure as a basis for calculating poverty. The tendency to utilise expenditure seems to have been encouraged for a number of reasons as examined earlier in chapters two and three. In addition, most of the poor, who lived in villages, seemed to have irregular incomes, which lead to difficulties for the researchers to record income data accurately, so the result is the use of expenditure as a proxy.

The above studies made a useful contribution to poverty analysis in Indonesia. BPS (1999a:1; 1999b:1) asserted that the studies carried out in the 1970s were important in the history of poverty studies in the country because they made positive contributions to poverty analysis and income distribution. In addition to designing poverty measurement methods, they were often used as a reference by other researchers conducting poverty studies in the country. For example, poverty studies that were conducted by Sayogyo and Esmara have often been used as a reference in making poverty comparisons in the locations under consideration in Bali (Firdausy and Tisdell 1991:7-16). Firdausy and Tisdell (1991) applied the poverty lines that were set up by Sayogyo and Esmara to compare the poverty line that designed for their own locations.

Table 4.1: Criteria and poverty lines

Studies	Criteria	Poverty line		
		Urban	Rural	Urban Rural
Esmara 1969/1970	Per capita rice consumption a year (kg)	-	-	125
Sayogyo 1971	Milled-rice equivalent a year for a person in kg:			
	poor	480	320	
	very poor	360	240	
	destitute	270	180	
Ginneken 1969	Minimum nutrition needed a day for a person:			
	Calorie	-	-	2000
	Protein (in gram)	-	-	50
Booth 1969/1970	Minimum nutrition needed a day for a person:			
	Calorie	-	-	2000
	Protein (in gram)	-	-	40
Gupta 1973	Minimum nutrition needed a year for a person (in rupiah)	-	-	24000
Hasan 1975	Per capita minimum income a year (in US $)	125	95	
BPS 1984	1.Per capita calorie consumption a day	-	-	2100
	2. Per capita expenditure a month (in rupiah)	13731	7746	-
Sayogyo 1984	Per capita expenditure a month (in rupiah)	8240	6585	-

Source: Adapted from Suseno Triyanto Widodo (1990:126-127)

Of the studies, those which were conducted by Sayogyo and Esmara are well regarded because they served as a poverty studies reference. In addition, BPS acknowledged that both studies were simple and practical in terms of poverty calculation (BPS, 1999a:1). BPS (1999a:1) also states that both studies provided strong influences on its calculation of poverty in 1984.

From Table 4.1, it can also be seen that Sayogyo carried out two different studies on poverty. The first was in 1971 using a milled rice equivalent approach and another in 1984 applying a per capita expenditure approach. The use of the poverty line to split the poor from the non-poor, especially the rice poverty line, has been claimed by BPS to have a weakness, as follows:

> Pendekatan ekuivalen beras seperti ini memiliki kelemahan, antara lain karena perkembangan garis kemiskinan tidak dapat mencerminkan perkembangan tingkat biaya hidup riil. Perkembangan biaya hidup jelas tidak dapat dicerminkan hanya oleh perkembangan harga beras, terlebih-lebih dalam era setelah tahun 1970an, di mana konsumsi masyarakat menunjukkan dinamika yang semakin mengarah pada semakin bervariasinya jenis dan kualitas barang dan jasa yang dikonsumsi, termasuk yang dikonsumsi kelas bawah" (This milled-rice equivalent has a weakness, for instance, because the poverty line does not explain the real living costs. The living costs are not only explained by rice prices, especially in the period after the 1970s in which social consumption was dynamic and was varied in terms of the type and quality of consumption goods and services including goods and services consumed by the lower classes) (1999a:1 translated by author).

Even though the incidence of poverty was studied in the 1970s, it was only formally examined and results published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Biro Pusat Statistik-BPS*) in 1984 (BPS, 1999a:1; 1999b:1). The first was BPS' publication entitled *Number and Percentage of Poor Population in Indonesia 1976-1981* or locally known as *Jumlah dan Persentase Penduduk Miskin di Indonesia 1976-1981* (BPS, 1999a:1; 1999b:1). BPS continued to conduct the survey on poverty periodically and published its results every three years. This survey is called the National Socioeconomic Survey or *Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional* (Susenas).

Susenas is the main data source for poverty and inequality analysis (BPS, 1999a:9; 1999b:3; Balisacan et al, 2003:194). This survey consists of two data sets, the consumption module and the core data or as they are called the Susenas module and the Susenas core. The module is conducted every three years and it provides detailed consumption data down to the provincial level. Since the 1990s, there have been four Susenas modules: Susenas 1990, Susenas 1993, Susenas 1996, and Susenas 1999. (BPS, 1999a:9-65; Balisacan et al, 2003:194).

The core, on the other hand, contains basic data concerning socioeconomic and demographic information which are collected every year (BPS, 1999b:3; Balisacan et al, 2003:194-195). It also provides data on consumption, but it is not as detailed as at in the

module. The core is beneficial because it provides data for measuring poverty at the district level, both for *kotamandya* (municipality) and *kabupaten* (district). Of the two Susenas data sets, the Susenas module is generally used by BPS to calculate official government poverty figures (Balisacan et al, 2003:195). These two surveys do not collect any data at village level and, hence, poverty analysis at this level cannot be done based on Susenas data.

Basic need is the main approach for poverty measurement. This approach was applied in the country from the 1970s up to the 1990s (BPS, 1999a:3). This can be seen in Table 4.1, where most researchers applied a consumption or expenditure approach as a basis for gauging poverty. In addition, it is also seen from the *Susenas*, both the module and the core, where the basic needs approach was used for poverty measurement (BPS, 1999a:3; Balisacan et al, 2003:195).

The basic needs approach consists of two main categories, which are assumed to cover basic needs in the country, namely food and non-food items. These two categories are quantitatively different from year to year, as shown by Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Food items and non-food items in 1990-1999

Category	Total items in category							
	1990		1993		1996		1998 & 1999	
	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R
Food	-	-	52	52	52	52	52	52
Non Food	14	12	46	46	43	41	27	25

Source: Adapted from BPS (1999a:7; 1999b:8)
U means urban
R mean rural

Since the early 1990s food items are quantitatively similar. Non-food items, on the other hand, are dissimilar during the period. However, the types of items, both food and non-food, are different during the period because there were some adjustments made to allow for changes in consumption habits and local prices. Two poverty lines have been set up for

these items, the food poverty line and the non-food poverty line. In relation to the poverty line, BPS applied 2,100 calories per capita per day as a minimum level (BPS, 1999a:3; 1999b:7). This level is applied as a threshold to determine the poor and the non- poor. The concept of poverty is defined on the level where those who have consumption below the level are considered poor and the rest are non-poor.

This fieldwork is different from the above studies in many ways. The first is linked to research methodology. BPS uses basic needs as the main approach to study poverty, whereas independent researchers, as mentioned earlier, also studied poverty from the view of consumption. All these are similar as they examine poverty from the expenditure side. To collect data, the survey technique is used as a data collecting tool in the provincial and district levels. Independent researchers also use the same technique to study poverty, but only in particular parts of the country such as Java and Bali. For example Firdasusy and Tisdel (1991) conducted a survey concerning poverty in the Nusa Penida sub-district in Bali.

In this fieldwork the researcher used a different technique, participatory research, to examine poverty at the village level. To collect data, the fieldwork used Focus Group Discussions (FGD). During the FGD several techniques were utilised to gain data such as the use of diagrams and informal interviews. Moreover, interviews with key informants and government officials were conducted to collect the data. A questionnaire was also used as a data collecting tool to obtain the needed data from the respondents. When the questionnaire was carried out, some techniques such as scoring and trend analysis were conducted to get the data. All these data collecting techniques are examined in detail in chapter five.

The second major difference from previous studies relates to data analysis. BPS and other studies used external researchers to collect, process, and analyse poverty data. The poor act just as informants. As a consequence, there was a possibility that the external researchers could interfere with the results of the poverty studies. This fieldwork involves the poor directly in the study. They act as analysts while the researcher acts as a facilitator. Poverty

analysis conducted by the poor was done through FGD, diagrams, scoring and trend analysis.

Lastly, as a result of the methodology used, BPS' concept of poverty is defined based on a poverty line, meaning that those who have consumption below the line are considered poor and the rest are non-poor. This definition considers only the lack of consumption or, in other words, the concept emphasises lack in an economic dimension. However, dimensions of poverty are various, not limited to consumption, but also to including other factors such as vulnerability, voicelessness, powerlessness, freedom and fear. These dimensions are not incorporated in the concept of the poverty line.

Concept and measurement

Even though it is acknowledged that what have been accepted as basic needs in the world is still under debate as discussed previously in chapters two and three, basic needs remains a main approach for measuring poverty in Indonesia. The quantity of basic needs for the 1990s is indicated in previous Table 4.2. As mentioned earlier, this table indicates two basic needs consisting of food and non-food. The quantity for each type of basic need is different, but for food the quantity remained at 52 items during the period. For a consumed item or a group of consumed items to be chosen as a basic need, it is based on two main considerations (BPS, 1999b:7). First, it is based on a percentage of households consuming the commodities. Those chosen as basic needs are those with the highest percentage for the consumed commodities. Second, it is also based on the calorie intake obtained from the commodities. This means a commodity having a high calorie intake can also be included into the chosen commodities.

The types of basic needs in the country vary from time to time depending on consumption habits and local prices, but examples of non-food items in the period 1976-1990 are shown in Table 4.3. Food and non-food items for Susenas 1993, Susenas 1996 and Susenas 1999 are different from 1976-1990 in terms of quantity and types.

Table 4.3: Types of non-food items in 1976-1990

Urban Areas	Rural Areas
A. Housing, fuel, light and water 1. Renting house 2. Electricity 3. Kerosene 4. Water	A. Housing, fuel, light and water 1. Renting house 2. Kerosene 3. Firewood
B. Various goods and services 1. Bath soaps, tooth paste, tooth brush, shampoo 2. Supply of medicines without doctor's prescription 3. Doctors, nurses and others 4. School fees 5. Transport expenses	B. Various goods and services 1. Supply of medicines without doctor's prescription 2. Indigenous medical practitioners (midwife, traditional healer and others) 3. School fees 4. Transport expenses
C. Clothing 1. Finished clothing 2. Footwear 3. Bath soaps	C. Clothing 1. Clothing stuffs 2. Sewing 3. Footwear 4. Detergent laundry
D. Durable goods 1. Kitchenware and food 2. Furniture	D. Durable goods 1. Kitchenware and food

Source: BPS (1999a:17)

The above food and non-food items that are accepted as basic needs in the country can be used to set up a poverty line consisting of a food poverty line and a non-food poverty line. The food poverty line is 2,100 calories per capita, this level of calories was a recommendation from the National Workshop on Food and Nutrition in 1978 (BPS, 1999a:3; 199b:7). Maksum (2004:2) defined the food poverty line as "the total expenditure in rupiahs required for purchasing food needed to satisfy the 2,100 calories energy requirement per capita per day". Before 1993, the calculation of the average price per calories was obtained by dividing the monthly expenditure for food with per capita calories. In this case, by determining the 2,100 calorie-equivalent energy requirement, the amount of rupiahs needed to satisfy such a requirement can be calculated (Maksum, 2004:2).

BPS (1999a:7; 1999b:8) also states that the food poverty line was computed by multiplying the average price of a calorie consumed by a reference population by the 2,100. The reference population is a group of people having average expenditure that lies at least,

above the expected poverty line (BPS, 1999a:5; 1999b:7). The reason for using the reference population, as argued by Maksum (2004:3), is "so that a person who can afford such a lifestyle, should not be classified as poor". The poverty line and reference population from 1993 to 1999 are shown in Table 4.4.

In 1993, as presented by Maksum (2004:2) and BPS (1999a:4-5; 1999b:7-8), the computation for the value of the daily minimum standard for calorie intake was changed. Namely, the value of rupiahs for the 2,100 calories is counted from 52 selected commodities and this is still valid until 1999, as indicated previously in Table 4.2.

The value for the non-food poverty line is the value of expenditure on non-food items by a reference population. From previous Table 4.2 it can be seen that non-food items are quantitatively dissimilar between urban and rural areas from 1990 until 1999. As discussed earlier, a non-food item is chosen to be included into the basic needs if the item is included in the basic needs for a reference population (BPS, 1999a:5-6; 1999b:8; Maksum, 2004:3). The chosen non-food items were based on the results of the 1995 Basic Commodity Basket Survey or the *Survei Paket Komoditi Kebutuhan Dasar 1995* (BPS, 1999a:5; 1999b:8; Maksum, 2004:3).

Methods for computing poverty in the country are a head-count index, a poverty gap index and a poverty severity index (BPS, 1999b:9; BPS, 2002:67-73; Maksum, 2004:3). The head-count index is used to measure the number and percentage of the poor living below the poverty line. However, this index does not explain the depth and severity of poverty or consider the distribution of income (living standard) among the poor. One method that can explain the shift in the degree of poverty among the poor is the poverty gap index. This index describes the depth of poverty or the average gaps between the income (living standard) of the poor and the poverty line. Nevertheless, the index does not describe the distribution of income among the poor or does not explain the severity of poverty, which is explained by another method the so-called poverty severity index.

Table 4.4: Poverty lines and reference population in 1993-1999

Year	Urban Areas (rupiah)		Rural Area (rupiah)	
	Poverty Line	Reference Population	Poverty Line	Reference Population
1993	27,905	30,000-40,000	18,244	20,000-30,000
1996	38,248	40,000-60,000	27,413	30,000-40,000
1998	96,959	80,000-100,000	72,780	60,000-80,000
1999	98,273	80,000-100,000	75,613	60,000-80,000

Source: BPS (1999a:7)

As discussed earlier, poverty is defined in terms of basic needs and this definition seemed to influence its measurement. In Indonesia's case, poverty measurement can have an impact on poverty definition. This was asserted by BPS (2002:177) as follows:

> Pada dasarnya, metode perhitungan penduduk miskin yang dilakukan BPS sejak pertama kali hingga saat ini, menggunakan pendekatan yang sama yaitu *basic needs approach*, dan kemiskinan dikonseptualisasikan sebagai ketidak mampuan dalam memenuhi kebutuhan dasar. Dengan kata lain, kemiskinan dipandang sebagai ketidak mampuan dari sisi ekonomi untuk memenuhi kebutuhan pangan dan non pangan yang bersifat mendasar seperti sandang, perumahan, pendidikan, kesehatan dan sebagainya (Basically, poverty measurement conducted by BPS for the first time until now, used the same approach, that is the *basic needs approach,* and poverty is conceptualized as an inability to meet the basic needs. In other words, poverty is considered an inability, from an economic view, to meet food basic needs and non-food basic needs such as food, shelter, education, health and so forth (Translated from original bahasa Indonesia by author).

The use of the poverty line to determine the incidence of poverty is still limited. This is because it does not explain completely other dimensions of poverty, which are difficult to express in monetary terms, such as vulnerability, voicelessness, powerlessness and fear, as suggested by the World Bank (2001a: v) and capability to function as suggested by UNDP (1997:15-16). The limitation stems from difficulties in obtaining universal indicators for vulnerability, voicelessness, powerlessness and fear. As these dimensions are important in

evaluating poverty, attempts should be made to produce general indicators for each dimension in order to facilitate better poverty measurement.

The incidence of poverty and its causes

Indonesia has been acknowledged as a country making progress in poverty reduction (World Bank, 1990a: 27; Booth, 2000:73). Table 4.5 below demonstrates this progress. Before the crisis in the country in 1997, the incidence of poverty decreased from 40.1 per cent (54.2 million) in 1976 to 11.3 per cent (22.5 million) in 1996. During the economic crisis, beginning in the second half of 1997 and reaching its peak by 1998, the national economy was threatened and this led to the incidence of poverty increasing again as shown by Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Poverty trends in Indonesia in 1976-2004

Year	Poor population (million)			Poverty incidence (%)		
	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural
1976	10.0	44.2	54.2	38.79	40.37	40.08
1978	8.3	38.9	47.2	30.84	33.38	33.31
1980	9.5	32.8	42.3	29.04	28.42	28.56
1981	9.3	31.3	40.6	28.06	26.49	26.85
1984	9.3	25.7	35.0	23.14	21.18	21.64
1987	9.7	20.3	30.0	20.14	16.14	17.42
1990	9.4	17.8	27.2	16.75	14.33	15.08
1993	8.7	17.2	25.9	13.45	13.79	13.67
1996	7.2	15.3	22.5	9.71	12.30	11.34
1998	17.6	31.9	49.5	21.92	25.72	24.23
1999	12.4	25.1	37.5	15.09	20.22	18.17
2002	**13.3**	**25.1**	**38.4**	**14.5**	**21.1**	**18.2**
2003	**12.2**	**25.1**	**37.3**	**13.6**	**20.2**	**17.4**
2004	**11.4**	**24.7**	**36.1**	**12.1**	**20.0**	**16.7**

Source: BPS (1999a:70; 1999b:91)
Bolded figures from Maksum (2004:6-7).

The incidence of poverty, as indicated in Table 4.5, is the poverty incidence for urban and rural areas. Of these two areas, the incidence in rural areas was greater than in urban areas. Maksum (2004:6) argues that it was around two times of that in urban areas during 1990-2004. The incidence is based on absolute poverty, which was assessed based on the

methods discussed earlier. These methods seem to be affected by a previously defined poverty concept using the poverty line. The line is a quantitative concept which contributes to the use of quantitative measurements.

It is arguable that there are difficulties in separating the four main elements in the issue of poverty; definition, measurement, causes and policy. These elements have a close relationship because they affect each other, as pointed out in chapters two and three. For example, the way poverty is measured will determine the way poverty is conceptualized and vice versa.

It is clear from the above discussion that qualitative dimensions of poverty are not often included in the measurement. On the basis of this consideration, this fieldwork was encouraged to make a middle path among the qualitative and quantitative methods by combining both methods in the fieldwork. This combination is bridged in participatory research by applying qualitative and quantitative techniques in the methodology. This is another feature distinguishing this fieldwork from the Susenas and independent studies discussed above.

In addition to the national poverty incidence as shown by Table 4.5, Table 4.6 below presents the incidence of poverty by province in 2004. This table is different from Table 4.5 as it presents poverty incidence by province after adding some provinces in the country as a consequence of the implementation of regional autonomy in 2000. The difference is that in Table 4.5 there were 27 provinces when the incidence of poverty was computed while in Table 4.6 there were 32 provinces.

The new provinces in this table are Riau Islands, Bangka Belitung, Banten, Gorontalo, North Maluku and West Irian Jaya. In addition, there were two provinces that changed their provincial names. For example Aceh changed to Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, and Irian Jaya to Papua. The changes emanate from local community preferences, which were based on the regional autonomy that was given by the central government. In Papua, there were

two provinces, those of Papua and West Irian Jaya. Papua is the old province while West Irian Jaya is a new province. The new province of West Irian Jaya still appears on Table 4.6, even though it still creates conflicts regarding its formation between both the central and the provincial governments.

From Table 4.6, it can be seen that the incidence of poverty in West Irian Jaya and Papua is higher than other provinces at 40.20 per cent and 37.92 per cent, respectively. After that the incidence of poverty was also high in provinces such as Maluku, Gorontalo and Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam at 32.13 per cent, 29.00 per cent and 28.47 per cent respectively. The high incidence of poverty in both West Irian Jaya and Papua raises a critical question from the local people. For example, they ask why the largest percentage of the poor are found in the province which is known as a richest province in terms of natural resources. In addition, it is also noted that these provinces have natural wealth which is exploited in a raw state.

High value and labour intensive industries such as tourism and manufacturing are centralized on Java and Bali, which have relatively low poverty levels. The reason for the low incidence of poverty in these provinces is, in part, a consequence of the implementation of the centralised system in the country since the New Order government. This system centralises all government activities, including development and resources, in Jakarta as the capital city for the country. In terms of natural resources, Jakarta has the power to determine the use and distribution of the natural resources among the provinces in the country. The richest provinces such as Papua, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam and Kalimantan often complained about the small amount of resources the provinces received back from Jakarta to carry out regional development.

This study argues that the number of poor in the provinces is in fact larger than the number presented in Table 4.5 and Table 4.6. This argument stems from the rationale that poverty has many dimensions while poverty presented in these tables, which was calculated using quantitative measurements, only includes the consumption dimension. Other dimensions of

poverty are excluded probably because of difficulties in developing universal indicators to measure the concepts of powerlessness, voicelessness, vulnerability and fear. In addition, there is a tendency to believe the quantitative measurement due to a objective consideration compared to qualitative measurement as discussed in chapter five. These reasons have encouraged the use of the consumption approach to gauging poverty in the country.

Table 4.6: The incidence of poverty by province in 2004

Provinces	Poor population (in thousand)	Poor Population (%)
Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam	1,157.2	28.47
North Sumatra	1,800.1	14.93
West Sumatra	472.4	10.46
Riau	658.7	14.67
Riau Islands	85.7	7.24
Jambi	325.1	12.45
South Sumatra	1,379.3	20.92
Bengkulu	345.1	22.39
Lampung	1,561.7	22.22
Bangka Belitung	91.8	9.07
Jakarta	277.1	3.18
West Java	4,654.2	12.10
Central Java	6,843.8	21.11
Yogyakarta	616.2	19.14
East Java	7,312.5	20.08
Banten	779.2	8.58
Bali	231.9	6.85
West Nusa Tenggara	1,031.6	25.38
East Nusa Tenggara	1,152.1	27.86
West Kalimantan	558.2	13.91
Central Kalimantan	194.1	10.44
South Kalimantan	231.0	7.19
East Kalimantan	318.2	11.57
North Sulawesi	192.2	8.93
Central Sulawesi	486.3	21.69
South Sulawesi	1,241.5	14.90
South East Sulawesi	418.4	21.89
Gorontalo	259.1	29.00
Maluku	397.6	32.13
North Maluku	107.8	12.42
West Irian Jaya	256.5	40.20
Papua	710.3	37.92
Indonesia	36,146.7	16.66

Source: Maksum (2004:8)

The national incidence of poverty, as a whole, has decreased since the 1970s (World Bank, 1990a:1; Asra, 2000:1; Booth, 2000:73). The World Bank (1990a:1), BPS (1999a:70; 1999b:91), Soemitro and Tjiptoherijanto (2002:1), and UND (2003:2) record that in 1970 around 60 per cent of the Indonesian population or 70 million people were living in absolute poverty. In 1980 the percentage decreased to 42.3 per cent and to 27.2 per cent in 1990, as shown by Table 4.5. The highest percentage of poverty in 1970 occurred, in part, because national development had just started in the country. So it gave little attention to poverty reduction even though at the time there was a strong commitment to broad-based economic growth, particularly rural development (World Bank, 1990a:3).

In addition, the national economy during the period 1965-1968 was unstable. This period is called *Pre-Repelita* or Pre-First Year Development Plan (Sadli, 1982:1) and was marked by economic phenomena such as high inflation and economic stagnation (Booth, 2000:74). Inflation was 650 per cent in 1966, 120 per cent in 1967 and 85 per cent in 1968 (Sadli, 1982:141). Economic stagnation caused, as pointed out by Sadli (1982:1), food shortages and the government attempted to save production tools from being damaged. The unstable economy was also noted by the World Bank (1990a:3): "when the New Order Government came to power ... the economy was in considerable disrepair". Booth (2000:74) argues that "per capita income in Indonesia was well below that of other Southeast Asian economies; real per capita GDP was estimated to have been only 535 international dollars (1985 prices) in 1966, compared with 650 dollars in India".

As the national economy in the pre-*Repelita* period was unstable and national development through *Repelita* was just beginning, not much attention was paid to poverty reduction (World Bank, 1990a:3; Soemitro and Tjiptoherijanto, 2002:1). According to Soemitro and Tjiptoherijanto (2002:1) the lack of attention to poverty continued until the 1980s and the 1990s and, hence, the incidence of poverty was still high in this period.

In addition, as Soemitro and Tjiptoherijanto (2002:1) claim, income inequality was also wide as indicated by the gini ratio. Booth (2000:75) records that the gini coefficient of

household per capita consumption expenditure at that time increased from 0.35 in 1964-65 to 0.36 in 1996. In 1997, the economic crisis and a dry season occurred in the country and this led to the incidence of poverty increasing again (UNDP, 2003:2; Soemitro and Tjiptoherijanto, 2002:4) and by 1998 there were around 50 million people experiencing absolute poverty; nearly as many as in 1976 (Table 4.5). UNDP (2003:2) argues that the crisis, which was followed by the drought, led to food shortages in some provinces and was also accompanied by widespread forest fires in the provinces of Kalimantan and Sumatra. This resulted in around ten million hectares of forest being destroyed and devastated local livelihoods.

In addition to the above macro causes, Mukherjee *et al* (2002:25) propose some other causes of poverty arising from the micro level, as indicated by Table 4.7. These causes were identified by groups of men and women at the four sites where they carried out their research. These are Garut (West Java), Surabaya (East Java), Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara) and Mempawah (West Kalimantan). The men and women at the selected sites represented four main groups consisting of a coastal fishing community, a forest and farm dependent community, a rice cultivating community and an urban community.

The urban community in Surabaya identified irregular incomes as a cause of poverty. It was found that they ate just once a day and if they did not find a job, they were forced to borrow from relatives or neighbours in order to eat a meal of rice and crackers (Mukherjee *et al* , 2002:24). In West Java (rice farming site) and in Lombok (fishing site) most poor people believed that they were poor because they had no land. Poor people in Lombok also argued they were poor because they had no boat or fishing equipment.

In both areas women-headed households had been identified as poor because their family burden was large where each household must support around five–twelve children. In Lombok most women-headed households were divorced wives, while in West Java most of them were widows.

Table 4.7: The root causes of poverty at the four sites

Male groups	Female groups
Coastal Fishing Community • Don't own fishing equipment (net, boat with machine). • Small fish catches due to over-fishing in coastal water by rich fishers from outside using large nets & power boats. • No income during three months of rainy season when seas are too rough to go fishing. • No organization of poor fishers to help market fish for a good price in peak season, or build up reserves for the off-season. • No money to send children to school.	• Don't have skills other than fish processing. • House leaks – no place to store preserved fish. • Frequent divorce (women left alone to support themselves and their children).
Forest & Farm-dependent Community • Use of chemical pesticides. • Long droughts. • Chronic illness. • Low education/ignorance/stupidity. • Very large families. • Small land holdings.	• Inability to have regular watering in paddy fields (flooding as well as drought). • Vulnerability of new variety of rubber trees to disease (traditional variety replaced by agriculture department). • Rubber buyer's monopoly. • Unavailability of family planning advice.
Rice Cultivating Community • Too many children per family. • High crop losses due to rats and insect pests. • No capital for agriculture or trade. • Bandar (commercial harvest buyer) is dishonest, fixes a low price for harvest and does not pay as agreed. • Lack of employment for long periods every year. • Low education and capacity for earning.	• No cheap family planning option. • No access to capital/skill training opportunities. • Agricultural labour opportunity reduced due to commercialization of harvest (Bandar uses contract labour from outside the community). • Inability of local children to continue schooling beyond primary level.
Urban Community • Cannot find work – low education and have no contact for KKN (corruption, collusion, nepotism) • Forced to remain indebted to money lenders • Krismon (financial crisis in the country)	• Too many competitors for earning by vending food (only skilled women have option). • Afraid or too late to adopt family planning methods- too many children. • Dirty, unhealthy physical & social environment leads to young men gambling, and drinking and to crime and sickness.

Source: Adapted from Mukherjee *et al* (2002:25).

In West Kalimantan (forest-farm site) the community was identified as having better access to natural resources than the communities in the other three sites and even poor communities elsewhere. However, their incomes from the land and the rivers had declined because of the monopoly buyers for cash crops and external forces exploiting forest resources. The forces were identified as a factor contributing to environmental degradation

(Mukherjee *et al*, 2002:24). Other causes listed by Mukherjee *et al* (2002) are presented in detail in Table 4.7.

From Table 4.7 it can be seen that the causes of poverty in the four communities manifested as a lack of the means to generate income. This lack can take various forms. For example, in fishing communities the causes can derive from a lack of fishing equipment. In agricultural communities it can be a lack of land, a lack of crops or a lack of livestock. In the urban communities causes can take the form of a lack of capital to run micro enterprises, a lack of regular jobs or a lack of job skills.

Poverty alleviation

The general national objective of the country is stated in the *UUD 1945 (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*), the 1945 Indonesian Constitution. The objective has, then, been formulated into the *GBHN* (*Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara*), Broad Outlines of State Policy. To implement the *GBHN*, the government reformulated it in detail into *Repelita* (*Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun*), the Five Year Development Plan. Thus, the *Repelita* constitutes an instrument to perform what had been stated in both the 1945 Constitution and the *GBHN*. The *Repelita* contains a variety of general policies relating to national development sectors and it functions as a guideline for the provincial government to formulate its *Repeda* (*Rencana Pembangunan Daerah*), Regional Development Plan, at the provincial level. *Repelita* and *Repeda* are designed to carry out the 1945 Constitution and the *GBHN* and, hence, should not contradict each other.

The country achieved political independence from the Dutch on 17 August 1945, but the Five Year Development Plan was only begun in 1969/70, a period in which the New Order government, or Soeharto's administration, came to power. Soeharto's administration started in 1966 and continued until he was forced to step down in 1998. The period between 1945 and 1965 is the period of the Old Order government in which Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia, held power after gaining independence.

This section examines poverty alleviation in three phases. First is the phase of the Sukarno era (1945 to 1965), and second is Soeharto's era (1966 to 1998) known as New Order government. Last is the crisis period, which began in 1997, and post-crisis or recovery.

Old order government

The Old Order period was marked by the presidency of Sukarno. It can be said that it is pre-*Repelita,* because in this period *Repelita* had not yet been implemented. During this period, national development was not undertaken effectively around the country as it was mainly focused in Java. The reason for ineffective national development in the country during the period was partly because the country had just begun to experience political freedom. However, the country was not free from economic problems such as hyper-inflation, food shortages and unemployment (Sadli, 1982:3-14). These economic problems were exacerbated by political turbulence in the country. Notable among these insurgencies were the *G30S PKI* (*Gerakan 30 September, Partai Komunis Indonesia*), the September 30th movement in 1965 organised by Indonesian Communist Party, the *RMS* (*Republik Maluku Selatan*), the South Moluccan Republic in the 1950s and 1960s, and the *Permesta* (*Perjuangan Semesta*), The Total Struggle, the uprising in Sulawesi in late 1950s. These were some of the reasons for ineffectual national development that was implemented in the country.

The pre-*Repelita* period was an unstable period (Sadli, 1982:3-14; Hill, 2000:1-3). There were many political problems experienced by the national government as mentioned earlier. The incidence of poverty was high in the period, but it was not reported. It was finally formally published by *BPS* in 1984. The high degree of poverty, as argued by Soemitro and Tjiptoherijanto (2002:1), occurred because the government at that time lacked attention to poverty alleviation. Moreover, the unstable national economy was not able to support poverty reduction policy. As a result, the incidence of poverty in this period was high and this high incidence added to the number that was published in the 1970s especially the early 1970s.

During this period the government focused national development on rehabilitation and recovery (Sadli, 1982:1-14; Hill, 2000:15-16). Sadli (1982:3) argues that at this time, government enforced a tight monetary policy, which would not allow the building of new projects. In rehabilitation, the government agreed to fix all of the old production tools to support the production sector, but it would not spend a lot of money to buy new tools. Hill (2000:15) also points out that during this period the government attempted to control inflation, to build cooperation with the international donor community, and to rehabilitate physical infrastructure. The strategy of rehabilitation and recovery was able to strengthen the national economy so that it grew at an annual average rate of 6.6 per cent (Hill, 2000:15). Nevertheless, the incidence of poverty was still high during the period.

New Order Government

The New Order government was a period that began when Soeharto came to power. Prawiro (1998:79) points out that "for the New Order, the mission could be summarised with the word economic development". This meant that economic development became the main emphasis in its strategy and policy in order to improve the national economy. He also argues that "in the early days of the New Order, the essence of a mission of development began to take shape and this eventually became knows as the Development Trilogy consisting of *Stability, Growth and Equity*" (1998:86-87), which served as the guiding philosophy behind the economic development.

The New order government made a lot of progress in the country in its efforts to reduce poverty. Table 4.5 has shown that during the New Order period the incidence of poverty decreased from 54.2 million in 1976 to 22.5 million in 1996. The decline was a result of the economic progress that was achieved in the country in that period.

Hill (1996:14-17; 2000:14-17) has seen three episodes in economic development which had implications for poverty reduction during the period. First is rehabilitation and recovery which ran from 1966 to 1970. Over this period, he argues that the efforts of

government were to "control inflation above all else, re-establish ties with the international donor community, and to rehabilitate physical infrastructure" (2000:15). The success of the government was indicated by the national economy which grew at an annual average rate of 6.6 percent and by 1968 being known as the beginning of the recovery period.

The second episode is one of rapid growth from 1971 to 1981. Hill (2000:16) records this period as one of sustained economic growth where the economy grew at an annual average rate of 7.7 per cent. Even though the country attained high economic growth, resource distribution was still unequal between peoples and regions, and this contributed to the high incidence of poverty in 1970, as discussed earlier. The poor were identified to include subsistence farmers, subsistence fishers, and people that scratched a meager living from the informal sector of urban areas and lived on the edge of economic disaster (Sumodiningrat, 1997:66).

To help the poor, the development strategies were intended to encourage broad-based economic growth through a market policy. This policy was strengthened by a huge amount of investment in physical infrastructure, basic facilities and institutions. In rural areas, investments were put into agriculture, education, health and transportation in order to attain rice self-sufficiency and, hence, increase the living standard of the poor, the majority of whom came from the villages (World Bank, 1990a:4; Sumodiningrat, 1997:69).

The World Bank (1990a:5) points out that in this period the government was successful in attaining its twin objectives of achieving a rapid rate of economic growth and ensuring a more equitable distribution of income. The government was able to increase economic growth with real GDP growing by around 6.5 per cent during 1974-1978. This was significantly contributed to by the oil boom of the mid-1970s (World Bank, 1990a:5; Hill, 2000:16). The growth supported the government in its efforts to increase investments in the rural areas, which were focused on agriculture, especially rice, education, and transport infrastructure. The investments were intended to raise the incomes and employment level for the poor.

The *Instruksi Presiden* (INPRES, Presidential Instruction) and credit programmes such as *Kredit Investasi Kecil* (*KIK*), small credit programmes for fixed capital, and *Kredit Modal Kerja Permanent* (*KMKP*), small credit programmes for working capital, were examples of government programmes to eliminate poverty. The INPRES provided grants to lower levels of government from the national level, which consisted of two main types of INPRES. First is the general INPRES grant to lower levels of the government such as provinces (INPRES Dati I), districts (INPRES Dati II) and villages (INPRES Desa). The second is the sectoral INPRES grant for construction of roads, elementary schools, health facilities, reforestation and their maintenance (World Bank, 1990a:4; Sumodiningrat, 1997:69).

During the period, especially in 1969, the government introduced a programme of credit known as *Kredit Investasi Biasa* (KIB), small credits which were restricted to *pribumi* (indigenous people, as distinct from *non-pribumi,* mainly ethnic Chinese) borrowers. In addition, KIK and KMKP were small-scale credit programmes started in the period to set up micro-enterprises. According to some observers such as the World Bank (1990a:4-5) and Hill (1996:34; 2000:34), the government expenditure for INPRES, KIK and KMKP during the period provided substantial employment for unskilled labour, especially in the rural areas. These programmes helped to reduce the incidence of poverty by around 7 million between 1976 and 1978, as indicated previously in Table 4.5.

The last episode of the period is a time of adjustment to lower oil prices from 1982 to 1986. Over this time, international oil prices decreased, sharply in 1986. This automatically reduced national economic growth, but the economy still continued to grow at an annual average rate of 4 per cent, which was, in part, a result of good agricultural performance (Hill, 2000:16). However, the period was marked by rising international indebtedness and, hence, some adjustments had to be made to the economy.

The adjustment was mainly made by cutting government expenditure, devaluing the rupiah in April 1983 and canceling some national projects. Nevertheless, the incidence of poverty still continued to decline, as shown by Table 4.5. In 1980 the incidence was 42.3 million,

but this number decreased to 30 million in 1987. Booth (2000:81) asserts that the fall in poverty was as a result of the growth in agricultural production in the early 1980s. He further argues that the growth occurred due to "successful dissemination of new production technologies in the food crop sector and creation of new employment opportunities in production, process and marketing" (2000:81).

During the period 1987 to 1992, Hill (2000:17) argues that the national economy grew at an annual average rate of 6.7 per cent, almost as much as the growth rate in 1971-1981. This growth was not because of oil revenue, but because of revenues from non-oil exports. Even though the period was blessed by high economic growth, inequality was also still high. As Booth (2000:89) argues "the rapid growth of these years was accompanied by increasing inequality, especially in urban areas, and this increase in inequality reduced the impact of the growth on poverty decline".

Inequality, as indicated by the gini ratio, increased from 0.32 in 1987 to 0.36 in 1996 nationally. The ratio was higher in urban areas than in rural areas. For example, in 1996 the ratio was 0.36 in urban areas while in rural areas it was 0.27. Sumodiningrat (1997:66-67) argues that a wider inequality in urban areas indicated the high poverty rate in urban areas, which was "a reflection of the lack of well-paid urban employment as well as a sign of migration from (even poorer) rural areas".

Economic crisis

During the second half of 1997 the economic crisis hit the country and this led to the incidence of poverty increasing. From Table 4.5, it can be seen that poverty increased sharply in 1998 to around 50 million, almost as many as in 1976. However, the incidence decreased again to 36.1 million in 2004, a decrease of around 13.4 million or 22 per cent at this time. This decline in poverty incidence was caused by the government's efforts to eliminate poverty through its anti-poverty programmes. Daly and Fane (2002:309) argue

that any government effort to alleviate poverty during such a period can take any of the following forms:

(1) cash transfer schemes in which the net receipts are phased out as income rises;
(2) benefits in kind of rationed and subsidised amounts of essential goods to people below some specified poverty line (essential goods are those that make up a relatively large proportion of the total consumption of the poor, such as kerosene, rice, health care and primary education;
(3) job creation schemes for unskilled workers;
(4) universally available price subsidies, with no rationing, for essential goods.

Government expenditures for anti-poverty programmes increased, as shown by Table 4.8 below. From this table, it can be seen that the expenditure increased before and after the crisis. In 1994/1995 the expenditure was 0.11 per cent of GDP and then increased again to 0.29 per cent at the peak of the crisis in 1997/1998. In 2000 the expenditure decreased, but it was still relatively high at around 1.05 per cent.

Table 4.8 shows that during the period 1996/97-1997/98, the expenditure for job creation, including infrastructure and loans, was higher than the expenditure for cash transfers and benefits in kind. However, after the 1997/98 period the expenditure for benefits in kind were higher than job creation and cash transfers. This variation can be explored on the basis of the three phases of the development of anti-poverty programmes that are the pre-crisis period, the crisis and the subsequent period of slow recovery (Daly and Fane, 2002:314).

In the first or the pre-crisis period, Daly and Fane (2002:314) argue that the government expenditure for anti-poverty programmes was around 0.3 per cent of GDP in total, which is very little even though the expenditure had increased gradually since its introduction in 1994/95 to 1997/98. However, the total spending for the programmes was increased abruptly in 1998 to around 9.67 per cent because the Social Safety Net (SSN) was introduced in mid-1998 and that added significantly to the total spending.

Table 4.8: Expenditure on anti-poverty programmes as a percentage of total central government expenditure, 1994/95-2000

	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	2000
Cash Transfer							0.11
Benefits in kind. For: subsided rice (OPK), Health care & nutrition, Education			0.49	0.69	5.73	5.14	2.96
Job creation (including infrastructure & loans). Includes: IDT, KDP, UPP, PDM-DKE, Village & urban infrastructure, Labour intensive (PK), Loan schemes and Other	0.61	1.37	1.21	1.27	3.94	1.87	2.58
Total	0.61	1.37	1.70	1.96	9.67	7.01	5.65
Memo items.							
Total anti-poverty programmes (Rp trillion)	0.43	1.07	1.54	1.98	14.24	13.95	10.35
Total anti-poverty programmes (% of GDP)	0.11	0.23	0.28	0.29	1.39	1.23	1.05

Source: Daly and Fane (2002:309)

This SSN was designed to cover the following programmes (Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:13):

- Employment - emergency job creation schemes to provide work opportunities for the poor
- Food security - a programme to provide certainty over both the availability and affordability of the rice staple throughout the entire country
- Education – special assistance to both poor families and poor schools
- Health – a package of measures designed to ensure that public healthcare services were accessible and affordable for the poor.

The SSN was designed by the government in conjunction with external donors such as USAID (United States Agency for International Development), AusAID (Australian Agency for International Development), the World Bank and the ADB (Asian Development Bank) to help the poor around the country. There was a fear that the crisis would cause poverty to increase sharply to as high as in the 1980s and even the 1970s (Daly and Fane, 2002:314; Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:12). When this fear reduced then the expenditure diminished after 1998 even though it was still higher than in the pre-crisis period.

During the crisis, government expenditure increased for all types of anti-poverty programmes, but the expenditure for job creation, including infrastructure and loans, declined compared to benefits-in-kind (Table 4.8). From Table 4.9, it can be seen that benefits-in-kind accounted for more than 66 per cent of total anti-poverty spending while job creation was only around 34 per cent. This table also demonstrates that of all the anti-poverty programmes, OPK (*Operasi Pasar Khusus*), Special Market Operation, was responsible for the highest percentage of total anti-poverty spending from 1994/95 to 2000 at around 32 per cent.

Table 4.9: Shares of individual programmes in total anti-poverty spending (%)

	1994/95-1997/98	1998/99-1999/2000	2000	1994/95-2000
Cash Transfer	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.5
Benefits in kind	22.8	66.2	52.4	57.9
Subsided rise (OPK)	0.0	41.5	21.6	32.0
Health care & nutrition	9.7	13.3	17.6	13.9
Education	13.2	11.4	13.2	12.1
Job creation (including infrastructure & loans)	77.2	33.8	45.6	41.6
IDT	29.9	0.0	0.0	3.4
KDP	0.0	3.4	5.1	3.4
UPP	0.0	0.3	4.9	1.4
PDM-DKE	0.0	8.8	4.2	6.7
Village & urban infrastructure	22.0	6.7	7.7	8.7
Labour intensive (PK)	0.0	5.3	4.0	4.4
Loan schemes	25.3	5.8	16.3	10.5
Other	0.0	3.4	3.5	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Daly and Fane (2002:315)

This is because, in addition to the crisis, there was a drought affecting the agricultural sector, especially food production, in some parts of eastern Indonesia in 1997-1998 (Daly and Fane, 2002:310; Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:24). Post-crisis, in a period of recovery, subsidised rice tended to decline compared to health care and nutrition and education, as indicated by previous Table 4.9. Nevertheless, SSN programmes consisting of subsidised

rice, education, health care, job creation and infrastructure development were still continued.

Perdana and Maxwell (2004:14) summarised the above programmes into six important areas where targeting programmes had been focused. The first targeting programmes were concentrated to improve village areas. One of the targeting programmes in this area was the IDT programme (*Inpres Desa Tertinggal*), Presidential Instruction for Undeveloped Villages, which ran from 1994/95 to 1997/98 (Daly and Fane, 2002:313; Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:14). This programme provided Rp 20 million (US $ 8,700)[1] for each selected poor village per year to provide small-scale credit for the poor households. This amount was distributed by the selected village among the poor based on the proposal each household submitted for using the funds. The IDT programme was grouped as a job creation scheme because it was basically intended to create and expand productive opportunities for the poor in the villages.

The Kecamatan Development Programme (KDP) is another programme which was designed to support development expenditure at the village level. The programme commenced in 1998/99 and financed by a World Bank loan in two components. First, it provided grants for developing infrastructure. Second, it provided loans for conducting business (Daly and Fane, 2002:313). To get the KDP grants, each village would submit a proposal to the sub-district level to consider. KDP had programmes such as the UPP (Urban Poverty Programme) and the labour intensive (*padat karya*) programme. UPP provides credits for implementing business activities and funds for developing infrastructure. The *padat karya* programme was intended to provide jobs for low-skilled workers in public infrastructure. They were employed to build and repair the public infrastructure in the urban areas.

The second targeting programme was focused on food security. It includes the OPK (*Operasi Pasar Khusus*) often known as the Raskin (*Beras Untuk Orang Miskin*, Rice for

[1] Using the 1996 exchange rate at Rp 2,300 per US $.

the poor) programme. The programme, as discussed earlier, was intended to help poor people due to the crisis and also due to the drought in several provinces in the country. Initially, the programme provided 10 kilograms of medium quality rice per month at Rp 1,000 per kg for each household. At this time the market price was between Rp 2,500 – 3,000 per kg. Then, it increased to 20 kg per month, but in April 2000 its allocation changed to between 10 and 20 kg per household per month (Daly and Fane, 2002:312). Perdana and Maxwell (2004:14) state that the OPK programme was operated from 1998 to 2003 and that based on the budget data for 1998/99, the programme accounted for around 3.7 per cent of total government expenditure or around Rp 5,450, 000.

The third programme was community empowerment. This included a programme called PDM-DKE (*Pemberdayaan Daerah dalam Mengatasi Dampak Krisis Ekonomi*), Empowering the Regions to Overcome the Impact of the Economic Crisis. The programme was introduced in November 1998 in the form of block grants and was delivered through a decentralised disbursement process supervised by district level committees and village implementation teams (Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:22). PDM-DKE was basically block grants for improving local infrastructure. It was intended to create temporary employment opportunities by using local labour and to create revolving funds to provide credit for the poor and unemployed people to run small-scale business activities (Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:23). Funds for this programme varied from Rp 10 million to Rp 1 billion depending on the size and the estimated numbers of the poor and unemployed in each region.

Employment creation was the fourth type of anti-poverty programme in the country. This programme was mainly located in the poor areas with the expectation that the programme would employ many poor people (Daly and Fane, 2002:310). It was primarily intended to improve public infrastructure in the poor areas and was expected to be able to involve as many as possible unskilled workers in the public infrastructure sector. There are various programmes included in employment creation schemes. Tables 4.8 and 4.9 present various programmes included in the scheme to cover IDT, KDP, UPP and PDM-DKE.

The fifth programme was linked to education. The educational programme during the crisis, as argued by Perdana and Maxwell (2004:29), was conducted as a part of the Social Safety Net to "reduce the feared adverse impact of the economic crisis on the quality and effectiveness of the education system".

Table 4.10: Value and coverage of the SPG programme

Scholarship	Educational Level		
	Primary School	Junior High School	Senior High School
Student Scholarships			
Estimated number of children projected to receive scholarships over five years	3,000,000	2,750,000	830,000
Number of annual scholarships provided over five years	7,400,000	6,600,000	2,000,000
Approx. proportion of enrolled children receiving scholarship	6 %	17 %	10 %
Scholarship amount per child per Year	Rp 120,000 (US $ 16)	Rp 240,000 (US $ 32)	Rp 300,000 (US $ 40)
School Grants			
School receiving grants per year	104,340	18,240	9,400
Percentage of schools receiving grants per year	60 %	60 %	60 %
Amount of grants per school per Year	Rp 2,000,000 (US $ 267)	Rp 4,000,000 (US $ 533)	Rp 10,000,000 (US $ 1,333)

Source: Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:31
Note US $ 1 = Rp 7,500

In this programme there was a programme called the Scholarships and Grants Programme (SGP) which began in the 1998/99 academic year to provide special assistance both to students from poor families and to selected schools (Daly and Fane, 2002:318; Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:29). This programme was set up by the government working together with several donor agencies to provide budgetary support through special loans. The SGP

programme comprises two types of grants, scholarship grants for students from poor families and block grants for selected schools.

The first grant or scholarship grant was given to primary, junior and senior high schools. It provided monthly cash payments of Rp 10,000, Rp 20,000 and Rp 25,000 for primary, junior and senior school students respectively and according to one estimate these scholarships were used for school fees and charges (Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:31). The second grant or block grant was given to schools to provide their school equipment and other essential items. The value and coverage of the SGP programme are presented in Table 4.10.

The sixth programme referred to health. This programme was named *Jaringan Pengamanan Sosial Bidang Kesehatan* (JPS-BK) or the Health Sector Social Safety Net Programme and was introduced as a part of the Social Safety Net in 1998 (Daly and Fane, 2002:312; Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:36). It aimed at providing health subsidies such as medical services, operational support for health centres, medicine and imported medical equipment, family planning services, supplementary food and midwife services (Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:35). Funding for the programme came from the ADB and the State Budget and for the fiscal year 1998/99 the amount was around Rp 1.4 trillion to finance several components of the programme. This included:

1. improvement of nutritional standards through the provision of supplementary food for babies, young children, and malnourished and pregnant women,
2. support for midwifery services,
3. support for community health centre (*Puskesmas*) services,
4. Community Health Care Guarantee programme (*Jaminan Pelayanan Kesehatan Masyarakat- JKPM*), with funding administered through district-level committees (Perdana and Maxwell, 2004:36).

The health cards and nutrition components were assumed to directly target the poor as JPS-BK delivered funding directly to health care service providers at sub-district and village (*Puskesmas* and village midwives) as they provide free health services directly to the poor.

All of the above poverty programmes are well nationally formulated. In some parts of the country such as Java and Bali the programmes can be argued to have successfully helped people to escape from poverty. However, in other parts such as Papua the programmes were not expected to support the people much. Partly, it has been argued, the government control of the implementation of the programmes was relatively weak. The control was so far centralised in the urban areas and their surroundings due to the lack of transport facilities connecting the urban areas to the rural areas. As a consequence, there was a tendency for funds for poverty reduction programmes to be misused. In addition, the programmes sometimes did not touch the needs of the poor because the programmes were centrally formulated without looking at the local needs. For example the *Raskin* programme for certain poor people was an inappropriate programme because the poor in the villagers needed agricultural equipment while the programme just supported the provision of rice.

Conclusion

Poverty studies were carried out by some researchers in the country in the 1970s. The studies were formally examined and published by BPS in 1984 and the figures of poverty incidence were adopted officially.

Susenas is the main data source for poverty and inequality analysis in the country. It provides two data sets, the Susenas module and the Susenas core. The first Susenas gives detailed information regarding expenditure/consumption, but this information is only at the provincial level. The second provides basic data relating to socioeconomic and demographic profiles. It also provides data for expenditure/ consumption, but it is not as detailed as at in the first. The second Susenas is useful because it provides data for measuring poverty at lower levels of government, that is *kotamandya* (municipality) and *kabupaten* (district). Of these two Susenas, the first is mainly used by BPS to calculate the official figures on national poverty. Neither provides data at village level. Hence, rural poverty cannot be analysed from Susenas data.

The basic needs approach was the main approach used to provide expenditure/consumption data for measuring poverty since the 1970s up to the 1990s. The approach comprised food and non-food items which are assumed to be basic needs in the country. These are then translated into financial requirements in terms of a poverty line, which is still used today.

The national poverty line is 2,100 calories per capita a day as a minimum level. This level is applied as a threshold to determine the poor and the non-poor. The concept of poverty is defined based on this level and, hence, in the country poverty is conceptualised in terms of those who have a consumption level below 2,100 calories are considered poor and the rest are non-poor.

BPS remains the key agency responsible for the collection and provision of information on poverty data and other supporting data such as characteristics of the poor and a data set on social indicators. However, BPS data does not reach into poverty in the village level.

The fieldwork of this study is different from poverty studies that were conducted by BPS in the country. The difference can be seen in research methodology, data analysis and the way poverty is defined. From the research methodology point of view, BPS collected data by using a survey technique. This fieldwork uses a participatory technique as its data collecting method. This technique includes focus group discussions, a questionnaire, interviews, a research diary and documentary studies, as discussed in chapter five.

From the poverty concept standpoint, BPS applies the poverty line to determine who is poor and who is not. The line is set up based on consumption/expenditure and, thereby, the poor are defined as people having consumption/expenditure below the poverty line. This definition is limited as it only considers the consumption dimension while poverty actually includes many dimensions which are not covered in such a poverty line.

This research, on the other hand, adopts a concept of poverty which stems from the poor. They conceptualise poverty as a lack of assets. These assets are broad and include natural

assets, physical assets, human assets, financial assets and social assets. It is arguable that the poor's concept follows Amartya Sen (1999) and the World Bank (2001a) concepts, as discussed previously in chapter two. Amartya Sen's (1999) and the World Bank (2001a) conceptualise poverty as a general state of deprivation in well-being, which deals more with entitlement and capacity rather than just income or consumption.

The causes of poverty in the country are various and are manifested at both macro and micro levels. At the macro level, the causes can take the form of economic and political instability and poor social policy. At the micro level, they can be seen in a lack of infrastructure, income, credit, education and skill training, land, fishing equipment and farming equipment.

Strategies to cope with poverty basically emanate from the government, both central and regional, which are part of the top down strategy adopted by the country. Based on the previous discussion, it can be seen that the strategies to alleviate poverty are many since the 1970s until the 1990s. These strategies, however, still deal with a lack of basic needs. In other words, poverty alleviation strategy is designed to solve the problem of lacking basic needs. This occurs as a result of the poverty concept defining poor people in the country as those having consumption expenditure below the poverty line.

Having explored the issues of meaning, measurement, causes, and poverty alleviation strategies by reviewing general literature, and how these issues are implemented in Indonesia, we now turn to look at how these issues will be applied in the local village context. Chapter five examines the research methodology used to study poverty in the selected sites. This chapter also discusses how fieldwork was conducted and what challenges were experienced by the researcher during the fieldwork.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology and how the fieldwork was carried out. These will be presented in three main sections: preparation for conducting the fieldwork, research methodology, and experience from the field.

The first section explores how research permission was obtained and how the fieldwork was implemented in selected sites. The second section outlines the research methodology. This includes how the research sites were selected, an overview of the three sites, how the respondents were selected, how the data were collected, how the data were analysed, how participatory research methods worked in practice and the study's limitations, how methods were combined and descriptions of how the findings were triangulated. The last section is focused on examining the experience in the field, ethical issues and other challenges.

Preparation for conducting the fieldwork

It was decided prior to the fieldwork that Abepura (an urban area in Jayapura district), Ambroben (an urban area in Biak district) and Tanjung Irausak (a rural area in Sorong district) would be selected to carry out the fieldwork. The main idea was to study the poor living in both urban and rural areas. After arriving in Jayapura, however, there was a realisation that the people living in urban and rural areas were somewhat different.

The difference seemed to be a result of many things. First, urban people were mixed, both locals and migrants, while rural villagers were mostly local people. Second, the urban

people were mostly government employees while the villagers were farmers. Third, the fieldwork was conducted during a political campaign and before an election. During these times the urban people are normally very busy, especially the government employees. Uncompleted work normally had to be finished at home. Four, the other factors affected the fieldwork site such as accessibility and security. For these reasons some changes were made to the research locations:

- Abepura was replaced by Ayiaw village
- Ambroben was replaced by Isuraf village
- Tanjung Irausak village was not changed.

Map 5.1: Papua province with fieldwork sites

Source: http://www.seasite.niu.edu/indonesian/indonesian-map/irian/irian.htm

These three villages were situated in different parts of Papua Island. Ayiaw was in Jayapura district, located in the east. Isuraf was in Biak Numfor district, situated in the north, while Tanjung Irausak was in Sorong district in the west (see Map 5.1). The fieldwork was carried out separately in each district by using participatory research methods, interviews, observations and questionnaires. Accordingly, the research was a case study which involved living in the villages for a total of three months in 2003.

Originally, I left for Papua with the expectation that fieldwork ineach district would take one month. After arriving in Jayapura, the capital city of Papua province, trying to get permission from the provincial government offices in order to conduct the fieldwork was very time consuming. As a result, the time division for the fieldwork in each district, including living in the villages, was unequal. Living in Ayiaw village and in Jayapura district took longer than living in the other two locations. I stayed there from my arrival in the second week of August until early October. The fieldwork was then continued in Isuraf village (Biak Numfor district) from early October to late October. From late October to early November the fieldwork was carried out in the last site, Tanjung Irausak village in Sorong district.

Obtaining research permission

The first two weeks after arriving in Jayapura, from 8 to 21 August, were used to contact government offices for the purpose of getting their support and permission to conduct this study. Three formal introductory documents were submitted to each of the government offices. These were a letter from the research supervisor at Massey University, a letter from the Rector of Cenderawasih University and a copy of the research proposal. Official support and permission were important and necessary as this fieldwork was carried out during a political campaign and before an election (a time in which the political temperature is high). In addition, according to the regional regulations, all research conducted by any institution, either governmental or private, in the region must have formal consent from the regional government.

The Rector of Cenderawasih University was initially contacted[1] with the purpose of explaining the fieldwork to him and requesting an introductory letter. In fact the Rector

[1] This is due to my status as an employee of the University of Cenderawasih (locally known as *UNCEN,* the acronym of *Universitas Cenderawasih)* in Jayapura. I requested the Rector to provide me with introductory letters for the officials in the district, sub-district and village levels. The position of the Rector in Papua province is politically quite influential (a fact that I expected would help me in obtaining permission to conduct the fieldwork).

wrote two formal letters. One was addressed to the Head of the Regional Social Welfare Office (locally known as *Kepala Dinas Kesejahteraan Sosial)* and the other to the Head of the Provincial Executive Development Planning Board (locally known as *Ketua BP3D,* the acronym of *Badan Perencanaan dan Pengawasan Pembangunan Daerah Provinsi Papua).* Then the *Kepala Dinas Kesejahteraan Sosial* reported about the fieldwork to the *Ketua BP3D.* He agreed that the fieldwork was useful for regional development and, therefore, he requested the *Ketua BP3D* to provide me with permission. All letters and other documents issued by these two institutions were reported to the 17th Territorial Military Commander (locally known as *Pangdam* the acronym of *Panglima Daerah Militer),* the Head of the Provincial Police (locally known as *Kapolda* the acronym of *Kepala Polisi Daerah),* the Regional Secretary Office for Papua province (locally known as *Sekda* the acronym of *Sekretaris Daerah Provinsi Papua)* and the Second Assistant of the Regional Government for Papua province (locally known as *Asisten II Pemerintah Daerah*).

The *Ketua BP3D* is in charge of provincial development in terms of planning, implementation and control. Accordingly, based on the regional regulations and the letter from *Kepala Dinas Kesejahteraan Sosial,* he was responsible for giving permission for any research activities carried out in the province. He then reported about the fieldwork to the Head of District (*Bupati*), the Head of Sub-District (*Camat*), and village head (*Kepala Desa).* The report principally acknowledged that the results of the fieldwork would benefit regional development and, therefore, the field staff were requested to provide the necessary assistance. The written consent from the *Ketua BP3D* was issued on 15 August but was submitted to me on 25 August, 2003.

Implementing the fieldwork

Although the process of getting the written consent from the provincial government offices was somewhat lengthy, a little bit tedious and even frustrating, this time was used for collecting secondary data and interviewing the selected government officials at the provincial level such as officials in the Provincial Executive Development Planning Board,

the Regional Statistics Office, the Perform Project USAID-RTI (Research Triangle International), the Village Community Development Foundation (locally known as *YPMD,* the acronym of *Yayasan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa*) and the Papuan Cooperation Foundation for Community Legal Education (locally known as *YKPHM,* the acronym of *Yayasan Kerjasama Pendidikan Hukum Masyarakat Papua*). These institutions had been selected for interview due to their roles in dealing with community development in the province. For example, some helped the people to develop micro-enterprise and gave guidance on how to protect their customary land. The interviews conducted with officials of the selected institutions were based on the interview guidelines and were conducted on the basis of time schedules made previously.

The chosen site in Jayapura district was visited on 16 August with the aim of getting permission from the Head of Depapre sub-district and the Head of Ayiaw village. Oral consent was given at this time and, therefore, a decision to stay in the village was made even though the provincial written consent from the *Ketua BP3D* had not yet been received. All my work, as well as accommodation, was sited at the Tribal Council office in the village (see Plate 5.1). I lived in this place from 16 to 24 August and the fieldwork began with the collection of the data through the questionnaire.

Plate 5.1: Tribal council office, a living and meeting place during the fieldwork at the first site

The data collection by the above method was intended to get an initial picture of the village in order to facilitate conducting the participatory research methods. The questionnaire was conducted house to house and involved 30 respondents. The initial information on the village population was not available so the snowball technique of community access was applied to select the respondents (cited in Sluka, 1990:121; Babbie, 1992:292; Hay, 2003:44; Overton and Van Diermen, 2003:43). The reasons for employing this technique are discussed in detail in the next sub-section regarding selection of respondents. This method to determine the respondents caused a change in the sampling technique, from stratified random sampling to snowball sampling, which was made with advice from my supervisors.

The provincial written consent was signed by the *Ketua BP3D* on the 21 August and was picked up on 25 August in Jayapura. The collection of the data through the participatory research methods was begun in Ayiaw village on the next day, 26 August.

The participatory research methods were carried out at the end of August, and took around three days. The participants were split into two groups; females and males. The first group met in the house of the village head and the techniques of focus group discussion (FGD) and diagramming were used to gain the data. The second group met in the same place to conduct the FGD and the diagramming.

The house of the village head was selected by the respondents themselves to conduct the FGD and diagramming (see Plate 5.2 and 5.3) in response to a cultural leadership consideration. Generally speaking, this house is a place where all villagers visited each other regularly and discussed development programs related to the village. Although the FGD and diagramming were conducted in the village head's house, there was no intention or attempt by the village leaders to control FGD as they were absent during the implementation of the FGD. Moreover, the FGD and diagramming for the groups were arranged by the researcher himself without any advice from the village leaders. They just provided me with the place for the meetings, but the discussion topics and the ways to handle the meetings were decided by the researcher.

The interviews with the poor and the village leaders were conducted at the office of the Alliance of North Deponsero Tribal Council (locally known as *DPMADU,* the acronym of *Dewan Persekutuan Masyarakat Adat Deponsero Utara*). The tribal council office was used because of overlapping activities in the village head's house (see Plate 5.1).

The field conditions led to some changes having to be made in the implementation of the participatory research methods. It had been planned to carry out the methods of mapping, ranking, scoring, diagramming, Focus Group Discussions and interviews. In fact, however, these methods were not able to be implemented as a whole. The decision therefore was made to utilise methods that would be suitable for the participants namely the Focus Group Discussion, ranking, scoring and diagramming.

Plate 5.2: Focus Group Discussion for males at the first site

Plate 5.3: Focus Group Discussion for females at the first site

At the site, informal interviews were also conducted with church leaders, sub-district officials and the villagers. In addition, observations were carried out together with informal interviews. When the data collection at the site was finished, I went back to Jayapura and conducted interviews with the government officials. This took almost 25 days from early September to early October. The interviews with the local authorities were lengthy for the reasons mentioned earlier.

The fieldwork was continued at Biak district from early October to late October. The distance from Jayapura to Biak was only 50 minutes by local aircraft (see Map 5.1). After arriving in Biak Numfor, I met with the Head of Biak district for the purpose of getting permission to proceed with the research. The provincial written consent from the *Ketua BP3D* was submitted to the Head of Biak district and an explanation about the main aim of the research was given. Based on the written consent and the information given, Biak district head reported about the fieldwork to the stakeholders, such as the Head of West Biak district and the Head of Isuraf village. He asked the field staff to give me permission and the necessary assistance.

I went to Isuraf village by taxi. The trip from the Maju hotel (Biak city) to the Farisi village took more than one hour. On the way from the Biak city to the village, the taxi driver took me to the office of West Biak sub-district in order to report and submit the written consents from the Head of Biak district and the *Ketua BP3D* and then we continued on to the village.

In the village a meeting with the Head of the Isuraf village was carried out in order to report and also to submit the written consent from the Head of Biak district and the *Ketua BP3D*. Oral permission was given to stay in the village at the same time as the fieldwork was conducted. The initial relationship with the villagers was built up and it seemed that it was good. As a result, one of the villagers offered to let me to stay in his house during the fieldwork (see Plate 5.4).

A meeting with all the village elders such as the village head, church leaders and the leaders of the tribal council was held and I explained the main purpose of the fieldwork, how the fieldwork was to be implemented and what methodologies would be used to collect the data from the villagers. The fieldwork was then begun with the questionnaire method, which covered 30 respondents.

Plate 5.4: Living place at the second site

The respondents were initially selected by the snowball technique and then the data was collected by the questionnaires. After the FGD and diagramming with the female group were carried out the process was continued with the male group. The groups selected the village office as a venue to conduct the FGD and diagramming (see Plate 5.5 and 5.6) as they assumed that the office had enough room and it was a normal place for the villagers to meet and discuss all rural development programs.

Plate 5.5: Focus Group Discussion for females at the second site

Plate 5.6: Focus Group Discussion for males at the second site

The FGD and diagramming were facilitated by the researcher himself and there was no intervention by the village elders. When the FGD and diagramming had finished then I returned to Biak city to carry out the interviews with selected government offices in the Biak district such as District Executive Development Planning Board, the District Statistics Office, and Community Based Management under the World Bank (locally known as *PBM,* the acronym of *Pengelolaan Berbasis Masyarakat*). After the fieldwork in Biak Numfor was completed, then I flew back to Jayapura. In Jayapura, informal interviews with the *YPMD, YKPHM* and the Research Institute of the University of Cenderawasih were continued and were intended to complete the secondary data.

The fieldwork was continued at Sorong district from late October to early November in the north of Papua province (see Map 5.1). The trip from Jayapura to Sorong was by passenger ship and took more than two days. At Sorong, I met the regional secretary of the district and submitted the written consent.

He then reported the fieldwork to the head of West Sorong sub-district and the head of Tanjung Irausak village. He also asked them to give me permission and the necessary assistance. They gave permission and, therefore, in the afternoon the questionnaire data was collected.

As had been done in the previous selected villages, the snowball technique was initially used to select the 30 respondents and then the questionnaires were used to gather the data. The interviews with selected government officials such as the Regional Statistics of the District and the District Executive Development Planning Board and others were also carried out. The FGD and diagramming were also carried out by splitting the participants into two groups, as I had done in the previous locations.

Plate 5.7: Focus Group Discussion for males at the third site

Plate 5.8: Focus Group Discussion for females at the third site

The FGD and diagramming for the female group were implemented first, and then they were continued with the male group. The FGD and diagramming for the two groups were carried out at the office of the village (see Plate 5.7 and 5.8). The village head was absent during the implementation of the FGD and was represented by the secretary. However, as I did in the previous selected sites, all discussions in the FGD were facilitated by the researcher himself and no attempt to control the process was made by the secretary.

Research methodology

Site selection

Given the constraints of time and resources, three communities (villages in rural areas) were selected as representative of the most prevalent groups of poor on the island. Almost 80 per cent of the people live in rural areas and a large number of districts are situated in the coastal areas throughout the island, while a small number are in the mountainous areas.

The coastal areas were more easily accessible as there were good transport facilities both by sea and by air. The mountainous areas on the other hand were somewhat more difficult to reach due to poor transport facilities. These areas depend only on air transport and there is a very limited number of local aircraft. Moreover these local aircraft are not always operating each day, as they wait for sufficient passengers. In addition, there are no roads connecting the coastal areas with the mountainous areas.

Districts in the coastal areas tended to be more secure than districts in the mountainous areas. Normally, during the period of a political campaign and election time, political temperatures in these areas are high. Also, the mountainous areas were sometimes hiding places for separatist groups who want to separate from the country. Therefore, in this study

it was necessary to select secure areas as this would facilitate the implementation of the fieldwork.

Good communication in terms of language was most easily found in the coastal areas rather than in the mountainous areas. All people in Papua speak the Indonesian language with Papua's dialect. However, people in the coastal areas were more fluent than people in the mountainous areas. This study assumed that language was a vital tool in conducting the fieldwork and this is a further reason for the selection of districts in the coastal areas.

BPS (2000:19) figures on poverty and BPS, BAPPENAS and UNDP (2001:89) figures on HDI demonstrate that the districts of Jayapura, Biak Numfor and Sorong had a high incidence of poverty and a low score on the Human Development Index (HDI) compared with other districts in Indonesia. As poverty is the main concern of this study, districts were selected which were experiencing a high incidence of poverty. These three districts were located in the coastal areas (see Map 5.1). To sum up, the three sites were selected according to the criteria of accessibility, security, language and experience of the incidence of poverty.

Overview of the three sites

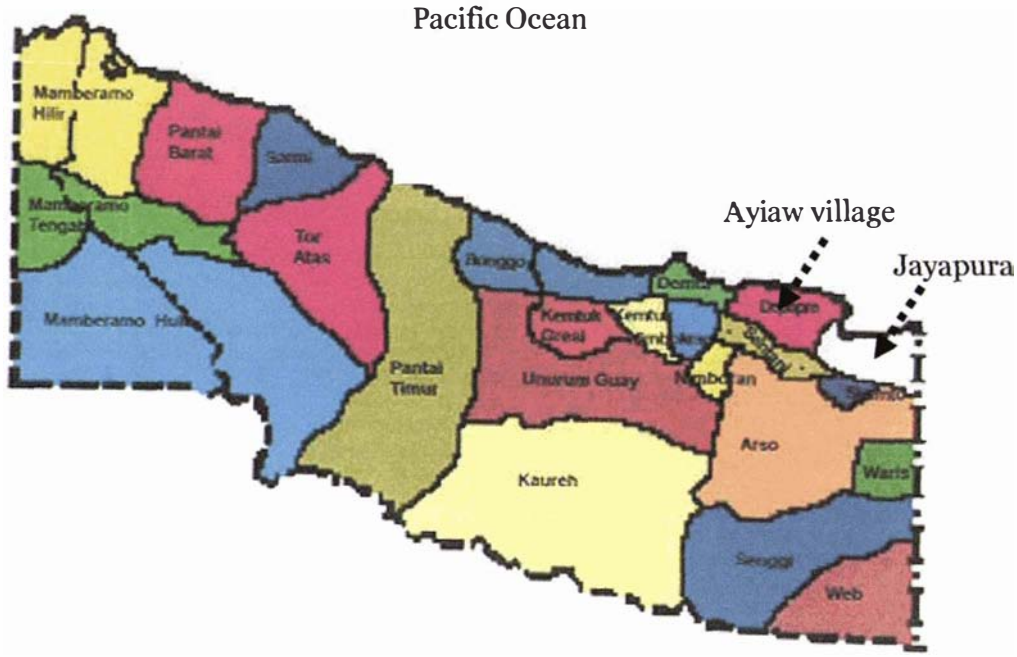
Jayapura

The chosen site in Jayapura district was a village located roughly 40 kilometers from the city of Abepura. The village, which is in Depapre sub-district, is situated on the northern coast of Jayapura district and faces the Pacific Ocean (see Map 5.2). It is a coastal village where sea fishing is a major source of livelihood. The village is 59 square kilometers in area and is less than 15 meters above sea level. Despite its coastal area, the village has a large stretch of agricultural land, which covers about 104 hectares and is used for planting corn, cassava, sweet potato, coconut, cocoa, cloves and some fruit such as banana, papaya, orange, mango, durian, melon and others (Ayiaw Village Office, 2003).

The village had 173 households consisting of 734 people (358 females and 376 males). Some houses are permanent in nature with brick and cement walls and others are semi-permanent (half brick and half-wood). Despite this, many are non-permanent, which were constructed from wood with an earth floor. A few houses had electricity but most had no electricity and they depended on *petromax* (kerosene pressure lantern). There was an Auxiliary Health Centre in the village (*Puskesmas Pembantu*), but it had only a doctor and a nurse and very limited facilities. The majority of the population, around 99 percent, is Papuan with a predominantly Protestant Christian faith. Educational levels were low, although the village had a government primary school and a junior high school.

There were a variety of sources of livelihood in the village that were combined in various ways according to each household. Some derived a major part of their livelihood from the earnings of the husband alone or the husband with his children as fishermen. These fishermen worked for themselves as they owned their boats and equipment. Some obtained their incomes as fishing labourers and these people usually worked for the fishermen. Some worked on fishing boats whereas others pulled in nets lowered from the boats some distance from shore. As fishing labourers, they themselves did not have boats and equipment and, hence, the catch was generally divided equally among them by the employers.

Some worked at growing crops such as cooking spices, sweet potato, cassava, kangkoon, banana, papaya, melon, beans and so forth. Generally, women were mainly involved in selling the harvest at the market. In addition to growing crops, they also planted cocoa, areca, coconut, orange, mangoes and durian. The growing crops were known locally as short-term plants while plantation crops, consisting of planting cocoa, coconut, orange, mango, durian and others, were known as long-term plants. The growing crops were more beneficial as the results could be obtained quickly and could be sold to the market to fulfill the needs of daily life.



Map 5.2: Jayapura district with chosen site

Source: Local Government of Jayapura District

Some other villagers worked at buying and selling only. This included vegetables, cooking spices, areca nut, betel nut, lime, kerosene, gasoline and cooking oil. They bought some products from the city, and other parts of the village and then they sold these at the local market in the village or they sold at places that were near their houses.

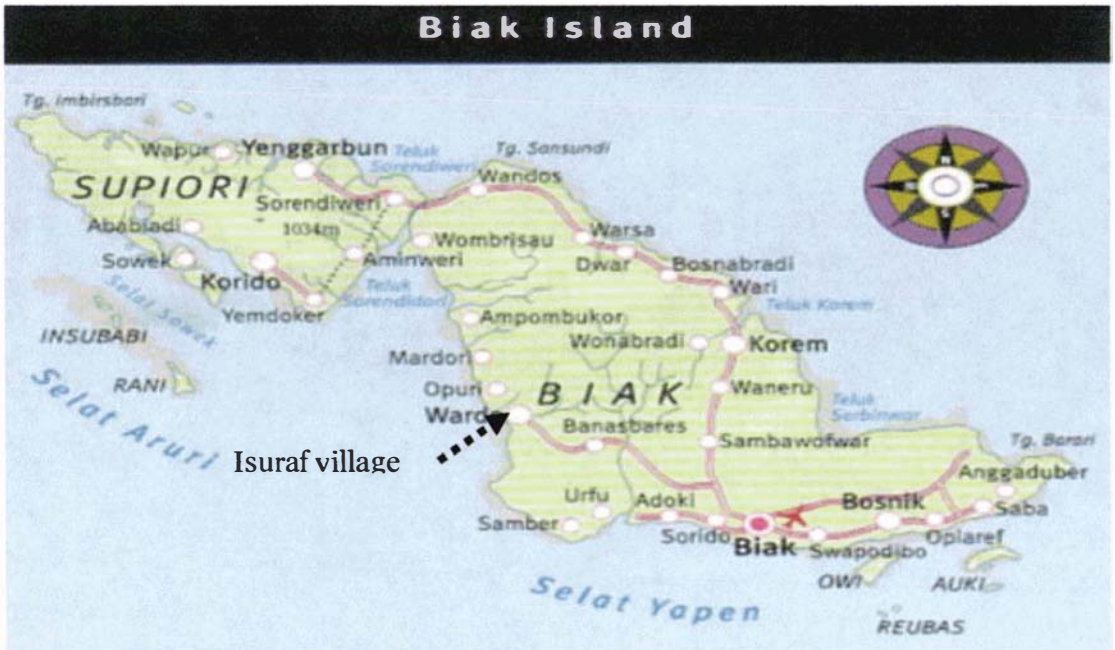
At first sight the village looked fairly prosperous as it was almost ringed by mountains and included areas of forest and fertile land. The sources of livelihood were closely connected to the natural resources of the village, including fishing, utilizing sago palms found in local swamps and collecting fruit. Almost all houses owned arable land. However, the products from the area were limited in terms of quantity and quality. This led to the prices of the products being low. They often bought rice at high prices from the local small shops (*kiosks*, owned by migrants) or from outside the village. They were also faced with middlemen (*tengkulak*) who bought their products at low prices and sold them back to the market at very high prices.

Low education and skills prevented them running micro-enterprises, although the local government attempted to help them. They were also often trapped by a pattern of subsistence that tended to be more consumptive than productive. They were also constrained by a condition where there was a lack of capital to run micro-enterprise, although many attempts were made to get micro-credit from several banks and to get financial support from the local government.

The villagers were strong in their culture. Social cohesion within the village community was very strong, although the community was, administratively, under a village head (*kepala desa*) in terms of the national government structure. There was also a tribal council headed by a traditional leader. The tribal council head seemed to be in a stronger position than the village head in relation to land ownership and village development issues. He was also responsible for all matters relating to customs and traditional law. To some extent, the head of sub-district and village must consult with the tribal council head to determine which development program was to be conducted and how to implement the program in the village. To maintain and empower the tribal council in the village, one of the NGOs in Jayapura helped them to build the tribal council office, which was the place where the researcher lived during the fieldwork (see Plate 5.1).

Biak Numfor

The chosen site was located around 45 kilometers from the city of Biak Numfor (Isuraf Village Office, 2003). The site was in West Biak sub-district and was a coastal village on the western coast of Biak Island (see Map 5.3). The site was 35 square kilometers in area. The western part was surrounded by long reefs and coral. The land in the northern part was characterised by atolls that were planted with cassava, sweet potato, banana, papaya, legume (*kacang panjang*) and taro.



Map 5.3: Biak island with selected site

Source: Local government of Biak Numfor

The road was good, which enabled taxis and trucks to reach the village without difficulty, thus making it less isolated than it used to be. Drinking water was obtained from the village itself. This water came from the Wardo River to a stream in the village. People used local bamboo to pipe the water to each house.

The village had a population of 57 households (279 people) consisting of 141 males and 138 females (Isuraf Village Office, 2003). Houses were built of brick, cement walls and zinc roofs, for the permanent housing. During the fieldwork one of the villagers gave me permission to stay with his family in their permanent house (see Plate 5.4). Some houses were semi-permanent and were built of brick and wood with zinc roofs. Some of the population lived in non-permanent dwellings, which were built from wood and had an earth floor. *Petromax* was dominant as the main light source in the village, although some used the electricity supply coming from the city of Biak Numfor. Some houses had limited land for home gardens to provide household vegetables and spices.

The area was entirely rural with most people being farmers or fishermen. They were Christian Protestant in terms of their faith. They were native to the region and could still be identified as belonging to some main clans in the village, such as Awom, Adadikam, Mangaprow, Mandosir and Bonggoibo. They spoke two languages: the Biak language (the local language) and the Indonesian language. The levels of health and education were generally low as there was no health center and only a government primary school in the village.

Some villages, including the selected village, in the western part of Biak Island still retain an interesting history of the Biak tribe. During the 18th century there was a tribal war occurring among the tribe itself and this war led to an exodus from Biak to the other parts of Papua Island, including the northern part of Maluku Island. Locally, the history was called the historical legend of *the Manamarker*.[2] In reality, the tribe people are still widespread in Papua as a whole, and even outside Papua. They often predominantly occupy all government positions in all districts of the province.

The land was not suitable for planting long-term plants such as cocoa, palms and cloves. Natural conditions favored the breeding of chickens (*ayam kampung*), ducks, goats, cows and pigs. Local swamps on the coast grew some mangroves and covered around 4 hectares (see Plate 5.9). This area was suitable for developing local fishponds; however there were only two houses in the village that had developed them.

[2] *Manamarker* is a famous person of Biak tribal history. This history was originally written by a Dutch missionary who worked for long period in Papua. He ended his mission service as a lecturer in the School of Theology in Jayapura.

Plate 5.9: Mangroves in the coastal area at the second site

Broadly speaking, the village was considered less developed compared to other villages. A large proportion of the population had livelihoods that depended on irregular sources, with very little income being derived from selling both crops and fish. Some went to the city to look for permanent jobs but this attempt often failed because of stiff competition and job creation was very limited. Some went out from the village to look for jobs in other parts of the province and never came back. This outgoing migration seemed to be high and had resulted in the village being further left behind.

Sorong

The third selected site was Tangjung Irausak, a coastal village in the District of Sorong. The village was located on a cape and historically some big casuarinas trees grew there. At that time the village was named the Cape of Cassowary. The distance from the Sorong township was three kilometres and could be reached by vehicles (Tanjung Irausak Village Office, 2003). It had a beautiful, long and clean beach where there were plenty of exotic

corals and was suitable for divers. This beach had beautiful scenery and recreation facilities, which motivated people to swim across the Irausak strait.

The village, which was 332,420 hectares in area, had 154 households (676 people) consisting of 234 females and 442 males (Tanjung Irausak Village Office, 2003). People in the village were migrants who had come from the Raja Ampat Islands, especially Ayau Island, in the northern part of Waigeo (see Map 5.4). This migration was encouraged by various factors, such as education, economics and the interesting places in the town of Sorong.

According to the historical myths of the Biak tribe, the people originally migrated from the western part of Biak district. During the journey their ancestors arrived in the Raja Ampat Island and lived there for a long time. The rest continued the journey to North Maluku and lived there until recently. Those who lived in the north of Waigeo then moved to the selected village.

There were no regular sources of livelihood for the people. Some derived a major part of their livelihood from being harbor labourers. However, this job was normally available only if there was a passenger ship or freighter entering Sorong harbor. Some passenger ships and freighters entered the harbor each week and this allowed them to get an income. If there was no passenger ship or freighter, then they would crush big stones. The crushed stones were then collected and sold to housing developers to make foundations. This work was basically dependent on the demand of the developers. Some obtained their incomes from catching fish. However, this job was not of much interest to the people, especially the youth, as they preferred government jobs. Some undertook other jobs such as manual excavation of beach sand and house building.

Map 5.4: Sorong district with selected site

Source: http://www.seasite.niu.edu/indonesian/indonesian-map/irian/irian.htm

A few people had electricity but the largest number of houses still used *Petromax*. There was no major difference in house construction in this village from the houses in the other two selected villages. Some were permanent, semi-permanent and non- permanent. Each house utilised a well for drinking water, cooking and washing. Sometime washing was done near the well and it could, theoretically, pollute the well, however, the well water was very clean.

Some diseases such as malaria, diarrhea and typhoid often attacked the villagers due to the unclean environment. The diseases were infrequently treated as people tended to be slow to visit the health centre, which was far from the village. This led to the villagers using traditional medicines to cure the diseases rather than to visit the health center, even though its services were free.

Selection of respondents

Even though official population figures were available at the offices of each district, sub-district and village, those figures were not completely accurate. This difficulty was exacerbated by the fact that most villagers regularly shifted their place of residence. I was tempted to think of conducting my own census in every village to find out the exact population and their characteristics.

However, this would have been expensive and time consuming, and required more research assistants. This forced me to be more realistic and to find more suitable ways to find the respondents and select them. A lot of time was spent on reading books on research methodology, especially sampling techniques. Moreover, a meeting was conducted with some staff of the Research Institute of Cenderawasih University to discuss how the villagers would be selected.

Some preliminary informal interviews with local people in each district were carried out to gain initial information and to understand the selected sites. This preliminary work was suggested by Hay (2003:43) and called exploratory work. This work was important, he argued, as "exploratory work (for example, reading, observation, viewing television documentaries, and conducting preliminary interviews) will often give us the capacity to begin to comprehend the perspectives of key informants".

In the end the decision was made to use the questionnaire and that the respondents would be selected by using the snowball sampling method. This technique was begun with a person(s) who was available to me. I then asked them to suggest other respondents. These people should have experience of being poor and should be willing to participate in the fieldwork. If they recommended such respondents, then I approached these people, collected the data required and asked them to recommend other respondents who may fit the fieldwork criteria, such as being poor. This process continued until all the respondents needed were found (Sarantakos, 1998:153-154, Bernard, 2002:185-186; Hay, 2003:44;

Overton and Van Diermen, 2003:43). The number of the respondents who were found using this technique is discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

The reason for employing the snowball technique was a direct result of the difficulty in knowing the population and its characteristics (Bernard, 2002:185; Barbbie, 2002:184). As Overton and Van Diermen (2003:43) stated, "this can be a useful technique for selecting respondents with particular characteristics where information on people with those characteristics is lacking".

Generally speaking, the number of the people in each site was also relatively small and this was favorable to the approach used. As Bernard (2002:185) and Hay (2003:43) argued, the snowball technique is an effective way of selecting participants in the case of a small population of people as in this method people know each other and, hence, it is an effective way to build a sample frame.

The technique is a non-random sampling method and does not claim too much in terms of representativeness. It is utilised for explanatory and qualitative analysis (Sarantakos, 1998:151-153; Hay, 2003:43-44). Hay has argued (2003:44) that "in qualitative research... the sample is not intended to be representative since the emphasis is usually upon an analysis of meanings in specific contexts".

Although representativeness is still contested among researchers, both qualitative and quantitative (Sarantakos, 1998:25-27; Hay, 2003:44-45; Overton and Van Diermen, 2003:44; Brockington and Sullivan, 2003:57-73), the fieldwork endeavored to obtain a representative selection of respondents. This was important in order to generalise the research findings (Sarantakos, 1998:26).

The selection of the respondents was based on some criteria. First, people were selected who had experience related to poverty (Hay, 2003:89). The people selected understood that they were poor. For example, they knew that they had inadequate housing, income,

electricity and water pipes. They had also often experienced difficulty in looking for permanent jobs, they got sick for extended periods and did not see the doctor, or they lived in an unclean environment resulting in them getting malaria and diarrhea. Whether they have had this experience was normally determined in the first informal contact with them.

The second selection criteria was homogeneity of participants (Bernard, 2002:186; Hay, 2003:90). In order to get a representative sample the study selected a small group from the total population of the local people. Each of the chosen sites was occupied by local people who had similar characteristics. As a whole they were farmers who combined farming with a variety of other work. The main purpose of farming activities was for consumption, not for productive purposes. Knowledge of this homogeneity was based on my previous experience on Papua Island and from the informal interviews conducted in each chosen district.

Third, the people knew each other. As participants lived in the same relatively small site, they automatically knew each other. It was very important in using the snowball sampling method, where a person or group recommends others, that those recommending new respondents at least had a good knowledge about those they were recommending (Bernard, 2002:185-186; Hay, 2003:90). Having good knowledge about other people was very helpful in getting the correct information.

The number of respondents to be interviewed was different depending on the research method used. The questionnaire method needed 30 respondents, while FGD needed 12 people consisting of six females and six males in each of the chosen villages. This meant each site had 42 respondents or 126 respondents in total for all the chosen villages.

In addition to the above respondents, there were also other people who were interviewed in order to get additional information such as village heads, tribal council heads, church leaders, and government and NGO officials (see Table 5.1 below). These people were not

included in the 126. The number was, therefore, assumed to be representative as it was over the number suggested by the rule of thumb (Overton and Van Diermen, 2003:44).

Table 5.1: Number of selected institutions that were interviewed in each district

Districts	Institutions (Government, NGOs and Church)
Jayapura	1. Provincial Executive Development Planning Board 2. District Executive Development Planning Board 3. Provincial Statistics Office 4. District Statistics Office 5. Research Institute of the Cenderawasih University 6. Depapre Sub-District Office 7. The Office of the Alliance of North Doponsero Tribal Council 8. Perform Project USAID-RTI 9. Village Community Development Foundation 10. Papuan Corporation Foundation for Community Legal Education 11. Church Leaders 12. Village Offices
Biak Numfor	1. Vice Regent of Biak Numfor District 2. District Executive Development Planning Board 3. District Statistics Office 4. West Biak Sub-District Office 5. Community Based Management under the World Bank 6. Church Leaders 7. Village Offices
Sorong	1. District Executive Development Planning Board 2. District Statistics Office 3. West Sorong Sub-District Office 4. Church Leaders 5. Village Offices

As Overton and Van Diermen (2003:44) stated, "a rule of thumb is that usually 30 cases is the minimum required" when employing statistical analysis. The minimum of 30 cases, they argued, was for the questionnaire technique. For the FGD, Hay (2003:91) argued, the number of respondents in each group was between four and ten. Fewer than four, he argued, would limit the discussion while more than ten would restrict the time for the respondents to participate.

To sum up, the respondents for the questionnaire were selected by the snowball method, while the FGD respondents were selected purposely, based on the previous data or information obtained from the questionnaire. The total number of respondents by each method is presented in Table 5.2

The initial information received from snowball sampling helped me to select which of the participatory research methods would best fit with the respondents. The FGD, ranking, scoring and diagramming methods were chosen and applied to collect the data. These methods were basically determined by what had been found in the field. This point has been asserted by Peil, that "the possibility of doing research and the success of the techniques used are often strongly affected by local or national structural and cultural variables" which she named as situational variables (1983:71).

Storey (1997:4) argued that "methodology in the field should be flexible and reflective". He also stated that "methodology is not a matter of rigidly applying a set of techniques in studying phenomena". The open-ended techniques seemed to be more dynamic and offer more information. He also pointed out that information gathering in the field could take place at any time, day and/or night by chatting with people, interviewing leaders, watching activities and others. These, he said, could give more opportunities to evaluate their words or actions and, later, ask questions about these.

Table 5.2: Number of respondents by the selected sites and data collection methods

Selected Sites	FGD		Questionnaire		Interviews		Total Respondents
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Govern	NGOs	
AV	6	6	15	15	7	5	54
IV	6	6	17	13	5	2	49
TV	6	6	20	10	4	1	47
Total	18	18	52	38	16	8	150

AV=Ayiaw village
IV= Isuraf village
TV=Tanjung Irausak

Data collection

Two main types of data were collected. First was primary data which related to poverty, well-being, problem priorities and institutions. This data was gathered by participatory research methods: focus group discussions (FGD), observation, interviews with the poor and key informants and questionnaires (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:68-114; Sarantakos, 1998:165-186; Brockington and Sullivan, 2003:58; Denscombe, 2003:131-136). The primary data was qualitative in nature and was intended to measure poverty at a micro level.

The FGD involved a small group of the total population (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:103-107; Sarantakos, 1998:180-182; Brockington and Sullivan, 2003:58-62; Hay, 2003:84). As Hay (2003:84) argues, "the focus group involves a small group of people discussing a topic or issues defined by the researcher. Briefly, a group of between six and ten people sit facing each other around a table, the researcher introduces the topic for discussion and then invites and moderates discussion from group members". The number of the groups selected to represent the total population depends on a variety of factors in the field, such as research aims, research scale and heterogeneity of the respondents (Hay, 2003:91).

The focus groups in this study consisted of two groups at each selected site, namely a female group and a male group. Each group had six people. There were no strict rules adopted to select the participants in the group. As Babbie (2002:303) pointed out "participants in the focus groups are not likely to be chosen through rigorous, probability sampling methods". Nevertheless, this study selected the participants purposely based on the research aim and the participant's experience of being poor. The people attending the FGD were different from those who completed the questionnaire. The reason for this was to add to the number of the sample in each site. Their characteristics were recognised previously when conducting the questionnaire.

The people selected were invited to come to a predetermined place. At that place they sat together around a table and discussed the incidence of poverty. The researcher acted as a facilitator who introduced the topic discussion and invited, as well as moderated, the discussion until it was finished. The discussion was in general based on a structured interview guide designed by the researcher. Quite often, however, the discussion was based on an unstructured interview approach in order to get a detailed understanding on the key issues discussed. Broadly speaking, the discussion took around two hours, including time for a break. In the final section, each group was given a chance to produce a diagram regarding causes and effects of poverty.

The questionnaire was intended to gather data from the different respondents, consisting of 30 people in each location. These people were selected based on the snowball sampling techniques due to factors discussed in the previous sub-section on selection of respondents. In the field, this method was employed first in order to provide the initial picture of the people to conduct the FGD with, such as job, ethnicity and site scale.

The questions on the questionnaire were related to well-being, problem priorities and institutions. They were open-ended questions in order to provide a greater chance for the poor to express their opinion and experience. Therefore, it was expected to illuminate more about the issues and problems at each site. This method was undertaken by the researcher from house to house and took around one hour for each questionnaire. In the questionnaires some notes were made on each question to explain further the answer and also to help in the later writing up stage. As Overton and Van Diermen (2003:40) argue, "notes are to be made in the margin of the questionnaire, as these can help later in writing up the research".

Like the FGD, some explanations were made to the respondents before interviewing them with the questionnaire. For example, introducing myself, explaining the research aims briefly and giving some refreshment, such as a cigarette, to build up the level of relationship. They sometimes did not wish to read and sign the information sheet and the

consent form as they appeared to be too formal. However, in the end they agreed to read and sign. Based on this, the questionnaires were completed.

Interviews were also conducted with the poor, village heads, tribal council heads and selected government officials. These interviews were carried out without a questionnaire, but based on interview guides prepared previously. Like the questionnaire, the interviews were characterised by open-ended questions and were sometimes unstructured. In the evening, after the interviews, some notes were made to remember the information obtained during the day. These notes contained many things such as thoughts, impressions, words, opinions, site characteristics and others. Storey (1997:6) called this a blue book or methodology diary that helped him "to think through ideas, list avenues that had opened and closed, as well as things he needed to do". Thus, the blue book helped him to write up the research findings and facilitate the analysis of the findings.

For the poor, the interview was aimed at obtaining additional information from the responses to the questionnaire. For others such as village heads, tribal council heads, churches leaders, sub-districts officials and NGO officers the interviews were intended to obtain the information relating to policies, programs and projects in the selected sites.

Data collection in each site was conducted by the researcher. The reason for this was that the sample sise in each location was not too large. This allowed the researcher to handle all the process of collecting data. Moreover, all the people in each site spoke the Indonesian language with the Papua dialect, which the researcher was familiar with. In addition, through this, the researcher could avoid some mistakes or incorrect information that may have been produced if research assistants were involved who had not been trained previously. Nevertheless, data collection was not without help coming from the villagers. One person in each location was needed to provide guidance on people and the location of their houses.

The second major type of data was secondary data, which related to policies, programs and projects. This was collected by interviews with selected institutions and library research. The selected institutions involved government offices, NGOs, village heads, tribal council heads and churches (see Table 5.1). The library research included internet, books, written reports, journals and bulletins (Cavana, Delahaye and Sekaran, 2001:54-56). This data was intended to examine poverty from a macro level. This included the nature of poverty policy and the shift from a centralised to a decentralized approach, the ways in which poverty has been defined and how poverty policy was developed and executed in Indonesia. With special reference to Papua, it was expected to give an understanding of poverty, policy, and institutions.

To sum up, the research employed a variety of techniques to obtain the data. This mixed approach provided a triangulation of data sources and this will be discussed in detail in the following section on combining methods and triangulation.

Data analysis

Data stemming from qualitative and quantitative methods are different. Qualitative research data is often regarded with suspicion by those who are interested in quantitative research. They argue that qualitative research deals with words or text as the unit of analysis while quantitative research tends to be associated with numbers as the unit of analysis. (Sarantakos, 1998:53-56; Denscombe, 2003:232). The qualitative researchers can, according to quantitative researchers, collect and analyse the data based on their bias. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that bias is also an issue for those who prefer to use numerical data. In both research paradigms, therefore, it is extremely important to adopt methods that minimise bias.

This study employed the inductive approach to data analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 202-203; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:126-147; Strauss, 2001:10). Inductive data analysis is the inverse of the deductive data analysis. As Maykut and Morehouse (1994:126) state,

in the deductive approach hypotheses are generated prior to beginning the study. In the inductive approach the hypotheses are not generated *a priori*, but the hypotheses are confirmed or disconfirmed after the study. The inductive data analysis is, therefore, based on the data itself after being processed.

Lincoln and Guba (1985:202) defined inductive data analysis as "a process for making sense of field data which is derived from interviews, observation, documents, unobtrusive measures, nonverbal cues, or any other qualitative or quantitative information pools." The main purpose of employing this approach is to provide a sound and simple way of analyzing qualitative data for various research purposes. As Thomas (2003:2) pointed out the inductive approach is similar to other qualitative analysis approaches in its three purposes, as follows:

> 1. To condense extensive and varied raw text data into a brief, summary format. 2. To establish clear links between the research objective and summary findings derived from the raw data and to ensure these links are both transparent (able to be demonstrated to others) and defensible (justifiable given the objectives of the research). 3. To develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes which are evident in the text (raw data).

Inductive data analysis follows several steps: editing, unitizing, categorizing and tabulating (Koentjaraninggrat, 1973; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:127-131; Singarimbun and Effendi, 1995:219-262; Nasir, 1999:405-406). Editing is the beginning step of data processing in which the collected data are checked for their accuracy or clarity. As Nasir (1999:406-407) states, editing is a process of checking and improving the data derived from the questionnaire and interview guide.

After the editing is done, the next step is unitizing. This involves employing some codes for alternative answers on the questionnaires or the interview guide. Lincoln and Guba (1985: 203) define unitizing and categorizing as follows:

> unitizing is a process of coding whereby... raw data are systematically transformed and aggregated into units which permits precise description of relevant content characteristics... while categorizing is a process whereby previously unitized data are organized into categories that provide descriptive or inferential information about the context or setting from which the units were derived.

Singarimbun and Effendi (1995) define tabulating as a way of entering the categorized data into frequency tables to count percentage, average and other simple statistics. Tabulating is a final step in which the researcher makes an interpretation and analysis to get the pattern and meanings of the processed data.

This study adopted the above steps in conducting the inductive data analysis process, with a little modification. The process initially prepared all data or information obtained from the FGD, questionnaires and interviews with the selected institutions. This included checking the correctness of the data. This step was done during the fieldwork. The next process was to group the data. The data was grouped into categories. These categories were made to describe the key issues researched and based on the research aims. Three main categories had been determined, namely: poverty and well-being, problem priorities and institutions. All data or information obtained from the field was grouped into these categories.

The third step was to code the grouped data. In this step all the grouped data was given labels or numbers in order to facilitate the tabulating process. After that the next step was continued by the tabulating process. The tabulating process was the last step of the data processing in which all processed data was interpreted and analysed to determine the patterns and meanings. The patterns and meanings of the processed data were associated with the established research aims and research questions. All these processes were conducted with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program.

The main analysis focused on perceptions and problems affecting the ways poverty was defined and their implications for poverty reduction. Two main analyses were employed in this study. The first analysis related to data derived from the field and was called primary

analysis. The second analysis was more focused on the secondary data stemming from published papers, government reports and other library resources.

The primary analysis was conducted through FGDs and questionnaires in each site and was noted as actual outcomes from the field. This involved rank, score, cause-impact analysis and trend analysis. These methods were previously applied by Mukherjee (1999:11-14) to examine the poverty in some countries in the world.

In the ranking method respondents produced a ranking of well-being, people's priorities of problems and institutions based on their own choices and experiences. The ranking results were presented in the tables according to their own categories and criteria. With the scoring method the study determined the proportion of poor people in each of the well-being categories and explored some changes over time, especially in the prioritisation of problems. For example, how respondents scored their priorities on the problems they faced today compared to five years ago.

Cause-impact analysis was applied to explore the causes and impact of poverty among the respondents. In the field, paper, blackboard and whiteboard were used to facilitate this method. All these tools were obtained from each site. Respondents utilised these tools to write what they thought to be the main causes and the impacts of poverty. Trend analysis was used to examine some changes over time. For example, current changes versus five years ago. The changes were linked with areas of well-being, priorities and institutions.

In secondary analysis, actual outcomes and secondary data were examined for perceptions and problems. However, there was no attempt to combine data and to produce a generalization of findings for any one location.

Participatory research methods in practice and the study's limitations

The open-ended question, which is the main characteristic of participatory research and qualitative research, was used throughout the fieldwork. This question technique was used to examine key issues of poverty, well-being, problem priority and institutional roles in the community. Research tools were employed to discover the perceptions or insights of the poor and allow them to express and explore their realities while the researcher acted as a facilitator. As the facilitator, the main function was to make it easy and encourage the respondents to state their thoughts, feelings and ideas regarding the key issues being researched.

The questionnaire, the FGD and some other tools such as rank, score, cause-impact analysis and trend analysis were used to analyse the key issues. In the field, changes were made to the sequencing of the methods as needed. The work initially began with discussing problems and institutions and ended with well-being and poverty. This was because in the culture it would be impolite or cause, probably, the respondents to feel inferior if the discussion was directly addressed to the things they assumed to be private, such as poverty. This was indeed a part of the ethical issues under consideration when the study was carried out. This study was, therefore, very much concerned about the research issue provoking shame and embarrassment. Another benefit of starting with the discussion of problems and institutions was to help them to understand the concepts better and it makes easier for them to define what well-being and poverty are.

Discussing and exploring the daily experiences of the respondents, the problems they faced and the ways they were solved, including the involvement of the institutions in their lives, were conducted by employing the methods of diagramming (cause and impact analysis), ranking and scoring. It then was concluded with trend analysis. The diagramming method seemed to be easier to start with, rather than the use of others, as the respondents were familiar with the method. In other cases, however, mapping and modeling were good techniques to start with because they stimulate much discussion and enthusiasm. The

combination was, however, basically dependent on the real situation in the field and the topic under investigation.

The participatory research method is a qualitative research tool that has been utilised by a number of organisations. It has been developed to plan solutions to identified problems. To some extent it has been designed for collaborating with local people in analysis and planning in order to contribute to the formulation of development programs. It allows outsiders to learn about the local conditions and the local people, and provides a greater chance for the local people to act as analysts rather than as informants. In the field, it can be used together with interviews and questionnaires. These methods have, however, their own advantages and limitations in specific situations that need to be considered.

- At the sites where sources of livelihood were heterogeneous and people had different daily schedules, it was really difficult to find an appropriate time for implementing the FGD. It seemed that the evening was the preferred time to invite people into a group as there was no work. At all sites, it was somewhat difficult to get women to participate in the discussion group for different reasons. At the second and third sites, most men had gone to the cities in search of work.
- It is common in group discussion that someone wants to be dominant and prefers that other group members should hear and accept what he/she is saying. Sometimes he/she may pretend that what he/she is saying is correct and it must be acknowledged as a real problem they face in the community. In this situation, the facilitator should have experience in handling the issues that arise from the discussion. The facilitator may ask him/her self: is it true that what he/she is saying is part of the problems being researched; is it a general problem faced by the current village or other villages?. In fact, some tended to discuss issues in their neighboring villages and assume that they were their issues as well. This could be cross checked with other people in the same site for clarification.
- At the selected sites people who were physically poor were difficult to meet during the day because they worked for long hours. Those available for the FGD and questionnaire were men and women who did not work because their spouse, at that

time, was working. In this case, not all thoughts and perceptions of the very poor were researched.

- Some villagers had doubts about the fieldwork findings as they assumed the findings would bring them into difficult situations. The doubt encouraged them to not reveal the true problems they experienced. Rather, they tended to discuss general problems that were already known. For example, they said that the local government ignored them by not providing financial support to run micro enterprises. This issue was also cross checked individually.

This study was limited in scope to three villages due to the reasons discussed earlier in the introduction section. Papua is a large island, about 421,981 square kilometers in area (BPS, 1999c:3) and it had around 2,712 villages and 91 urban villages in 1998 (BPS, 1999c:39). Approximately 2,111,500 people live on the island, including migrants (BPS, 1999c:89). There are around 250 local ethnic groups (Erari, 1999:5) living and move around the island with different languages, dialects and cultures.

Any attempts to generalise findings to the whole of Papua would clearly be fallacious. This is partly because this study only explores poverty in three villages, looking at the perception of the poor concerning poverty, the causes of poverty, the measurement they use to determine poverty, their problems and how they prioritise them. The findings are basically intended to promote a wider appreciation of how the poor view poverty, how they fight it, and what they think can help them to alleviate poverty. In this regard, it is expected that the findings would inform the government, NGOs and external agencies in improving the targeting and effectiveness of poverty reduction policy.

Combining methods and triangulation

The study employed a variety of techniques to obtain the data. As a consequence, the combining of methods allowed for a triangulation of data sources. This mixed-research approach involved different quantitative and qualitative research approaches and multiple

techniques of collecting data ranging from questionnaire to participatory research methods. Triangulation is a technique of employing different methods to study the same issue with the same unit of analysis (Denzin, 1978:29; Jick, 1979:602-610; Sarantakos, 1998:168-170; Brannen, 1992:11; Creswell, 1994). Denzin (1978:29) and Jick (1979:602) defined triangulation as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon".

As each method employed in the study has its own strengths and weaknesses, triangulation was applied to provide the advantages of the different methods. As Sarantakos (1998:169) pointed out:

> using two methods, for instance, is thought ... to allow the researcher:
> - to obtain a variety of information on the same issue;
> - to use the strengths of each method to overcome the deficiencies of the other;
> - to achieve a higher degree of validity and reliability; and
> - to overcome the deficiencies of single-method studies.

Others propose that a combined approached is required to avoid the weaknesses of the individual method (Brannen, 1992:11-30; Singarimbun and Effendi, 1995:9-10; White, 2002:512). For example, they argue that the qualitative method lacks scientific rigor because in this method there is no standardized set of questions and response options on the subjects and, hence, erroneous conclusions could be produced (Brannen, 1992:11-30; White, 2002:512). The quantitative technique, on the other hand, seems to be difficult and inadequate for capturing the aspects of human culture and behaviour, which are so complex and abstract. Combining these methods would strengthen both (Hammersley, 1992; White, 2002).

Jick (1979:604), for instance, argued that the most prevalent efforts to employ combined methods or triangulation were reflected in attempts to integrate the fieldwork and survey methods. He argued the quantitative methods could make important contributions to the fieldwork and vice versa. Diesing (1971:5) also stated that fieldwork and survey research are better viewed as two ends of a continuum rather than as two different kinds of methods.

The combination of the qualitative and participatory research methods was useful since it was able to capture the diversity of opinions and perceptions of the respondents regarding the key issue researched, which would probably be difficult to catch by the use of quantitative research alone. The combination of the questionnaire, case studies and participatory research was able to catch the causal process of poverty and was able to capture unexpected negative impacts on the poor.

Experiences from the field

Gaining access to the field site was a very important beginning step. This was not only intended to smooth all the work during the fieldwork, but more importantly to facilitate entering the field setting. On my arrival, the process of getting access to each selected site was begun by ongoing attempts to obtain the written consent from the local authorities as explored earlier.

The selected sites were under various levels of government administration, sub-district, district and provincial. Accordingly, written formal consent had to be given at the higher level, namely the provincial level in Jayapura. The letter of consent had to be brought to each site and functioned as a key to open the door. Without this letter probably there probably would have been no possibility of entering each site to conduct the fieldwork. At each site a preliminary visit with the village head, tribal council head and others was carried out on the first day of arrival in order to know the site settings and to explain the main purpose of the fieldwork. This preliminary visit helped not only to get the research permission but also to avoid some uncertainty about what might be experienced in the field such as transport and accommodation. This visit was extremely important as well in considering the possibility of changes related to the research methodology, such as sampling and data collection (Leslie and Storey, 2003:122).

The next day the field research was begun. This was a time in which the chosen techniques of sample selection and data collection were conducted to gain the data. It was also a time

in which an adaptation to new settings had to be made because this study was a going-home exercise after I had been away from Papua for around one-and-half years. Seeking to get trust from the people and avoid some suspicion were things that were very time consuming. These concerns of the respondents needed to be reduced, and even eliminated; otherwise they would produce a block, cutting the initial relations between the researcher and the respondents. People seemed wary about research results that might be pushing them into political danger. At each site, some people often asked about this even though previous visits were made to explain the research.

Some methods were used to build rapport. Approaching them politely by saying *selamat pagi* (good morning) or *selamat siang* (good evening) and giving some *bahan kontak* (material contacts) prepared previously. When they received the *bahan kontak*, then an opportunity was available to talk with them until the trust level was built up. After that, as they trusted me, some offered to be guides and to let me stay with them in their homes. This approach is very common in Papua as a whole and is named *Pendekatan Melanesia*,[3] the Melanesian Approach (Erari, 1999:5).

Poor knowledge of the local language often created a barrier in developing good relations. Most people spoke *bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) with Papua's dialect. Even though the researcher was understood, since the researcher was an indigenous person, speaking with Papua's dialect was a little hard. This encouraged me to learn some more words when they spoke and endeavor to be familiar with the dialect. This process seemed to bring me back to learning my own language. In the end I could speak using simple language. I not only used the simple language, but also I endeavored not to use ambiguous language (Leslie and Storey, 2003:135-136).

Moreover, being a passive person and learning to listen to what the respondents said were friendship keys by which the researcher could earn respect from the villagers. As a result,

[3] *Pendekatan Melanesia* is a approach where people sit together around the table or on the earth and talk. In this approach some *bahan kontak* are distributed among them. The *bahan kontak* is a type of consumable prepared to give to the people surveyed such as sugar, tea, coffee or cigarettes.

they felt they were cleverer than the researcher and, hence, they loved to communicate. My impression was that knowing the dialect was extremely important in interacting with the people, for enjoying the site environment and obtaining more useful information.

Staying in the chosen sites meant adapting to a new environment. When the consent was given to live in the village and trust was obtained from the people being researched, then the adaptation had to be made quickly. The adaptation meant accepting people's daily life, such as consuming their local food, staying in the house with *petromax* as the sole light source from evening until mid-night, taking a bath with water drawn from the well and spending your own money for the food. In building up relations, cigarettes were a powerful tool of communication. Cigarettes were always available during the fieldwork, although the researcher did not smoke. This was a part of the *bahan kontak* that must be prepared when conducting the questionnaires from house to house and the FGD.

Ethical issues and challenges

The fieldwork did not involve many research assistants. The study was, however, helped by a villager in each site acting as a guide to the respondents researched. In addition, he helped me prepare the information sheet and the consent form which the respondents needed to, read and sign before answering the given questionnaires. Nevertheless, some seemed to want to refuse to read and sign as they assumed it was too formal. They tended to prefer an informal relationship with the researcher based on mutual trust without any deception or pressure. They indeed provided me with the assistance voluntarily even though there was no refreshment given.

The information sheet and the consent form prepared earlier by the researcher were also given to all respondents to read and sign before participating in the FGD. They said, however, that these ways were very new to them and according to their experiences of field research so far there were no researchers who came to their places and gave them such a

form. Nevertheless, through *Pendekatan Melanesia*, they accepted the forms to read and sign and they were involved voluntarily in the FGD and the questionnaire.

As the topic researched seemed to deal with personal attributes, the researcher was very concerned that the issue may result in shame and embarrassment for respondents. As Babbie (2002:64) argued, "quite often, research subjects are asked to reveal deviant behavior, attitudes they feel are unpopular, or personal characteristics that may seem demeaning, such as low income, the receipt of welfare payments, and the like. Revealing such information usually makes the subjects feel at least uncomfortable".

When conducting the FGD and the questionnaire, I paid much attention to this point by bringing them to initially discuss the problems they faced daily and how they dealt with the problems. With the long discussions, approximately two hours for each, they felt that the discussions were not addressed to them and, therefore, they felt secure to continue to the next discussion point concerning well-being and poverty.

The fieldwork had some ethical challenges. Most people from the selected sites knew that they were poor and that a suitable way to solve this was monetary capital. They believed that through access to capital they could run a micro enterprise. However, this could not be done due to a lack of capital. At each selected site, some raised a question of how the researcher would help them get financial support. Although no promise was given to them, it was acknowledged that some suggestions from the research were to be given to the local governments and some local NGOs.

At each site, some were wary of the fieldwork results. This appeared when the FGD and the questionnaires were employed. Some raised a question of what was the research for. Others raised a question of what was the benefit of the research? Is it related to politics? Some methods were used to increase trust and avoid suspicion through *Pendekatan Melanesia*. They were assured that their attributes such as name and places would not be published in the research findings. For the names of the sites the researcher would use codes to protect

them if they were concerned about any harm. Some would say, however, that they would like their names and villages to be published so that other people may know them or so that their village would be come better known.

The time with the poor was useful. Some would be remunerated for their time in attending the FGD. For others, some *bahan kontak* were given in order to interview them, especially with collecting the data through the questionnaire.

Conclusion

The field settings brought about some changes in the research methodology. These changes were necessary because of several difficulties emanating from accessibility, security and the research sites.

Another change was linked to the ways of collecting data, including selecting the sample and analysing the collected data. The snowball technique was used to select the participants as a replacement for the previously determined technique of stratified random sampling. Judging institutions based on the predetermined criteria of trust and effectiveness was difficult to do and, hence, they were included in the exercise ranking the institutions.

A combination of methods was used to collect data from the questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions to provide the desired triangulation of data sources. This combination was also manifested in analysing the findings by using both qualitative analysis (words or text) and quantitative analysis (numbers), as explored in chapters six, seven and eight.

As this study was limited to three villages, it would be ineffective to generalise the findings to the whole of Papua. Nonetheless, the findings are expected to encourage a wider appreciation of how the poor view poverty, how they fight it, and what they think can help them to alleviate poverty. It is expected that the findings would inform the government,

NGOs and external support agencies to improve the targeting and effectiveness of poverty reduction policy.

Open-ended questions constituted the main characteristic of participatory research. This characteristic benefited this study in opening up and understanding the perceptions or insights of the poor and allowed them to express their realities while the researcher acted as a facilitator. As the facilitator, the researcher encouraged the poor to state their feelings, ideas or thoughts relating to the key issues researched such as perceptions of the poor about poverty and well-being, causes and impacts of poverty, what problems they experience and how they cope with the problems, and what institutions were helping the poor to solve their problems.

Despite the above benefit, it is acknowledged that participatory research consumes a lot of resources to support the fieldwork; particularly if the fieldwork is conducted in an area where access is not easy.

This chapter has explained in detail the research methodology employed in this study and how the fieldwork was carried out in the selected sites. Chapters six, seven and eight will present the results of the research. The next chapter begins first with the research findings in Ayiaw village.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY I: AYIAW VILLAGE IN JAYAPURA DISTRICT

Introduction

This chapter and the next chapters seven and eight focus discussion on poverty in the local context in selected sites. This chapter attempts to examine poverty by concentrating on the first case study in Ayiaw village to address the research questions as discussed in chapter one. These questions include how local people view poverty, what are the causes and impacts of poverty, what institutions help the local people to cope with poverty and how they rate the institutions.

This case study, and the other two, was tackled by using participatory research methodology, as discussed in chapter five. Focus group discussions, interviews both formal and informal, and questionnaires were implemented to gain data, and then ranking, scoring, diagramming and trend analysis were conducted to analyse these data. The research results are investigated in the following sections.

This chapter begins with an overview of the village. The next section explores profiles of poverty, and then the chapter examines the problems experienced by the poor and how they prioritise the problems. Following this, several institutions in the village are examined.

The village overview

Population and land area

The geographical area of the village was 59 square kilometers and was inhabited by a population of 734 people. This indicated that geographically each square kilometer was occupied by around 12 people, meaning that it is a low-density population area. The rural villagers utilised local materials coming from this area to build their houses. Some houses were permanent in nature with brick and cement walls and others were semi- permanent (half brick and half wood). Despite this, many were non-permanent, constructed from wood with an earth floor. The majority of the population, around 99 per cent, was Papuan with a predominantly Protestant Christian faith.

Characteristics of respondents

Most respondents had a low level of formal education. A large proportion had graduated after 6 years primary schooling, as indicated by both the FGD and questionnaire data (58 per cent and 47 per cent, respectively). In addition, the research data revealed the age groups taking part in the study. The age group for the FGD was between 27 to 49 years and for the questionnaire was between 24 to 78 years. These age groups fall into the category of the productive age groups in Indonesia, and respondents were actively involved in subsistence farming and fishing activities. On average the dominant age group for both methods was between 25 to 40 years. In the FGD this age group represented 58.3 per cent, while in the questionnaire the group represented 46.7 per cent.

The numbers of male and female involved in the study were equal, as explored in chapter five. Some were married and other were single parents. Those who were married generally lived with their parents and shared food and shelter. The married couples generally had more than 4 children, an irregular income and low skills. Single parents were present in the

village normally due to mortality and these people lived with their children in a house and shared food.

At the time when this research was conducted total population was 734 people of which 52 per cent were female, giving a sex ratio of 106 males for every 100 female. Sex ratio is the ratio of males to females in the population, and it is usually expressed as the number of males per 100 females (Pollard et al, 1981, 17; Newell, 1988: 27; Lucas and Meyer, 1994:116). Newell (1988:27-30) argued that sex ratio is normally around 105, but it does vary somewhat between populations due to sex differences in mortality and migration.

The methods utilised recorded that the female group suffered more from poverty than the male group. From weekly income, the FGD reported that 87 per cent of females had lower incomes (between 0-467,300 rupiah) compared to 70 per cent of males. The questionnaire also recorded that a higher proportion of females (85 per cent) belonged to the low weekly income group compared to males (71 per cent). The principal source of income was subsistence agriculture (farming and fishing) while income from wage labor was not found in the village. In terms of the daily needs reported in Tables 6.3 and 6.4, families which faced daily needs shortages were also reported the higher proportion of the female group (72 per cent) compared to the male group (68 per cent). Even though males and females were suffering from poverty, females were more deprived of opportunities to participate in the household economy due to cultural reasons and a lack of access to education, health, skills and credit.

The people were strong in their culture. Social cohesion within the village community was very strong, although the community was, administratively, under a village head (*kepala desa*) in relation to the national government structure. This social cohesion was indicated by the presence of a tribal council in the village headed by a traditional leader. The tribal council head seemed to be in a stronger position than the village head with respect to land ownership and village development. He was also responsible for all matters relating to customs and traditional law.

To some extent the heads of the sub-district and village must consult with the tribal council head to determine which development programme is to be conducted and how to implement programme in the village. This consultation is intended to address the land issues relating to village development as a whole. In the village there was an office for the tribal council, which was built by YKPHM (an NGO) in order to maintain and empower the tribal council in the village (Plate 5.1). The following table presents some dominant characteristics of the poor in the village.

Table 6.1: The dominant characteristics of the poor

• Low education • Low skills • Non-permanent income • Ill-health • Unclean environment	• Dependence on natural resources • Isolation due to poor communications • Low income • Big families (more than 4 children)

Profiles of poverty

Perceptions of the poor

Poverty and well-being are two contrasting concepts. Poverty links to bad quality of life while well-being deals with good quality of life (Chambers, 1995:vi-vii; Narayan, et al, 1999:3-4). But what are a good quality and a bad quality of life? Views on this are different across peoples and regions around the world. Those living in a village, for example, are likely to define quality of life based on what they experience in the village and this can be contrasted with the ideas of those living in the cities.

The ways poverty and well-being are understood are influenced by the environment in which people live and interact with each other (Alcock, 1997:36; Dixon, 1994:52). The

term environment for most villagers refers to the resources which can contribute directly to household livelihoods (Ellis, 1993:248). As resources in the environment are extremely important for the continuation of household livelihoods, people's understandings of poverty and well-being are not free from that environment (Mukherjee, 1999:23-28; Dixon, 1994:52). As Dixon (1994:53) pointed out, an explanation of rural poverty can be viewed as "a shortage of resources, poor environment conditions, and degradation of the environment".

The above views can also be found in some communities in Indonesia. In certain villages, the people find that life is difficult and the poor environment is one of the contributors to their difficult lives. Not all people can eat regularly each day and there was a view that a person or a family who can eat three times a day with a variety of diet (rice, fruit, vegetable, meat/fish, and milk) can be considered a rich person or a rich family. Conversely, a person who does not meet this requirement can be considered poor (Mukherjee, 1999:23). In Sumba, a region in West Nusa Tenggara, Mukherjee (1999:27) found that a person who has "10-50 head of livestock and 2-3 wives" is considered a rich man while a person who has only "1-5 pigs and sometimes not even one wife" is considered a poor man.

But what is about in Papua? In Papua as a whole the social status of a person or a family is affected by asset ownership, such as ownership of land and forest (Erari, 1999:24-28; Roembiak, 2002:19; interview NGO1, 15 August 2003). Erari (1999:34-52) argued that for some ethnic groups in Timika district, such as the Amungme and Komoro, and in the districts of Pania and Manokwari, such as the Kuri-Pasai, and in the border area between Papua and PNG, such as the Ngalum and Auwyu, the land is mother and it is the source of their lives. As mother, the land gives birth and food, looks after, educates and encourages growth (Erari, 1999:35-38; interview NGO1, 15 August 2003). Therefore, it should be protected and be maintained. It should not be damaged or even sold to other people. They believe that if the land is damaged, they will suffer from misery, including poverty (interview NGO1, 15 August 2003).

Land and forest have high cultural values in the island and each person in the culture has to appreciate these values. According to the culture, the land is mother and the river is the breast milk of a mother (interview NGO1, 15 August 2003). People can not live without land and river as both provide life. Each person in the culture must protect the land from being damaged (Erari, 1999:35). As land and forest have high values in the island, a family or a person having much land and forest has a high status in the culture (interview NGO1, 15 August 2003)

In the mountain terraces, those having many pigs and a large area of land are considered rich. In the coastal area, a person is considered rich if that person has a long motorboat, normally with a Johnson or Yamaha engine (interviews NGO1, 15 August 2003; GO1, 25 September 2003; GO2, 27 September 2003). These views have changed, especially among those living in the coastal area where ownership of money and luxury goods also determines whether a person is poor or wealthy.

Table 6.2: Local terms used to describe poverty in the village

FGD		Questionnaire	
Indonesian	English	Indonesian	English
Tidak mampu	Unable	Tidak punya apa-apa	Have nothing
Kurang	Lack	Kurang	Lack
Sengsara	Miserable	Sengsara	Miserable
Tidak cukup	Not enough	Hidup susah	Life is difficult
Dena sa ambai*	I don't have goods	Tidak mampu berdiri sendiri	Unable to be self-reliant
Wena sa ambai*	That person has no goods	Tidak ada pembangunan	No development
		Sa ambai*	There are no goods

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
* = local language (ambai = nothing; sa = goods; dena=I; wena=that person).

Table 6.2 shows the terms the local people used to describe poverty in every day life. The local terms, in both the Indonesian language and the local language, are linked to a variety of assets available in the village that they are able to own or to which they have access.

Behrman (1993:125) and IFAD (2001b:4) pointed out some of the assets that can be found in the village setting. These assets can be grouped into four main assets: The first is physical assets, which include natural capital (private and common property rights in land, pastures, forest, and water), machines and tools and structures, stocks of domestic animals and food, and financial assets/financial capital (jewelry, insurance, savings, and access to credit). The second is human assets comprising education, skills, health and nutrition. The third is infrastructure assets, which are publicly and privately provided transport and communications, access to schools and health centers, storage, potable water, and sanitation. The fourth is institutional assets, which include legally protected rights and freedoms and the extent of participation in decision making in households and communities, as well as at the supra-community level.

The availability of the assets in the village very much determines the daily living conditions of the villagers. If these assets are not available and are impossible for the people to obtain, then they find their lives are difficult. This difficulty becomes a main criterion in defining the concept of poverty. To what extent a person or a family is considered to be suffering from the difficulty depends partly on the availability of the assets in the village.

Broadly speaking the people have natural capital, but they lack human assets, infrastructural assets and institutional assets. From the natural capital side, they have land and forests that provide livelihoods for farmers and fishermen. In terms of other assets, they lack education, health and infrastructure facilities. In relation to this, when the local people were asked about poverty, no one accepted that he/she was poor. This was not because poverty is a sensitive concept, but because they argued they had land and forests that provided for their lives.

They all agreed that they were poor in terms of the other assets (human, infrastructure and institutions), but not in terms of land and forests. This indicates that the people were poor in some dimensions, but not in others. This view is also highlighted by IFAD (2001c:19), that

is, poverty is multidimensional and a person can be classified as poor on the basis of some dimensions, but not others.

Participants believed that normally people from outside consider they are poor because the outsiders assess in terms of above assets. This perspective was also reinforced when interviews were conducted with officials in Jayapura (interviews NG01, 15 August 2003; GO1, 25 September 2003; GO2, 27 September 2003). They argued that the income level that had been used to set up the regional poverty line for Papua was difficult to accept as this concept was different from the local people's concept. They argued that the official measurement of the Statistic Office cited that the local people were poor, but in fact they did not consider themselves poor as they had land, forests and pigs.

It is acknowledged that the villagers often mentioned income as an important variable affecting their lives. However, income can not be treated as a single indicator of rural poverty as its characteristics are various. Income can be a representative variable in setting up the official poverty line. However, villagers also use some indicators that are beyond income such as land, forests, education, health and nutrition, access to infrastructure assets and household variables (dependency, household size, education of household head).

The official poverty line, which is based on income, can be accepted in theory but in practice it is difficult to apply. Mukherjee (1992:5) argued as follows:

> In cases of the indicators of poverty as used by the villagers being closely related to income, then income can be taken as a representative variable. There would then not be major discrepancies between the villagers' perceptions and the official poverty line and one is justified in using the poverty line based on income for identification of rural poor. However, problems arise when villagers use indicators which go beyond income such as education, accessibility to public services, dependency on common property resources, size of holdings and its productivity, social criteria or even the size of the household. The traditional poverty line based on current income can work in theory but in practice it is difficult to relate to field realities. The poverty line is neat and precise indicator but this is exactly what the manifestation of poverty is not in practice.

The distribution of poverty by categories

The extent to which people are considered poor can be explored by looking at their perceptions on the well-being categories. There were four options given to the respondents to be answered. Each respondent was asked the question: Would you consider that you are: a. *kaya* (rich), b. *cukup* (better off), c. *miskin* (poor), d. *sengsara* (miserable), e. other. If they agreed with one of the options, then they were asked why (mention criteria/attributes). The answers for these two questions are summarized in the following tables.

Table 6.3: Well-being categories by focus group discussion

Categories		Criteria
Rich	Kaya , mewah, makmur and bahagia	Small shop, colour TV, parabola, eating three times a day, a long boat with motor engine (>25 HP), fishing nets, inheritance, have savings in the bank, permanent house, healthy, good clothing, kerosene agent, have many pigs
Better off/poor	Cukup and kurang	Enough food and clothing, difficult to pay medical fees and school fees, very few pigs, semi-permanent house, water from well, kerosene pressure lantern.
Very poor	Miskin, tidak punya apa-apa, tidak cukup, tidak mampu, malas, sengsara, hidup susah	Deficient in food, clothing and cash, no money to run a business enterprise, non-permanent house with an earth floor, no water pipe, no electricity, no pigs, water from a stream, no land.

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003

Three main categories were obtained from the two methods used. Rich was the first category and is explained by some local terms: *kaya* (rich), *mewah* (luxurious), *makmur* (prosperous) and *bahagia* (happy). This was linked to the ownership of capital assets (land, money) and luxury goods such as a car, colour TV, a parabola. It also was related to running a micro enterprise and access to educational and health services.

The better-off/poor were the second category which was normally at a lower level than the first category. If the first category was abundance, the second was not abundance, but it is enough to be satisfied on a day to day basis. The local terms for this category were *cukup*

(enough) and *kurang* (lack), and the category was associated with regular and sufficient basic needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, enough money to meet daily needs. In this stage, the local people also have capital assets, but not many. They also have access to the services of education and health, and luxury items, but not the best quality.

Table 6.4: Well-being categories by questionnaire

Categories		Criteria
Rich	Kaya, mewah, makmur, bahagia, tidak kurang	Kebun/dusun (area planted with coconut, approximately more than 2 ha), kiosk (small shop), car, motorcycle, colour TV, parabola, eating regularly (three times a day), a long boat with motor engine (>25 HP), fishing nets, inheritance, have savings in the bank, permanent income, permanent house, able to put the kids at school until university, healthy, good clothing, kerosene agent, have many pigs
Better off/poor	Cukup, kurang	Sufficient food and clothing, enough money to meet daily needs, hard to pay medical fees and school fees, long boat with no engine, fishing net but only 1, have savings, but a little amount of money, very few pigs, semi-permanent house, water from well, kerosene pressure lantern.
Very poor	Miskin, tidak punya apa-apa, tidak cukup, tidak mampu, sengsara, hidup susah	Deficient in food, clothing and cash, unable to school the kids until university, unable to pay medical fees, no financial capital to run a business enterprise, unemployed, non-permanent house with an earth floor, no water pipe, no electricity, no pigs, water from a stream, no land, no house, no job, always sick, disabled people, no food, beggar, thief,

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003.

The last category was very poor. In the field the respondents used some terms interchangeably to indicate the people who were very poor such as *tidak punya apa-apa* (have nothing), *sengsara* (miserable), *hidup susah* (life is difficult), tidak *cukup* (not enough) and *miskin* (poor). In this state, according to the people, they suffered from deprivation in many items and the people were unable to obtain what they want. This condition of life made them vulnerable to diseases, unemployment, malnutrition and sudden shocks.

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 demonstrate the many dimensions of poverty the people suffered. The dimensions are not only about income and consumption expenditure, but also about other dimensions. Poverty experienced by the local people as a bad quality of life which covered

a variety of dimensions, as argued by many researchers (Chambers, 1995:vi-vii; Narayan, et al, 1999:3; World Bank, 2001a:15).

The population distribution of the above categories was well rounded according to each data collection method. The rich were 8.3 per cent in the FGD and 3.3 per cent in the questionnaire. The better-off or poor were the dominant group in the two methods, encompassing 91.7 per cent and 86.7 per cent, respectively. The lowest percentages were very poor or miserable, consisting of zero per cent and 10 per cent, respectively.

The dominant groups (better-off/poor people) are mainly poor in terms of lack of income, saving, credit, infrastructure facilities and access to education, health and nutrition. This group had not really experienced any difficulties in terms of food, shelter, clothing and water as these items were easily obtained in the village. Therefore the term "better-off/poor" is somewhat relative, and does not signify either wealth or income status above the official poverty line (Ellis et al, 2002)

The distribution of the population into each category was based on the ownership of assets. Thus, the distribution was based on what a person had and what a person was able to do. This described the people's perception of well-being. Contrary to the well-being perception, poverty is defined in terms of what a person does not have and can not do. This perception, which was found in this study, is similar to other poverty concepts that had been argued in other studies (Chambers, 1995:vi-vii; Mukherjee, 1999:23).

Causes and impacts

The causes of poverty are various and differ from one place to another. These are partly due to poor service delivery, such as a lack of human assets. Some experts have argued that human assets, such as education, health and nutrition, are a vital key in eliminating poverty (Gaiha, 1993:157-158; Quibria, 1993:53-54; IFAD, 2001b:3-4). As IFAD (2001b:4) pointed out, "Better health, education and nutrition help people to escape from rural

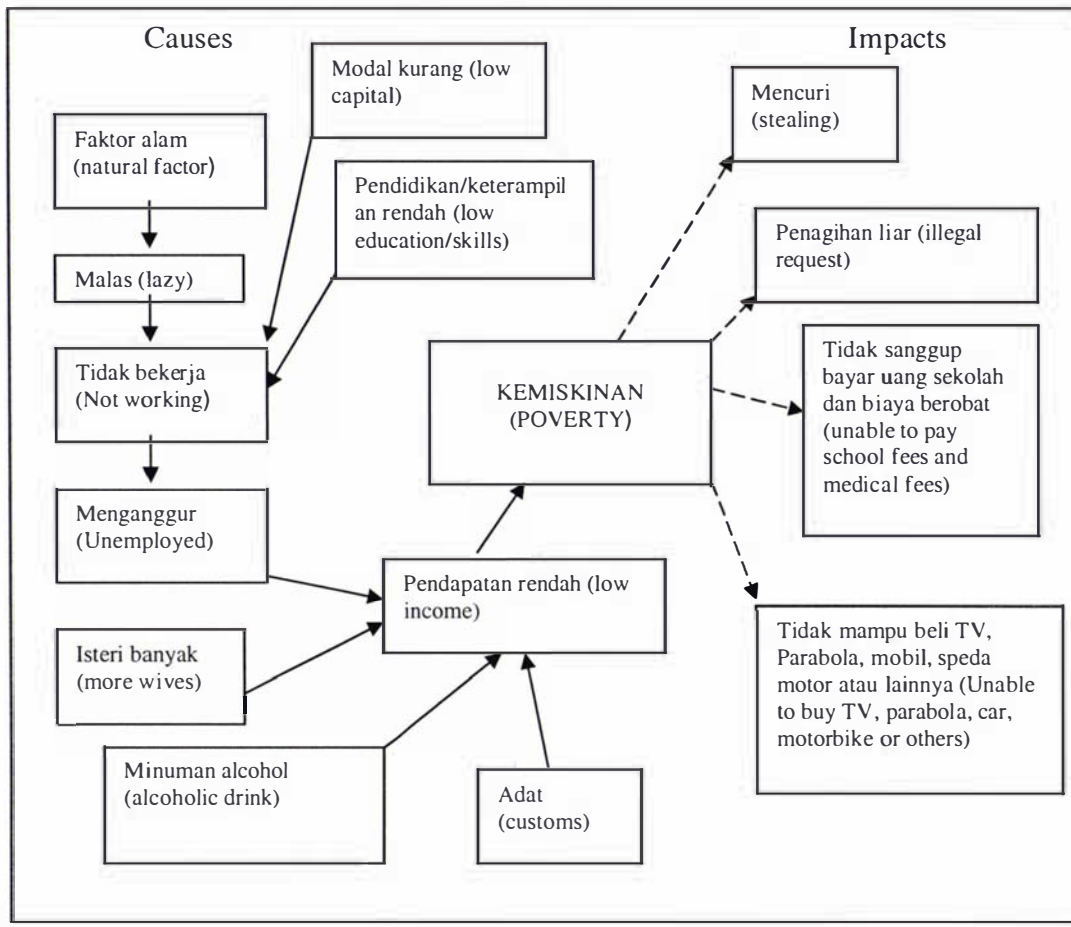
poverty by raising, first of all, the innovativeness, income and food production of farmers and workers in low-income areas; and secondly, by shifting to (and earning capacity from) cash-crop production, rural non-farm production and urban work".

Another reason is a result of the interaction process among the stakeholders, such as the government, the private sector, NGOs and others (Quibria, 1993:6; Alcock, 1997:36-37). As Quibria (1993:6) argued, the roots of poverty lie in the complex interaction of sociocultural factors, distribution of productive assets (especially land and human capital), development strategies, and the global environment for trade and finance. Gaiha (1993:53-58) also proposed three main proximate determinants of poverty at the village level: village conditions, technology and household-specific-variables.

In this study all the respondents provided their opinions or perceptions regarding some of the roots of poverty through using the diagramming method, as presented in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 below. These figures present the causes and impacts of poverty as suggested by the male group and the female group. They almost all mentioned the same causes of poverty, which were generally identified as a lack of financial capital, formal education and skills. These causes were also acknowledged by some officials in Jayapura when the interviews were conducted. These two officials argued that most people in Papua are poor not because of a lack of land and forests, but because of low quality of human resources (interviews NGO1, 15 August 2003; NGO2, 15 September 2003).

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 also demonstrate the natural factor as a cause of poverty. In fact, the village is rich in terms of land, forests and sea. The land is naturally fertile and it is easy to plant and grow some crops. The land provides water from streams and rivers. The forests provide firewood and wood for building houses. The sea contains plenty of marine life. All these remain favourable to the villagers and, hence, their livelihoods always depend on nature. The question is, why are the people still poor on their rich land? There are many reasons for this, but they only identified some as follows.

Figure 6.1: Causes and impacts of poverty in Ayiaw village by the male group



Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003. Recorded by Calvin Yabansara.

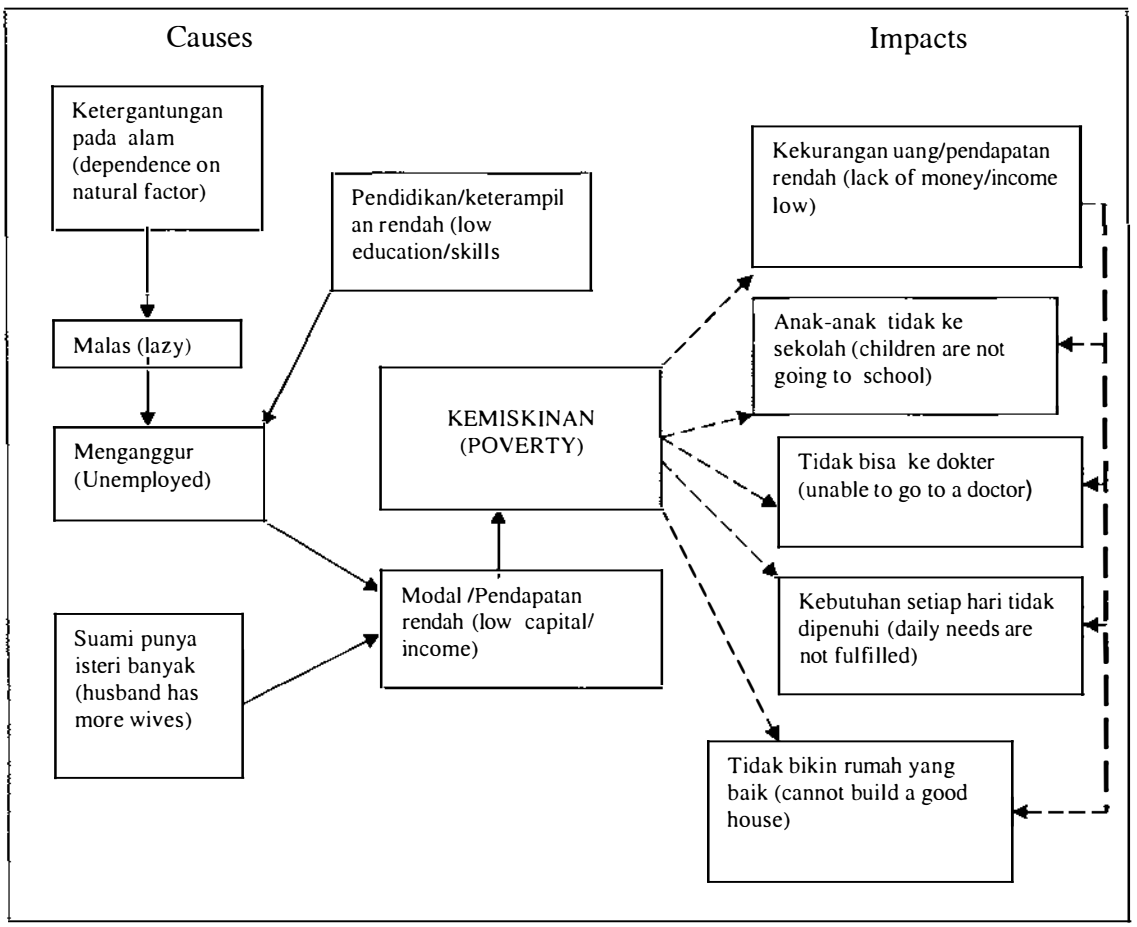
The local term used to explain the condition is *alam memanjakan orang* (the nature spoils the people). As *alam memanjakan*, the villagers tended to be lazy and did not want to work hard. This led people to be unemployed and then their income tended to be low. The term "lazy" in this context is not just related to a paid job, but also to subsistence farming and fishing, which means people could do the subsistence activities in a relaxed manner with little effort or perhaps no effort at all. Almost all interviews conducted with local officials agreed that *alam memanjakan* is a main contribution to rural poverty (interviews NGO1, 15 August 2003; NGO2, 15 September 2003; GO1, 25 September 2003; GO2, 27 September 2003).

Other factors stem from alcoholic drink and customs. The male group acknowledged that sometimes they spent a lot of money on drink and that meant they could not put their children in school. The groups were also aware that they often spent a lot of money on traditional customs, such as weddings and funerals, and this tended to push them into the poverty. As this is a part of their culture they have to follow it. If not, they are seen to break the cultural values. Irawan and Suparmoko (1996:205) name these cultural values as *kebudayaan yang tidak ekonomis* (the culture which is not economical) and this is one of the roots of poverty.

Both groups also believed that having many wives is another factor contributing to poverty. This view seemed to be accepted as a determinant of poverty occurring in certain villages in East Nusa Tenggara (Mukherjee 1999:27). This phenomenon occurs where the values of religion and customs were broken down and the local people acted freely. If a person has got more than one wife, he has to divide the income of the household equally among the wives. In fact, he was unable to make the income equal as he had a very low income. In the selected village, however, this phenomenon is not common for all the villagers and is just a case they provided to explain the cause of poverty (interview VE1, 26 August 2003).

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 also demonstrate the impacts of poverty. Both groups identified some impacts, such as stealing, illegal requests (requesting money from people on the road), inability to pay medical and school costs, and inability to buy some luxury goods and household facilities.

Figure 6.2: Causes and impacts of poverty in Ayiaw village by the female group



Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003. Recorded by Sy. Yerisitouw.

Education and poverty

Education has a positive influence in reducing poverty (Quibria, 1993:54; Gaiha, 1993:157-158; Rahman and Hossain, 1995:259; IFAD, 2001a:3; 200b:3). Education can help eliminate poverty by increasing income through improving knowledge, skills, health and nutrition as well as increasing the ability to adopt and implement technology in the farming and fishing sectors. In this relation IFAD (2001b: 3) argued that "human assets have an intrinsic value in raising capabilities and/or happiness, and an instrument value in raising income and thus access to further capabilities and happiness".

Mostly, poor people in every rural area around the world have very low access to human assets such as education, health and nutrition (Gaiha, 1993:155-156; IFAD, 2001a:3). This is also affirmed by this study where the majority of better-off or poor people in the selected village graduated from *SD* (*Sekolah Dasar*, six years of primary school) encompassing of 45.5 per cent in the FGD and 50 per cent in the questionnaire.

Most people should reach *SD* level as there was a primary school available at the village, however, the school itself was poorly equipped. After completing *SD* level, they tend to finish schooling and help their parents by doing subsistence farming and fishing activities. Helping parents is compulsory for the children living in the village and, to some extent, parents consider that the children should bring some benefits for the household economy, both in the present and the future. In the present is mainly related to livelihoods. Most children can help their parents receive income by cultivating the land to produce cash crops or by helping their parents catch fish. In the future, on the other hand, the benefits are related to the parents themselves. The parents tend to keep the children at home, or not far from them, for their own benefit. When the parents get older and are physically unable to earn money, for example, they need their children to take care of them. This results in the children not continuing study at higher levels.

Another reason for not continuing study to higher levels is the high cost. Most high schools are located in the cities, such as Sentani, Abepure and Jayapura, and the distance between the village and the cities is great. No public buses connect them and this means the people depend on private cars, which are very expensive. Education fees for high schools and universities are also very expensive for the local people and no allowances are given to the children.

Most villagers also experienced low levels of health and nutrition. This was indicated by the illnesses most people suffer, such as malaria, lung diseases and diarrhea (Ayiaw Village Office, 2003). Even though there is a *Puskesmas Pembantu* in the village with a doctor and a nurse, it has very limited drugs and, to some extent, this contributes to the people

suffering from the diseases. The acute illnesses were not cured in the village and, hence, they have to visit the *RSUD* (*Rumah Sakit Umum Daerah*, Regional Public Hospital) in Jayapura. In fact, some die on the road to the hospital as it is such a long distance between the village and Jayapura. In addition, they were unable to pay medical fees because these fees are very expensive (interviews NGO1, 15 August 2003; NGO2, 15 September 2003).

Sources of livelihood

There are a variety of sources of livelihood in the village, which are combined in various ways according to each household. As discussed earlier, the rural villagers could work as fishermen (Plate 6.2), either as self-employed or laborers. Some worked at growing crops such as cooking spices, sweet potato, cassava, kangkoon, banana, papaya, melon, beans and so forth. Generally, women were mainly involved in selling the harvest at the market (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2, 27 August 2003).

In addition to growing crops, they also planted cocoa, areca, coconut, orange, mango and durian. The growing crops were locally known as short-term plants while plantation crops were known as long-term plants. The growing crops were more beneficial as the harvest could be obtained quickly and could be sold at the market to fulfill the needs of daily life. Some others worked at buying and selling items such as vegetables, cooking spices, areca nut, betel nut, lime, kerosene, gasoline and cooking oil. They bought some products from the city, and other parts of the village, which then they sold to the local market in the village or at places which were near their houses (Plate 6.2).

Plate 6.1: Fishermen in the village

Plate 6.2: A small business in the village

Income and expenditure

The research found that the household incomes of the local population stemmed from two main activities: farm and non-farm activities. Of the non-farm activities, fishing was dominant in generating household income. These two activities (farming and fishing) seemed to be the leading sources of income for the poor households in the village. Other sources were cash transfers, livestock and rentals but were not dominant (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2, 27 August 2003).

Of the two main sources of income, it was difficult to determine which was dominant in generating household income. Perhaps this was because both gave a similar contribution to household income. Moreover, both the activities were normally done by each family, and therefore, it would be difficult to separate their contribution. For example, one family can do farm activities in the morning and fishing in the afternoon. The results stemming from these activities were sold together in the market and the cash they got on the day was not separated. With the limited education they have, no simple bookkeeping was applied, and hence, it was hard to separate the incomes deriving from farming and fishing (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2, 27 August 2003).

Table 6.5 below represents the household incomes of the local people per month, as revealed by the data collection methods. All the respondents had low incomes. As indicated by Table 6.5 around 83 per cent of local people involved in both research methods had low incomes, defined as between 300,000 rupiah and 467,333 rupiah or NZ $61-94 per month[1]. On average, they earn 406,250 rupiah (NZ $82) for the FGD group, and 467,333 (NZ $94) for the questionnaire group.

[1] During the fieldwork NZ $1 = 4,950 Indonesian rupiahs

Table 6.5: Household incomes of respondents by data collection methods

FGD			Questionnaire		
Intervals	Frequency	Per cent	Intervals	Frequency	Per cent
300000-406250	10	83.3	300000-467333	25	83.3
406251-600000	2	16.7	467334-700000	5	16.7
Total	12	100.0	Total	30	100.0
Mean	406250.0		Mean	467333.3	
SD	93154.9		SD	136575.9	
Max	600000.0		Max	700000.0	
Min	300000.0		Min	300000.0	

Source: Data processing.

The incomes they had were spent on two main types of consumption items: food and non-food. Food items comprised rice, fish, cooking oil, cooking ingredients and vegetables while non- food items included kerosene, soap, clothes and kitchen facilities. Food items purchased were mainly related to the items which were not grown by the families or which were produced to some extent, but not enough to meet daily needs (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2, 27 August 2003). In the FGD, approximately 75 per cent cited that they spent a lot of income on food, while in the questionnaire group, it was around 77 per cent. This indicates that in their daily lives food was the main priority in consumption expenditures, rather than non-food items.

The above consumption pattern is found in village settings around the world, especially those in the first stage of development. In this stage, the communities still simple, the agriculture sector is the leading sector of the livelihood and the majority of household expenditure is dominated by food rather than non-food items.

Problems and priorities

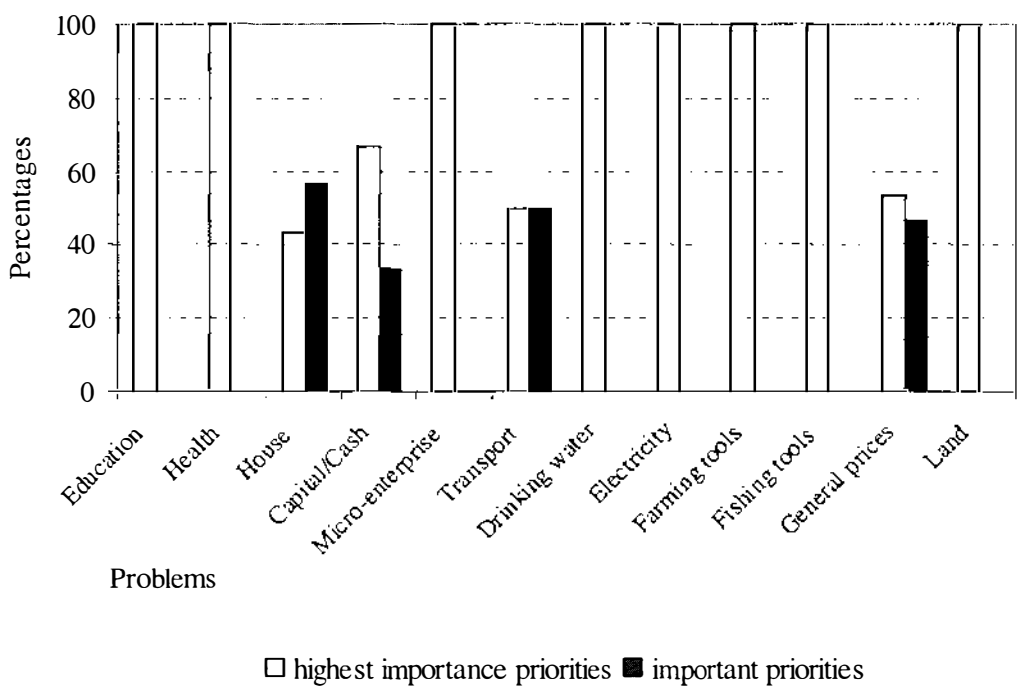
Problems experienced by the poor

The local people faced a variety of problems which were ranked according to their priorities. There were 12 main categories of problems reported in the field and each group

of respondents experienced different problems. The people argued their poverty exists when they face difficulties or lack of education, jobs, housing, cash, transport, roads, farming tools, fishing tools, health care, land, drinking water, and being unable to buy daily needs, put the children into high schools or pay medical fees. When they were asked to define poverty, they suggested these as criteria to determine if they were poor.

Most people researched identified poverty as not having enough cash to meet daily needs or not having enough resources to do what they want. The villagers still depend on subsistence farming, fishing, hunting and other practices. However, as regional development or modernisation has reached them and created the need for cash, most people face difficulties in getting cash. They needed cash to purchase some products that were not produced in the village. The following figures summarise the rankings they provided on the basis of their problem priorities.

Figure 6.3: Problems given based on three top ranks by questionnaires

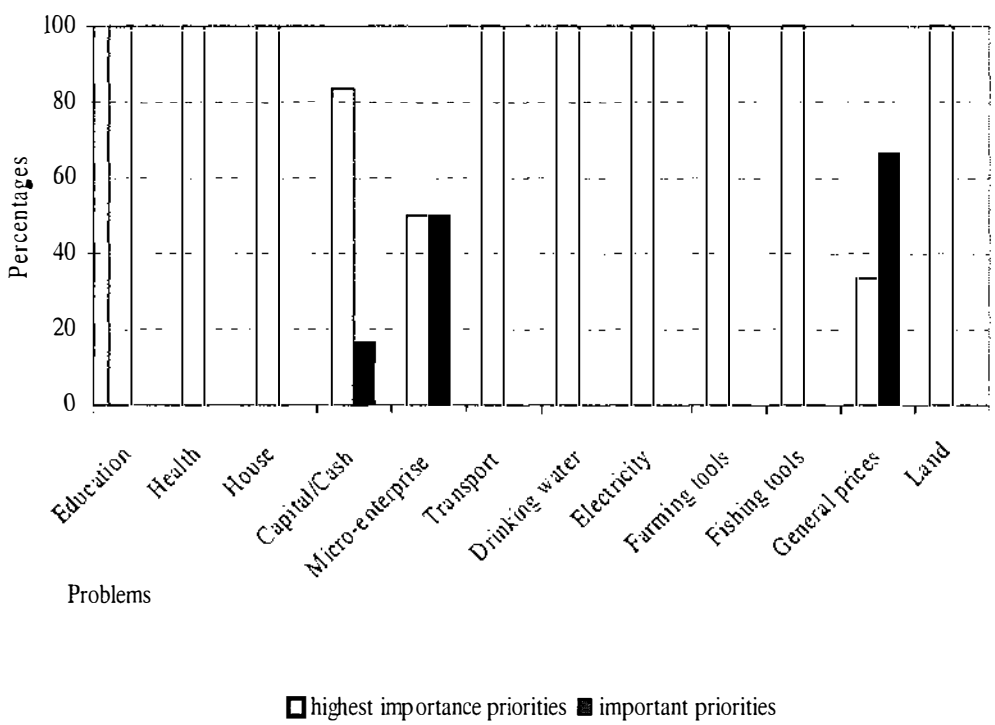


Source: Table 6.9 (appendix two)

Figure 6.3 indicates the eight biggest problems cited by the participants based on their priorities. These are education, health, micro-enterprise, drinking water pipe, electricity, farming tools, fishing tools and land. The ranking of these items as the most important was around 100 per cent. The second layer of problems was difficulties stemming from housing, capital/cash, transport and general prices, which were ranked as important by around 50 per cent of respondents.

Figure 6.4 below demonstrates problem priorities set by the respondents FGD. In this figure, there are around nine items identified as the highest priority problems. These include education, health, house, transport, piped drinking water, electricity, farming tools, fishing tools and land. Their second priorities were capital/cash, micro-enterprise and general prices.

Figure 6.4: Problems given based on three top ranks by focus group discussions



Source: Table 6.10 (appendix two)

Both figures show that people still face difficulties with human assets and infrastructural assets. These difficulties result in the people having a sense of grievance against the local government policies, which tended to focus on development in the cities than in the villages. The grievance stems from the reality that so far the implemented development in Papua has been more focused in the cities than in the villages or remote areas. As a result the development of assets, both human and infrastructure, seemed to be advanced in the cities but not in the villages. This was a sign of unequal development resulting in rural poverty, as argued by Chambers (1983:10-25). He pointed out that rural poverty partly occurs due to policy being biased toward cities. This view was also acknowledged by some local officials as being because of geographical constraints and infrastructural limitations (interviews NGO1, 15 August 2003; NGO2, 15 September 2003; GO2, 27 September 2003).

Trends in problem priorities

All people in the community believed that poverty had worsed in the last five years, especially when there was an economic crisis. Even though there hase been some improvements, people still felt that these improvements had probably not touched the very poor people of the community. The following table demonstrates their opinions regarding some aspects of poverty that seem to have worsened in the last five years.

Women seemed to have suffered more from the worsened situation compared to five years ago. Culturally women are responsible for household work while men are responsible for outside work such as subsistence farming, fishing and hunting. During the difficult times, women become responsible for the family's food when the men do not have jobs. For example, women would plant and sell the crops at the market and even catch fish.

Children also suffered from the bad situation. Children who attended high schools and universities in the cities such as Sentani, Abepura and Jayapura were mostly children who came from the rich and the better-off. These people were not the big number in the village.

During the fieldwork, men and women agreed that health indicators had improved, but they identified other negative trends, as follows:

- Malnutrition
- Underweight children
- Infant mortality
- Increased number of school dropouts
- Unemployed young people
- Malaria
- Difficulties of getting credit from financial institutions
- Grievance about local government support, such as *raskin* (*Beras untuk keluarga miskin,* rice for poor families) which they felt was not enough to meet daily needs and was not compatible to their jobs. Some agreed that more appropriate support must be for farming tools or fishing tools that may be useful for producing a livelihood.

All participants in the fieldwork were asked to give their views on the above problems. They were asked about the problems they experienced currently and asked to predict what their lives will be like in the future. Around 70 per cent of the people involved in the questionnaire cited that their lives will be uncertain and perhaps get worse. In the FGD 95 per cent of men and women mentioned that they could not predict their lives in the future. The main reason for this appears to be their grievance against the local government. Some mentioned there had been a tendency for the government to improve the economy as a whole, but to become corrupt. During the election, they also argued, the government officials gave sound promises that seemed to be beneficial for the people. After they won the election, they never implemented what they promised.

For the time being it seems to be difficult for the people to escape from poverty. This is not only due to the poor service delivery by the government, but also due to their individual characteristics such as education, skills, culture values and others. The causes of the

poverty were complicated and stemmed from both inside the community and outside the community (Dixon, 1994:52; Alcock, 1997:36-37). As Alcock (1997:36-37) argued, poverty is caused by pathological and structural causes. To help people escape there must be an agent of change from outside the community. However, this agent of change has to understand the people's perception of the problems they face and get their recommendations.

Table 6.6: Perceived problem trends in the last five years

Worse than five years ago	Still bad now	Improved over the past five years
• House • Health • Education • Transport • Capital/cash • Job • Electricity • Roads • Drinking water • Micro-enterprise • Farming tools • Fishing tools • General prices	• House • Health • Education • Transport • Capital/cash • Job • Electricity • Roads • Drinking water • Micro-enterprise • Farming tools • Fishing tools • General prices	• Some have permanent houses • More taxis connect the village to Sentani city • Some have electricity • One road connects the village to Sentani city • Some have water pipes • Some sell kerosene and petrol • Some got support from local government such as Yamaha engines, fishing nets

Remark: People researched had the same views on all of the problem trends
Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003

Coping strategies

The villagers cited a surprisingly large number of strategies to overcome the problems they experience. They cited a high dependency on intra-community resources to solve the problems, including the kin-based system. This system is a traditional social value for taking care of those in need. This means those who have more in the community should give a hand to those in need. The system seems to be strong and always encourages a great interdependence between groups for their mutual livelihoods. For example, the fishing laborers could rent boats with engines and equipment from the owners; a farmer could use land from the owners to cultivate food.

During the difficult times when people had no food or had no money, they tended to turn to their relatives for help. There was evidence of this when they were asked how they coped with the problems they faced during the crisis. All the respondents researched from both the FGD and questionnaire group cited that help from their families was a sound solution to economic difficulties they experienced. The help mainly dealt with their daily needs, such as food and money. The interviews with the local officials also acknowledged that relatives and close friends were the best solution to the problems in the village (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2, 27 August 2003)

To some extent, the above help can also be in the form of credit, where the help a person obtains will be repaid in the following days. This strategy is still a valid part of their cultural values. In addition, most people thought that this way was quicker, guaranteed to cope with the problems and better than other alternatives as it was based on the family system (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2, 27 August 2003).

Table 6.7 below presents the most cited problems and the ways the community coped with the problems. Of the problems shown in the table, food, clothing, housing, assets and jobs were repeatedly cited as basic needs for their lives. Adequate food, clothing and housing are universal needs that must be available. In the village, food, clothing and housing were ranked as the number one problems to be prioritized by all participants in the fieldwork, and these were also stressed as a feature of well-being.

They argued that they would not be happy in their lives without food, clothing and housing. Even though they lived in a land promising good lives and adequate food, clothing and housing, they needed to go long distances to fish and farm as well as to the market for selling crops. The money they got from the markets was considered sufficient for 1-2 days and the following days they needed to work hard again to look for more money (interviews VE1, 26 August 2003; VE2 , 27 August 2003). If they thought the money they received from the markets was a lot, they could save some for buying clothes, building houses or other purposes.

Assets contribute to well-being. For the villagers the main asset making them secure was land. The land was seen as a sign of a prosperous life as, they argued, the land itself is important for the continuation of their lives, both for the current generation and future generations (interviews NGO1, 15 August 2003; GO2, 27 September 2003).

Table 6.7: Strategies for coping with problems

Most Cited Problems	Coping Strategies
Lack of food, clothing and house	• Fish in the sea to sell • Grow vegetables • Plant the crops to sell • Beg rice/potato from relatives • Use local materials such as wood, bamboo and sago leaves to build houses • Get credits from neighborhood kiosks, around 4-5 days • Getting a *Raskin* programme from local government • Eating staple food such as sago, potatoes, taro
Getting sick	• Borrow from relatives or neighbors to pay medical fees • Getting a letter from the village head in order to get low medical fees • Using traditional medicines
Education fees	• Free education for 6 years of primary school (government policy) • Income (from farming and fishing) is used to pay school fees for high schools and university
Poor road conditions and damaged bridge	• Permanent asphalting of road in the district town and to Sentani town
Capital/cash	• Plant the crops to sell • Fish in the sea to sell • Borrow from the relatives • Some borrow from banks with high rates per month
Lack of job	• Self employed (farming, fishing and micro-enterprise)
Electricity	• Using laterns or petromax
Drinking water	• Using private well, but the water is boiled to make it safe
Micro-enterprise	• Money obtained from farming or fishing is used as working capital to run micro-enterprise

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village August-September 2003

Since it is so important, Erari (1999) argued that in some ethnic groups in Papua, including people living in villages, land is used as a symbol of social status.

The fieldwork found that all participants have land both private and communal to cultivate food. It was difficult to figure out how many hectares each person owned as no statistical data was available in the village. For most people living in the villages, or other remote areas in Papua, land ownership is not based on a land certificate issued by the government, as happens in the cities, but it is based on inheritance from their ancestors and so it is based on the cultural value system.

Having a job is important in getting a livelihood and was the general aspiration of the participants. They wanted paid jobs to obtain money to buy clothes and to build houses as well as to pay school and medical fees. Most people assumed a job was important to provide an adequate and secure livelihood. In the village those working in paid jobs were assumed to be safe as they had a regular income to meet their daily needs. Farming and fishing are not giving them regular incomes because they depended on seasonal factors, market demand and price. This encouraged them to look for permanent jobs that provided a permanent income.

Institutions

Institutions helping the poor

There are some institutions helping the participants in the village. Some are government organisations which consist of the village (*desa*), the urban village (*kelurahan)* and neighborhoods (*Dusun, Rukun Warga and Rukun Tetangga).* In addition there are other government institutions providing some services such as the Bank Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Development Bank), Bank Rakyat Indonesia (Government Owned Bank), schools, Auxiliary Health Centre (*Puskesmas Pembatu*) and Social Safety Net (*JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial*). Some are community based organisations (CBO) that are born from the aspirations of the local community, such as religious groups (*Persekutuan Kaum Bapak, Persekutuan Kaum Ibu, Persekutuan Angkataan Muda, Persekutuan Angkatan Remaja),* traditional organisations (*DPMADU=Dewan Perseksutuan Masyarakat*

Adat Deponsero Utara, relatives/close friends), NGOs (Yayasan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa, *Yayasan Kerjsama Pendidikan Hukum Masyarakat Papua)* and others (Village Health Post=*Posyandu*).

The study provided three main criteria for the participants to rank institutions: highest importance to the lives of people, important in helping the participants to solve their problems and not important. The ranking for highest importance was based on how frequently the institution was cited among the top three most important institutions in the local community. The rankings on important and not important were based on whether the institution was cited as important or not important.

The results of rankings are different among the institutions as presented in Table 6.8. All institutions presented in this table are only the institutions cited by the respondents during the fieldwork. There are probably other institutions helping the people in the village but they were not mentioned. Community Based Organisations (CBO) were mentioned many times by the poor in helping them to solve the problems. Of the CBOs, relatives and close friends, as well as community leaders, were ranked as the most important institutions for the lives of the poor. The second important institutions were village government (one of the CBO), religious groups and YKPHM. The rest were ranked as not important.

Table 6.8 shows that the participants give the highest ranking to relatives, close friends and local leaders. This is because, as mentioned earlier, the villagers are strong in their cultural values, which are based on the kin system where people having more can help others in need. In the rural settings, like others in the world, this system strongly affects rural people in rating institutions.

Most people believed that this system was very useful as it was quicker, it was not a complicated procedure and they got what they needed. It was different, they argued, from most government organisations which tended to be complicated in their procedures and

there was no guarantee they would receive their request, as there were too many requirements which they were unable to fulfill (interview VE2, 27 August 2003)

Table 6.8: Ranking of institutions

Institutions		Focus Group Discussion	Questionnaire
Government Organisations		Highest importance = rank 1 (3)	Highest importance = rank 1 (3)
	Administration		
1	Village government	2	2
	Services		
2	BDP(Regional Development Bank)	3	3
3	BRI(a Government Owned Bank)	3	3
4	Schools	3	3
5	Auxiliary Health Centre	3	3
6	Social Safety Net	3	3
Community Based Organisations			
	Religious		
7	PKB GKI	2	2
8	PW GKI	2	2
9	PAM GKI	3	3
	Tradition/culture		
10	Community leaders (tradition)	1	1
11	Relatives/close friends	1	1
	Others		
12	Village Health Post (Posyandu)	3	3
NGOs			
13	YPMD	3	3
14	YKPHM	2	2

Remark: Numbers in parentheses refer to ranking levels made by the respondents.
Source: Tables 6.11 and 6.12 (appendix two).

The village government, religious organisations and YKPHM were also in the second rank as these institutions often provide help when there is a need, but not always. The village government and religious organisation were important as people often borrowed money from these institutions for medical fees and school fees. YKPHM was also important as this NGO helped local people by providing money and building materials to build a traditional house, as mentioned earlier. This NGO also helped the local people in terms of providing

some services, such as mapping the land boundary based on ownership, and giving training on how to protect their customary laws on land and forests.

Judging institutions

Participants were also asked to rank the institutions based on trust and effectiveness in helping them to cope with the problems. These terms, however, seemed to be difficult for them to differentiate because they interpreted the terms as having the same meaning. They cited that they trusted the institutions as the institutions are useful or effective and vice versa.

Community based organisations were the institutions that were most frequently cited as trustworthy and effective. Relative/close friends, community leaders and some religious organisations were mentioned as trustworthy and effective. Of these organisations, however, relatives and close friends were ranked as the most trustworthy and most effective as these institutions always helped them in every difficult situation.

The reasons considered in judging an institution to be trustworthy and effective were various and depended on the experiences a person had when he/she had contact with an institution. First, it is open, fair and equitable in providing help. Second, support from the institution had to address the need. These two criteria were important according to the people researched. They argued there were some institutions visiting the village promising help but after returning to the cities the promise were never implemented at all or had not fully met the promises given. In some cases, they cited some institutions were not fair and tended to be reluctant in giving financial support to some villages and districts. They also criticised some support, for example, the *raskin* programme, which did not really address their problems.

Conclusion

The village is a coastal village facing the Pacific Ocean. It is about 59 square kilometres in area and less than 15 metres above sea level. It is located more than 40 kilometres from Abepura sub-district and can be reached by private car.

Even though a small number of people work as subsistence farmers, subsistence fishermen were very dominant in the village. The farming products comprise cassava, sweet potato, corn, coconut, papaya, banana, orange, mango, melon, durian and others. These products are normally produced in a limited number for daily consumption. This limitation was encouraged by a lack of farming tools and skills-training.

The local people understood the term poverty. This can be acknowledged by looking at the local terms they used to explain poverty, which was defined in terms of what a person does not have and was not be able to do. The term the local people used to contrast with the term poverty was well-being. This term had several local terms, which had the opposite meaning to the term poverty.

In their well-being categories, they differentiated three main groups: rich, better off/poor and very poor. In their understanding, rich meant a person or a family having many assets, including luxurious assets, such as a small shop, colour TV, parabola, long boat with an engine (more than 25 HP), a big area planted with coconut (more than 2 hectares), money in the bank, eating three times a day, and able to educate the children until university. The better off or poor meant a person had enough resources or assets. Examples were enough food and clothing, a semi-permanent house, enough money to meet daily needs, difficult paying medical and school fees, using water from stream or well and using kerosene pressure lantern. Very poor or miserable meant a person had no resources. They were unable to educate their children until university, unable to pay medical and school fees, had difficulty providing daily food, lived in a non-permanent house, had no saving account in the bank, no land and no electricity.

During the fieldwork, they identified several factors contributing to their poverty. These consisted of a lack of education and skills, a lack of money/capital, laziness, unemployment, dependency on nature, and custom. This was indeed an expression of a lack of assets in the village, but when they were asked to identify the causes, they only cited a few. In fact these causes include various assets such as physical, human, social, and finance. Even though they experienced poverty, they did not face abject poverty. The poor were not starving since they had access to forest, land and sea. Nevertheless, a large number of people were poor and experienced difficult situations because they suffered from a lack of physical, human, social and financial assets.

The most important difficulties the people faced were lacks in education, health, micro-enterprises, drinking water pipes, electricity, skills and tools for farming and fishing. These problems were basically able to be coped with intra-community resources, including the kin-based system, subsistence farming, subsistence fishing and micro-enterprises.

Institutions helping the poor to solve their problems normally originated from within the village. These included relatives, close friends, traditional leaders and religious organisations. These were very important in the lives of the poor and were ranked as the most trustworthy and most effective institutions because they always supported the local people to overcome their difficulties in every situation. Other institutions stemming from outside village were ranked low as the people had bad experiences with these institutions. For example, they visited the village very often and made many promises to help, but these were never implemented.

To summarise, the villagers predominantly used deprivation in material terms to define poverty, even though they also experienced lack in non-material terms. Key aspects of this deprivation were presented in Figures 6.3 and 6.4 and table 6.6.

Having explored the first case study, the next chapter focuses on the second case study on Isuraf village. Chapter seven will investigate this case in detail.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY II: ISURAF VILLAGE IN BIAK NUMFOR DISTRICT

Introduction

The study carried out three case studies examining poverty in the local context. The first case study, which was conducted in Ayiaw village, was discussed in chapter six. This chapter continues to investigate the same issue by focusing on the second case study, which was implemented in Isuraf village.

The preparations for the fieldwork, as discussed in chapter five, were also carried out for the second case study. This case study also used the same research methodology as detailed in chapter six. This includes focus group discussions, interviews (both informal and formal), and questionnaires to collect data, while data analysis was carried out by ranking, scoring, diagramming and trend analysis.

Even though the case study employed the same research methodology, the research findings were dissimilar, as is revealed in the following sections. First, an overview of the village is addressed. Following this, profiles of poverty are introduced, as pertinent to this case study. Problems and priorities, as well as institutions, are also addressed as they constitute some of the main issues of the study. Finally, some conclusions are drawn about the village which can be utilised to compare it with the first case study in chapter six and the third case study in chapter eight.

The village overview

Population and land area

The area is entirely rural with most people working as farmers and fishermen. They are Protestant in terms of their faith. They are native to the region and can still be identified as belonging to some main clans in the village such as Awom, Adadikam, Mangaprow, Mandosir and Bonggoibo. They speak two languages: the Biak language (local language) and the Indonesian language.

A large proportion of the population had livelihoods that depended on irregular sources and had very low incomes derived from selling both crops and fish. Some, particularly males, often went to the city to look for a permanent job but this attempt often failed as high competition was faced and job creation was very limited. Some went out from the village to look for jobs in other parts of the province and they never came back. This outgoing migration seemed to be high and resulted in the village being left further behind.

Total population was 279 people (Isuraf village office, 2003). Of this 49 per cent were women which giving a sex ratio of 1.02 males to every female. Population density was low (8 people per square kilometer) due to the small number of people living in the village compared to the land area (35 square kilometers). As a whole, the land is not suitable for planting crops such as cocoa, palms and cloves. Natural conditions, however, favored the breeding of chickens (*ayam kampung*), ducks, goats, cows and pigs. Some mangroves grew on coastal swamp land which covered about four hectares (see previous Plate 5.9). This area was suitable for developing local fishponds but not many people in the village had developed this profitable activity.

Respondent characteristics

Table 7.1 shows that the formal education level in the village in general was low. This had been recorded by the methods applied. From the FGD method the number of participants who graduated from six years *SD* was high or 50 per cent compared to other educational levels. In the questionnaire method, this number was still high as well at 47 per cent.

Table 7.1: Educational status by methods

Education of respondents	FGD		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Never attended school	-	-	-	-
3 Years primary school (SR*)	4	33	10	33
6 Years primary school	6	50	14	47
3 Years junior high school	2	17	4	13
3 Years senior high school	-	-	2	7
University/diploma	-	-	-	-
Total	12	100	30	100

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September - October 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
*= SR (Sekolah Rakyat) run by Dutch Government

Both methods also reported that the number of participants who graduated from three years *SR* (*Sekolah Rakyat*)[1] was relatively high or around 33 per cent. These methods also recorded that none of the respondents had graduated from three years at diploma or four years at university level study.

The participants involved in the study were aged between 21 to 65 years for the FGD and between 21 to 73 years for the questionnaire. Table 7.2 provides a breakdown of the percentage distribution of participants by age. The age group of 41 years and above was very dominant in both methods. In the FGD this group represented around 59 per cent while in the questionnaire the group represented around 57 per cent. Since these age

[1] *Sekolah Rakyat* was three years primary schools run by Dutch government during the colonialisation. the Dutch government called them Dorpschool but they were locally known as *SR*.

groups are basically in a productive age group, they are actively involved in subsistence activities, both farming and fishing.

The age group of less than 25 years of age who were involved in the study was a very small number. In the FGD the number was approximately 8 per cent while in the questionnaire the number was around 13 per cent. This age group is primarily of school age and mostly they tended to leave the village for school reasons, for example to attend school in other areas (interview VE03, 10 October 2003). This age group, economically, was not really participating in seeking jobs as they were still in school.

All participants in the study were married. In the questionnaire the male group represented around 57 per cent while the female group represented 43 per cent. In the FGD both groups had similar numbers or represented approximately 50 per cent. Couples generally had four children, lived with their parents and shared food and shelter. They had no permanent income, low skills and were often attacked by malarial diseases.

Table 7.2: Age distribution of participants by methods

Age distribution	FGD		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Under 25 years	1	8	4	13
25 – 40 years	4	33	9	30
41 years and above	7	59	17	57
Total	12	100	30	100

Source : Fieldwork conducted in the village September - October 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents.

As a whole all participants in the village defined themselves as sharing similar characteristics. Two main questions were asked of all participants. First, how would you define yourself compared to others? Second, Why? (mention criteria). Around 100 per cent cited that they were the same as each other. They cited several criteria to prove that they were similar. The criteria applied were similar livelihoods, which depended on land and sea. They also mentioned other similar characteristics such as irregular income, low

education, lack of skills, and isolation due to limited means of communication and no regular transport.

The relationship between men and women in coping with poverty is a complex issue. Men's and women's discussion groups reported that men who responsible for the outside activities of the family while women responsible for the inside activities. However, during difficult situations, they argued, women also involved in outside activities in order to help husbands to cope with poverty. This case underlined that women have more responsibilities because they have dual functions: managing the family (household), and generating income. In some cases, women culturally respected their husbands as well as partially making decisions.

Another gender issue appearing from Table 7.1 is that of 14 respondents who only graduated from the three year primary school, a higher proportion was women (64 per cent) compared to men (36 per cent). For farming and fishing skills the discussion groups also recorded that males have better skills than women due to skill trainings conducted in the village so far being dominated by men. Tables 7.5 and 7.6 also reveal a gender issue related to daily needs where women were recorded as poorer than men, with women 72 per cent and men 69 per cent, due to a lack of access to market as limited infrastructure and credit.

The FGD and the questionnaires also reported gender issues related to income generation. The first method reported that more females (80 per cent) had low incomes than males (70 per cent), while the second method recorded that more females than males' incomes were low (84 per cent and 72 per cent respectively). The female income source was principally subsistence agriculture (farming and fishing) while the male income source was wage labor in the building sector in the city and subsistence agriculture.

Profiles of poverty

Perceptions of the poor

The perceptions were obtained by asking similar questions as in chapter six. The answers to the questions mainly refer to two contrasting situations: poverty and well-being. Most people defined poverty as a difficult situation in which they faced a lack of ability to meet their daily needs. Some gave examples of difficult situations by saying that poverty is evident when a family has a non-permanent house, no electricity and poor road access to the village, not enough income, are susceptible to getting sick and not able to go to a doctor, no nearby schools or high schools for children to attend or if there are some parents who were unable to put the children into school or if they were able to put the children into school they were not able to send them because of the high costs.

The villagers were able to contrast the above poverty concept with the concept of well-being. Most of them understood well-being as a happy situation in which a family was able to meet their daily needs. Some argued, however, that there was no family who completely lives in that situation. When one of the village officials was interviewed (interview VE04, 12 October 2003) he explained that poverty is actually seen from what the villagers own around the village. He cited "*Kou bisa lihat di desa ini, tidak ada orang desa yang punya rumah mewah, motor Johnson, motor Honda, Perseroan Terbatas (PT), penghasilan yang besar dan makan tiga hari sekali secara teratur. Kitorang sama*" (You could see around the village no one had a luxurious house, boat with a Johnson engine, motorcycle, company, high income and was able to regularly eat three times a day. We all are the same). This statement was intended to explain that a fully happy situation was difficult to achieve for a family as all of them have experienced a deprivation in material well-being.

Most villagers used different terms to mention the two contrasting concepts. These terms mainly dealt with the variety of assets available in the village or that they were able to own. The assets themselves were broad, but they can be grouped into four main assets as

mentioned earlier in chapter six (Behrman, 1993:125; IFAD, 2001a; 2001b:4): physical assets, human assets, infrastructural assets and institutional assets.

The local people in general lack human assets, infrastructural assets and institutional assets. The only assets available in the village on which the villagers livelihoods depend are physical assets, especially land, forest and sea. These assets constitute the basic important assets that could provide them with a survival livelihood from one generation to another (Erari, 1999:53-55; Reombiak, 2000:12-14).

Since natural assets are so important, the people tended to use them as criteria to determine social status when they were asked to provide their understandings of poverty and well-being. Some would argue that income is also another important criteria that can be used to determine social status. Through income, they would be able to buy other assets that are not available in the village. Nevertheless, income was not the sole dimension of poverty that they experienced.

So how did the people define themselves as poor or not poor? And why? These types of questions were explored by looking at a variety of local terms and the criteria the people used. The answers to these questions are presented in Tables 7.3 and 7.4 below.

It can be seen from those tables that there were two main local terms used: *Esabarar (Kona roinowa*) refering to poverty and *Benana (Komarisen)* to well-being. The villagers were able to identify themselves as an *esabarar* or a *benana* based on their ownership of physical materials. Mostly, in a very simple situation like the village, people from outside the community can easily identify the *esabarar* and the *benana* by looking at their asset ownership.

The simplest way is through their houses: what type of house each family has and what assets the family has in the house. The understanding of asset ownership was especially observable when asking them whether they considered themselves as poor or not and what

criteria they used. The following section discusses the distribution of poverty based on the criteria.

Table 7.3: Local terms used to mention poverty in the village

FGD		Questionnaire	
Indonesian	English	Indonesian	English
Melarat	Miserable	Susah	Difficult
Tidak cukup	Not enough	Tidak enak	Not nice
Khawatir	Worry	Khawatir	Worry
Esabarar*	Have nothing	Kurang	Lack
Kona roinowa*	We have nothing	Esabarar*	Have nothing
Sengsara	Misery	Kona roinowa*	We have nothing
		Sengsara	Misery

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September - October 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
*= local languages

Table 7.4: Local terms used to mention well-being in the village

FGD		Questionnaire	
Indonesian	English	Indonesia	English
Punya harta	Have assets	Makmur	Rich
Berada	Well-to-do	Aman	Safe
Mampu	Wealthy	Bahagia	Happy
Benana*	Have goods	Sejahtera	Prosperous
Marisen*	Happy because they have goods	Benana*	Have goods
Sejahtera	Prosperous	Ko marisen*	We are happy because we have goods

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September - October 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
*= local languages

The distribution of poverty by categories

Three main categories were developed based on the participants' perceptions of poverty and well-being. The perceptions were obtained by asking two main questions, as mentioned in chapter six. Tables 7.5 and 7.6 below break down the answers to these two questions. The first category is rich, which was described by three main local terms: *kaya* (rich), makmur (prosperous) and *bahagia* (happy). A family who belongs to this category is locally known as *benana* and socially this family has the highest social status in the village. This category, *banana*, is given to the family who: owns a large amount land, runs a micro-enterprise, has a permanent house and has other luxurious goods.

Table 7.5: Well-being categories by focus group discussion

Categories		Criteria
Rich	Kaya , makmur and bahagia	Good house (permanent), plenty of money, large land, electricity, piped drinking water, car/motor bicycle, coconut plantation, color TV, parabola, able to educate the children until university, eating three times a day, a long boat with engine (>40 HP), fishing nets, inheritance, good clothing, run a micro-enterprise, have many cows/pigs
Better off/poor	Cukup/miskin	Enough money to buy daily needs, semi-permanent house, petromax, drinking water from well, able to put the children into school, able to pay medical fees, eating two times a day, color TV, no parabola, no radio
Very poor/ Miserable	Sangat miskin/ hidup susah	Non-permanent house, lantern/candle, difficulty in looking for money, no land, no coconut plantation, enough in food (eating two time a day), enough in clothing, drinking water from stream, unable to put the children into school, tended to use traditional medicine, no TV, no parabola, no radio

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September - October 2003
Remarks: Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents

The second category is better-off/poor. The terms better-off and poor would seem to be able to be differentiated as they have different meanings. In the real situation, however, it seems difficult for the villagers to make a difference. Partly this is because the people who are identified as both better-off and poor, in general, share similar characteristics in terms

of asset ownership. That is the main reason that encouraged this study to put these two terms into the same category.

As discussed in chapter six, the second category was different from the first category in terms of the availability of asset ownership for each participant. It was defined by the participants in the village that in the first category a family can enjoy an abundant life whereas in the second category a family faces a more difficult life in meeting daily needs. The abundant life can be indicated by a happy life materially and there was a tendency for the abundant family to help the neighbor or close friends when they experienced difficult situations. In the second category the better-off family may sometimes be able to provide help, but not always.

Table 7.6: Well-being categories by questionnaire

Categories		Criteria
Rich	Kaya dan makmur	Micro-enterprise, car or motor bicycle, a long boat with engine (>40 HP), coconut plantation, large area of land, able to educate the children up to and through university, healthy, color TV, parabola, eating three times a day, savings in the bank, good clothing
Better off/poor	Cukup/miskin	Semi-permanent house, water from well, able to put the children into school, petromax, eating two times a day, a long boat with motor engine (< 25 HP), have 1 fishing net, have land, but not large (around 2 ha), enough clothing.
Very poor/ miserable	Sangat miskin/ sengsara	Using lantern/candle, water from a stream, unable to put the children into the school, no land, beggar, no jobs, no income, no good clothing, no long boat, no fishing net

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September - October 2003
Remarks: Questionnaires with 30 respondents

The terms for the second category are *cukup* (better-off) and *miskin* (poor), which are associated with the family who was able to provide the basic needs, such as food, clothing and shelter. The family was able to send the children to schools as well, but normally only until high school level. The luxurious assets, such as color TV, parabola and others were owned by the family, but they were not of the best quality in comparison with the first category.

The third category was very poor or miserable. Three main terms were used interchangeably. These were *sangat miskin* (very poor), *sengsara* (miserable) and *hidup susah* (life is difficult). This category was totally different from the previous categories because those included in this category experienced more difficult living situations. In the previous categories the family was still able to help the neighbor, but in this category it seemed almost impossible.

Beside the criteria that the villagers applied in identifying themselves, the very poor were also characterised by other common features such as being small farmers (see Plate 7.1 below), educational deprivation, malnutrition, lack of power, using firewood and kerosene, limited access to credit, being far from markets and living in non-permanent housing with no sanitation and no electricity.

The distribution of poverty by categories was determined by using applied methods and detailed in Tables 7.5 and 7.6. According to the questionnaire method, none of the participants were classified as rich. However, around 70 per cent were classified as well-off/poor and 30 per cent as very poor. According to the FGD method, none of the participants were identified as rich or very poor, all participants were better-off/ poor.

Broadly speaking the majority of the participants were better-off. These people had some assets which allowed them to do what they needed. Those who were very poor, on the other hand, experienced misery due to having very little or nothing. Asset ownership is useful in understanding the participants' perceptions. The perceptions primarily refer to what they had and were able to do, which refers to a concept of well-being, while what they did not have and were unable to do refers to the poverty concept. These understandings were not different from the villagers' views detailed in chapter six.

Plate 7.1: Subsistence farmers in the Isuraf village

Causes and impacts

When the participants identified causes of poverty, it was found that they had difficulty in distinguishing between the conditions and causes of poverty. The condition of being poor (Asian Development Bank, 2001:67) was mentioned as a lack. The causes of poverty were also explained by this same term, a lack. This occurred as well when they were asked to identify the impacts of poverty, where the term *kurang* (a lack) was always mentioned as the impact. Thus, a distinction between the condition, causes and impacts of poverty was not clear. Nevertheless, some primary indications of the causes and impacts, as explained by the participants, are explored in detail in the paragraphs below.

Whatever strategy is chosen to cope with the problem of poverty it should address its causes (Feeny, 2003:79). A lack of good quality education, skills, health and nutrition were commonly identified as main causes which led them to be poor in the village, as this lack

prevented the people from creating or looking for a job. Those who had good qualifications tended to migrate to the city and other districts in Papua looking for permanent jobs as workers in both government and private employment, while the rest who had low qualifications remained living in the village.

With limited education and skills, the villagers depended only on what was provided by nature, such as land and sea. Each day they went to the forest to cultivate the land and to the sea for fishing. However, the results they got were minimal and sometimes they were only enough for 1-3 days (interviews VE03, 10 October 2003; GO03, 10 October 2003; VE04, 12 October 2003; NGO03, 15 October 2003). It was very rare for them to act as an entrepreneur and to bring innovation or create new employment in the village as a means of generating income so that they could tackle the problem of poverty.

When the questionnaires were conducted from house to house, the study found many household members were sick with diseases such as malaria, asthma, coughing, diarrhea and skin diseases. This occurred, partly, due to limited knowledge on how to maintain a clean environment.

They often grieved as well over poor governance, which was seen by some as exacerbating the poverty problem (Feeny, 2003:80; interview NGO03, 15 October 2003). Through some informal interviews with local people in the district, there seemed to be an impression that development tended to be focused more on the main city or suburban areas than on the rural areas. This phenomenon is commonly acknowledged everywhere around the world and it was also argued by Chambers (1983:10-25).

One reason for the urban focus of development was that the local people who worked for the government, and were responsible for village development, tended to prioritise the village development funds and poverty assistance for the villages that they came from. In fact, when the interview was conducted with one of the government officials, there were not many people from the selected village who were working in the district office. It was

found that there was only a person who was working as a car driver for the district office (interview GO03, 10 October 2003).

As a result of the phenomena discussed above the villagers experienced some scarcities. Based on both the methods applied, the villagers identified the problem of poverty in terms of what was not done by the local government in the village and what was experienced as a lack. These were a lack of access to infrastructure (electricity, piped drinking water and transport); tools to carry out livelihoods: poor access to housing, sanitation, health services, schools and markets.

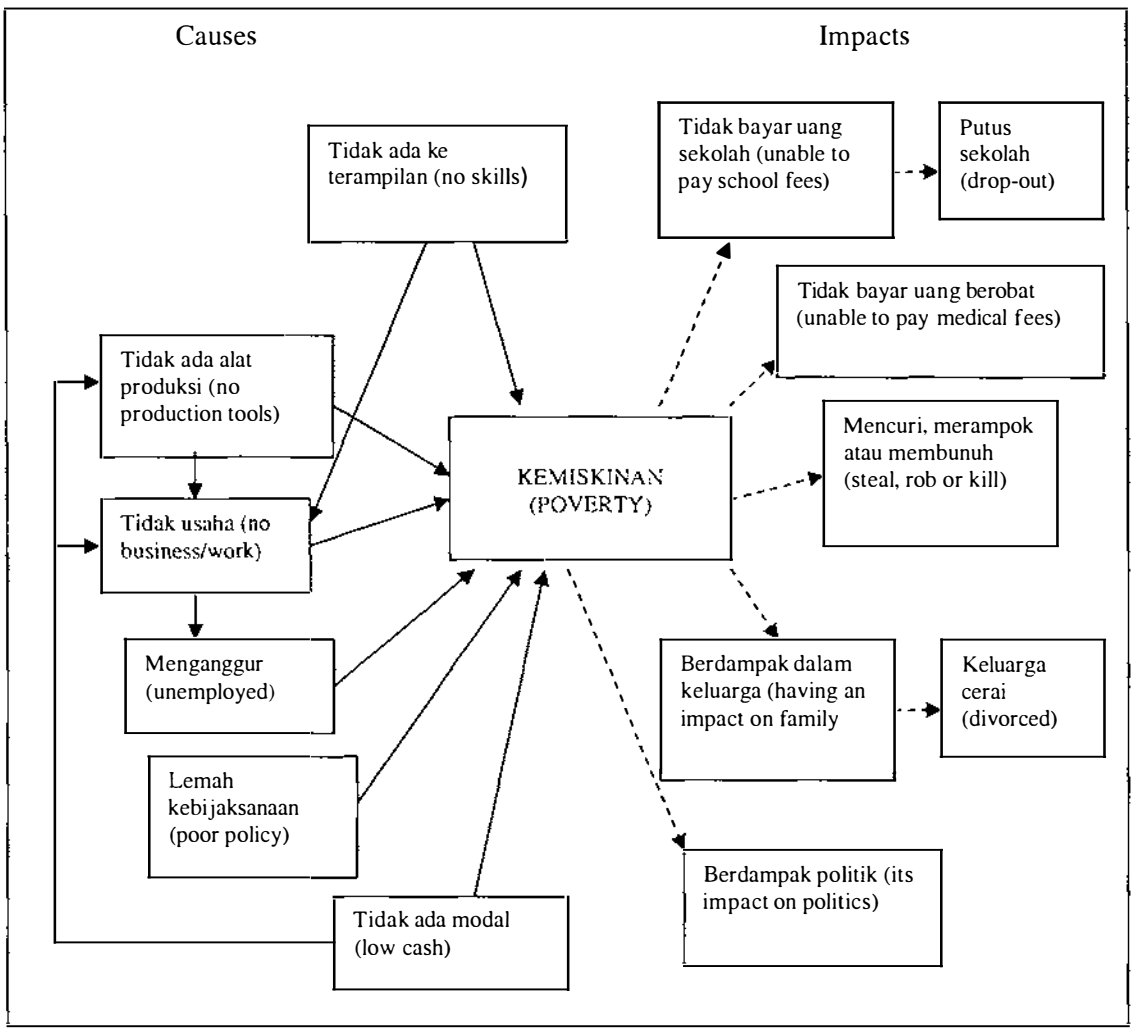
A lack of income and credit were identified as other important indicators of poverty. Most villagers worked as subsistence farmers and subsistence fishermen. They had a variety of scarcities such as tools, land, knowledge, skills and even markets, since where they usually sold their products was far away from the village. These limitations always prevented them from fulfilling their desire to increase their incomes and so they only produced a few products for consumption purposes.

The scarcities discussed above were exacerbated by a lack of access to credit since no financial institutions such as banks and money lenders operated in the village. Most of these institutions operated in the city and the institutions applied high interest rates and took other assets, such as land, as a guarantee. In fact, none of the villagers were able to fulfill the borrowing requirements and, therefore, they were not able to obtain credit. This indeed restricted the people from taking advantage of profitable opportunities (Feeny, 2003:81).

The above causes were reported by the questionnaire method. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 present other causes that were recorded by the FGD method. Policy, which tended to be biased and focused the development on certain areas, was cited by the male group in Figure 7.1 as a major factor contributing to poverty. From the figure, it can be seen that the people identified some physical assets which were not available in the village as a result of *lemah*

kebijaksanaan (poor policy), such as a lack of health services, high schools, electricity, piped drinking water and markets.

Figure 7.1: Causes and impacts of poverty in Isuraf village by the male group



Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September – October 2003. Recorded by Lukas Bonggoibo

The male group also identified no business work as an important factor that brings about poverty in the village. They argued that they have had desires to run micro-enterprises or other profitable work, but these desires were not fulfilled because of a lack of skills, tools and cash. These were acknowledged by one of the participants in the FGD (interview VE05, 13 October 2003). He said, *sebenarnya kitorang punya masalah utama di kampung*

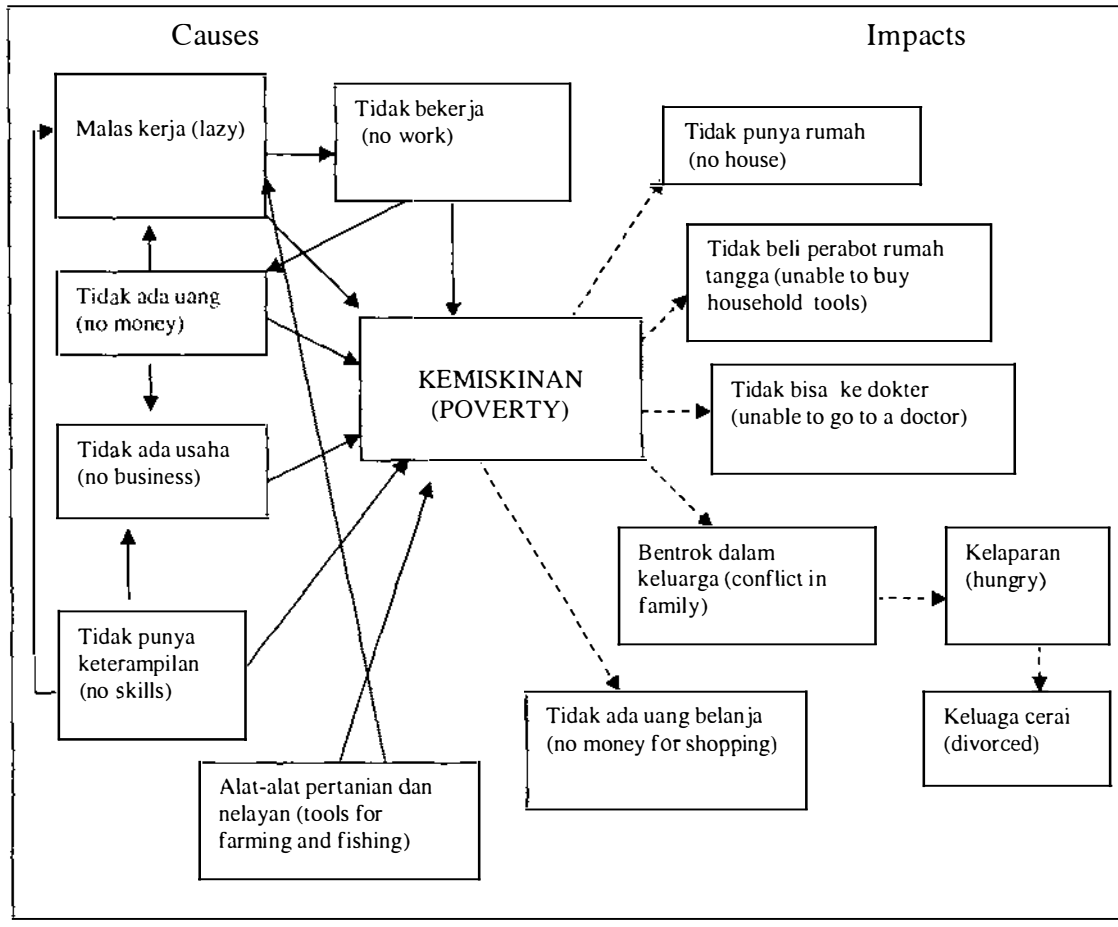
ini adalah uang, keterampilan dan peralatan untuk bertani dan mencari ikan. Jika hal-hal ini ada, kami yakin bisa merubah hidup (actually our main problems in this village were money, skills and tools for farming and fishing. If these things were available, we believe we can change our lives).

The female group in Figure 7.2 cited *malas kerja* as another factor contributing to poverty in the village. When they were asked to explain the reason for *malas kerja,* they all mentioned that a lack of tools for farming and fishing, skills and money/cash were the main causes of *malas kerja.* The term *malas kerja* in this context refers to working hard to make money and, hence, a person who was not working hard to make money was considered *malas.*

Soetrisno (1997:15-16) cited the term *malas kerja* as meaning *etos kerja yang rendah* (a low work ethic), which contributed to poverty. As Soetrisno (1997:16) argued, "... kemiskinan sering dikaitkan dengan rendahnya etos kerja anggota masyarakat atau dengan bahasa yang lebih popular sebab-sebab kemiskinan terkait dengan rajin atau tidaknya seseorang dalam bekerja/mengolah sumber daya alam yang tersedia." (... Poverty is often related to the low work ethic of community members or in other words causes of poverty are related to whether a person is diligent or not working/processing the existing natural resources).

The impacts of poverty vary. As indicated by Figures 7.1 and 7.2 the people identified a variety of impacts they experienced due to poverty. Since they were poor, they were unable to pay medical fees and school fees. Incomes they obtained from selling their catch and crops were not enough for meeting daily needs. In other words, incomes were used to buy the products which were not produced in the village, such as sugar, soap, cooking oil, salt, onion, rice and clothing. Because their incomes were so limited, they never thought about saving money in the bank and, hence, they were unable to meet other needs, including medical and school fees.

Figure 7.2: Causes and impacts of poverty in Isuraf village by the femal group



Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September – October 2003. Recorded by Anna Fince Sada

Both groups also identified family conflicts as an important impact of poverty. They argued that there was a case in which a husband and his wife were often involved in conflict as they did not have enough money. As a consequence, they decided to divorce even though this decision was unacceptable. Both groups argued that when there was a conflict the children suffered more than the parents as the parents would not take care of them.

In Figure 7.1 the male group cited an impact on politics as another consequence of poverty. The group explained that the poor were easily to be influenced during a general election. The phenomenon was common when any party came to the village and conducted a political campaign. They also acknowledged that it was very easy to involve the poor in a

political situation as a means of attracting government attention in order to obtain some assistance. This phenomenon often occurred when there was an unequal distribution of government assistance between some villages.

Education and poverty

Even though human assets play a key role in reducing poverty, this was not found in the study. As indicated in Table 7.1, a large number of the participants had only graduated from *SD*. Moreover, they all lacked training in skills which would not enable them to take advantage of profitable opportunities in the village.

When the fieldwork was conducted in the village, there was a road with good asphalt connecting the village to Biak city (see Plate 7.2).

Plate 7.2: A road connecting the village to the Biak city

The road was built by the local government and was mainly intended to support the villagers in selling their farming products in the city or in buying the needed products from the city and selling them back in the village to make money. However, not many villagers were able to do these profitable activities as none of them are trained in business skills.

There was no high school and no health centre in the village. Most high schools and health services were centred in the town of the sub-district, which was a long way from the village. The high schools and health services were still poorly equipped in terms of teachers, books, buildings, nurses and medicines. Because of this limitation, some people preferred to send their children to schools in Biak city rather than to schools in the sub-district. They also tended to visit the *Rumah Sakit Umum Daerah* in Biak city rather than *Puskesmas* in the sub-district. These factors did not benefit the villagers in terms of health and costs (interviews VE03, 10 October 2003; VE04, 12 October 2003).

Sources of livelihood

The land was not suitable for certain plants, such as cocoa, palms and cloves. Nevertheless, the land was favorable for subsistence farmers who wanted to grow cassava, sweet potatoes, taro, kankong and coconut. Their livelihoods commonly depend on these plants, but the products they obtained from the plants were limited for consumption purposes and for making money.

Some subsistence farmers diversified their sources of livelihood by utilising the existing natural conditions to breed livestock, such as chickens (*ayam kampung*), ducks, goats, cows and pigs (see Plate 7.3). They, in general, bred livestock for the purpose of making money rather than for consumption. Based on some interviews (interviews VE03, 10 October 2003; VE05, 13 October 2003), the villagers found it more beneficial to breed livestock than do subsistence farming (planting cassava, sweet potato and taro). The reason for this is that livestock can help them to generate more money than subsistence farming.

Some others utilised the local swamp and the stream in the village to develop fishponds. Nevertheless the study found that there were only two houses in the village that had developed fishponds (see Plate 7.4)

Plate 7.3: Cows in the village

Some others depended for their livelihood on government employment. For example, they were employed to work as primary school teachers. Nevertheless, there were not many government workers in the village and, therefore, they often did subsistence farming activities in order to add to their incomes. Some often went to Biak city to look for a permanent job, but this attempt often failed because of high competition and the limited availability of jobs. Some others left the village to look for jobs in other parts of the province.

Plate 7.4: Fishpond in the village

Income and expenditure

As mentioned earlier the local people tended to diversify their sources of livelihood. This brought about a variety of income sources on which they depended for their daily lives. Subsistence farming became a main sector contributing to people's livelihood and generating income for their lives. Subsistence fishing was another important sector which they combined with farming in order to add to their incomes.

With their low level of education and skills, it was difficult for them to make a clear distinction about which sector, farming or fishing, contributed more income to their lives. They predicted, however, that in comparison to others subsistence farming was their leading source of income.

Due to the above limitation, the study focused on their monthly incomes per household head. These incomes can be discovered by asking how much income is obtained a month or how much money is spent a month for food and non-food items. To obtain an accurate answer, two questions were asked relating to how much monthly income they received and how much money they spent. Table 7.7 below demonstrates their monthly incomes from both the data collection methods. As can be seen from the table around 75 per cent of respondents have monthly incomes between 300,000-397,917 rupiah by the FGD and 70 per cent between 300,000-433333 rupiah by the questionnaire. On average, they received 397,917 rupiah for the FGD and 433,333 rupiah for the questionnaire.

Table 7.7: Household incomes of respondents by data collection methods

Focus Group Discussion			Questionnaire		
Intervals	Frequency	Per cent	Intervals	Frequency	Per cent
300000-397917	9	75.0	300000-433333	21	70.0
397918-60000	3	25.0	433334-700000	9	30.0
Total	12	100.0	Total	30	100.0
Mean	397917.0		Mean	433333.0	
SD	90891.0		SD	97365.0	
Max	600000.0		Max	700000.0	
Min	300000.0		Min	300000.0	

Source: Data Processing

Of the above monthly incomes, a larger percentage was spent on food items than on non-food items. This accounted for around 75 per cent for the FGD group and 77 per cent for the questionnaire group. Non-food items such as soap, cloth, nails and other items consumed around 25 per cent for the FGD and 23 per cent for the questionnaire group.

In comparing monthly savings, it was discovered that none of the participants in the FGD had a saving account in the bank while, of those in the questionnaire group, approximately 37 per cent had saving accounts with amounts between 200,000-600,000 rupiah at the time of the fieldwork. The savings were intended to meet sudden needs such as medical and school fees.

Even though a small number of the participants had saving accounts in the bank, the savings were limited and intended for consumption purposes only. There was not much improvement, as can be seen from the household settings, in terms of luxurious asset ownership such as TVs, parabolas, motorcycles and radios.

As a whole the villagers still had the tendency to consume rather than to save. Some economists see this pattern of consumption as a phenomenon which can be a barrier in improving the economy of households and, therefore, it retards any attempt to reduce poverty. When interviews were conducted with the participants to find out the reasons for the tendency, some cited that it was encouraged by the limited monthly incomes while daily needs were unlimited (interview VE03, 10 October 2003).

Problems and priorities

Problems experienced by the poor

There were a variety of problems experienced by the participants that can be used to explain their poverty. These problems can be grouped into around twelve main categories. Each participant could experience all these problems, but some just experienced a few.

Most participants believed that their problems could be best examined based on what they do not have or what they lack. In this regard, they assumed lack of assets was a source of their problems. They in general identified physical assets in the form of schools, health services, public transport, electricity, tools for both farming and fishing and land as priorities needing a solution.

They asserted that even though previous village development programmes had paid attention to the above assets, especially schools, health centre, transport and electricity, there were still some people that had not been reached by these programmes. As a result, some still had a feeling of frustration and powerlessness because they saw themselves as

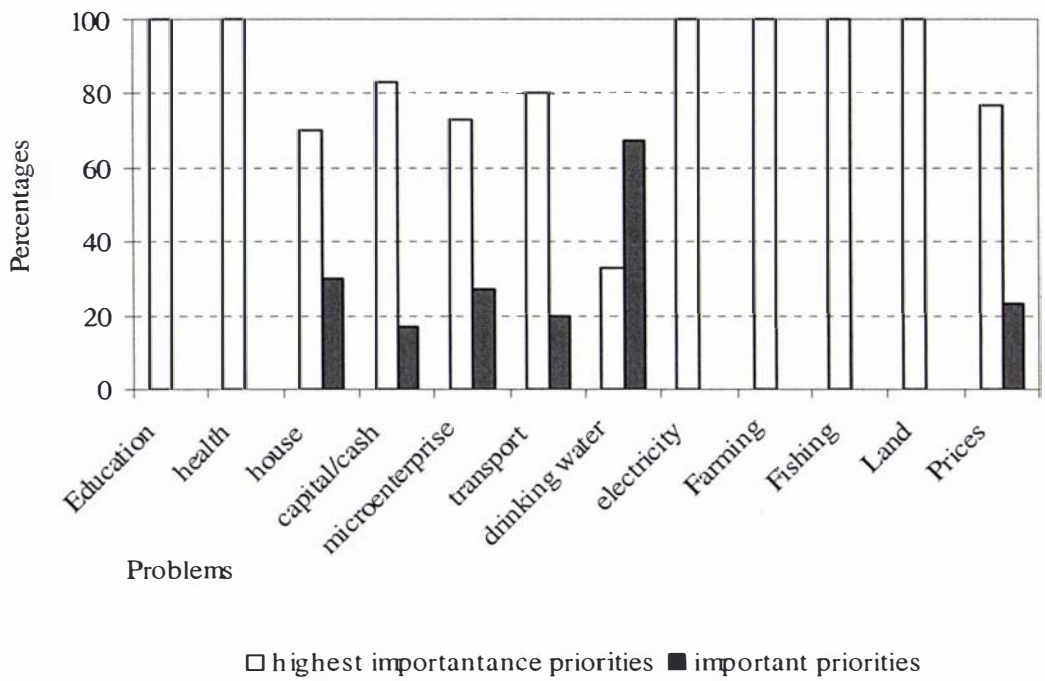
being left behind, whereas other villages around them had developed or improved. They were aware that their powerlessness stemmed from their lack of political patronage (interview VE04, 12 October 2003).

Most participants identified the size and fertility of land as a very important problem due to it being the asset which provided their livelihood. They explained that, they all had, on average, only around two hectares for planting some crops, but the land was not fertile and was only favorable for certain plants. The realisation that it was an infertile land constituted a common phenomenon not only in the selected village but in the whole island of Biak. The island is known as *pulau berbatu karang* (a rock-bound island) which is infertile and difficult for farming. As a consequence, the island had not become a main place for the national transmigration programme.

Another highly important problem related to general prices. As the land was infertile, they often found it necessary to buy rice as a substitute for their staple foods such as taro, cassava and sweet potato. However, they all felt that rice per kg was expensive, roughly more than 3,500 rupiah per kg. In some markets it was 5,000 rupiah per kg depending on the type of rice. To get the 3,500 or 5,000 rupiah a day was difficult for villagers (interviews VE03, 10 October 2003; GO03, 10 October 2003).

As shown by Figures 7.3 and 7.4, most villagers also identified the problems of capital/cash, micro-enterprise and housing as other important priorities. Lack of access to credit, public transport, tools (farming and fishing) and other means of production were the main barriers to generating income (micro-enterprise). This also brought about no incentive to produce goods for the market.

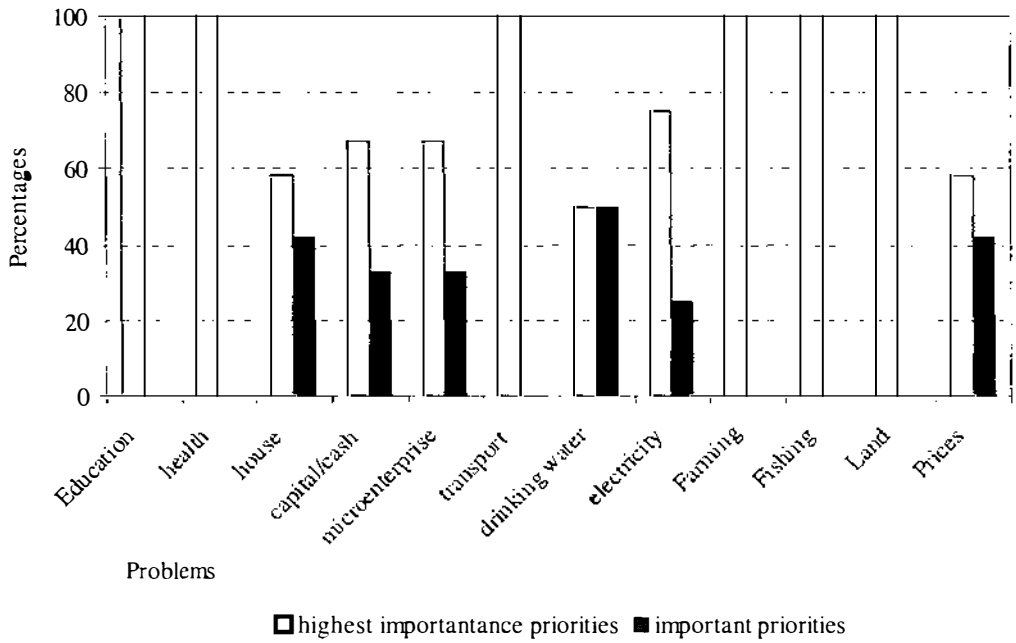
Figure 7.3: Problems given based on three top ranks by quetionnaires



Source: Table 7.10 (appendix four)

The condition of housing was often cited as criteria of poverty and development in the village. Most people had non-permanent housing with a lack of electricity, no latrine and no piped drinking water. Lack of capital/cash was mentioned as a prime cause for not constructing a permanent house. Some cited that they needed assistance from the local government, and they often complained that aid, in terms of building materials, was given to other villages which were closer to the government.

Figure 7.4: Problems given based on three top ranks by focus group discussions



Source: Table 7.11 (appendix four)

Trends in problem priorities

The people acknowledged that the current situation had improved compared to previous situations. They linked the current situation with 1998 and 1999 when their lives were in a more severe economic crisis. In 1998 and 1999 they all agreed that they often had difficulties in providing their food consumption as general prices increased sharply locally, whereas their locally produced staple foods were quantitatively limited.

In addition to the high general prices and scarce staple foods, the situations were exacerbated by limited public transport that prevented them from selling their farm products at the market in the city. They argued that in those years there were not many private taxis connecting the village to the city and vice versa. Now there were some, even though they were still scarce in terms of quantity and time schedule. The local government

also provided some public buses to serve the route which encouraged urbanization and the flow of goods.

Even though there was some improvement, most people still repeatedly mentioned other bad aspects of their lives. Most landholdings are not favorable to the owners due to their small size and low productivity. Even though it seemed to be difficult to know exactly the size per subsistence farmer, field observation showed that each farmer had only between one and two hectares for planting staple foods. Land for farmers is extremely important for their livelihood, but the land itself is not enough (Mukherjee, 2001:4). Mukherjee pointed out that the productivity of the land is another important aspect to consider. In a real situation as found by the study in the village, most landholdings were *berbatu karang* (a rock bound land) which was infertile. This led the subsistence farmers to be unmotivated to increase the crops.

Income generation was repeatedly cited as another important problem. Since 1998 and 1999 until the present, they experienced limited incomes from farming and fishing. Other income generating activities were not carried out because of a lack of access to credit, lack of skills and training and lack of financial support. Although rural livelihoods were diverse (Mukherjee, 2001), it was acknowledged that the people researched needed income to meet their needs if limited staple foods were produced. The low levels of income generation and infertile land, according to the local people, constituted continuous factors contributing to poverty in the village (interview NGO03, 15 October 2003).

The delivery of basic services was another important problem in the people's view of the poverty level they faced. Schooling was mentioned as an important priority, which was reflected in high student enrollments. They made critical comments on the low quality of education available in terms of not enough teachers, lack of school supplies, and lack of transport to and from school which required the children to walk long distances. The lack of doctors, nurses and a dispensary was also a matter of great concern. In a fact, there was no health centre at all in the village. According to the villagers, they had to visit the *Rumat*

*Sakit Umum Daera*h in the city for serious diseases, but for other diseases such as malaria and diarrhea they depended on traditional medicines, even though the traditional medicines did not always cure their diseases.

Another deficiency in service delivery is seen in the lack of electricity and lack of piped water. Before the crisis all the villagers experienced a lack of both power and piped water. After the crisis, a few, especially the better-off people, had power but none had piped water. As a result, almost all of them depended on *petromax* for power and the stream near the village as their sole source of water for cooking, washing and drinking.

The villagers identified lack of tools for both farming and fishing as another important priority. The study found that they all had simple tools for farming such as a short machete, an axe and a dibble. For fishing they depended on a wooden canoe, nets, hooks and line. As none of them had good equipment, like a tractor and a boat, their livelihoods still seemed to be hard. Their simple tools were in fact not very much help to them and it was difficult for them to increase their crops and their catch.

Women seemed to suffer more than men as a result of the above problems. Women are culturally responsible for household work while men are responsible for outside work. When the household experiences difficulty in gaining a livelihood, the women can also do outside work. In this case, according to the local perception, women can have double functions as a mother and as a worker. In the first function, a mother must concentrate on domestic activities such as washing, cooking, ironing, and taking care of the children. In the second function, a mother may do the father's work outside the household, such as farming and fishing, selling the crops and taking the catch to the market.

Table 7.8: Perceived problem trends in the last five years

Worse than five years ago	Still bad now	Improved over the past five years
• Tools (both farming and fishing) • Transport • Cash/credit • Piped water • Permanent jobs • Electricity • Health • Prices • Micro-enterprise • House • Road	• Tools (both farming and fishing) • Cash/credit • Piped water • Permanent jobs • Electricity • Health • Micro-enterprise	• Road • Some have permanent houses • Some have electricity • Transportation (private taxis) • Two families have fishponds • Two families sold sugar, cigarettes, tea , coffee, salt and other items

Remark: People researched had the same views on all of the problem trends
Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village September-October 2003

The effects of the problems were felt by the children as well. Children, both at primary school and high school, had to choose between going to school by walking a long distance or staying at home to help their parents in farming or fishing. They often had to leave school early because of a lack of money to pay the high school fees, a lack of school supplies, teacher absenteeism and a lack of transport to and from school. Children under five years old suffered more than school age children from malnutrition, being underweight, malaria diseases and infant mortality. Of the above problems, some had been solved since 1998 but some have not, as detailed in Table 7.8.

Coping strategies

People mentioned some solutions to the problems they experienced. They all diversified their strategies in order to survive. Subsistence farming and fishing constitute their main solutions to cope with the worsening economic situation. These are actually traditional livelihoods handed down from their ancestors and their method of cultivation was still relatively simple. For example, they still used simple tools for farming and fishing, as mentioned earlier.

No modern technology was applied for agriculture and fishing due to low levels of education and skill training. As a consequence their crops and catch are very limited and they often experience a lack of food. To respond this lack, some saw agricultural extension programmes and vocational courses as ways to improve subsistence farming and fishing (interview VE03, 10 October 2003).

Men often went out from the village to seek additional income in the city such as labouring in the building sector. However, they just worked as manual and temporary laborers. Some also laid asphalt on the road, but this work was very rare. It was a good way for the laborers to add to their household incomes even though the incomes they obtained were low (interview NGO03, 15 October 2003). Others worked for the government in the city and in other parts of Papua. These workers permanently resided in the city or other parts and sometimes transferred money to their parents in the village (interview VE04, 12 October 2003).

Turning to relatives for help was powerful method to cope with a worsening economic situation. Around 100 per cent of the participants acknowledged that turning to relatives for help was an integral value of their cultural system which was handed down from their ancestors and it was also part of being a loving neighbor according to their Christian faith (interview VE03, 10 October 2003). Most help from relatives, in general, was in the form of food and money, as found in chapter six.

During the fieldwork, some said that when they were sick they had to stay at home to recuperate as there were no health services in the village. Some others said they had to walk long distances to the sub-district town to get assistance at the *Puskesmas Pembantu* or a traditional healer in another village.

Institutions

Institutions helping the poor

The village government structure for all villages in Indonesia is similar as it is centrally organised. As a consequence, the government institutions in the village were similar to those mentioned in chapter six, which basically consist of *desa, dusun, Rukun Warga (RW)* and *Rukun Tetangga (RT)*. There were also other institutions in the village which were formed by the villagers such as *Persekutuan Kaum Bapak (PKB), Persekutuan Kaum Ibu, Persekutuan Angkataan Muda, Persekutuan Angkatan Remaja* and *dewan adat.*

Some people cited other institutions such as CBM and JPS. CBM (Community Based Management) is locally known as PBM, which stands for *Pengelolaan Berbasis Masyarakat*. This institution is under the direction of the World Bank, but locally it is organised by the local government through *BP3D* at the district level and is known as POKJA, which stands for *Kelompok Kerja* (interview NGO03, 15 October 2003). JPS (*Jaringan Pengaman Sosial)* is a safety net programme which was designed by the national government. The program was implemented in each region in Indonesia and is locally coordinated by each local government.

The participants were asked to rank the above institutions based on the same criteria as mentioned in chapter six. Table 7.9 below demonstrates the results of the ranking made by the participants. All participants ranked relatives or close friends as very important institutions in their lives. Religious institutions and traditional/cultural institutions were ranked important in their lives, while government institutions were ranked as less important.

Relatives or close friends always helped in difficult situations and were guaranteed to provide what was needed. Relatives or close friends always voluntarily assisted as they were all family or neighbours (interviews VE03, 10 October 2003; VE04, 12 October

2003). These were the reasons why relatives or close friends were given the highest ranking.

Table 7.9: Ranking of institutions

Institutions		Focus Group Discussion	Questionnaire
Government organizations		Highest importance = rank 1 (3)	Highest importance = rank 1 (3)
	Administration		
1	Village government	2	1
	Desa	3	3
	Dusun	3	3
	Rukun Warga (RW)	3	3
	Rukun Tetangga (RT)		
2	Services		
	Social Safety Net/JPS	2	2
	Schools	3	2
	Posyandu	3	3
	Pokja	3	3
Community Based Organisations			
1	Religious		
	PKB GKI	2	2
	PW GKI	2	2
	PAM GKI	3	2
2	Tradition/culture		
	Dewan adat	2	2
	Relatives/close friends	1	1

Remark: Numbers in parentheses refer to ranking levels made by the respondents.
Source: Tables 7.12 and 7.13 (appendix four)

Another institution which was given the highest ranking was the *desa*. This was perhaps due to the position of the village head as a government leader at the village level. He was responsible for village development, including solving the problems experienced by the village population. He always coordinated the villagers in giving a hand when a family needed help, for example, building a house or taking a sick person to the hospital in Biak city.

Religious institutions and traditional institutions were given a second ranking as the institutions that often helped solve the problems, even though they were not always able to

help. For example, when the people needed to borrow cash from their relatives or close friends but the cash was not available, the people could borrow from the religious institutions or traditional institutions without any interest or other guarantee. Other institutions such as *dusun, Rukun Warga, Rukun Tetangga,* schools, *Posyandu, Pokja and PAM* were ranked as less important, as these institutions seldom helped the villagers in terms of financial support.

Judging institutions

The institutions were judged based on two main criteria: trusted and effectiveness. These criteria, however, were difficult to differentiate for the participants, which was probably due to the people's limited education and so the terms were understood to have similar meanings. Broadly speaking, the villagers said that any institution was trusted and effective if the institutions met some criteria: *terbuka dan jujur* (open and fair), *bermanfaat* (benefit), adil *(Sama) dalam memberikan bantuan* (equitable in its subsidy), *dapat berbicara langsung kepada masyarakat dan mendengarkan kepada masayarakat* (could talk directly to and listen to the people).

In the FGD, one of the participants said "*Apa yang paling penting buat suatu lembaga adalah dia punya manfaat buat kitorang. Maksudnya manfaat yang diberikan itu harus sesuai dengan kebutuhan masyarakat. Contoh, program Raskin yang diberikan sebenarnya tidak cocok karena yang kami perlukan bukan beras, tapi alat-alat untuk bertani atau pergi ke laut. Jadi sebenarnya program Raskin tidak efektif. Kami juga sudah sarankan untuk diganti dengan yang lain tapi tidak diganti. Jadi kami juga tidak percaya*". (What is very important for any institution is its benefit to the people. It means the benefits given have to be appropriate to the community needs. For example, in the *Raskin program* giving rice is not appropriate because what we need is not rice, but tools for farming or fishing. So, the program is not effective. We have also suggested to replace the rice with something else, but it was not replaced. So, we do not trust them).

Almost all participants cited that relatives or close friends and *kepala desa* constitute the main institutions in the village that were ranked higher than other institutions in terms of effectiveness and trustworthiness in meeting their needs when they were facing problems. Religious institutions and tribal institutions also met the important criteria by meeting their needs while the rest of the institutions were ranked as less important. Less important rankings were given to several institutions not only because they were not able to meet the above criteria, but also because they were unable to subsidize the people in terms of financial matters.

Conclusion

Isuraf village is geographically flat and is a coastal village. Most of its geographical area is rock bound land and infertile. Nevertheless, the land can be planted with certain staple foods. The sea contains plenty of marine life which, perhaps, promises to provide a good living for the local people.

Most villagers were subsistence farmers and fishermen. They produced crops and the catch for consumption purposes. Even though some sold a part of their products, they were mainly intended to meet daily needs. Their products were limited as, in general, they experienced a lack of tools, education and skills-training.

The villagers never experienced miserable poverty as they had the land and the sea. None of them accepted that they were poor people because, they argued, God gave them a beautiful land and a wonderful sea for a sustainable livelihood. They agreed, however, they could be classified as poor in terms of money, skills, education or other costly goods.

They understood poverty as a difficult situation in which they experienced a lack in meeting their daily needs. Their understanding of poverty was expressed in several local terms as discussed earlier, and it was manifested in a lack of assets, such as a lack of a permanent house, a lack of income, no electricity, no roads and more. They were also able

to contrast the term poverty with the term well-being, which was understood as a happy situation in which a person or a family is able to meet their daily needs.

They also understood that the poverty they faced was caused by a number of factors, such as a lack of skills, a lack of tools for farming and fishing, a lack of cash, a lack of micro-enterprises, unemployment and poor policy. These causes became serious problems that they have faced until now. They all stated that these problems were a priority to solve. Other problem priorities comprised health, housing, drinking water, electricity, and transport.

To cope with their daily problems, subsistence farming and subsistence fishing were the main coping strategies they depended on to solve the problems. In addition, there were other institutions that gave support to the poor during difficult times. Nevertheless, as indicated by the ranking of the institutions, not all institutions were able to provide the needed help.

They all agreed that help from relatives and close friends was their best way to reduce their deprivations. This was indicated in the ranking of institutions where these institutions were valued as highly important during difficult situations because they were always present to provide help for the poor. *Kepala desa* was ranked as highly important as well because the village head was also helpful in terms of meeting their requests when they were facing the problems.

There were other government institutions in the village such as *desa, dusun, Rukun Warga, Rukun Tetangga*, Social Safety Net, *Posyandu* and *Pokja*. However, these institutions did not give much help to the people. These institutions were ranked as less or not important to the lives of the poor because these institutions seldom helped the poor terms of financial support to cope with their problems.

To summarise, the villagers generally understood poverty as a difficult situation in which they experienced a lack in meeting their daily needs. This lack was also linked with a variety of assets that were not available in the village that led them to face difficult situations. These assets were presented in Figures 7.3, 7.4 and Table 7.8.

Having examined the second case study conducted in Isuraf village, the next chapter investigates the third case study in Tanjung Irausak. Chapter eight will explore the results of this case study in detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CASE STUDY III: TANJUNG IRAUSAK VILLAGE IN SORONG DISTRICT

Introduction

The findings presented in this chapter emanate from the third case study, carried out in Tanjung Irausak village by using similar research methods as utilised in the previous case studies in chapters six and seven. The discussion regarding the research findings in this chapter are organized in the same way as in chapters six and seven in order to compare the three case studies, which will be further explored in chapter nine.

The poverty profile is addressed first, as it is important to provide inputs for designing poverty reduction policies. This comprises the perceptions of the poor, causes and impact of poverty as well as sources of livelihoods. The next section focuses the investigation on the main problems the poor experience and how they prioritise issues to solve them. Some conclusions will be explored in the final section of this chapter in order to compare it with the previous case studies. This comparison will be discussed in chapter nine.

The village overview

Population and land area

Tanjung Irausak is a coastal village in the district of Sorong. It has a beautiful, long and clean beach where there are plenty of exotic corals and which is suitable for divers. This beach has beautiful scenery and recreation facilities, which motivate people to swim across the Irausak Strait.

The land area covers 332,420 hectares and is inhabited by 676 people. This is a very rarely inhabited area and population was only concentrated in the village while the rest of the area was forest and mountain. The land as a whole is infertile and not suitable for cultivating plants such as rice, cloves and rubber. The only plants they can cultivate are kangkong, banana, coconut, taro, sweet potato and breadfruit. These crops were mainly intended for daily consumption.

Of the above population, 35 per cent were females giving a sex ratio of 1.99 males for every female. As mentioned earlier, the sex ratio of a population depends largely on the mortality of males and females and on the age-sex distribution of migrant inflow or outflow. Of three basic components of demographic change: fertility, mortality and migration, this study assumes that sex-ratio in the village was more influenced by the mortality than other two components as a result of limited access to health services. However, this still needs the further research to determine the exact factors behind the change.

Respondent characteristics

The percentage of people who had graduated from high schools, both junior and senior was relatively high. From the FGD groups, the percentages were 42 per cent for junior high schools and 50 per cent for senior high schools. In the questionnaire group, the percentages for each high school were still high at 23 per cent and 53 per cent respectively. The percentages for each educational level are detailed in Table 8.1 below.

The FGD groups contained no one who had not graduated from primary schools or attended school. The questionnaire group, on the other hand, did include some who had never attended school or only achieved primary school education. The number of participants with higher education levels in the current village is greater than the number of participants in the previous villages.

Table 8.1: Educational status by methods

Education of respondents	FGD		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Never attended school	-	-	-	-
3 Years primary school (SR*)	-	-	1	4
6 Years primary school	-	-	4	13
3 Years junior high school	5	42	7	23
3 Years senior high school	6	50	16	53
University/diploma	1	8	2	7
Total	12	100	30	100

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October – November 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
* = SR (Sekolah Rakyat) run by Dutch Government

This high number demonstrated that in this village there were a large number of the villagers who had graduated from high school levels. The high number may have occurred as a result of the snowball technique used to select the respondents. This method, as was discussed in chapter five, selected the respondents to interview based on the information that was given by a previous respondent.

Both methods also recorded participants by age. In the FGD groups, the participants were aged between 22 and 49, while in the questionnaire group they were aged between 22 and 57. All of the participants were able to contribute to household income, as they were of productive age (Susanti et al, 1995:76).

Table 8.2 below shows the participants by age groups. The dominant age groups were 23-30 years and 31-38 years. In the FGD, the first age group represented 25 per cent and the second group represented 33 per cent. In the questionnaire group the groups accounted for 40 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively.

The age groups of 0-14 years and 55 years and over were defined as non-productive. These age groups are not actively seeking jobs and, hence, they are not really contributing to household income (Susanti et al, 1995:76). The reason is that the age group of 0-14 is

basically still in the school, while the age group of 55 years and above is too physically weak to work.

Table 8.2: Age distribution of participants by methods

Age distribution	FGD		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
≤ 14 year	-	-	-	-
15 - 22 years	1	8	2	7
23 – 30 years	3	25	12	40
31 – 38 years	4	33	9	30
39 – 46 years	2	17	4	13
47 – 54 years	2	17	2	7
≥ 55 years	-	-	1	3
Total	12	100	30	100

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October – November 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents

In the FGD group, females and males accounted for 50 per cent each. In the questionnaire group, females represented 33 per cent and males 67 per cent. They all were married and couples had an average of four children. All of the couples lived together with their parents. Normally cultural values in Papua, as a whole, allow a couple to live with the husband's family before the couple has a house. As they live with the family they share food and shelter together. The majority of the participants had non-permanent houses, non-permanent incomes and a lack of skills and training. The village is close to the town, as mentioned in chapter five, but a large number of the participants had no electricity, no piped water and there was no asphalted road (see Plate 8.1).

Gender issues were linked to the issues of lack of jobs and other opportunities to earn cash, too little or no land to cultivate food crops, lack of access to services and poor living conditions, no or low education and skills, and the demands of the extended family. From the education side, in discussion groups both men and women reported that there were only some women who graduated from primary school (Table 8.1): four graduated from six year primary school and one from three year primary school, while all men graduated from high school and university. This exists because, they argued, culturally it is men who are

responsible for generating cash outside the house while women are responsible for inside tasks of the family. This case is similar to the case in Isuraf village due to these two villages sharing similar cultural characteristics. As a consequence, women tended to leave school at a younger age in order to help their parents rather than continuing school to a high level.

The methods used also reported the differences between males and females in terms of income generation. The FGD recorded that there more (79 per cent) females had low income than males (62 per cent), and the questionnaire also reported that more females had low income than men (80 per cent and 70 per cent respectively). The reasons for this difference were due to women only working in subsistence agriculture (farming and fishing) while men had more chance to work in other sectors such as building sector and the ship harbour. This increased men's income compared to women's income. None of the women were involved in wage labour.

In terms of meeting daily needs, women were more deprived than men. Tables 8.5 and 8.6 demonstrate the criteria that make the difference, and it was recorded that more women suffered from poverty than men, around 75 per cent and 68 per cent respectively. This was due to the reasons explored earlier such as a lack of access to credits, land, market, education and skill.

Plate 8.1: Tanjung Irausak village

Profiles of poverty

Perception of the poor

Broadly speaking, the poor seemed to be ashamed of and disliked being considered poor. This is a case from the fieldwork, which often affects participants to attend the FGD conducted in the village. They assumed the term poverty refers to a low status or being of low dignity in the community. The poor, according to their understanding, are the people who are beggars, unemployed and weak as they have no land, no permanent houses, and no boat with an engine (interviews VE06, 24 October 2003; VE07, 24 October 2003).

The villagers thus understood poverty as a lack of something (lack of income, employment, housing, land, electricity, piped water and food supply). These were the dimensions of

poverty they cited, but indeed the dimensions of poverty are very broad (World Bank, 2001a:15).

Poverty was contrasted with well-being. In the field, the participants seemed to look at poverty as a state of lacking something while well-being was a state of being well-off. In their daily lives, they could distinguish both terms by looking at the ownership of assets. If a family had some or many assets then the family was considered rich (interview VE06, 24 October 2003).

During the fieldwork the participants acknowledged that none of them were considered rich. This view was investigated by asking the question, as mentioned earlier: "How do you consider yourself compared to others?" They all cited that they were all the same in terms of economic status having no regular income, non-permanent housing and no electricity. As argued by one of the participants (interview VE08, 27 October 2003): "*Kami semua di desa ini sama karena semua sama-sama memiliki rumah tidak permanen, pakai air sumur, tidak punya listrik, tidak punya TV dan parabola. Tidak ada yang sangat kaya atau sangat miskin. Soal makan kami semua cukupi, tapi soal barang-barang mewah agak susah*" (All of us in this village are similar because each of us has a non-permanent house, we are all using well water, we have no electricity, no TV and no parabola. No one is very rich or very poor. There is no problem with food, we all have enough, but we don't have access to luxury goods and so this is a difficulty).

Understanding poverty and well-being can also be explored through the local terms used in their social environment, as discussed in chapters six and seven. It was found in the fieldwork that poverty and well-being basically dealt with whether assets were available or not in the villages and whether the people had access to them or not. This was a very important determinant for the people in defining poverty and well-being. As found in the field, people's understanding was linked to the various dimensions of assets and this has been mentioned by some scholars as well (Behrman, 1993:125; Quibria, 1993: 125; IFAD, 2001b:4; Ellis, 2000:31-34).

Local terms used for poverty were obtained by asking the questions mentioned in previous chapters. Locally the people used terms *konaroinowa* or *kosmairowebornowa* for the term poverty and the terms *konarowebor* or *kosmairowebor* for the term well-being. The meaning of the terms in Indonesian and English, as well as the criteria applied to explain the terms, are presented in Tables 8.3 and 8.4.

The terms *konaroinowa* or *kosmairowebornowa* are applied to people who experience lack or who have no assets, while the terms *Konarowebor or Kosmairowebor* are used to indicate people who have assets. The local assets they applied to the people who they classified as *Konarowebor* or *Kosmairowebor* were permanent housing, permanent job, land, coconut plantation, regular income, TV, parabola, Johnson engine, motorcycle, saving account in the bank and others.

Table 8.3: Local terms used to mention poverty in the village

FGD		Questionnaire	
Indonesian	English	Indonesian	English
Kurang	Lack	Kurang	Lack
Tidak cukup	Not enough	Kosmairowebornowa*	We have nothing
Konaroinowa*	We have nothing	Tidak punya apa-apa	Have nothing
Kosmairowebornowa*	We have nothing		

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October – November 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
* = local languages

When the FGD was conducted in the village office (Plate 8.2 below), most participants tended to exclude the daily food supply from their understanding of poverty as they assumed they were able to provide their daily food. In other words they felt that they had enough food for their daily consumption and, therefore, this was not applied to measure poverty even though they had to work hard for the food supply. They often cited that they did not really experience lack of food because the land and the sea still provided all they required. They defined being poor as a failure to own luxury assets such as a colour TV, a

parabola and a boat with a Johnson engine, but not lacking in food (interviews VE06, 24 October 2003; VE09, 25 October 2003).

Table 8.4: Local terms used to mention well-being in the village

FGD		Questionnaire	
Indonesian	English	Indonesian	English
Berada	Well-to-do	Kaya	Rich
Kaya	Rich	Bahagia	Happy
Konarowebor*	We have goods	Cukup	Enough
Kosmairowebor*	We have goods	Kosmairowebor*	We have goods
Cukup	Enough	Konarowebor*	We have goods

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October – November 2003
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaire had 30 respondents
* = local languages

The poor and the rich in the village were classified on the basis of their asset ownership. This classification is explored in the next paragraph. Most villagers, as discussed in the previous chapters, always defined the term poverty based on the assets they owned in the village. This meant the assets they used to define poverty were the assets they normally had in the village and perhaps they saw physically in their village setting as a whole. Khan (2001:4) pointed out four main assets that were mostly found in village settings, physical assets, human assets, infrastructural assets and institutional assets.

The distribution of poverty by categories

There were three categories as discussed in the previous chapters: rich, better off/poor and very poor. Each group and its criteria are demonstrated in Tables 8.5 and 8.6. From these tables, it can be seen that the first category is rich. People who were rich were called by the Indonesian terms *berada, kaya* and *bahagia,* and in the local language *Konarowebor* or *Kosmairowebor*. The local terms used in the current village were generally similar to the local terms used in Isuraf village as discussed in chapter seven. This is because they

ethnically belong to the same Biak tribe. As they were in the same ethnic group, they had similar characteristics such as housing and language.

The rich group is above the other two groups in terms of asset ownership. As discussed in Tables 8.5 and 8.6 below they were physically happy because they had some assets that allowed them to have high social status in the village setting.

The second group is better off/poor, sometimes called *cukup*. As a whole this group was able to provide their daily basic needs such as food, income, water and housing. However, the basic need provision was not as good as in the first group. For example, the second group could eat every day, but not always three times a day, they could have a TV, but they did not have a parabola, they had electricity, but they did not have a water pump.

Plate 8.2: The village office was the place where the FGD was carried out

Table 8.5: Well-being categories by focus group discussion

Categories		Criteria
Rich	Berada, kaya, bahagia	High permanent income, coconut plantation, micro-business, permanent job, electricity, piped water, permanent house, eating three times a day with good nutrition, boat with a Johnson engine
Better off/poor	Cukup	Non-permanent income, eating two times a day, semi-permanent house, electricity, TV, semi-permanent job, enough clothing, using water from well, a boat with no Johnson engine, no plantation, no parabola
Very poor	Kurang/tidak punya apa-apa	Low status, eating-but not a healthy menu, no housing/non permanent house, no TV, no electricity, no boat so no Johnson engine, no plantation, no parabola, no job, no income

Source : Fieldwork conducted in the village October - November 2003
Remarks: Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents

Table 8.6: Well-being categories by questionnaire

Categories		Criteria
Rich	Kaya, bahagia	Car, motor bicycle, good income, good job, permanent house, TV, parabola, electricity, water pump, Johnson and boat, eating regularly, jewelry
Better off/poor	Cukup	Water pump, enough in clothing, semi-permanent house, enough in food, semi-permanent job, semi-permanent income, TV, electricity.
Very poor	Tidak cukup/kurang	Unemployed, difficult in food, no income, no housing, easy to get disease, low status, no plantation

Source : Fieldwork conducted in the village October - November 2003
Remarks: Questionnaires with 30 respondents

The last group was very poor and was called *tidak cukup* or *kurang* in the Indonesian language and *konaroinowa* or *kosmairowebornowa* in the local language. The group was characterised by *tidak cukup* or *kurang* of daily basic needs, as presented in Tables 8.5 and 8.6. For example they were unemployed, experienced difficulty in getting sufficient food, and had no assets, no income, no housing, and no plantations. The per centage of poverty by classification is shown in Table 8.7. This table shows the largest per centage of the participants in the fieldwork was classified as better-off/poor people according to both methods applied. From the FGD groups, this accounted for around 75 per cent, whereas

from the questionnaire group this category accounted for 93 per cent. Both methods also noted that there were no participants who were considered rich.

Table 8.7: Distribution of poverty by categories

Categories	FGD		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
Rich	-	-	-	-
Better off/poor	9	75	28	93
Very poor	3	25	2	7
Total	12	100	30	100

Source: Tables 8.5 and 8.6
Remarks: FGD= Focus Group Discussion with 12 respondents;
Questionnaires with 30 respondents

As in the previous case studies, better-off/poor people were the most dominant group in the village. This meant that they were poor, but they were not miserable. This was due to the land and sea where they lived, which still promises a sustainable livelihood for the people. As cited by one of the participants (interview VE010, 23 October 2003): "*Kami tidak miskin karena kami punya hutan, tanah dan laut yang masih memberikan kami makan dan mata pencaharian. Kalau ada yang tidak makan, itu karena mereka tidak mau mencari*" (We are not poor because we have forest, land and sea that give us food and livelihood. If there is a person who has no food it is because he/she does not want to work).

Causes and impacts

As discussed by some experts and also found in this study the causes and the impacts of poverty are complex and multidimensional (Khan, 2001: 1, World Bank, 2001a:15). They involve many aspects of life such as the economy, culture, climate, and public policy. Likewise, the poor people in the village seemed to have a diverse understanding of the problems and the ways they coped with the problems.

To understand the causes and the impacts, therefore, it was essential to investigate their problems and their coping strategies. In the village setting, the understanding of rural poverty can not be separated from assets. As Khan (2001:4) stated: "to understand poverty creation in rural areas and its effects on different groups, we need to look at the assets that the poor own or to which they have access, and their links to the economy".

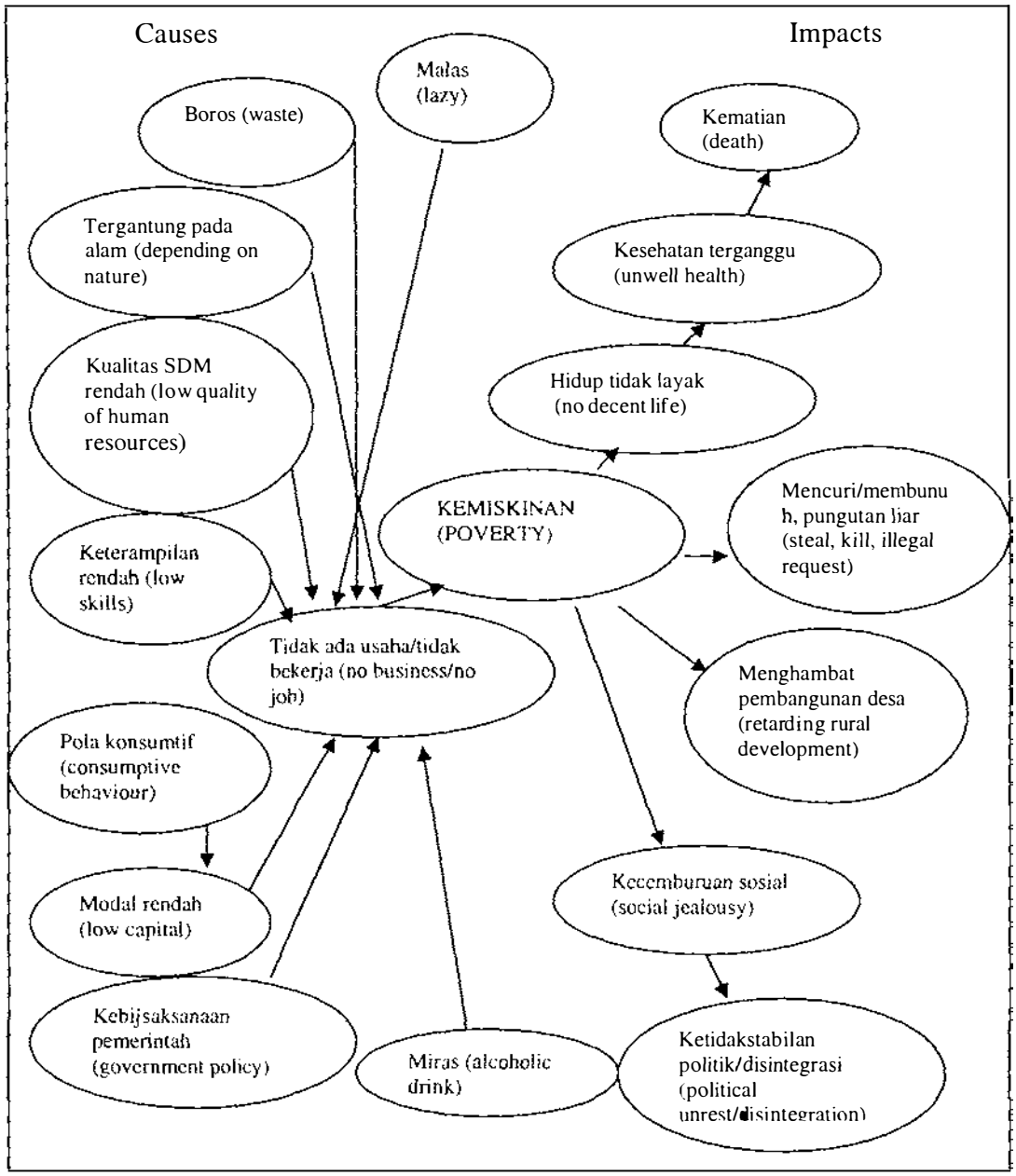
Table 8.7 reports that the largest percentage of the participants were better-off/poor, which meant that they had sufficient food and clothing, but they were poor in other luxury assets such as colour TV and a boat with a Johnson engine or, in other words, they were poor but they were not in misery. They felt they had sufficient because the physical assets such as the forest, land and sea still gave them a sustainable livelihood. Nevertheless, some other physical assets were not available in the village and caused them to be poor. The physical assets that were not available in the village were jewelry, banks, money lenders, tools and access to credit. These lacks often discouraged their desire to work and this discouragement was also exacerbated by a lack of capital, so they were unable to develop micro-enterprise in the village.

During the fieldwork the participants often mentioned a lack of skills training as a big problem which prevented them from creating jobs or running a micro-enterprise. It was found that almost all villagers did not run a micro-enterprise; only one family did. This was because, in addition to a lack of skills training, they were also lacking in capital. Some argued that several attempts had been made to borrow money from the banks in town, but these attempts had failed because the banks often applied high requirements that did not benefit them, such as high interest rates and the use of land or buildings as a guarantee (interview VE010, 23 October 2003).

Even though the Table 8.2 indicates that the majority of the population graduated from three years high school, this type of education was still general in nature and mostly it was designed for a labourer to work in the formal sector, in both the government and private sectors. However, when the labourer was unable to find a job, the labourer tended to be

unemployed. Moreover, the type of education received did not generally prepare the labourer at all to be an entrepreneur creating new employment in the village.

Figure 8.1: Causes and impacts of poverty in Tanjung Irausak village by the male group



Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October - November 2003. Recorded by Buce Fakdawer

The methods applied during the fieldwork also noted that there was limited local availability of social services related to education, health and nutrition. All of these services were mostly only available in Sorong town. Often people had to walk a long distance to get to those services. None of the villagers owned transport and this made them depend on the irregular transport owned by urban people to get to the above services.

The research also found that a large number of people did not have permanent houses and permanent incomes. As indicated by Plate 8.1, a large number of families still had non-permanent housing built from wood with an earth floor. Mostly, these houses had no electricity or piped water and poor sanitation. As their incomes were irregular and limited, people were unable to build good houses and buy other assets such as a TV, parabola, bike and equipment for farming and fishing.

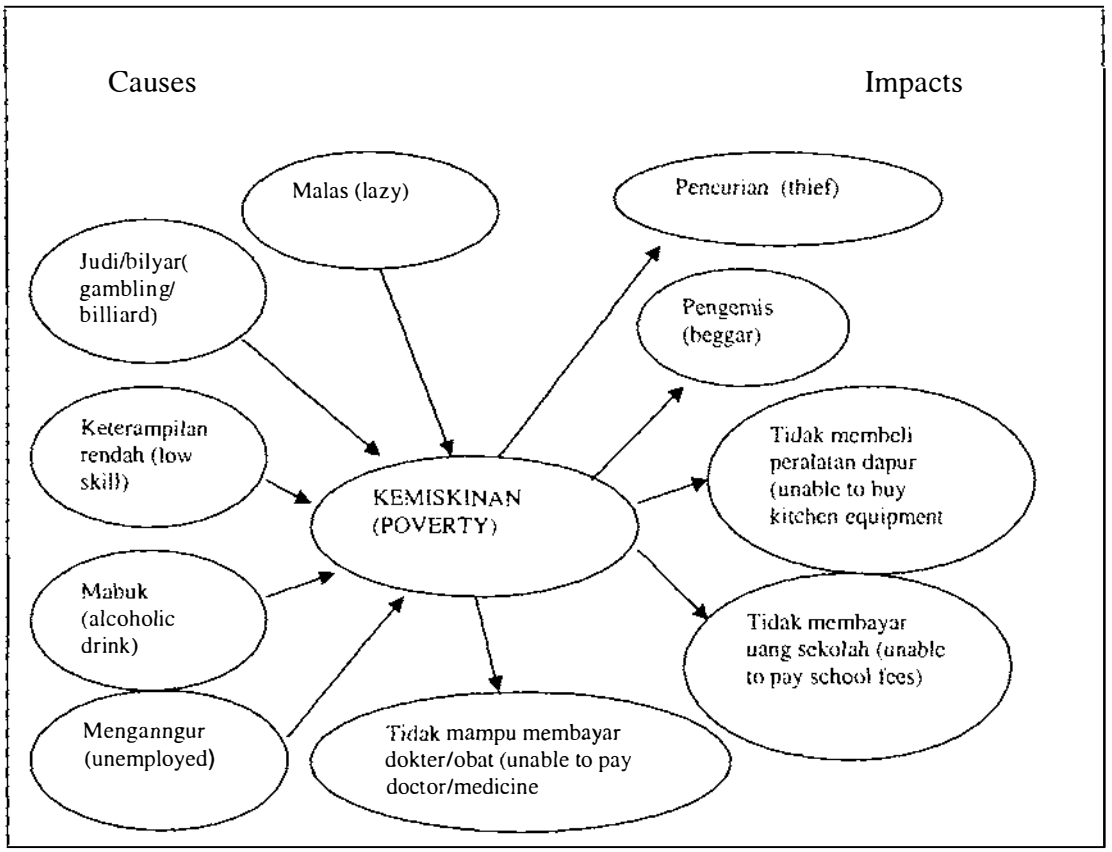
The received incomes, as mentioned by a villager (interview VE07, 24 October 2003), were enough only for daily food and clothing. As he said: "*uang yang kami dapat dari bekerja sebagai buruh di pelabuhan, kebun dan laut, umumnya kami pakai untuk makan dan beli pakain*" (The money we had from being labourers, farmers and fishers was mostly used for food and clothing). The causes and impacts reported by the FGD groups are presented in Figures 8.1 and 8.2.

The male and female groups identified some causes of poverty as indicated by the arrows on the left hand side of Figures 8.1 and 8.2. First, *malas* (lazy) had a similar meaning to that discussed in chapters six and seven. The term mostly dealt with not working hard to make money and depending on subsistence farming and subsistence fishing. When a person became *malas*, he/she might not work at all and depended on members of the family for food, or perhaps he/she did do the subsistence jobs but in a relaxed manner with little effort.

Second, *boros* (waste of money) occurred where income was spent on unimportant items. For the villagers, the most important items were basic needs such as education, health, housing, clothing, tools and food. They tended to assume that someone was said to be

boros when he, for example, spent a lot of money on alcohol. Third, *ketergantungan pada alam* (dependence on the natural resources) also had a similar meaning where the term referred to the subsistence jobs. This term was applied to people who were too lazy to cultivate their land economically and, hence, they only collected what was already given by nature, such as collecting fruit and hunting.

Figure 8.2: Causes and impacts of poverty in Tanjung Irausak village by the female group



Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October – November 2003. Recorded by Norce Burdam

Fourth, *kualitas SDM rendah* (low quality of human resources) was linked to low education, low skill levels, malnutrition and sickness. The low level of human resources was viewed as the cause that prevented people from working or developing other profitable activities. Fifth, *pola konsumtif* (propensity to consume) was interpreted as a way of

spending income on the consumption of goods (such as food and clothing) rather than on the production of goods (such as tools, micro-enterprises and savings).

Sixth *modal rendah* (low capital) existed because the villagers had irregular jobs, irregular income, propensity to consume and low skills. As a result, they were unable to do profitable activities to support their lives. Seventh *kebijaksanaan pemerintah* (government policy) was interpreted as causing poverty because in the village it had not provided essentials like a school, health centre or piped water. It was also related to the failure of the local government to create new jobs.

Eighth, *miras* (alcoholic drink) was seen as another cause of poverty. This was because they thought that those who drank normally spent a lot of money on *miras*. In addition, according to the villagers, *miras* can result in a waste of time drinking rather than working to make money.

Lastly, *tidak ada usaha/tidak ada pekerjaan* (no business/no job) occurred as a result of the previous causes, as shown by the arrows. When the people had no job and no micro-business, then the people lacked income for survival.

On the right hand side of Figures 8.1 and 8.2 both groups also identified several impacts. First, *hidup tidak layak* (no decent life) where the villagers mainly referenced the term to the good things, such as a job, housing, clothing and food. If they lacked these things, then they considered themselves poor and, hence, they had no decent life. This would bring about other impacts such as *kesehatan terganggu* (poor health) and *kematian* (death).

Second, *mencuri* (steal), *membunuh* (kill) and *pungutan liar* (illegal pickings) described people who had no income and no job and, hence, they were unable to provide for their own daily food or other assets. However, during the fieldwork, a question was asked whether some of them in the village were involved in activities such as gambling, theft and

begging in order to cope with poverty. They believed that none of them in the village would do those activities because they were considered sins according to their Christian faith.

Third, *menghambat pembangunan desa* (retarding village development) resulted from the poor having to spend a lot of time farming, from morning to evening, and often the village development program was not carried out. This was cited by one of the village officials. He said that if the poor said that they were not going to, he would not force them to carry out the program in the village because the poor worked for their food (interviews VE06, 24 October 2003; VE09, 25 October 2003). As a result, some village development programs were not carried out.

Fourth, *kecemburuan social* (social jealousy) was generally said to occur when the people in a poor village were jealous of the people in more developed villages due to government support. The poor, individually, were also jealous of the rich and, consequently, they did not want to be involved in the village programmes.

Fifth, *ketidakstabilan politik* (political unrest) or *disintegrasi* (disintegration) referred to the poor who were very easily influenced by the political parties in order to win their votes in the general election. It also referred to the poor who became involved in political activities in order to gain support from the local government. The realities of *kecemburuan sosial, ketidakstabilan politik* and *disintegrasi* were some of the local barriers to village development.

Education and poverty

One of the assets owned by the poor was their labour. Decisions to utilise their labour or to participate in the labour force, however, were affected by a number of factors. The most important factors were education and skills (Quibria, 1993:52). These two factors were the most important assets of all. With good education and skills, the poor could change their fate in life. This is, however, determined by a process occurring in the labor market.

In the labour market, the employer tends to require employees to have a good quality of education and skills in order for him to make a profit. In this relation, if the labourer does not fulfill the above criteria demanded by the employer, then the labourer will be unemployed. To be accepted in the labour market, therefore, the labourer must be educated.

In the village a large number of the participants graduated after three years of senior high school (see Table 8.1) without skills such as computing or sewing. This was because the education system, so far, was still providing a general education and it never trained the students with the skills to use after finishing school.

The students, therefore, always depended on the government sector for work, but this sector was very limited and competitive. If they preferred to work in the private sector, then they encountered more difficulties, as the private sector needed even higher skills, which the students were unable to meet. As a consequence, they became unemployed and poor.

The participants acknowledged that some villagers had been accepted to work in the government sector as primary teachers and office employees. These people had already moved to the town for several reasons, such as transport costs, close to working place and more entertainment and, hence, this movement also made the town more attractive.

The rest, who consisted of a large number having limited education and skills, still lived in the village. These people acknowledged that they had been trying to seek jobs in both the government and private sectors, but had failed. Therefore, they cited they were willing to carry out any job for making an income as long as the job was *halal* (permitted).

Sources of livelihoods

Irregular and diverse sources of livelihood seemed to be an occurring general condition in some rural areas in Papua. This was also the case in Tanjung Irausak village, where people derived their livelihood from various sources. Harbour labour was one of the sources of

livelihood for the villagers. Ships entered the Sorong harbour almost every week because Sorong city was the first entrance to Papua Island from the west, and it provided a lot of jobs and, therefore, income for the people.

When they had days off, perhaps when there were no ships, they could do other jobs, such as crushing stones. When the stones had been crushed they were collected in one place by using a measure of a cubic metre. If they had about two cubic metres, then they decided to sell it to the developers of houses for making house foundations. The job, however, was very hard as it required strong physical labour. Therefore, the job could not be carried out continuously all day and every day and, hence, the amount of collected cubic meters was limited and this affected the income they earned. In addition, the earned income depended on the level of demand from the developers.

The above jobs could be combined in various ways. They combined crushing stone with working in the harbour or catching fish with working in the harbour. However, the combination was dependent on the condition of each family, such as the size of the household and the amount of time available for working every day (interview VE06, 24 October 2003).

Income and expenditure

Even though the participants diversified their sources of income, as discussed earlier, it was difficult to predict which source of income was dominant in contributing to the household income. This was probably because the sector in which they were dependent for their livelihood was the subsistence sector. This sector is a family based sector, which does not need a strict administration system and, hence, they usually only memorised their income sources and their expenditure. Table 8.8 presents the annual incomes they obtained from various sources.

Table 8.8: Household incomes of respondents by data collection methods

FGD			Questionnaire		
Intervals	Frequency	Per cent	Intervals	Frequency	Per cent
300000-349000	4	33	300000-369000	15	50
350000-399000	3	25	370000-439000	4	13
400000-449000	1	8	440000-509000	8	27
450000-499000	2	17	510000-579000	1	3
500000-550000	2	17	580000-650000	2	7
Total	12	100.0	Total	30	100.0
Mean	388750.0		Mean	428167.0	
SD	85390.0		SD	82100.0	
Max	550000.0		Max	650000.0	
Min	300000.0		Min	300000.0	

Source: Table 8.12 (appendix six)

The FGD group reported that around 33 per cent of participants had income below the average income (388,750 rupiah), while in the questionnaire group around 50 per cent had income below the average (428,167 rupiah). Those who had incomes below the average income were grouped into the low-income category.

The reason for this, in addition to the fact that their incomes were lower than the average, was that their incomes did not really fulfill their daily consumption needs because the local general prices in the town were relatively high. As a consequence, they tended to prioritize their daily expenditure on food items (interview VE06, 24 October 2003).

The above tendency was found in the study where in the FGD groups around 75 per cent of the participants spent their income on food items and in the questionnaire group this percentage increased to around 77 per cent. This propensity to consume was actually a manifestation of the behaviour of poor people in every place, which can be contrasted with the rich people who normally have the propensity to save or to invest in productive activities, such as saving money in the bank and investing money in micro-enterprise activities.

Problems and priorities

Problems faced by the poor

The problems the poor experienced are a manifestation of their lack of assets. This had been found in all the selected villages, including the current village, where the participants cited that their problems emanated from their lack of assets. For the villagers land, forest, river and sea are basic assets that determined their sustainable livelihood. If they lacked these assets or perhaps these assets had been damaged by human behavior then they faced the serious problem of poverty.

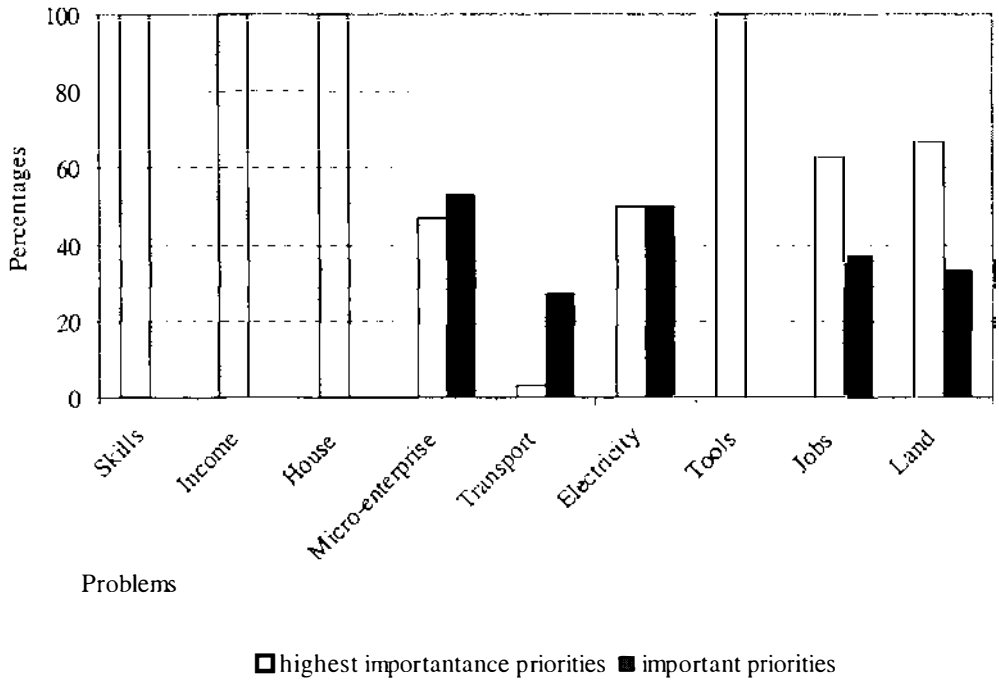
Most participants in the current village seemed to be landless subsistence farmers. This was, perhaps, because they were all basically migrants from Ayau Island, as mentioned earlier in chapter five (see Map 5.4). If they wanted to plant some crops for food, then they had to ask permission from the landowner first. The landowner could allow them to plant crops such as cassava, sweet potato, banana and kangkong for their daily food consumption, but, as a whole, the land was not owned by the farmers. This is why the participants gave the highest priority rank to the land, as indicated by Figures 8.3 and 8.4. If the farmers wanted to have land, they needed to buy it from the landowner. The landowner is one family who culturally has the rights on all land in the village. This family comes from the same ethnic group as the other villagers and, hence, the family is pleased to give permission for almost all villagers to cultivate the land for food.

The land where they built houses was the land they bought from the landowner. In each house, there was a yard in which they could plant some breadfruit and coconuts (see previous Plate 8.1). They lived near the sea, but there were not many fish in the sea because many people from outside the village used bombs to catch the fish and, hence, they killed the fingerlings. Therefore, to catch fish, they had to go a long distance to get to the part of the sea where there were a lot of fish. Due to this, the villagers, especially the youths, were not interested in this job.

A lack of income was also a serious problem to cope with. The findings, as demonstrated by Figures 8.3 and Figure 8.4, reported that all participants ranked income as a highest priority to be solved. All participants cited that the lack of income emanated from the irregular jobs they did, such as being a harbour labourer, landless farmer and subsistence fisher (interviews VE010, 23 October 2003; VE08, 27 October 2003). As a result, their income was not enough to provide for their daily needs. A lack of income occurred because some banks in the town applied very high requirements so it was difficult to obtain credit. In addition, there were no moneylenders coming to the village to offer credit (interview VE06, 24 October 2003).

Another problem they cited during the fieldwork was a lack of skill-training for activities, such as micro-enterprises, sewing, fishing and mechanics. In Figure 8.3, 100 per cent of the participants gave a rank of highest priority to the lack of skill-training and in Figure 8.4 the rank it was around 75 per cent. The reasons for the lack were various. First, there was a lack of income to take any skill-training course in the town. Second, there were no programs designed by the local government to provide training in the particular skills needed by the villagers (interview VE06, 24 October 2003).

Figure 8.3: Problems given based on three top ranks by questionnaires



Source: Table 8.13 (appendix six)

Both figures also depicted that all participants ranked as a highest priority housing and its facilities. It was found during the fieldwork that a large number of the participants had non-permanent houses with very poor facilities, such as no electricity, no piped water and no sanitation. As a consequence, some easily got diseases, such as malaria, asthma and diarrhea. During the fieldwork, the question was asked about why the majority of them had non-permanent houses, and they all cited that they had no money to build permanent houses.

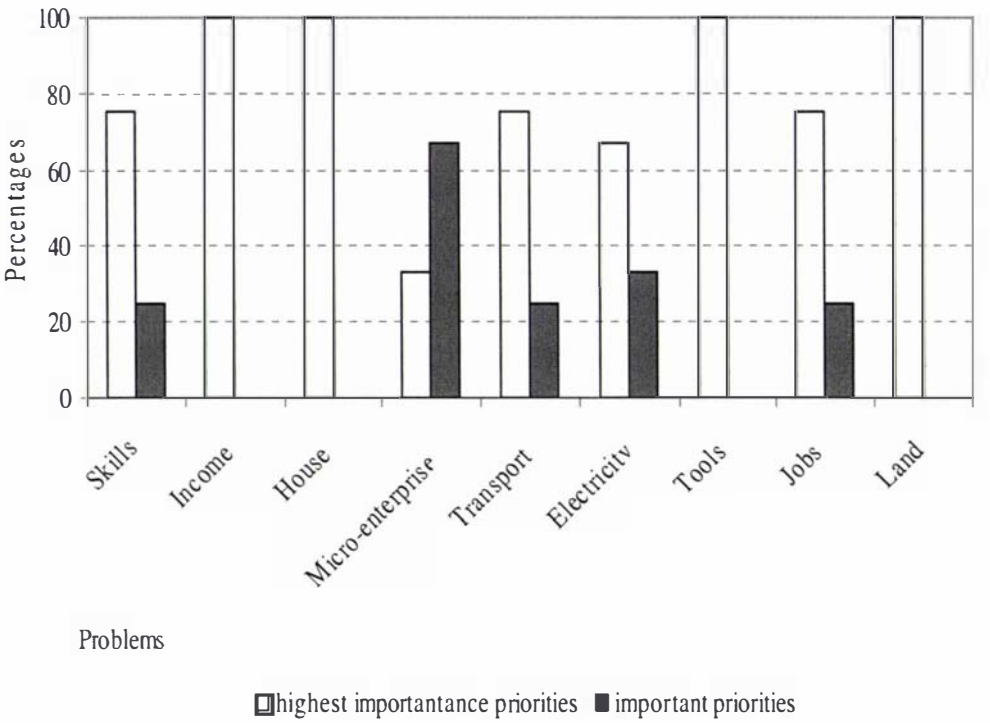
Figures 8.3 and 8.4 also show that all participants ranked tools for fishing and farming as another highest priority. This was because these tools were basic assets for providing their livelihoods. Some cited that even though there was land, forest and sea, if they did not have these tools, they would remain poor because they could not effectively cultivate the land and forest to improve their lives.

Lack of jobs and transport was identified as another highest priority. When they cited the lack of jobs they meant a permanent job with regular income, such as government and private jobs. This was because they assumed that those jobs could give them more security than subsistence fishing and subsistence farming. In fact, the study found that a large number of youth were still unemployed even though they graduated from three years at senior high school level and even though one of them had graduated from university.

Transport was also identified as a most important item that would help them to bring their products to sell in the town market. So far they have depended on the *ojek* (a motorcycle used for public transport), which was unable to carry many products to sell. When the fieldwork was carried out in the village, the researcher also depended on the *ojek*. In general, the *ojek* itself had no regular time to operate so sometimes much time was wasted waiting for the *ojek*.

In Figures 8.3 and 8.4 the participants cited micro-enterprises and electricity as highest priorities as well. In fact, the research found that only one family was running a small business in the village, as discussed earlier. All participants cited that micro-enterprises were extremely important for them in the times they were unemployed and also as a source of regular income. The research also found that the majority of them had no electricity and they were dependent only on *lampu dinding* (lantern) and *petromax*. These types of light consumed a lot of kerosene, which was very expensive for them to buy.

Figure 8.4: Problems given based on three top ranks by focus group discussions



Source: Table 8.14 (appendix six)

Trends in problem priorities

All the participants interviewed, through both the questionnaire and FGD, cited that they wanted to better their lot in life, but it seemed to be difficult because of some of the scarcities they experienced. The scarcities were various and stemmed from many aspects of life, such as the socio-culture, economy and infrastructure.

From the standpoint of socio-cultural needs, the people still faced a lot of problems, which they believed they were not coping with. These involved a lack of houses, latrines, health centre, playground, preschool, school and school teachers. They felt these needs were very important for their well-being, but too hard to be fulfilled. In fact, during the fieldwork

some observations were carried out and it was found that none of these needs were available in the village. Most of these needs were provided in the town so, if they wanted them, they had to go to the town everyday, walking over a long distance or by the *ojek*.

In terms of the economy, the people also lacked some needs. They cited that they lacked permanent jobs, self-employment (micro-enterprises), agricultural assistance (tools and skill-training), fisheries assistance (tools and skill-training), markets and loan facilities. These lacks were experienced in previous years and had not been improved at the time of the fieldwork research. During the FGD all participants voiced these as deprivations which must be addressed. However, they repeatedly mentioned that all of these depended on family income, which was insufficient as well.

Table 8.9: Perceived problem trends in the last five years

Worse than five years ago	Still bad now	Improved over the past five years
• Schools • Houses • Latrines • Health centre • Playground • Preschool • Permanent jobs • Self-employment (micro-enterprise) • Agricultural assistance • Fisheries assistance • Market • Loan facilities • Road with asphalt • Public taxis • Piped water • Electricity • Land	• Schools • Houses • Latrines • Health centre • Playground • Preschool • Permanent jobs • Self-employment (micro-enterprise) • Agricultural assistance • Fisheries assistance • Market • Loan facilities • Road with asphalt • Public taxis • Piped water • Electricity • Land	• One family sold sugar, cigarettes, tea , coffee, salt and others • Some have permanent houses • Some have electricity • Some private taxis connected the village to the town • Main road with asphalt • Some have the land for building houses

Remark: People researched had the same views on all of the problem trends
Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October - November 2003

Infrastructure was mentioned as another important need. Within infrastructure, they included asphalted road, public taxis, piped water, electricity and land. These needs were still experienced by the villagers and during the fieldwork all the participants argued that these were indeed old problems they had faced over many years. A large number of the above lacks, as found by the study, had not yet been improved and they must be given high priority. All these lacks are summarised in Table 8.9.

Coping strategies

During the fieldwork all the participants were asked what they did in situations where they had no money or food in their hands. They gave various answers to the question by explaining several things they could do to survive. Many of them, especially the men, cited that they would return to the jobs they used to do. Those who worked as harbour labourers simply argued that they could go to the harbour to look for jobs.

However, as discussed earlier, this kind of job depended on ships entering Sorong harbour. When there were ships, they would be lucky as they could work for money. For them, this job was profitable because they could have a lot of income in a week or two weeks. They were also asked to state how much income each person received when they worked in the harbour as reported in a box below.

Some working as subsistence farmers said they could go to the forest for cultivating. This job was an old job by which most people derived their livelihoods. The subsistence farmers usually cultivated some crops for daily consumption or for making money.

Some went out far from the village (normally they went to Salawati Island) to collect fruits such as mangoes, durian and lansium (yellow fruits) and bring these back to the village to sell. These kinds of fruits were very expensive in the town of Sorong, and also in Papua as a whole, so if they got a lot, they would be lucky as they could sell many of them to make

money. However, as this collection was seasonal and occurred once a year the income generated was very irregular.

A harbour labourer, 38 years old
Kalau bekerja sebagai buruh pelabuhan, berapa jumlah uang yang diterima untuk setiap kapal? (If you worked as a harbour labourer, how much money would you obtain for each ship?) The answer was as follows: Penghasilan kami biasanya tergantung pada muatan kapal. Biasanya diukur dalam ton. Kalau kapal muat banyak ton, kami dapat uang banyak, tapi kalau sedikit kami terima uang sedikit (Our income usually depended on how much load a ship carried. Usually it was valued by a ton measure. If the ship carried many tons of loading we would get more money, but if not we would get less). *Pertanyaan berikut (next question): Kira-kira tahu berapa ton yang dibawa setiap kapal? (Did you know approximately how many tons a ship carried?)* The answer: Kira-kira 10 ton atau lebih, tapi saya tidak tahu pasti karena saya hanya bekerja (Around 10 tons or more, but I was not sure because I only worked there). *Pertanyaan berikut(next question): Kira-kira berapa jumlah uang yang diterima untuk setiap kapal? (Approximately how much money did you obtain for each ship?).* The answer: Kadang-kadang Rp 400.000, kadang-kadang Rp 500.000 tergantung pada muatan kapal (Sometimes 400,000 rupiah, sometimes 500,000 rupiah depending on the loading of the ship)

Some working as fishermen also went out far from the village for fishing. Even though the village was a coastal village, they had to go over a long distance to find a part of the sea in which they could find lots of fish. They often went to other places (normally to Sausapor) to fish for around two weeks and then they came back to the village. However, they often complained when they did not find many fish in the sea as a result of the reef and fingerlings being damaged by the people from outside (see the dialogue box, below).

Women cited that they could go to the market in the town to sell some coconuts, breadfruit, areca nut, betel nut and lime. However, the money they got was very limited and was not enough for them to provide all their food. Some argued that they had many things to sell,

but sometimes there were not many buyers so they had to bring their goods back to their homes and try to sell them again the next day. If there were no buyers, they had to consume them all themselves (interview VE011, 27 October 2003).

A subsistence fisherman, 45 years old
Sebagai nelayan, kalau mendapat ikan, apakah dimakan semua atau sebagian dijual? (As a fisherman, if you catch some fish, do you consume all of them or sell some?). The answer: Tergantung kalau dapat banyak, kami makan sebagian dan sebagian kami jual (It depends. If we catch many, we can eat some and sell the rest). *Pertanyaan berikut (next question): Kira-kira mendapat berapa ekor ikan sekali melaut? (Approximately how many fish can you get each time you go to the sea?).* The answer: Saya tidak bisa pastikan karena laut sangat susah sekarang. Tahun-tahun dulu sebelum orang Sulawesi menggunakan bomb di laut, kami dapat ikan banyak. Tapi sekarang sudah susah, dan kami harus mencari ikan di tempat yang jauh. Tapi, kadang-kadang juga susah. (I am not sure because now fishing is more difficult. In previous years before the Sulawesi people used some bombs to catch the fish in the sea, we could get plenty of fish. But now, it is difficult and we have to go a long distance to find fish and this too is difficult). *Pertanyaan berikut (next question): Kira-kira jual ikan, dapat uang berapa? (If you sell the catch, how much money could you get?).* The answer: Uang yang kami dapat sangat sedikit, tapi cukup untuk beli makan (We received very little money, but it was enough to buy food) *Pertanyaan berikut (next question): Berapa jumlah uang yang diperoleh dari hasil jualan ikan? (How much money could you get from selling the catch?).* The answer: Kira-kira Rp 70.000 atau Rp 100,000 tergantung pada hasil tangkapan (Around 70,000 rupiah or 100,000 rupiah depending on the size of the catch)

During the fieldwork, they identified some strategies to cope with their difficulties as shown in Table 8.10

Table 8.10: Strategies for coping with problems

Most Cited Problems	Coping Strategies
Income	• Being a harbour labourer • Crushing stones to sell • Growing vegetables • Planting crops to sell • Collecting some fruit from other places and bringing them back to the village to sell • Borrowing from relatives, close friends or neighbors
House	• Using local materials such as wood, bamboo and sago leaves to build houses • With the income they obtained from the above sources, using part to buy some materials from some shops in the town
Food	• Growing vegetables • Planting the crops • Catching fish • Buying from some shops in the town • Getting a *Raskin* programme from the local government
Education/schools	• Most children attend the schools (primary, junior high school and senior high school) in the town • Free education for 6 years primary school (government policy) • Some income (from the above sources) are used to pay school fees
Main poor road conditions	• Road had been permanently asphalted. The road connected the village to the town
Job	• Self employed (harbor labouring, farming, fishing and crushing stones)
Electricity	• Using lanterns or petromax
Water	• Using a well, but the water is boiled to make it safe

Source: Fieldwork conducted in the village October – November 2003

Institutions

Institutions helping the poor

The study applied some criteria to rank the institutions. The criteria were similar to those applied in the previous two villages and have been discussed in chapters five, six and seven. These criteria were ranked as most important, important and less or not important to the lives of the people. For these criteria, rank one was given to those of highest important, rank two to the important and rank three to the less or not important criteria.

In addition to the similar criteria, the institutions which the poor ranked in the current village were also similar. This was because, as mentioned earlier, the structural administration of village government in Papua as a whole is similar in all other villages in Indonesia. These institutions consist of desa (village), *kelurahan* (urban village), *Dusun, Rukun Warga (RW) and Rukun Tetangga (RT)*. The institutions of *Dusun, Rukun Warga (RW)* and *Rukun Tetangga (RT)* were normally called neighborhoods.

In addition, there were religious institutions providing services at the village level. These institutions were also similar to the religious institutions in the previous two villages. The similarity of the religious institutions was because the institutions belonged to the Christian faith, which is very dominant in Papua as a whole. These are *Persekutuan Kaum Bapak* (Men's Bible Study Group), *Persekutuan Kaum Ibu* (Women's Bible Study Group), *Persekutuan Angkatan Muda* (Youth's Bible Study Group) and *Sekolah Minggu* (Sunday school).

There were also the *kepala adat/suku* (tribal head) and the *Posyandu* (Village Health Post) in the village, but no offices for them to provide services. Other institutions were not found in the current village even though they provided some services such as schools (primary, junior high school and senior high school) and banks. The ranking the participants applied to the institutions are presented in Table 8.11.

The FGD identified four main institutions that were ranked of highest importance. These were the secretary of the village government, the village health post, community leaders and relatives/close friends. The questionnaire method, on the other hand, identified three institutions comprising the secretary of village government, community leaders and relatives/close friends. Other institutions were ranked as important and less or not important to their lives. The impression obtained from Table 8.11 is that the institutions stemming from their culture were able to help them more in coping with their difficulties than others. It was acknowledged by the villagers that in their difficult situations it was easier to get support or to borrow from the village itself rather than from outside.

Table 8.11: Ranking of institutions

Institutions		Focus Group Discussion Highest importance = rank 1 (3)	Questionnaire Highest importance = rank 1 (3)
Government Organisations			
	Administration		
1	Village government	1	1
2	Neighborhoods (RW,RT)	3	3
3	Village Health Post (Posyandu)	1	2
	Services		
2	Schools	3	3
4	Social Safety Net	2	2
Community Based Organizations			
	Religious		
5	PKB GKI	2	3
6	PW GKI	2	3
7	PAM GKI	2	3
	Tradition/culture		
8	Community leaders (tradition)	1	1
9	Relatives/close friends	1	1

Remark: Numbers in parentheses refer to ranking levels made by the respondents.
Source : Tables 8.15 and 8.16 (appendix six)

Judging institutions

Participants judged the institutions on the basis of when they made a contact with them. The contact was normally in the form of the various support the participants received from the institutions such as credit, skill-training and counseling. There were two main criteria used to judge the institutions, as discussed in chapter six and chapter seven. These were trust and effectiveness in helping the participants to solve their problems. As mentioned in the previous chapters, these two criteria seemed to be difficult for the participants to differentiate because they assumed that both criteria had a similar meaning.

From their judgment, only one of the government organisations was considered to be worthy of trust and effective in helping solve problems. This honour was given to the secretary of the village office, not to the village head. They argued that the secretary was always close to the community because during several meetings they sat together and

discussing all the village's programs. He also visited the villagers from house to house to learn their problems and he was even able to support villagers who needed some help. The village head, however, was given a negative judgment because he actually came from another village but had been nominated by the local government to be the village head. He lived in the town but was often absent during working hours.

Relatives and close friends were other village institutions that were given a highest ranking in the lives of the villagers. As mentioned in the previous chapters, these institutions always gave support, both in credit and in free support, during the difficult situations. This was acknowledged by one of the participants (interview VE011, 27 October 2003): *"Kami orang desa selalu saling membantu kalau ada keluarga yang mengalami kesusahan atau membutuhkan pertolongan seperti orang mati, membuat rumah, orang sakit atau pinjam uang dan lain-lain*" (We villagers always helped if there were families facing difficulties or needing help such as helping when a person died, or building a house, or helping a sick person or borrowing money and so forth).

The tribal leader was also mentioned as worthy of trust and effective in solving problems. This was because, culturally, he was a person who must be appreciated and consequently he had the highest status in the village context. As discussed in previous chapters, the tribal leader had a powerful influence in all stages of the village development so the village head must consult with the tribal leader before implementing village programs. He was also involved in all cultural conflicts at the village level, such as land and marriage conflicts. That is why most of the villagers viewed the tribal head as a more important person than the village head.

Conclusion

Tanjung Irausak village is a coastal village where the sea constitutes one of the main sources of the villagers' livelihoods. Nevertheless, the sea was often *kikir* (stingy) in providing their needs because the marine life of the sea had been damaged by human

behavior. To overcome this, they had to go a long distance in order to find fish. The catch they got was often small and only enough for daily consumption, as the equipment used was simple and limited.

Besides working as subsistence fishermen, some villagers worked as subsistence farmers. They cultivated crops such as banana, cassava, sweet potato, taro, coconut, breadfruit, kankong, betel nut and areca nut. However, as the land was limited, some went out far from the village to collect fruit, such as mangoes, durian and lansium, and bring them back to the village to sell. This collection, however, was only once a year and, hence, this kind of job did not guarantee a better life for the people.

Even though the villagers experienced some difficulties in their lives, they never faced the problem of miserable poverty. This was because they still had food from the sea and the land. The main problem they often cited was a lack of money, which they considered limited their ability to meet their daily needs. Lack of quality housing and good equipment were also repeatedly mentioned as important problems they coped with. However, they all agreed that the lack of these items was basically determined by their lack of income. The public service was also criticised as a serious problem since key services were totally lacking in the village.

The lack they experienced in the village affected their views on poverty. The lack they faced basically dealt with the lack of various types of assets and, therefore, they defined poverty as a lack of assets. Similarly, they defined well-being as a happy situation in which they had some or many assets. It is important to bear in mind that their definition of poverty as a lack of assets is a broad concept, which covers all types of assets they require for survival.

They agreed that the best way to cope with their problems was to get help from relatives, close friends, the tribal leader and the secretary of the village office. Even though they all gave similar ranks (rank one as mentioned in Table 8.11) to these institutions, relatives and

close friends were repeatedly cited as the most useful institutions that would always assist them in solving each problem in their lives.

Some other institutions, such as *PKB GKI, PW GKI* and *PAM GKI*, are Community Based Organisations which were expected to give support. However, they were ranked as low or less important because these institutions were unable to help the poor. In fact, it was found that these organisations were very small in terms of members with ten or less people for each organisation. The majority of the members were unemployed people and, hence, they had not enough funds to help the poor.

We now move to compare the research findings of the case studies examined in chapters six, seven and eight. Chapter nine will investigate these findings in detail.

CHAPTER NINE

POVERTY IN THE RESEARCH SITES IN PAPUA

Introduction

After discussing general concepts relating to definition, measurement, causes and coping strategies for poverty, including the concepts used in Indonesia, this chapter focuses on how these concepts are being implemented in the research locations. Thereby, the chapter attempts to provide insights into understanding of poverty in Papua. This understanding is obtained by exploring what has been found in chapters five, six, seven and eight compared to the general concepts discussed in chapters two, three and four.

The chapter investigates seven main questions. These are how poverty is understood by the poor; how to differentiate the poor from the rich; what are the needs and the priorities of the poor; what are the institutions that are critical in the lives of the poor; what are the dimensions and the causes of poverty; and what coping strategies the poor utilise to overcome their difficult situations.

Perceptions of the poor

Chapter two explored various concepts of poverty from material deprivation to non-material deprivation. When the fieldwork was carried out and poor people were asked their insights about poverty they understood it as material deprivation, where they used 'lacking material assets' as a meaning of the term poverty. From chapters six, seven and eight, it was found that the poor utilised certain material items to identify poverty as follows:

1. Lack of agricultural equipment
2. Lack of fishing equipment
3. Lack of housing
4. Lack of income
5. Lack of infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water pumps, schools facilities and health facilities
6. Lack of employment opportunities
7. Lack of education/skill training
8. Limited access to credit
9. Limited access to public welfare services
10. High dependency ratio.

The poor still had difficulty in distinguishing the term 'lack' as an impact or a symptom and as a cause of poverty. The term 'lack', as used above, does not really distinguish symptoms and causes, as the poor generally understood that the causes bring about poverty and then poverty leads to impacts. After a certain period, the impacts may change to be the causes of poverty.

Nonetheless, the term poverty was recognised by the poor and was named in various local terms. The terms used to describe poverty in the villages of Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak are similar. This is because the communities in both villages speak the same language. The terms in these two villages are different from the terms used in the village of Ayiaw due to the different languages. In Isuraf village and Tanjung Irausak village the communities speak the Biak language as their local language while in Ayiaw village the community speaks the Tepera language. Even though these three communities speak different local languages, they speak the same national language, which allows them to communicate with each other. The terms used to name poverty are shown in Table 9.1

The terms are normally utilised to express their daily lack of material assets, which are generally produced outside the community such as TVs, parabola, rice and sugar. These

externally produced goods are sold in the city or in the local market in the village, but the local communities often fail purchase these goods as they lack the income. The inability to provide these goods was understood to be a major element of poverty, as they experienced it.

Table 9.1: Terms used to name poverty in three selected villages

Terms	Ayiaw	Isuraf	Tanjung Irausak
Local	dena sa ambai, wena sa ambai	Esabarar, Konaroinowa	Konaroinowa, Kosmairowebornowa
Indonesian (National)	tidak mampu, kurang, sengsar, tidak cukup, tidak punya apa-apa, hidup susah, tidak mampu berdiri sendiri, tidak ada pembangunan	melarat, tidak cukup, khawatir, susah, tidak enak, kurang, miskin, sengsara	miskin, kurang, tidak cukup

Source: Tables 6.2, 7.3 and 8.3

The term poverty in certain circumstances can also be extended to include livelihood insecurity and behavioural patterns (Moore, et al, 1998:8). The insecurity of livelihood occurs when daily consumption is below the average level in the community. For example, eating three times a day and having a permanent job is assumed as an average level. If a household is unable to provide this consumption intake for its members and there is no permanent job, then the household is assumed to experience insecurity of livelihood, and hence, it is considered poor. Moreover, the term poverty includes characteristics of behaviour such as laziness, wasting economic resources (money, time and labour), lack of concern for the future, and so forth. In the fieldwork, this behaviour was identified in several Focus Group Discussions as a cause or impact of poverty.

The meaning of poverty still creates contradictory opinions among Papuan society, both at elite and grassroots levels. The elite, such as those employed in official government offices, interpreted the term as lacking consumption/expenditure. This interpretation was also found

in BPS, as explored in chapters two and three. This view is still used by the local government offices as a basic concept to guide them in designing poverty programmemes in the province.

As local government in Papua constitutes a part of the central government, the local government view of poverty is still affected by that of the centre (interview G001, 25 September 2003). The local and central governments utilised the concept of the poverty line as a threshold to determine poverty (BPS, 2000; BPS, BAPPENAS, UNDP, 2001; BPS, 2002) and this definition contributes to its measurement. This can be understood from BPS (2002:177) as follows:

> Pada dasarnya, metode perhitungan penduduk miskin yang dilakukan BPS sejak pertama kali hingga saat ini, menggunakan pendekatan yang sama yaitu *basic needs approach*, dan kemiskinan dikonseptualisasikan sebagai ketidak mampuan dalam memenuhi kebutuhan dasar. Dengan kata lain, kemiskinan dipandang sebagai ketidak mampuan dari sisi ekonomi untuk memenuhi kebutuhan pangan dan non pangan yang bersifat mendasar seperti sandang, perumahan, pendidikan, kesehatan dan sebagainya (Basically, poverty measurement conducted by BPS from the first time until now, used the same approach, that is the *basic needs approach,* and poverty is conceptualized as an inability to meet the basic needs. In other words, poverty is considered an inability from an economic view to meet food basic needs and non-food basic needs such as food, shelter, education, health and so forth).

The local elites' view of poverty also stressed lacking consumption/expenditure, and was still dissimilar to the view of the poor at the local grassroots level. The elite view excludes common property resources (CPRs) such as land, forest, sea, hunting, collecting and others from the poverty concept. These resources constitute the assets that the poor predominantly owned in the rural settings.

The above conceptual variation was acknowledged by the local government officials such as a government official in Jayapura (interview G001, 25 September 2003) and a government official in Biak Numfor (interview G003, 10 October 2003). These officials argued that, according to the official poverty concept, the local grassroots people could be

identified as poor. This is because the consumption/expenditure at the local grassroots level falls below the poverty line. However, the officials affirmed that the grassroots themselves disagreed with the criteria of the poverty line. They claimed that even though they were identified as poor in terms of the line, they are in fact not suffering from poverty because they own CPR, as explored in chapters six, seven and eight. This was also argued by the FGD in Isuraf village that they could be classified as poor in terms of other asset ownership, particularly financial/economic assets, but not in terms of the land, the forest and the sea as these assets are available and still provided them a sustainable livelihood.

Disagreement with the official poverty concept was also found during the fieldwork. Almost all participants in the three selected villages refused to consider themselves as poor. They argued that they were not poor because they still had common property resources providing them with a sustainable livelihood. They agreed to be considered poor in terms of lacking material things coming from outside their villages such as colour TVs, cars, electricity and Johnson engines, but not in terms of land, forest and sea. The villagers' perspective of poverty was generally linked with living conditions, assets a person or a household own, and their access to food, public services, common property resources and employment opportunities (Mukerjee, 1992:21).

The notion of 'lacking' is indeed broad and includes many dimensions. It is not limited to material lacking, but it goes beyond this to include non-material lacking. This perspective conforms to Amartya Sen's in 1999 (cited in ADB, 2001:xvii), which defined poverty as a general state of deprivation in well-being that has more to do with entitlement and capacity rather than only income or consumption. This includes deprivation in choices and opportunities to act in profitable ways. It is also arguable that this should include the concept of deprivation or ill-being (Moore, et al, 1998:8; Chambers, 1995: 18-22; Narayan, et al, 1999:5).

In relation to the deprivation concept, Chambers (1995:18-22) provided a useful eight-dimensional concept of deprivation consisting of poverty, social inferiority, isolation,

physical weakness, vulnerability, seasonality, powerlessness and humiliation. In chapter two Baulch (1996:2) recommended a reasonable approach of a six–dimensional pyramid of poverty concepts. Moore et al (1998:8) describe this pyramid as "beginning with the most measurable lack of access to private income and becoming successively more complex with the addition of lack of access to (a) common property resources; (b) state-provided commodities (the social wage); (c) assets; (f) dignity; and (g) autonomy".

This study argues that the local communities are not poor in terms of CPR, but they suffer from lack of other assets/resources. These include deprivation in physical, human, social and financial capital. Lacking these assets appeared to be a result of the poor policies to deliver social services to the poor. Helping the local people to escape from this situation seems to be difficult to implement because of a number of reasons.

Partly, it is because of the urban oriented policy, which was adopted for implementation during the First Five Year Development Plan in 1969. Regional development in the province from 1969 until recently was more focused on urban areas and their surrounding areas than on rural areas. This is due to limited funds for development and geographical constraints such as difficulty of access (Sarman and Sajogyo, 2000:155). Limited physical infrastructure and limited communication connecting urban and rural areas, including remote areas in the province, also exacerbated this failure. In addition, during the 1960s, as discussed in chapter four, the official commitment from the government to eliminate poverty through development programmes was relatively limited (Soemitro Remi and Tjiptoherijanto, 2002:1) because the attention at that time was more given to political conflicts rather than economic matters.

Official commitment to poverty reduction commenced nationally in 2001 when the central government established, via Presidential Decree or KEPPRES (*Keputusan Presiden*) concerning the Poverty Management Committee or KPK (*Komisi Pengentasan Kemiskinan*). This committee was headed by the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare and Poverty Alleviation and was responsible to the President. According to

articles 4 and 5 of this decree, the KPK endeavours "to take concrete measures to accelerate the reduction in the number of poor people in all regions of Indonesia. The function of the KPK is to make policy, monitor, and report on poverty alleviation to the President" (Pattimura, 2002:1). Since the decree was issued, serious attempts to fight poverty have been conducted in the country as a whole, although these attempts are still experiencing big challenges due to poor governance and corruption.

In conclusion, the poor's perception of poverty was generally linked to a lack of material assets. Yet the term 'lack' was not clearly separated between lack as causes and the lack as impacts or symptoms. In chapters six, seven and eight, the poor identified these two sides (causes and impacts) separately; however, this differentiation was not clearly made by the poor themselves. Theoretically, the separation between the causes and the impacts may need to be produced in order to facilitate poverty policy because this policy is not intended to address the impacts, but rather the causes.

Differentiating the poor and the rich

Even though the concept of poverty is complex, the local communities in the selected sites do discern a difference between the poor and the rich. It was found in chapters six, seven and eight that they used material ownership to separate the poor from the non-poor. This concept of material ownership was examined by using well-being categories and the respondents were asked to consider themselves based on these categories. The question asked of all respondents in three villages is would you consider that you are: a. rich (kaya), b. better off (cukup), c. poor (miskin), d. miserable (sengsara), e. other (lainnya).... This question was processed and the results are presented in Table 9.2.

According to the FGD, the number of poor people was very high in Isuraf village at 100 per cent, and according to the questionnaire the number of poor was also very high in Tanjung Kausari village at 93 per cent. This number was also high in Ayiaw village, according to the FGD and the questionnaire, at 91.7 per cent and 86.7 per cent respectively.

The villagers in Ayiaw seemed to be better off than the people in the other two villages. The first reason is, as seen from Table 9.2, that there were rich people living in Ayiaw village 8.3 per cent according to the FGD and 3.3 per cent according to the questionnaire. Rich people were not found in the other two villages.

The second reason is that the number of very poor people was higher in Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak than the number in Ayiaw. In Isuraf this number was around 30 per cent from the questionnaire while in Tanjung Irausak this number was 25 per cent in the FGD and 7 per cent in the questionnaire. However, in Ayiaw village this number was only 10 per cent based on the questionnaire.

The term rich is utilised to describe people having many material assets or very good assets or luxury goods. Examples are a regular income, savings at the bank, a permanent house, large landholdings, a coconut plantation, a colour TV, a long boat with an outboard motor, running micro-enterprises, a number of cows/pigs, eating regularly three times a day, parabola, able to educate the children until university and so forth.

Table 9.2: Percentages of poor and rich by selected villages

Methods	Ayiaw	Isuraf	Tanjung Irausak
FGD (N=12)			
Rich	8.3	0.0	0.0
Poor (better off)	91.7	100	75
Very Poor	0.0	0.0	25
Questionnaire (N=30)			
Rich	3.3	0.0	0.0
Poor (better off)	86.7	70	93
Very Poor	10	30	7

Source: Chapters six, seven and eight

The term poor or better off is for people having small material assets. Normally these include semi-permanent housing, using petromax for light, drinking water from a well or from a stream, inability to send the children to high school, eating two times a day, only enough money to buy daily needs, having no parabola, having land but not large amounts (approximately 2 hectares) or even having no land, enough clothing, irregular income, water pump and so on.

The term very poor is, on the other hand, used to describe people having difficulty in providing assets or people having no assets at all. These are linked to not having enough food, having no income, no house or a house that is non-permanent, being prone to disease, unemployed, having no land and no plantation, drinking water from a well or a stream, having no TV, no parabola, no boat, using a lantern or a candle for light, cooking by using firewood and so forth.

Needs and priorities of the poor

Broadly speaking, the poor wanted to better their lot in life. However, it was found that they seemed to have difficulty knowing how their lives could get better. Their voices on these difficulties were obtained when they were asked to rank their problems based on their priorities for solving them.

The results of the ranking have been presented in several figures in chapters six, seven and eight. Tables 9.3 and 9.4 highlight the rankings for the most important priorities for the needs or problems the poor experienced in the three villages. From Tables 9.3 and 9.4, it can be seen that there are around ten needs that were ranked to be the most important needs by both methods used in Ayiaw village. These include land, transport facilities, piped drinking water, electricity, education, health, houses, micro-enterprises, fishing tools and farming tools.

Table 9.3: Needs and priorities to cope with poverty as ranked by questionnaires in three villages as most important priorities

Needs/Priorities	Ayiaw	Isuraf	Tanjung Irausak
Natural Assets			
• Land	√	√	
• Forest			
• Sea			
Physical Assets			
• Road			
• Transport facilities			
• Piped drinking water (pipe or pump)	√		
• Electricity	√	√	
Human Assets			
• Education (schools, teachers and others)	√	√	
• Health (clinic, doctors, nurses, medicines)	√	√	
• Skills			√
Social Assets			
• Houses			√
• Latrines			
• Community hall			
• Nutritious food			
Financial/Economic Assets			
• Capital/cash			√
• Micro-enterprise	√		
• Permanent jobs			
• Fishing tools	√	√	√
• Farming tools	√	√	
• General prices			
• Market			

Source: Tables 6.9; 7.10 and 8.13 (appendices two, four and six)
√ = the most importance priorities

In Isuraf the methods identified seven most important needs consisting of land, transport facilities, electricity, and education, health, fishing tools and farming tools. In Tanjung Irausak six needs were highlighted by the two methods consisting of land, skills, houses, capital/cash, fishing tools and farming tools.

The above needs are quantitatively different from one village to another. However, both tables demonstrated that, as a whole, there are two important needs in common among the villages, that is, land and tools for both farming and fishing. This occurred because the majority of the villagers in all three locations have similar jobs as farmers and fishers where they depend for their daily living on the land, forest and sea. To cultivate the land and fish the sea, they also need to have enough equipment for both farming and fishing.

Table 9.4: Needs and priorities to cope with poverty as ranked by focus group discussions in three villages as most important priorities

Needs/Priorities	Ayiaw	Isuraf	Tanjung Irausak
Natural Assets			
• Land	√	√	√
• Forest			
• Sea			
Physical Assets			
• Road			
• Transport facilities	√	√	
• Piped drinking water (pipe or pump)	√		
• Electricity	√		
Human Assets			
• Education (schools, teachers and others)	√	√	
• Health (clinic, doctors, nurses, medicines)	√	√	
• Skills			
Social Assets			
• Houses	√		√
• Latrines			
• Community hall			
• Nutritious food			
Financial/Economic Assets			
• Capital/cash			√
• Micro-enterprise			
• Permanent jobs			
• Fishing tools	√	√	√
• Farming tools	√	√	
• General prices			
• Market			

Source: Tables 6.10; 7.11 and 8.14 (appendices two, four and six)
√ = the most importance priorities

In rural areas the land is a major asset for living. The villagers need enough land not only for farming, but also for building houses and conducting other activities that are required to meet their needs, both current and future. Tools are also important assets to cultivate the land and fish, and it was found that the poor very much depended on this equipment to support their livelihoods. It was, hence, reasonable for them to rank the land and equipment as their most important priorities during the fieldwork because these allow them to maintain their livelihood.

Even though the land is extremely important for living, it has become a serious problem for the villagers in Tanjug Irausak as it was found that the majority had no rights to the land where they live or cultivate for daily living. The villagers were only allowed to use the land on the basis of permission or buying it from the landlord. They seemed to recognise this problem and they identified the limitations of land and tools as factors contributing to poverty.

In Ayiaw village and Isuraf village, it was found that almost every family owned land of a relatively large size (more than 2 hectares). However, the land cultivated was only a small proportion of the landholding. The land in Ayiaw village was fertile and hence the villagers cultivated some local crops for living. In Isuraf, the land is generally infertile and it is *desa berbatu karang* (a rock-bound village), which is not suitable for plant life. This creates difficulty in producing a sustainable livelihood, especially for the next generation.

The production results of local subsistence farming in the three villages are limited, but they are enough for household consumption. This limitation is caused by several factors such as lack of cash, inadequate equipment, and the small amount of arable land, insufficient human capital, and constraints in the supply of agricultural inputs. In general, these problems were found in villages in other parts of Asia as well, where the small size of landholding ownership and a lack of new agricultural technology can lead to poverty (Timer, 1991:15-16; Quibria, 1994:114-117; Rahman and Hossain, 1995:257-258). In

some villages in Java, these problems were also found to be causes of poverty (Mukherjee, 1999: 32-33; Mukherjee at al, 2002, 67-69).

The question is how the poor can improve their standard of living despite limited landholdings. Productivity theory maintains that the answer lies in increasing the productivity of the land, which will, in turn, contribute to increasing the income of the rural poor (Mukherjee, 1992:4; Jazairy et al., 1992:105). This productivity does not happen automatically, but it has to be achieved through using new technology such as fertiliser and machines. The use of technology in farming also requires developing the skills of rural labourers in using the technology.

In addition, raising the productivity of land also requires equipment and investment in infrastructure such as roads, electricity and access to institutional credit. This task is not totally the responsibility of the rural poor, they require service support facilitating their access to new technology, skill training and credit. This support can be both direct and indirect as argued by Ellis (2000:98).

Direct support, according to Ellis (2000:98), consists of "subsidies on fertilizers, irrigation, and credit, and the funding of international and national agricultural research". Indirect support includes "funding of rural infrastructure such as rural feeder roads, the creation of state and parastatal agencies to provide services to agriculture, and integrated rural development programmemes comprising multiple components within supposedly unified framework" (Ellis, 2000:98).

In relation to the ways poor farmers can increase their income and productivity, Evans and Ngau (1991:526) proposed four main ways to help farmers. These ways are as follows:

> First, they can shift the emphasis in production from subsistence farming for the household to commercial farming for the market. This may be achieved by selling a larger proportion of output, which means reducing production of a wide range of foodstuffs for home consumption, and producing instead larger

> quantities of those commodities where the farmer has a comparative advantage. Second, farmers can shift production from subsistence crops to higher value commercial crops, for example by substituting coffee for maize. Third, farmers can raise productivity by spending more money on the purchase of inputs required for production, either in the form of hired labour, equipment, or materials, such as fertilizers, pesticides and other agrochemicals. In addition, farmers can raise output and earnings by increasing the amount of land under cultivation, either by using more of land already available to them or by purchasing or renting more.

Transport services have been ranked the most important needs for Ayiaw village and Isuraf village, but this need is not an important priority for Tanjung Irausak village. In fact, Tanjung Irausak is much closer to the city so in the case of limited transport, the villagers can use *ojek* or they can walk to get the city. For the other two villagers, their geographical locations are far from the city, as discussed in chapter five. Therefore, people in these two villages depend on transport to bring their farming products and fishing products to sell in the city. Transport facilities, such as public buses, very rarely operate through these villages and this tends to impede the process of population circulation. This process, in some parts of Indonesia such as Java, Bali and Sumatra, can help people to improve their living standard as it helps in finding jobs, improving skills and training, and so forth.

The availability of transport facilities is extremely important to support the household economy and rural development as a whole. For example, when the rural poor develop the farming sector to include, for example, fish ponds, they need buses and roads to bring their production results to the market in the city. In this regard, provision of this service is very useful for the poor and it can be argued that the provision of transport service in a region will encourage new activities in the region where the service is provided.

The above view was also obtained during the fieldwork where the poor identified a lack of transport service as an obstacle hindering them to bring their farming and fishing products to the market. They argued they often had a lot of farming products and fishing products, but they did not sell them as the market was too far and there were limited buses. This problem is more apparent in Isuraf village where the market was too far from the village as

it was located in the city, about 45 kilometres from the city of Biak. This problem was also exacerbated by limited transport operating to connect the village to the city. Some private transports, which were owned by migrants and were expensive, operated but not always and, hence, the villagers maximally could go to the city for shopping once a week. This condition discouraged the villagers to increase their production both farming and fishing and also hindered the local marketing activities.

Jazairy et al (1992:152) maintain "if you build a road or a railway through a cultivable area you promote production and marketing. The alleviation of rural poverty through the improvement of agriculture will call for a better integration of agricultural production with the market, which cannot happen without roads and communications". In regard to the benefits to the farmers, Rahman and Hossain (1995:269) also argued that the development of these services can "increase the income of the farmers by lowering input prices, raising output prices, and enabling farmers to produce more profitable, perishable crops. It may also benefit the landless households by generating opportunities for employment in the rural non-farm sector and raising wage rates by making labour more mobile".

Even though geographically a village is far from the city, if these facilities are made available, the villagers feel closer to the city and these facilities help them to adopt any new technology. For regional development as a whole, especially in location theory, Richardson (1972:42) and Noble et al (1998:101-102) argued that transportation constitutes a locational factor which has to be developed to facilitate regional development, especially to accelerate regional economic growth. As Noble et al (1998:101) noted, "transport is a fundamental component of regional development and integration ... Regional transport services and infrastructure function as the lifeline for economic and social interchange. They enable those in local and regional economies to interact with other parts of the global economy".

In this aspect, transport is seen as a necessary service that must be provided to accelerate the flow of goods and services from one place to another. However, the main question is who is responsible for making regional transport service available? In the case of the

unavailability of these services the assistance of the local institutions, both government and private, is needed to supply the service. However, for the private sector, the service is still a challenge because the service is sometimes claimed to not yield maximum financial profit. For local government, providing this service is a part of the government services for its citizens and, thus, constitutes a responsibility they need to meet.

Another need that was ranked to be the most important priority is education. This need was ranked to be the important priority in Ayiaw village and Isuraf village, while in Tanjung Irausak village the need was not seen as a priority. In the first two villages, nearly the majority of the rural population had low formal education, having graduated from only three years of primary school education during the Dutch administration or six years of primary school education during the current administration. This type of education was not directly relevant to employment opportunities in the formal sector. In addition, there was a lack of skill training such as business skills to run micro enterprises and skills in both agriculture and fishing. As a result, the majority of people were unemployed. To overcome their unemployment, they looked for jobs in subsistence farming and subsistence fishing for daily living. For the people in these villages, education is extremely important to improve their future. Education can help them in looking for jobs in the formal sector or they can become self-employed. This is the reason why they all ranked education as an very important priority, especially for their children.

In Tanjung Irausak village, the majority of the population, especially the youth, had graduated from senior high schools and it even had some who had graduated from university. However, in terms of skill-based education they were lacking. Even though they graduated from high school, this type of education was unable to guarantee them work in the formal sector because, as mentioned earlier, this education was very general, and did not provide them with certain useful skills such as computing and others.

The question is why do the villagers in Tanjung Irausak consider education to not be an very important priority? Are they all well educated? This research found that some youth

were well educated, but the main problem they experienced was related to the limited employment opportunities in the formal sector, both private and governmental. The older people, who mostly graduated from six years of primary school, worked in irregular jobs such as subsistence farming, subsistence fishing, harbour labouring, building and so forth. They all argued that the problem is not schooling, but how to get permanent jobs for the youth after they finish school.

The lack of employment opportunities occurs because, the villagers asserted, the local government created limited jobs while the local labour force increased. The increasing labour force happened as the number of people coming to Sorong city through migration both real transmigration and spontaneous transmigration, was increasing. As a consequence, the local labour force was not able to compete (because of educational limitations) with the better educated migrant labour force.

This research argues that education levels, both formal and non-formal, were generally still low and contributed to poverty levels. This lack of education has been identified by Ellis (1998:20) and other researchers, such as Evans and Ngau (1991:520 and 537) and Dercon and Krishnan (1996: 851-852), as a critical barrier inhibiting the ability of the poor to diversify their livelihood activities. This is evidence that poverty is closely linked to low levels of education and lack of skills and, therefore, education is a key factor that contributes to the greater ability of better off/poor families to diversify (Ellis, 1998:20).

The next need that was ranked as being highly importance to solve was health. Like the need for education, Ayiaw village and Isuraf village ranked health as an very important priority whereas in Tanjung Irausak village the need was not prioritised highly. In fact, there was a similarity among all three villages as there were still some diseases commonly attacking the villagers such as malaria, diarrhea and asthma. These diseases were often difficult to cure because of a lack of doctors, nurses and medicines in these places.

In Ayiaw village there was a *Puskesmas Pembantu*, a doctor and a nurse, but a lack of medicines while in Isuraf village and in Tanjung Irausak these health services were not available. In Tanjung Irausak village, even though there were no health facilities, the people could walk to get the health service as the village near to the city. That is why the people thought that health service was not an important lack to overcome. However, this need is extremely important for the people living in Isuraf village as this service is not accessible at all. In the fieldwork, it was found that this village was very far from the city and, hence, the people were required to walk a long distance to get to the heath service in a sub-district town.

Health service is important like education and skill services. They are important because they could contribute to increasing the income of the farmers. When these services can be improved, they are able to increase the ability of the farmers both in labour productivity and in land productivity. As some argued, if these productivities can be raised through health, nutrition, education and skills, then they could contribute to raise income of the poor farmers (Quibria, 1993:52-69; Quibria, 1994:24-41; Elli, 2000: 33-34; ADB, 2001:101-102; and Mukherjee, et al, 2002:40).

It is a reality that productivity and income would not be increased for a person having low skills, low education, malnutrition and diseases. IFAD (2001b:105) maintains human assets, which include nutritional status, health and education, are extremely important to improve standard of living as they "have intrinsic value in raising capabilities and/or happiness, and instrumental value in raising income – and thus access to further capabilities and happiness". These values, IFAD (2001b:105) argued, can be expressed directly or indirectly to improve human life. "Directly by applying improved skills or health to initial leisure, labour and natural and physical assets; and indirectly by using improved health, education and nutrition to control more assets that raise consumption, leisure or earned income; to obtain information and to implement choices" (2001:105).

In the above context, public education and health services are macro policies that have to be prioritised by institutions, especially central and local governments to raise the quality of human resources across the country. Human investment is a key factor in changing human welfare and, hence, it has to be a main focus in regional policies. It has to be an integrated policy with the overall policy, as it is not only for increasing income for the rural poor, but also for accelerating regional development.

Investment in human resources constitutes a determining element in boosting development progress (Ellis, 2000:34). There is evidence for this claim of progress where some countries without enough natural resources, such as mineral deposits and timber, are able to boost their national economic growth. This is because, in part, these countries seemed to be able to raise their human resource quality to support the economy. This conforms to Harbison's argument (1973:3) as follows:

> Human resources - not capital, nor income, nor material resources constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations, and carry forward national development. Clearly, a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else.

Harbison and Myers (1964:2) defined human resource development as "the process of increasing the knowledge, the skill, and the capacities of all people in a society". In this context, Harbison and Myers (1964:2) proposed several ways of developing human resources. The first is through formal education, beginning with primary education, continuing with secondary and then higher education including colleges, universities and technical institutes. Second it is developed on the job through informal training programmes, in adult education programmes and in various political, social, religious and cultural groups. Third is by self-development. For example, taking courses, and by reading

and learning from others in informal contacts. Fourth is by improvements in health through better medical and public health programmes. Last is improvement in nutrition.

Micro enterprise was another need that was ranked variously in the selected villages. In two villages, Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak, the poor believed that micro-enterprise was not an important priority to help alleviate their hardship. However, in Ayiaw village it was sees as an very important need to be met. Despite this variety, there was evidence that showed that micro-enterprise is one of the means of survival for the poor in some villages (Ellis, 1998:19; Ellis, 2000:5), although it was realised that developing this type of business is not easy, as it requires good skills, high working capital and a good business mentality.

In a reality, working capital, skills and business mentality are essential to boost small businesses. The availability of these three things is recognised to vary from one community to another. In some places, people can easily access these things and, hence, are able to run micro enterprises. In other places, however, the people do not have ready access to these things leading them to have difficulty in running micro enterprises.

Lack of business skills was discovered to be a general phenomenon hindering the development of small businesses in three villages. Business mentality, however, was growing in almost all villages as the people were already involved in marketing their crops and some have expressed their interest in running micro-enterprises. There was also a growing awareness among the villagers of micro-enterprises as a potential source of household income to provide daily needs. Nevertheless, their business mentality was sometimes not expressed in real activities or micro-enterprises because they suffered from a lack of capital. Lacking capital is, in fact, an expression of lacking access to financial institutions, especially formal institutions such as banks. As Morrisson et al (1994:103) maintain:

> One of the main reasons put forward to explain the stagnation of traditional micro-enterprises ... is the difficulty they experience in gaining access to sources of financing. More precisely, the developing countries appear to be

> characterised by financial dualism – the coexistence of a formal financial system and an informal system – and micro-enterprises lack the capital required for development because they have no access to the formal system.

This difficulty in obtaining sufficient capital to develop micro-enterprises was widespread in Isuraf village and Tanjung Irausak village, where almost the majority of the rural population did not run this type of business. In chapters six, seven and eight it can be seen that the people in these villages experienced capital shortages caused by a lack of access to credit institutions. This was partly because the borrowing interest rates applied by these institutions were high and other requirements for obtaining credit could not be met.

The advent of micro-enterprise is vital for the lives of the poor. It plays a main role in overcoming their suffering from a lack of income and unemployment. Burns and Dewhurst (1996:2) asserted that micro-enterprise provides "sufficient sales to ensure survival, an adequate return on capital and an acceptable standard of living". For this to happen, micro-enterprise has to be developed through local policies. These policies are expected to be able to facilitate the poor's access to financial institutions, access to basic business training and reducing their burden from retribution and tax.

Housing, piped water and electricity were other important needs to cope with poverty. These needs were valued as an important priority in Ayiaw village, while in Isuraf village a high ranking was given only to electricity and in Tanjung Irausak only to housing. Though there were dissimilar ranks among these villages, it was discovered that a large number of villagers' houses were non-permanent. They were built from local materials with an earth floor, no electricity and no piped drinking water. This type of housing is, in fact, not beneficial for quality living and often contributed to diseases such as asthma.

Housing is a place to live and, hence, it is a basic necessity (Stewart and Stewart, 1993:2). In this relation it has to be good quality to provide satisfaction for the person or the family living in it. Its quality should include electricity, piped water, a proper sewerage system,

and such like, which should be made available for the owner as this need will contribute to increased productivity and income (Jazairy et al, 1992:134).

Housing, piped water and electricity have been considered essential infrastructure investments, similar to roads, which impact on economic development (Flavin, 1986:5). Jazairy et al (1992: 134) maintain that if investment in infrastructure, such as water supply, electricity, roads and communication, is carried out together with investment in social services, such as education, health, nutrition, water, sanitation and housing, it will ensure improve the position of the rural poor. These investments not only improve their quality of life, but also contribute to productivity.

The involvement of the institutions in providing social services including housing, piped water and electricity is needed. These services, especially housing provision, must constitute a central policy in seeking to supply public housing to population. However, public housing has been limited to urban areas to cater for urbanisation. The process of urbanisation has tended to increase in several cities, particularly big ones, which lead to a high population density in urban areas. That is one of the reasons the government tends to build public housings in urban areas rather than rural areas.

Despite this, the government is still involved in developing rural housings through aid programmes in the form of building material provision. However the main problem is that often these programmes have not delivered to the needy, but to those who already have or those who live closer to the roads. The programmes were also often given to villages based on close relationships between officials, for example, between district officials and village officials. This relation is, in fact, not helpful to all villagers and often creates developmental gaps in the villages.

Institutions in the lives of the poor

Institutions have an important role in poverty reduction. In chapter three Ellis (2000:16) demonstrated this role, as seen in Figure 3.2, as mediating the poor's access to livelihood assets. This figure showed that institutions, social relations and organisations facilitated this role. Focusing on the institution, it is important to know what is meant by 'institution' to avoid misinterpretation. The World Bank (2003:37) argued "they are the rules and organizations, including informal norms that coordinate human behavior". They can be people's associations, decentralized government, the local offices of ministries and NGOs (Webster and Pedersen, 2002:4). In relation to this, Rodgers and Hoeven (1995:46), Pernia and Deolalikar (2003:4-5) also claimed that institutions could be both informal and formal. The informal institutions include social networks, norms of behavior, and gender roles while the formal institutions include the legal system, corporate organizations, the politico-administrative system or the state in general.

As a general concept, institutions comprise arrangements, rules, and norms upon which economic and social behaviour is established (Rodgers and Hoeven, 1995:46; Ellis, 2000:38). In the selected villages there are institutions called Community Based Organisations (CBO) which were established by the local people. In addition, there were other institutions that were constructed by the government to implement its activities at the village level. These institutions will be examined next.

Why are the above institutions so important in the lives of the poor? As a mediator, they function to coordinate human behaviours related to livelihood assets. The World Bank maintained that institutions control and coordinate human behaviours. This "is required for people and assets to thrive, particularly institutions that sustain this coordination - by channeling interests, and by shaping the quality and effectiveness of growth" (2003:37). Further, The World Bank (2002:9) argued "how market-supporting institutions affect people's lives by influencing growth, determining people's access to market, and enabling poor and rich people to make the best use of their assets".

The presence of institutions in the poor's lives is a vital need to assist the poor to escape from poverty (Webster and Pedersen, 2002:4-7; Deolalikar et al, 2002:11). This support can be manifested in the form of influence and policy leading to poverty reduction, economic growth and provision of assets, especially basic social services. As Deolalikar et al (2002:11) asserted:

> Institutional factors are pervasive in their influence on poverty reduction - both directly as well as via their influence on growth, direct poverty alleviation policies, and provision of basic social services. For example, political exclusion can result in some groups not perceived to be politically important being denied access to publicly provided social services and poverty reduction programmes. Agricultural growth can be less pro-poor because of the institutional problems of legislating and implementing effective land reform. In addition, sociocultural taboos and beliefs can result in some groups deliberately excluding themselves from participating in public antipoverty programmes.

Institutions influence poverty through their policies (Rodgers and Hoeven, 1995:47; Deolalikar et al, 2002:6; Pernia and Deolalikar, 2003:5). First of all, policies which relate to economic growth, the distribution of benefits from growth, investment, credit, employment, inflation and interest rate. Second, is policies which are related to a wide range of assets (resources or capital). These include natural capital, physical capital, human capital, social capital and financial capital (Rodgers and Hoeven, 1995:47; Ellis, 2000:160-169; Deolalikar et al, 2002:8-10).

The question is, do these institutional policies really benefit the poor? And what institutions aid the poor to overcome poverty? In chapters six, seven and eight, it was seen that the poor evaluated the institutional benefits for their lives based on ranking and judgment. For the first evaluation this study applied three dimensions: most important, important and less/not important. The most important criteria was scored one, the important two and less/not important three.

For the second evaluation, the study used two dimensions: trust and effectiveness. The poor had difficulty in interpreting the different meanings of these dimensions and, hence,

they used both for a similar intention. For example, they argued that a institution was trusted and was effective if the institution met several criteria: *terbuka* (open) and *jujur*(fair), *bermanfaat* (useful), *adil dalam memberikan bantuan* (fair in providing s subsidy) and *dapat berbicara langsung kepada masyarakat* (can talk directly to the people).

Table 9.5: Ranking institutions in selected villages

Institutions	Ayiaw		Isuraf		Tanjung Irausak	
	FGD	Qsr	FGD	Qsr	FGD	Qsr
Village government						
• Desa	2	2	2	1	1	1
• Dusun			3	3		
• RW			3	3		
• RT			3	3		
• RW and RT					3	3
BPD	3	3	-	-	-	-
BRI	3	3	-	-	-	-
Sekolah	3	3	3	2	3	3
Puskesmas Pembantu	3	3	-	-	-	-
Jaringan Pengamanan Sosial	3	3	2	2	2	2
Pokja	-	-	3	3	-	-
PKB GKI	2	2	2	2	2	3
PW GKI	2	2	2	2	2	3
PAM GKI	2	2	3	2	2	3
Tokoh adapt	1	1	2	2	1	1
Keluarga/saudara/teman	1	1	1	1	1	1
Posyandu	3	3	3	3	1	2
YPMD	3	3	-	-	-	-
YKPHM	2	2	-	-	-	-

Source: Tables 6.8; 7.9 and 8.11
Ranking:
1 = most important
2 = important
3 = less or not important
FGD = Focus Group Discussion method
Qsr = Questionnaire method

During the fieldwork, however, it was difficult to make a clear distinction between ranking and judging and, hence, they used the judging criteria to rank the institutions. The results of ranking and judging institutions are summarised in Table 9.5. This table demonstrates that

keluarga/ saudara/ teman (relatives/closed friends) were rated of higher importance than other institutions in all villages.

As explored previously in chapters six, seven and eight, village communities were still strictly ruled by the kin-based system. This system was a part of their culture, which commands them to help each other, particularly assisting those who are in difficult situations. The system was very useful as it was a cultural way of coping with poverty. In addition to cultural values forming the kin-based system, religious values also underpinned the support system. Frequently, the people in the villages mentioned the term 'love each other', according to their Christian faith, as the basic principle in their lives which led them to help their neighbours in difficult situations.

Tokoh-tokoh adat (community leaders) were ranked higher in Ayiaw village and Tanjung Irausak village than in Isuraf village. In fact, *tokoh adat* is very powerful culturally in the Papuan community as a whole. This is partly because *tokoh-tokoh adat* are traditional leaders having the rights to the customary land and, hence, they have the power to determine land use, including village development. To some extents the village head, who is nominated by the government as its representative in the village to coordinate all village development programmemes, has to listen to and consult with the *tokoh adat* in designing the programmemes.

In the eyes of the villagers in Ayiaw village and Tanjung Irausak village, *tokoh-tokoh adat* were very important as they allowed them to use the land for farming without compensation and often protected them from unfair actions by development actors. In Isuraf village this honor was relatively low and they tended to give high honor to *kepala desa* (village head). They assumed the *kepala desa* had a powerful influence in developing the village, especially in establishing a network to the local government.

Of the village government officials comprising *desa, dusun, RW and RT*, *kepala desa* was valued as the most important and influential force in the villages of Tanjung Irausak and

Isuraf. In Ayiaw village this value was relatively low as a result of internal problems disturbing the relationships among them and affecting their ranking of this institution. This conflict often occurred in other villages relating to financial support from local government and poor village management. In Tanjung Irausak village and Isuraf village this trustworthiness was given a high ranking for being open, fair and a good contact with the local government, which also had a significant impact on village development.

Jaringan Pengamanan Sosial, PKB GKI, PW GKI, PAM GKI and *YKPHM* were appraised as important in the lives of the poor. *Jaringan Pengamanan Sosial* was a Safety Network programme that was run by the government during the economic crisis to help the poor. The district office coordinated its implementation in all villages. The programme provided subsidised rice for poor families, so that the poor bought at Rp. 1,000 per kilogram when the market price was two-three times higher. Each family obtained about 10-15 kilograms, which was lower than the official allocation of 20 kilogram per needy family. They were grateful as the programme helped to reduce their lack of food, but the majority of the poor believed that the programme was ineffective because they wanted agricultural equipment rather than rice, as discussed in chapters six, seven and eight.

PKB GKI, PW GKI and *PAM GKI* are religious institutions in the Evangelical Christian Church in Papua. *PKB GKI* is for men, *PW GKI* for women and *PAM GKI* for youth. These institutions were present in each village and they were basically established to provide religious services. But they often assisted members having financial problems. The financial support normally stemmed from offerings they conducted at the weekly meetings in their own neighborhoods.

YKPHM is *Yayasan Kerjasama Pendidikan Hukum Masyarakat* (the Papuan Cooperation Foundation for Community Legal System). It is an NGO that has its main office in Jayapura, but its operational region covered all districts in Papua. It was set up to manage problems relating to land use, forestry, mining and others. This institution, as discussed in chapters five and six, supported the local community in Ayiaw village by providing

financial support to build a traditional house as a centre to protect the land rights, while in the other two villages this institution did not give aid.

Government institutions proving social services such as *BPD* (Regional Development Bank), *BRI* (People's Bank of Indonesia), *sekolah* (school), *Puskemas Pembantu* (Auxiliary Community Health Centre), *Pokja (Kelompok Kerja* - CBM, Community Based Management), *Posyandu* (Integrated Health Service Post) and *YPMD* were assessed as less important as these institutions did not always give assistance to the people. *BPD* and *BRI* were financial institutions having the functions of supplying financial capital to the people. The lending was only provided to people that met the requirements. In fact, no villagers utilised the credit as they were unable to met the requirements. These two institutions opened offices in Ayiaw village, however the offices were not available in the other two villages.

Puskesmas Pembantu was a health institution providing health services at the sub-district level, including in villages. This institution had already opened its branch office in Ayiaw village, but in the other two villages this institution was not available. To have health services, therefore, the villagers from these two villages were required to walk a long distance to get to the service centres in the sub-district towns.

Sekolah Dasar was a basic education programme run by the government. This institution provided free school fees for students and was a central government education policy that was implemented in the whole country. Primary school teachers voluntarily taught the Christian religion for the students in Sunday schools. They were also involved in other youth recreation activities such as volleyball, church singing groups and boy scouts. The teachers also coordinated the Youth Bible Study Groups in each village, such as *PAM GKI* and *PAR GKI,* which, according to the students' parents, were beneficial for developing the students' character. The above basic education programme was already available in Ayiaw village and Isuraf village, but in Tanjung Irausak village it was not present. Therefore,

students in Tanjung Irausak have to go to other villages, such as in Tampa Garam, Ruvei or in Kampung Baru, to study.

YPMD stands for *Yayasan Pengembangan Masyarakat Desa* (Rural Community Development Foundation). It is also an NGO which has a main office in Jayapura, but its operations included all districts in Papua. Its main activities were related to rural development including agricultural, economic and social life. In recent years it has also attempted to solve conflicts dealing with local natural resources such as land and forests. In Ayiaw village this NGO worked together with *YKPHM* to run projects relating to communal land, such as land mapping. However, the project was mainly a *YKPHM* project and *YPMD* was not too much involved. In the other two villages, *YPMD* did not run any activities and, hence, the people in these two villages did not know about it and so they did not rank its contribution.

In summary, *keluarga/saudara/teman* are the most import institutions in the lives of the poor. These institutions helped the poor in all situations, particularly in times of hardship. *Tokoh adat* is also a very important institution in providing help to the poor, particularly help relating to the land. *Kepala desa* is an important institution as this institution responsible for village development. Other institutions are not important, as their help was not always given to the poor.

CBOs are more important institutions than GBOs (Government Based Organisations). CBOs, therefore, need to be included in poverty reduction policy. At least, GBO should be required to work together with local CBOs in all attempts to cope with poverty. Without involving in the local CBO, this policy may not properly address the target since the CBO probably knows more about their local people's situation. Policy to strengthen the capacity of CBOs, for example through developing skill training and networking, needs to be done in order to allow them to be involved in all strategies to cope with poverty.

Dimensions of poverty

The extent of poverty in the selected sites is broad and complex. It does not only include individual dimensions, but also structural dimensions such as institutions and their policies. Both dimensions brought about interlocking causes of rural poverty. Despite this, structural dimensions are seen as the main causes of poverty. Individual factors leading to poverty can be minimised as long as structural factors can positively operate as a leading factor in all attempts to relieve poverty in all its dimensions.

A basic prerequisite for poverty reduction in this context is political will and a strong commitment by institutions, particularly the government. Without this, all endeavours in a country to help the poor to escape from poverty will be impossible. As Deolalikar et al (2002:12) pointed out, "if governments do not have the political will or commitment to reduce poverty, poverty reduction will either not occur or will occur very slowly." All the factors that cause poverty to decline, such as pro-poor growth, social development, and good governance, are dependent on political will and commitment".

Though rural poverty is linked to various dimensions, the poor linked their concept of poverty to three main dimensions: economic, social (cultural) and infrastructure. The first dimension includes the small amount of land cultivated, a lack of permanent employment, a lack of income, a lack of agricultural and fishing equipment and a lack of credit. The second comprises a lack of skills, a lack of permanent housing, and a lack of health services. The last dimension encompasses a lack of transport, a lack of electricity and a lack of piped water.

Nonetheless, there are in fact other dimensions trapping the people in poverty, but they would probably not be recognized by villagers. These dimensions follow Chambers' concept of deprivation (Chambers, 1995:18-21): poverty, social inferiority, isolation, physical weakness, vulnerability, seasonality, powerlessness and humiliation. All these

dimensions lead the poor to a deprivation trap, which perhaps the poor themselves are not aware of but in fact are trapped and experiencing poverty.

The three dimensions of poverty previously identified by the poor are indeed only a part of the history of poverty they have faced. In designing poverty alleviation strategies for the three selected villages, it is contended that the strategies would be effective if they could directly touch Chambers' eight dimensions of deprivation. This is because these dimensions are seen as having a powerful influence in trapping the villagers into poverty, as Chambers (1983) proposed in Figure 9.1. In this figure, it can be seen that Chambers condenses the eight dimensions of deprivation to five main dimensions trapping the poor: powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness, material poverty and isolation. The other three dimensions: social inferiority, seasonality and humiliation operate through the five main dimensions and result in poverty.

In the middle of the figure the experience of living and being poor, which is surrounded by the above five main dimensions. These main dimensions influence each other and catch the people into experiencing poverty. For each dimension, there is a dotted arrow pointing to each dimension representing intervention actions that are expected to emanate from the ruling institutions.

All five dimensions as mentioned above are operative in the selected villages, but most deprivations were caused by isolation and vulnerability. Isolation occurred due to a lack of public transportation, bad condition of roads, a lack of communication due to insufficient phones and information centres, and a lack of transport to get to the distant market. The vulnerability existed because the poor had no regular income making them open to economic shocks such as high local prices and food insecurity.

Material poverty is seen as a strong determinant of the others (Chambers, 1983:112). It encompasses a lack of income or capital to run micro enterprises, a lack of credit, and a lack of equipment for farming and fishing. It contributes to physical weakness through

illness, malnutrition, inability to place the children at high schools and university and inability to pay medical fees when sick. It also impacts isolation through a lack of public transport, a lack of education, remoteness, bad condition of the roads, and a lack of information centres. It also contributes to vulnerability through openness to economic shocks and food insecurity and to powerlessness through a lack of influence on the local government.

Powerlessness adds to poverty in many ways. Institutions, through their regulations or laws, often prevent the poor accessing to livelihood resources. There was evidence in the fieldwork showing that the lack of physical infrastructure in the villages was a result of a lack of influence on local government. The poor were also powerless to meet their basic needs as the local policies seemed to increase local prices for basic needs. Policies failing to create jobs and enable the poor to obtain credit were other ways institutions limited the permanent jobs for the poor and impeded the poor from running micro-enterprises.

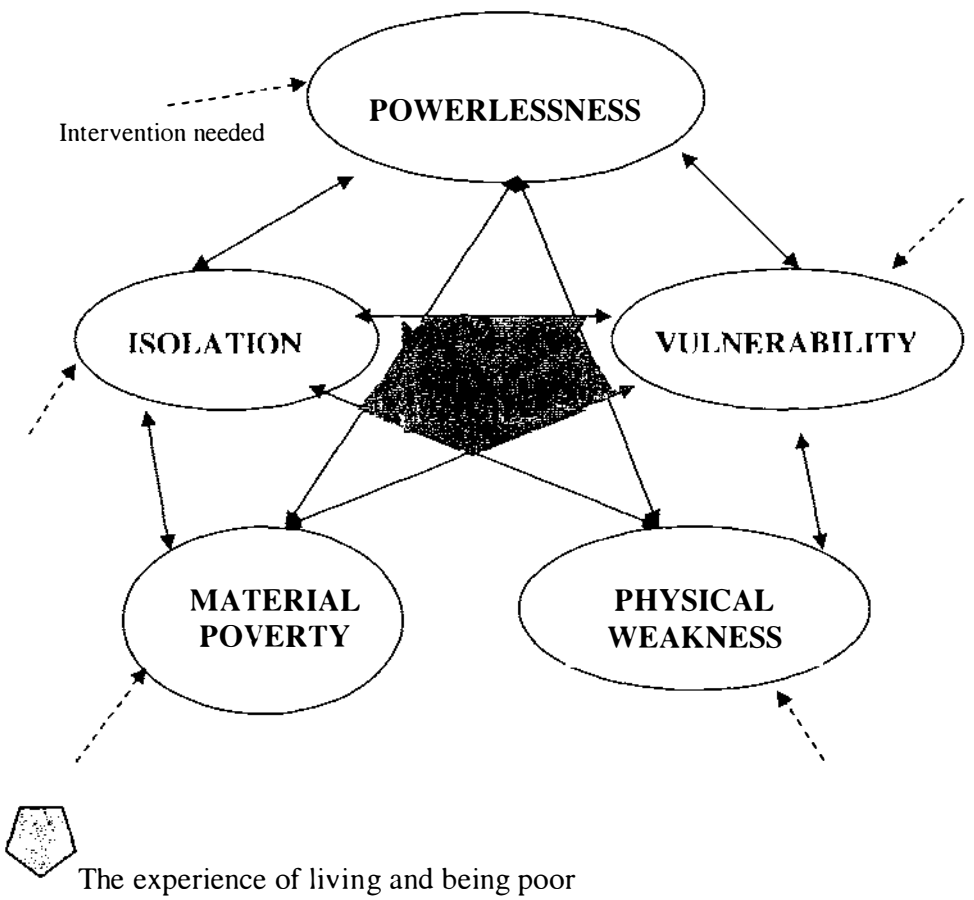
Powerlessness was also reinforced by physical weakness because of illness, malnutrition, and a lack of education. When the poor faced illness, low education, low skills and their children experienced malnutrition, they were powerless to demand what was meant for them. It was found from the fieldwork that physical weakness also emanated from a high dependency ratio because each family has four children on average. This was regarded as a family burden as the household head had no regular income to provide a livelihood for the family, for childcare and for daily food. In the villages physical weakness also led to the poor being unable to pay medical fees when sick, unable to place the children at high schools and at university, and unable to demand piped water installation.

In relation to powerlessness, Chambers (1983:113-114) argues:

> Isolation is linked with powerlessness through the inability of those who are powerless to attract government aid, schools, good staffs, or other resources. Powerlessness also makes the poor more vulnerable – to sudden demands for

the repayment of loans, to threat of prosecution and fine or imprisonment, or to demands for a bribe in a dispute.

Figure 9.1: The deprivation trap of poverty



Source: Adapted from Chambers (1983:112).

To conclude, the poor recognised three main dimensions of poverty which were economic, social (cultural) and infrastructure. For the purpose of poverty reduction strategies, Chambers' idea of a deprivation trap of poverty should be focused on as the idea touches all of these three dimensions.

It was found that the poor experienced material poverty partly because of a lack of equipment (both farming and fishing), small agricultural yields, limited skills and a lack of access to market. This material poverty results in several impacts such as lack of a permanent house, nutrition, skills and cash. If this material poverty is addressed in poverty reduction policy, it will bring positive impacts to solve all three dimensions of poverty perceived by the poor.

Isolation is considered to occur in the three villages because of a lack of roads, transport, information and communication, and good education. Hence, when this isolation is directed into poverty policy, then the dimension of infrastructure, as pointed out by the poor, could be reduced as well. The poor were also readily vulnerable to economic shocks such as high prices and to health hazards such as diseases because they have a lack of income, health services and nutrition. If this vulnerability is addressed the dimensions of economic and social are automatically minimised.

Powerlessness existed because the poor had difficulty in obtaining income, limited jobs, and a lack of influence on development projects. The solution to this powerlessness, this study argues, will result in the solution of the economic dimension of poverty. The poor also identified physical weakness as stemming from malnutrition, diseases and a lack of health services. If this weakness is eliminated, it positively affects social dimension.

Causes of poverty

There is no single cause of poverty. The causes are various and stem from micro and macro levels. From the micro side, the causes emanated from individual characteristics that hindered the poor from escaping poverty such as customs, a lack of education and skills, lack of income and lack of permanent job. From the macro side the causes appeared from institutional power particularly local institutions, which failed to facilitate the poor's access to credit, markets, roads and transport facilities.

The causes of poverty in the selected sites, as explored in chapters six, seven and eight, have verified that both levels have been at work and have caused the people to be poor. In other words, the people are poor because these two levels worked together and created poverty. For example, the people were poor because they did not sell their farming products at the market. This is one of the individual characteristics causing them to be poor. The question is, why? Partly it is because the people have no access to roads, or, if there was a road connecting their village to the market in the city, they did not go because there were no cars or public buses operating on the roads. This is one of the institutional aspects leading to poverty.

The next question is, what are the dominant causes of the poverty in each site? Through the methods used to gather data, it was found that the poor believed the prominent causes arose from a lack of natural, physical, human, social and financial/economic assets, as presented in Table 9.6. Of these five main assets, the lack of financial/economic assets seemed to be the prominent cause in contributing to poverty in the three villages.

From Table 9.6 it can be seen that almost all components of the financial/economic assets accounted for strong influences on poverty, as indicated by the high percentages with more than 70 percent of the poor seeing each component of financial/economic assets as a cause. These components comprise low capital/cash, no micro-enterprises, a lack of permanent job, a lack of fishing tools, a lack of farming tools, high general prices, the market being too far away and poor policy. Even so, no micro-enterprises and a lack of permanent jobs were primary determinants with 100 percent of the poor in the three villages nominating these as causes.

Moreover, more than 70 percent of the poor voiced concern about causes emanating from human assets, particularly lack of education and skills and laziness. In terms of physical assets, the highest percentages were given to a lack of transport facilities and a lack of electricity as the main causes. In natural assets, there were variations among its components. In Ayiaw the highest percentage of the voices was given to dependence on natural factors

and to the sea as leading causes while in Tanjung Irausak the highest percentages were given to small landholdings and to the sea.

Table 9.6: Causes of poverty according to perceptions of the poor in the three villages (in average percentages)

Causes of Poverty	Ayiaw	Isuraf	Tanjung Irausak
Natural Assets			
• Nature spoils the people/dependence on natural factor	71.65	60.85	55.85
• Small land	54.20	60.85	75.80
• Sea can not provide more fish	78.30	69.15	96.65
Physical Assets			
• Lack of roads	55.00	15.00	32.50
• Lack of transport facilities	86.65	93.35	93.35
• Lack of piped drinking water (pipe or pump)	86.65	56.65	86.65
• Lack of electricity	80.00	78.30	82.50
Human Assets			
• Laziness	84.15	80.85	71.70
• Alcoholic drunkenness/waste money	67.50	54.15	47.50
• More wives	28.35	15.00	23.35
• Low education/skills	95.00	95.00	96.65
• Gambling/billiards	38.30	32.50	33.30
Social Assets			
• Lack of housing	67.50	40.85	72.50
• Custom barriers	74.15	81.65	56.65
Financial/Economic Assets			
• Low capital/cash	95.00	100.00	98.35
• No micro-enterprises	100.00	100.00	100.00
• Lack of permanent job	100.00	100.00	100.00
• Lack of fishing tools	76.70	100.00	98.35
• Lack of farming tools	95.00	93.35	90.00
• High general prices	100.00	95.00	100.00
• Market too far	71.65	100.00	61.50
• Poor policy	89.20	86.65	82.50

Source: 9.8 (appendix eight)

Though there were general causes among the villages, each village has its own specific causes. In Ayiaw the poor pinpointed around sixteen main causes resulting in poverty. These were nature spoiling the people or dependence on nature, the sea not providing enough fish, lack of transport facilities, piped water and electricity, laziness, lack of

education and skills, custom barriers, lack of capital/cash, no micro-enterprise, a lack of permanent jobs, fishing equipment and farming equipment, high general prices, markets being too far away and poor policy.

There were twelve dominant causes seen by the people in Isuraf village. These were lack of transport facilities and electricity, laziness, lack of education and skills, custom barriers, lack of capital/cash, no micro-enterprise, lack of permanent jobs, fishing equipment and farming equipment, high general prices, markets being too far away and poor policy.

In Tanjung Irausak there were fifteen major causes given by study participants. These encompass small landholdings, the sea not providing enough fish, lack of transport facilities, piped water and electricity, laziness, lack of education and skills, good housing and capital/cash, no micro-enterprise, lack of permanent jobs, fishing equipment and farming equipment, high general prices and poor policy.

In summary, dominant causes of poverty for the three villages are low capital/cash, no micro-enterprises, and lack of permanent jobs, fishing tools and farming tools, high general prices, market being too far away, poor policy, low education/skills, laziness and lack of transport facilities.

In spite of this, every village has different causes as explored above. These differences require dissimilar intervention actions in alleviating poverty for each village, which coming from the grassroots level rather than from the elite level. In other word, every village needs a bottom-up and self-defined approach to poverty alleviation rather than uniform policies.

However, the bottom-up and self-defined approach demands a detailed investigation to distinguish what is cause and what is impact or symptom of poverty. The investigation is required to direct the approach to the causes rather than the symptoms.

Coping strategies

The strategies used by the poor to overcome hardship situations where they have no money or food in their hands was explored in chapters six, seven and eight. They consist of various ways in which the poor diversified their livelihood activities and made them to be sustainable. The strategies the poor labeled during the fieldwork are presented in Table 9.7.

These strategies can be generally grouped into two main strategies, namely internal strategies and external strategies. The internal strategies stem from inside the village community while the external strategies are from outside the community. The internal strategies comprise self-help, relatives/close friends, village officials, village cooperatives, religious institutions and tribal leaders while the external strategies comprise assistance from the government (provincial, district and sub-district) and NGOs.

Two prominent coping strategies appeared among the poor interviewed. Nearly all of the poor in each village argued that they could solve their difficult situations through self-help and assistance from relatives/close friends. All types of livelihood activities coming from these two strategies, and others, were explored earlier in chapters six, seven and eight.

Table 9.7: Coping strategies against poverty according to perceptions of the poor in the three villages (in average percentages)

Strategies	Ayiaw	Isuraf	Tanjung Irausak
Government offices (provincial, district and sub-district)	56.65	44.20	26.65
NGOs	57.50	6.65	-
Relatives/close friends	100.00	100.00	100.00
Village officials	70.00	61.70	46.15
Village cooperative	49.15	-	-
Self-help	100.00	100.00	100.00
Religious organizations	75.85	57.50	73.35
Tribal leaders	78.30	55.00	35.85

Source: Tables 9.9 (appendix eight)

The next three important strategies were assistance coming from religious organisations, tribal leaders and village officials. Reliance on each of these strategies was stronger in Ayiaw than in Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak, as indicated by over 70 per cent of the poor in Ayiaw village, compared to less than 70 per cent in Isuraf village and Tanjung Irausak village endorsing these strategies.

Aid from NGOs appeared as a coping strategy in Ayiaw and Isuraf, but not in Tanjung Irausak. NGO assistance was much stronger in Ayiaw than in Isuraf at around 58 and 7 per cent respectively. Of all these strategies, the reliance on self-help and relatives/close friends in rural social settings is powerful and, hence, are the focus in the following paragraphs.

Self-help

The poor were asked to explain how they lessened their difficulties. Men and women in the three villages who had access to forest fragments or land or home gardens believed that they could survive on farming of breadfruit and coconuts. Some contended that they could go far away to catch fish. Almost all women in the three villages said that they were taking part in selling farming and home garden produce such as coconuts, breadfruit, areca nut, betel nut and limes.

In Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak, men maintained that they could work at the port and others claimed they could work in the building sector. They also worked at laying the asphalt on the roads and marking the road. In Tanjug Irausak men went out far from the village to collect fruit such as durian and mangoes to bring back to the village to sell. They also crushed stones to sell to housing developers.

The poor themselves were resourceful and relied on a number of coping strategies to reduce the hardship they experienced. Table 9.5 showed a very strong reliance on self-help with around 100 per cent of the poor interviewed in all three villages seeing this as a main strategy in times of hardship.

To conclude, self-help is conducted as a coping strategy to reduce poverty by working harder in subsistence farming or subsistence fishing. This can be done alone by a person or by all members of a household in providing livelihood for the family.

Assistance from relatives/close friends

The poor are a part of social network in the village. This network normally incorporates them with their relatives and close friends who understand their difficult situations and who are a part of their life in times of difficulties (Ellis, 2000:36-41; ADB, 2001:79). This network is powerful among the village communities and it is useful as it can mediate the poor's access to livelihood activities (Ellis, 2000:16), as shown by Figure 3.2 in chapter three.

Reciprocal giving networks and also reciprocal borrowing relations among the relatives/close friends were extremely important to the poor in overcoming their difficulties. From Table 9.6 it can be seen that reliance on relatives/close friends among the poor interviewed was 100 per cent in the three selected sites indicating the strong social relations of the poor in the villages in times of hardship.

Melanesian context of poverty

Even though Papua is part of Indonesia, it shares similar cultural characteristics with the Melanesian countries in the Pacific: Papua New Guinea (PNG), the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Vanuatu and New Caledonia. These similarities in culture mean that any significant study of poverty in Papua must acknowledge the issues of poverty in other Melanesian countries from the standpoint of the causes and concepts.

The incidence of poverty in Melanesian countries is seen as more serious than poverty in the other countries in the Pacific (UNDP, 1999:ix). Among the Melanesian countries, poverty is more serious in PNG than the other four countries as indicated by the Human

Development Index and Human Poverty index (ADB, 2000a: 42; ADB, 2000b:3). The poverty rate in Papua is higher than poverty rates in the other Indonesian provinces (BPS, BAPPENAS and UNDP, 2001:89; BPS, 2000:19). As with Papua, the Melanesian countries seriously suffer from poverty even though they are rich in terms of natural resources such as minerals and logging. People living in Papua and PNG are among the poorest in Melanesian and the Asia-Pacific region.

In the Pacific as a whole, the incidence of poverty is caused by a number of factors such as natural disasters, economic shocks and violent conflict (Good, 2003: 5). Good further argued that in the Melanesian countries a vulnerability to poverty includes lack of access to social services, economic downturn and exposure to extreme weather conditions (2003:7). In Papua, particularly in the research sites, interlocking structural forces rather than just lack of resources are fundamental to our understanding of poverty. These interlocking causes indeed include lack of access to education, health services and infrastructure. Poverty in these regions, therefore, is not solely a reflection of a lack of natural assets such as land, forests and the sea (due to the local customary land ownership of these assets), but to physical, human, social and economic assets.

In Papua and the Melanesian countries, a large majority of population, more than 80 per cent, still live in rural areas (Erari, 1999: 2-3; Allen et al., 2005: 202; Feeny, 2005:4) and subsistence agriculture is the dominant sector contributing to people's livelihoods (Erari, 1999: 3; Allen, 1999:42; Feeny, 2005:4). As there remains access to natural resources and to subsistence agriculture, Melanesian populations rarely suffer from absolute poverty (inability to meet basic needs), but they are deprived from access to education, health services, infrastructure and other assets (Good, 2003: 3-4) with which to move out of poverty. Indeed, in both Papua and PNG the incidence of poverty reflects a pronounced deprivation in opportunities (poverty of opportunities) to improve living due to lack of access to social services, education, health services, infrastructure and other possibilities for personal development (UNDP, 1999:x; Gibson and Rozelle, 2002: 1-11).

Gender issues

There are many gender issues surrounding women in three research sites that were explored in chapters six, seven and eight. The fact remains that in many poor households, the female members of the family may be more deprived in terms of their access to assets or resources. This deprivation partly arises from lack of access to such things as education, health services, business opportunities and land.

Education is seen as an indicator to portray the low status of women. Access to primary education in Ayiaw village is not a problem but the decision to obtain education is cut short when parents face financial difficulties in paying school uniforms and stationary. Children then often stay at home rather than obtaining education. In the other two villages, a longer distance to and from school is a major reason for children to discontinue formal education.

Ayiaw village has an auxiliary health centre, a general practitioner, a nurse and a village health post that are easily accessible to the villagers. Even though provision of local government services is unreliable at times, due to a lack of medical supplies and manpower, there are traditional medicines which women and children have access to. Government health services are not available in the other villages, which contributes to major health problems for women.

Access to clean water and proper sanitation is still a major problem in three villages. It is still a woman's role to fetch cooking, drinking and laundry water. In the villages of Ayiaw and Tanjung Irausak water is usually obtained from small wells dug in the ground near the house. In Isuraf village water is obtained from wells dug near small streams on mountain sides and it is the women who walk some distance to bring water. Men dig up water wells and build water pipes from bamboos to run water closer to where people live and where women can more easily access water. The villagers have also accepted the situation as a normal way of life without considering the facts that continual use of unsafe water and poor sanitation practices are detrimental to their health.

Very few women in three villages have used proceeds from farming, fishing and labour to become involved small enterprises such as selling cooked food and store goods. During the field research, it was found that there were three families who sold store goods (two in Ayiaw village and one in Tanjung Irausak) but this business as a whole failed to develop due to low education and skills to manage the business. Most of the profits that were made were utilised for basic household needs and school fees. The common practice of giving money to extended family as an obligation also contributed to failure.

In the non-migrant communities in the villages of Ayiaw and Isuraf, access to land is not a big problem but in migrant communities in the village of Tanjung Irausak access to gardening land requires permission from the landowners or spending money earned from labour and farming to pay customary landowners to use land to garden or to build house. Even though men spent most of their time fishing or labouring, they do give some time to clearing land while women do most of the planting and harvesting. In Tanjung Irausak, women do most of the transporting of garden food to market by foot due to a short distance from the market while in the villages of Ayiaw and Isuraf women travel in groups or alone to market to sell their produce (due to long distances). Money raised from the sale is used for household needs.

Conclusion

Poverty consists of multiple, interlocking dimensions. The poor in Papua understand it in terms of difficulties in securing food and livelihoods or as a lack of material assets. The term poverty was understood well by the poor and it was translated it into several local terms. Based on this understanding, they were able to differentiate themselves from the rich by looking at asset ownership. The rich, according to the poor's insights, are people owning good assets or luxurious goods while the poor are those having difficulties in securing food, livelihood or assets.

Financial/economic, human and physical assets are prominent needs and priorities in the three villages. These needs and priorities are beyond the poor's ability to provide for them so they require support from the ruling institutions. Private institutions are needed to supply the assets, but supplying them is costly and it is difficult to make a profit for private institutions. In this regard, the local government institutions are responsible for this provision as a part of public service provision for its citizens.

Using intra-community resources and social networks normally solves the needs and priorities relating to food insecurity and livelihood. Local assets such as land, sea and forest are the main resources on which the poor rely on for their livelihood, while self-help and relatives/close friends are the dominant coping strategies used in their difficult situations. There was great interdependence during difficult situations between the rich and the poor for mutual help. Mukherjee also found these strategies in other villages in Indonesia, where during the times of hardship, she argued, "the poor's primary safety nets are the people they know and live with such as neighbors, relatives, and cohesive social groups that have evolved around shared interest and community activities" (1999:80).

It is impossible to eliminate poverty by poverty alleviation strategies alone. This should be integrated with holistic development policies in order to have strong support. Political will and strong commitment to addressing poverty from the government is a prerequisite to reducing poverty. Without this, the three main strategies to alleviate poverty, as discussed in chapter two: pro-poor growth, social development and good governance, will either not occur or will occur very slowly.

Each village has different causes of poverty. However, the poor voiced a lack of financial/economic assets as a common cause for all three villages. This includes lack of capital/cash, no micro-enterprises, a lack of permanent jobs, fishing equipment and farming equipment, high local prices for basic needs, markets being too far away and poor policy. All these causes constitute material poverty, which contributes to physical weakness, vulnerability, powerlessness and isolation, as, discussed above.

As causes of poverty are different from village to village, a bottom-up and self-defined approach stemming from the grassroots level in every village is required. This approach is seen as more effective than the approach coming from the elite level, which tends to adopt uniform policies for all locations.

A clear identification of what are causes and what are impacts of poverty is required in order to define the right causes for poverty reduction policies to focus on. The reason for this is the fact that the poor had difficulties in distinguishing between the causes and the impacts or symptoms, but this differentiation is needed as policy is directed to causes rather than symptoms.

Even though Papua and Melanesian countries are rich in terms of natural resources, people living in these places are among the poorest in the Asia-Pacific region. Poverty in these places is more linked to poverty of opportunities than to absolute poverty.

Women in the research locations suffer more from poverty than men. They are more deprived in access to education, health services, business opportunities, land and other social services.

Having explored the research findings of the case studies, then summarising these findings, policy implications for the selected sites and areas for future research are discussed in detail in chapter ten.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study has investigated the meaning, measurement, causes, and coping strategies of poverty. In doing so, the study has sought to focus on Papua, Indonesia, as it supplied examples of poverty in the local context. The utilisation of three cases studies, which emanated from three villages, has allowed underlining of some of the main issues relating to poverty in the local setting, as will be highlighted in the following discussion.

This concluding chapter contains three chief sections. The first section begins with a summary of key findings relating to the research questions: how poverty is understood, how it is measured, what are its causes and how is to be alleviated. These questions were investigated in both a theoretical manner and through three cases studies. In the second section attention will be focused on policy implications, and areas for future research are addressed in the last section.

Summary of key findings

Understanding poverty

The views of poverty are many, as was seen in chapter two. However, they are principally classified into two main perspectives, conventional and broad. The first perspective conceptualises poverty in terms of consumption/expenditure or income. Included in this view is the income/expenditure approach and the institutional approach. The basic needs approach straddles the two perspectives. In many cases the basic needs approach has tended to focus on issues of consumption or income. In this sense, it lies within the first perspective. However, if the basic needs components are extended to

cover physical needs for survival and community services such as infrastructure and other non-material assets, as argued by Dixon and Macarov (1998:6) and Hemmer and Wihelm (2000:4), the basic needs approach can be included in the broad perspective. Nonetheless, this inclusion depends on what is meant by basic needs in each country.

The second perspective extends the first view to include other dimensions, including capability, isolation, powerlessness, vulnerability, fear, freedom, physical weakness and the like. The approaches that are grouped into this view encompass human capability, multidimensional perspectives and a pyramid of poverty concepts.

Of the above approaches, the conventional approach constitutes a dominant part of the literature. It is considered an objective approach as it involves quantitative measurement and monetary terms in its analysis. In addition, it is preferred in practice as the abundant data on consumption/expenditure and income are easily available in each country through sample household surveys. Despite its benefits, the method does not offer a complete explanation of human poverty.

The broad perspective, on the other hand, is able to depict human poverty as a whole owing to inclusion of many dimensions of human life in its analysis. It draws heavily on the work of Amartya Sen (Parr and Kumara, 2003:xxii-xxiii; Monafi, 2004:16) as was seen in chapter two. The approach basically uses qualitative measurement, as this is believed to be able to give more information relating to human well-being than simple quantitative measurements. Despite this, the approach is not free from subjective consideration in poverty analysis as there are no universal lists of indicators to be used. In addition, subjective consideration exists as a result of the use of a qualitative approach (Sarantakos, 1998:53) which often involves in individual interpretation.

The participatory approach is another approach to studying poverty. This approach combines the approaches of qualitative and quantitative poverty analysis. It can be included as part of a broader perspective including many dimensions in poverty analysis.

The participatory approach recognises that poverty is a broad phenomenon. The important thing distinguishing this approach from the other perspectives is that it defines poverty according to the perspectives of the poor themselves while the other approaches, as discussed in chapter two, generally stems from elite perspectives. Narayan et al (2000:16) also underlines two principles differentiating the participatory research approach from other approaches. First, it involves participants actively in the research process through its open-ended questions and methods. Second, it empowers the participants and leads to follow up actions.

At the macro level poverty is linked to variously defined poverty lines, as explored in chapters two and four. According to these arbitrary lines, those who are below the line are considered poor and the rest are not. The poverty line invites several criticisms. First, the line is only seen to consider one dimension of human poverty, namely the economic dimension whereas other dimensions are not involved. Second, the line tends to emphasise on the quantitative aspect while the qualitative aspect is not considered. Lastly, the line does not describe local variables affecting poverty such as common property rights, staple foods and inflation.

At the micro level, poverty as experienced in the local settings is interpreted as lacking. This lack, broadly speaking, is referred to as a lack of assets. In this context, the poor defined the rich people as people having a lot of assets, including luxury goods while the poor people do not have such assets. Types of assets used to make this classification were explored in chapters six, seven and eight.

In the village setting, there are five main assets comprising natural, physical, human, social and financial assets (Quibria, 1993:125; Ellis, 2000:16, DFID, 1999:1). Of these five main assets, the poor argued that poverty is not linked to natural assets such as land, forests and sea due to these assets being abundantly available to provide a sustainable livelihood. Poverty they explained is connected to deprivations stemming from physical, human, social and financial assets. In a fact, rural poverty is a general situation which Sen in 1999 (ADB, 2001:xvii) saw as a state of deprivation in well-

being that has more to do with entitlement and capacity rather than only income or consumption.

Measurement of Poverty

Chapters two, three and four outlined the ways in which poverty is measured. The understanding of poverty from the poverty line concept, which utilised the consumption or income dimension, applies a quantitative measurement approach to gauge poverty. This includes the headcount index, poverty gap index, poverty severity index/squared poverty gap index, Sen index and Sen-Shorrocks-Thorn index (Quibria, 1993:109-110; Deaton, 1998: 144-148; BPS, 2002:67-74).

The understanding of poverty from a broad dimension on the other hand basically develops a qualitative approach, but to some extent it mixes this with quantitative methods. This combination is currently manifested in the use of household surveys and participatory research to examine poverty (McGee and Brock, 2001:20). The use of other methods such as the PQLI (Physical Quality Life Index), Human Development Index, Human Poverty Index and participatory techniques such as those used by the World Bank assessments of poverty in the early 1990s (Chambers, 1994b:1446; Narayan, et al, 2000:15; Brock and McGee, 2002:2-7) also demonstrates this combination.

The principal encouragement to use participatory method in this study was because it is an open-ended question technique and often visual (Chambers, 1994b:1437), which enabled the study to investigate how the poor themselves perceive poverty. In chapter five it was discovered that the method allows the poor to express and investigate their realities while the researcher acts only as a facilitator who encourages the respondents to state their thoughts, feelings and ideas about the key issues researched such as the problems they experienced and how they solved those problems.

This is primarily a qualitative method. However, it gives the opportunity to include some quantitative techniques as explored in chapters five, six, seven and eight. This combination is motivated by the reason that each method has some advantages and disadvantages (Hammersley, 1992:159-164; White, 2002:512).

The qualitative aspect of the study is characterised by the use of qualitative questions in the questionnaire, Focus Group Discussions, and the use of words in analysing the research results. The quantitative aspect, on the other hand, is manifested in some questions in the questionnaire using numbers in the analysis, and applying scoring and ranking in examining the poor's perceptions regarding poverty.

The participatory methods such as scoring, diagramming and ranking were carried out in Focus Group Discussions, questionnaires and interviews. This allowed an understanding of the poor's perspectives about the key issues. As these methods are based on the open-ended tradition and are visual, they not only encourage the researcher to explore the key issues, but they also allowed the researcher to understand the perspectives and insights of the poor. The methods also enabled the poor to express and analyse their realities, while the researcher only acted as a facilitator.

The methods used in fact create a close relationship between the poor and the researcher. It also seems that the methods create a new thing in the sites where the study was conducted because the poor themselves came up with poverty concept which emanated from their own ideas. Narayan et al (2000:16) argue that this type of research is able to capture information that is not predetermined in questionnaires and surveys as it is conducted based on open-ended methods such as unstructured interviews and discussion groups. It does not replace surveys, questionnaires and other macroeconomic analysis, but instead provides important complementary information.

Dimensions of poverty

The extent and nature of poverty are different from one place to another, depending on political, social and economic circumstances. Chapters six, seven, eight and nine,

however, noted that the poor in the three selected sites only identified three main dimensions for their poverty: economic, social (cultural) and infrastructural. This study argued that the dimensions of poverty are actually broad and they are not only about these three main dimensions, as pointed out by the poor above, but they include other dimensions as well.

Chambers (1983:112) pointed out that material poverty constitutes a strong determinant of other dimensions. Material poverty includes a lack of income or a lack of capital to run micro enterprises, a lack of credit, and a lack of equipment for farming and fishing. This material poverty also contributes to physical weakness through illness, malnutrition, an inability to place children in higher education and inability to pay medical fees when sick. Material poverty also impacts isolation through lack of public transport and education, remoteness, bad condition of roads, and lack of information centres. It also bestows vulnerability through openness to economic shocks and food insecurity. It further affects powerlessness through a lack of influence in local government.

Causes of Poverty

Like the dimensions of poverty, the causes are various, stemming from both micro and macro levels. From the micro level, the causes emanate from individual circumstances while from the macro level, the causes come from structural forces.

Both levels, in reality, do not operate individually but act in a combined way to lead to poverty. For instance, a person is poor because of the limited skills, which may not allow him or her to find a job. The limited skills are actually relevant to both levels. From the micro level, it is a part of the individual characteristics that prevent them to find a job. From the macro level, it is a part of structural forces because the local government fails to provide training in skills. This failure was indicated by a poor government policy to supply the skills training for the poor in the selected villages, as was seen in chapters six, seven and eight.

Even though the causes are various, the dominant causes for the selected three villages are believed to emanate from natural, physical, human, social and financial/economic resources. In spite of this, the most prominent cause of poverty stems from a lack of financial/economic assets. This is a general cause for the selected sites, however, each site has its own dominant causes.

A lack of access to the land for subsistence farming contributes to poverty in Tanjung Irausak village, while in Ayiaw village and Isuraf village it does not. This lack in Tannjung Irausak occurred because most villagers are migrants with no customary land as discussed in chapter five. In Ayiaw and Isuraf, the poor have access, but the land produces limited crops. Low production is linked to poverty in these two villages because of the small cultivated land and a lack of farming equipment and farming skills, as was also found by Quibria (1993:44-52) and ADB (2002b:25-32) at some villages in other provinces of Indonesia. In addition, it was found that low production was also a result of the poor quality of the land, which is generally infertile. This infertile land was more seen in Isuraf village than other two villages.

Limited access to markets due to the poor quality of physical infrastructure such as transportation also adds to poverty in Ayiaw village and Isuraf village, while in Tanjung Irausak village it does not. In Ayiaw and in Isuraf there is road connecting each village to the town, but there is not much public transport operating. Tanjung Irausak is geographically closes to the town and, hence, the poor can walk to the city to sell their crops in the market even though public transport there also operates very rarely. This access is important, for example the ADB (2002b:28-29) also sees is as a missing service sector that contributes to poverty in most Cordillera farming villages in Philippines.

A lack of access to credit bestows poverty in Isuraf village and Tanjung Irausak village whereas in Ayiaw village this lack is not a big problem. Formal financial institutions do not operate in Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak while in Ayiaw some do. However, a generalisation that was found from these villages is that a lack of access to credit was due to a high credit burden applied by the local formal financial institutions. As a result,

the credit was normally provided to migrants who were able to meet the credit burden rather than the local people. In addition, this lack happened because the poor were constrained by a lack of effective dissemination of information about credit schemes. This was also argued by Narayan et al (2000:166-167) to be one of the factors leading to poverty in places such as Madagascar and Swaziland.

Inability to generate the cash required to purchase daily needs was identified by the poor as one of the factors contributing to poverty in the selected villages. However, this is actually a result of previous factors such as a lack of skills, a lack of access to credit, a lack of access to the markets and others. This inability was found to be worse in Isuraf village rather than in Ayiaw village and Tanjung Irausak village because the poor in this village seemed to be isolated from village development programme as a result of political reasons such as involvement in the Free Papua Organisation.

Problems and priorities of the poor

In chapters six, seven, eight and nine it was discovered that there are two general needs and priorities for the poor in the selected sites. These needs related to natural and financial/economic assets, and consist of land and equipment both for farming and for fishing. This generality exists owing to the villagers as a whole have similar jobs (as farmers and fishers), which means they also have similarities in needs and priorities.

However, each village also has particular problems and needs. It can be seen from previous chapters that problems and priorities deal with five main classifications of assets (Ellis, 2000:16) which are natural, physical, human, social, and financial capital. In Ayiaw village the needs and priorities deal more with financial/economic, physical and human assets. In Isuraf, the needs referred to human and financial/economic assets, while in Tanjung Irausak the needs deal with mostly financial/economic assets.

The above problems and priorities seem to be mostly related to productive needs such as capital for development. This includes a broad range of tangible and potential resources or material and social assets that the poor can draw from in times of hardship.

Access to this capital, however, is a complex issue because it deals with institutions, social relations, and organisations (Scoones, 1998:8), as explored in chapter three.

Coping strategies

Internal and external strategies are two main strategies utilised by the poor to overcome their poverty. The first strategy emanates from the inside the village community and is related to social capital. This includes the extent and nature of social networks such as the kinship network, neighbours, and association (Narayan et al, 2000:49). It also comprises self-help, relatives/close friends, village officials, village cooperatives, religious institutions and tribal leaders as sources of assistance. The second strategy comes from outside the village community, and consists of assistance emanating from the government (provincial, district and sub-district) and NGOs.

Of the above two strategies, the first strategy appeared to be the key strategy in coping with poverty in the three villages. Almost 100 per cent of the participants in each village believed that self-help and assistance from relatives/close friends constituted prominent coping strategies that had been used to reduce the problem of poverty.

Seeking assistance from religious organisations, tribal leaders and village officials are other important strategies to eliminate poverty in the selected villages. However, reliance on each of these strategies was different among the villages. In Ayiaw village, dependence on these three strategies was highest at more than 70 per cent. In the other two villages, Isuraf and Tanjung Irausak, this dependence was relatively low at less than 70 per cent.

The first strategy is strongest as it is a part of the kin-based system in the villages. It is also strong because it is formed by Christian faith as discussed in chapter six, seven and eight. In chapter three, Ellis (2000:16) pointed out that social capital (including a kin-based system) has an important role in mediating the poor to access various assets such as natural, physical, human and financial/economic assets. Social capital itself is broad and includes structural social capital and cognitive social capital (Grootaert and

Bastelaer, 2002:343). The first is visible and perhaps more tangible, such as local institutions, organisation and networks among people which can be set up for cultural, social, economic, political, or other objectives, while the second is more abstract, such as trust, norms, and values which govern interactions among people (Grootaert and Bastelaer, 2002:342).

The second strategy including assistance from NGOs is used as a coping strategy in Ayiaw and Isuraf, but not in Tanjung Irausak. NGO assistance, however, is stronger in Ayiaw than in Isuraf at around 58 and 7 per cent respectively. It was found that assistance emanating from outside the village community, particularly from local government in terms of the *Raskin* programme, was critiqued for its inappropriateness to the needs of the poor.

In chapter three several coping strategies emanating from both micro and macro levels were discussed. It is acknowledged that strategies from the macro level are important, but the strategies in the past were criticised for their failure to improve human welfare, such as an increased number of the poor from time to time, a wider gap between the poor and the rich and ineffective social services. These failures are partly due to the development policies putting more emphasis on economic growth and top down policy. Development policies in the past were also based on the elite views and, hence, they utilised development progress such as income, consumption and GNP as indicators of development.

In chapter four some failures were proved by the Indonesian case where, even though macro coping strategies for poverty were strongly implemented from the 1960s until the 1990s, a large number of the Indonesian population was still poor. In 2004, this number was higher in Papua than in other provinces in Indonesia. This is because during these periods regional development policies in Papua were national development policies that were implemented in the province. These policies did not result in change, since there was no room for the initiative of the local government to build bottom up policies.

Micro coping strategies, on the other hand, are more preferable than macro because the micro strategies directly touch the poor's lives. In chapter three, livelihood strategy was explored as a powerful strategy to improve the poor's lives, because it not only deals with jobs for the poor, but also is more helpful in understanding the complexity of poverty. For example it gives information about what assets the poor have, what types of capability they own, what activities they carry out and how they have access to assets. This information is extremely vital in designing a bottom up and self defined strategy to cope with poverty. However, to be effective livelihood strategy needs to be undertaken in a collaborative way involving government, civil society and international community support.

Policy implications

Local dimensions of poverty, as identified by the poor, encompass three main dimensions: economic, social (cultural) and infrastructural. Nevertheless, poverty dimensions are broader in nature as argued by Chambers (1983:112), Baulch (1996:2) and Sen in 1999 (cited ADB, 2001:xvii). To overcome poverty in the selected sites, the dimensions that were recommended by these scholars, particularly Chambers' concept of five main dimensions should be addressed in the poverty alleviation strategies because the additional dimensions also have implications for the three dimensions found locally in Papua. In order to make the policies work better however, the local government's commitment and political will must be strong.

To eliminate poverty in the context of provincial development, it seems that there is no single efficacious policy (Jazairy et al, 1992:322). Thus, poverty reduction policy must be integrated into the rest of provincial development policies in order to allow the policy to truly touch the needs of the poor. This integration is encouraged by the fact that the problems in the province are varied, including poverty, and are interrelated with each other. This comprehensive strategy to eliminate poverty also conforms to the ADB approach (2004:1), which proposed three pillars comprising sustainable economic growth, social development and good governance.

However, it was discovered that this holistic strategy would not work well without a strong commitment and the political will of government, both provincial and central. As Deolalikar et al (2002:12) pointed out, "if governments do not have the political will or commitment to reduce poverty, poverty reduction will either not occur or will occur very slowly." All the factors that cause poverty to decline, such as pro-poor growth, social development, and good governance, are dependent on political will and commitment".

General policies relating to poverty were explored in chapter three. To some extent, these policies may be applied in the province, particularly in the selected villages, although they should have some modifications for the local conditions. The following policies are specific for the sites that need to be taken into account.

Targeting

Targeting seems to be a critical first step in poverty alleviation strategies. This is because it gives the inputs for designing appropriate policy to directly touch the needs of the most vulnerable groups (Jazairy et al, 1992:322). The main purpose of this targeting policy is to provide a safety net to support the social groups in a large community that are vulnerable to events or shocks leading to poverty (Lipton and Ravallion, 1995: 2615-2620; Ellis, 1998: 18). This policy is also intended to avoid misallocation of financial or other resources to give support to the poor.

In order to successfully target the vulnerable groups, sufficient information regarding their characteristics, or in other words the poverty profile of the vulnerable groups, is extremely important. The information is linked, for instance, to location, assets, education, skills, age, gender, causes and impacts of poverty and other demographic characteristics.

Ellis (1998:18) recommended two main types of targeting: indicator and self-targeting. In the first, social groups who are vulnerable must be identified to make sure they are the most likely to receive support. In the selected sites, these vulnerable groups consist

of landless, smallholder land, unemployed people, subsistence farmers, and subsistence fishers. In the second, support can be given to those in need in the form of food, wage/income, credit and skills which enable them to survive. In this regard, the first targeting should be initially carried out to identify the vulnerable groups, and then the second targeting in providing the support to the groups would follow it.

Livelihoods

Livelihood policy is intended to create a sustainable livelihood for the poor. In the rural setting, livelihood diversification seems to be an old method the villagers use to sustain their lives. It was found that this way was not really helping the poor to escape from poverty due to barriers coming from capability, assets and access.

In fact, the above barriers are components forming livelihoods (Chambers and Conway, 1991:7; Chambers, 1995:24) as explored in chapter three. Livelihood policy, therefore, should address these three main components in order to make livelihood sustainable for the poor. As Chambers and Conway (1991:i) pointed out, "a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base".

Even though the concept of capability is theoretically broad, in reality it tends to be linked to education, skills, health, nutrition, and hence the policy must address these. In terms of assets, the poor identified their deprivations in the area of assets that the policy should handle: natural, physical, human, social and financial/economic. In terms of access, the policy is expected to handle obstacles emanating from institutions relating to common property resources, cultural institutions and government institutions.

There seems to be a contradiction between the need to protect natural assets and the need to build financial/economic and infrastructure assets for the local people. This study sees that there would not be a conflict as long as the local government organisations recognise the poor's customary rights to natural assets. This recognition at

least helps to create a mutual cooperation between the government and the indigenous people in using the natural assets to build financial/economic assets. It also helps to make fair compensation to the ownership of the natural assets without force and also an appreciation of the indigenous customary rights relating to the natural assets.

Human assets

Education and skills are the keys to improving living standards. With good education and good skills, the poor are not only able to diversify their livelihoods, but also improve their health and nutrition, use agricultural technology and use other profitable opportunities in their lives. In addition, health and nutrition must also be focused on human resource policy, as rural poverty is also linked to some diseases and unfavourable health-work-home situation, particularly in terms of water sanitation and low nutrition.

In chapter nine, Harbison and Myers (1964:2) recommended five approaches to raising human asset quality, including education and skills. These are formal education, non-formal education, self-development and health improvement. For rural people, access to primary education should be strengthened. The ability of the poor to use practical technologies should be enhanced through skills training and guidance or counselling programmes. In the area of health, health service centres, nurses, midwives, doctors and pharmacies at the village are the areas that the policy should address.

It was found that poverty in the selected villages was also caused by a low quality of human assets in terms of education, skills and health. The need to develop human assets is extremely important in order to facilitate the poor to improve their own life. Narayan et al (2000:237) see this as important because they found that lack of capabilities such as education, skills and health would contribute to limited confidence, and together they reinforce powerlessness, voicelessness and marginalisation in society.

Microcredit

The poor identified a lack of credit as one of the obstacles to diversifying their livelihood due to high interest rates and difficult requirements to obtain credit. Quibria (1993:17) and Ellis (1998:19), however, believed that access to credit is important as, in fact, it successfully helps the poor to generate incomes to overcome their difficult situations. Jazairy et al (1992:192) also justified this by saying that "credit ... helps the rural poor to produce for the market, generate cash surplus and accumulate savings which will be a basis for future income growth or a protection against sudden reversals in household food security".

In chapters six, seven and eight, it was discovered that the poor expressed interest in running micro-enterprises, but they were hindered by a lack of capital as a result of deprivation in credit and savings. They believed that such businesses could help them to reduce financial difficulties. As Burns and Dewhurst (1996:2) asserted, micro-enterprise can provide "sufficient sales to ensure survival, an adequate return on capital and an acceptable standard of living".

Micro-credit policy is designed to facilitate the poor's access to financial institutions, particularly formal institutions. Even though credit providers apply some requirements, the policy is expected to minimise the credit burden coming from these requirements.

A local institution, whatever its name, should be established at the village level to coordinate micro-credit provision between the poor as borrowers and institutional lenders. This is intended to regularly monitor the use of credit and report back to credit providers. This institution also has a responsibility to control credit requirements established by credit providers in order to minimise credit burdens. In particular circumstances, the local institution is given the responsibility to train the poor in using the credit such as bookkeeping, marketing, and savings. Jazairy et al (1992:207) argued that this institution also promotes village-level funds, which can mobilise local savings and create a pool to be used by the villagers to invest personally and to finance community initiatives.

Isolation

There are two main important forms of isolation that have to be addressed through local policy. The first is geographical isolation, which isolates the people in remote or rural areas from the people in urban areas, due to geographical constraints such as mountains or hills and valleys. These constraints are exacerbated by a lack of accessibility connecting both areas such as a lack of roads and a lack of transport devices. The second is information isolation, which separates the villagers from practical knowledge which would allow them to achieve profitable opportunities to improve their lives. For instance, information is related to employment opportunities, low credit opportunities and others. This isolation occurs due to a lack of village institutions providing such information.

To overcome isolation, local policy should give more attention to both forms, but particularly geographical isolation. Good physical infrastructure such as roads, public buses and trains should be made available for the people to assist them to improve their living standards. As pointed out by Rahman and Hossain (1995:269) in chapter nine, the development of this physical infrastructure will "increase the income of the farmers by lowering input prices, raising output prices, and enabling farmers to produce more profitable, perishable crops. It may also benefit the landless households by generating opportunities for employment in the rural non-farm sector and raise wage rates by making labour more mobile". The local policy should also address education because this can help overcome isolation stemming from limited knowledge of outside world.

In conclusion, all of the above policies can have positive impacts for the poor. However, the policies would not provide these impacts if local government does not support them. Government commitment and political will is a prerequisite to implementing the policies. Without this, the policies will either not exist or will develop very slowly (Deolalikar et al, 2002:12).

Gender dimensions

Among the rural villagers, women are more deprived in terms of their access to resources. Women in these sites should be considered as an important stakeholder in any poverty reduction programmes through giving them opportunities to improve their livelihoods. There is need for policy that will promote the role of women in development activities, but this role is only able to be manifested if their access to education, skills and health services is also improved. Local governments need to establish monitoring and evaluation systems to measure conditions and status of women in these locations and to use this information to assist in development programmes aimed at bettering the lives of women.

Areas for future research

This study opens a new approach in researching poverty in Papua. Poverty studies in the province have so far been dominated by quantitative approaches, which are unable to capture qualitative aspects of poverty. A participatory approach, which was utilised in this study, is able to minimise this weakness by incorporating both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Participatory research is characterised by open-ended questions and often uses visual techniques. These characteristics enable the poor to express their perceptions, feelings, and thoughts about the researched subject. It is beneficial as it provides the whole picture of human poverty for the purpose of creating poverty reduction policies. However, to appreciate all dimensions of human poverty in the researched area, participatory research should be supported by a large amount of economic resources (time, energy, skills, and money). To do participatory research in the area of poverty, future work needs to consider these economic resources. These resources are extremely necessary when the research will be conducted in the rural and remote areas of the province, as access is difficult.

The combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods is extremely important because poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, which has both material and non-

material aspects. The use of the combination seems to be able to depict the effect of poverty on human life as a whole.

The multidimensionality of poverty also covers both micro and macro levels. As this study is more concerned with the micro level, it does not provide details of how the government's policy is involved in creating poverty for the villagers. This policy should be a focus for further research because it was believed that poor policy relating to social service delivery created poverty, as identified by the poor in the selected sites, and through the presence of the *KKN* (*Koropsi, Kolusi* and *Nepotisme,* Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism). *KKN* is not explored in this study, but the poor in the selected villages and Papuan people as a whole always blame this *KKN* as a disease spreading in the whole island and bring about poverty.

Even though the study found that the villagers were poor in terms of assets, including natural, physical, human, social and financial/economic assets, the study did not provide detail about the processes through which these assets lead to poverty. For example, in terms of natural assets, the villagers claimed they had plenty, but why did they remain poor if their land, forest and sea were so abundant? Some previous poverty causes such as a lack of access to the land, a small-cultivated land, a lack of farming equipment and a lack of farming skills and the poor quality of the land can help to answer this question, but in reality it is not a simple answer.

Land, forest and sea are available abundant and promise a sustainable livelihood for the local people. Therefore, the local people do not experience abject or acute poverty in terms of basic subsistence. Nonetheless, the previous question often appears nationally and locally. Partly because there are still many problems dealing with land, forest and sea such as customary rights, land use for government purposes, illegal logging, endangered marine life, extraction of natural resources and so forth. These problems also bring about strong impact on local poverty, but they were not included in this research and, hence, they are important areas for future research.

Scholars accept poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon. However, it is arguable that studies on the multidimensional aspects of poverty are still focused at the macro level, while studies on these aspects at the micro level are limited. Studies at this micro level (village areas or remote areas) should play a larger part in future research than studies at the macro level, because the people living in the village areas or remote areas suffer more from poverty than people living in the urban areas.

As women are more deprived than men, further research in the research sites should be focused on gender issues. There is need for gender analysis that will provide information to assist in the design of development programmes, including poverty programmes aimed specifically at improving the conditions of women.

Two main points can be highlighted here. Firstly, this study has demonstrated the benefit of combining participatory research methods with questionnaire as the tools of data collection and analysis. It is, therefore, recommended that future work should develop this combined methodology to enable more direct and practical advantages to be obtained.

Secondly, follow-up research is required to investigate the implementation of the above policy recommendations in the selected sites. As this study was unable to cover all of the stages, future research is still important to observe how the poor in the selected sites benefit from the policy recommendations. Using the findings of the next research, adjustments can then be made to policy implementation in order to ensure that it produces tangible effects on the lives of the poor.

Appendix one[1]

Interview codes for participants in Ayiaw village and Jayapura district (chapter six)

Reference	Date	Person / organization
GO1	25 September 2003	Win Rizal, Head of Social Department, Provincial Statistics Office in Jayapura
GO2	27 September 2003	Alex Griapon Head of Social Culture Department District Executive Development Planning Board in Jayapura
NGO1	15 August 2003	Zadrak Wamebu, Director of Perform Project, USAID RTI (Research Triangle International)
NGO2	15 September 2003	Eddy Griapon, Director of YKPHM
VE1	26 August 2003	Joseph Sorontow, Village Head
VE2	27 August 2003	Meki Ikare, Tribal head (DPMADU)

[1] Interview codes are as follows: NGO dealt with Non Government Organisation, VE to Villagers and GO to Government Officials

Appendix two

Ranking problems and institutions in Ayiaw village

Table 6.9: Problems given based on top 3 ranks by questionnaire

Problems	Ed	He	Ho	Ca	En	Tr	Dr	El	Fa	Fi	Pr	La
Scores	0	0	0 50	0 50	0	0 50	50	0	0	0	0 50	0
Frequency	30	30	13 17	20 10	30	15 15	30	30	30	30	16 14	30
Percentage	100	100	43.33 56.67	66.67 33.33	100	50 50	100	100	100	100	53.33 46.67	100

Ed=education; He=health; Ho=house; Ca=capital; En=micro-enterprise; Tr=transport
Dr=drinking water; El=electricity; Fa=farming tools; Fi=fishing tools; Pr=general prices;
La=land

Codes

```
1                    2                    3
*--------------------*--------------------*

0                    50                   100
```

Points

S = (p-1) / (P-1) * 100 (Ravnborg, 1999)

Where S = problem score

p = a code given by respondent as belonging to certain level of problem priorities

P = total codes

Table 6.10: Problems given based on top 3 ranks by focus group discussion

Problems	Ed	He	Ho	Ca	En	Tr	Dr	El	Fa	Fi	Pr	La
Scores	0	0	0	0 50	0 50	0	50	0	0	0	0 50	0
Frequency	12	12	12	10 2	6 6	12	12	12	12	12	4 8	12
Percentage	100	100	100	83.33 16.67	50 50	100	100	100	100	100	33.33 66.67	100

Ed=education; He=health; Ho=house; Ca=capital; En=micro-enterprise; Tr=transport
Dr=drinking water; El=electricity; Fa=farming tools; Fi=fishing tools; Pr=general prices;
La=land

Table 6.11: Ranking institutions by questionnaire

Institutions	vig	bpd	bri	Ss	Pp	PKB	PW	PAM	YP	JPS	Pu	Rs	Dt	YK
Rank 1 x	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	30	0
Rank 2 x	23	2	4	-	7	30	30	-	-	-	9	-	-	25
Rank 3 x	-	28	26	30	23	-	-	30	30	30	21	-	-	5
Total	53	88	86	90	83	60	60	90	90	30	81	30	30	65
Mean	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	2

Vig=village government; bpd=bank pembangunan desa; bri=bank rakyat Indonesia; Pp=Puskesmas Pembantu; YP= Yayasan pembangunan masyarakat desa; PKB=Persekutuan Kaum Bapak; PW= Persekutuan Wanita; PAM=Persekutuan Kaum Muda; Ss=Schools; JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial; Pu=Posyandu; Rs=Relatives;Dt=Dewan adat; YK=Yayasan Kerjasama Pengembangan Hukum Masyarakat

Table 6.12: Ranking institutions by FGD

Institutions	vig	bpd	bri	Ss	Pp	PKB	PW	PAM	YP	JPS	Pu	Rs	Dt	YK
Rank 1 x	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	12	0
Rank 2 x	8	-	4	-	5	12	12	-	-	-	4	-	-	10
Rank 3 x	-	12	8	12	7	-	-	12	12	12	8	-	-	2
Total	20	36	32	36	31	24	24	36	36	36	32	12	12	26
Mean	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	1	1	2

Vig=village government; bpd=bank pembangunan desa; bri=bank rakyat Indonesia; Pp=Puskesmas Pembantu; YP= Yayasan pembangunan masyarakat desa; PKB=Persekutuan Kaum Bapak; PW= Persekutuan Wanita; PAM=Persekutuan Kaum Muda; Ss=Schools; JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial; Pu=Posyandu; Rs=Relatives;Dt=Dewan adat; YK=Yayasan Kerjasama Pengembangan Hukum Masyarakat

Appendix three[2]

Interview codes for participants in Isuraf village and Biak district (chapter seven)

Reference	Date	Person / organization
GO03	10 October 2003	Steve Rumbiak, Vice Head of Biak district in Biak
NGO03	15 October 2003	Hermanus Warwer, Director of Pokja program
VE03	10 October 2003	Oktovianus Adadikam, Village Head
VE04	12 October 2003	Nowak Awom, Tribal head
VE05	13 October 2003	Naftali Awom, Village Secretary

[2] Interview codes are as follows: NGO dealt with Non Government Organisation, VE to Villagers and GO to Government Officials

Appendix four

Ranking problems and institutions in Isuraf village

Table 7.10: Problems given based on top 3 ranks by questionnaire

Problems	Ed	He	Ho	Ca	En	Tr	Dr	El	Fa	Fi	Pr	La
Scores	0	0	0 50	0 50	0 50	0 50	0 50	0	0	0	0 50	0
Frequency	30	30	21 9	25 5	22 8	24 6	10 20	30	30	30	23 7	30
Percentage	100	100	70 30	83 17	73 27	80 20	33 67	100	100	100	77 23	100

Ed=education; He=health; Ho=house; Ca=capital; En=micro-enterprise; Tr=transport Dr=drinking water; El=electricity; Fa=farming tools; Fi=fishing tools; Pr=general prices; La=land

Codes

1 2 3

— — — — — — — — — —— — — — — — — — — — —*

0 50 100

Points

S = (p-1) / (P-1) * 100 (Ravnborg, 1999)

Where S = problem score

p = a code given by respondent as belonging to certain level of problem priorities

P = total codes

Score 0 = (1-1)/(3-1)*100

50 = (2-1)/(3-1)*100

100 = (3-1)/(3-1)*100

Table 7.11: Problems given based on top 3 ranks by focus group discussion

Problems	Ed	He	Ho	Ca	En	Tr	Dr	El	Fa	Fi	Pr	La
Scores	0	0	0 50	0 50	0 50	0	0 50	0 50	0	0	0 50	0
Frequency	12	12	7 5	8 4	8 4	12	6 6	9 3	12	12	7 5	12
Percentage	100	100	58 42	67 33	67 33	100	50 50	75 25	100	100	58 42	100

Ed=education; He=health; Ho=house; Ca=capital; En=micro-enterprise; Tr=transport
Dr=drinking water; El=electricity; Fa=farming tools; Fi=fishing tools; Pr=general prices;
La=land

Table 7.12: Ranking institutions by questionnaire

Institutions	Da	Dn	RW	RT	PKB	PW	PAM	Ss	Pokja	JPS	Pu	Rs	Dt
Rank 1 ×	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	14
Rank 2 ×	20	2	4	-	30	30	-	14	-	18	9	-	16
Rank 3 ×	-	28	26	30	-	-	30	16	30	12	21	-	-
Total	50	88	86	90	60	60	90	76	90	72	81	30	46
Mean	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	2

Da=desa;Dn=dusun; RW=Rukun Warga; RT=Rukun Tetangga;PKB=Persekutuan Kaum Bapak; PW= Persekutuan Wanita; PAM=Persekutuan Kaum Muda; Ss=Schools; Pokja=Kelompok Kerja; JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial; Pu=Posyandu; Rs=Relatives;Dt=Dewan adat

Table 7.13: Ranking institutions by FGD

Institutions	Da	Dn	RW	RT	PKB	PW	PAM	Ss	Pokja	JPS	Pu	Rs	Dt
Rank 1 ×	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	6
Rank 2 ×	5	-	4	-	12	12	-	7	-	8	4	-	6
Rank 3 ×	-	12	8	12	-	-	12	5	12	4	8	-	-
Total	17	36	32	36	24	24	36	29	36	28	32	12	18
Mean	1	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	2

Da=desa;Dn=dusun; RW=Rukun Warga; RT=Rukun Tetangga;PKB=Persekutuan Kaum Bapak; PW= Persekutuan Wanita; PAM=Persekutuan Kaum Muda; Ss=Schools; Pokja=Kelompok Kerja; JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial; Pu=Posyandu; Rs=Relatives;Dt=Dewan adat

Appendix five[3]

Interview codes for participants in Tanjung Irausak and Sorong district (chapter eight)

Reference	Date	Person / organization
VE06	24 October 2003	Richard Mayor, Village Secretary
VE07	24 October 2003	Elpinus Mayor, Participant
VE08	27 October 2003	Olis Burdam, Participant
VE09	25 October 2003	Robby Burdam, Village Staff
VE010	23 October 2003	Felix Faidan, Participant
VE011	27 October 2003	Josina Wakman, Participant

[3] Interview codes are as follows: NGO dealt with Non Government Organisation, VE to Villagers and GO to Government Officials

Appendix six

Ranking problems and institutions in Tanjung Irausak

Table 8.12: Raw income data by methods

FGD	Questionnaire
340000.00; 300000.00; 500000.00	300000.00; 325000.00; 300000.00
300000.00; 475000.00; 400000.00	360000.00; 350000.00; 350000.00
350000.00; 450000.00; 550000.00	350000.00; 300000.00; 375000.00
300000.00; 350000.00; 350000.00	450000.00; 350000.00; 400000.00
	450000.00; 300000.00; 350000.00
	400000.00; 350000.00; 450000.00
	450000.00; 375000.00; 450000.00
	400000.00; 500000.00; 650000.00
	600000.00; 550000.00; 360000.00
	500000.00; 350000.00; 300000.00

Frequency table can be constructed by using some formula (Mann, 1995: 46-47) as follows:

Number of class $c = 1 + 3.3 \log n$

c is the number of class; n is the number of observation in the data set.

$$\text{Class width} = \frac{\text{Largest value} - \text{Smallest value}}{\text{Number of classes}}$$

Focus Group Discussion:

Number of class = 1+3.3(1.079) = 4.561 = 5

$$\text{Class width} = \frac{550000.0 - 300000.0}{5} = 50000$$

Questionnaire :

Number of class = 1+3.3(1.079) = 4.561 = 5

$$\text{Class width} = \frac{650000.0 - 300000.0}{5} = 70000$$

Table 8.13: Problems given based on top 3 ranks by questionnaire

Problems	Sk	In	Ho	En	Tr	El	To	Jo	La
Scores	0	0	0	0 50	0 50	0 50	0	0 50	0 50
Frequency	30	30	30	14 16	22 8	15 15	30	19 11	20 10
Percentage	100	100	100	47 53	73 27	50 50	100	63 37	67 33

Sk=skills; In=Income; Ho=house;; En=micro-enterprise; Tr=transport; El=electricity;
To=tools; Jo=jobs;La=land

Codes

1 2 3
*- - - - - - - - - - - - *- - - - - - - - - - - - -*
0 50 100

Points

$S = (p-1) / (P-1) * 100$ (Ravnborg, 1999)

Where S = problem score

p = a code given by respondent as belonging to certain level of problem priorities

P = total codes

Table 8.14: Problems given based on top 3 ranks by FGD

Problems	Sk	In	Ho	En	Tr	El	To	Jo	La
Scores	0 50	0	0	0 50	0 50	0 50	0	0 50	0
Frequency	9 3	12	12	4 8	9 3	8 4	12	9 3	12
Percentage	75 25	100	100	33 67	75 25	67 33	100	75 25	100

Sk=skills; In=Income; Ho=house;; En=micro-enterprise; Tr=transport; El=electricity;
To=tools; Jo=jobs; La=land

Table 8.15: Ranking institutions by questionnaire

Institutions	Vilgov	Neig	PKB	PW	PAM	Ss	JPS	Pu	Rs	Dt
Rank 1 ×	24	-	-	1	-	-	7	7	30	30
Rank 2 ×	6	6	5	5	5	5	8	8	-	-
Rank 3 ×	-	24	25	24	25	25	15	15	-	-
Total	36	84	85	83	85	85	68	68	30	30
Mean	1	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1

Vilgov=village government; Neig=neighborhood; PKB=Persekutuan Kaum Bapak; PW= Persekutuan Wanita; PAM=Persekutuan Kaum Muda; Ss=Schools; JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial; Pu=Posyandu; Rs=Relatives; Dt=Dewan adat

Table 8.16: Ranking institutions by FGD

Institutions	Vilgov	Neig	PKB	PW	PAM	Ss	JPS	Pu	Rs	Dt
Rank 1 ×	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	12	12
Rank 2 ×	2		-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-
Rank 3 ×	-	12	12	12	12	12	1	-	-	-
Total	14	36	36	36	36	36	25	12	12	12
Mean	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	1	1	1

Vilgov=village government; Neig=neighborhood; PKB=Persekutuan Kaum Bapak; PW= Persekutuan Wanita; PAM=Persekutuan Kaum Muda; Ss=Schools; JPS=Jaringan Pengaman Sosial; Pu=Posyandu; Rs=Relatives; Dt=Dewan adat

Appendix seven[4]

Interview codes for participants in all three villages (chapter nine)

Reference	Date	Person/organisation
G001	25 September 2003	Win Rizal, Head of Social Development BPS Office in Jayapura
G003	10 October 2003	Steve Rumbiak, Vice Head of Biak District in Biak

[4] Interview codes are as follows: NGO dealt with Non Government Organisation, VE to Villagers and GO to Government Officials

Appendix eight

Causes and coping strategies of poverty in three villages

Table 9.8: Causes of poverty according to perceptions of the poor in three villages by methods used (in percentages)

Causes of Poverty	Ayiaw		Isuraf		Tanjung Irausak	
	FGD N=12	Qsr N=30	FGD N=12	Qsr N=30	FGD N=12	Qsr N=30
Natural Assets						
• Nature spoils the people/dependence on natural factor	83.3	60.0	75.0	46.7	75.0	36.7
• Small land	41.7	66.7	41.7	80.0	58.3	93.3
• Sea cannot provide more fish	83.3	73.3	75.0	63.3	100.0	93.3
Physical Assets						
• Lack of road	66.7	43.3	-	30.0	41.7	23.3
• Lack of Transport facilities	100.0	73.3	100.0	86.7	100.0	86.7
• Lack of Piped drinking water (pipe or pump)	100.0	73.3	50.0	63.3	83.3	90.0
• Lack of Electricity	83.3	76.7	83.3	73.3	75.0	90.0
Human Assets						
• Laziness	75.0	93.3	75.0	86.7	66.7	76.7
• Alcoholic drunk/waste money	75.0	60.0	58.3	50.0	41.7	53.3
• More wives	16.7	40.0	-	30.0	16.7	30.0
• Low education/skills	100.0	90.0	100.0	90.0	100.0	93.3
• Gambling/billiard	33.3	43.3	25.0	40.0	33.3	33.3
Social Assets						
• Lack of Houses	75.0	60.0	66.7	15.0	75.0	70.0
• Custom barriers	75.0	73.3	100.0	63.3	50.0	63.3
Financial/Economic Assets						
• Low Capital/cash	100.0	90.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.7
• No Micro-enterprise	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
• Lack of Permanent job	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
• Lack of Fishing tools	66.7	86.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.7
• Lack of Farming tools	100.0	90.0	100.0	86.7	83.3	96.7
• High General prices	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.0	100.0	100.0
• Market too far	83.3	60.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	56.7
• Poor policy	91.7	86.7	83.3	90.0	75.0	90.0

FGD = Focus Group Discussion method
Qsr = Questionnaire method

Table 9.9: Coping strategies against poverty according to perceptions of the poor by method applied in three villages (in percentage)

Institutions	Ayiaw		Isuraf		Tanjung Irausak	
	FGD	Qsr	FGD	Qsr	FGD	Qsr
Government Offices (provincial, district and sub-district)	50.0	63.3	41.7	46.7	-	53.3
NGOs	58.3	56.7	-	13.3	-	-
Relatives/Closed friends	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Village Officials	66.7	73.3	66.7	56.7	33.3	60.0
Village Cooperative	58.3	40.0	-	-	-	-
Self-help	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Religious organisations	75.0	76.7	58.3	56.7	66.7	80.0
Tribal leaders	83.3	73.3	50.0	60.0	41.7	30.0

Source: Tables 6.8; 7.9 and 8.11
FGD = Focus Group Discussion method
Qsr = Questionnaire method

Appendix nine

Questionnaire

Date of the interview .....
Name of the urban/village.....
Name of district .....
Respondent' name .....

A. Respondent's attributes

1. How old are you? ..... years
2. What is your educational status?
   a No school g.....
   b 1-3 years primary school
   c 4-6 years primary school
   d Junior high school
   e Senior high school
   f Academic/university
3. What is your marital status?
   a Single e.....
   b Married
   c Divorced
   d Widowed

B. Well-being and poverty

1. Would you consider that you are :
   a. Rich e. .....
   b. Better off
   c. Poor
   d. Miserable
2. How would you define yourself compared to others .....
3. Why? (mention criteria/attributes).....
4. Would you consider that this district is :
   a. Rich d.....
   b. Better off
   c. Poor
5. How would you define this district against neighbour? .....
6. Why? (mention criteria/attributes).....

7. In your language (terminology), what is :
   well-being
   poverty

C. Problems and priorities

1. What type of problems you face in your daily life?

Type of problems	Main problems (ranking*)	Why (reasons)	Copying strategies
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

*1= highest important priority
2= important
3=less/not important

2. What problems do you think that you are able to cope with?

Type of problems	Coping alone/family (tick V)	Copying with community (tick V)	Copying with external support (tick V)	Remark (why)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

3. What type of problem did you face 5 years ago?

Type of problems	Main problems (ranking*)	Why (reasons)	Copying strategies
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

* 1= highest important priority
2= important
3= less/not important

4. How do you feel about the problems? (now and future)

Type of problems	Now*	Future*	Remark (why)
1			
2			
3			
4			
6			

* Very good, Good, enough, bad, not sure

D. Institution

1. When you need help, where do you seek help (who help you)?

Institutions	Tick V for yes	Type of support	Remarks (who and why)
1. Government			
2. NGO			
3. Family/sibling			
4. Community/village elders			
5.			
6.			

2. What institutions do you think have most positive and negative impacts on the lives of people (men, women and youth?

Institutions	Positive impact on* (tick V)		Negative Impact on * (tick V)		Remark: (why-reasons, examples)
	M	F	M	F	F
1. Government					
2. NGO					
3. Family/sibling					
4. Community/village elders					
5.					
6.					

M= Male
F = Female

3. How do you rank the institutions?

Institutions	Ranking*				Remark (why-reasons, examples)
	Trust	Provides help when needed	Effective	People involve in decision making process	
NGO					
School					
Local Government					
Family/sibling					
Village/community					

*1= highest important
2=important
3=less /not important

4. Do you think that institutions have any control or influence on the community? (Y/N).....Why (reason).....
5. Do you think that your life is affected by the crisis? (Y/N).....
6. How do you cope with the problems you face during the crisis?.....
7. What institutions do you think people turn to during the crisis?.....
8. Are there any programs or social safety network of these institutions in this district?.....
9. What type of help do you need during the crisis?.....

E. Social and economic characteristics

1. What are your occupations? (mention more than one)

   .....

2. How much income do you get from the jobs? (roughly each month)

   a Less than $ 100 d.....

   b $ 101-$ 200

   c $ 2001-$ 300

3. How much money do you spend in your consumption each month?

   d Less than $ 100 d.....

   e $ 101-$ 200

   f $ 2001-$ 300

4. What items do you spend much money on each month?

   a. Food

   b. Non-food

5. What assets do you own by yourself? (private)

   .....

6. What asset do you own with others (communal ownership).....

7. Do you have permanent house? If yes (mention type of house).....If not, go to question 8

8. Where do you stay? Give details.....

9. Do you have enough :

   water? (Y/N)..... If not, why?.....

   electricity? (Y/N).....If not, why? .....

   sanitation? (Y/N) ..... If not, why? .....

10. Do you use following services? (tick)

Items	Tick* (V,X)	Numbers	Frequency**	Remark (reasons)
Basic health care				
Day care center				
Doctors				
Nurses				
Midwives				
Public transport				
……..				

*V = Yes
X = no
** Frequency of going to use it

Appendix ten

Interview and discussion guide for focus group discussion

Themes and Issues	Methods
1. Well-being and poverty (asking the local people for their own terminology and definitions that explain local perception of well-being and poverty)	
• Attributes of poor people (men and women) • Attributes of rich people (men and women) • Describe a poor person/family • Describe a rich person/family • Are there poor people and rich people in the area? What is the difference? • Is this village poor or rich? Describe the difference (in terms of natural resources, infrastructure and others) • Asking well-being characteristics/criteria/categories) of families/individuals, as identified by the local people • A listing of criteria, on the basis of which families or individuals are differentiated and placed in different well-being categories • Proportion of families /individuals in each categories	Focus Group Discussions (FGD) Well-being ranking Scoring
2. Problems and priorities (asking the local people for the problems they faced and how did they solve these problems)	
• Listing of problems faced by the different groups and their prioritization	FDG, listing, ranking and Scoring
• Are there differences in problems and priorities being experienced by different groups of people (i.e. according to men and women). Identify the problems faced by the poor	FDG, listing, ranking and Scoring
• Have these problems changed over the years or have they remained the same? What are people's hopes and fears for the future?	FDG, listing, ranking, Scoring and trend analysis
• Which of these problems do the people think they can solve themselves and which do they need external support?	FDG and listing
3. Institution (asking the local people for the institutions (government and non government; within or outside the community) that help the people)	
Important institution	
• Which institutions are important in people's lives? (In influencing people's lives positively or negatively). Why are these judged to be important? • Which the institutions have the most positive or negative impacts on men and women? Why? Give examples of people's experiences	FGD, listing and scoring
Rating institution	
• How do people rate these institutions? (In terms of trust and confidence) Why? Give examples of why people rate certain institutions high or low?	
• How do people rate the effectiveness of these institutions? What factors do they consider to judge the effectiveness? Give example	
• Do the people feel that have any control or influence over these institutions?	

• Which the institutions do the people think they have some influence over?	FGD, scoring and ranking
• Do they have some influence over these institutions and others? Give example of 2 or 3 institutions	
Coping crisis	
• During crisis (because of job termination, general prices increase, poor health), how do people cope? What do they do?	FGD
• What institutions, do people turn to during crisis?	
• Do they mention any government programs or social safety networks? Give details?	
• Are these programs reaching them?	
• What their recommendations for change or improvement or new programs if none exist?	
• What features should these programs have?	
• Do they mention any NGO programs or informal social networks?	
4. Social and economic characteristics (asking the local people of income or assets, housing and basic services available in the area)	
Income or assets	
• Where do the people get income?	FGD
• Do the people run any small scale or informal enterprise? Give example of 2 or more if necessary	
• Do the people have financial supports to run the enterprise? From whom? Give details.	
• What assets do the people have? Give details	
Housing and Basic Services	
• Do the people have permanent houses?	FGD
• Do these houses equipped by adequate water, sanitation, drainage and electricity? If not, how do the people solve these? Give details	
• Is there any basic health care available in the area? Are there some doctors or nurses in the health care? Is there some medicine available? Do they use them? Give details.	
• Are there any day-care centers in the area providing regular health checking for infants and young children?	
• Are there housing credits available to the people who want to build, extent or buy their own homes? Also to allow them to improve infrastructure and services for whole settlements?	
• Is there public transport available? If not, how do the people get to jobs? Give details	

Appendix eleven

Interview questions guide
for selected institutions/government officials

1. How do you define poverty? (In what ways government define and understand poverty)
2. In what way poverty is measured?
3. Why do people experience poverty?
4. What strategy or policy is used to reduce poverty? (make a list)
5. How have poverty policies and programs been formulated and implemented?

   Previous periods:.....

   Current periods: .....
6. Are there any changes? ..... Why? (make a list)
7. Are there other institutions (beside regional government) help to reduce poverty in Papua? If yes, what institutions? (make a list)

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