

# Imbalanced Development And Social Exclusion of Urban Poor Group in Indonesia: Study of Urban Poor Group at Slum Area in Jakarta

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#### **Abstract**

This article provides a description about the life of urban poor group in slum area which appears due to an imbalance development and social exclusion process which occurs in a poor group. This study is conducted by using qualitative method with data collecting technique in-depth interview and observation in a poor group in one of slum area in South Jakarta. The result of this study shown that social exclusion occurs in an urban poor group in Jakarta as an urban representation of developing countries in South East Asia. They have less access in various fields, such as economic, education, health, and also politics. The social exclusion which happened in a poor group cause they could not exit from the shackles of structural poverty which even more impoverish them. The analysis of this article shown that critic of dependency theory on development based on modernization which assessed to produce a bigger imbalance seen relevant in an urban scope of developing country such as Indonesia. Therefore it is seen that the imbalance is not only in the level between countries, but also in groups in a country.

**Keywords**: social exclusion, poverty, unbalanced development, and migration

#### 1. Introduction

The development which oriented to economic is not only bringing an advancement, but also impact to the appearance of new problems in a certain social group which tends to be shunted aside or less touched. In fact, the distribution of development result is less equal thus it causes a social disparity which is wider in society. The condition is clear seen in a big city such as Jakarta. The imbalanced portrait is seen from big numbers of mega buildings which are contrast with the slum area which is always available. The slum settlementdescribes how the poverty also closed with urban as the center of economic growth.

Poverty in manifestation of slum area in urban area is background of the high current of urbanization (*in migration*) to Jakarta. Development process which is such rapid in the urban area of developing countries (included Jakarta) paid attention from society of villages come to look for a job and a better life in a city. This is a portrait of development, which tends to be imbalance between areas. They who came to Jakarta in fact could not compete, eliminated, and a consequence must live poor in a slum settlement.

With all limitation and lack of ability, the poor group tends to be difficult to exit from its condition. The occurring imbalance is vulnerable wider due to the social exclusion which happened. Social exclusion is a hampered process of individual and group to be able in participating (access) in social, politic and economic activities in society. Therefore, the study about the social exclusion becomes very important. Social exclusion is a proses which perpetuating the imbalance, and its process as if become not inevitable for certain society group, included the poor groups. Thus this article attempts to explain how and why does the social symptom of poverty in urban area happen? Are the poor groups in urban area as exclusion groups? And how is the form of exclusion which is experienced by the urban poor groups?

The study about relations between poverty and social exclusion is not a new thing. Anderson, et al (1994), Peace (1999), Hallerod and Larson (2008) even in statistic has been seen the relations between the poverty indicator with the other poverty affairs in context of social exclusion. Several studies are also seen the relations between country policy and social exclusion (Burchard & Piacoud, 1999). Especially, several studies are also seen how the social exclusion occurred in the urban area in Europe (Madanipoue, 1998, and Peace, 1999). This study more



specific provides deeply the life condition of poor group which is exclusion in an urban area in Jakarta. Of course the urban context in South East Asia is different with context of poverty in European cities which has been explored by other articles before.

Beside it, this article in theory is unique because of it is inspired by the thought of dependency theory (dependensia) which criticized the theory of modernization of development. The thinkers of dependency theory saw the higher gaps of imbalance between countries, as a consequence of the implementation of modernization theory. But the analyzed level of dependency theory is more seen on the imbalance and gap of development between countries. It is interested because the imbalance which occurred as the implication from the basic of thought of development which is used, it is still minimum used in smaller analyzed level in a scope between regions in a county, or between groups in urban area. Therefore this article implisit tried to study the criticized thought of the dependency theory in seeing the process of social exclusion in an urban poor group in Jakarta (Indonesia).

The data in this article is collected by using qualitative method. Data collecting technique conducted is in-depth interview to several informants which considered they have relevant information. This study is conducted in slum settlement in Kelurahan Kebagusan, Kecamatan Pasar Minggu, South Jakarta. The slum settlement located and bordered directly with one of elite settlements in area of South Jakarta.

#### 2. Social Exclusion, A Development Consequence?

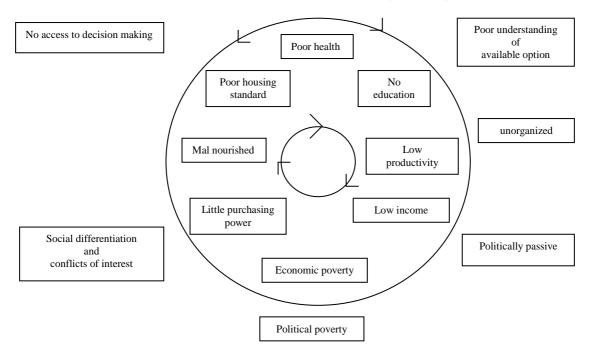
Social exclusion is a process which obscure or hamper the individual, family, and group from the needed resources to participate in social, economic and activities in a whole in society. This process is consequence of poverty and low income, but also is the impact of the other factors such as discrimination, low level education, and imbalance of development distribution. Through this process, individual or society group for some periods of life time is severed from services, social network, and opportunity to develop which actually are enjoyed by some parts in society (Pierson, 2002). There are five powers which urge the occurrence of social exclusion process namely (1) poverty and low income; (2) there is no access to work market; (3) weakness and there is no social support and social network; (4) effect from the area and environment around (neighborhood); (5) severed from services. The five components excluded individual or people group (Pierson, 2002).

Somerville (1998) sees the process of stigmatization, torture and limitation through policy, and discrimination of other institutions made the individual or group excluded from the social, politics and culture lives. In seeing the ongoing development process, can not be liberated from the availablity of the exlusion parties or the parties who do not have access to the whole porcess of development included in enjoying the result of development. The parties who excluded like it can be seen from the scheme which expained by Martinusen (1999).



Figure 1.

The vicious circles of economical and political poverty



From the scheme above is seen that there is party who has a limitation in health, income, education, economic, productivity, etc. It influences their ability in the other aspects of life. The theory about social exclusion is also discussed in the club theory which explained especially how individuals with the various ability, source, risk and resistance to interact with the other groups, so it can be explained how the goups can include or vise versa can exclude in fulfillment of needs (Jordan: 1996).

#### 3. Social Exclusion & Structural Poverty

The definition of poverty will be easier understanded by using three aproaches with different indicators, namely (1) definition based on income. It is used to determine the level of income per capita in household who can not fulfill the family basic needs. (2) the opproach of basic need which is used minimum a term set of life condition. It usually involves the quality of living place, level of density, nutrision fulfillment, stocks of clean water and the proportion of poor population. This approach can be used in various situations and places. (3) The definition of participation. In this approach, respondents from various societies are invited to state their perseption on need, and priority to a minimum secured life standard. The result is of course different, but it refers to the improvement of life quality.

The group which is very clear exclusion is the poor because of they don't have power, especially in economic. The impact of unequal development, appears a poverty concept, especially as the impact of development process in urban area. A concept wchich the most used to disscuss is a structural poverty. According to Selo Soemardjan, structural poverty is the poverty which happened due to the social structure in the society, can not join to use the income sources which actually are available for them. The poverty is also defined by Peter Townsend as an unbalance of the existing resources in playing the role, participating in economic relation, and with the habits which are hoped in the community.

Economic development in not only the growth, but also it can impact more complecated poverty affairs. Such as which can be described on a poverty circle, where the poor people will never exit from the condition and a mechanism which continually occurs in their life, due to they do not have a power to change the condition. The people who are stayed in the poverty circle can not feel the economic growth of the country.



# 4. Potrait "Lapak" As Representation of Urban Poor Group Settlement

Generally, a slum settlementin urban area in Indonesia is located closed to a protocol street or a train rail, where the access to reach the area is very easy. But in this case the settlement location of poor group as conducted place in this study has different characteristic because it is located in one of eliteresidence area and bordered directly with one real estate housing. The slum settlement of this poor group is usually called with term of *lapak* "<sup>6</sup>. The location is in Kelurahan Kebagusan, Kecamatan Pasar Minggu, South Jakarta. A poor group in this place, most of the residents work as wreckage man and troubadours.

In this "Lapak" (poor settlement) live fifty five (55) head of family, there are also several people who live without bringing their family (who they leaved in the original village). Most houses in the location are made from plaited bamboo room, second window frame and plywood, and soil ground floor. The width is only about 9 up to 12 m² (4x3 m and located beside a full enough condition. The house buildings are built by themselves, previously they rented the land ground from the local resident who they consider as the owner. The period of renting in a year, which every year the rented person pays IDR 2.000.000 - IDR 4.000.000, depends on the width of rented ground.

Based on the environment condition, they live in unhealthy area. First, the house size is only 9 -  $12m^2$  inhabited by 4 up to 5 people. It impacts all household activities mix together becoming one, as well as kitchen, place to sleep, eat, family activity, etc. With that condition, their houses were seen as if very messy with the entire things heaped in a room, as well as the tools for cooking, sleeping, dirty clothes, etc. Second, the houses of poor settlement are closed each other and full enough. Thus the houses are seen dark, musty and often caused a stinky smell. The impact, they are vulnerable touched by various diseases because of the unhealthy environment condition and bad sanitation, even more inside the poor settlement is available a place to waste trashes from neighborhoods.

The poor group in this place has no identity card (KTP) or Family Card (KK) as the official population identity. Since the first time came, they only reported to RT and do not take care of the population documents. Most of residents who live in the poor settlement are family or friends from one village, thus it is not surprised that they know each other and the relation is closed enough. The tendency of residents who live in the poor settlement form special blocks based on their original area. So the area inside the poor settlement is divided based on their original area.

The residents who live in this poor-slum settlement majority are comer from area of Indramayu, Cikarang and Karawang. The residents of poor settlement work as wreckage man and troubadours. They came to Jakarta with the reason to look for a better life and job in Jakarta. However, they can not be accommodated in a formal sector. The condition is seen from their job in informal sector with minimum income for life standard in a city like Jakarta. Their income is not stable and depends on their persistence to gain which will resell. The residents do not have also a permanent living place.

If it is seen from health side, each resident of poor settlement does not have access to go to Clinique or Hospital, they only go to midwife or Community Health Center (*puskesmas*). It is caused they are unable to pay the treatment fee in Clinique or Hospital. The residents participation in every activity in complex, such as RT meetings, praying community (*pengajian*), celebration party, independence day celebration, or communal work, is not always joined by all residents, only several certain residents who involved in the events which are held there.

#### 5. Imbalanced Development, Migration, And Appearance of Urban Poor Group

The wide spread of poor group in urban area, such as on the case of poor residents in the slum poor settlement is backgrounded by the unbalanced development of cities and villages in Indonesia. The development with modernization logic which continually direct to industrialization makes the city continue to grow and offer more various opportunity compared to village. It triggers the high level of migration to urban area in Indonesia. They who came are the village residents in productive age who facing the minimum alternative job in their village as impact of agriculture involution in Java villages. Finally they decided to come to a city with limited condition in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Lapak* is public call from society and population of the area which is settlement area of wreckage or picking men in the place.



education, skill, and network (people who they know in Jakarta). The migration to a city (urbanization) like that according to Tommy Firman (1996), is categorized as urbanization by considering the economic. In fact, most of them can not compete in gaining a job in the city and push them to live with rely on working in the informal sector with poor condition.

The unbalance and social gap between villages and cities triggers a high migration enters Jakarta. The city must bear a heavier burden with the appearance of problems of high population density and the appearance of slum settlement which becomes the poverty reflection which happened in urban area. Many comers come to Jakarta with low education level, limited skill, no work capital, and no friends or relatives, it triggers the poverty affairs in urban area. Poverty is a form of lack ability to compete in gaining a job. The reluctance to go back to hometown, push them to remain live in a poor life condition in the middle of Jakarta city splendor. The eager to remain live in a city, push them to receive a consequence to undertook the life in a poor condition. Because of they are not able to gain a job in formal sector, they changed their job in informal sector as beggars, hawkers, troubadours, wreckage man etc to fulfill the economic demand and to survive in a city with the poor life condition and all in limitation.

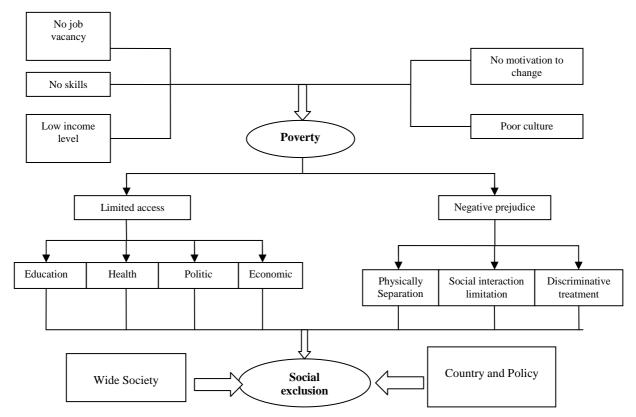
The poor life condition made them called as poor people and treated as a marginal group. Beside it, there are negative prejudices which are directed to them, made their life harder and marginal. The negative prejudices also cause the appearance of discriminative treatment to them from the other social groups. Therefore, they who categorized as the poor people feel unconfident and self withdraw from social life. It can be seen relatively from low intensity of social interaction which occurred between residents of "lapak" and residents around. Some informants who are interviewed admit that they do not know so much the residents around and do not active in activities in RT level or other events like celebration/hajatan which held by residents outside the "lapak". Only the residents of poor settlement who live in a long time there who involve in the events in RT level or party, beside it they have known the RT administrator.

#### 6. Poverty Circle & Social Exclusion in Urban Poor Group

The poor life condition and status as as poor people which is different with residents status around their settlement, implicate on the limitation in various fields such as education, economic, health, politics, etc. The limitation is a form of social exclusion which occurs where there is the different opportunity between a poor population and not poor and alerted by the limitation of access in every field. For details it can be seen from the following scheme.



Scheme 2. Poor People As Exclusion Party



The scheme above explains the process of social exclusion in the poor group. In this case there are two categories as the main caused factors of poverty, such as the influenced factor in reality, such as the minimum of job vacancy, no skill, and low income level. Meanwhile the other factor is more pressed in cultural factor which stick on individual him/her self, such as there is no motivation to change the condition of poor life and culture such as hoping and begging which are planted long time. If the two factors are allowed like that continually thus will be accumulated and become the reasons of poverty. People who are in a poor category, especially for the poor inside "lapak", has limitation in every aspect education, health, politic and economic. Beside it they also tend to receive a bad prejudice thus it causes the discriminative treatment, limitation of social interaction between the residents of "lapak" and residents around, and the limitation of phisically touch, such as house area, and playing area. The cases above will be estuary in one full stop namely social exclusion for a poor group, where there is an access gap and limitation to gain something from many aspects of development.

Social exclusion which is experienced by the poor group who live in"lapak" slum settlement in Jakarta is seen from various forms of treatment and opportunity. The access limitation on education is seen from the condition in "lapak" where the children do not go to school. If there are children who go to school it was a long time ago, now there is no one. The residents of "lapak" do not put their children to school because they themselves do not know the important meaning of education for the future of their children, beside it, they also included people who did not receive a formal education properly, only up to primary and junior high school level. Whereas, they want to put their children in school in order they don't have a same fortune with their parents. There is no education policy which can give an access to them to be able to put their children in school. They collide with the economic limitation, limitation of choice, and there is no social security for education.

The difference bettween poor and not poor residents is also seen on their access in health field. The lack of economical ability of residents in the poor settlement to go to hospitals and cliniques when they feel sick is the description of the limitation of poor residents to their health access, they are only able to go to community health center which the condition currently is also has limitation in service. This condition is clear different with residents around with the higher economic ability which make them possible to go to hospitals. It also shows the



gap opportunity and access in gaining health service. Once more there is no health guarantee which they can access to be able to gain the good health service. The limitation of opportunity to gain the health service is also related with their status as the unofficial population, thus they can not also reach the advanced health programs which is done by government. It is not again the mechanism to gain assistance which it mush have some terms such as it mush have a poor family card, which to gain a poor family card, they must have local indentity card, meanwhile they do not have it at all. The explanation above describes more the limitation of their access to gain the health service.

It is also similar with health access, the factor which cause limitation of political access, due to they do not have official identity as local population resident. It causes they can not participate in political activity in local level, such as in Governor Regional Election of DKI Jakarta. To gain an election right, they have to register officially as Jakarta residents, with KTP/indentity evidence. Therefore, they have a limitation in participating political aspiration in local level.

The limitation of every population of "lapak" in economic access is seen clearly. The reflection of their everyday life by working as wreckage men and troubadours with small income. Then they are demanded to undertook the life which full of limitation and simplicity. The economical limitation is seen from the living place condition which is dense and unlivable. Beside it, the economical limitation becomes the root of limitation in the other fields such as education and health. All limitation which belong to every population of "lapak" are conected each other and form an exclusion condition for them.

The life condition of poor residents in poor settlement is getting worse, beside they are excluded in various fields, they also often get a descriminative treatment. In reality, the phisically separation is seen from the restriction of settlement area which is divided two in the poor settlement area and non poor settlement. Beside it, social interaction in low intensity is one of other forms of restriction to them whom catergorized poor. It is seen from seldom or even never been involved them in activities in RT scope and events which held by residents around. Only a part of poor residents which instead know each other with residents around which are involved or asked in joining RT and residents around activities.

Social exclusion which happened in the poor group causes they could not exit from their poverty circle. In the other words, they shackles of the structural poverty, where they can not access the income sources, can not access the public services, and can not access the opportunity to participate in politics. Such as it can be described on poverty circle, where the poor people will never exit from the condition and a mechanism which continually occurs in their life, due to they do not have power to change the situation. The people who stay in the poverty circle who do not feel the enomic growth of country.

It is implicitly the core of dependency theory critic on development based on modernization which is assessed producing the greater unbalance. The implication in the smaller scope such as in urban area occurs the social exclusion which perpetuating, that it widens the gap and unbalance which happening. The analysis above shows the relevancy of dependency theory thought that the character of development based on industrialization in country marginal will produce consequences 1) the unbalanced income is bigger; 2) cause a debt which is higher amount and results poverty; 3) less absorption of work man power. Although in a smaller scope, poverty is a logical consequence of development logic and exclusion can also be seen only as its access, or more than it as something perpetuates the unbalanced condition and the poverty.

Although it sees that poverty accompanied by social exclusion made the poor people is more trapped in the poverty circle, however this study then is not on conclusion that the social exclusion which occurs only the result of poverty like stated by Hillary Silver & Miller and also Daniel Beland. Although it can not be avoided that a process which causes the disparities of social-economic or social gap which is greater due to the speed of modernization and industrialization, will appeal the social exclusion process, namely it can not fully participate in society because systematically and structural it can not gain an equal opportunity and access with the other society members.

#### Conclusion

The development with the logic of modernization which based on the growth of industry in urban area implicates on the unbalanced development between village and city. The logical consequence is a high pressure in a city because of migration, and end up on the appearance of poor group in urban area. The poor group lives with a limited condition and has less access in various fields, such as economic, education, health and also politics.



Social exclusion which happened in the poor group causes they could not exit from the shackles of structural poverty which even more impoverish them. They can not access the sources of income, can not access the public services, and can not access the opportunity to participate in politics.

Implicitly the critic of dependency theory on development based on modernization which assessed to produce a bigger unbalance is seen relevant in the urban scope of developing countries such as Indonesia. Therefore it is seen that the unbalance is not only in the level between countries, but also in groups in a country, where it will be available a group which is accommodated and ignored by the development process. In urban scope occurs the social exclusion which perpetuating, it widens the gap and unbalance which happening. The poverty is a logical consequence from development logic and exclusion can also be seen only as its access, even more than it as something which perpetuates the unbalanced and poverty condition. Conceptually it is needed an idea of alternative development such as an orientation and a paradigm of governmental development more emphasize the process and humane with a participative method which is wider and in a long term.

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