

Characteristic and Social Processes of Poverty Reduction in Rural Community: An Empirical Finding

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Abstract

Indonesia faces really serious problems of poverty. Data from Central Bureau of Statistics or BPS in September 2012 showed that the number of the poor was 28.59 million people or 11.66% and it was found mostly in rural areas. In the same period, the number of the poor in rural areas was 18,594,600 or 14.70%. The Government has implemented various poverty reduction programs, such as rice for the poor, direct cash assistance, a public health insurance program, Gerdu Taskin, and the National Program for Community Empowerment. In the implementation of the programs, there are various problems such as demonstrations, protests, and conflict. The findings showed that the government had tried to address and reduce poverty through such programs. However, the programs were less effective because they were charitable, short-term, direct, and populists. In addition, the government used the wrong paradigm in understanding poverty, which used basic need approach. The research data also showed that poverty in rural areas is more absolute, it was proven by low income, no valuable assets and inability to meet the basic needs. Cultural and structural factors intertwined into the determinants of poverty. Moreover, in implementing poverty reduction followed by the social processes such as accommodation, conflict, and the contravention.

Keywords: poverty, poverty reduction, rural poverty, absolute poverty, accomodation, contravension, conflict

1. Introduction

Poverty is a phenomenon which is inherent in every society. Therefore, the UN (United Nations) at Summit (Summit) Millennium September 2000 in New York declared the MDGs (*Millennium Development Goals*). One of the goals is to reduce a half of the world's population whose income is less than \$1. a day and suffer from hunger by 2015. Another goal is to reduce by 50% the number of people suffering from hunger by 2015 (Ballard, 2006). According to The United Nations Development Programme, in 2015 as many as 1.2 billion people in the world still live in extreme poverty, i.e. earning less than \$1 per day, while 2.8 billion live on less than 2 U.S. dollars per day. As it is said by Bakyt (in Ballard, 2006), these people constitute half of the world population of 6.2 billion people who have no future, do not know if they can eat tomorrow or not, and get a job.

Indonesia is also not immune from the problems of poverty, even becoming a serious problem and very worrying. Government makes poverty as one of the problems of development that must be overcome. The government also has adopted the MDGs with the target of poverty reduction that will be reached by 2015. By 2015 the number of the poor is expected to be reduced by half the number of poor people there.

To achieve this goal, since 2005, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has developed a model of poverty reduction through four clusters. The four clusters are: First, assistance and social protection. This program is called Social Assistance Program-Based Integrated is pro-people program that aims to reduce the burden on the poor through improved access to health care, education, clean water and sanitation. The first cluster program is donation for poor students or BSM, a public health insurance program (Assurance) or Jamkesmas, rice for the poor or Raskin, a better family program or PKH; Second, community empowerment program. The second cluster is known as the poverty reduction programs based on community empowerment.

This cluster aims to develop the potential and strengthen the capacity of poor people to engage in development based on the principles of empowerment. Cluster two consists of two programs, the National Program for Community Empowerment or PNPM and Program Expansion and Development Employment / Labor Productive; Third, economic empowerment program of micro and small communities. This third cluster programs called poverty reduction programs based on economic empowerment of small and micro enterprises. This program aims to provide access and economic empowerment for micro and small entrepreneurs. The program is a Business Loan or KUBE and People's Business Credit or KUR; Fourth, inexpensive program for the society. This program consists of life improvement for the poor, life improvement program for fisherman, cheap electricity, clean water program, public transportation, and cheap housing.

Although the government has tried to handle poverty through this four-cluster-program, some people said that this programs have not been successful yet. It is proven by the number of the poor which is still very high, especially those living in rural areas. This reality is in line with Quibria findings (1991) that poverty is more prevalent in rural than urban areas. Quibria said, agriculture is the main source of income, and the poor have no assets. This finding is reinforced by Raghbendra (2000) who conducted research Gini Index in the countryside and urban areas in 14 states in India. Raghbendra finds the number of rural Gini coefficient year to year is always increasing.

Data from Central Bureau of Statistics shows the number of poor people in Indonesia is higher than the urban ones. In September 2012 the rural population was classified poor as 18,594,600 people or 14.70% of the population living in rural areas. Number of rural poor urban areas is higher than that only 8.60% and national average of 28.59 million people or 11.66%. Toward the programs that have been done by the government, Dillon (Kompas, 2001a) said that the Indonesian government, among the regime of Sukarno, Suharto as well as Megawati Sukarnoputri, they have failed to tackle poverty. Andre Bayo Ala (1981) look poverty as a multidimensional thing. According to Ala, poverty can not be seen as a phenomenon that single dimension which is mainly the lack of income.

At the implementation level, poverty reduction in rural areas also raises a variety of issues. Based on the research of Sugeng Harianto, et al, (2002, 2003, 2004) in East Java and Olken, et al, (2001) in West Java, it showed that Raskin causes problems, including Raskin implementation by most residents considered unequal and unfair. To maintain social integration, despite breaking the rules, the village government decided to divide the raskin evenly. Likewise, the implementation of Jamkesmas, many of the rural poor do not get a Jamkesmas card, thereby it closed their access to get services from the hospital. Moreover, it is only short-term program as indicated by Robert Sparrow, et al. (2010).

The above descriptions indicate that the number of poor people in rural areas are still quite large, those programs have weaknesses, and implementation of poverty reduction programs lead to various problems. Based on such background, this study tried to understand the empirical characteristics of rural poverty and social processes that occur in the implementation of poverty reduction programs.

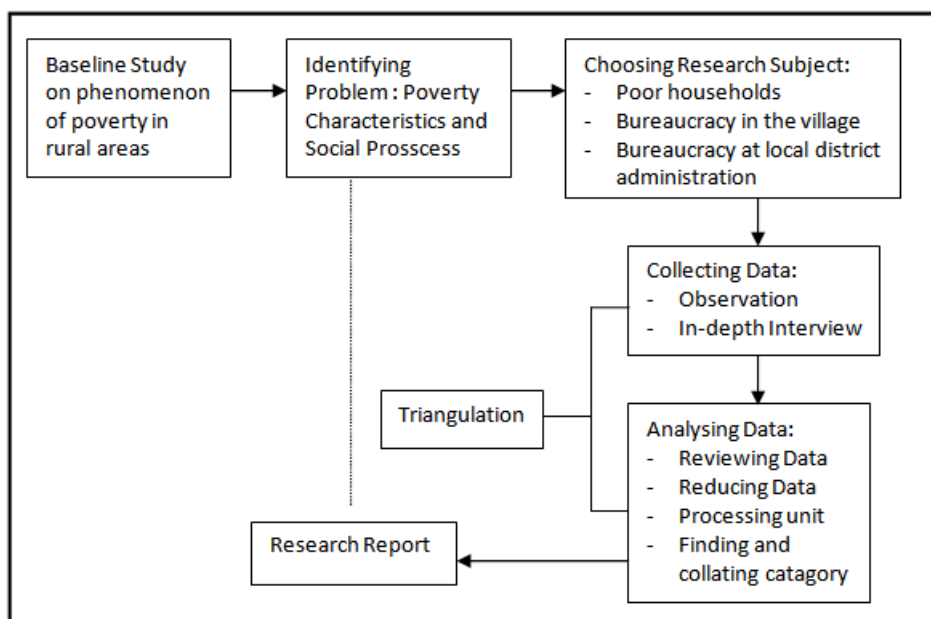
2. Research Methods

Characteristic of poverty and social processes that result from poverty reduction is a reality that can not be understood through purely mental activity, but it must be understood empirically in the field. Two problems that can not be understood gradually as it is said by Robert Chambers (1988) as a tourist development. Two issues that must be understood from the perspective of the poor. Therefore, this study used a qualitative approach. With this approach, it is expected to obtain a complete picture of the two problems.

This research was conducted in Sidoarjo Wonoayu Mulyodadi East Java Province. Methodologically, this village was chosen because in 2009 the high number of the poor and the poverty conditions in that village still showed considerable numbers. This study uses a poor household as the unit of analysis, while the poor and full of deliberate planning to be the subject of research (Cresswell, 2010: 266). Though not mean to generalize, but the information from research subjects makes it possible to perform transferability (Sugiyono, 2010: 7-8).

This study requires primary and secondary data. The primary data in this study as the main data, supported by secondary data. Primary data obtained through in-depth interviews with unstructured interviewing techniques and observation. Unstructured in-depth interviews aimed to understand the complexity of the issues examined in the absence of a priori categories that may limit a wealth of data (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009: 508). Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained by utilizing the existing documents.

The obtained primary and secondary data were analyzed qualitatively without the use of statistical instruments. Data analysis are begun by examining the data thoroughly. Then it was conducted data reduction by making abstractions, processing unit (unitizing), and then finding and organizing categorization. Having managed to find categorization, performed data interpretation was done.



Picture 1: Research Design

3. Research Findings

3.1. Poverty Measurement

Poverty is a complex social reality. Complexity is not only concerned with the factors that cause and efforts to overcome, but also related to poverty measurement itself. There are two views regarding the size of this poverty. The first view, poverty is measured from economic side, that is associated with income and consumption. Poverty is seen as an inability to meet the household needs of food, clothing, and shelter. This view is known as the basic needs approach. The second view, poverty is not only related to economic measurement, but also measures of related non-economic. Measurement of non-economy include life expectancy, mortality, access to education, health, clean water, sanitation, jobs and livelihoods. In addition, poverty is also associated with future security, disability and social disadvantage, and vulnerability to shocks both individually and majorly. Thus, poverty is not only related to economic aspects, but also related to non-economic ones.

The Government has already used aspects of economic and non-economic in determining poverty measurement. There are at least four government agencies that take measurements of poverty. The fourth institution is the Bappenas or National Development Planning Agency, BPS or Central Bureau of Statistics, BKKBN or Family Planning Coordinating Board, and the Poverty Reduction Committee or KPK. However, the poverty measurement developed by them is not the same. The four institutions using different paradigms. BPS used basic need approach. In determining the poverty line or GK, for example, BPS used the size of household income and expenditure. Technically GK constructed of two components, namely Food Poverty Line (FPL) and non-food poverty line or GKNM. BKKBN adopted BPS' method by adding religious activities. Meanwhile, Bappenas and KPK formulate a more comprehensive measurement of poverty, which used economic and non-economic. They did not look that poverty is not just the inability of the poor to meet their basic needs, but also experience the condition of incompetence and powerlessness, vulnerability, discrimination, self inability of poor mental and cultural .

The results showed that the government developed the wrong paradigm of looking at poverty. As it is said by Ellwood (Kompas, 16 September 2010), Ala (1981), and Bagong (Kompas, 18 September 2010), the government saw poverty as lack of income. In addition, poverty reduction program is a program which is short-term, top-down, charitable, and populists. It was proven that the government only used measurement developed by BPS to determine the category of poor and non-poor households, as well as specify the forms of poverty reduction programs. Therefore, it is more directly and charitable. Poverty reduction programs in the rural areas, among others Raskin, BLT, home renovations (topengan), PKH, Jamkesmas, and BSM. Such programs are short term and aims to help the poor to meet their basic needs. In addition, poverty reduction program has less

impact on poverty reduction in rural areas.

3.2. Characteristics of poverty in Rural Communities

The findings of this study show that rural poverty can be seen from the following dimensions:

Income. Poor households in the village is characterized by low and irregular incomes. The income is determined by they way they earn the living such as agricultural workers, industrial laborers and even some of them live without a job. Those who live without job rely on the government assistance programs and other people gift. Meanwhile, those who work as farm laborers and factory workers, the income derived from their salary and government assistance. In the village as a laborer earning between IDR 25.000 - IDR 35,000 per day, while a factory worker between IDR 16.000 to IDR 40.000 per day. Due to the low income, their ability to meet basic needs and accumulate wealth is also low.

In meeting food needs, they consume more carbohydrates derived from white rice and more protein comes from tofu, tempeh, and salted fish. Meat is a luxury food category. They rarely consume meat as a protein source. This is still far away from the paradigm of a healthy balanced diet, developed by the Ministry of Health. This paradigm includes the portion of intake ranging from water (2 liters), carbohydrate (3-8 servings), vegetables (3-5 servings), fruits (2-3 servings), protein (2-3 servings), nuts and processed products (2-3 servings), and at the very top, there is salt, oil, and sugar as needed (at least).

The poor see clothing as a primary need, but no urge to do so. They have it once a year. This type of requirement fulfillment depends on the ownership and money associated with the celebration of the feast of Eid al-Fitr for muslim.

Housing is also a primary need. Each poor household has had a house that stands on its own land or property of others. They belong to a very simple house, seen from the vast and building materials. There is no large house. Their homes an average sized of 4 x 6 metre, with a layout consisting of living room, bedroom, and kitchen. It is also found also houses former kitchens and home were awakened by the villagers on land owned by someone else. Seen from building materials, their houses are very simple. Although the walls are made of brick, but half of them are plastered walls, the roof is only a small part which is made of wood, mostly made of bamboo. When the rainy season comes the roof frame experienced weathering. Although it is found that the floor is tiled houses, but many home floors are made of rebates. For air circulation, their houses have windows in the front, but most have not been equipped with shutters. The only window is closed by pieces of bamboo which are rarely laid, then covered with a cloth. They still feel lucky because they get home renovation assistance from the government, which is in the village known as *topengan* program.

Access to health, education, sanitation, and clean water. The poor are very sensitive to various diseases. Low income and unqualified food consumption and unhealthy house condition causing their health susceptible to various diseases, whether infectious or not. This condition does not matched with their ability to access health services. Health care costs are so expensive, they claimed, was not able to go to the hospital, both public and private. They not that they can not afford to bear the cost of maintenance, but also do not have transportation and can not afford to pay for transport from home to hospital and vice versa. Their burden is a little helped by the health services of the government in the form of medical treatment that is Jamkesmas which is free of charge of the cost of treatment both in health centers and hospitals. However, the category of elderly poor people have limitations, ie they do not know how to use them.

Results of this study show that the educational background of husband and wife is low or even they do not graduate from school. The poor parents can not afford to send them to school. They do not have access to educational institutions as a channel for social mobility. This condition is also experienced by their children. Although they work hard to educate their children, but the data shows, there were no children who are able to study at high school and higher education.

Sanitation is an important infrastructure for every household. Infrastructure is usually a bathroom and WC. Most poor households have sanitation, but some do not have. Judging from the condition, their sanitation can be categorized very simple. Simplicity is evident from the quality of materials used. Most of their bathrooms are made of brick with the tub is made of bricks that is rabated, most other bathrooms are made of woven bamboo with a tub made of a plastic bucket. Similarly, the Water closet toilet is also very simple. Although it is toilet swan neck, but the material is not made of porcelain or closet with well-known brands, but homemade which is made from a mixture of cement and sand.

Clean water is a source of livelihood. However, poor households in rural areas do not have a choice in meeting water needs, both for cooking, drinking, washing, and bathing. To meet those needs, they use ground water drawn from wells. Well water comes from water sources. However, the well water is not well protected. The wall is made of brick or stone structure made from a mold with a mixture of cement and sand. In the dry season, the water quality of the well is clear and odorless, but in the rainy season the water quality seems murky

and smelly. Rainwater seeping into the well whose walls are not well protected. They do not have access to clean water provided by the local government.

Ownership of a valuable asset. Ownership valuable asset in a household is the representation of the wealth they have. Valuable asset in this study refers to the BPS criteria when ownership of goods sold equal to the value of IDR 500.000. The data showed that some of the poor have motorcycles, but some other do not have valuable assets. As an illustration, there is no furniture like tables and chairs in the living room of their homes. Instead they use a mat that functioned as a place to sit, and some even use a *dipan* (a bed made of bamboo) which functioned as a seat as well as a bed. They claimed that they do not have valuables worth over 500.000 IDR. They only have assets such as a bed, wardrobe, kitchen equipment, dining table, kitchen table, and bike. For the general public, the assets are not valuable asset.

Future security. Lives of poor households can be categorized subsistence. It can be seen from the subsistence income. Their income is only sufficient, even less likely, to meet basic needs like eating. They claimed not to have excess income, so life without savings, in cash or valuable assets. They also do not have the ability to invest both in economics and education. It can be proven that they are not capable of using educational institutions as a channel of social mobility for their children. Whereas in Javanese culture, children have seen besides the economic value also has a value of old-age security for parents. Children can provide social insurance to parents in the old days later. Thus, the condition of those who lead subsistence lives they have no guarantee of the future.

Vulnerability to shocks that are individual and mass. To illustrate the lives of the poor still use a relevant metaphor Tawney (in Scott, 1989: 1) as follows: "there are areas in which the position of the rural population is like one who forever stand submerged in water up to to the neck, so that even small waves is enough to drown him. "It's not just a metaphor, but a reality which is found in the villages being studied. Data showed economic crisis in 1997, followed by the rising prices of essential goods has drown the poor lives who has been subsistence. They claimed their lives more difficult. They have difficulty making a living. Despite its revenue, but not enough to meet the needs of everyday life. The income they receive from hard work, not able to keep pace with the increase in the basic needs of the market, even those claimed to have been affected by the crisis long enough.

Every time there is an increase in fuel prices (fuel), it has a major impact on their lives. Rising fuel prices has simultaneously effected toward the rising price of goods. Although the government has provided assistance in the form of Raskin, BLT, and free medical treatment, they claimed a very heavy burden of the rising prices of basic needs. The burden becomes increasingly heavy because there is no increase in their income. They say that their income is relatively fixed. These conditions that cause the subsistence of their lives.

Facing such a shock, they responded by developing a variety of survival strategies. One of the strategies to survive is by setting their daily consumption. They do not know the health paradigm balanced nutrition from the Ministry of Health. They consider that paradigm is not so important. They also set the frequency of eating. When households are economically able to eat three meals a day, poor households with incomes adjust the frequency of meals. They do not require family members to eat three times a day.

They also develop strategies by closing holes and digging holes to overcome financial difficulties in a crisis situation. They take advantage of the store or traveling salesmen to meet daily needs. They buy basic needs not by paying cash, but by owning. They pay debts when they get the salary. They say that they just want to be a trustworthy person, and also depend on the store and the travelling salesman. Another strategy is to expect help from the government and philanthropists. Those who developed this strategy is the husband and wife who are elderly. They belong to a non-productive age.

Access to employment and livelihood. The village being studied is an agricultural village. In addition, the location of the village is also close to the industrial area. Natural conditions and geographical location of the village is a determinant of employment and livelihood of its inhabitants. In the perspective of Emile Durkheim (Ashley and Orenstein, 2005: 88), the villagers are so mechanical solidarity that they have not experienced a complex division of labor. Villagers only undifferentiated into functions that are relatively homogeneous. This causes the limited employment opportunities in the village. Poor people do not have access to the means of production, especially rice fields. They are also an uneducated labor and unskilled. Because it does not have access to the means of production, uneducated and unskilled, so not many jobs that can be entered by the poor. In the agricultural sector, poor people only have access to employment as a laborer.

Formal sector employment prospects require certain qualifications such as higher education, mastery of information technology and communication, the mastery of a foreign language, and other skills. With such requirements, access to them is closed. They can only enter the formal sector jobs a factory worker. Poor people who are elderly and even covered at all about access to formal sector employment. Some residents of this age

category even existed as unemployed. The study also found that in employment sector, there is no up vertical social mobility in the generation of their children. Their children were just having a horizontal social mobility.

Exposure of the data above shows that the poverty experienced by rural communities is more absolute than relative. Absolute poverty characterized by poor households with low income, there is even a tendency to lack of income. Seen from this aspect, some households live without a job and a steady income, though most of the other households have a steady job, but only worked as factory workers with low incomes. As a result, it is said by Chambers (1983: 141) and Quibria (1991), poor households have little wealth and has no assets.

Low income and asset ownership affect the ability of poor households to meet their basic needs. Absolute poverty of poor households drawn from a very strong capacity to meet the household needs of food, clothing, and shelter. In meeting the needs of food, for example, poor households develop a simple consumption patterns, in terms of quantity and quality. The way the poor develop their consumption patterns is much of balanced nutrition paradigm developed by the Ministry of Health. Poor households also have difficulty in meeting the clothing needs. They are rare, and some have never been, to buy clothes in a single year. Though each poor household already has a home, but the condition of their homes is far from ideal conditions.

Absolute poverty is also reflected in their ability to meet the educational and health needs. Their ability to meet the two requirements are very low. Low income and assets are not able to keep up with the price of education and health services which are expensive. Although there is poverty reduction program of the government in the form of BSM and PKH, poor households claimed that they are only be able to send their children to primary education. They could not afford to send their children to secondary school education, especially to higher education. Likewise, if there is no form of poverty reduction programs as Jamkesmas, poor households also claimed that it is impossible for them to go to the doctor or hospital when sick. This finding reinforces the findings of Klugman (2002: 2-3), which states that the ability of poor households have a low capabilities, the level of education and low health, in such conditions, said Chambers (1988: 141), poor households are always in debts both to neighbors, relatives, or merchants. The findings of this study suggest to cover the shortfall in meeting basic needs, poor households develop strategies by digging hole to hole. This strategy is done in the short term. This strategy has become more prevalent among poor households. Short-term loan has a little risk. This means that poor households prefer to be survived (Scott, 1989), rather than having long-term debt but they cannot repay the loan. This finding is the antithesis of the theory of Chambers (1988) which states that poor households indebted in both the short and long term.

Absolute poverty is also reflected in the ability of poor households to meet the needs of the board (the house). Although he has had a house, but the house can be categorized less livable. Their house is very simple. Simplicity can be seen in the size of homes and building materials. This finding reinforces the findings of Jeni Klugman (2002: 2-3), which shows a low income is related to the distribution of human capital as well as social and physical assets (lack of opportunity), such as land and home ownership.

It is difficult to conclude that the characteristics of poverty in rural areas as described by one of the poles of the culture of poverty theory and the theory of structural conflict. Characteristics of rural poverty further illustrate the relationship between poverty intertwined with the culture patterned structural. Cultural determinants of poverty are patterned with subtle structural determinants. Characteristics of poverty, as illustrated by the culture of poverty theory is hard to find on the empirical level. Characteristics described poverty as a structural conflict theory is also hard to find.

At the empirical level, the characteristics of poverty as portrayed by Oscar Lewis's culture of poverty theory appears robust discovered in a poor household members whose age was categorized as no longer productive. They consist of elderly people who are no longer working. To meet the basic needs of daily life, such as the theory of culture depicted poverty, they beg for and expect help and charity from the government or anyone else. Government assistance through programs such as poverty reduction BLT and Raskin would lead to dependence of poor households on the program. They put Raskin and BLT to the components of a monthly income. Lateness or cessation of those two aids pose a serious threat to the lives of households that is already settled.

Poor households who belong to productive age are also dependent on government assistance. They consider government assistance in the form of Raskin and BLT can help ease the burden in finding household income. They also develop a self-exploitation strategy. Those individuals are not lazy and not too low individual work ethic. They are actually hard-working individuals and have a strong work ethic. They toil to work in agriculture and industry as a laborer during the day.

Structural factors that are external also has contributed in creating household poverty. First, the environmental dimension. Not all the people are living in the midst of society have equal access to the natural capacity. Data indicate poor households do not have access to natural resources. Poor households do not have a

proven agricultural land (paddy). Although among them were working in the agricultural sector, but only as a laborer.

Second, the dimensions of power. This set the pattern dimensions of power relations, both political power relations, economics, and culture. Members of poor households do not have access to political resources and economic resources. They were never involved in the decision making process relating to poverty reduction programs. Poverty reduction programs are more top-down . Poor households also closed its access to economic resources. They do not know how to deal with banking institutions, they did not even have access to savings and loan institutions from the Gerdu Taskin program and PNPM Mandiri.

Third, the policy dimension. Policies are still oriented towards growth and city bias affects people's lives, especially the lower social strata, in the rural areas. Not only that, government policies in poverty reduction is direct, charitable, and populist, not only empowering, it resulted in the dependence of poor households on government assistance, and even lead to new poor households.

Poverty reduction programs is not proved quite effective in reducing and alleviating poverty in rural areas. The findings of this study indicate that the number of poor households has not decreased. For example, the number of recipients Raskin program does not decline, even it tends to increase. In 2012, the government raised the Raskin program beneficiaries in the village of 46 households to 156 households. The increase in the Raskin program beneficiaries contrary to the objectives of the program itself is reducing poverty.

Poverty reduction programs causes new problem which has led to "new poor households", ie households who are economically capable, but claims to be the poor households. Raskin, BLT, *topengan* , and free medical treatment have negative impacts on rural communities, namely the emergence of the phenomenon of many people who "impoverish themselves." Phenomenon "impoverish themselves" visible from most of the population who are economically able to "beg" to the village government in order to put in the list of those assistance programs.

Oscar Lewis (1988) refer to a way of life by begging like that as part of the culture of poverty. Oscar Lewis (1988) says that poverty is not merely a deficiency in economic terms, but also involve deficiencies in size and mental culture. According to Lewis, only households from the lower social strata who developed a way of life "impoverish themselves" like that. One form of the ways is by begging and expecting help or charity. This way of life was developed as a form of rational adaptation in an attempt to tackle poverty that they faced.

The findings of this study became the antithesis of Oscar Lewis' thesis. These findings suggest that is the subject of a way of life "impoverish themselves" is not a household from lower social strata, but it was developed by the households of middle and high social strata in the social structure of the village. In addition, the way of life "impoverish themselves" is not as a rational form of adaptation in an effort to tackle poverty, but rather as a form of social jealousy when responding to the poverty reduction programs of the government that is both charitable and direct. Response on "impoverish themselves" is also associated with the rights and obligations as the villagers. Those who "impoverish themselves" consider that it has fulfilled all its obligations as the villagers such as paying taxes and following the voluntary work. They assume that the support of the government in the form of Raskin, BLT, *topengan*, and Jamkesmas is right.

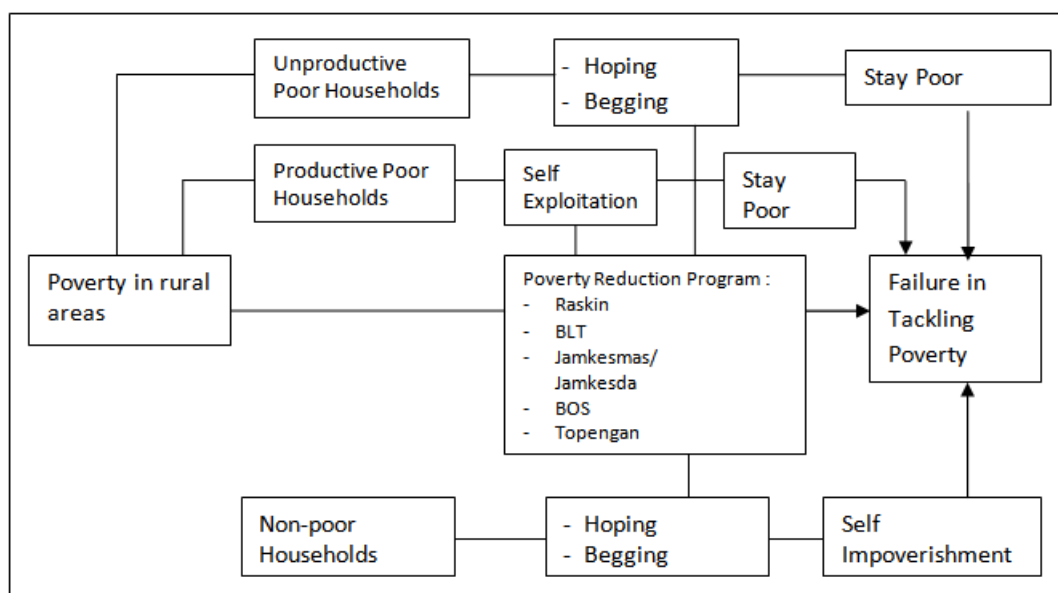


Figure 2: Characteristics of Rural Community Poverty

3.3. Social Processes

The phenomenon of "impoverishing themselves" also followed by social processes that are associative and dissociative. When the demands are not responded to the village government, those who impoverish themselves develop contravention and conflict. According to Isman, Head of a district, he was often mocked and vilified by people who are not satisfied with the distribution of the assistance in the form of Raskin, BLT, topengan, and medical treatment. Isman unjustly accused. They alleged that more aid is given to his children and siblings. Another head of district, Samiadi also became the victim of contravention. Samiadi was accused of bringing home the donation for personal use, in fact that he was asked for help to get Raskin for his neighbors. Not only slander, Samiadi case is reported in one of the printed media published in Surabaya.

Distribution of assistance not only causes a contravention, but also led to conflict, both vertically and horizontally, in the midst of society. The conflict is not only due, to borrow the terminology of Ralf Dahrendorf, the distribution of resources, a poverty reduction program, uneven, but also the social jealousy. The data of this study shows, there has been a vertical and horizontal conflicts in the countryside. Vertical conflicts involving people who "impoverish themselves" with the village government officials. They are "impoverish themselves" considered government officials had acted unfairly. They protested and demanded to be included in the list of beneficiaries. Horizontal conflicts involving those who "impoverish themselves" with the poor who receive government assistance. Horizontal conflict is caused by the presence of jealousy between "impoverishing themselves" group and and the poor households. This finding is in line with the findings of Rosfadhila, et al, (2011) who found that the distribution of BLT has led to conflict. Conflict is rooted in the social jealousy and lack of transparency in the verification program beneficiaries.

Not all people become actors in the horizontal and vertical conflicts in the village. The people who involved in the conflict are those, borrowed the terminology of Giddens (1984), who controls resources both material and non-material. They have sources of economic and knowledge. With two resources that they have the ability to transform the power to provide a response in the form of contravention or conflict. They have these actions because they are not only able to maintain a distance with the government (structure), but also an interest in poverty reduction programs. Giddens (1984) calls the actions of poor households such as action-oriented strategic monitoring. They have a vested interest in poverty reduction programs such as BLT, Raskin, topengan, and free medical treatment, not just to meet basic needs, but consider it as their right and the programs it is the duty of the government.

In contrast, the poor households, which by Quibria (1991) and Giddens (2009) is said to have no assets or resources, become the individuals who are powerless in the face of the structure. This powerlessness led to more poor households to be objects of poverty reduction programs. Powerlessness also cause poor households in everyday life prefer to prioritize safe developing ethics (safety first) rather than take the risk (Scott, 1989). For them, the risk is like a threat to the lives of those in subsistence. Evidently, poor households do not have the courage to protest publicly when they suffer injustice as a reduced ration Raskin from 15 kg to 5 kg. For poor households, the protest is consequently a risk that could endanger their lives. Avoid this risk attitudes found strong among poor households in rural areas. This attitude encourages them to avoid the risk of developing to be more accommodative.

Accommodating attitude shown by accepting the government's decision in the village poverty reduction program implementation.

Giddens (1984) refer to it as an act of the household as a routine action-oriented practical. Poor households are psychologically just to seek security and trying to avoid the consequences of actions that are not aware or have not imagined. They just act as the ones who load structure and a medium sheer reproductive structures. They accept what the various poverty reduction programs. Poor households no desire to criticize or protest, both related to the form and implementation of poverty reduction programs. In the perspective of Giddens Structuration ((Ritzer and Goodman, 2004: 509), they receive a poverty reduction program, but they do not have the ability to explain in words about what they are doing. They just know that in his village there are Raskin, BLT, Jamkesmas , and *topengan*, which comes from the government, but they were not able to explain the nature and purpose of each of the programs.

But there are some poor households when responding to the implementation of poverty reduction programs not protest openly, but do contravention through-hardening (gossip). Hardening of contravention of force is a form commonly found in rural communities komunalistik. Hardening poor households use of force as a mechanism to resolve the problems they experienced dissatisfaction or disappointment.

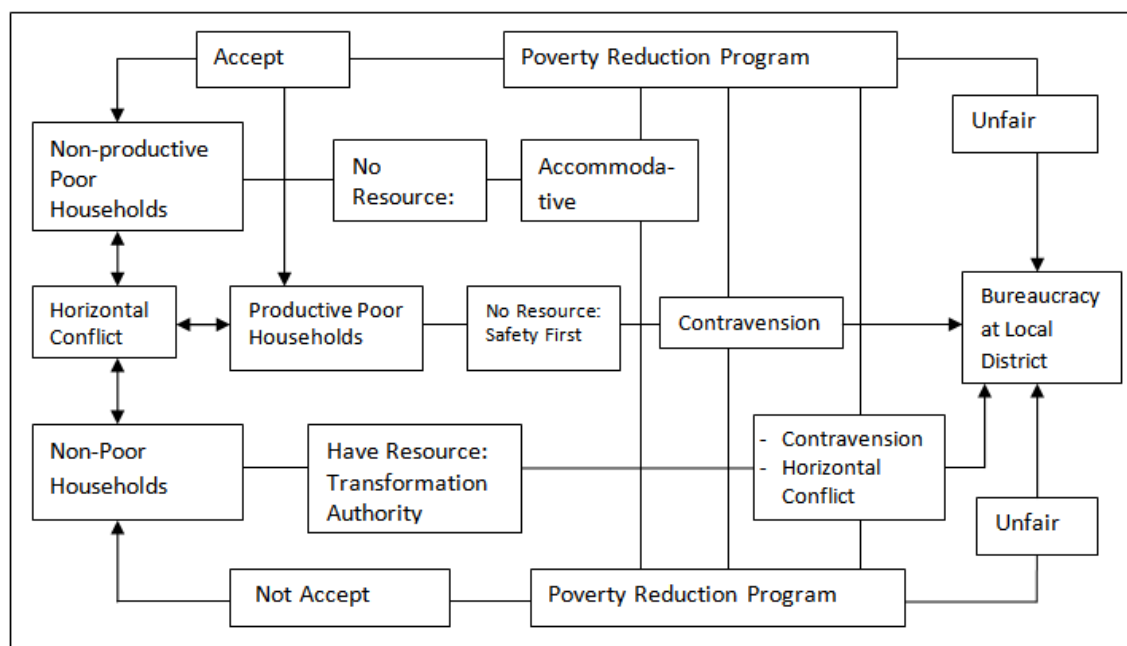


Figure 3: Social Processes in the Implementation of the Poverty Reduction Program

4. Conclusion

There are at least four government agencies, the Bappenas, BPS, BKKBN, and KPK to develop poverty measurement. However, poverty measurement developed by those four agencies is not the same. These four institutions developed the poverty measurements with different paradigms. BPS and BKKBN use the paradigm of basic need approach, while Bappenas and KPK formulate a more comprehensive measure of poverty, which use economic and non-economic measurement. However, at the policy level, the government poverty reduction programs use the paradigm of basic need approach BPS and BKKBN. This paradigm sees poverty as lack of income.

Under such a paradigm, the government designs and implements poverty reduction programs that are direct, short-term, top-down, charitable and populist, such as Raskin, BLT, topengan, Gerdu Taskin, Jamkesmas. Such programs not only less successful to reduce and eradicate poverty, it creates dependence of poor households on the program and gave birth to the new poor households through a process of "impoverishing themselves." This is done by people are economically capable. The phenomenon of "impoverishing themselves" is antithesis of the culture of poverty thesis theory.

Poverty in rural areas is more absolute. Absolute poverty characterized by poor households with low income, there is even a tendency to lack of income. As a result, Chambers and Quibria said, poor households have little wealth and have no household assets. Poor households are also in a state of always owed, although in the short term, which is known as digging hole to close the hole.

Difficult to conclude that the characteristics of poverty in rural areas are studied as described by one of the poles of the culture of poverty theory and the theory of structural conflict. Characteristics of poverty in the villages studied further illustrate the relationship between poverty intertwined with the culture patterned structural poverty. Cultural determinants of poverty are patterned with subtle structural determinants. In addition to the cultural characteristics of poverty, poverty in rural areas is also reflected structural poverty. Structural poverty can be seen from the environmental dimension, the dimension of power, and policy dimensions.

Poverty reduction programs in the empirical level is not only not effective enough to reduce poverty, but it also gave birth to the social processes that are associative and dissociative. Associative social processes developed by poor households from non-productive age group. This group developed the resulting powerlessness accommodation when responding to the implementation of poverty reduction programs. Meanwhile, the poor households of developing the productive age group of contravention and conflict, both vertically and horizontally, in response to the implementation of poverty reduction programs.

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