Stakeholders Collaboration in Poverty Reduction Programs in South Sulawesi, Indonesia: A Case Study

By

Slamet Budi Santoso

Bachelor of Agriculture (Soil Science), Pembangunan National University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia Master of Science (Political and Local Autonomy) Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

College of Arts and Education Victoria University

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2018

Abstract

Collaboration among stakeholders on poverty reduction programs in developing countries is part of strategic approach to combating and significantly reducing poverty numbers. The main purpose of collaboration among stakeholders or actors is to transform the power of togetherness into energising local communities to reduce poverty numbers effectively.

However, the history of implementation of various poverty reduction programs shows that there has been a long succession of such programs implemented by the Indonesian government in attempts to overcome poverty problems and to achieve social justice. This history means that the Indonesian government has had many experiences attempting a pragmatic philosophy to achieve social equity, eternal peace and common welfare. This study investigates the implementation of collaboration among stakeholders as poverty reduction strategies during the decentralisation era in the Takalar and Barru districts, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia.

A case study approach was taken, utilising the Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) of Van Assche, Beunen and Duineveld (2014). This research assessed the argument that inadequate collaboration and collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the development process is a major reason why poverty reduction policy and implementation has failed at the provincial and local district levels.

Data collection methods including semi-structured interviews, review of documents and field observation. The 70 (seventy) informants were selected based on their knowledge, involvement and responsibility in the various collaborative poverty reduction programs in both districts. This sample included government officials, members of donor organisations, NGOs activists, local leaders and the local communities.

The elements of EGT (Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014) as a social system framework were adjusted and extended based on the findings of the study within the context of the local public policies. This adaptation is based on the consideration that "the roles of local leaders lead on collaboration between stakeholders on poverty reduction programs".

The findings from the two Indonesian districts can be generalised to a broader population with some boundaries. However, this in-depth study of the cases contributes valuable theoretical and practical knowledge to the community. The study findings show that the local leader as a key position on the collaboration among stakeholders evolved from existing system of Social Governance throughout a process of evolutionary governance. These collaborative anti-poverty programs are demonstrated by two case studies, which involved elements of civil society such as local leaders, local community leaders, local communities, donors, and NGOs activists, whose involvement is a major factor in the sustainability of the programs. Future research requires exploration of the roles of these actors to provide a broader perspective on their roles in evolutionary governance implementation and sustainable use.

Student Declaration

I, Slamet Budi Santoso, declare that the PhD thesis entitled **Stakeholders Collaboration in poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi, Indonesia: A Case Study** is no more than 100.000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, references and footnotes. This thesis contents no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work. This thesis was approved by Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee approval: HRE13-154.

This thesis has been professionally copy edited by Dr Rachel Le Rossignol according to the Australian Standards for Editing Practice. Specifically the standards applied included D1, D3 to D5 and E1, E2 and E4. These standards relate to appropriate academic editing, including clarity of expression, spelling, punctuation and grammar, and ensuring the document meets the examining university's format, style and sequencing requirements

Signature	Date
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Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Allah SWT. I could never have finished this thesis without his help, blessing, and love to me.

This thesis would not be completed without support from the people to whom I deliver these acknowledgements.

I express my greatest gratitude to Dr. Charles MPhande for a supportive and patient supervisory process. Your critique and feedback encouraged me to progress with my research. To Associate Professor Margaret Malloch, as co-supervisor, thank you for your critical comments. I am also indebted to, Associate Professor Dr. Jim Sillitoe, Prof. Dr. Ron Adams, Dr. Amirullah, Dr. Richard Chauvel, Dr. Mark Stevenson, and Dr. Max Lane for your critical comments and sharing your valuable knowledge in relation to the concepts and theories of Governance and Community Development.

I also appreciate the support and assistance from the library staff, English Learning Support (ELS), particularly from Ms Angela Rojter, Ms Fiona Henderson and administrative staff at Victoria University, particularly the staff from the Post Graduate Research Program, College of Arts and Education.

I wish to acknowledge all my colleagues in the E232 postgraduate room and level two corridor of the building: Muhammad Subhan Iswahyudi, Ahyar M Dyah, Widodo Rahmadiyanto, Saefur Rochmat, Mochammad Nur and many others. Thank you all for giving me encouragement, and confidence in developing my research. I would also like to thank my interviewees from the local leaders, NGOs, donor members, the local government staff members and the local communities. You provided valuable understanding and experience for me as a researcher.

To my family, you always keep my spirits up. My Wife, Winarsih, my daughter Kiki Nurfajriani and my son Muhammad Khudri Arrofi. This thesis is dedicated especially for you. I could not go through this study without your support and love. To my wonderful families, my parents and my brother and sister who live so far way, thank you for your *doa-doa* for me.

Finally, my great appreciation goes to the Indonesian government particularly to Syahrul Yasin Limpo and the government of South Sulawesi Province, which provided a scholarship for me to study and learn about a different academic environment overseas.

Thank you so much for all your support.

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Alphabetical Lists of Acronyms and Abbreviations Used

ACCESS : The Australian Community Development and Civil Strengthening

Scheme

APBD : Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah or Regional /Local Budget

APBN : Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara or National Budget

BAKTI : The Indonesia acronym for Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange; is

an independent organisation based in Makassar.

BANSOS : Bantuan Sosial, or social grants

BAPPEDA : Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah or Regional Development

Planning Board

BAPPENAS : Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan National or National Planning

Board

BLM : Bantuan Langsung Masyarakat or Direct Assisstance for the People

BLSM : Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat or Temporary Direct

Assistance for the people

BLT : Bantuan Langsung Tunai or Direct Cash Assistance

BPJS : Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial or Social Security

Administering Body

BPMD : Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa or Village Community

Empowerment Board

BPS : Badan Pusat Statistic or Statistics Indonesia

BUPATI : Head of district

DAK : Dana Alokasi Khusus or Special Allocation Fund

DAU : Dana Alokasi Umum or General Allocation Fund

DESA : Village

DISTRICT: The third level of Government in Indonesia (kabupaten/kota)

DPKD : Dinas Pengelolaan Kemuangan Daerah or The Office of Financial

Management

EGT : Evolutionary Governance Theory

FIK KSM : The local NGO, encourages implementation of participation

processes, transparency, and accountability in implementing regional

development in Takalar district.

FPC : Family Prosperous Card

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

HDI : Human Development Index

IDR : Indonesian Rupiah

IDT : Inpres Desa Tertinggal or Program for Disadvantaged Villages

IHC : Indonesian Health CardISC : Indonesian Smart Card

JAMKESDA : Jaminan Kesehatan Daerah or Regional Health Care

JAMKESMAS: Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat or Public Health Care

KDP : Program Pengembangan Kecamatan or The Sub-district Development

Program

KK : Kartu Keluarga or Family Card

KELURAHAN: An administrative village (<u>Indonesian</u>: kelurahan, desa) is the lowest

level of government administration in **Indonesia**.

KUBE : Koperasi Usaha Bersama or the collective economic activity group

LURAH/KEPALA DESA: Village Head

MDGs : Millennium Development Goals

MK : Mahkamah Konstitusi or the Constitutional Court

MP3KI : Master Plan Percepatan Pengentasan Kemiskinan di Indonesia or

Master Plan of Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Poverty

Reduction

SPPD : Surat Perintah Perjalanan Dinas or Official Tripp order

MSME : Small and Medium Enterprises

NGO : Non-Government Organisation

OXFAM : The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, founded in Britain in 1942

P2KP : The Urban Poverty Reduction Program or P2KP

PA : Poverty Reduction

PERPRES : Peraturan Presiden or Presidential Regulation

PIK-PAKET : Program Implementasi Kegiatan Percepatan Pengentasan Kemiskinan

Terpadu or Integrated Poverty Reduction Pilot Project

PKH : Program Keluarga Harapan or Family Expectation Program

PNPM Mandiri: National Community Empowerment Program

PNPM : Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat or National Program

for Community Empowerment

POSYANDU : Pos Pelayanan Terpadu or Integrated Service Post (ISP)

PP : Peraturan Pemerintah or government regulation

PPPs : Purchasing Power Parity Exchange Rates (PPPs)

PR : Poverty Reduction

PUGAR : Pemberdayaan Usaha Garam Rakyat or

RASKIN : Beras untuk Orang Miskin or Rice for Poor

PERDA : Peraturan Daerah or Regional Regulation

REGIONAL : Region/local government areas (Provincial, District, Village)

RKPD : Rencana Kerja Pembangaunan Daerah or the annual job planning of

the local government (RKPD)

RPJMD : Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah or Regional

Middle-term Developent Planning

RPJMN : Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional or Middle-term

National Planning

SAID : Administration and information system in villages

SDP : The Sub-District Development Program

SISDUK : System Dukungan or Support System

SMEs : Small and Medium Enterprises

SSP : Social Security Program

TKPKD : Tim Koordinasi Program Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Daerah or

Coordination Team of Regional Poverty Reduction Program

UN : United Nations

UNICEF : The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

TUF : Tecknologi Ulir Filter or Technology of Screw Filter

RASKIN : Beras untuk Orang Miskin or Rice for Poor

RUB : Rencana Usaha Bersama (RUB) or Joint Business Plan

STBM : The Community Based Total Sanitation Program

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

This thesis investigates the strategies, problems and implications related to a poverty reduction case study in the provincial and district level of Indonesia's South Sulawesi Province. Utilising the Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) of Van Assche, Beunen, and Duineveld (2014), the thesis will argue that inadequate collaboration and collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the local development process is a major reason why poverty reduction policy and implementation has failed at the district level. It will describe in detail how, in relation to the two districts of Takalar and Barru in the decentralisation era, this failure reflects a fundamental lack of commitment at all levels of government to community empowerment and active local participation in the processes of policy formation and implementation. As will be discussed later in this chapter, as a member of the South Sulawesi Regional Development Planning Board (Bappeda) and as a member of an extended South Sulawesi family, the author has both a professional and a personal interest in the topic and can offer a unique insider's perspective on the processes of policy development and implementation at the local level. Notwithstanding this close personal involvement with this area, what this research has revealed is that understanding local issues requires a knowledge of relevant global perspectives. To appreciate fully what has occurred at the South Sulawesi district level, it is necessary to locate strategies applied in the global context of poverty reduction programs and compare them to the approaches taken to poverty reduction in Indonesia in the context of the decentralisation era.

1.2. Poverty in a Global Context

With increasing levels of global interaction and understanding, poverty has become an increasingly contentious issue in international debates and dialogues in the last few decades. As a consequence, during the 20th and 21st centuries, poverty has become a major humanitarian issue in the three most populated continents; Asia, Africa and Latin America (Sasson, 2012). According to the World Bank Report (Chen & Ravallion, 2004) on this problem, there are two ways of measuring poverty. The first approach is

to define people who are living in extreme poverty as those who exist on US \$1 per day. This level of poverty line standard reflects the situation pertinent to the poorest countries across the world. The second World Bank perspective is to include people who are living on less than US \$2 a day. A different approach was suggested by Anand and Ravalion (1993) who used a measure based on purchasing power parity exchange rates (PPPs) released in 1985. This approach gave a new standard poverty line of US \$1.08 a day, which was revised again using the PPPs devised in 2005 and published in 2011, which gave a new standard poverty line of US \$1.25 to US \$1.90 per day. The World Bank (2013) pointed out in 2008 that there were 2.6 billion people, or close to 40 per cent of the total world population, living on a poverty line of less than US \$2.00 a day. Furthermore, facts provided by UNICEF (2015) show that 16,000 children die every day due to poverty. This, and similar available data, reminds us of the extent and problems associated with current levels of poverty in the world.

Indonesia, as with other countries, also has its own poverty line standard. In 2009, this was set at IDR. 200, 262, which was equal to approximately US \$21.20 per month or US \$0.701 a day. Using this figure as the national standard, those people who lived under the poverty line in 2009 made up 14.2 per cent of the total population (BPS, 2009). Meanwhile BPS released information that the poverty number in Indonesia was 28.25 million people or 11.25 per cent of total population. However, the Social Department of the Republic of Indonesia released a new poverty standard based on \$1.50 per day in 2014. According to the ministry of the Social Department, based on the new standard, the poverty number in Indonesia in 2014 increased sharply to 96 million or 40 per cent of total population (Investor Daily, 2014).

These figures indicate that there is a large percentage of the population living in poverty in Indonesia, which has led scholars, politicians, policy makers and various International Institutions to a debate on how to reduce the number of poor people. The United Nations (UN), for example, has proposed their Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) program (Woman and Children First (UK), 2016) arising from the leaders' summit in 2000, which was aimed at reducing extreme poverty.

Although the UN (2015) approach suggests that the MDGs program has helped to lift more than one billion people out of extreme poverty (from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836

million in 2015) a number of scholars and institutions (Bourguignon & Morison, 2002; Ravallion, Chen and Sangraula, 2007; The Guardians, 2012; UNICEF, 2015;) have argued this program failed to reduce extreme poverty across the poorest countries. For example, it is noted that the progress of poverty reduction over the world was seemingly insignificant or even stagnant. Similarly, other researchers have reported that the inequality of lives keeps increasing in many Asian countries, particularly in China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand (Von Luebke, 2011). This indicates that the problem of poverty remains as a major concern among underdeveloped nations.

Pavel (2015) claimed that reducing poverty is a responsibility of many developed countries because, in the past, a number of these nations colonised poorer countries. Indeed, many developed countries have now proposed international donors (aid) programs for under-developed countries through education, training, and economic development (Easterly, 2001). Although these well-meaning international aid programs have been realised, poverty still remains high. This is particularly so in African countries located in West, South and East Africa. For example, Kenya and Tanzania, two Eastern African countries, are known to be trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty where low incomes lead to low savings and insufficient resources for investment (Ericson, 2003). Ericson also noted that income per capita growth has not ever been present in the modern history of Kenya and Tanzania. The cases studied by Ericson in Tanzania provide evidence of an existing widening gap between poor and rich people. Of relevance to this thesis is that this situation occurs also in the context of Indonesia, which has the fourth largest population in the world.

1.3. Poverty in the Indonesian Context

Historically, Indonesia faced approximately 420 years of European rule from the 1520s to 1942, beginning with the arrival of the Portuguese in Malacca, then later in Maluku. The complexity of this experience is exemplified by the experience of trade with, and occupation of, trading posts like Malacca, Batavia and the spice-producing regions such as Ternate, Ambon and Banda, which did not actually constitute colonial rule. A particular example was that of South Sulawesi, outside Makassar, which was not

brought under Dutch administration until the mid-19th century and then only through 'indirect' rule called 'zelfbestuurden' (Crib, 2000). In more recent times, the colonisation was followed by Japanese occupation of Indonesia for a period of around three and half years from 1942 to 1945. During these various phases of colonisation, it has been claimed that there was no attention given to poverty reduction programs across the Indonesian archipelago (Beck, 2011). Such inattention has contributed to the long-term increase of the numbers of poor people. In this respect, Meyer, Navichoque and Raccardi (2009) have reported that from 1603-1949, there was no documentation related to economic conditions at the grassroots level.

In 1901, an approach known as 'Ethical Policy' was implemented in response to an awareness that the liberal economic policies, introduced from 1870 to 1900, had resulted in a decline in welfare among the Indonesian people, especially those in Java (Indonesia Investment, 2016). Of importance here is that Beck (2011) noted that in 1900, Europeans constituted only 1.5 per cent of the total population, but they were contributing 60 per cent of the national income. Another 20 per cent of the national income came from the Chinese, who were about 2 per cent of the population, whilst the native population had 20 per cent of total income, although they were around 97 per cent of the total population.

This inherited unbalanced economic situation, which was a result of the colonial periods, remained until the proclamation of Indonesian liberation on 17th August 1945. Since achieving independence, Indonesia has been committed, in one way or another, to poverty reduction programs. This initiative was part of the rationale for the struggle for independence and was introduced to end the inequities due to colonial economic exploitation. Commitment to poverty reduction has been placed in the Basic Constitution (1945), and also in the Basic Principles of Indonesia. It is one of the five constitutional pillars and is called *Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for all Indonesian people). In this respect, (Herawati et al (2016); Purnama, 2016) define the meaning of social justice, in relation to a national development approach, to mean that the Indonesian government will attempt, as a pragmatic philosophy, to achieve social equity, eternal peace and common welfare. This is designed to meet human needs of the 'brain, stomach and pocket' (Suara Pembaruan,

2016) of the whole of Indonesian society. Those schemes are in line with the Indonesian Government's long-term development mission (2005-2025), one of milestones of which is a pro-poor, pro-jobs, and pro-growth policy (Dewanthi, 2012). This philosophical commitment means that justice is not only for legal issues, but justice in terms of education, health and welfare. It also means that the nation has obligations to protect and raise the quality of life all Indonesian citizens, regardless of color, race, religion and cultural background.

For the new government of Indonesia, reducing poverty was not a major focus under the first president of Indonesia, Soekarno. This was because in the heritage arising from the colonial system of the Dutch, there was virtually no attention given to the problem of poverty in the archipelago, and Indonesia, as a new nation, was focusing on maintaining independence, strengthening defense and military capability, and introducing a spirit of nationalism. Redfern (2012) noted that when Sukarno nationalised Dutch enterprises in 1957, these enterprises became state owned under the management of the military. Between 1959-1966, Soekarno's administration applied principles of guided democracy and economic development, and in this period, the Indonesian government increased the spirit of economic nationalism and applied centralistic economic development. Both of these policies were under the rubric of 'socialism like Indonesia' (Redfern, 2010, p. 6). Hartman (1973) and Yazid (2011) noted that in this period the military was a priority for national spending, absorbing up to 70 per cent of the national income. This is one of the major reasons why Soekarno's government, which ruled from 1945 until 1966, was unable to pay much attention to poverty reduction programs.

However, in the period between 1967 and 1998, the new government, under president Soeharto's administration, called the New Order, restated the commitment to poverty reduction mandated in the 1945 Indonesian constitution. Fundamental national development planning during this new order referred to a broad outline of government policy called GBHN (Winanti, 2002). This guideline provided a basis for the president to translate policy in the form of (i) a short-term plan (one year), (ii) a medium-term plan (five years) and (iii) a long-term development plan (25 years). These three development planning programs are based on the three fundamental principles of development philosophy referred to as the 'trilogy of development' (*trilogy*

pembangunan), that is, equity of distribution wealth, economic growth, and national (political) stability, which are aimed at achieving social well-being and justice for the people (Winanti, 2002). In relation to the national development planning policy, the new government implemented a poverty reduction program for the least-developed villages across the archipelago, determined by their relation to health, education, agriculture, and small business and enterprises, and these program elements will be further elaborated below.

In the health sector, the Indonesian Government has grappled with the difficulties inherent in introducing many programs and projects but did manage to build huge Community Health Centres (CHC), commonly known as *Puskesmas*, in the 1970s (Hugo, Hull, Hull, & Jones, 1987). In addition, there was an Integrated Service Post (ISP), known as *Posyandu*, introduced at the beginning of the 1990s (Marks, 2007) at the level of sub-districts and villages across the country to raise the level of health of the people. The initiatives were followed by the placement of midwives in villages to support the existence of these CHC, which made for stronger capacity within local communities, empowering them to take care of their health. Whilst the specific aim of these programs was to address the health of poor people in villages, the government also introduced free education for poor.

In terms of education, the Indonesian government and other parties have made huge efforts to alleviate poverty through education sectors. Evidence revealed by a study carried out by Hidayat (2016) showed that the Soeharto administration era had supported children to attend primary school until year 6 as a national basic education program, and had supplied teachers and built school infrastructures in villages and remote areas. This policy generated an increase in participation in basic compulsory education (up to year 9) from 62 per cent in 1945 to 87.2 per cent in 2013 (BPS, 2015, p. 73). In addition to initiatives in education, the government facilitated programs in small business and economic development for poor potential entrepreneurs.

In the economic context, the Soeharto era has gone through three economic empowerment stages for the pro-poor initiative. Susanto (2006) explained these three stages: the first, which occurred from 1969-1974, was called stabilisation, rehabilitation, restricted liberalisation and economic recovery. In this period, the central government

applied a centralist approach by using the broad outline of government policy GBHN (Winanti, 2002) to conduct most of the anti-poverty programs via poverty reduction programs. For example, there was the *Inpres Desa Tertinggal* (IDT) program or Presidential Decree Program for Disadvantaged Villages, the Assistance for the Poor (PPFM), for poor families, designed to complement the IDT program, and the collective economic activity group called *Koperasi usaha Bersama* (or KUBE) (Tambunan & Purwoko, 2002, p. 37). Besides these initiatives, Suryahadi, Sumarto and Widyanti (2010) note that, under the Soeharto era 1970-1990, the work was carried out through a number of poverty programs such as the Urban Poverty Program (P2KP), and the Small Farmers/Fisherman Income Expansion Project (P4) among others. Through these programs, the central government attempted to significantly reduce the numbers of poor people in Indonesia.

The second stage, from 1974-1982, was called the oil boom era, and saw an increase in government intervention. During this stage, the number of people in poverty in Indonesia declined from 40 per cent in 1970 to 11 per cent in 1996 (Asra, 2000, p. 3; Susanto, 2006). Of importance here was the observation that during this period there were two poverty problems within economic development in Indonesia: unequal economic growth and unequal development (Putra & Setiawan, 2011). Furthermore, Susanto (2006) also noted that the New Order of the Indonesian Government had already implemented various efforts at reducing poverty since the 1970s.

Although the UN (2015) approach suggests that the MDGs program has helped to lift more than one billion people out of extreme poverty (from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015), a number of scholars and institutions (Bourguignon & Morison, 2002; Chen & Ravallion, 2004; The Guardians, 2012; UNICEF, 2015) have argued this program failed to reduce extreme poverty across the poorest countries. For example, it is noted that the progress of poverty reduction over the world was seemingly insignificant or even stagnant.

The last stage was from 1983 to 1998. This was characterised by deregulation, a new liberalisation and increasing economic growth initiatives accelerated by rapidly rising exports. This era saw the implementation of a number of anti-poverty programs and projects. Included were the Presidential Instruction for Undeveloped Villages (IDT), the

Sub-District Development Program (SDP), the Urban Poverty Reduction Program or P2KP, and the sub-district development program (KDP) referred to as Takesra and Kukesra (Leith, Porter, SMERU Institute, & Warr, 2003; Suryahadi et al., 2010, p. 3). These programs provide schemes such as cash transfer opportunities, job creation initiatives for unskilled workers, and universally available price subsidies. Various efforts toward poverty reduction during Soeharto's era have officially been claimed to be effective in reducing numbers of poor people across the country, as presented in Figure 1.1.

However, in the mid 1997s, Indonesia was struck by a severe financial crisis. This situation was exacerbated when Jakarta and eight other big cities across the country were beset by riots and anti-Soeharto protests. These political disruptions were caused by a number of opposition groups including political leaders Megawati Soekarno Putri (Head of Democracy Indonesia Party (PDI)) and Amin Rais (Head of Muhammadiah), an Islamic leader, together with the support of NGOs and students. They forced Soeharto to resign from power on the 21st May 1998. At this time, instability of political, security and social organisations impacted upon many aspects of the community, in particular on issues related to the economy and poverty. By 1998, the Indonesian economy had contracted by more than 13 per cent, and in this situation Indonesia faced the prospect of a slow recovery from the financial crisis. As a result, the number of people in poverty rose sharply from around 17.3 per cent in February 1996 to 24.3 per cent in February 1999 (Suryahadi et al., 2010, p. 1).

1.4. The Recent History of Poverty Reduction Programs

Although the Indonesian government has been shown to be officially effective in implementing the anti-poverty programs from the Soeharto era until the present, the number of people who live under the poverty line remains high. Figure 1.1 shows the official trend in poverty numbers in Indonesia during the period 1976 to 2014:

The Trend of poverty numbers in Indonesia from 1976 -2014 40.1 Poverty numbers (%) 21.6 18.2 16.6 15.4 13.3 1976 1984 1990 1996 1998 2000 2002 2004 2007 2010 2012 2014

Year

Figure 1.1. Trend in poverty numbers in Indonesia in from 1976 to 2014

Source: Bappenas and Indonesian Statistics Centre Institution (BPS, various years)

Although the national trends of poverty numbers officially fluctuated down from the Soeharto era until the present, according to Dillon (2012) who was a Presidential advisor on poverty, Indonesia's official poverty data is more optimistic than the reality of poverty in the country. People who live above the government's official poverty line are actually living in extremely poor conditions, particularly if a poverty line of less than US \$1.90 a day is invoked. Yusuf and Sumner (2015) and Firdausy (2014) mention that Indonesia is well known for its low record of poverty reduction. Priebe (2014) also questions the comparability over time of national poverty line headcounts. As is well-documented, many people in Indonesia live not far above the national poverty line. Furthermore, Yusuf and Sumner (2015) also consider that perhaps a quarter to half of the population are therefore potentially vulnerable to falling back into poverty, for example, if economic growth slows, rice prices spike or the petrol price increases significantly.

Meanwhile, during the period of 1998-2015, the reformation era or local autonomy (decentralisation) era, there were many anti-poverty programs implemented, based on

various policies and discrete political phases. At the beginning of the time of the transitional government, Habibie introduced a number of decentralisation and local autonomy policies such as Law no. 22/1999, revised by Law 32/2004. This momentum generated some fundamental impacts on the relationship between the central government and local governments, which are given in more detail in Chapter 4. In the eras of the transitional Indonesian government, presided over by Habibie, Abdurahman Wahid (Gusdur) and Megawati, as a consequence of the financial crisis, the numbers of poor people rose sharply again in 1998 to 49.5 million or 24.2 per cent of the total population (BPS, 2009). In 2005, the number of poor people was still 37.17 million and this increased again to 39.3 million in 2006. In 2007, the number of poor people decreased to 37.17 million (BPS, 2009).

Following this transitional governmental era, poverty became the focus of Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY), President of Indonesia from 2004-2014. At this time, there was a 'new change' era introduced which took Indonesia from a centralist system to a decentralised model. This was an evolutionary event, and as a result of this decision, there were many effects on areas such as the budget and the electoral system, which in turn spawned new bureaucracies, local corruptions and other politically related issues, such as lack of coordination and collaboration among stakeholders. In this decentralisation era, the government and local leaders such as youth leaders or local community leaders were the key agents guiding community attitudes. In order to reduce significantly numbers of poor people across the country, the government needed to collaborate among stakeholders in poverty reduction programs, since if the government was seen to fail in this area, community loyalty would move to local actors such as community leaders and local leaders, affording them power to correct the government shortcomings.

Within the 10 years of the SBY presidential period, from 2004 to 2014, there were three anti-poverty programs, known as the pro-poor campaigns, implemented across the archipelagos. First, in 2009, the pro-poor program was enhanced by the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Poverty Reduction (MP3KI). This master plan was implemented within a cluster of related programs. Cluster I is known as the anti-poverty cluster, which was aimed to aid social protection. Cluster II is referred to as community

empowerment and is a well-known national poverty program called PNPM-Mandiri. Cluster III focusses on development and support of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) and Cluster IV is a low-prices program for the people. Second, the Indonesian government conducted the transformation of social protection and assistance in development with the launch of the National Health Insurance Program (JKN), which is managed by a Social Security Agency (BPJS). Third, the Indonesian government released some programs such as (i) livelihood development, empowerment and access to credit, and (ii) district development initiatives based on existing local potential (Ridwan, 2014).

Although the Indonesian government was committed to implementing the pro-poor program, the government was not able to reach the national target, which was to alleviate poverty numbers from 16 per cent to 8 per cent of the total population. In addition, the Gini index, which measures the gap between the rich and the poor, widened from 0.363 in 2005 to 0.413 in 2013. Nevertheless, because of the SBY programs, Indonesia was able to successfully reduce poverty numbers from 15.97 per cent in 2005 to 11.47 per cent in 2013 (BPS, 2014). Despite this successful reduction, there remained a significant poverty issue in Indonesia due to the failure of collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs across the country.

Following the election of the new president, Joko Widodo (2014-2019), there is an opportunity for a new approach to poverty reduction programs. Jokowi has already introduced three important pro-poor programs via a card system. These are (i) the Indonesian Health Card (IHC), known as *Kartu Indonesia Sehat*, (ii) the Indonesian Smart Card (ISC), known as *Kartu Indonesia Pintar*, and (iii) the Family Prosperous Card (FPC), known as *Kartu Keluarga Sejahtera*. These three initiatives are huge scale programs. The IHC will cover 85 million poor people in 2019, and combined with the BPJS, will cover all Indonesian citizens who are able to pay monthly. At this time, 153 million people are covered by IHC and BPJS. Meanwhile, the ISC distributes IDR. 150,000 per month to poor people, and they will receive straight money transfers every three months. However, Jokowi's programs have not been proved successful because the number of poor people in Indonesia remains high. Statistically, the number of poor people is still around 11.5 per cent of the total Indonesian population of 247 million

people, which was 28,240,500 people in 2013 (BPS, 2013). This number of poor people is spread across the Indonesian provinces, including the South Sulawesi province, which was around 832,000 people. More detail on this case study area will be provided in Chapters 5 and 6.

In 2013, the central government supported Jokowi's policy by spending IDR. 54,821 trillion. Data analysis of District Budgeting conducted by the Republic of Indonesia (2011) in 2011 and 2012, noted that the composition of local budgeting was dominated by spending for payment and operational governmental administration, known as apparatus expenditure: 46.2 per cent in 2011, which decreased to 43.71 per cent in 2012. Capital expenditure was 21.7 per cent in 2011 and in 2012 was 21.93 per cent. Goods and services expenditure in 2011 was 21.3 per cent and in 2012 fell to 20.14 per cent. In the 'Others' category expenditure in 2011 was 10.8 per cent, and this rose to 14.22 per cent of total district expenditure in 2012 (Finance Department of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011). The importance of these figures is to indicate that most local governments implicitly have little awareness of how or why to provide more funds to aspects of social issues such as poverty reduction programs. Particularly in South Sulawesi, although the provincial and district governments have some commitment to reduce the numbers of local poor people, there are still some important issues including local budgeting on anti-poverty programs that need to be addressed. More detail on this will be given in Chapter 4.

1.5. Poverty in South Sulawesi

Based on the National Level Human Development Index (BPS, 2010), South Sulawesi is still far behind comparable regions across the country. For instance, in 2008, in terms of this community development measure, South Sulawesi was 21st of 34 provinces. This rose to level 20 in 2009, and went up again in 2012 to position 19. Notwithstanding these rises, the situation in South Sulawesi needs more attention to many aspects of social life, particularly in health, education and also the economic sector, in order to pursue the Vision and Mission of the governor of South Sulawesi, and also the provincial development goals as noted in the Regional Middle Term Development Planning document (RPJMD 2013-2017). In the RPJMD, it was

mentioned that South Sulawesi aims to reduce the number of people in poverty to make it 9th on the National level. In addition, some obstacles still exist in South Sulawesi in regard to inequality between rich people and poor people. Data from the Gini index can be used to observe the gap between rich people and poor people in South Sulawesi Province. Even though Indonesia generally, and South Sulawesi, have experienced high growth economies with more than 5 per cent per year, there is, by contrast, a widening of the Gini index. This indicates that high economic growth cannot be used to measure the actual effects that the central, provincial or district governments have on reducing poverty.

To redress this gap between rich and poor, the Government of South Sulawesi has also implemented anti-poverty programs. They are called the Anti-Poverty Movement (*Gerakan Pembangunan Pengentasan Kemiskinan*) and the Community Development Movement (*Gerakan Pembangunan Masyarakat*]), both of which have been promoted as the new community economic development movement and carry the names of *Gerbangtaskin* and *Gerbangmas*. To support these anti-poverty programs in South Sulawesi province, the central government has spent IDR. 461,800 billion between 2007 and 2011. In the same period the provincial government of South Sulawesi has also allocated IDR. 29.8 billion for funding poverty reduction programs, while other contributions have also come from international donors to support these initiatives.

In this study, the districts of Takalar and Barru have been chosen for particular attention, and descriptions of these sites are given here to justify their inclusion and relevance to the investigation. Takalar is one of the South Sulawesi districts with a total population of 250,000 people. Besides the government's aid efforts, donors such as ACCESS and UNICEF have made a long-term contribution to the poverty reduction programs. The program called SISDUK (Aswad, 2103; Land, 2004), which aimed to provide an injection of resources and capacity, was carried out by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in collaboration with local governments. It adopted two approaches, namely solving the problem directly with the specific target group and transferring knowledge and skills to the community. Chapter 5 will provide further description of this initiative.

Barru district is one of the South Sulawesi districts that prioritises the poverty program known as PIK-PAKET (Integrated Poverty Reduction Pilot Project) under the coordination of the Local Community Empowerment Office (*Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa*). This work has been running for eight years since 2004. The PIK-PAKET have formed 28 community groups consisting of 929 households in 25 villages across the Barru district, which has had the effect of accelerating the implementation of the PIK-PAKET in this area. The anti-poverty program is a collaborative anti-poverty project which has been implemented on the basis of participants' experiences. There are many institutions of the district government which are involved in the anti-poverty programs (Syukri, 2014). This current project aims to collaborate with the local government to implement poverty reduction programs in the Barru district. Chapter 6 gives a further description of this work.

Notwithstanding the work which has been done by governments and aid agencies in this area, we feel that the projects are still weak in regard to coordination, and that strengthening of contributing institutions' understanding of the nature of the underlying issues of these initiatives will significantly increase the effectiveness of the collaborative anti-poverty programs. Currently, the PIK-PAKET program is operating on a revolving funding model where funds are given to the poor as work capital, using funds derived from the local budget of the Barru district. These are disbursed through the DPA Village Community Empowerment Board (BPMD), using DPA expenditure of Social Assistance through the Office of Financial Management (DPKD) (see Chapter 6 for further description and discussion). As indicated above, the continuance of poverty has plagued successive Indonesia regimes since independence, and the aim of this study is not only to understand why this is the case generally in Indonesia and especially in South Sulawesi, but also to explore the appropriate collaborative ways to more toward the reduction of poverty.

What has been largely absent among policy makers to date, is a holistic understanding of the problem and a commitment to collective collaboration with key stakeholders such as politicians, government officials, local leaders, scholars, NGOs activists, international donors and others in combating poverty during the decentralisation era. For example, it has been asserted that lack of coordination between the central

government and the district governments has impacted on the effectiveness of the antipoverty programs and projects that have been initiated in South Sulawesi, with the result that poverty remains a major problem in the province (Agus Salim, 2012; Kirana, 2014). Central and provincial governments continue to provide economic assistance, business development and training opportunities for poor people to deal with poverty, but the programs have been determined and designed by central government without considering the individual 'grass root conditions', and without developing a comprehensive understanding of the lived experience of poverty in a particular region.

Meanwhile, Nurdin (2013), in his study of the role of an Electronic Government implementation, mentions that collaboration among organisations or departments is an important part of delivering information and public services. That study is also supported by Feeney and Welch (2013). Furthermore, Nurdin argues that the role of collaboration among organisations and actors in various level of government contributes to the sustainability of implementation of e-government. This argument indicates that collaboration between stakeholders in governance practices is very important to initiate for those involved in working in a large community. Meanwhile Freeman (1997, p. 22) argues that collaborative governance is required in all stages of the decision-making process.

1.6. Theoretical Framework and Key Argument

This study examines, in a comprehensive way, information and understanding of the lived experience of the anti-poverty program, and investigates why poverty reduction, to date, has failed in South Sulawesi. It does this through the theoretical prism of the Evolutionary Governance Theory developed by Van Assche et al. (2014). The concept of Evolutionary Governance points out that no one model of governance is perfect, which accords with our earlier comments of the failure of authorities to appreciate local differences. Van Assche, Beunen and Duineveld (2014) argue that the application of governance theory in modern society is properly seen as multi-level governance, which means that there are several paths involved in working in a larger community. These paths can parallel and support each other, but they can also block and interfere with each other, which inevitably will lead to lack of efficiency and effectiveness.

Collaboration is at the heart of the theory of EGT, which, in essence, emphasises collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the governance practices and development process. In accordance with the existing structure of EGT, every element needs involvement of actors and institutions, and sharing knowledge, which always changes to reproduce and reformulate evolutionary governance practices (Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014, p. 5). The concept of governance in this thesis emphasises the synergy of collaboration among stakeholders and separate actors who need to collaborate in decision making to achieve development goals. In this case, it is the Indonesian government, from the central and local level, in addition to other stakeholders such as local governments, NGOs, International Donor agencies and local communities, which have roles in the district development process.

The core proposition of this thesis is that what has been missing in anti-poverty programs to date is collaboration between governments, other stakeholders, and community leaders focusing on community empowerment. The need for community empowerment and active participation constitutes the central proposition of the thesis, because it is thought that this particular issue has been most effective in reducing poverty when collaboration between stakeholders was implemented. As subsequent chapters will describe, in the two selected South Sulawesi districts of Takalar and Barru, poverty reduction has been most effective when there has been collaboration between stakeholders combined with active local participation based on community empowerment initiatives.

1.7. Research Aims

The overall research aim of the thesis is to investigate the collaboration between central, provincial, district governments, and other stakeholders in poverty reduction policy-making and implementation in the two South Sulawesi districts of Takalar and Barru. The specific aims are:

1. To examine how the new relationships between the three levels of government, flowing from districtautonomy laws of 1999, as subsequently revised, have influenced collaboration in the development and implementation of anti-poverty programs;

- 2. To assess whether each component of the collaboration plays a role in poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar;
- 3. To examine how the relationship of NGOs, international donors, and local communities and development actors plays a role in poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi:
- 4. To examine how budget resources have been allocated to anti-poverty programs implemented in these districts; and
- 5. To examine the outcomes of involving local leaders in a practical role as social change agents.

1.8. Research Questions

Based on the above aims, the main Research Question is:

To what extent has the level of collaboration between the three levels of government, international donors and NGOs, and local community leaders, influenced the effectiveness of poverty reduction programs in the South Sulawesi provincial government of Takalar and Barru districts?

In order to increase our understanding of this question, four sub-questions have also been formulated. These are:

- (i) What components of the collaboration between the stakeholders involved in poverty reduction programs in the local autonomy era influenced the effectiveness of the collaboration in anti-poverty programs in Takalar and Barru?
- (ii) How does each component of the collaboration play a role in poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar?
- (iii)To what extent does the collaboration among NGOs, international donors and local communities and development actors contribute to poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi?

- (iv)What kind of collaboration between stakeholders influences the effectiveness of poverty reduction in effectiveness of poverty reduction in Takalar and Barru districts?
- (v) To what extent can the roles of local leaders be used to develop a more practical role as poverty reduction change agents?

1.9. Research Methodology

An interpretive case study of collaboration between stakeholders and governance practices was applied to investigate two local governments (districts/kabupaten) in Indonesia. The data were gathered through field observation, semi-structured interviews, and written documents and other follow-up data-gathering such as emails, online chats, telephones and a follow-up short visit. The data analyses were carried out using case study research design and methods (Yin, 2003; Yin, 2009).

1.10. Contribution to Knowledge and Practice

This research will extend the scope and applicability of the Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) (Van Vassche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014) with a detailed empirical investigation of the role of collaboration and community empowerment in poverty reduction programs in the two South Sulawesi districts of Takalar and Barru. As well as consideration of the role of developments actors, institutions, and local community leaders in poverty reduction.

In practical policy terms, the intention is for this research to provide a model for how government, poverty activists and other stakeholders such as international donors, NGOs, local communities and local universities can collaborate and coordinate their efforts to reduce poverty. Focusing on these two districts in South Sulawesi provides an opportunity to identify and analyse obstacles to collaboration between stakeholders in terms of anti-poverty programs, and inform future decision making in public policy-making, especially in the realm of poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi.

1.11. Statement of Significance

By investigating the applicability of evolutionary governance theory, especially in terms of collaboration between government and other stakeholders involved in Indonesian anti-poverty programs, this research aims to contribute to more effective implementation of poverty reduction policies and development programs - not only in Indonesia but also globally. This study also arises from the researcher's development planning knowledge and regular duties as one of the regional development planning and local Government actors of South Sulawesi Province. The specific focus on the districts of Takalar and Barru has particular significance because it highlights the nature of implementation strategies at the provincial level and helps to redress some of the current difficulties. As indicated earlier, I have a role with the South Sulawesi Regional Development Planning Board (Bappeda). In this position, I work with a team drawn from a range of levels and representing various parties, not only in my own office, but also with other stakeholders, and have experienced the need for more informed collective action. In this current project, it is suggested that more attention given to collective action between stakeholders representing central and local government, NGOs, international donors, and local communities, will result in more effective strategies and programs for combating poverty. This will contribute to a significant reduction in the number of poor people in Indonesia, particularly in South Sulawesi. These outcomes are personally significant for me as a researcher and as a person who has lived in South Sulawesi since 1995, and has experienced, first-hand, the challenges confronting people living in poverty.

1.12. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 has described the background of the study, the research objectives and questions, its anticipated contribution to knowledge, and the significance of the study. The following chapter, Chapter 2, reviews the literature relevant to the area in order to build the logical framework of the study, in terms of which the findings are analysed. It discusses governance concepts as perceived and implemented by the South Sulawesi government. Specifically, it reviews governance concepts and principles which can underpin collaboration between actors of

districtdevelopment programs, and when applied effectively, can help to reduce poverty and to achieve community empowerment.

Chapter 3 outlines the study's methodology and the rationale for choosing the approach adopted in the research. This is followed by an explanation of case study methodology including: its definition; the philosophical background of this approach; and the strengths and limitations of a single case study. This chapter also discusses data collection processes, including the recruitment processes of various interviewees, data collection procedures and analysis of data.

Chapter 4 present the case study findings of the research, focusing on decentralisation or districtautonomy. This chapter describes the decentralisation and districtautonomy policies introduced by Habibie, as it is this policy framework that provides the context for the problematic level of collaboration (or the lack of) between the three levels of government. This chapter also describes why provincial and district governments are important and why collaboration between levels of government is required.

In the next two chapters, the case study details are presented. Chapter 5 focuses on Takalar and Chapter 6 on Barru, and these discussions present a picture of the collaborative poverty reduction programs in the two selected South Sulawesi districts. These two chapters describe the strategies employed in the anti-poverty programs, and detail efforts by various parties to reduce poverty. As the chapters outline, strategies implemented in the two districts involved not only government but also organisations and donor agencies located in South Sulawesi and involved community groups – which both reflect and enhance community empowerment initiatives.

Chapter 7 discusses comparative analysis. This chapter compares and contrasts between two cases. The thesis concludes with Chapter 8, which shows how this research contributes and link to the EGT, includes a series of recommendations and outlines the study's contribution to knowledge regarding collaboration between actors involved in district development initiatives to significantly reduce the number of people who live in poverty.

Chapter 2 Collaboration in the Context of Poverty Reduction

2.1. Introduction

As outlined in the preceding chapter, this thesis draws on Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) (Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014), which broadly conceives governance as a form of coordination in the making of collectively binding decisions within a certain community. In this respect, Van Assche, Beunen, and Duineveld (2014) state that 'EGT shows how understanding governance as entirely and continuously restructuring, allows for new understanding of broader changes in society, and new understandings of the spaces for intervention' (p. 4). This chapter provides (i) a context to understand what the literature currently tells us about poverty reduction in general, (ii) gives some detail about previous work specifically in Indonesia, and (iii) examines how the use of EGT and other theoretical frameworks have aided in these important studies on poverty reduction.

The chapter starts with the discussion of evolutionary governance theory and defining of governance, poverty, and continues by defining collaboration stakeholders and decentralisation in the context of Indonesia, presented in Section 2.5. The chapter continues by discussing Evolutionary Governance Theory in 2.6; then community development focused collaboration, collaborative leadership and coordination mechanisms. The chapter also presents power sharing as an element of of EGT as well as sharing of knowledge, then the chapter also discusses the research framework, and concludes with a summary of understanding of the area.

2.2. Defining Governance

The concept of governance is widely discussed among policymakers, politicians, scholars, organisations and others; there is yet no strong consensus around a single definition of governance or institutional quality. Many authors and organisations have generated a wide range of definitions. Some are so broad that they cover almost anything, such as the definition of rules, enforcement, mechanisms and institutions offered by the World Bank (2002) in their World Development Report, *Building*

institutions for markets. Others more narrowly focus on public sector management issues including the definition proposed by the World Bank in 1992 as being the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. In specific areas of governance such as the rule of law, there are extensive debates among scholars over 'thin' versus 'thick' definitions, where the former focus narrowly on whether existing rules and laws are enforced while the latter emphasise more the justice of the content of the laws.

Governance has been defined in different ways by many scholars and the definitions have been adapted to fit each research context. Before a discussion on theoretical perfectives of governance, the researcher would like to introduce some terms of Governance in the theoretical context. Ansell and Gash (2007) define Collaborative Governance, as it has come to be known, as bringing public and private stakeholders together in collective forums with public agencies to engage in consensus-oriented decision making. They identify critical variables that will influence whether or not this mode of governance will produce successful collaboration. These variables include the prior history of conflict or cooperation, the incentives for stakeholders to participate, power and resources imbalances, leadership, and institutional design. We also identify a series of factors that are crucial within the collaborative process itself.

Governance processes need support from many elements of society: as Shergold (2008) mentions, every public service needs support from other stakeholders such as the private sector, NGOs, international donors, communities, and experts. They are selected by the government as public services providers via selection or a merit system to collaborate and enhance the quality and effectiveness of implementation of public policy. This means stakeholders have an opportunity to contribute to the governance process. Meanwhile Davies and White (2012) argue that governance is a form of participation in which stakeholders co-produce goals and strategies and share responsibilities and resources.

Barbaza and Tello (2014) summarise definitions of Governance based on international organisations as depicted in **Table 2.1** below:

Table 2.1. Summary of definitions of Governance based on international organisations

Organisation	Governance Definition
European Commission	"The rules, processes, and behavior by which interests are articulated, resources are managed, and power is exercised in society" [40, p. 3]
World Bank	"The traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them" [19, p. 1]
UNDP	"The exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels" [18, Sec. Executive Summary]
USAID	"The ability of government to develop an efficient, effective, and accountable public management process that is open to participation and that strengthens rather than weakens a democratic system of government" [13, p. 1]
WHO Leadership and governance	"involves ensuring that strategic policy frameworks exist and are combined with effective oversight, coalition building, regulation, attention to system-design and accountability" [4, p. 3]

SOURCE: BARBAZA AND TELLO (2014, P. 4)

Barbaza and Tello (2014, p. 5) then continue their insight that the governance function distinctly describes the specific effort and processes that are applied to steer the system toward defined goals. For instance, the quality of leadership would then characterise the capacity of the system to initiate, implement and monitor a regulatory system, as well as the ability to organise and manage the alignment of all relevant actors.

Collaboration, in relation to the theory of governance, emphasises collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the development process (Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014). They argue that the application of the collaboration outlined in the EGT in modern society is a multi-level governance, which involves several paths in a larger community. This suggests that collaboration within levels of

governance is the main key to pursuing common goals, including in poverty reduction programs.

Many developing countries, most of which are the poorer countries in the world, pursue suitable governance to service their society. There are many articles and materials on governance and poverty, which describe the capability of decision makers or stakeholders who individually or collectively support each other, and collaborate to enhance economic growth and to reduce poverty. This idea was born from the theory of governance interpreted by Chhotray and Stoker (2008), who point out that governance is concerned with the practice of collective decision making.

2.3. Defining Poverty

Studies of poverty have been conducted for more than a century. The earliest scholar to study poverty was Rowntree, who surveyed poverty in the English city of York between 1899 and 1901. Based on a budget that provided the "minimumnecessities needed to maintain physical abilities," Rowntree determined a "socially acceptable" minimum amount of money for the particular environment of York.

Rowntree published *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (Rowntree, 1901), which led to more focus and discussion on issues related to poverty. In *Poverty in the United Kingdom*, Peter (1979) wrote, "Those individuals, families, and groups who lack the resources to obtain food, participate in social activities, and for the most basic living and social conditions, are the socalled poor (Peter, 1979, p. 42)."

In the 1990s, poverty scholars began defining poverty as not just a low level of income, nor as just a poor educational, health, and nutritional situation, but also as a situation that includes vulnerability, lack of voice, and social exclusion. Introducing these concepts expands the concept of poverty to entitlement poverty, which further introduces political, social, cultural, and other elements into the concept of poverty. To eliminate poverty, a society must create a fair social environment for poor people, giving them the opportunity to participate in society rather than exclude them from mainstream society. Reducing and eliminating all forms of social exclusion systems and

policies for low-level social groups enables the rich and poor to enjoy the same social rights (Guo, 2005).

In *Poverty: The Facts*, Carey (1993) states, "Poverty is a material, social, and emotional shortage. It implies that expenditures on food, heating, and clothing are lower than the average level. Above all, poverty takes away the tools to build the blocks for the future—your 'life chances.' It takes away the opportunity to have a life unmarked by sickness, a decent education, a secure home, and long-term retirement from work (Carey, 1993, p. 36)."

A different approach was suggested by Anand and Ravalion (1993) who used a measure based on purchasing power parity exchange rates (PPPs) released in 1985. This approach gave a new standard poverty line of US \$1.08 a day, which was revised again using the PPPs devised in 2005 and published in 2011, which gave a new standard poverty line of US \$1.25 to US \$1.90 per day.

The 2000 United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Global Poverty Report clearly states that human poverty is a basic lack of the most basic opportunities and choices for human development-a long, healthy, and decent life, freedom, social status, self-respect, and respect for others. This definition emphasizes the diversified nature of poverty, including income level, the basic human and social development situation such as education and health conditions, the social status and well-being of men and women, and the ability of all citizens to participate in the development process.

According to the World Bank Report (Chen & Ravallion, 2004) on this problem, there are two ways of measuring poverty. The first approach is to define people who are living in extreme poverty as those who exist on US \$1 per day. This level of poverty line standard reflects the situation pertinent to the poorest countries across the world. The second World Bank perspective is to include people who are living on less than US \$2 a day.

The World Bank (2013) pointed out in 2008 that there were 2.6 billion people, or close to 40 per cent of the total world population, living on a poverty line of less than US \$2.00 a day. Furthermore, facts provided by UNICEF (2015) show that 16,000 children

die every day due to poverty. This, and similar available data, reminds us of the extent and problems associated with current levels of poverty in the world.

2.4. Defining Collaboration

One of the essential elements of the EGT is collaboration and coordination. To clearly link between the concept of EGT and collaboration, firstly, we talk about the terminology of collaboration. The term collaboration comes from the Latin word collaborare (Harper, 2001). Collaborare means 'work with,' which is derived from com, meaning 'with' plus labore, meaning 'to work'. Hence, collaborative efforts are joint, rather than individual. If collaborative efforts are joint, then they must be directed toward a group goal. A goal is a desired state or outcome (Locke & Latham, 1990). In this way, collaboration involves multiple individuals who combine their efforts to achieve mutually desired outcomes. Therefore, collaboration is joint effort towards a group goal. Vreede, de Briggs and Kolfschoten (2005) note that this definition does not require that members concur on the merits of a group goal, nor that they necessarily feel happy about the group achievement; it only requires that members for whatever reason, make effort to achieve the main goal of the group.

Gray (1989, p. 5) defined collaboration as 'a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible'. In this definition, Gray sees collaboration involving two aspects; to see the problem, then explore and look for the problem solution. In a second approach, Gray and Yan use a second definition of collaboration (Gray, 1989, p.11) which is 'a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain'. Similarly, scholars Nathan and Mitroff (1991) define collaboration as 'a group of key stakeholders who work together to make joint decisions about the future of their problem domain' (pp. 163-182). Using this second meaning, Gray and Yan, together with Nathan and Mitroff, describe collaboration as one important stage among stakeholders in combating their problem to pursue their goals.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that collaboration is an essential part of good governance practice. Ansell and Gash (2008) argue that 'governance bring multiple

stakeholders together in a common forum with public agencies to engage in consensusoriented decision making' (p. 543). In addition, Ansell and Gash note six important criteria of collaborative governance practices, which are: (i) the forum is initiated by agencies or institutions, (ii) participants in the forum include non-state actors, (iii) participants engage directly in decision making and are not merely 'consulted' by public agencies, (iv) the forum is formally organised and meets collectively, (v) the forum aims to make decisions by consensus (even if consensus is not achieved in practice), and (vi) the focus collaboration is on public policy or public management.

Meanwhile, at the meeting of the European Council in Lisbon, in March 2000, the council was set on becoming 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-driven economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion' (European Parliament, 2000, p. 1). To pursue this strategy, an open method of coordination (OMC), and a decentralised and carefully coordinated process has been established. Collaboration or coordination in relation to the theory of governance emphasises the importance of collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the development process.

2.5. Defining Stakeholders

Based on a definition released by Wrike (2017), stakeholders are those with any interest in your project. Stakeholders are typically the members of a project team, project managers, executives, project sponsors, customers, and users. Stakeholders are also defined as people who are invested in the project and who will be affected by your project at any point along the way, and their input can directly affect the outcome.

Freeman (2010, p.25) also proposed and identified stakeholders as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objective". Meanwhile, the United Nations (United-Nations, 2012, p. xii) used the term "client" in referring to government stakeholders. The "client" is considered as actors or agencies that demand better services through the use of technology in government services provision.

Stakeholders can affect or be affected by the organisataion's actions, objectives and policies. Some examples of key stakeholders are directors, employees, creditors,

government (and its agencies), owners (stakeholders), unions, supplies and the community from which the business draws its resources.

Not all stakeholders are equal. A company's customers are entitled to fair trading practices but they are not entitled to the same consideration as the company's employes. In the context of this thesis, stakeholders involve some parties such as; provincial government, districts government; local leaders, local institutions, international organisations, non government organisations (NGOs), local communities. All parties are those in same interest and concern with poverty reduction programs in Indonesia and the selected districts.

2.6. Decentralisation Context of Indonesia

In recent decades, many countries have promoted a decentralised system in a variety of contexts to distribute authority, particularly administrative, to local levels. The decentralisation of administration is practiced in the context of de-concentration, where central governments transfer particular functions and workload to local governments, and devolution, where central governments delegate decision-making authority and responsibility to local governments (Hutchcroft, 2001). Both types of decentralisation are practiced in different ways among countries as regulated by their constitutions. Some countries give much more administrative freedom to local government, while other countries tend to hold more authority at a central level. However, whatever centralisation type is practiced, a central government has authority to intervene in local government policy: for example, when particular services at local government level fall below an acceptable standard, a central government will intervene to ensure the services improvement (Lowndes & Wilson, 2003).

Decentralisation is also closely associated with the concept of bottom-up dynamics, which is local or community empowerment, whereby the local community and community facilitators, together with local actors, work together to empower and enhance community participation at the grass roots level. In addition, Davis (2007) have noted that official foreign aid donors, along with development NGOs, have, over the past decade, been dedicated to increasing resources within projects and programs, which they claim improves local communities' control over their own development. However, in Nigeria, as pointed out by Elumilade, Asaolu and Adereti (2006), community

empowerment for poverty reduction was not achieved, with corruption issues appearing to be the cause. Their analysis also showed that the economic policy administered by IMF was not suitable within economic conditions in Nigeria, hence the approaches were not successful in reducing poverty in the country. Iwuchukwu, Nwankwo and Igbokwe (2013) noted that although Nigeria has huge oil wealth and agricultural resources, poverty is still a challenge in the country, particularly in the rural communities, where up to 80% of the population lives under the poverty line and social services and infrastructure are limited (UN, 2007).

In the context of Indonesian decentralisation, the central government of the Republic of Indonesia has made new efforts to decentralise some authority to local government. This policy was mark by Law 22/1999 and then revised by Law 32/2004, referred to as 'local autonomy' (Rasyid, 2014). The aims of the local autonomy policy are to give more opportunity to local government to work closely with public services, and to enforce democratisation through direct election of local leaders and legislative members as representatives of the public. However, in the current situation, in the context of democratisation and political dynamics, such a policy is antagonist to the main goal of the decentralisation regime. The political dynamics and democratisation situation will be presented in the chapters on the study's findings.

Many researchers have studied the social roles of local community, with Aswad (2013) suggesting that local communities have significant roles to play in anti-poverty programs. He explains how the local communities worked together with NGOs and local government through the SISDUK project, applying a public participation development planning mechanism in the Takalar district of South Sulawesi Province. This study examined the applicability of procedural justice and social learning as *two* approaches to making the local planning process more participative and consequently improving for empowered local communities. In this study he emphasised how the collaborative project, organised by local government, local NGOs, donors and local community, is managed. Aswad indicates that it was run by applying the organisation of community collective actions and community-based planning, utilising participatory rural appraisal and starting at the natural village level, not the administrative level, and

this can explain why procedural justice and social learning could be successfully incorporated (Aswad, 2013, p. i).

One early example of community participation through an empowerment program is called Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR). As Ortali (2000), in her standpoint article, points out, community based rehabilitation occurred in South Sulawesi in 1995 in collaboration with WHO, local Governments, AIFO and community groups. The CBR project covered three districts, Sidendren Rappang, Gowa and Ujung Tanah, and one project in the Ujung Pandang municipality area. The program was successful in achieving its goals in terms of changing community attitudes and involving many people in its activities. However, a question remains about why this program did not continue, and it is assumed that some issues such as discontinuity and bureaucratic governmental services interfered, since these are hard to change. The implication of this experience, after the end of the collaborative community empowerment project, is that it will be hard to continue to find financial support for the project, although Ortali did assume that 'donors that give money as charity will be always available around the world' (2000, p. 3).

2.7. Evolutionary Governance Theory

EGT starts with governance practices that can be found in different contexts – global, national, institutional, and community. Van Assche et al. (2014, p. 20) introduced governance as the taking of collectively binding decisions for the community by government or other empowered actors. Based on this perspective, we can say that governance is a configuration of actions introduced by formal and informal institutions as they deal with issues such as coordination, distribution, and the use of resources and various forms of knowledge and expertise within which governance practices are constructed. Graham, Amos and Plumptre (2003) mention that governance is not synonymous with government, and suggest that governance is how (i) governments and other empowered social actors or agents and institutions cooperate, (ii) these institutions communicate their actions to citizens and (iii) these conclusions and decisions are taken in a complex world.

Of particular interest to this investigation is the work of Frasisco Varela and Humberto Maturana (Van Asche et al., 2014). Their ideas were philosophically inspired by the Darwinian Theory of Biological Evolution, and they conceived the concept of autopoiesis, wherein 'everything in a biological system is a product of the evolution of the system' (p. 9). Following this lead, Luhmann (1995), as the founder of social systems theory, borrowed Varela and Maturana's ideas of autopoiesis and the notion of operational closure. Over three decades, these workers built the theory of social systems that can be considered to be the foundation of EGT as formulated by Van Assche et al. (2014). Furthermore, EGT identifies the key elements of governance, such as actors, institutions and shared knowledge, which are subject to evolution governance needs. It is claimed that 'EGT address the role of governments, markets, civil society, organizations, networks and individual citizens. None of these have a position that is *a priori* defined or preferable' (Van Assche et al., 2014, p. 5).

An important observation is that EGT requires contingency to act on all elements concerned with a program's evolution. Van Assche et al. (2014) point out that 'transformation of governance practices is thus always self-transformation, and the products of governance, as in policies, plans, laws, rules, can only make sense for the audience, for the community, if it took into account the existing context of policies, plans, laws, etc'. (p. 22). It is with this notion of transformation in mind that this chapter examines the available literature concerned with the roles of actors, institutions, local leaders and local communities to produce social change agents or pioneer transformation of new governance practices.

2.7.1. Community Development Focused Collaboration

A successful example of collaborative roles was demonstrated in Jamaica. To reduce inequality between poor and rich people, Bowen (2005) observed social fund supported communities in Jamaica, which focused on collaboration between stakeholders for community-driven development. One of the results of Bowen's social community-driven development was the supply of water and improvement in the sewerage system and other social fields. These other improvements included contracting schools and health clinics to establish nutrition programs. Moreover, the support program also has had an effect on raising the issue of access roads to rural areas. These social fund

projects are now run in Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe and also Africa and the Middle East. From existing knowledge about collaboration theory in various contexts, particularly regarding poverty reduction programs across the world, I have applied the EGT (Van Assche et al., 2014) and Development-Focused Collaboration (Bowen, 2005) as existing theories of collaboration in this project, to contribute new perspectives and new knowledge of collaboration theory.

The theory of development-focused collaboration assumes that productivity of resources is significantly increased by collaboration. Also, it is said that the concept of collaboration creates the necessary and sufficient conditions for community-driven development (Bowen, 2005, p. 78). According to Bowen, members of communities who received social funding aid have used four stages to deal with local-level poverty-related problems. These are: (i) identifying problems and priorities, (ii) motivating and mobilising, (iii) working together, and (iv) creating an enabling environment.

Myrdal (1957, p. 23) has developed a theory of 'interlocking, circular, interdependence within a process of cumulative causation' that helps to explain economic conditions in underdeveloped and developing countries. Myrdal argues that personal well-being and community is closely related to a cascade of negative consequences, and that closure of a factory or other crisis can lead to a series of individual and community issues including migration of people from a community. Thus, the interdependence of the factors can act to accelerate the poverty reduction cycle. Similarly, community economic and political systems and institutions reflect the community values and respond to the social capital that underlies these values. While the reform of social institutions becomes a policy response to poverty which is essential in poverty communities, Duncan (1999) observes in her book on rural poverty that communities which value equality and have narrow gaps of opportunity also have institutions that reflect these values. Furthermore, this kind of community has a greater degree of effort in attempting to not leave anyone too far behind. Duncan considers that education is the most important local institution where deficiencies in this dynamic can be reversed in poor communities. Goldsmith and Blakely (1992) make the same type of argument, suggesting that policies that build community institutions help to cope with the gap between the rich and poor in these communities.

Diamond (2007), based on the results of his study, explains that differences in political and economic conditions will affect personal and community well-being. He describes two similar cities which are located in two countries. These are Nogales, which is in Sonora on the Mexico side of the border, and Nogales, Arizona, which is on the USA side. Although both cities are located in the same geographical area, Arizona evidences a better average income, life expectancy and level of health than Sonora City in Mexico, and it also has democratic elections. He argues that the key answer to what makes these two cities, which are split between two countries, either rich or poor, is 'about difference in political conditions and economic institutions'. These two factors are the ones that make people have more motivation to work hard, and to achieve a better life by investing their money.

Community participation can thus be viewed from two perspectives. From my perspective, decentralisation and community empowerment is an important stage of governance practice in creating a close linking role between government officials, NGOs, donors, and poor people to engage local community participation in local development processes. Meanwhile, Brinkerhoff and Azfar (2006) differentiated between decentralisation and community empowerment. They believe that decentralisation is often regarded as a top-down process driven by the unitary or federal state by which the central government grants resources to authorities at sub-national and local levels. However, impulses for decentralisation can also originate from lower levels. For instance, in Latin America, local governments are often characterised by a strong executive who have both policy and administrative roles. Closely associated with the bottom-up dynamic is local or community empowerment, whereby local community and community facilitators, together with other local actors, work together to empower and enhance community participation at the grass root level. In addition, Davis and Thomas (2007) observed that official foreign aid donors, along with development NGOs, have over the past decade been dedicated to increasing resources within projects and programs, which claim to improve local communities' control over their own development.

In addition, Sautter and Leisen (1999) state that collaboration between stakeholders in planning and managing service delivery exercises to community-based and collective

action can resolve specific problems. These may involve partnerships between governments, a single community or voluntary group, or they may require coalitions and collaborations between a number of diverse community and interest groups. In addition, they may be focused on a single issue or problem that aims to tackle a broad range of problems, for example, the range of factors contributing to the social, economic and environmental sustainability of a geographic region. Throughout the world, civil society, universities, NGOs, aid donors and governments are building partnerships which lean towards participatory and community based models of inquiry in the construction of a more equitable and sustainable future. These partnerships and networks have the capacity, as stated in a recent UNESCO report (2009), 'to co-create knowledge, mobilize it to inform practice and policy, and enhance the social, economic and environmental conditions of people, communities, nations and the world' (p. 1). International development programs have also slowly moved from centralised topdown, to bottom-up forms of planning, participatory and community-based strategies (Khasnabis & Motsch, 2008). This means that community empowerment is very important to strengthen poor people's capacity, and to decrease the gap between rich and the poor communities. Furthermore, it is clear that collaboration and partnership are closely related. However, in some cases as Pavel (2015) mentions, rich countries should have responsibility to alleviate global poverty, because they have often made global poverty worse, particularly in developing countries. For instance, rich countries can bring fish from Senegal, Africa, which they sell to European citizens who can pay higher prices than citizens who live in Africa or in developing countries.

On the other hand, poor people in undeveloped countries might not be able to solve the problem themselves and escape from the cycle of poverty. Both case studies raised by the scholars in Senegal and Tanzania give evidence that between the richest and poorest countries, there has occurred an existing and widening financial gap. Ericson (2003) also developed an argument about the history of aid and development in east Africa. He notes that many poor countries, like Tanzania, are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty where low incomes lead to low savings and insufficient resources for investment. This historical imbalance of wealth distribution was inflamed by foreign aid under the guise of foreign investment which is aimed to reduce poverty. However, in reality, income per capita growth has not been present in the modern history of Kenya and Tanzania.

The recent history of poverty in the 20th and 21st century has evidenced that, during the last five decades, the continents that suffer from poverty are Asia, Africa and Latin America (Gough & Wood, 2004). Moreover, Von Luebke (2011) in his report, argues that human development not only generates a remarkable economic increase in *per capita* income, but also has an impact on increasing inequality of life within the community. This happened, for instance, in China, Brazil, India and Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand. Von Luebke (2011) has reported significant social gaps occur between rich and poor people, and has also noted the disparities in facilities between Jakarta, as the capital city, and other provincial cities or regions in Indonesia. Von Luebke argues that, although Indonesia has a pro-poor and economic growth policy, household expenditure does not enter the Gini index ratio, which in Indonesia focuses on outdated commodity baskets. Statistics show that the number of street children in Indonesia was approximately 230,000 in 2010, while the economic growth is 5.2 per cent yearly and luxury cars sales have more than doubled over the last five years.

Although Indonesia has had many experiences in planning and implementing poverty reduction programs, there are still huge populations living under the poverty line. This inspired me to search for appropriate answers to significantly reduce the poverty in the context of global and local issues. Pertaining to this issue, there have been many studies and approaches applied to reduce poverty and the wide gap between the poor and rich men all over the world, but the problems, nevertheless, still exist. This phenomenon raises questions about public policy espoused by the government, especially for reducing the numbers of poor people. This should be the remit of all socially active parties, not only the government, but also other stakeholders.

Introduction of productive capital is a critical means for uplifting individuals from the poverty cycle. In this regard, Islamic distributive tools (Wahab & Rahman, 2011) encourage charity in order to ensure the basic needs of poor people. This paper suggests that the principle of *qard hasana*, which is benevolence based financing, provides an additional distributive tool that is highly emphasised in Islam, but is overlooked in contemporary literature as a standalone model for increasing capital flows to the poor. This paper argues that, through the application of a viable mechanism, individuals can

be inspired to engage in *qard hasana*-based funding beyond the obligatory charities. This will orient social engineering in two ways, since it will encourage interclass networking and enhance entitlement of the poor. This paper concludes by introducing a social enterprise model implemented in a rural area in Bangladesh.

There are contrasts between the capability of the local authorities who have few district development experiences, and educated and trained physical planners such as urban and district economy sociologists. In addition, they do not have the kind of knowledge related to the nature of complex community development issues. One of the considerable concerns of challenges for development planners in many of the less development countries has been explored by Dixon (2007). In this case study, Dixon looked at the Korath plateau, which has a particular issue in its district disparity and planning. The planners concluded that the local authority had a policy of maximising the growth of gross product while paying less attention to issues of equality. As a consequence, the region lagged behind in health, education, urban development, low income and agriculture, and had a quarter of the total national product. However, over the past 25 years, due to changing policies, it has become one of the most rapid growth areas in Thailand.

The World Bank reports the trend of poor people on the planet still remains up and down. In pursuing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of reducing up to half the numbers of poor across the planet in 2015, the World Bank expert's Ravallion, Chen and Sangraula (2007) noted that in 2002 the poor were 200 million fewer in the world than in 1998. This contrasts with Deaton (2002b) who noted that the progress of poverty reduction over the world was seemingly not significant or even stagnant. Deaton argues that the World Bank estimates were inconsistent, based on two studies from Bourguignon and Morison (2002). These observers based their conclusions by applying somewhat sketchy and outdated distributional information to the consumption figures from national accounts data. Ravallion, Chen and Sangraula (2007) used data from 1987 to 1997, in which the trend of poverty is shown to have increased.

Prior to the discussion about governance as a form of collaboration, it is appropriate to refer to the literal meaning of collaboration, which is to work together or combine

thinking and working together. For example, in relation to primary health care, Adeleye and Ofili (2010) define collaboration as 'the collective actions between parties to encourage health care delivery' (p. 2). In the context of this thesis, EGT and intersectorial collaboration theories have been influenced by some anti-poverty programs in terms of the relationship between governments and another stakeholder. Extrapolating from the primary health care context, I would like to assess the applicability of the concepts of collaboration, demonstrated by Adeleye and Ofili, to the poverty programs which are focused on community empowerment initiatives in South Sulawesi.

2.7.2. Collaborative Leadership

Many scholars have commented that local actors and institutions, which previously have had different economic and political views regarding local policies and development, often are forced to come together and collaborate in order to take collective action to combat poverty. This study focuses on how those different actors and providers collaborate to take a collective action, and it is argued here that to understand this phenomenon, it is appropriate to apply the collaboration theory of Van Assche et al. (2014). Collaboration theory suggests that different actors may participate in joint actions if they have similar interests (Chrislip, 2002; Wood & Gray, 1991). Chrislip (2002) and Wood and Gray (1991) have argued that a collaboration theory perspective is suitable to understand why and how stakeholders with different world-views collaborate for certain purposes.

A useful collaborative leadership theory was developed by Chrislip and Larson (1994) through their research on civic leadership and collaboration in the 1980s and early 90s. In their published book, *Collaborative leadership* (1994, p.5), they define collaboration as 'A mutually beneficial relationship between two or more parties who work toward common goals by sharing responsibility, authority and accountability for achieving results'. This theory focuses on the role of each of the parties who work together, who help and share knowledge in order to communicate with each other to achieve their common goal. To pursue the collaboration, they require three elements; namely responsibility, authority and accountability (Chrislip & Larson, 1994). They assume that by cooperating and coordinating their efforts, a group of people with disparate beliefs can transcend personal interests to achieve common goals. These authors suggest that

'if you bring the appropriate people together in constructive ways with good information, they will create authentic vision and strategies for the shared concerns of the organization and community'(p.140).

Leaders need to keep some form of this concept in mind in the initiation, building, and maintaining of their collaborative efforts. In an attempt to define 'successful' collaboration, Mattessich and Monsey (1992) performed an exhaustive literature review of the factors influencing successful collaboration, and ranked the following traits as the most important: 1. Mutual respect, understanding and trust; 2. Appropriate cross-section of members; 3. Open and frequent communication; 4. Sufficient funds. Several large San Francisco Bay Area foundations sponsored a study on successful collaboration entitled *Common ground-building collaborations for sustainable communities in the San Francisco Bay area* (Wiltshire & Satterwhite, 1999). This ideographic study focused on how diverse, progressive coalitions form, mature and successfully fulfil their goals. The organisers of the study interviewed 33 leaders of networks based in the Bay Area and individual leaders with substantial experience working in multi-issue coalitions.

Other previous studies (e.g., Melton, 2002; Sarason & Lorentz, 1998) have addressed collaboration theory perspectives in understanding the resources sharing issue. Collaboration helps actors achieve their objective through team building, and harmonising relationships through coordination, cooperation, and communication. According to Chrislip (2002), the main issue of collaboration is 'three Cs' (coordination, cooperation, and communication). In addition, Chrislip (2002, p 5) also argues that collaboration 'is a mutually beneficial relationship between two or more parties to achieve common goals'. Meanwhile, Wood and Gray (1991, p. 146), argued 'Collaboration occurs when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms, and structures, to act or decide on issues related to the domain'.

The Partnership and Collaborative Village network project conducted by Crawford-Mathis, Darr and Farmer to alleviate poverty in subsistence marketplaces begin in 2007 and finished in 2012. The project was located in the city of Dangriga and the Stann Creek district of Belize, Central America. This project offered a comprehensive,

integrated approach to community and student development across disciplines with an entire developing community. This project also involved community leaders who *had* the capacity and commitment to implement a shared vision. It was claimed that 'The project provides cultural expertise and facilitates local relationship, infrastructure, and logistical aids' (Mathis, Darr, & Farmer, 2009).

Chrislip and Larson (1994) mention that successful collaboration needs to meet four key conditions: (i) it must be broadly inclusive of all stakeholders (including those who may be 'troublesome'), (ii) it must provide a credible and open collaborative process that gives participants the confidence that their views will be heard and considered without predetermined outcomes, (iii) it must have visible support from high level, well-known, and trustworthy leaders in the community to provide the credibility necessary to assure participants that their efforts may lead to tangible results, and (iv) it must gain the support or acquiescence of 'established authorities' or institutions either at the beginning or as a result of the collaboration's success. In short, successful collaboration efforts must be able to produce tangible results, empower participants, lead revolutionary changes in civic culture, and create a renewed sense of community.

According to Gueira and Donough (2001, p. 145), collaboration is an advanced form of an 'interagency linkage', the traits of which include shared vision and goals, well-developed and formalised roles for participants, sharing of power and decision making and joint assumption of risks and resources. Operationally, this study employed a definition laid out by Mattesich, Murray-Close and Monsey (2001) in their studies on behalf of the Amherst H. Wilder Foundation, which looked at it as a mutually beneficial and well-defined relationship entered into by two or more organisations. The relationship includes a commitment to mutual relationships and goals, a jointly developed structure and shared responsibility, mutual authority and accountability for success, and sharing of resources and rewards (2001, p. 22). This definition encompasses all of the necessary elements of structure, goal-orientation, mutual benefit, relationship-building, and clarity in activities, and is the current standard within the literature for defining collaboration.

Primary findings relevant to Mattesich et al.'s study included the observations that:

- ➤ coalitions and collaborations work best if there is a shared mission and goals, and effective leadership and a leadership development program. To develop a shared mission and goals, it is necessary to have open dialogue about why people are involved, what they hope to accomplish and how the coalition can help them achieve their goals, together with the ability to build strong, trusting relationships, and have a participatory process with the active involvement of member organisations;
- ➤ to develop an effective governance process, there has to be a clear operating procedures regarding decision making, communications and accountability;
- ➤ there must be strong executive leadership;
- ➤ in order to develop and nurture effective leadership, it is necessary to develop a shared vision, build strong relationships within the leadership team, rotate leadership roles, question leadership roles at the beginning (since leadership roles in many coalitions or networks are often assumed but not talked about), and make sure that the institutional memory of the organisation is not housed with one person.

In a related study, Margerum (2002) noted that environmental groups sometimes have a distinct disincentive to collaborate widely with other organisations. It was thought that this was partly due to the watered down environmental position that often results from a negotiated process. Many environmental groups therefore formulate and advocate for their objectives and look to make compromises at the end of the process instead of at the beginning. Additionally, since many environmental advocacy groups see their role as public education, public battles using the media as a vehicle are often a preferred alternative to quieter backroom deliberations.

In the overview work *Traits of a successful collaboration leader* (Lipman-Blumen, 1996), it is noted that decades of research aimed at pinpointing general leadership traits has yielded inconclusive results. In making this claim, Lipman-Blumen cites the work of Bass and Rigio (1995) and a comprehensive review of thousands of leadership studies by Nanus (1989). There have also been numerous studies done on collaboration and leadership in the context of collaboration, many of which were trait-based. A study by Stein et al. (1992), for example, confirms that gender is a factor in perceived

collaborative outcomes since males tend to think that their collaborations are more successful than do females. Stein's work was based on, and further validated, the utility of a survey instrument called 'Working together: a profile for collaboration' that assesses the success of collaborations using the perceptions of participants. The instrument consists of 40 items in five subscales and measures perceptions of issues important to collaborative success based on the perceptions and feelings of the participants.

Goldman and Kahnweiler (2000) performed an exhaustive trait study of effective leadership for collaborations for the non-profit sector as a whole (health and human services, arts, religious, educational and public society, and professional associations). All of the traits were evaluated using binary metrics. The study sample was categorised into successful and unsuccessful groups using the survey instrument described in the Stein study above. Their results indicated that a statistically significant number of the successful non-profit executives were male, extrovert (Myers, 1962), feeling oriented and having less role boundary occupational stress but more role ambiguity occupational stress in comparison to the unsuccessful group. The study did not focus on environmental groups or even progressive groups, which tend to have less hierarchy and flatter management structures.

Chrislip and Larson (1994) focused on what principles were most often used by collaborative leaders. They found that collaborative leaders are decidedly visionary, but this vision is focused on how people can work together constructively, rather than on a particular vision or solution for a specific issue. They note that collaborative leaders define their roles and practices differently than do tactical and positional leaders (traditional leadership). Chrislip and Larson lay out several principles of collaborative leadership (1994, pp. 138-146), which are:

➤ collaborative leaders inspire commitment and action. Whilst power and influence help, they are not the distinguishing features of collaborative leaders. The distinguishing feature is that these leaders initiate a process that brings people together when nothing else is working. They are action oriented, but the action involves convincing people that something can be done, not telling them what to do nor doing the work for them;

- ➤ these people lead in the role of 'peer problem solver'. Collaborative leaders help groups create visions and solve problems. They do not solve the problems for the group or engage in command and control behaviour;
- ➤ they build broad-based involvement within the group. Collaborative leaders take responsibility for the diversity of the group and make a conscious and disciplined effort to identify and bring together all the relevant stakeholders;
- ➤ such leaders sustain hope and participation, by convincing participants that each person is valued. They help set incremental and achievable goals, and encourage celebrations along the way;
- ➤ collaborative leaders are servants of the group, helping stakeholders do their work and looking out to make sure that others' needs are met and that they grow as persons;
- ➤ these people see leadership as a process, in which motivation and inspiration happen through the belief in the credibility of the collaborative process and good working relationships with many people;
- ➤ finally, collaborative leaders are rarely dramatic or flashy, and the leadership function is often shared among several people. Their role is to facilitate the constructive interaction of the network, not to do the work for it.

An important aspect of Chrislip and Larson's (1994) study is that they see that collaboration requires a different kind of leadership. These are leaders who 'safeguard the process, facilitate interaction, and patiently deal with high levels of frustration' (p. 52). The authors also point out that the process must be open, fair and not be seen to be dominated by any particular stakeholder group. A notable finding from their qualitative study of 52 collaborations on behalf of the National Civic League, was that collaboration also works when there are a few key leaders, either in formal or informal roles, who keep the process going. In their examples of key process leadership activities is included that they are involved in 'keeping stakeholders at the table through periods of frustration and scepticism, acknowledging small successes along the way, helping stakeholders negotiate difficult points, and enforcing group norms and ground rules' (1994, p. 53).

Portugal and Yukl (1994) cite Bradford's research (1976) indicating that successful group-centred leaders also closely observe the socio-emotional processes and interactions of those in the group process and encourage and deal with member needs and feelings in the group processes.

In addition, Chrislip's (2002) observation of group facilitation in a variety of collaboration contexts indicated that three basic components help ensure an effective process. The first is that comprehensive agreements come from a series of smaller, less consequential agreements, which means that it is important to break agreements into smaller steps. Second, meetings or collaborative processes break down unless participants engage in the same activities at the same time. He states that 'A group gathers and clarifies information in an opening phase, before organizing and evaluating information in a narrowing phase, and reaching agreements in a closing phase' (2002, p. 16). Such a framework informs the overall design of the collaborative process, the stages within the process, particular meetings within each stage, and subparts of the meetings. Third, the work done ahead of time to create an environment for working together is as important as what is done in the engagement itself. Work such as gaining initial agreement on the process for working together can help anticipate and prevent problems in meetings or collaborative engagements. Several leadership theories and their respective bodies of applied research were also reviewed as potentially applicable to leading collaborations.

Contingency leadership scholars Fiedler and Chemers (1967), spent several decades refining variations of their contingency theory of leadership effectiveness. Fiedler and Chemers postulate that the influence of a leader is dependent upon several factors, including (i) how well liked and respected the leader is, (ii) the degree of clarity and structure which has been developed for the assigned task, and (iii) the amount of authority that the leader holds by virtue of their formal or designated position.

A key finding (Chrislip & Larson, 1994, p. 138-146; Sergiovanni, 1992) is that task-motivated leaders perform significantly and consistently better in situations in which the leader has either very high or very low levels of control. Leaders who are more motivated by their relationship with their counterparts, perform best in situations of moderate control. Transactional Leadership advocate Hollander (1998) was the first and

most influential of the transactional leadership theorists. His 'idiosyncrasy credit' model is based on the concept that leadership is a dynamic process involving on-going interpersonal evaluations by followers and leaders. When the leader demonstrates competence by helping the group achieve its goals and/or is deemed trustworthy by the group, he/she earned 'credits'. These credits allow him/her to innovate, that is, to act in ways or suggest strategies that deviate from traditional approaches of the group, and failures result in a loss of credits.

The notion of 'traditional leadership' is based on the concept that leaders should have the initiative and power to direct, drive, instruct and control their followers (Bradford, 1976, cited in Yukl, 1994). Basic tenets of the traditional leadership school include that leaders should: (i) focus on the task and ignore personal feelings and relationships whenever possible, (ii) seek opinions and try to get agreement, but never relinquish the right to make final choices, (iii) stay in control of the group discussion at all times and politely, but firmly, stop disruptive acts and irrelevant discussion, (iv) discourage members from expressing their feelings and strive to maintain a rational, logical discussion without any emotional outbursts, and (v) guard against threats to his/her authority in the group, and fight if necessary to maintain it.

In contrast with traditional and especially the transactional leadership styles, charismabased leaders use the moral imperative of their views to create obligations in their followers. Charismatic leaders repudiate the past and are forces for revolutionary change. House and Shamir (1993) extracted the personal, behavioural, and situational characteristics of charismatic leaders. Personal characteristics are focused on a high level of certainty in self and a willingness to impose that certainty on others. Conger and Kanungo (1987) theorised that effective charismatic leaders place great importance on the charismatic leader's ability to inspire others to take action. Transformational leadership scholars Posner and Kouzes (1988), expanded on House and Shamir's investigation into charismatic leadership, and popularised the concept of a transformational leadership style in an exhaustive and ongoing study of leadership practices. Of the actions that effective leaders used, they found five actions that stood out: challenge the process; inspire a shared vision; enable others to act; model the way; and encourage the heart. In one study, Kouzes and Posner (1988) asked workers and

lower-level managers what they thought the characteristics of superior leaders were. The first two choices were honesty and competence. Chemers (2000) points out that this finding is consistent with Hollander's (1958) 'idiosyncrasy credit theory' mentioned above, in that followers first want to establish that the leader has a legitimate basis for authority before surrendering their own autonomy.

An approach called 'servant leadership' was an outgrowth of a set of leadership principles laid out by Greenleaf (1977). Servant leaders aspire to 'simultaneously enhance the personal growth of workers and improve the quality and caring of our many institutions through a combination of teamwork and community, personal involvement in decision making, and ethical and caring behaviour' (Spears, 1995, p. 25).

This spiritually grounded approach to transformative leadership has been part of the popular literature for three decades, although there has not been significant research on its application in the non-profit context except in hospitals and educational institutions. However, it seems to be a natural fit for collaborative endeavours, especially because, unlike autocratic traditional leadership, servant leadership espouses 'that good leadership is good followership' (Bailey & Koney, 1996, p. 602-612).

Leadership within the context of collaboration has not yet been extensively studied, and there has been almost no research focused on environmental advocacy organisations. Several general areas of theory and research apply to this subject. They could best be categorised into research on collaboration, research on leadership both in the non-profit and for-profit sectors, and research on collaborative leadership. Research and theory on leadership (Miller & Miller, 2007) points to a few leadership styles that non-profit executives are likely to employ in the context of collaboration. Of these, the transformational/charismatic leadership concept seems most likely to be applied in the context of collaboration between environmental advocacy organisations, especially for organisations whose mission is to advocate for a major paradigm shift in environmental stewardship (Kouzes & Posner, 1987; House & Shamir, 1993).

As a final comment, leadership collaboration can also be applied in the context of orchestral music. The Philadelphia Sinfonia music school (Philadelphia Sinfonia, 2014) has students ranging from 11 to 22 years of age. They receive an excellent technical and

theoretical understanding of orchestral music through combinations of advanced teaching and practical systems, and they hold rehearsals and master-classes whenever possible to powerful effect. Furthermore, the Philadelphia music school also inspires its students to be leaders in the class room and in their organisations, and they give opportunities for civic engagements in the local and global community. To produce outstanding orchestral ensemble music, there must be a conductor who leads a prestigious orchestra in a music performance. The conductor, as a leader, has a central role in developing and maintaining collaborative team work, and gives freedom to any members' ensemble to explore and express their music skills in creating full artistic and music harmony. By this approach, the leader leads the orchestra to produce music which enters into the minds and hearts of the composers whose work they play, and the audiences who embrace the performance. I have used this notion of leadership of an orchestral ensemble as an informing concept of collaborative leadership of the thesis, which has an interesting parallel with the many international successes of Indonesian choir teams.

2.7.3. Coordination Mechanisms

This present study therefore will focus on Evolutionary theory supported by the 3Cs as proposed by Chrislip (2002), and will be discussed in the following sections. *Coordination* can be defined 'as a process in which agents engage in order to ensure their community acts in a coherent manner' (Nwana, Lee, & Jenning, 1996, p. 79). Coordination integrates and links together different people at all levels and parts of the organisation to achieve a set of collective tasks (Van De Ven, Delbecq, & Koenig, 1976) through harmonisation of work performance, in order to complete the subdivided tasks according to their roles and positions within an organisation. The needs of coordination emerge because individuals are interdependent, and need to work together in performing and achieving common tasks. This involves identifying goals, transferring goals to activities, assigning activities to people, and managing the relationships among them (Malone & Crowston, 1990). These mandates, roles, and activities of actors are synchronised through coordination across organisational levels (Tapia, Maldonado, Tchouakeu, & Maitland, 2012).

Furthermore, to be effective, coordination and cooperation between the mandated development actors at different levels of governance needs to be conducted through specific channels for communication and cooperation, which can allow the combination of their resources and efforts (Anderson, 2003, p. 234). As mentioned above, the provision of such coordination is part of the developmental planning process. In this context, *I argue that lack of coordination is one of poverty reduction's main problems in South Sulawesi*. This argument fits with the observation that certain conditions lack coordination between development actors at different levels of governance, particularly in the two case studies of Barru and Takalar districts. This accords with Anderson's (2003) suggestion that, in the case studies, the communication and coordination between central government officials, municipal or district government officials and staff and also non-government organisations (NGOs) and individuals, needs to be more well organised to ensure better governance outcomes at district and municipal level.

To provide effective coordination between the development actors from district and provincial levels of governance and others stakeholders, it is necessary to build institutions for communication and cooperation, using such personnel as forestry experts, representatives from the forestry district and from municipal government levels, through which they can combine their resources and efforts (Anderson, 2003). In line with Anderson's argument, the coordination between internal municipal and district government officials and staff will create better governance outcomes at district and municipal level.

To combat this phenomenon of widening income disparities between the rich and the poor, the open method of coordination (OMC), a decentralised but carefully coordinated process, needs to be established. Coordination, in relation to the theory of Governance, emphasises collective decision making between stakeholders who are involved in the development process. Van Assche et al. (2014), in *Evolutionary Governance Theory:* An Introduction, point out that no one model of governance is perfect. They argue that the application of Governance theory in modern society is multi-level governance, which means that several paths will be necessary in a larger community. Whilst they can parallel and support each other, they can also block each other, which means that coordination within levels of governance is the main key to pursuing their goals,

including in poverty reduction programs. Many developing countries are the poorer countries in the world, and they pursue good governance in the hope of good service for their society. This point of view strengthens my opinion about the power of coordination in national and district development in reducing poverty in Indonesia.

Cooperation can be understood as an inter-organisational phenomenon (e.g., Bensaou, 1997; Clemons & Knez, 1988; Kumar & Van Dissel, 1996; Williams, 1997) in which a particular organisation exerts a collective effort within a group of external organisations to achieve a specific objective. Alternatively, cooperation can be practiced between units within a single organisation. Within an organisation, cooperation can be understood as a collective action of all units to achieve the organisation's common interests, where each unit may cooperate in learning or knowledge-sharing to achieve the interests (Tsai, 2002; Zetland, 2008). In this situation, a unit, department or organisation may require support from other departments or organisations to help them cope with a lack of resources, such as skills, knowledge, and infrastructure.

Cooperation, as a mechanism for a collective action, has been addressed by a number of previous studies (e.g., Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Kumar & Van Dissel, 1996) which argue organisations should promote sustainability cooperation through determining rules that govern and balance resource sharing among actors. This type of cooperation can be established and maintained through a variety of strategies such as applying punishment (Huxham & Vangen, 2005; Ostrom, Walker, & Gardner, 1992) and providing incentives (Ostrom, 2000) to encourage actors' participation.

Within public sectors, cooperation is important due to the complexity of actions involved in an initiative implementation (Traunmüller & Wimmer, 2003). Cooperation might help local and central governments to sustain and improve their local autonomy systems to an advanced level such as at the integration stage (Moon, 2002), which requires a government organisation to cooperate with internal and external agents (Allen, 2001; Ho, 2002). Through cooperation, both local and central government might be able to work harmoniously with different actors to achieve their goals.

The implementation of local autonomy systems is about introducing change within local government because the local autonomy may lead local government actors to perform

their practices in different ways. This requires an organisation to develop a *communication strategy* to promote required changes across institutional actors. Communication should be 'characterized by explanations, rationales and reassurances' (Klein, 1996, p. 38) to ensure the change is accepted and supported by all actors. In the context of local autonomy implementation, communication may help institutions promote common understanding among actors which may aid in preventing resistance, and harmonise coordination and cooperation in a collaborative group.

Instituting effective communication and developing an institution's ability to practice a reliable communication strategy has been considered to significantly contribute to local autonomy success implementation (e.g., Aladwani, 2001; Nah & Lau, 2001). This is based on the notion that communication is able to increase awareness among institutional actors regarding project status and problems that occur during implementation (Holland & Light, 1999). In terms of actors' characteristics, communication strategies can be carried out within groups, whether they be departmental, organisational, or external. External communication can be targeted to maintain relationships with social actors in the relevant environment, while internal communication is intended to strengthen internal actors' interaction (Katz, 1982). These external and internal communications could result in enhanced coordination and cooperation with both internal and external social actors during local autonomy implementation.

These benefits of communication have been addressed by Agarwal, Croson, and Mahoney (2010), when they argue that communication can enhance relationships through coordination and cooperation as well as by developing a group identity. The relationship can occur in a particular environment which shapes certain patterns and practices of communication between organisational actors and environment actors as they share information. For example, Lamb and Kling (2003) found that information exchange has yielded positive interactions between firms and clients. This positivity arises in the form of individual or collective action, which increases the capability of relationship building between local and central government as they institute resource sharing and district development.

2.7.3.1. Configuration of Actors in Poverty Reduction Programs in Decentralisation

Since the implementation of local autonomy systems involves many actors within and outside government organisations, it is noted that the ability to coordinate all those actors is important (Mofleh, Wanous, & Strachan, 2009). A complicating factor is that coordination can be exerted vertically or horizontally (Allen, 2001; Van De Ven, Delbecq, & Koenig, 1976). The study of coordination also helps to clarify the local actors' responsibilities across the organisations (Mofleh et al., 2009) which can result in harmonious task completion between the local actors and the central government actors.

To help focus this review, the role of Evolutionary Governance Theory and the perspectives of government roles in poverty reduction programs in Indonesia are located in the period starting at the end of the Soeharto era in mid-1998, when the presidency was handed over to B.J. Habibie on 21st May 1998. At this time, Indonesia started a new page of democracy and governance practice, which was marked by releasing Law no. 22/1999 and Law no. 25/1999. These Laws dealt with decentralisation or local autonomy policy and the financial relationship between central and local governments. This decentralisation process was carried out with a background of economic and political instability which marked Soeharto's administration (Bayhaqi, 2004, p.2; Kirana, 2014). In line with the new era of local autonomy policy in Indonesia, Law No. 22/1999 was revised to give Law No. 32/2004 and Law No. 25/1999 together with revised Law No. 33/2004, regarding local autonomy and fiscal decentralisation where the highly centralised system was turned into a decentralised one (Aspinall & Fealy, 2010; Rusmin, Astami, & Scully, 2014, pp, 88-91). Under this policy, authority was fully handed over to the local governments, especially to the district level.

Following this implementation of local autonomy, the central government of Indonesia committed itself to reduce the numbers of people in poverty across the country. Under this decentralisation policy, the central government established new regulations and configurations of actors and institutions, and the following section examines these configurations of actors and institutions in poverty reduction programs in Indonesia.

2.7.4. Power Sharing Among Institutions

Power sharing is a term used to describe a system of governance in which all major segments of society are provided a permanent share of power: this system is often contrasted with government vs. opposition systems in which ruling coalition's rotate among various social groups over time (Sisk, 2003).

Actors who work together in anti-poverty programs in Indonesia, particularly in the South Sulawesi area, consist of formal institutions such as central government, provincial governments, district governments, sub-district government and villages/or *kelurahan* government. According to Van Assche et al. (2014), there is no specific mention regarding the definitions of institutions which are either formal or informal institutions, and these authors have attempted to define these two different roles. They suggest the role of formal institutions impacts on coordination, and that a wide variety of actors can play a role in governance, including individual organisations. Furthermore, Van Assche, Van Biesebroeck, and Holm (2014), in line with the usual notions of institutional economics, saw institutions as a coordinative tool, and the actors in the game can be individuals or organisations, and governmental and non-governmental organisations (Van Assche, Van Biesebroeck, & Holm, 2014).

In these authors' definitions, formal institutions relate to state's policies, laws, plans and their enforcement apparatus. Formal institutions set the rules that are designed to coordinate the actors, who are the personnel who are supposed to govern interactions in the given micro situations (Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014). It is important to appreciate that in some instances, the formal coordination option refers to rules that are not written down, but which are culturally developed. These implicit rules are restricted to a certain community, group or organisation, but they are important as they are rules which are sanctioned by that community (Eisenstaedt, 1984). As a consequence, in certain situations we cannot immediately distinguish or acknowledge the specific formal institution which has instituted the particular expectations. This means that in a decision-making situation, various groups might be around the table, and complications could arise if various understandings vie for primacy with individual participants (Van Assche, et.al., 2013, p. 4).

From a political perspective, some experts such as Helmke and Levitsky noticed that formal institutions refer to formal rules, including constitutions, the electoral law, or party statutes, whilst informal institutions prefer to quote unwritten codes (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004, p. 725). Furthermore, in their study, these authors explored informal institutions such as the Amukadari in Japan and clan-based organisations in Central Asia, which have survived for decades. In these institutions, retiring state bureaucrats are often awarded top positions and have become makers of the rules of the game, both in private corporations and administrative reform.

A wide variety of actors can play a role in governance. In this somewhat complicated array of players, coordination is, probably not surprisingly, the greatest problem in the practice of development and in the building of theories of organisation, particularly in developing countries. Indeed, some scholars have pointed out that development has a significant correlation with the emerging of poverty in an area. Iqbal (2002), for example, argued that, for over 50 years, the patterns of economic growth in most countries have not substantially benefited the poor. This argument is also supported by Ferreira (1999), and many scholars claim that the current configuration of development of economic growth actually widens income disparities between the rich and the poor.

2.7.5. Knowledge Sharing

As part of the common values of a social system, Van Assche et al.'s (2014) point of view is that knowledge sharing is one of the important elements of EGT. In fact, in modern organisations and communal societies, as Laycock notes an in-depth overview of practical challenges and knowledge sharing is important. He suggests that the roles of learning and networks need to be discussed, together with the value of collaboration in the development of a sustainable competitive edge (Laycock, 2005; Smith, 2005).

One early example of community participation through an empowerment program is one called Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR). As Ortali (2000) in her standpoint article points out, community based rehabilitation was held in South Sulawesi in 1995 in collaboration with WHO, local Governments, AIFO and community groups. The CBR project covered three districts, Sidendren Rappang, Gowa and Ujung Tanah, and one in the Ujung Pandang municipality area. The program was successful in achieving

its goals in terms of changing community attitudes and involving many people in its activities. However, the question remains about why this program did not continue, and it is assumed that some issues such as discontinuity and bureaucratic governmental services interfered, since these are hard to change. The implication of this experience after the end of the collaborative community empowerment project, is that it will be hard to continue to find financial support of the project, although Ortali did assume that 'donors that give money as charity will be always available around the world' (p.3).

2.8. The Research Framework

In its role as the main theoretical framework of this study, EGT involves tools and products of governance itself, which represent its key elements. Van Assche et al. (2014) argue that, to produce and to prosper, an organisation involved in governance needs to attend to all of these elements in order to evolve continuously. The evolutionary processes generate changes based on particular elements, also involve interaction with others and are embedded within their structures. All elements of governance are in constant flux, as 'actors change, institutions change, knowledge changes, and the objects, and subjects of governance are changing as well' (Van Assche et al., 2014, p. 5). In evolutionary governance practices, these elements of governance actively influence communities, all levels of governments and institutions, markets, civil societies, networks, and individual citizens.

Figure 2.1. Relationship between aspects of the research investigation

Central Government
Policies, Plans, Laws

Governance Practices

Decentralisation Era







SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM SUTTON (1999), FROM KEELEY (1997), ADAPTED FROM MEIER (1991) AS THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS.

As previous workers have done, Van Assche et al. (2014) point out that policies, plans and laws are the products and tools of governance. However, as an internal practitioner within the local government of South Sulawesi province for around twenty years, I feel that these plans, policies and laws are not only tools and products, but are also objects of governance itself, which often are overreached, misaddressed, and simply fail. Those tools and products of governance intimately involve building good governance practices, and are positioned in a complex entanglement of social, political and economic issues in an often-long history of struggle and failure in attempts to solve these problems. For me, as a researcher, these complexities of tools, products of governance practices, are reflected within the case studies investigated in this thesis.

2.9. Summary

This chapter has reflected on the work of other scholars who have applied theory and theoretical frameworks to this issue, and has dealt in turn with the concepts of governance as a form of collaboration, community participation, and commitment on reducing poverty. This chapter has provided a detailed explanation all the elements of evolutionary governance such as development actors, institutions, laws, policies and planning, as well as the tools of evolution itself.

It has argued that the key strategies, problems and implication of collaboration and collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the development process is a major reason why poverty reduction policy and implementation has challenged at a district level.

It has also considered the role of governance, examining how all stakeholders undertake their community participation programs, how they define their community participation and how they conduct poverty reduction programs in Takalar and Barru district. These complexities of tools, products of governance practices, are reflected within the case studies investigated in this thesis.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the research methodology and design used in this investigation. It discusses the type of case study methodology used, and explores contributing research methods including conducting interviews, designing sampling procedures, handling documentary evidence, and making participant observations, In addition, comments are made on data analysis, the use of case study analysis (Yin, 2009, p. 126), ensuring trustworthiness of data (including credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability), ethical procedures and the rights of human participation, creating a non-judgmental environment, obtaining informed consent, and ensuring confidentiality and anonymity of respondents' information. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

As Kaplan (1964) advised, methodology is the description, explanation or justification of the methods of data collection and analysis which have been employed. Other scholars such as Sarantakos (2005) and Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2000, p. 9), argue that the research design includes consideration of the ethical implications and consequences of the research, together with considerations of the roles of value and negotiating access to the field. Creswell (2013) mentioned that methodology has been interpreted as the approach or the way in which research is conducted, starting with an explanation of the philosophical basis of the study.

This research is supported by a philosophical approach combining interpretive and critical paradigms of social research (Sarantakos, 2005). Sarantakos argues that an interpretive approach focuses on understanding people's experiences and meaning of these experiences from their own perspective. Meanwhile, the critical approach covers contribution to bringing about social change that will make life better for poor people. This study explores governance practices, what the governments, institutions, NGOs, donors and local communities think, feel and do in relation to key strategies, problems and the impact of poverty reduction, based on their experiences of being involved in the implementation.

This research examines responses to several questions, as follows: What components of the collaboration between the stakeholders who are involved in poverty reduction programs in the local autonomy era have influenced the effectiveness of the collaboration in anti-poverty programs in Takalar and Barru?; How does each component of the collaboration play a role in poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar?; To what extent does the relationship of NGOs, international donors and local communities and development actors impact on poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi?; What kind of collaboration among stakeholders influences the effectiveness of poverty reduction in Takalar and Barru districts?; How does collaboration contribute to coordination and cooperation in the poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar?, and To what extent can the roles of local leaders be used to develop a more practical role as poverty reduction change agents?

A critical approach is utilised to examine the extent to which the collaboration between development actors such as governments, NGOs, donors, and the local community, can influence poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi.

3.2. Research Site

South Sulawesi is a small part of the Indonesian state, which has its own poverty characteristics and differences caused by various factors such as region, ethnicity, customs, local languages, and various elements of the surrounding locality. These affect collaborations in policy-making, especially in poverty reduction programs. A particular reason for the selection of this region for study is that South Sulawesi is a barometer of development in eastern Indonesia and is considered a gateway into the eastern archipelago.

This research is located in two selected districts, Takalar and Barru, in the South Sulawesi Province. These arguably represent the best practical experiences of anti-poverty programs in South Sulawesi. The two locations have particularly interesting ways of creating collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in each district. They both have experience in strengthening the role of local NGOs in how institutions are able to bridge local communities' and local government's needs.

South Sulawesi¹ province is located in the south of the island of Sulawesi and is the capital of Makassar which was formerly called Ujung Pandang. South Sulawesi entered the central Indonesian time zone (WITA), which consists of 24 districts and municipalities. South Sulawesi is dominated by the Bugis, Makassar, Toraja, Mandar, Duri, Pattinjo, Bone, Maroangin, Enrekang, Pattae, Kajang and Konjo peoples. The Education Sector, in 2013, noted that the number of illiterates in this area is still 23 per cent of the total population, which is far above the national average of 15 per cent of the total population of Indonesia.

The index of human development from 2009 to 2014 increased but is still slightly below the national average. In 2010, the South Sulawesi Human Development Index (HDI) reached 66.0, in 2013 it was 67.92, and in 2015 rose to 69.15. The comparable national HDI levels were: 2010 - 66.53; 2013 - 68.31; and in 2015 - 69.55. By examining the distribution of the poor in South Sulawesi, it is possible to understand the nature of the economic and social structures of poor people in South Sulawesi. Table 3.1 Comparison of poverty levels found in areas of South Sulawesi and Indonesia between 2006 - 2014., gives some insight into the areas that the poor predominantly live in, comparing rural and urban figures.

Table 3.1 Comparison of poverty levels found in areas of South Sulawesi and Indonesia between 2006 - 2014.

Year	South Sulawesi (%)		Indonesia (%)			
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
			+ Rural			+ Rural
2006	6.83	18.25	14.57	13.34	21.81	17.75
2007	6.18	17.87	14.11	12.52	20.37	16.58
2008	6.05	16.79	13.34	11.65	18.93	15.42
2009	4.49	15.81	12.31	10.72	17.35	14.15
2010	4.70	14.88	11.60	9.87	16.56	13.33
2011	4.48	13.63	10.27	9.09	15.59	12.36
2012	4.31	13.46	10.11	9.23	15.72	12.49
2013	4.88	12.24	9.54	8.50	14.40	11.90
2014	5.22	13.25	10.28	8.20	13.80	11.00

SOURCE: BPS SOUTH SULAWESI (2007 TO 2015)

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¹ The anniversary of this province is on December 13, 1960, and was proclaimed by Law No. 47 of 1960.

According to records available from the Population Census, life expectancy in 2014 was 69.6 years which is below the national average of 70.1 years. There is a reducing trend of poor people in South Sulawesi; in 2006, the number of poor people in South Sulawesi was 14.57 % of the total population, but in 2014 this declined to 10.28 %. Nonetheless, South Sulawesi was still behind the national average. The table above compares the total number of poor people in villages and cities in South Sulawesi, showing that there are more poor people in rural areas than in the city. In 2006, the city had a proportion of 6.83% of poor people, which decreased to 5.22% in 2014, compared to 18.25% in the village area in 2006 and 13.25% of total population in 2014. This description is closely related to the economic structure of the residents who live in South Sulawesi and in the two selected districts, which is described through the gross domestic product (GDP) data of South Sulawesi that shows the economic structure of the population in the province.

Poverty rates in South Sulawesi are lower than the national level. Based on the data, observation and interviews with the respondents there are some influential factors, namely; more people live in rural areas than in urban; most of the people who live in the rural areas in South Sulawesi are farmers and fishermen, and generally the farmers have less farm land and most of the fishermen live in coastal areas which identify with poverty and have limited access to education and health care. There is also a financial problem since families earn less than \$2 a day (The World Bank, 2014).

This study focused on the provincial government as the central locus of the research. Being the representative of the central government, it has authority to coordinate collaborations in the programs in line with the central government's anti-poverty policies. Barru and Takalar have been chosen as the districts for this study because these district governments have paid more attention to poverty reduction programs than others in the province. For example, Takalar has a special poverty reduction program which is called Sistem Dukungan (*Sisduk*) (Aswad, 2013; Land, 2004) conducted by the local government, in collaboration with an international donor, JICA. Aswad (2013) argued that there were two features of the SISDUK empowerment model, namely the organisation of community collective actions and community-based planning. Aswad argued that the SISDUK anti-poverty programs utilising participatory rural appraisal

and starting at the natural village level, not the administrative level, can explain why procedural justice and social learning can be successfully incorporated.

Meanwhile Barru district has some anti-poverty programs, for example, a Pilot Project of an integrated poverty reduction program (PIK PAKET) empowering local community and local government, which has been administered by local government, local NGOs and other stakeholders. In this second stage, it focuses on key strategies, problems and impact of poverty reduction, and supports organisations to create good local governance at the village level, sub-district and the province. The two districts have some community empowerment programs, which have been conducted by using a collaboration approach between the government, international donor agencies, such as JICA and UNICEF, local NGOs and community groups.

3.3. Approach: Case Study Methodology

This research analyses cooperation among stakeholders within processes and implementation of key strategies on program policy making, and the effect on poverty reduction in South Sulawesi. The local government of Takalar has a very good relationship between the Government and local communities and international donors, especially the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and the local government has collaborative anti-poverty programs known as 'SISDUK', which means 'supporting system'. This anti-poverty project has had a good international reputation and will be the focus of the case study. It will become an interesting object lesson for contributing new knowledge from a districtor local development perspective. Other poverty reduction programs being explored are the *Program National Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri* (PNPM Mandiri) and the *Pengembangan Usaha Garam Rakyat* (PUGAR). These are examples of national poverty reduction programs and these will be explored in this thesis.

Barru district government has a local initiative reflecting best practice regarding how a local authority can generate a local anti-poverty program, called a Pilot Project of integrated poverty reduction program (PIK PAKET). The program has good examples of participative and collaborative elements of anti-poverty programs, which is particularly useful in this study. This local policy is one of the best practices in South

Sulawesi which has made a significant contribution to governance practices in the decentralisation era in South Sulawesi and in Indonesia.

The research also explores the relationship among actors who are involved in poverty reduction programs, and examines the roles of local leaders, individuals and NGOs located in Takalar and Barru district and in South Sulawesi. It will particularly describe contributions among development actors. As indicated earlier, the provincial government level is the central locus of the research, because as the representative of the central government, it has authority to coordinate or collaborate in the programs in line with the central government's anti-poverty policies. In this second stage of policy implementation the focus will be on community empowerment and support organisations which create good local governance at the village level, sub-district level, and in the province. The two districts Takalar and Barru have some community empowerment programs such as SISDUK and PIK PAKET, as mentioned above, which have been conducted by using a collaboration approach between the government, international donor agencies, such as JICA, UNICEF and Oxfam, local NGOs and local community groups. The two districts also have strong patron-client systems as the relationship among fishermen (Sawi) and boat owners (Punggawa). In particular, the relationship between patron or (bos) as represented by land owners and boat owners, and clients or retainers as represented by farmers and fishermen as the labor fisher (buruh) (Agustang et al., 2015; Anriani, 2012; Robinson & Mukhlis, 1985). This also reflects the political dynamic, particularly in local structural government, before and post- Pilkada or district elections.

According to Kardos and Smith (1979), a good case study has the following features:

- 1. It is taken from real life (true identities may be concealed).
- 2. It consists of many parts and each part usually ends with problems and points for discussion. There may not be a clear cut off point to the situation.
- 3. It includes sufficient information for the reader to treat problems and issues.
- 4. It is believable for the reader (the case contains the setting, personalities, sequence of events, problems and conflicts).

Yin (2009, p. 18) defines case studies as 'empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context'. Yin states that the case study approach is useful for researchers who are exploring *what*, *how*, or *why* questions relating to a situation over which they have little or no control. Hence, the case study approach is quite flexible and can be employed in descriptive, exploratory or even evaluative types of research (Hakim, 1987; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009). The case study approach can also be used a variety of situations, to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, political and related phenomena (Yin, 2009). As Simons (2009, p. 21) states, 'the case study approach is useful to generate in-depth understanding of a specific topic (as in a thesis), program, policy, institution or system to generate knowledge and/or inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action'. This research needs to consider detail and comprehensive understanding regarding the implementation of community development programs from various data and evidence.

This in-depth or detailed description can be achieved by employing either single or multiple case studies (Hakim, 1987; Yin, 2009). Hakim (1987) argues that a single example often forms the basis for research on typical, deviant or critical cases. The complexity of problems and issues which emerge in the community development programs in Takalar and Barru district, and the involvement of many parties in the implementation of these programs, including collaboration between actors and stakeholders in poverty reduction programs from the local community, NGOs and the local government, led to the choice of the single case study method. The thorough description and in-depth understanding of this complexity would not be able to be achieved if more than one case was employed in this research study, or a different methodology such as a survey was employed. As Gerring (2004, p. 345) notes, 'the more case studies one has, the less intensively each one is studied'. This research study also attempts to analyse and critique community empowerment in Takalar and Barru districts in the interests of better implementation, as well as for the improvement of community life. Hence, it is appropriate that the case study approach, particularly the single case study, is employed in this research.

Relying on one single case, however, can make this research study vulnerable to criticism. These criticisms relate to various issues including the influence of the researcher's bias and a limited ability to generalise the findings from a single case (Yin, 2009). Flybjerg (2006) and other scholars, including Wynsberghe and Khan (2007), and Ruddin (2006) provide arguments which answer these criticisms. They argue that the problem of generalisation emerges from the positivism which assumes that a 'single case' (a single case has been associated with a 'sample of one' in quantitative research) could not represent a population. A case is not a sample. A case represents itself rather than a population. As a consequence, when a case becomes the object of a research study, it requires a comprehensive and holistic investigation which is needed to provide a full and complete description about this case. This holistic research approach makes a significant contribution to knowledge enrichment and development. This contribution could be achieved as a single case study provides the opportunity to both test and build theory (De Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2009).

A successful case study involves a theoretical framework as guidance for data collection. Yin (2009, p. 36) notes that 'theory development is an essential step for doing a case study as it delivers strong guidance in determining what data to collect and the strategies for analyzing data'. De Vaus (2001) clearly affirms that 'collecting and analyzing information from case studies must be guided by theory'. As outlined in Chapter 2, several definitions and principles of community development were reviewed to find the appropriate *theory* to guide in this study. Although it has various definitions, community development implementation has a primary objective which is to promote human development. In practice, this objective can be achieved by employing human orientation, participation and empowerment principles which are tied to the issue of power. It also reveals to what extent the community participation programs' implementation has facilitated the local community in making their own decisions in relation to the community development programs.

It can be argued that a case study must be employed in a real context. Yin (2009, p. 18) states that 'a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident'. Similar to Yin's definition, Creswell (1998) defines a case study as an exploration of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple

cases), for instance a program, an event, an activity, or individual, which is conducted over time through a detailed process of in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information which are contextually bounded. Both definitions emphasise that the case study approach must be conducted in a real context which is bounded by particular systems, including an activity, an event, or a program. Wynsberghe and Khan (2007, p. 4) point out that the bounded system could be 'a place and time which brings context to the structure and relationships that are of interest'. This approach contrasts with some other approaches such as the experimental approach which must be conducted in a laboratory with particular conditions which have been arranged appropriately according to the objectives or purpose of the researcher (Yin, 2009). Yin states that this kind of approach is not suitable for a case study.

It was necessary to employ a number of different research strategies, and gather data from multiple sources, because of the complexity of the case study. Creswell (2013, p. 221) states that 'since many cases will consist of different elements, different methods of data collection may be required for the different elements'. Other scholars including Yin (2009), Stake (1995), and De Vaus (2001) who are concerned with the case study approach also emphasise the utilisation of multiple sources of information in conducting a case study approach.

3.4. Research Methods

This research study involves a thorough description of the impact of evolutionary governance practices related to community participation development and implementation. It has therefore used qualitative research methods which facilitate exploration of social and human phenomena in a complex and holistic picture by analysing words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducting the study in a natural setting (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative research allows the researcher to explore the subjective experiences of the various actors involved, and the meanings attached to their experiences (Descombe, 2010).

Berg (2007) states qualitative research methods provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk about, or

people represented by their personal traces (such as letters and newspaper accounts). These methods are relevant for describing and examining important aspects of the implementation of governance practice.

As Creswell (1998, p. 17) states, qualitative research explores research questions which mostly 'start with a how or a what so that initial forays into the topic describe what is going on'. This also involves the questions concerning how the government perceives its community participation programs, how these development programs have been implemented, and how other parties including NGOs, the local government and the local community have been involved. The rationale for the case study approach is to investigate the individuals in their natural setting. This is in line with Denzin and Lincoln's (1994, p. 2) definition of qualitative methods that argues that:

Qualitative research is multi method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter; this means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Related to this definition, this study attempts to examine the interpretation or the perception of people about collaboration between actors or stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in the Takalar and Barru district settings and to discover the meanings which they have already made in relation to these programs. The qualitative research method has been employed to fulfil the needs of this research study to present a detailed picture of the community participation /empowerment programs' implementation. As outlined above, this study aims to explore the participation of the local community and the involvement of other parties in Takalar and Barru district.

In order to achieve the aims of this study, the three methods of data collection employed were semi-structured interviews, review of documents, and field observation. Interviews can provide 'valuable information by contacting the key informants or key players in the field who can give privileged information' (Descombe, 2010, p. 1974). As Merriam (1998, p. 87) states, 'interviews are a primary source of data in doing case study research; so too are observations'. Both interviews and field observation are commonly interconnected in the real world of collecting data. Observation methods are employed

for numerous reasons. First, field observation provides a firsthand account of the situation under study. Hence, it gives the researcher an opportunity to use his or her knowledge and expertise in interpreting what is observed. Second, field observation provides potential data which cannot be gathered using other methods.

As Merriam argues, a field observation is the best technique, as a necessary part of triangulation data, to use when participants are not able or willing to discuss the topic or do not feel free to talk about or may not want to discuss it. Merriam (1998) explains that another major data source for case studies is documentary material. This can ground an investigation in the context of the problem being investigated. Documents are important sources since they are accessible, free, and contain information that would take a researcher an enormous amount of time and effort to gather on his or her own.

3.4.1. Interviews

This research study employed interviews as a major source of information. Interviewing has been defined as 'the methods of maintaining and generating conversations with people on a specific topic or range of topics and the interpretations which social researchers make of the resultant data' (May, 2011, p 131). Intensive interviewing will enable individuals to talk freely and present their interpretations or perceptions by using their own stories in language with which they are familiar (Devine, 2002).

This study explores how the multiplicity of informants – which includes people from the central government, local government, the local community, NGOs activists and local community leaders – are involved in the combating of poverty in South Sulawesi. Interviews were carried out individually and face-to-face (Berg, 2007). The interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed in the Indonesian language, and translated into English as necessary. For data storage, the researcher recorded the interviews by using a recorder, which required the interviewees' permission (May, 2011). These recordings are useful for checking the congruency of perceptions with informants (Sarantakos, 2005). All the informants in this research study allowed the researcher to record their interviews.

This research employed semi-structured interviews. May (2011, p. 135) argues that the semi-structured format allows people to answer more on their own terms than the standardised interview permits, but still provide a greater structure for comparability over that of the focused or unstructured interview. Similarly, Esterberg (2002, p. 87) claims that 'this type of interview is less rigid than a structured interview and allows interviewees to express their opinions and ideas in their own words'. Moreover, she explains that by utilising semi-structured interviews, a researcher can explore a topic in more detail and more openly. Thus, semi-structured interviews were deemed appropriate for this research study as they facilitated the researcher in examining the expression and perception of interviewees related to their involvement in the collaboration among actors in poverty reduction programs. By using semi-structured interviews, the researcher avoided having too much control over the interviewees and allowed them to respond to the questions about community participation programs in their own way, but this type of interview still provides a thematic guide in order to ensure that the interview process is aligned with the topic of this study.

Interviews were held with key policy makers in the provincial and district governments, including the Governor, Bupatis, Secretary of Provincial and District Governments, Chief of Bappeda (the Planning Board), Chairman of the Parliament and the provincial and district legislators in charge of poverty reduction programs, as well as officials from the international donor agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the beneficiaries of poverty reduction programs. As a provincial government employee working at the Planning Board (Bappeda) South Sulawesi, the researcher was able to access senior officials and politicians as respondents. Besides that, the researcher was also be able to collect documentation from the provincial government and two districts, Takalar and Barru, and was also able to access NGOs and international donors. From the research, our institution, Bappeda South Sulawesi, obtained benefits particularly for data evaluation and policy making in poverty reduction programs.

As a researcher and 'an insider', as a government employee, I was aware of the need to establish a distance from my respondents and all governmental institutions, because the research is close to politically and culturally sensitive issues. The researcher was aware

and careful in using this interview methodology, particularly for senior officials and politicians in relation to governmental documents.

Other resources are various documents such as official statistics, district government regulations, district government plans, documents about local budgets, laws, accountability reports, local council (DPRD) debates, media reports, and other material information. The content of the mass media and also the internet enhanced the information pool, as this channel can be a source for knowing the responses of local decision makers or other stakeholders towards districtgovernment performance.

3.4.1.1. Recruitment of Participants

The researcher identified potential participants for the study, in keeping with the stakeholder categories advocated in EGT (Van Assche et al. 2014); for example, different levels of public officials and office bearers, community leaders, such as NGOs and local community members. Therefore, recruitment was carried out at central, provincial and district levels of government, with government and community leaders in both of the case study districts. The researcher was able to draw upon a close knowledge of the systems and personnel involved in community development due to work as a District level official. Potential participants at Central, Provincial and District level were identified whilst in attendance at district level poverty reduction and community empowerment training days. This was a practical way to invite participation in the research given local conditions, distances to travel and IT access

Participants at community level were approached by going to villages selected at random. In both Barru and Takalar districts, local community and NGO leaders were identified and invited to participate. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 70 participants; details of which are included in the table below.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted **with 70 participants**, who were selected based on their knowledge, their involvement and their responsibility in the community development programs. This number of informants was set after data was saturated. 'Saturation indicates the stage in the research process at which no new or relevant data emerge, the category is well developed' (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 349). By interviewing this

number of informants, this study was able to gather the opinions and information from the various groups of informants as follows.

Table 3.2. Participants from various groups

Participants group	Numbers of Participants	Participants
Central and Provincial		Provincial
Government Level		Level
a.Central Government	3	20
b. Politicians (DPRD)	2	
c. Government officials	9	
d.NGOs activists	4	
e.International donors	·	
	2	
Takalar District		District Level
a. Head of district or	1	25
Vice head of district		
b. Politicians (<i>DPRD</i>)	2	
c. Government officials	9	
d. NGOs activists	,	
e. International donors	3	
f. Community leaders	2	
g. Local people/	2	
community members	6	
Barru District		District Level
a.Head of district or Vice	1	25
head of district	2	

b. Politicians (DPRD)	9	
c. Government officials		
d. NGOs activists	3	
e. International donors	2	
f. Community leaders	2	
g. Local people /	6	
community members		
Total Participants		70

Central and Provincial Government level: There were twenty (20) informants in total. These were from various backgrounds, such as central government (3 participants), politicians or house of representative (2 participants), Governments officials (9 participants), NGOs activists (4 participants), Donors members (2 participants).

Participants from Takalar and Barru districts: **Fifty** (**50**) **participants in total**, consisting of 25 participants from Takalar district and 25 participants from Barru district. These were from various backgrounds: 2 *bupati*² were from the Takalar and Barru district, 4 members were from the House of Representatives (*DPRD*), 18 participants were both Takalar and Barru district government officials, 4 participants were local community leaders from the two selected districts.

The NGOs, activists and Inetrnational Donors members: There were 10 interviewees from this category. The NGO FIK KSM, Oxfam, and COMMIT foundation activists, who encourage implementation of community empowerment, participatory processes, transparency, and accountability in implementing local development in Takalar and Barru district.

The local community: There were 12 key informants both from Takalar and Barru district, here, one informant was a local community member; four informants were local

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² There are two kinds of government at district level in Indonesia: urban or city, with a mayor as the leader, and district, with a *bupati* or the head of district as the leader.

community members who became members of the NGOs in the FIK KSM, COMMIT and Oxfam Community Development section. The other five informants were local community members who were not members of the community development groups. They were from different backgrounds and generations; fishermen, farmers, and local entrepreneurs. The aim was to explore their perspectives and opinions regarding poverty reduction programs and the impact of their implementation.

To select the informants, the researcher employed two sampling strategies: purposive sampling and snowball sampling. When employing purposive sampling, researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some groups to select informants or participants (Berg, 2007). Meanwhile, the basic strategy of snowballing involves 'first identifying several people with relevant characteristics and then interviewing them' (Berg, 2007, p. 44). These participants are then asked for the names of other people who possess attributes similar to their own. Most informants were chosen by using this sampling technique. Purposive sampling was used to gather the informants from the government, both legislative and executive. They were from the provincial government, *Bappeda*, and two majors from the former district where the study area was located. In 2003, this district was divided into two districts: Takalar and Barru district which are in South Sulawesi.

Snowball sampling was employed to gather further informants from local government, the local community and the local NGOs. The researcher identified a key informant from the local governments, then this informant provided information related to other informants related to Takalar and Barru district's' poverty reduction programs. These informants were chosen based on their responsibility or their contribution to the implementation of collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs. The researcher was thus able to choose appropriate informants from the local NGOs who have been involved in community empowerment programs in the Takalar and Barru district.

Informants from the local community were collected in diverse ways. Local community members involved in collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in Takalar and Barru districts were chosen based on the information gathered from the

local NGOs and two community development foundations: FIK-KSM, COMMIT foundation, and Oxfam. Meanwhile, the local community members not involved in collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs were gathered based on information from local government institutions, local community, local NGOs, and local leaders. The informant who was instrumental in this procedure was a person whose family has lived in Takalar and Barru district for many generations, and together with local clerics, the researcher was able to obtain referrals to enough local community members.

3.4.2. Documentary Evidence

Bryman (2008) advises on the kind of documents which can be utilised as complementary evidence in the research process. These documents are not produced specifically for the purpose of social research but are still relevant to the concerns of the social researcher. Bryman describes examples of such evidence, which include personal documents in both written form (such as diaries and letters) and visual form (such as photographs), official documents derived from the state and private sources (such as documents produced by organisations), mass-media outputs, and virtual outputs such as Internet resources. Merriam (1998) includes other kinds of documents, including the records of corporations, the completed studies of other scholars, and personal accounts or official documents. In relation to this study, the researcher gathered data about the government, the NGOs, and other institutions from a number of document sources. The documentary evidence gathered for this thesis can be described as follows:

Government sources: Documents were gathered from government sources such as the government regulations and policy. Other government documents related to local budget, the local statistics board (*BPS*) and other development reports, newspapers and magazines which are published by the local government. The researcher also used historical data which describes the establishment process of the district. For the NGOs, most of the documents were books which had been published based on NGOs' research findings related to South Sulawesi and Indonesia.

Mass media output sources: Many examples of these documents were collected, and they included printed documents such as national and local newspapers and on-line

documents from the internet such as the Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) report. Some of these media sources discussed the relational problems occurring between the local community in Takalar and Barru district.

Other institutions' sources: These documents came from conference presentations giving the research findings of The Indonesian Science Institute (LIPI) related to problems and the implementation of community development by Indonesia.

Other sources: The researcher has had an opportunity to gather various documents related to community development programs and other forms of documents or reports such as environment impact analyses, community development strategic planning, brochures, leaflets, and internal publications of local development of anti-poverty programs. The researcher utilised documents based on current community development strategies.

Universities: The researcher gathered several research studies which focused on the impact on the local community development on South Sulawesi.

3.4.3. Observation

As Yin (2009) states, observation is beneficial to provide additional evidence or information about the topic being studied. The technique of observation was employed to obtain many kinds of information directly through a field visit related to the implementation of the community development programs. The researcher observed several development programs: for instance, women's empowerment in Barru and Takalar districts, which have been conducted by the local NGOs such as Oxfam and FIK KSM, to educate and encourage traditional fishermen and local women to make handicrafts from local resources and make good and marketable traditional food. I introduced local community activities into the study as they have a direct relationship with the local community implementing development programs such as local community meetings, making handicrafts, local workshops, coordination meetings and many others. The researcher also participated in the local community's informal activities in their everyday life such as youth activities and women 'chatting' to gather information about many issues which could enhance this study analysis.

Observation was utilised to capture other phenomena, for instance social and economic impacts of community development programs for the local community and data about the loss of local culture. The researcher had an opportunity to live in two environments, both urban and rural. For several weeks, the researcher stayed in a 'town-site' in a little town that has been built for the local employees. For the remaining weeks, the researcher stayed in the villages in the vicinity of the study area. The researcher built a relationship with the local communities and got involved in their everyday life. While staying with the local community, the researcher was able to have informal conversations and observe the problems related to social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of operations on local community empowerment. From these observation activities, the researcher observed the deep gap between the life of the 'people' and that of the local community members.

3.5. Data Analysis

As mentioned in the chapter introduction, the data analyses were carried out using case study research design and methods (Yin, 2003; Yin, 2009). As Yin (2009) states, techniques for the analysis of case study data have not yet been well defined. In this instance, the analysis of the case study data focused on examining the data, finding links between materials collected from different sources, and recombining the evidence in order to, as Yin (2009, p. 126) writes, 'draw empirically based conclusions'. Following the same idea, Merriam (1998, p. 123) describes the approach as 'several dimensions of data analysis including analysis during data collection, the devising of categories, and the building of theory'.

The researcher commenced analysis during the data collection. It can be argued that data collection and analysis of data are interconnected. As Merriam (1998, p. 124) affirms:

the final product of a case study is shaped by the data that are collected and the analysis that accompanies the entire process explaining that without ongoing analysis one runs the risk of ending up with data that are unfocused, repetitious, and overwhelming in the sheer volume of material that needs to be processed.

While conducting the data collection, the researcher transcribed the data from interviews as soon as some of the interviews had finished. The researcher worked with transcribing assistants.

The researcher then rechecked each transcription, to identify whether anything needed to be added or deleted from it. This process provided an opportunity for the researcher to commence data analysis before moving on to other interviews. This gave opportunities for me as a researcher to identify emerging themes and then develop other questions for further interviews. Meanwhile, other sources of information, such as documents, were organised topically. For instance, there are some documents which describe the participatory rural appraisal and community-based issues, which contribute information on the topic of local community participation. Yin (2009) describes these organised materials as the 'case study data-base', while Patton calls these the 'case record' (Patton, 2002). Patton explains that 'the case records include all the major information that will be used in doing the case analysis and case study' (Patton, 2002, p. 449). The information is edited, redundancies are sorted out, parts are fitted together, and the case record is organised for ready access either chronologically or topically. Merriam argues that the case record is useful to locate specific data during the intensive analysis (Merriam, 1998).

A second level of analysis involves developing categories, themes, or other taxonomic classes that interpret the meaning of the data (Merriam, 1998). According to Merriam 'devising categories is largely an intuitive process, but it is also systematic and informed by the study's purpose, the investigator's orientation and knowledge, and meaning made explicit by participants themselves' (Merriam, 1998, p. 179).

The researcher organised and classified the data into several major themes:

- Governance theory and perspectives;
- Coordination, Cooperation, Communication;
- Community participation: concept and definition;
- Community development in practice: planning, implementation, evaluation;
- The roles of the NGOs;
- The roles of the local government;

- The role of clerics (Imam) as social change agents;
- The local community participation;
- The outcomes of the collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs; and
- The local community's expectations of the community participation programs.

The next step was synthesising the data by linking, In this instance, the analysis of the case study data focused on examining the data, finding links between materials collected from different sources, and recombining the evidence in order to, as Yin (2009, p. 126) writes, 'draw empirically based conclusions'. Following the same idea, Merriam (1998, p. 123) describes the approach as 'several dimensions of data analysis including analysis during data collection, the devising of categories, and the building of theory'.

As required, the chapter building process was corroborated by interrelated references. This process shifts the researcher to the third level of analysis; as Merriam (1998) explains, drawing inferences and developing theory. This level seeks to explain a large number of phenomena and to demonstrate how they are interrelated. Miles and Huberman (1984, p. 261) describe this process as 'moving up progressively from the empirical trenches to a more conceptual overview of the landscape'. Hence, the researcher, as Miles and Huberman state (1984, p. 261), is 'no longer just dealing with observables but also with *unobservable* and are connecting the two with successive layers of inferential glue'.

3.5.1. Trustworthiness of the Study

Trustworthiness is a term utilised in qualitative research as a measure of the quality of research. It is associated with 'the concept of rigour which refers to the quality of qualitative enquiry and is used as a way of evaluating qualitative research' (Liamputtong, 2009, p. 20). Liamputtong explains that the concept of rigour is similar to the concepts of reliability and validity in quantitative research or positivist science (Liamputtong, 2009; Merriam, 1998). However, qualitative research has different strategies to obtain the rigour or trustworthiness of qualitative enquiry compared with quantitative research. There are several strategies or techniques that can be applied to

ensure rigour in qualitative research including theoretical rigour, methodological or procedural rigour and interpretive rigour (Liamputtong, 2009; Rice & Ezzy, 1999). Theoretical rigour is related to how appropriate the theories used in the study are in relation to the research aims. The researcher should provide reasonable arguments to support the theoretical rigour of the study. Methodological rigour refers to 'the selection of the methodological framework which adds to the strength of research design' (Liamputtong, 2009, p. 24). The researcher has provided a detailed and clear explanation regarding methodology and procedures of the study in the previous section. Interpretive rigour relates to the process in achieving interpretations explained by the researcher and how this interpretation is accurate to explain informants' experiences. This study also provides four criteria to ensure the trustworthiness of qualitative data and their analysis proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which will be described below.

3.5.1.1. Credibility

Credibility is comparable to internal validity, which testifies that the research findings can be regarded as reliable (Liamputtong, 2009). Carpenter and Suto (2008, p. 149) argue that credibility is recognised 'based on the constructivist assumption that there is no single reality but rather multiple authenticities that are created by people in their own contexts and needs authentic representations of experience that can be seen as plausible by the participants'.

Based on this assumption, the selection of participants becomes one of the strategies which gives the research credibility. This study has chosen the participants or informants selectively and carefully based on their knowledge, their involvement and their responsibility in collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs, and with attention to as complete a coverage as possible of the different perspectives of different people.

3.5.1.2. Transferability

Transferability is comparable to external validity which is used in an effort to provide a foundation for the generalisability of qualitative research (Liamputtong, 2009; Merriam,

1998). The transferability and generalisability of qualitative research is achieved if the research findings can be applied into other contexts or settings outside the actual study context (Carpenter & Suto, 2008). Seale (2002, p. 105) explains some techniques to achieve transferability, including 'a detailed, rich description of the setting studied to provide the reader with sufficient information to be able to judge the applicability of the findings to other settings that they know'. According to Liamputtong (2009) a rich (thick) description refers to a detailed explanation about the research settings, the participants, and the methods and process of undertaking their research.

In relation to the research setting, the researcher provides a detailed explanation regarding the area which became the context of this study in Chapter 5 and 6 including: the profile of the location of the social and cultural conditions of the local community, negative impacts caused by programs, and the social and political backgrounds which potentially influence the implementation of collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in Takalar and Barru district. This information will assist interested readers to apply the study insights in other situations. As Liamputtong (2009) states, this comprehensive explanation will enable readers to make decisions about transferability.

Moreover, since this study adopts a single case study, the generalising process is developed from the context of the research study itself to other settings or contexts, known as 'inferential generalization' (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). This process requires the researcher to provide justification regarding the methodological approach and describes in detail the critical processes and procedures supporting the researcher to construct, shape and connect meanings regarding the study topic. This work is undertaken in the previous chapter, this chapter and the following chapter.

3.5.1.3. Dependability

Dependability can be compared with reliability which refers to the consistency of the research findings with the data from which they have been derived (Carpenter & Suto, 2008; Merriam, 1998). Merriam (1998) suggests several techniques that can be employed to achieve this consistency including: explaining the assumptions and theories behind the study; using multiple methods in the data collection process; and

explaining in detail how data was collected to allow for an audit trail if necessary. In this study, the researcher utilised multiple sources of data collection – interviews, documents, and observation – and as Seale (2002, p. 61) explains, this approach serves to 'enhance the credibility of a research account by providing an additional way of generating evidence in support of key claims'. Furthermore, the researcher shared and discussed the data and ideas with her supervisors and other PhD students who have applied qualitative research in their studies. This process enabled other scholars to examine and give useful feedback for this study.

3.5.1.4. Confirmability

Confirmability is analogous to objectivity which refers to the extent a researcher is aware of individual subjectivity or bias in the study. To achieve this 'confirmability', a researcher can establish an internal auditing in which a researcher can make the provision of a methodological self-critical account of how the research was done (Seale, 2002). Moreover, a researcher can provide archives and well-organised data which are accessible and available for external auditing from other researchers, in case the research findings are challenged. As explained previously, the researcher had consultations with supervisor and peers to gain critical opinions during the analysis process, and the data archive has been preserved.

3.5.2. Ethics and the Rights of Human Participation

As Silverman (2005) explains, researchers who employ qualitative research will encounter an ethical issue when they enter the private spaces of the participants. These researchers should address these ethical issues during and after the research study to minimise the risk of potential harm to participants, either physically, socially, psychologically, emotionally, financially or legally, as a result of participating in the research. Prior to the field work, the researcher obtained ethics approval from the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee on 10/12/2009. The researcher had to meet ethics standards which are required to protect the rights of the participants as well as to minimise risk of harm and which are discussed below.

3.5.2.1. Non-judgmental environment

The researcher, from an insider position as local government employee, tried to create a friendly, relaxed environment and an equal sharing of power that could encourage the participants to talk and express their ideas freely in the interviews. Further, the researcher tried not to overreact in a way that could influence how the participants talk and give opinions. As and if required, the researcher would meet with the participants several times to build a trusting relationship with them. This would overcome any feeling of being judged or pressured by the researcher.

Information gathered during data collection, including transcripts of interviews and the documents and the participants' information details, were documented and saved in a locked cabinet. Meanwhile, computer files were protected with a password which is accessible only by the researcher. Data will be stored until at least five years from the date of any publication based on this research.

3.5.2.2. Informed consent

Prior to the interview, the researcher explained to the informants regarding the purpose of the study and how the data would be used. The researcher also explained to the participants that their information would be used for data analysis and as necessary would be quoted in the research writing process; that the participants' original names would not be used for reasons of confidentiality. The researcher used two procedures for obtaining informed consent from the informants as appropriate. The format is given in Appendix F. For cultural reasons, the researcher obtained verbal rather than written informed consent from local community members. In general, they are reluctant to sign written documents unless they are being paid. Thus, verbal consent is more culturally appropriate.

3.5.2.3. Confidentiality

As mentioned previously, the researcher has documented and saved the data from the participants including the file of the interview process and interview transcripts in a locked filing cabinet or in the computer with a password protection. These data are only accessible and available for the researcher and his supervisor.

3.5.2.4. Anonymity

In this study, the participant identity information is protected by using pseudonyms. Only the researcher recognises which pseudonym is matched with each participant.

3.6. Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed explanation of the methodology and research design employed in this research study. It has combined interpretive and critical paradigms of social research, and based on these two philosophical approaches, this study examines how the respondents think, feel and act in regard to key strategies, problems and the impact of poverty reduction programs. These perspectives come from their experiences and reflections on any empowering impacts of these development programs. The case study approach was deemed appropriate for this study, since it facilitates the understanding of the area and contributes to obtaining an extensive and in-depth description of the community empowerment programs which have been conducted by Barru district and Takalar district. In addition, a realisation of the complexity of the problems and issues which emerge in collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in the two selected districts, and the involvement of many parties in these programs' implementation, including the local community, NGOs and the local government, led to the choice of the single case study method.

We believe that to obtain a full and in-depth description of collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs, the case study approach can accommodate the utilisation of multiple sources of information. Hence, this research study employs three main research methods: interviews, observations and documentary evidence. The primary source of information to gather empirical data was a series of semi-structured interviews which were conducted with informants from the local community, the local NGOs and the local government. The data from these interviews was analysed and checked in the context of other information obtained from observation and documentary evidence. All the data findings have been analysed based on the successive and interconnected steps of analysis include organising data, categorising or classifying

data, synthesising or linking the data and finally, building the inferences or conclusions of this thesis.

The following chapters present the findings of the research, based on the analysis of the data collected. Chapter 4 illustrates key strategies, problems and the impact of poverty reduction at the Provincial level. Chapter 5 reports the case study in Takalar district, and Chapter 6 examines the case study in Barru district. Chapter 7 discusses a cross case analysis; and finally, Chapter 8 gives the conclusions of this study.

Chapter 4 Poverty Reductions: Key Strategies and Problems at the Provincial Level in the Local Autonomy Era

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores strategies, problems and implications of a poverty reduction case study in the South Sulawesi Province. Starting with Poverty Reduction programs in the Autonomy Era, it continues with the relationship between central and district development processes. The discussion on systemic problems in reducing poverty cover (i) different measurements of poverty, (ii) misuse of local budgets, (iii) economic disparity, (iv) low awareness of education and health issues, and (v) lack of coordination and synergy within poverty reduction programs. This section continues with three key strategies on poverty reduction, and then moves to describe the social security programs, known as Cluster I. This is followed by comments on community empowerment (Cluster II) and some reflections on economic empowerment strategies (Cluster III). An exploration of the notion of a local leader as change agent in poverty reduction programs is then given, and the chapter ends with summary.

4.2. Poverty Reduction Programs in the Indonesian Local Autonomy Era

Soeharto resigned from a lengthy 32 years of the second presidency of the Republic of Indonesia in 1998. In the Soeharto era, the central government applied a centralist approach to anti-poverty programs. Using the broad outline of government policy GBHN (Winanti, 2002), poverty reduction programs were introduced. For example, there was the *Inpres Desa Tertinggal* (IDT) program or Presidential instructions program for undeveloped villages, the Assistance for the Poor (PPFM), for poor families, designed to complement the IDT program, and the collective economic activity group (KUBE) (Tambunan & Purwoko, 2002, p. 37). Besides these initiatives, Suryahadi et al. (2010, p. 3) noted that, under the Soeharto era 1970-1990, the work was carried through a number of poverty programs such as the Urban Poverty Program (*P2KP*), and the Small Farmers and Fisherman Income Expansion Project (*P4*) among others.

The pressure from students and other parties to decentralise political power from a centralistic approach, applied by the new order during the Soeharto administration — what we called people power — was used to force Soeharto to end his dictatorship in mid-1998. Then, former vice president, Habibie, became the next President. At this time, there was a lot of pressure, both from bottom up and top down parties, and particularly from students, parliament members, academicians and NGOs activists, to encourage Habibie to change the centralistic political power system to a decentralisation system or local autonomy. As a result, the third president of Indonesia, Habibie, introduced a new reformation era, marked by Law 22, 1999 and late changed by Law 32, 2004 (Butt, 2010).

By the end of 1997, instability of political, security and social organisations impacted upon many aspects of the community, in particular on issues related to the economy and poverty. By 1998, the Indonesian economy had contracted by more than 13 per cent, and in this situation, Indonesia faced the prospect of a slow recovery from the financial crisis. As a result, the number of people in poverty rose sharply from around 17.3 per cent in February 1996 to 24.3 per cent in February 1999 (Suryahadi et al., 2010, p. 1).

During the period 1998-2015, (the reformation era or local autonomy era), there were many anti-poverty programs implemented, based on various policies and discrete political phases. At the beginning of the time of the transitional government, Habibie introduced a number of decentralisation and local autonomy policies. First, in 2009, the Indonesian government enhanced the pro-poor program, through the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Poverty Reduction programs (*MP3KI*). A master plan was implemented within a cluster of related programs, which were aid, and social security programs based on family (*Program Bantuan dan perlidungan sosial berbasis keluarga*), known collectively as 'Cluster I'. Next, there were community empowerment programs, which included a well-known national poverty program called *PNPM-Mandiri* (Cluster II). Finally, there were economic empowerment initiatives, focused on development and support of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME) which were known as Cluster III. Meanwhile, Cluster IV focuses on pro-poor programs such as: providing basic needs particularly in undeveloped villages, city slums, and other poverty pockets (Bappenas, 2013). In addition, the central government also gave freely

to local government to initiate local poverty reduction programs based on their potential and their tangible needs. The local poverty reduction programs' policies will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The following section discusses the three strategies of Poverty Reduction programs in South Sulawesi.

4.2.1. Relationship Between Central and Regional Development Process

The implementation of poverty reduction initiatives in South Sulawesi has been carried out by making poverty programs the main priority of local development policy. This approach is as a follow-up to the Long-term National Development Planning Program (2005-2025). The policy of poverty reduction was announced as part of the Regional Midterm Development Planning (*RPJMD* 2008-2013) then simplified with more detail in the annual job planning of the local government (*RKPD*) and used as a reference by either provincial or district governments within implementation of regular local development. Various anti-poverty policies within *RPJMD* 2009-2014 aimed to reduce the percentage of the poor people in South Sulawesi to 8.1 per cent or 777, 2000 people in 2014 (South Sulawesi Government, 2014).

To maximise the implementation of the policy, the national and the local government have had agendas such as repairing the data base for poverty reduction programs and also strengthening the coordination of poverty reduction. In relation to this issue, central and sub-national governments have made a presidential regulation, namely *Peraturan Presiden no. 54/2005*, concerning creation of a poverty reduction coordination team, and also released the *Peraturan Presiden no. 13/2009* regarding the coordination of poverty reduction programs across the country (South Sulawesi Government, 2009)³. This regulation aims to synchronise planning, implementing and evaluating of poverty reduction from central, provincial and district levels. In addition, this policy is also a consequence of the Law 34 2001, which is from the autonomy era implementation in Indonesia.

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³ RPJMD (2009-2014) The Government of South Sulawesi Province. The Regional Midterm Development Planning (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah* or *RPJMD*) is part of Regional Long-term Development Planning or (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah* or *RPJPD*).

In accordance with this policy, the government of South Sulawesi province have released the sub-national mid-term development planning (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah (RPJMN)* from 2004 to 2008. This was then continued by RPJMD from 2009-2014 in a second mission, which involved the improvement of the quality of economic prosperity, social welfare and environmental sustainability. Poverty reduction was mentioned as the fourth of the seven priorities of the RPJMD 2009-2014. In the context of *RPJMD* 2009-2014, the local government of South Sulawesi has determined an integrated development from national, province and local level.

Table 4.1 Comparison between National and Provincial Development Planning Visions and Mission

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7. Realising Indonesia as	6. Improving the quality
an independent island	of order, security and
state, advanced, strong	national unity.
and based on national	7. Increase the
interests.	institutions of good
8. Realising Indonesia	governance.
plays an important role	
in International	
relationships.	

SOURCES: BAPPENAS AND SOUTH SULAWESI PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING BOARD DOCUMENTS (2009)

In addition, within the period of the sub-national development planning program, it has been stated that the government concern is with economic development to create public prosperity and economic wealth. This main issue connects with the three previously mentioned strategies of poverty reduction programs which are unconditional Cash Transfer (CCT) (Cluster I), poverty reduction programs based on community empowerment (Cluster II) and poverty reduction programs based on community empowerment of micro economic and small enterprises (Cluster III) (South Sulawesi Province, 2009).

Furthermore, the local government of South Sulawesi attempted to synergise the central government policy. For instance, in publishing the local budget (APBD, 2013), South Sulawesi always paid attention to the national priority targets consisting of: 1. reform of the bureaucracy and governance; 2. education; 3. health; 4. poverty reduction; 5. food security; 6. infrastructure; 7. investment and business; 8. energy; 9. the environment and disaster; 10. disadvantaged areas; and 11. culture, creativity and technological innovation. In addition, there were three other priorities; namely: 1. politics, law and security; 2. economy; and 3. public welfare. (PPAS Government, 2013).

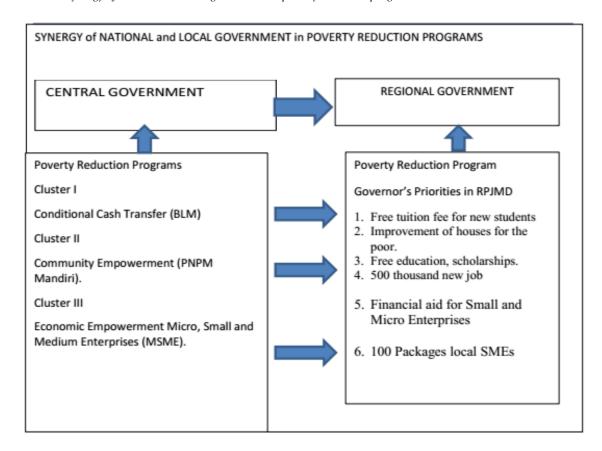
In this chapter, I prefer to utilise a case study approach to identify clearly the poverty programs in South Sulawesi. This method aims to recognize a better understanding of the particular poverty programs implemented by provincial government and two selected districts Takalar and Barru district, related to specific poverty issues that have

been faced by these districts. To begin with, I start with poverty programs at the provincial level and then continue to discuss the three selected districts. In general, the South Sulawesi government has conducted anti-poverty programs to pursue achievement of the government policy in combating poverty across the province. Regarding this issue, a quotation from an interview with a senior officer of Bappeda South Sulawesi Province reinforces this holistic approach:

Upon the national level of poverty reduction programs there consist three clusters and many sectors or stakeholders involved, therefore I suggest that at the national and provincial levels there should be established such an institution to handle properly poverty programs across the province, so that it might use a holistic perspective and comprehensive approach in reducing poverty in South Sulawesi. (Aemi, Interview 05/09/2013)

Table 4.2 Synergy of national and local government in poverty reduction programs, below, is based on the *Peraturan Presiden No 15/2010*, the strategy related to poverty reduction that can be divided into three cluster/groups; the aim of this strategy is also already stated in a group of district poverty reduction program (*TKPKD*) documents, which is to create a synergy of poverty reduction program in South Sulawesi.

Table 4.2 Synergy of national and local government in poverty reduction programs⁴:



SOURCE: THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH SULAWESI REPORT (TKPKD, 2013)

Table 4.2 shows synchronisation of poverty reduction programs between central and local governments. In South Sulawesi, there are poverty reduction planning programs stated within the Provincial mid-term development planning document (RPJMD 2008-2013), in accordance with poverty reduction programs from the central government.

Dana Alokasi Umum (**DAU**) is a component of the National Budget which is allocated to each provincial government and district government to support local government, as part of district budgetary autonomy, to allocate it to local development.

Meanwhile, *Dana Alokasi Khusus DAK* is a component of the National Budget (*APBN*) to increase financial equity capability among regions for funding local autonomy needs to implement decentralisation. Percentage of DAU allocated among Provincial and district/city is 10 per cent of total National *DAU*.

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⁴ In this context Usman et al (2008), also summarise that central and local governments have their own capability upon funding of poverty reduction programs. Regarding this issue, they note the central government has made a tremendous contribution to reduce the poverty in every province and district across the country through unconditional block funds (*Dana alokasi umum or DAU*).

Meanwhile, the central government also supports this policy by providing a national budget for reducing numbers of poor people across not only allocation of budget but also has its own nationwide poverty programs. For instance, the National government (2013) provides a budget for poverty programs through conditional cash transfers (CCT) or direct support for poor people (*Bantuan langsung Masyarakat*, BLSM).

From this table, we could further analyse the commitment of the Indonesian government in the main issue of combating poverty. This will give us an argument that reducing poverty programs and its implementation are not political jargon only. In 2013, the central government supported this policy by spending IDR. 54,821 trillion in poverty programs, as noted in the table.

An analysis of National Budgeting conducted by the Financial Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia in 2011 and 2012 noted that the composition of local budgeting was dominated by apparatus expenditure of 46.2 per cent of total local budget in 2011, which went down in 2012 to 43.71 per cent; meanwhile, in 2011 capital expenditure was 21.7 and in 2012 it rose to 21.94 per cent, goods and services expenditure in 2011 was 21.2 and in 2012 declined to 20.14 per cent; and others in 2011 was 10.8 per cent and rose to 14.22 per cent of total district expenditure in 2012. These local budgets should have claimed that the local governments implicitly have little awareness to provide more costs to other aspects of issues including poverty reduction programs.

If we pay attention to Cluster I of the poverty reduction program, which consists of Direct Cash Aid (CCT), School Operational Cost (BOS), Rice for the Poor (Raskin), public health insurance (Assurance), and the Family Program (*PKH*), it shows that it has the character of curative aid. However, local communities feel that the local government is not responsible in returning the aid responsibility to the central government. They argue that this aid is the local government's responsibility to service their communities or people (*Pusat study Sosial Asia Tenggara 2013*).

Research was conducted by Pusat studi Sosial Asia Tenggara and Village study centre, Gadjah Mada University, in 2013. This research states that associated with poverty reduction programs, at least three characteristics are different between cluster program. Cluster I refers to aid for poverty programs and social protection, with the program

coordinated by Menkokesra, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of National Education and the Health Ministry. For Cluster II, the program points to community empowerment coordinated by Bappenas and the coordination minister of people's welfare, while Cluster III, refers to an empowerment program for Economic Enterprises microcoordinated by the Ministry of Cooperation and Public Welfare (Menteri Koperasi dan Kesejahteraan Rakyat) and Ministry of Trade and Cooperatives (TKPK, 2008, pp. 12-13). The third cluster program has become the centre of attention in the study of the effectiveness of poverty reduction program in fifteen districts/cities in Indonesia.

4.3. Problems in Poverty Reduction

This section discusses problems of poverty reduction in South Sulawesi Selatan, which consist of: the problem of having different data about poverty numbers; problems of misuse of local budgets; economic disparity; the problem of low awareness of education; health problems, and lack of coordination and synergy.

4.3.1. Problem of Having Different Data About Poverty

A problem in understanding the impact and importance of poverty in Indonesia is the different data which are available from the World Bank, the Board of National Statistics (BPS), the DistrictGovernment and Local Governments. The different indicators of poverty data from these institutions can be obtained from the Board of National and Provincial Statistics, who provided six years' data on poverty of South Sulawesi (2009-2014).

Meanwhile, data from the World Bank notes that around 50 per cent of the total population in Indonesia still live below the poverty line, earning under \$2 per day, using the World Bank standard poverty line. The reasons why the data are different is due to the Board of National Statistics using a poverty indicator of about US\$ 0.80 per day. For District Government and Local Governments, poor people are categorised with spending approximately US\$ 0.61 per day. The implications of such different data are indicated by Nm, Head of BPS, who said that 'BPS South Sulawesi is keeping and managing all the data needed for public and also for decision makers who have authority to make policy in provincial and district level'. For instance, Nm describes

two families in one of the regencies who received different Rice for Poor assistance, even though they were in the same condition. Nm has openly claimed that 'there is no valid data about the number of poor people in the village'.

Table 4.3 Number and percentage of poor people in Indonesia and South Sulawesi, 2009-2014.

	Number of Poor	People (Million)	Percentage of Poor People		
Year	Indonesia rural	donesia rural South Sulawesi		South Sulawesi	
2009	32.51	0.96	14.15	11.93	
2010	31.20	0.91	13.33	11.40	
2011	30.02	0.84	12.49	10.27	
2012	29.13	0.81	11.96	9.82	
2013	28.55	0.83	11.50	10.32	
2014	27.73	0.81	11.03	9.54	

Source: BPS South Sulawesi 2010 and 2015

Furthermore, Lyf, another participant, suggests that to have a valid view of poverty levels, 'it is important to do research and survey comprehensibly so that we have similar data about poverty'. Lyf illustrates the reason for having valid data as being similar to the Chinese war strategist Sun Tzu, who teaches us a lesson through his argument that you should know yourself, get to know your enemy and know your war field, then a thousand times you will win wars'. Lyf provided an example of data generated by the National Team of Poverty Reduction which 'have no valid name and no valid address', so that the poverty assistance cannot reach the target community because of no valid data. Arf also pointed out data issues in poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi, saying:

We can imagine how the distortion poverty data come from eleven different ministries-different and combined with the recapitulation of data from the BPS, as an example, poor people in South Sulawesi will certainly be different from the character with the poor in other parts of Indonesia (Lyf, interviewed 04/09/2013).

Laila, from Pangkep district, suggested that 'all parties need to have a similar standard data collection, so that the district/city will find it easier to make decisions and thus will more efficiently reach the target of the poverty reduction program in South Sulawesi'. All regions in South Sulawesi should have a similar understanding on the issues of poverty so that meaningful collaboration in poverty reduction programs can occur. However, it is not only data problems that are a barrier. The South Sulawesi government encounters severe budgetary problems, which are discussed in the next section.

4.3.2. Problem of Misuse of Local Budgets

There were two critical issues relating to budgets provided for poor communities. These are the limited budget allocation for poverty programs, and misuse of budget implementations. All participants in this study agreed that limited budget is one of the key problems in poverty reduction in South Sulawesi. Jck, an officer of Bappeda South Sulawesi, indicated that 'no one really cares about this issue of poverty, so Parliaments allocate very limited amounts for poverty programs'. He further argued that 'this bad annual behaviour happens when processing budgeting planning for poverty'. Participant Tfik, commented:

Within the budget process, the main districtbudget and the changed districtbudgets, parliament members could set a ceiling on the budget, which is listed in the program and development activities. It so happened during the budget consultation process between the executive and legislative members. The parliament members said there was no additional budget for new projects on the budget changes in 2013, but in the preparation of the budget changes in 2013, the funds allocated to the unit of Parliament are even more, which are taken from the Local Government Unit (Tfik, interviewed 07/09/2013).

Based on these circumstances, it can be argued that the parliament has dominant authority over the budgeting process than executive members of the government. Since the parliament of Indonesia was given budget rights after the amendment of the 1945 Constitution, and this can be seen as a derivative of the function of the parliamentary budget. As mentioned (1) states: 'Parliament has a legislative function, the function of

budget and oversight', although based on the rule of law, executive and legislative bodies have an equal voice on budgeting rights. The ideal concept was to give the people an independent voice in determining its own destiny in the form of determining the national budget.

The root of the problem of misusing local budget and national budget is mostly found in corruption practices. There are reported cases such as the selling of state land in Laikang Village and Punaga Village in Takalar district. The case happened in 2015 when the former Head of Takalar district BB was charged by High Persecutor (*Kejaksaan Tinggi*) of South Sulawesi with corruption for selling 150 hectares of state land. He abused his authority on releasing land whose principal use was for a transmigration area in Laikang Island in Takalar district, to PT KIC for high industrial zone usage on 15 October 2015. As reported by Sar (July 20th 2017), this case also involved his staff: NU as sub-district leader and SL as a Village head and a secretary of the village. The corruption case affected the state with a loss around IRD. 16 billion.

According to Candra (2016) from the Anti-Corruption Committee, this corruption happened because of political costs for the election in 2017. This happened as an effect of elections with high cost and it impacts on every district head who may try to get to break event point or make more money during his or her administration as incumbent.

Another case was the special Criminal Investigation Team (*Pidsus*) High Court (Attorney) South Sulawesi who accused four members of the Parliament of South Sulawesi as being suspects in a case of alleged corruption of social grants (*Bansos*) in South Sulawesi in 2008 that cost the state up to IDR. 8.87 billion. In addition, there was the case of the Century Bank Bailout. Based on the calculation of loss to the state made by the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK), in 2014 there was a deviation in the delivery to the Central Bank of Indonesia (Bank Indonesia) of an Award Short Term Lending Facility (FPJP) to Century Bank, which resulted in State losses of IDR. 689.39 billion and IDR. 6.7 trillion.

Rampant corruption and misuse of local budget in Indonesia has left the country with a poor financial reputation. Based on the report of Transparency International (Liputan6.com, 2014), of the 168 countries in the world, in 2014 Indonesia was ranked

107, while in 2015, Indonesia had a slightly better position at 88. In addition, the numbers corruption perception index (CPI) reached 36 points (Transparency International, 2015). JK, the Vice president of the Anti-Corruption Summit on 25 October 2016 stated that:

We have already punished nine members of the former Ministry with jail sentences, plus 19 governors, two officials of the Constitutional Court (MK) and judicial commission and hundreds of head of district and parliamentary members who have languished in jail because of corruption.

BTP, known as Ahk, the governor of Jakarta, stated that, 'the root of all issues including poverty in Indonesia is corruption'. Ahk had, as a mission, to create social justice in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, arguing that many local government budgets have not been able to be utilised for the greater prosperity of the people, especially in combating poverty across the country. A Natr, a respondent to this research who, as head of the Regional Planning Board (Bappeda South Sulawesi), pointed out that, supported this point of view

There are many local governments in South Sulawesi that have no good strategies on a pro-poor policy; for example, when we run a training course in the village for three days, what mostly happens is we usually provide incentives to the training participants; we cut one day so that we run the training for two days only, and the rest we give in the form of financial incentives to the participants. As a result, the training is failing to pursue the main goal of combating poverty and generates dishonest behaviour on the participants; this actually hinders the implementation of the poverty program (A Natr, interviewed, 06/09/2013).

The other issue relating to budget misuse of budget allocation for poverty programs was raised by Andi Emi, a participant in this research. She indicated that the amount of budget allocation for the poor could be IDR. 100 million, however the total amount received by poor communities could be half of this allocated budget. She continued this comment saying that 'this happened in all South Sulawesi districts, so that little of the proposed budget will reach the target community'.

Table 4.4. Budget Allocation for PIK PAKET in Barru District 2011 is a sample of local misuses of budget allocation for poor programs in South Sulawesi.

Table 4.4. Budget Allocation for PIK PAKET in Barru District 2011

Poor Community	IRD. 70,800,000
Empowerment Program	
Integrated Poverty Reduction	IRD. 70,800,000
Pilot (PIK PAKET)	
Spending for team or staff (employees).	IDR. 20,100,000
Spending for Goods and Services	IDR. 50,700,000
	Empowerment Program Integrated Poverty Reduction Pilot (PIK PAKET) Spending for team or staff (employees). Spending for Goods and

SOURCE: GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS, REPORT. 2013.

The budget allocation is executed by the Integrated Poverty Reduction Pilot (PIK-PAKET), and this table above shows that the budget allocation should be addressed to poor people, however, the total budget for this program, IDR. 70,800,000, is allocated only for salary for staff or team community empowerment project members and operational project costs, and no particular budget is allocated to the needy or poor people.

Table 4.5 below shows a similar situation for budget allocation for the poor community empowerment program in 2008.

Table 4.5. Budget allocation for Poor Community Empowerment Program in 2008

Program	Poor Community Empowerment Program	IRD. 70,800,000
Project	Integrated Poverty Reduction Pilot (PIK PAKET)	IRD. 70,800,000
Allocation	Spending for team or staff (employees).	IDR. 20,100,000
	Spending for Goods and Services	IDR. 50,700,000

SOURCE: GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS, REPORT. 2013.

4.3.3. Economic Disparity

The basic economic problem of poverty is related to the overwhelming economic inequality within society, where there is an existing unequal distribution of wealth and an increasing economic gap within the whole community. One participant, Darm, as a public policy expert in South Sulawesi, pointed out that this study shared similar arguments with others, noting that 'The rich become much richer, and the poor become much poorer'. He further argued that 'the income distribution (Gini Ratio or Gini Index) in South Sulawesi is 0.41, which is equal to the national average; this means that the income gap is widening, as shown in Table 4.5. This table shows the Gini index, which measures the inequality trend in Indonesia and South Sulawesi during the period 2005-2015.

Table 4.6 Gini Index in Indonesia and South Sulawesi, 2005-2015

Year	Indonesia	South Sulawesi
2005	0.36	0.35
2010	0.38	0.40
2013	0.41	0.43
2015	0.41	0.40

SOURCE: BPS SOUTH SULAWESI 2006 AND 2016

Darm explained again that, related to this unequal economic distribution, 'This situation indicates that the gap between poor and rich is high, so that there is high inequality between poor and rich'.

In a similar argument, Muh, as Head of the DistrictCommunity Empowerment Board (BPM) of South Sulawesi, stated on 04/09/2013, that:

The condition of South Sulawesi's economic growth is above 8.6 percent annually, while the number of our per capita income increased from 9 million a year now to 19 million per year. However, our economic disparity is also shown increasing significantly from 2005 to 2015, which is not good trend of inequality in our society (Muh, interviewed 04/09/2013).

The second economic issue is related to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). According to documents published by the BPS (2010-2014) (BPS, 2011; BPS, 2015), the first issue on economic disparity and structure of GDP in the agricultural sector is that while it accounted for 26% of total GDP, the absorption of labour in the agricultural sector is still as high as 40%. This means that there is low labour productivity in the agricultural sector which is still a lower sector within the economic structure in the provinces. The agricultural sector is one of the areas that is most perceived as associated with poverty in South Sulawesi, particularly in those rural areas where farmers mostly live.

Table 4.7. Gross DistrictDomestic Product at Constant Market Prices, by million Rupiahs, in Sulawesi Selatan, 2007-2012

Industrial Origin	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Agriculture	12,181.82	12,923.42	13,528.69	13,844.69	14,737.35	15,494.19
	29.47%	29.01%	28.57%	27.04%	26.75%	25.95%
a. Farm Food Crops	5,809.49	6,286.65	6,675.49	6,756.56	7,116.42	7,486.77
b. Plantation	2,842.67	2,857.78	2,947.33	2,941.87	3,107.30	3,093.52
c. Livestock	510.81	544.02	576.27	615.52	672.85	742.41
d. Forestry	57.43	56.54	56.83	57.85	59.74	60.67
e. Fishery	2,961.42	3,178.42	3,272.77	3,472.89	3,781.04	4,110.84
Mining and Quarrying	4,157.15	4,034.94	3,852.79	4,459.32	4,152.67	4,251.57
Manufacturing Industry	5,471.39	6,241.44	6,468.79	6,869.43	7,394.45	8,083.48

Electricity, Gas and Water supply	400.88	451	490.45	529,82	575.41	647.52
Construction	1,942.09	2,328.42	2,656.77	2,900.27	3,250.82	3,638.70
Trade, Hotel and restaurant	2,322.43	7,034.56	7,792.10	8,698.81	9,631.86	10,605.64
Transport and Communication	3,244.61	3,651.37	4,023.68	4,619.93	5,179.27	5,949.63
Finance, Dwelling and Business Services	2,610.48	2,881.07	3,203.98	3,742.09	4,297.33	4,979.14
Services	4,731.58	5,003.60	5,308.83	5,535.55	5,879.58	6,058.76
Total	41,332.43	44,549.82	47,314.02	51,199.90	55,098.74	59,708.63

SOURCE: BPS (2008, 2013) - STATISTICS OF SULAWESI SELATAN PROVINCE

As we can see in Table 4.7, the agriculture sector is the main economic sector in South Sulawesi, although the trend decreases continually from 29.47 per cent in 2007 to 25.95 per cent of total GDP in South Sulawesi in 2012. Agricultural sub-sectors are employing the most labour in South Sulawesi, and the numbers who work in this sub-sector are growing slowly across the province.

Table 4.8. Comparison of poverty level based on areas in South Sulawesi and Indonesia between 2006-2012

	South Sulawesi			Indonesia		
Year	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban + Rural
2006	6.83	18.25	14.57	13.34	21.81	17.75
2007	6.18	17.87	14.11	12.52	20.37	16.58
2008	6.05	16.79	13.34	11.65	18.93	15.42
2009	4.49	15.81	12.31	10.72	17.35	14.15
2010	4.7	14.88	11.6	9.87	16.56	13.33
2011	4.48	13.63	10.27	9.09	15.59	12.36
2012	4.31	13.46	10.11	9.23	15.72	12.49

SOURCE: TNP2K AND BPS, MARCH 2013

Comparing urban and rural areas in South Sulawesi, figures show that the level of poverty has declined more slowly in urban areas than in rural areas. In urban areas, the total poor people in 2006 was 6.83 per cent, but this declined to 4.31 per cent in 2012. It means that during this six year period, urban areas have only experienced a 2.52 per cent decline in poverty in South Sulawesi compared to rural areas where there was a 4.78 per cent decline.

This issue is due to some multidimensional phenomena as Marm, a senior officer at Bappeda South Sulawesi and a participant in this study, said on the 06/09/2013:

The urban area or City is mostly an interesting place especially for people who come from villages or suburban areas, because they want to better their lives. However, they are mostly unskilled jobseekers who want to earn more money to survive; this situation is getting worst by violent actions and an unhealthy environment; and they have limited and not adequate access to health care and education (Marm, interviewed, 06/09/2013).

This phenomenon has occurred because poor people can only gain limited access to their basic rights if they have an ID card. When Darm studied the incidence of poor community in the Tammanngappa region, a garbage disposal area in Makassar, he found that the poor community could not access their basic rights such as *Jamkesmas*, *PKH*, *Raskin* and others, because they did not have ID cards. Another key poverty issue is low awareness of education, as discussed below.

4.3.4. The Problem of Low Awareness of Education

The key issues regarding problems of education is access to education and the low awareness of the advantages of education. In terms of access to education, one participant in this study commented that 'our literacy rate is 88 percent, still far below national average, [which means] there are still 12 per cent of the populations of South Sulawesi who do not know how to read and write'. As one of the other interview participants, Ira noted:

This is a crucial problem in relation to low awareness of education, most children in poor families especially who live in the coastal area tend to help their parents rather than going to schools. (Ira, interviewed 5/09/2013)

He further explained about low awareness of education, suggesting 'Children prefer to stay with their parents, for example going to the farm or going for fishing'. This comment indicates that their awareness of the importance of gaining education was still very low.

A Ira's point of view was also supported by current education data presented by SYL Governor of South Sulawesi, who reported that the adult literacy rate in South Sulawesi in 2007 was under the national level. This is 86.24 percent, while the National level is 90.90 per cent of the total Indonesian population. Whilst this particular issue should be attended to by the government and all parties who are involved in and concerned about the education sector, another issue is the average length of school in South Sulawesi. The average standard length of school for children in South Sulawesi ranks below the average length of national schools.

4.3.5. Health Problems

The success of health development initiatives in South Sulawesi can be gauged from performance indicators such as required minimum service standards (*Standard Pelayanan Minimal (SPM)*) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in health. S. Alam, as head of the South Sulawesi Provincial Health Office, reported that in determining the success of the development of the health sector in the District or City, there are 18 indicators relating to the performance of four groups of services; namely basic health services (fourteen indicators), referral health services (two indicators), and epidemiological investigations and outbreak response. These are complemented by health promotion and community empowerment activities. Alam advises that there are several health problems in South Sulawesi. He states that:

There are some malnutrition, sanitation and social welfare issues. According to data, there are cases of malnutrition in South Sulawesi in 2008. The numbers of

cases of malnutrition in 2008 were as many as 95 people in districts and cities across the province. (Alam, interviewed 02/09/2013)

As a worker in the area, I have observed the health rate in South Sulawesi during 2008 to 2014, and with reference to malnutrition amongst children, in this province the number of children suffering malnutrition in 2008 is around 20 per cent of the children, and in 2011 was up to 37 per cent. As Lyf claimed, that this is the big challenge for policy makers in this region, He also asserted that:

When we talk about poverty, then we must also discuss welfare indicators, in South Sulawesi at the national level. Malnourished children – including South Sulawesi province, the percentage of malnourished children is still a high level at 25 per cent of total: Sulawesi is at number nine, which is still above the national average of 17.9 per cent. (Lyf, interviewed 4/09/2013).

The second health issue is that of problems linked to poor sanitation. Lyf, as presidential expert on poverty and districtdevelopment, stated that;

This is a big challenge because there are still 25% of total population in South Sulawesi who do not have access to the sanitation and clean water. They deserve better. (Lyf, interviewed 4/09/2013)

Similarly, I have observed, and have some experiences during official trips while monitoring and evaluating programs in South Sulawesi, that sanitation was a crucial problem in poor communities. These problems exacerbate existing social welfare issues. The social welfare issue is related to the subsidies for poor families to gain access to health services, and in this regard, there are nine categories, including the poor, remote communities, residents of orphanages, nursing homes, and those who need rehabilitation. Levels of social welfare, in relation to health, are linked to the guarantee for health service given by government to poor communities such as through Indonesia health cards. The problem is that not all poor families get access to this heath care program, because the first requirement to get a health card is for families to have an identity card.

These problems with education, health and economic conditions are implicated in the low standard of Human Development Index of South Sulawesi, which in 2007 was still under the National level.

Table 4.9. South Sulawesi HDI 1996-2013

Year	HDI	National Rank's position
1996	66	21
1999	63.60	17
2002	65.30	21
2005	68.30	23
2007	69.62	21
2008	70.22	21
2011	72.14	21
2013	72.70	19

SOURCE: BPS SOUTH SULAWESI (2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2014)

Based on BPS data for South Sulawesi between 1996 and 2013, the HDI has been raised from 66.0 in 1996 to 72 in 2013, but this position is always below the national index, being ranked, in 2011, at position 19. At the same time, in 2013, the HDI of South Sulawesi province was 72.70, which is still below the national index of 73.28.

The above data indicates that the minimum standard services or *SPM* in South Sulawesi still needs to be improved, although the trend is showing better performance. Its ranking continues to increase, but nationally, South Sulawesi is still ranked far behind other provinces in Indonesia. This is shown over a period of more than 15 years, where South Sulawesi Province has been consistently categorised at a low level of Human Development Index in Indonesia.

4.3.6. Lack of Coordination and Synergy

A key issue confounding poverty reduction initiatives is the lack of coordination and synergy among major stakeholders in poverty reduction programs. There is little interconnection among departments and a lack of synergy of program strategies between provincial and district levels. This lack of synergy between the poverty

reduction program initiatives also occurs between central governments and local governments, which severely hampers poverty reduction. As an example of these issues regarding synergy and coordination, Arf, a senior officer of Bappeda South Sulawesi, indicates that there is no optimism when implementing government regulations *Peraturan Pemerintah* No. 38/2007 and 23/2014, which refer to the division of Government Affairs between the Central Government, Provincial Government, and the Government of the District or City.

In addition, Syam, head of the implementation unit offices in Takalar district, told this study that the division of concurrent government affairs between local and central government and provincial districts and cities, is based on the principles of accountability, efficiency, as well as national strategic interests. The following criteria for the levels of managing these affairs for the government have been gazetted as:

- Sovernment Affairs which are district/city, cross provincial or cross country,
- ➤ Government Affairs that benefit or negatively impact on regional, cross provincial or cross country
- ➤ Government Affairs who will use resources more efficiently if done by the central government, and
- Sovernment Affairs whose key role is strategic in the national interests (Syam/interviewed 24/09/2013).

Furthermore, (Syam/interviewed 24/09/2013), indicated that in the Takalar coastal area, there are some locations such as Jeneponto and Bantaeng districts, where in the coastal marine area of Takalar district, Jeneponto and Bantaeng were in conflict among fishing communities, which shows lack of agreement at the community level.

Another set of criteria for affairs under the authority of the Provincial Government have been noted to be:

- > Government Affairs which are located within districts and cities
- > Government Affairs whose users are across districts and cities
- ➤ Government Affairs that benefit or negatively impact across districts and cities

➤ Government Affairs that make use of resources more efficiently if done by the provincial government

Finally, Syam explained the nature and level of those elements of Government Affairs under the authority of the government of a district or city as follows:

- ➤ Government Affairs, which are located in the districts and cities
- ➤ Government Affairs used in the districts and cities
- Government Affairs that benefit or negatively impact only in districts and cities
- ➤ Government Affairs who can use resources more efficiently if done by the districts or cities

Provisions related to the division of local government and the central government in issues that might cause conflict are the implementation of Government Affairs in forestry, marine, and energy and mineral resources, which are shared between the Central Government and Local Government. Those Government Affairs which are forestry-related and focus on the management of forest park in districts or cities fall under the authority of the relevant district or city. Government Affairs in the fields of energy and mineral resources, particularly related to the management of oil and gas, are managed with the authority of the Central Government. Government Affairs in the field of energy and mineral resources associated with the direct use of geothermal energy in the district or city fall under the authority of the district or city.

There is also a lack of coordination for the implementation of the policy of central and local governments, less than optimal contribution and support for local governments in the implementation of activities funded by the state budget, disjointed infrastructural development plans between the Government and the region regarding local roads, and an overlap of development financing of the state budget for sectorial and the Special Allocation Fund (DAK) with budget funding in certain areas. These issues need to be addressed to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the implementation of any poverty-related development.

Various measures between central and district authorities are required to cover all aspects of planning and budgeting. In terms of planning and budgeting, in an effort to optimise the execution of development programs and activities, each ministry/institution or Kementrian/Lembaga (*K/L*) needs to go through several steps, namely: First, reduce the activity of gradual assistance which is the district authority; second, enhance the efficiency of district planning meetings (*Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan*), both in the regions and at the national level; third, state clearly the location of programs and activities in the action plan or Rencana kerja of each *K/L* and *Renacan Kerja Anggaran*; and fourth, harmonise the codification of programs and activities of *K/L* and Regional Working Unit or *Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah (SKPD)* (This would be the responsibility of the Ministry of Planning and Bappenas, the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Home Affairs) (Cipta, 2011).

Meanwhile, steps that need to be taken by the local government are through the alignment of documents of local development plans with national development plans, including Midterm Regional Development Planning (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah (RPJMD)*) and National Midterm Development Planning (RPJMN), sector plans and the Strategic Plan of *K/L*, *Rencana Kerja Pembangunan Daerah* or the Regional Development Working Plan and *Rencana Kerja Pembangunan* or the Development Working Plan (RKP), and the working plan on education, where local governments need to sharpen program objectives and activities on education with a priority attention working plan or K/L and RKA-K/L annually (Cipta, 2011).

In terms of control and evaluation, steps that need to be done by the K/L include harmonising the systems and mechanisms of control and evaluation of program implementation and development activities (which are the responsibility of the Ministry of Planning/Bappenas, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of PAN and RB, BPKP and BPK). Meanwhile, steps that need to be taken by the local government involve the structuring and strengthening of SKPD in the control and evaluation of program implementation and development activities.

The steps that need to be performed by the K/L are: First, speed up the procedure discussion of technical substance Draft Local Regulation (*Ranperda*) of Spatial Planning or RTRW Province/Regency/City; secondly, bring harmonisation among

sectorial legislation related to spatial planning, in relation to planning and controlling the use of space in the area; and third, speed up the preparation and publication of legislation derived from RNo. 26/2007 on Spatial Planning and Government Regulation No. 26/2008 on National Spatial Planning or RTRWN, particularly in relation to the various draft presidential decrees related to the island RTR, the RTR national strategic area, and the RTR border area. At the same the steps that need to be done by the local government are to speed up the preparation of the draft spatial plan and its delivery to the central Government (BKPRN) and increase the district capacity of BKPRD.

In terms of investment, steps that need to be done by the ministry/institution are the availability of supporting infrastructure investment and regulatory frameworks to encourage the creation of a conducive investment environment. A measure to be undertaken by the local government is the application of One Stop Services (OSS) in each region. As Arif' points out:

There is lack of interconnection among departments on poverty reduction. Each department/institution often has overlapping on anti-poverty programs and also the programs often fail to meet targets. (Arf, interviewed 04/09/2013)

To reduce failure of targets or address anti-poverty programs, the provincial government of South Sulawesi needs to identify and evaluate the anti-poverty policy. Since, a senior official of poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi commented as follows:

We have to sit together among policy makers who care and are involved in poverty reduction programs to synergise our activities in the field to make the right target of poor people as the right beneficiaries as they should be based on the 14 indicators of the poverty line. Identification of potential poor people is weak and needs to be done, because we rarely do that, so at the moment it has been done in South Sulawesi – particularly in some districts such as Enrekang, Luwu Timur, Takalar, Barru, Pangkep there are good efforts to identify properly the poor's needs. (Since, interview 12/09/2013)

As Since stated, here below are 14 indicators of poverty from the Statistics office and the Social Department of Republic of Indonesia:

- 1. The floor area of residential buildings is less than 8m² per person;
- 2. The type of dwelling floor is made of earth / bamboo / cheap wood;
- 3. The type of walls of the shelter is of bamboo / thatch / low-quality wood / wall without plaster;
- 4. Do not have the facilities to defecate / shared with other households;
- 5. Sources of household lighting do not use electricity;
- 6. Sources of drinking water from wells / springs unprotected / river / rainwater;
- 7. Fuel for everyday cooking is firewood / charcoal / kerosene;
- 8. Only consume meat / milk / chicken once a week;
- 9. Only buy a new set of new clothes once a year;
- 10. Only able to eat as much as one or two times a day;
- 11. Unable to pay fees at public health centres / polyclinics;
- 12. Sources of income of household heads are: farmers with land area of 500m², farm workers, fishermen, construction workers, plantation labourers and/or other employment with income less than IDR. 600,000 per month;
- 13. Highest level of education of household head: no school / not completed primary school / elementary school, and
- 14. No saving / goods are easily sold with a minimum of IDR. 500,000, like motorcycle credit / non-credit, gold, livestock, motor boats, or other capital goods.

A problem is that when the different sectors involved in poverty programs want to seek synergy of activities, because the actors are also elements of the society, each actor has a sectorial interest and wants to use their interest for their group and will argue that their ideas are right. For example, in the allocation of state budget funds, it is not usual to mention specific areas that have received assistance. Since commented:

We as team members of an anti-poverty program work together, we must understand the duties and functions of each other. It would be worse if we do not understand about our own duty and function, which results in difficulty in fighting poverty (Since, interviewed 12/09/2013).

Meanwhile, Lyf continues with his argument;

We can imagine how the distortion of poverty data arises, coming from eleven different ministries and combined with the recapitulation of data from the BPS. Poor people in South Sulawesi will certainly be different from the character of the poor people in Aceh. What we find using outcome data from the BPS would be distortive, we are seeking an alternative source of official data from the government that is more accurate and undistorted largely at the provincial and district and at the village level (Lyf, 04/09/2013).

This suggestion is being pursued by the central government, where they are combining the BPS data and the technocratic approach. They are attempting to record levels of poverty by using the fourteen indicators of poverty line and deepen understandings by using a participative approach from village meetings and sub-district meetings. By using the technocratic approach from BPS and the deliberation participative approach of villages when performed by community and villagers through village meetings, an alternative combination system would be obtained which could be a middle ground between the government's interests and the interests of rural communities and villages. This is expected to generate more accurate data and avoid distortion of the various parties. It can erase data that has been made by way of a technocratic style. So, a technocratic mechanism which is updated by means of participative data collection, will be a middle ground in integration efforts among program beneficiaries between central and local governments. The hope is that from a combination of technocratic and participative approaches new data that can be accounted for either by central government and local government for the collection of the fiscal year in 2014 will be forthcoming. As Edi, as a member of the collaboration team of PR from central government and provincial government, said:

This is new data that will be taken if they are used for program implementation in the field. The data base will be checked and reset to the region, is already in line with existing data in the field. Micro data is then a reference in decision making. So, the accuracy of data is the most important thing to the success of the implementation of development efforts in the future.

Edi then continues with his argument:

Therefore, we expect a lack of attention or awareness of the decision makers in local government level such as governors, deputy governors, and all parties including internal institutions, local NGOs members and donor institutions for serious management or dealing with poverty reduction programs in their respective areas. In relation with this, we also realised that the policy makers like governors, head of districts (*bupati*) and mayors face hard problems, not to mention if we associate with human resource capacity in these areas. So, I agreed with the researchers to see what the most difficult challenge of the anti-poverty program is to synergise target program is running well, so the poverty reduction program can be run in accordance with the expectations and objectives of the policy of the central and local governments. (Edi, interviewed 04/09/2113)

Aemy, a senior Staff member of Bappeda South Sulawesi argued

We just often talk about the expansion of the program and increase the budget of the program, without evaluating carefully the result of performance targets that we have achieved in the past. Regarding the performance of local budget reports, we often only care about how much money is allocated on the program, regardless of the output that we have already achieved. To meet the targets and the objectives of the anti-poverty programs, both the government and people or public should be able to care about the effects and impacts of these anti-poverty programs for the poor people. (Aemy, interviewed 04/09/2013)

In line with Alemi's illustration, Arf stated;

Let us take one example only, for example the community health care program or *Jaminan kesehatan Masyarakat* or *Jamkesmas* program: the bupati of Gowa district, until this day in 2013 have not been willing to accept *Jamkesmas*. Even I as Bappenas ministry's expert was ordered to meet the *bupati*. Then I said, I met the governor (that in fact the bupati of Gowa is the governor's young brother (Arf, interviewed 04/09/2013).

I see that to accelerate the poverty reduction programs, the central government uses a formalistic approach in introducing the anti-poverty programs, in many cases, we apply intricately bureaucratic that ultimately use the public budget that is not in accordance with the aim of the public budget allocation, so we just do nothing and just walk in one place. (Arf/Interviewed 04/09/2013)

Notwithstanding the work which has been done by governments and aid agencies in this area, Arf argued that the anti-poverty programs are still weak in regard to coordination, and that strengthening of contributing institutions' understanding of the nature of the underlying issues of these initiatives will significantly increase the effectiveness of the collaborative anti-poverty programs

The South Sulawesi government has conducted an anti-poverty program to pursue achievement of government policies on combating poverty across the province, but regarding this issue, below is a quotation of an interview with a senior officer of Bappeda South Sulawesi Province:

Based on the national level of poverty reduction programs approach the program consists of three clusters and many sectors or stakeholders are involved on it, therefore to run effectively and efficiently on the target, I suggest that at the national and provincial levels there should be established such specific institution to handle properly poverty programs across the province, so that it might use a holistic perspective and comprehensive approach in reducing poverty in South Sulawesi. (A Natr, interviewed 06/09/2013)

Figure 4.1 Scheme of prohibitive factors involved in the implementation of the Poverty Reduction Program in South Sulawesi.

	National Program	Provincial and District Government	PROHIBITIVE	Implication
KEY STRTAEGEIS	Cluster I Raskin, PKH Jamkesmas Cluster II Community Empowerment (PNPM)	Jamkesda. Free Education SISDUK PIK PAKET	Different Data uses; Economic, Education, Health Problems Lack of coordination poverty reduction programs	Economic Disparity Miss targets of Poverty Programs Ineffectiveness of Poverty Programs
	Cluster III Economic Empowerment KUR, PUGAR	Local Initiative Economic Program	Misuses Local Budget Cultural Barrier	

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SOURCE: BAPPEDA SOUTH SULAWESI, TKPKD (2013)

The scheme above shows the anti-poverty program consists of three clusters of key strategies to reduce people who live under the poverty line. In the provincial and district level, each local government of South Sulawesi implements each cluster through its local anti-poverty programs. However, it is not easy to achieve the main goal of the programs that significantly reduce numbers of poor people across the province. There are some obstacles or prohibitive factors to pursue the goal; such as different data uses, economic factors, education, health problems, lack of coordination, lack of synergy of the poverty reduction program, and misuse of local budget, and cultural barriers,. These problems implicate economic disparity or inequality, and missed targets on the poverty programs contribute to the overall ineffectiveness of poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi.

4.4. Key Strategies on Poverty Reduction

As indicated earlier, there are three important strategies related to poverty reduction proposed by the provincial government of South Sulawesi. These are the social security programs, known as Cluster I, community empowerment (Cluster II), and economic empowerment (Cluster III). The following paragraphs describe these three essential strategies in poverty reduction in more detail.

4.4.1. Social Security Programs (Cluster I)

Social security programs, known as Cluster I (SSP), are governmental packages that address each poor individual household, and include the community health insurance (referred to as *jaminan kesehatan masyarakat* [*Jamkesmas*]), conditional cash transfers (CCT), rice for poor (*Raskin*), and family expectation programs. In the community

health insurance programs, there are three criteria: (i) farmers who have no land, (ii) families who are unable to have enough food during the day, and (iii) homeless families. As indicated by participant Arif, an expert in national development planning, 'Jamkesmas particularly focused on individual families or households who are under the poverty line, and do not have enough food to eat during the day, and are also unable to bring the family to hospital when they are sick' (Arf, interview, 04/09/2013). Further, Arif argued that the target is also 'farmers who work in the agriculture sector and farmers who own very limited land who cannot afford their daily needs'. Another participant, Lyf, who is concerned with poverty reduction issues, claimed that 'those families who receive SSP are those who have no houses' (Lyf, interview, 3/09/2013).

Conditional cash transfers (CCT) are the second SSP proposed by the central and provincial governments and are organised and controlled by the poverty reduction team from the provincial and district levels. CCT is a kind of direct subsidy for poor families, as Aemi, one of the senior officers from the provincial level claimed. She said that 'this government's subsidy program aims to assist poor households to maintain purchasing power across the country' (Interview, 4 September 2013). However, it is observed by the researcher that this CCT only helps families for short periods, because this program only focuses particularly on social protection. Furthermore, this CCT may not help the family to rise above the poverty line because they are not given long term aid and programs to recover from their poor conditions.

The Rice for Poor (*Raskin*) initiative is a direct distribution of rice for poor families. This idea originated from the Board of National Statistics which was implemented in 2014. Participants in this study state that they believe the four basic aims of *Raskin* are (i) to fulfil the daily needs of poor families, (ii) to increase access of poor families to the economic sector, (iii) to reduce the burden of poor families' spending on basic needs, and (iv) to prevent a decrease in energy consumption. To implement *Raskin* effectively, it has been suggested that there are several influencing factors: the right target, the right amount, the right price, right time, right quality and right administration program.

The Hopeful Family Program (recognised as *Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)*), is a national strategy to alleviate poverty across Indonesia, which involves a number of departments including the National Development Planning Board, the Ministry of

Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Communications and Information, and the Central Bureau of Statistics. To help the program to succeed, it was assisted by a team of experts and consultants from the World Bank. The main purpose of the *PKH* initiative is to reduce poverty and improve the quality of human resources, especially in poor communities. In addition, it aims to accelerate the achievement of the millennium development goals (MDGs). Specifically, the goals of *PKH* consist of (i) improving the socio-economic conditions of the target community, (ii) improving the educational level of children of the target community, (iii) improving the health and nutritional status of pregnant women, postpartum mothers, and children under six years of age in the target community, and (iv) improving access to, and quality of, education and health services, especially for the target community. Following this program, the provincial government of South Sulawesi implemented the community empowerment program, which is discussed next.

4.4.2. Community Empowerment Program (Cluster II)

Community empowerment is an attempt to enhance the capacity of a poor community, either individually or in groups, for solving various problems related to their efforts to improve quality of life, independence and community welfare, greater involvement in local government and other parties, the ability to provide economic opportunities, and to ensure the welfare sustainability of the results achieved. This empowerment program was initiated by World Bank and the district government and was launched in Central Sulawesi by the President of Indonesia on April 30, 2007. The cluster aims to develop the potential and strengthen the capacity of the poor population. One participant, Edy (an expert on community empowerment), states that the community empowerment approach is intended to improve social stability, job opportunities, local governments and create and fix assets for the poor. Community empowerment is characterised by (i) using a community approach, (ii) strengthening the institutional capacity of the public, and (iii) a program of activities implemented and self-managed by the community.

An example of community empowerment is the PNPM (National Program for Community Empowerment) approach, which includes a core consisting of urban and rural programs. The PNPM urban element consists of housing and settlements, and has

environment, political and economic dimensions aimed at strengthening human capital and community institutions. The PNPM rural element relates to economic empowerment and includes strengthening the opportunities for poor families including small business development, agribusiness and tourism, together with conditions such as basic education for children, basic health care and clean water, sanitation and related infrastructure. The details of PNPM are given in Table 4.10. PNPM programs consist of 13 activities.

Table 4.10. PNPM programs consist of 13 activities.

No.	PNPM programs	Target community
1	Rural PNPM	Rural Community Group
2	Urban PNPM	Urban Community Group
3	PNPM Disadvantaged Areas	Community Groups Outback, Disadvantaged
	(End of 2012)	(Disaster, Conflict etc.)
4	Rural Infrastructure Support	Rural Communities Group
	(RIS PNPM)	
5	PNPM DistrictEconomic	Rural Community Group
	Infrastructure Development	
	(RISE)	
6	Agribusiness PNPM Increasing	Rural Community Agricultural Group
	Agriculture (PUAP)	
7	PNPM Marine and Fishery	Coastal Area Community Group
9	PNPM Tourism	Potential Rural Community Group
10	PNPM Generation	Rural Community Group
11	PNPM Green Sub-District	
	Development Program (G-	Rural Community Group
	KDP)	
12	PNPM Neighborhood	Rural Community Group
	Development (ND)	Kurai Community Group
13	PNPM Housing and settlements	Rural and Urban Communities

SOURCE: BAKER ET AL. 2013

There are two stages in implementing community empowerment programs (PNPM). As Edy pointed out:

stage one included the involvement of community in all training programs so that they understand and have the capacity to start their business programs, and Stage two included the poor target community who are given financial incentives to run small business with the assistance of mentors and facilitators provided by the government. (Edy, interviewed 04/09/2013)

Similarly, other participants indicated that the 'implementation of Stage One and Two aims to develop systems, procedures and systems to provide mentoring and to stimulate initiative and innovative programs for sustainable poverty reduction efforts'. The basic reason for implementing community empowerment program was to change life opportunities for the target community families for the better. More importantly, this community empowerment further aims to synergise government stakeholder's' programs in poverty programs so that the target communities can receive maximum benefits.

4.4.3. Economic Empowerment (Cluster III)

Economic empowerment is a program to empower poor families to establish small business and micro enterprises. Arf, a participant in this study, explained that 'poverty reduction programs empower micro and small businesses and aim to provide access to and strengthen the economy for micro and small businesses'. He further characterises the initiative as (i) providing capital assistance or financing at the micro scale, to help target communities to be independent in running small enterprises, (ii) strengthening independence and market access, facilitating the development of small industry to grow, and (iii) improving skills and business management, providing training and assistance for management skills in micro and small enterprises. Developing these three characteristics in all micro and small businesses gives participants a good opportunity to enlarge their small economic scale enterprises in all aspects.

As Arif further pointed out, the effectiveness of clustering poverty reduction programs for the target population depends on close collaboration between central and districtgovernment. The strategy of poverty reduction programs should emphasise the relationship between Clusters I and II and III. Interconnections between poverty reduction programs must be supported by real data. Based on National Team to Accelerate Poverty Program (*TNP2K*) all poor people have received aid across the country (Government report, *TNP2K*). The policy of poverty reduction was stated on the Regional Midterm Development Planning (*RPJMD* 2008-2013) then simplified with more detail in the annual job planning of the local government (*RKPD*) and used as a reference by either provincial or district governments within implementation of regular

local development. Various anti-poverty policies within RPJMD 2008-2013 hopefully can reduce the percentage of the poor people in South Sulawesi to 8.1 per cent or 777,2000 people in 2013 (South Sulawesi government report, 2013).

In addition, as another participant, Lyf, further illustrates, the continuous program of community empowerment is important:

To strengthen the local economy, if it had been giving hooks and fishing rods in cluster I and II, and in cluster III the government gave a boat to the community, this would give access and economic empowerment for the economic community'(Lyf, interviewed 04/09/2013).

One of the major problems is that Small and Medium Enterprises in Indonesia represent less than two per cent of Indonesia's population, compared with neighbouring countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand where the numbers are more than 4 per cent. It is well known that SMEs are very important in a nation's economy, and it is not just the big companies that dominate the economy of Indonesia. As a consequence, the presence of SMEs is very helpful for economic growth and, at the same time, they will help the more equitable distribution of income across Indonesian society. In this regard, the government has attempted to increase the number of SMEs in Indonesia by providing policies that aim to encourage their development in order to create a more socially just society in Indonesia. For example, SYL, Governor of South Sulawesi, has already launched 100,000 SMEs in South Sulawesi.

The government is also implementing entrepreneurial training for youth in the development of entrepreneurial local people assisted by the community. Local government has also played an active role in facilitating the entrepreneurial spirit, and employers are supervising youth in order to foster and motivate their entrepreneurial potential. To fully successfully implement initiatives in Cluster III, Arf indicated that there are two important conditions, suggesting 'Firstly, the central and provincial governments must have similar concerns on economic and community empowerment; secondly, the districtand provincial government should establish strong relationships through strengthening of coordination functions between them'. As he further pointed out in one of our series of interviews:

At the moment, our central and provincial government realise the importance of synergy implementation in their economic and community empowerment strategies in clustering target systems. To support this strategy, the policy should affect directly the individual or the family household. (Arf, interview 4/9/2013)

Finally, Cluster III was driven by the desire of central and provincial governments to have a stronger economy through the empowerment of small business groups. The stronger that the community economy becomes, the better is the chance of strengthening the small enterprise communities.

4.5. Implications

This condition indicates that the central and provincial government have only to rely on the formal agenda as a coordination mechanism such as annual national meetings, districtmeetings and others: they mostly only see general guidelines, or a guideline for implementation of the program. In the program Rice for the Poor (*Beras untuk orang miskin* or *Raskin*), the central government made a general guideline, the province made an implementation manual, while the district made technical guidelines (*Petunjuk Teknis/Juknis*). However, a problem arises here that if there is a codified set of operational guidelines and technical guidelines, where do the characteristics of each region emerge?

This is an instrument designed to promote synergy between the central government and the regions, where the centre can provide general guidelines, the province must translate these into instruction implementations, and the district adapts them to the technical conditions in the district or the city. However, a check on the actual operation suggests that the contextualisation of the procedures and instructions which are made by provinces and districts in accordance with the technical conditions on the ground is minimal, with the result that they mostly just copy and paste from general guidelines that have been made by the central government.

In those areas that have *Jamkesda*, there is still a question of how to make the two programs work together with each other and achieve complementary between them in

filling gaps that are not yet covered by the respective programs or to avoid overlapping between the two programs.

Though the decentralisation of poverty reduction programs is expected, we can clearly see that the role of local government is still very minimal. Whereas, supposedly, each region must have innovations specifically adapted to local conditions, the national average drives the performance in areas in Indonesia. **Local Leaders as Social Change Agents**

Notwithstanding the difficulties faced, the central government's efforts in cooperating with NGOs in poverty reduction programs in Indonesia has had some positive impacts. The government has had a working group, which is a development of partnerships, and also has, as the next priority to aim for, to integrate the efforts of the central and local governments. Poverty reduction programs are difficult to be realised by the regions, therefore, it is possible between the central government and the province as collaborative involvement and making capital commitment. At the same time, the local government is expected to be serious in dealing with poverty reduction programs in the area.

Through the restructuring of the budget, or the budget revision as an example, Arf, as an expert who works with Bappenas, has checked with the entire province in Indonesia, about how much commitment there is in a region toward an effort to improve the cost structure of the poverty reduction program. From central government research in the field, there is a difficulty in convincing the local governments to shift the proportion of capital expenditure and development expenditure specifically allocated on poverty reduction programs.

Arf then argued that in Aceh, which includes a rich region, 60 per cent of the budget expenditure is for employee salaries, and it is difficult to shift various allocations from these numbers. This argument is also in line with the financial ministry of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017. SMI mentioned that 70 per cent of local budget was for employee's' salaries (2017). It is a simple and real indicator of how district commitment is necessary to change the structure of how the budget will be allocated to programs that favour the interests of the public, especially for the poor. And as we said before, the

program of poverty reduction requires a strong commitment from local pro-poor. Jokowi, as Governor of Jakarta in the period 2012-2014, was talking about tax issues for *Warung Tegal or Warteg* (small and micro enterprises, which number about 340,000). Jokowi will abolish their taxes, because during the time that a *Warteg's* turnover is around IDR. 500,000 per day (which is equal to AU\$50 per day), for tax purposes it is equated with a restaurant, or cafe with more assets and greater turnover, such as Starbucks or McDonalds. This approach is desirable from a community perspective as it shows the government's commitment in favour of the small enterprises. What emerges from this example is that what is needed is a districtleader who has a vision and action plan which can be translated into real actions in favour of the public interest. It is anticipated that this leader will then get local support from all level of communities.

There is a case in South Sulawesi, in the Department of Cooperatives, where they gave assistance to a cooperative, with aid to the extent of IDR. 500,000. However, this aid was considered as income, and the cooperative was taxed on it. It is argued that as this aid is business capital, there should be commitment from the government to fund aid for capital costs tax-free, therefore the Department of Cooperatives is lobbying with the banks arguing that the payments are not taxed.

We thus need a local pioneer leader or the power of a pioneer in a social system in this area of community management for the benefit of the whole community. This will not be the usual governor or the usual bupatis in leading the region. Because it takes innovations and visions that look far ahead in order to carry out the mandate of the people, we need communities who are aware and smart in choosing their leaders. As Lyf, an expert in this area commented:

Here are my conclusions during the tour for three years from 2010-2013, which I initially thought about – solution only a formality and the technocratic way, but this was precisely what we discussed earlier is the key success of the region forward in building this nation (Lyf, interviewed 04/09/2013)

As a former head of North Luwu district in the period 1999-2004, Lyf warned the leaders of both governors as well as bupatis or head of districts that leaders they should

in the area that the structural system at the village judges the success of a village through its public achievement. Lyf, who served as *Bupati* in the period 1999 to 2004, has had experience in determining how villages excel in the system of village competition. However, a good achievement in poverty reduction programs at the village level and at the district level does not count, because achievement is more likely to be judged in tangible terms of engineering.

Lyf's opinion was not just an expression of a personal nature, because in my research I have had similar experiences. In 2006, I served as a judge on the assessment team at race village level throughout South Sulawesi province, in a scoring system to determine which village becomes a champion in the race village competition. Lyf has found a good strategy is one which contributes locally and nationally, where the village will be the champion race village at the provincial and national level. In the competition, the village has been given certain criteria that become the basis for determining whether the village will be the champion and represent the province of South Sulawesi. It is here that poverty reduction programs should have a place, in order to stimulate and encourage villages to excel in community development as well as building or commerce.

The following is the interview with Edi as a poverty expert who worked at the National Team to Accelerate Poverty Reduction Agency (*TNP2K*):

In the past policy of poverty reduction programs, there has been far more emphasis on expanding the program, a budget increase and others. How to make the integration between the central government and local governments to make poverty reduction programs, because we do not decentralise the poverty programs across the country, as long as we implemented the previous poverty programs' policy, the central government always had too much control of the poverty programs. From all those stages, what arose was only the creation of technical guidance from the centre and the creation of program guidelines. The provincial governments continue to command the districts/cities (Edy, interviewed 04/09/2013).

The point here is that a golden way to combat poverty in Indonesia is to have a pioneer or someone with the power of a pioneer to organise relevant aspects of current social welfare and social justice across the country.

4.7. Summary

Evolutionary ongoing events in a social system require gradual changes to any elements that exist in the system. This chapter has described some of the issues related to the Indonesian government and local governments' attempts to fight poverty. In this respect, transformation in the political field by the establishment of districtautonomy implementation through Law 22, 1999 and revised by Law 32, 2004 has significantly changed the role of development actors, at the central, province and district or city levels.

Various problems of poverty in governance practices in Indonesia were found in this study, including the confounding confusion of different data on poverty, misuse of local budgets, significant economic disparity, low community awareness of the importance of education, the existence of widespread health problems, and administrative problems of coordination and synergy. As a result, the performance of poverty reduction programs in Indonesia is a pseudo achievement; it means that huge effort and financial resources have been implemented to combat poverty; however, it difficult to achieve the goal of the PR programs themselves which have emerged as a new vector for economic disparity, nationally and locally.

It has been suggested in a social system theory such as EGT (Van Assche et al., 2014), and also in collective binding decision making, that there needs to be a leader who is able to conduct and energise all elements in the society. The pioneer leader creates collective awareness, empowerment and strong commitment, continuous improvement and synergy of programs and activities to the achievement of performance targets not only at the level of outcomes, but also at the level of impact and benefits for poor people significantly.

In Chapter 5, the thesis will explore key strategies, problems and implications of the Poverty Reduction case study in Takalar district.

Chapter 5 Strategies, Issues and Implications of Poverty: A Case Study in Takalar

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses key strategies adopted to address the problems related to poverty and the implications for poverty reduction programs in Takalar, South Sulawesi. Starting with an overview of the geographical conditions and the economic and social structures of the district, the chapter examines such issues as economic inequality, data management, lack of education, and level of access to health services. Further, the chapter examines misuse of provincial and district budgets, challenges presented by cultural practices and beliefs, and challenges associated with coordination amongst community and government stakeholders.

5.2. Geographical Conditions

The Takalar district is one of the districts in South Sulawesi located to the south of the island. The location of Takalar district is 5° 3'–5° 38' South latitude and 119° 22'–119° 39' East longitude. The total area of the district of Takalar is approximately 566.51 km², 240.88 km² being a coastal area with a coastline of about 75 km. Takalar district has a tropical climate with two seasons: rainy and dry. The rainy season is between October and March with a monthly rainfall in the rainy season ranging from 122.7 mm to 653.6 mm. At the same time the average daily temperature is 27.9 degrees Celsius (October) and the lowest is 26.5 degrees Celsius (January-February). Such an environment is conducive to agriculture, and this is borne out by the following geographical overview.

Takalar district is divided into three sections. The eastern part (covering the area of Palombangkeng, North Palombangkeng and South Palombangkeng) is fertile lowland with an area of hills (Mount Bawakaraeng) which has been found to be is suitable for agriculture and plantations. The central section is Kabupaten (with Pattalassang, the district capital), which is lowland with relatively fertile soil allowing agriculture,

farming and aquaculture. The western part of Takalar district (which includes Mangarabombang, Galesong North, Galesong South, Galesong City, Mappakasunggu and Sanrobone), is partly lowland and is fertile enough for agricultural plantations. The coastal area, which is quite substantial, is suitable for aquaculture, fisheries and seaweed farms (Source: Central Board of Statistic of Takalar Regency (BPS), 2010, p. 3).

5.3. Economic Structure

5.3.1. Social and Cultural Considerations

Most residents in Takalar district are ethnic Makassarese, who still hold to the dual principles of *siri na pacce/pesse*. The philosophy of *siri* is used by people from Makassar to justify the defence of the honour of people who have been insulted or demeaned. This extends to the preservation of an individual's dignity, as well as that of their family and relatives. This philosophy of na pacce/pesse also requires individuals to help fellow community members who are in distress or who are suffering (Limpo, 1995, p. 87), which has clear implications for initiatives to alleviate poverty.

5.3.2. Economic Conditions

In 2012, the population of Takalar was 275,034. They live in rural areas, spread over nine sub-districts (Polombangkeng North, South Polombangkeng, Magarabombang, Galesong North, South Galesong, Galesong, Mappakasunggu and Sanrobone), and are engaged in agriculture, trade, and services, as detailed Gross Domestic Product of Takalar based on current prices (%) in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Gross Domestic Product of Takalar based on current prices (%)

No	Business sector	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	Agriculture (food crops, plantation, animal husbandry and fishery)	45.22	46.72	47.44	48.99	49.94
2	Mining and Excavation	1.54	1.49	1.58	1.78	1.86

3	Industry and Processing	6.42	6.30	6.16	5.89	5.63
4	Electricity, Gas, Water Supply	0.22	0.21	0.18	0.16	0.13
5	Construction	7.38	7.09	7.22	7.19	7.10
6	Wholesale and Retail Trade; Car Repair and Motorcycles	13.04	12.84	12.47	11.87	11.60
7	Transportation and Warehousing	3.05	2.91	2.76	2.79	2.66
8	Provision of Accommodation	0.36	0.35	0.33	0.31	0.29
9	Information and Communication	4.00	4.02	4.10	3.90	3.60
10	Financial Services and Insurance	1.69	1.67	1.74	1.66	1.62
11	Real Estate	5.82	5.63	5.68	5.58	5.52
12	Company Services Administration, Defence and Compulsory Social Security	7.90	7.53	7.20	6.85	7.14
13	Educational Services	1.74	1.59	1.52	1.43	1.36
14	Health and Social Work Services	1.37	1.40	1.39	1.38	1.32
15	Other Services	0.26	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.23
	Total GDP	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: BPS TAKALAR DISTRICT REPORT 2012 TO 2016

Based on the table above**Error! Reference source not found.**, while agriculture was t he main economic sector, it rose slightly from 45.22 % to 49.94% of total GDP from 2011 to 2015. As shown in, in the agricultural sector, the income earning sectors were food crops, plantation, animal husbandry and fishery.

In relation to the agriculture sector, Table 5.2 describes agriculture production from food crops, plantations, livestock and fisheries as follows:

Table 5.2 Agricultural Production (Ton) of Takalar District for the period 2011-2015

Agricultural Production (Ton)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Food Crop (Ton)					
a. Rice	155,522.81	162,948.55	164,360.89	186,724.06	131,447
b. Soya bean	1,058	1,183	1,400	1,038	n/a
c. Sweet potato	1,153.15	4,627	1,400	3,356	n/a
d. Cassava	7,798.25	2,877	3,024	1,591	n/a
Plantation (Ton)					
a. Corn	32,080.77	27,425.29	23,908.59	24,776.46	18,015
b. Cane	1,907	1,439	1,530	1,500	1,118
d. Coffee	5.5	5	5.2	5.2	n/a
e. Coconut	1,345	1,479	1,463	1,457	1,982
f. Cotton	42	81	45.50	44	257
g. Candlenut	53	51	25	13	n/a
d. Cashew	623.6	590	602	425	1,978
Livestock (Ton)					
a. Cow	29,604	28,883	31,744	34,987	36,374
b. Goat	20,417	22,264	22,3	23,331	41,195
c. Buffalo	3,829	3,822	3,307	3,597	2,935
d. Horse	1,116	1,053	1,044	778	719
Fishery (Ton)					
a. Marine Fishery	25,074.20	4,249.20	4,457.70	13,430	14,465
b. Inland Cultivation	4,670	7,293	6,708	6,337	7,251

SOURCE: BPS TAKALAR DISTRICT REPORT 2012 TO 2016

Table 5.2 shows that the agriculture production was relatively small, due to limited farmland ownership. According to Nurasa and Purwoto (2012, p. 409) arable land area

in Java and outside Java is less than 0.5 ha/family. The land area is now steadily decreasing with increasing population and improved agricultural developments.

Table 5.3 Percentage of workers over 15 years of age in various business sectors in Takalar district (2011).

Business sector	Man	Woman	Total	Percentage (%)	
1	2	3	4	5	
1. Agriculture	30,978	15,958	46,936	47	
2. Processing Indsutry	4,636	4,455	9,091	9	
3. Trade	11,685	8,462	20,147	20	
4. Public services	6,953	3,744	10,697	11	
5. Others*	12,737	1,260	13,997	14	
Total	66,984	33,873	100,868	100	

Source: BPS Takalar district (2012)

Based on information derived from Table 5.3 above, Takalar's population is still largely at subsistence level, being directly or closely related to the agricultural sector. In 2011, the population working in the agricultural sector was estimated at 46,936 people or 47 per cent of the total population aged 15 years and over. The next sector as the dominant livelihood is trade with 20,147 people (20 per cent), then the public services sector of 10,697 people (11 percent). Other sectors have about 13,997 people (14 per cent).

Table 5.4 Population growth in Takalar and South Sulawesi Province between 2006-2012

District/City	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Takalar	249,348	252,270	255,154	257,974	269,603	272,322	275,034
South Sulawesi	7,475,120	7,570,830	7,679,186	7,781,945	7,923,588	8,001,379	8,192,234

SOURCE: BPS SOUTH SULAWESI AND TAKALAR DISTRICT 2007 TO 2013

There is an impact on the conditions of the population by the limitation of available land, resulting in low incomes and conditions of poverty. In 2010, the number of poor people in Takalar was 29,926 (BPS, 2013).

5.4. Problems in Poverty Reduction

5.4.1. Economic Inequality

Takalar district is in the southern coastal area of Sulawesi Island with a 75 km coastline. Almost three quarters of the total population are fishermen and live on marine production. They still apply a traditional system to their fishing and marine production, known as *Ponggawa-Sawi* relationship. Syaiful (2014) mentioned that this system is an in-balance relationship of fishing production between the ship-owner or investor (*ponggawa*) and worker (sawi). This system has an effect on the people and economy; it exacerbates inequality in this district. The social-economic relationship is applied between the ownership of fishing boats between the workers and the bosses as investors. The *sawi* do not have enough capital to buy modern fishing equipment (fiberhulled craft) and are forced to fish with a simple boat. These boats are not able to sail beyond 15 miles from shore; so they are not capable of taking a heavy fish load. However, to meet the needs of everyday life, fishermen need to sell around 10-15 kg per day. A member of staff at a local Fisheries Department, in an interview, said (on 27/09/2013):

Takalar district fishing communities need modern fishing vessels with bigger catching capacity which will catch many more fish than traditional boats, so that they have more opportunity to raise their economic income. (Sams, interviewed, 26/09/2013).

These economic conditions cause the fishermen to become dependent on the boss (the ship-owner). *Sawi* prefers to borrow money from the investors instead of the bank, because the investor's process is faster than the banks. In addition, Ahmad (interview 27/09/2013), said that the money lender is very important for the fishermen because they help the fishermen when they really need help, even though they have to pay with interest much higher than bank interest. The head of the Regional Engineering unit

(*UPTD*) of Takalar district, explained that the fishermen are more focused on the relationship between themselves and the financiers. The boss has created a system which binds the fishermen, so that they remain dependent on the ship-owner (a paternalistic system).

As a result of the economic inequality which inevitably results from this system, the problem of illegal fishing occurs. This is an issue that is difficult to overcome for the Takalar District Government and the South Sulawesi Provincial Government. It occurs in the Takalar district in two ways. In the first case, illegal methods of fishing are carried out. Local fishermen stun fish by means of bombing the reefs. This illegal fishing method is used because of the demands of daily living, and the pressure of debt burden to financiers. Fishermen with simple fishing gear can catch large numbers of fish by using these illegal methods of bombing and electric shocking. They do not realise, or overlook the fact, that bombing damages the reef which is critical to marine life (Onthoni, Simbolon, & Jusadi 2011; Salm, Clark, & Siirila, 2000).

Another local fisheries officer in an interview said:

Illegal fishing activities are carried out by the fishermen to meet their necessities of life and settle loans they are trapped into. The illegal fishing activities are difficult to control because we have a long coastline (Bas, interviewed, 26/09/2013).

The second issue is where outsiders use illegal modern equipment such as trawl boats with 150 to 300 km long nets. These activities are very destructive to sustainability of Indonesian marine resources. This state of affairs directly reduces local fishermen's fishing capacities in Indonesia as a whole, and in particular in South Sulawesi, Takalar district's water (Bas, interviewed, 26/09/2013).

To reduce the illegal fishing by outsiders who use modern boats with huge catching capacities, the central government passed Law No. 31/2004, later replaced by Law No. 45/2009 in line with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). UNCLOS has been ratified with Law No. 17/1985 (Hukum online.com, 2017). This regulation is a strong motivation for marine resources stakeholders; in application of this law by the Fishery and Marine Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia outsider boats

which illegally fish in Indonesian waters are sunk. This law has been vigorously implemented since 2015. So far, the Indonesian Government has sunk 314 ships from various countries.

The deterrent effect of this law is working for the good of Indonesian marine production. For instance, Susi, Marine and Fishery Minister, reported that Indonesian marine production has seen a dramatic rise; in 2015 7.3 million tons were produced compared to 6.5 million tons in 2014. A further rise was noticed in 2016; marine production reached 9.9 million tons. Then marine production increased again to 12.5 million tons in 2017.

5.4.2. Data Management

Strategies for poverty reduction are met with difficulties of data management and utilisation. Such problems relate to matters of perception, particularly in matters associated with poverty and how to measure it. As a result there is little sharing of knowledge due to lack of consensus on definitions of poverty. In a good planning system, the availability of data becomes very important for strategic planning. Accurate data will minimise errors and help in determining equity in prioritisation of budget allocation, and, also, the efficiency of the allocation of grants. This study found that there were significant differences in poverty data between that published by Data BPS and other technical institutions such as the Department of Social Affairs. The difference come about because both of these agencies have their own standards and different definitions of poverty. The challenge such differences pose are perceived in the community. Zaen (respondent interview, 04/09/2013) says:

At the time of data collection poor people who will receive help, sometimes use a different notion. If we doubt the BPS data, we should sit together in collaboration to validate the data, so the programs will reach out to the targets precisely (Zaen, interviewed, 04/09/2013)

This uncoordinated data management and the resulting lack of sharing knowledge are some of the inefficiencies that fail the anti-poverty programs. By using different standards of poverty measures, the decision-making process is made particularly

difficult for purposes of local and national budgeting to combat poverty at local and national levels.

5.4.3. Lack of Education

Takalar district's communities especially in rural areas have little awareness of the importance of education as a means for breaking the poverty cycle. Parents who are from fishing communities wish their younger generation to take up education seriously and continue to higher education. However, they do not have enough financial support to complete their basic education and secondary education. The Department of Education data shows this condition clearly. For example, in 2014 the percentages of various school level and higher education completions in comparison to the whole population stood as follows:-

- children who completed primary school 23.82%
- children who completed secondary school such as SMP(middle high school level) / MTs (middle high Islamic school) 19 %
- learners completing high school such as SMA (senior high school) / MA (senior Islamic high school) / SMK (vocational high school) 18.41 %
- students completing undergraduate and master's degree studies such as D4 (diploma) / S1(bachelor degree) / S2 (master degree) 4.15% (Takalar BPS, 2015).

These low figures indicate very low uptake of education in Takalar. Factors that contribute to this low uptake of education were pointed out by some participants. For example, Acok, interviewed, 27/09/2013), one of the participants, explained how

Children at elementary school-age generally help parents to fish or work in a fish auction. Most of them earn a salary ranging between IDR. 20,000-IDR. 30,000 [roughly AU\$2.00 and under] each day. Mostly children work after school time until night, so they often are too tired to go to school in the morning.

Acok further suggested that 'schools may consider rescheduling; instead of starting early, perhaps start later in the morning to give opportunity to children to attend school.' He pointed out a case of a primary school in Lamangkea village located at one of the fishing community areas in Takalar district. Currently, only 50% of children of the total enrolled number regularly attend school. To raise attendance numbers, Acok suggested that the school may consider beginning at 10 am to accommodate those children who work at night. It is important to explain here that poverty stands in the way of children's schooling; as such consideration of ways of dealing with family poverty will help to improve children's chances of progressing with education.

5.4.4. Health and Wellbeing in Takalar: Sanitation and Water

One of the major main challenges for the rural population of Takalar district is low level access to health care.

Table 5.5 Percentages of families with family sanitation facilities and access to clean water. Based on the sub-district of Takalar district, 2009.

	Sub-District	Family				Percentage
		number (people)	Sanitation	Dust Bin	Waste Treatment	Clean Water Access
1	Mangarabombang	8,205	51.00	15.00	7.00	2.00
2	Mappakasunggu	2,826	36.20	0	1.00	8.73
3	Sanrobone	2,814	61.69	4.00	13.00	9.50
4	Polongbangkeng	6,001	65.00	9.00	4.00	23.00
	Selatan					
5	Polongbangkeng	11,025	45.00	13.00	5.00	34.00
	Utara					
6	Galesong	7,555	68.38	90.00	68.00	19.83
7	Galesong Selatan	5,485	59.58	0	7.00	5.78
8	Galesong Utara	7,144	50.00	93.00	60.00	8.00
9	Pattallassang	7,388	77.98	1.00	26.00	13.81
	Total	58,393	57.87	29.00	23.00	13.88

SOURCE: BPS TAKALAR DISTRICT, 2014.

Records also show that many residents defecate in the open; they do not have family toilets. The 2014 data from the Health Department of Takalar district shows that out of the total of 58,393 people in the sub-districts, access to sanitation facilities (latrines) were as below.

- communal latrine 8,731;
- swan neck (western-style latrine) 40,426;
- plengsengan (covered hole) 2,908; and,
- plop 5,100.

The other residents, totalling 1,228, do not have access to family toilets at all..

Dg Em, an expert on health care issues (Dg, Em, interviewed, 26/02/2013), said:

Currently, the local government attempts to keep a clean and healthy environment; it focuses on reducing bad habits/behaviour of local residents/public defecating in the open to minimise the incidence of diseases such as diarrhoea. Both governments and communities should need change of their mind-set gradually, so that people adopt use of toilets.

Poor health in Takalar and South Sulawesi can also be demonstrated from the Human development indices between 2010 and 2015.

Table 5.6. Human Development Indices between 2010-2015

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Education Average schooling (Takalar)	6.23	6.27	6.30	6.34	6.57	6.57
Health (Life expectation) (Takalar)	62.50	63.70	64.89	65.88	65.90	66.20
Purchasing Power (Takalar)	9.34	9.64	10.17	10.81	11.31	11.61
HDI of Takalar	60.23	60.83	61.66	62.58	63.53	64.07
HDI of Barru	64.94	65.73	66.07	67.02	67.94	68.64
HDI of Makassar	77.63	77.82	78.47	78.98	79.35	79.94

HDI Sulawe	of esi	South	66.00	66.65	67.26	67.92	68.49	69.15
2 Care VV								

SOURCE: BPS SOUTH SULAWESI 2016

Table 5.7, below, shows a sample of districts and cities in South Sulawesi and its Human Development Index (HDI). Takalar district's level is still low compared to other districts in South Sulawesi.

Table 5.7. Human Development Index of South Sulawesi 2010-2014

South Sulawesi	Humar	Human Development Index (HDI) South Sulawesi 2010-2014				HDI Rank	HDI Growth 2010-2014 (%)
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2014	
Jeneponto	58.31	58.95	59.62	60.55	61.45	24	5.39
Takalar	60.23	60.83	61.66	62.58	63.53	22	5.47
Barru	64.94	65.73	66.07	67.02	67.94	8	4.63
Toraja Utara	63.51	64.48	64.89	65.65	66.15	14	4.14
Makassar	77.63	77.82	78.47	78.98	79.35	1	2.21
Pare-pare	73.55	74.2	74.67	75.1	75.66	2	2.88
South Sulawesi	66	66.65	67.26	67.92	68.49	15	3.77

Source: BPS South Sulawesi 2010-2014

5.4.5. Misuse of Local Budget

There are some important issues relating to the handling of local budget in the whole of the Indonesian public sector, particularly in relation to remuneration and project or program funds (Blöndal, Hawkesworth, & Deok Choi, 2009; Shah, 2007). It is commonly known that already salaried public officers managing development projects or programs also draw some form of remuneration and benefits out of project funds. As the financial ministry of the Republic of Indonesia argued, in 2016, 70.9 per cent of local budget allocation of the total national development budget was allocated for bureaucrat's salaries. (Mulyani, Okozone Finance, 2017). This practice around development budgets is also true of the local community of Takalar. Ramsah, a senior official in Takalar, said:

One problem faced now is that although figures of funds budgeted for poverty programs appear big the amount of funds that directly go to the poor is much lower. Much of the funding gets spent on civil service allowances and such other remuneration for public servants who are already salaried. It is difficult to track how much of the budgeted money actually goes to address the needs of the poor; there is heavy wastage of the budget on items that may be grouped as administrative and operational such as meetings, business travel, and the cost of supplies, food and drink (Ramsah, interviewed, 26/09/2013).

Perhaps a more concerning wastage item is that referred to as incentive salary for the bureaucrats who are involved in programs, even though the bureaucrats already have their main own salary from the Government. Ironically, the lower ranking social workers who work with the poor in the field are paid low salaries and at that, irregularly. For example, field officers who work assisting the poor are paid low salaries. Hasma, a field officer (social worker), said that he had worked since 2003 but his salary is stagnated at IDR. 900,000.00, which equates to AU\$90 per month. Megawati, who has worked since 2005, added that salaries are only paid every six months (diampra in Makassar language).

Dg Tjo, one interviewee, described the misuse of the 2014 budget in Takalar:

Not long after, the elected bupati rewarded his supporters with government positions, even the position of head of the Fisheries Department. The Fisheries Department of Takalar district received financial assistance from the central government to provide fishing boats for the poor communities. Then the head of the Fisheries Department was accused to have committed irregularities; he purchased second-hand fishing boats. The old boats were painted to appear as new. However, not long after handing them over to fishermen, all those boats were damaged and could not be used again. Finally, the project experienced a lot of difficulty as the government official was accused of corruption (Dg.Tjo, interviewed 15 Nov 2016).

It can be said that these practices of cronyism outlined above have implications on good governance practices which directly affect success or failure of projects/programs for

poor people in Takalar district. Cronyism creates other victims. Baso and Ahmd claimed that they are the victims of *Pilkada* local election policies related to new positions of bureaucrats' replacements. These sorts of problems seem to suggest that the local authority, as represented by the head of the Fisheries Department, has a lack of leadership commitment in serving Takalar's people.

David Chrislip and Carl Larson (1994, p.5) have posited that successful collaborative programs need some specific conditions. They define collaboration as 'A mutually beneficial relationship between two or more parties who work toward common goals by sharing responsibility, authority and accountability for achieving results'. Those situations are not in line with EGT where all elements on governance are expected to equally work together, and share their roles and function to make binding decisions. It can be argued in this case that local government officials, particularly the head of the Fisheries Department, did not demonstrate commitment, responsibility, and accountability as far as the local budget for poverty reduction in Takalar is concerned. A similar incident concerned the SISDUK program. The next budget amounted to approximately IDR. 1-1.5. billion. This was designated to pay the salaries of Field Officers, which, for 100 people with a salary of IDR. 750,000, totals per month IDR. 750,000,000. As such, the remaining funds for each group or village came down to IDR. 5-10 million (interview, Dg Tjo, 15/Nov/2016).

5.4.6. Cultural Barriers

Generally, not-for-profit workers in the area describe the unpredictable character of the people. According to Ira, the 'character of fishing communities is unpredictable – as sea waves.' FIK-KSM (27/9/2013). Further, Ira observes that the prevailing view is always cash and carry; fishermen find fish to meet their immediate needs. The fishing communities, therefore, do not display long-term thinking/planning. Another cultural issue is the problem of early marriage. Society generally assumes that marriage at an early age is better. Erna, one respondent, said:

Early marriage helps parents to relinquish parental responsibility, because children who are married will be responsible for their own families. They do not realise that early marriage has an impact on the incidence of chronic and generational poverty (Erna, interviewed 17/09/2013)

Several studies have shown that early marriage has health implications on young mothers. Hamlin (2001) has written a lot about young girls' problems of pregnancy in early marriage in her work in Ethiopia. She established a midwifery school in Ethiopia where she has practiced for over 40 years, besides leading the nursing education (Hamlin, 2001).

Welly, (a medical worker) states:

They generally believe the shamans had prayers that will save in labour, and are confident with the skills to handle the baby after delivery (Welly, interviewed 17/09/2013).

Although communities believe in shamans, evidence shows that early pregnancies have health implications. It may be obvious that health workers and the villagers have not connected well to deal with the problem of the impact of early marriages. In the next section we deal with a similar disconnect – that of lack of coordination among development actors in Takalar.

5.4.7. Lack of Coordination among Development Actors

A situation that frustrates development and change work has to do with continuing weak coordination between the three stakeholders, namely: the government, NGOs, and Universities. This can be seen in meetings to discuss the program and project activities, where the number of participants is not representative of the three stakeholders. An example was the meeting of the coordination team of the Poverty Reduction programs of South Sulawesi Province on September 4, 2013 in Kenari Hotel. During planning, the committee invited various parties including the Cities District Development Planning Agency, the Agency for Community Empowerment (BPMD) City District, Entrepreneurs and representatives of Higher Education (University), but on the day of the meeting, many participants were not present. In addition, NGOs activists were not invited to the meeting by the committee. Lufi (a presidential staff member on poverty reduction programs) commented regarding one of the poorly coordinated meetings: 'I

see this is not a serious meeting; it appears it is only concerned with spending budget funds of local governments. Participants who attended did not represent the three stakeholders such as: government, NGOs and Universities.'

This lack of coordination among such parties does not align with the principle of partnership and collaboration and EGT. The concept of the rights and obligations implies that all parties in a partnership must work to high ethical standards, and this will affect the effectiveness of collaborative working (Carnwell & Carson, 2009, p. 7; Van Assche et al. 2014).

A related problem is poor coordination and cooperation among district governments, particularly on the management of fishing area boundaries and marine products. This was particularly true in connection with the implementation of district autonomy that started in 2001 and resulted in conflicts between fishermen from Takalar, Makassar, Gowa and Jeneponto. Fishermen from the Takalar area felt entitled to exploit fishery resources in the region, while the fishermen from other regions felt that the region also belonged to them. Prior to decentralisation conflict in the fishing area never happened (Muhs, interview, 27/09/2013).

Other coordination problems involve the actions and nature of the district leadership (bupati). Leadership by a bupati is considered to be a major factor in successful district development. Substitution of a district level, once every five years will determine whether the development program being run can be continued or not. The bupati also has a role in putting officials and officers in the area. Election issues relate to the Bupati, who usually puts people in office who support their policy⁵. The officer or officers concerned in an area are therefore political tools who convey the Bupati's program. Linda (director of FIK-KSM) said 'The field officers are the persons who

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⁵ It is important here to refer to election results for the Bupati of Takalar district, and Governor for Jakarta election, respectively. The incumbent is the Bupati Burhanuddin Burhan and his vice bupati Natsir Ibrahim Rewa (or Bur-Nojeng) was defeated by Syamsari Kitta, Bupati elect and vice elect Achmad Dg. Se're (or SK-HD). The official election result from the Electoral Commission notes that the Bur Nojeng had 86,090 voters and SK-HD had 88,113 voters. As the result was so close, Bur Nojeng then was not satisfied, and there was conflict between them. The election conflict ended up in the constitutional court. However, the constitutional court made a decision that Syamsari Kitta and Vice Achmad Dg. Se're (or SK-HD) were elected as Bupati and Vice bupati of Takalar district for the period 2017-2022.

were recruited by the Bupati; their duty is to support them in the next election. It would appear then that cronyism affects appointments to these roles.'

After looking at the various problems that exist in Takalar, It can be summarised that economic inequality is an important factor contributing to various dimensions of poverty in Takalar district. Traditional systems seem to fall back on local creditors who assist in times of difficulty; the system is referred to as a *Ponggawa-Sawi* relationship. As described above, this system has effects on economic inequality issues that still exist in this district. This *Ponggawa-sawi* is counter developmental. The practice is actually susceptible to abuse; the creditors are known to turn to loan sharks. As a result, the local borrowers end up in a poverty trap. Some fishermen have been affected by this practice. Others factors that contribute to poverty include lack of education, lack of health care access, cultural barriers, misuse of local budgets, and miss-management of data. As such, it can be said that all poverty problems in Takalar are due to lack of collaboration and coordination between development actors. The following section explores some of the poverty reduction strategies in Takalar.

5.5. Poverty Reduction Strategies in Takalar

There are two important strategies in poverty reduction proposed by the government of Takalar, namely: Empowering communities (cluster II) and Economic empowerment (cluster III). This chapter discusses some of the activities that are part of an integrated poverty reduction program in Takalar. There are three groups of activities: Support System (SISDUK), People's Salt Enterprises Program (PUGAR), and environmental health (STBM).

5.5.1. Community Empowerment

Systems Support (SISDUK) is a community development program in Takalar, implemented since 2002. This program is a partnership between the Government of Japan (in this case the donor agency (JICA) as well as providing knowledge transfer) and the Indonesian government through the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi. SISDUK's interest is enhancing the capacity of local communities. To this end, the

Government of Takalar district initiated SISDUK as an institution to work in cooperation with the International Institute of JICA.

SISDUK's approach is Participatory Local Social Development (PLSD). In PLSD there are two work systems, namely an inner system that comes from households or groups of citizens and is called bottom-up, and an outer system derived from the system that works on the market and the Administration. It involves bureaucracy, village heads, district, project-officers or *PJOK* department and agency, the Bupati and other (Top Down) systems surrounding the SISDUK program itself.

5.5.1.1. SISDUK Implementation

In the process of implementation of SISDUK, there are two stages. The first stage is planning and the second stage is implementation. At the planning stage of SISDUK there are three layers: (i) facilitation workers in the village, (ii) assistance for working at the District level, and (iii) work at the District level that serves as coordination. In the first layer, the Program Manager SISDUK recruits 65 people (local NGOs) that are placed in 100 villages or *kelurahan* in Takalar. The Field Officer (FO) is not a civil servant, and can be assigned by the local NGO or recruited by the relevant government agency (Musln, Interview, 26/09/2013).

Field Officers are incorporated into the Facilitator's Team to help facilitate work in the local community, and for servicing community groups which are at least five people who have the same business. The team's main responsibilities are: a) facilitating proposals by identifying problems and needs, and b) reviewing and finalising proposals that are subsequently transferred to the district coordination team. In addition, the FO has a duty to withdraw funds, transfer from Bank Pembangunan Daerah (BPD) to Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI), and give support to local business groups. In fulfilling their duties, FOs often encounter obstacles in the field. These include difficulty in explaining the instructions and technical implementation of the aid, or whether the aid is given in the form of money that will be used as working capital or in-kind assistance (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach 1999).

Examples of SISDUK activities relate to the rights of women and children in the coastal areas in the village Tamalate, District of North Galesong, Takalar. As described in the

sub-section on cultural issues, the local community in the Tamalate village generally has rapidly changing fortunes, and their views are always cash and carry. The FO has to be aware of the character of the local community, and one example of local resource potential that could be developed is plastic waste and wood (Peninsula, 2013). Initially local people were not aware of the potential related to waste plastic and wood which were abundant in the village. Such rubbish traditionally is viewed as causing the rundown of a village and becoming a source of disease. However, the FO and the community were able to find profitable solutions to the problem of waste. A result of this dialogue was that it was decided to form a group of fishermen who were named Kelompok Usaha Perempuan Pesisir Soreang (KUPPS) or Women's Coastal Business Soreang. KUPPS now utilise waste plastic and wood into various kinds of handicrafts, such as bags for household uses, slippers, mats, shoes, small cupboards for food, and even small boats to meet the needs of the community. In this respect, a 'small boat' competition is held in the village every year. The handicrafts made by KUPPS are sold to various people around the local area and are marketed in Papua. Results of KUPPS activities are an alternative income stream to cover the needs of local fishing communities when weather conditions are not stable, and they cannot look for fish in the sea. Hasnh is a facilitator who accompanied KUPPS, and says;

To capture the opportunities in the future, we are with the people separating plastic waste piled around the coast by providing a large bin that we call their junk bank. Garbage bin banks are useful for separating organic and non-organic, so that it is easier for local communities in obtaining raw materials to make handicrafts (Hasnh, interviewed 26/09/2013).



Figure 5.1 shows the local community with their plastic bags and the process of making model boat process.

Another example of the facilitation by SISDUK in supporting women's and children's rights is in helping with the legal aspects of various issues. SISDUK has facilitated local communities in accessing ownership papers, birth certificates, ID cards and family cards (*KK*) for free assistance approaches (Dg. Tjo, interviewed 26/09/2013).

Table 5.8 Comparative aspects of SISDUK and Musrenbang assistance

Aspects	SISDUK	Musrenbang
Main orientation	To increase local community capacities to manage their resources	To improve the quality of public infrastructure and facilities and other development resources
Activity target	Various community-based development programs for marginalised people	The provision of sectorial programs and infrastructure facilities without paying major attention to the specific needs of marginalised people
Plan criteria	Easy, clear, small scale programs, determined by local communities guided by the SISDUK framework	No general principles, mainly serving the specific technical criteria self- determined by each sectorial government agency
Flexibility of planning mechanisms	Flexibility for timely response and to meet local community needs that require resource mobilisation and community involvement (at any time local communities are able to conduct planning activities as they need)	Quite rigid as following the regular time and activity framework set up by local government agencies (only once a year in designated time)
Emphasised locus of development activities	Village (dusun/kampong)	Administrative village (desa)
Planning mechanisms	Through social preparation with Participatory Rural Appraisal approach	Formal meeting
Consumed time from planning to implementation	Less than 2 months	Around 18 months
Development resources	Accessible funding/facilities from local governments with compulsory resource contributions from local communities	Government and donor-based funding without requiring compulsory resource contributions from local communities
The main role of local government	Facilitator, educators/trainers	Decision maker and main executor
Deliberative process	Encouraging dialogue amongst participants with the use of PRA facilitated by NGO members	Mainly using monologue and one-way communication-based methods dominated by government officers

Source: Aswad (2013, p. 138-139)

Regarding this important personal assistance role, the project officers (*Pejabat Operasional Kegiatan or PJOK*) at the district level help with verification and assessing

the proposed activities of the village or group of businesses that need support. *PJOK* can help to choose an activity that costs very little and is of short duration, then can recommend it at district level. With this type of assistance, activities that are not accommodated at the village-level planning meetings (*Musrenbangdes*) will be supported by applying appropriate established SISDUK criteria.

The implementation phase of these programs aims to develop a system and monitoring of processes that stimulate initiatives in the fight against poverty. To assist in this phase, the government distributes relief funds to a business group shows the amount of funds that have been disbursed by the Government in the Takalar district during the period from 2002 to 2010 (Aswad, 2103, p. 125).

Table 5.9 Total Assistance Fund SISDUK Program 2002-2010 (Rupiah)

No.	Year	IDR.
1	2002	1,900,000,000
2	2003	2,000,000,000
3	2004	2,000,000,000
4	2005	1,962,341,400
5	2006	2,037,658,600
6	2007	1,000,000,000
7	2008	1,000,000,000
8	2009	1,029,496,000
9	2010	1,097,290,000

SOURCE: ASWAD (2013, P. 125)

5.5.1.2. Comments on the Success of SISDUK

As a multi-stakeholder, collaborative program, SISDUK has been considered successful by various parties, both from within the country and from abroad. The successful implementation over the period 2002-2009 by SISDUK was affected by several factors: (i) facilitation, (ii) enabling capacity, and (iii) funding. With regards to facilitation, the FO has a strong commitment and is capable of creating the spirit and sense of belonging and ownership with activities, so that the community is able to initiate programs and activities from local resources as needed.

Komar, an expert community facilitator in South Sulawesi, said in an interview (17/01/2017):

SISDUK's success in developing models of cooperation among stakeholders working collaboratively in Takalar district is determined by operation at three levels, namely facilitation at the village level, the level of assistance in the district and the success of the policy makers at the district level that serves to coordinate all. A positive response from the facilitators is able to encourage the local community. The local community freely initiate development activities based on local resources and their needs (Komar, interviewed 17/01/2017).

Success of SISDUK's implementation is also supported by various stakeholders such as *PJOK* and other stakeholders in the Takalar district. Financial support from the district administration Takalar is very important to encourage a collaborative SISDUK program since JICA ended the collaboration with the SISDUK Program in 2009. The Takalar Government remains committed to continuing the program. Muslim, from the BPMD, commented that since 2012 SISDUK fund management had been given to several business groups. Whilst each of these business groups received IDR. 5,000,000 to IDR. 10,000,000 there are villages that do not receive aid at all because they do not meet the defined criteria. The project should be achievable with the financial support. In 2013, the Takalar district government provided funds amounting to IDR. 500,000,000 to 100 villages throughout Takalar district. SISDUK is recognised as a program relevant to the socio-economic conditions of the villagers as well as the mechanism of the development and planning processes at the village and grassroots level.

5.5.1.3. Challenges in SISDUK's Implementation

Once JICA was not directly involved in the SISDUK program implementation activities, some parties noted that SISDUK implementation did not progress significantly. There are some obstacles in the implementation of SISDUK (period 2012-2017). In this respect, Nuntg, a participant from Galesong village, stated that their obstacles emerged in the stages of development planning. Although SISDUK is well known locally and nationally, the program is now considered to be in a state of decline

in its performance. Dg Tjo argued that there are several factors contributing to SISDUK's decline. Dg Tjo observed and noted that in 2017 SISDUK's performance decreased considerably compared to seven years ago. The main reason is that SISDUK implementation at the village level is not supported by capable field officers (FOs) who are not properly recruited.

Dg Tjo added that another factor causing the declining performance of SISDUK is the weakness of assistance at the sub-district level, because SISDUK was not supported by assistance funds. The district level is also troubled by the lack of funds for the implementation of SISDUK programs. Komar added that the weak performance of SISDUK is also supported by policy makers or head-of-district government officers and particularly head of district or Bupati, who focused on the local elections for the period 2017-2022.

Komar's outlook is also supported by a co-worker, Dg Tjo, who commented as follows:

Previously SISDUK performance was great. Now bupati allocates a budget for only two or three years of the budget period, while the field officers (FO) are the people who work for the bupati. So that FOs support the incumbent, who was also recruited by the bupati, their mission is to maintain and supports bupati to be re-elected for the period of 2017-2022.

Again, Dg Tjo added her comments.

Currently the FOs become a political tool recruited by the bupati. Their role is the bupati's body guard. Therefore, we are trying through various consolidations with various parties to find a figure/strong challenger on the implementation process of the head of district election period 2017-2022 (Dg Tjo, interview, 15/11/2016).

Dg Tjo argued that the SISDUK Program is the property of the bupati, and for the last two years the bupati encouraged NGOs to not engage in SISDUK activities or programs. Not long ago, Dg Tjo faced senior staff of Bappeda Takalar district, and the staff felt there was something missing in the SISDUK program implementation and poverty reduction in Takalar's district.

Dg Tjo, as a local NGO member who is deeply involved in SISDUK implementation, knows how the SISDUK philosophy was born. It was associated with local Government Regulation No. 1/2002 which described the implementation of SISDUK. In this administration, the Takalar district government does not allocate a specific budget to the program because villages at Takalar district have a budget which is called a village budget allocation (*Alokasi Dana Desa* or *ADD*). The village budget allocation is IRD1.21.5 billion per year. The district government allocate budget for SISDUK, it means villages will receive two lots of budget resources from central government and district government.

The previous local government provided IDR. 1.5 billion per year for the SISDUK Program. However, at presents the local government has reduced the SISDUK budget allocation to IDR. 500 million per year for 100 villages in Takalar district. Every village receives IDR. 5,000,000. The field officers (FO) each earn IDR. 750,000. Although the FO earns a reasonable salary, the quality of work is questionable. The FO no longer works in accordance with the original purpose of the SISDUK program. The initial concept was that the facilitator selects the aspirations of the village, assesses them, and presents them to the district government. In reality, what happens now is that whatever is aspired to by a more powerful village is simply copied as the aspiration of all the villages. For example, if the FO knows that a village proposed a farm tractor, the FO does not interfere and standardises the proposal for several villages.

Obstacles on the ground include lack of money as capital for their business activities. However, according to a technical indicator, the aid will be given in the form of goods. Thus, not all proposals submitted by the public are court approved. The FO should ensure that the form of capital goods actually has significant benefits in the field.

In addition, several programs have grown from the local community. These small micro-business activities have worked for generations. Mus, a senior staff member from the Local Community Empowerment Board or *Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Daerah BPMD* (Mus, Interview, 30/9/2013), said that:

Local Government allocated the budget for SISDUK program. The total budget is for 100 villages. Takalar government provided Rp. 500,000,000 (five

hundred million) in 2013, each village received funding of approximately IDR. 5,000,000. The villages received aid based on the local government policy or their criteria (Mus, interviewed, interviewed 3009/2013)

5.5.2. National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM)

The National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM) acts to empower local communities for reducing numbers of people who live under the poverty line in Indonesia. The program started in 2007 as a collaboration between the Indonesian government and the World Bank, in an effort to reduce the impact of the global financial crisis. It is a community-based poverty eradication program, which is divided into two sections. First, the PNPM core consists of a program or a project for regionally based community empowerment which includes PNPM Rural, PNPM Mandiri Urban, Social Infrastructure Development Program District Economy, and Accelerated Development of Disadvantaged Villages. Second, there is a strengthening section, PNPM, which is a community empowerment program to support the implementation of poverty reduction programs in meeting the targets in certain sectors (Baker et al., 2013). PNPM Mandiri programs implemented in the Takalar district are described in the following sections.

5.5.2.1. PNPM Mandiri Rural

PNPM Mandiri Rural is an advanced program of the District Development Program (KDP), which has been implemented since 1998. Large Direct Community Assistance (BLM) is allocated to the District of the order of IDR. 1.5-IDR. 3 billion, which is determined based on the conditions of the village and the ratio of the number of poor in comparison to the total population in the district. Each district gets paid in three instalments, with the sources of funding coming from state and local budgets.

The mechanism of disbursement of funds from the Treasury is managed by the Financial Management Unit (UPK). Communities can use the funds to build the infrastructure to support village productivity, as loans for working capital, or for social activities such as health and education. An example of a PNPM Mandiri Program will be described below.

5.5.2.2. Savings and Loans Men's Group Program

Kelompok Simpan Pinjam (*KSP*) is a replication of the Program PNPM Rural in Takalar. This program began in 2013, as an effort to help low-income people access funding through the establishment of business groups. In the first year, Takalar district government, through the Village Community Empowerment Board (BPMD), allocated a budget that comes from local budget or (*APDB kabupaten*), with a total budget of IRD. 1.1 million. This program provided working capital loans to 125 groups, involving household members numbering 1,054 people spread across the district. The amount of funding each village receives ranges between IDR. 150-210 million, with the actual amount depending on the number of residents in each village. The allocation of funds from local governments enters into a special account, these being Unit Pengelola Kegiatan or UPK for KSP and PNPM respectively.

5.5.2.3. PNPM Mandiri Marine and Fisheries

This is a poverty reduction program based on empowerment of communities in coastal areas. The purpose of this PNPM is to improve the welfare and employment opportunities for groups of people who live in the marine and fisheries sector.

The disbursement mechanism for this project requires that each group must be in one district. The business group formed could have the same type of business or different businesses. The party then submits a proposal containing a plan of activities, a list of names of group members, a statement of joint liability, the rules/sanctions agreed by groups, loan repayment plan and a copy of valid ID cards. After the group puts the proposal to Unit Pengelola Kegiatan or UPK, the verification team conducts direct verification at the location of the group effort. Based on the results of the verification the team makes recommendations.

The recommendations are given to the finance team. By engaging Project Officers (*PJOK*), the District Facilitator (*Fasilitator Kabupaten*), the Technical Facilitator (*Fasilitator Teknik*), an inter-village Cooperation Agency (*Badan Koordinasi antar Desa BKAD*), a Facilitator (*Fasilitator Lapangam* or *FL*), and the public, this team will determine which group will receive a loan. The groups that will receive capital loans are the most disadvantaged groups or low-income households if they meet the required

criteria. Determination of business capital loan recipients is established by the government's decision districts. The decree will be on the basis that the UPK provides working capital loans. Funds are then distributed to the members of the group to be used in accordance with the proposal.

5.5.2.4. PNPM Mandiri Stallholder Agribusiness Development Initiative (SADI)

The PNPM *SADI* program is designed to alleviate poverty in rural areas by increasing household income of farmers through increased productivity and market access. The *SADI* program is a program grant from USAID. One of the activities of the *SADI* Program is to conduct research on plants or animals that can be adapted by farmers in order to provide raised productivity and financial return. For example, the provision of seeds of watermelon in the Barru District of South Sulawesi has been targeted.

5.5.2.5. PNPM Mandiri in Rural Environment Areas (PNPM LMP)

PNPM LMP is a community development program related to environmental management and natural resources. An example is the manufacture of the nipah tree (a kind of palm tree) in the Palantikang village. The village is located along the coastline of the beach and uses natural resources such as palm trees. Once people received training from Oxfam and its partners, people used it to diversify and innovate in the production of palm sugar. The previous community only uses the nipah tree for the manufacture of a traditional beverage, called 'ballo', a type of liquor.

The following sub-section will explore the plans for the district government of Takalar to develop a salt business.

5.5.3. Program for the Empowerment of People's Salt Business (PUGAR)

The community empowerment program that is discussed in this section is the Community Empowerment of Peoples' Salt Business (PUGAR). This PUGAR Program is a program initiated by the central government in an effort to introduce self-sufficiency into the national salt requirements. The program is held simultaneously in 40 Regencies and Cities and began in 2011. Takalar was one of the selected districts in

the PUGAR program, as the region has the potential to increase the production of salt through the development of small businesses and micro-enterprises.

In determining the location for the implementation of the PUGAR program, the national team identified early the potential of both land and production potential to allow community empowerment on socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions. These factors were to work synergistically with local salt farmers and the Marine Department, and the project was conducted by the District Fisheries, assisted by the team's Empowerment Association. The location criteria for PUGAR were (i) the existence of local salt production activities, (ii) easy accessibility to the point of manufacture, (iii) evidence of public support for the implementation of PUGAR activities, and (iv) agreement on the location by the Bupati and the Head of the Department of Education.

Based on these PUGAR local criteria, the Government confirmed that investigation of locations in the Takalar district was conducted, then accepted, by the Chief Fisheries and Maritime Affairs, and given the number: SK/523/25.a/I/2012, dated January 9, 2012. Local governments have established four locations for PUGAR in the region of Pugar village in 2012, and in the sub-district of Mangarabombang have established three villages (Bontomanai, Pattopakang and Cikowang), and in the district of Mappakasunggu, two villages, Soreang village and *kelurahan* of Takalar.

Hasn, a facilitation officer of PUGAR, said that the program is part of the government's efforts in poverty reduction in Takalar district, and is aimed at (i) providing capital and financing of small micro enterprises, (ii) strengthening access by facilitating the development of small industry, and (iii) improving skills through assistance and training and courses to improve business management. Bashir, as marine fisheries department staff member of Takalar district, stated on the 25/09/2013, that:

During this time, they are preparing for the traditional salt, and in line with the central government's efforts for national self-sufficiency in salt, however local government do not have enough salt industry, so in the central government's view, Takalar is one of the efforts to increase the independence of the national salt (Hasn, interviewed 25/09/2013).

Central government aid is divided into two types of assistance: namely technical assistance and direct aid to the society. Technical assistance is implemented by the agencies or relevant authorities, with the production being done by the Department of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs, while quality development and marketing is done by the Department of Trade and Industry. Land development is carried out by the Department of Agriculture and Foodstuffs.

Assistance is implemented through skills training and courses related to the salt business, which are held in the Mangarabombang sub-district and Mapakasunggu. The number of participants were 116 salt business group members.

5.5.3.1. Direct Community Assistance (BLM)

In the implementation of BLM, the salt business group/salt farmers receive assistance from a Field Facilitator. The Facilitator's course duty is to assist and facilitate the efforts of salt/salt farmers in five villages/wards; the villages of Bontomanai, Cikoang, and Pattopakkang (District of Mangarabombang), plus the villages of Soreang and Takalar Long (District of Mappakasunggu). The field facilitators in charge (i) introduce plans to help the villages, (ii) assist the group of farmers in regulating the salt Budget Plan (RAB), (iii) enhance institutional capacity and human resource capacity, (iv) assist the farmers in making recommendations and disbursements of BLM with the Bank, (v) draw up a monthly activity report to the Department of Fisheries and Marine, and (vi) identify, select and verify beneficiaries of BLM (PUGAR Team Report, 2012).

5.5.3.2. Socio-Economic and Cultural Conditions

Most farmers/salt farmers have low education levels, having finished primary school. Consequently, these low educational levels have resulted in a lower income level. Syamsul, one of the participants from the Department of Fisheries, reported that the average salt farmers' earnings range between IDR. 400,000 - to IDR. 700,000 or equal to AU\$40-AU\$70 per month. Low income was also caused by poor land ownership for making salt (on average only 0.2 hectares are available). Salt production patterns are still modest, the distribution system is dominated by intermediaries, and there is low value to the harvest. Kadri, a respondent, mentioned (25/09/2013):

The average ownership does not reach a 0.5 hectare per family; generally, they hire land or use a profit sharing system for the results. This has implications for production in the range of 50-70 tons/ha/season, with a gross value of return ranges from salt farmers of IDR 8 million/season or the equivalent of AU\$40-AU\$70 per month (Kadri, interviewed 25/09/2013).

A large group of the salt farmers in Takalar district is the original Makassar's. They have principles and values of life that affect daily activities. One of the principles of life that becomes the basis for implementing cultural values in indigenous Makassar is siri na pacce. As described in a previous section (5.5.3), this principle is used to defend a person's honour against those people who would degrade or demean his or her dignity and is used to help fellow community members who are in difficulty (Darwis & Dilo, 2012). This principle contains essences which are central to the conception of the 'Tau' or human. According to Harun (2012) this is manifested in the form of an attitude of 'Sipakatau', which implies mutual understanding and respect for human beings. The Sipakatau approach has implications for economic activity, as the Bugis Makassar strongly denounce activities that are 'annunggalengi' (selfish) or involve monopoly, and they seek a happy life which is naturally open to every human being. Manifestation of this principle can be seen at the time of their production by working together, or in working together in repairing levees of paddy fields, and waterways.

In practice the positive cultural values still emerge in real life and socio-cultural and economic activities. Particularly for the older generation, this value still exists. However, the traditional value is declining in performance, particularly with the millennial generation.

5.5.3.3. Land Production of Salt Enterprises

The total land area of production in Sub Mangarabombang and Mapakasunggu is 155.7 hectares, with a production of approximately 8,250 tons/season/year.

Table 5.10 Location of land area and total production of salt in Takalar 2011

Location	Production land	Production (Tons)	
Sub-district- and Village	(hectare)		
Mangarabombang:			
Desa Bontomanai	69.82	3,700	
Desa Cikoang	38.05	2,000	
Mappakasunggu :			
Desa Pattopakang	6.5	350	
Soreang village	24.47	1,300	
Kelurahan Takalar lama	16.86	900	
Total	155.7	8,250	

SOURCE: TAKALAR DISTRICT DOCUMENT PUGAR REPORT (2011, P. 25).

5.5.3.4. The Pattern of Salt Production in the Community

The patterns of community salt business in Takalar are still conducted traditionally. In terms of land management for the production of salt, they use hoes, spades and crowbars. At the time of these interviews, their production processes involved moving seawater by using a bucket, or using a pump machine that was leased to meet production requirements. In addition, the facility and infrastructure of salt farming is also at a relatively low level, and there is a need for arrangements that will make better facilities. Table 5.11, below, shows the facilities and infrastructure of salt production to support salt production on PUGAR program. These facilities was established in the two sub-districts of Mangarabombang and Mappakasunggu sub-district.

Table 5.11 Salt facilities and infrastructure

	Sub-district							
Facilities &	Mangara	abombang sul	Mappakasunggu sub- district					
Infrastructure	Bontomanai village	Cikowang village	Pattopakang village	Takalar kelurahan	Soreang village			
Village Street	exist	exist	exist	exist	exist			
Technical Canal	none	none	none	none	none			
Secondary Canal	not good	good	not good	not good	not good			
Main Warehouse	not good	not good	not good	not good	not good			
Temporary Warehouse	none	none	none	none	none			
Testier Canal	exist	not good	exist	exist	exist			
Pumps	exist	none	exist	exist	exist			
Productions				partly				
Tools	partly exist	partly exist	partly exist	exist	partly exist			
Post Production Equipment	exist	none	none	none	none			

SOURCE: TAKALAR DISTRICT DOCUMENT, 'PUGAR DOCUMENT' (2012, P. 11)

As shown, there is potential in the salt business, but its contribution to national self-sufficiency in salt needs the serious attention of all parties, especially for local governments, to increase and to improve the quantity and quality of local salt production in Takalar. The existing salt business units have institutional financing, and they are seeking to help local communities to develop salt production. Table 5.9 describes the type of required financing for the local economy in Takalar in order to develop the production of salt to meet the capital market. However, as table 5.9 shows, the facilities and infrastructures were still low level condition; for instance; there is not any technical canal; there is any secondary canal, but not in good condition, there is no temporary warehouse, and the main warehouses are not in good condition. There is also still production equipment and postproduction equipment in low condition. All those things are problems for salt business development in Takalar district.

Salt business development in Takalar is also constrained by (i) land ownership, which is a narrow salt-making strip of 0.2 ha/farmer, and salt-making land is generally rented,

(ii) the selling price of salt is still low, and (iii) eligibility of land for salt production is low, so the quality of salt produced is also low (Class II).

Bakkara, interviewed 25/09/2013, mentioned that:

Our society is reluctant to produce salt, because they prefer to cultivate fish milkfish, shrimp, seaweed, and find flying fish eggs. All of these commodities have high economic value.

The next section will explain the government's policy in favour of PUGAR.

5.5.3.5. Government Policy in Supporting PUGAR

In addition to being a financial institution that is trying to help local people in developing the salt business, government policy in the context of the local Salt Empowerment program (PUGAR), as can be seen in the 2011 budget, has been providing infrastructural support for fishermen. Activities such as road construction accompany development financing of PUGAR for village farmers, as well as providing support through direct grants amounting to IDR. 877,500,000.

In the local salt industry, empowerment (PUGAR) focuses on increasing employment and welfare for farmers and local ownership salt business in support of the National Self-Sufficiency of salt. Ansa, secretary of the Fisheries and Marine Office reported (PUGAR report, 2012):

In the salt business, empowerment for national community empowerment program conducted by the office of maritime and fisheries (*PNPM Mandiri* – *KP*) was performed on a bottom-up level. Society itself is planning activities, implementing and monitoring and evaluating in accordance with the specified mechanism. Based on national salt balance in 2011 to 1,451,691 tons of salt consumption needs can be met through production of salt (PUGAR and non-PUGAR) 1,623,785.91 metric tons of salt companies total 223,000 tons, 1,846,785.91 metric tons (surplus 395,094.91 metric tons) (Ansa, 26/09/2013)

Meanwhile, with an industrial salt requirement of 1,800,000 metric tons, by the end of December 2011, the national import reached 2,615,202 metric tons (923,756 tons of

national salt consumption and salt for industrial/companies; 1,691,446 metric tons). Thus, the number of shares of salt consumption nationwide reached 1,318,850.91 tons and shortage of salt industry stocks reached 108,554 metric tons (PUGAR Report, 2012, p. 1).

PUGAR activities in Takalar in 2011 were conducted in two sub-districts and five villages. The central government, through Bantuan Langsung Masyarakat (BLM), poured in a total of IRD. 900 million, with the number of recipients being 69 groups or 622 local salt farmers. These represented an area of 114.72 hectares with a production of 11,828.14 metric tons. The land area of non-PUGAR was 41.68 ha with 3,751.20 metric tons, bringing the total production of salt in Takalar (PUGAR and non-PUGAR) to 15,579.34 tones (PUGAR Report, 2012, p.1). The empowerment team was formed and established by the former bupati and the Fisheries and Marine department, which consisted of five people with the chairman being a representative of the Fisheries and Marine department. It contains members from the Department of Industry and Commerce, and the Department of Mines and Energy. The Head of the co-operative accepts recommendations from each of these representatives and from his officials within the local community.

The team is assigned to the identification, selection and verification of the target location and potential candidates. In the team dealing with the Takalar district, Community Empowerment has been set by the Head of Fisheries and Marine with a Decision number: 523/SK/347/VII/2012 on July 19, 2011 (Fisheries Department Takalar, 2012).

In the implementation of PUGAR, the Head of Fisheries and Marine District/City serves as a PUGAR operational support to carry out their duties as a budget user in accordance with applicable laws, and also to (i) choose and set the location of the target and the target community (PUGAR group), the Executive Consultant, the Team of the Society, and other co-operative partners, (ii) organise socialising, publications, workshops monitoring, evaluations and reporting, (iii) establish a BLM channel, (iv) coordinate with other stakeholders at the district level, (v) develop a PUGAR proposal for the next year and send it to the Director General of Coastal and Small Islands at the provincial level, (vi) be actively involved in the efforts of both the central and local governments

and local communities, (vii) take further action to optimise institutional revitalisation of social, cultural and economic local communities, or form a new PUGAR, (viii) actively engage local salt farmers, processors and salt business people consisting of salt farmer's associations, community leaders, cooperatives and institutions that have a role in the empowerment of local salt farmers, (ix) optimise the facilitator's role as a facilitator in the process of participatory planning, motivation, execution, and dissemination of results to interested parties, and (x) empower continuity in order that the type of activities are carried out in accordance with the target group needs of each area.

To promote the effectiveness of the community empowerment of salt farmers of Takalar district, the community have also established a coordination team, managed by the head of district; the team consists of the Head of the Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources and involves the District Development Agency, Industry Department, Head of trade, institutional cooperation for community (koperasi), and community leaders. This team has duties to identify, select, and verify any candidates for the PUGAR program as receivers (bantuan langsung masyarakat or BLM) and general meeting member (rapat umum bersama or RUB PUGAR) (Kurniawan, 2016). In addition, based on the results of the verification, the proposed candidate becomes a BLM receiver to the Head of Budget User Authorisation or *Kuasa Pengguna Anggaran*.

5.5.4. Pugar Production and Marketing

5.5.4.1. Location and Time Frames

PUGAR production activities have been conducted in Mangarabombang and Mappakasunggu sub-district, and in the villages of Bontomanai, Pattopakang, Cikowang, Soreang, and Takalar. Monitoring and evaluation was first conducted in February, March, April, May and June 2012, and was also done in the months that followed from July to December 2012. Monitoring and evaluation noted that the quality of salt production of PUGAR salt is K2 (second class of quality). (Samsir, interviewed, 23/09/2013) suggested that:

The low quality of salt produced is due to the process of preparing the pool area late i.e. in June and July when there is still no rain, and at harvest time in

November rain had come, a lot of groups were not able to produce the salt, only a few are still able to produce salt, then production was very brief, only three months and a half, the production could achieve only 75.30 per cent of the target given by the Central Government to 10,281.76 metric tons in 2012. Meanwhile, salt sales reached IDR. 600, – up to IDR. 800, – per Kg.

Figure 5.2 Harvest time, 'PUGAR salt Production'.



SOURCE: PUGAR'S DOCUMENT 2012

Based on this research, the result of the PUGAR program in Takalar district still was not able to reach their expectations. However, they are still being encouraged to pursue the provincial and district government's goal. Both the national and provincial governments, support Takalar district to become the central salt producer in South Sulawesi and reduce the numbers of people and salt farmers who still live in poverty. To reach this goal, there is a need for an actor or local leader/institution as social change agent to support and encourage all group members of salt farmers to have a local initiative to raise the quality and quantities of industrial salt production in Takalar.

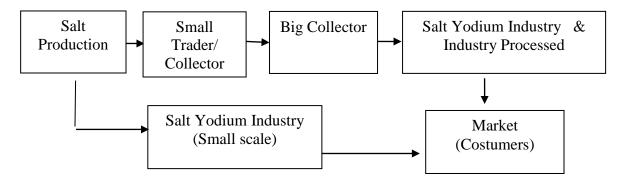
The following sub-section describes current marketing practices of the salt.

5.5.4.2. Marketing and Production

Current marketing practice is that the salt produced from the BLM PUGAR Takalar harvest is accommodated in a warehouse, with the product packaged in a 50-kg white sack. There is then a direct sale to local traders or to a cooperative partner. There is also a direct sale to a new enterprise providing iodised salt, which is then sold at local, intervillage or inter-district outlets and traditional markets across South Sulawesi. There are

also large potential industrial markets for salt, such as the leather industry, soy industry, animal feed, and marine products manufacturing industry. However, the current market is still very limited because of the quality of the salt; it does not yet meet the quality standards for industrial salt. (Nasir, interview, 23/09/2013)

Figure 5.3 Distribution Channels for the empowerment of local salt in Takalar 2012



SOURCE: TAKALAR DISTRICT DOCUMENT, PUGAR PROGRAM REPORT (2012, P. 11).

The efforts made to develop Takalar in the future are focused in some coastal areas of the sub-district, among others, in Mangarabombang with an area of 281.35 ha, District Mappakasunggu with a 79.35 ha area, and in the district sub-Sanrobone with 27.50 hectares. The number of people targeted in these plans are up to 1,200 people. In their explanation, Kadr and Mulim explained that the Salt People's Empowerment Program (PUGAR) aims to help salt farmers to develop their business so that life becomes more affluent.

5.5.4.3. Marketing Problems Related to Salt

Kdri, a cadre of village assistant, explained that a significant problem in this Takalar district is with marketing, because despite the increase in production, marketing is still constrained because there are no companies or industries that require the second quality of K2 as industrial salt. Based on local farmers salt production, the salt production in 2012 was 60 sacks. It could not be distributed to industries or companies which need salt for their production process. Farmers can only sell their salt for daily cooking purposes, and therefore they returned to the production of regular traditional salt, which required a lower quality of the salt production.

Farmers thus still sell their salt product in the form of coarse salt, which is unprocessed and not packaged very well. There are only a few farmers who have implemented new marketing alternatives meeting the requirements for iodised salt, which is better packaged. Three farmers in Bontomania are already producing iodised salt. These farmers were assisted by getting a mixing tool from the Fisheries office in 2012 to help the process of iodisation. They have been producing well packaged salt and have started to get into the local market.

Kdri states:

In terms of marketing, the salt farmers want the government to help and assist in the salt production from Bontomanai and Soreang village, because generally they do not know the way to distribute the salt products for industrial purposes (Kdri, interviewed 16/09/2013).

Kdri adds that particularly in Soreang, a village, salt ponds land is owned by the government and farmers pay taxes on this every year. They are requesting that their ponds not be soiled by use of the screw technology system (TTS). Screw Filter system technology requires changes to the salt producing system, and many salt farmers do not want to change to the screw system that has been offered by the government.

Before the PUGAR program was run, salt farmers were using traditional ways to produce salt. The main reason is that they were willing only to sell salt for daily household needs. Previously, fish farmers were using a screw technology filter (TUF), and the technology they were using meant that the production quality was low and intended for household consumption only. PUGAR production has enhanced the quality of the product and provided the ability to produce industrial salt at a higher level of quality. To achieve these objectives, PUGAR brought salt farmers from outside Cirebon.

5.6. Community Based Total Sanitation Program (STBM)

The government are making efforts in Takalar Kabupaten to try to raise public awareness regarding the disposal of human waste. UNICEF, in collaboration with the

district government, has held a program of Environmental Health. As has been described in the previous section, the level of public awareness in terms of family latrine ownership and awareness not to dump the sludge in an uncontrolled manner can be said to be low. Based on the Ministry of Health Decree 852 of 2008 on the National Strategy for Community-Led Total Sanitation, human waste disposal facilities for all objects or substances that are not in use again by the body must operate effectively to break the chain of disease transmission (Notoatmodjo, 2010). This is made difficult by the fact that the number of people who still do not have a family latrine is still relatively high, namely 42.13 per cent in 2009 (BPS, 2010).

The Community Based Total Sanitation Program (*Sanitasi Total Berbasis Masyarakat* or STBM) is a program developed by the central government and is the responsibility of the Department of Health of the Republic of Indonesia. This program is part of the Water Supply and Sanitation (WSS) initiative and is located within the Sulawesi Selatan Program (*Air Minum dan Penyehatan Lingkungan* or AMPL) which began in 2008, and which includes the three districts of Takalar, Barru and Luwu Utara.

One of the program activities is an environmental recovery program conducted by UNICEF in 2016 that was a local Sanitasi dissemination of the Community Based Total Sanitation Program (STBM) at the Dharma Wanita building, Takalar. The Activity is a collaboration between UNICEF and the Government of Takalar district with the aim to encourage insight to the local community through environmental sanitation. Dg Siba, a staff member at the Department of Fisheries, reported that the Takalar district government currently is intensively raising public awareness in maintaining a healthy environment (*Buang Air Besar* or BAB) arbitrarily.

5.7. Summary

After discussing the poverty problems in Takalar district, it can be summarised that economic inequality is behind most of the poverty problems in Takalar district. The cultural barriers problem emerges as an effect of the traditional system of their fishing and marine production, known as the *Ponggawa-Sawi* relationship. As described above, this system has an effect on the economic inequality issue that still exists in this district. The social-economic relationship applies to the ownership of fishing boats between the

workers and the boss as investors. Other poverty problems are lack of education, lack of health care access, cultural barriers, small farmland ownership, misuse of local budget, and mismanagement of data: All poverty problems in Takalar are due to lack of collaboration and coordination between development actors.

Central government and Local government as a case study at Takalar district provide national and local policy to reduce the number of people who live in poverty. The PUGAR program and SISDUK program are both programs aimed to combat poverty in Takalar district. In particular, fishing communities are generally linked to poverty, and are manifested in low income and the lack of capital investments.

Lack of data management or lack of sharing knowledge is one of the miss-target issues with the anti-poverty programs. By using different standards of poverty line, it leads to misunderstanding and differences of perspective within decision making processes, particularly related to inefficiency targets of using local and national budgets to combat the poverty at all government levels and from central to local governance practices.

In addition, efforts to develop education are still minimal, and public health, healthy living and clean behaviour practices are still low. Local strategies, in poverty eradication programs conducted by both government agencies and other stakeholders in the district of Takalar, are still not able to lower the poverty rates significantly. This is at least partly due to the lack of coordination between policy makers.

The issue is complicated by the results of the local elections that will continue to see the appointment of local officials who are generally supporters of the elected bupati. As a result, the inability to accommodate the interests of parties opposing the ruling political view will result in a structure of local government organisations filled by officials who are less critical in terms of technical capabilities and skills in the field.

Conditions which exist are covered by all aspects in Governance Evolutionary Theory, which suggests there will be a continued change, which will affect the performance of the workings of the local network between actors such as the provincial and local governments, government institutions, non-governmental institutions, local residents and other interested parties. Changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health,

social conditions and cultural barriers have all contributed to the pattern and structure of the network or networks in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014).

These dynamic changes, impacting on all the actors involved in network governance systems, must eventually lead to action that is in line with the pattern of the changing times. However, in the case of Takalar, government efforts and those of other actors such as NGOs, donors and the public element, in the effort to work together to reduce poverty, have not yet yielded results.

Chapter 6 will describe strategies, problems and implications in the case study of the Barru district. The chapter will discuss issues of coordination, education, health, cultural aspects and local budget. Finally, I will explore PIK PAKET programs and local leaders.

Chapter 6 Strategies, Problems, and Implications: Case Studies of Barru District

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed strategies, problems and the implications of a case study in Takalar district. This chapter talks about key strategies, problems and implications but from a case study of Barru district. I start with the geographic conditions, and then move onto the social economic structure. The chapter continues with research findings that include coordination, education, health, cultural aspects, and misuse of local budget issues. Finally, I explore PIK PAKET programs and local leaders.

6.2. Geographical Conditions

Barru district is located in the western coastal area of South Sulawesi province. It has a coastline approximately 78 km long. It is located between coordinates 0.5° 4' 35"–4° 47' 35" south latitude and 199° 35' 00"–119° 49' 16" east longitude with an area of 1174.72 km² (117,472 ha) and is ± 102 km in the north from Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi Province; it can be reached by car in ± 2.5 hours. Barru District is administratively divided into 7 districts, namely: Tanete Riaja sub-district, Tanete Rilau, Barru (capital urban), Soppeng Riaja, Mallusetasi, and Pujananting and Balusu, and consists of 14 wards and 40 rural villages. Barru is located in the Trans Sulawesi and it is a cross-province region located between Makassar and Pare-Pare. The administrative sub-district areas in Barru district can be seen in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Distribution of Administrative areas of Barru district

No	Sub-district	Village/Ward	(Wide /Km2)	%
1	Tanete Riaja	7	174,29	14,84
2	Tanete Rilau	10	79,17	6,74
3	Barru	10	199,32	16,97
4	Soppeng Riaja	7	78,90	6,71
5	Mallusetasi	8	216,58	18,44
6	Pujananting	6	314,26	26,75
7	Balusu	8	112,58	9,55
		54	1174,72	100

SOURCE: BPS BARRU (2010, P.1-3)

6.3. Economic Structure

A performance of economic structure of a country or a region can be measured from Gross Development Product (GDP). As Amadeo (2018) notes, the GDP is the best way to calculate the economic performance of a country or a district. The economic structure of Barru district of South Sulawesi province of Indonesia, can be seen from contributions of every economic sector in GDP. For instance, Table 6.2 explains business sectors which support the economic structure in Barru. From 2005 to 2009, agriculture was the most important economic sector in Barru district followed by services, such as construction, trade, hotels and restaurants, mining and excavation, manufacturing, electricity, gas and water supply, transport and communications (BPS, 2010). In more detail the performance outcomes of the Gross District Development are given in table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Contribution of sectors to the Gross District Domestic Product in Barru district, 2005-2009

No	Sector	Year/(%)				
		2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
1	Agriculture	48.22	47.55	46.64	45.90	44.72
2	Mine and excavation	1.18	1.16	1.13	1.14	1.18
3	Industry and Processing	3.78	3.74	3.72	3.78	3.73
4	Electricity, Gas, Water Supply	0.61	0.62	0.62	0.64	0.65
5	Construction	7.13	7.46	7.68	8.22	8.83
6	Trade, Hotel, Restaurant	11.92	11.80	11.74	11.76	11.42
7	Transportation and Communication	4.11	4.00	4.01	4.10	4.06
8	Financial, Renting & Business Services	5.65	5.57	5.64	5.92	6.42
9	Services	17.40	18.10	18.82	18.54	18.99
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: BPS Barru district from 2006 to 2010

The contribution of the agricultural sector still dominates the economic structure of Barru district, although the trend has declined from 48.22 per cent in 2005 to 44.72 per cent in 2009. The contribution of the services sector increased from 17.40 per cent in 2005 to 18.99 per cent in 2009. This shows that the services sector has become an increasingly important sector for a region that is evolving from traditional to modern, although the contribution of the sectors of Trade, Hotel and Restaurant decreased very marginally from 11.91 in 2005 to 11:42 in 2009.

6.4. Coordination among Stakeholders

The Enactment of the Indonesian District Autonomy Law No. 22/1999 was then amended by Law No. 32/2004. The District Autonomy Law gives part of the authority of the Central Government to Local Governments. In the implementation of district autonomy however, the authority between the Central and Local Governments still overlaps. Coordination between the Central Government and Local Government is still weak (Butt, 2010).

According to Edy, a District Autonomy and Poverty Reduction programs' expert:

Poverty reduction programs in Indonesia are still run partially and based on the interests and objectives of certain groups, so that the implementation of poverty

reduction programs is ineffective. The central government still dominates the various policies on the poverty reduction programs in the area (interview, 4/09/2013).

Edy explained that although the government of Indonesia, has been experiencing district autonomy, among levels of government, they are still weak on coordination and collaboration of development processes, which are then unsynchronized between central and district development implementation.

His opinion contrasts with the approach proposed by Chrislip and Larson (1994) who point out that the process of collaboration requires openness, not being dominated by one party within the group or the governance system. The local government has limits in the utilisation of natural resources in the region, particularly in forest resources (Ribot, Agrawal and Larson, 2006; Tacconi, 2007). Utilisation of Natural Resources (SDA) is still dominated by the central government. For example, in the management of mining, the central government refers to the 1945 Constitution, article 33, paragraph 3 that the Earth's water and the riches contained in it are controlled by the state and exploited for the interest of the people (Nawawi and Rahayu, 2014).

Other issues link with coordination between the NGOs and donor organisations. Coordination issues among governments, donors and NGOs often arise at the implementation phase of activities in the field and at the administration level. The Director of the COMMIT Foundation in an interview said:

Regarding existing NGOs in South Sulawesi, provincial and district government should has a selective mechanism towards international institutions or donors which officially have access to provide funds for anti-poverty programs in Indonesia. This means that there is an alert to donors that they are careful in aiding the community. (Ashar, interviewed 13/11/2016)

Similarly, the government should also be selective in accepting aid from donors. Ashar and Helena community development experts active in Lombok said:

Our friends in Lombok have worked and fought hard, community empowerment, then came some other donors with different methods, so that what has been presented to the local community has been damaged by mixing different methods in one place while the local community has not fully implemented methods we teach them. (Ashar, Interview, 13/11/2016)

Furthermore, Ashar explained that he has an appreciation of the steps undertaken by the government of President Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gus Dur, October 1999), because he founded an institution called the Relationship of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Through this process, for the first-time NGOs were recognised as stakeholders in the elements of civil society in Indonesia (Ashar, Interviewed 13/11/2016). Until now the institution is still there. This institution has a duty to conduct administrative screening of international donor agencies wishing to operate in Indonesia. For example; one requirement is that the NGO must have an office in Indonesia; if there are three management experts, one should be from Indonesia.

All parties also have to communicate with the donor agencies, because if they provide assistance that is not in accordance with the needs of the communities, then the money is wasted.

Currently the most important thing for NGOs is to fill a need that is not met by the government, so that NGOs serve as complementary agents in activities that have not been touched by the government's business to support government programs and serve the needs of the community. The challenge now is when talking about community empowerment NGOs must follow the scheme of the government, because the government provides the money to the public, therefore, an NGO has to change its paradigm. NGOs created a capacity development model to be applied in the implementation process of capacity building and community empowerment (Simpson, Wood, & Daws 2003; Ulleberg, 2009).

Ashar, the director of COMMIT (Ashar, interviewed; 15/11/2016) says:

I am a practitioner of human resource capacity building, ready to work with any project. The government's task to coordinate with field officer, field assistant, because if the government runs itself, the facilitator also runs its own way, it will hinder the work in the field, and disadvantaged communities.

The important task should be rethinking the roles of actors such as local government, donors, NGO members or local leaders who work together in anti-poverty programs across the country, particularly in South Sulawesi (Van Assche et al., 2014). The task of NGOs to assist the government in this process is through building community empowerment. Repositioning the NGO is then interpreted as community empowerment. NGOs participate as a substitute for the role of government (Banks & Hulme, 2012). So, if NGOs now cannot see this as their main task, then the NGO will lose ground because the government has provided funding assistance for this specific role at the central, provincial and district levels.

6.5. Economy Problems

Although the contribution of the agricultural sector dominates the economic structure of Barru district, the economic conditions of farmers are poor.

Table 6.3 A snapshot of the distribution of the poor (%) in Barru district in 2012

	Number of Individuals						
Sub -District	Very poor	(%)	Group 2	(%)	Group 3	(%)	Total
Tanete Riaja	2,322	15.91	2,759	16.74	2,216	11.85	7,297
Pujananting	2,466	16.89	3,581	21.73	3,078	16.45	9,125
Tanete Rilau	2,874	19.69	2,837	17.21	3,724	19.91	9,135
Barru	2,164	14.82	2,113	12.82	3,048	16.29	8,154
Soppeng Riaja	1,301	8.91	1,176	7.14	1,698	9.08	4,175
Balusu	1,276	8.74	1,534	9.31	2,027	10.84	4,932
Mallusetasi	2,196	15.04	2,482	15.06	2,916	15.59	7,594
Total	14,599	100.00	16,482	100.00	18,707	100.00	50,412

SOURCE: BPS BARRU (BASED ON DATA OF SOCIAL SAFETY NET PROGRAM, MARCH 2012).

The table above describes the existing poverty in Barru, most of whom are farmers. Although the distribution of the poor in the district is not the same from one district to another, this figure demonstrates that in Barru district, there are similar trends within each sub-district. Referring to the data of the seven sub-districts in Barru: Tanete Rilau has 19.69 per cent of poor people in Barru, followed by Pujananting with 16.89 per cent of total population in Barru district.

One senior official, Rante Padang, a chief of agricultural officer in Barru district, said:

The existence of poverty in the Barru district is more vulnerable to poor people. Although people are generally not included in the category of the poor, there is a condition where many people are approaching the poverty line, so that if there is economic turmoil, for example, the increased price of fuel, rice, and the necessities for daily living such as; sugar, cooking oil, salt, coffee, eggs, salted fish, and flour, the impact of this price increase will have a direct implication that those who live in vulnerable conditions of poverty will go straight into the poor category. Therefore, the problem of poverty cannot be tackled alone, government agencies and other stakeholders should collaborate, sit down together to discuss strategy appropriately and reduce poverty effectively.

Furthermore, (Rante, interviewed, 15/09/2013) argued that there are many pockets of poverty, especially within the fishing communities in coastal areas. They have fishing boats with outboard engines only capable of travelling 2-3 km from the coast, while the area is already over-fished, and no fish are in this zone. Therefore, if the government and other stakeholders want to help them, the help has to be comprehensive, so that they can get out of the cycle of poverty. Table 6.4 below shows the number of poor people in Barru from 2003 to 2011.

Table 6.4 Total population and percentage of poor people in Barru District, period 2003-2011

Year	Total population	Poor People	Percentage
2003	156,832.00	20,200.00	12.88
2004	157,155.00	17,900.00	11.39
2005	159,110.00	18,600.00	11.69
2006	158,879.00	22,100.00	13.91
2007	158,859.00	23,400.00	14.73
2008	160,860.00	21,700.00	13.49
2009	161,855.00	18,500.00	11.43
2010	165,947.00	17,716.00	10.68
2011	167,656.00	16,120.00	9.61

SOURCE: BPS BARRU DISTRICT FROM 2004 TO 2012

The Table shows a decrease in the growth in the number of poor people in Barru district.

Whilst most of the population are farmers, the reduced financial contribution of the agricultural sector in the last few years is due to the younger generation being less interested in becoming farmers. Ahmad, one of the staff of the Agriculture Office, Barru District, said (15/09/2013):

Young people in rural areas are unwilling to become farmers; they consider that to be a farmer struggling with mud, and poor. They prefer to become a taxi motorcyclist (tukang ojek)(Ahmad, interviewed, 15/09/2013).

Pao-Pao, Head village, agreed with Ahmad, stating (15/09/2013):

Farmers in Barru generally lack innovation in working the land, unlike the people on Java Island. Farmers in Barru district generally only plant once a year, while farmers in Java can plant two times a year.

Yasin (as a youth leader) of Pao-Pao village, who founded the farmer group called Makkawaru, added that most local people do not want to use the yard. They only grow staple crops in fields, such as rice and cassava. They are not open to planting new crops, such as chilies, peppers, tomatoes, and cabbage. Their views may change after seeing a real example. Yasin is trying to give an example to the local community by taking advantage of the yard with vegetable crops and fish farming of catfish (see Figure 6.1). Initially the local community laughed at Yasin's action. But after the results were good, the people realised that land use can improve their economic positions.



Figure 6.1 Utilisation of yard area with vegetable crops and fish ponds of catfish

My next section will discuss health issues which are often enhanced by poverty.

6.6. Health Problems

In Barru district, there are 9,800 families, a of total of 41,000 families, who do not have latrines; however the 9,800 families all actually have a mobile phone. Ironically, in every family there are 2 or 3 mobile phones. They do not realise the importance of family latrine ownership. UNICEF would like to change the mindset of the people, so

that they have the awareness to not defecate (BAB) in any place, for public health and to safeguard the norms, customs and religions of the community.

Darwis, a court facilitator, mentions that the main obstacle to changing ideas is because UNICEF does not bring money to the community. UNICEF is looking at the situation today to improve their strategy.

When there is an outsider accompanied by government officials who visit the village, they assume there will be relief that the money is going to come to the village. While UNICEF puts more emphasis on behavioural change, to bring awareness to the community about the importance of access to or ownership of the toilets and the use of clean water in their environment (Darwis, interview 16/09/2013).

When members of the family – wife, children – defecate in any place, the action is unpleasant when other people watch or see their behaviour. The behaviour is unethical if the defecators know that this can contribute to disease in the community. Some of the reasons why families do not have toilets: they do not have money; landless; and habit. UNICEF has put five cadres in each village to bring awareness to the community so that they can change their behaviour.

6.7. Cultural Identity

People who mostly living in Barru district are Buginess, the main ethnic tribes in South Sulawesi. People who are especially living in coastal areas have cultural beliefs that particularly limit the activities of women around their domestic tasks such as: cleaning, washing, cooking and bedding (women are always ready to serve their husbands in the bedroom). When their husbands go fishing, women just get together to chat and look for lice in front of their homes. When the author was observing and talking with a senior official of the agriculture department of Barru district, he explained that young people in the countryside are mostly unwilling to become farmers: they assume that farmers wallow in mud and are poor, so then the youth would rather be motorcycle taxi drivers (tukang ojek) than become farmers.

One of the famous aspects of bugis-makassar cultural identity is a concept of *siri na* pacce (Makassar) and siri na pesse (Bugis). The concept of siri refers to feeling of shame and pride and dignity. Meanwhile pacce refers to awareness and feeling empathy for people who were suffered (Samsuni, 2010). Buginese and Macassar also have another concept of pesse or pacce which culturally encourages the native people to raise their empathy and be loyal between them and relatives and friends or other parties who they personally have a close relationship with. Matulada (1985) also asserts siri forces Buginese and Makassar to obey and implement panggadereng which traditionally is for achieving higher dignity of life and their personality. This is because siri is built by smooth feelings and emotion, and sentimentality.

However, in contrast with its concept, practically, various cases of violence in the city of Makassar use *siri* as a cultural concept to raise their dignity and pride. Cases of fights or brawls between students and gangs seem to be daily news. As happened in April 2012, dozens of gangs did beatings of suspected members of youth organisation *Pemuda Pancasila*: Ibrahim Syamsuri, a UNM student, died. Another case of brawls between students of UMI on September 20, 2012, also resulted in fatalities for a student of electrical engineering. Elsewhere on October 11, 2012, there was a dispute which led to the killing of two students, Resky Munandar and Herianto.

The series of events and killings that occurred among students and the youth gangs provide a clear indication that the decline in the values of the series of *siri na pacce* have occurred in the people of South Sulawesi. The phenomenon is not only reflected in the routine actions of young people in the city of Makassar but has formed a public opinion of the city of Makassar as an area of brawls and demonstrations. For example, when I return to Yogyakarta, my family told me that often they hear and see the news from newspapers and television about events, brawls, and demonstrations carried out by young people in the city of Makassar.

The decline in the value of culture *siri na pacce* is also the concern of a master's student of UIN Yogyakarta, Muhammad Fathu Jaya Sulaisah (Tribun Timur, 20/10/2012), who suggested that the concept should function in the context of *sirimasiri* as an instrument of social control. Sulaisah added that it should be applied as an "Agent of Change" when students go to others area. *Siri* 'only works if it is linked to

other indigenous elements. One important aspect is 'Mangngalli' which includes religious quality, knowledge, good personality and wealth.

Siri is even considered as the source of the success of South Sulawesi people outside their homeland. One of the traditions of *siri* having led to great achievements was BJ Habibie, President of the 3 in 1998, Jusuf Kalla, Vice President of Indonesia from 2004 to 2009 and Chairman of Golkar Party in the same period, while Tun Abdul Razak, former Prime Minister Malaysia, is the son of the province. Another example is that of Sultan Sulaiman in Johor, and many more.

In relation to the definition of poverty, I point out that the declining context and concept of values *masiri* and *siri* na pacce and Maggalli is a manifestation of understanding of the cultural aspects of local poverty. Where this concept should be the driving force for each individual Makassar Bugis people who want to live a more advanced life and have superior achievement is exemplified by several figures of Bugis Makassar above.

From these circumstances, the concept of *siri na pacce* has been experiencing reduction of its cultural meaning and what we call moral degradation of meaning from its basic nature of the greatness meaning of *siri na pacce* concepts. The concept of *siri na pacce* or *siri na pesse* has experience change of its meaning as a social identity mindset rather than its cultural identity meaning.

6.8. Budget Allocation Problem

Budget allocation has become a commonplace problem due to the misuse of districtbudget (APBD), both at a provincial and district level. Misuse of funds occurred in nearly all government agencies, e.g., in the Poverty Reduction program in Barru and the PIK PAKET activities. The budget allocation in 2013 reached IDR. 292,977,000: the budget officially was distributed to the poor in 54 villages across the district.

Table 6.5 Snapshots details of budget allocations for PIK PAKET in 54 villages/wards for the year 2013

Employee Expenditure	Cost (IDR)	Location	
Pilot Project Prevention and Poverty	292,977,000.00	54 Villages /	
Reduction Program (PIK PAKET)			
Employees Expenditure	48,200,000.00		
Non -Government Employees Expenditure	48,200,000.00		
Goods and services expenditure	244,777,000.00		
Material Supplies	15,800,000.00		
Office Services	7,420,000.00		
Food and Drink	75,277,000.00		
Printing and Copying	5,250,000.00		
Official Travelling	141,030,000.00		

SOURCE: BAPPEDA BARRU DISTRICT (2013)

The table above is as an illustration of the use of budget funds that should be spent on the activities of the poor, but these activities are used only on employee salary/non-employees; the operational activities of the office and activity costs, e.g., food and drink for meetings and business travel to the location. As government employees, the government actors who are involved in the local anti-poverty program basically have their own salary from the government.

The misuse of budget allocation occurred not only at the level of districts/cities, but also occurred at the provincial level. When I asked for an explanation about the use of the budget for BPMD province's poverty reduction program, Blasius (Interview, 7/09/2013) stated that for many years' poverty reduction programs have been implemented and the budget has grown, but it is still difficult to eradicate poverty. This is partly caused by the incorrect use of the budget. The budget is supposed to benefit poor people, but it is only used for office and travel agency employees. (Blasius, interview, 7/09/2013), a senior official in BPMD, also added:

The use of local budget or more precisely enjoyed by Members of Parliament. They argue the use of funds to fund the aspirations of the people, but the funds are allocated to the Agency and the Office of the Provincial Government Agencies in scope. Aspiration funds allocated to the Agency or the Department actually exceeds the principal fund activities that are in the work unit and institutions' related services (Blasius, interviewed 7/09/2013).

This way of using the funds has become natural for them. I as a researcher and government employee have witnessed this. The conditions and circumstances have caused poverty reduction programs in Indonesia to be less than fully effective.

The various problems of poverty in Barru, and the central government, provincial and local attempts to answer them with national and district policies through strategy and poverty reduction programs are described in the following sub-section.

6.9. Local Initiatives on Poverty Reduction Programs (PIK PAKET).

Accelerated implementation of Integrated Poverty Reduction Activity (PIK PAKET) Barru began in 2004. PIK PAKET Policy was issued in an attempt to achieve synergy between institutions within the scope of the Government of Barru, thus reducing the sheer numbers of the poor. The Government of Barru has many poverty reduction programs implemented by the central government, and local governments. For example, Inpres Villages (IDT), Builders Supporting Villages (P3DT), District Development Program (KDP), the Urban Poverty Program (P2KP), Social Security, and many other programs. Some of the obstacles to the implementation of poverty reduction programs that have been identified by policy makers at the local level are constraints that have their roots in a lack of coordination on the level of the central, provincial, district, subdistrict to the village (in the field) (documents and reports of RPMJD PIK PAKET).

PIK PAKET Phase I, the first of a number of poverty reduction programs, has provided valuable lessons for policy makers in Barru to create a policy-initiated poverty integrated reduction program and accelerate the implementation of the policy into Phase II activities of PIK PAKET:

PIK Paket is a local anti-poverty program. The activity accelerated poverty reduction program departs from various experiences of backgrounds in the intervention of the poor with the goal of reducing poverty significantly in Barru district. Barru government realised that over time, a lot of poverty programs have been implemented by the central government, provinces and regions in the past, but its implementation is less coordinated (Zainud, interviewed 10/09/2013).

When Mr Abustam was head of Bappeda it had a policy of goodwill and provision of a new budget for the program PIK PAKET: IDR. 1 billion, in 2004. They hoped to reduce poverty based on a planning process with implementation of the model in an integrated manner. Thus, the problem of poverty in poor households could be resolved by paying attention to the internal agency/department.

When Abustam moved to another office as the head of the education department, he did not handle the program, so the PIK PAKET in 2007 began to stagnate, and in 2008 it stalled because of financing capabilities. At that time, there was no priority on poverty programs, so that the integrated poverty programs did not run properly. They then started again in 2010.

They strengthened inter-agency coordination in Barru district, and it was implemented in RPJMD Barru. Program PIK PAKET is done institutionally. Then the problem arises, how they are instituting the anti-poverty program, we started innovation through the organization of PIK PAKET to accelerate the implementation of the local poverty reduction program. The local government of Barru district then gave the task to every unit and institution or *SKPD* to integrate PNPM and PIK PAKET. The integrated anti-poverty program is not directly PNPM labour-intensive, which fulfils the rights by involving the poor as a source of labour. (Abustam, interviewed 13/09/2013)

Departing from this coordination problem, Bustam and other participants were also interviewed on 10 September 2013. They showed that decision makers in Barru district were trying to make a breakthrough in inter-agency collaboration and be relevant in

order to accelerate the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru through PIK PAKET.

6.9.1. Institutional Strengthening of Coordination PIK PAKET

To strengthen the building of coordination between units/institutions in relation to the activities of PIK PAKET, local government strengthened the coordination team through head district (*bupati*) decree No. 214 of 2012 of the DistrictPoverty Reduction Coordination Team (TKPKD), Barru. Through the PIK PAKET program, local government aims to integrate the activities of the poverty reduction strategy with a new vision of local government of Barru district to accelerate the anti-poverty program integrated with community empowerment.

The vision is contained within three main objectives, namely: i) acceleration of poverty reduction, ii) integrated PIK PAKET and iii) community empowerment. The three objectives comprehensively touch all elements of the lives of the poor:

- ➤ to address acceleration of poverty, strategic efforts are systematic plans, policies and programs, and synergy between institution-related agencies, NGOs, donors, businesses and communities in order to reduce the number of poor people;
- ➤ integrated poverty reduction program (PIK PAKET) goal achievement requires integration with all components, especially every agency working unit (SKPD) to provide guidance in accordance with the duties and functions;
- ➤ community-based to provide awareness to the poor; on potential and available resources, as well as encouraging participation in the development process in each village. (Bappeda Barru District, 2013)

Head of the Development Community Empowerment Board (BPMD) said:

Empowering the poor to better their level of life is important to do in poverty programs, because the process of community awareness requires patience and to be done totally and continuously, for example, when they are given assistance for venture capital, the

fund is supposed to be venture capital but is spent on daily necessities (Muh, interview 09/09/2013).

Even when they were given cattle to be fattened, it was often sold or eaten before the animals were fully grown.

6.9.2. Observing the Conditions of the Poor

The rules and norms in the implementation of PIK PAKET become a basic reference for all stakeholders involved. The norm is divided into six, namely:

- ➤ has a strong commitment; actors engaged in PIK PAKET have a strong and ongoing commitment
- ➤ do the best for the community
- ➤ honesty; actors in performing duties must prioritise honesty and sincerity and not behave detrimentally to community members
- > oriented to the needs of society, in formulating and setting policies, just as the government is oriented to the needs of the community
- ➤ build equity; all actors involved in the activities of PIK PAKET do not differentiate between race, religion, ethnicity; all have the same rights and obligations
- > unity in diversity; in implementing poverty reduction activities together regardless of differences in background, livelihood, education and social status, and oriented towards community self-reliance

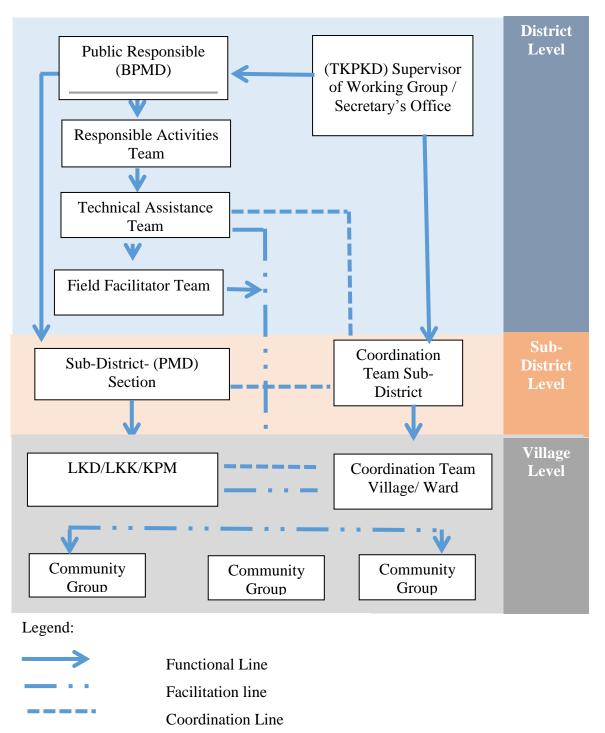
6.9.3. PIK PAKET Business Organisation

In the implementation of integrated poverty reduction activities of PIK PAKET, the village community office Empowerment Board (BPMD) serves as the leading sector in which the main actors coordinate activities together with related work units and non-governmental organisations in accordance with the vision and mission of PIK PAKET.

The organisational structure of those implementing PIK PAKET is divided into several roles according to their level of activity. The PIK PAKET organisational structure

consists of Common Responsibility BPMD, responsible activities, a district technical team and a team of field facilitators. In the picture below:

Figure 6.2 PIK PAKET structure organisation



SOURCE: PIK PAKET'S GUIDELINES (2012, P. 13)

6.9.3.1. PIK PAKET Implementation

There are four steps in the process of implementation in the Barru PIK Package:

- 1) Preparation: Focusing on preparation and consolidation. The team facilitates the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in a socio-economic study on the social economy in society by using several criteria such as: by name, by address, the potential of natural resources, constraints, pen diagrams, looking at how institutions in society arise in public welfare in rural areas.
- 2) Stages of Implementation: They rank the wealth using local criteria. Criteria standards or local poverty are created by a team consisting of all local party member's, government, NGO members, and the community itself.
- 3) Strengthening Monitoring and Evaluation: They determine the four criteria of the poor in Barru: the rich; moderate/medium; poor, and absolute poor (extreme poor). The four criteria are internal correction existing as a database with statistical data and real data of poverty of local communities. This is to facilitate the organisation of the problem, making it easier to form a definitive plan, based on the analysis that was based on the criteria and finding the crux of the problem.
- 4) Funding: Funding sources for PIK KAKET Barru come from the budget and other funding sources. The funds are earmarked for the purpose of: a) operational expenditure comprising the event Assistance Team, the preparation of the general guidelines and technical guidance, orientation socialisation, community meetings and the preparation of the plan for the activities, group training, monitoring and evaluation; b). social assistance expenditure in the form of capital support for the poor; c) strengthening capital and business development for the poor.

6.9.3.2. Financial Management

PJOK is responsible for the operations and activities, for the administrative and financial management sourced from operational expenditure, and for facilitating preparatory activities sourced from operational expenditure administration.

They make plans and definitive models of business groups that will be carried out in each group, and after that there is training appropriate to their needs: how to build and regulate themselves when they acquire a business, how big are their interests, and

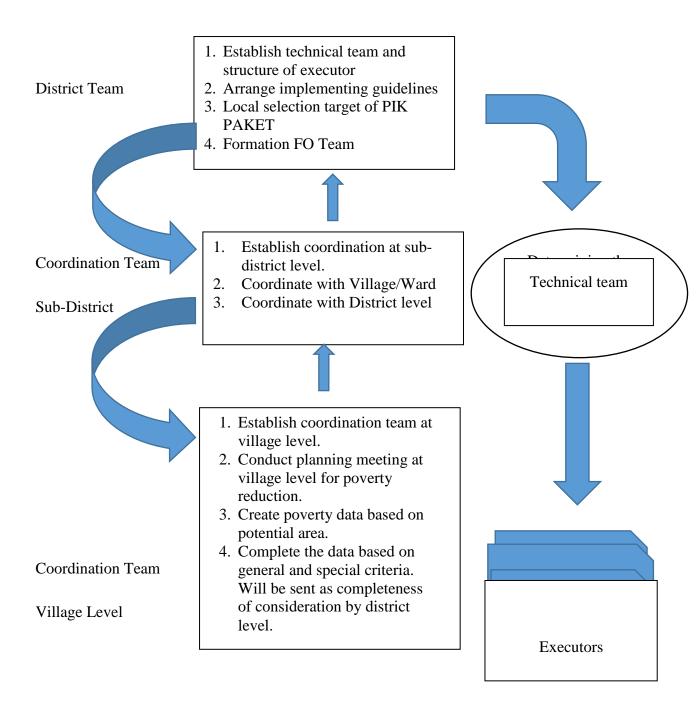
through group management training and further training on resources, finally there is a process of awareness in each group, that they can do business with an open mindset through the mentoring process and this is done continuously for 7 years.

In 2004, Barru district government provided financial assistance to the poor, although they did not focus on output targets but on the process. Abustam, a senior official at the Department of Education of Barru district, said:

We start from the beginning and we are looking to build coordination. So, from this milestone in our efforts to locate and identify the poor, from them we evaluate the program every three months. (Abustam, interview, 16/09/2013)

In preparing the budget in Barru district since 2011, the local government has been plotting anti-poverty programs and operational budgets and operational needs in one unit where there is the budget expenditure. They requested cooperation or coordination between units or government agencies in the area. Then they identified the requirements demanded by donors and the international obligations of the central government through the Project Budget. It is not shared by the provincial and central government. To review an example: free education and health are two advantages identified from local programs.

If we still think, the sector will not be able to run with the maximum. We must work together, for example, we focus on three villages only once and we helped in total, until they can be alleviated from poverty, we try to help the other villages. We are not really in poverty programs. We made RPJMD, but the implementation of districtpolicy is made by the packet PIK and financed by the budget Barru and integrated by PNPM, since it involves 17 sectors in Barru in an effort to speed up districtpoverty reduction. Budgets in every village have a budget of IDR. 500 million and were budgeted in 2012 (Abustam, interview, 16/09/2013):.



SOURCE: PIK PAKET PROGRAM GUIDELINES (2012, P.

15)

To determine the target location, the Technical Committee delivered a letter to each village to prepare criteria, whether general or specific targets. Then it was sent to the district technical team formerly known by the coordination team districts and villages.

PIK PAKET implementation should be integrated. The basic principle of the implementation of activities in the community puts more emphasis on the dynamic process of implementation in the field in order to achieve successive fields. In one interview Andi (16/09/2013) states:

Principally our policy makers have not understood the existence of self-interest of every actor and institution, and with local policy they implement PIK PAKET, they work together using the local concept (Andi, interviewed 16/09/2013).

For example, in the work of home improvement, there was no process of coercion for the improvement project for housing, with the identification of houses to be renovated, permits for the enactment of land and licensing of 19 houses, out of 19 households (RT) were provided, and they examined how the children go to school, and students were also awarded a scholarship, while the office of the cooperative provided help for businesses. Integrated through these activities, the 19 houses in the treatment were moved out of the cycle of poverty. Barru district government expects results through the basic concept of integrated planning and activities, so they can determine the duration for reducing poverty clearly and effectively.

However, Bustam sees no full support from the provincial government. Bustam exemplifies the needs of the overall program budget for poverty reduction programs, but there is still partial or self-interest of each of the actors and institutions. Furthermore, Andi explained that the coordination team to deal with poverty at the provincial level is still not clear. Provincial government supports the area, so Andi advises the provincial government should support any existing programs in the district/city.

Nahar, as one of the policy makers in Barru District Development Planning Agency, proposed to the Provincial and Central Government to create a body/institution specifically to address poverty reduction. Furthermore, Bustam also concluded his argument that, as an attempt to give full support to the local government, the central

government should pay total commitment to the province government and district levels, so that national policies should be aligned on public policies that support local governments.

Poverty reduction programs should be based on local basic needs and cannot be standardised in Jakarta or based on the Central Statistics Agency (BPS). Each region has a different culture, a different climate, and different localities, so that the policy of poverty reduction programs should be specific locally, and must consider local poverty criteria. Syamvillage head Pao-Pao, District Malusetasi, mentions:

Currently our village government is greatly supported by central and local governments through the village funds which are large enough. However, we wanted creativity in determining the strategy and policy at the village level in accordance with the conditions and the potential of the locality that we have (Syam, interviewed 15/09/2013).

The central government provides the budget, while local governments prepare a concept. Central and provincial governments have to control and maintain the creative implementation of strategies and policies in accordance with the vision and mission of local governments concerned. The central government does not have to create a national poverty program. Why poverty reduction in Indonesia has not been successful is because the government has not been pro-poor, because the money disbursed by the government has not touched substantially on the poor. An example is direct cash aid such as: BLSM or BLT, Raskin, and others. Why are these not given in the form of subsidies? If farmers are given production subsidies and consumer subsidies, this means they can protect production, so farmers have a strong bargaining position in their product prices, so that they do not become victimised by a merchant middle class and high class elite. Bustam is also supported by Ali, a senior researcher at Makassar, and a former staff at BAPPEDA province of South Sulawesi (Ali, interview 19/09/2013).

Addressing poverty in Indonesia cannot be made nationally uniform and should use a typological approach adapted to the conditions of cultural mores, geographical location, climate and others. Using a local government policy replication of an integrated approach on anti-poverty programs such as those implemented in Barru district, it

would be a great answer to address the main poverty problem in Indonesia. Ali argues that handling poor people is very complex and there should be a special agency to deal with the issues in addressing poverty: there should be specific issues and also common issues. Addressing poverty should also be separated from the political aspects of the practical, because TKPKD must be submitted by local governments and technically handled by Bappeda who has a coordinating function. While the implementation should not be interfered with by MPs, who could make it a political affair, it will be a tough road if approaching elections. So, the affairs of poverty should be in one body or specialised agency who handles the problem of poverty.

Local government does not automatically assign a significant role to local authorities in relation to their involvement in the implementation of programs of poverty reduction and community empowerment'. Action in this case does not effect change, if it ignores the role of the central government in relation to accessing the benefits of natural resources. Barriers affect local governments accessing these benefits, including the way in which the local government looks at community development; and factors that affect the implementation of the local government's role in community development programs are associated with mining operations, including the nature of the bureaucratic system and distrust of local government.

6.9.3.3. Problems in the Implementation of PIK PAKET

Despite that all the actors in the activities of PIK PAKET have played an active role, there are still things that need to be improved. Zainuddin explained that the government makes a lot of interventions regarding the poor, but the obstacle to tackling poverty as a whole is the lack of coordination among government agencies in the poverty reduction program. Coordination among government agencies and other decision makers is often lost in the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru. For instance: lack attendance at regular meeting and representation on anti-poverty programs, lack of data management, misuse local budget of poverty programs. These issues have an effect on missing targets of anti-poverty program.

Since the implementation of PIK PAKET in 2004, with a team of DistrictPoverty Reduction program coordination (TKPKD) led by Bappeda, the PIK PAKET pilot

project of poverty reduction has integrated a design process that involves all stakeholders, including companions in the field consisting of stakeholders and also the facilitator.

Arif, as an expert on the implementation of poverty reduction program, states that:

the issue of coordination between relevant government institutions and institutions at both central and local is still difficult to be realised, because they work alone or in only partial coordination (Arf, interviewed 04/09/2013).

Blasius, a senior official from BPMD, adds that the issue of coordination among government actors at both central and local level is difficult to materialise well, and applies not only between agencies and between fields: even a single office partition wall can be very difficult to penetrate:

Coordination in essence: it is easy to say but hard to implement; sometimes workable inter-agency coordination, can be workable, the inter-field in one institution alone may sometimes experience barriers (Blasius, intervewed 07/09/2013).

Sunardi added that even among their own work units, often barriers exist, so that between them they are not connected to each other. Such issues are common. For example, when I met the head of Bappeda Barru Anhar, at the time of the interview relating to the implementation of the PIK PAKET program, the head of Bappeda was very enthusiastic to explain the planning, the execution and the results achieved. But when I mentioned the funds provided by the local government of Barru, he expressed that it was difficult to provide detailed data, even saying the data is confidential and should not be privy to government agencies. Such an attitude makes it clear that there is dishonesty in the use of the public budget.

Poverty reduction programs in Barru have been done over the years. However, local authorities and all the parties involved in projects and programs do not feel that the program was successfully executed. The problem is that parties often only work partially. They work on their own section's interests and their goals. In fact, anti-poverty programs sometimes overlap, where local agencies have a similar program with

the same goal and yet they also do not have the same strong arguments on the issues. These problems occur because they do not have a vision in the course of their fight to reduce poverty. The main problem is that they do not have strong coordination and cooperation among actors.

Barru district governments realise that they want to change the situation and to discuss and act together to develop new ways of alleviating poverty through collaborative projects through the Integrated Poverty Reduction Programs (or PIK PAKET) together with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and donors.

6.9.3.4. PIK PAKET Collaboration with Oxfam (Cluster II)

The government of Barru through PIK PAKET seeks to work with related non-government organisations (NGOs) and community leaders from both inside and outside the country. One cooperative program conducted jointly by PIK PAKET and Oxfam strengthened the role of women in coastal areas (Tua, interview 12/9/2013). This collaborative program started in 2010. The training activities and the household development effort were followed by 21 leaders and advisors of local communities.

The participants in the training continue to advance themselves (Tua, interview 12/9/2013). They continue to try very hard because of the experience with success that they have had over the years (Tua, interview 12/9/2013). These efforts have been made to improve or expand their small business enterprises. They hope to receive aid from the local government but are still waiting for a local budget which requires a process and time by the local government.

The Oxfam project aims to build the resilience of the economy in Barru district. It has been implemented in 13 coastal villages. Nahar, head of Bappeda, said:

This project stems from the opinion that the bulk of coastal communities are dependent on the sea, the more difficult to catch fish. In addition, we seek to diversify livelihoods. Today the result of fishing in the area of Barru is that they are also increasingly difficult to reach, because of limited equipment to catch fish in the sea. (Nahar, interview, 12/09/2013)

Some of the activities carried out by Oxfam and PIK PAKET occur in multiple locations in Barru. Business efforts in Barru have resulted in salted egg, seaweed cakes (dodol), shredded fish and other local Konja fish which are sold to several other areas such as in Malino in Gowa, Makassar and other districts. Muslim, from the village of Lampoko, Balusu, and Bausalo, and one of the group leaders, Patiti, revealed that within each group there are ten mothers/women who have an average production of 300 salted eggs a week. This has happened with guidance from Oxfam to help women earn alternative incomes when their husbands go to sea. Help is carried out by Oxfam for the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. See Figure 6.5 which shows one of the training activities held in September 2013.

They developed their business process; the eggs are collected every week from ducks bought with Oxfam's facilitation and also from other villages. Muslimah was helped by guidance from Oxfam. People who previously did not have part-time jobs, now have income-generating activities and money for the children's school fees. After Muslimah the activities spread to other villages and hamlets. Led by Oxfam and facilitated by Tua (facilitator for Barru), the business shows real progress. Muslimah commented in an interview:

I've been active in participating in the activities at the village and hamlet level even in 2012. I became one of the delegates at the district level Balusu Musrenbang. (Muslimah, interviewed 12/09/2013)

In another example, the business group Konja, represented by four women: Muslimah, Rahimah Usman, Jaenab and Salawati, explained that with the rural population of Balusu, 80 per cent are fishermen. The women's main result is shredded Konja fish from their husband's fish catch. They joined the Konja group four years ago, and it has been very helpful for supplementing the family income.



Figure 6.4 Oxfam and Bappeda train women to develop products in the coastal areas in several villages in Barru

Muslimah is very proud and grateful that their productive activities can produce 20 kg of shredded fish per month.

Based on the experience, Mirwan, one of the officials in the social and cultural sectors of BAPPEDA, Barru district, explained that the activities of Oxfam also seek to develop businesses throughout the local community groups in the village. The focus was on groups that already had a business which could be developed with further effort by the group alone. They continued training on gender empowerment through analysis of existing policies at the village level; this event was held in front of the village of Copo, Barru. They were taught to analyse budgets based on gender which then appear in the proposals of local sub-district planning meetings (Musrenbang) or other programs. The local community, with the NGO, has taught the females how to make an income according to their own needs, and the government is responsive to suggestions from them.

One statement from Tua as Oxfam's 'facilitator' is very positive:

When people have an alternative livelihood from ponds, and numbers of ponds are reduced, then there is a chance to fix the ponds to make the ponds in good condition again. Our target is to encourage them, their income is 100 percent, so we encourage them to do business to earn extra income better. One of our targets is women living in coastal areas who generally have a lot of free time when husbands go fishing. (Tua, interview, 13/09/2013)

For groups that move forward, Oxfam and PIK PAKET will continue to encourage them to keep working to further develop their businesses. In Oxfam and PIK PAKET''s attempt to start the business group of women from coastal communities, their plans to meet Oxfam's international strategy have been established. Oxfam International focuses-mainly on humanitarian issues which are often an emergency response to natural disasters and so on, but in Indonesia it is more on the social and ecological damage caused by human activity (Tua, Interviewed 14/09/2013).

Aida Bappeda staff (government staff) and also the staff from PIK PAKET explain:

The majority of them can no longer rely on the sea, while the working day for fishing depending on the season or the weather is less favorable at this time. Now in one week, one can already give thanks to God and marine resources in the majority is not theirs, but it is owned by the rich or the master of the vessel or the retainer in the coastal region. (Aida, interviewed 10/09/2013)

Meanwhile, the mothers of fishermen generally work as farm labourers, but their work is not maximised, so that Oxfam and Bappeda have the training and mentoring programs that provide additional knowledge to enable them to produce alternative incomes. These include household business development activities that they have done or could be ideas entirely new to them. Through the efforts of the alternative, they can survive with their new income. As long as what they want to do is in accordance with the potential of existing resources in their territories, they will probably be supported.

Figure 6.5, below, shows the training activities conducted by Oxfam in collaboration with the government of Barru, and farmers.



Figure 6.5 Villagers being trained

Another example is in the village of Pao-Pao, sub-district Tanete Rilau. Again, the majority of the population are fisherman and farmers. The people are trying to become innovating farmers but are limited by weather conditions. For example, they tried to plant melon only once and then the land was used again for rice crops. Yasin, as a local community leader, supported them to plant melons twice and rice one time in one year. The Village leader said:

We encourage them to make efforts to farm into one full year. One farmer group named Makkawaru located in the village of Pao-Pao districts Tanete Rilau is led by Nur Yasin, a young leader who became a pioneer in Pao-Pao village. Makkawaru group is utilising agricultural lands and leasing one year though not their own (lease). (Sam, interview 10/09/2013)

Enhancing the carrying capacity of land, by way of semi-organic management, has the capacity to make hard work more effective. One example is where they are already working on an area of 22 acres in an organic way and with minimal equipment; Yasin and his group can help with more experimentation of crops.

Tua (Oxfam) delivered in interview:

Actually, in the course of the first stage, Oxfam only encouraged alternative thinking people who had the initiative, and they were able to grow their own businesses through training that we facilitated (Tua, interviewed 13/09/2013).



Figure 6.6 Showing land use with catfish farming by Makkawaru group

Yasin (Makkawaru leader) and local community members.

Yasin and Tua's action (as leader and facilitator respectively) was to be pioneers in the village where once the local people did not like to cultivate catfish but now do so. Yasin and Tua motivated local communities in line with Chrislip and Larson, who laid out in their Principles of Collaborative Leadership theory (1994, p.134) that leadership is a process. Motivation and inspiration, which are also part of the process, happen through the belief in the credibility of the process and good working collaboration with many people. Chrislip and Larson's theory supports the claim by Van Assche et al. that 'EGT address[es] the role of Governments, markets, civil society, organization, networks and individual citizens' (2014, p. 5).

Oxfam noticed that many government programs related to poverty but did not think much about the character of the local culture. Tua as an Oxfam facilitator clarifies:

The government build a production house, but local people generally do not use it, villagers generally do not like to go to one place, so it does not matter how well we make the activities in the production house, the people here, especially women, go back to work in their house. (Tua, interview 13/09/2013)

The Oxfam facilitator's argument above is the main reason why the utilisation of the production house built by the government has not been effective. Further, one obstacle for Oxfam facilitation is that not everyone has the ability to become an entrepreneur. Tua pointed that the benefits of this order from the community leaders do not mean that everyone has to be an entrepreneur; there are some who only know the production work, others do the packaging, and there is a marketing person, who encourages others to sell the goods.

In the community, some people operate household food businesses, but due to the limited ability to sell their products, their businesses stagnate, or close. In addition, there are some obstacles from families who are not willing for their female members to become entrepreneurs, because women generally remain in their home.

However, women think differently after getting extra money, even if it is not much, for example, IDR. 100,000-500,000. This view is also an obstacle to developing themselves

to become entrepreneurs. The Oxfam and PIK PAKET teams encourage them to earn more than IDR. 500,000. Interestingly the women think the additional revenue is already very large. Unfortunately, after they earn their alternative income, internal barriers to earning extra income come from the men, particularly the husbands. According to a local woman as a participant, generally men or husbands are jealous of the activities of women who are busy outside their homes.

Based on my observations and interviews with Oxfam and the local government, the local government would like to increase their agribusiness production. They recognise that they need to work together to create effective policies and then implement them rather than just create a documented plan. The evidence indicates that there has been only limited success because there has been no significant reduction in poverty in Barru district (Rante, Interview, 13/09/2013).

Moreover, some of the activities in government offices and institutions replicate programs that may be working equally well between other departments and agencies, so there is a multiplier effect that can confuse people. Even with help almost all farmers are tenants and have limited decision making power to bring about change. For example, with the help of the government to promote agricultural seed technology, production declined. This is because farmers are still caught up in the old tenant system.

6.9.3.5. UNICEF for Changing the Mindset of the Local Community

UNICEF has been operating in Barru since 2008, currently in eight villages. One program involved Washing Water Sanitation and Hygiene (WS), promoting the use of clean water for clothes washing and drinking. In 2010-2014, the program was more focused on sanitation (Total Community-Based Sanitation or STBM); in 2015 the focus was on sanitary defecation. In the WS program there are five pillars: i) defecation (BAB); ii) washing hands with soap; iii) household water management; iv) the management of domestic waste water (SPAL); and v) waste management. Of the five pillars, the first is that UNICEF was touching more on behavioural change with some emphasis on infrastructure help. The WS was funded about 75 per cent by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) and 25 per cent by local governments.

As noted previously, in Barru district, there are about 9,800 families; of these 41,000 families still do not have toilets, while in each household there are 2 or 3 phones. This is because many are not aware of the importance of family latrine ownership. Based on this phenomenon, UNICEF will try to change the mindset of local people, so they have the awareness to avoid the bad behaviour of defecating anywhere. They are realising that they have not been behaving according to public health practices and related norms, customs and religions.

Darwis, a field facilitator, mentions that the main obstacle in the field is because basically UNICEF does not bring money to the community. When there is an outsider who is accompanied by government officials visiting their village, they assume there will be financial relief coming to the village. In fact, UNICEF puts more emphasis on behavioural change, to bring awareness to the community about the importance of access to or ownership of the toilets and the use of clean water in their environment, without financial incentives. Using Community Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) (sanitation led by communities themselves) has triggered techniques including health, education, and religion. For example, in health care there is a fear of pain and poverty; if they are ill, the impact will be upon themselves, because they have to pay the cost of treatment. When their children, wives or themselves have an unclean behaviour or defecate in any place, this behaviour may cause disease. Unhealthy behaviours have resulted from a combination of no money, no land, and poor habits. This time UNICEF has trained 5 people as cadres for all the villages to provide awareness to the public so that they can change their unhealthy behaviours.

Subsequently Mr. Mirwan, a senior staff member from Bappeda Barru district, said that the villages being targeted with assistance from UNICEF in Barru, related to the need for clean water, are Lasitae and Baraka. In the village of Baraka, UNICEF provides material and skilled labour. UNICEF prepares equipment and materials and trains people in making water installations. The WS program through UNICEF chose two hamlets in the village of Baraka. The village already has a payment system for using clean water. The money from the use of clean water will be kept by the village treasury to be used to fund a range of activities and common needs of villages such as build a mosque. In Lasitae village people who did not have access to clean water, now do

because UNICEF put in place tanks for collecting rainwater. Now local people can take advantage of clean water without having to take water from Barru district.

Darwis explained that the cooperation between stakeholders was already there, many government programs and non-governmental have the same program, but the programs run separately from one to another, without coordination and with the same target overlap. Darwis aided his statement:

We see that the local government employees are still half-hearted, because they still think that the donor institution have a lot of funds. When they [government officials] do not obtain benefits or get money from the program conducted by the donor, they are do not care to assist donor institutions and work together in the field. Particularly, if the employees have not had an official order or official travelling which is supported by local budget or *Surat Perintah Perjalanan Dinas (SPPD)* duty to go to the field, they will not participate to go to field for a monitoring activity. However, they must realise what was done by the donor for their own duties and functions (Darwis, iInterview/16/09/2013).

In addition to making changes significant in achieving the target/targets, the Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2010 also emphasised the importance of synchronisation between the central and local governments through function improvement/strengthening of coordination, so as to create the integration, harmonisation and synergy among others.

Coordination between central and local governments is very important, because in practice there are still many difficulties in the integration between the central government and local governments, for example in the case of the division BLSM (direct assistance for poor people). Assistance to poor citizens does not reach the goal because the system has not worked, and yet there are similarities of target/there is no synergy between central and local governments. The assistance given to the poor based on BPS has experienced distortion/rejection of the beneficiaries.

As an illustration of the aid, Raskin (Rice for the Poor), an informant for Syam as head of Pao-Pao Village in Barrru district, said as follows;

It occurred when the bupati Rum's administration in 2012 was running, the village of Pao-Pao got aid from the rice for poor program or Raskin program, a data receiver Raskin was based on official data from BPS Barru. The Village government then gets data for Raskin: it is 179 households, but the actual data used data from last year which is not in accordance with the real data in the field (Syam, interviewed 15/09/2013).

The Bupati realised that the data for the Raskin receiver was not in accordance with the field data, and therefore the bupati issued a circular that every village head do data verification. Verification result of the data showed that the data used by BPS only covered 50 per cent of the field data. After data verification was done, the Raskin program continued again in the district. The Pao-Pao village head's opinion is also supported by one of the meeting participants of the Acceleration Master Development Poverty Reduction in Indonesia (MP3KI), held in Makassar Kenari hotel in September 2013.

6.10. Local Leaders as Social Change Agents

As presented above, the local government and many parties are involved in Barru district's efforts in order to achieve the poverty reduction target in accordance with the target of the mid-term Regional Development Planning (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah called RPJMD). This integrated policy involving 17 SKPD, consists of government agencies, NGOs, institutions, and donors and local communities and other parties.

The senior official at the Department of Education of Barru district, Abustam adds:

We always collaborate with stakeholders in achieving the RPJMD goals. Collaborating all parties always goes hand-inhand with the local government, Oxfam, UNICEF, local community leaders and more actors and organisations involved in poverty reduction programs in Barru district (Abustam, interviewed 15/09/2013).

In EGT Van Assche et al. (2014) mention that every element in the social system has the same role in collectively binding decision making. No element in a social system dominates in a collectively binding decision. However, Galung village and Pao-Pao village are the smallest level of local government structure. For instance, in the Galung village case, I found an interesting example of local leader roles as represented by Ahmad as head of Galung village in Barru district. The role of Ahmad as head of Galung village became important to share in this chapter.

Further discussion explores the role of Ahmad as an example of local leaders who are able to become agents of social change in the village led by Ahmad. He cooperated with international agencies such as UNICEF and Oxfam, village cadres and the district PIK PAKET team in realising a more active rural community to participate in development at the village level.

A comparison before and after decentralisation, according to staff at districtplanning board Bappeda Barru, shows poverty reduction programs and the use of tools are far greater, because today there is much better use of this policy as a tool of a new anti-poverty program to significantly reduce numbers of poor people, and the local governments are free to create opportunities for cooperation through community empowerment and participation in the construction of the village.

As an example of the local policy carried out by Ahmad in explaining budget allocation for villages or alokasi dana desa (ADD), the trainees who are cadres of community groups and villagers received aid from Oxfam. The village head of Galung described available village funds or ADD, as he told people what was there to be used. The head of village (kepala desa) also explained the village budget expenditure and operational costs for development of Galung village. The village head had to take into account everything associated with the use of village finances. Furthermore, Ahmad mentions (16/09/2013):

Facilitating rural development planning is not easy, because we must be good – in analysing policies at the village level. One of the activities of this village also has the potential village, also the problem of internal and external problems, so how do we take advantage of the existing conditions to be positive, to

understand we know these three issues, then we can manage the needs, a way out that will be conducted by members of the community and society. Utilisation of family finances and people in this group is important, because we learned to solve the problem without creating new problems (Ahmad, interviewed 16/09/2013).

Attempts to deal with the village government looked for people who have expertise in mentoring community and in village government agricultural extension, and they used the village cadres, who are still trained to work in community empowerment (KPM) and coaches to use as a companion society. However, some other constraints such as some caders already become civil servants who are placed in positions that are not in accordance with their capabilities. On the other hands, some caders have a lot of experiences but move to another areas and some other issues. Further, Ahmad adds that caders should become community facilitation experts by acting in the field in an effective manner, in collaboration with other stakeholders. They cannot become a good swimmer by reading a theory how to become a good swimmer but they must jump into the pool and through the exercises in the pool, they will able to swim well.

Empowerment in the village is associated with the activity of Galung's Musrenbang district since 2000 when Ahmad led the village. The local village has started empowerment activities and assess the impact of the process that they do with the community. They assess the cause and effect of potential use of the village resources. If it is necessary at the village level, they always apply it, because Musrenbang's annual meetings are for their needs, they are not as great as desired. The purpose of Musrenbang is not looking for a project, but to check out what they do and what they do not see they were doing, they always conduct a needs analysis and process, so the local people of Galung village always have appreciation from the district government. One example that has been visited by bupati is the family toilet: the local communities have made the family toilets without assistance from the district government.

The master key to the local village development process is how they understand people's needs and they raise these to the upper levels of government. Another one that they face, for example, is that in the face of the rainy season, the local government assists the farmers, by encouraging self-help by providing agriculture, as well as by

mutual cooperation, so the burial ground, with a price of RP 40 million can, with purely non-governmental assistance, raise USD\$50 million. Understanding of the community improves through the process and local communities are able to build and improve the level of participation and togetherness and community participation from other villages higher up. One opinion is that Ahmad (village head) of the village of Galung has had success in building the village.

I compare it to village groups, the village Galung has high levels of education and higher enrolment, and to make the process of the planning forum at night, we can also bring up to 50 people, while in other villages there are 20 people. (Ahmad, interview/16/09/2013)



Figure 6.7 Researcher and Ahmad (village head of Gallung), and a group of local women

In evaluation of annual planning meeting (Musrenbang) results, they discuss the kind of activities they can do themselves and which have not been done independently. Although there are many other villages that have not been able to do as Galung village has. The success of Galung Village in residential buildings, cannot be separated from the role of the village head (Ahmad) who always coordinates with internal institutions (SKPD) in safeguarding the rural development programs or activities. The village head realises that as a government official at the lowest level he has to take responsibility as a local leader who has responsibility to support and motivate his local people to be active and participate in the local development process. It appears awareness of the role of individuals and of the village head followed by a process of coordination with agencies

in districts and counties is important, so that every year Galung village receives funding from the District government of IDR. 1 billion per year.

The village head of Galung has no hesitation in the face of local government officials to obtain assurance that the activities in the rural development programs can be accommodated by the government of Barru. Even when the researcher' met together with the Galung village head, Ahmad explained that the bupati oversees and links with the local community about a proposal for the making of gabion, which is a grant program of the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi. Looking at the results of the bid submitted by the Galung villagers and the explanation given by the village head, bupati made a decision quickly and the Galung village received such assistance. Such a process is that by Ahmad as head of the village, as well as by local public servants.

The process of village needs analysis is jointly conducted by the community and the Galung village head — so here's what Ahmad does with the local community. By analysing the needs of the community, they are not surprised by the activities of what they should do next. They already have a list of the real needs, which will enable them to create activities that will be financed by the District government. Because districts view the activities proposed by the head of Galung village as a result of collaboration between the community and the NGO activists they consider them to be activities that are reasonable and not contrived, so local governments will be able to understand and allocate its funds for the village. The essential point to note is that there is collaboration between the district and village governments in terms that encompass the local communities' needs. While the district already has a list of priorities to be financed through the implementation of the District RPJMD.

In the relationship between the district development planning and the village needs, at the district level our process of speaking is still not understood, so in this case the village chief Ahmad provides feedback to the Head of the local community empowerment Board (BPMD) annually to train the village cadres, with training activities related to various problems among others. Ahmad said:

Young cadres who received the local village training are a great result but many village heads also need to be trained in how to become good local leaders, so that they have knowledge of leadership. The local leader at village level understands the community approach to support each other. There are many problems in the village that can be overcome with mutual cooperation (gotong royong). Meanwhile, others village have difficulty to do it, for example, last year we received aid from the local government. The project was done with voluntary labor from the local community. We collaborate, the project runs well (Ahmad, interviewed 16/09/2013).

The Galung Villagers implemented Musrenbang. The Galung villagers implemented Musrenbang. During this meeting, the village residents and village government discussed the district race village competition that had occurred. The village leader challenged people and asked, even though the race was over, based on their experiences, did they want to continue their Musrenbang?. They agreed to continue despite already finishing the race with healthy offspring. In addition, he as the head of the village took the initiative to propose to the provinces to develop and supervise the activities of our Musrenbang even though the race was over. We use the yard of the village, with the provision of vegetable seeds and seedlings of other funds not only from the district, but the village also provided funds to assist communities in terms of utilisation of the yard. Even the head of the village had already coordinated with John as head of Department of Agriculture Barru district to help prepare field facilitators (KPPL) to cooperate with local government and village government: for the future they will provide ADD for villagers to buy crop seeds for home gardens. They have a plan to create a group of every ten-families can handle community activities.

Villagers already have properties that are still strong in cooperation, with Ahmad's leadership, so the nature of the mutual aid society is getting stronger.

When I came here, we also undertook administrative reforms in the village, which becomes the greatest problem in each village: with an increase in the administrative side, we can show the public that the administration order becomes important to adjust easily to the public and mingling with the public is also easier.(Ahmad, interview, 16/09/2013)

Ahmad also described another situation of meeting the Barru bupati, when the bupati visited the village.

When I met with the bupati, he asked me to explain a map of the village of Galung. Bupati asked me to indicate the location of the dam, and the mosque – easily I could show the location. The bupati was happy with my ability in mastering the Village area. (Ahmad, Interview/16/09/2013)

Most importantly, according to Ahmad the local village government is now better on occasion to seize opportunities. In connection with one of the examples of evidence of their activities, they always give data as evidence of our work activities such as photos, data and other soft copies which record the important events of their proposed activities.

Meanwhile, Darwis (14/09/2013), as one of Institutional Facilitators (IF) of UNICEF in Barru, explained that UNICEF have been in Barru since 2008. Initially UNICEF entered into eight villages with the WS Program (Water and Sanitation) for the fulfilment of clean water. In 2010-2012 the program was more focused on sanitation. for total community-based sanitation (STBM) by 2015, the target is no longer defecating in a family house (i). There are five pillars of defecation (BAB), the others are: (ii) wash hands with water; (iii) household water management; (iv) the management of domestic waste water (*Sistem Pembuangan Air Limbah*); and (v) waste management. However, of the five pillars, the first is touching more on behaviour changes; local people seek help physically but there is more emphasis on behaviour change. WS is funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) which provided funding of about 75 per cent, with 25 per cent from local governments.

Darwis, a village facilitator, mentions that the main obstacle in the field is because basically UNICEF does not bring money to the community, while UNICEF view the current situation of today's society. When there is an outsider accompanied by government officials who visits their village, they assume there will be relief; that is, money is going to come to the village. However, UNICEF puts more emphasis on behavioural change, to bring awareness to the community about the importance of access to or ownership of the toilets and the use of clean water in their environment. And using CLTS (Community Led Total Sanitation) (sanitation led by communities

themselves) has triggered blasting techniques which include health, poverty reduction, pride, and religion. For example, in health care they have a fear of pain and poverty; if they are ill, the impact will be poor themselves, because they have to spend money on the cost of treatment. When their children, wives or themselves have a bad behavior or defecate in any place, this behaviour would seem unethical, if other people watch or see their bad behavior. Part of the reason is because they have no money, no land, and that habit. This time they have trained 5 people as cadres in each village to provide awareness to the public so that they can change their behaviour. Mirwan, a senior staff of Bappeda Barru district, said that two of the villages that were targeted for assistance by UNICEF in Barru, related to the need for clean water, are Galung and Baraka village. In these villages the people have little access to clean water. In the village of Bakara, UNICEF provides materials and those who implement the program. UNICEF prepares equipment and materials and train people in making the installation of clean water in their village. The WAS program through UNICEF chose two hamlets (dusun) in the village of Baraka. The village already has a payment system for the clean water they use. Resulting money from the use of clean water will be placed in the village treasury to be used to fund a range of activities and common needs of villages like building a mosque, and also the important needs of local communities related to illness, death, and others. One example is Lasitae village, one of the villages on the island of Barru district, once likened to people who do not have access to clean water, then UNICEF made PHH (a tank for collecting rainwater). Now local people can take advantage of clean water without having to take water from the mainland Barru district.

Furthermore, (Darwis, interview 16/09/2013) explained that the cooperation between stakeholders was already there, and even today, many government and non-governmental organisations have the same program, but what happens when the program runs separately from one another? Without coordination and with the same target they overlap each other. In fact, we see that the government is still half-hearted, because they still think if the donor has a lot of money when they (officials) government did not obtain material benefits or money from programs conducted by the donor, they are reluctant to assist donors to work in the field: especially if they are given no official order or SPPD duty to go to the field, they will not even participate in the monitoring of

the field. But they must realise that what was done by the donor is part of their own duties and functions.

In addition to making changes significant in achieving the target/targets, the Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2010 also emphasised the importance of synchronisation between the central and local governments through function-function improvement/strengthening of coordination, so as to create integration, harmonisation and synergy.

6.11. Summary

Based on the description in the above sub-section a conclusion can be drawn, that if a poverty reduction program is not followed by the commitment among stakeholders, then the program will not run properly. In this case from the institutions, agencies, and officials to the staff at the lower levels, they should act in accordance with the respective duties and functions of foreigners.

In relation to the area, the Barru District Government has sought as much as possible strategies in the poverty reduction programs. Although the anti-poverty program has been conducted with many problems over the last few years, and shows unsatisfactory performance in accordance with the objectives and ideals of Barru's society, however, poverty has been reduced significantly in Barru district.

At the district level that serves as the coordination for accelerating the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru, through PIK PAKET as the local policy strategy, although it us still not optimal in bridging between the interests of the government and society. There are some constraints in terms of financial efficiency as misuse of the budget is still found. This is causing poverty reduction programs in Barru to run very slowly.

In relation to the definition of poverty, I add the declining context and concept of values – masiri and siri na pacce and Maggalli, which is a manifestation of understanding of the cultural aspects of local poverty. This concept should be the driving force for each individual Makassar Bugis people who want to live a more advanced life and have superior achievement.

The findings at the village level show a new contribution of this thesis. There is the role of community leaders such as Yasin Nur, the Makkawaru joint venture group leader, Facilitators from Oxfam (with Tua as Facilitator) and to the village of Galung their role is important in motivating and find new innovations that can be applied at the level of the village. Yasin Nur's role and the Village Heads of Galung (such as Ahmad) are social change agents that are able to bring a fundamental change to the local people's awareness of the importance of alternative attempts to break out of the poverty cycle. Collaboration between stakeholders will not be a success without the support of social change agents, as shown by Yasin, and Ahmad as local leaders at the village level and Tua and Darwis as facilitators at the village level. In the social system, they have the power to energise all elements of the system such as governments, NGOs activists, and local communities, and local leaders always exist and are active to generate new social change.

Therefore, in this thesis an important idea is that the key strategy is the presence of local leaders as social change agents in any governance practices that want to combat poverty problems. In this case the elements in the theory of Evolutionary Governance Theory can be transformed completely in bringing about social change, and the element most important here is the presence of the local leaders that is able to motivate and be a driving force in the process of social change to generate good governance practices in accordance with the demands of the dynamic/development era.

Chapter 7 will discuss this further and describe cross case analysis to examine the two cases in Takalar and Barru district. Here, comparison will be made of the roles among actors, institutions, power and sharing knowledge over the case studies. With the cross case analysis, the author will clearly find some key clues and contribution to knowledge related to effectiveness in reducing poverty at both the district and national level.

Chapter 7 Comparative Analysis of Both Cases Study

7.1. Introduction

The previous Chapters 5 and 6 presented both Takalar and Barru districts' case studies. This chapter is a comparative analysis of these two case studies to examine compares and contrasts between them. One interest in this chapter is to point out some key and effective approaches, good practices and knowledge in poverty reduction programs, which have been noticed in the case studies of programs of both districts.

The chapter will be structured as follows: Section 7.2 explores geographic conditions as they impact development efforts; 7.3 is a comparison of economic structures between Takalar and Barru districts; 7.4 discusses cultural practices as they impact development programs; 7.5 compares the Human Development Index (HDI); 7.6 examines challenges that arise in coordinating work of various stakeholders in poverty reduction work; 7.7 examines the disparate definitions and standards in data making, leading to different conclusions and policy approaches, affecting inclusion; 7.8 discusses inefficiencies in budgetary management, with more resources expended on management rather than the target end user; 7.9 discusses poverty reduction strategies between Takalar and Barru districts; 7.10 examines engagement and empowerment of local leaders as important mobilising social change agents; 7.11 compares and contrasts poverty reduction programs' approaches and practices that contributed to success on one hand, and, on the other hand, to partial success or even decline in performance in both districts; and finally 7.12 is a summation of observations and insights in relation to implementation of poverty reduction programs as in the cases studied.

7.2. The Geographic Condition

It was considered important to compare and contrast the impact of geographic conditions between the two case study districts, Barru and Takalar, to point out a factor of comparative advantage (Natsuda, Igusa, Wiboonpongse, & Thoburn, 2012; Wahlin & Natsuda, 2008) in program performance between the two districts. As presented in the earlier Chapters 5 and 6, Takalar and Barru districts were established, respectively,

following the extension region of South Sulawesi province based on Law No. 47/1960. Takalar district was established on 10th of February 1960 and Barru district was established on 24th of February 1960.

As mentioned above, this comparative exercise is to highlight geographical comparative advantage as an important factor in poverty reduction programs. As mentioned before, Barru district is located in the Northern area of Makassar, capital city of South Sulawesi. Takalar district is located in the Southern area of Makassar city. Takalar, however, is located not far from Makassar city; it is around 30 km from Makassar to Takalar. The distance from Barru to Makassar is around 102 km - nearly three times farther compared to Takalar's distance from Makassar. Takalar is well known for its seaweed and fish roe production which easily finds market in Makassar and the international market. Barru district is well known for watermelon production for local consumption. However, Barru produces tiles for building purposes – a product that is exported. Relative proximity of the two districts to Makassar city enables export of their productions (Central Board of Statistic of Takalar Regency (BPS), 2010, p. 3). Barru is located in the Trans Sulawesi and it is a cross-province region located between Makassar and Pare-Pare. Barru district has the longest coastline in South Sulawesi (87 km long) and Takalar's coastline is 75km long. As such, both districts share similar geographic and socio-economic potential. Further, they exhibit similar cultural characteristics among their fishing communities, probably due to a shared history. Below, we discuss economic structure of the two cases studies.

7.3. Comparison of Economic Structure between Takalar and Barru

As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the main economic activity in Takalar and Barru districts is agriculture. Further, the income earning sectors include food crops, plantation, animal husbandry, fishery and seaweed. However, in both districts, agriculture production was relatively small, due to limited farmland ownership. According to Nurasa and Purwoto (2012, p. 409) arable land area in Java and outside Java is less than 0.5 ha/family. The land area is now steadily decreasing with increasing population and improved agricultural developments. There is an impact on the

conditions of the population because of limitations of available land, resulting in low incomes and a poverty trap.

Meanwhile, in Barru district, contribution of the agricultural sector still dominates the economic structure. Although trends in the agriculture sector have declined significantly, agriculture is still the main contribution to the economic structure from 44.72 per cent in 2009 to 41.51 per cent in 2013. The condition is contrasted with Takalar district, where the trend contribution of the agriculture sector rose respectively from 45.22 per cent in 2011 to 49.94 per cent in 2015. To deeply explore the economic condition between the two cases studies, the next sub-section discusses economic problems in both districts of Takalar and Barru.

7.3.1. The Described Economic Conditions

This sub-section describes the economic conditions in Takalar and Barru districts. As discussed in Chapter 6, the numbers of people who may be regarded as being above the poverty line remain vulnerable in the Barru district; any adverse change would lead to their falling below the poverty line. Local people are generally not included in the category of the poor, but there is a condition whereby many people are approaching the poverty line, so that if there is economic turmoil, for example, the increased price of fuel, rice, and the necessities for daily living such as sugar, cooking oil, salt, coffee, eggs, salted fish, and flour, the impact of this price increase will have a direct impact on their poverty situation; changes will throw them into the poor category. Therefore, the problem of poverty cannot be tackled in silos; various government agencies and other stakeholders should collaborate, strategising appropriately how to reduce poverty effectively.

In Barru district, there are also many pockets of poverty, especially within the fishing communities in coastal areas. They have fishing boats with outboard engines only capable of travelling 2-3 miles from the coast, while the area is already over-fished, and no fish are in this zone. Therefore, if the government and other stakeholders want to help them, the help has to be comprehensive, so that they can get out of the cycle of poverty.

In Barru district, farmers generally lack innovation in working the land, unlike the people on Java Island. Farmers in Barru district generally only plant once a year, while farmers in Java can plant two times a year. However, comparing farmers in Takalar and in Barru district, farmers in Barru are more advanced than farmers in Takalar. For instance, one study of seaweed production in Barru, Takalar and Pangkep and Maros shows that the quality of seaweed produced by farmers in Barru and Pangkep districts is better than Takalar's seaweed (Kurniawan, 2015), even though Takalar is the South Sulawesi's seaweed production centre. In 2014 seaweed production in Takalar was 733,972 tons, in 2015, it rose to 846,395 tons and in 2016 rose again to 923,832 tons. In contrast, Barru district's production stood as follows: in 2014, it was 798 tons, then production rose to 788 tons in 2015 and in 2016 it rose to 891.6 tons (South Sulawesi Province, 2017).

In addition, three quarters of the total population are fishermen and live on marine production. They still apply their traditional system of fishing and marine production known as the *ponggawa-sawi* relationship. In Takalar district, the system shows an imbalanced relationship in fishing production between the ship-owner or boss (ponggawa) and worker (sawi). This system has an effect on the people and economy; it exacerbates inequality in this district. The social-economic relationship relates to the ownership of fishing boats between the workers and the boss as investors. The sawi do not have enough capital to buy modern fishing equipment (fiber-hulled craft) and are forced to fish with traditional equipment on a simple boat. These boats are not able to sail beyond 15 miles from shore; further, they are not capable of taking heavy fish loads. For fishermen to meet the needs of everyday life, they need to sell not less than 10-15 kg per day. However, with the inefficient traditional equipment and small boats, this amount of fish per day is not certain. These economic conditions cause the fishermen to become dependent on the boss (the ship-owner, ponggawa).

Another challenge for the sawi has to do with access to credit when needed. Sawi prefer to borrow money from the investors instead of the bank, because the investor's process is faster than the banks'. In addition, the moneylender is able to help the fishermen in a timely manner when they really need help, even though the sawi have to pay with interest much higher than bank interest. The head of the DistrictEngineering unit

(UPTD) of Takalar district explained that the fishermen are more focused on the relationship between themselves and the financiers. The boss (ponggawa) has created a system which binds the fishermen, so that they remain dependent on the ship-owner. As such, a kind of paternalistic system has developed among these fishermen. For the sawi to meet their needs and pay off the ponggawa, illegal fishing practices are resorted to. In effect, it can be argued here that the economic inequality is a push factor of the problem of illegal fishing. This issue is difficult to overcome for the Takalar District Government and the South Sulawesi Provincial Government. It occurs in the Takalar district in two ways. In the first case, illegal methods of fishing are used. Local fishermen stun fish by means of bombing the reefs. Fishermen with simple fishing gear can catch large numbers of fish by using these illegal methods of bombing and electric shocking. The unfortunate environmental and impact of these illegal fishing methods is bomb damage of the coral reefs which are critical to marine life (Onthoni, Simbolon, & Jusadi 2011; Salm, Clark, & Siirila, 2000).

The second illegal fishing method is more sophisticated, leading to overfishing. Illegal modern equipment such as trawl boats with 150 to 300 km long nets are used. These activities are very destructive to sustainability of Indonesian marine resources. This state of affairs directly reduces local fishermen's fishing capacities in Indonesia as a whole, and in particular in South Sulawesi, Takalar district's waters.

As discussed on chaper 5 the department of fisheries release a policy aimed to reduce the illegal fishing by outsiders who use modern boats with huge catching capacities, the central government passed Law No. 31/2004, later replaced by Law No. 45/2009 in line with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). UNCLOS has been ratified with Law No. 17/1985 (Hukum online.com, 2017). This law has been vigorously implemented since 2015. So far, the Indonesian Government has sunk 314 ships from various countries. This policy is implemented for the good of Indonesian marine life sustainability.

7.4. Cultural Identity Issues

Both districts have similarities of social cultural approaches. Most residents in Takalar district are Makassarese ethnic, while people who live in Barru district are Buginese

ethnic, who still hold to the dual principles of siri na pacce (Makassarese)/pesse (Buginese). This philosophy of siri na pacce/pesse also requires individuals to help fellow community members who are in distress or who are suffering (Limpo, 1995, p. 87). This kind of philosophy has clear implications on initiatives to alleviate poverty. The dual principles of siri na pacce or pesse are an aspect of the cultural identity and characteristics of Buginese and Makassarese ethnics. In general, these principles have a positive impact on relationships among Makassarese and Buginese people because these principles teach traditional and cultural characteristic of the ethnics such as bravery, shyness, and solidarity. As described in the previous chapters, the concept of siri na pacce or pesse is one of the positive elements in the social system.

However the concept of siri na pacce or pesse has often been abused by some people or youth gangs. A series of events and killings that occurred among students and the youth gangs provide a clear indication that a decline in the values of siri na pacce or pesse has occurred amongst the people of South Sulawesi. The phenomenon is not only reflected in the routine actions of young people in the city of Makassar but has formed a public opinion of the city of Makassar as an area of brawls and demonstrations. For example, when I return to Yogyakarta, my family told me that often they hear and see the news from newspapers and television about events, brawls, and demonstrations carried out by young people in the city of Makassar and other cities such as Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and others in Sulawesi and others on the main island in Indonesia.

The decline in the value of the culture of siri na pacce is also a concern of a master student of UIN Yogyakarta, Muhammad Fathu Jaya Sulaisah (2012) in the daily *Tribun Timur*, who suggested that the concept should function in the context of siri-masiri (translated as all efforts to achieve their goals or aims to raise and protect their shame and solidarity) as an instrument of social control. Sulaisah added that it should be applied as an 'agent of change' when students go to other areas. siri only works if it is linked to other indigenous elements. One important aspect is 'mangngalli', which includes religious quality, knowledge, good personality and wealth.

In defining poverty, Sen suggests that poverty requires a multidimensional perspective to analyse it as the terms of poverty are related to many dimensions such as geographical, biological, economic and social factors that amplify to reduce the impact

of income on each individual (IDB, web stories, 2001). A comparison between the older conceptualisation of societal values and the current expression of those same values marks a shift in the way values were upheld then and in contemporary communities among the Makassar and Bugis people. For example, the following values were upheld in traditional Makassar and Bugis communities: masiri (translated as shame and solidarity) and siri na pacce (translated as *avoidance of disgraceful acts*) and maggalli (variant of siri na pacce in Buginese dialect). These values were the driving force for each individual among the Makassar and Bugis people to live a more advanced community life style and aim for the highest levels of achievement in their endeavours. The current communities show a decline in such values and this decline shows in their expressions. In current circumstances, societies regard the decline of the value of siri na pacce (Makassar) or siri na pesse (Bugis) as a moral degradation.

7.5. Comparing the Human Development Index

The Human Development Index was created to emphasise that people and their capabilities (Anan & Sen, 1997) should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, or its provinces. It is for such a purpose that the HDI has been used in this study for comparative analysis of the case studies. Table 7.1 below compares and contrasts a sample of districts and cities in South Sulawesi based on their 2010–2015 HDI values. Takalar and Barru districts' HDI values trail behind those of other cities and districts in South Sulawesi.

Table 7.1 Human Development Index of South Sulawesi 2010-2015

HDI Index	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Takalar (district)	60.23	60.83	61.66	62.58	63.53	64.07
Barru (district)	64.94	65.73	66.07	67.02	67.94	68.64
Makassar (city)	77.63	77.82	78.47	78.98	79.35	79.94
South Sulawesi (province)	66.00	66.65	67.26	67.92	68.49	69.15

SOURCE: BPS SOUTH SULAWESI (VARIOUS YEARS: 2011–2016)

In relation to the Human Development Index within both districts and other regions in South Sulawesi, I suggest that HDI is a combination of the three elements of education, health care and purchasing or economic power in every aspects of life. As presented in Table 7.1, the HDI of Takalar is one of the lowest in South Sulawesi, which is at 22 out of 24 regions in South Sulawesi Province, even though the trend is going up yearly in both Takalar and Barru district. This position is very contrasted with Barru district, which is at a very different level, being at 8 out of 24 districts and cities in South Sulawesi. Comparing with South Sulawesi Province at this stage it can be argued that particularly Takalar district should learn and make a lot of effort to achieve the goals of poverty reduction programs and improving its HDI level.

7.6. Coordination Issues

As presented in Chapter 1, the first research question is how does each component of collaboration play a role in poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar district? It is in line with Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT), in this research project, that I point out that the first element of successful poverty reduction programs in both case studies is good coordination among stakeholders such as institutions, actors, NGOs members, local communities, and others who support the local policy to handle and combat the poverty problem to achieve the goal of reducing poor people in both Takalar and Barru districts.

In fact, a comparison between the two cases studies shows that there is continuing weak coordination between the three stakeholders; namely the government, NGOs and universities. I gave an example of a poverty reduction strategies meeting held to discuss the program and project activities, where the number of participants was not representative of the three stakeholders. During planning, the committee invited various parties including the Cities Districts Development Planning Agency, the Agency for Community Empowerment (BPMD) City District, entrepreneurs and representatives of

Higher Education (university), but on the day of the meeting, many participants were not present. In addition, NGOs were not invited to the meeting by the committee.

This lack of coordination among such parties does not align with the principle of the concepts of partnership and collaboration and EGT. The concept of rights and obligations implies that all parties in a partnership must work to high ethical standards, and this will affect the effectiveness of collaborative working (Carnwell & Carson, 2009, p. 7; Van Assche et al., 2014).

The next problem is the issue of coordinating cooperation among district governments, which is still weak, particularly on the management of fishing area boundaries and marine products. This was particularly so in connection with the implementation of local autonomy that started in 2001 and resulted in conflicts between fishermen from Takalar, Makassar, Gowa and Jeneponto. Fishermen from the Takalar area felt entitled to exploit fishery resources in the region, while the fishermen from other regions felt that the region also belonged to them.

Other coordination problems involve the actions and nature of the district leader (bupati). Leadership by a bupati is a major factor in successful district development. Substitution of a district level, once every five years will determine whether the development program being run can be continued or not. The bupati also has a role in putting officials and officers in the area. Election issues relate to the bupati who usually puts people in office who support their policy. The officer or officers concerned in an area are therefore political tools who convey the bupati's program.

The Indonesian DistrictAutonomy Law No. 22 was enacted in 1999 and then amended by Law No. 32/2004. The DistrictAutonomy Law provides parts of the authority of the Central Government to Local Governments. In the implementation of districtautonomy however, the authority between the Central and Local Governments still overlaps. Coordination between the Central Government and Local Government is still weak (Butt, 2010). Although there has been the experience of districtautonomy, however, among levels of government, there is still weak coordination and collaboration regarding development processes. The effect is lack of synchronisation between central and districtdevelopment implementation.

Other issues are linked with coordination between the NGOs and donor organisations. Coordination issues among governments, donors and NGOs often arise at the implementation phase of activities in the field and at the administration level. Similarly, the government should also be selective in accepting aid from donors. As Ashar and Helena, community development experts active in South Sulawesi and Lombok in 2016, argued, in Lombok, they worked and fought hard for community empowerment, then some other donors came with different methods, so that what has been presented to the local community is damaged by mixing different methods in one place while the local community has not fully implemented the methods they teach them.

Currently the most important thing for NGOs is to fill a need that is not met by the government, so that NGOs serve as complementary agents in activities that have not been touched by the government's business to support government programs and serve the needs of the community. The challenge now is when talking about community empowerment NGOs must follow the scheme of the government, because the government provides the money to the public, therefore, an NGO has to change its paradigm. NGOs created a capacity development model to be applied in the implementation process of capacity building and community empowerment (Simpson, Wood, & Daws, 2003; Ulleberg, 2009).

The important task should be rethinking, comparing and contrasting how the roles of components of the collaborations between the stakeholders who are involved in poverty reduction programs in the districtautonomy era have influenced the effectiveness of the collaboration in anti-poverty programs in Takalar and Barru, such as local government, donors, NGO members, local communities and local leaders who work together in anti-poverty programs across the country, particularly in South Sulawesi (Van Assche et al., 2014). The task of NGOs to assist the government in this process is through building community empowerment. Repositioning the NGO is then interpreted as community empowerment. NGOs participate as a substitute for the role of government (Banks & Hulme, 2012). So, if NGOs now cannot see this as their main task, then the NGO will lose ground because the government has provided funding assistance for this specific role at the central, provincial and district levels.

7.7. Problem of Data Management

Another issue for strategies for poverty reduction has to do with difficulties of data management and utilisation. Such problems relate to matters of perception, particularly in matters associated with poverty and how to measure it. In positioning the two case studies, both in Takalar and Barru districts, the problem of data management is one of the most problematic issues in both districts. As a result, there is little sharing of knowledge due to lack of consensus on defining poverty. In a good planning system, the availability of data becomes very important for strategic planning. Accurate data will minimise errors and help in determining equity in prioritisation of budget allocation, and the efficiency of the allocation of grants. This lack of data management or lack of sharing knowledge is one of the miss-targeted issues of the anti-poverty programs. By using different standards for the poverty line, it creates misunderstanding and misperceptions within decision-making processes, particularly related to inefficiency targets of using the local and national budget to combat poverty both at local and national level.

In Barru district, there are several miss-target issues such as in Pao-Pao Village during distribution of Raskin rice for poor people. As a result, many poor people have been disappointed with the national policy, because they hoped to receive the additional assistance. However, the statistical reporting does not capture the totality of beneficiaries of the Raskin project. These circumstances are not only in Barru district, but also in other districts in South Sulawesi and other regions in Indonesia. In the course of carrying out this study, it was found out that there was a significant difference in poverty data between that published by Data BPS and other technical institutions such as the Department of Social Affairs. This difference arises because both these agencies have their own standards and different definitions of poverty. Further Zaenab (interview respondent, 04/09/2013) says:

This uncoordinated data management and the resulting lack of sharing knowledge are some of the inefficiencies that fail the anti-poverty programs. By using different standards of poverty lines, the decision-making process is made particularly difficult for purposes of local and national budgeting to combat poverty at local and national levels.

7.8. Misuse of Local Budget

Misuse of Budget allocation for poverty reduction programs occurs in both in Takalar and Barru districts. Some cases in many government institutions show that the local government provides pro-poor and pro-job programs. However, the programs have not provided any substantial relief to the districts. As discussed in Chapter 6, budget allocation has become a commonplace problem due to the misuse of districtbudget (APBD), both at provincial and district levels. Misuse of funds occurs in nearly all government agencies, for example, in the Poverty Reduction program in Barru and the PIK PAKET program. The budget allocation in 2013 reached IDR. 292,977,000 for distribution to the poor in 54 villages across the district. However, instead of spending funds on the activities of the poor, money was largely used to finance employee salaries, including contract employees, the operational activities of the office and such activity costs as food and drink for meetings and business travel to the location. This issue has also been mentioned by the Finance Minister of the Republic of Indonesia; she noted that around 70.9 per cent of local budget for local development is spent on government employees rather than the poor (Merdeka.com, 2017).

These findings show that misuse of local budget is understood in the Executive and Legislative sections of the Indonesian Government to be a cause of concern. It should be pointed out here that government employees who are involved in these anti-poverty programs are duly paid salaries as part of civil service. The money that is taken from poverty reduction programs and projects is illegitimately taken for personal gains. This practice runs across many such pro-poor development programs and their projects. This abuse of authority to misuse funds is a crippling practice to any poverty reduction programming, not only in the case study districts, but also across provinces and the whole nation. When I asked for an explanation about the use of the budget for BPMD province's poverty reduction program, (Blasius /Interview, 7/09/2013) stated that for many years' poverty reduction programs have been implemented and the budget has grown, but it is still difficult to eradicate poverty. This is partly caused by the incorrect use of the budget. The budget is supposed to benefit poor people, but it is only used for office and travel agency employees. (Blasius/Interview/ 7/09/2013), a senior official in BPMD, also added:

The use of local budget is also enjoyed by Members of Parliament. The Members of Parliament argue that they draw the funds to fund the aspirations of the people even though the funds are allocated to the agency and the office of the Provincial government agencies. Aspiration funds which members of parliament draw from agencies or departments actually exceed the principal fund for activities that are in the work unit and institutional related services. This way of (mis)using the funds has become natural for them.

The present researcher as an insider government employee has witnessed these practices. The conditions and circumstances have caused poverty reduction programs in Indonesia to be less than fully effective.

The various problems of poverty in Barru, and the central government, provincial and district level attempt to answer them with national and local policies through strategy and poverty reduction programs are described in the following sub-section.

There are some important issues relating to the handling of budget for the district community of Takalar. For example, there are low salaries for field officers who work assisting the poor. Hasma, one field officer, said that he had worked since 2003, only receiving a salary of IDR. 900,000.00, which equates to AUD\$90 per month. Megawati, who has worked since 2005, added that salaries are only paid every six months (*diampra* in Makassar language). Dg Tjo, one interviewee, described the misuse of the 2014 budget in Takalar:

Not long after the elected bupati put on his staff as head of the Fisheries Department. The Fisheries Department of Takalar district received financial assistance from the central government to provide fishing boats for the poor communities. Then the head of the Fisheries Department committed irregularities by way of purchase of second-hand fishing boats. The boats are painted like a new ship. However, not long after all ships were handed over to the fishermen, all boats were damaged and cannot be used again. Finally, the project becomes problematic and the official government was suspected of corruption (Dg. Tjo, interview 15/11/2016).

David Chrislip and Carl Larson (1994, p.5) advance the idea that successful collaborative programs need some specific conditions. They define collaboration as 'A mutually beneficial relationship between two or more parties who work toward common goals by sharing responsibility, authority and accountability for achieving results'.

The next budget issue is the allocation of funds which, in the SISDUK program, amounted to approximately IDR 1-1.5. Billion. This was designated to pay the salaries of Field Officers, which, for 100 people with a salary of IDR 750,000, totals per month IDR. 750,000,000. The remaining funds are for the group or village, so unfortunately, every group or village just receives IDR. 5-10 million (Dg Tjo, interviewed 15/11/2016).

These issues also connect with a further issue of inequality of life.

7.9. Poverty Reduction Strategies between the Takalar and Barru Case Studies

The comparative analysis in this sub-section addresses the second research question which seeks to explore the extent of collaborative relationships that exist among NGOs, international donors, local communities and other development actors in poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi. To address the particular research question, there are two important strategies in poverty reduction proposed by the government of Takalar, as discussed earlier, namely: Empowering Communities (cluster II) and Economic Empowerment (cluster III). This sub-section discusses some of the activities that are part of an integrated poverty reduction program in Takalar. There are three groups of activities: Support System (SISDUK), People's Salt Enterprises Program (PUGAR), and Environmental Health (STBM). In the case of Barru the district has implemented a local poverty reduction program called PIK PAKET. Both district cases of local policy poverty reduction programs have evidence of collaboration among stakeholders.

As far as collaboration is concerned, the main finding of the research is that when collaboration occurs among the three levels of government, international donors, NGOs, and local community leaders, they are not able to control the expenditure of poverty funds. It has been demonstrated above that especially local development actors have the

tendency to misuse the local budget, especially for added income of local government staff and general operational purposes, including meetings, official travel, and other office expenses. The research found that this was an important reason for collaboration between the three levels of government in alleviating poverty in South Sulawesi province failing to decrease poverty levels. The results show that for reasons such as lack of coordination, health care issues, education issues, cultural issues and unjust allocation of the local budget for projects, it makes it difficult to reduce poverty numbers in the Barru and Takalar districts in particular.

Table 7.2 provides a summary of the roles of the three levels of government, international donors and NGOs, and local community leaders.

Table 7.2 The roles DistrictGovernment, international donors and NGOs, and local community leaders

Actor	Roles
District Government	The Districtgovernment has power and policies. The government produces and administers the rules, the Law, and uses the local budget to provide and fulfill the needs of people in the region.
International Donors	International donors are one of the development actors that have a role to support the local government. The donors see and implement some development plans, which are often not covered by the local government programs.
NGO	NGO leaders always put pressure on districtgovernments and parliamentarians at the provincial, district and city levels to organise poverty reduction budgets for their benefit. Generally, they use this as leverage to put pressure on districtgovernments' decision making.
Local Leaders	These are one of the elements of the EGT theory introduced by Van Assche et al. (2014). The local leaders such as bupati, governors, and individual and community leaders have important roles. They conduct and energise the government system and generate good governance practices in the local region.
Institutions/Agents	An organiation founded for a religious, educational,

professional, or social purpose. The term 'institution' commonly applies to both informal institutions such as customs, or behavior patterns important to a society, and to particular formal institutions created by entities such as the government and public services.

The next section discusses roles of local leaders as social changes agents in poverty reduction programs in Takalar and Barru districts. The main interest is in examining whether or not they play a helpful catalytic role for program effectiveness.

7.10. The Roles of Local leaders as Social Change Agents

Based on the analyses presented earlier in this thesis, if the poverty reduction programs are not followed with commitment among stakeholders, then the programs will not run properly. In this case the institutions, agencies, and officials from all levels should act responsibly to achieve both their duties and the functions of foreign agencies. For example, in relation to the Barru District, the Government has sought as much as possible to develop poverty reduction programs. However, although the programs have been conducted in an integrated manner over the last few years, unsatisfactory performance in accordance with the objectives and ideals of the Barru society are reported. As a result, poverty has not reduced significantly in Barru. Local grassroots leaders in Barru, as represented by Suhada (official village leader), Yasin (local youth community leader), and Darwis (international donor agency staff) are very positive in engaging local people and communities, particularly poor people, to actively participate in local development. However, in the case of Takalar district leadership, results show that the performance of local leadership, as represented by bupati (head of district), is counterproductive in light of EGT theory. His ability to manage and run the administration during his term of office was not leading to social change as expected. In particular, his local government administration seriously fell short in budget management. Budget miss-targeting led to inefficiencies that affected productivity in the poverty reduction programs in Takalar district. Further, the bupati failed to use effectively local human resources due to nepotism and cronyism for personal political strategising in local elections. These governance malpractices eventually led to the bupati's formal investigation and court procedures.

These practices in Takalar were in contrast with the effective and successful social change leadership in Barru. In the case of Takalar district, the bupati's leadership performance was not in line with EGT which proposes that every element of governance needs to work together to produce effective policies that show majority decision making or indeed that lead to generation of innovative poverty reduction programs (Beunen van Assche & Duineveld, 2014). It can be argued that in the contexts of Takalar and Barru districts, effectiveness of poverty reduction programs requires sensitivity in engagement of local government level and local grass root actors; imbalance of power or indeed miss-targeting resources can have negative effects, including loss of trust and apathy among local grassroots actors. Further, effective strategies need to include such incentives as local government's empowerment of local grassroots actors, including community based organisations and international NGOs working with the people.

Together as a connected social system, they are the power that generates new social change.

The role of local leader is a key factor needed by Indonesian society in areas that want to achieve positive social change. Although national institutional weaknesses regarding use of funds by government officials and local politicians are common, the effectiveness of local governance practices, as in the case of Barru district, makes an important departure in success of poverty reduction programs. In addition, local leaders know the conditions in the community and if they grasp the goals and means of the poverty reduction programs, local leaders can be critical in the success of implementation of the poverty reduction programs. Related to EGT as a new concept of social system, the roles of the local leaders can be pointed out as one main finding of this thesis which situates the roles of the local leaders as the new significant element as the main role of EGT to produce and generate new evolutionary governance practices. This finding points to a significant contribution to concepts of EGT; the findings indicate that every social system needs a leader as a driver of social change – beyond the equal contribution of all elements.

The next section is an analysis comparing implementation among poverty reduction programs. It explores collaboration among actors, institutions and local communities

and others to contribute to the coordination and cooperation of the poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar district.

7.11. Takalar and Barru Poverty Reduction Programs: A Comparison of Approaches and Practices

This section compares and contrasts implementation experiences between the two district governments with a view to highlight approaches and practices that may explain success or decline in performance. The present author is also an internal provincial government staff member and a professional researcher; the observations that are discussed here are informed from these two vantage points. First, implementation of PIK PAKET in Barru district is about how to make possible effective coordination among actors who participate in the local development practice. All the actors in the activities of PIK PAKET have played an active role; nevertheless, there are still things that need to be improved. The government makes many interventions regarding the poor, but the obstacle to tackling poverty as a whole is the lack of coordination among government agencies. Coordination among government agencies and other decision makers is often lost in the processes and practices involved in the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru. Some of these processes and practices include irregular attendance of anti-poverty program meetings, lack of standardisation of poverty data management practices, and misuse of local budgets of poverty reduction programs. These issues constitute part of miss-targeting of beneficiaries of anti-poverty programs.

The experience in implementation of poverty reduction programs shows that coordination between relevant central and local government institutions remains difficult to be realised. To strengthen the building of coordination between units/institutions in relation to the activities of PIK PAKET, the local government strengthened coordination teams through district heads (bupati) decree No. 214 of 2012 of the District Poverty Reduction Coordination Team (TKPKD) Barru. Through the PIK PAKET program local government aims to integrate the activities of the poverty reduction strategy with a new vision of local government of Barru district to accelerate anti-poverty programs integrated with community empowerment.

Poverty reduction programs in Barru have been done over the years. However, local authorities and all the parties involved in projects and programs point out that the program was not successfully executed. The problem is that parties often only work partially. They work on their own section's interests and their goals. In fact, anti-poverty programs sometimes overlap, where local agencies have a similar program with the same goal and yet they do not have the same strong arguments on the issues. These problems occur because they do not have a vision in the course of their fight to reduce poverty. The main problem is that they do not have strong coordination and cooperation among actors. Barru district governments realise that they want to change the situation and to discuss and act together to develop new ways of reducing poverty through collaborative projects through the Integrated Poverty Reduction Programs (PIK PAKET) together with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and donors.

7.11.1. SISDUK Implementation

Systems Support (SISDUK) is a community development program in Takalar, implemented since 2002. This program is a partnership between the Government of Japan (in this case the donor agency (JICA) as well as providing knowledge transfer) and the Indonesian Government through the Provincial Government of South Sulawesi. The interest of SISDUK is to enhance the capacity of local communities. The various levels of the Indonesian governments and SISDUK cooperated with the JICA to initiate SISDUK in Takalar. The SISDUK approach was applied through Participatory Local Social Development (PLSD). In PLSD there are two work systems, namely an inner system that comes from households or groups of citizens and is called bottom-up, and an outer system derived from the system that works on the market and the administration. It involves bureaucracy, village heads, project-officers or the *PJOK* department and agency, bupati (district head) and other (top down) systems surrounding the SISDUK program itself.

As a multi-stakeholder, collaborative program, SISDUK has been considered successful by various parties, both from within the country and from abroad. The successful implementation over the period 2002-2009 by SISDUK was enabled by several factors:

(i) facilitation, (ii) skills, and (iii) knowledge sharing and resourcing funding.

Concerning facilitation, the FO has a strong commitment and is capable of creating the spirit and sense of belonging and ownership of activities, so that the community is able to initiate programs and activities from local resources as needed. The first stage is planning and the second stage is implementation. At the planning stage of SISDUK there are three layers: (i) facilitation workers in the village, (ii) assistance for working at the District level and (ii) work at the District level that serves as coordination. In the first layer, the Program Manager SISDUK recruits 65 people (local NGOs) that are placed in 100 villages or kelurahan in Takalar. The Field Officer (FO) is not a civil servant, and can be assigned by the local NGO or recruited by the relevant government agency (Muslimin, interviewed 26/09/2013).

SISDUK's model of collaboration among stakeholders in Takalar district shows successful coordination at three levels, namely: facilitation at the village level, funding and provision of other material resources at the district level, and the success of the policy makers at the provincial and district level that serves as the coordination. Their positive outcomes from the facilitator encourage the local community. The local community is able to initiate development activities based on local resources and their needs. The Takalar Government remains committed to continuing the program, for example, as earlier mentioned in Chapter 5 above, Muslim, from the BPMD, commented that since 2012 SISDUK gave funding to several business groups. Whilst each of these business groups received IDR. 5,000,000 to IDR. 10,000,000 there are villages that did not receive aid at all because they did not meet the defined criteria. The project should be achievable with the financial support. In 2013, the Takalar district government provided funds amounting to IDR. 500,000,000 to one hundred villages throughout Takalar district. SISDUK is recognised as a program that is relevant to the socio-economic conditions of the villagers as well as the mechanism of the development and planning processes at the village and grassroots level.

Field Officers are incorporated into the Facilitator's team to help facilitate work in the local community, and for servicing community groups which are at least five people who have the same business. The beneficiary team's main responsibilities are: i) facilitating proposals by identifying problems and needs; and ii) reviewing and finalising proposals that are subsequently transferred to the district coordination team.

In addition, the FO also has a duty to withdraw funds, transfer from Bank Pembangunan Daerah (BPD) to Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI), and give support to local business groups. FOs, in fulfilling their duties, often encounter obstacles in the field. These can be difficulty in explaining the instructions and technical implementation of the aid, or whether the aid is given in the form of money that will be used as working capital or inkind assistance (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999).

Further, the SISDUK program has demonstrated that upholding rights of women and children in the village Tamalate, District of North Galesong, Takalar pays dividends. As described in the sub-section issue of cultural issues, the local community in the Tamalate village generally has rapidly changing fortunes, and their approach is to act immediately. The FO has to be aware of the character of the local community, and one example of local resource potential that could be developed, is plastic waste and wood (Peninsula, 2013). Initially local people were not aware of the potential related to waste plastic and wood which were abundant in the village. Such rubbish traditionally is viewed as causing rundown of a village and becoming a source of disease. However, the FO and the community were able to find profitable solutions to the problem of waste. A result of this dialogue was it was decided to form a group of fishermen who were named Kelompok Usaha Perempuan Pesisir Soreang (KUPPS) or Women's Coastal Business Soreang. KUPPS now utilises waste plastic and wood for various kinds of handicrafts, such as bags for household uses, slippers, mats, shoes, small cupboards for food, and even small boats to meet the needs of the community. In this respect, a 'small boat' competition is held in the village every year. The handicrafts made by KUPPS are sold to various people around the local area and are marketed in Papua. Results of KUPPS activities are an alternative income to fulfil the needs of local fishing communities when weather conditions are not stable, and they cannot look for fish in the sea. Hasnh is a facilitator who accompanied KUPPS, and he commented:

Regarding this important personal assistance role, the project officers (Pejabat Operasional Kegiatan or PJOK) at the district level help with verification and assessing the proposed activities of the village or group of businesses that need support. *PJOK* can help to choose an activity that costs very little and is of short duration, then can recommend it at district level. With this type of

assistance, activities that are not accommodated in the planning village-level meetings (Musrenbangdes) will be supported by applying appropriate established SISDUK criteria.

PJOK is responsible for the operations and activities, for the administrative and financial management, and for facilitating preparatory activities. They make plans and definitive models of business groups that are carried out in each group, and after that there is training appropriate to their needs. Thereafter, the group is mentored in the process and this is done continuously for 7 years.

7.11.2. Takalar and Barru Poverty Reduction Programs: A Review of What Worked and What Did Not

In this section, we look at some factors that have influenced the performance of the two different case studies of anti-poverty programs. For the sake of ease of picturing factors singled out, the section begins with a tabulated presentation.

Table 7.3. Important factors in program success or otherwise

SISDUK		PUGAR	PIK PAKET		
Factors towards success in SISDUK implementation in		Factors towards success in PUGAR implementation in	Factors towards success in PIK Paket implementation in Barru:		
	kalar: Coordination among actors and institutions involved in the local policy on poverty reduction program. Adoption of a participatory approach to community	 Takalar: Opportunity of available local salt production activities. Evidence of public support for the implementation of 	1. Collaboration among actors such as: local government institutions, NGOs activists, community leaders, local communities for strengthening the role of women in coastal areas.		
3.	development. Consistent sharing of knowledge from JICA with	PUGAR activities. 3. Agreement on most appropriate project location: bupati and the	2. Inter-agency coordination in Barru district, that led to implementing RPJMD (midterm). Program PIK PAKET		

local governmen

- 4. Commitment to sharing budget between JICA and district government.
- Full commitment of all actors and institutions to collaboratively engage the local community.
- Head of the Department of Education.
- PUGAR's capacity to set and pursue high quality standards and means of sustainability of industrial salt production.
- Networking and information sharing between Cirebon and Takalar farmers in salt production and business.
- 6. Central and Provincial
 Government's deliberate
 policy of community
 empowerment through
 entrepreneurship based on
 local traditional capacity
 in salt production
 knowledge.

- is implemented crossinstitutionally.
- Focus on innovation to accelerate PIK PAKET implementation.
- 4. Careful interlinkages among projects, programs across institutions *SKPD* to integrate PNPM and PIK PAKET.
- 5. Focus on an issue at a time acceleration of Poverty reduction. {Actor's full commitment}
- 6. Community empowerment.

Challenges in SISDUK program:

- Lack of funds from district level.
- 2. Lack of support by policy makers or head of district government officers, particularly head of district or bupati, whose interest is in entrenching political

Challenges in PUGAR program:

at project initial stages leading to low salt production and quality. Small quantities produced could not be distributed to industries.

Unreadiness of farmers

2. Low production and

Challenges in PIK PAKET program:

- Misuse of budgeted poverty reduction funding.
- Uncoordinated data
 management on poverty line
 standards leading to misstargeting of anti-poverty
 programs.
- 3. Misaligning projects and

power.

- 3. The field officers (FO) who practice cronyism with the bupati. Whose interest is in entrenching political power?
- 4. Misuse of budgeted poverty reduction funding.
- Uncoordinated data management on poverty line standards leading to miss-targeting of antipoverty programs.

quality.

- Salt produced unfit and inadequate for industrial use. Sixty sacks iodised salt produced first year.
- Farmers' uncertainty in adopting new and advanced salt production techniques.

priority areas leading to overlapping projects/ programs due to poor coordination and cooperation.

4. Misuse of budgeted poverty reduction funding.

This verbal explanation draws on the table of factors, of either success or failure/decline in the programs. It is a contrastive and comparative verbal explanation as a way of crystalising good practices and ineffective practices in program implementation. Particular practices or policies are looked at in turn as good practices while others are contrastively looked at as ineffective implementation practices and/or policies. Similarly, in the case of PIK PAKET in Barru, the measure of success attained was partly due to good coordination or interlinkages of civil society organisation, governments and local community.

One practice that turned out to be an important factor leading to success in program implementation was coordination and cooperation among actors and institutions. In the case of SISDUK in Takalar, the initial success can be attributed to various actors and institutions working in a coordinated fashion. In the case of PUGAR in Takalar, again, networking and information sharing proved useful towards program success. However, SISDUK's performance declined later due to malpractices such as cronyism, driven by

political ambitions of bupati and their associates. Further, SISDUK's decline in performance was attributed to uncoordinated and unstandardised data management practices regarding measures of poverty leading to mis-targeting of poverty reduction programs.

A second practice that was a factor of success is budget commitment between government and other donor agencies, namely, JICA. In the case of the SISDUK program in Takalar, again the initial success was partly due to this budget commitment. However, as mentioned above, with ascendancy to power of a local district leader, with entrenched political motives, there was lack of district funding commitment. contrast, misuse of local budgets for poverty reduction programs was associated with poor performance in the case of SISDUK in Takalar and PIK Paket in Barru districts. In both cases, local authorities and senior civil servants, the study found out, were accessing funding and using it inappropriately on expenses that were not directly benefitting the beneficiaries, but themselves. It should be pointed out also here that there were other dynamics in these programs; at the village level, the actors showed commitment to program success while at the district levels, such commitment was lacking, leading to a decline in performance. In regards to this observation, the point may be explained drawing on Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014). The role of the local leader to facilitate the working together of all parts and actors is critical. This facilitative local leader is what was lacked and led to the decline in performance of the SISDUK and PIK PAKET programs.

A third group of practices which in turn are factors of success pertain to capacity to set innovative high quality standards and put in place mechanisms to pursue their achievement sustainably. In the case of PIK Paket in Barru, the local government set about to bring together institutions to streamline local poverty reduction policy to raise program performance. In the case of PUGAR, the Central Government initiated high standards for the production of high quality salt production to meet the national demand. However, at the implementing farmer level, farmer unreadiness to adopt advanced techniques of high quality salt production made the program fall short of central government standards expectations. As such, as described above, the first year saw only a meagre sixty sacks of iodised salt produced. In this case, in view of the

Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), the farmer level and the Central Government level showed a disconnect. Conditions, which exist, are covered by all aspects in Governance Evolutionary Theory, which suggests there will be a continued change, which will affect the performance of the workings of the local network between actors such as the provincial and local governments, government institutions, non-governmental institutions, local residents and other interested parties. Changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health, social conditions and cultural barriers have all contributed to the pattern and structure of the network or networks in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014).

A fourth practice, which is a factor of good practice and good program performance, is a community empowerment approach. In the initial phase of SISDUK, the local district leader's approach was to work collaboratively with JICA, NGOs and local community; this participatory approach was a community empowering strategy. However, when the new local leader came to power, as described above, political interests were prioritised over community interests. As such, cronyism eroded the local community empowerment efforts made in the earlier phase. In the case of PIK PAKET, community empowerment was an important program outcome. As such, the local Village Head, Youth Leader and Field Officer committed themselves to accelerate local community participation in the local poverty reduction program.

A fifth factor has to do with focusing initiatives based on strengths and geographic comparative advantage. Takalar district is known as the seaweed and flying fish roe harvest centre. In addition, Takalar has a tradition of salt production. Given these existing potentialities and capacities, the poverty reduction programs planned for Takalar included advanced salt production to meet the need of Indonesia as a whole, seaweed farming and fishing. Again, as discussed above, the projects targeted the local fishing communities. SISDUK was a way to support local fishing communities to participate in more efficient ways of fishing to develop local industry. In Barru district, the poverty reduction program was designed to promote local fishing communities' capacities to develop small and medium scale fishing enterprises.

The success of these programs at village level shows that the comparative advantage factor has been an important ingredient of success. The local capacities and the natural

environmental endowments have combined to create a level of success. This success notwithstanding, the study noted that at the higher level, district level, in some aspects programs have fallen short of expectation. This failure is a governance issue; the lack of local leadership facilitation of all actors, as social change agents, to work in unison is a major factor.

7.12. Summary

Based on the analysis and discussion above, implications regarding good practices in poverty reduction programs may be indicated. As discussed, poverty problems in Takalar and Barru districts have a lot to do with economic inequality as exemplified in the ponggawa-sawi relationships. Furthermore, lack of education and health care access, and cultural barriers have important implications in implementing successful poverty reduction programs.

There are also numerous governance related issues that need to be attended to before significant success can be realised in poverty reduction programs. There are inefficiencies and malpractices that have been traditionally practiced around fiscal matters. These have an important disenabling effect on the performance of the poverty reduction programs.

In relation to non-fiscal matters, which influence the success of the local poverty reduction programs, this study shows that geographic comparative advantage is an important strategy – drawing on existing strengths. Another element for sustainable social change is community empowerment, which forms an important base for evolutionary governance practices. As discussed above, the programs or phases of programs that had community empowerment registered success. The study shows that the role of the local leader is a key factor needed in the Indonesian context to achieve positive social change. In this respect, following the guidance of Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), we understand that for a system to be transformed completely and to bring about social change, the most important element is the presence of the pioneer leadership that is able to motivate and be a driving force in the process of social changes in accordance with the demands of a dynamic, development era. The pioneer-leader creates collective awareness, empowerment and

strong commitment, continuous improvement and synergy of programs and activities to the achievement of performance targets not only at the level of outcomes, but at the level of impact and benefits. This thesis has shown that it is important for the role of local leaders and the government to work together in facing problems so that there is community support and participation. The local leaders can be important in changing peoples' behaviour as they have authority in the community. However, there is a gap between the role of the local leaders and the government.

Central government and local government, as in the case study at Takalar district, provide national and local policy to reduce numbers of people who live in poverty. The PUGAR program and the SISDUK program both aim to combat poverty in Takalar district, particularly in fishing communities, which are generally linked to poverty, and are manifested in low income and the lack of capital investments.

In relation to the area, Barru District Government has sought as much as possible strategies in the poverty reduction programs. Although the anti-poverty program has been conducted with many problems over the last few years, and shows unsatisfactory performance in accordance with the objectives and ideals of Barru's society, nevertheless, poverty can be reduced significantly in Barru district.

At the district level, which serves as the coordination for accelerating the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru, through PIK PAKET as the local policy strategy, it is still not optimal in bridging between the interests of the government and society. Some constraints in terms of financial efficiency were found still in the misuse of the budget. This is causing poverty reduction programs in Barru to run very slowly.

The findings at the village level show a new contribution of this thesis. That is, the role of community leaders like Yasin, the Makkawaru joint venture group leader and facilitators from Oxfam (Tua as Facilitator) who were, to the village of Galung, important in motivating and find new innovations that could be applied at the level of the village. The role of Yasin and the Village Head Galung (Ahmad) are as social change agents who are able to bring a fundamental change to the local people's awareness of the importance of alternative attempt to break out of the poverty cycle.

Collaboration between stakeholders will not be a success without the support of social change agents as played by Yasin and Ahmad as local leaders at the village level, and Tua and Darwis as facilitators at the village level. In a social system, they have power to energise all elements of the system such as governments, NGOs activists, local communities, and local leaders if they are active to generate new social change.

During the course of the first stage, Oxfam only encouraged alternative thinking people to have the initiative, and they were able to grow their own businesses through training that we facilitated. A youth leader showed that by Yasin and Tua's actions (as leader and facilitator respectively) they were able to be social change agents in the village where once the local people did not like to cultivate catfish but now do so. Yasin and Tua motivated local communities in line with Chrislip and Larson, who laid out in their Principles of Collaborative Leadership theory (1994, p. 134) that leadership is a process. Motivation and inspiration, which are also part of the process, happen through the belief in the credibility of the process and good working collaboration with many people. Chrislip and Larson's theory supports the claim by Van Assche et al. that 'EGT address[es] the role of Governments, markets, civil society, organization, networks and individual citizens' (Van Assche et al., 2014, p. 5).

In this comparative analysis, findings show that the collaborative poverty reduction program in Barru district has strong leadership as represented by Yasin as a youth leader and Darwis and Tua as community facilitators at the village level.

Although the implementation of collaboration among actors and institutions in both cases studies shows that the implementation of both local policies on poverty reduction programs in Takalar and Barru have more influence on the poverty reduction programs in both district, the research also gave evidence that there are some challenges related to eliminating the bad practices in Takalar and Barru districts.

As I present a social system theory like Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), and also in collective binding decision making, it is clear that there is a need for a leader to conduct and energise all elements in the social system. The pioneer-leader creates collective awareness, empowerment and strong commitment, continuous improvement and synergy of programs and activities to the achievement of performance

targets not only at the level of outcomes, but at the level of impact and benefits. This thesis has shown that it is important for those in the role of local leaders and the government to work together in facing problems so that there is community support or participation. The local leaders can be important in changing peoples' behaviour as they have authority in the community. However, there is a gap between the role of the local leaders and the government.

Problems which are faced by coastal communities are generally linked to poverty, which is manifested in low income and the lack of capital. In addition, efforts to develop education are still minimal, and public health, healthy living and clean behavioral practices are still low. Local strategies, in both poverty eradication programs conducted by government agencies and other stakeholders in the district Takalar, are still not able to lower the poverty rates significantly. This is at least partly due to the lack of coordination between policy makers.

The issue is complicated by the results of the local elections that will continue to see the appointment of local officials who are generally supporters of the elected bupati. As a result, the inability to accommodate the interests of parties opposing the ruling political view, will result in a structure of local government organisations filled by officials who are less critical in terms of technical capabilities and skills in the field.

Conditions which exist are covered by all aspects in Evolutionary Governance Theory, which suggests there will be a continued change which will affect the performance of the workings of the local network between actors such as the provincial and local governments, government institutions, non-governmental institutions, local residents and other interested parties. Changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health, social conditions and culture have all contributed to the pattern and structure of the network or networks in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014).

At the district level that serves as the coordination point for accelerating the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru, through PIK PAKET there is still no optimal bridging between the interests of the government and society. There are some constraints in terms of financial efficiency and still some misuse of budget. In relation to the definition of poverty, it is argued that the declining values – masiri and

siri na pacce and maggalli – are manifestations of the understanding of the cultural aspects of local poverty. If these values were strong, they could be the driving force for each individual who wants to live a more advanced life.

The findings at the village level are the contribution of this thesis to our understanding and knowledge of the conditions and problems in this area. The role of community leaders such as Nur Yasin, the Makkawaru joint venture group leader, and Oxfam Facilitators (such as Tua) is important for motivating and finding new innovations that can be applied at the level of the village. Yasin's role and that of the Village Head of Galung (Suhada), were as pioneers who were able to bring a fundamental change to the local people's awareness of the importance of attempts to break out of the poverty cycle. Collaboration between stakeholders would not be a success without the support of the pioneers as played by Yasin and Ahmad as local leaders at the village level and Tua and Darwis as facilitators at the village level. In the social system, they are the power that energises the system and they actively generate new social change.

Therefore, this thesis has demonstrated through the analysis of the policies and from the interviews of participants involved in local community projects for changes to address poverty, that the role of the local leader is a key factor needed by the Indonesian system in areas that want to achieve positive social change. In this respect, following the guidance of the theory of Evolutionary Governance Theory, we understand that for a system to be transformed completely and to bring about social change, the most important element is the presence of the pioneer leadership that is able to motivate and be a driving force in the process of social change in accordance with the demands of a dynamic, development era.

In addition, efforts to develop education are still minimal, and public health, healthy living and clean behaviour practices are still low. Local strategies, in both poverty eradication programs conducted by government agencies and other stakeholders in the district Takalar, are still not able to lower the poverty rates significantly. This is at least partly due to the lack of coordination between policy makers.

This study finds that the roles of local leaders and collaboration among stakeholders who are involved in local development particularly in poverty reduction programs is very important to encourage local community to participate in the local development process. From both case studies, we recognise some similar factors which have influenced the impact of poverty reduction programs in both districts. These include cultural barriers and such ethnic boundaries and event opportunities that support the local community to raise their economic status from poor conditions in order to quit poverty level traps.

Utilising EGT as the main theory gives an argument that from this theoretical perspective the influence of the theory to frame the success of the study should be based on the link between the findings and some factors of the EGT theory, which comprise coordination, collaboration, institutions, actors as local leaders, and other elements, with the consistant change and interplay betweem them as a way to explain governance practices and their evolution. It places emphasis on the co-evolution discourses between actors and institutions. They offer a perspective on the way institutions, markets, different levels of government institutions and societies are involved in driving a social evolution or a social change (The Audiopedia, 2018). Therefore, in this thesis the key strategy is the presence of local leaders as social change agents on any governance practices that want to combat poverty problems. In this case in terms of the elements in Evolutionary Governance Theory that need to be transformed completely in bringing about social change, the element most important here is the presence of the local leaders who are able to motivate and be a driving force in the process of social change to generate good governance practices in accordance with the demands of the dynamic/development era.

Conditions, which exist, are covered by all aspects in Governance Evolutionary Theory, which suggests there will be a continued change, which will affect the performance of the workings of the local network between actors such as the provincial and local governments, government institutions, non-governmental institutions, local residents and other interested parties. Changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health, social conditions and cultural barriers have all contributed to the pattern and structure of the network or networks in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014).

These dynamic changes, implemented by all the actors involved in network governance systems, must eventually lead to action that is in line with the pattern of the changing times. However, in the cases of Barru and Takalar, government efforts and those of other actors such as NGOs, donors and the public element, in the effort to work together to reduce poverty, have not yet yielded results.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

The thesis has explored the nature of collaboration between the three levels of government, international donors, NGOs and local community leaders that can influence the effectiveness of poverty reduction programs in the South Sulawesi provincial government districts of Takalar and Barru. As conveyed in the first chapter, this thesis investigates the strategies, problems and implications related to a poverty reduction case study in the provincial and district level of Indonesia's South Sulawesi Province utilising the Evolutionary Governance Theory (EGT) of Van Assche et al. (2014).

In this concluding chapter, the main findings that address the research questions presented in Chapter 1 are discussed, and this is followed by the practical and theoretical contributions of this thesis. The final section covers the limitations of the research and provides some suggestions for future research.

8.2. Main Findings

The main finding of the research is that when collaboration occurred between key stakeholders such as politicians, government officials, local leaders, NGOs activists and international donors with geographical comparative advantage who had an influence on combating poverty during the decentralisation era, they were able to control the allocation of poverty funds, and they had the means to misuse the local budget, especially for added income of local government staff and official travel expenditure. The research found that this was an important reason for all elements of collaboration between the actors, and institutions of government, NGOs, local leaders, local communities and geographical advantage influencing local poverty reduction programs. Case studies examined both Takalar and Barru districts, South Sulawesi province. The results show that reasons such as lack of coordination, health care issues, education issues, cultural issues, unjust allocation of the local budget for projects, and lack data management, make it difficult to reduce poverty numbers in the Barru and Takalar

districts in particular. Table 8.1 provides a summary of the roles of the three levels of government, international donors and NGOs, and local community leaders.

Table 8.1 The roles of district government, international donors and NGOs, and institutions and local community leaders

Actor	Roles	
DistrictGovernment	The Districtgovernment has power and policies. The government produces and administers the rules, the Law, and uses the local budget to provide and fulfil the needs of people in the region. As both cases study in Takalar and Barru district show, the role of government is to formulate local policy regarding the poverty reduction programs, nationally and locally and work collaboratively with stakeholders to pursue the goals.	
International Donor	International donors are one of the development actors who have a role to support the local government. The donors see and enact some aspects from sides that cannot be covered by the local government. An international donor with its capacity to share knowledge to empower local communities across the world is included in both cases studies.	
NGO	NGO leaders are always putting pressure on districtgovernment and parliamentarians at the provincial, district and city areas to organise poverty budgets for their benefit. Generally, they use this as leverage to drive pressure when they approach districtgovernment decisions. The NGO interacts with the grass root level through facilitation and sharing knowledge and capacities. It works with local communities based on their issues, needs and resources.	
Local Leaders	al Leaders These are one of the elements of the EGT theory introduced by Van Assche et al. (2014). The local leaders such as bupat (district head), village head, and local community leaders have important roles to conduct and can energise the government system and generate good governance practices in the local region.	
Institutions/ Agents	An organisation founded for a religious, educational professional, or social purpose. The term <i>institution</i> commons applies to both informal <i>institutions</i> such as customs, or behaviour patterns important to a society, and to particular formal <i>institutions</i> created by entities such as the government and public services.	
Local Communities	As elements of governance at the grass roots level, local communities also have roles in the social system. The main	

issue in the social system is local communities members still need supervision and support from other stakeholders such as local leaders, NGOs activists, local governments, and others to reduce poverty numbers in Takalar and Barru district.

8.3. Research Questions and Answers

In order to focus our work and increase our understanding of the problems of poverty reduction programs, there were five questions posed in this research, which were addressed in the findings chapters (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7). Table 8.2 provides a summary of the four research questions and the partial answers, which emerged from this work.

Table 8.2. Research Questions and Answers

No.	Question	Answer
1.	What components of the collaboration between the stakeholders involved in poverty reduction programs in the districtautonomy era influenced the effectiveness of the collaboration in anti-poverty programs in Takalar and Barru?	The implementation of local autonomy in Indonesia, was marked by Law Number 22, 1999 applied since January 2001, and the central government decentralised some authority to local governments. The local government has more openly and widely administered the local policy in the region. The components of the collaboration among stakeholders involved in poverty reduction in Takalar and Barru districts are local government freely works with other actors such as NGOs, international donors, local leaders and local communities. There were some issues related to all elements of governance in pursuing national and local policy to combat poverty issues. These issues are reflected in the findings chapters in terms of collaborative action and integrated poverty reduction programs such as SISDUK and PUGAR, which were implemented in

		the Takalar district, and PIK PAKET, which was implemented in the Barru district.
2.	How does each component of the collaboration play a role in poverty reduction programs in Barru and Takalar?	Although the Indonesian government, particularly in the area of districtgovernment, has many experiences and has implemented some integrated and collaborative poverty reduction programs, local strategies in poverty reduction programs conducted by both government agencies and other stakeholders in the district Takalar are still not able to lower the poverty rates significantly. This is at least partly due to the lack of coordination between policy makers, lack of data management, and misuse of the local budget. In relation to Barru District, the government has sought as much as possible to develop poverty reduction programs. However, the programs conducted in an integrated manner over the last few years still show unsatisfactory performance in accordance with the objectives and ideals of the Barru society, so poverty has not reduced significantly.
3.	To what extent does the collaboration among NGOs, international donors and local communities and development actors contribute to poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi?	Changes in political dynamics with regard to decentralisation, economics, politics, health, social conditions and culture in Indonesia and South Sulawesi, have all contributed to the relationship between NGOs, international donors and local communities and development actors in poverty reduction in South Sulawesi and have influenced the structure of the network or networks in the

governance system. (Van Assche et al., 2014). This issue is complicated by the results of the local elections that will continue to see the appointment of local officials who are generally supporters of the elected bupati (district head). As a result, the inability to accommodate the interests of parties opposing the ruling political view will result in a structure of local government organisations filled by officials who are less critical in terms of technical capabilities and skills in the field. Collaboration is at the heart of the theory of EGT, What kind of collaboration which, in essence, emphasises collective decision between stakeholders influences 4. making between stakeholders involved in the the effectiveness of poverty governance practices and development process. In reduction in Takalar and Barru accordance with the existing structure of EGT, every districts? element needs the involvement of actors and institutions, and sharing of knowledge, which always changes to reproduce and reformulate evolutionary governance practices (Van Asche et al., 2014, p. 5). To what extent can the roles of As represented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the roles of local leaders be used to develop a local leaders are very important to achieve the goals 5 more practical role as poverty significant within all elements of and are reduction change agents? governance. This thesis give arguments that the roles of local leaders become a main point in relation This was research question vi in to collaboration between actors or stakeholders to Chapter 1 – question v was: How pursue the goals of combating poverty in both case does the collaboration contribute studies. As social change agents, local leaders, as to coordination and cooperation in reflected by Grass root local leaders, Ahmad, Yasin,

the poverty reduction programs in	Darwis, and Tua, are actively and collaboratively
Barru and Takalar?	involved with local governments, and others actor
	and local communities to combat poverty in Takalar
	and Barru districts.

The theory of EGT identifies the key elements of governance, such as actors, institutions and shared knowledge, which are subject to evolution in governance needs. It is claimed that 'EGT address the role of governments, markets, civil society, organizations, networks and individual citizens. None of these have a position that is *a priori* defined or preferable' (Van Assche et al., 2014, p. 5).

EGT elaborates on the configuration of actors, institutions and sharing knowledge: this is reflected by some activities in Barru and Takalar district, particularly in reducing poverty numbers in both case studies as discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and the comparative analysis in Chapter 7. The chapters explore how the configuration of actors such as local community leaders, NGO activist, donors, local communities and institutions creates dependences in governance and therewith rigidities and flexibilities in its evolution. NGOs and donors have knowledge and capacities to facilitate local communities through sharing knowledge to empower and engage local community' members to be more active in participating local development. As presented in the previous chapters, anti-poverty local policies, such as SISDUK, PIK PAKET, and others give evidence of how the elements of evolutionary governance work together to pursue their main goal in reducing the poverty in both cases study. All actors are analysed as agents of change but also as constrained in various ways.

This finding elaborates how the roles of local leaders as represented by some local leaders in both Takalar and Barru district work collaboratively with stakeholders to pursue their goals. The thesis gives evidence that the roles of bupati and local government are not significant in reducing poverty in both districts; however, the study shows that grass roots level collaboration among local leaders and local communities runs well. In these cases – particularly in Takalar district – the bupati fails to control and actualise his power and authority to work collaboratively with other actors and institutions. Even the local leader arranges his authority to abuse his power for bad

purposes such as misuse of the local budget and corrupt action, which brings him to face the court. The roles of local leaders are presented by local community leaders such as Yasin, Suhada and Darwis and Tua. These social change agents demonstrate evolutionary governance practices at the grass roots level. They work collaboratively with local poor people to engage them in empowering the local communities to quit the poverty cycle, as shown in both cases study.

EGT conceptualises governance as radically evolutionary within all elements of governance, with the argument there is equity between the roles of each element of the social system since they are equally as subject to evolution (Van Assche, 2014, p. 21). Change in one element can trigger in another. This thesis is in line with the EGT perspective with the role of a leader as the core social change agent in every social system with evolutionary governance practices. The social system needs leaders to lead and formulate its system to exist, and also able bring all elements of the system to work collaboratively to transform new governance practices in order to produce local national and local policies, plans, laws and rules that can make sense to the communities.

The core proposition of this thesis is that what has been missing in anti-poverty programs to date is collaboration between governments, other stakeholders, and community leaders focusing on community empowerment. Community empowerment and active participation constitute the central proposition of the thesis, because it is thought that this particular issue has been most effective in reducing poverty when collaboration between stakeholders is implemented. As previous chapters have described, in the two selected South Sulawesi districts of Takalar and Barru, poverty reduction has been most effective when there has been collaboration between stakeholders combined with active local participation based on community empowerment initiatives.

Many scholars have commented that local actors and institutions, which previously have had different economic and political views regarding local policies and development, often are forced to come together and collaborate in order to take collective action to combat poverty. This study focused on how those different actors and providers collaborate to take collective action, and it is argued here that to understand this phenomenon, it is appropriate to apply Van Assche et al.'s (2014) EGT

theory. This suggests that different actors may participate in joint actions if they have similar interests (Chrislip, 2002; Wood & Gray, 1991). Further, Chrislip (2002) and Wood and Gray (1991) have argued that a collaboration theory perspective is suitable to understand why and how stakeholders with different world-views collaborate purposes.

8.4. Community Development-Focused Collaboration

In a social system theory like Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), and also in collective binding decision making, it is clear that there is a need for a leader or pioneer to conduct and energise all elements in the social system. The pioneer-leader creates collective awareness, empowerment and strong commitment, continuous improvement and synergy of programs and activities to the achievement of performance targets not only at the level of outcomes, but at the level of impact and benefits. This thesis has shown that it is important for the local leader and the government to work together in facing problems so that there is community support or participation. The local leader can be important in changing peoples' behaviour as they have authority in the community. However, there is a gap between the role of the local leader and the government.

Problems which are faced by coastal communities are generally linked to poverty, which is manifested in low income and the lack of capital. In addition, efforts to develop education are still minimal, and public health, healthy living and clean behavioural practices are still low. Local strategies, in poverty eradication programs conducted by both government agencies and other stakeholders in the district Takalar, are still not able to lower the poverty rates significantly. This is at least partly due to the lack of coordination between policy makers. In addition, the issue is complicated by the results of the local elections that will continue to see the appointment of local officials who are generally supporters of the elected bupati. As a result, the inability to accommodate the interests of parties opposing the ruling political view will result in a structure of local government organisations filled by officials who are less critical in terms of technical capabilities and skills in the field.

8.5. Collaborative Leadership

Collaborative leadership theory has been applied by some local leaders and local leaders such as Suhada, Yasin, Darwis and Tua in Barru district at the community level. In this respect, Chrislip and Larson (1994) claim that successful collaboration needs to meet four key conditions: (i) it must be broadly inclusive of all stakeholders (including those who may be 'troublesome'), (ii) it must provide a credible and open collaborative process that gives participants the confidence that their views will be heard and considered without predetermined outcomes, (iii) it must have visible support from high level, well-known, and trustworthy leaders in the community to provide the credibility necessary to assure participants that their efforts may lead to tangible results, and (iv) it must gain the support or acquiescence of 'established authorities' or institutions either at the beginning or as a result of the collaboration success. In short, successful collaboration efforts must be able to produce tangible results, empower participants, lead revolutionary changes in civic culture, and create a renewed sense of community. This thesis has indicated a number of initiatives which have embraced these principles, and which give significant hope for the future.

8.6. Coordination Mechanisms

Coordination can be defined as 'a process in which agents engage in order to ensure their community acts in a coherent manner' (Nwana et al., 1996) and some examples of this process have been described in this thesis. As Chrislip and Larson (1994) assume, by cooperating and coordinating their efforts, even a group of people with disparate beliefs can transcend personal interests to achieve common goals. In addition, under the terms of collaborative principle, 'If you bring the appropriate people together in constructive ways with reliable information, they will create authentic vision and strategies for addressing the shared concerns of the organization or community' (Gerzon, 2006, p. 50). In this thesis, it has been shown that people can be brought together under the right conditions, and make a better future for all concerned.

8.7. The Impact of Community Development-Focused Collaboration

In a social system theory like Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), and in collective binding decision making, it is clear that there is a need for a leader or a social change agent to conduct and energise all elements in the social system. The local leader and communities create collective awareness, empowerment and strong commitment, continuous improvement and synergy of programs and activities to achieve performance targets not only at the level of outcomes, but also at the level of impact and benefits.

One practice that turned out to be an important factor leading to success in program implementation was coordination and cooperation among actors and institutions. In the case of SISDUK in Takalar, the initial success can be attributed to various actors and institutions working in a coordinated fashion. In the case of PUGAR in Takalar, again, networking and information sharing proved useful to program success. However, SISDUK's performance declined later due to malpractices such as cronyism, driven by political ambitions of bupati and their associates. Further, SISDUK's decline in performance was attributed to uncoordinated and unstandardised data management practices regarding measures of poverty leading to mistargeting of poverty reduction programs.

The second practice that is a factor of success is budget commitment between government and other donor agencies, namely, JICA. In the case of the SISDUK program in Takalar, again the initial success was partly due to this budget commitment. However, as mentioned above, with ascendancy to power of a local district leader with entrenched political motives, there was lack of district funding commitment. In contrast, misuse of local budgets for poverty reduction programs was associated with poor performance in the case of SISDUK in Takalar district and PIK PAKET in Barru district. In both cases, local authorities and senior civil servants, the study found out, were accessing funding and using it inappropriately on expenses that were not directly benefitting the beneficiaries, but themselves. It should be pointed out also here that there were other dynamics in these programs; at the village level, the actors showed commitment to program success while at the district levels, such commitment was lacking, leading to a decline in performance. In regards to this observation, the point

may be explained drawing on Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014). The role of the local leader to facilitate the working together of all parts and actors is critical. This facilitative local leader is what was lacking and led to the decline in performance of SISDUK and PIK PAKET programs.

A third group of practices which in turn are factors of success pertains to capacity to set innovative high quality standards and put in place mechanisms to pursue their achievement sustainably. In the case of PIK PAKET in Barru, the local government set about to bring together institutions to streamline local poverty reduction policy to raise program performance. In the case of PUGAR, the Central Government initiated high standards for the production of high quality salt production to meet the national demand. However, at the implementing farmer level, farmer unreadiness to adopt advanced techniques of high quality salt production made the program fall short of central government standards' expectations. As such, as described above, the first year saw only a meagre sixty sacks of iodised salt produced. In this case, in view of Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), the farmer level and the central government level showed a disconnect. Conditions, which exist, are covered by all aspects in Governance Evolutionary Theory, which suggests there will be a continued change, which will affect the performance of the workings of the local network between actors such as the provincial and local governments, government institutions, non-governmental institutions, local residents and other interested parties. Changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health, social conditions and cultural barriers have all contributed to the pattern and structure of the network or networks in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014).

A fourth practice, which is a factor of good practice and good program performance, is a community empowerment approach. In the initial phase of SISDUK, the local district leader's approach was to work collaboratively with JICA, NGOs and the local community; this participatory approach was a community empowering strategy. However, when the new local leader came to power, as described above, political interests were prioritised over community interests. As such, cronyism eroded the local community empowerment efforts made in the earlier phase. In the case of PIK PAKET, community empowerment was an important program outcome. As such, the local

Village Head, Youth Leader and Field Officer committed themselves to accelerate local community participation in the local poverty reduction program.

A fifth factor has to do with focusing initiatives based on strengths and geographic comparative advantage. Takalar district is known as the seaweed and flying fish roe harvest centre. In addition, Takalar has a tradition of salt production. Given these existing potentialities and capacities, the poverty reduction programs planned for Takalar included advanced salt production to meet the need of Indonesia as a whole, seaweed farming and fishing. Again, as discussed above, the projects targeted the local fishing communities. SISDUK was a way to support local fishing communities to participate in more efficient ways of fishing to develop local industry. In Barru district, the poverty reduction program was designed to promote local fishing communities' capacities to develop small and medium scale fishing enterprises.

The success of these programs at village level shows that the comparative advantage factor has been an important ingredient of success. The local capacities and the natural environmental endowments have combined to create a level of success. This success notwithstanding, the study noted that at the higher, district, level, in some aspects programs have fallen short of expectation. This failure is a governance issue; the lack of local leadership facilitation of all actors, as social change agents, to work in unison is a major factor.

8.8. Local Leaders as Social Change Agents

Based on the analyses presented in this thesis, if the poverty reduction programs are not followed with commitment among stakeholders, then the programs will not run properly. In this case the institutions, agencies and officials from all levels should act responsibly to achieve both their duties and the functions of foreign agencies. For example, in relation to the Barru District, the Government has sought as much as possible to develop poverty reduction programs. But the programs, even though conducted in an integrated manner over the last few years, still show unsatisfactory performance in accordance with the objectives and ideals of the Barru society, so poverty has not reduced significantly in Barru.

This thesis has shown that it is important for the local leader and the government to work together in facing problems so that there is community support or participation. The local leader can be important in changing people's' behaviour as they have authority in the community. However, there is a gap between the role of the local leader and the government.

At the district level that serves as the coordination point for accelerating the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru: through PIK PAKET there is still no optimal bridging between the interests of the government and society. There are some constraints in terms of financial efficiency and still some misuse of budget. In relation to the definition of poverty, it is argued that the declining values — masiri and siri na pacce and maggalli — are manifestations of the understanding of the cultural aspects of local poverty. If these values were strong, they could be the driving force for each individual who wants to live a more advanced life.

The findings at the village level are the contribution of this thesis to our understanding and knowledge of the conditions and problems in this area. The roles of community leaders such as Yasin, the Makkawaru joint venture group leader, and Oxfam Facilitators (such as Tua) are important for motivating and finding new innovations that can be applied at the level of the village. Yasin' and the Village Head of Galung (Suhada), were pioneers who were able to bring a fundamental change to the local people's awareness of the importance of attempts to break out of the poverty cycle. Collaboration between stakeholders would not be a success without the support of the pioneers' roles as played by Yasin and Ahmad as local leaders at the village level and Tua and Darwis as facilitators at the village level. In a social system, they are the power that energises the system and they actively generate new social change.

Therefore, this thesis has demonstrated, through the analysis of the policies and from the interviews with participants involved in local community projects for change to address poverty, that the role of pioneers is a key factor needed by the Indonesian system in areas that want to achieve positive social change. In this respect, following the guidance of Evolutionary Governance Theory, we understand that for a system to be transformed completely and to bring about social change, the most important element is the presence of the pioneer leadership that is able to motivate and be a driving force in

the process of social change in accordance with the demands of a dynamic development era.

The thesis has also explored how collaboration between stakeholders, as represented in both cases study and through the roles of local communities' leaders and local leaders, might also have potential for tackling poverty in South Sulawesi, given how such figures usually combine both strengths in community coordination and in networking styles of leadership. Such figures should not be mistaken as conservative; as was observed, they have historically been some of the first in coming out in support of social change. It is therefore clear that local leaders combine community networking and leadership skills in a powerful way. In a period of change and uncertainty, we should also add large reserves of community trust and social legitimacy are able to cut through insecurity at almost all levels. Locally they serve as a trusted and visible representative of community ideals and their schools are already a locus for community investment.

This thesis has noted that the role of the local leader in life and in the process of development is to give priority to the values of ethics, and combine it with the value of local wisdom in the collaborative system and Evolutionary Governance Theory and its practices. Today, the government wishes to work together with local leaders in the implementation of national development since it is clear that it is beneficial for the government to involve the role of the local leader throughout the stages of development from the beginning of the project planning by the government, to implementation and monitoring and evaluation of development. In this way, issues connected to ethics and local wisdom can still be maintained, so that development can be done smoothly and is fully supported by the community and does not cause negative effects in the future.

8.9. Community Development-Focused Collaboration

In a social system theory like the Evolutionary Governance Theory (Van Assche et al., 2014), and also in collective binding decision making, it is clear that there is a need for a leader or pioneer to conduct and energise all elements in the social system. The pioneer-leader creates collective awareness, empowerment and strong commitment, continuous improvement and synergy of programs and activities to the achievement of performance targets not only at the level of outcomes, but at the level of impact and

benefits. This thesis has shown that it is important for the local leader and the government to work together in facing problems so that there is community support or participation. The local leader can be important in changing people's' behaviour as they have authority in the community. However, there is a gap between the role of the local leader and the government.

8.10. Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis has examined how all elements of governance such as law, policy and planning, as well as the tools of evolution itself, work together to try to reduce poverty in South Sulawesi province. This thesis argues that the various inadequacies of collaboration and collective decision making between stakeholders involved in the development process are a major reason why poverty reduction policy and implementation has failed at the local district level. It also considers the role of governance, examining how all stakeholders undertake their community participation programs, how they define their community participation and how they conduct poverty reduction programs in the two districts of Barru and Takalar. This thesis reflected on the work of other scholars who have previously applied theory and theoretical frameworks to this issue, and dealt with the concepts of governance as a form of collaboration, community participation, and commitment on reducing poverty.

Various problems of poverty in governance practices in Indonesia were found in this study. These include different data on poverty; lack of coordination among government levels and misuse of local budgets; economic disparity; low awareness of education; health problem, and problems of coordination and synergy. The main poverty problems make poverty reduction programs unsuccessful in combating poverty numbers significantly. The performance of poverty reduction programs in Indonesia is a pseudo achievement. Numerically, the poverty numbers can be reduced significantly when the poverty standard is very low, but poverty reduction programs have emerged as a new economic disparity, nationally and locally.

The potential extent of local leaders and scholars used to by stakeholders or the local government in poverty reduction efforts in South Sulawesi and Indonesia in general has

been discussed in this thesis, and here emphasis is placed on theoretical and practical aspects of the field. In particular, the EGT theory has emphasised that every element of a system has an equal role, and there is no single most important element in the system in determining a collective decision and collective action.

This thesis has also provided evidence that elements of good governance, in this case exemplified by the actions of a local leader and the local leader, has made a huge contribution to positive social change. This is at the second level of elements in governance, for example in the Barru district, and this is repeated in the context of Indonesia, where local leaders have a central role in contributing to the welfare of the community as social change agents. This point gives a significant argument: that a social system needs a leader in a main role as a social change agent to lead and create the best way to pursue their goals. In a collaborative system like those presented in both case studies these leaders have contributed to the achievement of their goal in combating poverty. An example of the contribution made by local leaders and institutions is the setting of rules that are designed to coordinate the actors, particularly those personnel who are supposed to govern interactions in the given micro situations (Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014). It is important to appreciate that, in some instances, the formal coordination option refers to rules that are not written down, but which are culturally developed. These implicit rules are restricted to a certain community, group or organisation, but they are important as they are constructed rules that are sanctioned by that community (Eisenstaedt, 1984).

Otto von Bismarck, an influential Prime Minister of Prussia, noted that politics is 'the art of the possible' (Interview (11 August 1867) with Friedrich Meyer von Waldeck of the *St. Petersburgische Zeitung* (Wikiquote, 2017)), and such a view implies that progress is primarily concerned with getting things done and leading change. Social and economic development and agendas for planned change are, in this sense, therefore deeply political. While state actors may rely on authority, law and coercion, non-state actors must rely on achieving consent among a project's stakeholders. With the assistance of Evolutionary Governance Theory, which understands governance as being continuously restructured, this thesis has been able to identify the most significant elements contributing to planned change and the involvement of others included in the structures

within which they are embedded. All elements of governance are in a constant state flux, since 'actors change, institutions change, knowledge changes, and the objects, and subjects of governance are changing as well' (Van Assche et al., 2014, p. 5). In planning change in South Sulawesi, and in particular planning for a reduction in poverty, we cannot assume that it is a traditional, unchanging society. As this thesis has shown, the community and their leadership have all been undergoing dramatic transformation over the past century and more. Yet this does not mean that the old ways of doing things in South Sulawesi have completely disappeared and been replaced by a standard model or form of modern society. Community and leadership have their own distinct character in South Sulawesi, indeed even in the context of Indonesia, and even within South Sulawesi, there is considerable variation from one community to another. The notion of the absence of 'one ideal model', as cautioned by the EGT, has allowed this investigation of collaboration (and non-collaboration) in the development sector within South Sulawesi to address the features of this province's own emergent order. Combining both strands of community and leadership gives every appearance of being the major feature in South Sulawesi society providing access to grassroots resources for change, at least for the near future.

A number of themes have emerged from the data analyses conducted in the previous chapters, all of which have a bearing on the improvement of poverty reduction in South Sulawesi. The overview presented in Chapter 4 used data from observation, published and unpublished surveys, and other existing materials to identify key problem areas ranging from the administrative (data and budget accuracy) to the socio-economic (inequality, literacy, health), all of which are plagued at a deeper level by a lack of or difficulties with coordination.

Two further themes also emerged in relation to positive forces for social transformation, both of which relate to the wider challenges facing program coordination, and which appear to be more specific to South Sulawesi as an outlying element of Indonesia: local community networks, and the role of key leaders. Investigating these two positive forces, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 presented two case studies of community coordination and leadership, respectively. In Chapter 5 it was found that in Takalar district changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health, social conditions and culture have all led

to disruptive patterns within the structure of local networks or in network governance. Nevertheless, despite these challenges, boosting community resilience was identified as an important goal in addressing poverty reduction in this district.

Conditions which exist are covered by embedded aspects of Evolutionary Governance Theory, which suggests there will be a continued change which will affect the performance of the workings of the local network between actors such as the provincial and local governments, government institutions, non-governmental institutions, local residents and other interested parties. Changes in political dynamics, economics, politics, health, social conditions and culture have all contributed to the pattern and structure of the network or networks in governance (Van Assche et al., 2014).

These dynamic changes, impinging on all the actors involved in network governance systems, must eventually lead to action that is in line with the pattern of the changing times. However, in the case of Takalar, government efforts and those of other actors such as local leaders, NGOs, donors and the public element to work together to reduce poverty, have not yet yielded results

The case study conducted in Barru district examined the marked importance of scholars and district heads in poverty reduction, revealing an important link in any policy targeting poverty reduction in the future. In particular, it was observed that these specific leadership roles facilitated collaboration between the three domains of government and the public. This was achieved due to their structural position and an ability to link stakeholders in a joint commitment addressing grass-roots development goals. Such bridging has not yet reached the optimal level, yet a number of exemplary and pioneer leaders have demonstrated how crucial local leadership remains for program results.

At the district level that serves as the coordination point of accelerating the implementation of poverty reduction programs in Barru, through PIK PAKET there is still no optimal bridging between the interests of the government and society. There are some constraints in terms of financial efficiency and still some misuse of budget, and this is causing poverty reduction programs in Barru to run very slowly.

8.11. Limitations of the Study

As a part of the main topic of the thesis structure, the roles of local leaders and other local leaders as social change agents are very important to be discussed here. Although the data collection process was successful, there were, however, some limitations that the researcher experienced during this process. The first drawback experienced was the researcher could not reach and interview several potential participants in this study. These informants are the local community members who live in remote areas.

The problems in the interview process can be very difficult with some informants, particularly informants from the groups of government officials. The bureaucracy system involved convoluted and lengthy processes for the researcher to secure interviews with these officers. There were some informants who declined to have interviews with the researcher. These informants then appointed other government officials to have interviews with the researcher. As a result, a selection bias could have potentially occurred. The officials designated by seniors to meet with the researcher may have been chosen on the basis of them being particularly cautious or diplomatic in providing information in relation to the time and budget constraints. There was also a limitation for the researcher as the time frame given by the Indonesian government's scholarship to do my study was limited to three years. This became a challenging factor for the researcher's effort to gather enough data within the time available to provide a comprehensive and holistic analysis to explain the way in which the collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs has been conducted in South Sulawesi particularly in the Barru and Takalar districts.

8.12. Recommendations for Future Research

This case study provides detailed analysis related to the effects of collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi Selatan. This study found that the implementation of districtautonomy has meant that the local government has more openly and widely administered the local policy in the region, which is a useful indicator for other regions when dealing with poverty issues. The local government also freely works with other actors such as NGOs, international donors, experts and other

parties. These were reflected upon in the findings chapters on collaborative and integrated poverty programs such as SISDUK implemented in Takalar district and PIK PAKET implemented in Barru district.

This study also found that although the Indonesian government, particularly in districtgovernment, has many experiences and has implemented some integrated and collaborative poverty reduction programs, local strategies in poverty eradication programs conducted by both government agencies and other stakeholders in the district Takalar are still not able to lower the poverty rates significantly. This is at least partly due to the lack of coordination between policy makers, which implies that closer attention to this need for coordination is an essential step toward successful goal achievement.

In relation to Barru District, the government has sought as much as possible to develop poverty reduction programs. However, the programs conducted in an integrated manner over the last few years still show unsatisfactory performance in accordance with the objectives and ideals of the Barru society, so poverty has not reduced significantly. Clearly, this political conundrum will need to be unravelled before cross-sectional interests will be prevented from hindering community development.

The role of local leader in the life and the process of development is to give priority to the values of ethics and combine it with the value of local wisdom. Today, the government wishes to work together with the local leader in the implementation of national development, which is a very positive and powerful driver for the future.

Among the findings of this thesis are that Indonesia currently faces poverty problems that are more severe than widely recognised. This study suggests that some of these findings might be utilised as the basis for seeking solutions to systemic issues including lack of coordination among development actors in the local government, thus facilitating better solutions in the future.

Addressing poverty in Indonesia cannot be made nationally uniform and should use a typological approach adapted to the conditions of cultural mores, geographical location, climate and others. Using a local government policy replication of an integrated

approach to an anti-poverty program such as was implemented in Barru district would be a great answer to addressing the main poverty problem in Indonesia.

The role of local leaders in the life and the process of development is to give priority to the value of ethics and combine it with the value of local wisdom. Today, the government wishes to work together with the local leader in the implementation of national development, which is a very positive and powerful driver for the future.

In the decentralisation era, changes in political dynamics upon decentralisation, economics, politics, health, social conditions and culture in Indonesia and South Sulawesi have all contributed to the relationship between NGOs, international donors and local communities and development actors in poverty reduction in South Sulawesi. Clearly, there are still some issues regarding poverty problems across the country, and we suggest that investigative actions based on these findings will go some way to solve the current problems and generate some solutions. Those milestones will then become the foundation of the attempts of Indonesia to become a top ten economic power of the world in 2030 and the fourth economic power of the world in 2045.

The EGT influence in the context of the thesis relates to all elements, which integrate each other and work together to pursue the goal of poverty reduction programs, which is to combat poverty to raise poor people from the poverty cycles in South Sulawesi. In addition, particularly in both case studies, the concept of EGT has become a role model in the process of good governance practices, where the process of local development and community development unites through links between elements of the good governance itself. Local development and local community are empowered via collaboration between stakeholders who actively pursue the goals of poverty reduction programs in the Province.

An Evolutionary Governance process can be built because of integration among elements of the social system as represented by local governments and actors, institutions, NGO activists, and local community leaders' activities, to combat the poverty through local anti-poverty programs and policies. The local policy in Takalar and Barru as good local policy is recommended as the local approach to national anti-poverty programs to accelerate the central government's goal in reducing poverty

numbers across the country. The findings in this thesis become a recommendation to the authorities to replicate and implement and can be justified and organised in accordance with existing conditions.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Interview Schedules

1. For Local political leaders:

- a. What are the strategies of poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi especially in, Baru and Takalar districts?
- b. What policies have been formulated by the provincial and/or local government in poverty reduction?
- c. What is your opinion and assessment of the poverty reduction programs conducted in South Sulawesi, particularly in the two selected districts?

- d. To what extent have local communities in the three districts been able to benefit from the funds allocated for poverty reduction programs?
- e. What are the provincial and local governments' roles in collaboration between stakeholders in reducing poverty?
- f. Who are involved in poverty reduction programs? Who participates and who are excluded? How do local communities' participate in all poverty reduction programs?
- g. How have the relationships between stakeholders been transformed during the regional autonomy era, and how have the changed relationships between the stakeholders influenced the effectiveness of the collaboration in anti poverty programs?
- h. How do the stakeholders in the policy making process assess the importance of poverty reduction? How does the local government see the role of civil organizations in poverty reduction?
- i. How does local government see collaboration in poverty reduction? Does collaboration contribute to alleviating poverty?

2. For provincial and local government agencies

- a. What are the strategies of poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi especially in, Baru and Takalar districts?.
- b. What policies have been formulated by provincial and local governments in poverty reduction?
- c. What is your opinion and assessment of poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi and particularly in the three selected districts?
- d. To what extent have local communities in the three districts been able to benefit from the funds allocated for poverty reduction programs?
- e. What is the local government's role in collaboration between stakeholders in reducing poverty?
- f. Who are involved in poverty reduction programs? Who participates and who are excluded? Do local communities' participate in all poverty reduction programs?
- g. How is the effectiveness of anti poverty programs in South Sulawesi influenced by different standards of the statistical poverty line used by various agencies (the World Bank, NGOs, BPS and regional governments).
- h. How do conflicts over authority between central, provincial and local governments influence their collaboration in anti-poverty programs implemented in three districts:, Takalar and Barru district.
- i. How does local government see poverty reduction? Does local government contribute to problem solving or create new problems?
- j. How does collaboration between stakeholders influence and encourage the participation of local communities in poverty reduction programs? How have local communities been empowered by their participation in government poverty reduction programs?

3. For officials of international donors operating in South Sulawesi and the three selected districts

- a. How do you assess the problem of poverty and poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi including in Takalar and Barru districts?
- b. What is the role of international donors in poverty reduction and to what extent does this involve collaboration with the provincial and local governments in the three districts?
- c. How has your involvement, and that of other international donors, influenced government decision makers in their design poverty reduction programs? In your experience, how have local communities participated in poverty reduction programs in three selected districts?
- d. How does collaboration between stakeholders influence and encourage the participation of local communities in poverty reduction programs? How have local communities been empowered by their participation in government poverty reduction programs?

4. For NGO activists:

- a. What is the problem of poverty reduction in South Sulawesi including in Takalar and Barru districts?
- b. What poverty programs have been implemented in South Sulawesi including Takalar and Barru districts?
- c. To what extent do NGOs' members contribute to the local community development and collaboration with other stakeholders related to the poverty reduction programs?
- d. How do NGO activists in poverty reduction see the role of civil organizations in poverty reduction program?
- e. What is your experience in community empowerment programs in Takalar and Barru district?
- f. What is the objective of community empowerment in your poverty reduction programs? To what extent have your organization's programs encouraged community participation?
- g. In your experience, and that of other NGOs, has community participation in poverty reduction programs contributed to problem solving or created new problems? Why? Who was involved in empowerment and facilitation processes?
- h. Who participated in and who are excluded from poverty reduction programs? Do local communities participate in all phases of poverty reduction programs?
- i. In what ways do they participate? Where?
- j. Whose knowledge is used in poverty reduction programs? In what ways is local knowledge adapted in poverty reduction programs?
- k. Does collaboration between stakeholders help to resolve conflict between local communities and local governments, and other stakeholders in poverty reduction programs?

5. For Local Communities

a. What is the extent of your experiences in participation with the local government's poverty programs?

- b. Have the poverty reduction programs been effective in poverty reduction in your area?
- c. In what ways do local communities participate in poverty reduction programs? Where? and when?
- d. What institutions and actors play a role in community empowerment and collaboration between stakeholders in terms of the issue?
- e. Have there been any benefits for you or your community from the antipoverty programs which have been conducted by your local government?
- f. To what extent have poverty reduction programs produced knowledge that reflects the local communities' priorities and perspectives?
- g. What are local communities' expectations of poverty reduction programs and their participation in these programs?



Appendix B: Candidature Confirmation

FACULTY OF ARTS, EDUCATION & HUMAN DEVELOPMENT Candidature Confirmation Oral Presentation Panel Report

School of: Social Sciences & Psychology

Course:	Doctor of Philosophy
Student Name:	Mr Slamet Budi Santoso
Principal Supervisor:	Dr Richard Chauvel
Associate Supervisor:	to be advised
Title:	Collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction programs in South Sulawesi, Indonesia.
Date of Presentation:	27 November 2012
External Reviewer:	Professor Harry Aveling
	Monash University
Chair of Presentation:	Dr Aaron Petersen
Compiled by FGS School Representative:	Professor Philip Deery
Continuance of candidature is recommended subject to minor amendments of the proposal	
Recommended changes to candidature proposal (minor)	

1. The panel desired that candidate demonstrate greater self-awareness/reflexivity as a researcher. The candidate, after all, is an 'insider', interviewing subjects

about politically sensitive issues. Hence, we recommend that he include a statement acknowledging an *awareness* of his particular position as a researcher on this project and the political and cultural sensitivities associated with such research.

- 2. The proposal needs to re-define and narrow the case study approach from the broader 'case study' of South Sulawesi to the *particular programs* of collaboration; these will become the specific case studies to measure the efficacy of collaboration.
- 3. A clear statement of the central *thesis* of the thesis. In other words, what is its central problematic/organizing principle? We are looking for something like: "The central proposition of this thesis is that poverty reduction is most effective when collaboration is community based and rests on active participation", or something like that.

The candidate also should be mindful that the Literature Review is ongoing and that he will need to continue to read widely – much more widely – in the field.

The FGS School Representative is to forward the completed report to Clare Gilmartin (<u>clare.gilmartin@vu.edu.au</u>) within 3 working days of the presentation. Once the Chair of the Faculty Graduate Studies Committee (or nominee) has approved the report for release, it will be forwarded to the student, supervisors and FGS school representative on the panel.

<u>Please Note</u>: **1.** Passed with no amendments – no further action by student is required

2. Passed with minor amendments – to be made normally within 2-4 weeks from date of email advising so

Students are required to address the suggested changes in a memo indicating the pages where the relevant issue has been addressed in the amended candidature proposal, stating clearly what changes have been made.

Students are also required to address the changes within the amended proposal with track changes and provide an additional copy clean of changes. The Committee will not accept any amended proposal that does not confirm to AEHD guidelines published.

Memo and amended proposal will be forwarded to the Chair (or nominee) for final approval.

3. Passed with major revisions – to be made normally within 4-6 weeks from date of email advising so.

Students are required to address the suggested changes in a memo indicating the pages where the relevant issue has been addressed in the amended candidature proposal, stating clearly what changes have been made.

Students are also required to address the changes within the amended proposal with track changes and provide an additional copy clean of changes. The Committee will not accept any amended proposal that does not confirm to AEHD guidelines published.

Memo and amended proposal will be forwarded to the Chair (or nominee) and one other panel member for final approval.

4. Not Passed / Deferred – Application to be re-written and resubmitted normally within 8 weeks from date of email advising so.

Students are required to address the suggested changes in a memo indicating the pages where the relevant issue has been addressed in the amended candidature proposal, stating clearly what changes have been made.

Students are also required to address the changes within the amended proposal with track changes and provide an additional copy clean of changes. The Committee will not accept any amended proposal that does not confirm to AEHD guidelines published.

Memo and amended proposal will be forwarded to the Chair (or nominee) and all other members of the panel for final approval.

Students are to forward revised / amended proposals (including memos) to Clare Gilmartin (clare.gilmartin@vu.edu.au), Faculty of Arts, Education & Human Development – St Albans campus.



Appendix C: Information to Participant (Indonesian Version)

INFORMASI KEPADA PESERTA YANG TERLIBAT DALAM PENELITIAN

Anda diundang untuk ikut berpartisipasi:

Anda diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam sebuah proyek penelitian yang berjudul "Kolaborasi antara pemangku kepentingan dalam penanggulangan kemiskinan di Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia".

Penjelasan Proyek:

Penelitian ini akan menganalisis kerjasama antara pemerintah pusat, provinsi, dan kabupaten yang berkaitan dengan program pengentasan kemiskinan . Proyek ini merupakan studi kasus pada pembuatan kebijakan dan pelaksanaan program-program pemberdayaa masyarakat pada program penanggulangan kemiskinan yang merupakan kerjasama antar pemangku kepentingan (*stakeholders*) dari level pemerintah pusat, pemerintah provinsi, pemerintah kabupaten Jeneponto, Takalar dan Barru, LSM, dan lembaga donor International yang beroperasi di Sulawesi Selatan. Studi ini akan meneliti kolaborasi antara stakeholders selama era otonomi daerah dari tahun 2001 sampai 2012.

Apa yang kami minta untuk anda lakukan?

Anda akan diminta untuk menjawab pertanyaan yang berkaitan dengan proyek penelitian melalui wawancara semi-terstruktur. Hal ini diantisipasi bahwa wawancara akan memakan waktu antara 60 hingga 90 menit. Melalui ijin dari anda wawancara akan direkam. Pada akhir sesi wawancara anda akan diminta pendapat apakah ada bagian dari wawancara yang ingin dirahasiakan dan/ atau tidak perlu mengindentifikasikan diri anda. Anda akan menjadi salah satu dari sekitar 75 orang yang akan diwawancarai

untuk penelitian ini. Peserta lain akan meliputi antara lain : pemimpin politik, pejabat

senior pemerintah, aktivis LSM, lembaga donor International serta anggota

masyarakat di Sulawesi Selatan.

Bagaimana Informasi yang anda berikan akan digunakan?

Informasi yang anda berikan akan digunakan untuk menulis tesis PhD pada proyek yang

telah diurakan di atas. Dan apabila memungkinkan, bahan studi tersebut akan

digunakan untuk menulis makalah konfensi dan jurnal artikel pada topik yang sama.

Informan dan informasi mereka akan diakui dalam standard refernsi akademik untuk

menyertakan identitas responden dan pandangan mereka. Setiap informasi yang anda

anggap rahasia tidak akan mengindetifikasikan anda di setiap karya akademik yang

terkait dengan proyek ini.

Apa potensi resiko berpartisipasi dalam proyek ini?

Masalah-masalah yang anda akan ditanyakan kepada anda dalam wawancara sering

dibahas oleh media di Sulawesi selatan. Namun, jika anda merasa tidak nyaman dengan

pertanyaan dari peneliti, anda dapat meminta wawancara dihentikan dan anda bisa

menarik diri dari wawancara setiap saat. Jika anda mempertimbangan bagian dari

pertanyaan menyangkut isu-isu sensitive, anda dapat meminta peneliti untuk beralih ke

pertanyaan lain. Melalui berpartisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini, anda akan membantu

dalam pengembangan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang kemiskinan dan pengentasan

kemiskinan di Sulawesi Selatan. Penelitian ini diharapkan menjadi dasar bagi

pembuatan kebijakan yang lebih efektif dan kolaborasi antara pemangku kepentingan.

Siapa yang melakukan penelitian?

Kepala Peneliti:

Dr Richard Chauvel

College of Arts, Victoria University

Telepon: +61 399194048 kerja, mobile: +61 419002051

Email: Richard.chauvel @ vu.edu.au

Asosiasi Peneliti:

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Dr Maxwell Lane

College of Arts, Victoria University

Telepon: +61 404912022

Email: Maxwell.Lane @ vu.edu.au

Peneliti Mahasiswa:

Slamet Budi Santoso

College of Arts, Victoria University

Telepon: pekerjaan +61 3 99194444, mobile: +61 432245383

Email: slametbudi.santoso @ live.vu.edu.au

Pertanyaan tentang partisipasi anda dalam proyek ini dapat ditujukan kepada peneliti:

Dr Richard Chauvel

College of Arts, Victoria University

Telepon: pekerjaan +61 3 99194048, mobile: +61 419002051

Email: Richard.chauvel @ vu.edu.au

Jika anda memiliki pertanyaan atau keluhan tentang cara anda telah diperlakukan dalam proyek ini, anda dapat menghubungi the Research Ethics and Biosafety Manager, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 or phone +61 3 9919 4148.



Appendix D: Information to Participants (English Version)

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS

INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled "Collaboration between stakeholders in poverty reduction in South Sulawesi, Indonesia".

This research will analyze the collaboration, in terms of poverty reduction programs, between the central, provincial and district governments. It is a case study on the policy making and implementation of community empowerment programs on poverty reduction programs among stakeholders including the central government, the South Sulawesi provincial government, the district governments of Jeneponto, Barru and Takalar, NGOs, and International donors in South Sulawesi Province. The research will examine collaboration between these stakeholders during the local autonomy era from 2001 until 2012.

The objectives of this research are: firstly, to examine how collaboration between the three levels of government central, provincial and district governments, International donors, NGOs, local communities influence the effectiveness of poverty reduction in three districts Jeneponto. Takalar and Barru in South Sulawesi; secondly, to assess whether the transformed relationships between stakeholders have affected the effectiveness of the collaboration in anti-poverty programs in the three districts; thirdly, to examine how the effectiveness of anti-poverty programs in South Sulawesi is influenced by different standards of the statistical poverty line used by various agencies (the World Bank, NGOs, the governments); fourthly to examine how conflicts over authority between central, provincial and local governments affect their collaboration in anti-poverty programs in the three districts; and finally, to examine how budget

resources have been allocated to anti-poverty programs in the three districts in South Sulawesi.

All participants will be requested to answer questions from the researcher through semistructured and audio-recorded interviews. Participants from political leaders such as Governor of South Sulawesi and head of the three districts you are will be asked about local government policies in collaboration between stakeholders on poverty reduction programs and processing and decision making of poverty reduction programs. Participants from senior government officials in the South Sulawesi Provincial and the three district governments such as: members of provincial and district parliaments, political parties, all of you will be asked about planning, implementation and monitoring system and also collaboration between stakeholders related to the issues of poverty programs. Meanwhile, participants from officials of international donors operating in South Sulawesi and the three selected districts will be asked about the role of international donors relevant to the issue and to what extent collaboration between the governments, NGOs and International donors reduces poverty in the three districts. Participants from NGOs activists operating at the Provincial level and in the three districts will be asked about the role of NGOs members and to what extent NGOs' members contribute to the local community development and collaboration with other stakeholders. Finally, participants from members of local communities, you will be asked about community development participating, your expectation, access, and control over poverty programs in your regions. Each interview will take 60-90 minutes.

There are some potential risks associated with this research. Participants may feel uncomfortable with the questions from the researcher. All of you might also come under scrutiny by your community when you share information which might be considered as confidential or sensitive.

However, all of you as research participants can withdraw from the interview at any time if you consider the questions as sensitive or confidential. Each you will be asked if you want any part or the whole of the interview treated as confidential. If so, your identity will be protected.

Who is conducting the study?

School of Arts, Faculty of Arts and Human Development

Footscray Park Campus

Room E411, Level 4, Building E

Phone: +61 3 9919 4673 Fax: +61 3 9919 4164

Chief Investigator:

Dr. Richard Chauvel

School of Social Sciences and Psychology

Phone: work +61 399194048, mobile: +61 419002051

Email: Richard.chauvel@vu.edu.au

Associate Investigator:

Dr. Maxwell Lane

School of Social Sciences and Psychology

Phone: +61 404912022

Email: Maxwell.Lane@vu.edu.au

Researcher:

Slamet Budi Santoso

School of Arts

Phone: work +61 99194444, mobile: +61 432245383

Email: slametbudi.santoso@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the researcher:

Dr. Richard Chauvel

School of Social Sciences and Psychology

Phone: work +61 399194048, mobile: +61 419002051

Email: Richard.chauvel@vu.edu.au

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Research Ethics and Biosafety Manager, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001 or phone (03) 9919 4148.

[*please note: Where the participant/s are aged under 18, separate parental consent is required; where the participant/s are unable to answer for themselves due to mental illness or disability, parental or guardian consent may be required.]



Appendix E: Ethics Approval

Christine Near

From: Quest NoReply

Sent: Wednesday, 7 August 2013 3:19 PM

To: Richard Chauvel

Cc: Maxwell Lane; Slamet Santoso

Subject: Ethics Application Process Finalised - Application Approved

Dear DR RICHARD CHAUVEL,

Your ethics application has been formally reviewed and finalised.

» Application ID: HRE13-154

» Application Title: Collaboration between stakeholders in poverty alleviation in South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

» Form Version: 12-10

The application has been accepted and deemed to meet the requirements of the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) 'National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)' by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee. Approval has been granted for two (2) years from the approval date; 07/08/2013.

Continued approval of this research project by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee (VUHREC) is conditional upon the provision of a report within 12 months of the above approval date or upon the completion of the project (if earlier). A report proforma may be downloaded from the Office for Research website at: http://research.vu.edu.au/hrec.php.

Please note that the Human Research Ethics Committee must be informed of the following: any changes to the approved research protocol, project timelines, any serious events or adverse and/or unforeseen events that may affect continued ethical acceptability of the project. In these unlikely events, researchers must immediately cease all data collection until the Committee has approved the changes. Researchers are also reminded of the need to notify the approving HREC of changes to personnel in research projects via a request for a minor amendment. It should also be noted that it is the Chief Investigators' responsibility to ensure the research project is conducted in line with the recommendations outlined in the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) 'National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).'

On behalf of the Committee, I wish you all the best for the conduct of the project.

Secretary, Human Research Ethics Committee

Phone: 9919 4781 or 9919 4461 Email: researchethics@vu.edu.au

This is an automated email from an unattended email address. Do not reply to this address.