The Strategy for Poverty Alleviation Based on Local Wisdom in Buton Regency of Southeast Sulawesi

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Abstract:
Background: In general, the poor is conceptualized as the ones who are always difficult to maintain the necessities of life; but the conception is incomplete in explaining itself why poverty is based only on the relation to commodities. Poverty is the subject of scientific research with diverse terms, such as absolute, relative, and structural poverty, but it is generally emphasized on understanding and explanation of poverty line on multi-dimension in the context of the local community itself which is not only based on the calorie size. In the institutional sense, poverty is more emphasized on the causes of historical injustice in terms of power, status and class hegemony. A poor person is someone who has little or no rights and cannot create a fare for others; therefore, the income is low.
Materials and Methods: The spatial focus of the study was in Buton Regency in Southeast Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The method is ethnographic and qualitative with the institutional domain and describes the tribe's ideology and worldview holistically and historically. Quantitative aspects are needed as reinforcement analysis in measuring the number of poor people and the embedded factors.
Results: The poverty measure is based on the Central Bureau of Statistics indicators that adopt the minimum daily calorie per capita requirement for the population incomes. Poverty causal factors are multidimensional, such as value and politics, power, education, health, discrimination, gender, race, and class. The origins of poverty in Buton require historical studies from the Sultanate, the East Indies, and post-independence eras. There are some traditional institutions that can be used as strategies to alleviate poverty.
Conclusion: Historical hegemony and injustice become bad factors for the poor in Buton. The government should approach self-help groups or traditional institutions such as pokaowa, samaturu, juraga-sawi, and pande-suka in poverty alleviation strategies and efforts.
Key Word: Strategy; Poor; Poverty Alleviation; Local Wisdom; Buton.

I. INTRODUCTION

Integrated teams are stipulated by Presidential Regulation No. 13 in 2009 with regard to poverty alleviation coordination and by Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 34 in 2009 with reference to guidelines for establishing Provincial and District Poverty Alleviation Coordination Team. Program that solves chronic poverty is a program aimed at empowering communities in poverty due to culture and/or to structure. The structural poverty refers to social structure that prevents individuals/groups from their participation in using the existing sources of income, such as farmers, non-capitalized urban entrepreneurs and marginal groups in rural and urban areas. Moreover, the existence of social and structural obstacles is handled by the breakthrough of government assistance. Government programs designed to tackle poverty may include UED (*Usaha Ekonomi Desa*, or village economic enterprises), KUKESRA (*Kredit Usaha Keluarga Sejahtera*, or prosperous family enterprise loans), BLT (*Bantuan Langsung Tunai*, or direct cash assistance), JPS (*Jaring Pengaman Sosial*, or social safety net), and PNPM (*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, or national community empowerment program). However, with such various programs, poverty cannot be eradicated but new poor families even exist.

The population of Buton Regency prior to regency proliferation accounted for 240,950 inhabitants in 2000, 270,100 in 2005 and 279,546 in 2008[1]. Data concerning the poor in this regency and other newly proliferated regencies until August 31, 2013 were noted to reach 40,818 people[1]. The assessment of number of the poor still requires special research because of complexity of interrelated variables. In the period before the proliferation, Buton regency had 21 sub-districts and since 2000 it had been proliferated into another four regencies and one city, namely regencies of Wakatobi, South Buton, Central Buton, Bombana and Baubau city; this city was once the capital of Buton regency. The main livelihoods of the population are agriculture and

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fisheries. The main staple foods are rice, cassava, and maize[2,3]. Its citizens have various languages such as Wolio, Pancana, Cia-Cia, Moronene and Pulo[4,5].

There are three ethnicities in Buton: the Wolio inhabiting the southern islands of Buton and the Tukang Besi Islands and surrounding islands, the Maronene living in Muna island, Kabaena, northern Buton, Poleang, and Rumbia in Sulawesi Island, and the Bajoe inhabiting the coast of the islands of Buton, Muna and several other islands. Therefore, what is found is about the diversity of poverty profiles, especially those associated with the sociocultural structure of Indonesian society. Kartodirdjo[6] argues that the majority of rural communities in Indonesia are overwhelmed by the syndrome of poverty as well as inertia syndrome. Poverty syndrome has a very complex dimension, for example in the form of low levels of productivity, unemployment, malnutrition and poor health, high morbidity and illiteracy rates. Meanwhile, inertia syndrome manifests in the attitude of fatalism, passivism, high sense of interdependence and mystical life, and so on.

How to alleviate poverty should be relevant to forms of society, such as folk society, rural communities and urban communities. Redfied as cited in Danandjaja[7] suggests that the characteristics of a farmer's lifestyle are, among other things, more emphasizing the feelings of rationality, respecting multiple offspring, and linking social justice with work. Poverty and underdevelopment occur because too long to be treated unfairly in history[8]. This paper aimed to find out strategies for poverty alleviation based on local wisdom in Buton Regency, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

II. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The method is ethnographic and qualitative with the institutional domain and describes the tribe's ideology and worldview holistically and historically. Quantitative aspects are needed as reinforcement analysis in measuring the number of poor people and the embedded factors. The poverty data in Buton Regency is presented in Table 1 informing 40% of the lowest welfare status in Buton Regency and of criteria, such as household classification, age and sex, education and health levels. The number of drop-out children was 18.3 percent (Table 2) and there were 1,787 female household heads (Table 3).

Table 1.Number of Households and Individuals, Subdistrict and Welfare Status[*]

Subdistrict	Area Code	Number of Households					Number of Individuals				
		Decile 1	Decile 2	Decile 3	Decile 4	Total	Decile 1	Decile 2	Decile 3	Decile 4	Total
Lasalimu	7401050	352	432	368	264	1,416	1,958	1,724	1,207	847	5,736
South Lasalimu	7401051	310	483	490	496	1,779	1,905	2,296	1,865	1,782	7,850
Siontapina	7401052	446	499	445	392	1,782	2,938	2,618	1,875	1,527	8,958
Pasar Wajo	7401060	470	704	751	759	2,684	3,365	4,057	3,607	3,308	14,337
Wolowa	7401061	112	166	174	139	591	3.365	890	813	693	3,142
Wabula	7401062	86	160	150	164	560	580	851	616	608	2,655
Kapontori	7401110	247	420	553	434	1,654	1,462	1.863	1,982	1,420	6,727
Total		2,023	2,864	2,931	2,648	10,466	12,954	14,301	11,965	10,185	49,405

Source: Integrated data of poor handling program
Notes: * The data is based on Minister of Social Affairs Decree No. 57/HUK/2017 and does not include families having no welfare status

Table 2. Number of school children and drop out school children (40% welfare status)

Subdistricts	Area Code	School Children(in age)*				Drop out School Children (in age)**				Grand Total
		7-12	13-15	16-18	Total	7-12	13-15	16-18	Total	
Lasalimu	7401050	945	330	150	1,425	196	92	180	468	1,893
SouthLasalimu	7401051	1,382	545	300	2,227	164	73	148	385	2,612
Siontapina	7401052	1,431	563	275	2,269	382	192	293	867	3,136
Pasar Wajo	7401060	2,818	1,068	584	4,470	272	107	284	663	5,133
Wolowa	7401061	557	226	151	934	88	25	79	192	1,126
Wabula	7401062	442	173	92	707	78	44	51	173	880
Kapontori	7401110	1,211	441	209	1,861	121	75	159	355	2,216
Total		8,786	3,346	1,761	13,893	1,301	608	1,194	3,103	16,996

Source: Integrated data of poor handling program
Notes: * Registered as school children when data collection taken
** Dropped out at the time of data collection

Table 3. Number of female household heads (40% welfare status)

Subdistricts	Area code	Female household heads (in age)			
		Under 45	45-59	Above 60	Total
Lasalimu	7401050	64	77	161	302
South Lasalimu	7401051	51	87	97	235
Siontapina	7401052	58	84	106	248
Pasar Wajo	7401060	108	137	201	446
Wolowa	7401061	28	26	15	69
Wabula	7401062	16	27	69	112
Kapontori	7401110	52	108	215	375
Total		377	546	864	1,787

Source: Integrated data of poor handling program, Minister of Social Affairs Decree No. 57/HUK/2017.

Poverty can occur not only due to lack of food supply the population need but due to the poor's inability to get food. Understanding poverty which is often viewed as a process of understanding of reality based on rationality approach is not the same as alleviating poverty. The application of this rational research to problem solving is usually stated in the following questions: Can you define and examine what the main causes of problems are? and what are the alternatively effective strategies to solve the problems? Of course, all these questions are necessary but they cannot be separated from the problems of values and politics.

Poverty as human beings' real problems cannot be solved without referencing to values, such as material, spiritual, and religious values, aesthetics, virtues, and among others. Who is classified as poor is partly determined by how poverty is defined. If poverty is defined on the basis of consumption, the poverty line will depend on: (1) the quantity, type and quality of the goods and services they consume, and (2) the various prices of goods and services in the market. The higher the poverty line is, the greater the number of the poor will be, and vice versa. However, without any changes in the poverty level, the characteristics of the poor group will depend on variable or absolute standard uses. By using absolute standards a poverty line will be obtained; however, the poverty standards will depend on the size of the family, the age and sex of household heads, and the residential places, such as urban or rural areas.

Lewis[9] defines the poverty by referring to the way of life shared and done by the poor in a specifically historical and social contexts. Furthermore, he points out that throughout history, literature, and proverbs, there are two contradictory assessments of the poor who is firstly characterized as praiseworthy, humble, honest, patient, generous, and lastly characterized as ugly, dirty, rude, malicious, and evil. In this paper, cultural conceptions of Foucault[10] and Gramsci[11] are adopted. Holistically, there are social stratifications in Buton, such as *kaomu* (royalty), *walaka* (middle-layer) as traditional elites, and *papara* (common people); the last was historically discriminated.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
3.1. Poverty Line
The World Bank distinguishes three categories of poverty: absolute, relative, and cultural poverty. Cultural poverty is closely related to natural poverty or it is the same as the concept of "seasonal poverty" or "poverty of life style". The paper discusses the absolute and relative poverty. The absolute poverty means that poor's incomes are not sufficient to meet the minimum physical needs and are caused by individuals or households themselves but not environments. The relative poverty is related to the poor's income which is below average in the places where they live.

In Indonesia, there are three models to assess the poverty. Firstly, Sayogyo[12] uses the equivalence of rice to income with four categories of population: 1) very poor with per capita income per year under 240 kg for rural areas and 350 for urban; 2) the poor under 320 kg in rural and 480 kg in urban; 3) almost sufficient between 320-480 kg in the countryside and between 480 kg and 720 kg in urban areas; 4) adequate above 480 kg in rural and 720 kg in urban. Secondly, Rao[13] uses the concept of calorie needs as well as some basic needs, such as education and health, and currency. Rao's proposal is used by the World Bank. The calculation is determined by: (a) the calorie requirement of rice (16 kg) including the value of money with 16 kg of rice, (b) the total food requirement by diverting money from 16 kg of rice by 1.25; (c) the percentage of food consumption to total public consumption; (d) the poverty line that is achieved by dividing the total money value of food needs with the percentage of food consumption.

Rao[13] also argues about the categories of the population, such as 1) the very poor household income/capita/month which ia below the total money value of food needs; 2) the poor under poverty line; 3) the poor below 1.1 times the money value of the total food requirement; 4) the not poor which is equal to or above 1.1 times multiplied by money of total dietary needs.

Thirdly, the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics receives the Rao's proposal with some notes: (1) the minimum daily calorie requirement per capita is 2100 calories; (2) the percentage of food consumption to the total of a society; (3) the calculation of the poverty line is carried out by dividing the total money value of caloric needs with food consumption. The category of population includes (1) very poor with per capita/month is below the total requirement of 2100 calories/capital/day; (2) the poor placed under poverty line, (3) the barely poor placed under 1.1 times the money value of total food needs; (4) the not poor who is equal to or above 1.1 times the money value of total food needs.

In Southeast Sulawesi the poverty measure is based on the Central Bureau of Statistics that adopts the minimum daily calorie per capita requirement for the population incomes. This measure categorizes the poverty levels as mentioned above, while, in facts, in the community social life, there are different factors, for instance, life view, lifestyle affecting the type and pattern of food, and faith. Xiuqing et al.[14] mention the concept of China's rural poverty line and the determinants of rural poverty. While the World Bank uses the standard poverty line of US$ 1/day per person, China determines Y 637/year. Xiuqing et al.[14] argued that such calculation determines the boundary of the poverty line. Considering that the China's condition is perverse and irrational, they then conducted surveys at two Chinese provinces, Hubei and Mongolia, to recalculate the poverty line and found that the poverty line according to caloric size does not fully reflect the regional poverty situation without considering both changes in consumption structure and in food prices.

3.2. Poverty Causal Factors

Poverty causal factors are multidimensional, such as value and politics, power, education, health, discrimination, gender, race, class, and among others. Therefore, the assessment is carried out contextually. When doing research in Malaysia, Mok et al.[15] found that since its independence in the 1950s this country was facing an increase in poverty which was aggravated in 1997 and this is due to the urbanization in Malaysia. In South Africa, the relation between women and poverty is influenced by racial, class, and gender based access to resources and opportunities[16]. There is poor access for poor black women to the resources and opportunity for education[16]. Ayinde et al.[17] evaluated agricultural growth and poverty levels in Nigeria and concluded that poverty can be overcome by continuous improvement of agricultural and economic growth. Lacour et al.[18] examined the impact of poverty on academic achievement in the United States by third grade up to fifth grade students in 71 schools. The results showed that the poverty as well as mother's education, government policy, and income level have significant influences on student achievement.

The origins of poverty in Buton require historical studies from the Sultanate, the East Indies, and post-independence eras. Most Butonese were farmers and fishermen. In the Sultanate era, the landowners were coming from the elite class of *Kaomu* and *Walaka*, while farmers or farm laborers were from the folk class Papara who became slave as a consequence of not paying taxes. Schoorl[19] argued that Buton's slave sale were concentrated in Southeast Sulawesi. In principle, the poverty was caused by the sultanate elite who gave freedom to people to cultivate but they had to pay taxes of 2/3 to the elite.

Gramsci[11] proposed the concept of hegemony that a ruling class uses violence and persuasive means to the lower class. In this regard, many indigenous lands have been sold to migrants or capital owners, especially in the urban areas of Baubau in Buton. After the historical study of the causal factor and the potential prospects, we then used the self-reliance approach locally. When the central government changed its vision to apply the executive and legislative election system, then the development began to reduce aid to the poor in the village. Scott[20] examined the peasant's moral demands as a "poor economic morality."

Poverty means the difficulty of a person in getting his basic needs such as food, clothing, health, and education. So, he is poor because he does not earn enough income to support his life. To support food security status of the poor households, the government distributed subsidized rice under the *raskin* (subsidized rice for the poor) program[21]. Fortunately, in the areas where cassava is grown, household food security is usually high, as households process and consume it as staple food in the form of *kasoami* (steamed food made from cassava)[3,21,22]. In this regard, technology, natural and human resources are indeed very important and can become factors to increase the poor's capacity to produce output although they are sufficient to overcome poverty. In the institutional sense, poverty is more emphasized on the cause. It is true that the poor are the ones who are always difficult to keep their necessities alive, but the circumstances do not explain for themselves why they are poor only on the basis of seeing people's relationship with commodities. Behind the flow of commodities from one individual to another, the poor are those who have little or no rights and cannot create a fare for others. That's why the income is low. As already mentioned that income for a person is a cost to others, and the cost to a person is income for others. In such a context we can ask why one cannot create a fare for others so that he earns a low income? To understand poverty in this sense we need to understand institutions properly. In this context, institutional change becomes a change of wisdom that is not less important than fiscal or monetary policy.

Formal institutions are characterized by three things: property rights in the form of rights to material and non-material objects, jurisdictional boundaries, and representative rules. Ownership describes people's relationship with people to something. This is actually the instrument of society in controlling people's relationship with people to something and organizing who gets what through mutual coercion. Owning property means having the power to participate in decisions on the use of resources and create costs for others if they want the resources they possess.

Referring to the above concept, its relevance to the findings of Xiuqing et al.[14] suggests that the poverty line according to caloric size as the BPS Method does not fully reflect the regional poverty situation without considering changes in consumption structure and changes in food prices. Regarding the causes of poverty, in Bali's Kintamani mountain tourism area, the poverty casual factor might include government policy[23], while, Lewis[9] paid attention to the poor's laziness, dependence, and working ethics. Therefore, poverty alleviation should empower the value of local genius like the Balinese concept of Tat Tvan Asi and the humanitarian doctrine that teaches the equality of all living things. Similarly, the problem of poverty is very complex and multidimesional and therefore its eradication should be focused on local issues[24].

3.3. Poverty Alleviation Strategies

The effective poverty alleviation strategies in Buton can be approached with traditional institutions (see below) or community self-help as well as self-reliance of local communities.

a. *Patron-client exchange Pokaowa* (reciprocity)

Etymologically, the word "pokaowa" refers to common ownership by two persons on one type of goods; therefore, someone must help another who has ever helped him. The *pokaowa* (or the principle of reciprocity) are generally done in forms of mutual aids in Buton; this is ritually reinforced by the salvation (or a joint meal event attended by neighbors).

b. *Juraga-Sawi* (exchange group)

The *juraga-sawi* in the Buton's patron-client is a role-model in which the boat owner has relationship with the crews. Moreover, this concept can be developed on land where business owners/landlords appear as skipper and poor families appears as a mustard gardener.

c. *Pande-Suka* (working group)

The problems faced by families of poor fishermen and farmers in Southern Lasalimu and Sampolawa can be categorized into two criteria: how to obtain clothing-food-boards, and how to access education at junior and senior high schools. In this study, the utilization of "*pande-suka* working groups"as local wisdom can alleviate the poverty. Buton farmers have a tradition of working together under the leadership of the *pande-suka*. *Pande-suka* is a *parabela* (tribal chief) representative and Buton customs apparatus and functions as a leader to manage farmers.

d. *Samaturu* (mutual cooperation)

The term *samaturu* is adopted in Buton and Tolaki and covers farming activities, building homes, and ceremonies on both joy and sorrow. It is used as a cultural strategy in tackling poverty and focused on building and repairing houses, such as uninhabitable house. The house refers to the poor's house: its roof is made of palm leaves, the floor is from earth, bamboo is dominant, and it does not have toilets inside. *Samaturu* is implemented at the sub-village level where every head of a hamlet automatically becomes the leader who regulates the implementation of house construction. Each hamlet is obliged to take care of the condition of the houses of its citizens, poor families, and the near-poor widows. This highly relevant pattern is known especially in the South Lasalimu and Sampolawa, and in Buton in general.

IV. CONCLUSION

It is concluded that:
1) Historical hegemony and injustice become bad factors for the poor in Buton.
2) The number of population that can lead to new poor families increase.
3) Low incomes due to limited employment and jobs from formal and informal sectors decrease.
4) Limited services for food fulfillment, health, and education and human resources' limited abilities and skills in remote rural areas are significantly found.
5) Central and regional stakeholders and scientific reports still consider that the poor have little or no knowledge of their own ecosystems.
6) The poor survive in materially inadequate needs and never feel poor.
7) The hamlet (or sub-village) institutions should be primarily involved in the village development.
8) Village officers must be supervised by trusted bodies.

9) Programs should not only focused on intensification but also on fertilization, seeds, insecticides,harvesting, warehouses, roads, transportation facilities, and processing facilities.
10) The government should take care of price regulation, trade, standardization, and capital.
11) The traditional economic institutions should be activated in the development.
12) The government should be approaching the self-help groups, such as *pokaowa, samaturu, juraga-sawi*, and *pandesuka* by involving them in the poverty alleviation programs with a purpose to decrease the number of people living in poverty.

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