The Challenges of Unique Poverty Alleviation Policies in Banten and Yogyakarta[1]

Tantangan Mengatasi Kemiskinan yang Berbeda di Banten dan Yogyakarta

Wasisto Raharjo Jati

wasisto.raharjo.jati@brin.go.id
Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional
Jl. Jend. Gatot Subroto No. 10, Jakarta 12710, Indonesia

Abstrak: *Kemiskinan masih menjadi tantangan yang terus berlanjut secara nasional dan regional. Ketergantungan pada hibah yang tidak efektif memicu kemiskinan. Studi ini menganalisis kebijakan penanggulangan kemiskinan yang inovatif di Banten dan Yogyakarta, dengan fokus pada interaksi antarcabang. Kolaborasi adalah kunci dalam menciptakan kebijakan bersama yang lebih baik dan mempertahankan pengawasan parlemen terhadap program-program daerah. Tujuan dari studi ini adalah menguraikan tantangan dan faktor-faktor yang memengaruhi keberhasilan kebijakan inovatif di kedua daerah. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan desain studi kasus komparatif. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, kerja lapangan yang mendalam, diskusi kelompok terfokus, dan analisis dokumen yang dilakukan antara tahun 2015 dan 2017, dan dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan tematik deduktif. Hasil dari studi ini memperlihatkan bahwa pendekatan penanggulangan kemiskinan harus disesuaikan berdasarkan analisis tematik setiap daerah. Studi ini menyarankan pendekatan praktik terbaik untuk mengevaluasi efektivitas kebijakan. Maka studi ini merekomendasikan bagi DPR RI untuk melakukan kolaborasi dengan pemerintah untuk implementasi kebijakan yang optimal. Selain itu pula, DPR RI perlu mendorong legislasi terkait kemiskinan, melakukan pengawasan lintas sektor dan lintas aktor, dan/atau mereformasi mekanisme anggaran kemiskinan.*

Kata kunci: *Banten; kebijakan penanggulangan kemiskinan; penganggaran inovatif; proses pembuatan kebijakan; Yogyakarta*

Abstract: Poverty remains a persistent challenge nationally and subnationally. Reliance on ineffective grants fuels poverty. This study analyzes innovative poverty alleviation policies in Banten and Yogyakarta, focusing on inter-branch

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interactions. Collaboration is key to creating better joint policies and maintaining parliamentary oversight of the government's programs. The purpose of this study is to outline the challenges and factors that influence the success of innovative policies in both regions. This study uses a qualitative approach and a comparative case study design. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, in-depth fieldwork, focus group discussions (FGDs), and document analysis conducted between 2015 and 2017, and analyzed using a deductive thematic approach. The results of this study show that poverty alleviation approaches should be tailored based on thematic analysis of each region. This study suggests a best practice approach to evaluate policy effectiveness. Therefore, this study recommends that the DPR RI collaborate with the government for optimal policy implementation. In addition, the DPR RI needs to promote poverty-related legislation, conduct cross-sectoral and cross-actor oversight, and/or reform the poverty budget mechanism.

Introduction

Poverty should not be viewed solely as the responsibility of the executive branch; it must also be a concern of the legislative branch, particularly the DPR RI. Although most governments grapple with poverty, recent studies reveal varying degrees of success in poverty reduction efforts. Despite decades of initiatives, poverty remains a persistent challenge globally, with research increasingly emphasizing the uneven effectiveness of such efforts across national and subnational contexts. Effective pro-poor and pro-job policies require strong and consistent funding (Ayoo, 2022). Policy failures are often rooted in the neglect of structural causes, with outcomes shaped significantly by the differing capacities of governments at various levels. Subnational poverty patterns reflect geographical disparities, making one-size-fits-all solutions ineffective. As Zuo (2022) underscores, poverty is context-specific and demands contextually grounded solutions. Attempts to replicate policies from one region to another without adaptation have consistently failed. This underscores the need for the government, with oversight exercised by the DPR RI, to formulate responsive regulations that reflect the realities of poverty across diverse regions.

Most poverty alleviation studies in Indonesia have concentrated on executive-driven program design, while the strategic role of the DPR RI, particularly in overseeing adaptive strategies and ensuring regionally responsive policies, has received limited attention. It is therefore crucial to assess the collaboration between the DPR RI and the executive branch, especially in addressing subnational disparities. Existing literature has explored aspects of legislative-executive synergy, such as how constituent mapping improves policy targeting (Huang et al., 2024) and how public outreach is influenced by constituent demands (Chohan, 2023).

Understanding regional disparities is central to comprehending poverty. Broadly, poverty is defined as the inability to meet basic human needs (Arsani et al., 2020). Low income restricts access to essentials for survival and productivity. Even when basic needs are technically met, systemic income inequality rooted in class-based structures continues to marginalize individuals living in poverty within their communities (Endrawati, 2022). These individuals, still, very much part of their communities, often experience poverty as a continuous state of deprivation.

Nugroho et al. (2021) and Wulandari et al. (2022) identify five defining characteristics of individuals living in poverty: inadequate productive assets, limited access to

institutional support, low levels of education, poor access to essential services, and insufficient capabilities among the youth. Moreover, other studies highlight that poverty is frequently characterized by limitations in time, authority, opportunity, and security.

Current poverty governance frameworks require substantial revision to align with the complex, localized realities of grassroots poverty in subnational socioeconomic contexts. Calls to redefine poverty have gained traction, particularly in light of the limited upward mobility experienced by individuals living in poverty, a sign of entrenched systemic barriers perpetuated by a minority of actors within dominant social structures. Families living in poverty at the subnational level often rely on informal labor markets to survive and must navigate daily challenges with minimal power. Institutional coordination mechanisms have so far failed to generate effective results; inter-agency collaboration remains fragmented and underperforming. Structural poverty exacerbates the disadvantages faced by these families. Their marginalization is not incidental, but rather a reflection of deeply embedded socioeconomic inequalities.

Historically, poverty reduction strategies in Indonesia have relied heavily on aid, revealing a persistent belief in its centrality. Yet this classical approach is insufficient. A shift toward case-specific, contextually adaptive strategies is essential, particularly through inclusive budgeting that enables locally innovative policies. This study examines patterns of poverty alleviation innovation at both macro and micro subnational levels in the post-decentralization era. Indonesia's poverty challenges require renewed scrutiny. Despite sustained efforts, the country's Gini coefficient has remained stagnant at 0.42, indicating entrenched inequality and limited impact of existing policies on income distribution (Jati, 2016). While poverty rates declined modestly between 2014 and 2020 (by 0.7–0.8 percent), recent trends show a reversal, with poverty increasing annually. Statistical data underscores the ongoing difficulty in policy execution (Nugroho et al., 2021).

The 1945 Constitution and related legislation explicitly address poverty alleviation at both national and subnational levels. However, the persistence of poverty despite such legal clarity points to a significant disconnect between normative intent and practical implementation. This misalignment between philosophy and policy is particularly visible at the grassroots level, where poverty reduction strategies have proven largely ineffective.

According to Nugroho (2006, p. 61), misguided policies not only fail to solve but may worsen poverty. Indonesia's poverty policies are impeded by national-subnational tensions, inconsistent implementation, and incremental approaches. Overlapping sectoral agendas and concurrent ministry-led programs contribute to fragmented execution. Often top-down and devoid of community participation, these approaches marginalize local perspectives. Policy overlaps and partial beneficiary engagement further hinder outcomes. While poverty data integration across national and subnational levels has improved, substantial gaps remain. These affect the distribution of social assistance and overall policy effectiveness.

The current anti-poverty framework, shaped by a pro-growth economic orientation, rests on two pillars: job creation and social assistance. While sound in theory, these policies are applied in a linear, top-down fashion, limiting their effectiveness at the household level. Poorly executed strategies continue to undermine poverty reduction efforts. Although the overarching anti-poverty framework is conceptually sound, its implementation has deviated significantly from its intended design.

Given these challenges, it is imperative for the DPR RI to exercise stronger oversight and play a more proactive role. Government-led poverty programs frequently encounter fiscal and legislative limitations, underscoring the need for closer coordination between executive and legislative branches to ensure more effective, regionally attuned interventions.

Method

This study employs qualitative methods, including case studies and document analysis, to investigate the complex social contexts of poverty across different regions. Both approaches are widely applied in recent poverty research (van der Meulen Rodgers et al., 2020). The case study method is particularly suitable for observing real-world policy cycles and implementation dynamics. This paper compares national and subnational poverty reduction policies in the post-decentralization era, beginning with a review of diverse perspectives on poverty alleviation. This is followed by an analysis of the 2014–2022 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) and a comparative examination of poverty reduction strategies in the provinces of Yogyakarta and Banten.

The selected approach allows for the integration of rich, firsthand experiences with data drawn from primary sources, including individuals living in poverty and local community leaders, who are also program beneficiaries. Data collection involved in-depth interviews and immersive fieldwork, including approximately 60 days of live-in research: 15 days each in Serang and Pandeglang/Labuan (May–June 2015–2017), and 15 days each in Gunungkidul and Yogyakarta (July–August 2015–2017). Community informants shared narratives on government aid and cash transfers, highlighting how families sustain themselves under difficult conditions, particularly when aid is delayed or harvests fail.

FGDs were also conducted with subnational officials at the Echelon 1 and Echelon 3 levels. Officials from various sectoral agencies at the subnational level were consulted through a series of in-depth dialogues with key government bodies. Their contributions included national and subnational budget data as well as policy briefs. Following actor mapping and data collection, the researchers conducted a structured literature review. The selection and interpretation of relevant academic and policy literature were discussed and validated in collaboration with research colleagues.

Reframing Poverty Through Legislation and Context

Effective poverty alleviation requires a critical and comprehensive understanding of how poverty is both conceptually defined and operationalized within policy frameworks. The definition of poverty is inherently complex and contested (Lepianka et al., 2009), yet public policy often adopts authoritative interpretations that shape interventions and outcomes. Different perspectives—ranging from governmental to community-based—highlight the need for more nuanced and responsive poverty reduction strategies (Chambers, 2010).

Government perspectives tend to be technocratic and elitist, framing poverty primarily as an economic issue. Accordingly, policy solutions often emphasize wealth redistribution as a central mechanism (Bradshaw, 2007). In contrast, community perspectives highlight that poverty is not only about material deprivation but also about inadequate access to essential services and infrastructure. Linguistic distinctions, such as the use of "*kekurangan*" (lacking) versus "*cekap*" (enough), reflect divergent cultural and historical understandings of poverty. The legacy of colonialism has

reinforced poverty as a condition of material lack, a notion perpetuated by dominant state discourses (Solikatun et al., 2014).

Poverty alleviation policies largely reflect these government-centric narratives, operationalized through institutional mechanisms that often exclude the agency and voices of the communities themselves. This framing contradicts the assumption that poverty stems solely from a lack of capital or resources. Agusta (2014, p. 15) offers a discursive analysis of poverty, arguing that social interactions privilege certain definitions over others. In this view, the perspectives of individuals living in poverty, who experience poverty first-hand, require more careful attention. Acknowledging multiple discourses allows for a broader understanding of how poverty is theorized and practiced in the field.

Theoretical diversity is mirrored in policy implementation, where terms and frameworks adopted by policymakers have evolved. Global development thinking has shifted from a focus on economic growth toward an emphasis on human development. This shift emphasizes reducing vulnerability and enhancing capabilities, thereby moving beyond income redistribution, which has often failed to produce a trickle-down effect. Ironically, despite advancements in legal and institutional frameworks, poverty in Indonesia remains a persistent issue. Government policy retains a top-down orientation, where subnational governments are tasked with implementation under the oversight of national authorities. This centralization renders communities as passive recipients rather than active agents, reducing their role to that of policy objects.

Constitutionally, the state is mandated to ensure the well-being of all citizens through poverty alleviation. However, the political economy of poverty in Indonesia reveals deeper tensions. In practice, poverty becomes a site of political competition—a commodity exploited for electoral gain and rent-seeking behavior. Overlapping claims of authority between national and subnational governments have created confusion and inefficiency in poverty governance. Each level asserts its entitlement to address poverty, resulting in fragmented implementation. Since 2008, empowerment has been emphasized as a core element of poverty reduction programs, advocating for collaborative partnerships between the state and communities. While this has led to some bureaucratic reform at the subnational level, national policy often overrides local innovation, undermining contextual solutions.

The implementation of poverty policies continues to be shaped by political interests. Low-income individuals are disproportionately affected, as inconsistent policy execution and elite manipulation turn poverty into a strategic tool (Yumna et al., 2024). Poverty has been instrumentalized in political campaigns, with elites using it to evoke sympathy and support, ironically reinforcing the very structures that sustain poverty. This politicization fosters loyalty among impoverished groups and attracts rent-seeking behavior. Donors, while often deterred by ineffective implementation, also become part of a system in which program benefits are diluted by low-cost schemes that divert funds to intermediaries.

The dual nature of poverty policy—its benefits and unintended consequences—has shaped shifts in government strategy over time. An overly controlling, equality-centric approach has shown limitations. In contrast, partnership-based approaches grounded in sustainable empowerment (see Table 1) offer a more promising path forward, enabling communities to co-create solutions rather than remain passive recipients of state aid.

Table 1. Comparative Paradigm in Poverty Alleviation

No.	Poverty Parameter	Partnership	Sustainability
1.	Policy	Poverty alleviation	Poverty reduction
2.	Policy objective	Self-reliance development	Livelihood
3.	Policy orientation	Economic development is based on pro-job, pro-poor, or pro-growth.	Social capital development based on trust building and reciprocity
4.	Execution policy	Structural-authoritative	Deliberative
5.	Society position	Society as a passive object	Society as an active object

Source: FGDs data, processed (2015, 2017); Jati et al. (2018).

Table 1 illustrates the shift in poverty alleviation policy from a growth-centered approach to one emphasizing equitable development. In this evolving framework, poverty is no longer viewed as an economic disgrace or failure of the state; instead, logical economic reasoning is adopted as the foundational principle for addressing poverty. The prevailing "eradication" paradigm assumes that economic development will automatically lead to equitable redistribution of resources. However, this assumption overlooks the complexity of poverty and the limitations of purely economic solutions. It fails to recognize that poverty cannot be entirely eradicated; rather, its prevalence can be mitigated and its impacts reduced. Moreover, poverty is inherently subjective, with parameters that are open to multiple interpretations across different social, cultural, and institutional contexts.

Structural Gaps and Policy Failures in Program Implementation

Understanding poverty alleviation policy requires evaluating its alignment with the overarching goals of the setting in which it is implemented. As Birkland (2017) argues, effective poverty reduction depends on how well the policy captures the dynamics of poverty itself. Broadly, two models of policymaking emerge in this context: the institutional model and the elitist model. The institutional model frames policymaking as a structural function of the state, justifying centralized government oversight and hierarchical coordination. Derivative policies from this model legitimize state authority over structural management (Chaudhuri et al., 2019, p. 83). In contrast, the elitist model views policy implementation as inherently political, where government-public loyalty is structurally engineered through administrative instruments that ultimately serve political ends (Laurens & Putra, 2020).

Indonesia's poverty alleviation policies are implemented at both the national and subnational levels, often through similarly structured, ad hoc coordination teams. These teams support line ministries in policy formulation and implementation. The institutionalization of poverty as a national issue has generated significant administrative attention, yet has also given rise to three key challenges: overlapping mandates, paradigm inconsistencies, and multitasking burdens across agencies. Addressing these challenges is essential for improving policy effectiveness.

At the national level, the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Alleviation (TNP2K) serves as the official coordination body, established through Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2010. At the subnational level, the Regional Coordination Team for Poverty Alleviation (TKPKD) were formed under Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2010. While these bodies are tasked with coordinating efforts between national and subnational actors, they lack direct authority to enforce policies or prescribe standardized models. This limited mandate has made inter-agency coordination difficult, especially when institutional priorities diverge. As a result, TNP2K

often finds itself challenging—rather than harmonizing—ministerial programs and policies.

In practice, poverty alleviation efforts coordinated under TNP2K reflect diverse sectoral perspectives. These include development (Ministry of National Development Planning, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Public Works), health and sanitation (Ministry of Health), social welfare (Ministry of Social Affairs and Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs), and education (Ministry of Education). TNP2K's function is largely to synthesize and compile these sectoral strategies into a coherent policy direction. However, its coordinating role is often constrained by institutional silos and overlapping jurisdictions, leading to fragmented implementation.

The hierarchical nature of poverty alleviation policy reflects how political dynamics shape program execution. Politicization is especially pronounced in the allocation of funds near the end of political terms, when programs are intensified to bolster public or individual reputations. Institutions like TNP2K are vulnerable to such interference, with policy decisions often influenced more by popularity than by objective need or evidence-based assessment.

Poverty remains a persistent and cyclical problem in Indonesia, and poverty reduction strategies are often tied to the tenure of political regimes. New governments frequently reframe existing poverty agendas to align with electoral platforms, resulting in shifts in focus and discontinuity in implementation. These short-term, politically driven policies risk becoming mere instruments of power, often manifested in project-based programs that are susceptible to abuse. At the subnational level, poverty policies tend to replicate national blueprints, reinforcing top-down dynamics and limiting local innovation.

Nonetheless, subnational governments possess the potential to reshape poverty reduction paradigms through more grounded, context-sensitive approaches. The effectiveness of such innovations depends on the willingness and capacity of local actors to understand and respond to the actual conditions of poverty in their regions. For example, both Yogyakarta and Banten have mirrored national policy patterns, yet their experiences underscore the need for locally driven, adaptive solutions. Reorientation toward subnational creativity and innovation is essential for developing policies that are not only technically sound but also socially grounded and politically resilient.

Analyzing Different Approaches to Poverty Alleviation

The relevance of the comparative cases of Banten and Yogyakarta lies in their capacity to illustrate the strategic role of the parliament, particularly in identifying and responding to institutional constraints that hinder the effective implementation of poverty alleviation programs. These insights are crucial for refining legislative support mechanisms in decentralized governance settings.

This research adopts a multi-stage comparative methodology. First, it examines macroeconomic indicators from both provinces to demonstrate how empirical data can inform legislative decision-making. Second, it applies theoretical frameworks to explore the linkage between economic policy and its intended impacts. Third, it analyzes case studies of poverty alleviation policies in Banten and Yogyakarta to evaluate the congruence—or lack thereof—between economic theory and policy practice. This approach critically interrogates the dominant economic paradigms underlying Indonesia's poverty reduction strategies and emphasizes the importance of region-specific responses.
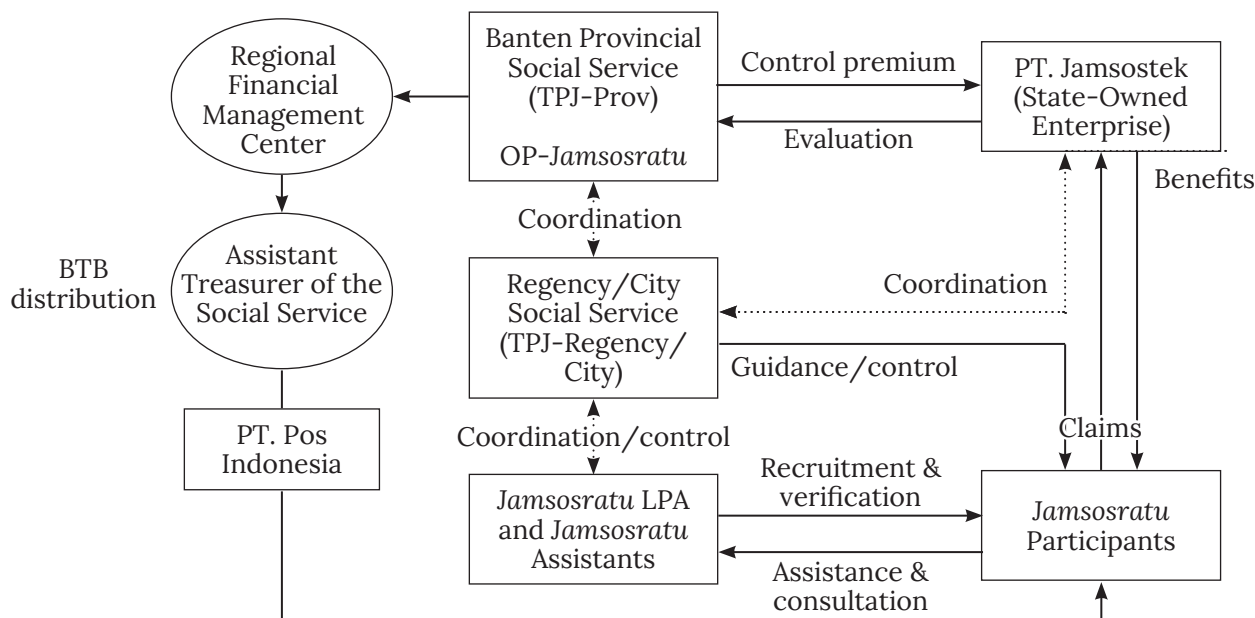
Poverty in Banten Province

The poverty problem in Banten is perceived as an accessibility problem and a subnational disparity. The accessibility problem is understood as unequal socio-economic development channels within regency/urban districts (Purwono et al., 2021; Saragi et al., 2021). Thus, it affects the educational gap, sanitation gap, and even public facilities, which is not worth it between villagers and urban people (Sugiharti et al., 2022). Meanwhile, the subnational disparity is comprehended as an economic growth gap that is centered in Northern Banten (Serang, Cilegon, Tangerang, and South Tangerang) instead of Southern Banten (Lebak Regency), which is still left behind (Listyaningsih, Lecturer of Sultan Tirtayasa State University, FGD notes, June 2015).

Besides, the significant geographical problem is a patronage factor. In Banten, Islamic scholars (*ulama*), village heads, and subnational leaders are powerful agents in the community (van Bruinessen, 2021; Pribadi, 2013). These agents determine the scheme of execution policy at the subnational level through loyalty, power, and violence. Those three factors are hegemonic in rent seekers starting from the execution process. Thus, the policy products are not accepted by the community.

In both problems, the execution pattern in alleviating poverty is run through an elitist pattern. In this case, the poverty problem is altered to a political problem. This indicates that poverty is thus maintained as part of the elite patronage pattern. Therefore, the community dependency pattern towards the government still exists.

The best poverty alleviation in Banten Province is Social Insurance for Banten People United (*Jamsosratu*). This program is based on Banten Governor's Regulation No. 2 of 2013. It aims at raising the poorest family group empowerment (RTSM) in Banten Province. The object is for those who have not received the Family Hope Program (PKH) through Social Welfare Insurance (*Askesos*), a program from the Ministry of Social Affairs. The scheme of the policy program is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The Scheme of Poverty Alleviation Policy in Banten Province
Source: Bappeda Banten (2013–2014).

Figure 1 shows that the *Jamsosratu* program replicates the basic scheme of PKH or *Askesos* Policies by the Ministry of Social Affairs. However, the advantage of Jamkesos is related to updating data, which the government employs in the execution policy.

The role of (the Sub-district Social Coordination Team (TKSK) at the sub-district level becomes a key point in RTSM data validation. As mentioned before, the *Jamsosratu* policy is the best policy of the Banten Government since it reaches RTSM, which has yet to be covered by PKH. Besides, the high financial structure is reflected in the Tabel 2.

Table 2. The Comparative Policy of PKH and *Jamsosratu*

No.	Aspects	PKH	*Jamsosratu*
1.	RTSM criteria	1. Toddler 2. Pregnant women/ breastfeeding mother 3. Elementary school students 4. Junior high school students	1. Toddler 2. Pregnant women/ breastfeeding mother 3. Elementary school students 4. Junior high school students 5. Senior high school students
2.	Donation amount	IDR2,800,000 in maximum (based on the standard type and number of families)	IDR1,500,000 (all beneficiaries receive the same amount)
3.	Advantage	Conditional cash donation	1. Conditional cash donation 2. *Askesos Jamsosratu*
4.	Participation	Dynamic (based on the facilitator's verification)	Static (in line with the changing of APBD (Ministry of Home Affair Regulation No. 39/2012), verification for punishment)
5.	Participation's obligation	Accessing educational facility and health facility	1. Accessing educational facility and health facility 2. Saving
6.	Capacity building towards human resource	1. Facilitator and operator 2. Educational facility and health facility	1. Facilitator and operator 2. Educational facility and health facility 3. RTS

Source: Bappeda Banten (2013–2014).

Table 2 shows Banten's poverty alleviation pattern, focusing on social assistance and public infrastructure adjustment. The social assistance pattern is a form of the incremental policy product that the national government program imitates. However, it is strengthened more in the fund aspect. Meanwhile, public infrastructure adjustment is addressed to fix the public facilities such as sanitation, education, or even bathing-washing-toileting (MCK), which are considered inappropriate. Many public infrastructures have yet to be handled. For instance, it is common to see people living in poverty in Banten Lama Villages do MCK in small rivers or ponds since the public facilities are damaged (Observation at Sawahluhur Village, June 2015).

Analysis of Poverty Alleviation in Serang District

Two essential things about poverty in Serang are participation and dissemination policy. Both things are reflected in the poverty pattern in Serang. Historically, Serang was a "forced transition area" from a village to an urban district to become a capital province in 2007. Therefore, socioeconomic and socio-demographic factors generate logical consequences for urban district development. Serang is not built based on a clear spatial area, which can have some implications for the enclave's socio-politic position in that area. Enclave is based on an authoritative exclusivity area conducted by some communities, such as Pasar Rau Ciomas dan Pallima (an area under Chassan Sochib's Family). Both areas are the center of economic politics. Other areas, such as Walantaka and Cipocok Jaya, are urban. Those who come to Serang are Javanese,

Sundanese, Lampungnese, and others. On the other hand, the Banten ethnic group occupies the Banten Lama area, Kasemen (Jati, 2016).

The exclusivity towards the urban areas brings significant socio-demographic segregation in Serang. The finding shows that the social capital bound within urban communities has faded since they are more concentrated on working and saving money. As a result, the poverty gap in that area is larger. Poverty alleviation has been implemented through *Jamsosratu*, an insurance company that covers social protection for education and health. However, the area for improvement is in adjusting the infrastructure (Jati et al., 2018).

The poverty alleviation policy in Serang needs to be handled better and comprehensively throughout the city. Poverty policy is only effective in some sub-districts, such as Cipocok Jaya or Walantaka (located at the center). Meanwhile, the policy still needs to be revised in the suburbs, such as Karangantu and Kasemen (Jati, 2016). Besides distance, the number of TKSK facilitators at the sub-district level is below the standard. Thus, it makes the policy chain fail to run well. Another challenge is the community culture in Serang, which is apathetic. As a result, it creates ineffective coordination. Because of that, the implementation of poverty alleviation in Serang is not at its maximum. Therefore, the synergy between the government and the community could be better (FGD with Yayasan Rumah Dunia, June 2015).

Field observation shows that many public facilities are damaged, especially in the Sawahluhur area. Schools, sanitation, and even MCK still need to reach the minimum standard in this area. Another essential problem is the emergence of strong patronage between the *ulama* and leaders in urban communities. Both actors dominate the community. They play a role as government agents in the community. Frequently, government donations are not distributed because of the screening process (conducted by both actors). Thus, the community needs to get a complete donation. This triggers a migration in Banten Lama. People moved there to work as factory workers in Cilegon and Tangerang. Reflected from the poverty alleviation policy in Serang, the policy focuses on building social cohesiveness within the community, a good infrastructure, and a way to decentralize the poverty alleviation policy.

Analysis of Poverty Alleviation in Pandeglang Regency

Pandeglang Regency is a part of the central poverty in Banten. In the downtown area, poverty needs to be improved by infrastructure and social capital. The main cause of Pandeglang is limited accessibility. When people want to access public facilities, they should consider the distance between the village and urban districts, which is very far. Meanwhile, the public facilities in the Pandeglang area are still limited and small. Thus, the village community in Pandeglang only gets a standard public facility. The lower accessibility causes the redistribution policy and poverty donation to be active and efficient. The financial condition of people living in poverty in Pandeglang is focused on extractive businesses, such as palawija, nutmeg, palm, and fishponds. Those four sectors are spread over the village area (Jati, 2016). Commonly, they live substantially based on agricultural products since they live far away from the market.

Panimbang is the economic center of Pandeglang. It is also a hub area where various crops are distributed to Serang and Jakarta. Thus, Panimbang is an important aspect of reducing poverty in that area. However, poverty in Pandeglang Regency is resolved by its tourism sector. It drives the economic field in Pandeglang. Besides, the agriculture sector, such as palm fields, is blooming. It also produces the real product. However, investors in the tourism sector in Pandeglang do not merely significantly

affect poverty reduction. This is because the human resources are unequal and even support the policy. Many vocational schools are established, notably in the maritime or secretarial sectors. Those become supporting media, which still need to be more effective.

One of the best ways to reduce inequality and improve access is by making it easier and faster to move goods and services from villages to cities. Reactivating the Rangkasbitung–Labuan–Saketi–Bayah railway is a promising step to help close the poverty gap. Although road transport is also being improved, it still lacks enough capacity. That's why support from various stakeholders is needed for the railway project. In addition, building the Serang Timur toll road to Labuan is another important effort—showing a shared commitment between the government and the people. Improving connectivity can help address poverty caused by distance and isolation.

Poverty in the Yogyakarta Special Region Province

Poverty in the Yogyakarta Special Region Province is focused on raising the price of goods. Before, it was IDR113,000/ person and IDR270,000/month in 2012–2013. Meanwhile, the poverty rate in Yogyakarta fluctuates in line with the inflation rate and political policy. For example, in 2000, the rate of people living in poverty decreased from 20.14 percent to 15.58 percent. Then, at the village level, it decreased from 45.17 percent to 21.76 percent. Meanwhile, it decreased from 24.59 to 13.13 percent at the city level. This is because the rate between the regional minimum wage (UMR) and the Poverty Coordination Team (TKK) differs. The UMR increased 10.48 percent, whereas TKK reached 96.3 percent.

From that statistical number, it is alleged that the pattern of poverty alleviation in the Yogyakarta is based on family expenses. Practically, the expenses are subsistent. However, unpredicted ceremonial expenses are a primary need instead of real ones. This happens since the community's social and cultural capital is still strong. An interesting finding shows that Yogyakarta people are happy despite being living in poverty (related to material). This phenomenon is interesting to investigate in order to see the poverty map in Yogyakarta.

An anomaly in understanding the meaning of poverty in Yogyakarta makes the poverty alleviation policy focus more on the participation pattern as the basic policy. This participation is a part of revitalization towards socio-capital development, a characteristic of the Yogyakarta people. The special pattern of socio-capital in Yogyakarta is a "grinding pattern," which is a form of "shared poverty" in the Javanese community. Poverty is not a disgrace, yet it should be accepted as a reality in the community. Thus, poverty is not merely related to redistributing economic material; it is more about how community participation should be strengthened to reduce the poverty problem itself.

The pattern of poverty alleviation in Yogyakarta is regulated in regional cash account (RKD) in Yogyakarta Governor Regulation No. 56 of 2011 on the various strategies for poverty alleviation, i.e., social security strategy, expanding job opportunity strategy, increasing natural resource strategy, community empowerment strategy, and community partnership strategy. Those various strategies can be chosen since Yogyakarta's poverty context focuses more on community emancipation and participation.

The emancipation context was chosen since people living in poverty in Yogyakarta want to receive attention instead of donations. However, it is outside the real problem that they face. Thus, for subnational governments, poverty needs would be good if

they defined it. Then, the government can implement the community's needs. Meanwhile, participation should be defined as an effort to strengthen the social capabilities of the community and even the government to work together to alleviate poverty.

Generally, the definition of poverty in Yogyakarta lies in three scopes: structural, cultural, and natural. Structural poverty is comprehended as poverty based on policy, regulation, or organization, reducing or hampering community productivity. Cultural poverty is considered a policy related to non-productive value, low education level, and low health. Poverty is shown from the natural condition, which does not support the community. Thus, the main point of the poverty alleviation program in Yogyakarta is addressed, which is empowerment from programs instead of income and material redistribution.

Empowerment becomes an important discourse in policymaking in Yogyakarta, both at the village and urban district levels. Empowerment in an urban district community is focused on giving business credit and social donations. Meanwhile, empowerment at the village community level is focused on building community participation to form business groups. Each empowerment program has various typologies, such as PNPM Mandiri, KUR, KUBE, and others. Those organizations show a specialization in the policy program that will be executed. The culture of the Yogyakarta people in the slum area is more dominant in the riverbank (the focus area). This case aligns with the migration and mobilization of goods and services for urban people. Urban districts are considered the center of economic growth since the development sector is redistributed equally.

The higher mobilization flow of goods and services to Yogyakarta implies the modernization of the area. Modernization has had some influence on social relations in many villages. Specialization becomes the indicator of the distribution of functional jobs in Yogyakarta's villages; psychologically, social and cultural values are maintained, and the sharing culture is also maintained and perpetuated. Since participation and social capital are still the development principles for those living in poverty, many poverty alleviation policies in Yogyakarta generally involve the community as the main pillar. Many various products of poverty alleviation policies can be analyzed in the following tabulation.

Analysis of Poverty Alleviation in Yogyakarta City

Compared to Serang District and Pandeglang Regency, the poverty alleviation approach in Yogyakarta City is characterized by more structured programmatic efforts with a clear focus on community participation and local government collaboration. Table 3 outlines several key policy programs implemented in the city, their characteristics, objectives, and mechanisms.

Many poverty alleviation programs indicate that the level of meeting the needs of people living in poverty in Yogyakarta City takes many forms. It also bears on the accessibility of community members to economic resources. Then, it influences the community's ability to redistribute economic income. The poverty map in Yogyakarta City is distributed in every sub-district in 14 regions. The people living in poverty in Yogyakarta can be seen in Table 4.

According to the previous tabulation, an urban slum area is concentrated in sub-districts passed by rivers, such as Wirobrajan, Tegalrejo, and Jetis. Winogo River passes Wirobrajan, whereas Code River passes Tegalrejo. The riverbank in Yogyakarta City has become a well-known slum area. It is because of the capital and effort that newcomers put in. They choose to stay and run the informal economic practice in that

Table 3. Key Programs and Implementation Features of Poverty Alleviation Policies in Yogyakarta City

Policy Indicators	Poverty Alleviation Programme in the City (P2KP)	Credit for Businesses (KUR)	Joint Business Group (KUBE)	Health Card (KMS)
Policy characteristics	Participation and emancipation	Participation	Participation	Social security
Policy implementation initiative	Development planning deliberation (Musrenbang) between government and community can also be achieved through deliberation between people	Community, village, and city government	Community, village, and city government	Compiling data from RT/RW (neighborhood association) and village diversification updated by city government
Partnership pattern	Government and community	Government, community, and private	Government, community, and private	Government and community
Targeted groups	Village community	Informal economic community	Small and medium business (UKM) of community	People living in poverty
Policy package form	Material fund	Fund and business assistance	Fund and business assistance	Cross-subsidization
Policy validity period	Temporary	Year to year (through evaluation)	Year to year (through evaluation)	Year to year (through upgrading the data)

Source: Nugroho et al. (2021); Sugiharti et al. (2022); Tirtosuharto (2022).

area. However, the environmental setting created by Father Mangunwijaya in 1976 altered the riverbanks' perception. Previously, riverbanks were considered a criminal area. Now, the development concept has been dramatically altered. The most important thing is to raise the community's participation in the riverbank to alleviate poverty. It is also related to the informal pattern of leadership as the community breadwinner. The informal leader actors have important roles for stakeholders in alleviating government and private poverty. Thus, the redistribution process and policy examination run simultaneously at the community or state levels (Totok Pratopo and Marsudi Rahadjo, International Affairs Officer of UGM, Discussion notes, August 2015).

Analysis of Poverty Alleviation in Gunungkidul Regency

Discussing the poverty problem in Gunungkidul is ironic. As the second-widest regency after Sleman, Gunungkidul has the highest poverty level in the Yogyakarta Province. Compared to the poverty pattern in Yogyakarta City, which is dominated by structural and cultural capital, the poverty pattern in Gunungkidul Regency is more dominated by natural poverty in which the natural condition is hard and makes an agricultural potency of *tadah hujan* (using rainwater), instead of seasonal (Jati, 2023). Generally, the natural poverty pattern in Gunungkidul is divided into three big scopes, namely Northern Gunungkidul (the agricultural plant is "gogo paddy" Middle Gunungkidul (economic accessibility), and Southern Gunungkidul (lack of water). The

Table 4. Prevalence of Poverty in Yogyakarta City by Sub-district and Village

No.	Sub-district/Village	Number of Poor Households	Total Households	Prevalence %	Number of Poor Individuals	Total Population	Prevalence %
1.	**Tegalrejo**	**2,666**	**1,1187**	**23.83**	**7,166**	**40,804**	**17.56**
	1. Kericak	1,012	3,991	25.36	2,524	14,226	17.74
	2. Karangwaru	588	3,140	18.73	1,159	11,460	10.10
	3. Tegalrejo	693	2,661	26.04	2,227	10,123	22.00
	4. Bener	373	1,395	26.74	1,256	4,995	25.15
2.	**Jetis**	**2,013**	**7,790**	**25.84**	**5,077**	**30,073**	**16.88**
	1. Bumijo	802	2,768	28.97	1,794	10,729	16.72
	2. Cokrodingingratan	615	2,747	22.39	2,098	10,536	19.91
	3. Gowongan	596	2,275	26.20	1,185	8,808	13.45
3.	**Gondokusuman**	**2,259**	**15,013**	**15.05**	**7,616**	**56,836**	**13.40**
	1. Demangan	404	3,084	13.10	1,353	11,109	12.18
	2. Kota baru	137	987	13.88	402	4,156	9.67
	3. Klitren	441	3,476	12.69	1,554	13,275	11.71
	4. Baciro	705	3,971	17.75	2,393	16,103	14.86
	5. Terban	572	3,495	16.37	1,914	12,193	15.70
4.	**Danurajen**	**1,797**	**6,597**	**27.24**	**4,271**	**25,475**	**16.77**
	1. Suryatmajan	457	1,524	29.99	1,502	5,671	26.49
	2. Tegal panggang	1,020	2,703	37.74	1,769	10,549	16.77
	3. Bausasran	320	2,370	13.5	1,000	9,255	10.80
5.	**Gedong tengen**	**1,619**	**6,787**	**23.85**	**3,575**	**25,714**	**13.90**
	1. Sosromenduran	546	2,725	20.04	1,761	10,097	17.44
	2. Pringgokusuman	1,073	4,062	26.42	1,814	15,617	11.62
6.	**Ngampilan**	**1,741**	**5,747**	**23.02**	**2,713**	**22,217**	**12.21**
	1. Ngampilan	668	3,286	20.33	1,443	12,638	11.42
	2. Notoprajan	1073	2,461	26.62	1,270	9,579	13.26
7.	**Wirobrajan**	**2,020**	**7,943**	**25.43**	**5,198**	**30,984**	**16.78**
	1. Pakuncen	838	2,983	28.10	2,092	11,706	17.87
	2. Wirobrajan	657	2,805	23.42	1,362	10,969	12.42
	3. Patangpuluhan	525	2,155	24.36	1,744	8,309	20.99
8.	**Mantrijeron**	**2,019**	**10,388**	**19.44**	**4,906**	**39,809**	**12.32**
	1. Gedongkiwo	853	3,943	21.63	2,015	15,371	13.11
	2. Suryodiningratan	660	3,370	19.58	1,224	12,598	9.72
	3. Mantrijeron	506	3,075	16.46	1,667	11,840	14.08
9.	**Kraton**	**1,354**	**7,095**	**19.08**	**4,292**	**25,676**	**16.72**
	1. Patehan	404	1,906	21.20	1,302	6,884	18.91
	2. Panembahan	558	2,940	18.98	1,790	10,863	16.48
	3. Kadipaten	392	2,249	17.43	1,200	7,929	15.13

Source: Yogyakarta City Government (2017).

hard natural conditions caused migration and mobilization of goods for Gunung-kidul people to leave their areas. It shows that there is an increasing trend every year (Bappeda Gunungkidul Regency officers, Discussion notes, August 2015).

Although migration happens on a large scale, Gunungkidul's nature shapes a huge social defense mindset among community members. They understand the terms of tanggung renteng (sharing) to show a working together dimension that runs within the community members. Commonly, village communities in Gunungkidul employ their local wisdom in alleviating poverty by utilizing their livelihood assets (Institute for Research and Empowerment [IRE], 2013, pp. 2–3). Some livelihood assets include physical, social, economic, and cultural capital as essential bases. Thus, the poverty alleviation pattern in Gunungkidul is more focused on empowering the community by optimizing various resources.

The poverty alleviation policy in Gunungkidul is commonly explained in the following schemes: PNPM in the village, KUBE, or even KUR. Actually, those three programs have some characteristics in common with Yogyakarta City. However, they still have different factors. In Gunungkidul, the poverty alleviation program is encouraged to empower people to alleviate poverty.

Table 5: Key Programs and Implementation Features of Poverty Alleviation in Gunungkidul Regency

Policy Indicators	National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) of Village	Joint Business Group (KUBE)	Credit for Businesses (KUR)	Regional Health Insurance (Jamkesda)
Policy objective	Establishing tourism village	Strengthening family-based small and medium business (UKM)	Establishing labor-intensive industries	Providing basic health programs for those living in poverty
Policy initiative	The Village development planning deliberation (Musrenbangdes)	Regional government	Regional government	Regional government
Policy program	Development and facilitating promotion	Assistance and training	Assistance and training	Cross-subsidization
Targeted groups	Tourism awareness group in every village	Home industry	Informal economic community group	People living in poverty

Source: Nugroho et al. (2021); Sugiharti et al. (2022); Tirtosuharto (2022).

Effective poverty alleviation in Indonesia necessitates a fundamental reframing of how poverty is understood, legislated, and implemented. The analysis of poverty dynamics and policy responses in Banten and Yogyakarta reveals a critical need to move beyond top-down, purely economic approaches towards more nuanced, context-specific, and collaborative paradigms. Communities as passive recipients, undermining local innovation and contextual solutions by replicating national blueprints at the subnational level. The comparative analysis underscores that grassroots initiatives are crucial for better poverty reduction policies.

While many policies (e.g., rice-for-poor, school operational assistance) are discussed at various levels, their true impact on communities often outweighs their quantitative targets. Uncovering new issues in poverty alleviation policy requires a more thorough and continuous investigation, focusing on the dynamic interplay between legislative frameworks, political economy, and community realities. The experiences of Yogyakarta and Banten provide valuable lessons for fostering more effective, collaborative, and sustainable poverty reduction strategies across Indonesia.

Conclusion

The success or failure of innovative poverty alleviation policies in Banten and Yogyakarta hinges on the ability of their respective subnational governments to adapt creatively to evolving poverty trends and implement new strategies. This has been a crucial problem because the subnational government inexplicably applied outdated policies in its attempts to address and ease poverty within the community. Consequently, the successful implementation of optimal policies hinges on a robust collab-

orative effort between the DPR RI and all levels of government—national and subnational—to maintain executive alignment with the established objectives.

Considering the findings of this study, it is clear that the implementation of poverty alleviation programs in Banten and Yogyakarta continues to face significant structural and institutional obstacles, thus highlighting the persistent challenges in addressing poverty in these regions. For this reason, the initiative requires the assistance of subnational-level success factors, which include, but are not limited to, active community engagement and a strong institutional capacity to ensure the project's success. This reflection highlights the necessity of combining, not separating, a comparative perspective that analyzes both top-down methods—characterized by elitism and technocracy—and community-led methods, which emphasize participation and social embeddedness.

This study furthermore reflects on the DPR RI's role in facilitating vertical integration between national policy and regional execution, a key aspect of its function. The significance of inter-institutional collaboration, a governance model crucial for effective poverty policy, lies in the partnership between the DPR RI, DPRD, and subnational governments. Strategic recommendations for the DPR RI must include two essential points: the development of thematic legislation specifically tailored to regional poverty characteristics and the design of responsive budget mechanisms that address diverse subnational needs. Furthermore, the DPR RI's oversight capabilities will be enhanced via collaborative and participatory strategies, ensuring a more effective and inclusive oversight process.

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