

How Do the Urban Poor Survive? Meaning and Strategy to Fight against Poverty

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ABSTRACT

Poverty is the result of social construction. Apparently, poor families refuse to be entailed poor even though they live in poverty. The underlying ground behind the meaning of poverty is the way people define poverty itself. A study about the meaning of poverty and the survival strategies of the poor around big cities in the country are novel to present. The current study aimed to describe how poverty has been interpreted in national and international scales. In contrast to other studies which tend to highlight poverty externally, this study viewed poverty under the perspective of the poor. It relied on qualitative data collected by participatory method through interviews with seven informants selected purposively. It adopted an interpretative understanding analysis approach. The result suggested that they perceive poverty as an obstacle in life. Feeling of being poor came up after they encountered financial limitations and limited access to market and education. This research can be a basis for the government upon policy making regarding poverty alleviation. The study of poverty interpretation and the survival strategies of the poor in Indonesia is unique, and it fills the gap in social construction, thus allowing the use of a cultural approach upon alleviation.

Keywords: Poor Family, Poverty, Survival Strategy, Urban

INTRODUCTION

Poverty has threatened human rights (Akande et al., 2020; Buhaerah, 2016; Gerton, 2021; Hadiprayitno, 2005). The problem of poverty among society that is fanatic and blind to religion reduces poverty related problem to only a matter of destiny and God's provision (Beyers, 2014). In fact, it is a structural problem (Dale, 2010), and is supported by a culture of poverty (Lewis, 2017; McDermott & Vossoughi, 2020). Poverty as a structural problem lays the key problem in the inequality of system, of labor division, of justice distribution, and the threat of free market system (Brady, 2019; Resnick, 2007; Selwyn, 2015). Poverty as a cultural issue places a problem on people's lazy culture (Howe, 1998; Lewis, 2017). Poverty at the level of magical awareness is perceived as a matter of destiny or decree from God (Elias, 1973; Freire, 1968, 1974; Singgih et al., 2020). The pandemic has reduced progress on poverty reduction, from the lowest of 9.2% in September 2019 to 9.7% in September 2021. In 2022 Indonesia's GDP growth is estimated to reach 5.1%, supported by increased commodity exports and accommodating fiscal policies to overcome the pandemic. The stunting rate in Indonesia is claimed to have decreased from 37% in 2013 to 24.4% in 2021 (the World Bank, 2022). However, the government's poverty alleviation efforts cannot work alone. The poverty alleviation policy should be accompanied by changing paradigms, perspectives, and development spirit in the minds of the people.

So far, the meaning of poverty has been internationally studied with several approaches. It is viewed through the individual perspective (Gans, 1995; Rank et al., 2003; Sameti et al., 2012), community culture (Lewis, 2017; McIntyre, 2007), and structure (Bradshaw, 2007). Meanwhile, in Indonesia, studies on poverty tend to highlight program-based poverty alleviation (Saptono, 2013; Taufiq et al., 2013; Umar, 2013), the role of institutions in poverty alleviating (Agus & Sumartono, 2009), the social capital in dealing with poverty (Munandar, 2010), the role of remittances in poor families (Aini, 2010), and poverty meaning for those living in rural areas (Silvana et al., 2014). Therefore, controlling for inequality of initial assets, such as land, education, and income inequality seems to no longer influence the growth opportunities (Birdsall & Londoño, 1997). However, taking a closer look at how poor urban families survive is a novelty upon finding solutions to a problem.

This paper aims to fill the gap of existing studies, which have not accommodated approaches to poverty interpretation under religiously devout urban communities. Urban poor families often face financial problems, which force them to make savings and debt efforts to supplement their urgent living needs (Brown & Robinson, 2016; SOFIA, 2017). The pressure on life necessities causes the decline in their business capital. Correspondingly, this paper is intended to identify three fundamental obstacles impeding the possibility of urban poor families to develop their businesses: first, competition which is getting tougher; second, low savings or financial capital support; third, lack of access to markets. It is expected to provide in-depth knowledge of the behavior of urban poor families in dealing with poverty and surviving in such circumstance.

Therefore, we believe in the necessity to define poverty according to the poor, so the concept of poverty links to that of family, social networks, and system of meaning. Poverty concept is basically shaped by the function of the family's social network. If they have a high mobility level,

they also have costly lifestyles and needs. Financial, social and political instability lets the poor unconsciously follow the internalizing process of a poor culture, which causes low efforts to change the destiny. Subsistence economic behavior and persistent moral behavior around urban areas are formulated through family involvement, savings, variety of jobs, and sustainability of family business.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Interpretation of Poverty

Poverty is an interpretation of social reality (Rocha, 1997). According to the social construction theory by Berger & Luckmann (2016), reality is socially constructed. Also, reality and knowledge are two key terms to understand about poverty. Reality is a quality within phenomena that are recognized as having their own existence, so it does not depend on human will. Meanwhile, knowledge is the certainty that the phenomenon is real with specific characteristics (Dharma, 2018). Poor people are generally characterized by powerlessness in terms of: first, catering basic needs, such as food and nutrition, clothing, housing, education and health (basic need deprivation); second, carrying out productive business activities (unproductiveness); third, reaching social and economic resources (inaccessibility); fourth, determining their own destiny and always getting discriminatory treatment, having feelings of fear and suspicion, as well as apathy and fatalistic (vulnerability); fifth, avoiding mentality of poor culture and always feeling to have dignity and low self-esteem (no freedom for poor) (Makmun, 2003).

There are four types of poverty: 1) absolute poverty, the condition when the expenditure is below the poverty line or inadequate to cater the food, clothing, health, housing, and education required to live and work; 2) relative poverty, the poor condition caused by development policies that have not reached the entire community, thus bringing about inequality in spending; 3) cultural poverty, referring to the problem of one's attitude or society due to cultural factors, such as unwillingness to try to improve the level of life, being lazy, wasteful, and uncreative; 4) structural poverty, the poor situation induced by low access to resources due to sociocultural and sociopolitical system that frequently causes poverty proliferation (Suryawati, 2005). There are several dimensions of poverty that tend to be ignored, some of which are the place of the poor, poverty of time and energy, and body. These are components which can begin with the self-definition by those who are categorized as "poor" (Chambers, 2007).

SURVIVAL IN POVERTY

Li (2009) in his research on urban poverty in China found some poor survival strategies. The first is a change in structure consumption. Consumption changes are made in a reduction of non-food items, such as spending on clothing, home appliances, health expenses, communications, entertainment, shelter and services. The intention of change structure consumption is alteration in style and habits in shopping and dietary habits. This strategy is regarded to have a short-term impact on survival and poverty reduction; The second is the portfolio of tangible assets management. Tangible assets are labour and human capital. The third strategy is the use of

intangible assets, including family relationships and social capital. The fourth is reduction on investment in human capital. The fifth is operation of productive assets, such as a house, washing machine, garage, and others. The sixth is an increase in family labor. The last is maximum value conversion of social capital. Meanwhile, according to a study by the Asian Development Bank, the methods for survival in poverty are going to another area (migration), agricultural intensification and diversification, activation and expansion of agricultural business, establishing agricultural work contracts with private sector and the government (contract farming), and off-farm employment in rural area (Leonard et al., 2006).

Survival in poverty at the level of sociological study is summarized in the study of livelihood sociology. The research studies the “manipulation process of socioeconomy of livelihood sources and the process of mitigating survival mechanism by an individual or a group (household) or the whole community”. The manipulation process involves the engineering of social infrastructure (institutional) and the reconstruction of values (ethical and cultural change) adopted in developing a living system. The dynamics of rural social relations are built into a stable social structure for the network formation of living strategies by each individual or household when they build a survival strategy (Dharmawan, 2007; Kanishchev et al., 2022). Simanjuntak and Amal (2018) argue that there are seven survival strategies in poverty of urban poor families: first, involving women and children in the family to work to help the family economy; second, utilizing health status that can determine people's capacity for work or skills and education for feedback to the labor issued as a form of human capital assets; third, benefiting houses, rice fields, livestock, and plants to reach productive assets; fourth, taking advantages of family and neighborhood relations upon survival as a household relations assets; fifth, exploiting the local social institutions, social gathering, and informal credit providers and the family economic system as a social capital asset; sixth, controlling the cost of consumption and expenditure; seventh, controlling the number of families (Simanjuntak & Amal, 2018).

METHOD

The method used in this research is interpretative understanding, constructivist, with a phenomenological approach. The researcher attempts to understand the meaning behind the occurrence and its relationship with the subject, in certain situations that put more emphasis on the subjective aspects of the reality of the poor family who have a direct relationship with poverty. The research was conducted in Surabaya, Indonesia. With direct interview, it is expected that the information obtained is deep and valid. Semampir sub-district according to BPS and TNP2K data has the poorest population in Surabaya. The sub-districts that belong to the poor in Semampir are: Ujung Village, Pegirian, Wonokusumo and Sidotopo. Wonokusumo is the poorest area around Semampir with a percentage of 18.13%, while the rest are Sidotopo (13.21%), Ujung (12.60%), Pegirian (10.17%) and Ampel (6.33%). The researchers observed the social behavior of informants (see table 1) in their daily activities. The data in this study were analyzed by utilizing interactive models with three steps: (1) data condensation, (2) data display, and (3) conclusion drawing and verification. Data condensation refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming data.

RESULTS

In this article, the researchers found three main obstacles that hinder the possibility of poor families to develop their businesses. The first cause is increasingly strict business competition. Second, these families do not have adequate savings or capital support. Third, due to the absence of their network access to the market, they usually sell goods through middlemen. Researchers found that the ability of poor families to diversify (move) businesses tend to be low due to limited capital and, generally, the lack of supporting skills.

Based on the data, researchers found a form of meaning construction of poverty in poor families. The incapacity faced by poor families is influenced by several factors that make them labelled with the word "poor". Many of poor families living in urban areas of Surabaya mentioned that they frequently face problems that force them to make a lot of efforts to save money and debt to their social networks to increase their urgent daily needs. The pressure of living needs that poor families should face often leads to an erosion of their business capital. (see figure 1)

Increasingly Strict Business Competition

In urban areas, relationships among people tend to be contractual and commercial, that seeking for the affordable financial resources for them seems increasingly difficult to find. Due to social relations among people that is fading and the rise of contractual-based relation among family, the patron figure is no longer really protecting. As long as they can work on their own and meet adequate daily needs, they will avoid debt on loan sharks. On the other hand, the lack of option often leads them to borrow money at "bank titil" (non-bank institutions or individuals who lend money, usually with high interest rates and bills are only made daily or weekly).

Most workers around Semampir work in the informal sector, such as laborers, traders, drivers, mechanics, carpenters, pedicab riders and beggars. Poverty caused duet o structural situations makes them even poorer. Poverty requires them to be able to survive. Poverty around urban area is also induced by job search competition. A large number of livelihood seekers and limited vacancies with very specific requirements cause some of them unemployed or working in the informal sector. Therefore, not all can work as expected.

A poor family accustomed to living from hand to mouth and some of them who even have become entangled in a chronic debt trap face difficulties to meet their life necessities that require a certain cost. It is something possible when a member of the poor family is getting sick, for example, they not only owe money to treatments, but also have to pawn goods or even sell their production assets. This is what happened to Mrs. Asy (43 years old):

"Yes, you can make fifty thousand a day," said Mrs. Aisyah. "I am also sometimes sad with my family's economy. We do not have savings. Money for family's daily needs is sometimes not enough. For example, if there is an urgent need, I am forced to borrow loan money from loan sharks or "bank titil" that do not require guarantees. What am I supposed to do? Do you want to borrow money from the neighbor? It's difficult. Even though the interest is high, but I'm still paying it off."

Families who face this kind of poverty can survive more and find ways to meet their needs. If there is an urgent need, they already have reserve money. Families who have social reason do not survive on only one job, but various jobs are done to fulfill their needs. This is as revealed by Mrs. MRY (50 years old):

"Even though I live with my son, I am very grateful, I can run small business and have activities in my retirement time. Every day, I can sell fritters and sometimes take orders from people in the neighborhood or Ampel area. Although the result obtained from selling fritters cannot fully meet the needs, it is enough to cover the needs of food in a month. I get Rp30,000-Rp50,000 in a day, while if there is an order for a ceremony or from Ample area, I can get more than Rp150,000. I am happy if I get more money because it can be set aside for the capital of later sales materials (such as for bananas, flour, sugar, etc.). Most often, I make fried bananas, noodle martabak, cucur and sometimes snacks based on customers' demand".

The Absence of Financial Capital

Many poor families living in Semampir, Surabaya, said they often face problems that force them to make various austerity effort and owe here and there to patch up daily living needs that are no longer possible to postpone. In normal life, poor families in urban areas generally go through a hard day with a meagre income. However, when poor families face problems or calamities, they have to spend extra money outside their regular planning. The uncertain economic situation and low expenditure and having family member that needs regular medical treatment happen to a young man, MM. As expressed by MM (27 years old):

"My life can be said to be very mediocre. My income in a week must be enough for daily use. My income for a week as a laborer can be Rp560,000. But yes, even though it seems quite a lot, it has been cut for my brother's needs, the medicine. To buy rice and daily side dishes can spend ten thousand to fifteen thousand. It's relieving that I don't pay electricity. Well, it's cut to pay for this and that and it can be run out. In a situation like this, the work is not certain, the expenses are getting bigger. Well, it's not enough to fulfill the daily needs. Even though I've been eating twice a day, sometimes once a day, it's still not enough. If I got grants from government, it might be a little helpful, besides the income from my work. So, this is my situation right now."

In daily life, a poor family are usually able to merely eat twice or once. Their daily income is approximately Rp200,000 to Rp500,000 per month (equivalent to US\$12.77-US\$31.91). Some of the family that claim themselves as "poor family" have a lot of uniqueness, according to the researchers, because they can have a fairly simple house occupied by two to four heads of families, have motorcycles and smartphones. These things seem "luxurious" to be owned by a poor family. Therefore, it becomes more interesting that they claim themselves as a "poor family" and receive the grants from government which should be accepted by poor families.

A few informants claimed that debt is very common for them. "There are no poor people who do not have debt", some informants said. On a systematic count, poor families are very aware

that owing money to loan sharks has high interest and risk. However, it becomes the only immediate way out to overcome life's needs that can no longer be postponed. Therefore, how much interest burden they must bear is another problem they should think about later. The anger of loan sharks due to the late payment or even avoiding debt, according to the informants, is the common thing they face. This is as revealed by Mrs. MRY (50 years old):

“I have also borrowed money at the bank for capital to my selling business. I pay Rp50,000 per week, sometimes also Rp104,000 per two weeks. I have to be grateful in this situation and I will do whatever it takes. Being in a poor condition should not be avoided but faced and everything will pass. I am grateful that at that time I could pay my debt and at this time I have no more debt. What becomes my concern now is my children can eat and other needs could be met. Alhamdulillah.”

Researchers see besides meeting the basic need, poverty also becomes the reason they are diligent and actively work and seek income for the family. There are two reasons for meeting basic needs, social and cultural reason. Based on social reason, people will work according on their situation and abilities, and they can have another work if they think they need and are able to. Based on cultural reason, people work because they must continue the family business and will stick with the job and not move to another job. The situation of poverty they lived in and faced in Surabaya made them more persistent without seeing other options of job.

Lack of income leads families into lending to loan sharks. It is commonly known that loan sharks become the option for poor urban families who are in need of money, since they can quickly obtain what is needed easily and informally, without preparing legal documents and other things like when they lend money to the bank. However, they must pay a very high interest burden of 20-50 percent per month, that the burden is increasingly strangling the situation of poor families. This is like what happened to an informant, who still rent a house and claim often borrow money to loan sharks because the income earned every day is insufficient. According to him, the calculation of interest expenses that must be paid if borrowing money to the loan shark is in every loan of Rp200,000 (US\$12.77), he must return it at Rp220,000-Rp230,000 (US\$14.90-US\$15) in 40 days. He said that the interest can reach up to 40 percent or more per month. Since he borrowed Rp200,000 (US\$12.77), the money he should pay is Rp250,000 (US\$15.90). The informant claimed that he is often forced into debt, despite the enormous and high interest.

The Absence of Access to Industrial Work

In Surabaya, the percentage of the population working in the industrial sector is decreasing compared to 2019, from 23.51 percent to 21.75 percent. Meanwhile, the increase occurred in the agricultural sector by 0.56 percent in 2019 to 0.67 percent in 2020. In the service sector, the number of people working in this sector is increasing by 1.65 points compared to 2019, from 75.93 percent in 2019 to 77.58 percent in 2020.

Table 1. Number of Population Aged 15 years and over who work during the week by work field group, year 2020.

Group of work	Male	Female	Male and Female
Agriculture	5,478	4,089	9,567
Industry	214,002	96,456	310,458
Service	607,343	500,300	1,107,643
total	826,823	600,845	1,427,668

Not all poor families in Semampir receive Direct Cash Assistant (known as *Bantuan Langsung Tunai* or BLT). Several informants admitted that they did not receive BLT even though their economic situation was very poor. There are various reasons mentioned by the sub-district (local sub-district) administrator why people cannot receive BLT, one of which is the absence of their name in the database of beneficiaries. According to the provisions of the central government, only the name listed in the database may receive (may not be represented by their children, even though the name listed is deceased), or their name is not recorded by the Head of Neighborhood Association (known as *Rukun Tetangga* or RT) Many reasons make some poor families do not have access to BLT and other assistance or grants. This is as revealed by Mrs. CH (26 years old):

"I have never received any financial aids from the government since the Jokowi era because there are difficulties in taking the grants. One reason is that the grant must be received by the head of the family listed in KK (Kartu Keluarga or Family Card). Since what is listed is the name of her deceased mother, the grant cannot be represented, even by the heir. I have tried to do whatever it takes to get it, until the head of RT also helps me. But still, I can't. There was a bit disappointment of not getting PKH ("Program Keluarga Harapan" or Hope Family Program) assistance from the government, but still, I am grateful that sustenance comes from other things. Although the value of the grant is not much, it can help with family expenses. The grant can be in the form of groceries and sometimes money. It can fulfill daily family expenses".

In Semampir, there are many poor families who live in a house or rented house which do not have clean facilities. To meet their water needs, they usually must buy water from local water company (known as *Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum* or PDAM) at a price of Rp2,000 (US\$0.13) for one large water drum. A large drum of water is usually used for one to two days on the provision (bath, washing clothes, washing dishes and so on). To save on the need for clean water, they usually utilize the water only for cooking or drinking. For bathing and defecation, they usually use public facilities nearby their house. It is also common for them not to use public bathroom facilities, to avoid fees (Rp500-Rp1,000 equivalent to US\$0.032-US\$0.064), they use river water regardless the cleanliness of the water.

In the region, in addition to the limited access for clean water, they generally do not meet health requirements. It can be seen from their houses located in the slums, which tend to be narrow, jostled, and chaotic. Many poor families live in rented houses measuring approximately 2x2.5

meters or 3x4 meters occupied by four up to six family members or even more. As long as they do not have their own house, they are to pay for a rented house either monthly or annually. This is as stated by Mrs. Massudeh (43 years old) that she and her children live on the railroad track area. She was to live there because there was no place with affordable price available. The area nearby the railroad track is a state-owned land (PT Kereta Api Indonesia). She has only to pay approximately Rp50,000 per month for the rent (equivalent to US\$3.19). She has lived in the rented house for almost 5 years. She must deal with the noise of the passing train. She and the family also find it difficult to move to other villages, due to the expensive rent, which almost reaches Rp150,000 per month (equivalent to US\$9.56 USD). The price can be higher if it has easy access to public area.

DISCUSSION

Externalization of Poor Families

Externalization is a process of adaptation of a poor family to the poor environment (slum) and daily habits close to their lives. The actions used as habituation retain their meaningful nature for the individual and are taken for granted. The bias has psychological benefits as choices are narrowed and there is no need for each situation to be redefined step by step. Thus, it will free the accumulation of tensions caused by impulses that are not directed. This habituation process precedes any institutionalization. Man, according to empirical knowledge, cannot be imagined apart from his continuous outpouring of himself into the surrounding environment (Berger & Luckmann, 2016).

Externalization of the poor families in Semampir sub-district arises from the condition of the family's economic vulnerability, fragile and easily broken, for not having adequate economic support. Vulnerability is defined as the initial process of the family, consciously creating poor conditions with limited situation. The inability to fulfill material, financial, etc. further exacerbates the vulnerability of the poor families. In contrast to the middle-class who are relatively well-off economically because they have an "economic cushion" or relatively well-established economic savings, poor families who live in various pockets of poverty around urban areas, such as Surabaya, frequently depend on their uncertain, mediocre, and completely limited income, so instead of eliminating poor families in general, they are involved in chronic debt traps. For the poor, developing a mechanism of "*gali lobang tutup lobang* [borrowing money to pay for another loan]" mechanism is one of the common ways they must do to find around the necessities of daily life.

Poor Family Objectification

Apart from being vulnerable, another characteristic of the poor in Semampir is powerlessness. They exhibit a weak bargaining position when dealing with the social class above them in terms of economy and power. Objectification coming from internal problems among families can be explained by the condition of the helplessness of the poor, such as the conditions where the elite

or the social class in power arbitrarily play as individuals who solicit help under the poor for personal interest. The helplessness of the poor can be manifested in the fact that poor families are often deceived and pressured by people in power. Powerlessness often leads to a bias in assistance to the poor to the class above them who should not be entitled to subsidies (Makmun, 2003).

Family objectification encourages an attitude of diversifying types of work and involving family members in fulfillment (Li, 2009). This way of survival does not all happen well. Conflicts often arise among one another, which leads to hostility and disharmony (Leonard et al., 2006). Objectification becomes a process that is no less important in human behavior. This process answers how they can survive and how they can build poor communities. Poor conditions make the perpetrators of poverty more solid with the process of assimilation among these communities. Conditions in which flexible interaction, mutual need for one another, mutual help and attachment are found due to similar destiny (Simanjuntak & Amal, 2018). This process sometimes causes a lot of problems and leads to fights. It happens for not only a shared fate but also different principles of life, which brings about new problems among them. Bringing harmony and common ground is not easy, but under the brotherhood and kinship, disagreements are commonly resolved.

Internalization of the Poor

Internalization becomes their identity to the social world. It involves the role of family members. With family bond, they are instinctively more confident in socialization with cyberspace (Brown & Robinson, 2016; SOFIA, 2017). To strengthen their self-potential and socialization, they participate in a social network (village social event) which is held regularly every month. The more diligent they are in social gatherings, the stronger the internalization process they build. Thus, if they have reached the internalization stage, they will build a construction of thought about poverty, which is the limitations and disabilities they encounter (Dharmawan, 2007). Poverty is interpreted subjectively, which generates an attitude to accept the situation. The most significant process of making the most of network is organizational internalization by poor families, which affects their social, economic, and political life. These groups include relatives/family, neighbors/workmates, government officials, and community leaders. One of the public figures who play a vital role in politics is the government. Government has a strategic and central position in society. They play as educated and wealthy people among society. As educated elites, they provide significant knowledge, especially that related to the value of public health.

Basically, the internalization process by the urban poor does not run as expected due to the limited relation, education, economy, and access they have. It affects the information they receive from relatives (closest family), neighbors (colleague), and people considered to know about health, such as doctors, parties from public health centres, and government officials, and advertisements on television, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets on the streets. The information they receive is expected to create trust among family members. Participation in any activities to build the relations also requires a lot of costs, transportation costs, routine contribution fees (at gatherings). They sometimes avoid such activities because they increase expenses. The internalization process

developed by every poor family is a direct impact of their objectification process in their environment and the social institutions that protect them in their daily lives (Berger & Luckmann, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The construction of poverty meaning in the urban area of Surabaya occurs in three dialectical processes of synthesis, which are externalization, objectification, and internalization. This research demonstrated that the externalization process of the poor Semampir arises from the condition of the family's economic vulnerability, fragile and easily broken for inadequate economic support. Vulnerability is defined as the initial process of the family, consciously creating poor conditions. Their inability to afford financially further exacerbates the vulnerability. Meanwhile, objectification comes from internal problems among families due to powerlessness, for example within the conditions where the elites or authorities play as individuals soliciting aid under the poor for personal interest. For example, when dealing with the loan sharks, they can quickly obtain what they need through loan sharks. The internalization of the poor families can be seen from the existence of disasters or tribulations that enable them to survive and the relationships among families and social groups that function as a safety net among the poor. The survival strategy adopted by the poor in Semampir includes family involvement upon seeking sustenance, having savings, various jobs, and the sustainability of the family business. This research contributes to the realm of cultural sociology in understanding poverty among people, especially urban communities who live in poor. Finally, the researchers realized that this paper has limitations in some respects, among others the role of religion in dealing with poverty, ethnic and racial ties in the community, government policies that are assumed to be successful in the poverty alleviation process. Therefore, further research is highly required to accommodate religious relations in the meaning of poverty, ethnic social solidarity, and local government policies upon poverty alleviation.

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