

3.2 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

3.2.1 The 1979 Village Law

The Government of Indonesia introduced new, uniform structures for villages (desa) throughout Indonesia with the 1979 Village Law (UU/5/1979), with the aim of increasing both the effectiveness of development at the local level, and the level of public participation in development. Under this system there are two new forms of village: desa and kelurahan. For desa, the village head - Kepala Desa - is elected for an eight year term by the villagers. The "upgraded" village structure is called kelurahan, and is usually located in urban areas. The Lurah (head of the kelurahan) and some of the hamlet (sub-desa or dusun) heads become appointed civil servants with salaries and unlimited tenure. Desa can be reclassified as kelurahan if they are relatively modernised and near administrative centres such as kabupaten and kecamatan.

The Kepala Desa and Lurah are also designated as head of the LKMD (Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa or Village Self-Reliance Organisation), whose members are mostly elected by villagers for a period of five years. The LKMD's role is to activate people to carry out development in a co-ordinated way, whether the development derives from government activities or from community self-help. The head of the PKK (the women's organisation), who is the wife of the Kepala Desa, is an LKMD deputy leader. LMD (Lembaga Musyawarah Desa or the Village Consultative Council) exists only in desa, not in kelurahan. Headed by the Kepala Desa, its members help the village head to approve all decisions, arrange elections and approve the village budgets. Members of LMD are nominated by the Kepala Desa.

3.2.2 Effects of the Abolition of the Marga

Following the introduction of the UU/5/79, the Marga in the Southern Part of Sumatra were progressively disbanded, between 1981 (Jambi) and 1984 (South Sumatra). Smaller village units were created. The new villages were usually based on the Marga hamlets, with adjustments in boundaries according to population distribution and other factors. One analysis has shown the resulting increase in numbers of the lowest level administration unit (now the village) in the Region, as illustrated in the following table. The number of desa has subsequently increased since 1986.

Table 3.2.1 The Number of the Lowest Level Administration Unit in the Region

	1961	1974	1986
Jambi	119	101	1,220
Sumatra Selatan	824	429	2,432
Bengkulu	55	70	1,226
Lampung	959	1,195	1,509

Source: Kato 1989, p.90

The effects of this legislation in the Region have been profound. Marga income sources were transferred to local government; and each village now has access to new funding sources, such as Banded, for government approved projects. The responsibility for what used to be classified as Marga territory (forest, grasslands or water resources) has now gone to higher levels of government. Village heads typically do not have the same knowledge of the prevailing adat as the Pasirah did, leading to a separation between village administration and adat.

Has this separation of adat from government been positive or negative? Opinions suggest both. In the Rejang cultural sphere in Bengkulu one observer believed that, with the abolition of the Marga, the individual has been "emancipated" from traditional institutional relations, and allowed to "leave the traditional social structure and enter the wider national social sphere." Yet at the same time there is a potentially dislocating gap between the old forms and the new models (Wuisman 1986). Another writer on the Rejang notes that, although some Pasirah may have been corrupt and self-serving, they were "the last unifying element of identification between the people and the government" (Galizia 1990). Without this link, the people cling to adat traditions which are increasingly disparate and in conflict with surrounding realities. In Kerinci (Jambi) the initial enthusiasm which greeted the introduction of the Village Law waned quickly, partly due to the by-passing of the ninik-mamak adat lineage elders (Watson 1987).

The separation of adat from government also affects administration. Whilst more government funding is available at village level in the Region than previously, questions have been raised about the capacity of the new villages to utilise these funds effectively. For example it seems to be more difficult to co-ordinate work between village communities now, to maintain roads, bridges or irrigation systems held in common, or to co-ordinate rice planting times to minimise rat and insect infestations (Kato 1989; Mubyarto 1991). Without their own sources of revenue, it is harder for the new desa administrators to take the time required to organise village development projects; and without adat support, it is harder for them to mobilise the people through the new LKMD institutions (Mubyarto 1991).

The different impact of this legislation on various types of village was the subject of a University micro-study in Lampung (Section 4.3.1), which examined the capacity of traditional, transmigrant and newly developed villages to promote co-operative development efforts through local level institutions such as LKMD. Lampung is an interesting case study, because of its 20th century history, with very high levels of migration due to Kolonisatie (beginning in 1905) under the colonial era; the Transmigration era (1950 to 1980); and to large numbers of spontaneous migrants. The population grew from 160,000 in 1905 to 6 million (1990 census), and is still predominantly rural (over 80 per cent) (Orstom/Transmigrasi 1989). This pattern of migration is reflected in the structure of the province's 1941 villages (1990 census). Adoption of the new village structure in rural areas has varied considerably, according to the prevailing cultural patterns.

Some other interesting insights into the results of the change from Marga to desa have come from research in the other three provinces (Sections 4.1.1; 4.1.2; 4.1.4; 4.2.1; 4.2.2; and 4.4.1).

3.3 PEOPLE, LAND USE AND ENVIRONMENT

3.3.1 Traditional Concepts of Land Use

Hak Ulayat is the right of members of an adat community to utilise land, in a way sanctioned by adat and agreed amongst community members, but generally not officially registered. The transfer of such land usually followed the pattern of inheritance prevailing in the community. Where the Pasirah was also the adat chief, the Marga could be synonymous with the adat community, with the Pasirah deciding whether to lease Marga land to outsiders. Through most of the Region, community members could open up forested Marga land if they informed the Pasirah. Land classified as adat or Marga land tended not to be registered; whilst the colonial power introduced a system of official land registration and leasing for new forms of agricultural production, including estates and plantations.

3.3.2 Changing Regulations: Adat Title is Not Enough

The legislation of the Agrarian Law (UU/5/1960) ended this dualistic land ownership system, by giving the Government of Indonesia power to determine and regulate land rights, transfer land, and to use and reserve land for national interest. This Law

recognised adat and Marga property rights where they did not conflict with the national interest. It recommended that such land be formally registered, and provided for reasonable compensation if land was resumed by the state. Three types of agrarian land rights were recognised: rights concerning land; mortgage rights; and other rights. The first category includes rights of ownership, exploitation, building, use, development and lease. Under UU/5/1960 adat rights could be converted into rights of ownership (Hak Milik) or use (Hak Pakai). However, the process of registering Marga land moved very slowly. Since 1979 some adat or Marga land has been converted into state land (tanah negara bebas), which can be reallocated for smallholdings for example under the Transmigration program, or for larger estates. Land registration has, since 1988, been the responsibility of the National Land Board (BPN), an independent department directly under the supervision of the President.

Some Marga forest land has been converted to Department of Forestry control. Forest legislation was introduced in 1970 (PP21/1970) to regulate the use of forests and forest products. Under this legislation, forest industries (HPH) have been given licenses to operate exclusively in forest land. Whilst such industries have been an important means for provincial revenue raising since the 1970s, for example in Jambi which was very dependent on the declining international rubber market, the costs have impacted heavily upon communities living in the vicinity of the forests. Their traditional sources of wood, rattan, damar, native rubber, honey and other forest products under Hak Ulayat are no longer available. Similarly, the revenues from leasing Marga land which used to accrue to them, and their sources of new land for cultivation, are frozen whilst the forest industries operate. This has led to some hardship, and recommendations to distribute to them some of the benefits of development which have accrued to the forest industries (Mubyarto 1991).

3.3.3 Land Tenure in the Region

The amount of land held under Hak Ulayat adat or Marga title that has been registered is still limited throughout the Region. This is noted in many of the research reports.

Since 1960 there has been a process of registration for Marga land, but in some areas this has moved slowly, with local people being unsure of the procedures they should go through or the costs involved in registering their land. There is also a fear, in some areas, that registration will somehow change the nature of the tenure. The World Bank (1988) noted that land registration is generally difficult and costly, and that "there is no land registration program at the present time which is affordable and responsive to the needs of smallholders." This complicates all land buying and selling in the Region. For example, spontaneous migrants who purchase land from local people want security of tenure through formal title, but most local people who sell land are able to sell only the cultivation rights under adat law. Some examples of the complex relations between adat societies and spontaneous migrants in terms of land use are discussed in a research report for South Sumatra (Section 4.1.2).

The Transmigration program, which was accelerated significantly in all provinces of the Region during Repelita III, is now virtually completed in most of the Region, except for some Trans Bandep and Translok programs. In the early years of Kolonisatie (beginning in 1905 in Lampung and later extending to the other three provinces) and, after Independence, Transmigration, the Government was able to buy land from local people and provide the transmigrants with formal land title. After some decades of rapid population growth and resource use intensification within the provinces of the Region, however, there is little unutilised land left. The old image which some people still carry of Sumatra's "empty land" and vast untapped forest reserves is clearly inapplicable. The World Bank now notes that land is a "serious constraint" to further Transmigration in the Region, with Lampung and Bengkulu "fully settled"; and only very limited coastal lowlands available in South Sumatra and Jambi. Compensation paid for adat land resumed by government is generally so low that people try not to relinquish their best land to government for development purposes (World Bank 1988).

Transmigration, large estates and plantations, tambak fishpond developments and various forms of forest concessions have, in the past few decades especially, changed

significantly the forms of primary production in the Region, and significantly increased the rate of resource utilisation. Many of these developments have acquired land formerly utilised by smallholders under adat law. Some smallholders have consequently lost all or part of their adat land. Many have had to move from their villages to urban centres or to environmentally marginal areas such as mountainous slopes in watersheds with consequent damage to river systems through soil loss (See World Bank 1989). In such areas, local people may be outnumbered by spontaneous migrants, as in Southwest Lampung (Orstom 1988). Compensation levels are not sufficient to allow purchase of new land elsewhere. Under adat title, compensation usually only covers tree crops and improvements, not the land itself. Generally, smallholders have few options for alternative jobs because of their low levels of education, limited connections and limited resources. One of the research reports examines this and other reasons for migration of rural people into Palembang (Section 4.1.4).

Because most of the Region, like much of the rest of Sumatra, is "fully settled" rather than empty or seriously underutilised, measures are now needed in planning and management which take account of the new realities. For example the World Bank (1988) has urged caution in government support for more spontaneous migration, without "improved systems of land acquisition and strong measures for environmental protection." Systems of land acquisition should also include registration and reasonable levels of compensation to smallholders within the Region, if prospects of environmental damage in fragile areas are to be avoided. For example, the World Bank has recommended that the Ministry of Transmigration be strengthened to develop parallel plans for local people; that the Monitoring Units of the Ministry of Population and Environment and the local Bappedas should take on an increasing role in determining benefits for local people; and that Bappedas should give close attention to problems of land alienation, especially for isolated or ethnically distinct local people (1988).

With the loss of the Pasirah's role as decision-maker for resource utilisation and conservation within the Marga, new environmental management mechanisms are needed, particularly at the local or community level.

3.3.4 Complex Patterns of Land Utilisation

Some examples may illustrate these points. In the Shiwad area in Lampung less than 1 per cent of the former adat land has been registered. Very few people had utilised the PRONA (Proyek Nasional Agraria) program designed to speed up land registration for low income groups, due to limited funds for the program. In the Shiwad area, complex patterns of landholdings exist. The original Lampung people are Pubian, who are traditionally organised into buway, or clans; and Peminggir, who are organised into bandaria, which are villages of kin-related inhabitants. Each group has its own system of inheritance. For the Peminggir the bandaria head usually organised the distribution, allocation and transfer of land, including Marga land. These groups still tend to consult adat leaders as the first point of reference in the case of disputes over land. The Semendo, a matrilineal pioneering group from South Sumatra, moved into the area in waves beginning at the end of the 19th century. For them, land transfers also tend to follow adat, and, like the Lampung groups, land can be transferred only with the agreement of the wider kin group. The Javanese (spontaneous migrants) are the most recent arrivals in this ethnic mosaic, and for them, the village unit is basically territorial. For them, adat is not a major factor in resolving land disputes or transferring land (Bappeda I Bandar Lampung 1991).

Other area-specific studies in the Region show similar patterns of complexity of land ownership and use. For example a study of the Komering/Ogan/Lower Musi river systems in South Sumatra identifies Komering, Malay and Buginese people, together with Javanese transmigrants, as the main ethnic groups, with some smaller groups, practicing a wide range of land use systems and having different patterns for the transfer of land (Tsubouchi 1980). The Universities socio-cultural research program investigated these issues, for example the links between adat, inheritance, land use and the environment in 3 areas of South Sumatra (Section 4.1.2); and the changing value of land in Bengkulu following introduction of large estates onto smallholder land (Section 4.2.1). Overall, the research

supports the need for improved land registration, land titling and compensation procedures, together with strengthened environmental management.

3.3.5 Forest Dwellers

There are about 15,000 Suku Anak Dalam (Kubu) distributed within the provinces of Jambi and South Sumatra. With the loss of their traditional habitat, primary rainforest, they are currently attempting to survive through sedentarisation and integration into the mainstream (Persoon 1989).

Kubu traditionally lived as hunters and gatherers of forest products. They engaged in exchanges with the world outside the forest through silent barter, whereby they exchanged unprocessed forest products (rattan, honey, roots, wild fruits, elephants' teeth and game animals) for such goods as salt, cutlasses, tobacco and textiles. The terms of this silent barter were generally very unfavourable for the Kubu and very favourable for the Malay middleman (jenang).

With the loss of forest to the HPH logging concessions, and the subsequent conversion of large parts of the rainforest into estates and settlement sites since the mid-1970s, the Kubu lifestyle has had to change. Kubu responses have ranged from complete assimilation to begging on the new highways. In South Sumatra, small groups of Kubu have settled in marginal land, in rubber gardens and ladang sites at the edges of the former forests. Since they can no longer obtain their traditional trade products from the forest, they engage in new forms of work, such as labour in exchange for food, money and utensils; agriculture, trying to learn Malay cultivation methods; making items for sale such as baskets and fishtraps; hunting of forest species which prosper in the disturbed forest environment (such as pigs); and collecting rubber seedlings. There has been some missionary work amongst the Kubu from Christian and Islamic groups.

Departemen Sosial has made efforts to resettle some of the Kubu. However, the Kubu experience problems in adapting to settled village life, which does not necessarily fit with their traditional values. A buffer zone created in the mid-1980s allows Kubu in the Pegunungan Duabelas area of Jambi to adapt to the outside world more on their own terms. One of the research projects focussed on Kubu adaptations to settlement in Musi Rawas, in South Sumatra (Section 4.1.3).

3.4 HUMAN RESOURCES

3.4.1 Employment

(1) Broad Trends

Recent trends in employment, wages and labour on a national basis have been analysed by Manning (1992) based partly on 1990 Census data. Over the past decade, labour has been absorbed into manufacturing at increasing rates, especially in the Outer Islands (including Sumatra) where non-oil exports are concentrated. The 1990 Census shows a decline in agriculture's share of the labour force from 56 per cent in 1980 to 50 per cent in 1990. Although agriculture accounted for over one third of all new jobs created between 1980 and 1990, many employees in this sector were part-time or underemployed workers. This highlights a need to continue policies which raise the capacity of agriculture to absorb labour. The most rapid employment growth in the 1980s was experienced in the manufacturing, transport and construction sectors, whilst growth in personal and community services, including the government sector, slowed. This seems consistent with evidence of both a growing informal sector, and the declining role of the public sector in employment compared with the oil-boom 1970s.

Wages in most sectors grew during the early part of the decade, but stagnated in the second half of the 1980s. Rice sector wages show little growth since 1985. Estate wages

fell significantly in parts of Sumatra. Similarly, wages in manufacturing have remained almost constant, although in general manufacturing wages seem to be very roughly double those received in agriculture. It seems that the boom period of 1989-90 was concentrated in the modern private sector, generating demand for limited categories of highly skilled labour only. Stagnating wages may partly be explained by the substantial increase in women's entry into the work force in both urban and rural areas; and partly due to intersectoral labour shifts.

Whilst Indonesia's relatively low wages have contributed to employment creation in new industries over the past decade, there is increasing concern over sub-standard wages and working conditions. There has been increasing worker unrest recently, resulting from poor wages and working conditions; the recent failure of wages to keep up with increased costs of living; and abuses of the labour laws in some export-oriented factories, some of which are foreign funded.

These trends are reflected in some of the research results. First, relatively low wages in the agricultural sector, especially in estates, were reported in a number of areas in the Region, for example as a factor contributing to rural-urban migration (Section 4.1.4). Many people are clearly reluctant to work at such low rates, some of them also preferring to move into marginal, environmentally fragile areas to continue independent smallholder farming. Second, the stagnation of employment generation in the government sector, for example as noted in Jambi (Section 4.4.2), contrasts with educated people's clear preference for employment in government. Many will continue to be disappointed unless government revenues expand again. This highlights a need for employment creation in skilled labour or low to middle management positions in industry and elsewhere. Third, the relative buoyancy of the informal sector has been noted in Palembang, where many poor rural have been able to survive tough conditions to earn a modest living through support from networks of kin and friends (Section 4.1.4). Some observers believe that Sumatran people in general often have natural entrepreneurial skills which they can draw upon in these circumstances.

(2) Unemployment of Senior High School Graduates

Another, related feature of the Region's labour force is the high rate of unemployment amongst senior high school graduates. An analysis of 1990 Sakernas data (Labour Force Survey - see BPS 1991) data shows that well over half of all senior high school graduates are registered as looking for work in Jambi, South Sumatra and Bengkulu. A substantial number are women. The lower rates in Lampung may be due partly to the widely reported movement of senior high school graduates to jobs in West Java, especially amongst male graduates. This is set out in the table below.

Table 3.4.1 Percentage of Senior High School Graduates Amongst Those Currently Looking for Work.

	Total No. Seeking Work	No. Senior HS Graduates seeking work			Percentage
		M	F	Total	
Jambi	16,323	5,646	4,186	9,832	60%
South Sumatra	76,270	24,551	22,029	46,640	61%
Bengkulu	7,981	2,630	2,560	5,190	65%
Lampung	25,153	4,914	5,781	10,695	43%

Source: BPS 1991.

Many rural senior high school age students in the Region currently move to urban areas, where schools are better, to finish their education. They tend to stay in the cities looking

for work, in preference to returning to the village to pursue a farming career. This is discussed in a Jambi case study (Section 4.4.2).

Again, these data reinforce the need for strategies which create or expand skilled labour and low to middle management opportunities, probably in the private sector unless funds become available to expand government sector employment significantly. In addition, training of the work force is needed to develop specific skills.

3.4.2 The Informal Sector

The informal sector is that part of the shadow, or unofficial, economy in which small units produce for the market or provide services. This includes, for example, street vendors, small enterprises using family labour, shoe-shiners and scavengers (Evers 1991). The informal sector is generally characterised by low levels of specialisation, traditional technology, for example as used by artisans, recruitment of labour via kin networks, and minimal access to formal financial institutions, with significant dependence on high interest loans from money lenders. The recent buoyancy of the informal sector in Indonesia is, in part, a result of a capital intensive industrialisation strategy which centres on modern, high technology and generally recruits limited numbers of skilled labourers. There is a large, unskilled labour force with low levels of education (primary level schooling) which cannot, at present, be absorbed into the formal sector economy.

Factors which influence the growth of the informal sector in urban areas of Indonesia include the introduction of new technologies in agriculture which affect smallholders and agricultural labourers; limits on arable land in rural areas, and land fragmentation; the differences in income between agriculture and non-agriculture sectors; and the urban-rural differences in provision of education and health services (Sethuraman in Rachbini 1991). The fate of rural migrants to the Palembang informal sector is examined in a Palembang case study (Section 4.1.4).

Policies which assist the informal sector are difficult to frame, because of the complex relationships between the formal and informal sectors. Informal sector workers are, by definition, relatively poor, politically weak, and lacking in access to government services. However, informal sector workers may be assisted by provision of small scale investment credit, Inpres funding if it is spent on effective low-cost services, labour intensive employment programs, small scale industry development, and urban development which is sensitive to the work patterns and needs of the informal sector. Special studies are needed as part of city development programs to determine how the informal sector operates; to ensure that plans disrupt existing patterns as little as possible; and to provide compensatory income generation, training or facilities to informal sector workers if displacement and disruption is unavoidable.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 PUSAT PENELITIAN, UNIVERSITAS SRIWIJAYA (UNSRI)

4.1.1 An Assessment of the Change in Village Law on Adat, Land use and the Environment

Field Researchers: Ir. Hayatuddin; Dr. Simonse.

(1) Aims and Method

This Research aimed to explore anecdotal evidence on changing patterns of land use in South Sumatra. UU/5/79 ended the system of local administration based on Marga, a territorial unit ruled by local leaders with the title of Depati or Pasirah. Anecdotal evidence suggested that local adat has, as a consequence, been weakened, and that local Sumatran communities find it more difficult under the new system to mobilise for the common interest in achieving development objectives. The Pasirah had a good knowledge of adat law and custom,

and was also responsible for making decisions on the use of forest reserves classified as Marga land. Following the change in the Village Law, increased pressure on forest reserves may have led to accelerated environmental deterioration.

The research was carried out as part of a larger UNSRI Research Project on Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in South Sumatra. The research method included archival investigation and structured interviews with key community figures covering most kabupaten in South Sumatra.

(2) Findings

Broad-ranging research in six kabupaten, including Musi Rawas and Lahat, found differing perceptions among individuals on the effects of UU/5/79. Kepala Desa and other village officials tended to favour the new structure, due to the direct relationship it establishes between the Kepala Desa and the Camat, and because of the new sources of Government funding which are available for village development.

Former Pasirah of the pre-1983 Marga in South Sumatra, adat leaders and informal leaders, however, generally saw negative social effects arising from the legislation. With the separation of adat from the village administration, the traditional adat sanctions become weaker. Working together (gotong-royong) is harder to implement, because the Kepala Desa has less personal authority than the Pasirah had. Family obligations between members of the same kin group are weakening. Following the implementation of UU/5/79 in 1983, there was a rise in petty thieving and lawbreaking, which formerly would have been dealt with in the adat courts. Although adat institutions (Lembaga Pemangku Adat) were created at Kecamatan level (1988) they have only a consultative role in giving advice. These institutions do not structurally restore the institutional link between adat and administration which was in place under the Marga system. Lahat's adat institution deals largely with the complex and influential Pasemah adat.

The Marga drew revenue from the use of the environmental resources within its territory (land rents; fishing rights; taxes on forest products such as wood, rattan, damar and honey; mining and oil rights) as well as from taxes, services and fines. So the Pasirah, and his advisors, played a key role as regulator of land use within the Marga territory. His authority was boosted significantly by his role as symbol of Marga power; guardian of the adat traditions of the ancestors; and guarantor of continued prosperity of the community's resource base for the welfare of future generations.

The research provides examples of the Pasirah's decision-making on environmental matters. Pasirah often gave Marga outsiders permission to cultivate ladang in Marga forest if they paid tax, but restricted the places and seasons to prevent overuse of the forest resource. When the Marga was abolished it was easier for new migrants to the Region to obtain land to cultivate. This has had positive benefits when cultivation has been intensified within safe ecological limits, but has had negative impact when safe limits have been ignored, for example in fragile watersheds.

The Pasirah could control tree-felling by strict regulation of the quantity and size of trees to be felled. In Kabupaten Musi Rawas tree-felling by outsiders increased significantly shortly after the Marga was abolished. Faced with dwindling forest stocks local people began taking forest products. Under the Marga system local people had a stake in following environmentally sound practices because, as Marga members, they benefitted from the Marga revenue raised. Now, however, the use and revenue from forests is managed at kabupaten level, so local people feel it is outside their control. Similarly, in rivers and in swampy areas such as in Kabupaten OKI, the Pasirah controlled the auction of fishing rights on rivers or lebak lebung (swamp). Anyone could bid for such rights, but there were strict controls on the size of the fish to be taken in order to guarantee future catches. With the redirection of these rights to Kabupaten level there has been less access for local people, and also less regulation on the size of the fish taken.

(3) Conclusion

The Marga structure linked adat to administration, so that adat provisions to secure the land for future generations could be implemented more readily than today. With the abolition of the Marga, there is a need for environment management systems which work at all levels of government and at the community level. If communities are given a stake in environmental management through decentralisation of responsibility for and control of selected resources to the village level, then they have a stronger incentive to safeguard the environment for future generations.

4.1.2 The Impact of Spontaneous Transmigration on Rural Labour Supply and Land Use in Three Areas of South Sumatra: Semendo, Babat Toman and Martapura

Field Researchers: Dra. Aisyah AR; Dra. Yusnaini; Dra. Tina.

(1) Aims and Method

This research examined patterns of spontaneous migration and interaction between migrants and local people in terms of labour exchange, social contact and the utilisation of land, including environmental impacts of changes in land use. The principal features of the existing local culture and adat were investigated, including language groups, descent and kinship systems, in order to assess interlinkages with settlement patterns; cultivation patterns and land use prior to and after the spontaneous migrations. Three case studies in South Sumatra have traced the impact of spontaneous transmigrants from Java to villages with three distinct cultural traditions: Semendo (Kabupaten Muara Enim); Sekayu (Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin); and Komerling (Kabupaten Ogan Komerling Ulu).

This research program complemented another UNSRI field research program in these villages. The Researchers spent up to three months living in their field village, utilising in-depth participant observation research methods.

(2) Semendo

The village in Kecamatan Semendo, Kabupaten Muara Enim is typical of upland agricultural villages in the Semendo heartland. Semendo adat provides a web of rights and obligations based on the bonds of kinship. The fishing net (jala) symbolises the unity and integrity of the wider clan group, whereby even those living far away will gather together for ceremonial purposes. Under the Semendo matrilineal adat, the harta tubang inheritance of wet rice lands, fish ponds and family house passes down through the tunggu tubang (the oldest girl in each family); and she has clearly defined responsibilities as supporter and decision-maker for the wider clan group. Her male kin, especially her uncle (meraje), also play an important role in providing advice and assistance in managing this inheritance based on their understanding of adat traditions. The house acts as a centre for adat ceremony amongst the wider kin group. Women's status, especially that of the tunggu tubang, is high under Semendo adat.

The harta tubang inheritance cannot be sold. The tunggu tubang and her husband are responsible for this family wealth entrusted to them for their own descendents. They are also responsible for supporting elderly or unmarried people in the wider kin group, and must advise and support relatives who are facing difficulties. Marriage of the future tunggu tubang is an important occasion, arranged by the family, usually with a distant relative to strengthen relations within the clan. Younger siblings marry more simply. They may inherit kebun (gardens for tree crops). If they choose their own spouse, they are usually seek a living independently of the family, often moving outside the village to seek new lands.

Most people in the village obtain a living from agriculture, with wet rice lands, fish ponds and poultry providing food supplies. Kebun of coffee, or, in some cases, cloves,

provide a cash supplement to subsistence rice production. Unlike wet rice lands, kebun (usually about 3 to 4 hectares in size) can be bought and sold under Semendo adat. New kebun could be opened up more easily in forest land than could wet rice lands, which require labour intensive terracing. In the past, the pattern of inheritance favouring the tunggu tubang has encouraged younger siblings to move out seeking new lands to open up. This was reinforced by strong social pressure for Semendo families to become self-sufficient, even whilst maintaining their responsibilities to the wider clan group. Semendo people have moved in pioneering fronts, usually in the fertile Bukit Barisan uplands, into the neighbouring provinces of Lampung and Bengkulu.

Seasonal workers have traditionally come to the Semendo area from Muara Enim (Lematang people) and Lahat (Pasemah people) to help during the harvest season. The Semendo people consider wages paid to harvesters as alms, which should amount to 1 kilogram for every 10 kilograms produced. Sometimes, relatives of the Semendo landholders will help to harvest, but generally relatives are reluctant to do this because they would need to be paid, and so could be considered as recipients of alms. Young villagers, who used to help at harvest time, are now increasingly moving to urban areas to further their education.

Javanese spontaneous migrants first appeared in 1976. Young Javanese farmers were actively recruited by larger Semendo landholders to help cultivate the harta tubang wet rice lands, and underutilised coffee kebun, if the landholders were too old to work, or wanted to leave the Semendo village to work in an urban centre. Before this, tunggu tubang and their husbands were unable to leave the village because they could not neglect their agricultural responsibilities. The Javanese have been well-received by the Semendo people to date, largely because of the important role they play within the agricultural systems. They constitute only 9 per cent of the total village population; and most have learnt to speak Semendo.

The Javanese were generally landless or people with tiny, non-viable portions of land, who originally came to the Semendo village on work contracts as sharecroppers and farmhands. The first Javanese migrants helped arrange contracts with Semendo families for their friends and relatives to follow. They are now beginning to rent or buy their own lands, usually 1 to 2 hectares of kebun, as wet rice lands are restricted to inheritance within Semendo families. The Javanese either buy or rent unutilised kebun from local people, or open up new kebun on land which used to belong to the Marga, subject to payment of specified charges to the village administration. Renting or buying their own land gives the Javanese additional incentive to intensify production, and they often supplement the income from tree-crops with vegetables, fish and poultry.

Javanese migrants play an important role in intensifying land cultivation in ways which complement the roles traditionally followed by Semendonese and their seasonal labourers. Migration of the younger Semendo children traditionally relieved land pressure in the Semendo heartland. However, such opportunities rapidly are diminishing as opportunities to open up virgin forest lands elsewhere in the Region disappear. Some adverse environmental effects are beginning to appear in the Semendo heartland as the land under kebun extends: drying up of water sources in the dry season, and landslips along steep banks, including roadsides.

(3) Sekayu

The Sekayu village in Kecamatan Babat Toman, Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin, located along the banks of the Musi River, is also principally agricultural. Rubber is the main product, accounting for 90 per cent of total village agricultural production. Rice is grown once a year on rain-watered farms, sometimes supplemented by vegetables.

Under local adat, families are organised into patrilineal groups. Traditionally, women followed their husband's family on marriage in virilocal residence. Children belonged to his lineage, and sons inherited his property. Under this system, women's rights and responsibilities were limited, and her husband's lineage made most social and economic

arrangements. Sometimes, where the family had no sons, a husband would marry into the wife's family, and in that case her status and decision-making responsibilities vis-a-vis her husband were high. Recently, however, there has been a shift towards neolocal residence, whereby the young couple establish their own home on marriage, and a general weakening of responsibilities between more distantly-related lineage members. Women are playing a more important role in family decision-making, for example concerning the education of the children. Increasingly, Islamic inheritance is being followed, under which daughters can inherit a lesser share.

Elder men in the lineage still have a privileged social position and role in ensuring the continuation of adat custom, for example in arranging marriages, in settling the amount of brideprice to be paid to the woman's family and in resolving disputes. Whereas in the past the eldest son had special family responsibilities towards his younger siblings and their children, this role is now weakening, and responsibilities are being shared more equally between brothers. However there are still lands which are considered to be the common property of the lineage, which are generally managed by the eldest brother. These lands are not supposed to be sold, but may be divided until they become unworkably small.

Javanese first began coming to the area in 1978 as paid farmhands working for larger landholders. They came direct from crowded villages in central Java looking for new land to cultivate; and indirectly from nearby transmigration sites, where they had been unable to secure a living. Their numbers increased rapidly after 1978, but now have slowed, due to decreasing land availability in the village, to restrictions from the village administration and to the declining rubber prices. Javanese now form 25 per cent of the population. They mainly live clustered in 13 "farmsteads," close to their land, rather than in the village with the local inhabitants. Their landholdings have expanded rapidly. Many Javanese now own about 2 hectares of land. They often purchase small land parcels which are no longer viable to support local families, intensifying production by growing vegetables in addition to the traditional crops of rubber and rice.

Locally-owned landholdings are diminishing in size. Whilst there are still some locals with large holdings, many local people inherit either small, fragmented holdings or no land at all. The locals who cannot survive as farmers in the village drift to urban areas in search of work. They prefer to do this rather than invest time and capital into developing new rubber gardens when the price of rubber is so low; and they generally prefer not to become wage labourers in their own village. Some families move to the towns in order to secure a good secondary or tertiary education for their children, who then seek white collar, urban-based jobs. The population density is a relatively low 1.5 persons per hectare, yet there are fears that, in the future, there will be insufficient land for local people to cultivate. This fear is reinforced by the fragmentation of many local small landholdings, and the departure of some local families. There are a few signs of environmental decline, for example sedimentation and caving along the river banks, which used to be the main transport route for the village.

(4) Komerling

The village in Kecamatan Simpang, Kabupaten OKU (Ogan Komerling Ulu), is mainly inhabited by Komerling people. Three quarters of the work force make a living by farming their own land, with a small number (6 per cent) working as labourers. The agricultural system includes annual rain-fed wet rice cultivation and tree crops, mainly coffee supplemented by pepper vines and fruit trees.

Komerling people are organised into patrilineal clans, the head of each clan being an advisor, negotiator and dispute settler. Many disputes, especially between clan members, for example over land or inheritance, are still settled informally by clan heads within the village. In this patrilineal kinship system, women marry into their husband's family, residing virilocally, so becoming relatively powerless "outsiders" whilst their husbands are "insiders" in terms of clan decision-making and ceremonies. The husband's clan usually pays bridewealth to the wife's family, the amount of bridewealth generally being decided by clan leaders. Where

a family has no sons, a man may marry into the family via "Semendo" marriage, so becoming an "outsider" within his wife's clan. Newly married couples usually live with their parents, helping to farm their parents land whilst saving to buy land of their own.

Much of the land is still held under adat law, collectively, by the clan. Clan land can be problematic, as one local farmer may sell without consulting the wider clan group. Efforts to provide formal title are complex in this situation, unless clan agreement is reached on land to be allocated individually. Individual ownership is increasing as some parcels of clan land become too small to be shared collectively, and the clan sells the land to individual members. If parcels of land become too small to support a family, and the owner is unable to purchase more land, the owner may sell up, often to Javanese migrants, and drift to the city. They prefer this option to staying on in the village as landless labourers. Generally, however, there is a strong social imperative to keep land within the clan, either on a collective or an individual basis, so that it can be passed down to sons and grandsons in future generations. There are still some large landholders within the village, who need seasonal labourers to help farm their land, often as sharecroppers. Many local young people move to urban centres to gain secondary or tertiary education, which exacerbates the labour shortage. However, as the costs of modern life increase, and as the population grows, landholdings are becoming increasingly fragmented and unable to support family needs under traditional cultivation methods. Many villagers are having to look outside the traditional agricultural sphere for their income.

Javanese migrants to the Komerling village now constitute about 15 per cent of the population, but this figure will increase to around 25 per cent when the families of 60 recent migrants arrive from Lampung. The Javanese are mainly from older, densely populated, land hungry transmigration sites in OKU and Lampung. The first migrants began arriving in the 1950s from transmigration sites founded in 1919 and 1937, where landholdings were growing too small to support second and third generation migrant families. Initially, they sought seasonal farm work, then began entering into sharecropping arrangements with the larger landholders. Increasingly, they are buying land, especially since the abolition of the Marga. A recent group of Javanese migrants consists of 60 households from a protected watershed in Lampung Utara, to whom local government has given a parcel of unutilised ex-Marga land. Local people were reluctant to open up this land because it was located far from the village, heavily overgrown and subject to attack from wild pigs. When buying land, the Javanese use their networks of kin and friends to raise or borrow sufficient funds for a deposit.

Javanese may also buy land which locals consider to be no longer fertile. Whilst they have generally adopted local rice and kebun agricultural practices, the Javanese, through extensive tilling and application of fertilisers, can bring relatively infertile land back into production, and grow a second crop of vegetables on rice fields, which they sell for cash. Some locals are now emulating these practices. Javanese are also more likely than local people to supplement their agricultural incomes through small scale trading. A group of 25 Javanese families are involved in a rapidly expanding small scale industry producing bricks and roof tiles.

Population density in the village is still a relatively low 1.8 per hectare, and there is sometimes labour scarcity in the larger farms. However, shifting cultivation is declining as forest and fallow reserves shrink. Where it is still practiced the fallow period is shortening with overuse.

(5) Conclusion

The adat cultural patterns of each group vary significantly. However, in all three cases, similar themes are apparent. Adat is changing in response to development trends, but is still a viable and cohesive force, especially in the Semendo heartlands. The Javanese migrants have generally been well received by local people, due partly to their initial gradual introduction and their relatively small numbers (not more than 25 per cent of the total village population). They have played an important role in complementing the local people's roles in the existing

agricultural systems, graduating from labourers and sharecroppers on land owned by the indigenous inhabitants to renters and land owners in their own right. In all cases they have contributed to intensification of the agricultural systems, by rehabilitating small landholdings sold by local people; by providing seasonal labour; or by utilising land that was formerly underutilised due to capital or labour constraints. However, some adverse environmental effects of land intensification are beginning to appear, especially as environmentally fragile land is brought into cultivation.

In sum, the research findings support the contention that spontaneous migration increases the intensity and complexity of smallholder farming patterns, depending on the prevailing adat. Regional planning generally needs to take account of these new realities, particularly in improving environmental management and in land registration procedures.

4.1.3 The Environmental Condition of the Kubu People (Suku Anak Dalam) at Musi Rawas and Their Adaptation following Resettlement

Field Researchers: Drs. Achmad Romsan; Usmawadi; Drs. Tri Agus Susanto; Drs. Didi Tahjuddin; Joni Emirzon.

(1) Aims and Method

Kubu people (Suku Anak Dalam) were traditionally forest-dwelling hunter-gatherers who maintained trading relations with sedentary farmers. The small groups of remaining Kubu in South Sumatra are located in Kabupatens Musi Banyuasin and Musi Rawas. They face a rapidly encroaching outside world as their primary forest environment is significantly modified through logging, estate development, the spread of agriculture and encroachments from non-Kubu collectors of forest products.

The research aimed to examine the social and ecological changes for the Kubu people following their resettlement; and the nature of adaptations which they have made. In particular, it analysed the extent to which melangun (shifting the place of residence after a disaster such as illness or death) still takes place amongst the Kubu people; and the impact of this practice on resettlement.

Participatory research was undertaken at five resettlement sites in Musi Rawas, close to the Jambi border, funded by the Department of Social Welfare since 1968. The research aimed to compare and contrast the experience of three main groups of Kubu people, who are differentiated by their levels of integration into the social and economic mainstream of Southern Sumatra.

(2) Findings

Kubu traditionally were hunter gatherers living on forest products, hunting forest animals for food, and bartering forest products like rattan, damar, native rubber, sago and honey. They used traditional medicines culled from special plants, and other products for shelter, tools and clothing. There are various different theories as to their origins.

Some groups have moved away from the settlement sites, due to insufficient fertile land; the traditional practice of melangun and also the unequal terms under which they must adapt to their Malay neighbours. Traditionally, they were subject to exploitative trading practices in their exchange of forest products with outsiders; they continue to be looked down upon, and find difficulty in gaining access to health, education and agricultural services.

To survive, some small groups of Anak Dalam (10 to 20 households) are learning the cultivation methods of the Malay: slash and burn degraded forest; cultivate dry rice, cassava, vegetables (ladang) and plant rubber trees, moving the ladang to another site after 2 to 3 years. Land availability is a major problem for most of the groups. They have no formal

title, insufficient cash to purchase inputs to intensify land cultivation, and are being squeezed by the expansion of the ladang of their Malay neighbours.

(3) Conclusion

Suku Anak Dalam in Musi Rawas have made significant efforts to adapt their lives in response to the loss of the forest. They need maximum encouragement and support in this process. Better provision of basic services, including specially prepared agricultural extension, credit, input assistance, health and education will support them in making the difficult transition to sedentary agriculture. They also need security of land tenure. Programs developed for the Suku Anak Dalam should be based on a thorough understanding of their cultural systems, and the extent to which they have adapted to new lifestyles. The provision of buffer zone forest reserves may allow more scope to the Anak Dalam to adapt to the modern economy on their own terms.

4.1.4 A Socio-Economic Study of the Adaptation of Seasonal Migrants in Slum Areas of Urban Palembang: Case studies of Three Neighbourhoods

Field Researchers: Drs. Didi Tahyuddin; Drs. Ansori Amin; Dra Astini Syarkowi; Ir. Hayatuddin.

(1) Aims and Method

Anecdotal evidence suggests that poor migrants from rural areas to Palembang pursue survival strategies within the informal sector, often involving the non-officially recorded shadow economy and informal sector. The research analysed the imperatives and socio-economic options of poor migrants, including their reasons for and patterns of migration to urban Palembang; changes in their perceptions of their ethnic identity following migration; their patterns of social organisation, socio-economic survival strategies, livelihoods and adaptation to urban life.

This was an exploratory study, because the numbers, locations and socio-economic activities of seasonal migrants are not generally recorded in official statistics. A pre-survey ascertained the locations of the main groups of seasonal migrants, and allowed the selection of specific research sites. The case study research included both quantitative and qualitative data-gathering methods.

(2) Findings

Research amongst informal sector migrants in poor urban kampungs of Palembang revealed some perspectives on why the Region's rural poor so often move to the cities. The two largest migrant groups to the informal sector from the Region (as opposed to Java and elsewhere) are from Kabupatens OKI (Ogan Komering Ilir) and MUBA (Musi Banyuasin), in South Sumatra. In both cases migration to Palembang was the result of declining rural living standards.

Migrants from OKI cited diminishing returns from agriculture, resulting from reduced land available for smallholder farming with the spread of large estates, and the lack of intensification or diversification in traditional tidal and swamp agriculture. Farmers rarely possessed formal title, so were minimally or not at all compensated for land held under adat rights which was absorbed into large estates. Some labouring opportunities are available in these estates, but positions are limited and wages low (Rp 1,500-2,000 per day). Small sawmills provided rural work opportunities whilst HPH logging companies operated, but the forest stocks have now been depleted. Many people supplemented their income by catching fish, but with the abolition of the Marga these opportunities have gone to higher levels. Because of their close proximity to Palembang it is natural for rural poor from OKI to drift there.

Similarly, migrants from MUBA cited declining landholdings, due to population pressure and the spread of large estates. Again, labouring opportunities are limited and low paid. Moreover, people feel ashamed to become wage labourers in their own villages, and prefer the relative anonymity of the city. Again, proximity geographically to Palembang motivated migrants.

Kotamadya Palembang grew at a rapid 3.3 per cent per annum between 1989 and 1990. Population density is a high 200 people per hectare, which makes living conditions difficult when 37 per cent of the land is subject to regular tides or seasonal and occasional floods. There are many urban slums. Poor groups in Palembang live in floating houses on the two rivers (Ogan and Musi); in urban fringe settlements often near the railway line; in large, run down barracks provided by industries; and in sheds, huts and spaces underneath houses in the central tidal areas where environmental sanitation is poor, especially near markets. There has been little change in the quality of life in these poor kampungs over time.

The research confirms the assumption that when unskilled rural people drift to the cities they have few resources and little choice but to enter the urban informal sector; and usually survive only through support from networks of kin-related support groups who are already established in the city.

The OKI and MUBA migrants were mostly between 20 and 45 in age, and mostly primary school graduates. Men often migrate first, to be followed later by their families. Kin connections influence where they live and work on arrival in the city. They tended to work first as becak drivers and labourers, graduating later to petty trading, boat driving on the rivers, second hand goods trading and meat market workers. Recognising the limited potential, few aim to return to settle in their village of origin, although they may maintain close ties and visit frequently. In comparison, the Javanese tend to come to Palembang specifically to work as small scale traders for a period of years, and to save enough money to return to Java to open a small business; this is more profitable than remaining in their own villages as wage labourers or farming tiny parcels of land. The Javanese usually work as mobile food sellers. Women contribute by preparing food and trading. Kin links are also vital for these groups in determining where they live and work.

For all groups, income fluctuates significantly, with 65 per cent of those interviewed obtaining on average between Rp.2,600 to 5,000 per day, and 19 per cent usually gaining less than Rp 2,500 per day. Expenditure is high, especially on accommodation. People often have to buy drinking water. Most of those interviewed are in debt at interest rates of 25-30 per cent. *Water-related health and nutrition problems are generally high, and people lack clean washing and toilet facilities, some taking drinking water from the polluted rivers.* Yet for most, this life is better than the village.

(3) Conclusion

The problems raised by this research are far reaching, having implications for rural development policies and for macro-economic, industrial and urban development strategies. As such, the research results are not amenable to simple solutions. There are no easy answers. The flow of unskilled rural migrants to the cities may be stemmed by a combination of factors contributing to rural development, including better provision of services, especially education; improved productivity of agricultural lands together with increased security of tenure to smallholders; better wage levels in rural estates and plantations; and family planning.

The situation in urban areas can be improved by introducing measures to assist the informal sector, for example in skills development, credit provision, small scale industry development, and retraining and lending schemes designed to provide compensation to informal sector workers who are displaced by development. Low cost, appropriate water supply and sanitation, drainage, rubbish disposal services and health education should be

provided to improve environmental sanitation and the quality of life in poor urban kampungs. Such services should be planned, designed, implemented and maintained with significant community input.

City planning needs to take into account the particular work and living patterns of informal sector people, so that they are not disadvantaged by city planning efforts. Too often city development means significant disruption for them, as the needs of the formal sector only are taken into account. Yet the informal sector provides important services to city inhabitants. Because informal sector activities are, by definition, part of the unrecorded shadow economy, special studies are needed to assess the conditions, work and living patterns of informal sector people. These should be included in the Terms of Reference for urban development studies. Mechanisms for consultation with informal sector workers will need to be established.

The JICA Team has used the findings of this research in the selection and design of Palembang urban development projects.

4.1.5 A Comparative Study of Social and Economic Welfare Indicators for All Kabupaten of South Sumatra

Field Researcher: Jousairi H. M.A.

(1) Aims and Methods

The study aimed to provide a systematic quantitative analysis of comparative social and economic welfare indicators at kabupaten and kotamadya level. This is basically a statistical study, using quantitative data critically and selectively to prepare a valid set of social and economic welfare indicators, disaggregated where possible by gender. This research project fills a major data gap in reliable second-level information on South Sumatra.

Four main data sources were used. The first was the 1980 and 1990 Population Census data, although detailed data from the 1990 Census Surveys were not yet available. The second was the 1985 SUPAS (Intercensal Survey). Third, the 1990 PODES (Potensi Desa or Desa Potential) data, which are provided by each village administration according to a set questionnaire format, were utilised. Finally, secondary data provided by Level 2 offices of the main government agencies were utilised. All the data sources were assessed carefully for likely accuracy and reliability.

Demographic indicators of the total dependency ratio and per cent of urban population were gained from the 1990 Census. Data on infant mortality rates and life expectancy were obtained from the 1980 Census. Health indicators were obtained from the Department of Health, and from the 1985 SUPAS. Educational indicators were derived from Census data. Economic development indicators presented a challenge, as it is difficult to obtain a good picture of income distribution from gross domestic product alone. Three proxy measures were selected. First, average rice production per hectare (from the annual Central Bureau of Statistics annual agricultural survey) is an indicator for agricultural prosperity. Second, the number of warung vendors (from the 1990 PODES) indicates the level of consumer strength. Third, the percentages of villages with KUD indicates roughly the level of village access to credit, although not all KUD operate effectively. Village development indicators were obtained from the 1990 PODES, including the classification of the village and of the LKMD according to categories used by the Department of Home Affairs. Finally, some additional indicators on crime rates, remittances from migrants back to the village and on electricity distribution are included. The statistical data on which the following analysis is based are set out in the Appendix to this Chapter.

(2) Comparative Analysis

On the basis of these indicators, Palembang, Pangkal Pinang and Belitung may be categorised as primarily urban Level 2 entities, with the percentage of urban population

standing at 95 per cent, 96 per cent and 53 per cent respectively. The other kabupaten are all primarily rural, including Ogan Komering Ulu (OKU), Ogan Komering Ilir (OKI), Muara Enim, Lahat, Musi Rawas, Musi Banyuasin (MUBA) and Bangka. Of these rural kabupaten, Bangka, Muara Enim and Lahat have the highest rates of urbanisation (23 per cent, 22 per cent and 17 per cent respectively). Lahat stands out with the highest population density in the rural kabupaten (149 per square kilometer, compared with a provincial average of 58); whilst Musi Rawas has the lowest density (24 per square kilometer).

Kabupaten Musi Rawas stands out as having particular health problems, with an infant mortality rate (IMR) of 142 compared to South Sumatra average of 97; and low life expectancy of 46 compared to the provincial average of 54. Kabupaten OKI has the second lowest scores on these two measures: IMR of 121 and life expectancy of 50. Pangkal Pinang ranks best on both scores (51 and 65 respectively, with Palembang at or slightly above the provincial average (79 and 54 respectively). Lahat ranks average scores on both counts (99 and 54 respectively). In terms of health service provision, Musi Rawas and OKI do not have significantly lower coverage than other rural kabupaten, although the levels are below the provincial average. There may be problems in the quality or distribution of the services which account for these kabupaten's high IMR and low life expectancy. The primarily urban Belitung, Pangkal Pinang and Palembang have far higher rates of service provision (doctors, nurses, midwives and hospital beds per 100,000 population) than do all of the rural kabupaten. However, Palembang is less well served with Puskesmas and Posyandu than all of the rural kabupaten.

All rural kabupaten have low percentages of safe water and sanitation facilities. Coverage is better in the urban areas, but still provincial averages for both measures are low at 9 per cent and 15 per cent respectively.

In educational terms, the pupil teacher ratio in primary school is relatively evenly spread between all areas. Illiteracy in the adult population is highest in MUBA and Musi Rawas (30 per cent and 23 per cent respectively) and lowest in Pangkal Pinang and Palembang (9 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Adult illiteracy amongst women is higher than amongst men in all areas especially in Musi Rawas (33 per cent of adult women are illiterate). The provincial average for adult illiteracy is 19 per cent, with adult illiteracy amongst women at 26 per cent.

Provincial average rice production is 3,400 kilograms per hectare. Lahat is highest at 4,200 kilograms per hectare, followed by OKU (3,800) and Musi Rawas (3,600). MUBA and OKI, with large areas of swampland, have lower than average figures at 3,200 each. Urban areas, especially Pangkal Pinang which is a trading centre for Bangka, have significantly higher numbers of warung per capita than do the rural kabupaten. MUBA has by far the highest number of villages with KUD, the village co-operative (38 per cent of villages have KUD). However, these high numbers are due partly to the existence of transmigration centres in MUBA which automatically receive KUD, even though much of the land in this kabupaten is relatively infertile. Lahat, despite its high rice production figures, has the lowest number of KUD (10 per cent of villages). In sum, it seems that there is little correlation between the existence of KUD and high rice production.

In terms of village development, Desa Swasembada are generally regarded as the most developed forms of village. OKU and Muara Enim have the highest percentages of Desa Swasembada outside the urban areas (74 per cent and 73 per cent respectively). Bangka (44 per cent), Musi Rawas (52 per cent) and Lahat (60 per cent) have the lowest. Musi Rawas also has the lowest levels of "developed" LKMD (19 per cent are "developed" as compared with a provincial average of 52 per cent). On both these measures, urban areas have higher scores than rural areas. Urban areas (except for Belitung) also tend to have very high numbers of village heads who are high school graduates compared to the rural kabupaten. About one quarter of the provinces villages have their own market, but this figure is a low 7 per cent in Lahat.

In terms of access to villages about one quarter of all villages in the province cannot be reached by motor car. The swampy kabupaten of OKI and MUBA have far higher percentages, of 45 and 58 per cent respectively. These areas are largely reliant on river access. MUBA's isolation is increased by very low numbers of television sets (385 sets per 100,000 population as opposed to a provincial average of 3,500 per 100,000 people). Provision of electricity is higher in urban centres than in the rural kabupaten. Again, OKI and MUBA have the lowest levels of electrification (respectively 2 and 3 per cent of houses have electricity). Of the rural kabupaten, OKU, Muara Enim and Lahat have the highest levels of remittances flowing from migrants back home through the post offices, whilst OKI has the lowest. Figures for MUBA are not available. Palembang has the highest crime rate per capita, reflecting the special problems of high in-migration and relatively high unemployment in the Kotamadya.

(3) Conclusion

Selection of suitable indicators of development and welfare at kabupaten level is difficult as the sources of reliable data are limited. For many indicators, in depth follow-up research is needed to ascertain the causes of trends. Despite these reservations, however, it seems that a clear pattern emerges of better service provision in the rural kabupaten, despite some poverty pockets in Palembang. Musi Rawas has special health and illiteracy problems, especially amongst women, which may be linked to service distributional problems in the low population density. It also has low levels of development amongst village institutions, indicating relatively low planning and management capacity. OKI also has special health problems, whilst MUBA has educational problems, and both of these swampy kabupaten have lower rice production figures and access problems. Lahat has high rice production figures, but relatively low levels of market and co-operative services.

4.2 BALAI PENELITIAN, UNIVERSITAS BENGKULU

4.2.1 The Change in Customary Land Value in Industrialisation of Big Private Plantations in the Rural Areas of Bengkulu

Field Researchers: Drs. Mirza Yasben; Drs. Rezi Erdiansyah.

(1) Aims and Method

Nearly forty per cent of land in the province of Bengkulu has been allocated for commercial estate enterprises. This research aimed to identify any resulting changes in the perceived value of land, especially adat land. This included changes in the economic value of land resulting from commercial enterprise development, as well as social, cultural and religious value, in the sense that land has often been perceived as part of the adat heritage of communities.

The research was undertaken in two stages. The first stage involved a literature search and examination of quantitative data sources, together with the identification of research locations, issues and problems. The second stage sought to examine underlying causes. Two sets of villages were compared and contrasted through participant-observation and depth interview methods: villages in close proximity to commercial estate developments; and villages located far away from such developments.

(2) Serawai Area

The research traced recent changes in the value of land resulting from new developments of large estates. In Bengkulu Selatan the traditional Serawai land use system followed a pattern common throughout the Region. The Pasirah's word was law to Marga members, as they believed that he acted to protect the land of their ancestors for the sake of them and their descendants. With permission from the Pasirah, Marga members could open new land for cultivation from Marga forest. They generally cut and burned the forest,

cultivated dry rice and other crops for two years, left the land fallow for eight years to recover its fertility, and then returned for another cycle. The first cultivator had use rights (*hak ulayat*) under adat law. Anyone else wishing to use the land had to gain permission from the first cultivator, and usually, in acknowledgement, offered a gift from the first harvest. If the first cultivator planted tree crops his rights were confirmed and recorded in Marga files. The boundary was considered to be the line made by the water dripping from the leaves of the tree crops after rain. Some Marga land could not be cultivated by anyone, for example roadsides, river banks and seashores. Most Serawai people in smallholdings have adat rights but not formal certificates.

With the introduction of an oil palm PIR nucleus estate the value of land has changed in the surrounding area. Positive effects from this estate include good, fixed incomes for the farmers who were given a shareholding (some achieve Rp 200,000 per month after loan repayments); new agricultural knowledge and skills; labouring opportunities as harvesters at Rp 50,000 per month; and new village developments resulting from increased incomes in the area. However, some of the shareholders of the PIR estate said they did not receive enough training in the new cultivation methods; and claimed that the estate roads were not as good as had been promised.

Negative effects of discord and disharmony in the village communities are chiefly due to the unequal re-distribution of land by the estate, which has resulted in some people losing their land entirely. The low wages for labouring work, in comparison to the returns to shareholders, serve to increase this discord. In two affected villages a total of 306 households gave up land to the estate but only 136 (44 per cent) received shareholdings. It is not clear how these people now gain a living as new cultivable land in the village vicinity is limited, and labouring opportunities on the estate cannot provide work for everyone who lost land. Almost all the local people got less land than they gave. Outsiders to the village community were given the remainder. No-one was compensated for loss of land or tree crops. Many people feel that this project has benefitted a lucky minority group, who profit at the expense of the majority group who lost their land.

As a result of this estate project, people's perceptions of the value of land has changed. Of the villagers sampled by the researchers only 15 per cent believed that, before the estate appeared, their land had belonged to the government. The vast majority believed that they "owned" the land which they utilised under adat law. Through experience, people now realise that traditional adat rights are insufficient to guarantee land security. The simple, familiar procedures of Marga times have been replaced with unfamiliar, costly and complex procedures. The Kepala Desa plays an important role in land matters now. For this area, the role of the plantation managers is also important, replacing the previously important position of the adat leaders in deciding land matters.

(3) Rejang Area

Research in Kabupaten Rejang Lebong showed, similarly, that most people do not have formal land ownership certificates, but rather, adat recognition of use rights. As with the Serawai, whoever opened land, with permission from the Pasirah, had use rights. Adat land claims, ratified by the Marga through a letter from the Pasirah, were often recognised as collateral for loans. Originally wet rice land was valued more than dry fields, but with the growing role of tree crops in generating cash income, people sought Marga endorsement for their kebun as well. The pressure to open up kebun came with increasing population growth, resulting land fragmentation; and increasing integration of Rejang smallholders into wider commodity markets. Buying and selling of land outside the wider kin group was possible, especially with Marga letters changing hands at the point of sale. However, sale of land to people outside the kin group was much discouraged, as land was a symbol of prestige and prosperity, to be passed down through the generations.

A 7,000 hectare private cacao estate has recently changed the value of land in the area, taking smallholders land. In addition to its income generating aims, this estate also

aimed to benefit local communities by raising awareness of better farming practices and by bringing new employment opportunities for local people, helping to break down the isolation of the area and integrate local communities into the mainstream. The estate is located strategically on the road to Curup. Some very limited positive benefits have passed to the local people. Some seasonal employment is available to local farmers as labourers. However, the positive benefits are outweighed by negative effects. Work opportunities are not as great as expected, and wages are low and paid irregularly. People are consequently reluctant to undertake this work. This means that indirect benefits of improving farmer knowledge of new cultivation methods are, in practice, minimal. The smallholders in the 12 surrounding villages are experiencing reduced incomes due to the loss of part or all of their productive land, such that many are now unable to pay their PBB tax.

As with the Serawai case, local people now perceive that the value of land has changed. When land was abundant and the population sparse, there were few land disputes and the commercial value of land was relatively low. Now the commercial value of land is higher, but people have received only very low levels of compensation for land which was acquired by the estate. The vast majority of people who had only adat title to their land received compensation only for tree crops and other improvements, but again at very low levels. The low levels of compensation have made it almost impossible for people to buy equivalent landholdings elsewhere. Most are trying to strengthen their claims to their remaining land. Some are now trying to sell up their remaining small parcels to move elsewhere.

(4) Conclusion

The formal, non-adat procedures for land registration for smallholders are very complex. In general, when smallholder land is acquired for estates, levels of compensation are far too low. People who lose their land this way often experience hardship and have difficulty finding alternative sources of income. Generally, wage labour rates on estates and plantations are set at very low levels, and cannot really compensate former smallholders for the income lost through loss of the land. Some PIR estates can, if well managed and if the right crops are selected, raise agricultural incomes for shareholders. However, inequitable distribution of shareholdings which forces some smallholders off their land with no or very low compensation causes major social problems and economic hardship, particularly when wage labour rates are very low. There is a need to monitor these distributions carefully to ensure that no inequities occur; to streamline land registration procedures and to raise significantly compensation levels for compulsory acquisitions.

4.2.2 The Contribution of Local Level Social Cohesion to Village Development: A Case Study in Social Development in Kabupaten Bengkulu Selatan

Field Researchers: Drs Sudarwan; Hadiwinarto

(1) Aims and Method

The study aimed to examine the concepts of social cohesion, group identification and formation in a village context; and to assess factors influencing social cohesion at the local level, including the roles and contribution of specific individuals, families and groups within the community. It aimed to assess the nature and importance of social cohesion for village organisation and development in different situations and for different types of village institutions, including relatively new structures such as LKMD and PKK, as well as customary adat institutions.

The Research was conducted in two desa within Kabupaten Bengkulu Selatan, in the Serawai cultural domain. One of the villages is a relatively newly formed village within a Javanese transmigration area; the other is an older centre of Serawai culture and adat. Participant-observation research methods were supplemented by a small survey to obtain quantitative data.

(2) Findings

The research found major differences between the two villages in terms of social and economic organisation. The transmigration village comprises mainly Javanese people who arrived in 1973/74 under the official transmigration program. The village graduated to local government status in 1980. The agricultural system comprises rain fed rice production and ladang (dry fields). Over half (63 per cent) of the villagers work in the agriculture sector, with the remainder working as civil servants, traders, labourers, carpenters and drivers. Many farmers supplement their agricultural activities with other income sources, including trade and labouring on a rubber estate. This diversity of occupational patterns is influenced by the location of the village right on the main road from Bengkulu to Manna, which gives it excellent access to the provincial capital. Some people are able to commute daily from the village to work in Bengkulu. Electricity, health and educational services are good.

In contrast, the Serawai village is more isolated, located some distance off the main road, and can be reached by car only with difficulty. There is no electricity, and educational facilities are limited to an SD (primary school). Its inhabitants are mainly (90 per cent) farmers, and there are few outsiders in the village. This contrast in the location and development history is reflected in the character of the two villages.

In the Serawai village, the village officials, including LKMD and LMD members, were ineffective in generating development activities. Rather, they reacted to orders from above, and had little time or incentive for village work. A KUD had been established in the village but failed, as it was generally considered not to have been adapted to local conditions. Serawai adat is still a viable force, providing mechanisms for co-operative working together between kin members. Ngeresayo is a system of co-operative house-building between kin members, in which the voluntary workers are provided with food. Dikeresayoko provides voluntary assistance if members of the kin group are sick or suffer some other misfortune. There are consultative processes amongst the villagers; and mechanisms for informal resolution of disputes through negotiation and compromise before they reach higher, official levels. Informal leaders who exert a strong influence within the village include the imam (Islamic teacher), who was able to mobilise the people of one hamlet to build a mosque; and adat leaders. These include the penggawo, who were leaders of local hamlets under the Marga system, and are also usually lineage heads under the Serawai patrilineal adat. They still play a major role in ceremonies, marriage negotiations, consultative processes and dispute resolution amongst members of the hamlet.

In contrast, the transmigrant village, which is now well established, has a more viable LKMD structure. Planning efforts can be conducted on a village-wide basis. However, there is no KUD as local producers tend to sell direct to the market. Some farmers groups of around 30 members operate within the village.

(3) Conclusion

In many villages which are mainly inhabited by local people, especially in more isolated areas, adat patterns are likely to be strong, and should be taken into account in designing projects which work at the local level. This includes investigating the potential to adapt village institutions like LKMD and KUD to existing adat-based mechanisms for consultation and co-operative working together; and consideration of the potential role for informal leaders such as adat and religious leaders.

4.3 BALAI PENELITIAN, UNIVERSITAS LAMPUNG

4.3.1 Issues in Rural Development in Lampung Province: An Analysis of the Role of Village Institutions

Field Researchers: Dr. Bambang Sumitro; Drs. Sudjarwo; Drs Budiono; Drs. Buchori Asyik; Drs. Kadir.

(1) Aims and Method

Of the 1,941 desa recorded in the 1990 Census for Lampung, three broad types can be distinguished, reflecting the specific social history of migration to Lampung, particularly over the past century. First, there are traditional villages of relatively long standing, with a measure of ethnic and territorial homogeneity. Second, there are artificially planned villages, usually formed specifically for transmigrants. Third, there are new villages formed by growth and fragmentation of both traditional and transmigrant villages, once the old villages reach a certain size. Introduction of the Village Law UU/5/79 significantly increased the number of villages in the Province. Based on the evidence to hand, the researchers hypothesised that this Law has impacted differently upon the three categories of desa, with the customary adat institutions of the traditional villages being marginalised from decision-making.

Focussing on rural Lampung, the research aimed to examine this hypothesis. The capacity of relatively new village-level institutions, such as LKMD, PKK, Dasa Wisma, and P2WKSS to both facilitate development directives from above in the village context, and to represent the aspirations of the village people themselves, was examined, comparing and contrasting the three categories of desa. The research examined the extent to which such institutions tend to concentrate development decision-making in the hands of a small group of elite village leaders, thus reducing broader village participation in development.

The researchers first defined operational variables, for example "social institutions" mean entities formed directly by local communities to meet specific needs, or inherited by them through adat. "Social organisations," by contrast, include entities formed by government decree, which are bound by government regulation and procedure. "Social responsibility" means problem identification, planning and implementation by communities themselves. Next, a survey instrument was designed and field tested. A sampling frame was established, whereby in each of the four kabupaten of Lampung, a representative sample of the three types of desa could be selected. Respondents were selected from within each village according to three main groups: formal leaders, informal leaders and other village people. The research team spent time in the field testing the survey instrument and validating the purposive sampling frame.

The questionnaire given to village respondents was supplemented by in-depth interviews, drawing on formal and informal village leaders and key people. The questionnaire data was analysed statistically, and validated by qualitative information.

(2) Findings

The UNILA Team identifies three kinds of village in rural Lampung: (1) Original Villages, comprised of the ethnically homogenous Lampung groups; (2) Artificial Villages, created specifically for transmigrants as new territorial units; and (3) Fragmented Villages, created from expansions of older category (1) villages (See Lampung IDEPs in Volume 4 for a description of cultural groups).

Two approaches to development are compared. First, development is planned through models which originate at the centre, so that they promote uniformity. Second, communities have their own aspirations for development channelled through their own institutions, which reflect the special characteristics of each society. On this basis two different patterns are contrasted in Lampung: an adat pattern, in which leadership is consultative but

based on adat lines; focussing on adat aims; directed through adat social groupings; and, second, a territorial pattern (the post 1979 village), in which there is a more open election process for desa leaders; a focus on concrete, physical development aims; and in theory no longer bound by adat ties.

The research showed that, in all 10 villages surveyed, the new village structure proposed under PP/5/79 has been implemented. Yet "implementation" can mean very different things, depending on the awareness of the desa officials, and on the social structure of the community, which influences the form and nature of the new institutions and processes.

In one village out of 10 UU/5/79 is fully operational. The Kepala Desa is elected, the LKMD and LMD members play a role in planning and managing village development, including expenditure of Government funds such as Banded. A village meeting ratifies plans made. This village, Bagelen, representing Category 2 of Artificial Villages, was the first Kolonisatie village created for transmigrants in 1905 as a Javanese village, with elected head, secretary and hamlet (dusun) heads, all supported by tanah bengkok (rice lands which fund incumbent village officials during their term of office). The Kepala Desa reported directly to the Camat, rather than to a Pasirah (Marga head). After the introduction of UU/5/79, which is itself based on a Javanese model, Bagelen could easily adapt to the new structure. With the tanah bengkok income supplement village officials can devote more time to village work.

In most other cases the new village structure operates independently of village social life. The Kepala Desa, who is the key representative for all Government programs, tends to carry the burden of planning and managing activities, especially where Government funds are used, and is under pressure from levels of Government above to show tangible development results. LKMD and LMD exist, but simply approve the plans already prepared, and sometimes provide resources. Informal leaders, including adat leaders, are influential. Their advice and assistance is often sought by the villagers. In the Original Villages (Category 1) the traditional adat figures and institutions are more important when it comes to setting broader village priorities, which tend to focus on adat ceremonies, ritual and social exchanges, rather than on planning and implementing physical works. The two Fragmented Villages (Category 3) maintain close adat ties with the parent community, although the administrative structures are now formally separated.

Adat also influences the remaining village of Balinese transmigrants (Category 2) dating from 1962. Here, the real power in development planning comes from an adat leader, the pedanda (Hindu priest), whose influence with the villagers is paramount, whilst the Kepala Desa is powerful in name only.

(3) Conclusion

Adat in Lampung has a number of different patterns. It is still strong and influences significantly the implementation of the Village Law of 1979. Some transmigrant communities, as well as local Sumatran communities, are influenced strongly by their adat patterns in terms of the actual planning process at village level. The research concludes that, where development strategies, projects and programs work at the village level, there is a need to reexamine the implications of the 1979 Village Law. There may be scope to recognise and include the role of non-formal social institutions and non-formal leaders, including adat leaders, at desa level. This would allow scope for people's aspirations for development to be realised through use of the diverse social mechanisms which exist at community level. If included in planning and implementation, these informal, social institutions can contribute significantly to the development process.

4.4 BALAI PENELITIAN, UNIVERSITAS JAMBI

4.4.1 The Role of Social Institutions in Supporting Rural Development

Field Researchers: Ir. Arman Mara; Ir. Yanuar Fitri; M.Rachmad; Drs. Charles; Drs. I Made Sukada; Ir. Mahdi Thaib.

(1) Aims and Methods

This study examined the role of social institutions in supporting village administration, and village development generally. Leaders in rural Jambi include traditional leaders whose influence is based on adat; Islamic religious leaders; and emerging leaders of modernisation. Institutions representing these three types of leaders existed pre-1979 under the Marga framework; but their continued viability following implementation of the Village Law (UU/5/79) in 1981 in rural Jambi is uncertain. The research aimed to assess the comparative capacity of these institutions to support village development in terms of planning, implementation and evaluation. This was in the context of studies by Naim (1991) that newly formed villages are not fully authorized to manage their own affairs independently, and so the Kecamatan becomes involved in village matters. Mubyarto (1991) had also found that, whilst the number of lowest level village entities eligible to receive Banded increase as a result of UU/5/79, the unity between adat and the village administration functions was separated; the village leaders had little time and incentive for village work; that co-operation between villages was reduced without the Marga umbrella; and that former dependent hamlets had some difficulty in managing their affairs as full villages.

The research took the form of a case study of two villages on the Batanghari river in Kabupaten Batanghari, which previously formed part of Marga Mestong. One village was the Marga centre; the other was a dependent hamlet. Both now have equal status as villages. The researchers used participant-observation methods supplemented by secondary data review. They compared the pre-1981 situation with the present, assessing the effects of the separation of adat and village administration; the prospects for self-reliance of the new village entities; the ability of villages to engage in co-operative work on an inter-village basis; and the incentives for the village head and village officials to engage in development work

(2) Findings

The basic categories of *ninik mamak* (adat leaders); *alim ulama* (Islamic religious leaders) and *cerdik pandai* (intellectual or educated leaders) are derived from Minangkabau society. They have been applied also to Jambi Malay society because of frequent contact and intermarriage between the two groups. However, whilst the two cultures share a strongly Islamic orientation, Jambi Malay society traditionally does not follow the Minangkabau matrilineal adat. It is more closely associated with the Coastal Malay culture of the Pasisir, in which social relationships are seldom structured in clearly defined kinship categories. Unlike the Minangkabau matrilineal descent system in which rice lands and houses pass down through the female line and the husband traditionally resides uxorilocally in his wife's home, Jambi Malay generally follow the Islamic inheritance law which provides women with a smaller share of the family wealth. Residence is often virilocal, and increasingly neolocal.

Under the Marga system, the Pasirah was also an adat leader. Marga institutions included the Liit Adat (Marga Court); the Dewan Marga (council of advisors to the Pasirah, which could also informally deal with disputes); and the Perangkat Pasirah (Marga officials). Members of these institutions, and sometimes the community more broadly, could participate in a consultative process of *musyawarah* to manage Marga affairs, including plans for the collection and expenditure of the Marga funds.

The village which was the former Marga centre is located on the river waterway, opposite Jambi city, although the strategic importance of the river as a communication route has declined since the construction of a main road through the village. Over half (53 per cent)

of working villagers work in agriculture, mainly irrigated wet rice farming and smallholder rubber gardens. A few work as river fishermen. About one third of working villagers undertake labouring work in sawmill factories, but these opportunities are declining as the sawmill production decreases. Despite the proximity to Jambi, educational levels are still low with 6 per cent of villagers illiterate, 43 per cent with some primary schooling and only 8 per cent having completed high school.

The other village is also located on the river opposite Jambi, and now is intersected by a main road. Occupations are focussed primarily on farming, with 78 per cent of the workers owning their own rice lands and/or upland gardens. Population density is higher, and about 14 per cent of agricultural workers do not own their own land. Again, educational levels are relatively low, with 3 per cent illiterate and 49 per cent as primary school dropouts. However, 18 per cent of villagers completed junior high school, mostly at a Madrasah (religious school) located in the village. The influence of the alim ulama (Islamic religious leaders) is strong in this village.

After the introduction of UU/5/79, both villages have established the new village structure of Kepala Desa, Secretary, LKMD and LMD. Nearly half of LKMD members in both cases are well educated, and represent a mix of educated, adat and religious leaders. In both cases, however, the LKMD and LMD members do not actively participate in rural development planning and management. The village officials depend on the funding provided by province, kabupaten and kecamatan, which are allocated to specific activities determined at higher levels of government, so village officials tend to react to orders from above rather than to village initiatives. Whilst LKMD and LMD exist, they only endorse decisions made by the Kepala Desa and his secretary. The resulting programs do not necessarily meet village needs. So although the new structure is theoretically more open, democratic and consultative than the Marga structure, in practice the lack of autonomy in funding sources inhibits village community planning and management capacity.

(3) Conclusions

The researchers conclude that the Village administrators and members of LKMD and LMD need special training in community development processes, in order to carry out appropriate community-based planning and management of village development activities. The community members are more likely to contribute resources to projects which demonstrably meet their specific needs and preferences. Possibilities for introducing village funding sources, and measures to make government funding more flexible, need to be examined, in order to provide a greater level of financial autonomy to the village. Again, development projects which work at village level need to consider adat and religious patterns of informal leadership.

4.4.2 Factors Influencing Changes in Labour Market Patterns in Rural Jambi

Field Researchers: Drs. Arnoldy Arby; Jamaluddin; Saidin Nainggolan.

(1) Aims and Method

The rapidly growing population of Indonesia results in an increasing labour force, but not all of these people can be accommodated within the work force, leading to unemployment and underemployment. Rural workers generally suffer from lack of skills, lack of capital and lack of access to economic development opportunities. Various factors are assumed to influence the rural labour market, including the volume of seasonal work, levels of hidden unemployment, urbanisation trends, levels of rural industrialisation, and the skill and resources of workers. In Jambi hidden unemployment and underemployment is distributed unequally in rural areas. These issues need to be examined in order to improve rural productivity and quality of life.

The research proposed to understand factors influencing changes in the rural labour market, and the factors which influence the levels of productivity, including relative differences for men and women workers. Village sites were selected for in-depth analysis and survey.

(2) Findings

In Jambi, over 80 per cent of the labour force is rural-based (87 per cent according to the 1990 Sakernas). The agriculture sector employs over 70 per cent of the population (77 per cent according to the 1990 Sakernas). Province-wide, over 60 per cent of those actively looking for work are Senior High School graduates, nearly half of which are women (1990 Sakernas).

Kabupaten Batang Hari, affected by urban growth in Kotamadya Jambi, is experiencing rural labour force changes. From 1984 to 1991 the labour force of this kabupaten grew at 3.2 per cent per annum, whilst job opportunities grew at only 2.67 per cent. In 1991 there were 5,230 registered job seekers in the kabupaten, amounting to nearly 7 per cent of the total work force in the kabupaten. This figure does not take into account those people who are underemployed in their current work place. A significant feature of this unemployment is the very high numbers of unemployed high school graduates (77 per cent of job seekers), as high school graduates flock to a very limited number of government jobs in preference to private sector or agricultural work. This is due partly to changing perceptions whereby people with higher levels of education now view government jobs as having higher security and status than private sector or agricultural work, and also to awareness of the low wages and returns in some kinds of agricultural work, especially agricultural labouring. Some smallholder farmers can, however, achieve relatively high income levels which compare favourably with government salaries. It is likely that this trend in preferences away from work in the agricultural sector is more marked in Batang Hari than in other rural kabupaten which are further from the capital city, and so less influenced by urban trends.

Despite the changing preferences, however, the proportion of the Batang Hari labour force working in the agricultural sector has changed little over the period 1984 to 1991 (about 56 per cent). The rural labour force is characterised by low levels of skill, underemployment and seasonal labour surplus and shortages. In Batang Hari services, trade and industry may be growing at a slightly faster rate than agriculture, but together these sectors employ less than 10 per cent of rural workers in Batang Hari.

(3) Conclusions

It is important to consider productive job creation strategies in rural areas; and also to continue educational services to help raise levels of basic education and skill. Efforts to raise returns to the agricultural sector should be continued. The problem of high unemployment rates for senior high school graduates needs close attention.

5. WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR DEVELOPMENT?

Many of the issues raised above are complex and far-reaching, and not amenable to simple project solutions. They need a broad range of policy and program measures which work at many levels. Nonetheless, some recommendations derived from the research conclusions have been developed. These recommendations attempt to address specific issues in program formulation and project design which are applicable to different kinds of donor funded projects.

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

Some key themes are set out below which apply generally across the Region of the Southern Part of Sumatra. They are followed by some special Region-wide social problems.

5.1.1 Key Regional Themes

- (1) Socio-cultural factors have significant influence in shaping patterns of development in the Region.
- (2) Diverse cultural forms, adat variations and patterns of social organisation come from both local inhabitants and migrant groups.
- (3) These patterns affect many things, including village planning and management, land use, environmental management at community level and the organisation of the workforce.
- (4) Rapid population growth and changing production forms have had major effects in intensifying resource use.
- (5) As a result, the rural areas are rapidly being transformed with both positive and negative effects for the local people.

5.1.2 Special Issues

- (1) Most villages in the Region use adat mechanisms for consultation, resolution of disputes and co-operative working together, but these mechanisms are seldom drawn on to contribute to the development process.
- (2) In many villages LKMD and LMD are relatively weak.
- (3) Traditional community level mechanisms for environmental management are weakening or lost.
- (4) Procedures to protect smallholders are needed, to reduce displacement in order to stem the flow of landless, unskilled farmers to the cities or to environmentally fragile land.
- (5) Resource use intensification has negative effects on many rural people, including some smallholders and traditional forest users.
- (6) Poor rural families increasingly migrate to the cities, where they join the urban poor and the informal sector. Special measures are needed in urban planning and service provision to accommodate them.
- (7) Although increasing numbers of young people in the Region are completing Senior High School, large numbers of them cannot find jobs.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Three broad planning principles are set out below. They are followed by detailed recommendations addressing specific issues.

5.2.1 Broad Planning Principles

- (1) Cultural and population patterns should be taken into account in the detailed planning and design of development projects in the Southern Part of Sumatra.
- (2) Community consultation in planning will enhance people's ability and willingness to participate in, contribute to and benefit from development. This helps them to become the "subjects" not the "objects" of development.

- (3) Social analysis is needed for Feasibility and Design Studies which impact directly on people's lives. This is especially so for projects which will displace people from their work or homes. Where this is likely to occur, social analysis is needed as part of Feasibility and Design to minimise likely disruption.

5.2.2 Recommendations For Projects Working at Village Level

- (1) Many projects and programs work at village level or through village institutions or involve co-operative working together by community members. It is recommended that, for these projects, specific design and implementation measures be introduced to mobilise the people. In many cases, provision must be made within project design to strengthen the village-based planning, revenue raising and management capacity, possibly through work by LSM and LPSM with extensive experience in community development work.
- (2) It is recommended that such projects examine adat-based mechanisms for consultation, planning and co-operative working together, so that, where feasible, these mechanisms can be drawn into project design to enhance and strengthen management capability at community level. The adat patterns are likely to vary between villages. This means working through informal leaders according to those patterns.
- (3) It is recommended that the villages be given increased flexibility in financial planning and budgeting. For example, where counterpart Inpres funds are allocated to the project, all or part of the funds can be directed to development activities to be determined independently by the village community through a defined planning process.

5.2.3 Recommendations for Land Use and Environment

- (1) The intensity and complexity of smallholder agricultural patterns is increased significantly by spontaneous migration to the Region. We support recommendations by the World Bank and others to improve the provincial capacity to plan and manage resource utilisation taking into account these new realities. This applies especially to monitoring and managing the environment to achieve sustainability, and to improving smallholder land registration procedures.
- (2) Diverse adat cultural traditions influence the organisation of local groups and the utilisation of land and other resources. It is recommended that these patterns, and their variations, be taken into account in planning and implementing projects which work at village level, especially in projects which affect land use, the environment, or which require local people to work co-operatively together.
- (3) Javanese migrants can be well received within Sumatran villages in the Region, if they can fill a specific economic niche within the agricultural system, which does not involve displacement of local people. However, it is important that they are introduced gradually and their numbers are kept at relatively low levels, at not more than 25 per cent of the village inhabitants. This has implications for Trans Bandep Projects.
- (4) Agricultural and rural development projects which aim to increase the productivity of small holdings are desirable, providing that the intensification and extensification of agriculture is conducted in harmony with the prevailing adat and within safe ecological limits. This will help to minimise the likelihood of unskilled rural people who can no longer support their families on small landholdings from drifting to the cities or to environmentally fragile areas.

- (5) Projects which aim to increase environmental knowledge, awareness and safe land use practices at village level should be encouraged. These projects require detailed social and environmental assessment as an integral part of project design to ensure that local issues and features are addressed.
- (6) With the abolition of the Marga, there is a need for environment management systems which work at all levels of government and at the community level. It is recommended that, in selected activities, village communities are given a stake in environmental management through decentralisation of responsibility for and control of selected resources. Then they have a stronger incentive to safeguard the environment for themselves and for future generations.
- (7) The World Bank has recommended streamlined, low cost and accessible land registration procedures for smallholders to provide security of tenure to local people. This will help minimise their displacement and facilitate the buying and selling of land in rural areas. Special attention is required to resolve the issue of formal land title for clan land. If compensation payments are raised to reasonable levels, including for land held under adat title, those smallholders who are displaced will be equipped better to start a new life.
- (8) It is recommended that provincial and kabupaten government monitor carefully the allocation of shareholdings in PIR smallholder estates to ensure that no inequities occur, especially for local people who have given up their land to the estate. Preference should be given to local people in allocating shareholdings.
- (9) For Suku Anak Dalam (Kubu), better provision of basic services, including specially prepared agricultural extension, credit, input assistance, health and education will support them in making the difficult transition to sedentary agriculture. It is recommended they be provided with security of land tenure. Their land holdings should be sufficiently large to allow a reasonable level of subsistence. Lessons can be learnt from the adaptation of the Musi Rawas Suku Anak Dalam, which may be applicable to those in Jambi who are still attempting to come to terms with the loss of the forest. It is recommended that buffer zone forest reserves in Jambi be supported to allow more scope to the Anak Dalam there to adapt to the modern economy on their own terms.

5.2.4 Recommendations For Human Resource Development

- (1) It is recommended that, in project feasibility and design, special attention be given to improving the data bases of information at kabupaten and kotamadya level.
- (2) It is recommended that increased resources be made available via program and project development to improve data collection and analysis at Level II as a basis for planning, management and monitoring of development. Case studies should be funded to follow up specific issues such as the underlying causes of identified statistical trends.
- (3) Human resource development, for example in health, education, marketing and village development, needs attention in many parts of the Region especially in rural areas. Access to services is difficult in swampy areas (for example MUBA and OKI) and a more equitable distribution of services is recommended.
- (4) In urban areas, measures are recommended to assist the informal sector. These can include skills development, credit provision, small scale industry development, retraining and lending schemes designed to provide compensation to informal sector workers who are displaced by development.

- (5) Urban services are recommended to improve the level of environmental sanitation for poor urban kampungs. This includes low-cost, appropriate water supply, sanitation and drainage facilities; rubbish collection services and environmental health care. The services should be planned and designed in consultation with communities; and, where possible, managed by them on completion. This means projects should include measures to train and strengthen local formal or informal community organisations to undertake this work.
- (6) Urban planning strategies should take into account the working and living patterns of people in the informal sector, so that they are not disadvantaged by city planning efforts. Because informal sector activities are, by definition, part of the unrecorded shadow economy, special studies are recommended to assess the informal sector working and living patterns. In the light of these data, specific plans can be prepared to accommodate the needs of the informal sector, and to ensure they benefit from development. It is recommended that mechanisms for consultation with informal sector workers be established as an important part of the urban planning process.
- (7) Special efforts are recommended to create productive jobs in rural areas; and also to continue educational services to help raise levels of basic education and skill of the rural labour force. It is further recommended that efforts be made to achieve fair and reasonable wage levels for unskilled, labouring work in the estate and plantation sector, where these are amenable to action in project and program design.
- (8) It is recommended that special efforts be made to reduce the problem of high unemployment rates for senior high school graduates. Employment creation strategies emphasising skilled labour and low to middle level management positions should be developed. Programs which emphasise vocational training and skills development are recommended.

Appendix Socio-Economic Welfare Indicators -- South Sumatra

Table 1. Demographic Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	Population Density per km ² 1990	Annual Rate of Pop Growth 1980-1990	Infant Mortality Rate 1980	Total Dependency Ratio ⁴⁾ 1990	Life Expectancy at Birth 1980	% of Urban Population 1990
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. OKU ¹⁾	44.91	2.62	102	78.95	53	8.88
2. OKI ²⁾	74.12	3.18	121	74.64	50	5.7
3. Muara Enim	61.36	3.15	106	78.26	53	21.47
4. Lahat	148.57	2.14	99	80.64	54	17.06
5. Musi Rawas	23.85	3.43	142	70.28	46	9.6
6. MUBA ³⁾	35.62	4.34	90	62.88	55	3.29
7. Bangka	44.47	2.54	80	81.61	58	23.32
8. Belitung	42.58	1.66	93	63.47	55	52.84
9. Palembang	2,311.67	3.82	79	64.64	54	94.77
10. Pangkal Pinang	1,271.49	2.31	51	69.41	65	95.8
South Sumatra	57.78	3.15	97	72.19	54	29.34

Sources: 1990 data are calculated from 1990 completed enumeration census.
1980; 1980 census.

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
2) Ogan Komering Ilir
3) Musi Banyuasin
4) % population aged 0 - 14 + aged 65 and over
% population aged 15 - 64

Table 2. Health Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	General Medical Doctors per 100,000 Pop. 1990	Nurses per 100,000 Pop. 1990	Midwives per 100,000 Pop. 1990	PUSKESMAS per 100,000 Pop. 1990	POSYANDU ⁴⁾ per 100,000 Pop. 1990	Hospital Beds per 100,000 Pop. 1990	% of Dwelling with Safe Water 1985	% of Dwelling with Safe Septic Tank Toilet 1985
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. OKU ¹⁾	6.27	36.39	8.94	11.82	163.04	2.36	3.2	7.5
2. OKI ²⁾	5.45	31.90	9.08	12.58	133.95	0.65	0.5	3.7
3. Muara Enim	10.39	37.97	4.09	14.13	115.79	3.38	4.1	1.8
4. Lahat	6.67	30.53	5.84	12.85	130.48	1.70	0.7	5.3
5. Musi Rawas	7.60	40.55	5.65	17.74	121.44	1.85	0.3	5.7
6. MUBA ³⁾	6.52	25.10	5.97	17.25	101.28	5.40	6.1	6.8
7. Bangka	9.93	16.15	6.42	13.04	121.44	9.71	10.7	10.8
8. Belitung	16.07	50.80	19.18	15.03	131.14	21.19	13.0	6.1
9. Palembang	40.64	110.31	31.20	6.29	55.42	18.38	41.2	36.7
10. Pangkal Pinang	29.17	43.31	20.33	12.38	117.56	26.99	25.6	47.3
South Sumatra	13.97	46.47	11.87	12.69	115.08	7.10	9.2	15.1

Sources: Col. 2 to col. 7: Department of Health
Col. 8. and col. 9: CBS, SUPAS 1985

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
2) Ogan Komering Ilir
3) Musi Banyuasin
4) Integrated Health Services

Table 3. Educational Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	Pupil Teacher Ratio in Primary School 1990	% Illiteracy ⁴⁾ of Adult Population 1980 (Total)	% Illiteracy ⁴⁾ of Adult Woman 1980
1	2	3	4
1. OKU ¹⁾	28.73	20.7	27.5
2. OKI ²⁾	21.68	20.1	26.4
3. Muara Enim	25.43	18.6	26.5
4. Lahat	26.73	19.3	26.7
5. Musi Rawas	31.09	23.4	32.9
6. MUBA ³⁾	27.79	30.0	30.2
7. Bangka	22.64	20.3	27.8
8. Belitung	20.26	21.9	28.5
9. Palembang	22.45	10.1	14.9
10. Pangkal Pinang	20.00	9.3	14.4
South Sumatra	25.21	18.5	25.5

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
2) Ogan Komering Ilir
3) Musi Banyuasin
4) Of aged 10 year or above

Table 4. Economic Development Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	Average Rice Production ⁴⁾ 1990 (100kg/ha)	Number of "Warung" for Consumption Goods per 100,000 Pop. 1990	% of Village with KUD ⁵⁾
1	2	3	4
1. OKU ¹⁾	37.84	0.197*	15.7
2. OKI ²⁾	31.5	0.248*	21.1
3. Muara Enim	31.66	0.266*	18.3
4. Lahat	41.97	0.282*	9.9
5. Musi Rawas	36.07	0.224*	23.1
6. MUBA ³⁾	31.79	0.325*	38.3
7. Bangka	27.62	0.625*	13.6
8. Belitung	22.65	0.666*	25.9
9. Palembang	NA	5.42*	8.3
10. Pangkal Pinang	NA	636.25*	-
South Sumatra	34.06	644.503*	18.8

Sources: COL 2: CBS Agriculture Survey
COL 3: CBS, 1990 PODES

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
2) Ogan Komering Ilir
3) Musi Banyuasin
4) Total output divided by total areas cultivated
5) Village cooperative unit
6) * sic. May be errors.

Table 5. Village Development Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	% of Desa Swasembada 1990	% of Desa with LKMD Type 3 1990	% of Desa Gaining Drinking Water from River 1990	% of Desa with Wood as Fuel for Cooking 1990	% of Desa Whose Village Head Graduated from SM/TP or Above 1990	% of Villages With Their Own Market 1990	% of Village Which Cannot be Reached by Motorcar 1990
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. OKU ¹⁾	73.66	81.64	47.92	95.64	66.80	32.1	17.2
2. OKI ²⁾	62.75	40.67	34.24	97.26	57.53	36.4	45.2
3. Muara Enim	72.97	48.84	37.41	96.40	58.99	20.5	17.3
4. Lahat	59.58	50.95	31.59	95.46	61.00	7.4	9.4
5. Musi Rawas	51.68	19.41	39.57	92.30	57.14	23.5	18.7
6. MUBA ³⁾	60.33	56.96	30.05	97.77	57.89	33.0	57.8
7. Bangka	43.57	25.71	7.09	96.45	33.33	17.7	1.4
8. Belitung	62.96	48.15		92.59	50.00	18.5	7.4
9. Palembang	90.28	85.48	13.88	13.88	95.83	63.9	6.9
10. Pangkal Pinang	91.23	70.18		10.34	93.10	20.7	0.0
South Sumatra	64.14	52.66	241.75*	788.09*	538.51*	26.7	23.4

Sources: All variables are gained and calculated from CBS, 1990 PODES

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
2) Ogan Komering Ilir
3) Musi Banyuasin
4) * sic. May be errors.

Table 6. Transportation and Communication Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	% of Village with No Access to Road Transportation 1990	% of Regency Road with Hard Surface 1985	TV per 100,000 Population 1990	% of Village with Public Television 1990
1	2	3	4	5
1. OKU ¹⁾	2.07	88	2,165.56	55.39
2. OKI ²⁾	21.09	20	1,130.31	74.25
3. Muara Enim	5.03	33	1,214.49	77.34
4. Lahat	0.16	75	2,002.21	36.13
5. Musi Rawas	13.36	67	1,677.46	80.14
6. MUBA ³⁾	48.38	27	385.04	70.28
7. Bangka	0.70	28	2,459.58	177.14*
8. Belitung	7.40	40	13,504.78	290.74*
9. Palembang	5.55	NA	137,214.80*	255.56*
10. Pangkal Pinang		NA	266,098.48*	77.59
South Sumatra			3,528.98	87.09

Sources: Col 2, Col 4 and Col 5 are calculated from 1990 CBS PODES data.
Col 3, from NUDS data 1985.

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
2) Ogan Komering Ilir
3) Musi Banyuasin
4) * sic. May be errors.

Table 7. Miscellaneous Indicators by Regencies/Municipalities in South Sumatra

No. Regency/ Municipality	Crime Rates per 10,000 Population 1990	Total Inflow of Remittance Through Local Post Office 1990	Total Outflow of Remittance Through Local Post Office 1990	Net Remittance Through Local Post Office 1990	% of Dwelling with Electricity from PLN 1990
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. OKU ¹⁾	3.6	2,544,394,474	992,892,672	1,551,501,802	4.32
2. OKI ²⁾	3.7	639,618,337	513,411,698	126,206,639	2.00
3. Muara Enim	6.9	2,472,545,296	836,174,030	1,636,370,266	16.56
4. Lahat	8.8	2,746,925,693	1,162,964,557	1,583,961,136	11.22
5. Musi Rawas	6.5	1,514,925,189	662,788,725	852,136,464	6.72
6. MUBA ³⁾	4.7	NA	NA	NA	3.49
7. Bangka	4.0	1,028,003,236	673,992,264	354,010,972	28.39
8. Belitung	6.6	2,079,896,119	598,653,088	1,481,243,031	37.90
9. Palembang	11.4	11,507,020,235	7,875,046,022	3,631,974,213	68.00
10. Pangkal Pinang	7.3	891,751,115	814,442,517	77,308,598	70.00
South Sumatra	6.3	25,425,079,694	14,130,365,573	11,294,713,121	18.99

Sources: Col 2 : Police Office of South Sumatra
 Col 3-5: from South Sumatra Post Office data
 Col 6 : CBS, 1990 PODES

Notes: 1) Ogan Komering Ulu
 2) Ogan Komering Ilir
 3) Musi Banyuasin

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