

CHAPTER 2

REGIONAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER 2. REGIONAL SOCIETY

2.1 SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULACE

2.1.1 Geographical Population Distribution in Indonesia

Indonesia, the fourth most populous nation in the world, is faced with considerable regional disparity between land and population (Table 2.1.1). The problem is not merely the absolute numbers or population increase, since Indonesia has initiated one of the most successful family planning programs in the third world and has reduced population growth nationally to just under 2%. The more substantial problem is the distribution of population.

Table 2.1.1 Land and Population in Indonesia in 1995

Region	Area		Population		Density (people/km ²)	Rural Population (%)
	(km ²)	(%)	(thousand)	(%)		
Sumatra	482,393	24.9	40,830	21.0	85	70.6
Java	127,499	6.6	114,734	58.9	900	60.0
Nusa Tenggara	87,744	4.5	10,957	5.6	125	62.0
Kalimantan	547,891	20.3	10,470	5.4	19	69.6
Sulawei	191,800	9.9	13,732	7.1	72	87.9
Maruku & Irian Jaya	499,852	25.8	4,030	2.1	8	74.8
Total for Indonesia	1,937,179	100	194,755	10.0	101	64.1

Source: BPS, Statistik Indonesia 1996, 1996

The Indonesia archipelago includes more than 13,000 islands totaling 1.9 million km². About two thirds of the total population of 195 million (in 1995) are concentrated in Java, Bali, Lombok and Madura (the inner islands) which only cover about 7% of the nation's land. Java, with about 115 million people, of which 60% are in rural areas, has a high population density of about 900 people per km². This reflects in part the differences in natural resources between the inner and outer islands. Java, with its rich alluvial soils, can support a much higher population density than the outer islands, which are characterized by either swamps with peat and acid sulfate soils or upland areas with podzolic soils of low natural fertility.

On Java, agricultural holdings are small (about 0.5ha on average) and incomes are low, resulting in about 11% of the rural population living below the poverty line in 1996. Moreover, Javanese farmers have moved onto steep slopes and other areas, including forest reserves, of questionable suitability for sustainable agriculture under traditional farming systems, causing

environmental degradation. There is increased urbanization, small agricultural holdings, environmental degradation and numbers of land less people. Meanwhile, it is considered by the government that vast areas still remain uncultivated in the outer islands, which are less populated and contain a major portion of the country's natural resources.

Contributing to the overcrowded conditions on Java, despite family planning and transmigration, is the steady influx of people from the outer islands (Table 2.1.2). Ironically, these migrants come to Java because their own areas are not as well developed in the economic and social sectors which can provide better employment, wages and higher education.

Table 2.1.2 Net Migration by Island in 1995

(Unit : 1,000 persons)

Origin Island	Destination Island			
	Java	Kalimantan	Sulawesi	Others
Sumatra	169.3	10.4	1.6	2.2
Java	-	49.0	20.6	6.8
Kalimantan	-	-	-17.4	0.1
Sulawesi	-	-	-	-1.1
Others	-	-	-	-

Source: BPS, *Perpindahan Penduduk dan Urbanisasi di Indonesia; Hasil Survei Penduduk Antar Sensus (SUPA) 1995, 1997*

On the other hand, Kalimantan, with more than 20% of Indonesia's land area, has only 5% of the country's population and a population density of only 19 persons per km². The rural population has a 70% share of the total population in Kalimantan with 18% living below the poverty line in 1996, which is higher than the national average (12.3%). Migration to Kalimantan is mainly from Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi.

2.1.2 Population in Kalimantan

(1) Population Growth and Density

The population growth of Kalimantan is much higher than the average growth rate of Indonesia for the period of 1971-1995 (Table 2.1.3). Also, the share of the total population in Kalimantan to that of Indonesia has increased. The population in West Kalimantan is the largest and that of Central Kalimantan is the smallest in Kalimantan. In 1995, the total population of West Kalimantan was 3.6 million with a population density of 25 persons per km². The population in Central Kalimantan is 1.6 million with a population density of 11 persons per km². The population of East Kalimantan has the highest growth rate during the past two decades. Central Kalimantan has the second highest growth rate followed by West Kalimantan.

Regarding the population density, South Kalimantan is the most dense province in Kalimantan with West Kalimantan following. Central Kalimantan has the lowest density in 1995. Comparing West and Central Kalimantan, both population and density in Central Kalimantan are much smaller, about half of that of West Kalimantan. However, West Kalimantan's share of Kalimantan's total population has decreased while that of Central Kalimantan has increased.

Table 2.1.3 Population Growth and Density in Kalimantan

	Population (1,000 persons)				Population Growth			Population Density (persons/km ²)			
	1971	1980	1990	1995	1971-80	1980-90	1990-95	1971	1980	1990	1995
West Kalimantan	2,020	2,486	3,229	3,636	2.33%	2.65%	2.40%	13.8	16.9	22.0	24.8
Central Kalimantan	702	954	1,396	1,627	3.47%	3.88%	3.11%	4.6	6.2	9.1	10.6
South Kalimantan	1,699	2,065	2,597	2,893	2.19%	2.32%	2.18%	46.5	56.5	71.1	79.2
East Kalimantan	734	1,218	1,877	2,314	5.79%	4.42%	4.27%	3.5	5.8	8.9	11.0
Kalimantan	5,155	6,723	9,099	10,470	2.99%	3.07%	2.85%	9.4	12.3	16.6	19.1
Share in Indonesia	4.3%	4.6%	5.0%	5.4%							
Indonesia	119,208	147,490	179,379	194,755	2.39%*	1.98%	1.66%	61.5	76.1	92.6	100.5

Source: Statistik Indonesia 1996

Note: Including persons with no permanent residence, except in 1995

Based on Population Censuses, 1995 Intercensal Population Survey

* Excluding Timor Timur

The urban population of West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan in 1995 are 788,000 and 366,000 as shown in Table 2.1.4. The urban population in Central Kalimantan has quadrupled during the period of 1980-1995. The percentages of urban population in the total provincial population are 21.7% and 22.5% respectively, which are much lower than those of South and East Kalimantan. This means that nearly 80% of the provincial population still live in the rural area. In contrast, the urban population in East Kalimantan, half of the total population lives in the urban area. The growth rate of urban population in Central Kalimantan is highest in Kalimantan and West Kalimantan shows the almost same rate with that of South Kalimantan.

Table 2.1.4 Urban Population by Province in Kalimantan

	Urban Population (persons)			Urban Population Rate			Urban Population Growth Rate	
	1980	1990	1995	1980	1990	1995	1980-1990	1990-1995
West Kalimantan	416,923	644,534	787,671	16.8%	20.0%	21.7%	4.5%	4.1%
Central Kalimantan	98,257	245,249	365,770	10.3%	17.6%	22.5%	9.6%	8.3%
South Kalimantan	-	702,950	866,946	-	27.1%	30.0%	-	4.3%
East Kalimantan	-	915,469	1,162,199	-	48.8%	50.2%	-	4.9%
Kalimantan	-	2,508,202	3,182,586	-	27.6%	30.4%	-	4.9%
Indonesia	-	55,433,790	69,937,110	-	30.9%	35.9%	-	4.8%

Source: Population of Kalimantan Barat, Results of the 1980 Population Census, 1980

Population of Kalimantan Tengah, Results of the 1980 Population Census, 1980

Population of Indonesia Results of the 1990 Population Census

Population of Kalimantan Barat, Results of the 1995 Intercensal Population Survey

Population of Kalimantan Tengah, Results of the 1995 Intercensal Population Survey

Population of Kalimantan Selatan, Results of the 1995 Population Census

Population of Kalimantan Timur, Results of the 1995 Population Census

Population of Indonesia Results of the 1995 Intercensal Population Survey

(2) Migration

Increase of population is caused not only by natural growth but by social growth such as migration including transmigration. Table 2.1.5 shows the migration flow by province in Kalimantan.

Table 2.1.5 Migration Flow of Kalimantan

(Unit: persons)

	In-migration			Out-migration			Net-migration		
	1980	1990	1995	1980	1990	1995	1980	1990	1995
West Kalimantan	37,719	42,929	44,752	28,431	44,686	34,030	9,288	-1,757	10,722
Central Kalimantan	47,917	95,827	36,477	15,989	37,015	43,071	31,928	58,812	-6,594
South Kalimantan	59,691	77,906	69,244	46,061	76,447	56,360	13,630	1,459	12,884
East Kalimantan	108,523	190,393	138,627	20,334	68,192	76,009	88,189	122,201	62,618

Note) Migrant is population whose present place of residence is different from that in 5 years ago.

Source: BPS, *Perpindahan Penduduk dan Urbanisasi di Indonesia; Hasil Survei Penduduk Antar Sensus (SUPAS) 1995, 1997.*

East Kalimantan has a large in-migration. West Kalimantan shows larger out-migration than in-migration in 1990 and Central Kalimantan in 1995. Despite the efforts of transmigration programs, some reasons such as jobs, education and marriage have made people move out of West and Central Kalimantan.

2.1.3 Population Distribution in West and Central Kalimantan Provinces

In terms of the regional distribution of the population, the population inside West and Central Kalimantan is not proportionate (Table 2.1.6). In West Kalimantan, about 60% of the population is concentrated along the coastal and north-west regions mainly in the districts of Pontianak and Sambas as well as the Municipality of Pontianak which accounts for 21% of the province's size. However, only 15% of West Kalimantan's population occupies inland areas in the in the east and south mainly in the districts of Kapuas Hulu and Ketapang which accounts for 45% of the province's size. Pontianak Municipality is the most densely populated area in West Kalimantan, where the density is nearly 4,150 persons per km² while the district of Kapuas Hulu is the lowest with only 6 persons per km². The population of the district of Sintang has increased at the highest rate from 1980 to 1995 and followed by the district of Sanggau. Most communities are situated along the national road which runs along the northern coastal area. However, communities have also developed along the main stream of the Kapuas River and provincial roads in an east-west direction.

Table 2.1.6 Population by District/Municipality

West Kalimantan

Regency/ Municipality	Population (1,000 persons)			Growth Rate (%)		Population Density (persons/km ²)		
	1980	1990	1995	1980-1990	1990-1995	1980	1990	1995
Sambas	603.06 (24.3%)	761.38 (23.6%)	844.15 (23.2%)	2.4	2.1	49.0	61.9	68.7
Pontianak	608.85 (24.5%)	778.55 (24.1%)	868.89 (23.9%)	2.5	2.2	33.5	42.8	47.8
Sanggau	323.50 (13.0%)	428.30 (14.2%)	487.46 (13.4%)	2.9	2.6	17.7	23.4	26.6
Ketapang	253.07 (10.2%)	326.38 (10.1%)	365.39 (10.0%)	2.6	2.3	7.1	9.1	10.2
Sintang	263.28 (10.6%)	377.40 (11.7%)	446.56 (12.3%)	3.7	3.4	8.2	11.7	13.8
Kapuas Hulu	128.65 (5.2%)	159.42 (4.9%)	175.65 (4.8%)	2.2	2.0	4.3	5.3	5.9
Municipality Pontianak	304.49 (12.3%)	396.66 (12.3%)	447.63 (12.3%)	2.7	2.5	2,819.4	3,672.8	4,144.7
Total	2,484.90 (100%)	3,228.07 (100%)	3,635.73 (100%)	2.7	2.4	16.9	22.0	24.8

Source: Results of the 1980 Population Census, 1980
 Results of the 1990 Population Census, Series:S2.18
 Results of the 1995 Intercensal Population Survey, Series:S2.18

Central Kalimantan

Regency/ Municipality	Population (1,000 persons)			Growth Rate (%)		Population Density (persons/km ²)		
	1980	1990	1995	1980-1990	1990-1995	1980	1990	1995
Kotawaringin Barat	94.37 (9.9%)	165.80 (11.8%)	210.40 (12.9%)	5.8	4.9	-	7.9	10.0
Kotawaringin Timur	183.17 (19.2%)	382.5 (27.2%)	448.50 (27.6%)	7.6	3.2	-	7.5	8.8
Katingan	66.02 (6.9%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kapuas	258.47 (27.1%)	438.61 (31.2%)	500.24 (30.7%)	5.4	2.7	-	12.6	14.4
Barito Selatan Selatan	69.02 (7.2%)	152.12 (10.8%)	164.37 (10.1%)	8.2	1.6	-	4.8	5.1
Barito Timur	51.21 (5.4%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barito Utara	63.60 (6.7%)	145.61 (10.4%)	156.49 (9.6%)	8.6	1.5	-	11.5	12.4
K Hulu	56.03 (5.9%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murung Raya	51.84 (5.4%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Municipality Palangkaraya	60.45 (6.3%)	119.23 (8.5%)	147.47 (9.1%)	7.0	4.3	-	49.7	61.4
Total	954.18 (100%)	1,403.93 (100%)	1,627.45 (100%)	3.9	3.0	6.2	9.1	10.6

Source: Results of the 1980 Population Census, 1980
 Results of the 1990 Population Census, Series S2.19
 Results of the 1995 Intercensal Population Census, Series S2.19

In Central Kalimantan 58% of the total population live in the districts of Kotawaringin Timur and Kapuas which cover 58% of the total area. The largest population density is Palangkaraya Municipality with 61 persons per km². The area of lowest density is the district of Barito Selatan with 5 persons per km². The population of the district of Kotawaringin Barat has grown at the highest rate and the district of Barito Utara has increased at the lowest in 1990-95. Communities in Central Kalimantan are developed along rivers on a limited scale in a north-south distribution pattern due to the lack of roads. Compared with West Kalimantan, both population and population density are much smaller in Central Kalimantan.

2.1.4 Ethnic Groups in West and Central Kalimantan

(1) Characteristics of Major Ethnic Groups

It is difficult to give any precise indication of the size of population and distribution by ethnic group in Kalimantan since the population census does not cover ethnic data. Cultural traits, languages, and religions diffuse across the ethnic-origin category and cut across former cultural or linguistic boundaries, making it difficult to draw clear-cut categories in such a complex human setting. In order to grasp the real condition of the area, one of the local NGOs in West Kalimantan has started a study on population and distribution of the Dayaks (Appendix 2.1). Considering the regional development as a whole including socio-cultural aspect, the issues of ethnic groups should not be neglected.

The people in Kalimantan can be roughly categorized as Dayaks and non-Dayaks (Table 2.1.7). In the 1992 data¹, the Dayak population (1,300,000 people) shared 41% of total population in West Kalimantan, followed by 39.6% of Malay, 11.3% of Chinese, 8.1 % of other ethnic groups including Javanese and Madurese.

Table 2.1.7 Characteristics of Major Ethnic Groups in Kalimantan

Name of Ethnic Group	Share of Population	Settlement Pattern	Religion	Livelihood
Dayak	41% of total population in West Kalimantan	Live along rivers, roads	Christianity (Catholic 90%, Protestant 10%)	Swidden cultivation, some are labor in plantations
Malay (Islamized group including Dayak and Bugis)	40% of total population in West Kalimantan Among them, 10% is Bugis	Live along the coasts, the middle courses of major Kalimantan's rivers	Islam	Small-scale trading, sea and inland fishing, rice cultivation, commercial agriculture, civil servant Bugis is fishermen, coconut farming
Chinese	11% of total population in West Kalimantan Descent of gold miners migrated in 18th century.	Make up the large communities mainly urban based	Christianity:50% Buddhist and Confucianism: 50%	Trading, commercial and service sectors, manufacturing in main towns Merchants, shopkeepers, or cash-crop farmers in rural areas
Javanese	2-3% Increased by transmigration	All over Kalimantan	Islam	Wage labors in estate, timber companies, agriculture for cash crop, government officers
Madurese	2.5% of total population in West Kalimantan	Various parts of Kalimantan Often dwelling in towns	Islam	Working as casual labors and pedicab drivers, estate workers, fishermen and cattle traders.
Balinese		Mostly resettled to sites in Kalimantan under transmigration	Hindu	Government officers, farming

¹ Parjoko S., Gubernur Kalbar, 1992

Dayak

'Dayak' is, in fact, a collective name for dozens of tribes that differ in language, art, clothing, housing architecture and several other elements of culture as well as social organizations. All Dayak groups, however, have some fundamental features in common. They share a wide range of similarities in their physical appearance, longhouse living, languages, domestic and other equipment, customary practices and associated beliefs, agriculture, social organizations, economy, values and worldview. The very basic characteristic of the Dayak is their attachment to land and the earth's resources. Land is not only an economic resource, but also the basis for cultural, social, political and spiritual activities. Land links the past, present and future generations. Each group has its own territory and the boundaries between territories are agreed upon a consensus made by respective traditional (Adat) chiefs representing their people.

Generally the Dayaks live in the interior, though there are communities found close to the coasts and as a result of migration, some natives have more recently settled in the coastal towns. The different groups live (or lived) in longhouses along rivers, practice swidden agriculture and have bilateral forms of family and kinship. Some communities have a ranked or stratified social order and others an egalitarian one. Populations in the coastal zone, when converting to an exogenous religion, have often acceded to Malay influence and entered Islam, the interior peoples have generally embraced Christianity. Most of the Dayak live in lowland river basins and alluvial plains. Their livelihood is mainly *ladang* for rice and small-scale animal breeding, and where possible some plant swamp rice. They also hunt wild animals and gather forest products for subsistence and exchange. One of their most important cash crops is rubber. Forest plays a big role in their lives.

Malay

Malay are a heterogeneous group, united by a common language and religion, Islam. The Malays occupy important territories along the coasts and in the lower plains and all along the middle courses of major rivers, where they are mainly farmers (usually swamp rice cultivation), fishermen, small-holding rubber-growers, traders and civil servants. Most are Islamized local ethnic groups. Others mixed and intermarried with Muslim migrants from outside Kalimantan. The term Muslim Malays (or Melayu) tends to be applied indiscriminately by the Dayak to most Moslem groups. Malays in Kalimantan originate from a mixture of peoples including converted Dayaks. True Malays originate from such places as Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula, Bugis, Banjarese and Javanese. In a number of smaller upstream settlements on major rivers, recent converts to Islam took up the Melayu way of life.

Chinese

There is a substantial Chinese community in West Kalimantan of about 80,000, partly as a result of early Chinese goldmining there. An influx of Chinese goldminers to Sarawak and West Kalimantan in the late 18th century and their descendants make up the large Chinese communities today. Faced with decreasing returns from gold mining, the Chinese turned increasingly to trade and to agriculture, farming, pigs and vegetables. From 1880 the Chinese began to establish plantations of pepper, gambier and, after 1910, rubber. Chinese immigration increased again from 1920 so that by 1930 Chinese made up one-third of the population of West Kalimantan. Their most significant contribution was the introduction of permanent wetland rice cultivation creating large, rice-growing areas on coastal alluvium. Today the Chinese are particularly active in the trading, commercial and service sectors as well as manufacturing in the Kalimantan towns, especially Banjarmasin, Pontianak and Singkawang. Although mainly an urban population, they are also found in rural areas as either merchants and shopkeepers or as cash-crop farmers.

Other Ethnic Groups

Other ethnic groups include Javanese, Madurese, Bugis and Balinese. The Javanese are found all over Kalimantan. The Javanese population in Kalimantan specifically has increased dramatically during the last two decades as a result of government-sponsored large-scale transmigration. The Madurese are found in various parts of Kalimantan, often dwelling in towns and working as casual labors and pedicab drivers. They are also found in a wide range of occupations including estate workers, dryland farmers, fishermen and cattle breeders/traders. The Madurese have been migrating to the west coast of Kalimantan since the beginning of this century and now comprise 2.5% of the population of West Kalimantan. The Balinese have, like the Javanese, been resettled to sites in Kalimantan under the transmigration program.

(2) Dayaks in Kalimantan

Dayak is defined as the ethnic label for the 450 ethnolinguistic groups in Kalimantan/Borneo, and there are 137 languages in West Kalimantan. Communication with neighboring groups is rather easy and becomes more difficult as the distance increases between settlement groups. However, due to the development of media and transportation, the contact among many groups has progressed. There are 4 criteria for the grouping of Dayaks; 1) language, 2) customary law, 3) death ritual, and 4) geographical distribution (river, mountain and place where they live). However, differences between groups do not usually lead to sharp socio-cultural disjunctures. In West Kalimantan, the district of Sintang is the most complicated place with the distribution of many small groups. Dayaks in inland areas get income mainly from traditional

rubber gardens and sometimes as labors in companies of timber, modern plantation, especially in the districts of Ketapang and Sanggau in West Kalimantan. Rice is produced for self-consumption and shifting cultivation is carried out. There is now a shortage of land due to inheritance among children, decreasing soil fertility and encroaching modern plantations. If this continues along with the decreasing availability of jobs, more Dayak will likely turn to work as laborers in plantations.

The largest Dayak groups are the Kanayatn of West Kalimantan and the Ngaju of Central Kalimantan. The Kanayatn, with 400,000-500,000 estimated population, are found widely over Kalimantan. Many small groups of Kanayatn live in Pontianak, Sambas, and a tributaries of the upper Kapuas River in West Kalimantan. The Ngajus, the dominant Dayak population in Central Kalimantan, are found in the middle courses of a series of rivers which flow southwards into the Java Sea, from the Barito river in the east, through the Kapuas, Kahayan, Rungan, Katingan and the Mentaya or Sampit river in the west. They subdivide themselves according to the river along which they live.

In a number of cases longhouses are gradually giving way to single-family dwellings, particularly in those societies which used to build large, fortress-like longhouses. About 90% of Dayaks lived in longhouses before, but now very a few are left. During 1960s until late 1970s, most longhouses were destroyed by the authorities for many reasons such as low health and morality standards as well as political reasons such as being susceptible to communist indoctrination. In some cases, the longhouse was equivalent to the village, while in others, a village was comprised of more than one longhouse. In those villages consisting of more than one longhouse there is considerable variation in the degree of autonomy of the individual longhouses, and in the political and religious functions they perform. Longhouses have an advantage for solving common problems in the community because communication is good and solidarity is high. Recently, the government has reconstructed longhouses but only for sightseeing.

Since the main lines of communication in Kalimantan follow the rivers, villages situated along the same river system tend to have more frequent contacts, are linked more closely by friendship and kinship, and may exhibit certain cultural features which distinguish them from settlements along other rivers. Recently, however, Dayak groups have started to settle far from rivers, along roads constructed for logging and plantations. Therefore, the river has been gradually losing its importance although villages located along rivers are still much bigger than those along roads. Regarding the value of nature, the Dayak are eco-centered people. Recently, some Dayaks have changed their attitude due to external social and economic influences and permitted timber harvesting. This has often caused internal conflict because for

most Dayaks, nature is central to their way of life. It would be difficult to maintain Dayak's culture without maintaining forests.

(3) Factors Influencing Ethnic Groups

The following external factors are considered by the Dayak people to affect their culture and society;

- 1) diffusion of modern religion,
- 2) formal education (based on other people's culture),
- 3) capitalist economy,
- 4) national regulations and laws (Agrarian Law, Mining Law, etc.),
- 5) advanced modern technology, and
- 6) destruction of longhouses.

They also doubt good education and health that the government often mentions as necessity for community development. The above factors are recognized as causes of a crisis of identity by the Dayak. However, the following case also should be analyzed carefully.

There is a long history of ethnic conflicts in West Kalimantan, for example, clashes between Madura and Dayak groups has occurred many times. The latest riot took place in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas district in December 1996 spreading over several regions in West Kalimantan. It was started originally by the murder of a Dayak adat chief by Madurese, which caused revenge action from the Dayak, who attacked transmigration settlements where Madurese were resettled. One of the conditions that can increase the conflicts is an ethnic standard, where each individual or group has traditions and a pattern of life that identifies them from another. The identity tends to be a basis for a judgment and comprehension of the other groups. In this case, there is a tendency to judge that one's own tradition is the best. According to the psychological view, high confidence in group superiority causes the members to be intolerant and unadaptable to other groups. It can cause aggressive action even if a small clash occurs. Also, accumulated sentiments will become a traumatic symptom and have potential to motivate aggressive attitudes.

There is another analysis from the perspective of the political sociology.² It says that the above conflicts including many other riots which have occurred in Indonesia, could be just the reflection of unstable politics and economic situation.

(4) Governmental Policies on Ethnic Groups

There are no specific policies and programs which take ethnic groups into consideration. However, development policies related to indigenous people of West and Central Kalimantan in

² T.A.Legowo, Riots and the 1997/1998 Draft State Budget, The Indonesian Quarterly, Vol.XXV, No.2, 1997

Repelita VI can be found in 1) Improvement of Development Distribution, and 2) Utilization of Natural Resources and Preservation of Live Environmental Function.

- 1) The challenge is to improve the development of the backward, isolated rural and border areas by keeping them up to the inter-district growth rate. The development of villages and their people will be improved through a more harmonious coordination and integration in the sectoral development, the development of human resources ability, the utilization of natural resources and the preservation of living environmental function, and the establishment of a stimulating the climate for growth of the community initiatives and self-measurement. Inter-regional development distribution involves using the regional group approach within each province by establishing functional inter-relationships among districts, territories, villages and cities. In order to solve the economic gap between groups, deregulation and reorganization of regional regulations regulating the local economy will be implemented, such as regulations on land ownership, etc.
- 2) The use and management of natural resources will be improved in order to support the development activities and will be implemented through paying attention towards the preservation of live environmental function for a sustainable development. In this framework, the awareness and the role of the community will be enhanced in preserving sustainable natural resources and live environmental functions. One of the efforts is to increase the development of river flow-path areas' function. Since many Dayaks still live along the rivers, their role is very important.

Two programs to assist the implementation of these policies are;

- 1) Living Environmental Quality Improvement Program: improvement and development of cultural values and cultural art of West and Central Kalimantan, in order to enrich and preserve the local cultural tradition and to preserve the historic remnants, with activities.
- 2) People's Participation Improvement Program: implanting the participation of the community resources in tackling common problems through community resource groups in the region especially in backward villages.

2.2 TRANSMIGRATION

2.2.1 National Transmigration Policy

Faced with disparities between land and population, the government has sought to combine the under-utilized labor of Java and the under-utilized land of the outer islands through various programs of land settlement. In order to fully develop the potential of the nation as a whole, to provide a more equitable distribution of wealth and to relieve the population pressure in degraded watershed areas of Java, the outer islands has been the focus of development because the government considered that the outer islands have the vast undeveloped potential.

(1) Pre-Repelita (1905-1969)

The population resettlement from Java to the outer islands began in 1905 during the Dutch Colonial era. Efforts were concentrated in the Lampung area of southern Sumatra and the Bengkulu and Palembang Provinces. By 1930, only 20,000 people had migrated to new villages and some 600,000 persons had been relocated as labor for the rubber, oil palm and coffee estates which were being established. In the late 1930's, relocation was being directed towards other parts of Sumatra and the outer islands, particularly Sulawesi. However, by the end of 1940, the number of migrants living in new settlements, including those who had moved without government assistance, was only 200,600 persons.

With the establishment of Indonesian independence in 1945 the policy of encouraging people to migrate from Java was formulated officially in the "Transmigration Program". In the two decades (1950-1969), before the introduction of Repelita I, 100,000 families were placed in transmigration settlements.

(2) Repelita I - V (1969/70-1993/94)

Repelita I emphasized the opening up of new agricultural land in the outer islands and placed transmigration in the wider perspective of regional development. Transmigration was intended to provide support for development in the provinces and projects that required labor. The shift of viewing transmigration policy as an important tool in developing the resources of the islands, rather than merely as a means of reducing population pressure on Java, was an important policy step.

It was during Repelita II that the criteria were established for the selection of transmigrant source areas in Java, Bali and Madura. These criteria are still used today. Priority is given to transmigrants coming from districts where the population density is in excess of 1,000 persons

per km²; where there is a serious threat of natural disaster; where land is required for major public works; and where land, particularly watershed areas, is in critical condition. The government's interest in moving people has been changed by the desire of poor farmers to move in order to improve their own lives and the prospects for their children.

The scale and rate of acceleration of the program increased significantly, during Repelita III. A central issue in designing the Repelita III program was the farm model and investment level to be used. The government recognized that it was technically possible to resettle smallholders on tree crop schemes that guaranteed relatively high incomes and rates of return. However, the government also considered that such programs would be costly in both financial and managerial terms, slow the development process and create significant income disparities between transmigrants and the local people. For these reasons, and consistent with the view that transmigration had to be carried out on a relatively large scale, the government decided that most settlements would be based on food crop agriculture. This model was adopted because annual crops could be established quickly, they promoted early self-sufficiency, cost less than other models and provided no excessive advantages to transmigrants in relation to the local people.

However, the subsequent monitoring of the transmigration program by the government, indicated that development, based on a low cost food crop model, was failing to meet the predicted development targets. The decrease of living standards of transmigrants promoted the government to review the settlement program. This review resulted in a major shift in policy away from food crops and towards tree crop production. However, in order to maintain equanimity between the transmigrants and the local people, the program was enlarged to cater to both groups.

In planning for Repelita IV, the government recognized that adequate growth of both income and employment were key requirements for economic development and social stability. It also recognized that these objectives would be much harder to achieve in the late 1980's than in the previous decade when financial growth was enhanced by rapidly increasing oil revenues. Under these circumstances, employment generation through labor intensive investment was given high priority and transmigration was seen as a major vehicle for job creation. The government emphasized the following new elements in the Repelita IV program, 1) diversified farm models, 2) increase of participation of indigenous people in settlement projects, and 3) increase of attention to the development of existing sites.

The thrust of development in Repelita V is towards that of Eastern Indonesia including the regions of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara and Irian Jaya. The movement of population, both sponsored and unsponsored was a key element in this development program,

since many of these islands have insufficient population to undertake sustained regional development. In addition, a major effort was undertaken to identify settlements where transmigrants were not benefiting from second stage development. Decisions were made to put less emphasis on food crops and to diversify into more commercial projects like cash crops.

(3) Repelita VI (1994/95-1998/99)

The targets for transmigration development in the Repelita VI are:

- 1) to attract more self-supporting spontaneous transmigration,
- 2) to make the transmigration areas more accessible to the market,
- 3) to increase the transmigrant income gradually so that they can begin saving to open more businesses,
- 4) to develop various business patterns in the framework of the improvement of the society's prosperity and transmigration programs, and
- 5) to increase the prosperity of the people in the transmigration area, particularly education and health levels.

The quantitative targets are the relocation of new transmigrants about 600,000 households (Table 2.2.1). Of these, 350,000 families of fully or partially subsidized with 250,000 families of self-supporting transmigrants expected.

Table 2.2.1 Quantitative Target of Transmigration in Repelita VI

	Type of Target	Unit	End of Repelita V *	Total of Repelita VI (1994/95 - 1998/99)
Transmigrants	1. General Transmigraton and Subsidized Individual	households	247,560	350,000
	2. Independent Individual	households	-	250,000
	Total	households	247,560	600,000
Location and Land Opened	1. Location Unit	unit	543	1,200
	2. Land Opened	ha	164,423	502,975
	* Farm Land	ha	84,028	166,825
	* Agricultural Land	ha	80,395	336,150
Infrastructure	1. Axis/Link Roads	km	3,217	17,022
	2. Village Roads	km	5,532	12,250
	3. Wooden Bridges	m	35,615	170,220
Housing	1. Houses and Clean Water Facilites	unit	247,560	350,000
	2. General Facilities	package	543	1,200

Note *: Estimated number (cumulative during Repelita V)

Source: Repelita VI

The main policies to achieve the above targets are directed towards 1) encouraging transmigration to the eastern part of Indonesia, 2) supporting regional development, 3) alleviating poverty, 4) stimulating spontaneous migration, 5) developing agro-businesses, agro-industries and other enterprises in transmigration areas, 6) strengthening the institutional framework of the transmigration program in order to improve its efficiency and effectiveness, and 7) developing the quality of human resources by using science and technology. In order to

achieve these goals and implement the various policies mentioned above, a development program consisting of a primary program and a supporting program will be formulated.

Compared with the past Repelitas, Repelita VI shows some new characteristics. First of all, it has promoted more spontaneous inter-provincial and local transmigration through the provision of services and facilities instead of direct government sponsorship. Secondly, it has recognized that upgrading the economic, environmental and social qualities of transmigrants' lives is essential. Thirdly, transmigration is viewed as an integral part of regional development to increase the productivity of natural and human resources.

(4) Long Term Development (PJP) II

The government evaluated that the development of transmigration program in the PJP I significantly contributed to the success of the national development. In PJP II, necessity of the further efforts to increase transmigration activities in a more effective way is emphasized in the framework of the more balanced distribution of population and poverty alleviation with utilizing natural resources and regional potentials.

The transmigration program in the PJP II aims to increase the number of spontaneous, self-supporting, transmigrants with several schemes in either agriculture or non-agriculture through inviting the participation of the private sector. This is facilitated by the following eight goals covered in Repelita VI.

- 1) increasing the income of transmigrants and people in the transmigration area to be at least the same as the national average income,
- 2) raising the level of welfare of the people living in the transmigration areas, especially in their health and education to be on par with the national average,
- 3) increasing productive job opportunities,
- 4) developing several business activities, such as agri-business, agro-industry, and cooperatives (KUD) which can attract independent voluntary transmigrants to the program in the outer islands,
- 5) mingling of the local people and the transmigrants in the transmigration areas,
- 6) equalizing the distribution of the population by reducing population density in ecologically critical areas,
- 7) decreasing the discrepancies, either between inter groups or inter regions, and
- 8) developing the social economic conditions to achieve national unity.

The transmigration program in the PJP II has not been elaborated. Also, our study could not find any definite long-term planning by the government because the government considers that the perspective of transmigration program is difficult due to its heavy dependence on economic and social conditions.

(5) Transmigration Regulations

During Repelita I, the Regulation of the Main Stipulation of Transmigration No.3 of 1972 outlined the main objectives of the transmigration program as follows:

- 1) the improvement of living standards;
- 2) regional development;
- 3) more balanced population distribution;
- 4) equitable distribution of development;
- 5) beneficial utilization of human and natural resources;
- 6) the promotion of national unity; and
- 7) strengthening of national defense and security.

The regulation of 1972 was revised in 1997 (Regulation No.15) because the old one could not accommodate the demand of the development and the orientation of transmigration in the progress any more. The new regulation aims at increasing welfare of both transmigrants and the local people, increasing the even distribution of the regional development, as well as solidifying national unity. Targets of the transmigration are to increase the ability and productivity of the transmigrants, to establish self-sufficiency, and to create integrity in the transmigration resettlement and the surrounding societies so that economic and social-cultural conditions can improve continuously. Therefore, the transmigration is directed to the evenness and harmonious population distribution arrangement supported by the natural and environment accommodation capacities, and norms as well as tradition and customs, human resources quality development, and to create integrity of society and all sectors. Transmigration development is also oriented to keep up with future economic development for competitive market. Transmigrants' business activities are expected to cover whole activities especially based on agri-business and agro-industry with modern technology in partnership with the private sector. The revised regulation indicates significant progress in that the roles of the society and environment are given great attention in regional development.

(6) Role of Transmigration in Future

The government considers that greater emphasis throughout the transmigration program should be placed on the diversification of activities and the offering of facilities and incentives to businessmen and entrepreneurs in order to encourage private investment in small-scale industries on less-developed islands. This would speed their economic development and create more jobs. An industrial base on these less-populated outer islands will contribute to Indonesia's overall economic growth and provide higher-skilled, higher-paying jobs and incentives needed to prevent many educated young people from moving to Java.

Target areas for transmigration will shift further to the Eastern region. In addition to the present target of Kalimantan, Irian Jaya will be focused. Development in Irian Jaya has been hampered by a lack of skilled manpower and this inability to expand economically cannot provide the local Irianese with appropriate jobs. Development of transmigration settlements in these areas aims at providing opportunities for the transmigrants while ensuring that their contributions to

economic development can increase opportunities for local Irianese. In this process, the even distribution of population and development will be much more promoted. However, transmigration is off-limits in regions which there are large numbers of indigenous people still living in traditional villages. This is another possible issue to be considered carefully in the effort to increase local participation.

The ultimate roles of transmigration set by Ministry are, 1) welfare improvement of transmigrants and local people, 2) improve and even distribution of local development, and 3) social-cultural integration for national unity. Once all these targets are achieved, the Ministry will be able to change its activities.

2.2.2 Institutional Framework

(1) Organizational Change

Organizational arrangements were changed during Repelita III and a Junior Minister for Transmigration was appointed to co-ordinate the various line agencies involved in the implementation of the program. Prior to Repelita III, the Directorate General of Transmigration in the Department of Manpower and Transmigration was responsible for every aspect of the program. After the change, the agencies normally responsible for each sector, such as Agriculture, Public Works, Health and Education, implemented the program under the coordinating umbrella of the Junior Minister of Transmigration. Overall, 7 Ministers and 53 Directorate Generals were involved in the implementation of the transmigration program although only a few played major roles.

A new Ministry of Transmigration was established in 1983, responsible for site selection and land preparation (formerly under the Ministry of Public Works), as well as settlement and development (functions previously under the Directorate General of Transmigration). The formation of the Ministry of Transmigration devoted entirely to transmigration was intended both to affirm the importance of transmigration in the national development program and to improve co-ordination between the numerous line agencies involved in the execution of the program. Furthermore, whereas under Repelita IV, the Ministry was considered a labor administration allied with the Ministry of Manpower, from the beginning of Repelita VI, however, it became the administration responsible for regional development.

In 1993, the Ministry was renamed the Ministry of Transmigration and Forest Squatter Resettlement (*Departmen Transmigrasi dan Pemukiman Perambah Hutan (PPIH)*). The activity of the Ministry includes the resettlement of shifting cultivators and illegal tree cutters. This

proposal came from the Ministry of Forestry aiming to protect the forest area. The Ministry of Transmigration and PPH agreed to cooperate in providing settlements for these people.

The government policy for the settlement of shifting cultivators is based on administrative, social and environmental objectives. Firstly, any community consisting of a small number of households or scattered houses cannot be developed effectively because of its size and settlement pattern. The standard size of a village is considered to be 300 - 500 households. Through the settling down of shifting cultivators who live in the forest or isolated areas, a village can be established and contribute to equal population distribution and regional development. Secondly, the low levels of education and health of the indigenous people are considered a hindrance to development. It is necessary to provide them with an opportunity to contribute to society. Finally, production forests and protected forests can be conserved, if shifting cultivators settle down. Although transmigration settlements reduce the vacant land, the program brings environmental benefits. The stability will be brought to forested areas when sedentary farming replaces swidden agriculture. Sedentary farming allows the same plot to produce crops year after year. The unfertilized forest plot cleared by slash-and-burn farmers produces only one or two crops before farmers move to another part of the forest where the process is repeated. The revised transmigration regulation as well as the Repelita VI specifically target forest squatters and shifting cultivators for the transmigration program. The Ministry of Forestry estimates the number of shifting cultivators to be 1.5 million families and the World Bank estimates are at 6 million families in Indonesia. Due to this disparity, the true situation cannot be grasped yet.

(2) Budget

Indonesia's improved economic position allowed the government to increase investment in the program in Repelita III. Apart from inflation, the differences in costs were due to improvements in project design, such as the introduction of site screening and feasibility studies, topographic mapping and detailed village design; new components including link roads, hydrological surveys, agricultural research; and improved inputs such as initial land clearing, the provision of cattle, and improved fertilizer and plant protection package. All development budgets were reduced considerably because oil prices fell drastically in 1986. The budget of the Ministry of Transmigration was reduced by 44% of the 1986/87 fiscal year in Repelita IV.

Almost 100% of the transmigration budget is domestically funded with little foreign assistance except the World Bank projects (Appendix 2.2). This indicates that transmigration is a domestic policy and continuous foreign loans cannot be expected. The economy is closely linked with the transmigration program. This limited budget makes it difficult to set a long-

term target. This is one of the reasons for not fulfilling the target number of transmigrants. Attempts are being made to increase the percentage of unassisted or spontaneous transmigrates. With a greater percentage of spontaneous transmigrants, the cost of transmigration, depending on allocation from the state budget, will be gradually reduced.

2.2.3 Achievement of Transmigration Program

The government proposed to settle about 500,000 families, equivalent to 2.4 million people, on some 250 sites located mainly in Sumatra, Sulawesi and Kalimantan in Repelita III (Table 2.2.2). In the first years of the Repelita III program, progress was slow due to the lack of preparation and inadequate interagency co-ordination. Later, however, significant improvements were made and the scale of movement increased dramatically. In total, some 366,000 families were settled under the government sponsored program. It is estimated that an additional 170,000 families moved without government support although this is almost certainly underestimated.

Encouraged by the achievements of Repelita III, the government proposed to settle 750,000 families in the outer islands during Repelita IV. Under the circumstances of budget reduction in 1986/87 fiscal year, priority was given to the maintenance and upgrading of existing sites under the Second Stage Development Program(SSDP), to the completion of projects already underway and institutional development. The opening up and development of new sites practically ceased, and by the end of Repelita IV in 1989, only half of the planned families had been moved under the fully and partially sponsored program, and a similar number were thought to have moved without government assistance. The share of Eastern provinces has increased, the share of Sumatra showed the peak in Repelita III and since then has decreased, reaching less than 50% of the total in Repelita VI. Kalimantan has increased its share and in Repelita VI planned at 27%.

Table 2.2.2 Number of Transmigrants by Repelita

(Unit: households)

Region	Repelita I	Repelita II	Repelita III	Repelita IV	Repelita V	Repelita VI (Plan)	Total
Sumatra	23,163 (58.8%)	33,953 (54.4%)	326,032 (60.9%)	452,802 (60.4%)	155,829 (58.7%)	278,131 (46.4%)	1,269,910
Kalimantan	5,378 (13.6%)	13,160 (21.1%)	104,902 (19.6%)	199,236 (26.6%)	60,631 (22.9%)	164,533 (27.4%)	547,840
West Kalimantan	925	4,120	28,598	8,050	23,962	67,400	133,055
Central Kalimantan	1,252	1,200	18,757	15,255	9,545	36,478	82,487
South Kalimantan						17,500	
East Kalimantan	2,812	4,000	12,672	17,263		43,155	
Sulawesi	10,444 (26.5%)	14,380 (23.1%)	67,051 (12.5%)	63,287 (8.4%)	29,166 (11.0%)	69,646 (11.6%)	253,974
Nusa Tenggara & Timor Timur	0	0	2,352 (0.4%)	3,073 (0.4%)	2,751 (1.0%)	20,480 (3.4%)	28,656
Maluku & Irian Jaya	451 (1.1%)	871 (1.4%)	35,137 (6.6%)	31,752 (4.2%)	16,882 (6.4%)	67,210 (11.2%)	152,303
Total for Eastern Provinces	16,273 (41.3%)	28,411 (45.6%)	209,442 (39.1%)	297,348 (39.6%)	109,430 (41.3%)	321,869 (53.6%)	982,773
Total for Indonesia	39,436	62,364	535,474	750,150	265,269	600,000	2,252,693

* The number in () shows share in total Indonesia

Source: Ministry of Transmigration and Forest Squatter Settlement (1997)

In 1981, the World Bank agreed to develop a program of site selection and evaluation. The World Bank's involvement in transmigration began in 1976 with a project (Trans I, 1977-83) to settle 4,500 new families and to upgrade the communities of 12,000 others. The following Bank project (Trans II, 1979-86) was restructured to include settlement planning, and a third project (Trans III, 1983-88) provided consulting support for land identification for 300,000 families. The World Bank commented³ that the safe and orderly movement of nearly 1.5 million people on the sponsored program represented a commendable logistical achievement. That so many people were settled without significant heightening of ethnic tension was also a tribute to both the government and the people. The World Bank assistance continued in Trans IV (1983-91) and V (1985-92). Besides, the World Bank also supported other transmigration projects through the Irrigation Sub-sector Loan I (1980-87) and II (1984-93). Trans VI was planned for SSDP, but not implemented partly because of some external pressures on transmigration projects from an environmental viewpoint.

The phased planning approach had been instigated during Repelita II and refined during Repelita III. One of these refinements was the initiation of the Phase I planning studies by a team of scientists from the British Government's Land Resources Development Center (LRDC), now called the Natural Resources Institute, and the Indonesian National Agency for Mapping and Co-ordination (BAKOSURTANAL). To overcome weakness in the planning

³ "The Transmigration Program in Perspective - Indonesia", Report No.10929, World Bank, July 1988

process, a systematic regional reconnaissance study of physical land resources in the transmigration receiving areas was produced in three stages. First, Central Kalimantan and Irian Jaya were mapped. Then, the program was extended to the second stage of mapping Sumatra and the three other Kalimantan provinces. Finally, the third stage completed the mapping Sulawesi, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara, Bali and Java. These were achieved by the middle of 1989. The Phase I RePPPRoT (Regional Physical Planning Program for Transmigration) study represents the national bench-mark on current landuse, the distribution of physical resources, and the potential for the sustained development of those resources. As such, the study would have value for all government agencies involved in development. In spite of the effort, this map has not been fully utilized in selecting new transmigration settlements.

2.2.4 Impact of Transmigration on Land and Local Communities

(1) Landuse and Land Tenure

One of the main reasons why most families chose to transmigrate may be that they would be given ownership of their own land and house. The security of access to livelihood and the prospect of increasing their incomes beyond previous levels are fundamental issues for transmigrants. Land ownership is also critical for obtaining credit for investment in expanding agricultural activities. The Ministry of Transmigration and Forest Squatter Resettlement is responsible for securing land certificates for all sponsored transmigrants before handing over the site to local administration. Certificates for house plot, land plot I and II are supposed to be issued five years after settling to enable the farmers to have collateral for credit. In the case of the land plot III (tree crops) plot certificates are to be issued 6-7 years after planting (or when the trees are mature for harvesting).

Even in sparsely populated regions, indigenous groups may have traditional rights to land which they are unwilling to relinquish. For example, Ot Danum (sub-group of the Dayak living in West and Central Kalimantan) have a distinctive adat land property right law: all land around a village within a radius of about three kilometers is the property of the village. Individual rights are recognized including sales to a fellow villagers but not to outsiders. Land that has been left fallow for at least five years may be claimed by anyone. Transfer and possibly compulsory acquisition of this land increases the chances of uneasy relations and friction between the transmigrants and original occupants.

The typical scheme of transmigration consists of about 2,500 families (1 Settlement Unit -SP constitutes of 500 households and 5 SPs form one Area Development Unit-SKP), which occupies more than 10,000ha of land (Appendix 2.3). Since the existing village (*dusung*) is usually formed of 50-100 households, the impact of transmigration on the local villages is excessive.

Some transmigration sites also have been established by sacrificing the lands and lifestyle of the local people. There is a major negative and probably irreversible impact on indigenous people particular those who depend on the forest for their economic and spiritual livelihood. Some seek shelter in other places, others find employment opportunities in private companies, still others are subsisting in small enclaves between transmigration sites and rubber plantations belonging to local smallholders or oil palm plantations. Since Repelita IV, the responsibility for land acquisition for transmigration sites has been given to the Governor. Though the system for land acquisition has been developed, there are still some unsettled problems over land between the government and the local people.

(2) Environmental Impact

The success of transmigration during Repelita III firmly established the program as the largest voluntary resettlement program in the world. Unfortunately, much of the criticism toward the Ministry of Transmigration was based upon faulty information about the government's intentions and the achievements with respect to transmigration. Of particular concern to the international community and to local pressure groups in Indonesia was the impact of the program on the physical environment in Indonesia, especially the impact on the tropical rain forests, and the effect of the program on the local people, particularly those in Irian Jaya. Criticism of the transmigration program reached a climax in 1986, when one entire issue of 'The Ecologist' journal (Vol.16 No.2-3) was devoted to transmigration. In 1992, BBC broadcasting interviewed with the Ministry of Transmigration criticizing transmigration projects as environmental degradation and ignorance of human rights.

A study of landuse and forest cover nationwide has shown that the gross area of forest cleared for all government projects including transmigration in the two decades from 1970 to 1989 (the first four Repelitas) amounts to 1.6 million hectares. This figure covers all projects in the dryland arable, swamp reclamation and tree crop sectors in which transmigrant smallholders provide the manpower. It is estimated that the area cleared by the government for transmigrants amounts to less than 2% of the closed canopy forested area, or only 1% of the gross area. Such figures demonstrate that the impact of the official transmigration program on the forests of Indonesia is small. However, since an environmental assessment has never done for transmigration projects, actual impacts on environment cannot be clearly estimated.

The big threat facing the forests of Indonesia is population pressure and land hunger. Many landless labors move spontaneously and without government assistance to the less developed and under-populated outer islands in the search for land and jobs. The government encourages such movement in its regional development policy. The number of spontaneous transmigrants may exceed those moved by the government. While such farmers generally have the motivation

and skills necessary to succeed, it is also recognized by the government that this spontaneous movement carries a very high risk of environmental damage. Since the successfully sponsored settlements may attract a large number of spontaneous migrants, there remains the need to identify and protect necessary conservation areas to avoid encroachment on adjacent forests. Although Repelita VI and Transmigration Regulations mention the environmental aspect of transmigration, they lack specific control and management of spontaneous migrants.

2.2.5 Role of West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan in Transmigration Programs

(1) Distribution of Transmigrants

As mentioned in the above 2.1.2 (1), the population growth of West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan is higher than that of eastern Indonesia and the nation in 1990-1995. This is due to natural increase and transmigration. Together with a gradual shift from Sumatra to Kalimantan and other areas as transmigration sites, the number of sponsored transmigrants settled in Kalimantan has risen. The majority of transmigrants came from East and Central Java, these two provinces account for almost 80% of the non-local intake. Looking at the transmigrants from outside Kalimantan, their share in total provincial population in West and Central Kalimantan has been increasing gradually reaching 6.6% in West Kalimantan and 12.8 % in Central Kalimantan in 1995 (Table 2.2.3).

Table 2.2.3 Local Participation in Transmigration

	West Kalimantan				Central Kalimantan			
	Population from West Kalimantan in Settlement		Share in Total Provincial Population		Population from Central Kalimantan in Settlement		Share in Total Provincial Population	
	Population	Share in Total Transmigrants	Total Transmigrants	Transmigrants From Outside Kalimantan	Population	Share in Total Transmigrants	Total Transmigrants	Transmigrants From Outside Kalimantan
Pre-Pelita	0	0%	-	-	0	0%	-	-
Repelita I	0	0%	0.5%	0.5%	0	0%	1.2%	1.2%
Repelita II	2,008	11.3%	-	-	266	5.1%	-	-
Repelita III	23,967	19.6%	6.1%	4.6%	5,828	7.4%	8.2%	7.7%
Repelita IV	12,819	38.6%	6.0%	4.4%	8,447	13.5%	11.5%	10.4%
Repelita V	50,120	49.6%	8.6%	6.0%	10,906	29.4%	13.1%	11.3%
Repelita VI*	41,664	48.9%	10.1%	6.6%	7,025	20.7%	15.0%	12.8%
Total	130,578	35.4%	10.1%	6.6%	32,472	14.9%	15.0%	12.8%

* In 1994-1996 for West Kalimantan, in 1994-1995 for Central Kalimantan

Source: Kanwil Departmen Transmigrasi dan PPH, Province of West Kalimantan, 1997

Kanwil Departmen Transmigrasi dan PPH, Province of Central Kalimantan, 1996
Kalimantan Tengah Dalam Angka 1996

The other thing that should be considered is that the share of the local participation in transmigration sites has also been increasing, accounting for 35.4% of total transmigrants in

West Kalimantan and 14.9% in Central Kalimantan in 1996. The target share of the local participation of 50% has not been achieved yet in both provinces.

The demographic distribution of transmigrants within West and Central Kalimantan is found in Table 2.2.4. West Kalimantan's share of inter-provincial transmigrants was small by the end of Repelita III but it increases to nearly half by the end of 1995. Resettlement locations were primarily centralized in the district of Pontianak and changed to the district of Sintang in West Kalimantan, the district of Kapuas in Central Kalimantan. Recently other districts are included, such as Ketapang and Sanggau in West Kalimantan and Kotawaringin Barat and Kotawaringin Timur in Central Kalimantan. Transmigrants account for 4.4% and 1.8% of the population of the districts of Ketapang and Kotawaringin Timur in 1995. This change also can be seen on the map (Appendix 2.4). Many settlement sites are located along the rivers and roads with some in coastal areas. However, the sites are found in remote areas without good accessibility of transportation and market. The increase of the local participation rate does not affect the population growth in province as a whole but changes the local growth rate and pattern of population distribution. Analysing the number by sub-district, the transmigrants have more influence on population growth (Appendix 2.5).

Table 2.2.4 Transmigrants by Receiving District

West Kalimantan

(Unit: persons)

Regency	Pre-Repelita	Repelita I	Repelita II	Repelita III	Repelita IV	Repelita V	Repelita VI*
Pontianak	5,222 (100%)	4,244 (100%)	11,153 (62.8%)	9,655 (7.9%)	4,047 (12.2%)	9,674 (9.6%)	4,917 (5.8%)
Sambas	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5,135 (28.9%)	11,342 (9.3%)	4,311 (13.0%)	15,069 (14.9%)	9,354 (11.0%)
Sanggau	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1,476 (8.3%)	20,871 (17.1%)	6,384 (19.2%)	42,205 (41.8%)	19,913 (23.4%)
Sintang	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	64,854 (53.1%)	8,677 (26.1%)	4,450 (84.4%)	9,868 (11.6%)
Ketapang	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9,779 (8.0%)	9,250 (27.8%)	26,213 (25.9%)	38,038 (44.7%)
Kapuas Hulu	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5,657 (4.6%)	582 (1.8%)	3,461 (3.4%)	3,068 (3.6%)
Total	5,222 (100%)	4,244 (100%)	17,764 (100%)	122,158 (100%)	33,251 (100%)	101,072 (100%)	85,158 (100%)

* In 1994-1996

Source: Kanwil Transmigrasi dan PPH, West Kalimantan, 1997

Central Kalimantan

(Unit: persons)

Regency / Municipality	Pre-Repelita	Repelita I	Repelita II	Repelita III	Repelita IV	Repelita V	Repelita VI*
Kapuas	2,973 (100%)	5,765 (100%)	1,155 (22.1%)	52,510 (66.9%)	13,922 (22.3%)	7,396 (19.9%)	9,181 (17.5%)
Kotawaringin Barat	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1,949 (37.4%)	19,821 (25.3%)	16,089 (25.8%)	12,211 (32.9%)	15,978 (30.4%)
Kotawaringin Timur	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6,087 (7.8%)	30,266 (48.4%)	11,016 (29.7%)	16,838 (32.1%)
Barito Utara	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2,170 (3.5%)	5,569 (15.0%)	6,356 (12.1%)
Barito Selatan	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	919 (2.5%)	4,161 (7.9%)
Municipality Palangkaraya	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2,112 (40.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	2,973 (100%)	5,765 (100%)	5,216 (100%)	78,418 (100%)	62,407 (100%)	37,111 (100%)	52,514 (100%)

* In 1994-1995

Source: Kanwil Departemen dan PPH, Central Kalimantan, 1996

(2) Target in Repelita VI and VII

One of the targets of Repelita VI in social development, is the decrease of population growth rate to reach the national target. The policies on population sector in West and Central Kalimantan are aimed to control the growth of population in areas of high density and growth, and to direct a more equal dispersion of the population towards areas of sparse population, while taking into consideration the capacity of the area's natural supports and living environment absorption. Population growth is primarily controlled by family planning and dispersion through the transmigration program to areas targeted for development.

The program to target areas in need of development focuses on the Indonesian (West Kalimantan)-Malaysia border area in order to implement spatial planning and accelerate regional development in the areas of trade, tourism, agriculture, forestry, fishery and defense through the improvement of transmigration.

The accelerated alleviation of poverty program focuses on improving the capabilities and opportunities of local businesses in primarily poor communities by building transmigrant settlements along north, central and south cross roads in West Kalimantan, and along the southern and middle axis of the Kalimantan cross roads in Central Kalimantan.

Table 2.2.5 Transmigration Plan for West and Central Kalimantan in Repelita VI

(Unit: Households)

	Full Sponsored Food Crop (A/C:%)	PIR (b1/C:%)	Fishery (b2/C:%)	HTI (b2/C:%)	Industry (b4/C:%)	Existing Village Development (b5/C:%)	Subsidized Voluntary (b1+b2+b3+b4)	Government Sponsored C (A+B)	Non-Sponsored Spontaneous D	Total C+D
	A	(b1)	b2	b3	b4	b5	+b5=B	100%	100%	
West Kalimantan	4,290	44,930	750	3,900	250	280	50,100	54,400	13,000	67,400
	Dry land 3,290 Wet land 1,000							100%		
	7.9%	82.6%	1.4%	7.2%	0.5%	5.1%	92.1%	100%		
Central Kalimantan	20,585	3,100	400	6,193	200	..	9,893	30,478	6,000	36,478
	Dry land 18,745 Wet land 1,840							100%		
	67.5%	10.2%	1.3%	20.3%	0.7%	..	32.5%	100%		

Source: Repelita VI (1994)

Transmigration which is supported by inter-related sectors including the health, education and religion sectors, directs the dispersion and mobility of the population. It covers activities in;

- 1) preparation of transmigration settlement areas complete with supporting infrastructure and facilities,
- 2) in West Kalimantan, placement of transmigrants with a total target of 54,400 families, including allocation of the transmigration area for the local population of 20,400 families (37.5% of total sponsored transmigrants),
- 3) in Central Kalimantan placement of transmigrants with a total targets of 30,478 families of which 7,658 (25.1%) families are local,
- 4) development of the economy through business and social cultural activities for transmigrants already domiciled in transmigration settlements.

The plan shows that in West Kalimantan 82% of all transmigrants with government assistance are following the estate model (PIR-Trans) and fully sponsored transmigration (food crop model) is only 8%. In Central Kalimantan, however, 68% of the fully sponsored transmigrants are involved in the food crop model while 20% of the partly sponsored transmigrants are involved in forestry (HTI-Trans). These numbers are reflected by the landuse plan and regional development plan in each province. Many oil palm plantations are established and planned to develop in West Kalimantan. The one million hectare (PLG: *Pengembangan Lahan Gambut*)

project in Central Kalimantan will promote large scale transmigration for rice cultivation. However, as this target number is not included in Repelita VI, the number is quite small.

PLG project plans a resettlement of 316,000 household in Central Kalimantan during the period of 1996/1997-2001/2002. Compared with usual transmigration consisting of 20 % local participation, the PLG project targets 60% local participation, mainly from the districts of Kapuas and Barito Selatan, and Palangkaraya Municipality. For the increase of local participation, priority is given to 3 groups, namely, a) people who will be affected by the PLG project, b) poor people, and c) forest squatters and illegal gold miners (9,200 persons and 4,000 persons respectively). Although the number of transmigrants already settled in 1997 is about 60% of the annual target number, the government still intends to continue to achieve the original target by the end of 2000. However, under the circumstances of economic recession, the revision of the plan may be considered. Also, with another consideration of a large number of unemployment, this project may have a significant role.

(3) Social Impacts of Transmigration

1) Employment and Incomes

One of the important indicators showing the target of transmigration projects is the improvement of the transmigrants' income. According to the data provided by the Ministry of Transmigration and Forest Squatter Resettlement, the average annual income of transmigrants per family is Rp.2,499,949 in West Kalimantan and Rp.2,702,600 in Central Kalimantan in 1996/97. Incomes in transmigration sites vary significantly in farm models and period of settlement. The average income levels by model are shown in Table 2.2.6.

Table 2.2.6 Average Annual Income per Family in Transmigration Sites in 1997

West Kalimantan		(Unit: Rupiah)
Model/ Year	2nd Year of Transmigration	4th Year of Transmigration
Food Crop	1,737,000	3,444,000 *
PIR-trans	2,708,000 - 3,225,000	3,996,000
HTI-trans	2,518,000	-

* data is available only for kab. Kapuas Hulu

Source: Kanwil Departemen Transmigrasi dan PPH of West Kalimantan

The target average annual income levels are set at Rp.2 million during the 1st and 2nd year, Rp.2.5 million during the 2nd and 3rd year, and Rp.3.5 million during the 3rd and 4th year of settlement. The income level of the food crop model is lower than those of PIR-Trans and HTI-Trans models and has not yet achieved the target amount. However, the latter two models'

income levels are heavily dependent on the companies' payment conditions and the transmigrants may not expect regular incomes. As found in the Social Survey (1) conducted by local NGOs in July 1997, many villagers complained of a delay of wage payment by companies. However, when comparing incomes, the levels of income in transmigration areas exceeds the average income in rural areas.

Transmigration program has also been criticized for not generating sufficient incomes from on-farm activities (families being forced to seek off-farm employment). Significant sources of off-farm income are wage labor in estate crops, governmental projects such as construction sites, trading, teachers and wood-working/crafts. Where tree crops are not yet mature, a large percent of transmigrants are likely to be employed off farm. Where the tree crop is the principal income source, village growth has occurred after the commencement of substantial cash income from the tree crop. Also, during the farmers' slack season, transmigrants are likely to find the off-site jobs. However, according to the report of Kanwil Department of Transmigration and PPH, successful transmigrants are likely to concentrate on their on-site activities throughout the year, while those who often go out for supporting incomes are likely to forget to take care of the food crops. This causes low production. More transmigrants may neglect agricultural production where the wide availability of work is generated near the site or where the potential for agricultural production is limited by either poor services or poor soils.

2) Relationship with Local People

According to our interviews with the Kanwil Department Transmigration and PPH, the local people generally are willing to join transmigration programs because they are interested in improving of their lives. They want to stop shifting cultivation, get married with transmigrants and not be excluded from the surrounding new communities. The problem is that they do not know sedentary farming which takes time and training to learn. Often, the local people, who join the transmigration program, do not concentrate on sedentary farming but switch back and forth between sedentary and swidden farming. This disrupts the unity and security of the settlement areas. Economic disparity results due to varying levels of productivity and transmigrants may leave their site.

The share of local participation in the food crop model was about 10- 20% in Repelita IV. However, the rate in HTI-Trans and PIR-Trans is 50% in West Kalimantan. There are some transmigration sites with high participation rates of local people. For example, in Semelegi in the district of Sambas, 100% of the participants in the food crop model are local people. The people settling this area were originally shifting cultivators recruited by the government to join the project. As seen in this case, if the rate of participation is high with low population from outside, the settlement may be unified in the same purpose.

2.3 PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS OF ISSUES

2.3.1 Significance of the Existence of Many Ethnic Groups for Regional Development

In Kalimantan, there are various ethnic groups. Among them, even the Dayaks consist of more than 400 groups of differing languages and cultures. However, they have seldom traded among themselves but among the Malay and Chinese instead. As roads have been constructed, the Dayaks have begun to settle along them, further increasing multi ethnic contact. Transmigration has accelerated the mixture of ethnic groups in Kalimantan and changed ethnic composition. For example, the Dayak population which once shared 49% of the total population in West Kalimantan in the 1980s has been reduced to 42% in 1990.

How does this existence of many ethnic groups in Kalimantan influence on regional development? The Indonesian government has attempted to unify the country ideologically, politically, and socio-economically but it has fallen short. The Dayak continue to be marginalized even though they are not the minority. As the government continues to force unification, dissatisfaction with the socioeconomic and political conditions and treatment begins to accumulate. The relationship between the Dayaks and other minority ethnic groups deteriorates leading to clashes.

The scarcity of information on ethnic groups causes serious problems. In order to establish cooperation and participation in regional development, the needs of the local people must be met. This cannot be accomplished without examining the local people's population, settlement distribution, culture, adat law, values and views for their region's future. Any system of local empowerment can only be effective when it is created to meet the needs of a specific culture. Dialogue with the indigenous people seems to have been neglected by the government as well as companies that want to develop indigenous people's lands. The absence of specific policies and programs to deal with ethnic groups and their roles in society is also due to lack of information on ethnic groups. It is unfortunate that the indigenous people have always been treated socially and economically inferior.

However, the existence of a variety of ethnic groups can provide opportunities to exchange or share different knowledge, experience and technology. This can become an effective way of breaking ethnic tension while gaining insight into how the region can be developed.

There are 3 factors to be considered for regional development.

- 1) Transparency of information of project implementation by the government and the private sector. All information including present conditions and future expectations should be discussed in cooperation with the people who will be affected so that a compromise can be reached. It is imperative that coercion tactics be abandoned.

- 2) Space/land should be given to indigenous people for cultural heritage and natural resources for their livelihood, such as natural rubber and rattan, and other non-timber forest products. Since non-cash incomes are largely from the forest (as a result of social survey 1), the local people's dependence on natural resources should be preserved. Even if a new plantation project comes to the village, the people should have a right to continue shifting cultivation and other traditional livelihood based on natural resources.
- 3) Proper understanding of the local people from socio-cultural aspect by the government is necessary in order to implement regional development effectively.

2.3.2 The Transmigration Program From A Regional Development Perspective

Transmigration projects should be considered in terms of their contribution to regional development. Do they help to stimulate growth, promote innovations, and have a spin-off effect?

There are several key words found in the policy of the present transmigration program as follows.

- Increase of local participation
- Increase of spontaneous transmigration without government sponsorship
- Diversification of models
- Social and environmental considerations
- Integrated part of regional development
- Equal distribution of development to every group/area

Also, our study has found that the government considers it necessary to improve the quality of transmigration settlements including following-up transmigration settlements which have already been transferred to the local governments.

(1) Settlement Areas

Policies

While the recent policy emphasizes the quality of transmigration program, the tendency to increase rather than decrease the total number of transmigrants is incongruous. Under the present circumstances of economic recession along with the lack of foreign assistance, continuation of the program on a large scale is not possible. Instead, the government should continue to consider how to utilize and improve existing sites or to involve existing villages. Additionally, encouragement of participation of unsponsored spontaneous transmigrants and the local people may be opportune in a financial sense. Considering the increase in unemployment, increasing the number of transmigrants in labor intensive programs should also be promoted. Whether the quality or the quantity is to be achieved is dilemma for the government.

Size

The transmigration settlements vary considerably in size. However, the basic scheme consists of about 2,000 families. If the number of transmigrants exceeds the size of the existing community, it will become a problem. Land received by each resettled family and the public facilities in the settlement sites occupy a vast area. The rapid growth of population and area size certainly produces a large impact on the surrounding areas. If the government follows this scheme everywhere, land acquisition from the local people will become difficult and the possibility of environmental damage in the surrounding areas increases.

Landuse

While the government tries to diversify the models, there are some problems encountered in implementing estate model programs. One problem is that farmers have too little reserve land for average 2.0 ha of tree crops, the minimum area needed to provide adequate incomes and repayment. The other problem is land conflict. There are many cases of the indigenous people's land being seized for projects with a total lack of regard for customary laws.

The amount and direction of spontaneous movement will depend on a number of factors, such as the economic condition and pattern of government investment, and the rate of sponsored settlers since spontaneous migrants often follow relatives or friends who already settled. If quality can be improved, it will attract spontaneous transmigrants. On the other hand, if social and economic improvement are not evident, the residents' sense of community will be lost and development will stagnate.

Since a sponsored settlement, if successful, attracts a large number of spontaneous migrants, there is a need to identify, gazette and protect necessary conservation areas to avoid encroachment on adjacent forests or fragile land. To reduce the problems associated with increasing spontaneous movements, future settlement programs or rehabilitation programs need to be planned for the growth of the communities caused by both spontaneous transmigrants and growth of transmigrant families.

The settlement following the current sequence of steps in the transmigration program will be limited in future. Instead, a broad spectrum of interagency programs and policy initiatives based on the local conditions will be required to foster labor migration and promote regional development. To move from the current logistical operation to one centering on quality improvement and facilitation of local power will not be easy. It is important to identify the local people and the conditions and not to make a standardized scheme but flexible scheme accordingly.

(2) Quality of the Program

Transmigration schemes have been mainly motivated by the desires to relieve population pressure on the densely populated regions and to develop the more sparsely populated outer regions. The current focus on the quality of the program from a socio-cultural aspect by the government is highly appreciated. The transmigration program cannot be continued smoothly without the harmonious social integration of the local communities, the local people, the government and companies in order to develop the areas as a whole. The relationship among the all concerned parties sometimes has a social separation. It happens not only inside transmigration settlements but also in the surrounding areas. In many cases, land is taken from the local people without enough explanation, compromise or compensation since the government believes that land is a national resource to be managed for the common good. The concern is that isolated people who are unaware of their rights may be persuaded to relinquish land against their best interests. The government has not introduced measures to take into account such people in the planning process, to determine their view on benefits and/or compensation, and to provide benefits including parallel development where desired. Local level mechanisms for discussing land claims are also not developed well.

As transmigration projects are getting located in remote and undeveloped areas more and more with development of roads, the likelihood of poor natural conditions is high. Soils are generally of poor quality and water resources are scarce. The good land and soil is the most important condition. However, this condition depends on the distribution of land made by the government, taking this out of the control of the transmigrants. This highlights an important lesson for settlement projects, the importance of proper field investigations must be undertaken in advance of settlement. The landuse planning could be effective if the local people had knowledge of local conditions, such as soils, forests and water resources. Transmigrants can learn cropping systems from the local people and vice versa, these involve growing a combination of rice and other crops, and prove successful in maintaining soil fertility and providing a relatively good income. The importance of involving local people and candidate transmigrants in site selection and land development - if this is more practical, this would improve overall settlement quality.

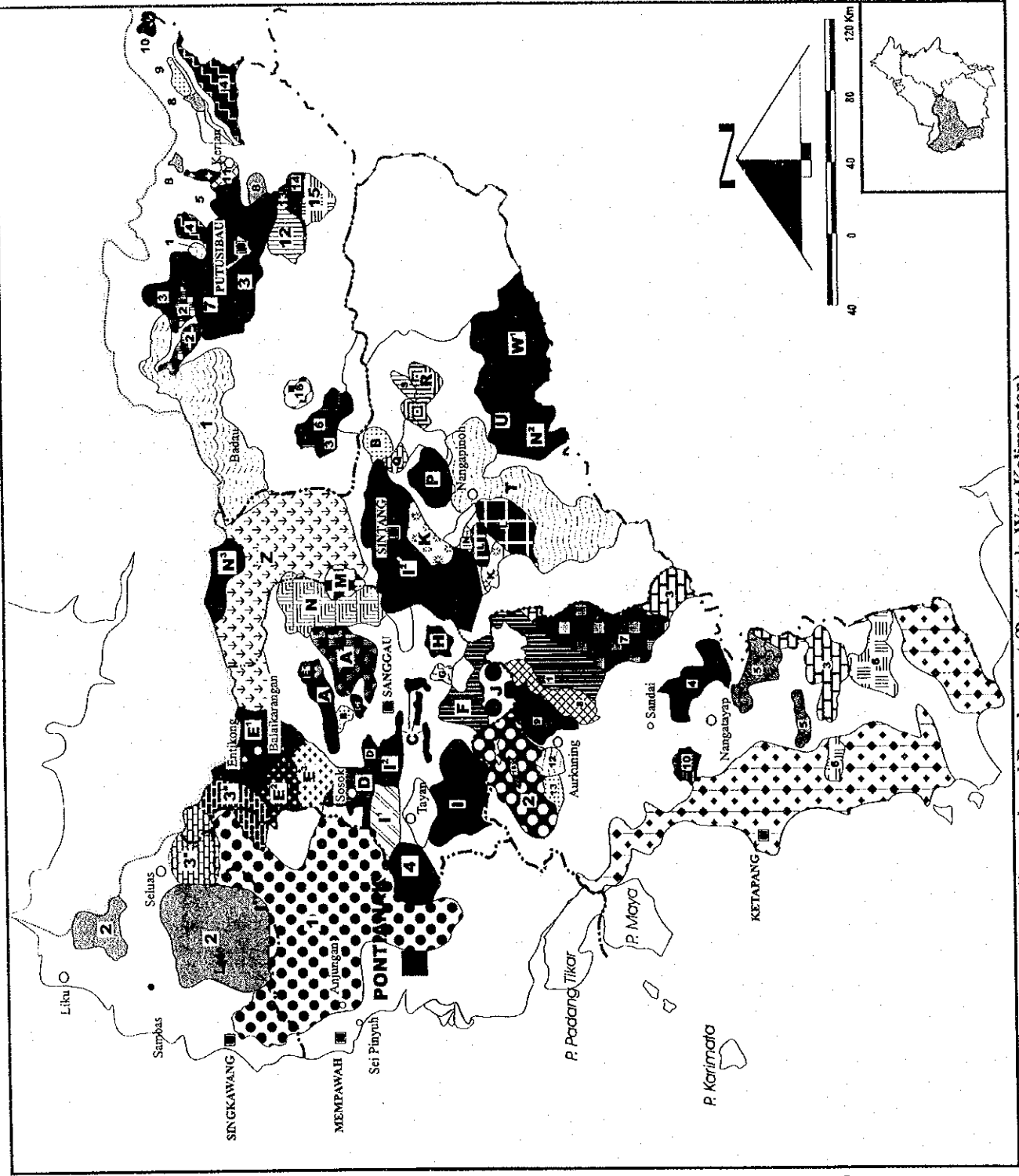
Recent resettlement programs through increasing local participation may take the form of encouraging Dayak communities to move to more developed areas where there are more services and opportunities for employment within the cash economy. It is also a part of government policies to encourage a change from shifting cultivation to the growing of wet rice and tree cash crops. Similarly, it may represent a change in land tenure from a system of communal and customary rights to one of more individual ownership with more formal titles to the land which is usually smaller than what they have. However, it is necessary to allow the

local people to participate in the planning procedure to decide the location of transmigration sites and the way of living. Without close negotiation and compromising between the two parties, social problems will not be solved and disaffection will continue to smolder among the people.

The government's efforts lack in understanding socio-cultural aspects of the local people by itself and in obligating companies to do this. Not only at national level but also at local level, relevant information has not been compiled. There seems to exist a large disparity of value, interests and vision between the governments and the local people. The government has a rather optimistic view, such as mingling ethnicity can promote cultural fusion and inter-marriage and increase opportunities for both transmigrants and the local people in the area to share the difference languages and culture which can promote harmony and unity. Of course, there may be such an opportunity. A decision should be made whether the transmigrants should come from one community or ethnic group, or whether a mixture of backgrounds should be attempted, according to the setting and development perspective in the area.

Monitoring and evaluation of the programs by the government in the sites is either weak or not implemented. The objective is not only to monitor the socioeconomic development but also to identify and deal with the problems being faced by transmigrants and see about alternative strategies to encourage settler's participation in the establishment of viable communities. Also, there must be continuous improvement of the planning system so that the problems that have been causing obstructions can be overcome. This will enable work stages to be coordinated, integrated and synchronized with other sectoral programs of a developmental nature and with regional development in such a way that implementation will take place in a more regulated manner and in keeping with the time schedule that has been prepared. Local authorities are seldom involved in planning or implementation of what, in many places, amounted to a large increase in population and infrastructure. As a consequence the local authorities are ill prepared to manage integration of the new implanted society at transmigration project completion.

Appendix 2.1 Distribution of Sub-groups of Dayak in West Kalimantan



- A. Dayak Kopa
- B. Dayak Mayau
- C. Dayak Pompakre
- D. Dayak Ribun
- E. Dayak Jangkang Tojo
- F. Dayak Sawe
- G. Dayak Jawan
- H. Dayak Keraban
- I. Dayak Desa
- J. Dayak Mentura'
- K. Dayak Limoh
- L. Dayak Seberuang
- M. Dayak Banjar
- N. Dayak Muaiang
- E1. Dayak Bideyeh Paus
- E2. Dayak Bideyeh Beduai
- E3. Dayak Bideyeh Bekoie'
- N1. Dayak Pangin
- N2. Dayak Uhatu
- N3. Daya Bungau
- O. Dayak Ribun
- P. Dayak Barai
- Q. Dayak Lebang
- R. Dayak Kebanan
- S. Dayak Tebidah/Papak
- T. Dayak Kenrijal
- U. Dayak Kubing
- V. Dayak Semiyai
- W. Dayak Malahui
- W1. Dayak Limbai
- Y. Dayak Mentebah
- X. Ut Danum
- Z. Ketungau
- A1. Dayak Benua
- A2. Dayak Jangkang
- II. Jongor Tanjung
- I2. Dayak Parindu
- I2. Dayak Mali

- KAB. KAPUASHULU
- 1. Dayak Iban
 - 2. Dayak Taman Embaloh
 - 3. Dayak Kanu'
 - 4. Dayak Punan
 - 5. Dayak Kayan
 - 6. Dayak Suhaid
 - 7. Dayak Taman
 - 8. Dayak Bukit
 - 9. Dayak Penihing
 - 10. Dayak Mekam
 - 11. Dayak Taman Semangkok
 - 12. Dayak Taman Khalis
 - 13. Dayak Taman Palih
 - 14. Dayak Paming
 - 15. Dayak Nyabo
 - 16. Dayak Mesusal (said)

- KAB. SAMBAS
KAB. PONTIANAK
- 1. Dayak Kanayam
 - 2. Dayak Bekati'
 - 3a. Dayak Sungkung
 - 3b. Dayak Sempatung
 - 4. Dayak Cempedek

- KAB. KETAPANG
- 1. Dayak Krio
 - 2. Dayak Simpang
 - 3. Dayak Jelai
 - 4. Dayak Kayong
 - 5. Dayak Pasuguan
 - 6. Dayak Kendawangan
 - 7. Dayak Bihak (Beginci)
 - 8. Dayak Jekak
 - 9. Dayak Laur
 - 10. Dayak Satong
 - 11. Dayak Sekadau
 - 12. Humian Melayu
 - 13. Dayak Gore/Gerai
 - 14. Dayak Boya
 - 15. Dayak Menggaling
 - 15. Dayak Mali

Source: Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (Pontianak, West Kalimantan)

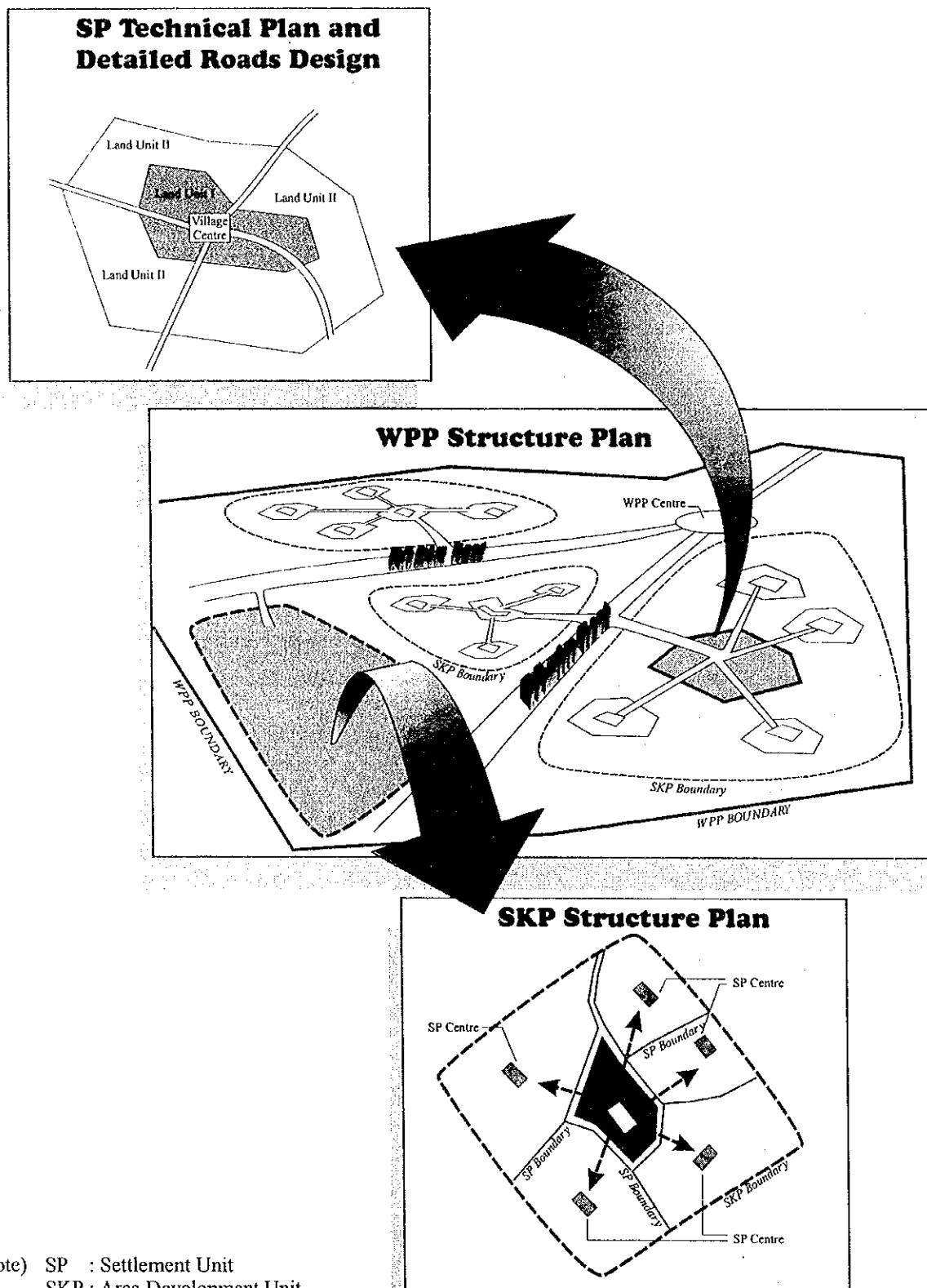
Appendix 2.2 National Budget for Transmigration Program

(Unit: million rupiahs)

Sector/Sub-sector/Program	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	Repelita VI 1994/95-1998/99
Sector					
Regional Development and Transmigration	5,504,326	6,139,190	6,509,129	7,164,086	34,227,530
Sub-sector					
1. Regional Development	4,547,891	5,113,477	5,387,784	5,676,241	28,069,880
2. Transmigration and Settlement of Shifting Cultivators	956,435	1,025,713	1,121,345	1,487,845	6,157,650
*Domestic	837,425 (87.6%)	926,690 (90.3%)	1,072,855 (95.7%)	1,479,045 (99.4%)	
*International	119,010 (12.4%)	99,023 (9.7%)	48,490 (4.3%)	8,800 (0.6%)	
a. Housing and Environment of Transmigration Program	581,335				3,765,740
b. Program for Promotion and Maintenance of Transmigrants	375,100				2,391,910
Total National Budget (Unit: billion rupiahs)	69,749.1	78,024.2	90,616.4	101,086.7	443,528.60
Share of Transmigration in Total National Budget	1.37%	1.19%	1.24%	1.47%	1.39%

Source: Repelita VI

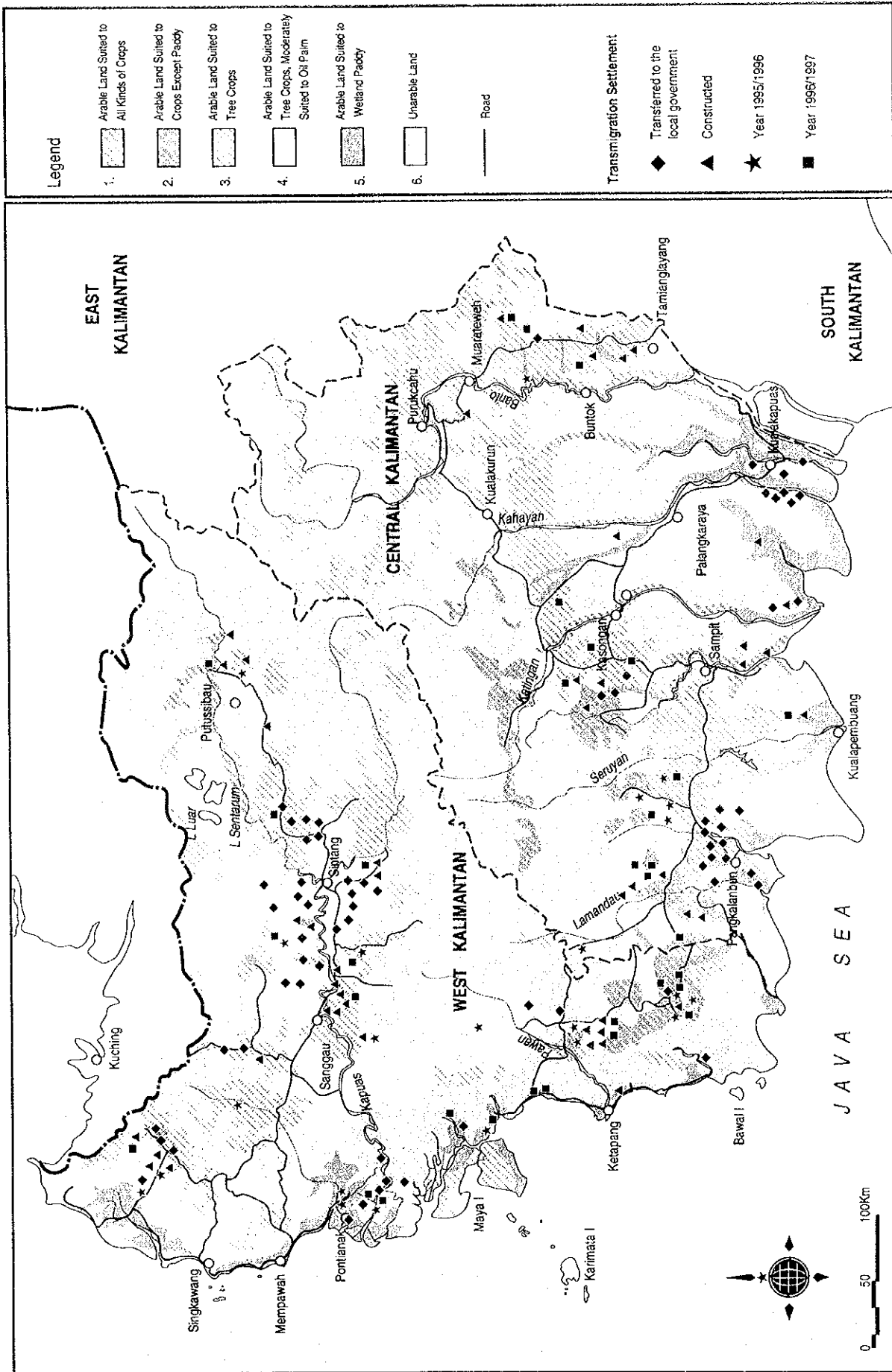
Appendix 2.3 Macro Planning of Transmigration Settlement



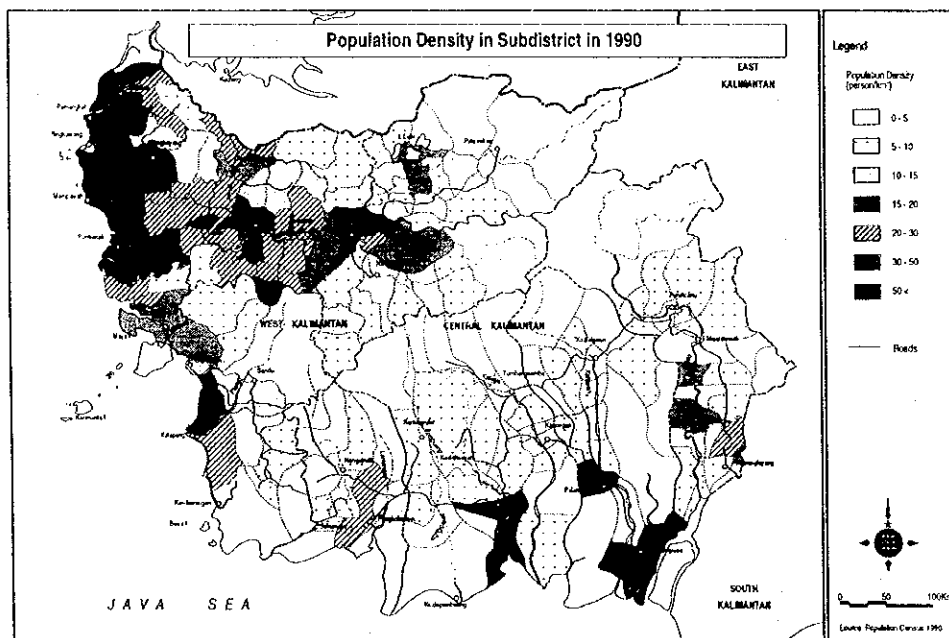
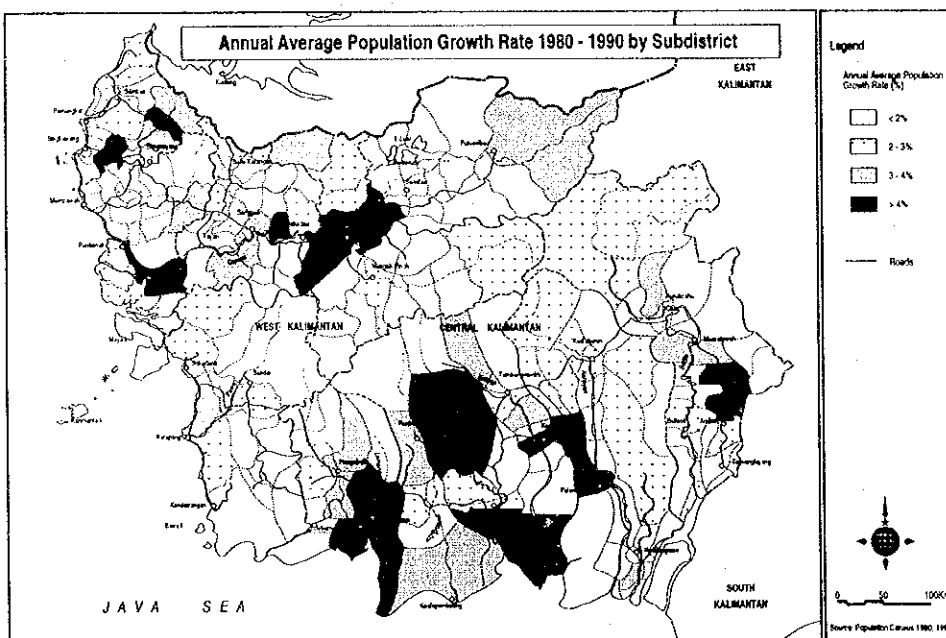
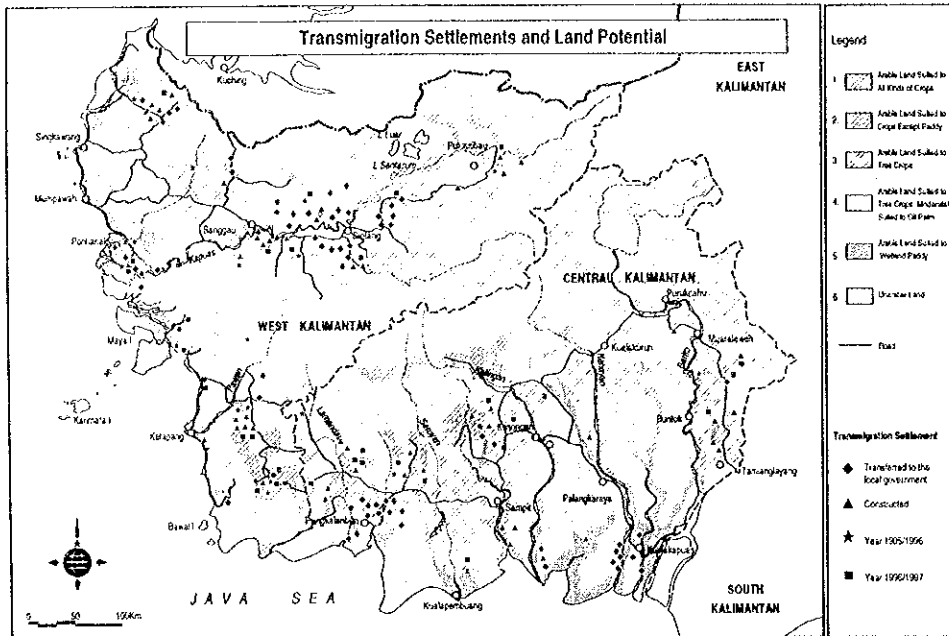
Note) SP : Settlement Unit
SKP : Area Development Unit
WPP: Partial Development Region

Source: Ministry of Transmigration and PPH

Appendix 2.4 Transmigration Settlements and Land Potential



Appendix 2.5 Influence of Transmigration Program on Population



CHAPTER 3

LOCAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION



CHAPTER 3. LOCAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

3.1 PRESENT SITUATION

3.1.1 Administrative System

(1) Overview

Indonesia consists of 27 provinces. A province is further divided into a number of *kabupaten* (regency) and *kotamadya* (municipality). Government administration is accordingly structured into three levels: the central government, the provincial government (so-called autonomous regional government level I or *daerah tingkat I*) and the *kabupaten/kotamadya* government (autonomous regional government level II or *daerah tingkat II*).

For administrative purposes, three more levels can be distinguished below *kabupaten/kotamadya*: *kecamatan* (district), *desa/kelurahan* (village/urban subdistrict) and RT/RK/RW (neighborhood). The political and administrative bodies at the various levels are summarized in Table 3.1.1.

One unique feature of Indonesia's sub-national administration is the dual characteristic of the local government. The Law No. 5 (1974), which provides the legal basis for the Indonesian administration at the sub-national level, divides the national territory into administrative areas (*wilayah*) and autonomous regions (*daerah otonom*). Administrative areas are geographical subdivisions of the general government administration, and as such an integral element of the administrative line of command that runs down from the President to the heads of villages and urban subdistricts. Autonomous regions refer only to the provinces and the *kabupaten/kotamadya*. As autonomous regions, the provinces and *kabupaten/kotamadya* have their own regional representative bodies, own jurisdiction in those areas that have been transferred to them, and own budgets. The territorial boundaries of the *wilayah* and the *daerah otonom* at the provincial and *kabupaten/kotamadya* levels are identical. Thus the local government has two faces simultaneously, one as an autonomous *daerah*-government and the other as a part of the *wilayah*-administration.

Table 3.1.1 Levels of Administration and Government

Level of Government	Level of Administration	Representative Body	Chief Executive	Administrative Units		Planning Body
Central Government Level	Central Government	MPR DPR	President	Departments/ Non-Departmental Agencies		BAPPENAS
Autonomous Regional Government Level I. (<i>Pemerintah daerah tingkat I</i>)	Province	DPRD I	Governor	<i>Kanwil</i> (<i>instansi vertikal</i>)	<i>Dinas</i>	BAPPEDA I
Autonomous Regional Government Level II. (<i>Pemerintah daerah tingkat II</i>)	<i>Kabupaten/Kotamadya</i>	DPRD II	<i>Bupati/Walikota</i>	<i>Kandep</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	BAPPEDA II
	<i>Kecamatan</i>	-	<i>Camat</i>	-	<i>Dinas</i>	(UDKP)
	<i>Desa/Kelurahan</i>	(LMD)	<i>Kepala Desa/Lurah</i>	-	<i>Dinas/village office</i>	LKMD
	RT/RK/RW	-	-	-	-	-

- MPR: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (Consultative Assembly)
 DPR: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of Representatives)
 BAPPENAS: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Planning Agency)
 DPRD: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Regional House of Representatives)
 BAPPEDA: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Development Planning Board)
Kanwil: Kantor Wilayah (regional offices of central government departments)
Dinas: Technical agencies of the autonomous regional government (level I and II)
 LMD: Lembaga Musyawarah Daerah (Village Council) (in *desa* only)
 UKPD: Unit Daerah Karya Pembangunan (Sub-District Development Work Unit)
 LKMD: Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (Village Social Activities Group)
 RT/RK/RW: Rukun Tetangga/Rukun Kampung/Rukun Warga (neighborhoods)

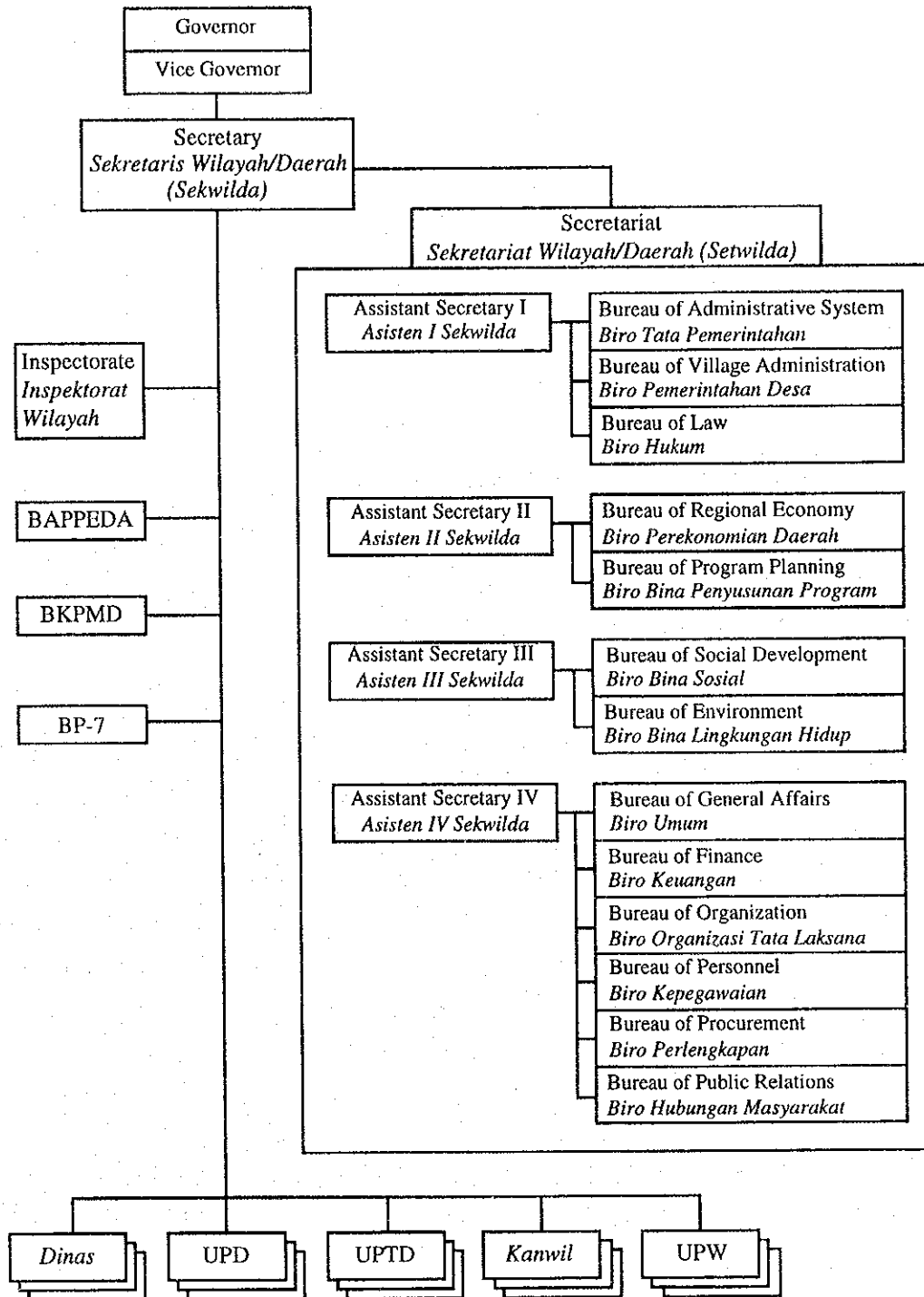
Source: Rainer Rohdewohld, *Public Administration in Indonesia*, 1995, Figures 6 and 7.

This is reflected in the double functions of the governors and the *bupati/walikota* as head of the autonomous *daerah*-government on the one hand and as head of the *wilayah*-administration on the other. Also at the provincial and *kabupaten/kotamadya* levels, administrative units of the *daerah*-government (*dinas*) and of the *wilayah*-administration (*kanwil/kandep* or *instansi vertikal*) coexist. This parallel administrative structure, without a clear-cut division of tasks and responsibilities between the *dinas* and the *instansi vertikal*, has inevitably led to considerable overlapping and confusion. Some details will follow.

(2) Administrative Structure at the Local Levels

Since the administrative structure at the *tingkat II* and lower levels basically duplicates that of the province, this subsection focuses on the provincial structure. Figure 3.1.1 depicts the whole organizational structure of the provincial government.

Figure 3.1.1 Structure of Provincial Government



- BP-7: Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (Agency for Pancasila Education)
- UPD: Unit Pelaksana Daerah
- UPTD: Unit Pelaksana Teknis Daerah
- UPW: Unit Pelaksana Wilayah

Source: JICA Study Team

In this Figure, four types of offices/units can be distinguished. Type 1 is those Bureaus making up Secretariat (*Setwilda*). Their organization is basically uniform across the provinces but still some minor variations can be found. The Bureaus, as line units under Governor, perform general administrative duties pertaining to provincial government.

Type 2 is the staff units to Governor. Inspectorate, BAPPEDA (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah*: Regional Development Planning Board), BKPMMD (*Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal Daerah*: Regional Investment Coordination Board) and BP-7 (*Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*: Agency for Pancasila Education) belong to this type. Their functions are basically those of intersectoral monitoring and/or coordination.

Type 3 consists of *Dinas*, UPD (*Unit Pelaksana Daerah*) and UPTD (*Unit Pelaksana Teknis Daerah*). Like the Bureaus in Secretariat, those offices are also line units under Governor but perform more specialized or technical duties. Currently, nineteen government tasks have officially been delegated to provincial government¹, most of which are entrusted to the *dinas*. UPD include, for instance, provincial archive and library while UPTD are units for technical work such as hospitals, nursing schools and laboratories.

Type 4 refers to *Kanwil* and UPW (*Unit Pelaksana Wilayah*). Whereas the offices/units of the above three types are charged with the *daerah*-administration, type-4 offices are part of the *wilayah*-administration, representing the central government departments and agencies in the province. Almost all departments keep *kanwil* (some even separate *kanwil* for Directorates General) or UPW, which are practically equivalent to *kanwil* of the Department of Home Affairs, in each province. Even though those units are accountable to Governor, in this case as head of the *wilayah*-administration, they are more strongly tied to the respective departments and agencies in Jakarta through budget allocation and personnel affairs.

Table 3.1.2 summarizes the central government departments and agencies, their respective *kanwil* or regional offices, and corresponding provincial *dinas*. From this Table, one can easily sense the complexity of the system and the confusing nature of the parallel administration. Several patterns can be distinguished concerning the department/agency-*kanwil*-*dinas* relationship:

¹The delegated tasks are: general administration, enterprise and state project, small-scale agriculture, (small-scale) rubber production, (large-scale) plantations, animal husbandry, inland fisheries, sea fisheries, forestry, small-scale industries, mining, public works, housing, road traffic, tourism, education and culture, public health, social affairs, and laborers' welfare.

- Two departments and some agencies have no *kanwil* or *dinas* (e.g., Department of Foreign Affairs).
- Some departments are only represented by *kanwil* (e.g., Department of Justice).
- Two departments keep *kanwil* (or UPW) separately by Directorate General (Department of Home Affairs, Department of Finance).
- Other departments keep both *kanwil* and *dinas*. This group is further divided into two: In one group *kanwil* and *dinas* cover the same fields (e.g., Department of Forestry, Department of Public Works); in the other, *dinas* covers only part of the fields under *kanwil*'s jurisdiction (e.g., Department of Communication, Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication).
- Department of Agriculture is quite unique; it is represented by *kanwil* while at the same time keeps four *dinas* corresponding to the Department's four Directorates General.

The important question then is how *kanwil* and *dinas* divide responsibilities in practice. General explanation is that *kanwil* plans, coordinates, synchronizes, monitors and evaluates activities in the assigned fields, while *dinas* performs day-to-day duties and implements projects. Though this account is not totally incorrect, it does not help comprehend the reality, either. Apparently, there is no uniform way of dividing responsibilities between *kanwil* and *dinas*. It varies considerably among departments, partly reflecting the varying nature of sectors and tasks and partly as a consequence of historical background. Some cases are analyzed in West Kalimantan and summarized in Table 3.1.3.

Generally, as will be seen, activities and projects funded with local government budget (APBD) are left with *dinas*. However, since the portion of APBD in the total spending of the given sector is relatively small and largely for recurrent expenditures, the leeway of *dinas* is not so large as it appears.

Table 3.1.2 Central Government Departments/Agencies, Kanwil and Dinas

Central Government Department		Kanwil/UPW ¹⁾	Dinas Tk. I
Dept of Home Affairs	<i>Dep Dalam Negeri</i>	--	--
Directorate General of Social and Political Affairs	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Sosial Politik</i>	<i>Direktorat Sosial Politik</i>	--
Directorate General of Public Administration and Regional Autonomy	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Pemerintahan Umum dan Otonomi Daerah</i>	--	--
Directorate General of Rural Community Development	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa (PMD)</i>	<i>Direktorat Bangdes</i>	--
Directorate General of Regional Development	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Pembangunan Daerah (Bangda)</i>	--	--
Office of Regional Inspector	<i>Inspektorat Wilayah</i>	--	<i>(Inspektorat Wilayah)</i>
Education and Training Agency	<i>Badan Pendidikan dan Latihan (Diklat)</i>	<i>Pendidikan dan Latihan (Diklat)</i>	--
		<i>Markas Wilayah Pertahanan Sipil</i> <i>(Regional non-military security forces)</i>	--
Dept of Foreign Affairs	<i>Dep Luar Negeri</i>	--	--
Dept of Defense and Security	<i>Dep Pertahanan dan Keamanan</i>	--	--
Dept of Justice	<i>Dep Kehakiman</i>	<i>Kehakiman</i>	--
Dept of Information	<i>Dep Penerangan</i>	<i>Penerangan</i>	--
Dept of Finance	<i>Dep Keuangan</i>	--	--
Directorate General of Budget	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Anggaran</i>	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Anggaran</i>	--
Directorate General of Tax	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Pajak</i>	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Pajak</i>	--
Directorate General of Customs and Excise	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Bea dan Cukai</i>	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Bea dan Cukai</i>	--
Dept of Cooperatives and Small Scale Entrepreneur Guidance	<i>Dep Koperasi dan Pembinaan Pengusaha Kecil</i>	<i>Koperasi dan Pembinaan dan Pengusaha Kecil</i>	--
Dept of Agriculture	<i>Dep Pertanian</i>	<i>Pertanian</i>	--
Directorate General of Food Crops	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Tanaman Pangan dan Hortikultura</i>	--	<i>Tanaman Pangan</i>
Directorate General of Estates	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Perkebunan</i>	--	<i>Perkebunan</i>
Directorate General of Livestock	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Peternakan</i>	--	<i>Peternakan</i>
Directorate General of Fishery	<i>Direktorat Jenderal Perikanan</i>	--	<i>Perikanan</i>
Dept of Forestry	<i>Dep Kehutanan</i>	<i>Kehutanan</i>	<i>Kehutanan</i>
Dept of Industry and Trade	<i>Dep Perindustrian dan Perdagangan</i>	<i>Perindustrian dan Perdagangan</i>	<i>Perindustrian</i>

Dept of Mining and Energy	<i>Dep Pertambangan dan Energi</i>	Pertambangan dan Energi	Pertambangan
Dept of Public Works	<i>Dep Pekerjaan Umum</i>	Pekerjaan Umum	Pekerjaan Umum
Dept of Communication	<i>Dep Perhubungan</i>	Perhubungan	Lalu Lintas Angkutan Jalan Raya (LLAJ) (Road traffic)
Dept of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication	<i>Dep Pariwisata, Pos dan Telekomunikasi</i>	Pariwisata, Pos dan Telekomunikasi (Parpostel)	Pariwisata
Dept of Manpower	<i>Dep Tenaga Kerja</i>	Tenaga Kerja	--
Dept of Transmigration and Forest Squatter Resettlement	<i>Dep Transmigrasi dan Pemukiman Perambah Hutan</i>	Transmigrasi dan Pemukiman Perambah Hutan	--
Dept of Education and Culture	<i>Dep Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i>	Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan	Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan
Dept of Health	<i>Dep Kesehatan</i>	Kesehatan	Kesehatan
Dept of Religion	<i>Dep Agama</i>	Agama	--
Dept of Social Welfare	<i>Dep Sosial</i>	Sosial	--

Central Government Agency		Lembaga Non-Departemen (Non-Departmental Agency)	Staff Unit to Governor
National Development Planning Board	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (BAPPENAS)</i>	--	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (BAPPEDA)²⁾</i>
Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology	<i>Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi (BPPT)</i>	--	--
National Institute of Administration	<i>Badan Administrasi Negara (LAN)</i>	--	--
Coordinating Agency for Family Planning	<i>Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional (BKKBN)</i>	BKKBN	--
Development and Finance Control Board	<i>Badan Pengawasan Keuangan dan Pembangunan (BPKP)</i>	BPKP	--
National Board of Land Affairs	<i>Badan Pertanahan Nasional (BPN)</i>	BPN	--
Central Bureau of Statistics	<i>Biro Pusat Statistik (BPS)</i>	BPS	--
State Logistic Agency	<i>Badan Urusan Logistik (BULOG)</i>	<i>Depot Logistik (DOLOG)</i>	--
Institute of State Personnel Administration	<i>Badan Administrasi Kepegawaian Negara (BAKN)</i>	--	--
Institute of National Space and Aviation	<i>Lembaga Penerbangan dan Antariksa Nasional (LAPAN)</i>	--	--
Investment Coordination Board	<i>Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal (BKPM)</i>	--	<i>Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal Daerah (BKPMMD)³⁾</i>
National Institute of Science	<i>Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI)</i>	--	--
National Atomic Energy Agency	<i>Badan Tenaga Atom Nasional (BATAN)</i>	--	--

Note: 1) UPW (*Unit Pelaksana Wilayah*) are technical implementation units of the *wilayah*-administration (indicated underlined in the Table). UPW are basically equivalent to *kanwil* of the Department of Home Affairs.

2) BAPPEDA is accountable to Governor and not to its national counterpart agency, BAPPENAS.

3) BKPMMD is accountable to Governor and not to its national counterpart agency, BKPM.

Source: Compiled by the JICA Study Team.

Table 3.1.3 Division of Responsibilities between *Kanwil* and *Dinas* (Selected Cases from West Kalimantan)

(1) Agriculture

	APBN-funded ¹⁾			APBD-funded ²⁾	
	Project/Program		Routine Operation	Project/Program	Routine Operation
	Dept of Agriculture	Directorate General ³⁾			
Policy-making/ Planning	<i>Kanwil</i>			<i>Dinas</i>	
Coordination/ Synchronization	<i>Kanwil</i>				
Budgeting	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>
Operation/ Implementation	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>
Monitoring	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>

Note: 1) APBN is the central government budget.
 2) APBD is the local government budget.
 3) Within the Department of Agriculture, there are four Directorates General, each of which is represented by respective *Dinas* (see Table 3.1.2 above).

(2) Forestry

	APBN-funded		APBD-funded	
	Project/Program	Routine Operation ¹⁾	Project/Program	Routine Operation ²⁾
Policy-making/ Planning	<i>Kanwil</i>		<i>Dinas</i>	
Coordination/ Synchronization	<i>Kanwil</i>			
Budgeting	?	?	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>
Operation/ Implementation	UPTW ³⁾ / <i>Dinas</i>	UPTW/ <i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>
Monitoring	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Kanwil</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>

Note: 1) APBN-funded routine operation includes issuing certification, forest inventory, forest mapping, maintenance of natural reserve, and rehabilitation of critical land.
 2) APBD-funded routine operation includes supervision of logging concessionaires.
 3) Four types of UPTW (*Unit Pelaksana Teknis Wilayah*: Regional Technical Implementation Unit), which are under the Department of Forestry, perform specialized service in the region: Office for Forest Product Information and Certification (BISHH), Office for Forest Inventory and Mapping (BIPHUT), Sub-Office for Natural Resources Conservation (SUBBKSDA) and Sub-Office for Soil Rehabilitation and Land Conservation (SUBBRLKT).

(3) Public Works

	APBN-funded		APBD-funded	
	Project/Program	Routine Operation	Project/Program	Routine Operation
Policy-making/ Planning	<i>Kanwil</i>		<i>Dinas</i>	
Coordination/ Synchronization	<i>Kanwil</i>			
Budgeting	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>
Operation/ Implementation	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>	<i>Dinas</i>

Monitoring	Kanwil	Kanwil	Dinas	Dinas
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(4) Education

		APBN-funded				APBD-funded	
		Primary School (Inpres)	Junior High School	Senior High School	Private School	Project/Program	Routine Operation
Policy-making/ Planning		Kanwil/Dinas	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Dinas	Dinas
Coordination/ Synchronization		Kanwil					
Budgeting		Dinas	Kanwil	Kanwil	--	Dinas	Dinas
Operation/ Implementation	Personnel (incl. salary)	Dinas	Kanwil	Kanwil	--	Dinas	Dinas
	Building	Dinas	Kanwil	Kanwil	--		
	Curriculum	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil		
	Textbook	Dinas	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil		
	Training	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil		
Monitoring		Kanwil/Dinas	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Dinas	Dinas

(5) Health

	Project/Program APBN/APBD ¹⁾	Routine Operation			
		Hospital	Puskesmas ²⁾	School ³⁾	Laboratory ⁴⁾
Policy-making/ Planning	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil
Coordination/ Synchronization	Kanwil				
Budgeting	Kanwil/Dinas I	Kanwil/ Dinas I	Dinas I	UPTW/ Dinas I	UPTW/ Dinas I
Operation/ Implementation	Kanwil/Dinas I	Kanwil/ Dinas I, II	Dinas II	UPTW/ Dinas I	UPTW/ Dinas I
Monitoring	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil	Kanwil

- Note: 1) Usually, projects and programs in the health sector are jointly funded with APBN and APBD. Responsibility for a project's or program's implementation rests either on *kanwil* or *dinas* depending on which office *PimPro* (project manager) is assigned from.
- 2) *Puskesmas* (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat*: Health Center) is the health facility located mostly in rural areas.
- 3) Health-related schools include nursing school, dentist school, hygienist school and school for nutrition. Most of them are UPTW (*Unit Pelaksana Teknis Wilayah*: Regional Technical Implementation Unit) under the Department of Health, but some schools are run by the local government.
- 4) Laboratories are also run either as UPTW or units under the local government.

Source: Compiled by the JICA Study Team.