shortage) in Lampung. The Lampung population was merely 104,200 people in 1845, a number which, although it nearly doubled 60 years later, still gave an average density of less than 5 persons per square km (Sevin 1989: 47). In contrast, over the same period, Java’s population trebled from 9.3 million to 30.1 million, resulting in an average density exceeding 200 persons per square km. Compared to Java, Lampung at the beginning of the 20th century was indeed an ‘empty land’.

Besides its low density, Lampung’s population at the turn of the 20th century was also unequally distributed (Sevin 1989: 47-48). The mountain range of Bukit Barisan, apart from Balik Bukit and Belalau in the northwest, and swampy plains and estuaries of large rivers such as Tulang Bawang and Seputih in the northeast, were largely devoid of human settlements. Villages and small towns were scattered along the south and west coasts and on the banks of navigable inland rivers. In the mid-1800s, 21,270 people inhabited the Krui coast in the west; 12,000 people lived in Semangka Bay in the southwest; and 16,690 people occupied Lampung Bay in the southeast. By the turn of the 20th century, ports on these coasts were developed into small towns and commercial centres: Krui on the west coast, Kota Agung on Semangka Bay, and Teluk Betung on Lampung Bay. Teluk Betung, with 4,500 inhabitants, was the largest town.

Farther inland, the banks of the Way Sekampung river and Labuan Maringgai further downstream were home to some 10,600 people; Way Seputih river and its tributaries (Way Pegadungan, Way Sukadana, Way

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1 The population of Teluk Betung and the surrounding Lampung Bay and Semangka Bay was severely affected by the powerful Krakatau eruption in 1883. The resultant huge tidal waves wiped out villages and killed thousands of people.
Pengubuan, and Gunung Batin) in the centre had 14,118 inhabitants; and Way Tulang Bawang and its tributaries on the north (Way Abung, Way Sungkai, Way Kanan, and Way Besai) were occupied by 29,450 people. Small towns located on the banks of large rivers included Menggala—then the largest inland town—on the Way Tulang Bawang river, Gunung Sugih and Terbanggi on the Way Seputih river, and Sukadana and Labuan Maringgai down stream of the Way Sekampung river.

Around those small towns, native Lampung houses were grouped into traditional villages. The villages, located along the river banks and separated a few kilometres, had a few hundred, sometimes more than a 1000, inhabitants (Sevin 1989: 47). Between the villages was uninhabited land where temporary hamlets could be encountered. These hamlets (umbul) were created near the newly opened swidden fields (ladang) far from the villages (Utomo 1975 and Kingston 1987).

The natives of Lampung divided themselves into three large sub-groups: Pesisir, Abung, and Pubian. The Pesisir occupied Lampung’s west and south coasts, Abung dominated inland rivers in the centre and north, while Pubian settled in the smallest area in the centre and south. Other smaller sub-groups, such as Menggala on the Way Tulang Bawang river, and Meninting and Melinting in Maringgai downstream of the Way Sekampung river, are the result of the mixing of the main Lampung groups with outsiders. Menggala is the fusion of Pubian, Malay, and Bugis, while Meninting and Melinting are Pesisir and Pubian mixed with outside people from Banten, Sunda, Java, and Bugis (Sevin 1989: 49-69).
Map 1. Lampung province
Based on Dutch scholars and officials’ reports Utomo (1975), Kingston (1987), and Sevin (1989) provide a brief account of elements of social organisation among the native Lampung population. The marga was the highest socio-political unit while the buay was another term to refer to their social organization. Marga, consisted of a number of genealogically related villages (pekon, tiuh, anek, dusun, or kampung) and emphasized territoriality, while buay put more emphasis on genealogical ties. Buay were subdivided into smaller patrilineal groupings of suku, which were further subdivided into cangkai and then nuwo (houses). The relationship between marga and buay varies. In some areas a buay was a marga. In other areas, several buay comprised a marga or a buay consisted of more than one marga. Several marga and/or buay often formed federations. At the village level, suku leaders (penyimbang) met in assembly (proatin) to govern village affairs. Similarly at the marga level, the proatin consisted of penyimbang of the marga. The natives of Lampung observed male primogeniture in the inheritance of title and property, and authority was based on seniority. The oldest village from which other villages had split was the seat of the marga. A penyimbang was the eldest male descendant of the founder of a suku, and this status was granted by the proatin followed by a title granting feast ceremony (pepadun).

Native Lampung social organization was influenced considerably by Banten. Like Banten, the natives of Lampung were predominantly Muslim. The Banten Sultanates’ influences were strongly felt on the

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2 Today the native Lampung population identify themselves either as belonging to Lampung padun or Lampung pesisir (cf. Hadikusuma 1989). The padun inhabited inland Lampung. For the padun, the status of penyimbang is granted by the proatin only if the incumbent is able to perform the expensive ritual and feast of cakak padun. For the pesisir or pemies, inhabiting Bukit Barisan mountain range and Lampung’s southern and wester coasts, the penyimbang status is hereditary.
marga’s external affairs (Sevin 1989: 51-59). The four marga (marga pak) around Mount Rajabasa in Lampung Bay, for example, were ruled by a lord (ratu), who was under the command of the Banten Sultanate. Similarly Ratu Melinting ruled the Sekampung valley in Banten’s name. Elsewhere, among several adjacent buay or marga, the Banten Sultanate granted noble titles. A jenjem was appointed to supervise a number of paksi and bandar who were selected among the buay or marga chiefs. The power of Banten over Lampung, however, was limited to ensuring the monopoly over pepper. The granting of titles that signalled a person’s nobility, denoting high social standing but without political authority, was another element of native Lampung social organization perceived to have been introduced from Banten.

In the mid-1800s, after decades of military campaigns, the Dutch were able to overcome the native Lampung rebellions. By this time, the Dutch had shifted their orientation from a monopoly over pepper toward control over the land and its people (Kingston 1987). Following their conquest, the Dutch imposed a formal administration. Lampung was divided into five (later seven) onderafdeeling, each of which had a Dutch officer (controleur) supervising appointed non-native demang (all of whom were from Java and/or Palembang) who dealt directly with individual villages, neglecting the higher traditional political unit of marga. Further, the Dutch declared that the vast uncultivated lands between villages, which had traditionally been marga lands, became part of the state domain. Some of these formerly marga lands were then granted as long lease (erpacht) to

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3 Previously all Lampung land was divided among its marga. On average, a Lampung marga had 5000 inhabitants, less than 10 villages, and occupied 500 km. sq. (van de Zwaal 1936 cited in Utomo 1975:52). Up to the 1950s there were 87 marga in Lampung (Hadikusuma 1989: 189-194), 81 of which were the native Lampung. Six marga comprised migrants from South Sumatra: four marga from Semendo and one each from Ogan and Mesuji/Pegagan.
private estate plantations; many more were designated as forestry zones (boschwezen). Later, in 1928, the Dutch recognised the marga as a political unit but modified many of its principles to meet government ends such as collecting taxes and recruiting corvee labour for the construction of roads.\(^4\) Marga control over land outside individual villages was never fully returned.

In the first half of the 20th century, a major aim of the Dutch administration was to develop colonies of Javanese in Lampung. A railway line was constructed from Teluk Betung to Palembang, along which enclaves of ‘little Java’ would be created. This was supposed to be followed by the development of a plantation belt (cultuurgebied) (Kingston 1989). The Dutch started the creation of agricultural colonies of Javanese in Lampung in 1905. The plains on the south side of Lampung were selected as the primary sites; the first being Gedong Tataan, the second Wonosobo, and the third Sukadana. By 1941, 174,000 people mostly from overcrowded areas in central Java (Kedu, Banyumas, Pekalongan, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Jepara/Rembang) and a smaller number from east Java (Kediri, Surabaya, Madiun, and Malang) had been settled in the new colonies (Sevin 1989). Sukadana was the largest settlement with 90,000 inhabitants, and its main village of Metro turned into a town in the 1930s (Hardjono 1977). Each colonist received 0.3 ha dry field (tegalan) and 0.7 ha irrigated rice field (sawah). Under the colonisation scheme, the colonists brought with them to Lampung the Javanese style of lower-level structure of administration village (desa) and subdistrict (kecamatan).

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\(^4\) Kingston (1987) suggests that the abuse of power by the new government-selected marga chiefs gave rise to popular protests organised by the Commite Tani Lampung (Lampung’s peasant committee) in 1930s.
Opposition to this colonisation scheme initially came from plantation companies in Java and North Sumatra, claiming that they experienced difficulties in recruiting labourers who would prefer to join government-sponsored migration rather than becoming their cheap coolies. The great depression of the 1930s forced the plantation companies to stop recruiting and to reduce the number of their coolies. This revived the colonisation projects, and led to the creation of the last and largest colonial agricultural resettlement zone of Sukadana. Argoguruh weir was constructed to channel water from the Way Sekampung river to this zone’s irrigation schemes. The colonization project was stopped with Japan’s invasion in 1942, the subsequent World War II, and Indonesia’s revolution for independence.

Government-sponsored migration from Java to Lampung was re-started in the early 1950s, the program being called transmigration. Under CTN (Corp Tjadangan Nasional) and later BRN (Biro Rekonstruksi National) former soldiers and militias from various part of Java were moved to Lampung. In the beginning of the 1950s, small groups of these veterans were given cleared land and were expected to clear further areas to attract more Javanese. About 25,000 people migrated to Lampung, 60% of whom still remained in their new homes in 1960s (Benoit 1989: 107). Unlike the Dutch colonisation and later post-colonial Indonesia transmigration projects that concentrated on areas in the eastern lowlands of Lampung, the BRN also placed Sundanese and Javanese migrants in the western highlands. Lowland Palas in the south and Jabung in the centre were allocated to the BRN transmigrants. In the eastern foothills of the Bukit Barisan mountain range, four sites were selected; Pulau Panggung in the
south, Kalirejo in the centre, and Tanjung Raya and Sumber Jaya in the north.\textsuperscript{5}

Subsequent transmigration programmes largely followed the Dutch patterns. The central and northern plains were designated as the transmigration receiving areas. From the mid-1950s until the end of the 1970s, the plains around Sukadana, Gunung Sugih, and Kota Bumi were transformed into transmigration receiving areas. The World Bank was the main sponsor of the post-colonial transmigration program. Between 1950 and 1969, 100,000 ha of lands were allocated to 200,000 transmigrants. The number of transmigrants fell to 50,000, who settled on 53,000 ha of land, between 1969 and 1974, and finally, dropped to 11,000 people between 1974 and 1979 (Pain 1989: 293-294). Unlike colonisation schemes, post-colonial transmigration programmes did not always allot wet field sawah to each transmigrant; many transmigrants received only dry field tegalan. The size of land given to transmigrants was also larger, 2 ha or more.

By the end of the 1970s Lampung ceased to be the destination of transmigrants from Java. The local transmigration program (transmigrasi lokal or translok) was designed to remove forest squatters (perambah hutan) from government-designated forestry zones and to develop the isolated, thinly populated northeast regions of Lampung. From 1979 to 1986, over a quarter of a million people were forced to move from the southern and central forestry zones to the plains and swamps between Menggala, Mesuji and Blambangan Umpu. Several sites of 100,000 ha were cleared for this purpose.

\textsuperscript{5} Earlier and subsequent development of one of these sites, that is Sumber Jaya, is the subject of the proceeding chapters.
As a consequence of the influx of migrants, the proportion of the native Lampung population fell dramatically (Benoit 1989: 143-145). From 70% of the population in 1920, the proportion of native Lampung fell to less than 15% in the mid-1980s. In the mid-1980s, nearly 70% of the population of Lampung were Javanese, the Sundanese proportion was a little more than 10%, while migrants from South Sumatra comprised a little less than 10%.6

Table 2.1 Natives and migrants in Lampung, 1930—1986

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Natives and migrants*</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives of Lampung</td>
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<td>360,000</td>
<td>458,000</td>
<td>556,000</td>
<td>661,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spontaneous migrants</td>
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<td>577,000</td>
<td>1,057,000</td>
<td>530,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Descendants of spontaneous migrants</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>184,000</td>
<td>804,000</td>
<td>1,652,000</td>
<td>2,340,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transmigrants</td>
<td></td>
<td>375,000</td>
<td>107,000</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>199,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendants of transmigrants</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>513,000</td>
<td>755,000</td>
<td>1,002,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total*</td>
<td>376,000</td>
<td>1,472,000</td>
<td>2,459,000</td>
<td>4,155,000</td>
<td>4,732,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampung population</td>
<td>406,000</td>
<td>1,667,000</td>
<td>2,775,000</td>
<td>4,627,000</td>
<td>5,250,000</td>
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</tbody>
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* Bandar Lampung and translok are excluded
Source: Benoit (1989: 130,168)

Table 2.1 shows that of the total non-native Lampung population in the second half of the 20th century, the number of spontaneous migrants or independent settlers and their descendants, who migrated to Lampung without government assistance, is much greater than the number of government sponsored migrants and their descendants. Following their friends and relatives who had been sponsored to migrate to Lampung, other Javanese and Sundanese sold their possessions in Java to buy land in Lampung. Those who did not have enough money, settled to work as labourers and/or sharecroppers for the earlier migrants and native Lampung smallholders (Utomo 1975 and Levang 1989).

6 Other migrant ethnic groups in Lampung are Chinese, Minangkabau, Bugis, Balinese, and Batak, and Madurese.
Labour migration to Lampung is not a recent phenomenon. For centuries groups of labourers from Banten had come to Lampung to handpick the pepper corns and coffee cherries. These seasonal migrations amounted to 30,000—40,000 people per year at the turn of the 20th century. Although they usually returned to Banten, some settled in Lampung (Kingston 1987). Three large groups, the Mesuji, Ogan, and Semendo (Benoit 1989) migrated to Lampung at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century from the neighbouring province of South Sumatra (Palembang). Of these three, the Mesuji moved from the lowland Palembang border with Lampung to northeast Lampung, the Ogan moved to the northern Lampung plains between Kota Bumi and Bukit Kemuning, while the Semendo moved from their homeland in highland Palembang to the hilly and mountainous highlands of Lampung i.e. Kasui and Way Tenong in the northwest and Pulau Panggung in the southwest. The Semendo, the largest of the three groups, cleared the jungle, transformed it into coffee gardens, and settled in villages or hamlets near streams where, like in their home land, they could establish wet rice fields. The Semendo and Ogan migrants often employed and sold their coffee gardens to incoming Javanese migrants.

The transformation of Lampung in the 20th century is thus a result of complex factors. Some of these relate to the influx of migrants and the subsequent opening up of Lampung land. While some forces have attempted to control or limit the movement of these migrants, others have managed to benefit from their arrival.

Besides colonial and post-colonial government-sponsored transmigration, infrastructure development and the decentralization of administration have also stimulated spontaneous settlers to Lampung and the opening
up of its land. The Dutch constructed a railway from Teluk Betung at Lampung Bay to Palembang in the 1920s. It is along this railway line that most populated areas and economic centres are presently located. Road networks were continuously built to connect remote areas to these population and economic centres. Initially constructed by corvee labour during the Dutch occupation, the construction of these roads, especially after 1970 when transmigration programmes were integrated into regional development, became the main post-colonial development agenda. As a result, commerce was boosted, more lands were cleared and cultivated, and more spontaneous settlers moved in.

Colonial and post-colonial decentralisation of administration and land alienation played an important role in the transformation of Lampung. In the mid-1800s, the Dutch dismantled Lampung's traditional government of *marga*, first by imposing a modern administration with district (*onderafdeeling*) headed by *controleur* assisted by several non-native *demang* to work directly with officially selected village heads, 400 to 500 in number (Kingston 1987). When the Dutch declared the vast areas of uncultivated land between villages as state property, native Lampung lost their important reserve lands vital for the continuation of their traditional agricultural production system. The native Lampung people soon could not resist migrants from the north (*orang* Semendo, *orang* Ogan, and *orang* Mesuji) who, with the Dutch *controleur's* consent, occupied former *marga* lands. A large portion of the former *marga* lands were either granted on long-term leases to plantation companies or designated as forestry zones (*boschwezen*).

The Dutch created different low-level administration systems, one for Javanese settlers and one for the native Lampung population. From 1928,
the villages (*pekon, kampung, dusun, or tiuh*) of natives of Lampung were organised under *marga* headed by chiefs (*pesirah*), who were selected by the government among the *penyimbang* nominees (Kingston 1987). Javanese transmigrants villages (*desa*) were organised into *kecamatan*, headed by a government officer *camat* (Hardjono 1977). Several *kecamatan* formed one *kewedanan* headed by a *wedana*. In the post-colonial era until the end of the 1970s, Lampung still largely retained this dual system. A modification was introduced for the native Lampung population in the 1950s (Utomo 1975) by merging several *marga* into a *negeri*, headed by a chief (*kepala negeri*) who was selected among the *penyimbang*. A *dewan negeri* was also formed as the council of natives' elders. As more Javanese migrants settled in Lampung, further former *marga* lands were converted into Javanese settlers' *desa*. The take over of forests and bush land was usually marked by a token payment (*ulasan*) by settlers to the head of the *marga* or *negeri* (Utomo 1975). Since the Dutch forbade the native Lampung population to sell their land to the Javanese migrants, *ulasan* was only paid as compensation for cultivated plants. In the late 1970s the *negeri* was abolished, and all Lampung then adopted the Javanese style of administrative village (*desa*), subdistrict (*kecamatan*), and district (*kabupaten*).

The last three decades of decentralisation of administration (*pemekaran wilayah*), resulted in the continuous creation of new districts (*kabupaten, kota*), subdistricts (*kecamatan*), and villages (*desa*). Lampung had 4 districts, 60 *kecamatan*, and 1164 *desa* in 1972; 4 districts, 77 *kecamatan*, and 1941 *desa* in 1991; and 10 districts, 162 *kecamatan*, and 2099 *desa* in 2001 (BPS Lampung 1972 and 2001). The direct impact of this *pemekaran wilayah* has been more rural development programmes (e.g., roads, schools, clinics, agricultural extension). The influx of settlers was the prerequisite
to *pemekaran wilayah* on the one hand, while *pemekaran wilayah* stimulated the further influx of settlers on the other.

Since the early days of government-sponsored migration of people from Java to Lampung, the estate plantation sector has benefited from the abundant and cheap labour. The opening of colonisation sites by the Dutch and the coming of Javanese agricultural colonists until the 1940s were soon followed by the granting of long leases on nearby land to plantation companies. Although less extensive than in North Sumatra, estate plantations of coffee, rubber, and oil palm were installed close to the transmigration settlements. In the 1930s there were 34 plantations with sizes between 2000 to 5000 hectares. While recruiting cheap labour from Java, these plantations also employed seasonal labourers from the transmigration settlements (Kingston 1987). After Indonesian independence, many of these plantations were nationalised and were placed under the control of PT. Perkebunan Nusantara, a state-owned plantation company.

In the post-colonial era, following the opening up of new transmigration settlements in central and north Lampung, state-owned and private companies were granted land leases for new estate plantations. The size of many of these new estate plantations was much larger than those of the colonial period. Some private companies had 20,000 hectares of land, while others controlled as ‘little’ as 40 hectares. Coffee diminished in importance and was no longer an estate plantation commodity. In addition to rubber, oil palm, and sugar, other crops such as cassava, coconut, pineapple, and banana are became estate plantation crops. In 1969, estate plantations controlled 21,000 hectares of Lampung land; in 1985 it had risen to 133,000 ha (Pain 1989:347). In the 1990s, Lampung’s
eastern swamps and coasts were gradually transformed into brackish shrimp ponds. In the late 1990s, Lampung was the home of two of the nation’s largest shrimp industries.

As elsewhere in Indonesia, forestry policies in Lampung have for decades been designed and implemented to exclude undesirable people and land interactions. The Dutch started the process first by confiscating native Lampung *marga* lands and declaring them to be part of the state domain in the mid-1800s. Subsequent land alienation was carried out through the designation of forestry zones (*boschwezen*); between 1922 and 1943 nearly a million hectares of Lampung lands were gazetted as forestry zones. The native Lampung population was prohibited from both harvesting forest products and clearing the land for farming. The Dutch controlled harvesting of forest products, giving the *marga* only a small share of the tax (Kingston 1987 and Utomo 1975). A plan was drawn up for forestry plantations of teak such as those in parts of Java, a lucrative source of income for the Dutch. Labourers from Java were brought to Lampung and some hundreds of hectares of *boschwezen* land between Gedong Tataan and Tegineneng were planted with teak. However, the Japanese invasion in 1942-43 prevented further materialisation of the plan (Utomo 1975). While strictly prohibiting the native Lampung people from gathering forest products from, and clearing the land within, the gazetted forestry zones, the Dutch were permissive toward the Javanese transmigrants whose allotted settlements and fields were already fully utilized. These transmigrants were allowed to clear forest in an attempt to extend their agricultural settlements (Kingston 1987). Sections of the colonisation zones between Gunung Sugih and Sukadana were *boschwezen* lands that were converted into settlements.
Immediately after independence, logging became the main forestry work in Lampung. Prior to their designation as national parks in the 1980s, sections of Way Kambas and Bukit Barisan Selatan were also granted for logging concessions. In addition to former *boschwezen* lands, thousands of hectares of the remaining *marga* lands were granted to logging companies. Once this was done these former *adat* lands were officially classified as state forestry zones, which then legally became the property of the state. Meanwhile, some of the *boschwezen* were converted into transmigration and spontaneous settlements, as seen in the development of post-colonial pioneer transmigration settlements on the edges and within the boundaries of *boschwezen* land such as in lowland Palas and Gunung Balak and in highland Pulau Panggung and Sumber Jaya. Other former *boschwezen* and logging concessions were converted into estate plantations. By the early 1990s Lampung had no more production forest. About 175,000 hectares of former logging concession areas are now officially under the control of state forestry company (PT Perhutani) for industrial forestry plantations (*HTI: hutan tanaman industri*).

In the last three decades, the designation of state forestry zones, reforestation, and the eviction of 'forest squatters' have become key forestry policies. About 1.2 million hectares of land, over 30% of Lampung land, mainly the former Dutch's *boschwezen* plus post-colonial logging concession areas have been reclassified as state forestry zones (*kawasan hutan negara*). From the end of the 1970s to the turn of 1990s at least a quarter of a million people were forced to vacate the protection forest zones (*kawasan hutan lindung*) located in the upper part of watersheds, to join local transmigration programmes. This was then followed by the planting of exotic trees such as sonokeling (*Dalbergia sisoo*) and caliandra (*Calliandra calothyrsus*) on the abandoned
smallholders’ fields and settlements. But the plan to transform these forestry zones into forestry plantations was not fully implemented; the reforestation trees either died, were overgrown by bush, or removed and the areas were transformed back into smallholder farmers’ fields. The appropriation and reappropriation of land in forestry zones has been a constant feature of the interaction between local people and the forestry authorities in Lampung.

The forestry authorities used conservation of watersheds to justify the imposition of repressive forestry policies and the selection of forestry zones in ‘water catchment areas’ (daerah tangkapan air) of Lampung’s main rivers. Large dams were constructed on the upper reaches of these rivers to feed water for the irrigation canals downstream and/or for hydroelectric power (cf. Departemen Pekerjaan Umum 1995). The Way Jepara dam, located near Gunung Balak in East Lampung, designed to irrigate 6651 hectares rice fields in the Way Jepara region, was constructed between 1975 and 1978. Located at the upper Way Rarern river near Kotabumi, the Way Rarern dam was constructed from 1980 to 1984 to feed 22,000 hectares of rice fields. At the upper part of the Way Sekampung river, near Pulau Panggung and Talang Padang in Tanggamus highland, the Batu Tegi dam was constructed from 1995 to 2003. The Batu Tegi dam was designed to produce electricity (24 MW) and to supply water for 90,000 hectares of irrigated rice fields downstream in the province’s rice bowls on the eastern and central Lampung plains. Located in Sumber Jaya on the West Lampung highland, the construction of the Way Besai dam, which was designed to produce electricity (90 MW), was started in 1994 and completed in 2001. Financial support for the construction of these dams came primarily from World Bank and the government of Japan. The eviction of thousands migrant smallholder families in Gunung
Balak since the early 1980s was described as an effort to ensure a steady supply of water for the Way Jepara dam. The construction of the Batu Tegi dam was preceded by a massive demolition of migrant smallholders' houses and coffee gardens to be planted with sonokeling in Pulau Panggung, Wonosobo, and Sumber Jaya in the early 1990s. More recently similar attempts have been conducted on the upper parts of the Way Tulang Bawang river (e.g., Tanjung Raja, Bukit Kemuning, and Sumber Jaya).

Land of Hope, Land of Despair

While criticizing some aspects of the Dutch transmigration projects in Lampung up to the 1940s, Karl Pelzer (1945) praised the projects for their possible good outcomes: the hope of a redistribution of population and intensive agricultural production. A decade later, instead of intensive agriculture, J.F. Wertheim (1959) encountered vast areas of alang-alang grass replacing the forest cover he saw in the 1930s; instead of well-planned agriculture settlements, he found the spread of spontaneous settlements—as a result of the saturated early transmigration sites—whose populations were in desperate need of government assistance, if their livelihood was to improve. Comparing the conditions of agriculture pioneer settlements of Javanese migrants in Lampung in the 1930s and the late 1950s, Wertheim indicated a possible course for Lampung that in the future this 'land of hope' could turn into a 'land of despair'.

Kampto Utomo⁷ (1975) gave a detailed account of village social organization and the modes of ecological adaptation of the spontaneous

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⁷ He later changed his name to Sayogyo. Prof. Sayogyo is a well known Indonesian rural sociologist with focus on rural development and poverty alleviation.
settlers in Lampung in the mid 1950s. Between 1950 and 1957, spontaneous migrants from nearby old transmigration sites (e.g. Gedong Tataan and Pringsewu) and directly from Java opened new agricultural settlements in the Way Sekampung area. Between 35,000 and 40,000 inhabitants created 18 new Javanese villages (desa). The settlers were recruited by a number of kepala tebang (chief of clearing) who sought permission and paid ulasan to the native Lampung negeri head to clear the forest. The forest was cleared collectively, each man received a farming field and housing lot (kapling). More migrants came and more forests were cleared. Under the leadership of the kepala tebang several hamlets formed an administrative village (desa), usually with one of the kepala tebang as the village head. Government assistance was absent. Simple roads, markets, schools, and clinics were constructed through community work (gotong royong). The village administration received janggolan tax, either in cash or in kind (i.e. rice), from the villagers. Later the new villages were organised into a kecamatan headed by a government officer camat. However, the much needed government assistance (e.g. for construction of roads, irrigation networks, and agricultural extension) was still absent.

Rather than practising the intensive agriculture that they knew well in Java, these spontaneous migrants adopted the native Lampung people’s method of shifting cultivation, and practised its worst form, in the ecological sense (Utomo 1979). As described by Pelzer (1945), the shifting cultivation practised by the native Lampung population was supplemented by cash crops. This usually involved one or two crops of upland rice on an area of newly cleared forest, after which the field was planted with coffee and/or pepper, before it was left fallow. The Javanese

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8 This area form the present day Kalirejo and Sukoharjo regions.
migrants prolonged the planting of annuals (rice and soybean) and left the field fallow for a short period so that the soil was rapidly exhausted and infested by *alang-alang* grass (Utomo 1979). The migrants managed to convert stream banks into flooded rice fields, but the irregular water supply and lack of labour limited production. A few of them tried to plant coffee, but low production and poor upkeep soon transformed their coffee gardens into *alang-alang* fields. These migrants then abandoned their *alang-alang* fields and searched for new forests to clear, and started a new cycle of conversion of forest cover into *alang-alang*.

Concerns about the livelihood of the population in Lampung, with an emphasis on the distribution of population and agricultural production systems, continued to be raised by the ORSTOM research team in the mid-1980s (Benoit *et. al* 1989). Many areas were already heavily populated and saturated, while a few zones, called ‘last frontiers’, were still scarcely populated (Pain 1989). Agricultural practices underwent profound changes. Patrice Levang’s survey (1989) demonstrated that irrigated rice fields (*sawah*), gardens (*kebun*) perennial cash crops, and dry fields (*tegalan*) with annual food crops were the main farming systems of Lampung by 1980s. Often these systems were practised as a mixed farming system.

Pain (1989) divided Lampung into three forms of spatial organization: ‘the centres’, transition areas, and marginal zones. The ‘centres’ had populations over 500 inhabitants per sq. km. of cultivated land, and in some areas over 1000 inhabitants per sq. km. These ‘centres’ were rice-growing plains created by colonial and post-colonial transmigration programmes. These centres include Pringsewu, Metro, and Bandar Jaya and their surroundings, the piedmont parallel with Bukit Barisan.
mountain range from southwest to northwest (from Talang Padang in the south, to Kalirejo and Sukoharjo in the centre, to Kota Bumi and Bukit Kemuning in the north), and large-scale estate plantations occupying the same areas. Talang Padang area was dominated by sawah and kebun; in Kalirejo and Sukohardjo, sawah, kebun, and tegalan were mixed; and in Kota Bumi and Bukit Kemuning kebun of pepper and coffee were predominant.

The transition areas were those on the peripheries of the rice-growing plains, the non-irrigated plains from Palas and Sidomulyo in the south to Sukadana, Gunung Sugih, and Padang Ratu in the centre, and the west and south coasts (Krui and Kalianda). The population density of these areas was 500 persons per sq. km, or less. Rain-fed rice fields (sawah tadah hujan) were farmed on low-lying marshy land in these transition areas, but dry land fields (tegalan) were planted with mixed or rotational annual food crops (tumpang sari) of maize, soybean, peanut, mung bean, and cassava—were becoming more dominant. When the soil deteriorated, cassava was the only crop to grow, otherwise the land was infested by alang-alang. The exception to this pattern were the farming systems on the south coast of Kalianda and Rajabasa mountain. Here the coasts were dominated by village-scale irrigation of sawah and coconut groves, while the adjacent hill slopes were transformed into perennial cash crop kebun. Prior to the mid-1980s clove was the main crop, often inter-planted with coffee, which brought prosperity to these regions.

The marginal zones were sparsely populated areas consisting of ‘isolated areas’ and ‘enclaves’ with a population density below 200 persons per sq. km. The isolated areas were the last transmigration settlements in central Lampung (Rumbia, Seputih Surabaya, and Seputih Mataram) and north
Lampung (Panaragan, Way Abung, and army veteran transmigration sites near Kotabumi), together with the newly cleared mountain areas of Sumber Jaya, Kenali, and Liwa and their surroundings. In the last transmigration settlements, stagnant poverty was the main feature. Due to poor soil and isolation only cassava could grow there. Working as seasonal labourers on the nearby large estate plantations provided another source of income, but wages paid to men, women, and children who had dropped out of school were low. The situation contrasted with the picture of mountain areas, which were still being progressively cleared. Although also isolated due to the absence of road networks, such areas were endowed with fertile soil and higher/longer rainfall. Returns from forest clearing, a crop or two of upland rice, coffee gardens and, in Liwa, vegetable fields (cabbage, potato, shallot, chilli) were high. As Pain noted (1989; 341) ‘here and there wealthy zones have taken shape’ in these pioneer zones.9

Included in the enclaves of the marginal zones were the Krui region on the west coast, local transmigration clearings in the northern part of Lampung, swamps under reclamation on the east coast (Rawasragi in Palas in the south and between Way Tulang Bawang and Way Mesuji in the north), and various forest reserves. As on the Kalianda coast, village-scale irrigation of sawah and coconut groves could be encountered surrounding the village settlements of the native Lampung on the Krui coast. But unlike situation in Kalianda, where the hills returned to coffee after the clove gardens were ruined, in Krui the hills were returned to damar (Shorea javanica) resin gardens. Local transmigration sites in Mesuji and Tulang Bawang were in their early stages, irrigation canals were

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9 The proceeding chapters will discuss in detail one of these pioneer zones, namely Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong.
under construction, and the transmigrants were struggling to survive by planting food crops. Another irrigation canal built in the early 1980s was the Rawasragi in Palas in the south, to be allocated to transmigrants and spontaneous migrants who had been in the area since the 1950s and for decades had subsisted by farming tegalan and flooded rice fields.

One of the features of Lampung depicted by Levang (1989) and Pain (1989) is the striking heterogeneity of the livelihoods of the rural Lampung population. They described zones of wealthy villages adjacent to zones of poor villages, and within the villages, wealthy families neighbouring poor families. Increasing population pressure, shrinking land holdings, decreasing production per capita, and, subsequently, decreasing household incomes were the characteristics of villages in both wealthy and poor zones. In the poor villages the problems were worsening rapidly.

Villages with families with incomes above subsistence level were found in the zones endowed with fertile soil with kebun, irrigated sawah, and mixed kebun and tegalan. Kebun dominate, from south to north, in the foothills of Bukit Barisan mountain range and its adjacent plains (Talang Padang, Kota Bumi, Bukit Kemuning, Sumber Jaya, and Balik Bukit) and the coasts (Kalianda, Kota Agung, and Krui). The fertile plain around Sukadana (Sukadana, Pugung Raharjo, Labuan Maringgai, and Jabung) is also dominated by kebun, often mixed with productive tegalan. The transformation of ladang into kebun was brought about by the increasing amount of labour available for weeding, regeneration, and harvesting

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10 A wealthy village has a relatively large proportion of wealthy families with income enabling them to afford other than the basic subsistence needs (i.e., food). Villages whose inhabitants are mostly families with income below subsistence level, were defined as poor villages.
thanks to the influx of spontaneous migrants. Labour arrangements (daily wages, contracts, and sharecropping) enabled the migrants to accumulate savings and to buy their own kebun. One hectare or two of kebun, the size that can be managed by an average family, provided surplus family income. However, kebun were constantly being divided through the bequeathing of land to children. This led to a decrease in average landholding. As the number of migrant labourers grew, due to natural growth and the new arrivals, the area of land available for sale declined. Since there was no more empty land nearby to clear for expansion, the result has been the emergence of a stratum of landless labourers.

Villages in zones with irrigated sawah were also home to families with income above subsistence level in the mid-1980s. Irrigation canals, villages, and road networks in these zones were built during the colonial and post-colonial transmigration programmes. From south to central Lampung, these zones include Wonosobo, Gedong Tataan, Pringsewu, Metro, and Bandar Jaya. During the colonial period, the allotment that a transmigrant family received was 0.7 ha of sawah. Later under post-colonial transmigration the allotment was increased to 1 or 2 hectares. Regular water supply, fertilisation, agricultural extension, and the higher amount of labour application brought to these zones increasing production of rice. The first and second generations of transmigrants lived a better life than the one they had in Java. But this period of prosperity was short-lived. The subdivision of land through inheritance, sharp increase in land price, and growing population soon reduced per capita production and income. For the first and second generations of transmigrants, the variation of income among families was small. But after three or four generations the gap widened. A few rich families benefited from rice re-selling, shops, and huller machines, while the proportion of
landless and near landless families has grown. Responding to this pressure, the population in these zones employed various strategies, such as off farm and non-farm employment, cottage industries, and migration within and outside the province.

Poor villages with tegalan as the main farming system were scattered on the plains with poor soil. These were the last transmigration settlements that had no irrigation canals, from Seputih Banyak to Seputih Surabaya in the centre, which Joan Hardjono (1977) called ‘cassava villages’, and the local transmigration sites near Menggala in the north and the nearby villages created by subsequent spontaneous migrants. Annual food crops such as upland rice, maize, and cassava were cultivated, often mixed as tumpangsari. Without the application of fertiliser the production was low, and with no, or only a short fallow period the soil gradually became exhausted and infested by alang-alang grass. Only cassava could grow in this exhausted land, but the planting of this crop only further reduced soil fertility. The poor families constantly struggled to earn a subsistence level income. Unable to buy rice, these families turned to cassava as their staple food. Tapioca factories bought cassava at very low prices, frequently so low that it only covered the harvesting cost. Working as wage labourers for estate plantations only provided a modest supplement of income. Estate plantations employed labourers only seasonally, such as during planting, weeding, and harvesting. As the wage paid was low, poverty has been the main characteristic of the livelihood among such plantation workers.

Contract farming, a scheme involving smallholders (‘the plasma’) and estate companies (‘the nucleus’) was introduced in Lampung in the second half of the 1970s. Like the transmigration program, the main
sponsor for this scheme was the World Bank. The aim of contract farming program was to boost production and to improve the livelihood of the smallholder farmers. While production grew, the improved livelihood often did not eventuate. In Lampung, priority for contract farming program was given to transmigrants. In Way Abung, for example, under a PIR program (perkebunan inti rakyat, people's nucleus estate) the transmigrants were given credit and assistance by PTP to plant high-yielding hevea rubber trees on their allotments. The plan was that transmigrants would secure their food supplies from tegalan or sawah, while the hevea field would provide additional cash. But eventually, instead of having two fields with one field for food supply and the other field to provide cash, the transmigrants either abandoned the hevea for food crops or abandoned the food crops for hevea (Levang 1989). Another example of contract farming was that of the transmigrant sites near the PTP Bunga Mayang sugar cane plantation and factory. The transmigrants were farmers who had been evicted from mountain forestry zones and forced to join the local transmigration program. Under the TRI program (tebu rakyat intensifikasi, people's sugar cane intensification) the PTP gave credit and bought the sugar canes that the transmigrants planted on their land. The transmigrants' land titles were kept by the PTP as collateral. High debt, low production, and the low price of cane ensured a consistently low income among the transmigrants (Elmhirst 1997). The transmigrant families also supplied cheap seasonal labour for the cane plantation and sugar factory. Because the government granted official land title only to the transmigrants, the neighbouring native Lampung population, with no official land titles, were excluded from the project.

As far as contract farming is concerned, the latest schemes of contract farming in Lampung involved the production of cattle and shrimp.
Central Lampung was the first to experience the contract farming in cattle husbandry. With regard to the lucrative shrimp industries, two companies (PT Dipasena and PT Bratasena) were granted thousands of hectares of swamp and mangrove land between the mouths of the Way Mesuji, the Way Tulang Bawang, and the Way Seputih rivers. Under the TIR program (*tambak inti rakyat*, people’s nucleus shrimp pond), the companies recruited smallholders as the plasma. The company provided credit, and bought, processed, and marketed the shrimp. The farmers provided the labour for the ponds’ (*tambak*) production. It was promised that over a number of years the farmers would be able repay their debt, deducted from their production, and become the owners of the *tambak*. An example of this is the contract between 8600 families and PT Dipasena. They were promised that after 8 years the farmers would be the owners of the *tambak*. But in 2000, after 10 years, not only had the promise that the farmers would own the *tambak* not materialised, the debt that the farmers still needed to pay was extremely high, and it was estimated that it would take much longer to repay (Kelana, Purba, and Pandia, *Gatra* 26/2/2000).

Conversion of swamps and mangroves into shrimp *tambak* is a more recent phenomenon. The surveys of Levang (1989) and Pain (1989) in the mid 1980s do not mention *tambak* as an important formal land use in Lampung. In the 1990s most of swamps and mangroves on eastern and southern coasts of Lampung were gradually transformed into *tambak*. In addition to the two large-scale estate shrimp ponds, both under a contract farming scheme, medium scale ponds can be found side by side with numerous small scale ones. Like *kebun*, *tambak* provide wages for labourers. *Tambak* yield a lucrative profit, but unlike *kebun* and *tegalan*, the installation cost and input for the operation of an intensive *tambak* is high.
Thus unlike tegalan and kebun, the landless poor are unlikely to be the ones who can afford to convert swamp and mangrove into tambak.

Thus, during the 20th century, the opening of the ‘empty land’ of Lampung was completed. It was began in the early 1900s by the Dutch through colonisation, followed by the post-colonial transmigration programmes, and was completed through the local transmigration programmes. The planned settlements started in the centre-south, continued to the centre, and finished in the northeast Lampung lowlands. Spontaneous settlements, following the same direction as the planned ones, moved further toward the northwest Lampung highlands. The conversion of swamps and mangroves on the east coast into irrigated rice fields and shrimp ponds (tambak) in the 1990s marked the last stage of the opening up of the Lampung lowland. Forests in the northern part of the province were logged and converted into local transmigration settlements and large estate plantations. During the same period, the isolated mountain regions in the northwest (Sumber Jaya, Kenali, and Balik Bukit), named by Pain (1989) as Lampung’s ‘last frontier’ where the clearing of forest was still in progress in the mid-1980s, were transformed into new population centres.

By the very end of the 20th century Lampung had been transformed into an important producer of agricultural products. Pepper and coffee, of which Lampung remains Indonesia’s centre of production, are still important commodities produced by smallholder farmers. Coconuts and

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11 Between 1986-1988 Lampung sent 162 families to join transmigration programmes in South Sumatra and Riau (Pain 1898:317). The province has never become a major transmigration sending area. In the 1990s transmigration was no longer an important part of Indonesia’s national development program.

12 It is one of these new population centres, namely Sumber Jaya, that the proceeding chapters will be discussing.
bananas are largely produced from smallholder fields, though estate plantations also produce a few. Noted for centuries for its insufficient rice production and regular importation of rice from Java, Lampung today is a self-sufficient rice producer and, like its neighbour Java, is regarded as one of Indonesia’s rice baskets. Among the annual food crops (e.g., maize, soybean, peanut, mung bean), the production of cassava is worth noting: cassava has become an export cash crop of which Lampung is the main national producing area. Like sugarcane, cassava is produced by both smallholder farmers and estate plantations. Lampung is surplus in livestock production; the surplus is exported mainly to Java. Cattle are produced by small farmers, feeding companies (perusahaan penggemukan sapi), or by both under contract farming. Chickens are produced by small farmers as well as medium and large enterprises. Goats are raised primarily by small farmers.

In the wake of cash crops production by smallholder farmers and estate plantations (see Table 2.2), agricultural processing industries developed in Lampung. Beside dried and processed coffee and pepper, Lampung today is home to factories processing cane into molasses and sugar, and cassava into pellet and tapioca flour. Crude palm oil and crumb rubber have been exported from Lampung since the colonial period. More recently, processing factories in Lampung have begun to produce soap/detergent, monosodium glutamate (msg), citric acid, and sodium cyclamate.

Coffee and pepper processing factories are located close to the seaport at Panjang. Among these coffee-processing industries, the Nescafe factory in Srengsem is the largest one. Feed processing factories are also located close to Panjang seaport. On the western and northern outskirts of Bandar Lampung, close to the old transmigration sites, are factories operated
since the colonial era: the oil palm factory in Rejosari near Natar and rubber factories in Way Lima, Way Galih, Bergen, and Bekri. Eight sugar factories are located between Gunung Sugih, Kota Bumi and Menggala. The cassava processing industry is the most numerous in the province: over 30 factories in 2000. Initially, when their number was much smaller, these factories were located near Panjang. Today they are scattered close to the cassava producing areas in East Lampung, Central Lampung, North Lampung, Tulang Bawang, and Way Kanan districts.

By the end of the 1980s, the population of Lampung had reached the density of Java at the beginning of the 20th century. With over 200 inhabitants per sq. km. at the beginning of the 20th century, overpopulation was seen as the cause of economic stagnation and rural impoverishment in Java, and the distribution of its population to Indonesia’s outer islands through the transmigration program was believed to be the remedy. Although this belief has proved to be a fallacy (Wertheim 1959), the transmigration program has played an important role in population distribution in Lampung (cf. Benoit et al. 1989) and in boosting agricultural production. But population is not the only impact that the transmigration program (and regional development) has brought to Lampung. Agrarian problems of rural impoverishment (i.e., low production per capita, landlessness, and poverty), widely perceived to be linked to the overpopulation that characterised Java for centuries have also been successfully transmigrated to Lampung.

In the 1990s, Lampung consistently ranked among the poorest provinces in Indonesia. In 1999 one out of two families in Lampung was classified as poor (see Table 2.3). These poor families are the ones who could not afford to live in proper housing and did not eat and dress properly. For
these poor, especially for those with a slim opportunity for upward mobility, Lampung has indeed turned from the land of hope into the land of despair.

Environmental degradation has also emerged as a problem facing Lampung. Waste from agricultural processing factories pollutes the tributaries of the Way Sekampung, the Way Seputih and Way Tulang Bawang. Keeping the quality of the river water at a level that can still be used for agricultural purposes (irrigation and fishery) is one of the local government’s main priorities. The conversion of swamps and mangroves into brackish shrimp ponds along the east coast is reported to have caused the erosion of the beach and intrusion of saline water inland. The clearing of the mountain forests by spontaneous migrant smallholders has for decades been blamed for the perceived problem of watershed degradation. Forest squatters farming the upper watersheds feeding water for big dams were the main target of eviction and local transmigration programmes. More recently, the remaining migrant smallholders farming the mountain zones have also been blamed for the reduction of the habitat of endangered Sumatran animals such as tiger, rhino, and elephant.\textsuperscript{13}

Conflict over land is another pressing issue in Lampung. The incidence of land conflicts was among the highest in Indonesia (Kompas 25/6/2001). There are conflicts among the local population, between the local population and private and state-owned plantations companies, and between the local population and the forestry authorities. A village in

\textsuperscript{13}Scientists from World Conservation Society, a New York based conservation organization, suggest that the main threat that could lead to the extinction of these animals is the expansion of smallholder coffee gardens inside Bukit Barisan Selatan National Park boundaries (BBC News 18/5/2004).
north Lampung, where local transmigration settlements were created near old native Lampung hamlets, is a good example. Among the native Lampung families there were disputes over which families had the right to receive the compensation given by a private company opening a plantation on their former *adat* land (Elmhirst 1997). Some fields allocated to the local transmigrants were resumed by the native Lampung, because they claimed that they had received no compensation from the government. The local transmigrants themselves were among forest squatters who for years have been in conflict with forestry authorities. More recently, the native Lampung communities have claimed back and asked for compensation for thousands of hectares of their former *adat* land now used by PTP Bunga Mayang for sugarcane plantations. Conflicts over forestry zones can be encountered throughout Lampung, as well as between local peoples and large estate companies. Suppressed during the New Order, the landless and near landless peasants have taken matters in their own hands after the *reformasi* and claimed the lands designated as forestry zones or granted to plantation companies.

The title of a national newspaper article (Kompas 25/6/2001), *Sengketa tanah, wabah lapar tanah* (land conflict, epidemic of land hunger), suggests that land hunger is one of the root causes of conflicts over land in Lampung. With a high agrarian density, reaching 400 persons per km sq., and 20-22% of the population being landless, shortage of land has become a problem in Lampung. As in Java, agrarian problems in this ‘little Java’ or ‘North Java’ are perceived as the result of overpopulation.

As Table 2.3 shows, population distribution and regional development remain uneven. The city of Bandar Lampung, the capital of the province, and Metro, a rural commercial centre newly classified as a municipality...
(kota administratif), are the most densely populated districts. This is followed by the early transmigration receiving districts (Tanggamus, South Lampung, Central Lampung, and East Lampung), and by the last local transmigration sites ((Tulang Bawang and Way Kanan). With most of its mountain areas, covering nearly 60% of its territory classified as state forest, significant areas are not available for settlement therefore not designated as major transmigration receiving areas, West Lampung is the least populated district and has remained isolated until recently. Compared to other districts in Lampung except for Metro municipality, the least developed and least populated West Lampung has the lowest incidence of poverty (see Table 2.3). The chapters to follow will discuss West Lampung, particularly one of its highland regions whose inhabitants settled there quite recently. The highland region is regarded as ‘the most developed area’ in this underdeveloped district.
Table 2.2 Major land use and production in Lampung, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land use and commodities</th>
<th>Area (Ha)</th>
<th>Production (tonnes)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice fields</td>
<td>284,664 (8.6)</td>
<td>1,992,689</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry fields</td>
<td>675,860 (20.5)</td>
<td>3,613,919</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders and plantation companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cassava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-maize</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,109,326</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sweet potato</td>
<td></td>
<td>41,360</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-soybean</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,024</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-peanut</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,081</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-green bean</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,352</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash crops fields</td>
<td>1,031,811 (31.2)</td>
<td>95,165</td>
<td>Robusta coffee produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-coffee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pepper</td>
<td></td>
<td>23,885</td>
<td>Produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-coconut</td>
<td></td>
<td>139,617</td>
<td>Mostly are produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cocoa</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,714</td>
<td>Mostly are produced by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sugarcane</td>
<td></td>
<td>462,946</td>
<td>400,686 tonnes produced by private plantations; 5,500 tonnes by PTPN; and 57,761 tonnes by smallholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rubber</td>
<td></td>
<td>29,234</td>
<td>Smallholders produce 22,988 tonnes and private plantations 6,264 tonnes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oil palm</td>
<td></td>
<td>99,910</td>
<td>40,240 tonnes produced by PTPN and 59,670 by private plantations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest</td>
<td>871,979 (26.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brackish pond</td>
<td>33,844 (1.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tambak)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alang-alang grass</td>
<td>90,164 (2.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlements</td>
<td>248,109 (7.5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BPS Lampung (2001)
Table 2.3 Population density and poverty in Lampung

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subdistricts</th>
<th>Area (ha)</th>
<th>Population and density in 2001</th>
<th>Incidence of poverty in 1999</th>
<th>Villages and IDT(^{14}) villages in 1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>population</td>
<td>poverty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>persons</td>
<td>per km sq</td>
<td>families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandar Lampung</td>
<td>19,200</td>
<td>754,847</td>
<td>3911.94</td>
<td>137,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Lampung</td>
<td>340,583</td>
<td>1,146,740</td>
<td>360.52</td>
<td>246,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanggamus</td>
<td>340,158</td>
<td>800.400</td>
<td>238.45</td>
<td>181,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Lampung</td>
<td>379,927</td>
<td>1,055,226</td>
<td>220.30</td>
<td>245,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>7864</td>
<td>118,048</td>
<td>1910.47</td>
<td>26,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Lampung</td>
<td>443,789</td>
<td>874,169</td>
<td>201.52</td>
<td>201,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Lampung</td>
<td>176,628</td>
<td>529,923</td>
<td>104.43</td>
<td>116,349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulang Bawang</td>
<td>777,084</td>
<td>711,886</td>
<td>91.61</td>
<td>165,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Way Kanan</td>
<td>352,021</td>
<td>357,225</td>
<td>91.09</td>
<td>80,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Lampung</td>
<td>474,989</td>
<td>371,787</td>
<td>75.10</td>
<td>78,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,301,545</td>
<td>6,720,260</td>
<td>190.44</td>
<td>1,478,290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: BPS Lampung (1996 and 2001); BKKBN Lampung (2000)

*The number of villages and IDT villages in Tanggamus is included in South Lampung, Metro and East Lampung in Central Lampung, and Tulang Bawang and Way Kanan in North Lampung.

\(^{14}\) The recipients of IDT (Impres Desa Tertinggal), Presidential Instruction for Left-behind Villages) programmes (i.e., small credit for village community groups) were the least developed villages that lacked the services and facilities such as roads, clinics, schools, markets, etc. that the average village in the province had.
CHAPTER THREE

Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong Highland:
Creating A ‘Wealthy Zone’

Colonial and post-colonial government initiatives in the 20th century brought mixed results in Lampung province: the formation of poor zones in some areas and ‘wealthy zones’ in other areas. West Lampung was one of the province’s least developed districts (kabupaten). However, a few regions in this undeveloped district can be classified as ‘wealthy zones’. These are Krui on the coast and Liwa with adjoining Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya in the eastern highlands. This chapter focuses on the creation of Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya, one of Lampung’s last frontiers that were transformed into one of the province’s ‘wealthy zones’.

Today, native Lampung populations are still relatively dominant in some regions of West Lampung coasts and highlands. Non-Lampung migrant populations are numerous on the southern part of the coast and the eastern highlands. In the ancient times, the West Lampung highlands was home to native Lampung settlements. Since the 14th century native Lampung people have left these highlands to settle the plains and coasts. This out-migration, it is argued, is a result of the integration of native Lampung people’s economy into world mercantilism.

Today the majority of the population in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong are non-native Lampung migrants from neighbouring provinces: Semendonese from South Sumatra, Sundanese from West Java, and
Javanese from central and eastern Java. The in-migration of non-native Lampung to this highland region can be linked to ‘development’ and the reproduction of a mode of livelihood of smallholder farming.

This chapter gives a brief history of the out-migration of native Lampung people from the West Lampung highlands in pre-colonial and colonial times. This is followed by an account of colonial and post-colonial in-migration of non-native Lampung people to Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong. The chapter concludes with a general description of present socioeconomic conditions in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong.

Mountain West Lampung: An Ancient Abandoned Highland

Lying between the borders of Lampung, Bengkulu, and South Sumatra in the north to the Sunda strait in the south, West Lampung district can be divided into three geographic zones. They comprise Pesisir Krui, forming a coastal strip, the southern hinterland and slopes facing the Indian Ocean to the west, and the mountainous highlands in the east. The gently rolling mountains and hills form part the southern tip of Sumatra’s Bukit Barisan mountain range, which stretches the length of the island, from Aceh to Lampung.

The west Lampung coastal strip, Pesisir Krui, is endowed with coconut groves and wet rice fields that dominate the narrow plains in the central portion of the coasts. The southern coast also has upland fields of annual crops (e.g., rice, maize) and, more recently, palm oil plantations. In Pesisir Krui generally, cattle rearing is a widespread economic activity. From north to south of Pesisir Krui, damar agroforests dominate the slopes to an
altitude of 800 metres. Here, along with other fruit and timber tree crops, native Lampung smallholders cultivate *Shorea javanica*, following successions of rice swidden with coffee and/or pepper gardens (Michon et al. 2000).

In the highlands, Mount Pesagi (2239 metres) and most of the surrounding mountains and hills are classified as forest reserves. Patches of forests can still be found on the upper slopes or the tops of the mountains and hills. Some villages have protected patches of forest adjacent to wet rice fields and their settlements. Most settlements are located on the elevation between 700 to 1000 metres. Smallholders cultivate coffee, pepper, and other tree crops in the highlands. Terraced wet rice fields are constructed on the alluvial flats adjacent to creeks and rivers.

Highland West Lampung today is home to native Lampung people and migrant populations of Semendo, Javanese, and Sundanese. The native Lampung population, *Pesisir*, are dominant in the western part of the highlands including the regions of Sukau, Balik Bukit, Belalau, and Kenali. In the eastern part of the highlands, numerous old Semendo villages can be encountered in Way Tenong, less so in Sumber Jaya. Sundanese and Javanese hamlets and villages can be found almost everywhere in the West Lampung mountains. The concentration of hamlets and villages of migrants from Java is increasing on newly cleared mountain areas such as Sekincau and Suoh in the east. Migrant populations (Semendo, Javanese, and Sundanese) represent the majority in ‘the newly developed’ region of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong in the easternmost regions.

The early history of highland West Lampung identifies a flourishing ancient civilization. Scattered megalithic remains can be found in the
highlands. Batu Brak, the largest site of these megalithic remains, is located in Kebon Tebu, Sumber Jaya. In an area of about two hectares a menhir in the centre is circled by neatly laid dolmens. Other pre-historic sites in West Lampung are smaller in size. In addition to megalithic stones, a series of archaeological excavations have also found bronze bracelets, blades, beads and sherds of locally made and imported pots. Sukendar (1979) interprets the artefacts as ritual objects used in burials and forms of religious worship as well as for more mundane uses, such as food processing, tool making, and building materials. The sherds of ceramics, thought to have been imported from China during the 9th and 10th centuries AD, according to McKinnon (1993) indicate the ancient occurrence of foreign trade relations in this highland.

The relation between the ancient communities of Batu Brak and its neighbouring megalithic sites and the present people of Lampung cannot be convincingly established. But one thing we can be sure of is that it is the disappearance of this ancient civilization that permitted the present population to migrate and settle in the West Lampung highland.

A more recent history of Lampung noted that highland West Lampung may have been abandoned by its population (cf. Hadikusuma 1989, Sevin 1989). The majority of the native Lampung groups now inhabiting the Lampung plains and coasts trace their origins from the West Lampung highlands. Sekala Brak, a location in the foothills of Pesagi mountain near lake Ranau, is said to be their land of origin. Different periods and directions of migration resulted in different dispersals of native Lampung populations (cf. Sevin 1989). Based on oral and written histories of native Lampung communities collected by the Dutch scholars and officials, it is thought that the first waves of out-migration took place during the 14th
and 15th centuries. These groups moved to the central and eastern plains. Here they developed as a sub-group of native Lampung people known as the *Abung*. A second and subsequent wave of migration dispersed to the southern and western lowlands and coast. In the 18th century they were identified as *Pesisir* (Peminggir). The out-migration of the Pesisir from Belalau continued up to the 20th century. Both Abung and Pesisir later either absorbed or drove out the *Pubian*, a third and smallest group of native Lampung people living in the central and southern Lampung plains. Unlike Abung and Pesisir, Pubian oral history does not relate their origins strongly to the Belalau highlands.

The subsequent waves of migration from highland to lowland Lampung during the 14th and 20th century, it is argued, could be linked to pre-colonial and colonial mercantilism and elements of native Lampung social organization.

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the sultanate of Banten, the primary world pepper supplier, obtained a steady pepper production from Lampung. Previously indirectly via Banten, from the 18th century the Dutch obtained pepper supplies directly from the eastern portion of Lampung. The British controlled the pepper supply from Lampung’s west coast—the present day West Lampung district that was then included as part of the residency of Bengkulu—from the late 17th to the early 19th century.

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1 A history of Lampung before the migration from highland to lowland is difficult to ascertain. Historical materials provide convincing evidence of the existence of an earlier civilisation in lowland Lampung (Hadikusuma 1989). A Chinese source indicates trading relations between China and Tulang Bawang on the north coast as early as the 7th century. Stone plaques describing the Sriwijaya’s power and influence in Lampung at the end of the 1st millennium were found in several places. Signs of the presence of Majapahit in Lampung in the 13th century can also be traced.
century. Native Lampung people during the second half of the 2nd millennium were the most important global pepper producers.

A British report in 1813 (Bastin 1965: 147-148) notes that on the west coast of Krui, 881 married men and 640 single men engaged in a ‘contract’ with the British to farm various stages of pepper gardens. These men maintained almost a half million pepper-bearing vines and an equal number of non-bearing vines (newly planted and old). The production for that year was 147.6 tonnes. In addition, there were another 119,550 bearing vines producing 24 tonnes of pepper in ‘free’ gardens. An earlier historical record, from a 17th century plaque (piagam), indicates a similar contract between the native Lampung population on the southern coast and the sultan of Banten (Kingston 1987:10-11). A married man was expected to plant 1000 pepper vines while bachelors had to plant 500. Monopolising the buying of the pepper at a set price, the Sultan also claimed a minimum of 11% as tribute.

Up to the mid-19th century, the sultanate of Banten, the sultanate of Palembang, and Bugis and Malay traders and pirates were involved in a series of conflicts downstream of Way Tulang Bawang river in northeast Lampung. Monopoly over pepper produced in the surrounding areas was at the heart of the conflict. From the evidence of pepper trading in the lowlands of Lampung, it can be assumed that pepper cultivation may well have been an attraction for the migration of native Lampung from highland to lowland.

If engaging in petty commodity production for global trade served as an attraction for native Lampung people to migrate to the lowlands, the process was mediated and even facilitated by their customary practices.