(adat). Marriage, property and inheritance, and socio-political structures were key institutions in this respect. Payment of an expensive bride price (jjur) characterized marriages among Lampung people (Wilken 1921, cited in LeBar 1976). Native Lampung people observed virilocal post marital residence and male primogeniture in inheritance. The bride was ‘taken’ from her group, and the children ‘belong’ to the groom’s group. House and land passed to the elder son, who was then responsible for the care of the parents and unmarried siblings. The size of jjur and the marriage party was negotiated in accordance with the status of the family in the community, the higher the status the more jjur payment was required. Larger wedding parties required more buffalos to slaughter and more meals to serve. Having inherited none of their parents’ property, after their marriages younger brothers worked on their own farms to provide their family with food, a sturdy house, and enough resources to pay for the jjur and the wedding party of their sons’ marriage. Pepper cultivation, and later in the 19th century, coffee enabled this system to persist. New land was constantly sought for pepper gardens. Forests were cleared for upland rice swiddens in the first year or two and transformed into pepper gardens (and/or coffee gardens, later in the 19th century) and managed for another 10 years or more. Old gardens were then left fallow and later rejuvenated, transformed into tree gardens, or simply abandoned for natural regeneration. A new forest plot was cleared and the cycle of such rotational cultivation then continued.

A dominant tradition among Lampung communities occupying new territory involved a process of political fission. As discussed in chapter 2, buay and marga were said to be the highest socio-political unit of the
native Lampung people. Each *marga* was independent of the other *marga*. It is evident that rather than uniting into a single kingdom, the natives of Lampung were continuously creating independent *marga*. The creation of a new *marga* typically took place when groups of people migrated to open new gardens and created new villages on land beyond the boundary of their mother *marga* territory. With established trading networks for pepper on the coasts (Krui and Semangka Bay) and the navigable rivers such as the Way Tulang Bawang in the north, the Way Seputih in the centre, and the Way Sekampung in the south, lowland Lampung attracted more and more migrants from the highlands.

The waves of migration of native Lampung people from highland to lowland eventually left extensive tracts of the West Lampung highlands 'unpopulated'. In the early 19th century, a few small villages surrounded by mountain forests were scattered in the regions of Balik Bukit, Belalau, and Kenali. In the mid-1800s, as mentioned in chapter 2, the Dutch gazetted the non-cultivated lands between settlements and fields as state property. On the one hand this action limited the native Lampung people's access to forest land between their settlements and fields, but on the other hand it enabled the Dutch officers to permit migrants to move in and to occupy former native Lampung *marga* lands.

The present day mountain region of Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya, then the territory of *marga* Kenali, became an 'empty' frontier. It is this empty land that attracted an influx of migrants, this time from outside Lampung.

---

2 Some of the independent adjacent *marga* formed loose confederations such as Megou Pak (the four *marga*) on the southern coast (that later supported Raden Intan, his son Raden Imba Kusuma, and his grandson Raden Intan II’s rebellion against the Dutch in the 1800s) and Abung Siwo Mego (the nine *marga* of Abung) who all claim to be descendents of the same mythical ancestor Minak Paduka Begaduh, a migrant from Belalau.
Map 2. Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong
Semendo is the name of a sub-group of Pasemah people inhabiting highland Palembang in the province of South Sumatra. Compared to other sub-groups of Pasemah, the Semendo were said to have their own distinct characteristics in social organization (LeBar 1976). While other Pasemah sub-groups are organised genealogically into patrilineal sumbai or marga (clan) and jurai (lineage), the Semendo have matrilineal sumbai and jurai. Other Pasemah sub-groups practised the prevalent system of marriage with an expensive jujur bride price, virilocal post marital residence, and male primogeniture inheritance. In contrast, semendo marriage involved no jujur payment, uxorilocal post marital residence, and female primogeniture inheritance (tunggu tubang). The tunggu tubang stipulates that the eldest daughter inherits the parents’ property, usually the house and land. The Semendo, among the Pasemah, were also the earliest to convert to Islam, and their wet rice fields were more advanced than anywhere else in southern Sumatra in the 19th century.

An impetus for the migration of the Semendo might be attributed to the practice of tunggu tubang, which forced other children to look for new land to clear elsewhere (Sevin 1989: 93). Within the Pasemah land, the Semendo first migrated to Semendo Ulu Luas and Mekakau, and then later they moved further down to Bengkulu and Lampung. In the 1870s the

---

3 According to Jaspan (1976) in ‘a broad sense’ the Pasemah includes ‘linguistically kindred’ groups of Empat Lawang (Lintang), Gumai, Kikim, Kisam, Lembak (?), Lematang, Mekakau, Pasemah Lebar, Semendo, and Serawai. In ‘a strict sense’, the term Pasemah refers only to the people of Pasemah Lebar.
Semendo started their subsequent southward migration to Lampung. Along the eastern slope of Bukit Barisan mountain range, the Semendo first moved to present day Kasui, Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya, and Pulau Panggung. They cleared the forest, created villages and wet rice fields, and opened upland rice fields (uma, ladang) that were then transformed into gardens (kebun) of coffee, often inter-planted with pepper. The Semendo established four ‘independent’ marga in the 1930s along this route of migration in Lampung following the eastern slope of the Bukit Barisan mountain range. These marga, from north to south, are Kasui, Rebang Seputih, Way Tenong, and Rebang Pugung.

Colonial interventions, it is important to note, facilitated the further southward migration of the Semendo people into Lampung. By the 1850s, the Dutch had been able to put the territory and the people of Palembang, Bengkulu, and Lampung under their political control. All the villages and marga in these three residencies were integrated into the colonial government administration. In order to cut the British-controlled Singapore trading networks with these three residencies, the Dutch also reoriented the trading of commodities (especially pepper and coffee⁴) via Batavia (Jakarta) as an obligatory transit. Migrating to Lampung to get closer to the trading posts in Semangka Bay offered an economic advantage to the Semendo. In the 1850s, capitalizing on their territorial control, the Dutch imposed a new system of land ownership (Kingston 1987) that enabled Semendo people to occupy land in Lampung.

⁴ In the middle of the 19th century, pepper was no longer the only commodity sought from Lampung. The production decreased to only 10 percent compared with a century before. The Dutch liquidated the VOC at the end of the 18th century. Coffee, among other cash crops (e.g., sugar, pepper), was planted by peasants under the system of ‘forced cultivation’ and by private companies in parts of Java, Sulawesi, and Sumatra. Eventually, by the 20th century, in the southern half of Sumatra, coffee in the highland and rubber in lowland became an important source of income for smallholder farmers.
government only recognised land claims by individual villages up to six km from the village and 3 km from an *umbul* or temporary hamlet on newly cleared land. The land located between the villages, formerly common *marga* territory, now became a state domain. The Dutch administration allowed non-Lampung migrants to occupy and settle on some of this newly gazetted ‘public land’. From this time, the Lampung *marga* were no longer in a position to protect its members’ traditional claims to a frontier land (Kingston 1987; 242) or to resist migrants seeking to settle and farm their former common land.

During the Dutch administration West Lampung district was known as the *onderafdeling* of Krui, and formed part of Bengkulu residency (cf. Sevin 1989). Of the four Semendo *marga* in present day Lampung, Way Tenong formed part of the *onderafdeeling* of Krui under the Bengkulu residency administration. Some elders in Way Tenong are said to know the story of the history of the first migration of Semendo to Way Tenong. Below is one version of this story as told by Pak Jahri the former village head of Mutar Alam. Pak Jahri’s story also appeared in *BumiPos* (11/9/2000).

In 1884, a group of men, Imam Paliare (Abidun), Raje Kuase (Serimat), and Puting Merge (Sendersang), and their followers Jenderang (Buntak), Jemakim, Senikar, and Jakalam received an order from Puyang Awak to search for land around the headwaters of Way Besai river. These men lived in *marga* Ulu Nasal in Bengkulu. They were told that Way Besai was located in Rantau Temiang. So they went to the village (*kampung*) of Rantau Temiang in Rebang Kasui. When they arrived there, two persons, Panjilam and Sersin, welcomed them. They continued travelling along the Way Besai river and stopped at Gedung Aji, now the site of the Way Besai hydroelectric power plant. In 1885, at Gedung Aji they cleared the forest and opened upland rice fields (*ladang*) for a year while continuing the search for the head (*ulu*) of the Way Besai river. After a year, in 1886, the location they were looking for
was finally found and they moved to this new location. They gave the name of this newly cleared land Mutar Alam.

After building a settlement (pemukiman) in Mutar Alam, they travelled back to Rantau Temiang in Rebang Kasui and continued to Menggala to seek permission from the Dutch controleur. In Menggala they reported to the controleur their new location at the head of the Way Besai and asked for permission. They were told that the land at the head of Way Besai was not under Menggala administration, the land was under the jurisdiction of the afdeling of Krui. The delegates were given an official letter to report to marga Kenali. In Kenali, the delegates met the chief of the marga Pangeran Polon. He accepted the new settlers as residents (penduduk) of marga Kenali. He appointed Puting Merge as the kamid, the head of the new settlement, who every 3 months had to report to him about the development of the population and to receive further guidance.

As the population grew, new hamlets (susukan) were created. In 1887, there were some new dusun (hamlets): ‘old’ Fajar Bulan (now Sukajaya), Karang Tanjul (now Karang Agung), Gedung Surian, and ‘old’ Sukaraja. In 1891, the Resident of Bengkulu officially recognized all these hamlets as parts of the administrative village (dusun) of Mutar Alam, and appointed Serimat as perwatin (village head).

In 1900, after a long approach to buay Belunguh and marga Kenali, the status of marga was finally granted. To mark the separation of Way Tenong, the name of the new marga, from the marga of Kenali a set of gifts was given by the new community to the marga Kenali. The gifts included a sum of cash, a buffalo, a hundred dishes of kolak beras (rice cooked in sweet coconut milk), a hundred dried/fermented semah fishes, and an elephant tusk. The two marga were declared as siblings (kakak adik), with Kenali as the elder and Way Tenong the younger. The boundary of the territory of the new marga was then set. Air Sanyir/Sekincau on the west, Dwikora on the east, mount Remas on the north, and Begelung ridge on the east. Also in 1900, the controleur of Krui officially appointed Raden Cili as the first marga chief, the pesirah.
The common pattern of creating new settlements was, according to many elders, for small groups of families to depart from their village and settle new forestland to be cleared for cultivation. They sought fertile and relatively flat land where water could be channelled for wet rice fields. When this kind of land was found, the forest was then transformed into sedentary agricultural fields. This endeavour by a group of families to find new land to farm was called *nyusuk*. The cleared land evolved into a *dusun* or *kampung* from the stage where a few houses and huts were still scattered (*susukan* or *talang*) to nucleated settlements, usually along the main road/path. The first cleared land in Way Tenong was the old *dusun* and wet rice fields in the village of Sukaraja. Here, the wet rice fields, approximately 40 ha, were cleared and distributed among the first group of families arriving from Ulu Nasal, Bengkulu. This explains the location and style of all the Semendo *dusun* or *kampung* in the region, namely, rows of old stilted wooden houses along the main road near the wet rice fields along the banks of Way Besai river and its tributaries. The cultivation of coffee, it is said, was initiated later after the Dutch agricultural officers informed the people that the soil was suitable for coffee and advised them to plant this lucrative export crop. Coffee was then planted in the upland after forest clearing, with or without the initial one or two crops of upland rice (*padi darat*), and after 15 to 20 years the field was left fallow.

In the first half of the 20th century there were five Semendo villages in Way Tenong: Sukaraja, Mutar Alam, Gunung Terang, Karang Agung, and Way Petai (Pain 1989: 304). In the 1950s, when the BRN (*Biro Rekonstruksi Nasional*, National Reconstruction Bureau) transmigrants created new villages and a separate administrative subdistrict (*kecamatan*), all the villages of *marga* Way Tenong were integrated to the new subdistrict of Sumber Jaya. Simpang Sari, the capital of the new subdistrict of Sumber
Jaya, is much closer than Liwa, the capital of the subdistrict (negeri) Balik Bukit to which Way Tenong formerly belonged. It took a day's motorbike travel to go to Liwa but only an hour or two to Simpang Sari.

Today, the Semendo in Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya, when discussing their adat, will mostly refer to tunggu tubang. The parental house and land is inherited by the eldest daughter, who, in return, is responsible for the care of her old parents. Those who had no daughter bequeathed their property to their elder son. This less preferred practice is called nangkit. Selling the tunggu tubang house and land is unacceptable and very rare. Thus, one can easily find in the region many tunggu tubang houses, wet rice fields, and coffee gardens. Some of the old ones have remained intact for four generations while new ones are continuously created. Old men usually relate the concept of tunggu tubang to politeness with regard to man and woman (singkuh sinduh). To live with your own daughter in the same house is more acceptable than with your daughter-in-law. It is extremely impolite for example for a man to be at home only with his daughter-in-law, to eat alone in the kitchen with his daughter-in-law, or even to be fed by his daughter-in-law when he is sick.

Semendo in the region also pay special tribute to their ancestors (puyang). Many people believe that the Semendo in the region are descendants of the mythical ancestor Puyang Awak, who is said to be ‘immortal’, because he has no grave and no one knows his whereabouts. Great-grandparent (puyang) graves are cared for and frequently visited for prayers (ziarah). At least in two villages, Mutar Alam and Gunung Terang, a ritual feast of sedekah pusaka is held each year in the Islamic calendar month of Muharam. In the sedekah gatherings the descendents of the ‘founders’ of the villages, a male in Mutar Alam and a female in Gunung Terang, recite
verses from the Qur'an and pray for their puyang. In both villages the sedekah is also marked by the cleaning of a dagger heirloom (pusaka) and concluded by commensality.

**Muara Jaya village: an enclave of native Lampung**

There is only one native Lampung Pesisir village in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region, namely Muara Jaya. Surrounded by Semendo, Sundanese and Javanese villages, Muara Jaya is now an enclave. Today, in this village there are no more than about 200 native Lampung Pesisir families. Among themselves, the native Lampung population in Muara Jaya still use the Pesisir dialect of Lampung language. Some Javanese men and women have intermarried with them. Like in the Semendo villages, many native Lampung Pesisir families in Muara Jaya live in stilted wooden houses.

The Lampung Pesisir population in Muara Jaya first arrived in 1930. Seven families first moved from Sebarus in Liwa. The land was inside the territory of Way Tenong marga so they needed permission from the Semendo people. The Semendo of Gunung Terang village were advised and gave them permission to clear the land and settle in their present location. A year later, immediately after a big earthquake, these families returned to Liwa. In the years which followed, some of these families, and more new families, arrived at Muara Jaya. In 1949 the new hamlet (susukan) of Muara Jaya was officially acknowledged as an administrative village. In mid 1990s the section of village with relatively fewer native Lampung was officially recognised as a separate village—now there are Muara Jaya I and Muara Jaya II.
According to elders in this village, looking for new land for wet rice fields was the primary reason for their migration from Liwa. Indeed, the alluvial flats on the banks of the river in the area, which is suitable for wet rice fields, was a source of conflict in the 1950s and 1960s between the Lampung and the neighbouring transmigrants. Both groups claimed ownership over the same precious land. The dispute was resolved after high profile mediation by the provincial and national authorities.

Apart from wet rice fields, the Lampung planted upland rice (padi ladang, padi darat). Some elders also said that they had heard that the Dutch administration planned to open a tea plantation in the region, but the plan never materialised. Coffee, it is said, began to be a significant source of income during the 1950s, after the arrival of transmigrants from Java. In relation to this, it is important to note that the world-wide economic depression in the 1930s, followed by Japan’s occupation in the first half of the 1940s and Indonesia’s war of independence to resist the return of the Dutch in the second half of the 1940s, caused the decline of markets and smallholders’ production of cash crops, including coffee. Consequently during the 1930s to the 1940s, rice production from wet and dry/upland fields was the villagers’ primary subsistence production in the region and elsewhere in the archipelago. Indonesian independence, declared in 1945 but acknowledged by the Dutch in 1949, marked the revival of coffee production in the region. The coming of transmigrants from Java and subsequent developments, have further facilitated such a revival.
The arrival of transmigrants from Java: the creation of Sumber Jaya

Unlike transmigration projects elsewhere in Indonesia, which are organised by the office of transmigration, the transmigration project in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong was organised by a special unit under the office of the then Prime Minister of Indonesia. This special unit, called BRN (*Biro Rekonstruksi Nasional*, National Reconstruction Bureau), was designed to assist soldiers and civilian militia who had previously been involved in the independence war. The assistance was considered a kind of reward for these freedom fighters (*pejuang kemerdekaan*), and was primarily aimed at ensuring their return to 'a normal life'. One obvious choice was to turn these fighters into smallholding farmers by allotting each of them a piece of land. Since there was no more land to be distributed on Java, they had to be transmigrated outside Java. Lampung was chosen as the destination. Located close to Java, and with experience of receiving transmigrants from Java during the Dutch administration, several locations in Lampung were selected to receive the BRN transmigrants. The 'empty' Way Tenong highland was one of them.

Mimicking the structure of the army, the BRN transmigrants were organised into groups each under the leadership of a commander (Hereen 1976). Under this leadership each separate group cleared the forest, built a housing compound and road, and cultivated the land. Through their group leader the transmigrants received government assistance in the form of cash, food, tools, and building materials during the initial years. From 1949 to 1959 seven new transmigrant villages were created. The first location to be cleared was the present villages of Sukapura and Simpang Sari to the east of the Bukit Rigis mountain. From here clearing continued
to the area called Kebon Tebu to the south of Bukit Rigis mountain, where three villages were created (Tribudi Sukur, Pura Jaya, and Pura Wiwitan), and to the northwest of Bukit Rigis where two villages (Fajar Bulan and Pura Laksana) were created close to the Semendonese villages in Way Tenong.

Most BRN transmigrants were Sundanese from different parts of West Java such as Tasik Malaya, Karawang, and Bogor. There were few Javanese, however. It is interesting to note that the number of real veterans was very small, meaning that most BRN transmigrants to Sumber Jaya had never really been involved in the war, and more than half of those who migrated here were actually farmers and labourers (Heeren 1979:72). There is no data on how many ‘official’ BRN transmigrants actually arrived in Sumber Jaya. The BRN office recorded 22,198 members transmigrating to Lampung during 1951-53; among them 9,205 persons (2441 families) transmigrated to north Lampung, the rest to other sites in south and central Lampung (Hereen 1979:76). In north Lampung there were two BRN sites, Sumber Jaya and Tanjung Raya. The latter consisted only of one village in 1952, but a decade later had developed two other villages (Sevin 1989:107). Heeren (1979:81-83) noted that Sumber Jaya was the largest BRN transmigration site in Lampung. Transmigrants in Sumber Jaya were organised into two main organizations: Loba and PS (Pencak Silat). The PS was further subdivided into PS ‘51 and PS ‘52 and ‘53. The Loba members settled in Sukapura.  
PS ‘51 occupied Simpangsari; 450 families arrived in 1951 but by 1954 only 115 of them were left. There were 715 families in PS ‘52 and ‘53. Of these,

---

5 An elder in Sukapura said that the there were about 400 to 600 families in Loba, many of them from Tasik Malaya. Some of the Loba members later created the separate village of Tribudi Sukur.
by 1957, 2592 persons divided into 12 groups lived in Kebon Tebu and 2029 in Way Tenong.

Heeren (1979: 81-93) further notes the development of cooperatives among BRN transmigrants in Sumber Jaya and some problems with the neighbouring Semendo and Lampung people during the period 1951 to 1957. Under the organization of Loba and PS the transmigrants developed cooperatives for production and consumption. The land was cleared, cultivated, and harvested collectively. All the harvests 'belonged' to the organization; each member received food, goods and a small amount of cash for their daily needs. The harvests were sold by the organization and the surplus was kept by the organization. The organization was able to ensure that all members had enough food to eat. Houses were built collectively. For the first five years the land and houses could be individually owned, yet to sell them was prohibited. Hereen (1979) further suggests that with Loba, the development of the cooperative was positive, the organization owned six shops, a sawmill, and a tile factory. In contrast, the PS cooperatives in Kebon Tebu were soon in a state of crisis. Here harvests often failed and the road was not properly kept up. Collective farming soon gave way to individual production. The success of Loba and the failure of PS, with regard to the development of cooperatives, was largely related to the quality of local leaders. Loba had strong, charismatic and reliable leaders while the PS did not.

In Sukapura and Simpang Sari the average size of land holdings was 1.10 ha per family while in Kebon Tebu it was 0.80 ha; this figure was far below the ideal and planned average of 3 ha (Hereen 1979). Besides rice, the transmigrants cultivated maize, potato, cabbage, European vegetables, coffee and a little pepper. Since the road network was not yet constructed
in those initial years, transporting these commodities was the main constraint.

Claim and counter claim over land between the transmigrants and the neighbouring Semendo and Lampung people was another problem. There were cases where the native Lampung and Semendo settlers claimed the land transformed into irrigated rice fields by the transmigrants. These conflicts were largely due to the fact that, unlike other transmigration sites elsewhere, in Sumber Jaya the transmigration project was not preceded by process of field delineation to define the boundaries of the land allocated for the transmigrant villages.

Also in the 1950s, the BRN transmigration villages created a separate administrative subdistrict (kecamatan) and refused to be integrated into the existing administrative subdistrict (negeri) of Balik Bukit. The transmigrants’ concern was that under the Balik Bukit negeri they would be an inferior minority ‘ruled’ by Lampung and/or Semendo administrators. By creating a separate kecamatan the BRN transmigrants were able to interact directly with higher level authorities and successfully persuaded them to bring village development projects to the newly created villages of ‘freedom fighters’.

The then Indonesian president and vice president Sukarno and Hatta respectively officially inaugurated the formation of Sumber Jaya as an administrative kecamatan in 1952. Elders in Sumber Jaya keep the memories of Sukarno and Hatta’s visit to Sumber Jaya. It is said that the president himself chose sumber jaya (source of glory) as the name for the new kecamatan. Sukarno’s speech transcript, hand writing in a plaque, and photo are preserved. A monument (tugu) in Simpang Sari whose first
stone foundation was laid out by the president is named tugu Sukarno. A hamlet in Sukapura is named Sukarata, after Sukarno and Hatta. The wooden house in Simpang Sari where both men stayed during the visit is well maintained.

**The flood of spontaneous migrants**

The Semendo from the neighbouring Way Tenong and Kasui, seeing the BRN transmigration villages developing and constantly receiving government assistance of the sort that they had never received, were quick to decide 'to get closer' to these transmigration villages. They subsequently cleared the land adjacent to these transmigration villages.

While aligning themselves to the transmigration settlements as an initial strategy of the Semendo to benefit from government development projects, their next strategy was more dramatic. It involved bringing Javanese and Sundanese migrants to their villages. In this way the Semendo villages expected to receive government programs and projects similar to those of the transmigration villages. It is this pattern that later in the 1960s to 1980s brought a flood of many more spontaneous migrants to the region. By this strategy, in three decades the number of villages in the region doubled. Thirteen villages (five of Semendo, one of Lampung origin, and seven of Sundanese and Javanese BRN transmigrants) in the early 1960s became 26 villages in the mid-1980s (Sevin 1989:304). The Semendo and spontaneous migrants, mainly Javanese, later created ten new villages. Of these ten villages, four (Padang Tambak, Suka Menanti, Tanjung Raya, and Sindang Pagar) were created by both Semendo and Javanese migrants while the other five (Sidodadi, Sri Menanti, Sumber
Alam, Tri Mulyo, and Gedung Surian) were created mostly by Javanese migrants. In addition, the BRN transmigration villages created three more administrative villages (Pura Mekar, Cipta Waras, and Sukajaya).

It is interesting to note the new approach by the Semendo villagers. Not only were more and more Javanese and Sundanese migrants welcomed to settle in their villages, but part of their village land was allocated for the new migrants to create new villages. Not all of these Javanese and Sundanese migrants came directly from the island of Java; many were born or had lived in old transmigration sites in south, central, and north Lampung. In many cases, these Javanese migrants were given the land for free. For example, the village of Gunung Terang gave part of its village territory, then still forested, to groups of Sundanese and Javanese migrants who later created the villages of Gedung Surian, Cipta Waras, Trimulyo, and Semarang Jaya. In the same way, Sukamenanti gave and sold Javanese migrants land to create Sidodadi and Sri Menanti. The migrants transformed the forests and bush into the existing village land. In the established Semendo villages the Javanese migrants were also welcomed. They could work as numpang (farming the unused plots), sharecroppers (garap, maro, bagi hasil), and wage labourers (bujang, upahan) until they were eventually able to buy a piece of land. Usually the land was bought through a series of small payments (cicilan). Payments are made at each coffee harvest season for a couple of years.

The reason that the Semendo were so generous in giving land to the Javanese migrants, apart from obtaining abundant labour for their coffee gardens and wet rice fields, was to attract government programs and projects, such as roads, school, clinics, and markets. According to the former heads of these Semendo villages, the arrival of the Sundanese and
Javanese brought progress to their people. As these former village heads put it “without the migrants from Java there would be no development projects and no progress in our villages.” The result of this approach was that more and more migrants arrived, more administrative villages were created, and there was more ‘development’ and ‘progress’ in the villages and in the region. The region was soon transformed into a ‘wealthy’, flourishing highland. For the migrants the region was imagined as a place with opportunities for a better life. Many did actually attain a better life, but some did not.

A Flourishing Highland

Today, when someone visits West Lampung district (kabupaten) and asks about ‘the fastest developing region’ (daerah yang paling cepat maju), the answer most probably would be Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong. In the easternmost part of the district, two small rural towns of Sumber Jaya (the capital of the subdistrict of Sumber Jaya) and Fajar Bulan (the capital of Way Tenong subdistrict) are indeed flourishing. The region has become a new commercial and population centre in Lampung highlands, and one of Lampung important coffee pots. The region is dominated by small-land-holding agriculture production. The second part of this chapter gives a general description of the socio-economic condition this flourishing region.

A developing region in an underdeveloped country

The level of ‘advancement’ of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong is meaningful in the context of modern Indonesia where, especially during the Suharto’ New Order period (1966-98), pembangunan (development)
and kemajuan (progress) are key words in the grand project of Indonesia nation building. Asking how much progress a particular region has made and which particular region within a certain administrative boundary is the ‘fastest developing’ was a way to measure the success (and failure) of the region.

One of the indications of the progress of the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region was the absence of IDT villages (Instruksi Presiden Desa Tertinggal, presidential instruction on neglected, left-behind villages) within its boundaries. A village was classified as an IDT village if it lacked the facilities and services (e.g., roads, schools, health clinics, markets) of the average village in the province. In the mid-1990s, of over two dozen villages in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong, only two were classified as IDT villages. This was much less than the average figure for the West Lampung district: which is one out of every two villages.

The number of IDT villages in West Lampung district has gradually been reduced by nearly a half, from 80 (49.4%) of 162 villages in 1996 to 42 (25%) of 169 villages in 2000—thanks to the subsequent poverty alleviation and rural development projects. In 2000-2001, other than Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong, only in Balik Bukit, where Liwa, the capital of West Lampung district, is located, is there a complete absence of IDT villages (see Table 3.1). The absence of IDT villages in these three subdistricts reflects, in a narrow sense, the progress they have achieved. It also reflects a lack of such progress in other subdistricts.

6 Notwithstanding that the IDT program failed to target the rural poor, because many actually lived in non-IDT villages (as Table 2.3 and Table 4.1 also show), and in transforming the livelihood of poor families in the IDT villages, benefits were derived from the subsequent poverty alleviation and rural development programmes (Perdana and Maxwell 2004).
A relatively high population density is another characteristic of the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong highland region. In 1961 the region had only 16,000 inhabitants, but the population rose to 25,000 in 1971 and tripled to 75,000 in 1986 (Sevin 1989: 307). By 2000 the region was home to nearly 80,000 inhabitants living in 28 administrative villages. The dramatic increase in population, village development, agricultural production, and commercial activities during the last three decades transformed the region into a lively area (*daerah hidup*). What makes it exceptional is that the transformation of the region took place in the absence of large-scale government projects and private investment such as mining, plantations, or transmigration settlements.

Table 3.1 Population, poor households, and *IDT* villages by subdistrict in West Lampung 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Subdistrict</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>poor (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bengkunat</td>
<td>7562</td>
<td>4006 (53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pesisir Selatan</td>
<td>3875</td>
<td>1348 (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pesisir Tengah</td>
<td>5946</td>
<td>1183 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Karya Penggawa</td>
<td>2611</td>
<td>384 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pesisir Utara</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>356 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lemong</td>
<td>2896</td>
<td>612 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sukau</td>
<td>5346</td>
<td>224 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Balik Bukit</td>
<td>5193</td>
<td>1497 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Belalau</td>
<td>4471</td>
<td>506 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Batu Brak</td>
<td>3134</td>
<td>942 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Suoh</td>
<td>12,326</td>
<td>3914 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sekincau</td>
<td>9423</td>
<td>2317 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Way Tenong</td>
<td>8351</td>
<td>2586 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sumber Jaya</td>
<td>8908</td>
<td>2973 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total/(average)</td>
<td>82,057</td>
<td>24,848 (30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the 1970s and 1980s the New Order village development program facilitated the creation of more administrative villages. Each of these attracted more development funds—made possible by the national oil boom and international lending institutions. This also led to increased infrastructure development in the region. Creating more administrative villages was a justification to tap national development funds. It became a central theme of all levels of government in Lampung and across Indonesia. In this way more and more people migrated to the region.

While the population in the region grew rapidly until the 1980s, the growth subsequently slowed. This was, partly, related to ‘the closing down’ of the state forest zones in the region. The late 1980s is remembered by the people in the region as the beginning of a number of efforts to clear smallholder farmers from state forest zones through a series of military operations and to develop reforestation projects. The coffee boom during the 1997-98 krismon (monetary crisis) was short lived and not long enough to attract new migration.

The small rural towns of Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan and their immediate surroundings can perhaps be characterised as a developing enclave in an underdeveloped district. West Lampung district has two other rural towns, the district capital Liwa and the small beach town of Krui. The development of Liwa is largely due to its selection as the capital of the district in the early 1990s, which brought people and physical infrastructure to this otherwise quiet (sepi) area. The rationale for the selection of Liwa was to separate the administrative centre (pusat pemerintahan) and commercial/economic centres. More development projects were carried out in Liwa after the 1994 earthquake, which ruined Liwa and many other villages in Balik Bukit. The other town, Krui, used
to be an important coastal-trading centre for the west coast of Lampung in the colonial era. The people in Krui still believe, however, that the reason their town was not selected as the capital of the district was due chiefly to the high profile lobbying effort of a few powerful provincial bureaucrats and politicians who originated from Balik Bukit and Kenali.

Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan are exceptional for West Lampung because they have had a different pathway of progress. Unlike Liwa, Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan were not selected as key centres in the district. Unlike Krui, Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan are not old population areas; both are newly created. Yet the level of progress and modernisation in Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan is comparable to Krui and Liwa. Compared to other regions in West Lampung, Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong are self evidently more ‘developed’.

In the wider context of the regional development of Lampung, it is important to note that the development of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong are rather more typical. Flourishing towns, many of which are bigger than Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, can easily be encountered throughout other districts in the province. These towns include as Pringsewu, Gading Rejo and Gedong Tataan in the south, Metro, Bandar Jaya, Kota Gajah, and Jepara in the centre, and Tulang Bawang in the north. All have been created mainly by Javanese transmigrants.

While almost all the area of other districts in Lampung province has been allocated for transmigrant settlements, in West Lampung only Sumber Jaya is the designated receiving area for transmigrants from Java—on a much smaller scale compared to other transmigration sites elsewhere in
Lampung. Many people argue that it is partly because the district does not have many sites of transmigration that West Lampung is still underdeveloped (kurang berkembang). Unlike other transmigration settlements located on the eastern Lampung plain and lowlands, where large-scale irrigation channels for rice fields (sawah) can be built, Sumber Jaya is in a hilly mountain region where no large area can be transformed into a vast area of sawah rice cultivation.

Today Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong can provide anything one expects from modern rural Indonesia. In each of the small rural towns of Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, in what the people simply refer to as the pasar (market), hundreds of shops (toko) and stalls (warung) are open seven days a week. On a different day each week the two pasar also host the weekly rotational market; Monday in Fajar Bulan and Saturday in Sumber Jaya. Due to a previous prohibition on Chinese opening businesses in rural areas in Indonesia, today only a few toko are owned and operated by Chinese petty traders. In these toko people can get many kind of goods, including food/meals; a variety of household goods such cloth, electronic equipment (television, radio, hi-fi), and furniture; building materials; automotive spare parts; and brand new motorbikes. There used to be a movie theatre (bioskop) in Sumber Jaya, but it no longer functions because of the influx of VCD players and pirated VCD rentals. One can easily rent the latest films, either from Hollywood (which are at the same time being screened at Planet Hollywood Jakarta), India’s Bollywood, and/or Hongkong. Watching national sinetron, dubbed imported serials, and news on television is the most common evening home entertainment.

7 Besides Sumber Jaya, Biha in Pesisir Selatan subdistrict is another small scale transmigration site in West Lampung. In the early 1990s hundreds families of forest squatters from various parts of Lampung were resettled there under the local transmigration program.
In addition, recently many telecommunication shops (wartel: warung telekomunikasi), using wireless cellular connection, have been installed. (Land line telephones, available in the nearby small town of Bukit Kemuning, have not yet reached the region.) People use the service to communicate with relatives or colleagues nation wide, also occasionally to hear news from families working overseas (e.g., Saudi Arabia, Malaysia).

Simply put, people in the region do not need to go to bigger towns or cities to get the goods and services they want. Unlike their parents, to obtain education up to high school the youths do not need to go to other towns. Rising expectations, however, have accelerated the trend for people to travel out of the region. The desire for a better (and/or the latest) model of goods, to take care of children's higher education, and to maintain family ties (sillaturrahmi), while satisfying the desire to see the world outside the region are the most commonly stated reasons for people to travel to bigger towns and cities within the province (Kota Bumi, Bandar Jaya, Bandar Lampung) and in Java. Since the construction of the western Sumatra highway (lintas barat) in the early 1990s, bus connections between Padang, Bengkulu, and Jakarta make travelling to Java easy. Almost each week there are also special buses that travel from Sumber Jaya to Bandung. There are two types of buses, the cheap and popular ekonomi and the comfortable air-conditioned (AC). The latter promises on time arrival. There are also minibus-taxis that pick passengers up at home in Sumber Jaya and drive them to any address in Bandung and surrounding towns in West Java. Those who want to travel within the province usually take buses regularly travelling from Krui and Liwa to the capital of the province, Bandar Lampung. When travelling in a group, with families and relatives, a chartered car is the favourite choice. One can
easily find a roadworthy vehicle to rent from a fellow villager. Celebrating *lebaran* and attending the weddings of relatives are occasions where a chartered car is used. Such a flow of people from the region to cities in Lampung and Java and *vice versa* not only blurs the rural-urban distinction, it also makes the Java and outer Java classification seem less relevant.

Some negative consequences of being close to urban centres have also been felt in the region. Trucks and cars passing along the west Sumatran highway often take rest stops at Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya. Here there are plenty of choices of restaurants and food stalls with the favourite Sunda and Padang menus. For overnight stops there are some small hotels that are almost fully booked during weekdays. This has led to emergent practices of prostitution. The story goes that there was once a *warung remang-remang* (romance stall), which beside food also provided young girls for men’s sexual pleasure. The food stall soon became popular, especially among truck drivers. The local community, led by the religious leaders, soon took firm action. The *warung* owner was asked to stop the practice of prostitution, and the girls were asked to leave, among them one from a neighbouring village. Today when one asks people whether there is prostitution in the region, the most likely answer is that “there are none that provide the service *openly*”. Another concern is the use of drugs among the youth. On one occasion, local policemen were suspicious that a small group of teenagers was using drugs at late night gatherings in parking lots and bungalows constructed by the tourism office for sight seeing and rest stops between Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya. On another occasion a police officer caught and jailed a young man planting hundreds of *cannabis* plants in a *capsicum* chilli garden in one of the villages in Way Tenong. Security is another concern that necessitates
night watches (ronda). Stories about brand new motorbikes being stolen are frequent. Burglaries are also frequently reported, especially during the coffee harvest season.

Within the region, from village to village people use ojek (motorbike taxi), minibuses, pickups, and four-wheel drive jeeps. Jeeps are now used only on limited occasions: to carry bulky stuff from one rotational market village to the others, to deliver heavy loads from toko (store) or pasar (market) to smaller warung (stall) in hamlets on the hills, and to bring down from the hills and mountains piles of dried coffee cherries and dried beans during coffee harvest season. A few of the jeeps today can still be seen loading housing construction materials and taking out lumber from the remaining forest in the mountains. With more and more paved road and bridges being constructed the use of these off-road vehicles, very popular during the last three decades, has gradually reduced.

The proximity of Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, capitals of two adjacent subdistricts separated only by 15 minutes drive, will give the impression of a rural Java setting. In upland rural settings elsewhere, the distance between two neighbouring subdistricts' capitals normally takes an hour or more to travel. The two small rural towns, apart from being the places that sell goods are also the places to that sell agricultural produce from the surrounding villages. When passing along the western Sumatra highway and viewing Sumber Jaya and Fajar Bulan, the impression one might get is that the region is the home of well-off rural Indonesians. Along this main road are modern brick houses and large traditional wooden stilted houses (rumah panggung) with either a motorbike or car in the front yard and a
A number of the houses are two-storey and extremely luxurious. Indeed most of the richest people in the region live in and near Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya and derive their wealth from coffee reselling and retail shops. But the picture changes as one travels to the surrounding villages. Along the main road are compact settlements with rows of sturdy brick and wooden stilted houses, but as one goes farther from the main road and the main village settlement compounds, one encounters dispersed humble houses or huts (rumah gubuk) made of wood and bamboo that fill the scene. While in both towns many people are involved in rural trading and other non-farm business and work, the majority of people in the surrounding villages and in the region derive their livelihood primarily from small-scale agricultural production.

The making (and unmaking) of a coffee pot

Located on the eastern slope of the Bukit Barisan mountain range, the villages in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region are surrounded by mountains and hills. In the centre is Bukit Rigis, to the north are Bukit Remas and Subhannallah, to the east Gunung Abung and Bagelung, and to the west is Gunung Sekincau. The mountains are connected by gently rolling ridges encircling Bukit Rigis. The Way Besai river runs from Gunung Abung to the west, encircling Bukit Rigis, and then down the valley to the west. The easternmost end of the valley, at the end of Way Besai river flow in the region, is the site of a dam for the Way Besai hydroelectric power plant at 720 metres above sea level. Village settlements are located in the valley encircling Bukit Rigis on the banks of the Way Besai river.

---

8 Without the dish only one among nearly ten national television channels can be received in the western half of the region, and none in the eastern half.
Patches of forest can still be seen on the steep slopes and on top of the mountains. Smallholder *robusta* coffee gardens are the predominant land use system. Wet rice fields (*sawah*) are limited to the narrow banks of creeks and the Way Besai river. All the villages in the region have patches of *sawah*, but villages with more than 100 ha *sawah* are very rare. Rice is imported from other regions within the province and from Java. Within the settlements, many houses have a fish pond (*balong, tebat*), but favourite fishes such as *ikan mas* and *gurame* are regularly imported directly from towns in West Java such as Cirata, Cianjur, and Parung.

The dominant land use of coffee smallholder gardens in this particular region is a recent trend. Three decades previously, the region was heavily forested. While the expansion of *sawah* and settlements has been limited, the transformation of primary and secondary forests into coffee gardens has been massive. One of the impacts is wild animal attacks and infestations. In 1997 a few men and women, labourers on a reforestation project and small farmers, were attacked and killed in Lebuay. Later the old tiger responsible was hunted down by a special team from the forestry office and brought to Taman Safari zoo near Jakarta. This is not the only case of tiger attack; there were unreported cases before. Today, near the few remaining forests, villagers sometimes see tigers, bears, and deer. The latter are still an object of non-commercial hunting. Monkeys, pigs, and elephants are now becoming pests. Incursions by pigs and elephants are especially serious. The local health clinics frequently receive patients seriously wounded as a result of pig attack when they are being hunted down for their destruction of *sawah*. Elephant groups sometimes coming down to the villages for crops during drought periods have been another problem, forcing villagers to conduct extended patrols to keep the
elephants away. Forest rangers most often come late but they are limited in number and equipment. For the local people, killing the elephants would be the easiest way to gain protection, but the fear of jail for killing endangered animals generally prevents them from doing so.

The transformation of forests into smallholder coffee gardens has been accompanied by a decline of livestock husbandry in the area. Elders confirm that a couple of decades ago the old Semendo villages were full of cows and buffalos. Today in each village only a few households rear such animals. Thanks to the expansion of coffee gardens, neither grazing land nor labour to feed the livestock are available. There is a possibility that this trend began after the confiscation of cows and buffalos during the Japan occupation in 1942-45. Tiger attacks were the chief reason for the previous reduction in sheep and goat numbers. In some of the villages, until recently, village night patrols had to be conducted to prevent tigers taking the sheep or goats from the stalls. With the further shrinking of their habitat, the tiger population seems to be gradually reducing, and with the drop in coffee price and the need for manure for cultivation of commercial vegetables, more sheep and goats are now seen in the region.

With no forest left near the villages, another difficulty posed now is to obtain timber for housing. Favourite first class timber from the forests, such as tenam, cempaka, and medang, have become very expensive. In the previous decade, the price of such first-class timber was merely equal to local costs of gesek (cutting) and angkut (transport), but today the price is more than double the gesek and angkut costs. Cheaper timber from planted trees is now preferred, among others, shorea and exotic afrika are used now for housing construction and furniture. Shorea and teak imported from the nearby regions are now sold in local lumber shops (panglong). Inferior
quality timber of kapuk and dadap are also used for light construction, such as huts and kitchens—attached to the main house. While the conversion of forest to smallholder coffee gardens is obviously the cause of a scarcity of local timber, illegal logging has been another important factor. In most villages some of the village elites, with the backing of either police, military, or forestry personnel have been, and in some cases continue to be, involved in this lucrative yet illegal business.

A large part of the region is gazetted as state forest reserve (kawasan hutan negara), mostly classified as protection forest (kawasan hutan lindung) and, to the west, there is the national park of Bukit Barisan Selatan. People here called these zones tanah kawasan (state forest land) when referring to the land and hutan kawasan (state forest) when referring to the forest. During the last two decades, the region has been the target of forest protection and rehabilitation projects. Yet there is no evidence to show that efforts to prevent further expansion of smallholding coffee farming and to convert present coffee stands to plantation forests have been successful. On the contrary, not only have those plantation forests been transformed back into coffee gardens but the remaining natural cover has continued to be removed and transformed into smallholder coffee gardens.

The region of Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong is recognised as an important coffee pot within the province. The region perhaps can also be regarded as the most intensive smallholding coffee growing area in the province. The indications for this are in the recent cultivation practices, i.e. levels of intensification, and in production. All recommended techniques and inputs are applied to achieve the maximum output for coffee farming. Grafting (sambung) has been done since the early 1990s. Initially, tunas (twigs) of more productive varieties of robusta were bought from the
nearby region of Tanjung Raya, where a handful of farmers had successfully obtained higher production after grafting their old coffee trees with stock imported from Jember, East Java. Chemical fertilizers have been used since the late 1970s, when they were heavily subsidized and made available under the New Order’s famous Bimas and Inmas scheme intended for rice cultivation. Local traders, usually wealthy villagers, create fictive cooperatives to obtain a delivery order (DO) from a designated fertilizer wholesaler from whom small farmers could buy the fertilizer individually or in a group (kelompok). Warung and toko would often also sell chemical fertilizers. Weeding (koret) and pruning (buang ranting, buang tunas), tasks that absorb the largest proportion of labour in coffee farming, have been undertaken since the 1950s. Various techniques of soil conservation, such as the use of terraces (teras), ridges (gulud), and pits (siring, lobang) are applied as well. High production is thus the obvious result. During normal years the average production in the region is 1,000 kg to 2,000 kg tonnes per hectare, much higher than the national average of coffee production, which is around 500 kg per hectare. Only during poor years does the production in the region approach the national average.

The cycle of good, normal, or bad years is perceived to be the result of the interplay between coffee price, climate, and the age of the coffee gardens. The late 1950s, late 1980s and early 1990s, and the end of the 1990s (krismon of 1997-1998) are considered to have been good years (agung, musim). The 1980s and from 1999 onward are considered to be bad years (paceklik, non musim). The remaining years are considered normal (biasa). Interestingly, a natural factor, the climate, seems to be favourable when the price of coffee is good and vice versa, the climate is bad when the price drops.
The price of coffee is considered good or not in comparison to the price of basic necessities, most importantly milled rice (beras). For example, during the krismon in 1997-98 a kg of coffee was Rp 8,000—12,000 and a kg of rice was Rp 500—1,000. Thus during these good years (musim) a kg of coffee was equal to more than 10 kg of rice. From 1999 to 2002, the price of coffee dropped to Rp 3,000—4,000 per kg while the price of rice rose steeply up to Rp 2,000 per kg. During these bad years a kg of coffee was almost equal to the price of a kg of rice. To make matters worse, the price of other goods also rose.

The 1950s was said to have been the beginning of good years as far as coffee farming is concerned. A kg of coffee was Rp 3.5 while four kg of rice was said to be only Rp 1 in the region. The late 1950s was also said to be a time when the practice of transforming upland rice swidden ladang into coffee garden, on fallow land, ended. More labour was applied. Hired labour began to be enlisted; a day’s work earned Rp 3.5, equal to more than 1 kg of coffee. Rather than being left fallow, old coffee gardens were maintained. More Javanese and Sundanese began to come, either as labourers or sharecroppers or, for those who had some capital, buying young and old gardens and abandoned or fallow fields (belukar). Old gardens were pruned and rejuvenated. New forests were cleared, planted with upland rice for one or two crops while also being planted with coffee. Transforming the cleared forest directly into coffee gardens, without the early stage of swidden, was also commonly practised. Opening several plots of different ages was necessary to ensure continuous production at the agung stage, namely, full bearing coffee trees aged three to seven years. Pruned and rejuvenated gardens produced a relatively constant annual production, although lower than the agung
gardens. As a diversification strategy, the traditional system of interplanting coffee with pepper continued to be practised by some farmers in the region. Besides providing shade for the coffee, *dadap* and *gamal* trees functioned as the poles for the pepper vines. More recently, commercial tree crops (e.g., timber and fruit) have also been planted in coffee gardens.

Despite the introduction of chemical fertilizer, the late-1980s were considered to be bad years. Cocoa and clove subsequently gained in popularity. Many coffee gardens were transformed into either cocoa or clove gardens. Cocoa grew and produced well, but there was no one to buy the harvest. Then the cloves were almost completely destroyed by leaf blight disease. A few clove trees still survive today, but their economic importance for this region was insignificant. Coffee, however, has never disappeared. The failure of both cocoa and clove brought smallholders back to coffee.

The 1980s and 1990s are remembered as the decades when government’s agricultural extension programs came to the villages. New techniques and new inputs were introduced. Smallholders were encouraged to form farmers’ groups, with whom field extension officers (*penyuluh*) worked closely to develop demonstration plots (*demplot*) for better farming techniques. PRPTE (*proyek rehabilitasi tanaman ekspor*), a World Bank-sponsored program to boost Indonesia’s smallholder export crop production, provided cheap credit for replanting and chemical fertilizers for hundreds of hectares of coffee gardens in the region. The forestry office ran projects to introduce soil conservation techniques (terracing and tree planting), also on the *demplot* basis. The coffee exporters’ association (*AEKI: Asosiasi Eksportir Kapi Indonesia*) regularly provided grants, directly to farmer groups and through agriculture extension agencies, to deliver
various kinds of technical assistance to promote better quality coffee. Sponsoring farmers’ delegates to visit and learn from other coffee pots in Java was one form of technical assistance.

The 1990s was the period when the harvest of coffee enabled the local people in the region to secure a higher economic position. Many brick houses were built during the first half of the decade. Old traditional stilted houses (rumah panggung) were renovated, and new ones constructed. Cars and motorbikes became much more numerous. Local coffee traders got richer and petty trading flourished. The prohibition preventing Chinese from opening businesses in rural Indonesia enabled a few merchants in the region to accumulate considerable wealth from local commercial activities. The climax came during the nation’s monetary crises, the krismon, in 1997-98 when the coffee price skyrocketed. Farmers received export dollars for their crops as the value of the rupiah deflated. The El-Nino drought brought good production from mostly grafted coffee trees. The price of coffee rose three to four times while the price of other goods remained stable. This was the time when luxurious goods flooded the region such as new cars, motorbikes, televisions, VCD, hi-fis, and furniture. With the sudden increase of purchasing power, local people likened the massive buying of such goods to buying cheap snacks “just like buying fried bananas!”

It was also during the 1990s that the dwarf coffee (kopi kate) arabica variety was introduced, again on a demplot basis. Seedlings were distributed free of charge. But when the harvest came, the promise of a higher price than robusta did not materialise. Local traders and exporters bought both robusta and arabica at the same price. According to those who happened to plant this new variety, more labour was required to maintain the arabica
gardens, especially to remove the twigs \textit{(buang tunas)}. Unlike \textit{robusta}, without chemical fertilizer, the \textit{arabica} would bear no cherries. These factors prevented further conversion of \textit{robusta} to \textit{arabica} in the region.

The post-\textit{krismon} economic recovery of Indonesia beginning in 1999 brought a real economic crisis for the villagers in the region. The price of coffee dropped dramatically while the price of rice and other basic goods rose steeply. Things turned difficult. Even to buy cheap fried bananas was no longer that easy. Besides the reduction and alteration in chemical fertilizer applications, too much rain was blamed for the drop in average production in the region’s coffee gardens. Some simply said that the coffee trees were exhausted \textit{(capek, letih)} after the lengthy years of \textit{agung} in the 1990s.

While the bad years of the 1980s drove some smallholders to cocoa and clove, today some of the smallholders in the region are turning to commercial vegetables. The vegetable production in Liwa (which declined due to a combination of conversion of the vegetable fields into coffee gardens during the \textit{krismon}, a recent severe disease infestation, and a decline in soil fertility) and steadily expanded vegetable production in the neighbouring region of Sekincau, to the western part of the region, inspired the conversion of some of coffee gardens into vegetable fields and the interplanting of coffee and small hot chilli throughout Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya. In 2002 in Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya one can hardly miss seeing sacks and baskets of vegetables filling the storehouses and loaded to pickups or light trucks to be exported to larger provincial towns and sometimes to Java.
A multiethnic middle peasantry

The slowing down of migration to the region since the late 1980s has contributed to the current pattern of landholding in the region. It has helped to prevent the further shrinking of the land to wo/man ratio and an increase in landlessness. As far as land holding is concerned, the region has not evolved into polarised and opposed classes of a few landlords at one end and a mass of landless on the other. This is not to say that large land ownership or landlessness is absolutely absent, but rather it accentuates the domination of middle peasantry in the region. It must be stressed, however, that such persistence is not simply a function of the land to wo/man ratio, or population pressure alone. It is obviously linked to wider and more complex contexts.

Extensive ‘wealthy’ landholding in the region refers to land area of over ten hectares. It is everyone’s dream to have such a large amount of land, but only very few are able to do so. In almost all the villages, a small number of families with more or less ten hectares of coffee gardens can be found. But the case of someone owning more than twenty hectares has ‘never been heard of’ (belum kedengaran). There are two strategies for gaining a large garden. One is by organising a group of men for forest clearing. The leader (kepala rombongan) is responsible for recruiting and providing the food for his followers (anak buah, pengikut) during the forest clearing and coffee planting. No cash payments are involved. Each group member then receives a certain size of plot, a hectare or two, of the young garden that he can either sell or keep as he wished. Some of the plots were sold to recover costs, such as providing food for the groups. The members could plant upland rice on the newly cleared land for one or two crops and were entitled to all the harvest. The kepala rombongan retains a larger
portion of the newly established gardens. A second strategy is to acquire the gardens during poor years, when their owners were in financial difficulty (*kepepet, sulit*) and the price of the garden could be bought below the former market price. After a decade or two of following either pattern repeatedly, one could eventually own a large number of scattered coffee gardens.

It also must be noted that these large gardens will soon be fragmented and passed on to children. With the fluctuation in coffee price and production during poor years, the revenue from coffee alone is insufficient to cover the cost of its up-keep, including fertiliser and hired labour. Having the plots scattered and in different stages/ages makes supervision difficult and production uncertain. Hence, it is necessary for large landowner families to have sources of income other than their coffee gardens, such as owning *sawah*. Engaging in trading, transportation, and, sometimes, money lending is a characteristic of large landowners.

Apart from such technical difficulties, having a large amount of land has also been discouraged by the national legal system. The Indonesian agrarian law and regulations set limits on the size of land that can be individually owned (*hak milik*). Beyond the set limit, the owner can only obtain *hak guna usaha* (long term lease). Obtaining the legal right for this type of tenure is time consuming and incurs considerable cash payments. More importantly, this type of ownership is incompatible with the *adat* system of inheritance that emphasises land ownership (*hak milik*), whether with or without an official certificate. Certificates of land ownership, on

---

9 Government Regulation No. 56 1960 stipulates that the ceiling is 5 ha for irrigated land or 6 ha for non-irrigated land per family in areas where population density exceeds 400 persons per sq. km. For areas with less than 51 persons per sq. km the limits are 15 ha and 20 ha.
the other hand, are easier to obtain and much cheaper under the
government land administration projects (*Prona*) regularly conducted in
the region.

There are numerous patterns for reducing landholding. Apart from the
cultural obligation to pass the land on to children, the general motives for
selling land are to invest in more profitable or less risky businesses, to
obtain cash for various uses such as one’s children’s higher education and
marriage, to cover the cost of curing severe illness, to complete house
construction, or, though less common, to cover the cost of pilgrimage to
Mecca.

Landless and near landless farmers are not uncommon. They are late
comers and spontaneous migrants who have settled in the region as
labourers or sharecroppers. Young couples waiting to inherit land from
their parents also fall in this category. Finding a garden and/or a rice field
to sharecrop is not difficult in the region. *Numpang*, borrowing an
‘unused’ plot without paying, is another arrangement through which
landless households can gain access to land to farm. Villagers in this
stratum often earn income from wage labour (*upahan*) in their friends’ and
 neighbours’ gardens. From landless labourer to smallholder is a common
form of upward mobility. The main strategy is to save money during the
good years, which is then used to buy land. The bulk of the population in
the region owns a plot or more, totalling a hectare or more of coffee
garden (see Table 3.2). To maintain more than a hectare of coffee garden
requires extra labour in addition to household members. This necessitates
the arrangement of *numpang*, sharecropping, and hired labour.
Engaging on various forms of off-farm work is a general strategy among all strata, though the reasons, processes, and consequences may differ. Among the lower economic stratum, since income is insufficient, survival is a primary goal. In the region about one in three households/families was poor in 2000 (see Table 3.1). Family member(s) are sent outside the region to work in cities in Java or preferably in foreign countries. For the upper stratum families, investing in a more profitable and less risky business is a primary goal. For all strata, having educated children who will no longer engage in farming seems to be of a prime consideration.

In the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region, illiteracy, especially among the younger generation, is relatively low. Most elders and adults have received education in primary schools in the region. The younger generation continue to junior high school and to high school. Among the lower stratum, low income is the main constraint preventing children from getting a higher education. Money is also a concern among the middle stratum, but not for the upper stratum, it is the children’s desire that really matters. Among the middle and upper stratum there are many cases where the problem is the children’s reluctance or incapability to study further. The children’s reasons, nonetheless, are very much accepted and justified: a growing number of those graduating from universities fail to find a job (sarjana nganggur) or take low paid jobs. In this case, to study at university is a waste of time and money.

Higher education and socio-economic mobility are possible partly because of the acceptance of the government family planning program (KB: Keluarga Berencana). The majority of fertile couples (pasangan usia subur) in the region are KB acceptors. Previously subsidised, today fertile couples pay for the KB injection and pills. The lesser number of children, on the
one hand, increases the ability of parents to support financially their children’s education. On the other hand, it reduces the availability of free labour for farming. This, again, necessitates the arrangement of sharecropping and wage labour.

Children’s education and house construction/improvement are two household priorities. Income generated in excess of household consumption needs goes for these two items. Buying a vehicle and household items is the next desirable good. The last project is a religious one, that is ‘taking a last step on the stairway to heaven,’ a pilgrimage to Mecca. There are two types of haji, the first is kiyai haji or ‘real’ haj (betul). This refers to those with a deep knowledge of Islam, who practice it in their daily life, and actively teach it to pesantren pupils and a general audience in the mosque and occasional learning (pengajian) groups. There are few haji of this kind, and they earn high respect. The second type is referred to as ‘coffee haj’ (haji kopi). These are those who went to Mecca thanks to their large coffee gardens. Their knowledge of Islam and the alignment of their daily life with the teaching (ajaran) of Islam is limited. Compared to the haji betul, the haji kopi are more numerous. In the region there are more Semendonese and Sundanese haji than Javanese haji.

Measuring the proportion of the three major ethnic groups in the region is difficult. None can be said to be dominant. In the village markets, apart from bahasa Indonesia, all three languages—Sundanese, Javanese, and Semendonese—are spoken interchangeably. The younger generation usually understand all three languages. Many are able to speak all three languages. Since there is neither ethnic preference nor avoidance in marriage, intermarriage is prevalent. With marriage, it is religion that