had been nationalised. After a couple of years he decided to migrate to the newly opened transmigration area in Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong. With his friend Sumardi, who later led a group of Javanese to open the land in Trimulyo, he finally settled in Gunung Terang.

Unlike most early migrants with a low level of education, Pak Kasijo is a high school graduate. In Gunung Terang he opened the first community school in the 1960s. At that time the children had to go to Mutar Alam to get an elementary education. Pak Kasijo’s initiative was very much welcomed by the villagers. He and a few other villagers with junior high and high school education voluntarily acted as teachers. Initially the classes were held under the stilt house of Pak Cik Nawi, the village head. Later, through gotong royong, all the villagers worked together to build a simple wooden house as the classroom. The community school later became the first formal elementary school in the village, located between the hamlet of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari. Pak Kasijo then continued his efforts to open a second elementary school in the village, located near his house in the hamlet of Talang Jaya.

Pak Timan is another elder well known for his leadership in village affairs, especially agricultural extension. In 1962, as an orphan boy, he was taken from Pacitan, East Java by his uncle, who was a transmigrant in Kota Gajah in central Lampung. When his uncle’s family life broke up (berantakan) he was taken by a Lampungnese family to take care of the upkeep of their pepper garden. Given a hard time by the children of his Lampungnese foster father, young Timan joined a friend who left for Sumber Jaya in 1964. For a few years he lived in Simpang Sari, farmed a small plot of coffee garden, and married a Sundanese girl whose father was an early BRN transmigrant. Later Pak Timan decided to move to Gunung Terang to join, and later to replace,
his brother who was working to maintain one of Pak Cik Nawi’s coffee
gardens. Pak Timan eventually managed to establish his own coffee garden
and build a decent house in Petai Paya hamlet.

Pak Timan and his wife were active in village affairs. His wife was active in
assisting Pak Cik Nawi’s wife in various PKK programs, such as the
posyandu program. When a group of migrants from Hajimena/Tegineneng
arrived in Gunung Terang, Pak Timan became involved in the construction
of the communal bunkhouse (bedeng). He was active in the process of
creating the hamlet of Bedeng Sari. But Pak Timan’s outstanding leadership
role was in organising villagers to receive government assistance in
agriculture during the 1980s. He was chair of a village farmers’ group
(kelompok tani) with over two hundred members, for more than a decade.
With an elementary school education, his literacy was an important reason
the villagers chose him for this position. Pak Timan coordinated the
provision of credit (to buy chemical fertilisers) from the subdistrict
agricultural extension office for members the kelompok. The extension officers
also routinely gave advice on better planting materials and cultivation
techniques. Pak Timan was often selected as the farmers’s delegate in
meetings in the capital of the subdistrict, district, and province. In his
capacity as chair of the kelompok, he initially organised the villagers in the
land titling program. Today, according to Pak Timan, two-thirds of the
village population have their land titled.

The most prominent leader in the village of Gunung Terang is Pak Cik Nawi.
Unlike Pak Kasijo and Pak Timan, who are now retired, Pak Cik Nawi is still
active. Born in Gedung Surian, he was still a little boy when his
grandparents and their offspring moved to create Gunung Terang hamlet.
He went to Mutar Alam for elementary school. He learnt about village
administration mainly from two kin; one was the then village head of Gunung Terang and the other was the village head of Mutar Alam. Pak Cik Nawi was first elected as the PJS village head in 1962. He won the village head election in 1965, lost it in the 1972 election but was appointed as PJS village head two years later. In the 1979 he failed to win village head election but in 1983 was again appointed as the PJS. In the 1990 village head election his candidature was rejected by subdistrict office, mainly because of his education that lower than the minimum requirement of junior high school graduate. Since then he has been a key figure in the village council.

Many of the early migrants from Java in the village liken Pak Cik Nawi to a ‘parent.’ He is remembered for his efforts from 1960 to 1970 to ensure that each migrant family had a house to live in and land to work. Some early migrants from Java still remember how during difficult years Pak Cik Nawi allowed them to take rice from his rice field and other food (e.g. cassava, banana, jackfruit) from his garden. He persuaded other Semendonese to do similar things. He acted as an example, and actively persuaded other Semendonese to welcome the newly arrived migrants from Java.

Pak Cik Nawi earned respect for not treating the later migrants as inferiors, most of them being landless initially, including those who worked his gardens. The fact that Pak Cik Nawi did not take too much material advantage from his position as village leader and that he was seen as villagers’ ‘parent’, are qualities noted by the villagers. Pak Cik Nawi is very average with regard to wealth; he is not among a handful of wealthy families in the village. None of his children went to university, and he could not even afford to send his two younger sons to high school.
Pak Cik Nawi’s role in the village today is more related to his advice to village officials on village affairs. He was formally the chair of the village council (LHP). Some villagers, exaggerating Pak Cik Nawi’s role, said “Without Pak Cik Nawi’s approval (restu) village projects could not be implemented smoothly.” This, of course, does not imply that with Pak Cik Nawi’s approval all the village projects would be successful nor suggests that he had the power to impose his opinion on village decisions. Rather, it is a kind of recognition of Pak Cik Nawi’s persuasive ability to encourage key actors in the village to come to a consensus. The issue of development projects such as the construction of schools, roads, bridges, and water networks requires the mobilisation of villagers’ participation for their successful implementation. Negotiations over such projects can easily be the source of tension between factions and/or sections in the village. Most often the tensions are manifested as conflicts between the Semendonese and the Javanese. Pak Cik Nawi’s advice was mainly directed at resolution of such tensions. This is what he is good at, and respected for.

With regard to village administration, the village head Bu Mas Muda, village secretary Mas Paryoto, and village council chair Pak Cik Nawi are three key village figures. Gunung Terang is the only village in the region headed by a woman, Bu Mas Muda. Her good leadership is recognised not only in the region of Way Tenong and Sumber Jaya but also in the district of West Lampung. The villagers are proud of having her as the village head. One of the hamlet heads in the village once proudly claimed that “No village head in the region or elsewhere that I happen to know is better than our village head, Bu Mas Muda.”

Bu Mas Muda won the village head election in 1998. She was quite underestimated by her only rival, a man from Simpang Tiga. Apart from her
ability to gain full support from the hamlet of Bedeng Sari where she lives, her success in the election was also due to her ability to convince the Semendonese in the village, mainly living in the hamlet of Gunung Terang, to vote for her. She promised that the Semendonese would not be ‘left behind’ in the village development projects—an issue that worried the Semendonese most if the village head was Javanese. Endorsing Pak Cik Nawi as the chair of the village council can be seen as a way to ensure her promise. She learnt much about village administration and affairs and ways to bring development projects to the village during her husband Pak Hasan’s term as Golkar village komisaris and village head from 1990 to 1998. (In the 1990 village head election, Pak Hasan almost lost against an empty box. He won the ballot by only 30 votes).

Recognition of Bu Mas Muda’s leadership is largely due to her success in bringing development projects to the village. Between 1999 and 2001 there were several such projects, part of the package of loans and grants that the Indonesian government received from multinational development agencies to cope with the 1997-98 monetary crisis. The path through Rigis Bawah was enlarged and gravelled, enabling car transportation. The road from Simpang Tiga to Talang Jaya was also gravelled—the project was part of a road construction project in the region to shorten the distance between the village of Trumulyo and Fajar Bulan. A network of plastic pipes to supply running water was installed from the Bukit Rigis foothills to the hamlets of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari. For the villagers, especially the poor, these works provided substantial wage earnings. For her success in bringing such development projects to the village, Bu Mas Muda’s reputation was acknowledged by the villagers.
Preventing tension among village sections with regard to the benefits of the village development projects has been another item on Bu Mas Muda's working agenda. By nominating both hamlets of Bedeng Sari and Gunung Terang as the intended beneficiaries of the running water project, tension between the two hamlets was prevented. Gravel, the main material for road construction in the hamlet of Rigis Bawah was supplied by those living in the hamlet of Rigis Atas. The latter received the cash while the former obtained the improved road so both hamlets enjoyed the benefit of the project.

Although active in seeking government projects to be implemented in the village, Bu Mas Muda is quite careful not to put the village (and her leadership) in a potentially difficult situation. A small group of men, including some hamlet heads in the village, once intended to engage in a soft credit scheme provided by a government agency of the district. The credit would have been distributed among households in the village to buy inputs (compost, fertiliser, and pesticides) for commercial vegetable farming. A well-written proposal was prepared and was ready to be submitted. Intense communications with officials in the district who would give the credit had been established so the chance of obtaining the credit was deemed high. Bu Mas Muda's signature on the proposal and cover letter signifying the village's official approval was the last stage of the proposal submission. Yet Bu Mas Muda gently refused to approve the initiative. She was quick to point out that the village had bad experiences in handling a government credit scheme in the past. Under an IDT program the village had received cheap credit that was used to buy sheep and goats distributed selectively to poor households. The credit was designed to rotate among the poor. Soon all the distributed sheep and goats were reported sick or dead. Some village officials were taken to the district attorney's office and accused of corruption.
Although no one was proven guilty it was a great humiliation for the village and village officials. Despite her refusal, Bu Mas Muda did not, however, totally ignore the proposal. She supported the idea of forming a village vegetable farmers’ group in her village. She agreed to allocate village funds for village delegates to visit some ‘advanced’ (maju) vegetable farmers in neighbouring Sekincau. The next plan of the newly formed group was to collect cash from each member, the use of which would be decided and monitored by its some 40 members. Bu Mas Muda wanted to see if the farmers’ group, of which she herself was a member, could demonstrate the ability to handle its members’ money before trying to engage in risky credit schemes provided either by the government or by private agencies.

The village secretary, Mas Paryoto, according to many villagers, has leadership abilities in village affairs besides those of village administration’s paper work. Before being assigned by Bu Mas Muda as the village secretary, Mas Paryoto was appointed by the subdistrict office as the village enumerator (data collector) regarding family planning and social welfare (PPKBD: petugas pencatat keluarga berencana desa). Maintaining good communication among village officials and leaders is a task that Mas Paryoto has managed quite well. He regularly visits formal and informal leaders in the village to keep them informed about village affairs. He maintains close contact with all the hamlet heads in the village, either by visiting them, often with Bu Mas Muda, or inviting them to his or Bu Mas Muda’s house. In this way he and Bu Mas Muda keep updated on things happening in all the hamlets. On the other hand, the hamlet heads are informed about government policies and programs related to village affairs.

Recently Mas Paryoto was active in promoting commercial vegetable farming in the village. With his two neighbours he started the commercial
and highly intensive cultivation of vegetables. It started with *capsicum* chilli. Other vegetables such as tomato, eggplants, and beans were also introduced. In Mas Paryoto’s house some villagers frequently gather to hear his technical advice on how to start commercial vegetable farming. He is also frequently invited to see fellow villagers’ vegetable fields and give suggestions. He makes intense contacts with traders or salesmen of agricultural inputs for commercial vegetable farming (e.g., seeds, fertilisers, chemicals). Mas Paryoto has cleverly invited sellers with different products to the village. Frequently in his house a small group of villagers gather to hear a salesman promoting his products. On other days other salesmen do the same thing for different brands of the same product. Mas Paryoto keeps persuading the salesmen to give free samples for a demonstration. In this way a variety of brands can be tested and compared. Mas Paryoto was one of the initiators of the newly formed village farmer group whose purpose is to assist members to grow better commercial vegetables through the provision of inputs and better marketing of the harvests.

With his skill and ability in village administration, maintaining good communication among village leaders, and promoting commercial vegetable farming, some villagers already say that Mas Paryoto is the most suitable candidate for next village head. But Mas Paryoto is quite uneasy about this early nomination (Bu Mas Muda’s term will end in 2006). First, he is reluctant to be seen as too ambitious. Secondly, and this is his more serious concern, he feels that economically his family is not yet established (*cukup, mapan*). According to him, an economically established family is one of the prerequisites for an ideal village head. Today Mas Paryoto is still struggling with his family’s economy. He does not own a coffee garden. As a sharecropper he takes care of less than 1 hectare of coffee garden belonging to another villager. He has just started farming commercial vegetables in his
0.25 hectare house garden. He is still not sure whether he can afford to send his two little daughters for higher education. Although his father was a large landowner in Rigis Bawah, with over 10 hectares of coffee gardens and able to support Mas Paryoto’s high school education in Java, when he died, the land was equally distributed among his children from two wives. Mas Paryoto’s share was sold to buy a house lot and to build his present house.

Each ‘administrative’ hamlet in the village has a head, but unlike the village head all of them are appointed by the hamlet residents by consensus (musyawarah) instead of being elected. Since 2001, village officials have received a monthly allowance from the district government. The administrative tasks of the hamlet heads (pemangku, kepala dusun, kepala suku) include recording monthly as well as annual data on the demography of the hamlet and collecting annual land tax (PBB: pajak bumi dan bangunan). They represent the hamlet at village meetings and are responsible for delivering messages from the village administration about new government policy for the hamlet community. Within the hamlet they are expected to maintain the hamlet’s harmony (rukun, tentam, guyub). This includes settling disputes amongst neighbours, giving advice on official matters, organising their hamlet’s religious rituals (e.g., yasinan, celebration of Islam holy days, burial), and encouraging gotong royong activities for community facilities (roads, bridges, mosque).

There are variations among hamlet heads’ leadership in the village. In the hamlets of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari, the role of the hamlet heads is rather minimal, focusing only on the collection of demographic data and land tax. It is in these two hamlets that the village head Bu Mas Muda, the village secretary Mas Paryoto, and the chair of the village council Pak Cik Nawi reside. The villagers in both hamlets consult and hear village affairs.
from them directly rather than through the hamlet heads. In these hamlets, thus, the hamlet heads are shaded by the top-ranked village officials. In other hamlets such as Rigis Bawah, Rigis Atas, and Temiangan, where the residents only rarely meet higher ranking village officials, the hamlet heads' role and leadership is more prominent. In contrast, during 2001-2002, the hamlet heads of Bedeng Sari, Gunung Terang, and Talang Jaya had little involvement in community work. In Buluh Kapur, which is part of the administrative hamlet of Bedeng Sari, the heads of the neighbourhoods (kepala RT) were active in the community activities through gotong royong and religious rituals.

Like other village officials, hamlet heads are recognised for their efforts in integrating the community into the village administration and tapping state resources for the hamlet. The name of Talang Jaya hamlet was taken from the name of its first head, Pak Jaya. He was the one who put a lot of work into creating the administrative hamlet and integrating it in into the village of Gunung Terang in the early 1970s. Pak Maryono followed a similar strategy in the 1980s in what is now the hamlet of Rigis Bawah, whose former name was Talang Maryono (a name which is still used informally). Pak Maryono, in his other prominent role as the Golkar komisaris in the village, was a key figure in Golkar’s success in the village during the general elections from the 1980s until the 1990s. He actively persuaded the Javanese villagers—now the majority in the village—to vote for Golkar. Pak Simun, the present hamlet head of Temiangan, has more recently taken a similar role in separating the hamlet from the village of Sumber Alam and integrating it into Gunung Terang. Mas Kaulan, the present hamlet head of Rigis Bawah, gained his leadership reputation thanks to the recently government road building project in his hamlet and a community water supply project. Muayat Wagimin, the newly appointed hamlet head of Rigis Atas played a
rather different role. He organised his community to supply the gravel for a road building project in Rigis Bawah, providing much needed extra paid work. But his most prominent leadership role was in organising his hamlet’s residents who farm the state forest zone to engage in a community forestry agreement (HKm).

The official village administrative structure has other posts as well. P3NTR (petugas pembantu pencatat nikah talak dan rujuk), for example, is responsible for witnessing and recording marriages, divorces and reunions. The position of chair of PKK, usually occupied by the village head’s wife, in Gunung Terang has been given to another woman who was active in assisting Bu Mas Muda when she was the chair during her husband’s term as village head. Under the village head, there are several heads of special affairs (kaur: kepala urusan). Under the hamlet head there are also several heads of neighbourhoods (kepala rukun tetangga [RT]). The village council (LHP) has about a dozen members. The village also has several civil security officers (hansip: pertahanan sipil). Except for the P3NTR and RT in some hamlets, the holders of these positions are nominal.

The religious leaders in the village including the board of the mosque (pengurus masjid) and teachers and preachers in the village’s small pesantren, besides working their gardens, concentrate on religious teaching and rituals. Each mosque in the villages has one or more imam or kiyai. Villagers do not see that affiliation of these imam and kiyai to national Islam organisations as particularly important. Their role in everyday affairs is minimal.

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2 Throughout Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong one can see signboards of national Muslim organisations of Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama, and, alternatively, Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia. Religious leaders in the region seem to be flexible in affiliating themselves with big Islam organisations.
Functionaries from national political parties in the village have no great role in everyday village affairs. There is no sign of political activity from the major national parties' komisaris and cadres other than putting up signboards and attending party meetings in the subdistrict and district.

The village has no official office. The village hall is only used during village meetings attended by higher level government officials. For internal village official meetings, Bu Mas Muda’s house is used. The village administrative paper work is held at the village secretary’s house. Mas Paryoto has a study in his wooden house where he does all the paper work. All the village officials in Gunung Terang are full time farmers, and consequently part time village officials. They work in their gardens in the morning and afternoon everyday. They came home for lunch and dzuhur praying at midday, and before sunset. Except during the busy seasons in the farming calendar, on Friday they are at home the whole day. Within this time frame, the villagers wanting to see the village head and village secretary must find them early in the morning, during the midday break, before sun set, or in the evening.

In June 2002, the village held a village development meeting (musyawarah pembangunan pekon). This was supposed to be the venue for the village community to outline the village development plans they wanted the government to fund. The meeting was organised at the request of the district office (kecamatan). About a week before the meeting, an official letter of invitation was send to village officials, members of the village council, hamlet heads, and heads of RT. The letter was signed by Bu Mas Muda and distributed by Mas Paryoto himself. Mas Paryoto also visited all the hamlet heads personally to promote the occasion and advise them to be prepared. In the following days, most hamlet heads, and few other village officials,
were seen visiting either Bu Mas Muda or Mas Paryoto to further discuss the preparation for the village meeting.

The meeting was held at the village hall. The delegates had already gathered at about 9 a.m. but they had to wait for a couple of hours to start the meeting. This was a rare occasion for villagers from different parts of the village to meet and have a lively chat. Nearly 80 delegates attended the meeting. Adult males were dominant. There were numerous young men, but there were less than a dozen women. When the district officer arrived at nearly 12 o’clock, the meeting began. Mas Paryoto opened the meeting by greeting all the delegates, explaining the purpose of the meeting, and outlining the agenda and timetable. The meeting had three main agenda items: explanation of the new government policy on village administration, selection of the chair and members of the village community development council (LPMP: lembaga pemberdayaan masyarakat pekon), and a workshop on village development plans, which concluded the meeting.

Bu Mas Muda delivered the opening remarks. She began her speech by stressing that each hamlet should propose development programs that were deemed to be urgent (penting, mendesak) and actually needed (dibutuhkan). Her remarks consisted of reminders to all the village hamlets to collect the targeted amount of land tax (PBB) on schedule; distribute the government-subsidized rice (beras miskin) properly (only for those who were eligible such as poor families); and not to wait for an order (perintah) to undertake gotong royong. The second speech was by Pak Cik Nawi in his capacity as the chair of the village representative council (LHP). First he advised that in selecting the LPMP members the delegates must choose those who lived permanently (menetap), in the village otherwise it would be difficult. He continued his remarks by stating that every year the village conducted village
development meetings like this but the results of those meetings were never followed up. The resulting village development plans only ended up piled high (menumpuk) at the district government office. Yet since there was a formal request from the subdistrict office, the village must again hold this village development meeting. Pak Cik Nawi concluded his remarks, by repeating Bu Mas Muda’s reminders, that the delegates should only propose programs that were urgently needed.

The meeting went on, chaired by the district officer. He began by explaining the new government policies in accordance with the newly enacted national, provincial, and district laws, regulations, and decrees on village administration and development. He continued by explaining that the village should now have two councils with complementary roles. The village representative council (LHP) was responsible for formulation and ratification and enactment of village decisions and regulations. The village community development council (LPMP) functioned as the working partner (mitra kerja) of the village official administration. As Gunung Terang had already selected the members of the LHP, about a dozen from all the hamlets, the meeting would not discuss this. Gunung Terang still needed to select persons for the LPMP, which has a chairperson, a vice-chairperson, a secretary, and a treasurer. There were to be 8 sections in the LPMP: (1) religion and community harmony (kerukunan warga), (2) organization, legal institutions (kelembagaan hukum), and laws and regulations (perundang-undangan), (3) youth, sport, art, and culture, (4) improvement of human resources, natural resources, and environment, (5) economic development, (6) family and women’s empowerment, (7) media, communication, and information, (8) customs and tradition (adat isitadat).
The meeting continued with the selection of persons for the LPMP. One of the criteria for the candidates for chairperson of the LPMP was that s/he must live along the main road to make it easy to find the chairperson anytime s/he was needed or his/her signature was needed. Since the hamlets of Rigis Atas, Rigis Bawah, and Temiangan were not along the main road, they were not allowed to nominate a candidate. All the delegates were given a small piece of paper to write down the name of the possible candidates. Nurdin, a Javanese, had the highest number of votes and became the chairperson; Ka’i, a Semendose, came second and so became the vice-chairperson. Persons to fill the positions of secretary and treasury were appointed by the village head, the chair of the LHP, and the elected LPMP chair. The positions for the 8 sections were basically selected from all the hamlets. Bu Mas Muda directed the selection by nominating the person followed by a loud chorus of “agree!” (setuju! sepakat!). There were some questions about each nominee, but Bu Mas Muda always managed to convince the crowd of her selection.

The next agenda item was the discussion of the village development plans. The district officer started by explaining that at the district level there were three financial sources for village development programs and projects: central, provincial, and district government. The funds would be divided and used for programs and projects by all liding sektor (leading sectors; development implementing agencies, units, or offices) at the district level. Before proceeding to the discussion, the district officer expressed his dissatisfaction about the DPRD members from the region. He said that although the Sumber Jaya and Way Tenong region has many DPRD members none of them ‘fought’ for development in the region. Instead of backing up subdistrict officers at the district level, they just did the 4d (datang, duduk, diam, duit! came, sat, were quiet, and sought money!). As a
result, repeating Pak Cik Nawı’s remark, piles of proposals for the village development plans just sat on the desk at the district government. Yet, since the district government required the subdistrict office to submit village development plans that were actually proposed by the village community, this kind of village meeting had to be held.

The district officer continued the meeting by reading the list of 24 liding sektor to which the village proposed plans should be matched. And so the process of village development plans went on. The officer read each sector, the delegates then mentioned a plan that might suit that particular sector. Most often the district officer himself proposed the plans, which were then accepted by the crowd with a loud “agree!” He also frequently rejected plans proposed by the delegates that he thought were irrelevant. For example, when a few delegates proposed a project for running water it was simply rejected because Gunung Terang had already received such a project. When the discussion came to the sektor of irrigation, a delegate proposed an irrigation project. The officer then asked whether the village had an intact area of more than 50 ha suitable for rice fields, because the government would not fund any irrigation project if the area suitable for rice was less than 50 ha. Since none of the delegates could answer his question, the proposal for an irrigation project was simply erased from the list. The discussion became a bit lively when it came to the agriculture and the natural resource management sector. In response to the decline in the coffee prices and recent forest clearing, a program of agricultural diversification was proposed, which included vegetable farming and tree and cash crop planting. The discussion focused on what types of crops would grow well in the area and have good market demand. The listing of the village plans continued for each of the liding sektor in a similar way. In less than two hours the workshop was completed.
The meeting concluded with the subdistrict officer reminding the audience about the allocation of the annual village development fund (dana pembangunan desa). Due to so many allegations of corruption, in 2000-2001 the district government had decided to stop providing this fund. But the village heads had complained that without the money they could not run the day-to-day village administration. So the district government decided that the annual village fund would again be provided, but that it must be used only for operational costs of village administration. To use the annual village fund, as was done in the old days, as a source of credit for income generating activities and for physical construction was totally prohibited.

The village development meeting finished at about 2 o’clock. Lunch was provided for all the delegates. All went home without knowing what would happen with the village’s proposed development plans. But all knew for sure that some time the following year a very same ritual of village development planning would be organised, and they would again submit to what they had just done that day.

**Contingent Cohesion**

As a corporate group, an administrative village is characterised by clear membership and a territorial boundaries. The village consists of several hamlets, each hamlet being made up of several neighbourhoods. A neighbourhood might only consist of half a dozen families or households.

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3 The allocation of the annual village fund is (1) village operational costs (Rp 3.5 million), (2) adat institutions (Rp 250,000), and (3) PKK, children, youth, and woman (Rp 1 million). The district government takes Rp 250,000 from the total of Rp 5 million for the “socialization” (sosialisasi) of the new policy.
Official village affairs tend to be taken care of by the village and hamlet, while other community affairs (e.g., religious, emergency matters) are organised by the hamlet and neighbourhood.

At the village level, community cohesion is seen within the context of formal state ‘rituals.’ The village development plan meeting, for example, is a venue that serves to symbolise the existence of a village community. The process very much involved the pseudo-participation of a village community in national rural development planning. No one expected that the result of such village planning would seriously be considered and followed up by the higher level government decision makers. Nevertheless, the gathering itself strengthened the delegates’ feeling that they were members of an entity, discussing matters that would benefit all of its members.

The celebration of 17th August, the nation’s Independence Day, is another occasion where the villagers’ sense of community is accentuated. For Independence Day in 2002 the subdistrict office requested all the villages to maintain tidiness (kerapihan) and raise the national flag. Following this request, the national flag and colourful banners (umbul-umbul) were erected in front of houses along the main road, with bamboo fences all painted in white. The main activities were sports matches of volleyball, checkers, and domino gaple, which were held for a week. The celebration concluded with panjat pinang, where boys competed to climb the greased trunk of a palm tree for small goods hung on top of it. The games were entirely a village initiative, the money for the celebration being collected from all the households in the village. Here again the flag raising, fence painting, games, and the gathering served as venues for the villagers to meet, collaborate, and do things together. Besides strengthening the sense of community at the
village level, such 'ritual' also deepened the villagers' feeling of being part of the larger Indonesian national community.

Upkeep of the village graveyard is another venue where the villagers act as a community. About a week before the fasting month of Ramadhan, each hamlet sends about a dozen men to weed the village’s main graveyard located in the hamlet of Gunung Terang. Although not all deceased villagers are buried here, since the remote hamlets of Rigis Atas and Temiangan have smaller graveyards, men from every hamlet are involved in the village gotong royong. The village graveyard itself is not very large; to weed it could be done easily by less than a dozen men within less than a half day. Yet more than three dozens men gathered during half a day’s gotong royong work prior to the fasting month in 2002. Thus it was not the weeding itself that is important but the fact that villagers from all the hamlets in the village take part.

In the old days, the village gotong royong was the primary way to get a village project done. Through years of village gotong royong, paths were enlarged and wooden bridges were constructed so that motorbikes or four-wheel jeeps could pass by. The use of the village annual development fund to buy material for the small bridges (gorong-gorong) was almost a must. The construction of elementary schools and the village market were also done in similar ways, as villagers from all hamlets spent days or weeks working on the projects. Quite often, when additional money was needed to buy materials to get a project done, cash was collected from all the households in the village.

While successful in building mosques in all the big hamlets, the villagers plan to have a pesantren in the village is yet to be seen. Through donation
and gotong royong the biggest mosque in the village at the border of Bedeng Sari and Petai Paya was built. Attached to the mosque are a few classrooms. Following the drop in coffee prices, donations ceased to flow. The plan to have more classrooms for the school and boarding houses (pondok) to house pupils from outside the village did not eventuate. Today, after their formal school hour, children in the village go to this pesantren to study Islam.

The road networks of Bedeng Sari - Buluh Kapur – Rigis Atas and Simpang Tiga – Temiangan are examples of unsuccessful village projects. Only motorbikes can pass. The problem was not in mobilising gotong royong to enlarge the path but getting the cash to purchase materials for some small bridges that needed to be constructed for the road to be passable by car or jeep. Car transportation would ultimately reduce the transportation cost for goods such as coffee beans, fertiliser, and building materials. Coffee gardens in Buluh Kapur and Rigis Atas do not only belong to the residents of the two hamlets, many belong to villagers in the hamlets of Bedeng Sari and Gunung Terang. Despite the urgent need, there was no serious plan for road construction.

The construction of a weekly market was also an unsuccessful village project. Less than a dozen traders sell goods every Wednesday. The market failed to attract as many traders and buyers as the Thursday market at Ciptalaga and the Friday market at Sumber Alam. Even the Gunung Terang villagers themselves prefer to go to Sumber Alam for their weekly shopping.

The recent project for water supply is another example of failure. The project was a heavily government-assisted project. The government (i.e. department of public works) provided all the materials (e.g. cement, plastic pipes) and paid for the labour. The project constructed a pipe network from a spring in
Bukit Rigis to several concrete containers/tanks in the hamlets of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari. Connection from the tanks to the houses was not part of the government project; it was the villagers' responsibility. The plan did not materialise, the tanks were soon empty and there was no supply of running water to houses in either hamlet. There were meetings to get the project done, but no concrete plan was decided on. One of the problems was the difficulty between and amongst those who lived in the hamlets of Bedeng Sari and Gunung Terang in agreeing on a concrete plan. One of the villagers vividly pointed out “There were too many smart men in those two hamlets. Each insisted that his opinion was right and the others were wrong. They could come up with nothing!”

In contrast to the failure of the running water project in the hamlets of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari, the community in the hamlet of Rigis Bawah successfully carried out exactly the same project. Almost all residents have running water in their houses. Through weekly gotong royong they built water tanks and installed a piping network throughout the hamlet. To ensure every household participated in the weekly gotong royong, certain measures were agreed upon. Those who were absent from the gotong royong would either be prohibited from using the running water (channelling water from the tank to their houses) or obliged to pay in cash (an unacceptable absences from gotong royong equalled a day’s wage). The hamlet community found a clever way of obtaining cash to purchase the materials (e.g., cement, PVC pipe). A few years before one of the hamlet residents had granted (hibah, wakaf) his coffee garden to the mosque in the hamlet. The accumulated profits from this garden, which belonged to the mosque, were used to purchase the materials. The loan from the mosque was then paid back by each of those who enjoyed the running water.
Surprisingly, many residents of Rigis Bawah are also residents of both hamlets of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari where the water project failed. The problem of “too many strong leaders, too much debates” in Bedeng Sari and Gunung Terang hamlets was often cited as the cause of failure of the water project. But the fact that most houses in both hamlets of Gunung Terang and Bedeng Sari has a well was an important factor. The pressure to having the project done was high in the end of 2002, when wells were empty due to long dry months in that year and overuse for watering the chilli gardens. Villagers with empty wells have started to go to the Way Besai river for bathing and washing cloths. There were meetings to discuss how to get the water project done. But as the discussions intensified, the rain came and the wells were filled. All talk on the water project subsided. In contrast, villagers in the higher altitude of Rigis Atas and Rigis Bawah hamlets still used springs and creeks as their primary water source. They had no wells. Failing to regulate the water use created a serious crisis in these hamlets.

The community in Rigis Atas has had a different experience. They are now engaged in a community forestry contract. The head of the district granted them the right to farm in the state forest zone. They now have a kind of formal permission to use the land without worrying about being evicted or having their crops destroyed by the forestry authority. It took two years for the community to arrive at a formal contract. The processes involved a detailed inventory, mapping, and formulation of rules and plans regarding the management of the cleared land and the remaining forest patch. They were involved in intense interactions with the field staff of WATALA and ICRAF, who assisted them in the process, and local forestry officers. They are among the first of a small number of community groups in the province to engage in such a community forestry contract.
Apparently, the cohesiveness of the village community is contingent on need, urgency, resource availability and limitation, and leadership. The communal tasks carried by the villagers include development, religion and ritual, and household economy. While extra-household relations play a role in villagers’ livelihoods, most tasks in agricultural production are carried by individual households. The next chapter explores this topic.
Plate 6.1 Semendones houses in Gunung Terang

Plate 6.2 A wealthy Javanese house in Bedeng Sari

Plate 6.3 Houses in Rigis Atas
Plate 6.4 Residents of Rigis Bawah doing gotong royong

Plate 6.5 Members of a community forestry (HKm) group in Rigis Atas
CHAPTER SEVEN

The Village Economy:
Smallholders, Householders

Differentiation

Farming is the main occupation and source of livelihood of most the villagers of Gunung Terang. There are limited occupations other than farming in the village, such as teacher, shopkeeper, re-seller of farm produce, mechanic, builder, and car or motorbike taxi (ojek) driver. The proportion of villagers engaged in such off-farm work is relatively small, perhaps no more than 5 percent. For most of those engaged in these off-farm activities, moreover, farming is still important, either as a primary or a secondary source of income.

When they were asked about the economic conditions of the families in the village, villagers often used the terms strong (kuat), established (mapan), and makmur (prosperous) to refer to wealthy families; poor (miskin), have not (tidak punya), and needy (kurang) for poor villagers; and enough (cukup), not bad (lumayan), ordinary (biasa), common (kebanyakan), average (rata-rata), and on the edge (pas-pasan) for those in between. Thus, according to their wealth, the population of Gunung Terang village can be divided into a lower, medium, and upper stratum. At the base of these strata are the poor, who comprise nearly a half of the village population. The main characteristics of this group/class are their struggle to secure food to feed their families throughout the year, and the inability to afford their children’s higher education. They usually live in huts (gubuk) or humble houses. The middle
stratum of the village population consists of those who worry less about feeding their family, but more about how to support their children’s higher education, having a sturdy decent house, and possessing modern goods. The middle stratum can be further divided into what the villagers often refer to as pas-pasan (on the edge) or cukup makan (enough food), and cukup or lumayan (just enough, enough). While the former struggle to avoid becoming kekurangan (needy), the latter hope and keep looking for opportunities for further upward mobility. This stratum comprises about half of the village population. In the upper stratum, there are about two dozen families, i.e. 3.3% of a total 708 village families/households, whom the villagers refer to as mapan, kuat ([economically] established, strong). These families have successfully managed to accumulate wealth so that they have no problem feeding their families, building sturdy houses, and sending children to university. They posses luxurious household goods, vehicles, and, if they wish, go for pilgrimages to Mecca.

The ‘outer’ hamlets of Rigis Atas, Rigis Bawah, Buluh Kapur, and Temiangan have a more or less equal number of low and medium stratum households. None of the wealthiest village families live there. In these hamlets, during good years the population tends to increase because of the arrival of new labourers, and shrink during poor years as the labourers move out. Medium stratum households dominate the ‘inner’ hamlets of Gunung Terang, Talang Jaya, Bedeng Sari, Petai Paya, and Simpang Tiga. All the village upper stratum households live there.

The following discussion illustrates the household circumstances of Gunung Terang villagers in the different economic classes. The stories are taken from fieldwork research in 2002. Emphasis is given to the household’s upward as
well as downward mobility. Aliases are used for the individuals, but the places and times are real.

Lower stratum

Udin and his siblings were taken from Ciamis, West Java, to Rigis Atas by their parents in 1973. Udin was six years old then. His parents sold their small rice fields and upland field (ladang) in Ciamis, West Java. A few years earlier, Udin’s father had visited Lampung to sell clothes and mats. On their journey to move to Sumber Jaya, they were robbed in Kotabumi and lost all their cash. Unable to buy land, the family cleared the state forest land near Rigis Atas and transformed it into 2.5 hectares of coffee gardens. Over the ensuing years they bought a one hectare field, also within the state forest zone, which they then converted into a housing lot, 0.25 ha of rice field, and a coffee garden. In the 1980s the forestry office commenced the reforestation projects. Udin’s parents and hundreds of their neighbours’ gardens were planted with sonokeling trees. They continued to take care of, and to harvest, the cherries from coffee trees between the sonokeling trees. In 1993-94, when the state forest zone’s boundary was enforced, they were advised to dismantle their house and abandon their coffee gardens and rice field. After that Udin, like his parents and siblings, started to work as sharecroppers in Gunung Terang and in the neighbouring village of Cipta Waras. He is now sharecropping three hectares of coffee gardens and caring for a dozen goats. Udin, with the help of his brother, has also cleared a fallowed field belonging to the village school teacher and converted it into a rice field. He has been granted the right to use the rice field, of about 0.5 hectare, for two years. He, his wife, and his six children live in a hut in Bedengsari, belonging to the owner of the coffee gardens that he sharecrops. Although they do not need to go into debt to secure their food supply, the family has few possessions and cannot afford to send their children for education higher than
elementary school. In working the gardens and rice field, Udin and his wife regularly involve their younger siblings and, consequently, they have to share the proceeds with them. Udin and his wife regularly work as wage labourers (*upahan*). They have a long term plan to save their income to move back to West Java. A few years before, Udin pawned a 0.25 hectare of rice field in his wife's village of origin in Bogor, West Java. The field is now managed by his wife's parents. He wishes in the near future to be able to save enough money to take over this rice field and move back to Java.

Karya, in his mid 30s, migrated to Rigis Atas with his parents and siblings in 1982. Following a big eruption of Mount Galunggung that year, they vacated their house and left all their possessions in their home village in Ciamis, West Java. Bringing nothing other than their clothes and kitchen utensils, wage labour was their primary income source upon their arrival in Rigis Atas. There they cleared the forest, planted coffee, and built a decent house. The gardens and house were within the state forest zone, but in 1993-94, after the eviction of forest encroachers (*perambah hutan*) they abandoned their gardens and house. The family first moved to Banding, near lake Ranau, for a couple of years. Later, they moved again to Simpang Luas, near Liwa. Their efforts to establish a new life in these new places were not as successful as they had been in Rigis Atas. Despite its very low production, his parents decided to continue maintaining a coffee garden in Simpang Luas. Luckily, the family had managed to buy a housing lot near the hamlet of Gunung Terang. Karya, his wife, and two little daughters live in a humble stilted house in this lot. His main sources of income are from a motorbike taxi (*ojek*) and from buying produce from Rigis Atas, such as bananas and chilli, sometimes also fruit like as jackfruit and avocado, which he then takes by motorbike to sell to middlemen in Fajar Bulan. He also cultivates a few hundreds *capsicum* chilli in his small house garden.
Kamino, in his mid 30s, is considered by his neighbours to be one of the poorest in the hamlet of Rigis Atas. His grandparents took care of him and his siblings in Ponorogo, East Java when, in 1973, his parents joined a transmigration program to Rumbia, Central Lampung. Kamino arrived in Lampung in 1989 when his parents had already moved to Mesuji, another transmigration site in northern Lampung lowland. In 1990 he came to Rigis Atas, cleared the bush and planted coffee while working as a wage labourer. He sold his 3.5 hectares of coffee gardens and used the money to marry a woman from his parents’ village in Mesuji, and bought a small plot of land. In 1993, failing to make a decent life in Mesuji, he took his wife back to Rigis Atas and worked a hectare of coffee garden as a contract labourer (bujang), paid annually with a fixed amount of the harvest. The family has three small children. His eldest son is just starting to go to elementary school. Kamino and his family live in a simple hut (gubuk) belonging to the owner of the coffee garden that he sharecrops. He also sharecrops another 1.5 hectares of young, non-bearing coffee garden belonging to other neighbour. Kamino has recently planted green beans on 1 rante (400 sq. metres) of unused land that he borrows (numpang) from another neighbour. In 1999 he used all his family savings to make a down payment for a plot of coffee garden, but due to the drop of the coffee price, he was unable to complete the payments during the following years. As a result, the owner of garden took the garden back without returning his down payment. Kamino and his wife obtain food for their family primarily from wage labour (upahan). Their income is so low that they cannot even afford to buy ‘poor rice’ (beras miskin), government-subsidized rice for the poor, the price of which is half the market price but has to be paid for in cash. Kamino is well known among the neighbourhood as a strong and diligent man. But, according to some of his neighbours, he does not manage his income well. To make matters worse,
unlike others, he does not let his wife manage their income. This is part of the reason for Kamino’s failure to attain a better life.

Hambali is a head of another poor family in Rigis Atas. In his 50s, with four teenage children, he and his wife are struggling to pay debts they incurred to buy rice. He migrated to Lampung from Salatiga, Central Java, in 1979. He first lived in SimpangSender, near lake Ranau, working as a wage labourer in a coffee garden. In the mid-1980s he and his family moved to Rigis Atas. They bought a fallow field and planted it with coffee while continuing to work as wage labourers. In 1993 they sold this plot and bought another 3 hectares of coffee garden, but soon they had to sell the garden to pay their accumulated debts. Since then they have been living by sharecropping (maro) a coffee garden and working as wage labourers (upahan). Most often the share and wages that they receive is much less than the debts that they have to pay. In 2001, they again bought nearly a hectare of imperata field where they built a hut to live in, and planted the field with coffee. Hambali’s son has dropped out of junior high school, and none of his three daughters attended school higher than elementary school. His elder daughter, 16 years old, has just started to work as a domestic helper in Jakarta. Hambali and his wife expect their other children to follow suit.

Like Hambali, Ahmadi, a Semendonese in his mid 40s, is struggling to feed his family. He is no longer able to support his two sons to continue studying at the junior high school, forcing them to drop out. Thus, only his youngest daughter now studies at elementary school. His wife is actually a tunggu tubang. She inherited her parents’ house, a 0.6 ha coffee garden, and a 0.5 ha rice field, all of which are located in his wife’s village of Srimenanti. His wife’s parents are both sick and in constant need of his wife’s care and cash for medication. The rice field is rented out for his wife’s parents’ food and
medical treatments. Ahmadi and his two sons live in a hut in Rigis Atas and take care of a sharecropped young coffee garden. They regularly return home to their house at Srimenanti. The land that they planted with coffee in Rigis Atas is his eldest sister’s *tunggu tubang* property, inherited from their parents. The land, of about a hectare, was originally a productive terraced rice field, which was abandoned when, in the 1980s, the reforestation project planted *sonokeling* trees on it. The land was soon transformed into bush. In 2001, Ahmadi’s family cleared the bush and planted it with coffee. With any further drop in the coffee price, according to Ahmadi, his family investment on the young coffee garden would be a waste. Ahmadi is thus uncertain about the future of his family.

Bi Ati, in her 50s, her husband, and her four children migrated to Lampung from one of West Java’s lowland rice bowls, Karawang, in 1982. They first lived in Dwikora, a village on the eastern tip of Sumber Jaya subdistrict, working as wage labourers clearing the forest, planting coffee, and weeding gardens. In 1994-95, after the military operations to evict farmers from the state forest in Dwikora, the family first moved to Krui and then elsewhere in Sumber Jaya before finally arriving in Rigis Atas. Here they sharecrop nearly 0.75 hectares of rice field and 2.5 hectares of an old, unproductive coffee garden belonging to a Semendonese who lives in Fajar Bulan. Bi Ati and her family live in a stilted house in the middle of the rice field. The share they receive from the rice field was never enough to feed the whole family. The low productivity of the rice field, according to Bi Ati, is largely due to a combination of low quality seeds, lack of chemical fertiliser, rat infestation, and poor upkeep. Rather than pouring all available labour into the rice field, the family frequently engages in wage labour to pay the debts they incur to buy rice. Warsi, Bi Ati’s elder daughter, has been working in Saudi Arabia since 2001, leaving her only daughter with Bi Ati. Warsi’s husband lives in
Karawang. Asih, Bi Ati’s second daughter and Asih’s small son live with Bi Ati; her husband has just left her, and no one knows his whereabouts. Discussing her situation, Bi Ati once said “I want my family to move back to Karawang. Being poor but close to relatives (saudara) would be better. Being poor without anyone to turn to for help, like we are now here, is very difficult.” As soon as they have enough money to buy the bus tickets, Bi Ati insists, they will definitely return to Karawang, West Java, leaving the region for good. But, even saving some money for the bus tickets is difficult for the family.

Bi Ati’s only son, Satria, in his 30s, is just expecting his second child. He and his family have recently moved to a small hut belonging to the owner of 1.5 hectares of coffee garden that Satria sharecrops. To buy rice for his family, he continues working as a wage labourer. He also inter-plants small capsicum chilli in the coffee garden. He endorses his parents’ decision to move back to Karawang as soon as possible. He himself would wait for another two or three years. If things get worse, he would take his family, following his parents’ steps, to return to Java for good.

Ujang and his wife arrived in Gunung Terang in 1980. He was born in Gunung Terang hamlet, but since he was a boy had lived in Talang Padang, a Semendonese region in the neighbouring district of Tanggamus. He studied and married in Talang Padang. His wife was not a tunggu tubang, so she inherited none of her parents’ property. In Gunung Terang, at night, Ujang taught Qur’an reading for young children. Initially, he received 15 kg of rice and 15 kg of dry coffee beans as an annual tuition fee from each of his pupils. But, after 2000, none of his pupils’ parents could afford to pay the tuition fee. He lived in a simple stilted house belonging to his close kin. From 1995 to 1999 he was able to rent 1.5 hectares of coffee garden in Gunung
Terang. Now he sharecrops the garden. Ujang puts a high priority on his children’s education. His eldest daughter is a high school graduate, teaching in an elementary school on a casual basis. His son and other daughter go to junior high school. With a very small income, his family can support their children’s education by maintaining a very simple life.

In addition to young families/households struggling for upward mobility, the lower stratum of the village is also occupied by an older generation. These are old couples, widows and widowers, many of whom are sick. Their children live elsewhere, or live nearby, but do not economically ‘have enough’. While the possibility for upward social mobility in the future is believed to be likely for the young generation, for the old generation such upward mobility would be difficult—if not impossible.

**Middle stratum**

Triman, in his early 50s, departed from Salatiga, Central Java, in 1978. First he lived as a wage labourer in the neighbouring region of Bukit Kemuning. In the following year, he used the savings that he had accumulated to buy a 0.75 ha coffee garden in Gunung Terang. He married a Javanese woman from Bedeng Sari, bought a housing lot, and built a simple wooden house in Bedeng Sari. He has eight children, none of whom has received education higher than elementary school. Half of his children are already teenagers and help him in daily farming activities. Beside the coffee garden, he owns a 0.25 ha rice field and half a dozen goats. The family has recently cleared a fallow field belonging to a Semendonese and transformed it into a rice field. For this effort, the family have been granted the right to farm the 0.25 ha rice field for two years. As far as food security is concerned, Triman’s family is in a better
situation than those in the lower stratum, but for other needs, the family has to struggle hard.

In his late 30s, Ali, a Semendonese who lives in the hamlet of Gunung Terang, has a better life than Triman. He was born in the village and married his neighbour, a Semendo woman. The family has two daughters, one in elementary school and the other in junior high school. As a tunggu tubang, his wife inherited all of her parents’ property: a house, a 0.5 ha rice field, and 2.5 ha coffee and pepper garden. Her parents are still able to feed themselves by farming 0.8 ha coffee garden, and live in a separate house (turun) located in the garden. The tunggu tubang rice field has been borrowed by one of Ali’s wife’s younger brothers, the harvest of which is shared amongst Ali’s wife, Ali’s wife’s brother—who farms the field, and Ali’s wife’s parents. Ali regularly hires labourers to weed and harvest the coffee and pepper garden. He and his wife do the other farming work themselves.

Syafri, in his early 50s, was born in Gunung Terang. In 1979, he married a widow with one daughter. From the marriage, the family had two more daughters and a son. His wife is a tunggu tubang in Muara Enim, South Sumatra, and is entitled to the harvests of her parents’ rice field and coffee garden. In 1980, Syafri bought 2 hectares of coffee and pepper garden. In 1988 he bought a 1 hectare rice field and a 1.5 ha coffee garden. He also bought a housing lot in Gunung Terang hamlet and built a sturdy wooden house. The house has quite luxurious possessions such as a big television, satellite dish, stereo set, and nice furniture. The family manages their gardens and rice field on their own, labourers are hired for weeding the gardens and hoeing and transplanting in the rice field. The family will have two tunggu tubang daughters; Syafri’s wife’s daughter from her first marriage will be entitled to all Syafri wife’s parents’ tunggu tubang properties.
in Muara Enim, while Syafri’s own eldest daughter will inherit all the family properties in Gunung Terang. The former now lives, with her husband and a baby, in a hut in the rice field. The latter has just graduated from high school, and is preparing to study at a university in the capital of the province. Syafri’s younger children are studying at junior high school.

Like Ali and Syafri, Effendi, in his mid 30s, also married a Semendo woman. The couple has two sons who are studying at elementary school. The family lives in a small but sturdy stilted wooden house in Rigis Atas, close to their garden. Unlike Ali and Syafri’s wives, his wife is not a tunggu tubang. They acquired all the properties they now have with their own efforts. Effendi and his wife were born and raised in Fajar Bulan. In 1990, soon after their marriage, they cleared 3 hectares of state forest in the neighbouring region of Simpang Luas. A hectare of the cleared field was planted with coffee, and the rest was transformed into an upland rice field (ladang padi). The couple also engaged in wage labour. In 1993, while maintaining their coffee garden in Simpang Luas, they sharecropped one hectare of coffee garden in the neighbouring village of Srimenanti. They rented a house and lived in Srimnenani, where Effendi’s wife opened a small stall (warung). In 1996, using the money from selling their garden in Simpang Luas and the savings they had accumulated, they bought 2 hectares of coffee garden and a one hectare imperata field in Rigis Atas. Later the imperata field was planted with coffee. Effendi sharecrops half of his coffee garden and, with his wife, manages the other half. He hires labourers for weeding and harvesting the coffee garden. He has recently planted capsicum chilli in his coffee garden together with fruit and timber trees. Effendi owns and operates a movable engine-powered coffee mill, and is very busy milling his neighbours’ coffee beans during the coffee harvest seasons.
Sutisna, in his early 50s, came to Rigis Atas from Ciamis, West Java, in 1979. With three other men, he worked as a contract labourer (bujang) maintaining Sucipta’s coffee gardens in Rigis Atas. Sucipta was a trader selling clothes from Tasikmalaya, West Java to various places in Lampung and South Sumatra. He had bought 6 hectares of coffee gardens in Rigis Atas, all managed by contract labourers he brought from Java. After his gardens’ peak harvest (agung), he sold the gardens and opened a clothing shop in Tasikmalaya. In the following years, Sutisno took over 2 hectares of Sucipta’s coffee gardens, and paid for them in three payments, once each harvest season. In the early 1980s, following the drop in the coffee prices, Sutisna went to Palembang. For a year he worked as a labourer in a chilli garden and a brick factory. He returned to Rigis Atas and married a Javanese woman from the neighbouring village of Gedung Surian. He sold 1 hectare of his coffee garden, and built a simple house. While maintaining his one hectare of coffee garden with his wife, he worked as a wage labourer, and ran an engine-powered portable coffee mill. His wife opened a small stall (warung) selling small items such as rice, cooking oil, sugar, salt, micin (msg.), instant noodles, soaps, cigarettes, snacks and lollies. In the mid-1990s, he sold his garden and house, and sent his wife and four children to live with his mother in Ciamis, West Java. He bought a half hectare coffee garden nearby, and built a hut to live in. He later bought another two plots, totalling one hectare, of coffee gardens in the nearby state forest which had been abandoned by the owners, after they were evicted by the military and forestry officers. In 2001, Sutisna planted his gardens under the coffee and sonokeling trees, with capsicum chilli. He was the first person in Rigis Atas to plant chilli for commercial purposes. Sutisna’s neighbours frequently consult him on how to plant chilli in their coffee gardens. To manage his coffee and chilli gardens, apart from his younger brother, who lives with
him, Sutisna regularly hires his fellow neighbours as wage labourers. From his chilli plants he is able send cash to his family in Java on a regular basis.

**Upper stratum**

Fahrozi, a Semendonese in his mid-40s, was born in Gunung Terang. He married a tunggu tubang woman who inherited a big wooden stilted house, 4 hectares of coffee and pepper gardens, and 2.5 hectares of rice fields. The family manages 1 hectare of the garden, and sharecrops the rest of the garden and the rice field. His wife’s parents have moved out (turun) from the house to live on, and manage, coffee and pepper gardens elsewhere. Until 1999, Fahrozi was active in the coffee (and pepper) reselling business. He was one of half a dozen coffee middlemen in the village. In 1999, he bought 10 hectares of bush land in the neighbouring region of Sukau. Due to the drop in the coffee price, he has not enough capital to carry out his plan to plant his fields with coffee and pepper. But he could still afford to build a big sturdy wooden stilted house, which will be his and his wife’s home, when, in the future, they have to pass down all the tunggu tubang properties they now possess to his eldest daughter. Fahrozi has three children. Fahrozi’s eldest daughter has just graduated from high school and is preparing to study further in the province’s capital, Bandar Lampung. He expects that his sons, the first studying at elementary school and the second still under school age, will also go to university. Otherwise, they will inherit the bush that he has just bought and become farmers.

Sunaryo, a Javanese in his 60s, came to Gunung Terang in 1983. Prior to that, he and his family, from Purwodadi, Central Java had joined a transmigration program to Rumbia, in lowland central Lampung, in 1974. The failure of the construction of irrigation in Rumbia forced the family to leave the
transmigration site. In Gunung Terang, Sunaryo began his business of cutting and selling timber from the state forest in Rigis Atas, where the family first lived. Backed by the local police and military officers, without whose support he would have been jailed, he ran the business for over a decade. Sunaryo used the proceeds from the timber business to buy land. He bought 4 of hectares of old coffee garden in 1983, 2 hectares in 1987, 1 hectare in 1992, and 2.5 hectares in 1997. Also in 1997 he bought 1.5 hectares of rice field, which he soon converted to a coffee garden. Thus, in total, he had 11 hectares of coffee gardens. In the same year he bought a 0.25 ha housing lot (kapling) in Bedeng Sari, built a large brick house, and moved there. Sunaryo has seven children. Three of them, a daughter and two sons, are married. Sunaryo gave each of these three children 1.5 hectares of coffee garden and a house. His other four sons, all in their 20s and graduated either from junior or senior high school, collectively manage the remaining 6.5 hectares. Each of them will inherit the same area of land when they marry later. According to Sunaryo and his wife, they will bequeath the house and housing lot to their youngest son or the last one to marry, who will, in return take care of them. The family has recently begun to cultivate red chilli in their housing lot and small chilli in the coffee gardens.

Unlike Fahrozi and Sunaryo, Haji Sabar and Rahman have much less land, but much more wealth. Sabar has only 3 hectares of coffee garden but is an active coffee middleman and, more importantly, a moneylender. His family lives in the capital of the province, Bandar Lampung. Once or twice a week he drives his sedan to Bandar Lampung. His house in Gunung Terang functions more as a store for sacks of dried coffee beans, which he buys and re-sells, and an office for his money lending business. Rahman owns the largest shop (warung) selling household items in the village. He owns no coffee garden. Following Haji Sabar’s footsteps, Rahman also engages in
money lending in the village. Over a decade before, after some years of work as a kenek (car driver assistant), he and his wife rented a small house and opened a small shop (warung). He started his money lending business as a broker, later he set up his own service. He was the most active moneylender in the village in 2001-2002.

Two village officials, Bu Mas Muda, the village head, and Udin, the chair of LPMP are among the established (mapan) families in the village. According to some of the villagers, it is not because of their official position that they became wealthy. On the contrary, it is because both were established families that the villagers chose them as village officials. Both families own more than three hectares of highly productive coffee gardens, and have recently started commercial vegetable farming.

As far as wealth is concerned, the wealthy families in Gunung Terang are much less wealthy than a couple of dozen rich merchants (big coffee resellers and owners of big retail shops) in the two towns of Fajar Bulan and Sumber Jaya and in other villages. For these rich merchants, as in the cases of Sabar and Rahman in Gunung Terang, the amount of land owned is not the determining factor for wealth accumulation. Obviously, access to capital and trade networks matter more.

**Household Farming**

Like all villages in the region, coffee gardens dominate land usage in Gunung Terang village. Until the early 1980s, according to elders in the village, leaving old coffee gardens fallow, and clearing forest or old fallow for new gardens was a common practice. Thanks to the introduction of