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KEY ISSUES IN THE EXPANSION OF UNASSISTED
TRANSMIGRATION IN INDONESIA

Joan Hardjono

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November, 1984

KEY ISSUES IN THE EXPANSION OF UNASSISTED
TRANSMIGRATION IN INDONESIA

Joan Hardjono

1. THE AIM OF THE STUDY

1.1 The Background

The maldistribution of population within the Indonesian archipelago is such that for several decades the government has actively endeavoured to promote migration from overcrowded regions in Java¹ to less densely populated areas in the other islands. As long ago as 1905 government intervention in the mechanism of migration was introduced when the Dutch colonial government commenced a resettlement program to relieve population pressure in certain parts of the island of Java.

When the present transmigration program was commenced in the years following independence, the aim was to move as many people as possible from Java every year. With the focus on the mobilization of numbers rather than on the economic growth of the new villages, the resettlement aspect of migration was largely neglected. In the early 1970s, however, in response to the unfavourable connotations that transmigration had acquired during the pre-1965 period, new policies that stressed the welfare approach were formulated. Their implementation led to the establishment of fully supported settlements like Batumarta (TRANS I and III), where adequate inputs in the initial stages enabled transmigrants to achieve good income levels within a few years. At the same time the scale of these

¹ The word 'Java' is used throughout to include Bali and Lombok, which are officially classed as areas of origin for transmigration.

settlements was sufficient to guarantee a more positive contribution to regional development than the small, inadequately planned projects of earlier years had made.

This reorientation in policies involved more than the immediate goals of settler welfare and local development. The government undertook the large investment required for these settlements on the assumption that the program designed to move fully sponsored transmigrants from Java would in time be replaced by a sizeable flow of unassisted settlers. Fully supported settlements would form centres of economic activity capable of attracting large numbers of unassisted transmigrants and thus the investment required for the establishment of the settlements would be more than justified by total numbers of people leaving Java.

This expectation is expressed in Clause 2 of the 1972 Basic Transmigration Act, which states that

general policies in transmigration are directed towards the establishment of unassisted transmigration in a regulated manner and on a large scale.

The Clarification that accompanies the Act (Addition to the 1972 State Gazette No. 2988) expands this statement in the declaration that the aim in policy-making is

a gradual reduction of the burden on the Government budget until finance for transmigration can be provided by the community itself; thus the Government will give only directives, encouragement and guidance in such things as the provision of tracts of land for transmigrants and a small amount of assistance.

Despite the hope that fully financed transmigration would form only a temporary system or a preliminary effort on the part of the government, unassisted transmigration has not yet accelerated to the desired level. Although Census figures indicate that greater numbers of people are moving to areas outside Java every year, these numbers are still insufficient

if seen in the context of constantly increasing population pressure in Java. At the same time the cost of resettling fully supported transmigrants continues to rise.

The need for a cheaper approach to transmigration began to be recognized in 1978 when the target for resettlement during the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1984) was placed at 500 000 families. While the capacity of the transmigration agency to reach the even larger target of 750 000 families set for the current Plan (1984-1989) is questionable, the urgency of moving greater numbers of people from Java each year cannot be denied. The spatial requirements of a number of new development projects in Java, the effects of a series of natural disasters in recent years, the need to safeguard catchment areas where successful land rehabilitation has already been carried out and the ever-growing consequences of erosion have lead provincial governments in Java to demand more of the transmigration program in terms of the number of persons moved from these regions.

With this swing back towards demographic objectives, the transmigration agency is now examining the feasibility of new approaches that will place more of the financial burden of resettlement upon the individual transmigrant. While this interest stems primarily from the need to reduce the per-family costs of assisted transmigration, it is based upon a somewhat belated recognition of the fact that unassisted transmigrants who have settled within or outside fully supported transmigration projects tend to progress more rapidly than assisted settlers.

The question that remains unanswered is how to devise policies that will allow the initiative and resourcefulness of unassisted transmigrants to be utilized in the interests of encouraging greater numbers of people to migrate from Java every year.

1.2 The Purpose of the Study

It is the aim of the present study

- to examine the characteristics of unassisted transmigration in Indonesia
- to assess past government attempts to resettle transmigrants with only limited support
- to review current government policy on unassisted and partly assisted transmigration, and
- to consider possible models involving varying degrees of government intervention to stimulate greater unassisted transmigration.

Throughout the paper the term umum or 'general' is used in the government sense to describe fully supported transmigrants. The term swakarsa (literally, 'at one's own initiative') is used to refer to transmigrants who move without government help or subsidies; it is translated as 'unassisted' or 'unsupported'. Further qualifications concerning the use of the word will be made in the text. The word 'spontaneous' is avoided because current legislation favours swakarsa rather than spontan and because the word spontan has always been ill-defined.

2. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF UNASSISTED TRANSMIGRATION

Although those who have carried out research in transmigration areas have long noted the fact that those people who migrate from Java with no assistance of any kind from the transmigration agency tend to achieve greater success than the average supported transmigrant if success is measured in terms of income levels, it has taken many years for transmigration planners to recognize this fact. While the present study seeks to identify the major characteristics of swakarsa transmigrants in the belief that an examination of these characteristics will be of value in attempts to promote greater unassisted transmigration, it must at the same time be recognized that the process of natural selection operates in that those who remain in the settlement area are the successful ones. There is no way of knowing how many 'unsuccessful' transmigrants of this kind return to their places of origin in Java. Unlike the umum transmigrant, whose departure from a project area is immediately apparent, the swakarsa settler comes and goes as he pleases, often indistinguishable from the seasonal labourer who spends part of each year in some other province where work is available. Nevertheless, the findings of the Population Censuses taken in 1971 and 1980 reveal the presence of far larger numbers of people of Javanese and Balinese origin in the various other islands than the umum transmigration program can account for. It is toward these settlers - the successful swakarsa transmigrants - that the present study is directed.

Although the following description is based for the most part on secondary sources that consist of various non-government reports and studies written since 1950, personal observations by the present writer in a number of areas contribute a further dimension to the analysis.

2.1 Motivation and origins

Unassisted transmigration from Java is essentially a response to the possibilities offered elsewhere for a better livelihood. These possibilities may take the form of free land but they are by no means limited to the agricultural sector. In all cases it is the opportunity to obtain employment that attracts migrants, whether that employment take the form of wage labour, trade or some similar kind of activity. Thus the man who sets up a small repair shop for radios or the man who establishes a business that processes soya beans is responding to an economic opportunity in the same way that a farmer responds to the availability of land.

In explaining the movement of some 35 000 to 40 000 people to the Way Sekampung area of Central Lampung between 1950 and 1956, Kampto Utomo (1957) traces the source of motivation to the fact that the old colonization areas established by the Dutch government near Gedongtataan and Pringsewu in South Lampung in the early part of the century were overcrowded. The initial movement of people from this area, accounting as it does for approximately one-third of the new settlers in Way Sekampung, was soon strengthened by larger numbers of people direct from Java who had heard of the availability of forested land in Central Lampung. The specific motivation for both groups lay in the opportunity to obtain free land.

Davis (1976) has similarly traced the movement of Balinese settlers to Parigi in Central Sulawesi in the years since independence to a desire to obtain agricultural land. While it is true that the first settlers were primarily motivated by the need to re-establish themselves culturally after their conversion to Christianity, it was the hope of obtaining land that later encouraged thousands of Balinese of Hindu background to move to the same area.

It is sometimes assumed that as economic conditions deteriorate in a given area, the degree of migration will increase. While this may explain increases in rural-urban movements within Java, there is no indication that unassisted transmigration to other islands expands. Davis (1979,3) notes the worsening of conditions in Bali, particularly after 1965, as one of many factors leading to a rapid acceleration of migration to Parigi in the late 1960s but Soebiantoro (1971,17) stresses that 'it cannot be taken for granted that there is an automatic correlation between poverty and the desire to migrate'. In the case of the swakarsa transmigrant, it is the belief that he can better his position rather than overwhelming poverty which encourages him to leave Java.

Observations of the fact that swakarsa transmigrants progress past subsistence levels in a relatively short time have led to the assumption that they arrive in the settlement area with larger reserves of money and skills than do umum transmigrants. Research findings on this point vary somewhat. Fachurrozie and MacAndrews (1978,102) note that unassisted settlers in Belitang have a somewhat better education than umum settlers in that a higher percentage are literate. They attribute the greater economic success of the former group, however, to the fact that they are more highly motivated. Guinness (1977,99) finds no difference in background between unassisted and assisted transmigrants in South Kalimantan. In education, family size, agricultural background and family assets the two groups are similar; it is in the quality of resourcefulness that they differ.

Almost invariably swakarsa transmigrants do bring a certain amount of money with them to meet the necessities of life in the first stage of resettlement but this does not imply that they come from a better economic background than do umum transmigrants. Persons who move under the umum program tend to sell everything that they have in their home

village, use the money for consumptive purposes before departure, and then entrust their future entirely to the transmigration agency. The unassisted transmigrant, with no government support to depend upon, takes with him whatever capital he can accumulate from savings or from the sale of possessions.

In view of the fact that both groups of transmigrants, assisted and unassisted, appear to come from very similar backgrounds, the question of why one prospective settler opts for the government program whereas another moves without assistance is significant. In deciding to migrate without help, the swakarsa transmigrant is influenced by the fact that he knows where he wants to settle. Registration to move under the umum program involves an agreement to go wherever one is sent. Added to this, and equally important, is the fact that registration for umum transmigration has always meant long delays before departure, a fact that partly explains why umum transmigrants use up such savings as they may have before they leave Java.

2.2 Choice of a settlement area

The swakarsa transmigrant knows where he wants to settle for the very reason that his interest in migrating is aroused by information from relatives or friends who have been successful in creating a new life in some other part of the country. Thus almost all swakarsa transmigrants move to an area where they have contacts. This person-to-person connection is perhaps the most significant element in the system of unassisted migration since these relatives and friends provide not only information but also accommodation and sometimes employment for newcomers upon arrival, until the latter can acquire land of their own or find other suitable work. In essence swakarsa transmigrants do not

differ from those who move to the urban areas of Java in response to news from relatives and neighbours who have been able to make an adequate living in some kind of non-rural occupation.

Although potential swakarsa transmigrants obtain information about settlement opportunities in a number of ways, the most common and certainly the most effective source is direct conversation with successful settlers who have returned on a visit to their village of origin. While this tendency of transmigrants, both assisted and unassisted, to visit their home village after they achieve a certain degree of prosperity has been criticized as wasteful of money that could be used for farm development (Universitas Sriwijaya 1976,6), it is undoubtedly the major element in the dissemination of information likely to encourage others to migrate. Many of those who make such visits take relatives and friends with them when they return to their new home.

Ease of communications, in particular of transportation, is a further factor that encourages transmigrants to move without government assistance. Proximity to Java and the existence of a ferry service explain the rapid expansion in the population of Lampung since 1950. With the completion of the Trans-Sumatran Highway bus services throughout Sumatra have increased greatly, a factor that will continue to make Sumatra considerably more attractive to unassisted transmigrants than the other islands. Even so, large numbers of Javanese move to the coastal areas of southern Kalimantan each year, making use of the small sailing ships that transport timber and copra to Java at frequent intervals (Collier 1980,51). Davis (1976) notes that Balinese migrants had no difficulty in making their way to Parigi even during the 1960s, when inter-island shipping was more limited than it is today.

Like their rural-urban migrant counterparts, swakarsa transmigrants depend upon relatives and friends for help in getting started in the settlement area. Davis (1979,1) sums up the role of contacts in the statement that unassisted transmigration 'occurs along pre-existing chains of economic and social support'. The newcomer needs accommodation as soon as he arrives and employment of some kind very soon after arrival. Employment usually means wage labour in agriculture or some related field for very few new settlers are in a position to obtain land upon arrival. Kampto Utomo (1963,88) points out that even in the situation that prevailed in Central Lampung in the early 1950s, when land was easily obtainable, newcomers worked as labourers on the dry fields of earlier settlers until they could lay claim to a piece of land and bring it under cultivation. In Belitang, where several large umum settlements were established during the 1950s, assisted transmigrants invited unsponsored relatives from Java to help them lay out irrigated rice-fields (IRRS 1978,57). Labour shortages, particularly after the construction of an irrigation system and the introduction of high-yielding varieties of rice into Parigi in the mid 1960s, enabled unassisted newcomers to find work as soon as they arrived (Davis 1979,4). Expansion in the timber industry in South Kalimantan has opened up extensive employment opportunities in saw-mills and logging companies while in the coastal areas of Central Kalimantan wage labour can be readily obtained at any time in the rice-fields and coconut gardens of local smallholders or in land-clearing for further expansion of the cultivated area (Collier 1980, 43 and 49). For the majority this is the first step towards acquisition of land for agricultural undertakings of their own. Some, however, remain permanently in the wage-labour category while others move into non-agricultural occupations like trade and brick-making when the opportunity presents itself.

It should be noted in passing that access to wage labour is frequently a significant element in the efforts of the umum transmigrant to become economically self-sufficient in his new home. Suratman and Guinness (1977,93) report that 62 per cent of 1 049 transmigrants interviewed in South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi had undertaken wage employment in the first months of settlement in order to support their families. While it has always been the policy of the transmigration agency to prevent off-farm work among fully supported transmigrants in the interests of bringing allocated holdings under cultivation, engagement in wage labour has always been more common among umum transmigrants than is generally recognized.

good

2.3 The acquisition of land

The way in which the swakarsa transmigrant can acquire access to land in the area where he chooses to settle is perhaps the most important single issue to be resolved, if a serious attempt is to be made to increase unassisted transmigration. Experiences since 1950 reveal that the method of obtaining land has varied from place to place and from time to time, depending upon the nature of factors specific to the region concerned.

The areas where swakarsa transmigrants have settled can be placed in one of the following categories:

- a transmigration project still under guidance
- a transmigration project already transferred
- an area in the vicinity of a transmigration project
- an area in no way connected with assisted transmigration.

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The way in which swakarsa settlers in Belitang obtained agricultural land during the 1950s illustrates the first pattern. Although the project was established in 1937 by the Dutch government, expansion began only in the 1950s, when the Indonesian transmigration agency extended the

irrigation network and settled large numbers of umum transmigrants. Lack of guidance, poor selection of settlers and the allocation of heavily forested land resulted in large numbers abandoning their holdings and returning to Java, yet at the same time swakarsa settlers began arriving. These newcomers could obtain rights to abandoned umum holdings if they paid the debts which remained to the local transmigration authorities (IRRS 1978,24). Many in fact bought a section of the 1.75 ha holding that was allocated to assisted settlers during that period. The purchase of land from umum transmigrants was not an uncommon practice during the 1950s and 1960s, as has been noted in the Way Seputih area of Lampung (Hardjono 1977,51) and in the Purwosari tidal project in South Kalimantan (Collier 1980, 41). Today, however, swakarsa transmigrants have very little chance of buying land in settlements since there is strict control over such transactions. Abandoned holdings are normally allocated to other umum families.

Developments in Batumarta settlement illustrate the way in which swakarsa transmigrants have been able to settle and take up farming within project areas. Unit I of the settlement was established in November 1976 with 406 fully supported families. By April 1978 there were 117 swakarsa families in the unit (Davis 1979,20). In October 1984 the whole settlement (TRANS I and III) had 6 100 families of umum transmigrants and an estimated 900 families of unassisted settlers. Most of these 900 families are located in Units I and II which, because of their proximity to the main road, offer wider economic opportunities than the newer units. According to project officials approximately 90 per cent of the unassisted settlers are farmers. Some have settled on the small sections of land left between units when the original lay-out of the two-hectare holdings was prepared, after obtaining permission from project authorities to

cultivate this land. In other cases umum settlers have unofficially subdivided their uncultivated land with newly arrived relatives while in some instances newcomers are renting land from umum transmigrants who have not yet been able to bring their full allocation of two hectares under cultivation. On the average the swakarsa transmigrants are cultivating 0.25 ha per family. They have progressed well, despite the lack of help and the small area available to them. This approach to the accommodation of unassisted settlers, however, was hardly the one envisaged when plans for Batumarta were drawn up some years ago.

In cases where a transmigration project has already been transferred to the local government the acquisition of land by swakarsa settlers has been less difficult in that the sale of holdings or sections of holdings has followed the pattern that exists in Java. Usually transmigrants who have reached a certain level of prosperity are reluctant to sell land since this is their most important asset. Research in two colonization villages and two transmigration villages in Belitang, however, has shown a tendency on the part of umum transmigrants to continue to sell small pieces of land; it is this, rather than fragmentation through inheritance, that explains the small size of average holdings today (Hardjono 1978,45). A similar tendency has been noted in the older transmigration settlements of Lampung, where settlers have sold part of their land to newcomers to meet the cost of weddings, funerals, medical treatment and the like.

Many swakarsa transmigrants, attracted to a certain area by the existence of a transmigration project but unable to obtain land within the project area, have obtained land through direct transactions either with local authorities or with individuals. Guinness (1977,106) describes the way in which unassisted transmigrants, attracted to Binuang in South Kalimantan in the first instance by an Army Veterans Transmigration Project, purchased land from local villagers.

Local farmers are essentially shifting cultivators who, in a region where land is still abundant, clear land, cultivate it for a few years and then abandon it. The newcomers from Java have been able to buy abandoned gardens with the money earned as agricultural labourers in the Army transmigration settlement. In Belitang swakarsa settlers who could not obtain land in unum settlements have obtained the right to clear and cultivate land located in the vicinity of the settlements by paying a fee known as the uang pancong to local marga¹ authorities (IRRS 1978,24).

The same approach has been adopted by settlers in areas where there have been no transmigration projects. In the early 1950s the unassisted settlers who flocked to the Way Sekampung area of Lampung obtained permission to clear forested land from the heads of the local marga. A man experienced in forest felling and for that reason chosen as the leader of a group of newcomers would first request permission for usage rights to a large area of land. Working from a base in an older village the group would clear land and prepare dry fields, which were then allocated by the leader to the members of the group. Although conflicts occurred within the group since boundaries were not clear, there were no disputes with local people since the land had never been cultivated (Kampto Utomo 1957).

A similar process is taking place at the present time in the coastal area of Central Kalimantan, on land that has no indigenous occupants. The real pioneers in this region are people from Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan), who some fifty years ago began clearing land for rice cultivation. As soil fertility declined they found that the land could be used profitably for coconut gardens. Today large numbers of swakarsa transmigrants are settling in the area, at first working on the land of the Banjarese and then requesting permission from local authorities to clear land for gardens

¹ An area of land occupied by a traditional-law community.

of their own (Collier 1980,45).

In Parigi it was the availability of land in a sparsely populated region that enabled unassisted Balinese transmigrants to become established (Davis 1979,8). Although some of the early settlers encountered difficulties with local people over land, the active support of the provincial government, which hoped to see an expansion in rice production, ensured that the settlers were not disturbed by disputes with local cultivators.

One final example of the approach typically adopted by swakarsa settlers in their search for land may be quoted. When the first umum transmigrants arrived in the Batumarta project in 1976, there was already a small group of families of Javanese origin living close to the main highway on land that lay within the designated project area. The recognized leader of the group was a man who had moved from Surabaya to the town of Baturaja in 1950. After spending some 20 years as a trader in the area, he obtained permission from local authorities, in this instance the pesirah or traditional marga head and the camat (head of the sub-district), to use land close to the highway for agricultural purposes. He then encouraged a number of other Javanese families already in the area to join him. When the project boundaries were drawn, the land of these settlers, like adjacent land cultivated by indigenous people, was left as an enclave.¹ In the years since the first units of Batumarta were established, numbers of unassisted transmigrants, unable to obtain land in the project area, have settled on this land or have purchased adjacent land from the indigenous owners.

The risk faced by the swakarsa settler, when he makes agreements of an informal type with local cultivators, is

¹ Personal communication, September 1984.

that of eviction at a later date. The literature on transmigration is full of cases of settlers who have brought apparently abandoned land under cultivation only to have it claimed by local cultivators as part of their holdings. While the disputes that were once commonplace between umum transmigrants and local people (Hardjono 1977,39) no longer occur, thanks to the greater attention given to land status before planning commences, the swakarsa settler is still in a vulnerable position, since there are normally no records of transactions made with individuals. Where land is still plentiful, as in Kalimantan, disputes appear to be rare, as Guinness (1977) and Collier (1980) indicate. It is in areas of greater population density, notably in Sumatra, that competition for land resources could lead to friction between unassisted transmigrants and local people. By tradition, rights to land that has not been cultivated for three years may be taken over by any person who is willing to work it (IRRS 1978,24). Where land originally cleared by shifting cultivators has been planted with rubber, however, much ambiguity arises over its precise status. If greater numbers of swakarsa transmigrants are to be encouraged to seek a livelihood outside Java, consistent policies in land rights must be developed and implemented.

2.4 Sources of livelihood

Most swakarsa transmigrants look to the ultimate ownership of their own agricultural land as the permanent source of family support. The prosperity that most achieve, however, comes from the way in which they use the land to which they have access. Unlike the umum transmigrant who moves into an area with a pre-designed pattern of land use, the swakarsa settler selects not only the land that suits him but also the form of land use that offers the greatest profit. He looks both at the potential of the land and at

marketing opportunities. Thus in the tidal areas of southern Kalimantan unassisted transmigrants have adopted the land-use system developed long ago by local cultivators. While umum transmigrants struggle to obtain one rice crop every year from acidic swamp soils, swakarsa settlers plant rice for four years and then establish coconut seedlings in the same fields. For three years they intercrop, after which time the trees are too tall to permit rice to grow. In another four years' time, the trees begin to bear. By opening more forested land, the farmer can reach a position of economic security, though he needs a holding of some six hectares. Farmers have thus devised 'a system that is productive and self-sustaining over a long period of time' (Collier 1980,47), without in any way disrupting the delicate ecological balance of the swamp lands.

The swakarsa settlers in Binuang have likewise achieved success by concentrating on the production of bananas, for which there is a ready market in Banjarmasin (Guinness 1977, 102). Finding that yields of rice and other food crops from the relatively poor soils of the Binuang area were low, they have concentrated on what is essentially commercial farming. The unassisted transmigrants who established a small agricultural community adjacent to what later became the Batumarta settlement have prospered by concentrating on the production of jeruk (tangerines); marketing presents no problems since traders come from as far as Palembang to buy the fruit. In this case, as in that of the banana producers of Binuang, success has been achieved through a process of trial and error rather than through any advice from agronomists or extension workers. This approach, however, requires time. Where newcomers can immediately imitate a profitable form of land use such as the rice-coconut pattern followed by local cultivators, progress is rapid. Where, on the other hand, they have to carry out their own experiments

with different cropping systems, progress is inevitably slow. Some may even be forced into a retrogressive form of land use. Kampto Utomo (1963,89) comments on the fact that some of the unassisted settlers in the Way Sekampung area during the 1950s became shifting cultivators, dependent on the continuous clearing of forested land for subsistence rice supplies. Others, however, succeeded in making the transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture by producing coffee in a system similar to that of the indigenous smallholders of the area (Bhatta 1957,44). It was this approach to land use that enabled them to achieve much greater prosperity than the umum transmigrants settled by the government in dry-farming projects based on the cultivation of food crops.

While it is one of the basic arguments of this paper that swakarsa transmigrants can, if land is made available to them, devise their own methods of using it advantageously, full recognition must also be made of threats to the environment inherent in totally unplanned settlement. In the late 1950s Bhatta (1957,55) noted that in Lampung 'unsystematic and excessive forest cutting has already started causing floods'. With the almost continuous in-flow of unassisted settlers that has taken place in this province over the past thirty-five years, it is not surprising that there has been an increased incidence of floods. ~~Even in~~ the less closely settled parts of southern Sumatra, ~~problems~~ associated with the removal of protective forests ~~are~~ evident. In the District of Lahat, for example, ~~land-slides~~ and floods resulting in loss of life and of property occurred in 1979 and again in May 1984 as a consequence of the replacement of natural forest on steep slopes by coffee gardens. While the communities that have cleared ~~and replanted~~ this land consist not only of swakarsa settlers from Java but also of indigenous cultivators from South Sumatra,

the recent disasters highlight the need for strict control over land use. The obvious approach to be adopted, if greater numbers of swakarsa transmigrants are to be encouraged, is the provision of suitable areas for the settlement of these newcomers. This in turn points to the need for greater involvement of local governmental authorities in plans for increased swakarsa transmigration. With the recent formulation of a new approach to coordination in all transmigration undertakings (Presidential Decision No. 59, dated 16 October 1984), the framework has been established for the active participation of provincial and district governments in transmigration areas in the implementation of all transmigration, both umum and swakarsa.

Some concluding remarks can be made upon possibilities for non-agricultural sources of livelihood for swakarsa transmigrants. It has been observed in all transmigration areas that once a certain level of prosperity is achieved unassisted settlers begin to arrive with the purpose of seeking a livelihood in trade, the processing of agricultural products, the repair of equipment and vehicles and so on. Sometimes they are aware of specific opportunities but in many cases they arrive in the expectation of finding an opening for their skills. Two examples noted recently in Batumarta illustrate this development. An unassisted settler from East Java has established a workshop to repair motor vehicles on the main access road. Hearing of opportunities for this kind of service, he has transferred his own equipment from his place of origin to a house that he rents from an umum transmigrant. Another swakarsa family, having settled on land close to the umum project in 1978, now processes maize grown by transmigrants to produce a snack food that is popular in the maize-growing regions of East Java. With the help of two or three relatives they can handle

one tonne of maize a month, processing it in such a way that it can keep for almost a year. Marketing presents no problems since traders come from Baturaja to buy the product, which is retailed throughout the region.

Before enterprises of these kinds can develop, however, there must be a 'critical mass' (Davis 1979). In other words, settlements, both umum and swakarsa, in the early years of their existence offer only limited opportunities for non-agricultural employment. It would therefore seem advisable not to plan for the specific inclusion of non-farmers in settlements beyond the allocation of a certain amount of reserve land for the later-stage establishment of non-agricultural activities. Any attempt to 'organize' the resettlement of small-scale vendors, pedlars and artisans from urban areas in Java is doomed to failure. While it is possible to provide unassisted transmigrant farmers with agricultural opportunities in the form of land, it is quite impossible to estimate in advance the demand that will ultimately arise for services of a non-agricultural nature. If settlements are located reasonably close to transportation routes, swakarsa transmigrants of the latter kind will soon find their way to the area when the demand for their services develops.

3. PARTLY ASSISTED TRANSMIGRATION

The planned and supported resettlement of farmers from Java has always been an expensive undertaking. In the pre-independence period the colonial government, after trying various credit schemes as the basis for its colonization schemes, began in the 1930s to try other approaches to resettlement work. Not surprisingly, the Indonesian government has encountered the same problem of high per-family costs from the very beginning of its transmigration program. In the past, however, cost-cutting efforts have not met with any great success beyond the fact that larger numbers of people were moved than the ordinary transmigration budget allowed for. More to the point, many of these attempts at partly assisted transmigration resulted in outstanding failures, if the welfare of the settler is taken as the criterion of success.

3.1 The colonization approach

In 1932 the colonization authority began to experiment with the possibility of making use of existing settlers to reduce the costs involved in establishing newcomers in settlement areas. A policy was adopted of placing new arrivals in the homes of established settlers for several weeks. The newcomers helped with harvesting in return for food, accommodation and the traditional harvesting wage (bawon), which was paid in the form of rice. When harvesting was finished they moved on to new villages already designed by the colonization authority (Pelzer 1945, 203). The government thus had to provide only transport from Java and land. The rice obtained as the harvesting wage supported the family until the new holding became productive.

In 1937 a slightly different approach was attempted with the introduction of the keluarga or family system, although the bawon system, which had proved very useful in reducing costs, was still retained. Established settlers could now sponsor relatives and friends from Java, giving them accommodation and food while they cleared the land allocated to them and built their own houses. One advantage of the keluarga system, from the government's point of view, was that it was not directly connected with harvesting, which meant that new settlers could arrive at any time in the year. It was not directly related to employment and hence took greater advantage of family ties and the traditional obligations of hospitality that those ties implied.

In developing the keluarga system, colonization planners showed clear awareness of the value of personal communication as a stimulant to greater migration from Java. They realized that their work, and above all their expenses, could be reduced if existing settlers were encouraged to attract relatives and friends to the colonization areas. This did away not only with the need for full support on arrival but also with problems of social readjustment in the new settlement. Amral Sjamsu (1960,116) points out that colonization planners expected that this approach would ultimately lead on to a system of unassisted migration wherein newcomers would be attracted by the success of others and the financial burden on the government removed completely.

3.2 Cost-cutting in transmigration programs

The keluarga system was retained in the first two years of the Indonesian transmigration program but unfortunately a major deviation from the colonization system was introduced. Newcomers were not given land of their own on arrival. As Bhatta (1957,19) points out, all they received from the

government was free transport to the place where they had relatives. It would appear that there was no clear policy on how they were to obtain land. Some possibly joined the movement of unassisted settlers who opened up the Way Sekampung area of Lampung (Kampto Utomo 1957). Others may have succeeded in taking over holdings abandoned by local shifting cultivators or in purchasing land from marga authorities. An enquiry into land fragmentation and landlessness in the Belitang area today has revealed that many of those who originally settled as keluarga transmigrants in the early 1950s never acquired holdings of their own; their descendants are still landless labourers (Hardjono 1978).

In 1952 umum transmigration, intended to provide full support for the settler, was introduced. The reason for the change lay in the fact that it was impossible to move large numbers of people if only those with relatives or friends in established settlements were eligible. In 1955 the keluarga system was done away with completely and replaced by a system of partly assisted transmigration to which the inappropriate name of spontan or spontaneous transmigration was given. During this period the number of people who registered for transmigration in Java had increased dramatically. Motivated by the need to increase the numbers of people moving from Java each year but restricted by its own limited capacity to clear land and prepare infrastructure, the transmigration agency provided land in transmigration settlements for those who were willing to pay for their own transportation. In the years since 1957, when transmigrasi spontan was first undertaken, the allowances given to partly assisted transmigrants have varied not only from time to time but also from one settlement area to another. As used by the government, the word spontan covered all

transmigrants who moved under the sponsorship of the transmigration agency but did not receive the full allowances given to umum transmigrants. Confusion over the meaning of the word has arisen because spontan has also been used by certain writers (Bhatta 1977; Kampto Utomo 1957; Santoso and Wardhana 1957) to describe completely unassisted settlers. A similar ambiguity is becoming apparent in the government use of the word swakarsa at the present time.

With the reorganization that was undertaken in all aspects of the transmigration program during the First Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974), efforts were focussed upon umum transmigration. Once again, however, the need to move greater numbers of people led to the reintroduction of partly assisted transmigration. There were two broad categories, namely, transmigrasi spontan dengan bantuan biaya or spontan D.B.B. (literally, spontaneous transmigration with financial assistance) and transmigrasi spontan tanpa bantuan biaya or spontan T.B.B. (literally, spontaneous transmigration without financial assistance). Settlers moving under the first system received land as well as assistance with transportation and housing while those in the second category obtained only uncleared land in an area designated as a transmigration settlement. A similar program, known as the Banpres (Bantuan Presiden or Presidential Assistance) program was introduced in 1973-74, once again in an attempt to settle transmigrants in project areas at a minimum cost to the government.

The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1974, 537-8) officially stated that spontan transmigration would be done away with. Two major considerations lay behind this policy decision. The first was recognition of the fact that

projects established by partly assisted transmigrants had not prospered. More specifically, experiences in Way Abung,¹ which had been settled by groups of inadequately supported transmigrants in the years between 1965 and 1974, indicated the need for investment in all aspects of resettlement work, including infrastructure, farm development and social facilities. At this stage in the expansion of transmigration policies the 'prosperity approach' (Soebiantoro 1971) dominated; the aim in settlement efforts was to provide the transmigrant with improved living conditions soon after arrival in the project.

A second consideration involved the field-level difficulties that occurred when fully assisted, spontan D.B.B. and spontan T.B.B. transmigrants were placed in the same or adjacent projects. Thus one group received cleared land while the other had the task of handling land that was in many cases still forested or at best only partly cleared. Furthermore, the various groups received different food allowances, even though their needs were identical. In actual fact most transmigrants, prior to departure, did not comprehend that there was a distinction between the umum and spontan programs in the settlement area. Thus project officials faced with the task of implementation and supplied with a budget sufficient only to cover the allowances provided under the different programs encountered constant difficulty in project consolidation and guidance.

Despite policy statements to the contrary, partly assisted transmigration was revived in 1976-77. Since that time certain numbers of people have been settled every year at somewhat less than the normal cost for umum transmigrants.

¹ Rehabilitation of Way Abung was included as a component of the first IBRD loan for transmigration (Davis 1979,9).

Before current government policies in the field of unassisted and partly assisted transmigration are considered, however, the major reasons for the shortcomings in past cost-cutting programs can be summarized.

3.3 The failure of partly assisted transmigration

The major reason for the lack of success of projects established with partly assisted transmigrants has been the fact that settlers were expected to face the same tasks as unum transmigrants with less support. Where land is not well suited geographically to development of the traditional dry-farming type, or where it is still heavily forested, settlers who receive limited assistance cannot cope with the problems that arise. Put in another way, settlers who are expected to establish and develop a project from the very first stages should at least be placed in a favourable location if assistance in terms of land-clearing, access roads and guidance in agriculture is to be limited. On the other hand, where full support is intended, more can be expected of the settlers themselves. Added to this is the fact that there has never been a selection process that would enable more resourceful people to migrate with less help nor has there been any special incentive in the form of, for example, a larger holding for those who move with only partial assistance.

In the case of partly assisted transmigrants in the T.B.B. category (without financial assistance), problems have arisen because of inadequate definition of their rights to land. In theory they were entitled to land in a transmigration settlement. Guinness (1977,97) reports that such transmigrants, on arrival in the designated settlement, had to wait a long time before they were allocated an abandoned holding or an empty block of land and that 'they felt anything but welcome by Transmigration officials'. With

this ambiguity in the settlement of T.B.B. transmigrants, it follows that other newcomers who had not even registered with transmigration offices in Java had little hope of receiving land in a settlement.

The best approach to the problem of land for partly assisted and totally unassisted transmigrants lies in the consistent application of the tri-partial principle in all settlements. This concept, which was first proposed in the early 1970s (Soebiantoro 1974), was developed from experiences in Lampung, where rapid overcrowding has occurred in older settlements. In the absence of reserve land, holdings have become fragmented as children reach adulthood and unassisted settlers move in to the area. The tri-partial policy requires that only a part of the land in a project be used for the settlement of umum transmigrants; a section must be left for local people who wish to settle there and a third section must be set aside for the settlement of swakarsa transmigrants.

Unfortunately this policy has never been adhered to, largely because constant pressure to reach targets and the growing difficulty of obtaining suitable, large tracts of land for transmigration purposes has forced planning authorities to place as many umum transmigrants as possible in each location. Added to this is the fact that infrastructure is expensive; planners naturally wish to ensure that the maximum number of supported transmigrants benefit from costly inputs. This attitude has been particularly evident during the Third Five-Year Plan period, when every piece of available land in project areas was divided up into holdings of the requisite size and no reserve land was kept for any purposes other than those stated in the design.

Meanwhile, the transmigration agency has compounded the

problem by its adoption of the sisipan policy in the mid 1970s. The term sisipan, which means literally 'slipped in', refers to the policy of placing more umum transmigrants in older projects that have already been transferred to the local government. Once again, the reason has been the need to meet targets, the difficulty of obtaining new locations and the high cost of fully supported transmigration. As Tjondronegoro (1978) has pointed out, a natural sisipan process occurs as newcomers from Java join relatives and friends in existing settlements but without reserve land for these truly swakarsa settlers, fragmentation occurs. Government-planned sisipan tends to fill up areas that could be used to advantage by truly swakarsa transmigrants.

Repelita IV (II, 377 and 416) reaffirms the existence and the value of the tri-partial principle. Up to 20 per cent of every location is to be set aside for local people while at least 20 per cent is to be reserved for swakarsa settlers who will be attracted to the area as the settlement expands. The remainder is to be used for umum settlers. It now remains to be seen whether transmigration planners are prepared to abide by the principle. There has always been a tendency for policies of this kind to be sacrificed to the demands of the moment, particularly when immediate resettlement is needed for the victims of natural disasters. Similarly, it has not been uncommon for people clearly in a certain category to be moved under the guise of some other program.

Quite obviously, the land set aside under this policy for future swakarsa occupation must measure up to all the criteria that apply in the case of umum transmigration. It is particularly important that its status be unambiguous and that its potential for development be equal to that of the section allocated to umum transmigrants. If this approach is adopted, the need for penataan or 'rearrangement' of projects, as described below, will cease to exist.

4. CURRENT GOVERNMENT POLICIES

As already pointed out, the need to reduce the cost of transmigration was stressed when preparations were being made for Repelita III wherein a target of 500 000 families was set for transmigration. With greatly increased targets in each successive Five-Year Plan, the transmigration agency obviously needs far larger annual budgets unless costs can be reduced for at least a percentage of the families that have to be resettled. Recognition of the fact that groups of totally unassisted settlers have achieved at least as much success as government-funded transmigrants has led to an increased emphasis on the need to include swakarsa transmigrants in attempts to reach the targets set in each Five-Year Plan.

4.1 The interpretation of swakarsa

Swakarsa transmigration is defined in the 1972 Basic Transmigration Act as

transmigration wherein finance for implementation is the responsibility of the transmigrant concerned or some other non-governmental party.

When the term swakarsa was first introduced in the Act and in general policy statements such as Repelita II, it was used in this sense of unassisted resettlement taking place outside the government-funded system. Since the beginning of Repelita III, however, the word has come to be used increasingly for partly assisted transmigration, that is, resettlement in which the government provides somewhat less than the benefits given to umum transmigrants.

It would seem that in choosing to interpret swakarsa in this fashion, the transmigration agency is taking as its guide the amplification contained in the Clarification

to the Act (quoted on page 2 of this paper), where specific reference is made to the provision of land and a small amount of assistance. In other words, swakarsa transmigration is viewed as a means to reduce rather than to do away with the cost of transmigration. The further implication is that the government will continue to play a role in regulating and controlling transmigration.

Obviously it will not be easy to retain the best aspects of completely unassisted transmigration (usually described as swakarsa murni or 'truly unassisted') yet at the same time to institutionalize it in such a way that there is both guidance and control from the government. As external regulation increases, personal enterprise tends to diminish, a fact that explains the lack of success in such fields as co-operatives.

4.2 Policy statements

Despite frequent references to the significance of swakarsa transmigration as the most effective way to move people from overcrowded areas and as a means of reaching the targets set in successive Five-Year Plans, there are very few specific statements on the subject beyond the frequently repeated comment that community participation is essential. Repelita IV (II,417) describes swakarsa transmigrants as

 farming families who join relatives in transmigration areas, people from an area of origin who are employed in a development project or company in a settlement area such as labourers in the Inter-regional Work Program, and transmigrants who are moved by a private party.

The same source (Repelita IV, II,385) also states that in the interests of increasing the number of swakarsa transmigrants

more attention will be given to factors that facilitate such movement such as implementation procedures, the administrative aspect, the giving of permits, the provision of facilities in the settlement area and smooth communications between the area of origin and the area of settlement.

The government will also help to clear and prepare 0.25 ha of land for a house-lot for swakarsa transmigrants (Repelita IV, II, 410). No specific mention is made of the size of the holding to be allocated to unassisted transmigrants.

Ministerial Decision KEP-163/MEN/1984, dated 21 May 1984 concerning the Implementation of Swakarsa Transmigration, provides some basic policy statements about the proposed handling of unassisted transmigration. The Department of Transmigration will prepare a master plan as a basis for implementation; this plan will include details of land that is available. Information about unassisted transmigration will also be provided by the Department, or by the Department in conjunction with other government agencies. Swakarsa transmigrants will receive 0.25 ha of land for a house-lot and other land, the size of which will depend upon the settlement pattern that is adopted. In addition they will receive a house, an allowance of food and the usual health, educational and religious facilities.

Part of the purpose of this Ministerial Decision is to make clear provision for the active participation of both organizations and private individuals in the recruitment and settlement of unassisted transmigrants. Reference is made to the role of an 'executor' (pelaksana) that is, a legally established body, and that of a 'promotor' (pengajak), that is, an individual who encourages others to move with him to a transmigration settlement. Stipulations are included about the

obligations of the pelaksana and the pengajak in an attempt to prevent neglect of the transmigrants who move under their auspices.

Ministerial Decision KEP-164/MEN/1984, also dated 21 May 1984, deals with the provision of land for unassisted transmigration. The decision reaffirms the existence of the tri-partial policy wherein land in all transmigration settlements will be allowed for umum transmigrants, for swakarsa transmigrants and for local people. At least 20 per cent of the area is to be set aside for the settlement of swakarsa transmigrants, but the amount can be increased if the flow of unassisted transmigrants should warrant a larger area. In the case of swakarsa transmigrants moved by a provincial government, the government concerned will arrange for the provision of land.

The same point about implementation of the tri-partial system is made in Repelita IV (II,417), which speaks of two possibilities for swakarsa transmigrants. They may be included in projects together with umum transmigrants and local people or they may be placed in a separate settlement.

Beyond these general guide-lines, there would appear to be no specific policies concerning the implementation of unassisted transmigration. Some further insight into general policies and approaches can be gained, however, from the activities of the Directorate for Unassisted Transmigration in the last year of Repelita III.

4.3 The Directorate for Unassisted Transmigration

The Directorate for Unassisted Transmigration (Direktorat Transmigrasi Swakarsa) was established in 1979 in accordance with Presidential Decision No. 47 of that year. An outline

of its tasks was presented for the first time in 1982 in Decision No. 36/MEN/1982 of the Minister for Manpower and Transmigration but a further revision of the Directorate was made in 1983 on a basis of Decision No. KEP.055 A/MEN/83. These Ministerial Decisions, however, have not produced any real indication of the way in which the Directorate is to function or of the policies that it should implement.

On 18 February 1984, some six weeks before the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the Minister for Transmigration announced that the Repelita III target of 500 000 transmigrant families had been reached and that of this figure 163 806 families (32 per cent) had been swakarsa transmigrants. From other sources¹ it appears that this figure is made up of the following groups: 30 550 families moved under Transmigrasi Swakarsa Dengan Bantuan Biaya (TS DBB), that is, Swakarsa Transmigration with Financial Help, and 133 256 families moved under Transmigrasi Swakarsa Tanpa Bantuan Biaya (TS TBB), that is, Swakarsa Transmigration without Financial Help. The following partial break-down of these figures is contained in the same sources:

A. TS DBB:

In conjunction with provincial governments	2 675
Other forms	27 875
	<u>30 550 families</u>

B. TS TBB

Relatives in projects	46 132
With PN 6 forms	33 293
<u>Penataan</u>	4 877
PIR projects	4 264
Completely unexplained	44 690
	<u>133 256</u>

¹ Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Bidang Pengerahan dan Pembinaan: Evaluasi Pelaksanaan Transmigrasi Swakarsa Pelita III (Guide-lines to Implementation in the Field of Mobilization and Guidance: an Evaluation of Unassisted Transmigration During Pelita III), and Penjabaran Program Transmigrasi Swakarsa Repelita IV (A Statement of the Unassisted Transmigration Program in Repelita IV), issued by the Dept. of Transmigration in 1984.

- A. TS DBB transmigrants, known also as Transmigran Swakarsa Berbantuan), are those who have received a certain amount of financial assistance. In four cases this involved help from a provincial government in Java, working in conjunction with the provincial government in a settlement area. Thus the transmigration agency participated only in a limited way. In the case of the remainder who moved under 'other forms' of TS DBB transmigration, details were not available. It would appear that this is the continuation of the traditional system of spontan or partly financed transmigration.
- B. The first group recorded under TS TBB consists of families who have joined relatives already living in umum settlements and in this sense they are truly unsponsored transmigrants.¹ The figure was arrived at from population counts conducted in on-going projects. The second group, described as having PN 6 forms, refers to the number of persons who registered at regional offices in Java to leave as swakarsa settlers and were given a certain form as identification. Whether the families involved did in fact migrate is unknown. The term penataan, used for a third distinct group, refers to a current policy that involves efforts to clarify the status of and to provide minimum inputs for the relatives of umum transmigrants already in project areas (that is, people in the first group above). Penataan (literally, 'arrangement') involves either the transfer of these families to projects where land is available or provision of certificates to land that they have occupied without permission.

¹ People in this category are sometimes described as transmigran swakarsa famili, meaning 'related unassisted transmigrants'.

The fourth group, described somewhat inaccurately as swakarsa transmigrants, consists of families settled under the various Nucleus Estate-Smallholder programs. The original target for Repelita III was 48 000 families but this was later revised to 18 275 families. Even with this reduction, the number settled (4 264 families) was far below the objective.

Finally, there is a large discrepancy between the official figure for total swakarsa transmigration and the numbers of families that can be accounted for, from the available publications.

4.4 Targets for Repelita IV

The total target for Repelita IV (1984-1989) has been placed at 750 000 families. Of this number it is hoped that 436 350 families will be moved under general transmigration and the remaining 313 650 families under swakarsa programs. The aim is to have 20 per cent of the total figure (that is, 150 000 families) move as transmigran swakarsa famili, which implies that they will join relatives already in on-going projects or settlements that have already been transferred. Another 50 000 families now living in or close to settlements will be resettled under the penataan program. No definition is given of the program under which another 9 650 families will be moved. However, the target of 104 000 families has been set for plantation-smallholder transmigrants of the PIR type. In view of the limited achievements of the PIR program during Repelita III, this last would appear to be a very optimistic figure.

The target for swakarsa transmigration is thus somewhat higher than the achievement attributed to this kind of transmigration during the past five years. Whereas 163 806

families moved under some form of unassisted or partly assisted transmigration during 1979-1984, it is now hoped that 313 650 families will be in this category during the 1984-1989 period. With this increase to almost twice the previous achievement the main thrust of the undertaking is to be placed upon the plantation pattern and upon 'family' transmigration.

Since almost all aspects of the PIR programs lie outside the activities and scope of the Swakarsa Directorate, despite the inclusion of settlers in the target for this kind of transmigration, no consideration will be given in this present study to the problems associated with resettlement orientated toward plantation undertakings.

The main problems likely to hinder attainment of targets during Repelita IV focus around the question of suitable sites for swakarsa projects in the absence of any reserve land in existing settlements, the absence of clear policies about the extent of assistance to be given to swakarsa transmigrants and the lack of definition of the tasks and competence of the Swakarsa Directorate. These points will be taken up in the next section.

5. PROPOSALS FOR SWAKARSA TRANSMIGRATION

Any attempt to institutionalize true swakarsa transmigration is obviously a contradiction in terms, since the very nature of such movement makes programming of any kind impossible. In theory the provision of land in or close to successful umum transmigration settlements will be sufficient to attract completely unassisted transmigrants to the area. Unfortunately, the transmigration agency has to meet high targets during Repelita IV and for that reason is not prepared to allow natural forces to operate. Hence, the interpretation of swakarsa in the following discussion involves a certain amount of assistance to settlers, who are therefore more correctly in the category of partly assisted rather than truly swakarsa transmigrants.

5.1 Conditions conducive to swakarsa settlement

- Completely unassisted transmigrants are attracted by
- the opportunity to make a living, which involves
 - wage employment on arrival
 - the availability of agricultural land, which can be procured cheaply, with security of tenure and without complicated procedures
 - successful settlements of fellow Javanese,¹ especially of people with whom they are acquainted, since the latter can provide
 - general security upon arrival in the form of accommodation and reorientation in new surroundings
 - employment in some cases or at least an introduction to wage-labour opportunities in the area

¹ The term is used in its widest sense.

- the combination of economic opportunities and successful settlers in areas close to major communication routes; distance as such is not a problem.

The extent to which the above factors can be incorporated into programs to resettle partly assisted transmigrants is uncertain, primarily because such programs in the past have focussed exclusively on cost reduction. In future attempts emphasis should be placed upon a minimum of regulation and maximum utilization of the prospective settler's connections in the proposed settlement area and his own resourcefulness.

The following proposals for assisted transmigration commence with a model in which there is no government intervention at all, beyond the provision of free land, and conclude with one in which costs are not far below those for current umum settlements.

5.2 . Completely unregulated settlement

Many years ago Penny and Singarimbun (1973,66) suggested that unassisted transmigrants would be attracted by the possibilities of 'homesteading', along the lines of experiences in the United States and the Philippines.

Such a proposal involves the provision by regional governments in provinces suitable for transmigration by swakarsa settlers of tracts of land wherein newcomers can obtain individual holdings with full ownership rights. The areas provided would not have to be very large, since they would not have to meet the design requirements for umum settlements. No infrastructure of any kind would be required; the only expense to the government would be establishment of a registration office in the area for the recording of land allocations, which would have to be limited to the normal two hectares in the interests of preventing excesses in the acquisition of land. This approach has much in common

with the 'spontaneous' opening up of land in Central Lampung during the 1950s.

In the designation of areas of land for this purposes, care would have to be taken that settlement was not undertaken of steep slopes that would be easily eroded.

5.3 Reserve land in general transmigration projects

Consistent implementation of the tri-partial concept will make reserve land available in on-going umum settlements. Natural forces should be allowed to operate, with established umum transmigrants informing friends and relatives in Java (by letter or by visits) of the availability of land close to their new homes. Newcomers could then arrive in the project without prior registration in Java, apply to the project management for a holding and stay with relatives until it was allocated (within three months at the most). These swakarsa settlers should comply with any general regulations such as the prohibition on the sale of holdings in the project area but should not be tied down to the pattern of land use designed for umum settlers in the area. Although the basic principle that the land is to be cultivated and developed should be adhered to, they would be allowed to engage in wage labour and to develop their land at a pace in keeping with other employment activities. The only expenses to the government would be surveying to permit designation of village centres and the allocation of two-hectare holdings, registration of newcomers and their holdings, and the possible construction of a road to link new village centres with the existing units of umum transmigrants. No food, seed, housing or equipment would be provided but as the numbers of swakarsa settlers increased, the government would have to provide health and educational facilities to the standard provided for umum transmigrants.

It is strongly recommended that reserve land in projects be kept for truly swakarsa settlers and that partly assisted transmigrants be settled in separate projects.

5.4 Utilization of family connections

Advantage should be taken of the large numbers of successful umum transmigrants in projects like Batumarta and Pematang Panggang, even though land may not be available within existing project boundaries for newcomers.

The procurement of new locations within reasonable distance of these established projects will be the first step in attracting newcomers through established settlers. These newcomers can first register in the existing project, where relatives will provide temporary accommodation and food. The newcomers, together with any unassisted settlers already in the project area but without an allocation of land, will then be settled in the new location. Greater support will be required in the initial stages from the transmigration agency since the new settlement area will not be contiguous with existing village land. Thus expenses will be incurred for surveying, the allocation of holdings to transmigrants and the construction of at least an access road.

The degree of support required, in terms of help with land clearing, house construction, food and seed will depend very much on the specific circumstances of the area, and in particular the distance from the existing settlement to the new one. The ideal arrangement is to have it close enough to allow travel there each day. The prospective settlers should be paid cash wages to build an access road and, if the land is forested, to clear part of the holdings to be allocated to settlers. Once again, settlers should be permitted to select their own form of land use and to devise their own cropping patterns.

As in the tri-partial proposal, reserve land must be left for expansion of the settlement. If progress is slow because of lack of numbers, it may be possible to recruit settlers direct from Java. However, fully supported (umum) transmigrants should not be placed in the same project because of the problems involved when one group receives provisions not given to the other.

5.5 Recruitment of partly assisted transmigrants

Since it appears that the government wishes to continue settling partly assisted people direct from Java, thought should be given to methods of encouraging such people to move with a minimum of help and some specific incentives.

One possibility is that of issuing prospective swakarsa transmigrants with the usual PN 6 form, stating their identity and also the location recommended. It should be quite feasible to allow them a choice of site. With adequate information about how to reach the settlement area, they could arrange their own transportation. It is suggested that they could, on arrival, be reimbursed for expenses incurred during the journey. Equally important, they must receive a holding on arrival, with at least the home-lot of 0.25 ha cleared and ready to plant (siap tanam, not siap olah). They would also need support in the form of the food allowances given to umum transmigrants for 12 months.

This approach is more expensive from the government's point of view. In the absence of relatives in the settlement area, however, more support is essential in the first months. At the same time if wage labour of any kind could be provided in the initial stages, less direct government support would be required. Wage labour could involve employment on the home-lots to be allocated to later groups of swakarsa settlers and construction of access roads to the area.

5.6 Expansion of existing swakarsa settlements

A different approach to the selection of locations for partly assisted transmigrants would involve identification of sites in Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi where there are already small groups of completely unassisted transmigrants, of the type described at Binuang (Guinness 1977) and Samuda Kecil (Collier 1980). The transmigration agency, with the help of local authorities, would then obtain land in the immediate vicinity and use the established settlers as the nucleus of a settlement for partly assisted transmigrants. This would probably involve legal recognition of the claims to land of the existing swakarsa settlers, most of whom have no proper title to the land they cultivate.

Provision of basic infrastructure would be necessary since these small groups tend to be located in areas that have been relatively neglected in local development plans. The extent of inputs by the transmigration agency would depend very much on the availability of opportunities for wage labour in the area. On the whole, however, they would not be great because there appear to be opportunities for employment on the commercially orientated holdings of local smallholders, as Syafei (1978) has shown in the case of South Sumatra and Collier (1980) in the case of southern Kalimantan.

This approach requires very close cooperation with local authorities at district (kabupaten) level because it is only these officials who are really aware of the presence of completely swakarsa settlers in their region and of the likelihood of more land being made available in the vicinity for an expansion of the existing, unplanned settlement. The viability of this approach has been proved from progress in Parigi, where the government established supported settlements only after the success of completely unassisted transmigrants was apparent (Davis 1979,4).

5.7 Preferential site selection for swakarsa projects

On the whole there is an inverse relationship between the geographical advantages of any given site and the degree of support required for transmigrants.

It is therefore proposed that a conscious effort be made to reserve for partly assisted transmigration those locations that have favourable soil, water and topographical conditions and are well placed in relation to major transportation routes. Such a policy could possibly lead to conflict with plans for umum transmigration settlements, where prevailing conditions have also to be taken into account. If, however, the aim is to reduce costs yet to establish successful settlements that will in time attract completely unassisted transmigrants, there must be some kind of preferential treatment for swakarsa undertakings.

It is beyond the scope of the present study to suggest the precise items that could be omitted from the budget for partly assisted settlers, since this will depend very much on the site chosen. The following points can be noted, however, in attempts to reduce costs:

- physical planning should be kept to a minimum
- no attempt should be made to include the planting of commercial crops like rubber, since this raises costs and involves a different agency (plantations)
- partly assisted settlers should not be forced into credit agreements of the PIR type unless they specifically opt to join a program of that kind
- land clearing should be kept to the minimum of 0.25 ha for a home-lot, as stipulated in Repelita IV (II,410)

5.8 Some general recommendations

- a Preference should be given to the recruitment of both completely swakarsa and partly assisted transmigrants through transmigrants already established in settlements rather than through any kind of selection process in Java.
- b Victims of natural disasters, people from urban areas in Java and ex-members of the Armed Forces should on no account be moved under swakarsa transmigration or settled in areas designated for swakarsa settlers with no or limited support.
- c The same attention to the status of land for swakarsa settlements is required as that given to umum projects.
- d Newcomers who have had no previous contact with transmigration offices in Java must be able to register in swakarsa settlements for a land allocation.
- e Umum transmigrants should be encouraged and allowed to bring an extra worker (such as a teenaged male relative) with them as part of the family unit; at a later stage holdings would be made available for these relatives in the reserve-land section of the settlement.
- f Future large-scale umum settlements should be concentrated in Kalimantan, leaving potential areas in Sumatra for development by swakarsa settlers with limited or no assistance.
- g Better cooperation with local authorities, as provided for in Keppres No. 59 of 1984 Concerning Coordination in the Implementation of Transmigration, is essential in the interests of site selection for swakarsa projects.

- h Established umum transmigrants can be encouraged to communicate with their place of origin by the provision of free postage once a month; similarly, subsidized returns trips to Java could be provided for informal leaders in the new community.
- i The current sisipan program should be limited to the settlement of swakarsa transmigrants with a minimum of assistance.
- j Efforts should be made at provincial and if necessary central government levels to get at least small areas of logged land freed for swakarsa transmigration.
- k Within the limitations of provincial budgets, sectoral swakarsa transmigration involving financial help from the government of an area of origin should be increased.
- l The participation of private organizations in swakarsa transmigration is to be encouraged; however, the transmigration agency must give full attention to the provision of claim-free land of clear status for such purposes.
- m In the case of partly assisted swakarsa transmigrants who are recruited in Java through the transmigration apparatus and who do not have friends in settlement areas, a detailed and completely truthful picture must be given of the allowances provided by comparison with the umum program; all promises made to these settlers must be kept.
- n In so far as is possible, swakarsa transmigrants recruited in Java should be permitted a choice of the region to which they are sent.

5.9 Conclusion

The major constraints evident at the moment in attempts to promote swakarsa transmigration either with or without assistance involve the question of land and the competence of the Swakarsa Directorate both in policy-making and in implementation work.

The whole transmigration program has always been faced with difficulties in the procurement of suitable land that is free from any other claims. In the special case of swakarsa transmigration it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain strategically located tracts of land large enough even for one village of 500 families yet suited to development by settlers with limited support. The success of the swakarsa program during Repelita IV will depend very much upon the willingness of provincial governments in settlement areas to identify and make available land of the right type for new settlements. The problem of site identification can be solved not by expensive technology but by a more genuine concern on the part of regional authorities for the success of what is a national program.

Where land has been made available for transmigration projects, consistent application of the tri-partial policy in the settlement of umum transmigrants will provide for the needs of swakarsa settlers in future years, even though it will not solve the immediate problem of locations for swakarsa projects in the next two or three years.

A second major constraint lies in the inadequately defined scope of the work to be carried out by the Swakarsa Directorate. This is closely related to the question of the budget to be allocated to the Directorate and to the

question of intra-departmental coordination. At the same time the absence of any clear policies concerning the settlement of swakarsa transmigrants makes preparation of budget proposals and of guide-lines for the coordination of activities difficult. There is immediate need for clarification of these issues if the Swakarsa Directorate, which has no program at all for 1984-85, is to begin functioning.

Finally, it should be noted that while policy-making is essential, flexibility in approach should be allowed for in efforts to encourage swakarsa transmigration. The models that are viable in one situation may not be replicable in the different geographical and social conditions that prevail in other regions. Added to this is the fact that partly assisted swakarsa undertakings, like completely unassisted projects, are likely to develop more slowly than do fully supported settlements. Hence the real degree of success will not be apparent for some years. This fact must be accepted if the aim is to reduce expenditure involved in the establishment of settlements for transmigrants from Java.

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NOTE

Transmigration: A New Concept?

Permit me to offer a few comments on the 'new model' for transmigration suggested by H. W. Arndt and R. M. Sundrum in their review article on *Transmigration in Indonesia*.¹

In putting forward a concept based on labour supply for development projects in the islands other than Java and Bali, the authors are in effect proposing that the existing *antar kerja antar daerah* labour program² be expanded to a point where it would handle far more people than the present transmigration program. In other words, they would reverse the Government's current policy of a large-scale land settlement program and a comparatively small-scale labour supply program.

Several aspects of this alternative approach are by no means new. The supply of labour for non-agricultural as well as agricultural undertakings outside Java and Bali has been proposed more than once in government policies,³ and policy-makers today would undoubtedly favour the idea. As in the case of many other proposals related to economic development in the islands other than Java and Bali, however, the concept has broken down at the implementation stage.

The real difference between the two concepts of transmigration lies in the proposal that transmigrants be offered 'opportunities for employment as wage earners rather than as smallholders' (p. 77). The question is whether workers will be attracted from Java by high wages alone. Arndt and Sundrum have recognised the fact that higher wages outside Java have not so far encouraged a flow of migrants from Java seeking wage employment (p. 85), yet this point is fundamental to the new concept they propose. The people most

¹H. W. Arndt and R. M. Sundrum, 'Transmigration: Land Settlement or Regional Development?', *BIES*, November 1977, pp. 72ff.

²This program is outlined in *Repelita II*, Vol. II, p. 436.

³The Eight-Year Plan of 1961-69 attributed failure in transmigration to the focus on 'agricultural transmigration' and stressed the need for a supply of labour for other kinds of development projects (*Rantjangan Dasar Undang-undang Pembangunan Nasional-Semesta-Berentjana Delapan Tahun: 1961-1969*, Vol. XII, p. 2467). *Repelita II*, (Vol. II, p. 454) repeated the need for non-agricultural labour in regional development.

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disposed to the idea of migration tend to be landless agricultural labourers who, although they may spend part of the year as wage labourers in urban areas, are essentially farmers. To these people the offer of even two hectares of arable land with full ownership rights after a number of years is much more attractive than the offer of high wages.

Certain other aspects of the labour supply concept warrant closer examination. The 'unskilled labourers from the rural areas and cities of Java' referred to on p. 87 are no different from the 'padi farmers' who have been moving as transmigrants in the past, with the possible exception of a small percentage of city-born labourers. If recruitment were directed towards these people, who are usually landless and underemployed, it is hard to see that results would be any different since this is the group attracted by transmigration of the land-settlement type.

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In the case of the 'important component of skilled labour, experienced building tradesmen, engineers, surveyors, etc' (p. 87) required for development projects, wages would have to be extremely attractive, for this group at present enjoys a reasonably high standard of living in the cities of Java. When incentives are of the type offered by foreign companies, particularly those in the extractive industries, workers at all levels of skill are very willing to move. However, it is hardly realistic to suggest that the Indonesian budget at the national or provincial level could pay such wages to any employees, skilled or otherwise. Even if such a wage policy could be introduced, political pressures would be such that it would have to include doctors, teachers, nurses and all the other public servants who provide essential services in the less populated parts of the country.

To say that costs of housing and other facilities would be 'part of development expenditure' in the province concerned (p. 86) is to avoid the important issue of responsibility for the welfare of workers. Without adequate provision for housing, the whole scheme would lose any attractions it might otherwise have, while if groups of Javanese labourers were seen to be receiving special benefits, feelings of resentment at least as strong as those directed towards agricultural transmigrants in the past would very likely appear in the provinces concerned. The costs of moving and utilising labour, if the whole undertaking were carried out properly, might turn out to be far higher than the Rp 250,000 quoted by the Directorate-General for Transmigration as the cost of transporting and settling one family in 1973.⁴

⁴D. A. P. Butcher, 'Present Transmigration Policies' in *Transmigration in the Context of Area Development*, Transmigration Training and Research Center, Jakarta, 1974, p. 163.

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To provide adequate security for the worker, it would be necessary to give him all the advantages enjoyed by a public servant, though the idea of adding more employees to the public service pay-roll is not likely to find favour in Government circles. If he is employed as a *buruh harian*, that is, the system followed at present in Java and elsewhere when casual labour is required for construction work on a daily basis, the worker has no security at all. Even if a contract system similar to that used by logging and other private companies were introduced, the question of security after the contract expired would arise. Although in some instances transmigrants who have left agricultural settlements have been able to obtain wage employment,⁵ this has been limited to provinces where the timber industry has been prospering. Unless immediate wage employment were available, labourers would have no alternative but to drift back to Java. It is extremely unlikely that they would have been able to save enough money to buy land of their own for farming purposes in the areas where they had been employed.

Security also has social aspects. Transmigration as a land settlement program offers security not only for the migrant today but also for his children in future years. Overcrowding and fragmentation has occurred in some parts of Lampung because of poor planning during the colonisation period and the 1950s, when no land was left in projects for natural expansion. This is not a flaw inherent in the transmigration concept but rather a past error that is now being avoided by introduction of the current tri-partial system.⁶ Under a labour supply approach, the children of migrant workers would have to find their own employment entirely within the field of wage labour.

A more acceptable policy, from the migrant's point of view, would be a labour system of the type found in public works programs in Java where temporary labour is recruited in keeping with the pace of construction work. Thus transmigrant farmers could be used for projects in the vicinity of their settlement, even if it meant that farm work had to be neglected for a time. Transmigrants could even be required to give a certain number of days every year to work on physical infrastructure, even when not directly related to development of their holdings. Even today transmigrants often turn to wage employment some distance from their farms for several days a month in an attempt to supplement farm

⁵J. Hardjono, *Transmigration in Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1977, p. 71.

⁶J. Hardjono, *Transmigration in Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1977, p. 96.

This isn't a logical statement! They will 'turn' (moral) to alternating cross employment off its more remunerating, if its fair - it must be because of inherent defects in the settlement. incomes in the early stages before all the land is producing. If the level of coordination for the Arndt-Sundrum scheme can be effectively achieved, it should be equally possible to utilise temporary labour from agricultural settlements for construction of physical infrastructure.

The strategy to be adopted will to some extent depend on the interpretation to be given to the term 'regional development'. Just as development of the over-populated provinces of Java must involve development of the non-agricultural sectors, so regional development outside Java must include utilisation of land resources. A land settlement program will not in itself give rise to rapid development, yet it can provide the foundation essential for the 'broadly based regional development' which is described on p. 82 and p. 85 of the review article and which is presumably the type of development to be encouraged in the present Indonesian context. Land development implies further expansion of the area under cultivation, which could mean not just the cultivation of commercial crops like oil palm for domestic consumption and for export but also the establishment of softwood forests for pulp production. So long as food production remains a crucial problem in Indonesia, efforts directed towards increased output of rice, soya beans, corn and similar food crops would be worthwhile, too.⁸

Arndt and Sundrum suggest that development would be more evenly distributed and assimilation of newcomers made easier if the labour supply approach were adopted (p. 89). Past concentration of projects in southern Sumatra was due to a desire to keep transportation costs to a minimum rather than to any conscious wish to 'settle' this region. Current policies stress the need to establish transmigration projects in all provinces in the interests of more balanced population growth. Land settlement contains seeds of conflict only in so far as local land claims have not always been properly dealt with before arrival of transmigrants. The recent Sitiung experience illustrates the fact that if all agencies, including Agrarian Affairs and the local provincial government, give their full cooperation, land conflicts can be avoided. Surely the situation is summed up in the statement (p. 89) that it is the availability of 'economic opportunities' within a community rather than the parti-

⁸N. D. Abdul Hameed, *Pelita-1 Settlements in Sulawesi Tenggara*. Directorate-General of Transmigration, Jakarta, 1976, p. 19.

⁹Whether cultivation involves smallholdings or plantations is not relevant to the main point, which is that regional development must include land development. There seems to be some misinterpretation on p. 87 of the review article of my opinions about adaptation of Javanese farmers to estate conditions. On p. 97 of *Transmigration in Indonesia* I was referring specifically to rice-growing on estates and not to estates in general.

cular policy adopted in transfer and settlement of migrants that determines the degree of conflict and ultimately of assimilation.

One further point in this context. For progress in provinces like Central Sulawesi, which have little scope for extractive industries, development of land resources through transmigration of sedentary farmers is the only realistic hope. The fact should not be overlooked that in the last five years the establishment of transmigration projects in certain provinces has led to the construction of physical infrastructure that would otherwise not have been made available so soon. The progress made since 1970 in development of the North Luwu plain is evidence of the direct advantages to be gained from transmigration not only in road building and irrigation works but also in provision of educational and health facilities. If the transmigration budget were increased, much more could be done in the provision of physical infrastructure and services.

This all leads on to the question of coordination in planning and implementation. It is perhaps a fair criticism of recent government policies to say that Bappenas (the National Planning Board) was too hasty in taking up the notion of transmigration as a component in regional development. The new concepts introduced into transmigration planning in the early 1970s were still being worked out when Bappenas adopted them, partly as a justification for continuing the transmigration program which had become extremely unpopular in the years prior to Repelita I. It is significant that more recently Bappenas policies and the programs of the Department of Public Works have focused on the concept of area development, the term 'area' (*wilayah*) being interpreted as a natural geographical zone within a region or province. While transmigration certainly cannot trigger regional development if 'region' is interpreted in a wide sense, it can encourage and stimulate expansion of economic activities in certain areas like Luwu and Belitang.

It is not quite fair to suggest that 'integration of transmigration into regional development has largely remained an abstract aspiration' (p. 75). The coordination between construction of the Trans-Sumatra Highway and the establishment of transmigration settlements within a 30-km-wide zone along the highway between Sungai Langsat and Lubuk Linggau is evidence of the degree of integration that can be achieved when genuine efforts are made by all the agencies involved in national development. The presence of the highway will not in itself stimulate economic development in an area that is not well endowed with natural resources. Only further development of available land resources by smallholders will provide the necessary 'push' to encourage economic expansion, even though growth will admittedly be slow, by comparison with an

area like coastal East Kalimantan. The same type of development is planned for south-eastern Kalimantan, when construction of the Banjarmasin-Balikpapan highway is complete.

The approach suggested by Arndt and Sundrum would require diversion of a huge percentage of the national budget to the construction of infrastructure in the islands outside Java. While it is undeniable that infrastructure of all kinds needs to be expanded, there is obviously a point beyond which no central government can go when it comes to allocating funds to the development of relatively unpopulated areas. The question of the extent to which expenditure on infrastructure in underpopulated parts of the country can be justified inevitably poses the further question of deliberate redistribution of population.

Transmigration as a land settlement program and as a labour supply program are not mutually exclusive, as Arndt and Sundrum have pointed out in their article. No matter what strategy of regional development is adopted, success will always be determined by the extent to which planning and implementation of plans can be interlinked in an effective way. Constraints imposed on a land settlement program by inadequate synchronisation of policies and programs have been mentioned (p. 90). There is, however, no guarantee that such problems could be avoided in a labour supply program, which would, if anything, require an even higher level of co-ordination between provincial governments and departments. Agricultural transmigration must continue, though not confined to the 'modest scale' envisaged by Arndt and Sundrum (p. 76). In the meantime, it will be up to the Directorate-General for Manpower to increase its current labour supply program, as well as the modest information services it now provides.

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