



Government of Central Kalimantan



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# Master Plan for the Rehabilitation and Revitalisation of the Ex-Mega Rice Project Area in Central Kalimantan



## SOCIAL IMPACT ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL INSTRUCTION NUMBER 2 / 2007

Technical Report No. 11

OCTOBER 2008

Euroconsult Mott MacDonald and Deltares | Delft Hydraulics  
in association with  
DHV, Wageningen UR, Witteveen+Bos, PT MLD and PT INDEC

# **Master Plan for the Rehabilitation and Rehabilitation of the Ex-Mega Rice Project Area in Central Kalimantan**

**Technical Report Number 11**

## **Social Impact Analysis of Presidential Instruction Number 2/2007**

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# Table of contents

<b>List of abbreviations</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>3</b>
1.1 Definition of Social Impact Analysis (SIA).....	3
1.2 Social Impact Analysis Methodology .....	4
<b>2 Social Conditions in the EMRP Villages</b> .....	<b>5</b>
2.1 Dayak Communities .....	5
2.2 Transmigration Communities.....	6
2.3 Mixed Culture Communities .....	6
2.4 Summary .....	6
<b>3 Proposed Interventions of the Inpres</b> .....	<b>7</b>
3.1 Overview .....	7
3.2 Rehabilitation and Conservation (Pokja I) .....	7
3.3 Agricultural Revitalisation (Pokja II).....	8
3.4 Community Empowerment (Pokja III) .....	10
<b>4 Potential Impacts of Inpres 2/2007</b> .....	<b>13</b>
4.1 Rehabilitation Policy Impact (Pokja I) .....	13
4.2 Agricultural Policy Impact .....	14
4.3 Community Empowerment Policy Impact.....	21
<b>5 Conclusions on Potential Social Impact</b> .....	<b>25</b>

# List of abbreviations

ADD	Anggaran Dana Desa, Village Fund Budget
BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, National Development Planning Board
BBI	Balai Benih Induk, Main Seed Centre
BPD	Badan Perwakilan Desa, Village representative Board
BPP	Badan Penyulu Pertanian, Agricultural Extension Board
CA	Cagar Alam, conservation area
Diklat	Pendidikan dan Pelatihan, Education and Training
EHG	Ekosistem Hutan Gelam, Long term eco-system of Gelam Forest
EHGT	Ekosistem Hutan Gambut Tebal, Eco-system of Thick Peat
EHK	Ekosistem Hutan Kerangas, Eco-system heath forest
EHM	Ekosistem Hutan Mangrove, Eco-system Mangrove Forest
EMRP	Ex-Mega Rice Project
Gotong royong	Social system of mutual assistance
HL	Hutan Lindung, Protected Forest
HMT	Hijauan Makanan Ternak, Fodder
HPT	Hutan Produksi Terbatas, Limited Production Forest
HTI	Hutan Tanaman Industri, Plantation
HTR	Hutan Tanaman Rakyat, Community-based Plantation Forest
Inpres	Instruksi Presiden, Presidential Decree
Kepmen	Keputusan Menteri, Ministerial Decree
LKMD	Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa, Village Community Welfare Board
MP	Master Plan
OPT	Organisme Pengganggu Tanaman, Plant pesticides/insecticides
PMD	Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa, Village Community Empowerment
PokJa	Kelompok Kerja, Working Group
SIA	Social Impact Analysis
SM	Suaka Margasatwa, fauna sanctuary
UPHHT	Usaha Pemanfaatan Hasil Hutan Tanaman, Forest Utilization License on Plantation Forest
UPT	Unit Pemukiman Transmigrasi, Transmigration Settlement Unit

# 1 Introduction

In developing a Master Plan for the EMRP area, the main focus is the Presidential Decree Number 2 of the year 2007 on the Acceleration of the Rehabilitation and Revitalisation of the Peatland Development Area in Central Kalimantan (*Inpres Nomor 2 Tahun 2007 tentang Percepatan Rehabilitasi dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Pengembangan Lahan Gambut di Kalimantan Tengah*). In looking at development options for the Ex-Mega Rice Project area in Central Kalimantan province, the Master Plan team is expected to develop conservation and local economic development scenarios for the EMRP area in order to achieve a well-designed Master Plan. In accordance with this objective the Master Plan team has undertaken a Social Impact Analysis to obtain better insight into the potential effects of the Inpres 2/2007.

## 1.1 Definition of Social Impact Analysis (SIA)

A Social impact analysis assesses the consequences of policy interventions—before, during, and after—on the well-being of different social groups, with a special focus on the vulnerable and the poor. SIA focuses on the distributional impact of policies across social groups, based on such factors as gender, ethnicity, age, land ownership, livelihood, and geographic location.<sup>1</sup> At the local level it is necessary to ensure that poor people benefit as much as possible from projects and policies. An SIA would ideally be based on a comprehensive analysis of policies and public actions (like public spending programs), including direct and indirect effects. In practice, because of data and other limitations, a more limited analysis of the immediate social impact of alternative policies is normally utilized.

A social impact study generally involves five stages: (1) profiling the existing social conditions; (2) identifying the kinds of changes likely to occur as a result of the proposed development (who will be affected, in what way and for how long); (3) determining the relative importance of the potential changes; (4) identifying measures to prevent or minimize adverse effects; and (5) evaluating the overall acceptability of the proposed development given the significance of potential social impacts.

It is often not possible to predict exactly what will happen to people and their community as a result of a development project. It is possible to provide an estimate and understanding of what might happen, why and what should be done to prevent harm, and to respond to the needs and concerns of those people who might be affected.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://web.worldbank.org/>

## 1.2 Social Impact Analysis Methodology

In undertaking a comprehensive Social Impact Analysis, one can select from a range of tools to measure the distributional impact and the equality thereof. During the limited period available in the framework of the MP EMRP activities, the MP team has chosen to make use of the following methodologies:

1. Collection and review of relevant literature, maps, project reports and other relevant documentation;
2. Rapid rural appraisal in selected EMRP villages in order to gain preliminary insight and as preparation for a more indepth consultation exercise;
3. A multi-level stakeholder consultation approach, consisting of village workshops in six villages, sub-district meetings in 20 sub-districts and three district level meetings. In addition intensive coordination and consultation was undertaken at the provincial level, while at the national level regular meetings took place.
4. The Inpres and the Working Group (Pokja) plans were analysed and projected towards current and possible future changes in order to develop logical development scenarios. This allowed for assessing opportunities, constraints, omissions and potential intended and unintended future impacts.



## 2 Social Conditions in the EMRP Villages

The 227 villages in the Ex-Mega Rice Project Area have various characteristics. The communities<sup>2</sup> in these villages can be divided into indigenous communities, transmigrant communities and mixed communities.

### 2.1 Dayak Communities

The indigenous Dayak communities can either be single-ethnic or multi ethnic (Dayak, Banjar and Javanese) communities. The traditional values of the Dayak culture are still very strong, despite the intrusion of modernization. The multi-ethnic communities do not reduce the intensity of these traditional values of the Dayaks, such as using the Ngaju language and the custom of *'handep'* (collectively preparing land for rice planting<sup>3</sup>). The rice cultivation is shifting cultivation, using the slash and burn system. The burning system is applied in order to reduce the acid sulphate level in the soil while the ashes are used as fertilizer. The harvested yield would be put in storage, called *'Lusuk Parei'* or *'Karingking'*. Furthermore, there is also the custom of 'jipen' a kind of penalty applied for breaking customary laws. In the past the penalty should be paid with valuables, but nowadays it is paid with money. The customary ritual is still practiced and is lead by the traditional leader. This retual, called *'Parasih Lewu'* is undertaken for good luck. Most of the social problems and issues are dealt with according to customary laws, rather than with government law. The most common problem is the ownership of land which is hereditary through generations, from parents to children, but without any written statement. This ownership status is very strong and acknowledged among the community in the particular area.

There is a gender division of labour in farming: clearing weeds and grass from among the plants and paddy threshing are done by women, while men prepare the land, dry and burn it and carry the harvest to the house. The planting and harvesting are done together by men and women. In the case of rubber cultivation the men plant and clear the land, while the tapping of rubber is done by men and women. The collection of rattan is mostly done by men, although sometimes women help with this activity. The division of labour is flexible, since women often do men's work in the village, when the men are travelling outside the village to find work. The decision making in the village is mainly done by men; women tend to leave the decision making to men. In the Dayak villages the main religion is Hindu Kaharingan<sup>4</sup>. The main traditional customs still practiced by the community are related to marriage, death, land clearing and crop selection. The shifting cultivation has for a large part been replaced by a permanent farming and plantation system, after the government introduced this system to the communities. However, the system of slash and burn to prepare land for planting is still practised even though the government has prohibited this.

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<sup>2</sup> Community: a social group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and often have a common cultural and historical heritage.

<sup>3</sup> The system of *'handep'* has experienced a shift in the sense that while in the past collective work was unpaid, it has currently become a paid activity (around Rp. 25,000 per person). Also, during harvest people are paid to help with harvesting the yield.

<sup>4</sup> When the adherents of the ethnic religions Aluk To Dolo (Sa'dan Toraja) and [Kaharingan](#) (Ngaju, Luangan) claimed official recognition of their traditions, the Ministry of Religion classified them as Hindu variants in 1968 and 1980.

## 2.2 Transmigration Communities

In the transmigration villages the communities have maintained the culture of their homeland. The Javanese cultural manifestation is shown among others in the shadow puppet performance and pencak silat martial arts. The collective way of working together ('gotong royong') is applied in the villages especially with regard to maintenance and/or rehabilitation of public facilities. The transmigrant communities are brought into the area through the government transmigration program. The communities were provided with two hectares of land, a house and irrigation canals for the cultivation of sawah paddy system. They are also provided with a flock of animals (goats, ducks and chicken) for animal husbandry. The problem encountered by the communities is the acid sulphate intrusion in the soils, resulting in an ineffective and limited production of rice. Most of the transmigrant households have left the settlements to find sources of income elsewhere and those remaining have started cultivating local paddy in the mountainous areas, for it has become too expensive to make the acid soils fertile enough for rice cultivation.

## 2.3 Mixed Culture Communities

The mixed culture communities consisting of Dayak, Banjar, Java and Sunda ethnicities have been able to combine each culture and blend them into a mixture of different ethnic cultural expressions such as kuda lumping, calung, kasidah and manasai. The storage place for paddy is called lusuk (Dayak) and leit (Sunda). The different cultures live together in harmony. The sources of income of these communities vary from farming local dryland paddy, rubber tapping, fishery and animal husbandry to trade.

## 2.4 Summary

Social and economic problems and challenges faced by the communities in the area include:

- Landownership, better know is 'Ayungkuh', is very unclear;
- Prohibition on the use of damaging materials to catch fish;
- The existence of rabies and diarrhoea;
- Water and irrigation management;
- Farming system is still based on shifting cultivation and slash and burn practices;
- Problems in marketing products (rubber, gemor, pantung fruit, fish and domination of middlemen who set prices;
- Limited quality of the local rubber;
- Low levels of farming knowledge.

Inpres 2/2007 sets the policy for the rehabilitation and conservation of the area's peatlands. However, in some cases communities have started to use these lands so management systems need to be developed that allow preservation of the peat while allowing for extensive livelihood use. Clear standards need to be developed that outline to what extent livelihood activities can take place on peatlands.

Communities lack resources and ability to manage significant inflow of funds. Micro-credit programs have failed due to lack of social organizing, which led to mis-appropriation of funds. Communities will need to be facilitated to identify new livelihood opportunities that are environmentally sound.



## 3 Proposed Interventions of the Inpres

### 3.1 Overview

In issuing the Inpres 2/2007 the Indonesian government has accepted its responsibility towards management of the Ex mega rice project area in Central Kalimantan. As a follow up of the Inpres three working groups were established with the following tasks:

1. To prepare master plans for the rehabilitation of forests under the coordination of the Ministry of Forestry (Pokja I)
2. To develop an action plan for the development of EMRP area under the coordination of the Ministry of Agriculture (Pokja II), and:
3. Design a community empowerment plan under the coordination of the Ministry of Labour and Transmigration (Pokja III).

As instructed it was expected that the management of the EMRP area would be done in an integrated way by the related government institutions in order to achieve effective and sustained development for the area. For this purpose the Governor of Central Kalimantan has issued a separate decree (Nr. 188.44/144/2007, 9 April 2007) on the organization and working mechanism of the Inpres implementation team.

### 3.2 Rehabilitation and Conservation (Pokja I)

As leading agency for Pokja I, the Ministry of Forestry has formulated a Master Plan for the Rehabilitation and Conservation of the EMRP area through public consultation processes using a multi-stakeholder approach at both central and local levels. The draft of the rehabilitation and revitalisation plan prepared by Pokja I was the key documents for the public consultation process undertaken in Palangkaraya.

The plans drafted by Pokja I are as follows:

1. **Long term eco-system heath forest (Ekosistem Hutan Kerangas, EHK)** should become conservation area. Hereto the areas should get a protected status. The management of EHK should be as follows:
  - If the eco-system is not controlled by the community and the damage is minor, conservation actions should be aimed at facilitating communities to conserve the area (Cagar Alam, CA).
  - If the eco-system is controlled and/or not controlled by the community, but the damage is severe and significant, conservation activities should be aimed at returning the vegetation structure through reforestation and it should become protected forest (Hutan Lindung, HL).
2. **Long-term eco-system of Gelam Forest (EHG)** is aimed to be managed as conservation area and be given the status of protected area. The management of EHG should be:
  - If the eco-system is sulphate acid actual, vegetation damage minor-severe and controlled by communities, and/or sulphate acid potential with severe vegetation damage and not controlled by communities, conservation activities should be

aimed at rehabilitation of forest vegetation to become protected forest (Hutan Lindung, HL).

- If the eco-system is sulphate acid potential, vegetation damage minor-severe and controlled by the community, conservation activities should be aimed at rehabilitation of vegetation structure to become restricted production forest area (Hutan Produksi Terbatas, HPT).
  - If the eco-system is sulphate acid actual, vegetation damage minor-severe and/or sulphate acid potential with minor vegetation damage, not controlled by communities, conservation activities should be aimed at facilitating communities to conserve the area (Cagar Alam, CA)
3. **Conservation problems faced by the deep peat forest eco-system (Ekosistem Hutan Gambut Tebal, EHGT)** in the area of the ex mega rice project (EMRP) are severe forest vegetation damage and the level of land control by communities. Therefore, in the long term EHGT should be managed to become a conservation area (CA) and fauna sanctuary. Based on the guidelines, the EHGT area should be managed as follows:
- If EHGT is a peat dome, not controlled by the community and with minor damage, conservation activities should be aimed at facilitating communities to conserve the area (Cagar Alam, CA).
  - If EHGT has peat domes, controlled by the community, with minor-severe vegetation damage, and/or not controlled by the community, is a peat dome with severe vegetation damage, and/or not controlled by the community, no peat dome with minor-severe vegetation damage, conservation activities should be aimed at the restoration of EHGT to become a fauna sanctuary (Suaka Margasatwa, SM)
  - If EHGT is controlled by the community, without peat domes, with minor-severe vegetation damage, conservation activities should be aimed at rehabilitation of the vegetation structure and be given the status of protected forest (HL).
  - Conservation problems faced by the eco-system of Mangrove Forest (Ekosistem Hutan Mangrove, EHM) in the ex mega rice project area, the level of forest vegetation damage and the level of land control by the community, the long term EHM policy will be to be managed as protected forest (HL)

### 3.3 Agricultural Revitalisation (Pokja II)

The Inpres was very detailed in terms of agricultural development. This detailed planning was used by the Agriculture Department as leading agency for Pokja II to prepare an Action Plan.

The agricultural policy developed by Pokja II with potential social impact includes:

1. **Policy on swamp reclamation of an area of 93.000 hectare:** The responsible departments for the implementation of this activity are: Public Works, Agriculture and Transmigration. The swamp reclamation is aimed at the extension of irrigation and drainage networks for new transmigration sites.
2. **Infrastructure:** The policy on the development of agricultural facilities and related institutions is focused on enhancing the function of the Main Seed Centre (Balai Benih Induk, BBI); plant diseases control (Organisme Pengganggu Tanaman, OPT), especially the revitalisation of the centre for food and horticulture (two units) and the

revitalisation of the centre for the plantation plants protection; the provision of tools for repair shops and agricultural services; regulation and provision of production means; provision of plant production facilities; and the provision of agricultural credit schemes.

3. **Food production:** the policy on food crop development which is focused on the extension of the sawah rice fields for 123.000 hectare and cash crops of 62.000 hectare with selected crops will have social impact at the level of planning among the communities.
4. **Horticulture:** the policy on the development of horticulture is an extension/intensification of the area of horticulture of 17.600 hectare.
5. **Plantations:** the policy on the development of plantation is focused on the extension and rehabilitation of rubber plantation (7.500 hectare), coconut trees (5.000 hectare), oil palm (10.000 hectare), purun (200 hectare) and coffee (200 hectare).
6. **Fisheries:** The policy on fishery development is focused on the development of fish pond cultivation and the cultivation of papuyu (120,000), patin (300.000) and lele fish (120,000) types in 197 fish ponds.
7. **Animal husbandry:** The animal husbandry policy is directed towards the development of gardens for the food of the animals (Hijauan Makanan Ternak, HMT) and rear cows, ducks, buffalo's, chicken and goats.
8. **Processing and marketing:** The policy on the development and management of agriculture products is focused on the the availability of processing and marketing units of food products (150 units of paddy processing and 50 units of horticultural products (20 units of miniplan for rambutan and 10 units for the processing of pine apples and 10 units of house packing for oranges); units for the processing and marketing of purun (20 units purun processing facilities); three wheel vehicles for the transportation of agriculture products to the markets (110 units for three wheel vehicles); units for the processing and marketing of animal husbandry and the installation of *biogas* (50 units/groups of animal husbandry processors and 500 units biogas installations).
9. **Institutionalization:** the improvement of the seed bank, revitalization of the pest control centre for food crops, horticulture and plantations, farming workshops and management mechanisms for agricultural production facilities and services, development of agricultural credit schemes.
10. **Extension services:** The policy on revitalisation of agricultural extension services is focused on the recruitment of field extension workers and the centre for field extension services, BPP (110 field extension workers), and the assistance and the construction of demonstration farms for the testing of agricultural technology (107 units demonstration farms).
11. **Industrial Tree/Timber Plantation policy:** The HTI policy deals with UPHHT (Usaha Pemanfaatan Hasil Hutan Tanaman, Forest Utilization License on Plantation Forest) permits in the form of the management of production forest on peat land; area determination for HTI (Hutan Tanaman Industri, Industrial Plantation Forest) on peatland for an area of 153.000 hectare; development of forest plants with selected trees on peatland (153.000 hectare).
12. **Re-greening policies** aimed at:
  - Identification and selection of rehabilitation area aimed atlegalisation and planning of forest and land rehabilitation;

- Provision of seeds and establishment of Community-based Plantation Forest (HTR) (2.200.000 seedlings for an area of 5.000 hectare per year);
- Setting up of community forest model (establishment of four model units on an area of 200 hectare); Re-greening of the environment in the EMRP area;
- Monitoring, control and security (of an area of 10.000 hectare per year).

### 3.4 Community Empowerment (Pokja III)

The community empowerment working group is under the responsibility of the Department of labour and transmigration. The detailed formulation of activities specified in the annex for this topic has included the following activities under the Inpres:

#### 1. Master plan for rehabilitation and transmigration development

The formulation of the master plan on community empowerment is focused on providing services and infrastructure for existing transmigrants (including refill of abandoned settlement areas) and development of new settlement areas. The new settlements will include 107 villages, which are planned to be located in the new swamp reclamation area of 93,000 hectares (under responsibility of Pokja II). The planned new transmigration of 46,500 households will be spread over 107 villages, while each household will be provided with two hectares land. The location of these settlements is still under consideration. The recommended location derived from the Inpres of the new transmigration the area of Mintin (Block B, District Pulang Pisau, sub-district Kahayan Hilir) is in an advanced stage of preparation. The Jabiren Seberang area in Pulang Pisau District is seen as another potential settlement target area. Figure 1 shows existing and planned transmigration locations.

#### 2. Basic infrastructure

The basic infrastructure planning is focused on the (1) development/rehabilitation of 107 puskesmas pembantu (Pustu) and 12 Puskesmas/Pondok Bersalin Desa (Polindes); (2) the establishment of 107 units Posyandu; (3) 119 packages of health support faculties; (4) Provision of 107 packages of water supply facilities; (5) Rehabilitation of 107 primary school building; (6) development/rehabilitation of 29 units of Secondary school buildings; (7) rehabilitation of 7 units of high school buildings; (8) the establishment of 7 units sub-district markets; (9) development of 107 units cooperatives/micro finance institutions (LKM, Lembaga Keuangan Mikro); (10) provision of food and non-food subsidies for 7.100 households<sup>5</sup>; (11) Social support for 8.500 households and 3.200 children in the EMRP area; (12) increase religious facilities (214 units); and (13) build 8 units traditional 'adat' centres.

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<sup>5</sup> The provision of subsidies for 7,100 households and the social support for 8,500 households and 3,200 children is aimed for the location in Block A (District Kapuas), where the existing transmigration settlement area is located, which has been abandoned by half of the original households.

### **3. Construction and maintenance of roads and bridges**

The policy on development, road and bridge improvement and maintenance is focused on (1) the maintenance 138 kilometres of the national road; make 143 kilometres of provincial road; (3) construct 60 kilometres of district road; (4) increase district road along 137 kilometres; (5) construct/maintenance of 5.000 metres bridges.

### **4. Improvement of transmigration settlement services and infrastructure**

The policy on improvement of transmigration/community infrastructure is focused on the registration of 7.100 households of the transmigration and local population in the EMRP area; to review the land certificates of transmigrants which have abandoned their land for 7.100 households; provide assistance in the rehabilitation of houses and build new houses for 8.500 units; building 46.500 units of houses for new transmigrants; placement and empowerment of 46.500 new transmigrants households; rehabilitate public buildings for 107 packages; increase road network according to regulations for 950 kilometres; provide sanitation facilities for transmigrants for 107 units; implement operation and maintenance for irrigation and swamp networks; provide support to farmer water users associations (P3A, Perkumpulan Petani Pemakai Air) for 400 persons; provide houses for teachers and school guards for 600 units.

### **5. Capacity building**

The policy on improvement of human resources is focused on the provision of 135 support staff for 45 UPT (Unit Pemukiman Transmigrasi, Transmigration Settlement Unit); provision of 186 support staff for 62 new UPT's; provision of 45 medical staff/doctors; provision of 282 teachers/teaching staff; provision of 22 seed control staff; provision of 22 packages of pesticides/insecticides (OPT, Organisme Pengganggu Tanaman) monitoring staff; conduct 138 package of education and training (diklat) for staff to assist farmers and transmigrants; provision of 470 midwives; provision of 133 nurses; provision of 48 sanitary staff; provision of 194 cooperative management staff; provision of 7 market staff; implement 107 packages of psychological support and motivation to increase economic productivity; and provide psychological, spiritual and religious support of 107 packages.

### **6. Community support service provision**

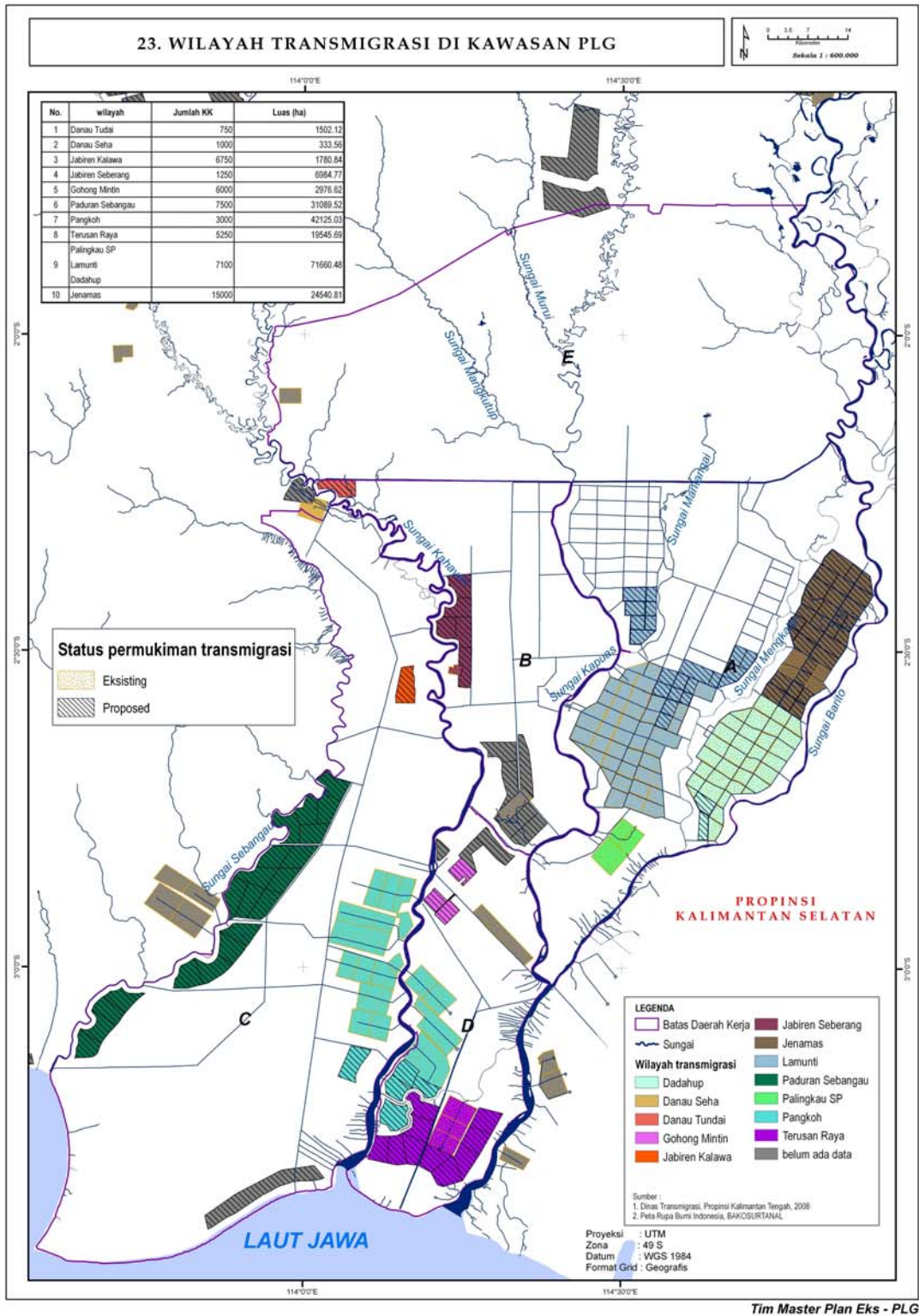
This policy entails the provision by the local government of 119 packages of health support facilities improvement, 143 packages of education support facilities and 12 packages of social-economic support facilities.

### **7. Transportation development**

The policy on infrastructure and capital for transport is focused on the development and rehabilitation of 100 ports/jetties.



Figure 1: Location of Proposed and Existing Transmigration Locations.





## 4 Potential Impacts of Inpres 2/2007

Social implications are reflected in the impact towards levels of participation, well-being, jobs and money, cultural heritage and knowledge, human relationships (including conflict and gender aspects) and the relation between people and their natural environment.

Through consultation meetings with villagers and others directly related to the development of the EMRP area the MP team has tried in a qualitative way to assess these effects. Secondary data is used to support the findings. The following paragraphs present: (a) the expected social implications, and (b) recommendations and ways to mitigate negative impacts and achieve better planning results equal distribution of services and resources.

### 4.1 Rehabilitation Policy Impact (Pokja I)

Conservation strategies that fail to bring incentives for local participation cannot be implemented. People's development concerns need to be acknowledged through sound planning that guarantees their stake and identifies their roles.

Limited involvement of stakeholders, insufficient use of data and a number of other reasons have caused not only that the Inpres 2/2007 was difficult to implement, but it appears also difficult to measure the potential impact of the Inpres. We can only identify possible scenarios and recommend ways to anticipate and mitigate possible negative effects.

#### 4.1.1 Land conversion problems

The land conversion that took place in the Ex-Mega Rice Project Area has resulted in a range of serious problems covering bio-physical, socio-economic, cultural and environmental issues in the area and its vicinity. From a global perspective, the consequence of EMRP is claimed to having a significant contribution to forest fires and haze as well as green house gas emission.

Through the Inpres the government has tried to limit the negative effects of the MRP project. However, turning EMRP land back into protected forest areas will also have social implications, including:

- 1. *Communities will be restricted in access to and/or the use of these protected forest areas***

Limiting access to and use of protected forests by communities requires rights-based policies with ample attention for possible negative social effects in order to avoid tension. For these restrictions to work out effectively, compensation for loss of income, engaging communities in environmental responsibilities and finding alternative income sources should be considered and designed. Further, these designs should be discussed thoroughly with the communities before any decision on implementation can be made. Additionally, in the implementation of the Master Plan, government agencies should be

willing to negotiate to find solutions and to assist the communities by raising social and environmental awareness, assist in coordination with different government agencies and other stakeholders and be open for discussions on alternative options.

### **2. Traditional landownership rules need to be acknowledged and dealt with**

The Master Plan needs to anticipate possible violation of traditional landownership rules. Forest areas are officially state-owned. However, if traditional landownership relations are not taken into account in the process of land conversion, social tension may occur. Jointly with communities, government agencies engaged in the land conversion, should formulate rules and/or agreements on compensation for loss/use of land. In certain cases the private sector and /or NGOs will be involved to provide possible solutions (jobs, partnerships, facilitation, advocacy, mediation, etc.).

### **3. The Inpres stresses the importance of community facilitation in the process of conversion to protected forests areas.**

If the government will not deal in a serious way with the community facilitation and consultation processes, communities will refuse to cooperate. Facilitation of communities should include making clear agreements on (limited) use of the protected forest, boundaries, tenure issues, limited collection of forest products, use of canals and other transport routes, alternative income sources, etc.

## 4.2 Agricultural Policy Impact

The Action Plan made by Pokja II was aimed at commodity development without taking into account human development aspects and was not based on a proper assessment of the current social conditions. There was no assessment made on local knowledge regarding new or existing commodities, training or extension needs, culture and tradition and other relevant social characteristics of the different target communities.

The detailed design presented in the action plan focused on re-evaluation of 330,000 hectare land. The design is not clear on the exact locations and allocation of this area (Blok A, B and D). As can be concluded from the annex of the Inpres, land use mapping has not yet been synchronised with that of the Ministry of Forestry. Therefore, it is not clear which communities will be subject to changes as a result of the action plan.

### 4.2.1 Swamp reclamation

Swamp reclamation activities potentially have the following implications:

- a. Loss of fishing grounds of communities;
- b. Land conflicts;
- c. Possible loss of transport routes and irrigation and/or drainage canals;
- d. Possible loss of habitat.

The swamp reclamation of an area of 93,000 hectares is meant for the new development of transmigration settlements. The Provincial department of transmigration has undertaken surveys in the areas of Mintin and Jabiren Seberang. The area of Mintin is in an advanced phase of preparations, while the MP team has proposed to reconsider the preparation of the Jabiren Seberang, since the location is in deep peat and thus considered not suitable for sawah rice fields. The government encounters constraints on the land compensation

and the agreement to fill the new settlement with half local communities and half newcomers. The land compensation is related to the lack of certificates from owners and the population constraint is related to the selection of local communities to be eligible for the new settlements along with the provision of services and facilities which come with the program. Social jealousy will likely happen for those who are not selected, but would have liked to join the program.

The swamp reclamation plans are already far into the design phase. This design phase has taken place without any involvement by the local Dayak communities and old transmigration communities.<sup>6</sup> For these people not having been involved it is going to be difficult to accept the changes without protest, especially if the changes affect their current ways of life and threaten their livelihoods. It is therefore of importance to engage the communities before any actual implementation activities will take place. This can best be done by undertaking community consultation processes with teams from the villages which include poor and vulnerable groups, while using this process to strengthen village institutions.

#### 4.2.2 Infrastructure

The policy on rehabilitation and development of agriculture infrastructure is aimed at an area of 330.000 hectare with an output target of 123.000 hectare (93,000 ha for agricultural purposes and 30,000 ha for road and irrigation infrastructure). The Inpres is not clear on the locations and beneficiaries of the infrastructure. Seen from the responsible departments it is likely that these works are aimed at transmigration communities. As in the above mentioned reclamation process, social tensions can be expected when people's livelihoods or access to resources are threatened as a result of the plans.

Based on the assumption that the infrastructure planning can affect livelihoods, it is recommended to consider contracting mechanisms between government and communities in the construction of smaller irrigation canals, bridges, roads and other micro-water management infrastructure works. The government will then need to design the contract mechanisms and community engagement approaches.

#### 4.2.3 Food production

The selection of food and cash crops for the agriculture development action plan which has been formulated in the Inpres 2/2007 was made without consultation with communities. The land use mapping will have the following problems:

In absence of compatibility with cultural, local knowledge and the skills of the communities, the central government-made action plan may receive a cold shoulder from the local communities due to lack of sense of ownership. It is also not clear whether the action plan has taken the physical conditions of the area into account, especially the parts that are already under cultivation.

Actual implementation of food production interventions should be preceded by an extensive village consultation process. The MUSRENBANGDES process may be a suitable platform in the existing target villages to exchange ideas and plans on food production, but this

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<sup>6</sup> More information about these plans is available based on meeting with Head of Prov Transm. Dept.

should be prepared thoroughly during the months preceding the actual MUSRENBANGDES meetings and ensure involvement of poor and vulnerable groups.

#### 4.2.4 Horticulture

The horticulture policy is not based on a clear survey. The policy on the selection of types of plants such as lowland vegetables, rambutan, orange and bananas will create a social tension, again because the selection has been done without involving communities and the local government in the area. It is not clear who the beneficiaries are for these programs and on what base the beneficiaries will be selected. Furthermore, there is no technical justification for the choices of commodities and it is in contradiction with the Master Planning process which will be formulated based on the current field condition.

For horticulture development the same applies as with food production. It should be mentioned that during consultation meetings the MP team has identified huge interest in horticultural commodities, especially because these are seen as very marketable providing jobs and decent incomes.

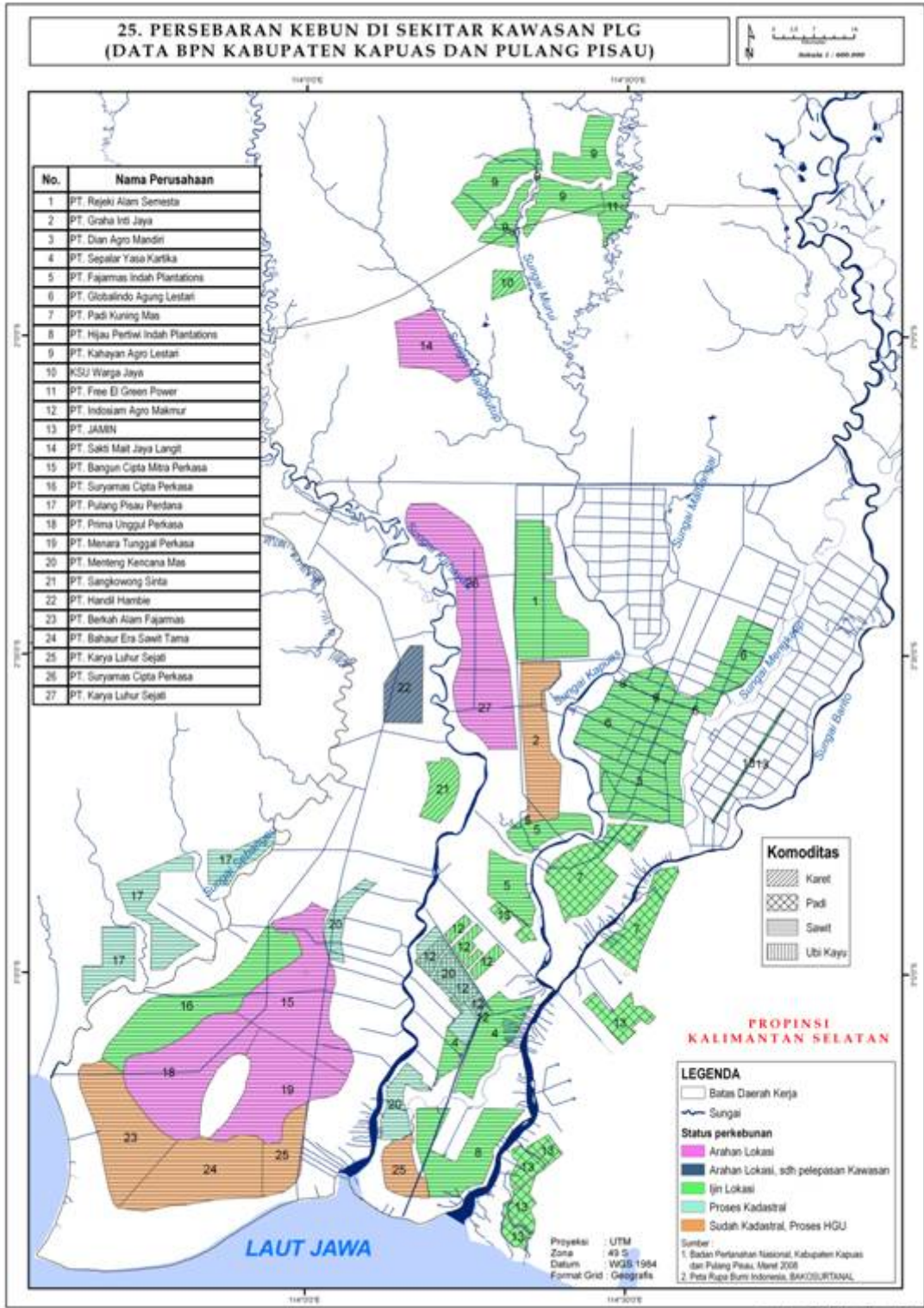
#### 4.2.5 Plantations

The Inpres identified a number of commodities which were considered suitable for EMRP area development: coconut, rubber, sisal, coffee and oil palm (blok A and B). In village consultation meetings the MP team encountered criticism towards the choice and location of oil palm as this is not a community-based but a corporate commodity. A possible reaction towards other commodities may also occur as these choices have not been discussed with the communities. Oil palm estate development is a sensitive issue as this has been proven to threaten livelihoods and to be planned without any consultation with local communities on the issues of land status, suitability, function or use. A potential positive impact of plantations is job creation but working at plantations is generally not seen as an attractive job.

Plantations are a potential threat for livelihoods for communities living in the designated plantation areas. Even though they may be eligible for working on the plantations, they are confronted with the fact that their habitat is converted into a plantation instead of their own farming area. In issuing concessions to plantation firms, the government should ensure that the companies compensate communities fairly for their asset losses. Also, the government should tightly anticipate and monitor possible negative effects of plantation development and should try, together with the communities to find alternative income sources, especially in times of coping.

Another potential negative effect of the plantations is the buffer zone effect. A plantation potentially closes access to forest resources, which in an immediate way affects livelihoods of communities living off forest products, which may have damaging effects in times that communities heavily depend on these forest resources (as coping strategy). From the view of biodiversity conservation this is potentially positive, but at the other hand it threatens livelihoods and may increase dependency of vulnerable community members on their land with limited carrying capacity.

**Figure 2:** Locations of Plantation Permits in the EMRP Area. (Data from BPN district offices).





#### 4.2.6 Fisheries

The plans for fisheries in the Inpres are to place fish ponds in villages (not yet identified). While the principle idea is that this will potentially increase the incomes of the communities, the plans have not taken into consideration the local existing fishery practices. In transmigration areas fish ponds may be a good idea, however in traditional Dayak villages the system of beje (fish cages in the river) is more common to the communities and fish ponds may encounter rejection by communities if the implementation will be done without community consultation and guidance and facilitation.

The Inpres only has interest in building fish ponds. This gives the impression that the fish ponds are only to be constructed and brought into operation in transmigration settlements. It would be unfortunate if the government would only pay attention to fish pond development, while ignoring local knowledge and experience with traditional fish cage based or other fish cultivation or fishing practices. Additionally, it is recommended to consider fishery development in other areas in addition to Blok B (which according to the Inpres is the only target location).

#### 4.2.7 Animal husbandry

The detailed program of Pokja II does not give any opportunity for the area to develop local potential. The cultivation of swamp cows (sapi rawa) in the black water conservation area for example has not been included in the plan. The development of animal husbandry is limited to the introduction of chicken, geese, cows, buffaloes and goats. The same as for horticulture commodities the target areas and groups for these programs are not clear. During the field visits and village workshops held in the EMRP area, there is no knowledge of these programs being planned. It seems that there was no community participation or involvement in the formulation of these programs.

The MP team has identified huge interest in animal husbandry development, which has a big potential for income generation among large groups. Communities can be organized into farmer groups who can jointly rear cattle or keep smaller farm animals. It is of great importance (this also counts for fisheries and other farming products) that the government anticipates market access possibilities and constraints. In order to ensure proper animal husbandry practices and market access, the government is urged to mobilize field extension workers who are assigned to support farmers in their animal husbandry efforts and development.

#### 4.2.8 Processing and Marketing

The processing and marketing policy is limited to the provision of a number of agro-processing machineries, and a number of small agro-processing plants. Some marketing efforts are planned for coconut and rubber. This policy will have very limited social-economic and not very sustainable impacts. As long as the value chain is not taken into account from the inputs up to the marketing and processing, the communities will not benefit from this policy.

Sustainable agricultural development plan can only lead to success if the total value chain is taken into account. Communities need to be supported by ensuring inputs at reasonable prices, extension services during planting, growing and harvesting and technical services in



agro-processing and marketing. The agro-processing requires not only the establishment of processing plants or the provision of equipment, but it also will require extensive technical training, support in the use and maintenance of equipment and support in all aspects of the processing process, such as baling, storage and transport. In order to market the products, the sellers of the products must be ensured of fair farm-gate prices and transparent transactions. This means that the communities must be facilitated in the development of business networks and business partnerships. These relations must have a mutual beneficial character: the farmers and agro-processors have to understand that they have to meet standards of quality, quantity and continuity of production. The traders and big processing units (factories, etc.) should provide capacity building and awareness training for farmers. At the other hand, the business partners of the farmers should ensure fair transaction, openness about market prices, facilitate transport and support farmers with subsidies and/or credit, quality information, etc. Higher levels of quality awareness will increase trust between buyers and sellers and ensure more success for both parties. The government as well as other stakeholder should facilitate these processing by mobilizing business providers, the private sector, NGOs and research agencies.

The agricultural policy in general shows a number of social implications which should be anticipated:

1. Facilitation of problem solving and conflict on land use and multiple land allocation and land tenure in the non-cultivation area of the forest;
2. Mechanism for conflict resolution between the sectoral departments in the area, between communities and government and third parties in the field, among communities (new comers, transmigrants and local communities), in the non-development forest area.
3. The process of buffer zone for the implementation of development policy needs another process of integration and agreement on the use of land with all related sectors, such as Forestry and BPN. The review and adjustment on the status and function in the field will be crucial and should be anticipated, especially with regard to the existing multiple permits.
4. The increase of population in the area and the in-stream of new comers in the EMRP area should be anticipated, because the new comers will occupy the abandoned area (during the Mega Rice Project this area was allocated to transmigration settlers. However, the planting of rice in this area was impossible and the people left the area to find other sources of incomes elsewhere).

#### 4.2.9 Institutionalization

In the detailed policy on institutionalization only the institutional technocracy in the agriculture policy will be solved, which will likely lead to a process of institutional strengthening. The strengthening policy however, does not show how this will be translated into actual community development programs. It is of importance that agricultural services provided by the government institutions increase access of farmers to these agencies. This can be reached by paying attention to existing local knowledge, enhancing that local knowledge, by provision of support to farmers and farmer groups in commodity or crop selection, planting techniques, introduction of farming tools, support in supply of and selection of proper farming inputs, credit schemes, etc. It is of importance that in this process the marginal, women, youth and poor groups will be given special attention. The

actual implementation of these services should be undertaken at the sub-district or village level (bringing the services closer to the beneficiaries through extension services).

#### 4.2.10 Extension services

The extension services policy shows the intention to recruit 110 new extension workers for 107 target transmigration villages. The interests of existing local villages and transmigration sites are ignored if only these new transmigration settlements are targeted.

The extension services should be aimed at all communities of the EMRP area, and at facilitating the communities in crop cultivation and processing at the field level. It is thus of the utmost importance to formulate the tasks and function of the field extension workers accordingly to the needs in the field. It should be avoided that extension workers, as currently is often the case, do not link to actual needs, do not have sufficient capacity, have insufficient understanding of local culture and farming practices and are not able to connect with the farmers. This means that extension workers should receive capacity building making them better equipped for their responsibilities. Better equipment, budgets and working conditions may also increase their preparedness to work with the communities. Exposure to NGO community development practices may contribute to their capacity building. Ministerial decree number 146/2007 of the department of Agriculture (Kepmen Pertanian) presents the plan to recruit 10,000 extension workers, as non permanent – honorary - government staff with a contract system for one year with the possibility of extension. One of the conditions for these staff members is the willingness to be placed and work in remote areas and no chance of becoming civil servant. This decree does not respond to the need of creating a pool of dedicated and qualified extension workers. If the recruitment of new extension workers has to abide by the ministerial decree, the local government should consider mechanisms, which link extension workers gradually to the local value chain. Being familiar with important agricultural skills such as inputs, logistics, farming technology and tools and sometimes even business networks, these extension workers may become independent 'engines of growth' for the local communities.

#### 4.2.11 Production forest

The possible problems of the production forest policy are caused by the fact that GOI departments tend to issue multiple permits for the same area. The HTI policy potentially increases the problems. Reserved areas for HTI are not yet mapped properly in the Inpres, because the existence of multiple allocation of the EMRP area before the issuance of the Inpres and the problems are still not solved. The multiple allocation contributes to already existing conflicts related to land tenure and access to land and forest.

It is obvious that production forests are not immediately in the interest of local communities, since they will have limited or no access to these forests, will not be able to gain a profit from it (unless the forests provide suitable jobs) and the development of production forest leads inevitably to land tenure issues. Therefore, the introduction of production forest needs to be accompanied by a carefully planned community awareness raising and consultation process, in which (limited) use of the production forest by communities should be part of the discussion.

#### 4.2.12 Re-greening policies

This policy is formulated in detail but does not show measures to solve problems of forest and land degradation, nor those related to development of agriculture. Communities have shown scepticism towards re-greening projects, due to the absence of participatory approaches. In some cases the re-greening projects were seen as projects on paper only while implementation in the field was lacking. The development of community forests (which are supposed to include forest products for communities to be used) have not been realized yet outside existing forest areas.

It is of great importance that the government is able to develop community forests in close cooperation with the communities on a participatory basis and with the use of community-based forest management. This will enhance acceptance and synchronized and sustained livelihood development interventions.

### 4.3 Community Empowerment Policy Impact

In general this policy will review the transmigration development program under responsibility of the department of Labour and Transmigration with involvement from other departments including National Development Planning Board (BAPPENAS), Home Affairs, Agriculture, Public Works and the Governor of Central Kalimantan. The absence of a cross cutting and active involvement of Forestry and local communities is missing, which indicates a lack of attention for resolving tensions in the communities on the status and function of the target areas. The Inpres does not present a clear community empowerment planning framework, excluding community to be involved in the planning process. The potential social impact of the Inpres is presented below.

#### 4.3.1 Master Plan for rehabilitation and transmigration development

The formulation of the master plan on community empowerment is focused on the rehabilitation of existing and development of new transmigration settlement. Based on the area map for transmigration sites in the Inpres the Provincial government has undertaken research in Mintin village and Jabiren Seberang village. The area development of Mintin is in an advanced phase of preparation, while the MP team has proposed to reconsider the preparation of the Jabiren Seberang, since the location is in deep peat and thus considered not suitable for paddy fields (sawah). In Mintin the government encounters land ownership issues, because local communities claim that their land is used for the transmigration settlements, while the government considers this land as state-owned. Another source of social jealousy is the plan to select community members of local villages to become local transmigrants in the new settlements. Also, the current remaining 7,100 transmigrant households will receive additional aid, while neighbouring local communities are not targeted to receive these provisions.

In spite of the many problems encountered by around 15,000 transmigrant households which have been moved into the EMRP area (of which almost 8,000 households have left due to the limited livelihood perspectives), through the Inpres the government plans to give the transmigration program a boost by planning settlements for another 45,000 households and review of certificates of 7,100 households which have stayed. Through consultation meetings, surveys and situation reports, the MP team has obtained an impression of the actual potential of the area. It is obvious that without proper planning and proper provision

of livelihood security mechanisms, this transmigration scheme is bound to fail, again bringing a large number of local people as well as newcomers into serious social and economic problems. In order to avoid this, firstly, the government should evaluate the results of the first batch of transmigration settlement schemes. Based on the conclusions, the current transmigrants should be given proper assistance, guidance and facilities to improve their livelihoods in a sustainable way. If the government succeeds in improving the livelihoods of these 7,100 households, a possible continuation of the transmigration program may be considered.

Transmigration settlements do not have an administrative village status as long as the Department of Transmigration has not officially handed over the settlement to Depdagri (MOHA). The absence of this administrative status entails that the transmigration villages are missing out on a number of village support programs from MOHA. Therefore, it is difficult to develop effective village governance. On the other hand, the government pays insufficient attention to traditional Dayak institutions, which should be integrated into the regular village government structure to reach effective village governance. Acceptance of these traditional institutions and capacity building efforts may contribute to solutions.

#### 4.3.2 Basic infrastructure planning

The extensive list of basic infrastructure as presented in the Inpres seems to respond to needs in the EMRP villages. However, the Inpres does not make clear on what data the numbers are based and which areas, transmigration sites or local villages are targeted. For sure, the villages in the target area have not had consultation meetings on village planning meetings to support this list of infrastructure works. This negligence may result in unequal and inappropriate distribution of infrastructure facilities in the area, potentially leading to inefficiency and friction.

In order to ensure full inclusion of community members and equal distribution in providing for basic infrastructure (including building and operation of community facilities for Cooperatives, microfinance supply, social subsidies etc.), the government needs to undertake extensive consultation with the target communities, not only with major stakeholders but also with women and children. Basic infrastructure forms a key subject in annual village planning sessions where RPJM (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah*, Middle-term – Five year - development plan). Social subsidies should preferably be avoided and replaced by support in sustainable livelihood development, for instance by providing animals combined with agricultural extension services. Market development should only be done at the sub-district level if villagers have reasonable transportation options. If not, establishment of (mobile) markets at village level should be considered. Water and sanitation facilities should be provided to all villages and not before extensive consultation with men, women and children has taken place.

#### 4.3.3 Road and bridge improvement and maintenance

This policy will enhance entrance to areas, areas which were not accessible before. This may have a socio-cultural impact of the affected areas. Also, especially allowing encroachment of conservation, protected and forest areas may lead to uncontrolled use of forest products. Inequality in access to and benefits of these construction works is a potential source of conflict.

In order to avoid uncontrolled use of conservation and protected areas and forests, the development, improvement and maintenance activities and to ensure that communities will have fair and equal access to public roads, the government needs to undertake consultation and awareness raising meetings with the communities.

#### 4.3.4 Policy on improvement of Transmigration/community infrastructure

Improvement of transmigration site infrastructure is highly desirable. However, it will only be of use if this infrastructure will contribute to improved sustainable livelihoods. From the Inpres it is clear that this policy is mainly aimed at new settlements with new local and non-local transmigrants. In addition, the land status of existing settlement dwellers will be reviewed. Considering the negative view on the livelihood prospects presented by current transmigrant households, not much can be expected of the new settlements or the reviewed land status.

The current transmigration program has not benefited the target group. If the transmigration program is continued, the government will have to be able to offer more livelihood security than has been given now. This will have to go beyond matters of farming and water management. The government will have to assess needs for market access, health services, financial services, capacity building, housing, etc. These assessments should take into account a range of socio-cultural aspects, including traditional customs and knowledge, farming practices, education levels, existing social and economic networks (or the absence thereof), gender aspects, availability and use of natural resources, etc.

#### 4.3.5 Improvement of Human Resources

This policy has been formulated without mapping and identification of needs and capacity of the human resources, especially the human resources of those responsible for the implementation of the rehabilitation and revitalisation of the EMRP area.

The Inpres has looked at capacity building needs for almost each sector related to transmigration settlement development (UPT managers, health workers, teachers, extension workers, etc.). It is remarkable that no attention is paid whatsoever to the capacity building of the major target group: the transmigrant households. If the government would seriously work on improving capacity of transmigrants, the communities would much faster be prepared to govern their villages and become administratively acknowledged. Capacity building may include: village governance, functioning as public service institutions, such as village secretary, village head, BPD (Badan Perwakilan Desa, Village Representative Board), LKMD (Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa, Village Community Welfare Board), PMD (Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa, Village Community Development), farmer groups, etc. Linking government agencies to and acknowledgement of village institutions is the key to bottom-up rural planning.

#### 4.3.6 Improvement of basic community support services

Community support services are aimed at health, education and other social facilities. Possible negative social impact of this policy lies in the process of implementation, since earlier experience, especially in transmigration areas, show that it is a top-down planning

process without consultation with the surrounding communities on their needs or suggestions.

Planning based on consultation allows for better budgeting, more equal distribution of support services. As in many other aspects of the Inpres, the plans can only succeed if based on proper consultation processes.

#### 4.3.7 Infrastructure and Capital for Transport

The policy on infrastructure and capital for transport is focused on the development and rehabilitation of 100 ports/jetties. This policy will improve the access and transportation of agricultural products to the market. However, this policy is handed over fully to the local government, which may collide with other priorities set by the local government, so that this policy will not be considered as a priority.

It would be wise if the central government and local government coordinate on the construction of these ports/jetties, which may be of great value to the communities, especially to enhance market access, increase farm-gate prices and boost trade in the EMRP area. It is important to optimize relations between transmigration communities and traditional villages at the river shores. The increased transport facilities will potentially improve social relations between the different communities.



## 5 Conclusions on Potential Social Impact

The Inpres 2/2007 is developed as a response to the problems created by the Ex-Mega Rice Project. The document is basically a good start for strategic planning. The document is lacking in two major aspects.

1. Specific information on the spatial distribution of the planned activities. The programmatic basis of many of the proposed plans is absent: not clear what planning documents were used (such as RTRWP versus RTRWK), to which extent the different villages in the EMRP area are targeted (traditional versus transmigration), to which extent the plans are aimed at further transmigration development, etc. The MoF asserted that the spatial distribution was mainly directed by considerations of conservation and rehabilitation. To that end, local (province and district) the spatial planning documents called RTRWP-RTRWK were not used as a basis yet. This explains partially why the Inpres shows a lack of attention towards socio-economic, cultural and environmental issues.
2. Another major shortcoming of the Inpres lies in the absence of public consultation in developing the plans. Without this public consultation process the plans will have a typical top-down character, ignoring most or all relevant social-economic factors which are determining the success of the development process, and potentially leading to social conflict.

In addition to these two major issues a number of other issues are of interest or can be recommended:

1. Development of local potential: Development efforts should take local knowledge and practices, existing conflicts (including land tenure) and local social institutions into account in optimizing impact;
2. Interventions need to provide responses towards inconsistent or not appropriate sectoral policies or practices, which do not stroke with these local practices;
3. Before any implementation takes place, community consultation meetings will need to be undertaken in order to mitigate or prevent social tension;
4. Interventions should be aimed at sustainability of the livelihoods. This can be achieved by listening to the opinions and experience of locals and transmigrants and develop plans accordingly;
5. The planning process should have a keen eye for social development, including gender aspects and the position of the poor, children and other vulnerable groups;
6. GOI basically interprets empowerment (pemberdayaan) as facilitation (pembinaan). Giving real opportunity to join discussions, give opinions or join decision-making processes is not part and parcel of GOIs development methodologies. Even so, the government has institutions, such as PMD, which have the instruments and can play an important role in community-based planning.
7. It is recommended to consider contracting mechanisms between government and communities in the construction of smaller irrigation canals, bridges, roads and other micro-water management infrastructure works.

8. Land conflicts are a common issue. GOI should ignore these problems in the process of developing the EMRP area. Land conflicts are related to land tenure and also to the existence of unfinished EMRP land compensation issues:
  - i. The land abandoned by communities during the Mega Rice project has been occupied by people from outside the area;
  - ii. The existence of the many permits issued before and after the issuance of the Inpres, by different sectoral departments and by the local government;
  - iii. The impact of ecological damage as the result of the Mega Rice Project;
  - iv. The unfinished determination of boundaries of the area, and other problems encountered in the field.
9. The existence of political tension in the community, which is caused by the election process of the local heads in 2008 in ten districts including the EMRP area. This process will influence the implementation of the Inpres. In order to gain votes from communities will be given programs by political/interest groups/parties which may be in contradiction or collides with the government program.
10. The existence of local knowledge and traditional know how of the Dayak community in the area which have not been included in the Inpres, so that the implementation of the Inpres by the local government may cause tensions.
11. The status of the existing transmigration villages is an essential aspect of the transmigration policy. The uncertainty about the status of these villages weakens village governance and causes inability of villages to develop plans and to secure sustainable livelihoods. The absence of an administrative village status means that village heads are only elected for a maximum of one year (normally this period is 5 years).
12. The Inpres does not clarify if the transmigration villages are eligible for ADD (*Anggaran Dana Desa*, Village Development Budgets). Also, a new law is under preparation on the autonomy of villages. It is still questionable if this law will be applicable for these transmigration villages.
13. The Inpres plans to undertake community empowerment interventions. It is not clear which of the 107 out of 236 EMRP villages are targeted and on the basis of which criteria. Even though the program is called empowerment of local and transmigration communities, the policy seems mainly to be focused on transmigration sites (excluding local communities), which may lead to tensions. GOI should seriously consider to develop a well-designed plan which encompasses all EMRP villages in accordance with needs.
14. The Inpres does not mention actual village government capacity building efforts as part of community empowerment. Community governance is weak and without paying attention to that problem the Inpres will not reach proper village governance.
15. Understanding of gender issues in relation to rehabilitation and development of transmigration is crucial if the government wants to undertake proper rehabilitation and development of transmigration.
16. An analysis of the current social tensions would greatly enhance understanding and proper planning and implementation. It will lead to prevention or mitigation of social conflict. Existing conflict resolution methodologies and instruments need to be studied and applied and research need to be undertaken in the EMRP area.
17. In developing livelihoods social indicators need to be identified and incorporated in the planning process and measured during implementation. Based on the social indicator data the government will then be able to timely change programs in case this is deemed necessary.



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