

MAKING LOCAL GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE POOR:
DEVELOPING INDICATORS AND TOOLS TO SUPPORT
SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD DEVELOPMENT UNDER DECENTRALIZATION

**COMPARISON OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES
ON KUTAI AND DAYAK BENUAQ VILLAGES IN KUTAI BARAT, INDONESIA:
FACTORS INFLUENCING VILLAGE LIFE AND HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING
SINCE DECENTRALIZATION**



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Comparison of local government's policies on Kutai and Dayak Benuaq villages in Kutai Barat, Indonesia: factors influencing village life and household well-being since decentralization
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Introduction

Many countries are decentralizing decision-making power, resources and responsibilities to lower levels of government. As a result, local governments have greater opportunities to address problems of rural poverty. These governments could implement more effective poverty alleviation if local decision makers had better tools and strategies for prioritizing actions and evaluating impact.

The CIFOR-BMZ project “Making local government more responsive to the poor: Developing indicators and tools to support sustainable livelihood development under decentralization” aims to improve the impact of local government poverty alleviation policies and actions in tropical countries with significant numbers of forest-dependent rural poor. The project’s accomplishments will include a monitoring system to gauge poverty and the influence government programs have on poverty, as well as additional tools that help local governments develop, implement and evaluate programs to improve the well-being of poor, forest-dependent people.

In the specific case of the newly created district of Kutai Barat (West Kutai), new ethnic elites have emerged while former elites are playing now a less prominent role. It is unclear whether this has led to unequal attention in the local government’s poverty alleviation program.

This case study report provides a comparative look at two Kutai villages, namely Jambuq (Bongan subdistrict) and Jerang Melayu (Muara Pahu subdistrict) in Kutai Barat. These villages are of special interest as the Kutai, who were the former ethnic elite in Kutai district, are currently experiencing a marginalization due to the strong empowerment of Dayak groups (Benuaq, Tunjung, Bahau).

The field study was done in December 2004/ January 2005 by a German-Indonesian research team, consisting of a student from the Institute for Cultural Anthropology (Freiburg University) together with a local counterpart (member of the base line survey team).

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Executive summary

This case study report examines relevant factors influencing village life and household well-being since decentralization. The principal aim is to understand the impacts of these processes and to compare local government's policies on Kutai and Dayak Benuaq villages.

Hence, this report provides a deeper look on changes that had taken place in the Kutai villages of Jambuq and Jerang Melayu since the new district of Kutai Barat was established in 1999. Furthermore, a compilation was made of all relevant political and economic activities which have occurred in these villages since decentralisation. These activities have been analysed in terms of their impacts on natural, political, economical, social and household spheres of well-being.

In addition, we have gained a deeper understanding of the well-being aspects that are relevant to rural Kutai people. The definition that the people had given underlined the importance of primary needs, steady jobs, household conditions and social aspects, as well as of political services. For villagers, the five most important aspects to feel a sense of well-being are job/ work, housing, education, transport, and electricity.

The actual situation of these villages is the result of several factors: new government regulations, as well as programs and projects implemented by the government or other institutions. In the specific case of Jambuq, the logging company that operates in the village area, the village's political elite, the decrease of forest, the concentration of commercial activities and the lack of information have contributed to the current situation. In Jerang Melayu, private institutions such as NGOs, the dramatic decline in forested land and forest products (timber and non-timber), the decline in alternative job opportunities and the isolated and remote location of the village, which leads to a lack of market access and information, are the main drivers of change.

We found that the Kutai, who were the former ethnic elite in Kutai district, are currently experiencing a marginalization. However, this marginalization is more due to its remote location, economic opportunities and the declining quality of natural resources than to ethnic aspects.

I Background

The project, which this study is part of, focuses on poverty alleviation strategies and the development of a monitoring system for measuring trends of well-being. Hence, an explanation of our concept of well-being is necessary and a short introduction to Kutai history and ethnography is put forth.

I.1 The concept of well-being

Our project defines “poverty” in the broad sense of “lack of well-being”. Following this definition, well-being consists for us of (1) individual *core aspects* and (2) locally specific *contextual aspects* (i.e. “the enabling environment”). The core aspects cover physiological, material, cognitive and emotional necessities, such as minimum food consumption, clean drinking water, appropriate housing conditions, health, clothing, formal and informal knowledge, minimum material wealth, safety¹, security², recreation and contentedness³. The contextual aspects, more specifically the SOV- context⁴, comprise multi-dimensional features that ensure the sustainability of development, provide opportunities for getting out of chronic poverty and reduce the vulnerability of the poor. For the sake of analysis, this context can be segregated into four spheres: the natural sphere (availability of resources, quality of environment), economic sphere (income, market access, safety net), social sphere (cooperation, solidarity, trust, conflict) and political sphere (political participation & representation, access to resources, land tenure, infrastructure and transportation, health facilities, education facilities, supportive legal and institutional structures and other local government services).

¹ In the sense of a safety net regarding food and financial assets.

² In the sense of absence of theft and physical violence.

³ This category comprises several aspects, such as subjective well-being, inclusion and (self-) respect or status.

⁴ In order to facilitate people’s struggle for an improved well-being, three principles have to be considered: (1) sustainability (S) means to ensure that the gained well-being is not only temporary, (2) opportunities (O) have to be generated that allow the poor to escape poverty by themselves, and (3) vulnerability (V) has to be minimized for avoiding future poverty traps.

While the core describes the condition of an individual or a household, the SOV-context includes the tools to change the core condition. Government interventions can be directed at the core (e.g. humanitarian aid) or at the context (e.g. health services), which in turn affects the core. However, none of the two dimensions can stand alone. Hence, any monitoring system for measuring well-being has to evaluate both dimensions of poverty.

I.2 A brief history of Kutai and Kutai Barat

In the history of Kutai⁵, East Kalimantan, two kingdoms are recorded to have existed on Mahakam river.

The Hindu kingdom of Martapura⁶ in the middle Mahakam of East Kalimantan, also known as Kutai I, is said to be the oldest kingdom in Indonesia. It probably came to exist in the 4th century, proved by the existence of yupas, written stone monuments found near Muara Kaman, which were sponsored by the third king of Martapura, namely king Mulawarman. Temporarily, this kingdom co-existed with the later founded kingdom of Kutai Kartanegara or Kutai II, which approximately was established in the early 14th century⁷ on the lower Mahakam. The conflict between these two kingdoms was temporarily solved by an inter-noble marriage. Later in the 17th century, war broke out and led to the annexing of the Hindu-kingdom by the kingdom of Kutai Kartanegara.

Kutai Kartanegara developed as a trade center in the coastal area of East Kalimantan, which made it receptive to the influence of Muslim sea traders. But it was not until the early 18th century⁸ that the king became Sultan, after the influence of Islam became

⁵ The origin of the name of Kutai is not clear. Wirakusumah (1977: 9) wrote "When the Chinese first came to the area and observed the big river they exclaimed 'MAHA KAM' – and since then the river has been named Mahakam; and after they learned how large the land was, they said 'KO TAI' which means great country, and Kutai it has been ever since." Whereas Crawford (1856) thinks: „KUT-I. The name seems to be Sanscrit, and to signify Little Fortress." (in Boyce 1986: C – 1)

⁶ Also mentioned as Mulawarman (compare with Wirakusumah 1977: 10 or Dahlan 1981: 4f).

⁷ Boyce suggests that the founders of Kutai Kartanegara were refugees from the Javanese kingdom of Singasari. He assumes, that the fall of Singasari kingdom mark the beginning of Kutai Kartanegara, proved by the name of the last Singasari king called Kertanegara (1268-92) (compare with Boyce 1986: C – 5). On the contrary, Ahmad Dahlan assumes this kingdom was erected under authority of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (1292-1527) in order to enlarge its authority. Kutai II kings had to make payments and gifts to Majapahit kings and were heavily influenced in science, philosophy and culture by the court of Majapahit. After the kingdom of Majapahit had come to an end, Kutai Kartanegara could stand as an independent kingdom (compare with Ahmad Dahlan 1981: 6f). In fact, many royal customs shows similarities with Javanese culture, e.g. Gamelan music, dances (compare with Idris 1977).

⁸ Compare with genealogy of kings list in Dahlan (1981: 12). However, Islam is assumed to enter Kutai kingdom in the early 17th century due to a Sumatran Muslim and Islam leader (compare with Dahlan 1981: 19). Boyce suggested the first Sultan established in 16th century

stronger. Soon, the Islamic religion spread over to the people of Kutai Kartanegara and the majority became Muslim. Only the people in the hinterland, the Dayaks, did not follow this intervention of the new religion.

After the Banjar kingdom, based on the southern part of Borneo, conquered Kutai (between 1610 and 1620), they were forced to pay yearly contributions. The Banjar authority was only de-jure and lasted until the Sultan signed an agreement with the Dutch in 1825, asking for protection.⁹ In October 1844, Sultan Muhamad Salehuddin was forced to sign a new contract and, from this time on, recognised the Dutch as its foreign sovereign. It was the beginning of direct foreign control of the Kutainese and the result of the Sultan's battles of Tenggarong. The first against the British Murray, who acted to help the Kutai Kingdom against the Dutch and who aimed to become the "white Rajah" of East Kalimantan (this, in fact, ended with his death), and second against the Dutch who successfully defeated the Sultan's army. Soon the Dutch took over the political and economic authority. The exploitation of natural resources, especially coal and oil, flourished under Dutch control and led to the rise of Balikpapan.

When Australia's army defeated the Japanese in 1945, the Dutch government tried to gain back its colonial power. In December 1949, the United Sultanates of East Kalimantan proclaimed their independence. Not before April 1950, the Indonesian government took over and the area, including the Sultanates of Kutai, Berau and Bulongan, and integrated it into the Republic of Indonesia as three 'special regions' under self-government. Tenggarong became the capital of Kutai (not before 1956). The status of the 'special regions' was removed in 1959 and they were converted into 'normal' districts (*kabupaten*). Soon after the conversion of the region's status, the Sultanates were abolished. The Kutai kingdom was divided into the district of Kutai and the municipalities of Balikpapan and Samarinda.

In 1984, a pilot project issuing regional rural development and decentralization was initiated in East Kalimantan with special focus on Kutai district (since 1986) by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the GTZ (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische*

(Boyce 1986: 4ff). Other authors suggested the date of Islam entering Kutai much earlier, around 1400, brought by a Bugis named Tuan di Bandang (Idris 1977: 74).

⁹ Compare with Dahlan (1981: 7 f).

Zusammenarbeit GmbH – German Agency for Technical Cooperation) for improving bottom-up processes and strengthening the PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* – Family Welfare Movement) and the LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa* – Village Development Council).

The regulations for decentralizing political authority (UU 22/ 1999) and balancing finances (UU 25/ 1999) became effective in 2001 and led to the establishment of three new districts. The former district of Kutai was divided in the districts of Kutai Kartanegara, Kutai Barat and Kutai Timur.

I.3 An ethnographic description of the Kutai (compared to the Dayak cultures)

Nowadays two main terms are common in the area of the former kingdom of Kutai Kartanegara or Kutai area. One term designates Melayu, which commonly stands for Muslim people¹⁰, the other is Kutai, describing an ethnic group living along the Mahakam river and in urban areas with their own language and customs.¹¹

Beside the Dayak peoples, the Kutai are an indigenous ethnic group of Kalimantan. However, the origin of this group is not clear. Idris (1977: 56) makes following suggestion about the descent of the Kutainese:

“Besides the new tribes from outside, there is a tribe which lives longer in Kutai, that is Kutai tribe. The tribe is indigenous Kutai people. However, it is not clear enough about its origin. Some people say that the tribe is from **Melayu (Sumatera Timur)**, perhaps, it has relation between the Kingdom of Hindu Mulawarman and the Melayu Kingdoms in Sumatera, or with the arrival of Melayu merchants who came to Kutai Mulawarman Kingdom lived there and then, married the indigenous people of East Kalimantan (Kutai area).”¹²

¹⁰ It also separates linguistically Malay dialects from other Austronesian languages (including the Dayak languages).

¹¹ “When these days we hear talk of the Melayu peoples, the talk is generally referring to the non-Dayak peoples of Kutai, that is the Banjar’s, the Bugis and the Kutainese. However in reality the original Kutainese are a separate ethnic group, they all speak a Kutainese language as well as Bahasa Indonesia, but there is a dialect difference between the various sub-groups. Accordingly the only original Kutainese to be found today are in the following locations:

- The Pantuan Group, live in Muara Ancalong & Muara Kaman.
- The Pungang Group, live in Muara Muntai and Kota Bangun.
- The Pahu group, live in Muara Pahu.
- The Tulus Dijangkat Group, live at Barong Tongkok and Melak.
- The Melani Group, live in Kutai Lama and Tenggarong.” (Boyce 1986: C – 8)

¹² The author prefers the term ‘ethnic group’ instead of ‘tribe’.

Using the term Kutai to distinguish an indigenous ethnic group is problematic today. In this report which refers to villages self-determined as Kutai, the Kutainese are original Dayak Benuaq who became Muslim and therefore Kutai, adapting Kutai language and customs.

The society of Kutai knows two social strata: the Kutai nobles or descendants of the royal family of the kingdom Kutai Kartanegara around Tenggarong and the common people (Kutainese and others). All groups recognised the Sultan as *kepala adat maha besar*, even the Dayak peoples. Local customs and traditions of these Kutai strata are largely the same and heavily influenced by Islam, i.e. the funeral ceremony is held after three, seven, 40 and 100 days after the person passed away, accompanied by *pelas* (ritual meal similar to *selamatan* in Java) and Muslim praying. The majority of Kutainese people are strict Moslems and obey religious dogmas. However, there still exist mystical beliefs, partially of Hindu influence.¹³

In Kutai villages, mutual assistance and communal activities (known as *gotong royong*) still exist and unwritten *adat* law plays a mayor role in managing the village affairs, comparable to Dayak villages. Nevertheless, the strata in Kutai villages also know noble descendants and economic differences.

The most important ceremony is the Erau Kutai, a ceremony usually held once a year¹⁴. All the peoples of the former regency of Kutai Kartanegara kingdom are gathered in Tenggarong, including the Dayaks. The ceremony's purpose is to keep the people living in peace and prosperity and is accompanied by traditional arts of Kutai¹⁵ and Dayak (especially Kenyah, but also Benuaq)¹⁶. Other ceremonies in village life include the celebration after death (as mentioned above), after a baby is one month old (*naik ayun*) and one year old (*turun tahu*) as well as ceremonies for marriage (not much different from Dayak people, but accompanied by Islamic rulers).

¹³ One example for these mystical believes can be read in Wirakusumah (1977: 18) and Boyce (1986: C – 33): “Bongan. There is a tiger cup in the rural countryside that has been handed down for generations, the owner today is a certain Haji. It is said that if the owner of that tiger cup wishes to kill somebody, he only has to communicate with that cup in a special way. If the mouth of the cup is filled with blood, this then would be the very proof that the victim is already dead. Accordingly the victim appears to have been attacked by a tiger.” Another example are the folk tales, telling the story of Kutai closely related to ancient *wayang* (Javanese shadow play), using *dewas* (gods) and mystical animals like *Naga* (dragon) or *Lembu Suana* (a strange shaped cow with tiger, horse and dragon elements).

¹⁴ Since the 1990s, the Erau Kutai is held usually once a year, but in some years it was cancelled. Before, it was held every three or four years.

¹⁵ For example the *jepen* dance accompanied with traditional *Ganon* instruments or the Kutai Gamelan orchestra.

¹⁶ For example the traditional *enggang* peace dance is performed.

II. Description of methods used

The methods used are semi-structured and open interviews, informal interviews, a semi-quantitative questionnaire and focus group discussions.

Altogether we made 15 formal interviews in Jambuaq and 12 in Jerang Melayu to obtain detailed information about village affairs and to crosscheck information and data we already had. We conducted semi-structured interviews with different village personages to gain a wider view, among them the *petinggi* (formal village head), the secretary of the *petinggi*, the *kepala adat* (traditional village head), the responsible *mantri* (nurse), the principal of the local school, and open interviews with the general public. In Jambuaq, we interviewed additionally the leader of the BPK (village council), the midwife, one of the leaders of the farming organisation, the leader of the market place, all three of the RT leaders (leaders of village parts), the former *petinggi*, who is also an UKM-credit holder, and staff of the logging company. In Jerang Melayu, additional interviews were made with the secretary of the *kepala adat*, a staff member of the *kepala adat*, one teacher, a leader of rubber growers, the head of a public clinic in Muara Pahu, and three CARE staff members. Informal interviews were conducted additionally, especially with the *petinggi* and his secretary in Jerang Melayu who gave us information during informal conversations, and also with the general public willing to speak with us when we met them by chance.

We also used the same questionnaires on aspects of the well-being of Dayak Benuaq villages for comparative purposes.¹⁷ We have put forward questions to 120 people and tried to ask 20 unmarried women, 20 unmarried men, 20 married women, 20 married men, 20 grandmothers and 20 grandfathers.¹⁸ However, we often had to change the order of the questions, because some people had difficulties in answering the first question, and we did not want them to make feel uncomfortable or unable to answer the questions. This was effective and the questions were answered more easily.

In addition, we formed focus group discussions, one for men, one for women, and one for village leaders. Because of our experience in Jambuaq village, we formed three focus group

¹⁷ The questionnaire was developed by Michaela Haug for research in Jontai, Engkuni and Muara Nayan (Dayak Benuaq villages).

¹⁸ The target could not keep in practice. We asked only 19 unmarried women in Jambuaq, and 19 grandfathers in Jerang Melayu due to the lack of people available in these age/ sex groups permanently staying in the village.

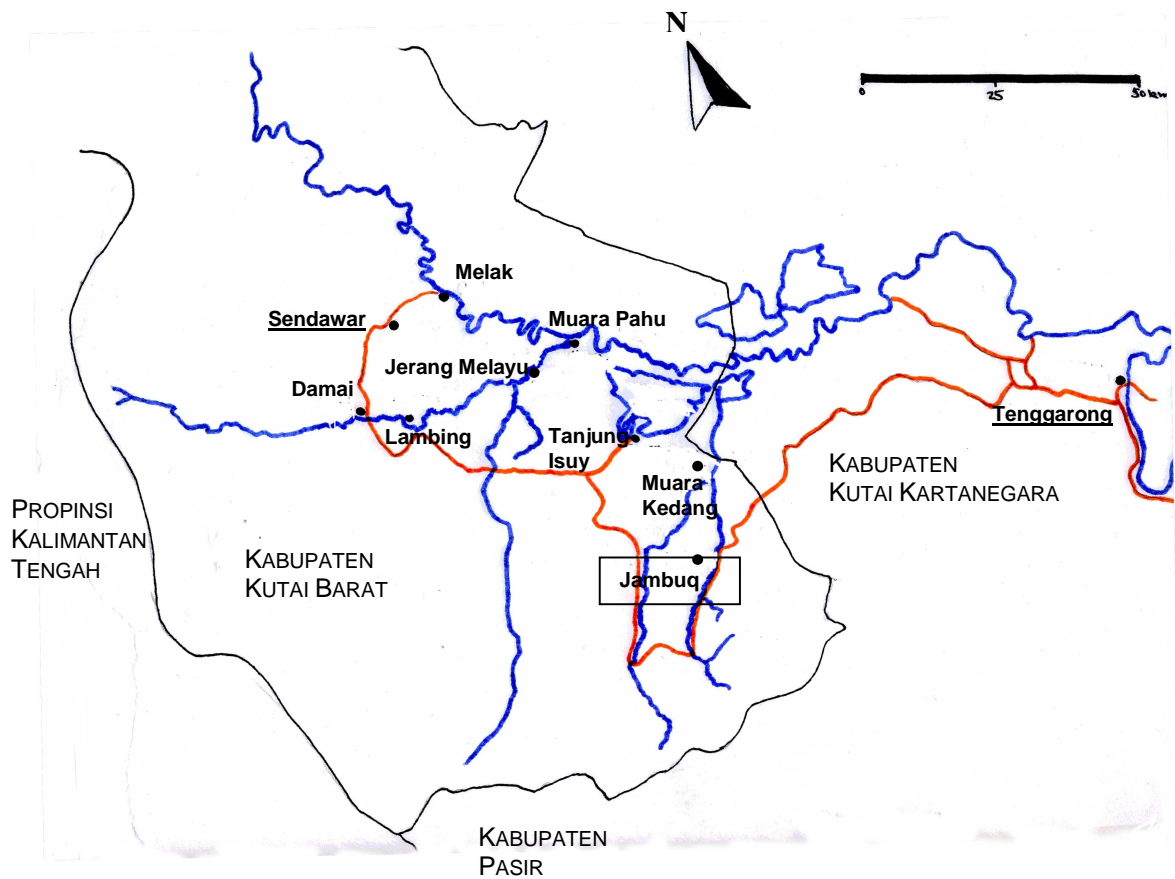
discussions for women with fewer participants and one for young people in Jerang Melayu, to make them feel more comfortable. The purpose of these focus group discussions was to cross-check our information and gain a clearer insight of the prospects of the villagers. The most informative one was the group discussion with village leaders in Jambuq.

III. Jambuq

In Jambuq village, research has been done in December 2004. After a description of methods and study site, the results of research are presented.

III. 1 Study site

Map of study location



The village is located on Jambuq river at the eastern border of the district of Kutai Barat. The village belongs to the sub-district of Bongana. The geographic position is at $116^{\circ}84'$

Eastern Longitude and 0°42' Southern Latitude. The village area covers an area of 30.10 km².¹⁹

Jambuq has 549 inhabitants and 142 *kepala keluarga* (nuclear families) based on official statistics in the mayor's office in November 2004. The villagers subsist mainly from farming and private business activities.

The *kepala adat* told us that the village history can be traced 10 *lamin* (longhouses) back. In the past, the ancestors of the Jambuq people came from central Kalimantan, near Muara Teweh on Mea river, living in the *lamin balok*. The *kepala adat*, called Megaq, was Dayak Benuaq and is assumed to be the ancestor of Jambuq people. Later the people of *lamin balok* moved to the Mount Meratus (today a conservation area), probably because they wanted to learn about medicinal plants and to extend their wisdom.²⁰ They had some mystical beliefs about animals and those were the reason the people had to move again to *lamin nungan* then further to *lamin lepan* and *lamin jangan*.²¹ In *lamin jangan* the first *kepala adat* was Bingkas and four more leaders followed.

Later, the ancestors of Jambuq people moved to Tulaq village with Jamal as their *kepala adat*. In this era, the people were not allowed to live in a *lamin* due to the Dutch government. Once a cholera epidemic occurred and many people died. So Jamal went to Tenggara to ask Sultan Sulaiman for help. The Sultan advised them to move downstream near Jambuq river. Following the Sultan's direction, the people moved again and founded Jambuq village. In 1911 the definitive village was established by a Dutch regulation (*hindia belanda*) with the first leader called Runsu. At that time the people converted to Islam.

In 1935, the village was separated into Jambuq, Gusiq and Perintaliq. Jambuq was established at the present area. The village has had seven generations of leaders until now.

¹⁹ This information is taken from a board in the *petinggi's* office before decentralization. It might be that village borders have changed since then due to a nearby transmigration area or border disputes with neighbouring villages.

²⁰ Mount Meratus plays a major role in Dayak Benuaq belief regarding its richness in healing spirits and medical plants.

²¹ The great-grandparents of the people are said to be related to one male and female cat which normally do not live in this mountain area. The magical power is related to these cats, especially their hunting skills. Once the villagers came back to their *lamin*, they found the female cat sick and later it died. That night, some villagers had a dream that the cat was killed by a person living in *lamin nungan*. So, the people went there to find the person and took revenge. When they arrived, they realized that the person had already moved to *lamin lepan*. The ancestors of Jambuq people once again moved to *lamin lepan* to search for the person who killed their cat. But the person had run away. In this *lamin*, the male cat was killed by a *belian* (medicine man). Later in the night, people had a dream that the male cat showed the direction to *lamin jangan*. So, the ancestors moved there and kept the head of the male cat for the next generation.

The latter three (Pak Etoy, Pak Karmo, Pak Saili) currently make decisions about the village affairs.

III. 2 Findings

III. 2.1 Recent trends in the village

When asked about the changes which have happened in the last three to five years, respondents give us the answers listed below. According to our core and context model, these changes are arranged in the natural, economic, social, political/ institutional and Local Government service spheres as well as the changes in the housing condition (health, material wealth, knowledge and subjective well-being).

Natural sphere

Dry seasons lengthen: Climate change in combination with large-scale deforestation might be reasons for the regularly extend of dry seasons in past years. This increased the likelihood of forest fires. The last very destructive one was dated in 1997/ 98. Since then fires have been locally limited.

Land fertility declines: Furthermore, prolonged dry season causes the loss of humidity in the soil. This is connected to the decline in harvest and villagers depending on traditional agriculture have suffered. Another reason for the decline of land fertility might be the shortening of fallow land since forest access has been limited and a transmigration area has been established. Additionally, there are, compared to former times, more animals like rats leading to crop failures.²²

Natural resources are being over-exploited: According to the perception of the villagers, natural resources have declined in the last several years. First of all, this is related to the loss of forest that has happened since PT.ITCI began working on the village

²² One respondent told us that the soil is still fertile because of the steady use of fertilizers, whereas the various pesticides are declining in their usage. In fact, this is more a result of the former government policy and the steady increase in pesticide and fertilizer prices than the rational use of chemicals in agriculture.

ground.²³ But villagers depend on logging activities in this area as well. Concerning the decrease of the forest around the village, one respondent told us about 25 percent is left, compared to the time before logging company operations. Beside the trees (especially old Ulin (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*) and Ipil (*Intsia palembanica*) trees which have disappeared totally) also rattan is getting scarce. There is also a general decrease in other natural resources like fish due to exploitation (and other anthropogenic influences).

Economic sphere

Compensation payments and fees have been introduced: All the families living in the village received at least one time compensation payments by PT.ITCI, the owner of a HPH license. Obviously, these payments had positive, short-time effects on the individual households.²⁴ Along with these compensation payments, the village receives fees from CVs²⁵ and private logging activities for developing the village.

Loosening the HPH license has led to temporary income possibilities: Since decentralisation, the village's forest (*hutan adat*) can be used by the villagers again through loosening the HPH license. Besides collecting fire wood, people have started cutting trees in their forest.²⁶

Rattan activities are increasing: The alternative work which has increased since the monitoring team of the central government has started observing logging activities is cutting and cleaning of rattan. This, of course, does not provide the same income possibilities as logging and is mainly done by women and old men. Nevertheless, rattan has become the most important income source for the villagers since private logging activities stopped. This new economy is possible because of the UKM (*Usaha kecil menengah* – small and medium size enterprises) programs financed by the Community

²³ PT.ITCI is owner of a HPH license since 1979. However, they have intensified their logging activities in the 1990s.

²⁴ Villagers spent the money largely for housing, interior and utensils, motorcycles, electronic things, clothes, etc.

²⁵ Commanditaire vennootschap

²⁶ An agreement was made between the village and PT.ITCI: People are allowed to cut Ulin and Ipil trees. However, these trees are nearly gone in the forest around the village as a result of the long-time logging activities of PT.ITCI. So, people have to go far away from the village area if they still want to do logging. Nevertheless, the income of this non-sustainable work is very good, although they also have to pay fees. However, the new President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, issued a regulation, that all illegal logging be monitored by the central government. As a result, people are afraid to continue their logging activities and have become jobless. This situation has persisted since November 2004.

Empowerment Service of the district government to enhance small enterprises, as well as due to an increased rattan price.

Rice self sufficiency declines: New income possibilities through logging activities and market access lead to a lower level of self-sufficiency in rice. The harvest has declined in the last several years.

Access to goods increases: Whereas the access to goods has increased, prices increase as well.

Social sphere

Village has become more lively: The respondents recognized that the village has become more lively in the last years with more people living in the village and more houses being built. This is obviously a result of the rising income possibilities through logging activities which attracts migrants. But still people move to the nearby transmigration area of Resak III and to Jambuq Makmur, both are a center in the sub-district providing weekly free markets as well as health and education facilities.

Inequality rises: The compensation payments and fees are distributed unevenly, so inequality and jealousy abound. Close family members of the village leaders are said to benefit more from government programs than others.

Life style is changing: Concerning young men, another impact caused by rising income possibilities is mentioned by the villagers. After receiving their money from logging activities, they use it for gambling as well as visiting brothels. One statement suggested that more drug abuse occurs. This is one undesirable result of the increased income and the increased time spent out of the village. The road, which makes access from outside possible, has also influenced the life style, so modern goods are better available, supply lines are faster, strangers and western-styled city dwellers visit the village more often and import their own worldview.

Collective action is declining: The people in Jambuq told that less *gotong royong* and mutual help is available, especially for economic activities like preparing a field for shifting cultivation. It is an indication of the absence of young men who are supposed to

do the hard work as well as an increase of individualisation. This is the result of the search for fast, easy money through logging activities.²⁷

Traditional culture gets lost: Traditional culture, e.g. arts and dance as well as the Benuaq language²⁸ have nearly disappeared nowadays. Skilled people like the former *kepala adat* already have passed away and the young generation shows little interest in continuing the traditions. In the case of traditional medicine there is less interest whereas the demand for modern, western medicine increases rapidly.

Political/ institutional sphere

Political relations are slowly changing: The BPK (village council) took over the former institution of LMD/ LKMD. The political power is still in the hands of the mayor with his staff and the *kepala adat*. The relationship between the different institutions is horizontally as well as vertically characterized by family structure. Nevertheless, nine months ago a new mayor and staff came into office who often work independently and to have no close family relationship with other institutions.

Access to district government is more difficult: Some villagers mentioned that the access to the local government is very difficult. Physical access to the new capital Sendawar is more difficult compared to the former capital of Tenggara, and the lack of Benuaq language makes for arduous communication.

Structures and services

New infrastructure facilities have been built: Since the creation of the new district, infrastructure and services have increased. The village already had had a road for serving the needs of logging companies since 1987, but Jambuq village received the asphalt surface in August 2004 which was financed by the province government. Besides this new asphalt road, the village received water tank machines, a market place, a new mosque, a boardwalk for the part of the village near the river, a new office for the

²⁷ Other statement: When economy is good, *gotong-royong* is strong, when it is hard to fulfill daily needs, *goton-royong* is weak.

²⁸ The people of Jambuq originated from Dayak Benuaq people converting to Islam.

petinggi and a sports ground. In addition to the local government, PT.ITCI, CVs and private logging companies are involved in developing the village.

Health service is getting better: Some villagers say that the health service is getting better due to better infrastructure facilities and more employees. There is a PusBan (*Puskesmas Pembantu* - auxiliary community health clinic) which belongs to the village at the border of Gusik village²⁹ and the new road makes easier access for ambulance cars. The nearby Gusik village has a regularly opened *polindes* (small polyclinic for mothers and children) and a midwife. If there is no *mantri* (nurse) in Jambuq village, people can go to Resak III, which is seven kilometres away, where there is a permanent *mantri*.³⁰

Availability of teachers has decreased: Fewer teachers educate in the elementary school. One teacher passed away the year before this research. The motivation and responsibility of the teachers is generally perceived to be getting worse. They always come late and the facilities of school are not adequate, so many people send their children to the neighboured SD in Gusik village.³¹

Application for identity card is getting easier: Another change mentioned by the villagers is the new procedure for applying an identity card. Now villagers just need an application form and a photo and do not have to pay anymore.

Other LG services are declining: Especially the poor households complain that there is less social support, like rice subsidies, by the new district compared to the former district of Kutai. In addition, the farmers complain about the declining help in developing agriculture.

Health

Access to water has increased: Through the water tanks and water machines financed by the district government, a lot of households have access to water pumps. Unfortunately, two of the four machines are already broken and the village people do not

²⁹ The PusBan should be open at least once a month, but this depends on the *mantri*. If the *mantri* is on site, he lives in a house in Jambuq, where Jambuq villagers go and ask him for health-care assistance.

³⁰ However, another statement is controversial and says that the health service is getting worse, because the PusBan between Jambuq village and the nearby Gusik village has closed and the midwife has moved to Resak III.

³¹ In addition, the school guard (in the person of the *kepala adat*) never does his job, which also might have influence on the teacher's motivation.

have the knowledge to repair them. In addition, one of the public water tanks was taken down by one of the villagers. The quality of the river water is perceived as getting worse.

Material wealth

Access to electricity has increased: Nearly every household has access to electricity, even if this comes from shared generators, which are expensive to use.

Expenses for material goods have increased: The obvious appearance of motorcycles, digital receivers and televisions as well as better housing conditions show that better income possibilities exist due to logging activities and the compensation payments by PT.ITCI.

Knowledge

Education increases: The rising income possibilities have impacted on the education level of children. More children than before finish school and more have the chance to go to university. Already six children are studying in university, but four of these six are children of the village leaders.

Subjective Well-being

Feeling of injustice rises: The imbalanced access to compensation payments/ fees and material goods causes inequality within the village.

The decentralization process is perceived disappointing: The decentralization process is perceived to marginalize villagers, so the feeling of insecurity rises.

III. 2.2 Local perceptions about well-being

The results of the well-being questionnaire show, that a majority of Jambuq villagers have mainly an economic understanding of well-being.

The question of the definition of well-being, according to the villagers, is heavily influenced by economic and material aspects, but also social relations are relevant for

villagers. The following table summarizes the most significant meanings. For further explanation, see annexes.³²

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Steady job/ alternative work	5	9	12	7	11	5	49
Daily needs (food, clothes, basic goods)	5	3	7	6	10	7	38
Housing	7	5	3	6	6	4	31
Family bond	5	5	2	6	4	6	28
Money	2	3	1	6	2	7	21
Education	1	7	2	3	2	1	16
Reliable future	2		5	3	2	2	14

Table 1: The meaning of well-being in Jambuq

Job/ work: A majority of 49 villagers said that well-being means to have a steady job or alternative work. Similar aspects refer to a good economic situation and successful work.

Daily needs: 28 people mentioned well-being means nothing is lacking in daily life. Primary needs in this sense include food, clothes and goods of daily life. Additional interpretations stress good clothes and an abound in necessities of life.

Housing: 31 respondents answered well-being means to have good housing conditions as a sign of material wealth. This includes clean water, electricity, technical equipment and interior within the household.

Family bond: Beside these mere economic aspects, respondents expressed the importance of having a healthy social environment, especially within the family. 28 villagers mentioned that good family bonds are essential to feel well. Well-being in this case means that all family members live together or nearby, all take care of each other, all can go to school or have work, and the whole family is healthy and spends time together. Similar aspects refer to social relations within the village, i.e. it is important that no conflicts happen in the village, people respect each other, nobody lives in poverty and there is equality among the villagers.

³² See annexes 1a: The meaning of well-being (Jambuq), S. 73.

Money: 21 villagers said well-being means to have a lot of money. Obviously, especially married and old women express this point. In addition, two men said well-being means to have savings.

Education: Aspects of government service was not paid much attention in the meaning of well-being. 16 people, among them 7 unmarried women, mentioned well-being as having the chance to continue school or to become well-educated. Additional 13 respondents mentioned well-being means good health and good health service, while 11 said well-being means development progress in the village.

Reliable future: Individual aspects like a life without sorrows, including a safe and reliable future, is mentioned as the central meaning of well-being by 14 respondents. Other individual meanings of well-being concerning independency or being free to do whatever they want, leisure time, going sight-seeing, or travel and religious pilgrimage.

Beside these common conceptions of well-being, the term (*kesejahteraan*) was translated into other categories and refers to a happy life (*hidup senang/ hidup bahagia*), mentioned by 28 respondents, a comfortable life (*hidup nyaman*), expressed by 14 villagers, and a calm life (*hidup tenang*), wished by 13 people. In addition, a safe life (*hidup aman*), a pleasant life (*hidup enak*), a peaceful life (*hidup damai*), and a luxurious life (*hidup mewah*) was mentioned under this term. The term is complex and mainly refers to a good life in the future.

When asked about the three most important aspects of well-being, respondents gave us the answers below. The results are similar to those referring to the meaning of well-being, stressing economic and material aspects. However, government services are more emphasized, such as education and healthcare service. Social relations are playing only a marginal role. Reasons for these differences might be the people's direct expectation concerning the local government and CIFOR, summarized in the villagers' priority list of well-being-aspects, and the way of questioning. For further explanation, see annexes.³³

³³ See annexes 1b: Most important aspects of well-being (Jambuq), S. 75.

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Permanent job/ alternative work	15	8	23	11	7	8	72
Education	7	12	8	12	2	5	46
Housing	11	9	3	2	7	10	42
Daily needs (food, clothes, basic goods)	1	3	8	6	7	8	33
Electricity	6	4	7	1	7	7	32
Health	2	2	4	8	9	5	30

Table 2: Most important aspects of well-being in Jambuq.

Job/ work: The majority of 72 respondents say that work is the most important aspect to feel a sense of well-being. Obviously, more men than women think that work (*pekerjaan/ usaha*) is so important. When asked for further specification, the respondents answered they want either to be allowed to continue their logging activities or alternative work through companies in the village or projects supported by the government.

Education: About 46 people mentioned education is very important, among them young and married people. Altogether, women seem to prioritise education. The most important thing concerning education is cheap or free education in junior and senior high schools.

Housing: 42 respondents said that housing is one of the most important aspects for a sense of well-being. The young people want to buy a new house, whereas old people wish to repair their present one.

Daily needs: 33 of our respondents think that fulfilling daily needs (food, clothes, basic goods) is of most importance for their sense of well-being. Especially married and old people mentioned this point. For young, unmarried people this aspect is not as important.

Electricity: Electricity supply is seen as central for 32 respondents. Although generators are in use, those are expensive.

Health: 30 respondents think that good health service is very important for a sense of well-being. Married women and older men pay the most attention to this point. Whereas old people think health service should be free or inexpensive, women want to have a better health service for babies and children.

The results of the well-being questionnaire show, that a majority of 94 out of 120 people are dissatisfied and feel not yet a sense of well-being. According to the questionnaires only 16 people said, they already had a sense of well-being and ten people felt in between, not yet well-being, but alright.

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Feel well-being	2	7	4	2		1	16
In between	1		3	2	3	1	10
Feel not well-being	17	12	13	16	17	19	94
	20	19	20	20	20	21	120

Table 3: The subjective well-being in Jambuq.

Obviously, there are more young, unmarried women or girls already feeling well-being (7 respondents) than other groups. This is apparently because of the fact that about half of the unmarried women just come for visiting family and friends in the village. Normally these unmarried women live outside and go to school, all emphasizing this is very import to them. Compared to other asked groups, the availability of unmarried, female respondents who stay in the village is low.

III. 2.3 Compilation of projects, programs and business activities

a) Compilation of local government programs and projects

The following compilation gives a view of all programs and projects that have been implemented in the village by the local government since 2001.

UKM programs: Two credits were given for buying and selling rattan, one in total amount of Rp 14 Mio., the other of Rp 7 Mio.³⁴ A recommendation letter is required by the *petinggi* and *kecamatan* (sub-district administration). The money is received by and must be paid back to the BPD bank of Kutai Barat at 6 % interest on a three-month basis. One person has already applied for UKM credit and will get the money in 2005.

³⁴ Under a total amount of Rp 20 Mio. without guarantees. Both recipients, among them the former *petinggi*, can speak Benuaq which makes the access to the relevant institution easier.

Askes Gakin: Already 50 people³⁵ received the *askes kartu gakin* in 2004. The *petinggi* and his secretary have made a list of candidate poor families with a focus on old people. This health insurance is similar to the former *askes sehat* which can not be extended, so that new families get this health insurance.

Beasiswa: Until December 2004, only one student received a scholarship in a total amount of Rp 3 Mio. for one year.³⁶ Three more students have applied for the *beasiswa* program for 2005. For the application, a report of subjects and marks, a poverty letter from the *petinggi* and the *kecamatan*, and the last certificate with a purpose letter is required. The scholarship is easy to renew.

Water pumps and tanks: New water tanks and water pump machines have been provided in 2003 by the *Dinas Pekerjaan Umum dan Kimpraswil* (public works services) of Kutai Barat.³⁷

Office for mayor: In addition, the mayor has been given a new office, furnished by PT.ITCI.

b) Compilation of other programs and projects

All activities of NGOs, parties, private sector and village leaders to develop the village since 2001 are listed below.

NGOs: No NGO has been active since 2001.

PMDH-program by PT.ITCI: PT.ITCI has been involved in the PMDH (*pembangunan masyarakat desa sekitar hutan*)³⁸ -programs for developing the village since 1994. The development is based on the *SK Kehutanan* regulation (licence for forestry).³⁹ For the realization of the program PT.ITCI cooperates with the *kecamatan* government to coordinate the projects. The money is managed by the village leaders.

³⁵ 50 people are listed by *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* level.

³⁶ This S1 student is the daughter of the retired *petinggi* who in fact receives three scholarships: one from *Dinas Pendidikan* (education service) of Kutai Barat, one from same institution in Kutai Kartanegara and one from a liquid gas company in Bontang. According to her father, she and her older brothers have always received scholarships since SMP, because they have been the best in their classes.

³⁷ *Proyek Pembangunan Sarana Air Bersih Kampung* with a total amount of Rp 211.5 Mio.

³⁸ Development program for forest-depending villages.

³⁹ The actual regulation No. 523/ 1997 contains that HPH-owners must realize the PMDH-program.

Since 2001 it has included annual support like books and pencils for the elementary school and the support listed below.

Bridge: The part of the village near the river was given a new iron-wood boardwalk. This new pathway was part of the PMDH program of PT.ITCI which was finished in 2001.⁴⁰ In RT 1 part of the boardwalk is broken now, but there is no money to pay a carpenter for repairs, although the material already has been arranged.

Mosque: A new mosque, opened in November 2003, has been financed by the village through fees and supported by PT.ITCI within the scope of PMDH.⁴¹

Path to Mosque: The path to the Mosque was provided by PAN (*Partei Amanat Nasional*).

Market place: A market place has been opened in October 2004, which allows people to buy necessary things and makes it possible to have small scale selling businesses. It was financed by fees and supported by PT.ITCI.⁴² An organizer and a book keeper⁴³ manage the rental charge of Rp 5000 for a space and Rp 5000 for electricity per evening.

Sawah seedlings: A *sawah*-program had been arranged for supporting wet-rice-cultivation.⁴⁴ In 2002 *padi*-seedlings for *sawah* was supported by PT.ITCI.

Entertainment: Especially for young people, a sports ground was built and facilities for music were bought financed by fees and supported by PT.ITCI.

c) Compilation of project proposals

The following compilation of project proposals has been submitted by the village to the local government or to other parties.

Reforestation project: In 2004 an application was made for a reforestation program for *jati* (teak) and rubber trees. The application has been accepted by the district government, but only for the reforestation of *ulin* (ironwood) and rubber trees. The farming group has

⁴⁰ A small part of the boardwalk had existed before and was financed by the former Kutai district.

⁴¹ Altogether the Mosque costs Rp 381 Mio., managed by a special team of village leaders and financed by fees. PT.ITCI supports the Mosque with Rp 60 Mio. and the government promised to give additional Rp 20 Mio. in January 2005.

⁴² The land had to be bought for Rp 39 Mio. and additional expenses of an unknown amount for wood and a carpenter have been charged.

⁴³ In the persons of the former *petinggi* and the *kepala adat*'s brother.

already organized 25 ha of land and 25 persons plus the village leaders.⁴⁵ 5000 *ulin* and 2000 rubber seedlings have been planted in January/ February 2005. In December 2004 the farming group received Rp 11 Mio. out of promised Rp 36 Mio. for buying seedlings and materials, for paying the workers, and for the greenhouse for the seedlings.

Telecommunication tower: The plan concerning a tower for hand phones has been conceived. This project should start in 2005 in the course of the *kecamatan*-wide communication tower building.

Oil palm/ rubber plantation: In 2002 a proposal was made to open an oil palm or rubber plantation. Plans to make an oil palm plantation already exist. Both villagers and the *kabupaten* welcome this project. According to *Dinas Kehutanan* (forestry service), this project should start after the tower for communication is finished.⁴⁶

Electricity: An application for electricity was made together with Gusik, Jambuq Makmur and P4 HDR (transmigration settlement) several times. No immediate response has been given; the *bupati* (head of district government) tentatively promised that the district government would build a power station in 5 years time.⁴⁷

Clean water: In 2003 the village leaders applied for clean water technology. The government responded and built water tanks and pump machines in the same year.

Mosque: An application was made for supporting the completion of the Mosque to the *bupati* and PT.ITCI in 2004. In January 2005 the government promised to give Rp 20 Mio.

Replacement of teacher: Since one teacher passed away in 2003, there has been no replacement. The request is unanswered until now.

Bridge: In 2004, the villagers applied for the completion of the iron-wood boardwalk of an additional 400 m in RT 3. Until now there is no response.

⁴⁴ One *sawah*-field was first initiated by Kehati in 1993, in an amount of 10 ha with 22 families taking part. It failed because the participants lost their interest. A second one was supported by PT.ITCI in 1994 near the village which unfortunately failed because of improper irrigation planning. In the PT.ITCI *sawah*-program about 30 families have joined.

⁴⁵ Out of 25 persons, seven live in RT 1, ten in RT 2 and eight in RT 3. The land for the reforestation program near the HDR-area has already been opened and fertilizer and pesticides have been bought. The project is managed by a CV in the function of an operator. *Dinas Kehutanan* (once a year), *pinlak* (executor in the field) and PPL (*pembinaan dan penyuluhan lapangan*) are responsible for the monitoring and teaching the farmers about how to implement this project and how to use pesticides or fertilizer.

⁴⁶ In cooperation with the oil palm company London-Sumatra with an estimated 100 Hectares.

⁴⁷ The government has a plan to join with the coal mining company in Gunung Bayan to build a power station.

Repairing of houses: Until now there is no response concerning the application sent to the *kecamatan* for funding the repair of 23 houses of poor families.

Asphalt road: The request concerning an asphalt road between Gusik and Kutai Kartanegara has already been addressed by the governor (who is responsible for the Trans-Kalimantan road): when the House of Representative in Melak will be in session (September 2005), then the asphalt road should be built. A proposal for an asphalt road between Jambuq and Melak has not yet received a definite answer from the governor and the *bupati*.

d) Compilation of private sector businesses

The following list gives a view of private sector businesses which have started or operated since 2001 as well as the government regulations the respective businesses are based on.

Logging activities by PT.ITCI: Since 1979, PT.ITCI has had a HPH licence for logging activities in Jambuq. The company has given compensation payments for activities in 1993/ 94 and again since 1999, based on the *SK Gubernur (Surat Keputusan Gubernur)* No. 20/ 2000. These regulations require compensation payments for the last five years only.

Concerning the compensation payments, at least one meeting in the office of the *petinggi* has been observed by PT.ITCI employees in 2000. At this meeting PT.ITCI paid Rp 450 Mio. for the last five years of logging in the village. In 2001 much more than Rp 60 Mio. was paid but the following years the payments declined because the timber production has declined as well.⁴⁸

According to the villagers 30 % of the first payment in 2000 was spent for the youth, village leaders and staff, as well as for developing the village. The remaining 70 % was divided into different classes and distributed to the various households in amounts

⁴⁸ The payment in 2000 was confirmed by PT.ITCI staff (by the manager of the PMDH program, Pak Kustoyo). Concerning the second payment in 2001 the same staff said it was much more and has declined further. According to the *Kepala Sekola*, the village received Rp 30 Mio. in 2003, Rp 50 Mio. in June 2004 and Rp 20 Mio. December 2004. The village leaders were very cautious when talking about compensation payments and seldom gave concrete numbers.

between Rp 750 000 and Rp 3 Mio., and for the village leaders, Rp 4 Mio. There are contradicting explanations for these differences among the villagers.⁴⁹

The next distributions in 2001 and 2002 were much less (respondents said between Rp 20 000 and 70 000 for each household). Not all households received the money which led to inequality and jealous feelings. Accordingly, several respondents believe that the village leaders took more money than they should have received.

Small-scale logging activities by CVs: CV means limited partnership capital mainly for small-scale logging activities. CVs have to pay fees if they want to work on the village grounds. The common land fee is Rp 25 000 per m³ or 20 % of the profit. For private land the charge is Rp 50 000. These fees, having no legal basis, are the indirect impact of HPH regulation: Now, village leaders know that they have a right to manage their own forest. The arrangements for fees are based on village meetings and the respective regulations and documents are held by the BPK. The local government knows about the fees and, according to the village leaders, is impressed that the village can manage their own affairs.

According to the village leaders, half of the 20 % profit charge is used for the development of the village, i.e. mosque, market and sport grounds, the other half is paid as additional monthly income for the 18 members of the leader's staff.⁵⁰

Private logging activities: If villagers or a group of people own a chainsaw, then they often do logging activities for themselves. The village community also receives fees from private logging activities for the village cashier. The agreement is the same as mentioned above for CVs.

e) Collection of the villagers' perceptions on the local government

The following statements give an impression of the villager's perceptions of the local government's attitude and performance since the creation of Kutai Barat in comparison with the former district of Kutai.

⁴⁹ The most plausible one (given by PT.ITCI stuff) is that the payments depending on the age of the head of the family, if he is original from Jambuaq and, if not, how long he has lived in the village.

⁵⁰ The village leader staff includes: Five members of the BPK, five of the *kepala adat*, five *petinggi* staff and the three *ketua RT* (head of village's quarter). The chairman of the BPK said 75 % of the fees should be used for development activities and only 25 % for the village

Kutai Barat pays no attention: When asked about the changes that have happened since the creation of Kutai Barat, villagers say there is no difference in the attitude and performance of the local government. The government of Kutai Barat is said to pay no attention to the village. This is concluded from the lack of significant changes and progress seen in the village.

Access to district government is more difficult: Especially the mayor, his secretary and the *ketua* BPK⁵¹ mentioned that access to the local government is very difficult. One reason mentioned was their lack of Benuaq language skills, which makes it difficult to arrange meetings with the Benuaq speaking local government staff, whereas other village leaders are given priority. Another reason is the physical access via bus to the capital of Kutai Barat is still very difficult, takes much time, and is expensive.

Feeling of belonging to Kutai Barat is very weak: According to some villagers, Jambuq should belong to the nearer district Kutai Kartanegara. Its capital Tenggarong is easier and faster to reach. Further, Kutai Kartanegara is assumed to have more financial resources to take care of its people and better programs already implemented. The villagers mentioned that Kutai Kartanegara has basically the same religion as they do. The village leaders have suggested annexation to the *bupati*. According to them, this suggestion caused conflicts with Kutai Barat.

The *kecamatan* government does not play any active role: According to some villagers, the *kecamatan* (sub-district) capital is also difficult to reach.⁵² Unfortunately, the *kecamatan* government is reserved and does not share information with the village. They show no transparency concerning budgeting.

leaders and staff. Also, at least one of the three *ketua* RT has never received money from the fees. We did not have any information about the total amount of the fees. A guarding team of villagers watches logging activities.

⁵¹ Chairman of the village's council.

⁵² Because the *kecamatan*'s capital is not placed on the main road according to the former custom to settle capital cities along the main riversides.

III. 2.4 Perceived impacts of projects, programs and business activities

The impacts of these projects, programs and business activities on the spheres of well-being are shown in the following impact matrix⁵³:

Projects, programs and business activities No:

- 1: Water pump machines and water tanks
- 2: *Kartu Askes Gakin* (Free health service for the poor)
- 3: Micro-credits (UKM) for rattan business
- 4: *Beasiswa* (scholarships)
- 5: Reforestation program
- 6: Market place
- 7: PMDH by PT.ITCI
- 8: Compensation payments by PT.ITCI
- 9: Fees by CVs and private logging activities

Sphere	Impact No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Natural sphere	No.1	-		+		+		-	-	-
	No.2			-		-				-
	No.3									-
Economic sphere	No.1			+		+	+	+	+	+
	No.2			+		-	+		-	+
	No.3			-		+				-
Social sphere	No.1	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	- -
	No.2	-	-	-		-	+		-	- -
	No.3								+	+
Political sphere	No.1	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	- -
	No.2	-		-	-		-	+	-	+
	No.3							-	+	+
Core	No.1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	No.2	+	+	-	-		+	+	+	+
	No.3		+	-				-		

Table 4: Impact matrix of programs, projects and business activities in Jambuq.

⁵³ See annexes 2: Explanations for impact matrix (Jambuq), p. 77.

In general, local government programs and projects (No. 1 – 5) have some negative impacts on the social and political/ government service sphere, only project No. 5 (reforestation program) is perceived to have positive influence in the political sphere. No. 3 (micro-credits for rattan businesses) and 5 (reforestation project) bring some benefit to the economic level. In the natural sphere positive and negative impacts are balanced.

The private business activities and programs (No. 7 - 9) all have negative impact on the natural sphere, but have a positive influence on economic and household levels. The social and political sphere is negatively influenced, although some positive impact is realized as well.

Project No. 6 (market place) as a project financed by fees brought benefits in the economic and core sphere, whereas its impact on the social and political spheres are ambivalent.

If the programs and projects work well, they all have positive impact on the household level (core).

III. 3 Discussion

Concerning the results mentioned above, the observed changes since decentralisation are circumstanced by:

- Changed attitude of PT.ITCI, especially compensation payments.
- Development activities by PT.ITCI and the district government.
- New possibilities for village leaders due to fees.
- New possibilities for villagers due to forest and market access.

The main impact of government regulations, projects and programs, as well as private sector activities can be seen as follows:

- The government regulation concerning HPH licences has an indirect influence on the independent management of the village affairs and finances. In this context, the village leaders have been given protract opportunities for corruption due to fees paid by small-scale logging activities as well as the compensation payments paid by

PT.ITCI. This has led to the consolidation of the elite's status with new financial opportunities.

- A new government regulation, aimed at stopping illegal logging activities through a monitoring team, has caused the unemployment of a large part of the male population, because activities are focused on logging and no commercial alternatives exist.⁵⁴ Therefore, the negative image of the central government has increased.
- Mainly people from outside work for PT.ITCI. Villagers mainly do not benefit from large-scale logging activities other than compensation payments and development subsidies in the village. Villagers only profit from small-scale logging and rattan business.
- Of all local government programs implemented, the village leaders and their families benefit first and most due to better access to information. The economic improvement on the household level is distributed unfairly which leads to social problems like dissatisfaction with the leaders and other conflicts.
- The projects realized in the village are generally perceived emotionally, i.e. asphalt street, mosque, water tanks are mentioned as good improvements, but without direct economic benefit for the people. Other projects have led to disappointed feelings, especially those assumed to have economic impact, for example the wet-rice project which has failed or the *ulin*/ rubber project which excludes villagers.
- The people are disappointed about the decentralisation progress and do not trust the village leaders. According to the villagers, their leaders have not done a good job. Fundamental changes in the village are not recognized and the villagers do not know about the activities of the leaders; there is neither information nor transparency. Village meetings are still rare and mainly for the village leaders. Although the leaders and the people of Jambuq already received some democratic training by the government, the democratic element appears very weak.

⁵⁴ Before logging, income-generating sources were small rattan and rubber activities as well as extended self-sufficient economy with determined market access. This situation remained before forest access in 2000 and again since November 2004.

The situation of this Kutai village has changed since decentralization due to a new marginalization felt by the villagers.

- As mentioned above, according to the villagers, the location of the new district capital makes the access to the local government more difficult. Now, it takes more time and money to reach the capital compared to that of the former Kutai district. Also there are problems of personal access to the district government due to lack of local language skills. As a result, the feeling of belonging to the new district Kutai Barat is very weak.
- The newly felt marginalization of Jambuq village is the result of the changed geopolitical situation which makes it a remote area in the outer margin of the district. The relatively new district Kutai Barat is seen as the source of problems. This changed geographic situation has more influence on the perception of the local government than the implementation of actual programs and projects. Whereas sometimes language or religion is mentioned as the source of problems, ethnic differences are not, probably because of the history of Jambuq village.⁵⁵

III. 4 Conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from the study are as follows: Programs and projects focused on the development of the village and helping the economically disadvantaged already exist. The problems the village has to suffer are the uneven distribution of assistance and rising inequality caused by a lack of information and a lack of knowledge about how to benefit from current programs. The actual situation of imbalance is mainly the reason for unsatisfied and disappointed feelings of the common people concerning the local government and the effects of decentralization. Another problem is that local government services already implemented did not work very well, i.e. the health service or education. People are impatient with the government and they demand fast changes in economy and infrastructure.

⁵⁵ Just once ethnicity was mentioned as a reason, but in that context more to underline the bad situation.

IV. Jerang Melayu

In Jerang Melayu, research has been done in January 2005. After a description of methods and study site, the results of research are presented.

IV. 1 Study site

Map of study location



Jerang Melayu is located on the Kedang Pahau river and is part of the Muara Pahau subdistrict in the *kabupaten* (district) of West Kutai, East Kalimantan. The geographic position is at 115°52' Eastern Longitude and 0°25' Southern Latitude. In the north and in

the east, the village borders with Dasaq village, in the south with Jerang Dayak and in the west with Empas and Keay. The village covers an area of 24.39 km².

According to official statistics of the *petinggi's* secretary of December 2004, Jerang Melayu has 47 households, a population of 313 people making up 85 families. Of the 313 people, about 200 live permanently in the village. Villagers mainly live from fishing. People not staying permanently in the village have private business outside the village or work for companies. But these people still have their own houses in Jerang Melayu and visit regularly family members in the village.

According to the oral tradition told by the *petinggi*, the history of Jerang Melayu can be traced back 13 generations. In the past, probably in the beginning of the 18th century, the ancestors of Jerang Melayu lived in *lamin labet* in the upstream village of Jerang Iilit, under the leadership of Sabet. From this place, the people moved to the riverside of Jerang and founded *lamin gunaq*. People migrated further downstream to the mouth of Jerang river. At that time, trading relations with the people passing by Kedang Pahu river began. This was because the ancestors of Jerang Melayu moved once again to the riverside of the Kedang Pahu in the area of the village's present location, intending to increase their trading relations. At the same time, outside traders brought the religion of Islam to the village. People then built up the *lamin datai monte* at the present location. This place had inclining frequency of traders stopping overnight and furthermore some people stayed for longer and got married with native people from the village. At the same time, a conflict rose between the people who converted to Islam and became Kutai and those who did not, because they identified themselves as Dayak people without accepting Islam religion. In the end of the 19th century, the Dayak Benuaq moved upstream the Kedang Pahu and established Peninggir, nowadays known as Jerang Dayak.

In 1926, Jerang Melayu was officially established by the Dutch colonial government. During Japanese occupation, people had to move upstream the Jerang, fearing the cruelty of the Japanese army. In the 1960s, the Dayak Tunjung part of the village migrated upstream the Kedang Pahu to look for new land and manage their own affairs. The new village called Mendung was recognized by the government in 1962.

IV. 2 Findings

IV. 2.1 Recent trends in the village

When asked about the changes which have taken place in the last three to five years, respondents gave us the answers listed below. According to our core and context model, these changes are arranged according to natural, economic, social, political/ institutional and Local Government service spheres as well as regarding general changes in housing conditions.

Natural sphere:

Forest fires occur regularly: Deforestation in combination with dry periods causes forest fires which have already destroyed huge parts of the forests as well as forest gardens (rattan, rubber, fruit trees) and rice fields. The traditional calendar does not work any more.

Probability of floods increases: Further, the loss of forests causes flood problems. Water can not be absorbed by trees anymore.

Land fertility drops: Regular floods and dry periods cause a drop in land fertility. Most of the villagers think the dry season has prolonged and causes the crop failure. In addition, rats often contribute to harvest failure.

Fish-resources are declining: The regular occurrence of forest fires also influences fish resources. Difficulties of agricultural exploitation often lead to over-exploitation of fish resources, because no alternatives are available. And wild weeds often cover lakes and makes fishing more difficult. In addition, the quality of water declined.

Biodiversity is deteriorating: Forest fires lead to deteriorating biodiversity, especially in orchid conservation areas. Further, the number of tree and crop species is also declining.

Economic sphere:

Rice self-sufficiency declines: Long dry periods along with the recurrence of floods and pests lead to crop failure. The majority of villagers is depending on rice supplies from government institutions and NGOs, known as subsidized *bulog* rice.

Fishing activities increases: Because of the unfavourable circumstances for farming, fishing has become the main source for food self-sufficiency in the villages. Nevertheless, fish is not regularly sold because of the lacking market access.

Alternative income has been decreasing: Forest fires have destroyed large parts of forest gardens. Neither rubber nor rattan estates can be harvested at the moment. In addition, many young people have become jobless because the Central Government's monitoring team is controlling illegal logging activities. In the meantime it became increasingly difficult to find a job at companies near the village.

Social sphere

The village has become more lively: About three years ago, families moved to other villages looking for work, but now more and more families have returned with savings (p.e. from logging activities), trying to live from the result of their work near Jerang Melayu or partially working outside the village. One reason for this is that projects are already being implemented, e.g. the *sawah*-projects (irrigated rice cultivation) by NGOs. And families no longer stay in the rice fields/ gardens, but in their village.⁵⁶

Solidarity for economic and collective work has been declining: Mutual help (*gotong royong*) is still organized⁵⁷, but nowadays such mutual help has become rare. The main reason mentioned was that people have become increasingly less interested in spending their time on cooperation projects like preparing irrigated rice fields or rubber plantations, because the profits are only marginal. It was also mentioned that families have to struggle to meet their daily needs and try to build their own fields or gardens, so less time is available to join in collective work, while others blamed their village leaders, who did not join in the activities or were outside of the village, for decreasing motivation.

⁵⁶ This, in fact, increases forest fires, because people know that there is a fire when it is already too late.

⁵⁷ Especially for marriages and Muslim holidays, but also in other activities like sweeping the streets.

Traditional culture is disappearing: Traditional culture, like arts and dances as well as the Benuaq and Tunjung languages are disappearing. Only during the commemoration of Indonesia's Independence Day dances and music are still alive, and only a few people still have the knowledge about this traditional culture. Traditional ceremonies such as Kutainese/ Dayak dances are no longer held, only Muslim ceremonies, which are very lively.

Political/ institutional sphere:

Political relations have changed: The village council (BPK) came to office in 2002/ 03 as the third institution besides the traditional leader (*kepala adat*) and the mayor (*petinggi*). The BPK should control the other institutions and discuss about the *petinggi's* proposals. In addition, the women's organization (PKK) should reflect family topics. Unfortunately, the motivation of the BPK and PKK staff is very low: They only take the budget money without meeting the expectations. This leads to jealousy among villagers and, in the case of the BPK, conflicts with the *petinggi* has risen. The *petinggi* and his staff mainly manage village affairs. The *kepala adat* has no clear function⁵⁸, but tries to maintain power, although he and his secretary do not live in the village. Because the institutions do not work together, rather contrary, the system of check and balances has become ineffective.

Democratic elements have increased: The *petinggi* and his staff have been holding regular meetings and negotiations among the village leaders (p.e. BPK members and leaders of the farming organization). However, participation appears still to be low. Villagers have greater possibilities for joining democratic processes (p.e. they can join village meetings) and have more choices (p.e. they will elect their *petinggi* directly in November 2005).

⁵⁸ Traditional functions of the *kepala adat* include: conflict resolution (on land tenure and family law), establishing boundaries between the villages (which he and other *kepala adats* have already done, though without a final solution) and keeping the traditions. The *kepala adat* these days sees himself as partner of the village leaders who get in touch with companies/ private sector through negotiations.

Structures and services

Health-care service is declining: Since the *polindes* (small polyclinic) and *posyandu* (additional health-care branches) in the neighbouring village of Jerang Dayak were closed down in 2002, access to health-care facilities has become increasingly unreachable. During the last two years, a *mantri* (nurse) visits the village once a month. Private institutions are now more concentrating on children and women (p.e. CARE distributes supplement food for pregnant and nursing women and children).

Number of teachers is increasing: More teachers teach at elementary schools since three teachers are now employed on contract basis in the village. Now all six classes have its own teacher. Before, only three teachers were responsible for formal education.

Education facilities are declining: School buildings are getting worse and without enough classrooms (only three). Because of changes in the law concerning school attendance, students should buy books themselves. Teachers had sampled enough books in former times when schoolbooks were still free and lent them now to the students.

Transportation has not yet been improved: A proposal concerning a street to Melak is not yet realized, so rivers are the only traffic system in that area beside small paths. Shipping is still lively, three times a week a ship taxi to Samarinda is passing by.

Other LG services are declining: Generally, development has been slowing down. The district has only donated a new mosque and supports the implementation of reforestation programs in the village.

Health

Increasingly difficult to meet daily necessities: Because of the decline in natural resources, it has become increasingly difficult for households to meet their daily nutrition needs. Self-sufficiency declines while households have become increasingly dependent on external help.

Quality of drinking water has declined: Extreme fluctuations of river water level left people over long periods with poor water quality. River water is the only drink water source in the village.

Material wealth

Increasingly difficult to create appropriate housing conditions: The loss of forest in combination with the difficulties to meet daily needs lead to decreasing housing conditions due to lack of income and construction material.

Prices of goods are increasing: Higher expenses burden households, like on increased prices of fuel for power generators or motorboats. Furthermore, timber (ironwood – *Eusideroxylon zwageri*) has to be bought in neighbouring villages at very high prices.

Knowledge aspects

Number of middle school students are declining: Difficulties of daily life affect the number of SMP and SMA students. Children have to help parents at home. Most parents can not pay the living cost of their children attending school outside the village. Parents have to pay their children's school uniform and text books (if they do not borrow them from their teachers) as well as a small fee for their children's transfer to higher classes in elementary school.

Subjective well-being

Disappointment concerning the decentralization process: The decentralization process is perceived to marginalize villagers, so the feeling of insecurity rises. However, this is because of the village's remote location without direct access to Melak as well as the emotionally felt neglect of Kutai villages.

IV. 2.2 Local perceptions about well-being

The results of the well-being questionnaire show that, similar to Jambuq, a majority of people in Jerang Melayu have mainly an economic understanding of well-being.

For Jerang Melayu villagers, the meaning of well-being includes material and economic aspects, but social relations and external help are emphasized as well. The following table summarizes the most significant meanings. For further explanation, see annexes.⁵⁹

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Daily needs (food, clothes, basic goods)	8	7	11	5	13	11	55
Steady job/ alternative work	11	8	13	5	7	6	50
Housing	10	8	6	13	7	6	50
Family bond	1	2	3	8	8	10	32
Health		5	5	3	2	6	21
Money	2	7	3	4	1	4	21
Electricity	2	7	2	3	3	3	20
Education	2	9	1	2	1	3	18

Table 5: The meaning of well-being in Jerang Melayu.

Daily needs: A majority of 55 people mentioned well-being means the ability to meet one's primary needs without difficulties and to have everything one needs, while some wish for luxury. Daily needs in this sense include food, clothes and goods of daily life.

Job/ work: Additional 50 villagers said that well-being means to have a steady job or alternative work. Obviously, more men concern with this point.

Housing: 31 respondents answered well-being means to have good housing conditions as a sign of material wealth. This includes electricity, clean water, interior, technical equipment and sanitary facilities within the household.

Family bond: 32 respondents, mostly grandparents and married women, mentioned good family bonds as essential to feel well. Well-being in this case means that the whole family live together or nearby, everybody taking care of one another, everybody goes to school or to work, and the whole family is healthy and spends time together. Other aspects refer to similar relations within the village, i.e. having friends, setting up a family, a lively village, and a healthy social environment where nobody lives in poverty.

⁵⁹ See annexes 3a: The meaning of well-being (Jerang Melayu), S. 79.

Health: Another meaning of well-being give reference to a life in good health, including healthcare facilities and good healthcare service, which is important for 21 respondents.

Money: 21 villagers said well-being means to have a lot of money. Obviously, especially married and old women express this point. In addition, two men said well-being means to have savings.

Electricity: Electricity supply as a meaning of well-being was mentioned by 20 people. Similar to good housing conditions, it is seen as an indicator of material wealth within the village.

Education: 18 people, among them 9 unmarried women, mentioned well-being as having the chance to continue school or to become well-educated. Other aspects of government services are also included in the meaning of well-being, especially request for a street and rapid development.

Furthermore, personal aspects like the chance to realize dreams, mentioned by 11 young people, travelling and sight-seeing, expressed by 9 respondents, and leisure time, said by 6 unmarried villagers, are included in the meaning of well-being. Additional positions refer to a steady life, enjoying old age, religious pilgrimage, and independency.

Beside these common conceptions of well-being, the term (*kesejahteraan*) was translated into other categories and refers to a happy life (*hidup senang/ hidup bahagia*), mentioned by 36 respondents, a comfortable life (*hidup nyaman*), expressed by 24 villagers, a pleasant life (*hidup enak*), imagined by 15 people, and a calm life (*hidup tenang*), wished by 13 people. In addition, peace of mind (*hidup tenang*), a safe life (*hidup aman*), a peaceful life (*hidup damai*), a simple life (*hidup lumayan*), a dignified life (*hidup layak*) and a luxurious life (*hidup mewah*) was mentioned under this term.

When asked about the three most important aspects of well-being, respondents gave us the answers below. The results are similar to those referring to the meaning of well-being, stressing economic and material aspects. However, government services are more emphasized, such as transport, education and electricity. Social relations and individual meanings are playing only a marginal role. Reasons for these differences might be the people's direct expectation concerning the Local Government and CIFOR, summarized in

the villagers' priority list of well-being-aspects, and the way of questioning. For further explanation, see annexes.⁶⁰

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Housing	13	16	7	11	12	14	73
Permanent job/alternative work	12	7	9	5	12	8	53
Daily needs (food, clothes, basic goods)	4	11	3	14	7	8	47
Transport (i.e. Street)	11	4	10	6	8	5	44
Health	3	1	10	5	5	6	30
Education	5	9	3	4	4	4	29
Electricity	5	3	3	7	4	6	28

Table 6: Most important aspects of well-being in Jerang Melayu.

Housing: The majority of 73 respondents said that housing is one of the most important aspects for a sense of well-being. The young and married women want to build their own house, whereas older people wish to refurbish their homes.

Job/ work: 53 respondents answered that work is the most important aspect to feel a sense of well-being. There are no significant differences in age and sex. When asked for further details, the respondents said they want permanent and steady work or alternative work with companies in the village, or at projects supported by the government. Or they need equipment like fish traps and motorboats, at least for self-sufficiency.

Daily needs: 47 of our respondents think that fulfilling daily needs (food, clothes, basic goods) is of most importance for their sense of well-being. Especially married and old people mentioned this point as their first priority.

Transport: Also transportation and paved streets are very important for 44 respondents, mainly men of all ages. Many of the respondents mentioned transportation is as importance for market access, faster access to Melak and access to information.

Health: Regarding health-care services, 30 respondents say it is of utmost importance. Married and older people pay the most attention to this point. The majority of them want

⁶⁰ See annexes 3b: Most important aspects of well-being (Jerang Melayu), S. 81.

to have a PusBan or Posyandu in or near their village. Whereas old people think health service should be free or inexpensive, women want to have a better health service for babies and children.

Education: About 29 people mentioned education is very important, among them more young people. The most important thing concerning education is junior and senior high schools near the village, low-cost or even free whenever possible.

Electricity: Electricity supply is seen as central for 28 respondents. Although generators are in use, those are expensive, as is the fuel.

The results of the well-being questionnaires show that 114 of the 121 people do not feel secured, and are dissatisfied with the present situation. According to the questionnaires, five people said they already have a sense of well-being, and two people felt in between, not yet secured, but alright.⁶¹

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Men	Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Feel well-being	1	2	1		1		5
In between			1	1			2
Feel not well-being	19	19	19	19	18	20	114
	20	21	21	20	19	20	121

Table 7: The subjective well-being in Jerang Melayu.

IV. 2.3 Compilation of projects, programs and business activities

a) Compilation of local government programs and projects

The following compilation gives an overview of all the programs and projects that have been implemented in the village by the local government since 2001.

Askes program: The *kartu sehat* is replaced by *kartu askes gakin*⁶², introduced to the village in May 2004 and valid until December. The health staff of the *kecamatan* decides

⁶¹ See annexes 3c: Subjective feelings about well-being (Jerang Melayu), p. 81.

⁶² *Kartu gakin*: Free health insurance for poor people.

which families should own one by using only one indicator: the condition of the houses. Thirty one families have subscribed to this free health insurance, with each covering the parents and two children.

Beasiswa (scholarships): According to the school master, 4th to 6th grade elementary school students get *dana bantuan operasional* (financial support for students). Seven students receive BGM (*bawah garis miskin* - under the poverty line) support since 2002, while 14 elementary school students enjoy a Rp 60,000 *beasiswa* (scholarships) for six months from *Dina Pendidikan* (education service) of Kutai Barat. The school master suggests the students who should get a scholarship each year, while two other students get *beasiswa* for attending the SMP.⁶³ Until now, villagers never take the initiative to ask for a scholarship. Reasons for this may be the lack of information concerning supportive programs.

Raskin: Under this program, the local government provides poor families with subsidized rice. This rice can be bought in the *kecamatan* capital (Muara Pahu) since 1999 and the rice currently sold at about 60-70 percent of the market price. Because CARE stopped its rice program in the village, people are now entirely depending on this subsidized rice.⁶⁴

Reforestation project for *karet* (rubber) and *ulin/ meranti* trees: This project was launched in 2002 and covers two farmer groups. The first group plants *ulin* (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*) and *meranti* (*Shorea* spp.) trees in addition to mixed fruit trees (durian, rambutan, manggo) covering 50 hectare with 50 people taking part. Of the promised Rp 270 Mio, the farmers already received Rp 100 Mio from *Dinas Kehutanan* (forestry service)⁶⁵. The second group opened a rubber plantation mixed with fruit trees. Under this project, 25 people take care of 25 hectare. They have already received Rp 35 Mio of the promised Rp 87 Mio.⁶⁶ In addition, people are allowed to build their own

⁶³ The available information was inadequate. The only person who can give some information was the school master, who does not appear to be well informed of the program. Furthermore, she asked for money from the students for graduation each year (between Rp 1000 and Rp 1500).

⁶⁴ Usually, the store is empty for several months each year. In 2005, the tsunami might intensify the problem. After fresh supplies came in, the people bought as much as they could.

⁶⁵ The *Dinas Kehutanan* only agrees on this area, which is 3 hours walking distance away from the village.

⁶⁶ Under the two projects, the money is distributed as follows: 30 % for preparing the area, 50 % for the seeds, fertilizer and pesticides, 20 % for transport and security guards each year.

rubber estates bordering on the rubber plantations. Unfortunately, large parts of both areas are already burnt.⁶⁷

Mosque: A new mosque was financed by the local government. The village received Rp 15 Mio in 2002 and Rp 10 Mio in 2003.

b) Compilation of other programs and projects

All the activities of NGOs and village leaders to support the village since 2001 are listed below.

STARRH program implemented by CARE: In 2001 CARE took over the program initiated by CIDA.⁶⁸ The STARRH program concentrates on health, agriculture and development of technology. CARE supports farmer groups in the development of irrigated rice fields in which 62 persons are involved. As part of the integrated food for work program, families were supported with rice (50 kg a month) and vegetables/ rice seeds if they build a drainage system for the irrigated rice fields (which does not work very well) or built paths. The food for work program had been terminated, because an evaluation questioned the results.⁶⁹ The healthcare program is focused on the nutritional value of the food of children (soy bean porridge, vitamins, vermifuges) as well as pregnant and nursing mothers and is regularly monitored by CARE staff. In addition, they give some training in participatory approaches.

BIOMA: This NGO was active in 2002/ 03 and facilitates village leaders in fire hazard topics. BIOMA staff provided training on prevention of forest fires and in fire fighting as part of their program to manage natural resources on their own. In addition, they conducted capacity building training to teach village leaders how to make their own regulations as part of their empowerment program.

⁶⁷ In 2003, the seedlings were already planted. Because of the destructive forest fires, which had destroyed large parts of the rubber plantations, people want to make a new proposal for a new rubber plantation. According to the *petinggi*, this is not possible, because the money is tied to this project. The rest of the money will be paid out as soon as there are results which should be monitored by the *Dinas Kehutanan*. One respondent assumes that the money which has yet to be paid out has been embezzled by the *kecamatan* administration.

⁶⁸ CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) was active between 1999 and 2000. They had some emergency projects like providing rice assistance and developed irrigated rice fields.

⁶⁹ In June 2004 CARE terminated the food for work program. The monitoring shows that there has been no progress in the past three years according to the indicators on nutrition of babies, pregnant and nursing mothers. In addition, harvest of the irrigated rice fields had failed because of floods and a bad irrigation system. Now, CARE concentrates on traditional technologies in agriculture and health service. CARE has stopped providing seeds, pesticides/ fertilizers or rice to households and they have also stopped introducing new technologies.

Rattan seedlings project: In 2002/ 03, about 20 villagers initiated a rattan seedlings project managed by participating families on their own. People cultivated rattan plants and took care of them during growth. Rattan seedlings were sold in 2003/04 to people from other areas. Unfortunately, the villagers have yet to receive the money from the buyers.⁷⁰

c) Compilation of project proposals

The following project proposals have been submitted by the village to the local government or to other parties since 2001. Two lists of proposals were made, one sent to the local government in 2002, the other in February 2005.

Road: The proposal for a 25-km road from Jerang Melayu via Mandung to Empas (*Kecamatan Melak*) including a bridge over the Jerang river was passed on to the local government in 2002 and renewed in 2005. The district government has agreed to build the road as soon as capital can be provided.⁷¹

Settlement for villagers: In February 2005, villager leaders demanded settlements near the planned road to make the village more lively.

Bridge: In 2002, the village applied for a 700-meter iron-wood boardwalk through the village. No response had been given to the application.

Pier: In February 2005, the village leaders applied for a small pier.

Mosque: An application was made to the *bupati* (regent) in February 2005 for assistance in the completion of a mosque.

School renovation: In February 2005, an application was made for assistance for the renovation of an elementary school.

⁷⁰ The buyers are mostly leaders of farmer groups or wholesalers under a contract with the selling villagers. The farmer groups who bought the seedlings will receive the money from *Dinas Kehutanan* if 62-75 % of their rattan will be grown. Then the farmer groups can pay their debts to the sellers in Jerang Melayu.

⁷¹ The response was given at meeting held in 2002 for village leaders of three surrounding villages and officials from the *Dinas Pekerjaan umum* (public works) and *KimPrasVil Koordinator* (resettlement and regional infrastructure service).

Health facilities: In 2002, the village applied for a *puskesmas pembantu* and *posyandu* (additional health-care branches) buildings. The *puskesmas pembantu* (auxiliary community health clinic) proposal has been renewed in February 2005.

Office buildings: In 2002 a proposal was made for a mayor's, PKK (women's organization) and BPK office. Furthermore, an application had been made for the completion of the secretary's office for *Karang Tarund* (youth organization). The application had been renewed in February 2005 for the mayor's and PKK offices, and for a meeting hall.

Support for administration: The mayor made a proposal for support of the political institutions of the village in 2005.

Electricity: The village applied for electricity for 70 units in 2002. The application has been renewed in February 2005, but no response so far.

Clean water: Clean water facilities were requested in 2002. The local government has not yet responded.

Sawah: In 2002, a proposal was made by the mayor for a 120-ha irrigated rice field and a 10-m wide floodgate. In February 2005, a new application was made for a 300-ha to 500-ha of rice field (*sawah*). Both proposals remained unanswered.

Oil palm plantation: In 2002, a written proposal was made to open a 5000-ha oil palm plantation. The mayor has already invited the oil palm company PT. Lonsum and village leaders of Mendung and Jerang Dayak to give the necessary information, and present the planned area.⁷² In the new proposal the planned area is designed for an oil palm/ rubber plantation under a cooperation scheme with neighbouring villages.⁷³

Coal mining: The *kepala adat*, his secretary and another man from the village have been in contact with the coal mining company Trubo Indo to intensify economic development in the village.⁷⁴ Trubo Indo has already responded and invited these persons along with

⁷² Actually, the mayor does not want the company to build nucleus-smallholders estates (*plasma* plantation), because villagers do not have necessary skills. So, he wants the company to follow the village's rules and share the capital.

⁷³ In fact, the village does not really expect this plantation to be built in near future.

⁷⁴ The coal mine is already under discussion of the villagers who influenced the opinion of the people. Most of the people want to have a company in the village, so it does not matter which one. The company must pay a good price for the land, as the only condition.

the mayors of Mendung and Jerang Dayak to discuss the matter.⁷⁵ They planned to draw up a test drill in this year. The license will be obtained from the central government.

d) Compilation of private sector businesses

Since 2001 no private businesses have started operating in the village.

e) Collection of the villagers' perceptions on the local government

The following statements give an impression on the villagers' perception on the local administration's attitude and performance since the establishment of West Kutai compared to the former district of Kutai.

Kutai Barat does not pay enough attention: When asked about the changes that had taken place since the establishment of Kutai Barat, most people say there is no significant difference between the administration of Kutai Barat and the former Kutai district. The majority even thinks that the support from the local government has been declining.⁷⁶ In comparison with the former district of Kutai, people say there are less projects and programs implemented.⁷⁷ Besides, the villagers are disappointed because the promised road has yet to become a reality, and other proposals have not been realized.

Other villages are favoured: Several respondents said that the development progress in Jerang Melayu is slower compared to that of the other villages. They assumed that the district administration has a different view on ethnic and religious matters. In the surrounding non-Kutai, non-Muslim village respondents say there are more facilities supported by the local government.⁷⁸

Local government's bad attitude and performance: District administration officials seldom visit the village which indicates that the authorities lacked interest in Jerang Melayu. Furthermore, the local administration services are regarded to be poor. People

⁷⁵ The author assumes that the company starts causing a conflict among the village leaders of Jerang Melayu, so that they become weak. Maybe Trubo Indo already knows that the mayor there does not agree with this project and that the BPK is not functioning effectively. On the other hand, the *kepala adat* and his secretary are keenly interested in this company, because they have a lot of land for sale (according to their own statement).

⁷⁶ Only one respondent said the local government has improved.

⁷⁷ For example, the former Kutai district helped build or repair houses, realized reforestation projects, supported irrigation rice fields or built a livestock breeding project in the village.

⁷⁸ For example, Jerang Dayak already has a street and other villages are still receiving help for building houses.

assumed that the local administration has been unfair, as the government employees lacked openness and are withholding information. In addition, the local government is said to be acting party-politically.

Limited support by *kecamatan* government: Unlike in the past, officials of the *kecamatan* visit the village more often. According to the villagers, the *camat* (subdistrict head) and his employees, however, merely show their faces and make promises without eventually keeping them. They are regarded as lazy and do not pass information on to the villagers. The people have never received help from the *kecamatan* administration.

IV. 2.4 Perceived impacts of projects, programs and business activities

The impact of these projects, programs and business activities on welfare are shown in the following impact matrix⁷⁹:

Projects, programs and business activities No:

- 1: *Raskin* (subsidized rice program)
- 2: *Kartu Askes Gakin* (Free health service for the poor)
- 3: *Beasiswa* (scholarships)
- 4: Reforestation project
- 5: Health-program by CARE
- 6: Agriculture-program by CARE
- 7: Fire protecting training by BIOMA
- 8: Rattan seedlings project

⁷⁹ For further details see annex 4: Explanations for impact matrix (Jerang Melayu), p. 82.

Sphere	Impact No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Natural sphere	No.1				+		+	+	+
	No.2				+		-		
	No.3				-		+		
Economic sphere	No.1	-			+		+	-	+
	No.2				+				-
	No.3								
Social sphere	No.1	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
	No.2	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	
	No.3				-				
Political sphere	No.1		-	-	-				-
	No.2		-		-				
	No.3								
Core	No.1	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
	No.2	+	+			+	+		
	No.3								

Table 8: Impact matrix of programs, projects and business activities in Jerang Melayu.

In general, most of the social programs of the local government (No. 1-3) have a negative impact on the political sphere, whereas the impact on households (core) seems to be favourable. Program No. 1 has a positive effect on the social level, programs No. 2 and 3 are more ambivalent. In fact, program No. 2 (free health service) and 3 (scholarships) have no significant influence on village life, whereas program No. 1 (subsidized rice) is getting more and more important.

All the programs and projects of NGOs (No. 5-7) are perceived as ambivalent in the social sphere in view of their focus and realization. Although the programs/ projects were concentrated on the natural sphere (No. 6 and 7) they do not work well in praxis, they tend to become more socially-oriented government programs. All NGO programs/ projects have a positive impact on households and villagers consider them as the only supporting outside-force in the village.

Project No. 4 (reforestation project) is highly estimated for the idea, which has a positive impact on the natural and economic spheres. Unfortunately, the project failed to materialize which had led to conflicts, envy and statements that partly blame the local government. These negative impacts can be seen in the social and political sphere.

The only project realized by the villagers themselves is project No. 8 (rattan seedlings project). The assumed positive impact on households as an alternative source of income has been undermined by the buyers' lack of ability to pay. For these ambivalent economic impacts the local government is to be blamed.

IV. 3 Discussion

Concerning the results mentioned above, the changes which had taken place since the decentralization are as follows:

- Natural resources have dramatically declined.
- All efforts to develop alternative livelihood strategies with limited market access have failed.
- The village is still isolated without direct access to the district's capital, to information and to market access.

The main impact of government regulations, projects and programs, as well as NGO activities are as follows:

- The projects realized in the village have led to disappointment, especially those assumed to have favorable economic impacts. Projects failed because of natural disasters coupled with incorrect planning (i.e. reforestation and irrigated rice fields) or mismanagement (rattan seedlings). Generally these projects are perceived as a waste of time.
- The government programs already implemented in the village have no significant impact on the welfare of households. The subsidized rice program is the only exception that contributes to the food consumption of the villagers.
- Both the government and CARE have caused increased dependence on external help. Villagers will be back in poverty unless these external programs and projects are terminated.
- The people are disappointed about the development progress. So, many blame the local government as well as the village leaders. According to the villagers, their

leaders have not done a good job for the following reasons: Firstly, there had been no significant changes in the village. Secondly, the villagers do not know what their leaders have been doing in promoting their welfare, although the village leaders have already been holding village meetings and informed the villagers of budgetary matters. And thirdly, the village leaders are not open to the villagers and lacked interest in participative decision-making.⁸⁰ The limited support from the local government leads to rumors and interpretations about the use of the money.⁸¹ The village leaders, especially the mayor, are assumed to be corrupt and will go to the local government only for asking money that they keep for themselves. Furthermore, some people do not believe that the assistance has been provided evenly, and suspect that nepotism prevails.

The situation of this Kutai village has changed since the decentralization in view of a new marginalization felt by the villagers.

- As already mentioned in this report, progress in development in Jerang Melayu seems to be slowing down compared to that taking place in other villages and compared to past development. People think that the local government pays no attention. This is traced back to ethnic and/ or religious differences and underlined by the fact, that local government employees have visited Jerang Melayu only twice in 5 years.
- We think that the new feeling of marginalization of Jerang Melayu village is the result of a combination of three factors. Firstly, natural disasters have limited opportunities for self-sufficiency, and minimized market access dramatically. Villagers have lost patience in waiting for the urgently needed government support and expect quick response in form of direct assistance and projects. Secondly, the local government already promised to build a road and arrange meetings with the surrounding villages. This road, which seems to be very important for the village's access to the outside world (the district's capital, market, and to information) is yet

⁸⁰ Others, especially men, said the mayor and his staff are already active, but other institutions are not. Furthermore, the villagers do not take part in the meetings and decision-making processes.

⁸¹ Especially people who have never taken part in the meetings are very active in making interpretations.

to be built. Thirdly, the changed political situation leads to concentration on the development of the district's capital, so the villagers feel that there are not much funds left for the remote areas with small population. In fact, the people of Jerang Melayu are disappointed at all political levels.

IV. 4 Conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from this study are as follows: Government programs and projects focused on the development of the village and helping the economically disadvantaged hardly exist. Although the economic situation is getting worse due to destructive forest fires and floods, the local government has not yet intervened. The actual situation is mainly the reason for dissatisfaction and disappointment with the local government and the effects of decentralization. Furthermore, the few programs that have been implemented do not work very well. On the other hand, several NGOs were already active in the village. So, villagers drew a conclusion that support from non-political institutions is much better, because it is given more regularly and more focused on problems, compared to local government programs and projects.

We assume that there will be conflicts on land tenure. Until now, land tenure is still based on tradition (*adat*) and no official documents exist. These land tenure conflicts could increase if business enterprises enter the village, like coal-mining companies or oil palm plantations, and refer to inter-village as well as intra-village boundaries.

V. Comparison of results

V. 1 Comparison of Kutai villages

In the following, we compare the research results of Jambuq with those of Jerang Melayu.

V. 1.1 Comparison of well-being aspects

Concerning the meaning of well-being, both Kutai villages have mainly an economic understanding. Beside these mere economic and material aspects, including primary needs, housing, job/ work and money, aspects of health, education, family bonds and other social relations are seen as central meanings of well-being.

	Jambuq	J. Melayu	Total
Permanent job/ alternative work	49	56	105
Daily needs (food/ goods/ clothes)	38	53	91
Housing	31	49	80
Family bond	28	27	55
Money	21	23	44
Health	13	24	37
Education	16	18	34
Electricity	9	19	28

Table 9: The meaning of well-being. Comparison of villages.

Beside these economic and social aspects, we could find only gradual differences between Jambuq and Jerang Melayu. However, Jambuq villagers do not include local government services (beside education) in their understanding of well-being, whereas people in Jerang Melayu request for a road, electricity supply, healthcare facilities and rapid development. For people in Jambuq, leisure time and holidays, going sight-seeing, hobbies, travel and religious pilgrimage, or being free to do whatever they want seem to be of more importance than for villagers in Jerang Melayu. In addition, Jambuq villagers mentioned it is important that no conflicts happen in the village, people respect each other, nobody lives in poverty and there is equality among the villagers, whereas people in Jerang Melayu said it is important that the village becomes lively.

Considering sex/ gender, men additionally emphasize development and a reliable future, whereas women stress education and the possibility of travelling.

Men	Women
Job/ work (65)	Housing (42)
Daily needs (52)	Job/ work (40)
Housing (38)	Daily needs (39)
Health (18)	Family bond (37)
Family bond (18)	Money (31)
Reliable future (14)	Education (25)
Money (13)	Health (19)
Agricultural development (11)	Electricity (17)
External help (11)	Travelling (15)

Table 10: The meaning of well-being: Comparison of gender.

The differences between age groups are more significant: The youth stress well-being as becoming well-educated, having the chance to realize their dreams, setting up an own family, and leisure time. In contrary, parents and grandparents emphasize health as central meanings of well-being, parents additionally mentioned good village bond and a reliable future.

Youth	Parents	Grandparents
Housing (30)	Job/ work (30)	Daily needs (41)
Job/ work (29)	Daily needs (29)	Housing (23)
Daily needs (23)	Housing (28)	Job/ Work (29)
Education (19)	Money (14)	Health (15)
Realize dreams (15)	Health (11)	Healthy family (15)
Money (14)	Family bond (11)	Money (14)
Own family (14)	Village bond (11)	Family bond (13)
Leisure (14)	Reliable future (10)	Electricity (8)
Electricity (13)	Education (8)	Education (7)
Family bond (12)	Electricity (8)	

Table 11: The meaning of well-being: Comparison of age-groups.

Concerning life concepts, all age groups said well-being means to lead a happy life (*hidup senang/ hidup bahagia*) and a comfortable life (*hidup nyaman*). Whereas the youth additionally stress a pleasant life (*hidup enak*) or even a luxurious life (*hidup mewah*), parents wish for a life without sorrows (*hidup tenang*) or a safe life (*hidup aman*), and grandparents think about a peaceful life (*hidup damai*)

When asked about the three most important aspects of well-being and if both Kutai villages are considered, people mentioned job/ work, housing, daily needs, education, and health as their priorities.

	Total Jambuq	Total J. Melayu	Total
Job/ work	72	53	125
Housing	42	73	115
Daily needs	54	47	101
Education	46	29	75
Electricity	32	28	60
Health	30	30	60
Transport	7	44	51
Clean water	19	17	36
External help	20	12	32
Social relations	13	9	22

Table 12: Aspects of well-being (top 3): Comparison of villages.

When comparison is made between Jambuq and Jerang Melayu, transport is of most importance in Jerang Melayu (due to a lacking road), but of no significance in Jambuq. Housing is more important in Jerang Melayu (due to bad housing conditions), whereas education is more important in Jambuq.

Concerning sex/ gender, work and external help are more important for men, whereas education, primary needs and clean water are more important for women:

Men	Women
Job/ work (88)	Housing (62)
Housing (53)	Daily needs (59)
Transport (36)	Job/ work (51)
Health (33)	Education (48)
Daily needs (33)	Health (27)
Electricity (33)	Transport (27)
Education (27)	Electricity (27)
External help (22)	Clean water (19)

Table 13: Aspects of well-being (top 3): Comparison of gender.

Further, job/ work is of most importance for all age groups. Housing is central for youth and grandparents, whereas education is very important for youth and parents. Parents and grandparents emphasize health aspects.

Youth	Parents	Grandparents
Housing (49)	Job/ work (55)	Housing (43)
Job/ work (47)	Daily needs (37)	Job/ work (37)
Education (34)	Education (28)	Daily needs (30)
Daily needs (25)	Health (26)	Health (25)
Transport (25)	Housing (23)	Electricity (23)
Electricity (18)	Electricity (19)	Transport (20)
Health (9)	Transport (18)	Clean water (16)
Clean water (8)	Clean water (15)	External help (16)

Table 14: Aspects of well-being (top 3): Comparison of age-groups.

The subjective well-being is much worse in Jerang Melayu (94 % feel poor) compared to Jambuq (78 % feel poor). This reflects the actual situation in both villages: In Jambuq, the economic and material situation as well as the development progress are in sum much better than in Jerang Melayu, and even the state of the natural environment is slightly better in Jambuq. In contrary, people in Jambuq complain about the loss of solidarity and equality, whereas in Jerang Melayu the village bond seems to be closer.

V. 1.2 Comparison of major trends

Spheres/ Aspects	Common trends	Different trends	
		Jambuq	Jerang Melayu
Natural sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The dry season prolongs • Land fertility drops • Water quality is declining • Quality and size of forest is declining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timber resources are being over-exploited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The probability of forest fires and floods increases • Destruction of huge parts of the village's forest • Declining bio-diversity and fish-resources
Economic sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rice self-sufficiency declines • Prices of goods are increasing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New income possibilities: compensation payments and fees, (recently stopped) illegal logging, rattan process and small-scale trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crop failure • Rising dependence on rice supplies • Increase of fishing activities for subsistence economy • Alternative income sources has been decreasing or totally failed

Political sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political institutions/relations are changing • Local government services are declining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to the local government is difficult due to distance to the capital and due to lack of Benuaq language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic elements have increased
Social sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villages have become lively • Solidarity for economic and common work has been declining • Traditional culture is getting lost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inequality within the village has increased • Life style among young men is changing 	
Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road transportation is getting more important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A new asphalt road has been built in 2004 • An asphalt road between Kutai Kartanegara and the district capital is planned 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transportation has not yet been improved
Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government services are perceived to be declining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New infrastructure facilities have been built • Health-care service is getting better • Availability of teachers has decreased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health-care service is declining • Number of teachers has increased • Education facilities are declining
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of drinking water has declined 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The access to water has improved due to water tanks and water pumps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers said it is increasingly difficult to meet daily necessities
Material wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers suffer from increased difficulty to pay gas for generators • Expenses for electronic things have increased • Inequality has increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nearly every household has access to generators • Appearance of material goods, i.e. motorcycles, digital receivers, televisions • Better housing conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers have difficulties to create appropriate housing conditions
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No common trend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The education level of children has increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The number of middle school students has declined
Subjective well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers are increasingly disappointed concerning the decentralization process • The feeling of marginalization and economic insecurity rises 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The feeling of injustice rises due to imbalanced access to compensation payments and material goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The limited access to markets, information, and the district's capital, as well as natural disasters have contributed to the low level of subjective felt well-being

Table 15: Comparison of trends in Kutai villages.

V. 1.3. Comparison of external assistance

In general, the amount of help by the Local Government, NGOs, political parties and the private sector is similar in the two Kutai villages.

Sphere	Jambuq	Jerang Melayu
Structures	PS	
Services		
Natural Sphere	LG	LG
Economic Sphere	PS/ LG	LG /NGO
Political Sphere		NGO
Social Sphere	PS/ LG	LG
Material Wealth		
Health	LG	LG/NGO
Knowledge	LG/ PS	LG/ NGO

Table 16: Comparison of help (LG – Local Government; NGO – Non Governmental Organization; PS – Private Sector).

The general patterns of help are similar during the last five years. Both villages receive help from the local government in the natural (reforestation of *ulin* and *maranti*), economic (reforestation projects for rubber in both villages, UKM-credits in Jambuq), and social sphere (both villages have new mosques supported by the local government, in Jambuq mainly financed by private sector and compensation payments/ fees). Health (*askes gakin* in both villages, *raskin* in Jerang Melayu and water tanks/ pumps in Jambuq) and knowledge aspects (*beasiswa*) are supported by the local government as well. Further, all villages receive help from NGOs, private sector, or village leaders in the economic sphere (*sawah*-field in Jerang Melayu (Care), *sawah*-seeds (PT.ITCI) and support for a market place in Jambuq (village leaders/ PT.ITCI)) and for knowledge aspects (fire prevention training in Jerang Melayu by BIOMA, annual support for elementary school in Jambuq by PT.ITCI). If there is political help (such as participatory training in Jerang Melayu), it derives from NGOs (Care/ BIOMA), not from the local government. Jambuq receives additional help in the social sphere through sports ground and music facilities (village leaders/ PT.ITCI) and in structures through the ironwood boardwalk (PT.ITCI) and a path to the mosque (PAN-party). Health aspects are supported in Jerang Melayu (food for work program by Care (already stopped) and nutrition program for pregnant and nursing mothers and children).

In both Kutai villages it has been stated that help is declining or remained the same. The received help by the local government, private sector and NGOs is perceived to be not enough yet. Further, other villages/ ethnic groups/ religions are assumed to be favoured. The perception of help varies between the villages: In Jambuq, the projects realized in the village have no direct economic benefit for the people. Furthermore, help programs lead to a new inequality within the village, because some families benefit more than others. In Jerang Melayu, villagers told there is no significant impact of local government programs, beside the *raskin*-program (subsidized rice). Generally, local government programs perceived to be very poor so far, because all help projects failed in the village. Help from NGOs perceived as much more important, more constant and more adapted to the local needs.

V. 1.4 Comparison of major drivers

The major trends in the last five years are hardly comparable in Jambuq and Jerang Melayu. In Jambuq, trends are mainly a result of changed attitudes of the company working on the village ground (PT.ITCI), so villagers profit from compensation payments and from the right to use the village forest. Further, development activities are possible due to the support from PT.ITCI, the district government, and fees. So, village leaders have new possibilities to manage village affairs due to fees and compensation payments, whereas villagers have gained new economic opportunities due to forest and market access. As a result, the desire for a new lifestyle rises. Also, the formation of the new district, which made Jambuq as a remote location, as well as new laws and regulation of the central government (increased monitoring activities concerning illegal logging) and of the local government (HPH licence) have influenced village life.

In Jerang Melayu, the situation is much different. Natural resources have dramatically declined through draughts, forest fires and floods. As a result, all efforts to develop alternative livelihood strategies with limited market access by the local government and NGOs have failed. Further, the village is still isolated without direct access to the district's capital, market, and to information, which risen the dependency on external help. The

isolated state is perceived to worsen, mainly because of the general shift from water to road transportation combined with the local government's lack of attention.

In both villages, we could find opposing trends, especially in the economic spheres, in structures and services, and in household aspects. These trends reflect different major drivers, which are connected to economic opportunities, quality and size of forest, and location.

V. 1.5 Discussion

Whereas changes in Jambuq are more or less influenced by decentralization, this is not the case in Jerang Melayu. The development progress in Jambuq is more visible and noticeable, pushed forward by village leaders/ PT.ITCI and complemented by the local government.

The implementation of local government programs and projects in both villages causes new problems of allocation and fairness. Government programs and projects were distributed without checking the neediness of the poor. As a result, social differences in Jambuq are mirrored in unbalanced access to local government programs, whereas in Jerang Melayu poor implementation quality has not yet improved the well-being of the poor majority.

However, some changes have different impacts on men and women. Men generally profit more from changes in the economic sphere, as well as in infrastructures. Thus, they search wage-paid work outside the village, p.e. illegal logging or jobs in mining or oil palm companies, so that their lifestyle has been changing, which can have effects on family life as well as on roll allocations. On the other hand, women are still excluded from politics. The villages' decision making is mostly made by an influential male minority while democratic elements, such as the BPK and PKK are still weak, so that inequality, insecurity and jealousy rise within the villages.

In both villages, language/ ethnicity/ religion plays a role as a common reason for marginalization and political distance. One reason mentioned is the poor physical access to the capital of Kutai Barat, which is expensive and takes much time. Another reason is their lack of Dayak language skills, which makes it difficult to arrange meetings with the Dayak

(Benuaq, Tunjung or Bahau) speaking local government staff, whereas other village leaders are given priority.

V. 2 Comparison to findings from Benuaq villages

This comparison is based on the research results of three Dayak Benuaq villages (Engkuni Pasek, Jontai and Muara Nayan) by Michaela Haug and two Kutai villages (Jambuq and Jerang Melayu).

V. 2.1 Comparison of well-being aspects

Concerning the meaning of well-being, both Kutai and Dayak Benuaq villages have mainly an economic understanding. Commonly, families are considered (extremely) poor if they experience difficulties to fulfil primary needs like food, housing, and clothing. Kutai villagers mentioned under this point beside economic aspects subjective well-being facets like happiness, comfort, safety, security, social relations, leisure, religious activities or a life without hardship.

When asked about the three most important aspects of well-being, both Kutai and Dayak Benuaq villages mentioned education, income/ work, food, health and housing as their priorities. In Dayak Benuaq villages, social relations are given importance. In Kutai villages, also transportation (less in Jambuq), electricity and clean water are ranked as very important points.

In general, the subjective well-being is much worse in Kutai villages (94 % in Jerang Melayu and 78 % in Jambuq feel poor) compared to Dayak Benuaq villages (31 % in Engkuni Pasek, 48 % in Jontai and 72 % in Muara Nayan). Under this point, it is interesting that Jambuq (Kutai village) and Muara Nayan (Dayak Benuaq village) are similar. Both villages are located at the Trans-Kalimantan road, which makes natural resource exploitation easier, and the distance between both villages is not too far (about one hour travel distance). In both villages, people are disappointed concerning decentralisation, because the development process is slowing down and villagers feel that their village do not profit from implemented programs and projects.

V. 2.2 Comparison of major trends

Spheres/ Aspects	Common trends	Different trends	
		Benuaq	Kutai
Natural sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • River water quality is declining • Quality and size of forests are declining • Dry season tends to prolong⁸² • Land fertility drops 	Benuaq villages and Jambuq: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The availability of goods has increased • People have at least two different income sources (mostly logging and rubber), which are neither continual nor equally distributed 	
Economic sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prices of goods are increasing • Self-sufficiency of rice is declining 		
Political sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The BPK (village council) was founded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political participation and self determination has increased Benuaq villages and Jambuq: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trend towards individual ownership of natural resources • Traditional <i>adat</i> conflict resolution faces difficulties 	
Social sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solidarity for economic and common work is declining • The number of people with knowledge about traditional culture (arts, traditional medicine) is declining 	Benuaq villages and Jambuq: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individualization rises • Conflicts over natural resources rise 	Kutai villages and Muara Nayan: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of inhabitants has increased
Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road transportation is getting more important 	Benuaq villages and Jambuq: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road construction has increased 	

⁸² In fact, the climate is similar in Kutai and Dayak Benuaq villages. But the perception of effects might be different, influenced by the occurrence of forest fires, floods and crop failures with different impacts and different levels of damage.

Services		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, local government services are increasing <p>Benuaq villages and Jambuq:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health service is getting better 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villagers complain that local government services are declining
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of free health service for the poor (<i>askes gakin</i>), organized on the district level 	<p>Benuaq villages and Jambuq:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The variety of food has increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of drinking water has declined
Material wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inequality among villagers has increased • Expenses for electronic things have increased 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two of the Benuaq villages have electricity supply (PLN) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulties to pay fuel for generators have increased
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The importance of education has increased 		
Subjective well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The feeling of economic insecurity rises 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two of the Benuaq villages are enthusiastic for decentralization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People feel marginalized <p>Kutai villages and Muara Nayan:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disappointment concerning the decentralization process has increased

Table 17: Comparison of trends between Kutai and Benuaq villages.

V. 2.3 Comparison of external assistance

In general, the amount of assistance by the local government, NGOs and the private sector is similar in Kutai and Dayak Benuaq villages.

Further, the general patterns of external assistance are similar. All villages receive help from the local government in the physical aspects and in the natural sphere. Political assistance derives mostly from NGOs, not from the local government. All villages got new churches/ mosques, supported by the local government and private sector business. Additional local government assistance in Benuaq villages covers material aspects (Jontai, Muara Nayan) and structures (Engkuni Pasek, Jontai).

Expectations concerning external assistance from the local government are more or less the same among Kutai and Benuaq villages and include education, economy, infrastructure, (health) services, empowerment of village institutions, direct help for the very poor and old people as well as local government help with good quality.

The perception of external assistance varies between the villages: In Kutai villages it has been stated that help is declining or remained the same, they did not receive enough help yet and other villages/ ethnics/ religions are assumed to be favoured. Benuaq villagers said that help increased or remained the same, but people recognize the effort of the local government, although current help does not meet expectations, especially not in Muara Nayan.

Although the amount of help is similar, the different perceptions of external help between these ethnic groups are striking. The different perceptions mainly refer to the local government assistance. Ethnicity is not the only reason given for marginalization by Kutai villagers (due to Benuaq origin), but increases the subjective feeling of lacking attention. The Kutai emotionally feel neglected by the representatives in the new district, because government employees are mainly non-Kutai. Beside the actual economic situation of the villages reflecting these statements, an explanation for the differences may be the location of the villages. Infrastructure facilities and local government services depends on road construction and distance to the district's capital, and a lack of these services, such as in Jerang Melayu, increases the feeling of falling into oblivion.

V. 2.4 Comparison of major drivers

After collecting all data, we found major reasons for trends among all five villages as follows:

- Location and transportation: Isolated villages have to suffer from distance to local government services and lack of market and information access.
- Quality of natural resources: The quality of natural resources is influenced by deforestation and the occurrence of natural disasters, such as forest fires and floods. This has a strong impact on economic opportunities, as well as on the source and quality of drinking water.
- Speed with which value of natural resources increases: With the emergence of markets, natural resources are getting more expensive. Land estates go up in price if

- close to major roads through companies and illegal logging, which again attracts migrants.
- Economic opportunities and income sources: The vulnerability of the poor declines in villages with economic diversification and more income opportunities.
 - Role of old social strata and the personality of village leaders: The village leaders influence village life and development process. They often capture new opportunities and engrave their elite position.
 - Level of modernity: Location, road connection, economic opportunities and information technology leads to different levels of a modern lifestyle, which becomes visible e.g. in increasing individualisation, time management and styling.
 - Kind of electricity service (PLN/generator): Where electricity depends on own generators, people give importance to improve electricity supply (PLN).
 - Amount of external assistance from local government, private sector and NGOs: local government, NGOs and private companies contribute to the welfare of villagers. The kind and steadiness of programs can convergent among the different actors.

The majority of drivers that explain different trends among the five study sites are similar in Kutai and Benuaq villages. There are more common trends between Jambuq and the three Benuaq villages than between Jerang Melayu and the Benuaq villages, due to Jerang Melayu's isolation.

We tried to find major reasons for different trends between Benuaq and Kutai villages:

- Centralized district: As most improvement of infrastructure and services is concentrated around Melak and Barong Tongkok, most Kutai villages, which are located rather on the boarder to Kutai Kartanegara, do not yet profit enough from this development.
- Political distance to local government: Kutai villages feel an increasing distance to the local government due to different languages and lacking personal contacts to leading local government employees.
- Ethnic and religious differences: Kutai villagers assume that ethnicity and religion (Islam, Christianity) influence local government assistance.

In Kutai villages, ethnicity has been mentioned as a cause for marginalization and lack of attention by the local government. However, in the political sphere, ethnicity and language are assumed to be reasons for rising political distance. Concerning the subjective well-being, language/ ethnics/ religion are given to explain different trends in Kutai villages, while other villages/ ethnics/ religions are assumed to be favoured.

Different trends within the other spheres and aspects are rather caused by other drivers, such as location, economic opportunities and quality of natural resources. This is underlined by the fact, that also villagers in Muara Nayan feel disappointed concerning the decentralization process.

V. 2.5 Discussion

In fact, our project shows that every village where research has been done has its own specific situation and problems. Therefore, beside development activities, the observed trends are heavily influenced by the village's resource management and geopolitical situation, and only marginally by ethnical aspects.

Overall, subjective well-being is much worse in the two Kutai villages (94 % in Jerang Melayu and 78 % in Jambuq feel poor) compared to the three Dayak Benuaq villages (31 % in Engkuni Pasek, 48 % in Jontai and 72 % in Muara Nayan):

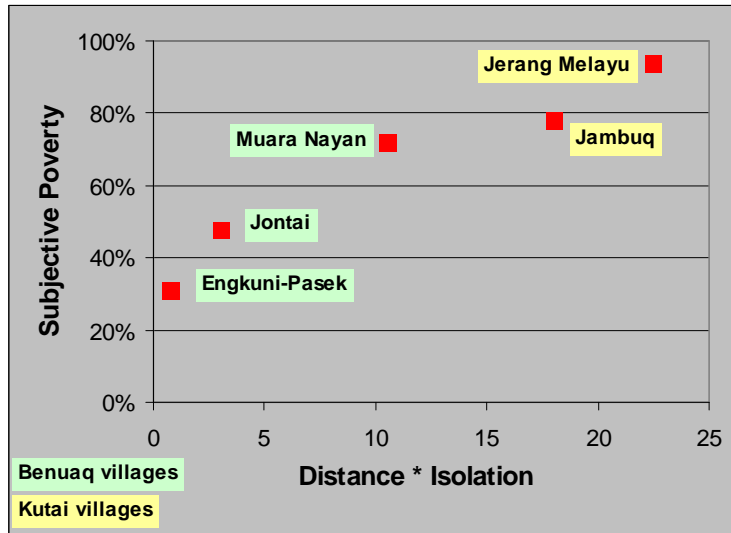


Figure 1: Subjective well-being. How many villagers feel poor?⁸³

This reflects the actual economic and material situation of the villages as well as the development progress, the state of the natural environment and solidarity within the villages. However, the subjective well-being in the villages directly corresponds with their (travel) distance from Sendawar. The average travel time from Benuaq villages to the district’s capital is much faster compared to Kutai villages. At the same time, the quality of the implemented local government projects and programs depends on the distance to the district’s capital. Thus, an increasing distance follows a decreasing implementation quality.

⁸³ Distance was calculated in travel time (minutes) to the district capital, isolation was ascribed 1 (easy access) to 5 (difficult access) regarding access to major roads and the district center.

VI. Recommendations to the local government

For improving local government services and raising the well-being of the villages as such, we recommend the following:

- local government should push forward a sustainable development process and improve the welfare of the people in accordance with the villagers' own ideas of well-being.
- local government should recognize the meaning of distance to the district capital and to government services. Remote areas must be paid more attention, mainly through improvement of government services and road construction to smooth current inequalities in local government's attention.
- local government should be sensitive concerning ethnical aspects.
- local government should realize and monitor development activities in cooperation with local villagers. Therefore, villagers need information about planned government projects and programs.
- local government should gain an increasing awareness that certain changes, policy decisions and programmes do have different impacts on men and women. These should be considered in decision making and project implementation.
- local government should conduct democracy training through political capacity building on village level. Special focus should lay on a deeper knowledge of responsibilities of village leading institutions (role of BPK etc.) and on strengthening democratic village leadership in reality.

More concrete, Jambuk villagers need:

- Alternative income sources: In Jambuk, mixed agro-forestry with rubber trees, fruit trees and rattan palms can be supported.
- Fair distribution of government assistance: Monitoring of the implemented project and programs, especially control of distributing mechanism is needed. Access to

implemented projects and programs should be equally distributed and not depend on family relations.

- Additional teachers: At present, only two teachers plus head of school teach in Jambuq elementary school. As an alternative, the village school could be closed up and Jambuq and Gusiq elementary school could be joined together.
- Regularly opened *pusban*: The *pusban* should be reopened with the regular attendance of a *mantri*.
- Repairing of water pumps: As most of the water pumps are broken, villagers need material and skills to repair them.

Jerang Melayu villagers need:

- Road access: To improve market access and local government services in the village, road construction is urgently needed.
- *Sawah*-field: The present site of the *sawah*-field should be replanned with a flood gate and drainage system to make sure the basic food can be supplied by villagers themselves.
- Alternative income sources: At present, no sustainable income sources exist in the village. Mixed agro-forestry with rubber trees, fruit trees and rattan palms can be supported, as well as fish breeding.
- School building: As the present school building can host only three classes, a new school building is needed.
- Health service: Regular health service has not yet entered the village.

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Annex

1. Results of the well-being questionnaire (Jambuq)

The compilation shows aspects of well-being considered by 120 respondents (20 unmarried men, 19 unmarried women, 20 married men, 20 married women/ widows, 20 grandfathers and 21 grandmothers). The results are arranged due to aspects in structures/ services, economy, social relations, necessities of life, material wealth, and individual aspects. Irregularities are the result of incomplete answers or answers which later have been arranged to the same point.

1a) The meaning of well-being

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Structures/ Services							
Market access			1				1
Forest access			3				3
Agricultural development			2		1	1	4
Village develops	3	1	2	3	2		11
Infrastructure			1	1	1		12
External help			1	1	4		12
Education	1	7	2	3	2	1	16
Health	2	1	1	2	5	2	13
Electricity	2	2	3			2	9
Clean water	1		2			1	4
Road		1					1
Economy							
Continuous/ alternative work	5	9	12	7	11	5	49
Success			2				2
Good economy			1	2			3
Social relations							
Family bond	4	5	1	4		3	17
Family members are well	1		1	2	4	3	11
Friends		3					3
Girl-/ boyfriend		1					1
Own family	4	5		1			10
Village bond	3	1		2			6
Lively village			1				1

Necessaries of life							
Sufficiency in daily needs	5	3	7	6	10	7	38
Plentiful food/ goods/ clothes	1	1					2
Good clothes		1					1
Material wealth							
Beautiful house	7	5	3	6	6	4	31
Interior		1			1		2
Motorboat		2				1	3
Motorcycle						1	1
Money	2	3	1	6	2	7	21
Savings			2				2
Luxury	1	3					4
Individual aspects							
Independency	2	2	2	1		1	8
Realize dreams		4					4
Steady life	1		1		2		4
Possibility to change own life				1	1		2
Lead a good life			1		2	1	4
Enjoy old age							
Reliable future	2		5	3	2	2	14
Leisure time	4	4	1	2		1	12
Travelling		2		4		4	10
Religious activities						3	3

Life concepts							
Comfortable life (hidup nyaman)	3	3	2	2		4	14
Happy life (hidup senang/ hidup bahagia)	4	5	2	8	5	4	28
Pleasant life (hidup enak)	1	2					3
Calm life (hidup tenang)	4		3	6			13
Peaceful life (hidup damai)	1		1		1		3
Safe life (hidup aman)	2	2	3	1			8
Peace of mind (hidup tentram)		1					1
Luxurious life (hidup mewah)	1	2					3

1b) Most important aspects of well-being

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Structures/ Services							
Clean water	5	2	3	2	3	4	19
Communi-cation		1	2	2			5
Education	7	12	8	12	2	5	46
Electricity	6	4	7	1	7	7	32
Health service	2	2	4	8	9	5	30
External help	1		2	5	10	2	20
Transport (Street)	1	4				2	7
Economy							
Market access				1			1
Own garden/ small plantation					2		2
Work	15	8	23	11	7	8	72
Social relations							
Have own family/ get married	6	1					7
Social life	1			2	2	1	6
Village leaders obey good governance						1	1
Necessaries of life							
Basic needs	1	3	8	6	7	8	33
Material wealth							
Housing	11	9	3	2	7	10	42
Luxury goods	2	2	1	1			6
Money	1	3	1	4	1	5	15
Individual aspects							
Happiness	4	1	3	3	1	2	14
Leisure time	2	5	1	2		2	12
Safe future/ savings	1		2	1		3	7

2. Explanations for impact matrix (Jambuq)

1. Water pump machines and water tanks

Natural sphere: - Assumed negative impact on the river level due to increased water consumption.

Social sphere: - Negative impact on the equality among the villagers, not all machines are in use.
- This leads to rising exclusion of the poor and results in jealous feelings.

Political sphere: + The water pumps have some positive impact on the local government's image.
- The image of the village leaders has decreased due to the rising inequality.

Core: + The project has positive impact on the access to water.
+ Villagers have more time for other activities.

2. Kartu Askes Gakin (Free health service for the poor)

Social sphere: + More equality among poor and well-off households.
- The distributions system is not equal and favours families with strong relations to the village leaders.

Political sphere: - Due to the imbalanced realization, the image of the village leaders have declined.

Core: + Poor people don't have to pay the costs for health staff and medicines and can spend their money for other activities.
+ Positive effects on the health of poorer families.
+ The safety feelings on the household level increases.

3. Micro-credits (UKM) for rattan business

Natural Sphere: + Increasing use of natural resources which can grow again without expensive reforestation programs.
- Danger of over-exploitation.

Economic sphere: + Alternative and
+ Sustainable income possibility in comparison with logging activities.
- Rising dependence on market prices and the credit's owner ability to pay for rattan.

Social sphere: + Positive impact on the cooperation among villagers.
- Some households are excluded due to their relationship with the credit-owner or the location of their houses.

Political: - The allocation of the credits is imbalanced.
- Family or political relations determine access to the micro-credits.

Core: + The households get some kind of steady income.
- Households are still vulnerable and dependent.
- Mostly women and old men are involved which leads to imbalances within the household.

4. Beasiswa (scholarships):

Social sphere: - Until now no equality.

Political sphere: - The access to this program depends on political or family relations.
- No information is given by the village leaders.

Core: + This program brings families some economic relief, so children are financially able to continue school.
- The children then live mostly in towns, so families are separated.

5. Reforestation program:

- Natural sphere: + The nearly disappeared *ulin* trees are replanted.
- Unbalanced plantation with one endangered and one non-indigenous species (rubber).
- Economic sphere: + Creation of an alternative income source.
- Dependence on market prices for rubber trees.
+ *Ulin*-trees are replanted for future income sources.
- Social sphere: + Cooperation and *gotong-royong* are necessary to realize this project.
- Inequality and exclusion when selecting the farmer groups.
- Political sphere: + Improved image of Kutai Barat.
- Core: + Expected impact on the material wealth at household level.

6. Market place:

- Economic sphere: + Small-scale selling businesses are possible.
+ Generally increasing availability of goods.
- Social sphere: - Inequality concerning the access to market stalls.
+ Social gathering at the weekly night market.
- Political sphere: + An official book-keeper and a secretary are put in.
- Charges are corrupted.
- Core: + Availability of goods has increased on the household level, so it's easier to fulfil necessities of life.
+ No need to go to neighbouring markets and pay transportation.

7. PMDH by PT.ITCI:

- Natural sphere: - Due to the expenses for the PMDH-programs, the company may increase their logging activities.
- Economic sphere: + The program offers some alternative work.
- Social sphere: + The community profits from the program, so there is a feeling of inclusion.
- Political sphere: + Better image of the local government because of the implementation of the regulation.
+ PT.ITCI observes the realization of the projects on village level, less corruption.
- No cooperation between PT.ITCI and the local government (besides coordination).
- Core: + Every household benefits at least indirectly from the program.
+ Improved housing condition when supported by the company.
- Disappointment concerning the *sawah*-project.

8. Compensation payments by PT.ITCI:

- Natural sphere: - The compensation payments are related to logging activities, so it has a negative impact on the forest coverage.
- Economic sphere: + New businesses have been created and tools have been bought.
- Non-sustainable work due to natural resource extraction.
- Social sphere: - The compensation payments have been distributed unequally.
- Jealous feelings and hidden conflicts have risen.
+ These payments were given due to cooperation and team spirit of the community.
- Political sphere: - Unequal access to information.
- Opportunity for corruption.
+ Land tenure has been assigned to the village again.
- Core: + Positive impact on the material welfare of households.
+ Subjective feeling of well-being increased.

9. Fees by CVs and private logging activities:

- Natural sphere: - Negative impact on forest coverage and biodiversity.
- The remaining ulin and ipil trees have disappeared.
- Economic sphere: + New income sources and businesses through logging activities.
+ Increased availability of goods.
- The economic welfare is based on natural resource extraction.
- Social sphere: - Unequal profit from the fees.
- Negative impact on family bonds.
- Changed life style.
- Weakening of cultural identity.
- Exclusion of people not part of the logging groups.
+ Logging groups in itself closely cooperate and create new social networks.
- Political sphere: - Opportunity for corruption.
- No information and transparency.
+ Village makes own regulation.
+ Land tenure has been assigned to the village community.
- Core: + Positive impact on the material welfare of most households.
+ Subjective feeling of well-being has risen.

3. Results of the well-being questionnaire (Jerang Melayu)

The compilation shows aspects of well-being considered by 121 respondents (20 unmarried men, 21 unmarried women, 21 married men, 20 married women/ widows, 19 grandfathers and 20 grandmothers). The results are arranged due to aspects in structures/ services, economy, social relations, necessities of life, material wealth, and individual aspects. Irregularities are the result of incomplete answers or answers which later have been arranged to the same point.

3a) The meaning of well-being

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married men	Married women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Structures/ Services							
Market access					2		2
Agricultural development			4		4		8
External help			3	1	1		5
Education	2	9	1	2	1	3	18
Health		5	5	3	2	6	21
Electricity	2	7	2	3	3	3	20
Clean water	2	4		3	1	3	13
Water pumps				1		1	2
Road	1	1	3		4		9
Economy							
Continuous/ alternative work	11	8	13	5	7	6	50
Success		1	1		1		3
Social relations							
Family bond	1	2	3	8	8	10	32
Friends	6	2	1		1		10
Girl-/ boyfriend	1						1
Own family	3	2		2			7
Village bond			4				4
Lively village				1	1	1	3
Necessaries of life							
Sufficiency in daily needs	8	7	11	5	13	11	55
Plentiful food/ goods/ clothes	1						1
Good clothes	1	1					2

Material wealth							
Housing	10	8	6	13	7	6	50
Interior	3	3		5		1	12
WC				3			3
Motorboat	2		1			1	4
Motorcycle	1	1	1	2		1	6
Money	2	7	3	4	1	4	21
Savings	1			1			2
Luxury (technical equipment)	1	4		2	2	1	10
Individual aspects							
Independency		2		1			3
Realize dreams	3	8					11
Steady life	2			1	1	1	5
Possibility to change own life		1		2		2	5
Lead a good life		1					1
Enjoy old age					2	2	4
Reliable future	1		2		1	1	5
Leisure time	5	1					6
Travelling	2	2	1	2	1	1	9
Religious activities		1	1		1	1	4

Life concepts							
Simple life (hidup lumayan)			3		2		5
Comfortable life (hidup nyaman)	4	7	4	5	3	1	24
Happy life (hidup senang/ hidup bahagia)	4	7	3	9	5	8	36
Pleasant life (hidup enak)	4	3	2	2	1	3	15
Calm life (hidup tenang)	1	1	5	2	1	3	13
Peaceful life (hidup damai)	1		1		1	2	5
Safe life (hidup aman)	1	1	2	1		1	6
Peace of mind (hidup tenang)		2	3			1	6
Dignified life (hidup layak)	1						1
Luxurious life (hidup mewah)		1					1

b) Most important aspects of well-being

	Unmarried male	Unmarried female	Married Men	Married Women	Grand-fathers	Grand-mothers	Total
Structures/ Service							
Clean water		1	5	5	4	5	20
Communication			1	1			2
Education	5	9	3	4	4	4	29
Electricity	5	3	3	7	4	6	28
Health service	3	1	10	5	5	6	30
External help		11	6		3	1	21
Transport (Street)	11	4	10	6	8	5	44
Economy							
Market access					2	2	4
Own garden/ small plantation				1			1
Own business	1	1	2		2	1	7
Permanent job/ alternative work	12	7	9	5	12	8	53
Social relations							
Happiness		2		1	2	3	8
Have own family/ get married		1					1
Social relations						1	1
Necessaries of life							
Basic needs	4	11	3	14	7	8	47
Material aspects							
Housing	13	16	7	11	12	14	73
Luxury goods	8	3		2	2	2	17
Money/ capital	3	5		3			11
Individual aspects							
Happiness		2		1	2	3	8
Leisure time		3					3
Safe future/ savings		3		1			4

4. Explanations for impact matrix (Jerang Melayu)

1. Raskin (subsidized rice program):

- Economic sphere - Villagers are dependent on cheap rice.
- Social sphere: + Mutual help for buying rice in the *kecamatan* capital.
+ Help in need is still strong among villagers.
- Core: + Availability of rice increases (relieves other resources).
+ Positive effects on health (food consumption).

2. Kartu Askes Gakin (Free health service for the poor):

- Social sphere: - No equality among the poorest parts of the villagers.
- Capture by village elite.
- Political sphere: -The low availability of health facilities influences the use of the health insurance.
- The availability of this health insurance is dependent on *kecamatan* health staff.
- Core: + Positive effects on the health of poorer families.
+ The safety feelings on the household level increases.

3. Beasiswa (Scholarships):

- Social sphere: + Flipping concept (*beasiswa* is alternated among elementary school pupils), so all pupils are included.
- Dependency on head of school.
- Political sphere: - No initiative to gain information or make a proposal for *beasiswa* by village leaders.
- Core: + Pupil's families benefit some economic relief.

4. Reforestation project:

- Natural sphere: + Endangered trees are replanted.
+ Mixed agro-forestry.
- Forest fire destroyed large parts of the area. Villagers mentioned this is because of an incendiary causes the fire (a wall of fire was already raging).
- Economic sphere: + Creation of new income sources (rubber plants and fruit trees).
+ Ulin and meranti trees are planted for future income sources.
- Social sphere: + Cooperation is necessary to realize the project.
- Conflicts rise concerning the distribution of money.
- Conflicts rise between villagers who want to develop a new area and village leaders who are bound to the present project.
- Political sphere: - No participation of villagers in spatial planning (far away area).
- Negative image of the local government is partly blamed for the failed project.

5. Health-program by CARE:

- Social sphere: + Concentration on pregnant or nursing mothers and children.
- Exclusion of old people and others.
- Core: + Better health service for mothers and children.
+ Impacts on food consumption.

6. Agriculture-program by CARE:

- Natural sphere: + Reusing burnt area to make wet-rice field (and saving of other areas).
 - Flooding problems because of irrigation mistakes.
 + Concentration on traditional methods (no use of chemicals).
- Economic sphere: + Alternative livelihood strategy.
- Social sphere: - Only farmers who agree with one big wet-rice field receive support, others are excluded.
 + For realization of the project cooperation was need.
- Core: + Increased knowledge.
 + Assumed impacts on future food consumption.

7. Fire protecting project by BIOMA:

- Natural sphere: + Shows possibilities to prevent and extinguish forest fires with simple methods.
- Economic sphere: - Expenditure for fire prevention without result.
- Social sphere: - Only village leaders and staff were invited for the training, others were excluded.
 + Cooperation for fire prevention.
- Core: + Increased knowledge.

8. Rattan seedling project:

- Natural sphere: + Use of renewable resources.
- Economic sphere: + Alternative income source.
 - Dependency of buyer's ability/ willingness to pay.
- Political sphere: - Negative image of district government, because buyer's ability to pay depends on financial support of district government.
- Core: + Expected positive impacts on the material wealth at household level.