

KEPENDUDUKAN INDONESIA

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in Maluku Tengah: Social Exclusion and Ethnicity in Indonesia
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(Studi Tentang Perambahan Lahan Kasus Tanaman Kulit Manis
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Dampak Investasi dan Ketimpangan Kesempatan Kerja
Regional di Indonesia
Anita S. Wartaman dan Raldi H. Koestoer

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INFANT MORTALITY IN NUAULU AND NON-NUAULU COMMUNITIES IN MALUKU TENGAH: Social Exclusion And Ethnicity In Indonesia¹

By: Lusie Peilouw*

Abstrak

Nuaulu adalah salah satu komunitas adat di Maluku. Secara geografis komunitas ini tidak terisolasi seperti yang diasumsikan secara umum bahwa masyarakat adat biasanya hidup terisolasi di daerah terpencil. Mereka tinggal hanya beberapa kilometer dari ibukota kabupaten Maluku Tengah, di antara desa-desa yang jauh lebih berkembang. Sebuah penelitian demografis menggunakan kematian bayi dirancang untuk menerangkan fenomena sosial pada komunitas Nuaulu dan bukan Nuaulu. Ditemukan bahwa kematian bayi pada Nuaulu di Rouhua lebih tinggi dari pada bukan Nuaulu di Makariki. Faktor-faktor sosial yaitu pendidikan dan kesehatan dan ekonomi keluarga merupakan faktor determinan yang saling mempengaruhi satu dengan lainnya, sebagaimana dianalisa dengan menggunakan *Mosley and Chen framework* (1984). Secara kritis studi ini menemukan bahwa praktek-praktek budaya yang masih dipelihara oleh komunitas Nuaulu tidak akan menjadi masalah apabila kebutuhan sosial lain dan kebutuhan ekonomi terfasilitasi. *Political will* dan kepedulian pemerintahlah yang menjadi masalah dalam konteks ini. Mengabaikan komunitas adat dalam kebijakan pembangunan sosial menyebabkan masyarakat dalam komunitas ini rentan. Komunitas Nuaulu di Rouhua hanyalah satu dari sekian banyak komunitas adat di negeri ini, dan terletak di daerah yang mudah dijangkau namun selama ini mereka hidup dalam keprihatinan dan kerentanan yang luar biasa. Bagaimana lebih buruknya kondisi komunitas-komunitas adat yang memang secara geografis tidak mudah dijangkau.

Nuaulu is a tribal community in Maluku. Geographically this community is not isolated as is commonly assumed tribal communities living in remote areas are. Located among non-tribal communities, it is only a few kilometres from the centre of the Maluku Tengah District. However, these communities differ in social provisioning entitlements. This study uses infant mortality to explain social phenomena in the communities. Through a structured survey and literature study, it has found that infant mortality in the Nuaulu population in Rouhua is higher than in the non-Nuaulu population in Makariki. Social factors such as education, health and

¹ I am grateful to Dr Bridget O'Laughlin and Prof Ben White from the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague in The Netherlands, for their help during my research work period

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culture are considered determinants of the mortality together with household economic resources. None of these socio-economic factors works alone but through links among them as analysed using Mosley and Chen's framework (1984). Therefore, I argue that different availability of and access to social services and economic resources are the major reasons for the different trends. Cultural practices are not a problem if social and economic needs are properly satisfied. Political will and the concern of the Government are the crux of the matter in this context. Excluding ethnic communities from social policies makes people within those communities vulnerable.

Keywords: Nuaulu; Ethnicity; Social Policy; Social Exclusion

INTRODUCTION

During the six decades since independence, Indonesia has experienced impressive economic growth and improvements in development indicators. However, the improvements are not equally spread since some social groups, including the so-called indigenous communities, remain underdeveloped.

Social and economic inequality can be revealed through demographic studies focusing on, among other factors, mortality. The United Nations lists three benefits of such studies. Firstly, they provide information for assessing inequalities among people with respect to longevity and health; Secondly, data on mortality differentials help to identify those underprivileged segments of the population which experience higher mortality levels; and. Lastly, studies of mortality can be the basis on which proper policy measures for reducing mortality are developed, selected and improved (United Nations 1986). We can also be more specific in focusing on infant mortality since it relates to accessibility to maternal medical care, health care systems more generally, educational services, the kinds of economic activities people engage in and how they manage their natural resources in order to have household food security, etc. Many of these factors are shaped and affected by government policies. Therefore, if there are major differences between indigenous and non-indigenous communities, there must be something wrong in the development policies of the Indonesian Government at least at district level.

This paper presents the findings of fieldwork carried out in 2005, aimed at exploring the nature of the causes of infant and child mortality differentials between the Nuaulu² and non-Nuaulu populations in Maluku Tengah District, Maluku, Eastern Indonesia. Those findings were used to criticise Government policies regarding the needs of human development of indigenous groups, look at what the Government has done and at what the Government has to do.

² Nuaulu is one of the indigenous clans in Maluku .

There is a common belief that infant mortality among the Nuaulu is higher than among the non-Nuaulu communities. Some think that the maintained traditional lifestyles and cultural beliefs of the Nuaulu are the reasons for the higher level. Others argue that differences in infant mortality reflect social inequality and political discrimination. I was triggered to investigate the truth of these public opinions. Two major questions to be answered included: *what are the trends of infant and child mortality in the Nuaulu and non-Nuaulu populations?* and *what determines differences in mortality between the Nuaulu and the non-Nuaulu communities?*

In order to answer those questions, demographic fieldwork was conducted in the village of Rouhua as representative of the Nuaulu community and in Makariki as a non-Nuaulu community both are in Maluku Tengah District. Rouhua consists of 538 people in 90 households while Makariki has approximately 1476 people in 342 households.

Using the Mosley and Chen framework (Mosley and Chen 1984) this study found different trends in infant mortality between the studied communities. Unavailability of (and inaccessibility to) social services and lack of capacity to profit from the economic resources were indicated as the major reasons for infant mortality. It is emphasised here that cultural practices that are still practiced by the Nuaulu people, would be of no consequence if they could gain advantage from development programs.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF INFANT MORTALITY: THE MOSLEY AND CHEN FRAMEWORK

Mortality discourse must be connected to health services provided at individual, household and community levels. However, this is not a solitary factor because mortality is also affected by economic and other social measures, such as education. Moreover, for certain populations, like tribal ones, a study of mortality inherently cannot be separated from cultural aspects. Accordingly, analysing pattern and determinant variables of infant mortality among tribal populations needs a framework that covers social (including cultural) and economic variables. For this, Mosley and Chen offer a good framework³ (ibid.).

They come up with socio-economic factors as independent variables and infant mortality as a dependent variable and in between the two groups of variables there are some proximate determinants divided into five categories: *Maternal factors* like age, parity, birth intervals; *Environmental contamination* affecting air, food/water/fingers; skin/soil/inanimate objects; insect vectors; *Nutrient deficiency*: calorie, protein, micronutrients; *injury* accidental or intentional and *personal illness* control consisting of personal preventive measures and medical treatment.

³ Their concept is addressed to child mortality but I adapted it, for the purpose of this study, to analyse infant mortality.

Those determinants are distinguished at individual, household and community levels. Variables at individual level are individual productivity; at household level there is household income affecting household welfare and the variables at community level are the ecological setting and political, economic and health care systems.

Additionally, the proximate determinants are general intermediate variables that give possibility to include other significant aspects within a studied community. Therefore I utilise the analytical work of Gebremariam Woldemicael (1999:134) that specifically puts traditional treatments and cultural beliefs in personal illness control as other determinants of infant mortality. In the Nuaulu community the restriction of

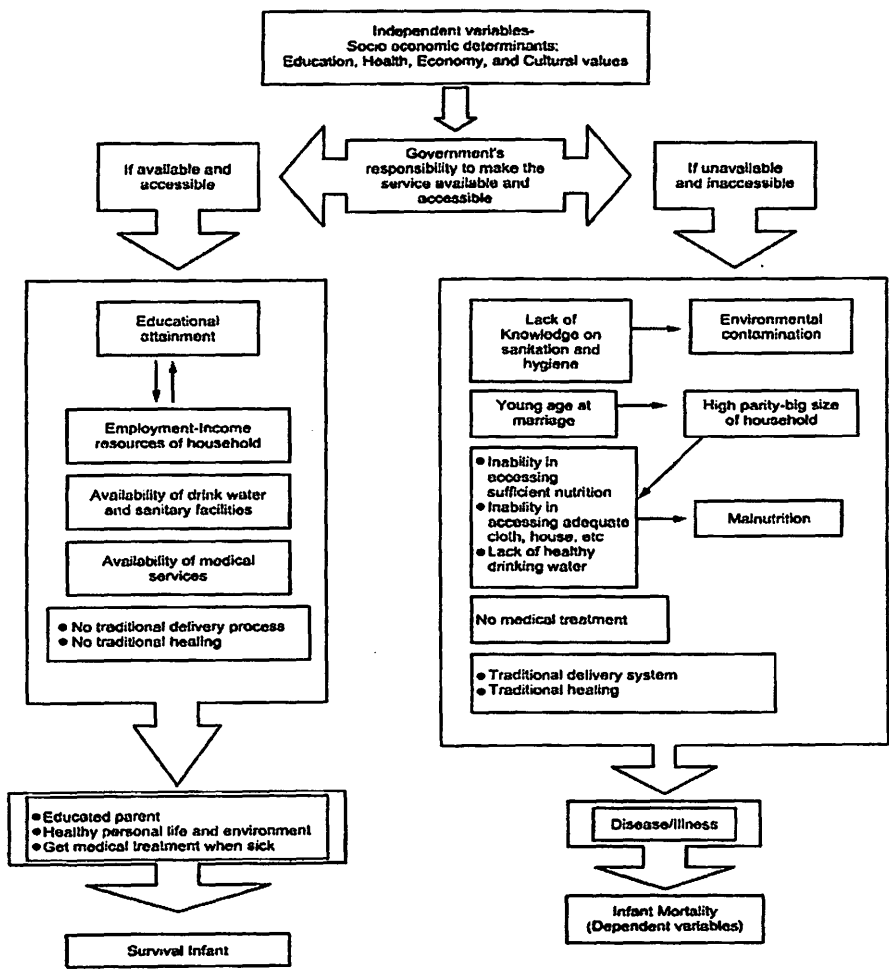


Figure 1. The Government's role in socio-economic determinants, proximates and infant mortality among the Nuaulu and the non-Nuaulu populations; Developed from the Mosley and Chen framework

baby delivery at home and traditional healing practices are seen as the reasons for infant mortality. However, in the light of the Mosley and Chen framework, I suggest that cultural practice does not work as a single variable since it links to others (Figure1). Cultural practice will not impinge on infant mortality if other variables are available and accessible.

ETHNICITY AND EXCLUSION IN INDONESIA

Gerry van Klinken starts his paper 'Ethnicity in Indonesia' with an interesting phrase: '*ethnicity is nowhere but everywhere*' (van Klinken 2003: 64). He criticises government policy especially in the New Order Government under Soeharto (1966-1998) when there were no real or direct policies relating to the huge numbers of ethnic groups within the country⁴. He cites the census as an example, saying that in the censuses conducted during the Soeharto era no single census considered ethnicity. In 1930, during the Dutch colonial times, the census included ethnicity; not to be included again until 2000.⁵ Max Weber (as cited in van Klinken *ibid.*: 72) critically condemns this by stating: 'ethnic groups have no fundamental reality of their own but are created for quite a political reason: it is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity.' The notion of modernity as a parameter of development has shaped Government policy. Ethnic groups must be 'physically' developed since the groups with their primitiveness and conventionality are not relevant in the context of a modernising state. Consequently, for the sake of development (and modernity) people lose their ethnic identity. Younger generations will not recognise their ancestors, where and how they lived, what had been their livelihood, what kind of language they used, etc. Additionally, since the nineteenth century, many governments have been engaged in a concept of nation building, creating a single national culture, based on the idea that only a culturally homogenous national population could become a modern nation (Rodolfo Stavenhagen in Young 1998: 140). This notion of nation building in Indonesia, especially in the Soeharto era, hid ethnic groups behind the notion of economic development. They were on their land but, again, for the sake of development, with their primitiveness they were hidden somewhere and nobody knew them. A hidden or invisible community, I would call them. Using Benedict Anderson's thought from his influential book 'Imagined Communities' we can criticise the political tendency of the Indonesian Government to make minority ethnic communities imagined communities excluded from development programs. These ideas frame my analysis of the Government policies.

⁴ World Watch Institute recognises Indonesia as the country with the highest cultural diversity and the highest biological diversity (IUCN 1997)

⁵ Colin Mackerras, *Ethnicity in Asia*, pp. 64-87

ETHNICITY OF THE NUAULU IN ROUHUA AND NON-NUAULU IN MAKARIKI

The Nuaulu is one of the traditional clans in Seram which used to live as one community in the centre of Seram Island but is now divided into a number of groups and settled separately in several parts of the Island. One of these groups occupies the vicinity between Sepa and Tampilouw, called Rouhua, on the coast of Seram. Administratively Rouhua is a sub-village of Sepa headed by a *kepala dusun* who is a Government official, structured under the head of Sepa village and *kepala Adat*, the cultural leader.

This traditional community still practices its culture and is strictly regulated by a powerful unwritten traditional law. Some of the restrictions relating to this paper are restrictions on men and women who are not yet recognised as mature enough to get married and prohibition on delivering babies at home. Language, as well as cultural festivals like maturity recognition for men and women, is still maintained. Apart from that, a mature man can be easily recognised since he ties a piece of red cloth on his head like a hat.

Although there are some people from other ethnic backgrounds, who because of a marriage relationship live in Rouhua, I assume that the Rouhua population is homogenous. The reason for this assumption is the fact of cultural assimilation of non-Nuaulu women (I did not find any non-Nuaulu men) married to Nuaulu men being now totally integrated in the Nuaulu life style.

Makariki used to be a purely tribal community practicing strict cultural restrictions until great changes happened, starting in the Dutch colonial period. One of the perpetuated cultural practices is a village governance system. In terms of ethnic composition, Makariki is different from Rouhua. The Makariki population is more heterogynous with people from different ethnic backgrounds in Maluku including Ambon, Kei, Tanimbar and Teon, Nila and Serua. Some of them migrated to this village permanently but others only temporarily because of jobs such as of teachers and paramedics.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ROUHUA AND MAKARIKI

Rouhua and Makariki have different socio-economic situations. In the educational sector, the Rouhua population is very poor in educational achievement. 45.9% of the population has never attended school with approximately 13.4% currently being primary school age children. There are also many cases of drop out, mostly in the first three years of primary school (see Annexe II for details).

When I was working with the data, I divided the current population into two groups: the first, consisting of those who were born before 1950 or before the Government established a school in this village and the second, of those who were born after 1950. The data show that nobody from the first group attended any school

since there was no school during their primary school age time (there was a primary school only in Sepa). In the late 1950s the Government built a primary school in Rouhua so since then those from the second group could have primary education. However, I found that 46% of this generation still did not go to school and some of them had left school before completion. There are many reasons for this but the major reason is economic inability to afford the school fees. Officially, the Government provides free primary education but there are many additional charges, including indirect payments such as for clothes or uniforms, stationary, food, etc. Nevertheless, some children are able to go to junior high school even though the completion rate is not one hundred per cent. The higher the educational level, the smaller the number of Nuaulu children involved.

Meanwhile in Makariki I found a different situation. School enrolment and completion in Makariki is higher than in Rouhua. Indeed some of those born before the 1950s completed primary schooling. Historically, education in Makariki has been influenced by Dutch colonialism. The older generation could attend primary and higher levels of school through which some of them gained good jobs allowing them to send their children and other family members to school. This improved as the Indonesian Government, just after independence, established national primary schools and later junior high schools. Some people migrated to towns and cities to study, then worked there to send remittances to their families or to pay for the studies of other family members. This kind of social support enables Makariki villagers to achieve better educational attainments.

In the health sector, I also have different figures for both the communities. In Rouhua, drinking water is a serious problem. There are many water resources but no proper system for safe drinking water. Originally, people collected water for all daily needs directly from the spring but later an NGO built a water pool now used for bathing, washing dishes, washing clothes, etc.

Most of the Nuaulu still have traditional houses called *rumah panggung*, literally meaning a tall house that is built of wood and bamboo on stilts about 2 metres above the ground. The empty space at the bottom is mostly used for animals. There is prohibition on using any modern materials, even nails, in house construction. Some of them have no beds to sleep on. However, some people, especially of the new generation, after getting married, build their own houses, using different (let me say, modern) styles, not that of a *rumah panggung*. But still they do not use nails or other modern materials as this is prohibited. Several houses are cement-floored but some only use bamboo.

Sanitary facilities like latrines, are unavailable in the houses, therefore, the area near the beach is used to defecate in. Garbage is thrown down in coastal areas or around houses. Even though this is only green garbage, it can create community health problems as a heap of garbage can host media for vectors of disease. Physically, the people look dirty, both their skins and clothes. Children play on the ground without

slippers or shoes. Dirty mothers, who do not bathe very often or do so without soap, breastfeed babies. Some of them even do not have soap for washing their clothes. Lack of economic resources thus makes them live an unhealthy life, apart from their lack of knowledge on sanitation and hygiene.

The medical service is dramatically poor. There is no public health centre (PUSKESMAS), subsidiary medical post (PUSKESMAS PEMBANTU) or paramedics⁶. PUSKESMAS, medical doctors and paramedics are based in adjoining villages, Sepa and Tamilow⁷. To get to the PUSKESMAS in Sepa people must walk for 5 kilometres or for 6 kilometres to PUSKESMAS Tamilouw. If in urgent need of medical help, it is difficult to see a doctor or paramedic due to the distance and lack of means of transportation and communication.

All villagers have *kartu sehat* to get free medical attention but the distance becomes an obstacle to access the services. The only Government program available for them is POSYANDU⁸, once a month, when a doctor from the PUSKESMAS Tamilow comes to this village at POSYANDU time and this is the only way sick people can access medical services. There is a dependence of people on the POSYANDU program.

Meanwhile, in Makariki, potable water is available through the water pool, wells and pump wells around the village. Some households, indeed, have piped water at home. The villagers have modern 'permanent' houses with latrines, which are totally different from those of the Nuaulu people. But Makariki villagers treat garbage exactly the same as Rouhua villagers, by throwing it out in the coastal area, in the river or in the backyard under the trees or burning it. In terms of medical services, this village has a PUSKESMAS PEMBANTU: some paramedics, one nurse and two trained midwives. They play an important role in educating people on sanitation and hygiene as well as family planning. Medical services here are not only available but also accessible since all families, here too, hold a *kartu sehat*.

In terms of economic livelihood, people in Rouhua mostly depend on what nature and the environment provide. Hunting, collecting, fishing and conventional farming are the way to earn a living. The food from such activities is firstly used for household consumption and only if there is anything left over, will it be sold for household income.

⁶ A few years ago, the Government sent a trained midwife to this village but she did not stay long because she was never given the opportunity to help women in birth deliveries because the villagers preferred their traditional midwife; People prefer to use and keep their traditional recovery system.

⁷ Rouhua is located in between these two villages

⁸ POSYANDU is the acronym of *Pos Pelayanan Terpadu* or integrated health service. Officially, this program offers integrated health services ONLY to pregnant women, newly born infants and children (under five); not to others. But other Nuaulu, because this is the only medical service available for people in this community, visit it also to meet medical personnel.

Besides the conventional means of subsistence, there are also some cash crops for income generation, such as coconuts, cloves and nutmeg, planted by older people of some generations back. These plants, especially cloves, were the most profitable commodities at least till the mid 1990s, when economic disaster hit Indonesia. Now people cannot rely on them anymore. Alternatively, for the last 10 years, the Nuauulu people have grown coffee and cocoa. However, people perceive these crops as unprofitable. The problem is market integration. People do not sell the crops directly to the market but through middle traders, sometimes at a very low price. The distance between Rouhua and Amahai or Masohi where the markets are located, with the consequence of a high cost of transportation, impedes them from reaching the markets. We can say that the livelihood of the Nuauulu people is meagre⁹. Sometimes, for months, they earn nothing. They have difficulty in fulfilling all the needs of household members especially those of growing children. They have to decide on the most important needs to meet and ignore others, preferring to allocate the limited income for cultural needs and events rather than other social needs.

Basically, the means of subsistence of Makariki villagers are similar to those of Rouhua: farming, fishing and hunting. However, Makariki villagers have good access to the market in Masohi since it is located closer to the administrative centre of the Maluku Tengah District. For 3.000 rupiah¹⁰ Makariki villagers can reach the market, while Rouhua villagers need 20.000 rupiah to reach the same market. Apart from that, people have adopted new farming and fishing technology and knowledge which support household economic development.

The economic activity of the Makariki villagers is more diverse, ranging from selling at a small kiosk at home or establishing smallholder businesses in the village to working in the city of Masohi as housekeepers, shop keepers, drivers of public transportation and Government officials. While these people prefer to stay in the village, a number of villagers have been migrating to other cities like Ambon, the capital of Maluku Province, to study or work. Some of those who move temporarily for study, mostly at teacher training college, return home after finishing college and work as teachers. While the working migrants send their remittances to their families in Makariki. These all constitute social and economic support systems for better standards of living at household, family and community levels.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Mother's level of education is the first characteristic to be discussed. Most of the Nuauulu women have never attended school while in Makariki only 2.6 % of the female population did (Annexe II). The percentage of Nuauulu women who completed

⁹ It is difficult to standardise the household incomes to measure their poverty levels using, for example, the BKKBN standard of 10.000 rupiah income per day.

¹⁰ Rupiah is Indonesian currency. 3.000 rupiah equals 0.15 US dollar. 20.000 is equal to 1 US dollar

any level of education is lower than among Makariki women with the percentage of the Nuaulu women who could not complete their school levels higher than of the Makariki women. Makariki women can continue their study up to higher education (Academy or University) levels, although some of them cannot achieve it. Meanwhile, none of my respondents in Rouhua reached such an educational level. Generally speaking, the educational level of the Nuaulu women is lower than that of the Makariki women.

Maternal care¹¹ among the Nuaulu is carried out traditionally. The antenatal care (ANC), aimed at a safe and secure pregnancy, is supervised by the untrained village midwife.

However, there has been a slight improvement in the last two years since a doctor from the PUSKESMAS Tamilouw has regularly visited Rouhua at POSYANDU time. According to her, the pregnant women, especially young expectant mothers, have the awareness to use the maternal care at the POSYANDU and their visits have increased since she came. Some old women, predominantly, believe in their own experience rather than that of the medical personnel.

In Makariki, the ANC, especially at the early stage of pregnancy, is primarily administered by a medical midwife. At the advanced stage (after 28 weeks) women prefer to consult the village midwife, considering the experience of the aged traditional midwife important.

Assistance during delivery in both Rouhua and Makariki is rendered by the village midwives. However, in Rouhua birth attendance is purely traditional without the use of any modern equipment. Traditional midwives help the mother during delivery and her baby in his/her first days. To cover a baby's umbilical stump the traditional midwife uses the customary mixture of mashed turmeric and cooking oil. Later, I found that this practice has been found to have a connection with infant death.

In Makariki, even though medical midwives exist, people prefer the traditional one to help them in view of her experience. However, this is not a problem since the village midwife has been medically trained by paramedics from the PUSKESMAS so that she has knowledge of medical principles in birth attendance. Usually for taking care of a baby after delivery, including the covering of the umbilical cord stump, the mother and family prefer to ask the medically trained midwife.

Place of birth in the Nuaulu community is restricted by cultural norms. Women are not allowed to deliver at home as blood from a woman's body is considered dirty which will bring misfortune to the village or be an obstacle to the blessing of the villagers. The villagers believe, and it seems to happen very often, that violation of this restriction causes death or other calamity within the household. Following that restriction, a hundred per cent of the Nuaulu women delivered at a shelter called a

¹¹ I focus only on Antenatal Care (ANC)

*posune*¹². Some days prior to the advent of the new family member, the family has to build a *posune* and bring the mother and midwife there.

There is a payment requirement to be fulfilled by the family before bringing the new baby home. The payment goes to the midwife and the 'treasurer' of kinship. Normally the father of the baby has to prepare everything prior to his/her birth. But economic factors may make it difficult for the family to afford it. The longer the family needs to pay, the longer the baby must stay in the *posune*. Mostly the newborn baby and the mother need at least 2 weeks before going home, which in fact is not a short time, because during this time the newborn is prohibited from having contact with anyone/anything outside the *posune*, even with the sun which is good for his/her health or with a medical person if he/she has a medical problem.

Meanwhile, 99.6% of the 251 respondents in Makariki delivered at home and the rest delivered at Masohi Hospital. The Government has provided a POLINDES¹³, but the women feel more comfortable delivering at home.

Fertility rate will be discussed by presenting the average age of the mother at the time of the first delivery, birth interval and parity which affect one another. The majority of the Nuauulu women give their first birth at a young age, younger than that of the Makariki women. In the Nuauulu tradition, women are allowed to have a child

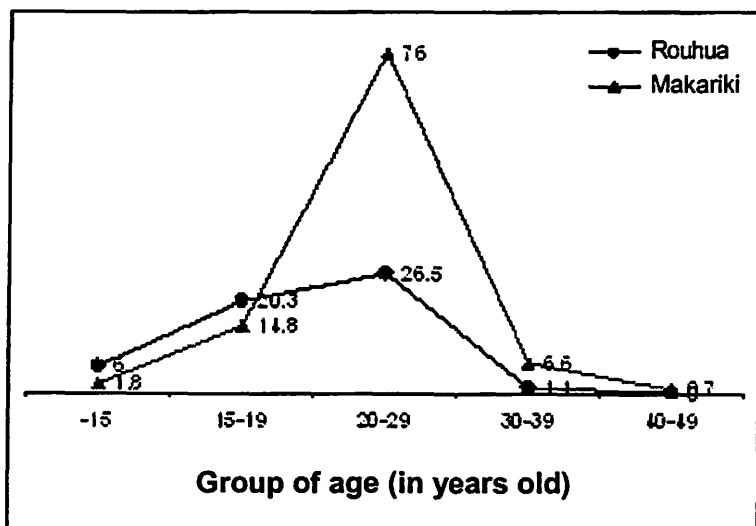


Figure 2. Percentage of women who deliver their first baby at the grouped ages

¹² A *Posune* is a special shelter built outside the settlement area of the Nuauulu to isolate a woman who is menstruating or delivering her baby. This is indeed an isolated place which men and non-Nuauulu women are not allowed to enter.

¹³ POLINDES is an acronym of *pondok bersalin desa* which literally means village birth delivery post. At this post a medically trained midwife can help in the birth delivery process.

after marriage and a woman is allowed to marry after being tribally recognised as a mature woman¹⁴ through a traditional ceremony called the *pinamou*. Mostly Nuaulu women get married after the *pinamou*, and start to have a child at a young age. For different reasons, a Makariki woman is also allowed to have a child after getting married. Figure 2, shows that the youngest age of first delivery for the Nuaulu women is 13 years while for the Makariki it is 18 years. This means that the Nuaulu women marry at younger ages than the Makariki women and consequently start to have children at a younger age.

The majority of women give birth between the ages of 20 and 29¹⁵ with different percentages among each community with 76% in Makariki and 26.5% among the Nuaulu. This means that three quarters of the female population in Makariki deliver their first baby at the age of 20-29 and in Rouhua only about one quarter of the female population do so.

Average Birth intervals can be seen in Figure 3. It shows that the number of births with an interval of less than 2 years is higher for the Rouhua than for the Makariki population. There are some Makariki women with birth intervals of more than 5 years but none in Rouhua. Mostly Rouhua women have children within a narrow interval. This trend affects the parity within each population.

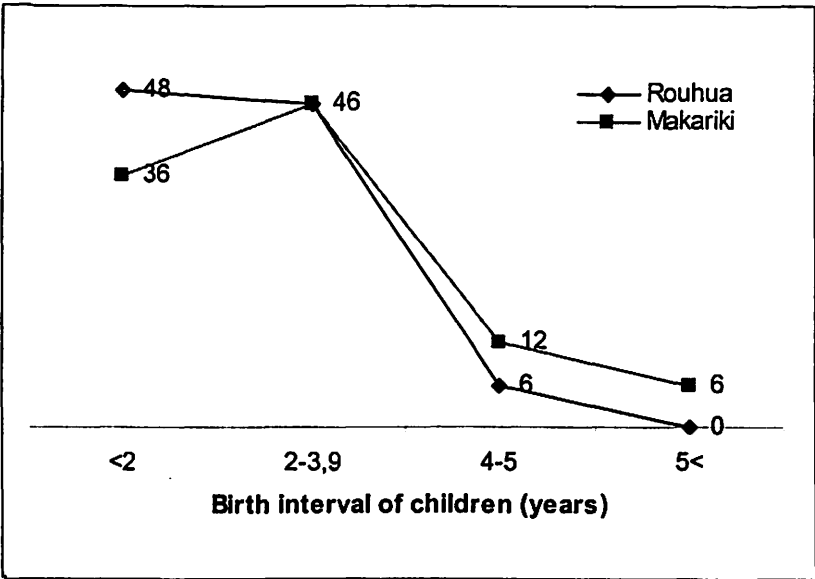


Figure 3. Percentage of births within intervals of births in Rouhua and Makariki

¹⁴ Maturity of a woman is recognised through biological maturity indicated by menstruation.

¹⁵ Grouping the ages of mothers follows the DHS as presented by Mahy 2003: 11-13

A small interval between births results in a high parity. Figure 4 shows that parity among the Nuauulu is higher than among the Makariki population over the groups of mothers' years of fertility. This also shows that fertility is higher within Rouhwa. The result of Total Fertility Rate (TFR) calculation (Annexe III) indicates a higher TFR of Rouhwa with 5.4, than of Makariki with 2.9. Comparing the numbers to the national benchmark, the TFR of the Nuauulu is higher than the national TFR which is 2.6.

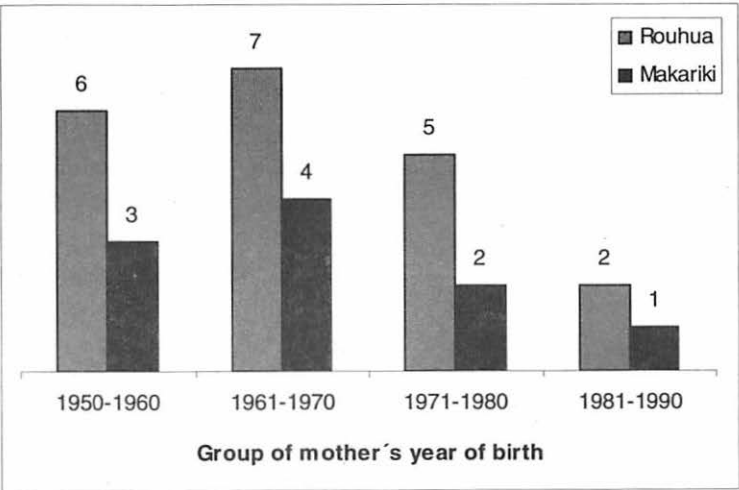


Figure 4. Parity in Rouhwa and Makariki

The small interval between births, high parity and TFR which are also affected by the absence of family planning,¹⁶ has an impact on household size. It was found that the household size of the Nuauulu population is bigger (5.98) than of the Makariki population (4.3).

Health status of mother and her baby at birth in the Nuauulu population is risky. The delivery process at an isolated place puts the mother and her baby at a distance from primary maternal care after delivery. When baby or mother have health problems and need the help of a medical practitioner, they cannot access it even if it is available. Once, a doctor at Tamilow PUSKESMAS told the story of a baby in the *posune* who was really sick and the traditional healer was unable to help her. The father of the baby went to see the healer and asked for medicine which she would not

¹⁶ Family planning is not acceptable in the Nuauulu community because the people believe that children are given by the Almighty and can only be limited naturally. Meanwhile, in Makariki, family planning is successful as indicated by the increasing number of acceptors over the years, according to Makariki paramedics.

give because she considered that giving medicine without any diagnosis was risky for her professionalism. The baby died.

A baby can meet a medical person after leaving the *posune* and the health status of both mother and baby can be recorded. But they have to wait till the father or family can afford the required payment and then wait for the POSYANDU time. The important point here is that the family has to bring the newborn baby home quickly, to make contact with outsiders. For most of the Nuaulu this is not easy for reasons of economics. For the Makariki, recording the health status of mother and baby is no problem.

TRENDS IN INFANT MORTALITY: WHAT DO THE NUMBERS SAY?

Figure 5 shows that the infant mortality rate (IMR) in Rouhua in 2000-2005 was higher than the IMR in the Makariki population. The differences between them are incredibly significant especially in 2001 and afterwards where the IMR of Rouhua was approximately three-fold that of Makariki. If we compare the rates to provincial and national benchmarks we find that the IMR in Rouhua is higher than the national IMR while that in Makariki is lower. Muhidin (2002:40) claims that IDHS 1997 found the IMR of the Maluku Province was 29.5 during 1987-1997 and at the same time Indonesia had 52.2 infant deaths per 1000 births. The latest Indonesian DHS, 2003, shows that Indonesian IMR 2002/2003 was 34.7 per 1000 live births per year.

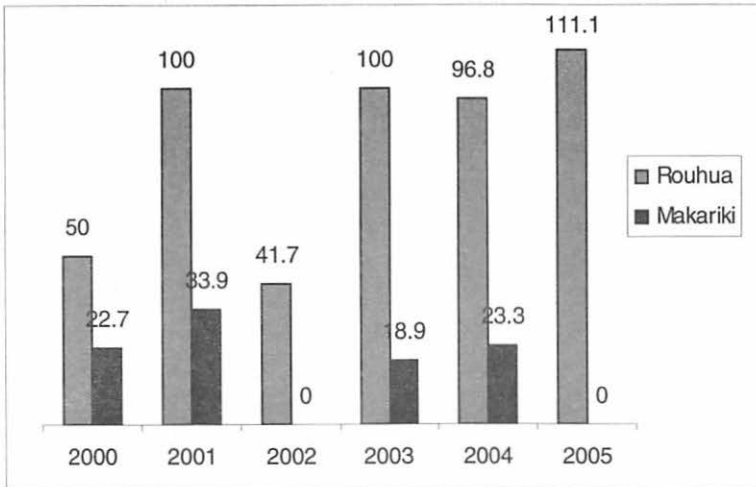


Figure 5. Infant Mortality Rates in Rouhua and Makariki 2000-2005

NATURE OF INFANT MORTALITY: CAUSES OF DEATH

Infant mortality within both communities was mostly caused by diarrhoea, malnutrition¹⁷ and malaria. There was also a case of Tetanus in Rouhua.

Tetanus was suffered by a young baby, less than 14 days old, caused by a kind of bacterium called clostridium. Some literature indicates neonatal tetanus is the main killer for other tribal groups in Indonesia such as the *To Bungsu*¹⁸ tribe in South Sulawesi. Mustamin Alwi argues that most infant mortality is caused by tetanus. This group practices the same system of birth delivery assistance as the Nuaulu, by a traditional midwife using no modern equipment. For cutting the umbilical cord the traditional midwife also uses a piece of bamboo (Mustamin Alwi in Swasone 1998). However, it is not clear whether the presence of tetanus was the result of traditional practices. It is also not clear how the *To Bungsu* people treat the umbilical cord stump of their newborn babies. Nevertheless, it is important to note that tribal communities are vulnerable to tetanus.

Sari Pratiwi (in Swasone 1998) reports that the Sasak tribe on Lombok Island, Nusa Tenggara Barat Province, also uses a piece of bamboo for cutting the umbilical cord. But whether this practice relates to infant mortality in the Sasak community is not reported. Infant mortality within this tribal community, she says, other researchers found, is related to maternal factors¹⁹.

The Nuaulu's traditional midwife argued that it is *pamali*²⁰ to use modern tools because they bring bad luck to the baby and mother or family. However, one conclusion derived from my literature study, is that using a conventional tool like a piece of bamboo in child delivery is practiced in many tribal communities but it is not compulsory for any specific community. This practice is formed by the situation in the old days when there were no 'stainless steel' scissors or knives, as we have now. The only option was bamboo and that practice is maintained till now.

Among the Nuaulu, clostridium can contaminate the newborn by two means. Firstly, by non-sterilised bamboo as a cutter and secondly, by turmeric, taken from the soil, used to cover the stump. It can happen that before the turmeric is taken the spores of clostridium bacteria have been growing there.

¹⁷ Malnutrition always accompanies diarrhoea and people have difficulty in differentiating one from the other.

¹⁸ The *To Bungsu* tribe lives in the mountain areas of South Sulawesi. Mustawin Alwi says that living in a mountainous area means that the people cannot be reached by development programs. Till 1997-1998 when he did his research there, Alwi found this community was isolated geographically and not developed.

¹⁹ Syahrudin Seman reports that it is caused by parity and Yamada reports the strong correlation between infant mortality and fertility because of the mother's age at giving birth to her first baby and intervals between births (Pratiwi in Swasone 1998).

²⁰ *Pamali* means not allowed to do. If you do it, you will meet with misfortune or disaster.

A mother with tetanus antibodies can prevent her baby from getting contaminated by the bacterium. The antibodies result from immunisation. The death due to neonatal tetanus shows that the Nuaulu woman had no antibodies because she was never immunised. On the other hand, since the 1970s, the Government has programmed to immunise all citizens, especially for tetanus and diphtheria. (Unfortunately I could not find out whether the Nuaulu were excluded from that program.)

Malaria is a parasitic disease caused by protozoa (*plasmodium spp.*), spread by mosquitoes, circulating in the blood stream (Takken *et al.* 1990). Because the mosquitoes prefer to deposit their eggs²¹ on water or in a watery environment, stagnant water and unprotected water pools as well as garbage landfill could be a good habitat for them. This habitat could be created by human action. Foong Kin emphasises that Malaria is associated with human behaviour. Kin also quotes Bruce-Chawatt (1985) that control efforts directed at human hosts generally include three broad areas: chemoprophylaxis, chemotherapy and house and individual self-protection. The last relates to the context of Rouhua and Makariki. If people can manage the environment in order to limit or remove breeding places and life stages of the mosquito, they can protect themselves from malaria.

This requires good sanitation, proper houses and proper clothing. The Nuaulu environment provides a good habitat for mosquitoes through unhealthy garbage landfill and unprotected water pools. 'Proper houses' relates to evading the insects or protecting people from mosquito bites. It means windows should be screened and bed nets used, etc. Meanwhile in the Nuaulu context with their type of houses, people are not protected from mosquitoes. The environmental problem, non-protective clothing and beds without nets expose people to the disease. Even though houses of the Makariki villagers are more protective, the unhealthy treatment of household garbage exposes people to contamination by the vector of malaria.

Diarrhoea, which happens when people are contaminated with the bacteria called *salmonella spp.* was found in both communities. Among the Nuaulu, according to a doctor from the Tamilow PUSKESMAS, diarrhoea occurred in some situations. First, it is an impact of malnutrition or a baby's not getting adequate nutrients which later disturbs her/his digestion. Distribution of limited household resources among household members is also connected to the presence of malnutrition. The data show, malnutrition was experienced in households with more than 4 children. Second, some cases were caused by dehydration due to lack of water. Third, it happened as a consequence of an unhealthy environment. Flies, which are the vectors of this disease, like to live in dirty places like rubbish disposal areas. This becomes worse with the open defecation areas along the beach that potentially create habitats for the *salmonella spp.* As people cannot afford to build private latrines at home, this is a problem in

²¹ The mosquitoes require a water surface on which to deposit their eggs. Even under suitable climatological circumstances, areas free of any stagnant water are usually free of malaria (Takken *et al.* 1990).

Rouhua. However, an international NGO has built one public toilet for them but it is rarely used.

Lastly, the play activities of children have potential for diarrhoea. All children in Rouhua play on the ground with unhealthy toys, often no longer usable things that have been thrown out by adults. Sometimes the toys are collected from a rubbish disposal area. It is not impossible that 'disposed' toys have been the hosts of bacteria and when the children play they sometimes put the unhealthy toys in their mouths. In these ways, children may be exposed to diarrhoea.

The cases of diarrhoea in the Makariki population were connected with sanitation, especially with waste management. People have good types of houses, with good toilet infrastructure and water availability for their daily needs, better than of the Nuaulu, but they do not have any rubbish disposal infrastructure. This creates media for the growth of *salmonella spp.* and also flies, as the agents to deliver the bacteria to the bodies of children through their food.

Malnutrition among the Nuaulu is different from that in Makariki. The 14 cases of malnutrition or 47% of the total Nuaulu deaths were caused by the lack of nutrition, meanwhile in Makariki where I found 1 case of malnutrition or 12.5% of the total deaths, it was caused by maternal factors. The mother was very sick and unable to give adequate nutrition to her baby.

Lack of nutrition for the Nuaulu children is not a matter of shortage of food since their arable land produces abundant food naturally. The problem is that they have to share the food for direct household consumption and for making money to satisfy other needs. In some households, food for direct consumption is limited because it must be shared among a number of household members.

This reality can be clearly seen as a crucial fact within big households consisting of more than 6 members where the dependency ratio on the limited household resources is high. The higher the dependency ratio, the more limited food the children consume, consequently the more the children are exposed to malnutrition.

Additionally the causes of infant death among the Makariki people are more various than among the Rouhua. Five deaths during 2000-2005 were caused by malnutrition, diarrhoea, fever and premature birth (low weight at birth). Most of the cases happened in the period of conflict in the Maluku Tengah District when the PUSKESMAS was malfunctioning and no paramedic was in the village. Additionally, food was inadequate because people had no access to the market.

THE DETERMINANTS

If we fit the nature of infant death into the theoretical thinking of Mosley and Chen (op. cit.), we will find that education and health services are social factors and household income resources are economic factors. However, the economic factors do not work independently but as counterparts of each of the social factors. All of

them relate to infant mortality through intermediate factors: environmental contamination, nutrient deficiency, personal illness control and maternal factors.

Lack of education, especially of women, is the main determinant of infant mortality, occurring through some possibilities. **Firstly**, because people have no adequate educational attainment, they cannot have good jobs to earn money even in the informal sectors²². All of them depend on conventional livelihoods. The limited household income creates inability to afford a healthy life such as by having soap for bathing, laundry soap, milk as supplementary food for baby, a good bedroom at least for the children, etc.

Secondly, lack of education limits people's ability to understand sanitation and hygiene information²³ which diminishes the possibility of personal control of illnesses. **Thirdly**, education affects infant mortality through other demographic characteristics. Unavailability and high cost of higher levels of schooling causes mostly young people, to not continue their studies and get married at a young age. Salahudin Muhidin finds in his study that less educated women tend to marry earlier than their counterparts who are more highly educated (Muhidin 2002:32). Because they married at a young age and the intervals between children are close, they have many children. People who can access higher education, tend to get married later and have longer birth intervals that result in smaller households. Contribution of the household size to the mortality rate can be clearly seen in the data indicating that some households with high dependency ratios have more than one death.

By having easy access to a medical post or medical personnel, people can readily get medical help especially immediate help and the number of deaths can be reduced. The Makariki experience in the period of conflict when the PUSKESMAS PEMBANTU was dysfunctional and some cases of death occurred, is a good example of the importance of medical services.

The absence of medical facilities and medical personnel affects the ANC. The more advanced the pregnancy the greater need for more frequent ANC, like once every two weeks. For the Makariki women it is not a problem because midwives are available but for the Nuaulu women it is a matter of importance because the ANC is only available once a month at the POSYANDU.

Lack of sanitation infrastructure in homes or in public spaces such as the rubbish disposal area, sewage hook-ups, piped water, etc. exacerbate the situation in Rouhua. In this situation the Nuaulu people are more exposed to bacteria or disease vectors and there is the potential to suffer from the killing diseases such as diarrhoea and malaria. Put simply, environmental components contribute positively to the high IMR.

²² No parents in Rouhua at the research time had any occupation outside the village even in the informal sector unlike the Makariki villagers.

²³ As a medical doctor from the PUSKESMAS at Tamilow said, it was difficult to transfer information or explain something regarding personal hygiene and sanitation to the villagers, especially older women.

Economic constraints create inability in villagers to afford healthy lives as discussed in the section on education. We can also see that such economic constraints make people unable to afford cultural requirements. Separate cultural practices and beliefs, such as isolated places of birth and birth attendants, become the determinants when they limit the ability of people to control disease or to access medical services.

IS CULTURE AN ISSUE?

It cannot be denied that cultural practices have impact on deaths in the Nuaulu community. Nevertheless, we have to be careful in explaining the impact of cultural issues on mortality. In the context of the Nuaulu, the cultural practice does not work as an individual factor but in association with other factors. We can start to explain it from an educational viewpoint. Education is needed to acquire good jobs and useful knowledge of hygiene and sanitation.

By having good jobs, people have enough economic resources to pay for the education of other household or family members, pay for health requirements and for cultural needs enabling people to practice their culture without creating problems in other aspects. With adequate economic resources people can afford the required payments and bring their newborn babies home quickly after birth and subsequently the babies can have medical check-ups and treatment. The faster the baby leaves the *posune*, the better he or she is. This means if they have enough money, they can avoid the increasing amount of neonatal mortality.

The common belief that infant mortality among the Nuaulu is higher than among the non-Nuaulu is proven by this study but the cultural practices and beliefs, such as delivering babies at the *posune* with traditional birth attendants, is not the reason, as by improving social and economic conditions, the cultural practices will not be an issue. Government policies and approaches are the problem.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Comparing the levels of mortality in infants between the two populations with different characteristics has been a useful tool to analyse the political will of the Government. The low infant survival in Rouhua reveals a lack of social provisioning by the Government for this population, while the high infant survival in Makariki discloses good social services for them.

Medical services available for the Nuaulu ANC should be provided regularly as needed, not only at POSYANDU time so that baby and his/her mother does not need to wait for the POSYANDU to access medical help. In the Makariki population with different social, economic and demographic characteristics, infant mortality is low. This indicates that if social provisioning is available and accessible and livelihood is

improved, the Nuaulu people will have good educational levels, good jobs and healthy lives.

We can further look at how social policies can benefit all citizens in need of development intervention. This demographic study lead us to justify that this country has been free from colonialism for decades but still there are some groups of people who live without substantive freedom as argued by Amartya Sen²⁴. These groups, like the tribal communities, are not free from poverty and inequality.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND ETHNICITY IN INDONESIA

This study found different trends in infant mortality which explains that the Government does not equally provide social provisioning throughout Indonesia. Some communities are included but others are not. It is apparent in Rouhua where public sanitary infrastructure (public latrines) and water pools were established by NGOs and religious organisations. The Government did nothing.

Administratively Rouhua is integrated in Sepa as the main village. Here, perhaps, the problem is rooted since development programs might be terminated in the main village and never reach Rouhua. If it so, I would argue that the small community is hidden behind the main community.

Rouhua is only one tribal community in Indonesia. The interesting thing is that Rouhua is located in a reachable area. There are so many tribal communities in unreachable areas, for example, Alune, another indigenous community in Manusela in the centre of Seram Island that can only be reached after at least a 2-day walk through a mountainous area. If in Rouhua people are vulnerable due to social inequality, how much worse is the situation in Manusela?

The use of geographical terms in defining a tribal community makes the reality of such a community in reachable areas invisible. The Government has to change the way it names tribal communities; always linked to the geographical context. For example, currently they are called: *Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (KAT) meaning Traditional Remote Community (Ministry of Social Affairs 2003a and 2003b). The word *remote* relates to an unreachable geographical area. In fact the underdeveloped tribal community also exists in reachable areas like that of the Nuaulu in Rouhua.

From now, Local Government has to play a role to create the changes. Decentralisation that has blown out since 2001, should give a good chance to local governments to specifically address the needs of the communities that were invisible during the time of centralisation. The excluded communities must be included to gain benefits from development programs for their better futures.

²⁴ As Amartya Sen says: lack of substantive freedoms relates to satisfying hunger, achieving sufficient nutrition, obtaining remedies for treatable illnesses, opportunities to be adequately clothed and sheltered and to enjoying clean water or sanitary facilities. Lack of freedom links closely to inadequate public facilities and social care... (Amartya Sen 1999:4)

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Annexes

Annexe I: School enrolment of Nuaulu.

Enrolment	Number	Percentage
PS	115	21.4
DO PS	32	5.9
JHS	41	7.6
DO JHS	10	1.9
SHS	9	1.7
HE	5	0.9
Never	247	45.9
Not Yet	79	14.7
Total (n)	538	

Annexe II: Educational attainment of respondents (women) in Rouhua

Level of education	Rouhua	
Primary School	Complete	9.4
	Not complete	23.5
JHS	Complete	8.2
	Not complete	2.4
SHS	Complete	2.4
	Not complete	0
HS/academic/University	Complete	0
	Not complete	0
Never		54.1
Total respondents		85

Annexe III: Data and Calculation for Demographic characteristic of respondents

a. Birth Interval

Interval of birth	Numbers of births	Percentage of birth in the interval of age (n= 85)
<2	41	48
2-3,9	39	45
4-5	5	6
5<	0	0

b. Parity

Mother's year of birth	Numbers of women (a)	Numbers of babies (b)	Parity : (b) / (a)
1950-1959	9	55	6.11
1960-1969	30	209	6.97
1970-1979	25	137	5.48
1980+	18	40	2.22

c. Total Fertility Rate

Mother's year of birth	Numbers of women	Numbers of birth	Birth per 1000 women
1950 - 1959	9	55	6.11
1960 - 1969	30	209	6.97
1970 - 1979	25	137	5.48
1980+	18	40	2.22
TFR	82	441	5.38

Annexe IV: Infant Mortality Rate

Infant mortality rate is the number of infant who died before first birthday per 1000 birth. IMR for Nuaulu is come from:

Year	Births	Deaths	IMR*
2000	20	1	50
2001	20	2	100
2002	24	1	41.7
2003	30	3	100
2004	31	3	96.8
2005	9	1	111.1

$$*IMR_x = (Death_x / Birth_x) 1000$$

x = year

THE PROBLEMS OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS' RIGHTS PROTECTION IN MALAYSIA¹

By:
Sri Wahyono*

Abstrak

Artikel ini mendeskripsikan bagaimana buruknya perlindungan hak-hak Pekerja Migran Indonesia (Tenaga Kerja Indonesia atau TKI) di hampir semua sektor ekonomi baik formal maupun non-formal di Malaysia. Dalam penelitian ini mayoritas responden yang dipilih secara acak terdiri dari para TKI dan beberapa responden merupakan pekerja migran dari Philipina, India dan Vietnam yang bekerja di beberapa sector seperti Pembantu Rumah Tangga, Pekerja Pabrik, Pekerja Perkebunan, Pekerja Konstruksi dan Perdagangan Eceran (Toko dan Restoran). Banyak di antara TKI yang bekerja di Malaysia tidak sepenuhnya dan bahkan kehilangan hak-haknya. Hak yang paling mendasar sebagai pekerja seperti gaji yang terlalu rendah, gaji yang ditahan bahkan tidak dibayarkan oleh majikan, kekerasan fisik dan seksual, kondisi tempat kerja yang tidak layak huni dan perampasan paspor oleh majikan atau agen perekrut (*tekong*), bahkan menjadi korban perdagangan manusia atau dipaksa menjadi Pekerja Seks Komersial (PSK) oleh sponsor yang merekrut mereka. Di samping itu sebagai pekerja migran di Negara asing, mereka juga sangat rentan menjadi korban praktek-praktek korupsi seperti pungutan liar yang dilakukan oleh oknum Polisi dan Pegawai Imigrasi Kerajaan Malaysia. Terdapat beberapa faktor mengapa hak-hak TKI sebagai pekerja migran tersebut sangat rentan terhadap kesewenang-wenangan majikan dan sponsor yang merekrut mereka dan praktek-praktek korupsi oleh aparat Kepolisian dan Imigrasi Kerajaan Malaysia. Adapun faktor-faktor tersebut antara lain: a) kurangnya informasi tentang bagaimana memperoleh dokumen perjalanan, bagaimana cara melamar pekerjaan melalui Perusahaan Jasa Pengerah Tenaga Kerja Indonessia (PJTKI) dan berapa banyak sebenarnya biaya resmi yang harus mereka bayar; b) Kurangnya pengetahuan dan pemahaman terhadap Hukum Perburuhan dan Peraturan Keimigrasian yang berlaku di Malaysia sebagai Negara tujuan dan c) pemalsuan data pada dokumen perjalanan (paspor) dalam proses rekrutmen dan penempatan oleh para sponsor yang melibatkan oknum pegawai imigrasi.

¹ This paper was presented at the International Workshop of Asian Public Intellectuals (API Fellowship) at Phuket, Thailand, 25 – 30 November 2006. Since when some of been rewritten.

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Abstract

This paper describes the poor state of protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Rights in almost all economic sectors, both formal and non-formal, in Malaysia. In this research, most of the randomly interviewed respondents were Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI) with a few Philipinos, Indians and Vietnamese employed in various sectors such as domestic work, manufacturing, plantations, construction, or retail (stores and cafés). Many of the TKI living and working in Malaysia did not receive their full rights as workers and sometimes even lost their basic rights such as that to a minimum wage, not being not having their wages withheld or not paid at all their withhelds, as well as a refusal to have their passports returned. Many of the Indonesian workers were physically and sexually abused by their employers. For example, some Indonesian workers employed in the plantation and construction sectors had to stay in very poor accommodation while many female workers were victimized into becoming forced prostitutes by their sponsors. In addition, some of the TKI had to face serious problems of protection; many as victims of corrupt practices such as the imposition of illegal levies by Malaysian olice and immigration staffs suffered by the TKI were demands for payments, extortion of money and confiscation of valuables factors contributing to the vulnerability of Indonesian migrant workers such as: a) Low formal education and lack of relevant training; b) Lack of information on how to obtain travel documents, how to apply for jobs or visas and how much to pay in fees; c) Lack of knowledge or understanding of the labour law and immigration regulations of Malaysia as the receiving country; d) Falsifying of ID Cards, data of passports and other travel documents in the recruitment and deployment process by recruiting agents and involving immigration officials.

Keywords: *Indonesian migrant workers, Malaysia*

INTRODUCTION

The economic boom in Malaysia in the 1970s caused a massive demand for migrant workers from neighbouring countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. According to statistical data from the Malaysian Immigration Department, there were 1,581,755 migrant workers living and working in Malaysia in 2005. Among sending countries, Indonesian migrant workers ranked the highest in number (1,105,083).¹ Besides legal migrant workers, many Indonesian workers in Malaysia are illegal workers who came into the country without proper documentation (undocumented workers).

The migration of Indonesian workers to Malaysia was prompted by the higher profits that Malaysian companies could gain from using Indonesian migrant workers, particularly the illegal ones who were underpaid. In many cases also, illegal migrant

¹ Department of Immigration, Malaysia, 'Statistics on Migrant Workers by Country of Origin'. Data as of 1 May 2004–30 April 2005

workers could be deported easily if no longer needed. Due to their weak bargaining position vis-à-vis their employers their lack of information, as well as the way the legal system in Malaysia operates, both legal and (especially illegal) migrant workers rights are very vulnerable to exploitation by the with many problems of rights and law protection in labour affairs. Many Indonesian Migrant Workers have to endure mistreatment and various abuses both from their employers and recruitment agents. The most common include physical and sexual abuse, payment of less than the minimum wage, withholding and non-payment of wages, and withholding of passports, as well as bad housing conditions.

METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study took less than 4 months (17 July–10 November 2005) and was conducted in Malaysia. Since the problems of migrant workers are very complicated, this study has the following limitations:

1. Limitation of time (especially since this issue is very sensitive and complicated in the receiving country; it needs more study and understanding);
2. Method and analysis limitations. Since most of the respondents are Indonesian workers, this study might have a weakness of analysis or bias of the researcher.

This is a qualitative research. Data collection was conducted through interviews, informal discussions and limited participant observations in the research sites, as well as analysis of quantitative and qualitative data.

In this study, most of the respondents were Indonesian workers (TKI) with a few Philipinos and Vietnamese employed in the various economic sectors, such as construction, plantation, manufacturing and retail (supermarkets, stores and cafes), as well as domestic work. The research was conducted at the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur among Indonesian female workers who had run away from their employers to avoid various abuses and asked for protection. Most of them were domestic workers with a few working in retail. While in construction, manufacturing and retail the research was conducted in Kampung Segambut Kuala Lumpur and in Kajang City as well as in Kampung Sungai Tangkas in Kajang in the State of Selangor Darul Ehsan.

Research was also conducted in Pahang Darul Makmur, especially in Kampung Sungai Penjuring, Kampung Lurah Bilut, Kampung Lebu and Kampung Baru as well as at the Felda Estate, the biggest plantation company which belongs to the Malaysian Government, in Krau II Bentong, to investigate the labour conditions of plantation workers. All of the interviewed respondents were Indonesian migrant workers from Central Java, East Java, Lombok in West Nusa Tenggara and Riau.

Besides that at the Indonesian Embassy, research was also conducted at the Indonesian Consulates General in Johor Bahru and on Penang Island. In Johor Bahru, the interviews were conducted with domestic workers, manufacturing workers and

retail workers who had run away from their employers to avoid abuse and asked for protection. On Penang Island, interviews were conducted with manufacturing workers who were employed in a rubber products factory while at the Indonesian Consulate General on Penang Island, the interviews were conducted with domestic and construction workers who had run away from their employers. Apart from the above mentioned research sites, the research was also conducted at granite and marble factories to investigate the labour conditions of Indonesian migrant workers in Simpang Pulai in the State of Perak Darul Ridwan.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aims of the study were as follows:

- a. To identify various migrant workers rights and law protection problems in Malaysia;
- b. To analyze how the Malaysian Labour Laws are applied to migrant workers in practice;
- c. To analyze the efforts of migrant worker rights and dignity promotion and legal protection conducted by the Indonesian Representatives and Non-government Organizations (NGOs) in Malaysia.

THE PROBLEMS OF RIGHTS PROTECTION

This study found that there is no legal protection program for migrant workers provided by the Malaysian Government. In general, there is no discrimination in law in Malaysia, with in principle, labour laws applicable both to Malaysian and foreign workers (migrant workers). There are many existing acts and regulations in the labour scope which are relevant to migrant worker rights and protection in law. As of the receiving country, the Malaysian Government has no interest in ratifying '*The International Convention on the Protection of The Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 2003*'. This paper will look at common issues of migrant worker rights conditions and the application of labour laws to migrant workers in Malaysia as the receiving country.

We found some data and information from respondents in the field research concerning the legal protection problems of migrant worker rights in Malaysia. Although there is no discrimination in law in Malaysia and in principle, the labour laws are applied both to Malaysian and foreign workers (migrant workers), there are many examples of double standards, discrimination and inconsistency in practice and in policies. In practice, the rights of migrant workers, both legal and illegal, are not fully protected.

a. UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANT WORKERS, CORRUPT PRACTICES AND ABUSES OF POWER

Sometimes, the Royal Malaysian Police conduct raids on undocumented migrant workers and arrest and whip them, before deporting them to their home countries. At the same time, while many Malaysian Employers harbour and employ illegal migrant workers, most of them are untouchable. We found that many employers preferred to employ undocumented migrant workers in their plantations in Bentong and Kuala Lipis in the State of Pahang Darul Makmur. The same practices occurred in Kuala Lumpur where many employers employed illegal migrant workers in the construction sectors.

There are some reasons for why employers prefer to recruit and employ them. The first is that the employers do not need to spend money to apply for the required legal work permits and health insurance for their employees. Although payment for work permits as well as the levies have to be reimbursed by employees over several months, in many cases, if employees run away before the charges are paid off the employer will lose a great deal of money. In contrast, a job is an opportunity for many illegal migrant workers who want to realize their dreams. The second reason is that time is money for employers. Employers have to wait for more than one month to get foreign workers if they follow the Application Procedures for Recruitment of Foreign Workers of the Home Affairs Ministry.

In Kuala Lumpur and Kajang in the State of Selangor, Simpang Pulai in the State of Perak and Alor Setar as well as in Bentong in the State of Pahang, most of the respondents claimed that Malaysian policemen usually demanded some collateral money from migrant workers if they failed to show a legal travel document. Moreover, the policemen confiscate all valuable goods such as cell phones, watches and gold jewelry brought by migrant workers instead of money in cash. Collecting the money is usually by intimidation: *'Give us some money or you will be arrested, detained and finally deported to your home country!'*

Money extortion from illegal migrant workers is also done by Recruitment Agencies in Malaysia and Immigration officials at entry ports. Illegal migrant workers who return to their countries of origin, usually contact the recruitment agencies which provide services to process immigration documentation for leaving Malaysia. A person must pay RM 1,000 for the service. It is presumed that there is syndication between agencies and Immigration in issuing exit permits. After obtaining an exit permit (known as *paspor tendang*) from the agency, illegal migrant workers must spend extra money when they go through the immigration check area at air or seaports. Both immigration officials in Malaysia and Indonesia ask for money from each migrant worker convicted of failing to show original travel documents. They can pass immigration checkpoints if they pay RM 1,000 or more but they will be arrested and detained at an immigration depot if they refuse to pay.

According to the data from the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, It is estimated that there are approximately 1.5 million illegal Indonesian workers (TKI) who work and live in Malaysia.² In the field, we found three categories of illegal or undocumented migrant workers as follows:

1. *Non Work Permit migrant workers*, who enter Malaysia on tourist visas or social visit passes and keep living and working in the country although their visas have expired. A Foreign worker is allowed to be employed in Malaysia with a social visit pass;
2. *Escapee migrant workers*, who run away from their employers and are then employed by new employers. This is due to very bad working conditions, such as unpaid wages and very low wage rates, very long working hours, physical or sexual abuse or rape. In September 2005, there were 190 Indonesian Female Workers (TKW) who stayed in the shelter of the Indonesian Embassy to await the legal process for their repatriation. Most of them were domestic workers who escaped from their employers to seek help. All of them suffered very bad treatment from their employers such as unpaid wages, intimidation, physical abuse, sexual abuse and rape up to pregnancy and giving birth to a baby. Some of them were victims of human trafficking; sold by their recruiters into forced prostitution in Malaysia. When migrant workers run away, automatically, they will become undocumented or illegal. This is due to their original passport being held by their employers. In addition, according to regulations, foreign workers must work for the employers whose names are shown on their work permits (visas) and are not permitted to move to other employers until the termination of their employment contracts;
3. *Over-Stay migrant workers*, who continue to work and stay in Malaysia although their employment contracts as well as temporary employment visas have expired. Many employers like to employ undocumented migrant workers for reasons of profit while many migrant workers want to get jobs quickly and easily without going home to their countries of origin. A number of Indonesian migrant workers said that they had to pay at least Rp.9 million (US \$ 900.00) or more, to the recruitment agencies in Indonesia and had to wait for several months before departure for Malaysia.

b. THREE D JOBS AND OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

At present there are more than two million migrant workers in Malaysia. Although the formal data issued by the Malaysian Department of Immigration only records 1,581,755 migrant workers who mostly come from Indonesia (1,105,083)³

² <http://www.kbrikl.org/tki/html>. Kuala Lumpur, 5 August 2005

³ Department of Immigration, Malaysia, loc. cit.

but it is estimated that there are more than 1.5 million illegal migrant workers in the country. Most of them are engaged in the 3-D jobs (*Dirty, Demanding and Dangerous*) shunned by Malaysians. The Malaysian Government has recognized that its efforts to generate and energize economic growth can only be achieved through a hardworking labour force that is cheap and controlled. This has been a proven factor during the last 15 years where over three million migrant workers have contributed immensely to the economic boom enjoyed by Malaysians. The national pride in the Petronas Twin Towers as the tallest building in the world at that time and the highly modernized Kuala Lumpur International Airport, as well as the Putrajaya Federal Government Administrative Centre were all constructed by migrant workers. Ironically, this included a significant number, more than a million, of undocumented migrant workers.

The Malaysian Parliament passed an Occupational Health and Safety Act in 1994. Based on the Act, some Regulations, Orders and Guidelines in connection with occupational health and safety matters were issued and applied but the health and safety of migrant workers continue to be serious concerns. Many migrant workers are employed in plantation and construction sectors where the basic safety procedures are often ignored.

It has been found that many migrant workers are employed in plantations without sufficient health and safety equipment in Bentong in the State of Pahang. They work as sprayers of pesticides without masks or safety glasses. In the Krau II Felda Plantation Sdn. Bhd., no migrant workers working as cutters of palm oil fruit stems with a high risk of a falling down of the heavy cut stems, wear helmets. Moreover, in Kampung Lebu, those who work in padi edible mushroom gardens, where the working place is very damp, wear safety masks. When an employee asked for a mask, his employer laughed at him. None of the employees in the edible mushroom garden have health insurance. Unhealthy working conditions are also experienced by many migrant workers in the rubber plantations in Kampung Sungai Penjuring and Kampung Lurah Bilut. The employees, employed as rubber tappers, live in dirty non-permanent shelters (*kongsi*) without any electricity or clean water. They bathe and wash their clothes in the river and use the same water for drinking and cooking. Some of them are illegal migrant workers who have no health insurance.

Construction work, however, may be the most hazardous job migrants can do in Malaysia. As contractors employing illegal migrants rarely require their workers to wear hardhats or safety goggles and scaffolding often has no netting. (The official death toll from construction site accidents in Peninsular Malaysia between January and September 1995 was 26, but the real number was almost certainly far higher, as both employers and contractors, who hire illegal workers, try to conceal worksite accidents so they will not be charged with violations of Malaysian labour laws).

Referring to the data issued by the Department of Occupational Health and Safety, the Human Resources Ministry, Malaysia, in 2004, the death toll in Malaysia caused by industrial accidents between 1999 - 2004 was 869 people while from all

types of accidents it was 497,172. Between 2001 and 2004, permanent physical defects resulting from industrial accidents numbered 614.⁴

c. UNPAID WAGES

Wages are a most basic worker right. Taking home their wages after the completion of a job is the hope of all workers. Ironically, they must fight for this right in Malaysia, a country which has good and comprehensive labour laws. Moreover, the Malaysian Government has already enacted the Wages Council Act 1947 (Act 195). At the present time, The National Labour Advisory Council (NLAC) has agreed on the need to draw up a set of Guidelines on a Wage Reform System which would be in the immediate and long term interests of employees in the unionized and non-unionized sectors, employers and the nation. Such guidelines would facilitate it for employers and employees to formulate the types of reform systems that would best suit the interests and environments of their companies.

Many migrant workers employed in the plantation sector in Kampung Sungai Penjuring, Kuala Lipis, and the Krau II Felda Plantation Sdn. Bhd. in Bentong, complained that their wages had not yet been paid by their employers. The amount of unpaid wages was around RM 300 to RM 1.000 in Krau II and RM 2.500 in Kampung Sungai Penjuring.

In Kuala Lumpur, we also found that many migrant workers employed in the construction sectors had not received their wages for 5 months. In fact, many Indonesian domestic workers (TKW) had not received their wages for 12 months or more, since when they had escaped from employer abuse. According to the statistical data issued by the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, over the 3 years (January 2003 – June 2005) there were 1,213 Indonesian workers (TKI) who reported that their wages had not been paid by their employers.

d. UNFAIR EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS AND THEIR PRACTICES

Both in the plantation and construction sectors, most of the big projects contain complicated jobs and responsibilities with job tender systems. Under these systems, the employer has no direct industrial relations with his/her employees (migrant contract workers). Conversely, contractors or sub-contractors who win job tenders from the employers have direct relations with the workers. The contractors or sub-contractors (known as *tauke*) are the real employers of migrant workers and are responsible for their wages, working conditions, occupational health and safety and other matters concerned with the work place. Many of them are illegal contractors without a license. In fact, some individuals can receive a closed tender and hire 5 to 12 migrant workers.

⁴ <http://www.ksm.gov/oshdata>. Kuala Lumpur 5 August 2005

Hierarchy of Contract Employment (Plantation & Construction Sectors)

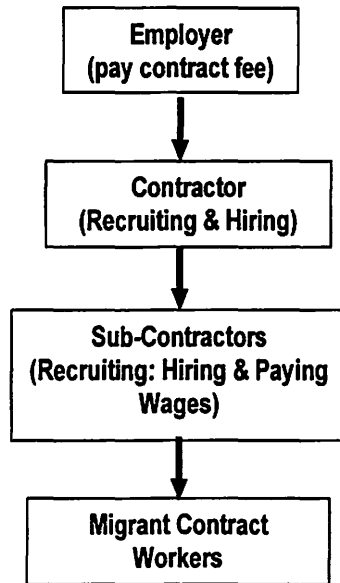


Figure 1. Flow Chart of Hierarchy of Migrant Contract Labour in the Plantation and Construction sectors

Many Indonesian migrant workers were employed with no written employment contracts. However, this is allowed under the Employment Act 1955.⁵

The Indonesian migrant workers employed in the plantation and construction sectors in Malaysia faced particular exploitation because of the system of contract labour, whereby an employer hires a control actor and devolves all responsibility onto him (we found no women contractors) for recruiting and paying workers. The employer is often uninterested in how much of the money he/she gives the contractor actually reaches those working under him and it is the contractor, not the employer, who is legally responsible for the workers under Malaysian law. Workers receive few benefits and work below the conditions of international labour standards. Many of them are also illegal migrants and without valid travel documents. They depend on the mercy of contractors who can turn them in to the police to be arrested and

⁵ Legal Research Board.2005. '*Employment Act 1955 (Act 265)and Regulation and Order*', International Law Book Series, Kuala Lumpur, p. 10.

deported to their home countries if they do not accept the wages and working conditions offered.

In Kuala Lipis and Bentong in the State of Pahang Darul Makmur, many Indonesian migrant workers (TKI) ran away from their employers due to very bad working conditions and underpayment. Some of those who failed to escape were bound and received physical abuse by the employers' bodyguards. Employment contracts in practice are like a modern bondage. Hanif and Luminto, Indonesian migrant workers who succeeded in escaping from their employer, said that they had only received RM 20.00 a day. This started as soon as they began working for this employer. When they asked for their five - month wages which had been suspended and unpaid, they were beaten by three bodyguards under the employer's strict orders. Finally, Hanif and Luminto escaped without receiving their five - month wages of RM 3,000.

Ahmad and his TKI colleagues, mostly from Lombok Island, West Nusa Tenggara, who worked as oil palm fruit stem cutters in Kampung Sungai Penjuring, Bentong in Pahang, complained that their working conditions were very hard and strict. Their monthly earnings depended on how many tons they cut down, collected and dropped off at the factory in a month. Their average monthly earning was RM 470.00. If they did something wrong, such as cutting down unripe oil palm fruit stems, they had to pay a fine of RM 10.00 for each stem but the fine could be increased up to RM 50.00 if the unripe oil palm fruit stems had been dropped off at the factory.

In the Krau II Felda (Federal Land Development Authority) Plantations Sdn. Bhd., all original Indonesian workers' passports were withheld by Felda officials. All workers only receive a photocopy of them. This means that worker mobility is controlled by his/her employer. Under these conditions, the workers are very afraid to go away on holiday or even, in case of emergency, to see a doctor. In public places, migrant workers are very afraid on seeing a policeman, although in fact, they have proper travel documents. This is due to Malaysian policemen's usually demanding some money from Indonesian migrant workers. The similarity of language between Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia allows for smooth money extortion. Without any language barriers, the Malaysian policemen can easily demand money and confiscate other valuables such as cell phones or gold jewelry from their OLD KIN BROTHERS.

Most employers who hire migrant workers, withhold the workers' original passports until their employment contracts end or at least the levy reimbursements have been paid off. Only a few employers let the migrant workers hold on to their own original passports, with the employers usually only giving the migrant workers a photocopy of their passports, the Foreign Workers' Identity Cards (Kad Pengenalan Pekerja) issued by the Immigration Office and Insurance Cards if they are insured. In fact, most Indonesian domestic workers (TKW), only touch their original passports when they are requested by the recruitment agencies to sign it. After this, the passports

are kept by the recruitment agent and finally submitted to the employer by whom the TKW is employed.

Both in the plantation and the construction sectors, the most common complaints from migrant workers are being underpaid, heavy working conditions and instruction to work on public holidays with no penalty payments. The labour conditions in the manufacturing sector are no better than in the above-mentioned sectors. On 26 September 2005, Priyono and his colleagues, 12 people in all, came to the Labour Department at the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur to make a report. They complained that they were underpaid. Their wage was only RM 18.00 per day plus RM 1.00 daily allowance and they lived in a very bad container house. They worked as granite cutters at a granite and marble tile factory in Kampung Taman Muda, District Simpang Pulai in the State of Perak Darul Ridwan. Their recruitment agencies in Jakarta promised that they would be employed at a plastic goods factory but they were shocked to find this was not to be so when they read and signed the employment contracts only one hour before their departure for Malaysia. If they cancelled the contracts, they would lose Rp 7 million (US \$ 700,00) which they had paid to the recruitment agencies for travel documents, work permits, medical clearances and transportation fees. Most of them had borrowed the money from their families or sold their valuables such as gold jewelry or motorcycles.

The four most common complaints from Indonesian female workers are not being allowed to conduct the five daily prayers, withholding of wages, unreasonable working conditions and having to handle and eat pork when preparing meals for Chinese employers. Most respondents who worked as domestic workers claimed that they were not allowed to call or contact anyone and their original passports were kept by their employers. Such phrases, however, give little sense of what these women actually experience. All the above-mentioned complaints directly contravene the employment contracts.

When a migrant worker seeks redress for unpaid wages or raises other forms of labour disputes or abuses, the employer often retaliates by canceling the work permit. As a result the migrant worker loses his or her status in the country and his or her right to stay. Without a visa, the worker is unable to continue his or her case through the courts. To enable him or her to pursue his or her case, the Immigration Department only gives the worker a 3 month special pass at RM 100.00 per month. The worker is not allowed to work under this pass.

e. INDONESIAN DOMESTIC WORKERS AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING ISSUES

If the plantation and construction sectors pose risks for migrants, one would have to think that domestic migrant workers are very vulnerable to abuse. The fact that they live in their employers' homes, means that they are separated from other workers and have neither witnesses nor protection from others if they face inhumane working conditions and physical or sexual assaults. Indonesian women workers

(TKW) mostly work as domestic workers in Malaysia, but the exact number is still unknown if we include both legal and illegal female workers. There seems to be an endless demand for their services. Many of these women are treated well and paid regularly but abuse is both common and frustratingly difficult to prosecute. According to the data issued by the Malaysian Department of Immigration, the number of Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia was nearly 233,285 while foreign domestic workers from other neighbouring countries such as the Philippines, Cambodia, Ceylon, and Thailand as well as India totaled 9,390 workers.⁶

The domestic worker is nowhere recognized as a worker. In the Malaysian Employment Act 1955, the worker is defined as a servant, but not as a worker. The work is undefined since there is no clear job description. It is even seen as unproductive labour as it does not produce surplus cash or profit and the protection given is unclear.

From the information from respondents in Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru and Penang, many Indonesian domestic workers (TKW) received some kind of abuse in their work place from their employers or recruitment agents. The most common abuses are being unpaid, wages being withheld, heavy workloads and very long hours of work, physical and psychological abuse, sexual abuse, withholding and falsifying of passports, forced confinement and restricted communication, lack of access to health

Table 1. Types Of Abuses And Mistreatment Of Indonesian Domestic Workers Inflicted By Employers And Recruitment Agents

No.	Employer	Recruitment Agent
1.	Sexual Harassment and Rape	Falsifying Data of Passports
2.	Physical Abuse	Human Trafficking
3.	Work Overload	Forced Signing of Contracts
4.	Withholding of Passports and Travel Documents	Withholding of Passports and Travel Documents
5.	Forced Confinement	Forced Confinement
6.	Restricted Communication	Restricted Communication
7.	No Freedom to Practice Their Religion (No Praying; No. Fasting and Forced Eating of Pork)	No Freedom to Practice Their Religion (No Praying)
8.	Lack of Access to Health Services (No Health Insurance)	Lack of Access to Health Services (No Health Insurance)
9.	Inadequate Food	-
10.	Multiple-Hiring Out	-
11.	Discrimination in Salary Rates	-
13.	No Off Day Once a Week	-
14.	Unpaid and Withheld Wages	-
15.	Long Hours of Work (more than 18 hours)	-

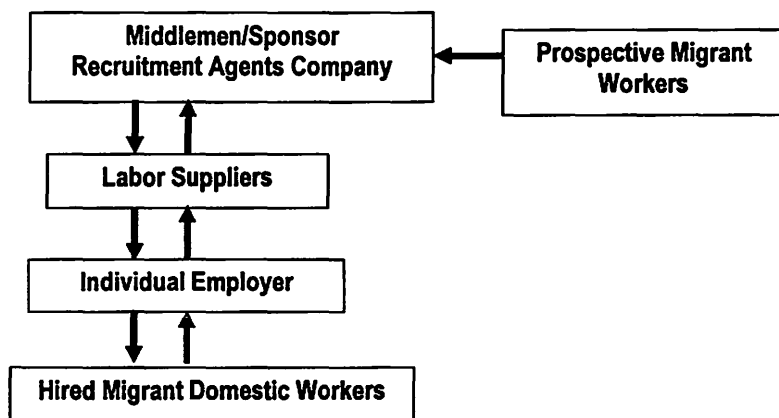
⁶ Legal Research Board.2005. *'Employment Act 1955 (Act 265)and Regulation and Order'*, International Law Book Series, Kuala Lumpur, p. 10.

services, discrimination in salary rates among migrant workers from other sending countries, multiple hire by up to three employers, no off days, no freedom to practice their religion (no praying and no fasting as well as handling and forced eating of pork).

The following Table shows the types of abuses and mistreatment inflicted by employers and recruitment agents

Most of the respondents said that they were recruited and sent to Malaysia by recruitment agencies in Indonesia without any cash payment but they had to reimburse all costs borne by the recruitment agencies with their first five-month salaries. Each prospective employer who takes a Foreign Domestic Worker (FDW) must pay around RM 5,000.00 – RM 6,000.00 to a Malaysian Supplier Agency. The Malaysian Supplier Agency, in turn, has to pay a recruitment fee to the Indonesian Recruitment agencies which has borne the recruitment costs. It means that *debt bondage* is applied on Indonesian Domestic Workers who are recruited by the Indonesian Recruitment Agencies. These recruitment and employment practices in domestic service can be equated to *modern slavery*.

Human Trafficking of Indonesian young women workers recruited by illegal agencies is a common issue today. Between August and the end of September 2005, there were more than 18 young Indonesian girls employed as commercial forced prostitutes who ran away from their work places. In the last three years, there were more than 6,425 young Indonesian females who had been victims of human trafficking. All trafficking victims were sold to Malaysian syndicates (known as *Bapa Ayam*) by Indonesian Recruitment Agencies and employed as commercial forced sex workers in Kuala Lumpur. The flow chart of the Migrant Domestic Workers recruitment process from sending country (Indonesia) to receiving country (Malaysia) is shown in Figure 2.



MDW: Migrant Domestic Workers Hired By Individual Employer

Figure 2. Flow Chart of Recruitment of Indonesian Domestic Workers

f. LIMITATION OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

Administrative practices and unscrupulous employers often discourage migrant workers from joining trade unions. Many Malaysian employers, individually, have intimidated migrant workers in order for them to focus on their jobs only. Sometimes, the employer even designs the employment contract with terms and conditions under which the migrant worker has no chance to join a union. Withholding of migrant workers' original passports is a common practice of most employers to restrict workers' physical mobility and automatically their rights of association.

THE ROLE OF NGOS AND INDONESIAN REPRESENTATIVES

There are two NGOs that are very concerned to promote the migrant workers' rights and dignity, namely the MTUC (Malaysian Trade Union Congress) and Tenaganita. The MTUC's commitment to promoting migrant workers' rights was shown in their press release in response to new foreign worker levy rates on 31 July 2005:

... We urge the Government to impose a minimum wage rate for all sectors. Applicable to all employees including foreign workers. The Immigration Department announcement on new levy rates on Friday, surprisingly says nothing about the countless complaints published in recent weeks, regarding the non-payment of salaries, arbitrary reduction of agreed wage rates, beatings, withholding of travel documents which resulted in the imprisonment of legal workers....

The MTUC recognizes the positive contributions of migrant workers to the development of the country and its economy and the principle that all workers should be treated with fairness, dignity and equality without distinction whether they are migrants or local workers. The commitment of the NGO was reflected in the Resolution of the MTUC Conference on Migrant Workers

We recognize that migrant workers are workers with equal rights and dignity. These rights must be protected in law and policies. Such laws and policies must be effectively and justly enforced by the various agencies. Key principles for migration policy should include non-discrimination and equal treatment of workers –nationals and migrants alike, respect for basic human rights and labour rights of migrant workers, protection of migrant workers' human rights in both regular and in irregular situations and regular consultations among government, employers, workers, NGOs and other representatives of civil society.⁷

⁷ Resolution of the MTUC Conference on Migrant Workers, 18-19 April 2005 Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia

The MTUC also encourages all migrant workers to join a trade union in order to get protection of their rights as legal workers.

Tenaganita is another Malaysian NGO which has high commitment to promote the migrant workers' rights and dignity. Besides conducting participatory action research to find out what were the factors that brought about an increase in the vulnerability of migrant workers in Malaysia to being infected with the HIV virus, the organization also has established a migrant desk in 1993 and developed various programs to address the problems, issues and concerns of migrant workers.

As for the biggest sending country, Indonesian Representatives have some programs to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. The legal protection programs provided consist of: a) Shelter services for redress for Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI); b) Legal assistance for TKI who have cases of labour disputes or abuses; c) Negotiation with employers regarding unpaid and withheld TKI wages; d) Negotiation of Levy payment that should be borne by employers and TKIs; e) Repatriation of TKIs to their home country.

All Indonesian Representative Offices in Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru and Penang provide a shelter for Indonesian migrant workers who run away to seek redress. The shelter at the Indonesian Embassy has capacity for seventy people only but sometimes this is overstretched. In November 2004, the shelter was occupied by 260 people and in October 2005 it was occupied by 190 Indonesian workers who came to seek redress. The overstretched capacity of the shelter and lack of food gave rise to serious problems of health for the occupants such as stress and sex deviation. The Indonesian workers occupying the shelter have to wait until the legal processes in the Malaysian Court or negotiations with former employers are completed. This usually takes a long time so that they have to stay at the shelter for some time before repatriation to the home country. The shelter conditions are better at the Indonesian Consulates General in Johor Bahru and Penang due to the process of checking by the Malaysian Immigration Department being smooth enough.

The Labour Departments of the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur as well as of the Indonesian Consulates General in Johor Bahru and Penang are tasked with giving legal assistance to migrant workers who come seeking redress. The most important program conducted by the Labour Department of the Indonesian Consulate General in Johor Bahru is negotiation to make a deal for TKI wage rates and levy payments to be borne both by the TKI and the employer. The Consulate General also conducted close collaboration with local Police to negotiate with employers who withheld TKI wages.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Migrant workers are very vulnerable to exploitation by their employers, recruitment agents and government officials (policemen and immigration officials)

both in sending countries and receiving countries. Factors that contribute to the exploitation are as follows:

- a) Low levels of achievement in formal education and lack of relevant training;
 - b) Lack of information on how to get travel documents, how to apply for jobs and visas and how much to pay in fees;
 - c) Lack of knowledge and understanding of labour laws and immigration regulations in the receiving country;
 - d) Falsifying of ID Cards, data of passports and other travel documents in the recruitment and deployment processes by recruitment agents involving immigration officials.
2. Some effort must be made by the Indonesian Government, as of the sending country, to eliminate corrupt practices and abuses of power and to promote migrant worker rights and dignity. It is very important to arrange and review the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the sending country and the receiving country based on the highest appreciation of human rights and dignity and mutual benefits. Professional management must be applied by the related government agencies in the recruitment process, the deployment process and returning process by using *One Gate and One Roof System*. Governments and NGOs should take the lead to strengthen political and social control of government agencies performance in connection with labour migration.
 3. Encourage the Malaysian Government as the receiving country to ratify the International Convention on ' *The Protection of The Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families 2003* ' since the Government recognizes the positive contributions of migrant workers in the development of the country and its economy.

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POPULATION MOBILITY AND TRADE CONTACTS IN THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE: THAILAND, MYANMAR AND LAOS

**By:
I Ketut Ardhana***

Abstrak

Persoalan perbatasan telah menjadi masalah yang signifikan di Asia Tenggara sejak berakhirnya Perang Dunia II. Penelitian ini dipusatkan pada wilayah perbatasan di Thailand, Myanmar dan Laos. Persoalan yang muncul ke permukaan adalah kesenjangan ekonomi, hubungan sosial dan budaya, pergerakan manusia yang tidak terdaftar atau imigran yang tidak terdokumentasikan di wilayah perbatasan. Pembangunan di wilayah perbatasan memberikan sumbangan pada peningkatan wilayah itu yang kita dapat menyaksikannya pada perkembangan kontak perdagangan, sebagai contohnya melalui alur sungai Mekong menuju ke Luang Prabang yang pada akhirnya mencapai wilayah yang terpencil di bagian timur Laos. Kondisi seperti itu disebabkan adanya pembangunan ekonomi transnasional, pertumbuhan ekonomi baru dan aktifitas perdagangan. Studi ini memberikan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang kontak perdagangan di wilayah perbatasan di Asia Tenggara, khususnya suatu pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang persoalan seperti itu yang terjadi di Indonesia.

The border issue has become a significant problem in Southeast Asia since the end of the Second World War. Focused in the border regions in Thailand, Myanmar and Laos, this paper looks at the factors which have come to the fore, such as, those around economic gaps, cultural and social relations and movement of people who are not listed or are undocumented immigrants in the cross borders. The developments in the borders contribute to the improvements to the area which we can see in the development of trade contacts for instance, through the Mekong River to Luang Prabang and onto the remote areas in the eastern part of Laos. Such conditions are due to the development of a trans-national economy, new economic growth and trade activities. This study gives a better understanding of the trade contacts in the border regions in Southeast Asia, especially a better understanding of such issues that may be shared by Indonesia.

Keywords: Population mobility, trade contacts, the Golden Triangle and regional cooperation

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SOME NOTES ON THE BORDER ISSUES IN THE MAINLAND OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

The issues of population mobility and trade activities in the border areas have become very important in Southeast Asia, especially since the end of the Cold War, partly due to geopolitical developments in relation to trans-boundary transportation networks, called corridors of growth. The development of the infrastructure and the growing number of trading activities in the border areas have resulted in the discourse on a 'border bonanza' in Southeast Asia, especially in the areas that are known as part of the 'Golden Triangle' or Asia's 'growth circle'. Thailand, Laos and Myanmar (formerly called Burma), for instance, have a long, unique history relating to the frontier regions. The frontier regions between Thailand, Laos and Myanmar are important areas that have undergone radical changes during the past one hundred and sixty years. Most borders between Thailand, Laos and Myanmar were negotiated many years ago and have tended to remain fixed. The border between Thailand and Myanmar for instance, is about 2,400 kilometres long from the infamous 'Golden Triangle' in the north to Victoria Point or Kawthaung in the south. The 'Golden Triangle' is famous, becoming better known since this place has increasingly grown due to the development among the countries in the region; Thailand, Myanmar and Laos.

The great development of this northern region is related to what happened after the 1970s. At that time the trade activities in relation to the tourist industry were also developed by the Thai Government, not only in Bangkok but also in the Golden Triangle where the borders of Myanmar, Laos and Thailand meet. According to Renard (2001) it is an area which, 'implicitly recognized the absence from China'. The Golden Triangle area covers about 40,000 sq. km. and is notorious for opium cultivation. This 'opium' area includes Thailand's Chiang Rai Province, a large part of Myanmar's Shan State, and the Laotian Provinces of Bo Keo and Louang Namtha. In addition to this, Sop Ruak is also considered a centre. Opium certainly was and still is, a major product of the Golden Triangle region. However, the region's being an important poppy growing area is excluded when the term is defined (Hauser, 2004: 44).

Most of the border area is covered by forest and mountains and inhabited by various ethnic minority populations e.g. the Mon, the Karen, the Kareni, and the Shan (Maunati 2004: 60). Most of these minority groups are opposed to the Myanmar Government and have waged political and armed struggle for wider autonomy or outright independence. The Myanmar Government is actively suppressing these uprisings and political persecutions are widely reported from various areas. As a result of these conflicts, worsened by Burmese military attacks, many ethnic minorities have moved to the border areas inside Thailand and are living in several refugee camps. Focusing on population mobility and trade activities in the border areas this paper looks at the factors from different angles, including from the historical and anthropological perspectives. The analysis of these issues will mostly stress the period of the 1960s and 1970s since this period is considered as a particular time of growth.

In the 1960s for instance, Thailand earned a reputation as one of the fastest growing and most successful developing countries in the world (*Thailand, 2000*).

It is not surprising that many people from Myanmar and Laos look for work in Thailand causing possible problems in terms of visas and other crucial matters like smuggling, illegal trade and so on. Therefore, the Thai Government tries to maintain a safe, conducive to progress and stability, situation in the border areas by developing the regions socially, culturally and economically. Why and how do the governments create this secure situation? To answer this, I think we should go back to the history of the regions since this affects current developments. Historically, the border areas were often 'grey areas' where people did not concern themselves about the borderlines because usually those living close to them were of the same ethnic groups. Borders are the result of the development of a modern nation state. The rapid flow of globalisation, the development of a trans-national economy, the process of economic growth in the newly industrialised countries in Southeast Asia and trans-national trading have become the important issues to be understood. This study, hopefully, will contribute to the understanding of these complex matters in the border areas between Thailand and Myanmar and also be useful for understanding similar issues in Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

Empirical research was carried out in the Provinces of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Nongkhai (Thailand), and in Savannhaket (Laos). I interviewed people particularly in the governments in Thailand and Laos and also other people who are also concerned with border issues. Discussions were held to obtain more information regarding trade relationships and the intensity of movements of the people and goods. I collected primary and secondary data from related institutions, through the internet, universities in Thailand and Laos, and also libraries in both countries. I sought data from different sources, including literature on Laos and Thailand by western, non-western and Thai and Lao writers and conducted in-depth interviews with many groups. I also interviewed people engaged in trade contacts in the border areas between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos, including owners of souvenir shops, the owner of a travel agency, immigration officials and traders. In addition to this, Bernard's discussion of the use of unstructured and semi structured interviewing was very useful (Bernard, 1995). Thick description, as proposed by Geertz in his research method, such as his conceptualization of fieldwork, was very important (Geertz, 1973). Although to obtain a thick description needs a long period of fieldwork, the understanding of this method is very useful for any researcher carrying out empirical studies.

POPULATION MOBILITY AND TRADE ACTIVITIES IN THE COLONIAL ERA

Burma, once colonized by the British, today is called Myanmar and has 15 ethnic groups (Frasch, 1999: 205). It consists of around 70% Burmese and 30% of several minorities, especially the Shan, the Kachin, the Karen and the Chin. The Shan and the Karen constitute about 16% of the total population of Burma. These ethnic minorities reside mainly in the border areas between Burma and Thailand and in Tenasserin. Kampe (1997: 22), using a 1996 research report, shows slightly different figures for hill tribes in Thailand with the population of major Thai hill tribes at 790,369 constituting 1.3 % of the total national population. Breaking it down to: Karen: 402,095, Hmong: 126,147, Lahu: 78,842, Akha: 48,468, Mien: 47,305, Htin: 32,755, Lisu: 31,536, Lua: 15,711, Khamu: 10,153 and Mlabri: 173. These indigenous peoples are inhabitants of the mountainous areas of the north and along the western border between Thailand and Burma (Kampe, 1997: 23). Ethnic Karens have long lived along the Irrawaddy River and in the valleys. In prior times there was no Karen political organisation and these people were marginalised and dispersed. The responsibilities of paying tax and being subordinated have resulted in the Karen's suspicion of the Burmese Government. Partly due to this circumstance, the conflicts in the border areas cannot be resolved. Myanmar is the most ethnically diverse state in mainland Southeast Asia. The Burmese comprise around 68% of the population of 45 million but there are said to be more than 100 ethnic groups in the country. The Burmese dominate the alluvial plains and the major towns and cities. The hills which border the neighbouring countries of India, Bangladesh, China, Laos and Thailand, are populated by ethnic minorities. These people have long resisted Burmese domination. The largest of the ethnic minorities are the Shan, the Karens and the Arakenese (on the Bangladesh border) (Church, 2003: 108-109).

Thailand had a population of around 16.5 million in 1945. More than 90% of the population was involved in the agrarian sector. In Northern Thailand the Karen is the largest single upland group. It is estimated that their number is from above 125,000 to approximately 200,000. In Thailand ample provision and a large settled population made the valley an important staging point on routes which linked it with the lower Chao Phraya Basin, with lower and upper Burma, with northern Laos and Vietnam and with southern China. This has been so since ancient times, armies marched, caravans traded and people migrated. Most of the migrants were Yuan or Yonok, who are believed to be Tai people, of the same stock which elsewhere gave rise to such groups as the Siamese, the Lao, and the Shan. It was the Yuan who founded Lan Na (*Chiang Mai and the Hill Tribes* 1998: 10). Until the 17th century, the mountainous south was governed by rulers, among whom, it is believed, were Hmong 'kings' who were subject to the Emperor of China. When the Manchu pushed their power southward, they instituted the direct control exercised by ethnic Chinese officials. Entering the 18th and 19th centuries there emerged conflicts over dissatisfactions among

the local people. To take advantage of the prospect of prosperity opened by opium production, Hmong pioneers moved further south (ibid.:49). This means that the Hmong are the mountain people, who probably are the most recent migrants to arrive in the area in the north of Southeast Asia (Culas and Michaud 2004: 61). Their history of residence is the second longest of those groups still living on the uplands; with only the Lu'a having lived longer in northern Thailand. The Karen live in the backcountry along the Thai/Burma border, with the majority of the Karen living in the hills of eastern Burma with their language related to Tibeto-Burman. Buddhism and Christianity are among their religions. Some literature mentions that the S' Kaw Karen oral tradition, for instance, is scanty in central Chiang Mai. The original migration into the area came from the west, from either 'the banks of the Salween' or from west of the Mae Chaem River. This movement of pioneering families is said to have taken place over two hundred years ago and to have been followed by secondary movements within the larger geographic area in north Thailand as the valleys of the main rivers and streams were populated by their respective founding families. Some Karen settled in the lowlands and took up the customs of their neighbours while others remain in the hills and retain the old ways. They work in the logging industry and in the fields of other ethnic groups or own and operate elephants in northern Thailand (ibid.: 77). The Lisu presumably originated in Tibet, but the centre of their population is now northern Yunnan west of the Salween River. The Lisu are found living scattered throughout the nine Northern Provinces such as the Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Phayao, Mae Hong Son, Tak, Lampang, Sukhotai, Kamphaeng Phet and Phetchabun (Technical Service Club Tribal Research Institute, *The Hill Tribes of Thailand* 1998: 6). They have a language which is a branch of the Tibeto-Burmese family but Lisu from elsewhere have difficulty understanding the dialect spoken in Thailand. Local people, however, are often able to speak Yunnanese, Shan or northern Thai and Lahu, closely related to Lisu (*Chiang Mai and the Hill Tribes* 1998: 94).

Table 1. Levels of urbanization by region 1990-2000

Region	1990	2000	1990-2000
BMA (Bangkok Metropolitan Administration)	100,00	100,00	0
Bangkok and its vicinity	54,09	66,15	12,06
Upper Central Thailand	27,96	34,74	6,78
East Thailand	33,55	43,52	9,97
West Thailand	29,16	35,32	6,16
Northeast Thailand	17,92	24,68	6,76
North Thailand	23,76	30,18	6,42
South Thailand	20,20	25,74	5,54
Thailand	32,30	38,92	6,62
Region	1990	2000	1990-2000
Thailand	32,30	38,92	6,62

Source: *Thailand 2000*, 1993: 79

Table 2. Tribal Populations

Tribes	Villages	Households	Persons	Percentage
Karen	2,132	60,385	321,900	46.34
Meo	243	16,146	124,211	17.88
Lahu	421	13,307	73,252	10.54
Akha	258	8,050	48,468	6.98
Yao	173	5,525	40,371	5.81
H'tin	148	6,090	32,755	4.71
Lisu	135	4,802	27,899	4.02
Lua	53	2,923	15,711	2.26
Khamu	32	1,988	10,153	1.46
Total	3,595	19,216	694,720	100

(Source: *Technical Service Club, Tribal Research Institute, 1995: 5*).

The Akha live in the east of Sip Song Pan Na in the mountains along the Black and Red Rivers in southeastern Yunnan. The people living here, whom the Chinese call the Hani, include the Akha. In the past, the Akha spread into Vietnam, Laos and Burma. One of the reasons why they migrated was due to the chaotic conditions during the 19th century, and starting from 1900 the Akha migrated to Thailand from Burma. The Akha settlement has remained concentrated north of the Kok River in the Chiang Rai Province. Apart from that, villages have been founded in more southerly areas of Chiang Rai and Chiang Mai. The total number of people is approximately 25,000 (ibid.: 34). The Technical Service Club, *Tribal Research Institute* (1995: 5) reports the total population of the hill tribes in 1995 and names the Karen as the biggest amongst the hill tribes recorded in 1995.

From the historical evidence it is noted that Thailand has never been colonized by European powers and pre World War II was called Siam. Although, it is true, Thailand has never been colonized by western powers, it has often been threatened by its neighbours (Grundy-Warr and Wong 2001:101). During the Second World War, after 1941, parts of Cambodia and Laos, once under the power of Siam, were attacked by their neighbours and two years later, Thailand reintegrated into itself the Kentung area which had been seized by Burma. As in Burma, the majority of people in Thailand (around 90%) rely on agriculture (Terwiel, 1999: 121 and 329). It is also widely known that in each country there is a dominant ethnic group: in Thailand; the Thai, while in Myanmar it is the Burmese. The geopolitical changes in the region have given rise to stronger relationships at state level. Now, the Burmese military has a presence in the region which was previously under the military of the Yangon ethnic minority, which effectively controlled the border since Burmese independence (Lintner 1995). The ethnic minority in Burma reside permanently in the *peripheries* such as Arakan, Shan mountain areas and in the border area between Thailand and Burma such as in the Mon and the Karen ethnic group areas in the Chin valley, particularly in the Union system under the autonomous system. However, as noted

by Frasch many border issues are related to the political conflict within their neighbouring states (Frasch 1999: 206).

Outside Thailand, the Lahu, for instance, are found in Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam and China, with the greatest density between the Mekong and Salween Rivers west of the Sip Song Pan Na in southern Yunnan. A conflict emerged between the Lahu and the Chinese government authorities causing a migration to the southern regions. The Lahu migrated to Thailand in the 19th century and western explorers and missionaries came across them in the hills between Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai Provinces in the 1890s. As has already been said, during the second half of the 19th century, poppy-growing tribes began to settle in the Golden Triangle. Yunnan, in southern China was still in turmoil with an uncertain political situation, following the suppression of a wide- spread Muslim rebellion, driving various hill tribes deep into Burma and bringing gangs of plundering Haw Chinese to northern Laos. In northern Thailand, Lan Na was still at war with Burma and British and French colonial encroachments had become another threat. Because of that, large parts of this area were depopulated. The Lahu grew poppies and paid taxes to the local prince. The Lahu Nyi, who were the first settlers, were later followed by the Lahu Shehleh. Other sub groups like the Lahu Na, the Lahu Shi, and the Lahu Hpu have been migrating to Thailand since the 1950s.

The Thai-Burma-Laos trade connection has been increasing since 1988, when the Thai Government participated in encouraging it with the Myanmar Government's SLORC (*the State Law and Order Restoration Council*) which later fell as a result of its suppression of students in pro democracy demonstrations. Ten years later, in 1998, the total number of the Lahu, most of whom reside in rural areas with most living in northern Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son Provinces, was 30,000. In addition to this, there are some Shehleh as far south as the Tak and Kamphaeng Phet Provinces (*Chiang Mai and the Hill Tribes* 1998: 112). Relations between the ethnic majority and the minority vary from country to country. For instance, Thailand does not always share the problems of Burma. In Burma life has often been disturbed by ethnic conflicts, especially in the border areas and the country has always had the problem of disintegration. Unlike Burma, Thailand and Laos are relatively calm and have experienced few ethnic conflicts.

Osborne (1991: 58) notes that in each country the number of indigenous minorities is less than 20% of the total population. Indeed Osborne (ibid.: 56) reports that since the 18th century the population on the borders has had good relations with people in the mountain areas fostered by trade with present economic activities in the border areas continuing to develop. In Thailand, many small cities on the borders have developed rapidly. Mae-Sai, Mae-Hong Son and Me Sariang in the Province of Chiang Rai, Mae Sot in the Province of Tak and Kra Buri and Ranong in the southern part of Thailand have important roles in economic activities in the border areas (Grundy-Warr, King and Risser 1996: 88). There are two networks in the border areas between Thailand and Burma which have developed strongly: the Keng-Tung-

Taschileik-Mai Sai-Chiang Mai and the network line connecting Myawaddy and several cities on the Thai border like Mae Sot, around 6 km. across the Moei River. In the southern direction there are several villages like Kawthaung and Ranong. Towns on the Thai borders such as Mae-Sai, Mae-Hong Son and Me Sariang in the Chiang Rai Province, Mae Sot in the Tak Province and Kra Buri and Ranong in southern Thailand, play a major role in the issues (ibid.). The development of the border areas can be seen in the policy of the Government to create opportunities to increase the income of the people in those areas by particularly promoting legal goods and by encouraging them to become centres of 'duty free' shopping. This fast development cannot be separated from the influences of globalization in Southeast Asia (Moses 2006) where attention must also be given to human rights issues.

On the border between Thailand and Burma there is a border pass and an immigration office in Chiang Rai (Thailand). The region has increasingly grown to sell various products, at half price and is considered a centre for smuggling, illegal drugs and as the place providing 70% of the world's heroin production (Grundy-Warr and Wong 2001: 108), along with the sex industry which has a negative impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS (Grundy-Warr, King and Risser 1996: 86; 90-91, cf. *Regional Outlook: Southeast Asia 2002-2003*: 27, Lamijo 2004: 79). Here, however, HIV/AIDS and risky behaviour among sexually active homosexual men are much less than among the sexually active homosexual population in general, in the extensive male sex industry in the major cities in Thailand (Storer 1999: 1). There are many businesses which depend on political stability in Burma. In 2002, for instance, the shops located in Mae-Sai were closed due to political unrest in Burma. This of course, affected Chiang Rai in a border area between the two countries. The border between the two countries in the Chiang Rai Province has facilitated the movement of humans and trade in the divided region. This caused human movement in Thailand itself and it can be noted that between 200,000 and 500,000 Burmese live there illegally. Among them are students and political activists who fled to Thailand to avoid being arrested by the SLORC as a result of instability in Burma (Grundy-Warr, King and Risser 1996: 88). The Thai Government tried to improve the relationship with Burma (*Regional Outlook, Southeast Asia 2002-2003*: 27). Therefore, from the existing contacts we can see the importance of movements of people which are not only related to the people themselves but also their ideas on culture which is of course different from one state to another (Grundy-Warr 1996). Even the similarity of religion caused some disagreements among them which resulted in the deaths of several people.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POPULATION MOBILITY IN THE BORDER AREAS AT PRESENT

It seems to me that the border areas of Myanmar, Thailand and Laos are not 'backyards', but rather 'front yards' where the governments have successfully paid attention to the region so that the concept of 'a backyard of a house' has changed into 'a front yard of a house'. From this perspective I think we need to learn more from

the lessons of Myanmar, Thailand and Laos. From interviews with people in the region, it seems that people in the Thai border area still perceive a threat if the political situation in the Myanmar border area is uneasy. If the political situation is uncertain, the Thai Government closes the passes between the two countries. Not only political unrest but also cross border flows of marginalized minorities, the so called 'hill tribes' could come to be perceived as a 'threat' to the state (Toyota 2004: 1). The term 'hill tribe' in Thailand designates ethnic minorities, most of which live in the remote highland areas of the north and southwestern parts of Thailand. According to the Technical Service Club Tribal Research Institute those people attracted the serious attention of the Thai Government in 1959, when the National Committee for the hill tribes was set up (*The Hill Tribes of Thailand* 1998: 1). As we can see from recent developments both countries maintain good neighbour policies although if we compare between the Thai and the Myanmar border areas it seems that the Thai border area is more developed. On the Myanmar side, for example, there seem to be more jobless men. In addition, there are many more Burmese women selling their goods in Mae Sae than Thai women doing so. It is calculated that more than 1000 people enter the Thai border area but not so many from Thailand go to Myanmar. Myanmar people like the Lao people for instance, depend on the Thai border since Thailand is more developed than Myanmar and Laos in terms of the tourism industry. Many handcrafts and agricultural products from Myanmar and Laos are sold in Mae Sae in Thailand.

Toyota notes (2004: 1) that the category 'hill tribe' in Thailand was constructed in the 1950s and 1960s during a period when there were major concerns about security in the Thailand–Myanmar border zone. She adds that the creation of the category was intended on the one hand to provide a generic term for upland minorities, and on the other, as a way of affirming Thais as the 'core' of the nation state. She argues that in the process of formation of the nation state, 'hill tribe' people were downgraded to being non-Thai and could therefore be excluded from citizenship for security reasons, as they were seen as a threat to the integrity of the state. They use two currencies namely the Thai currency (*Baht*) and the Myanmar currency (*Kyat*). Mae Shot is closed if conflict breaks out between the Thais and the Burmese. One reason is that the people along the borders have two nationalities, Thai and Myanmar, as we can see in Mae Sae. Meanwhile there are between 40-60% of 'hill tribe' people who have a legitimate claim to Thai citizenship, remaining without it. Mika Toyota writes that as a consequence of being denied Thai citizenship they are deprived of many rights, such as freedom to travel between provinces and access to government health care schemes. In addition they do not get an official certificate after finishing school, which deprives them of the opportunity for higher education and the chance for the better forms of employment. They are also unable to vote or buy land and are usually expected to accept lower wages than fellow Thais in employment (Toyota 2004: 1).

Population mobility is closely correlated with the poverty of a region, especially in comparison with Bangkok, the northern region is a constant, but the gap is widening slightly. The growth rate of the rural population is, however, rapid in some provinces

such as those in the northeast and south. A large number of migrants come to Nong Khai, Kamphaeng Phet, Petchabun, Kanchanaburi, Mae Hong Son and Tak with urbanization increasing faster than the rural population. Ao Udon has more than 71,000 inhabitants. Following the implementation of the Eastern Seaboard the urban populations of Chon Buri and Rayong have doubled reaching 760,500 in 2000 up from 378,300 in 1980. Urban areas follow the communication routes out of Bangkok. The number of people in Bangkok itself, in 2000, was around 8 million (Torres 2004: 48 and 52) and of Chiang Rai in 2000, it was 1,259,988; in 2001, 1, 263, 169; and in 2002, 1,274,214. Meanwhile the total population in Chiang Mai in 2000 was 1,590,327, in 2001, 1,600,850, and in 2002, 1,595,855 (*Pocket Thailand in Figures 2004*: 336 and 338).

The Kao Wao News Group (2004: 2) reported that most local traders and businessmen have joined hands with the ceasefire camp to boost border trade through illegal activities. Some motor vehicles crossing the border are the biggest supporters of revenue for the ceasefire camps and the Burmese troops during the dry season. Local car dealers sell used cars to Burmese traders under a common agreement at the border cross points. The problems at the borders of Myanmar, Thailand and Laos, namely, criminal activity as well as illegal trade, can be deduced from the presence of the Wa armies, the national identity of which is basically unclear, unlike its involvement in opium and illegal weapon trading (Tagliacozzo 2002: 193-220 and Tagliacozzo 2007). There is a small ethnic group in the Burmese army called Wa. This group is small and unorganized and the population of the Wa armies is less than of the Karen or the Sha ethnic groups. They are like 'warriors' living in Myanmar. Their role is particularly obvious in the diversification into amphetamines in the Burmese areas controlled by the Wa armies. This has led to a surge in speed addiction in Thailand and has caused a social problem which has eclipsed the formerly opium and heroin caused one. In 2003, at the cost of hundreds of human lives, concerted actions by police and military brought the amphetamine trade in Thailand to a halt (Hauser 2004: 44). According to Thai scholars, the Wa are often manipulated by the Chinese in illegal businesses, like in the illegal weapons trade. The Wa ethnic group is considered as a buffer for Myanmar; strongly encouraged by the Chinese in South China (Yunnan) but is also considered to act as brokers who protect illegal trade in the border area. Aung Su Shin (2003) notes that importers and exporters on the Thai-Burma border have been badly hit by increased US sanctions and the economic spillover from political chaos inside Burma. According to the Mae Sot Customs Office, in 2002, Thai merchants only exported 315 million baht (US \$ 7.5 million) in commodities to Burma down from the previous more than 400 million baht in goods across the Mae Sot border. Imports from Burma, were also down. It is reported too that Thailand bought around 80 million baht worth of goods from Burma, but recent figures plummeted to 30 million baht. It is important to note, as Suchart Tritwattana, deputy chairman of the Tak Chamber of Commerce, said, there was nothing border

traders could do about the lull in economic activity. They just had to wait until Burma's political situation returned to normal (Aung Su Shin 2003).

On the border of Burma and Thailand, two main overland routes are currently used most often; they are the Keng Tung – Tachilek – Mae Sai – Chiang Mai route and a route connecting Myawaddy and the Thai border town of Mae Sot, six kilometres across the Moei border river. Further south there is some trade across a narrow strait between Kawthaung and Ranong. The main border outposts along the Thai side of the border are Mae Sai, Mae Hong Son and Mae Sariang in Chiang Rai Province, Mae Sot in Tak Province, and Kra Buri and Ranong in the southern tip of Thailand (Grundy-Warr, King and Risser quoting Mya Than 1994). These are also key crossing points for the trafficking of women and children. Now that the Burmese military has pushed deep into the territory formerly held by ethnic minority armies, Yangon (Rangoon) has effective control over long stretches of the border for the first time since Burma's independence (Grundy-Warr, King and Risser quoting Lintner 1996: 88). Indeed new border crossings have been opened to facilitate cross border activities. Since the late 1980s, migration flows into Thailand have soared as a consequence of the socio-economic and political hardship in surrounding countries, which together with Vietnam form the Mekong basin region. Over the years, the same trafficking routes have been used, with two kinds of cross border junctions: the official checkpoint and the hidden jungle or river passes. Along the Thai-Burma border, six border outposts are used for cross border trade. They are Mae Sai, Mae Hong Son, Mae Sariang, Mae Sot, Kra Buri, and Ranong. In general, fishery products and charcoal, beans and pulses, are popular imports into Ranong, while live animals, precious stones and beans and pulses, are brought across the frontier into Thailand at Mae Sot. Mae Sai and Mae Sot are important cross border routes between Thailand and Burma in the north and Ranong in the south. From Burma, several other channels are used. Passages from Shan and Kayah States into the Province of Mae Hong Son have also been reported. The central channel refers to jungle passes from the Karen border areas into the Thai border district of Sangkhlaburi, in Kanchanaburi Province. (www.cwa.tnet.co.th). Sangkhlaburi relates Thailand with the Phayathongsu or Three Pagoda Pass in Burma. Banya Hongsa (2003) reports that illegal trade, migration, smuggling and other activities seem just a part of the ordinary life of the local people along the Thai-Burma borders.

POPULATION MOBILITY AND THE FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

Thailand initiated the notion of a Joint Economic Quadrangle Cooperation (JEQC) consisting of four committees from the neighbouring countries. This grouping, established in 2001, aims to develop economic activities in the regions and improve import and export activities through the borders. In interviews with members of the

Chamber of Commerce of Chiang Rai, I was told that the flow of people and goods in the border is considered to have a positive impact on the Thai economy so the cooperation will be intensified in keeping with the notion of the JEQC. However, one needs to ponder whether this open area will give rise to the problem of illegal movements of people. By talking with a boatman in Chiang Saen, I found out that the southeast part of China is unlike other parts of China as it depends on the flow of agricultural goods from Thailand. Meanwhile, Chinese ships bring many products, including clothes. The daily movement of Chinese ships traveling to Thailand is more than of Thai ships to China. Chinese sailors have the ability to navigate the River. Indeed, on the Mekong River the Chinese sailors can better understand the river conditions, including those of the rocky areas. The flow of goods from China can clearly be seen in the Chiang Rai market and the markets in the border areas of Laos. In the near future, Chiang Rai in Thailand is expected to develop more than Chiang Mai for particular reasons. Firstly, Chiang Rai is the nearest important entry point for the movement of goods from Burma, China and Laos. Secondly, Chiang Rai is and is planned to continue to be the gateway for the movement of goods from Thailand to Laos, China and Burma. It is quite true, that in border areas like Mae Sae there is smuggling of electronics, with many Thais going there to buy radios, compact discs and other goods more cheaply than elsewhere. Good quality tape recorders, for example, cost only 2000 baht in Mae Sae while in Bangkok they cost around 15.000 baht.

The Thai Government has concerns that this rapid flow of goods may result in a weakening of the local economy. Therefore, it has come up with a strategy to encourage this economy, by the development of local handcrafts to become the most important means to counter any obstacles. Chiang Rai had been notorious for opium production, so to reduce the bad image of the border areas, the Thai Government has attempted to increase the prosperity of people in this region by increasing their skills, especially by involving them in small-scale enterprises. Based on our observations, there are many cottage industries, including ceramic production, clothes making and weaving, supported by the Government, in the area surrounding the city of Chiang Rai. This is simultaneously encouraging to the government policy of 'OTOP', *One Tambun (district) One Product*. The Thai Government's OTOP program has been a wonderful success with Thai products now receiving worldwide recognition for the quality of their workmanship. This applies to many local and hill tribe handcrafts in the northern parts of Thailand which appeal to both tourists and locals. The Thai Government has also attempted to establish a close relationship with neighbouring countries by using culture. For instance, Mekong Cultural Festivals are often conducted in the region. Many tourists visiting Chiang Mai from Europe, Asia and America almost exclusively go there to shop, although going to see the nature of northern Thailand is equally popular.

The night bazaars are famous and popular. As we know, in almost all markets in the surrounding regions, bargaining is a long practiced art. We can bargain to receive 20% to 30% off the given prices. This, however, in places such as department stores does not apply. When we were at the market, we noticed that a performance was arranged in turn, between singing and dancing, so that tourists would not get bored. Youngsters of the border areas, like of Chiang Rai Province, have learnt traditional dances. There were also dances from Sukhotai and Ayutthaya and other ancient places. It seems that the intention of the Thai Government is not only to change the image of border areas to be the front yard of the country with an attractive culture but at the same time to improve the people's economy. Almost every night we could see in Chiang Rai many hill tribe women, including some from the Akha ethnic group, trading in the market. If we compare this with the border of Sarawak and East Kalimantan in Indonesia, it seems that the image of the border between Thailand and Myanmar is more modern (Ardhana 2004a, and Ardhana 2004b).

Taschileik is a border post where passports are checked before people go to Myanmar. We paid five baht to go from the Chiang Rai terminal to Taschileik. Here goods like gold, silver and other handcrafts are sold at discounts of 30 % to 40 %. The price of T-shirts was around 200 baht. To go from the Golden Triangle to Laos by speedboat we paid 500 baht. Chinese clothes are also sold in the markets in Laos where people too sell drinks like *arak* made from the cobra and other snakes. The opening of this market has been a benefit for the local people. However, the Thai Government still worries in case there is illegal trade through illegal roads in the region, since there seems to be an increasing movement of people across the borders. The hill tribe people in the northern region in Thailand speak both Burmese and Thai and relations among these people are good as indicated by the mixed marriages among them. These factors were among the causes of their coming to the border, for instance, to Mae Sae, so easily and often in the past, leading to a good knowledge of the border officials. It is true that on the border we can see many products from other countries being sold, as well as many tourists. Because of this, many people on the Myanmar side offer to pose for photographs. They persuaded us to have photos taken even though we did not want to. In addition to this, we could see them offering illegal pornographic CDs to visitors.

CONCLUSION

From the analysis of some of the interviews, historic evidence and reading of the available literature, it can be concluded as follows: From the historical perspective on the developments in the border areas between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos, there are some issues regarding the differences between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos based on their historical traditions (Ardhana 2005, 2007a and 2007b). For a long time the people of both sides have recognized the significant role of the developments

in the border areas, since they depend not only socially and culturally but also economically on one another, even though from the political perspective they are not in harmony, since in the past the Burmese were considered a threat to the Thai people. Over a long period, Sukhotai, Ayutthaya and finally Bangkok have been the main cities in Thailand. Despite occasional battles over time, both sides try to be good neighbouring states. However, the political development in one state often influences the developments in other regions, as we can see from the border issues between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos. Currently there is some misunderstanding particularly on the Burmese side which is reluctant to allow the eastern part of Thailand to be developed as a tourist area. In addition to this there is some change in relations in the border areas between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos though all sides have been successful in changing the image of the border from the backyard to the front yard at the entry gateway of a state. In the past, the border areas between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos were developed by opium production, through which Thailand is believed to have provided 70% of the world opium production. The Thai Government strongly encourages attempts to change the negative image of the border areas between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos, where the areas are considered to be places for smuggling, illegal drug trade, human trafficking, prostitution, illegal weapon sales and so on. Nowadays there is a significant policy of the Thai Government to try to enrich the local people by producing goods like umbrellas, ceramics, cloth and other crafts, which can be sold to the local, regional and international markets in relation to the concepts OTOP (*One Tambun One Product*).

By doing this, the local people, it is hoped, will forget their old tradition of making use of opium, which can now not be tolerated by the international world. Therefore, both sides try to coordinate better economic development by rebuilding the road infrastructure in the context of focusing on the border as a centre of economic growth on the mainland of Southeast Asia, particularly in China, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Malaysia. Up to now, we can see that the Burmese and Lao sides are less developed if we compare them to the Thai side. The Thai border area looks more modern than the Myanmar border area. In addition to this, the people in the Myanmar border area seem to be less economically developed, with many in the street wearing sarongs while selling goods like cigarettes, copied discs and craft products, while on the Thai border the people sell electronics, crafts and new products at much lower prices here than in other cities in Thailand.

One matter from which we can learn much is the security aspect in the border areas between Thailand, Myanmar and Laos where there is often instability and criminal activity. To avoid this problem the Thai Government continues to encourage the local ethnic groups such as the Akha, the Karens, the Hmong and the Lisu to use their rights to be Thai or Burmese, with the Thai Government a little more successful in this policy through persuading the local ethnic minorities residing in the border areas and providing training for them. As part of all this, many of their cultural products

are utilised in tourist development in Thailand. We need to learn better how to apply the Thai experience in arranging the border to be a place of economic development.

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ADAPTASI PERTANIAN PENDUDUK DI KAWASAN KONSERVASI (Studi Tentang Perambahan Lahan Kasus Tanaman Kulit Manis di Taman Nasional Kerinci Seblat, Jambi, Sumatera)

Ary Wahyono*

Abstrak

Bahasan dalam tulisan ini bermaksud mengemukakan motivasi dan latar belakang petani dalam mengembangkan tanaman kulit manis dan melihat faktor-faktor yang berhubungan dengan kegiatan perladangan kulit manis di kawasan konservasi. Ladang campuran merupakan bentuk adaptasi petani dalam mengatasi kesuburan ladang kulit manis. Tanaman kulit manis merupakan tanaman tabungan untuk keperluan pendidikan, perkawinan sampai ongkos biaya haji. Ada dua strategi untuk mengatasi kesuburan ladang, yaitu membuka ladang di kawasan hutan dan di kawasan perladangan kulit manis.

Dilihat dari aspek penguasaan ladang dan keragaman komposisi umur tanaman kulit manis mencerminkan bahwa petani Kerinci di Desa Siulak tidak memiliki pola perladangan berpindah yang tetap. Karena itu, perkembangan areal perladangan kulit manis cenderung ekspansif dan penguasaan lahan hutan beralih dari adat ke negara. Perubahan penguasaan hutan ini membawa implikasi pada persepsi penduduk terhadap penguasaan ladang kulit manis yang tidak lagi identik dengan penguasaan lahan tanaman kulit manis, tetapi terbatas pada penguasaan atas tanaman kulit manis yang tumbuh di atasnya. Pola penguasaan ladang yang demikian menyebabkan setiap orang bebas untuk memiliki dan mengembangkan ladang kulit manis. Tulisan ini menggunakan data primer berdasarkan penelitian yang dilakukan pada tahun 1999. Unit analisis adalah rumah-tangga petani yang mengusahakan perladangan tanaman kulit manis. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam kajian adalah kualitatif dan kuantitatif.

The aim of this study is to give an understanding on the behavior of forest intruders cultivating commercial plants in Buffer Zone National Park Kerinci Seblat. The research results can be summarised as follows: The Cinnamon mixed garden (Ladang tumpangsari system) is a form of the agricultural adaptation developed by most farmers to meet life necessities. The flexibility of harvesting system enables the farmers to develop Cinnamon mix garden. These plants can be harvested any time that is suitable to the farmer. Cinnamon tree can function as savings. They can also be harvested to meet special needs (travel, marriage, education fee, pilgrimage, etc).

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The development of Cinnamon mixed gardens has caused farmers to take into account the fertility of the land. Therefore, they have cleared away another location to cultivate vegetable anew. The farmer has two strategies: the first that they clear away the forest area and the second is to clear away the Cinnamon bark plant cultivation area. However, viewed from an ownership aspect and the age variation of Cinnamon bark plant, it can be said that farmers in Kerinci do not poses permanent shifting cultivation pattern.

The ownership pattern of Cinnamon cultivation is not identical with the ownership of wet paddy field cultivation, which is still controlled by customary laws (by turns through matrilineal channel). Hence, the cultivation system of Cinnamon is no longer controlled by customary laws but became private property. Compared to wet paddy filed the ownership pattern, Cinnamon trees utilization rights are unlimited and no institution has control as in case of wet paddy filed. This research paper used primary data based on reaserch conducted in 1999. The analysis unit is Cinammon farmers. Qualitative and quantitave approach is used in this research paper.

PENDAHULUAN

Kerusakan hutan tropika di negara berkembang seringkali dikaitkan dengan praktek-praktek kegiatan bercocok tanam yang dikhawatirkan menimbulkan terganggunya keseimbangan tata air yang pada gilirannya menyebabkan terjadinya erosi tanah. Erosi tanah selanjutnya akan menurunkan kesuburan tanah, sedimentasi dan pengendapan lumpur sehingga menyebabkan pendangkalan sungai, waduk atau saluran irigasi. Kegiatan bercocok tanam di kawasan hutan, selain dikatakan sebagai kegiatan yang merusak lingkungan juga dianggap sebagai kegiatan merusak fungsi kawasan yang dilindungi. Paiman (1993:86), dalam suatu studinya di TNKS, Jambi mengatakan laju erosi tanah yang terjadi di kawasan TNKS merupakan kerusakan hutan yang diakibatkan oleh kegiatan perkebunan. Tanaman kopi dan kulit manis yang berumur muda (1- 4 tahun) dengan sistem perladangan tradisional berpotensi besar menyebabkan terjadinya erosi. Sementara dalam sistem pemangkasan cabang kulit manis dan penjarangan kopi pada tahun ke tujuh menyebabkan peningkatan laju erosi. Hasil penelitian ini juga mencatat bahwa aliran permukaan merupakan faktor terbesar yang menyebabkan terjadinya erosi (62%), kemudian disusul faktor-faktor pengolahan lahan (43,5%), curah hujan (33,3 %), umur tanaman (29%), jumlah vegetasi (22 %) dan kelerengan (12 %).

Kerusakan hutan yang diakibatkan untuk tanaman komoditi (*cash cropping*) terkait dengan permintaan yang meningkat akan lahan subur untuk kepentingan kelangsungan hidup penduduk. Lahan subur yang terdapat kawasan hutan, dieksplotasi lebih intensif, ditanami tanaman komoditi (*cash cropping*) karena mendatangkan uang (*cash money*). Peranan tanaman komoditi ini sangat besar bagi ekonomi rumah tangga petani (Konphalindo, 1993:17). Perkebunan merupakan alternatif penduduk yang hidupnya tergantung dari hutan, seperti dikatakan Myers (1980:31), sebagai berikut : “...*there is now being developed a basically innovative strategy to provide alternative for forest farmers: agroforestry. This apparoach persuades the the peasant farmer*

to seek a livelihood off cleared forestlands, or at least to remain within secondary forest zones, by encouraging him to plant trees rather than cut them down". Di Kalimantan Timur, hasil kebun karet sangat membantu untuk memenuhi kebutuhan-kebutuhan rumah tangga, seperti biaya sekolah anak, mengatasi apabila gagal panen (Vayda, 1993:143).

Pengembangan tanaman komoditi di kawasan hutan akan semakin mewujudkan penduduk sekitar hutan terintegrasi ke dalam perekonomian lebih luas yang terbentuk melalui jalur tata-niaga perdagangan hasil tanaman komoditi (kopi, kayu manis, dsb), yang melibatkan petani produsen, pedagang pengumpul desa, pedagang pengumpul kecamatan/kabupaten, dan pedagang hasil bumi/eksportir¹. Dengan demikian jaringan sosial-ekonomi komoditi perkebunan melibatkan penduduk luar yang tidak hanya berperan sebagai petani tetapi merangkap sebagai petani-pedagang. Petani pendatang ini pada umumnya memiliki akses pasar dan sekaligus juga sebagai perpanjangan tangan dari pihak luar. Tanaman komoditi dikembangkan di kawasan hutan selain diakibatkan keterbatasan lahan tanaman pangan (sawah), juga merupakan strategi adaptasi pertanian yang cocok di kawasan hutan. Oleh sebab itu, pengembangan tanaman komoditi dapat dilihat sebagai bentuk adaptasi pertanian yang amat tergantung pada kemampuan pengambilan kesempatan dengan cepat di kawasan hutan. Petani selalu bergerak dan terbiasa mencari tanah-tanah baru untuk memperluas tanaman perkebunan, serta menggunakan sumber daya tanah di hutan dan berorientasi untuk mengejar peningkatan kuantitas produksi. Pengembangan tanaman perkebunan, terutama kopi dan kayu manis di kawasan areal hutan TNKS Jambi mencapai 20,07% dari luas areal kawasan TNKS (245.760 hektar).² Tanaman perkebunan (*cash crops*) merupakan tanaman rakyat yang memiliki potensi yang besar untuk berkembang di masa mendatang dan memiliki kontribusi nyata terhadap ekonomi wilayah Jambi, khususnya Kabupaten Kerinci.

Artikel ini membahas strategi petani dalam penguasaan tanaman kulit manis dan pola perladangan yang dilakukan penduduk sekitar TNKS. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kuantitatif dan kualitatif. Sumber data yang digunakan adalah data primer berdasarkan survey terhadap 100 rumah tangga petani. Data kualitatif didapatkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan nara sumber yang relevan. Pemahaman terhadap strategi penguasaan dan perladangan dapat memberikan kejelasan terjadinya perluasan areal tanaman kulit yang mengancam fungsi TNKS dan merupakan masalah ekologi yang perlu dicari pemecahannya tanpa menimbulkan masalah baru terhadap masyarakat sekitarnya yang menggantungkan hidupnya dari hasil perkebunan. Mac-Kinnon, dkk

¹ Lihat, Lemlit Ekonomi Regional. 1984. "Penelitian Pemasaran Komoditi Cassiavera dalam Rangka Peningkatan Ekspor Sumatera Barat, Padang". Hal. 50 -69.

² Studi dasar (*Baseline Study*) yang dilakukan Fakultas Pertanian Institut Pertanian Bogor dengan Badan Perencana Pembangunan Daerah Tingkat II Propinsi Jambi pada tahun 1994. Hal. 31.

(1990:3), mengatakan bahwa kawasan yang dilindungi tidak ditetapkan untuk dipisahkan dari kegiatan pembangunan, melainkan merupakan bentuk pemanfaatan lahan yang harus dapat melengkapi kawasan sekitarnya apabila kawasan yang dilindungi tersebut diharapkan dapat bertahan.

KERANGKA TEORITIK

Adaptasi Lingkungan

Adaptasi lingkungan dalam tulisan ini ditekankan pada proses bagaimana seorang individu melakukan pengambilan keputusan untuk mengadakan pilihan-pilihan interaksi dengan lingkungan hidupnya. Bennett dalam bukunya "*The Ecological Transition, Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaption*", mengatakan bahwa adaptasi (*adaptation*) adalah tingkahlaku adaptasi (*behavioral adaptation*) yang menunjuk pada tindakan (*action*). Adaptasi terhadap lingkungan dibentuk dari tindakan yang diulang-ulang dan merupakan bentuk penyesuaian terhadap lingkungan. Adaptasi adalah "*refers to the coping mechanism that humans display in obtaining their wants or adjusting their lives to the surroundings mileiu to their lives and puposes*" (Bennett, 1976: 274).

Di lihat dari sudut pandang teori psikologi lingkungan, adaptasi lingkungan merupakan hasil dari "*coping behavior*", yakni tingkah laku yang diulang-ulang yang akan membentuk dua kemungkinan: (1), tingkah laku *coping* yang berhasil sebagaimana diharapkan, atau sebaliknya tingkah laku yang tidak memenuhi harapan. Gagalnya suatu tingkahlaku *coping* akan menyebabkan stres yang berlanjut, yang dapat berpengaruh pada kondisi individu maupun respon atau tanggapan individu terhadap lingkungan. Sebaliknya apabila tingkah laku *coping* itu berhasil maka terjadi penyesuaian individu terhadap lingkungannya (*adaptation*) atau terjadi penyesuaian keadaan lingkungan pada diri individu (Paul A. Bell, 1978: 34). Keberhasilan dalam memilih tindakan ini merupakan suatu strategi adaptasi manusia yang pada gilirannya akan menjadi kebiasaan masyarakat, yang pada tahap selanjutnya akan menjadi norma sosial; *Over time, the more successful adaptaive strategies wil be come institutionalized as cultural norms* (Rambo, 1983: 6).

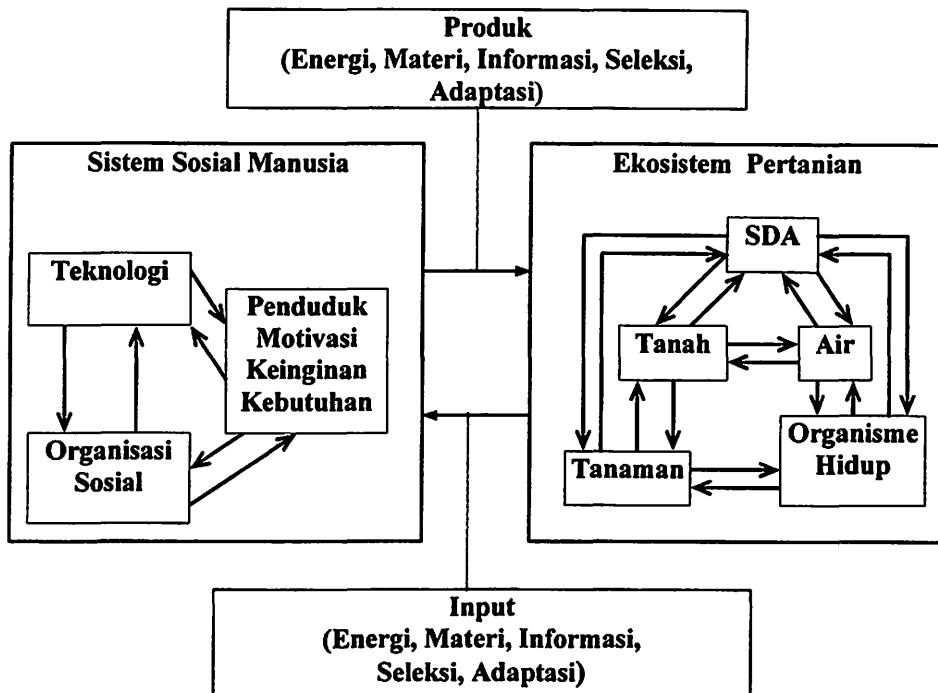
Pilihan tindakan di dalam pemanfaatan sumberdaya alam dianggap tepat, apabila tindakan tersebut dirasakan menguntungkan dirinya yang didasarkan atas perhitungan rugi-laba dalam angka untuk mencapai kebutuhan berjenjang yang dilakukan secara berulang-ulang. Tindakan semacam ini oleh Orlove disebut tipe pengambilan keputusan model ekonomi-mikro (Orlove, 1980: 34). Tindakan pengambilan keputusan ini sangat tergantung dari sejauhmana manusia membuat persepsi terhadap lingkungan (Ahimsa, 1994: 13). Persepsi manusia terhadap lingkungan (*environment perception*) sangat ditentukan oleh proses manusia memperoleh pengetahuan lingkungan (*objective environment/real world*) melalui rangsangan-rangsangan yang diterima; serta

tanggapan manusia terhadap lingkungan (*image of the environment*) yang terdapat dalam pikirannya. Proses manusia memperoleh pengetahuan lingkungan ditentukan oleh pandangan yang sifatnya individual terhadap lingkungan yang dipengaruhi oleh seberapa jauh kebudayaan yang dianutnya membentuk pandangan yang sifatnya individual. Sebaliknya pandangan hidup, motivasi ekonomi atau tradisi yang dianut masing-masing individu merupakan pertimbangan yang menentukan seberapa jauh eksistensi kebudayaan itu mampu melakukan seleksi atau menyaring terhadap rangsangan dari luar (*objective environment*).

Pertanian sebagai Bentuk Adaptasi Lingkungan

Pemahaman pertanian sebagai bentuk adaptasi manusia terhadap lingkungan pada dasarnya adalah kajian yang difokuskan pada perhatian bentuk interaksi antara agroekosistem dengan sistem sosial masyarakat manusia. Agroekosistem adalah ekosistem yang menggambarkan saling ketergantungan dan saling mempengaruhi antara komponen fisik dan komponen biologi. Sedangkan petani adalah bagian dari sistem sosial masyarakat manusia. Bagaimana sistem pertanian itu berfungsi atau mendatangkan manfaat bagi manusia adalah merupakan konsekuensi dari interaksi yang terjadi antara agroekosistem, sistem sosial masyarakat petani dan faktor ekosistem itu sendiri (Marten, 1986 : 21).

Interaksi antara ekosistem pertanian dengan sistem sosial masyarakat petani sesungguhnya tidak hanya dibentuk oleh komponen biotis atau ekologi saja, tetapi juga faktor sosial, seperti pemasaran, harga, pemilikan lahan, teknologi, kegiatan penyuluhan dari pemerintah (Marten, 1986: 22). Oleh sebab itu di kalangan ilmuwan sosial, usaha menjelaskan interaksi antara ekosistem pertanian dan sistem sosial lebih difokuskan pada bagaimana fungsi-fungsi alur-alur pertukaran material itu berfungsi. Alur-alur pertukaran itu dapat dijelaskan dari bagaimana petani mengatur suplai bahan makanan untuk produksi tanaman mereka, yang tercermin dalam strategi-strategi petani dalam mengelola kesuburan tanah. Misalnya, dengan mengumpulkan bahan makanan dari luar ladang mereka dengan menggunakan kompos, pupuk kandang, sistem bera (*fallow system*), rotasi tanaman pada sistem pergiliran tanaman, bagaimana petani mengatur pola tanam berdasarkan distribusi hujan sepanjang tahun; pengaturan tenaga kerja, pilihan teknologi (Marten, 1986: 24).



Gambar 1. Interaksi Sistem Sosial Manusia dan Ekosistem Pertanian (Modifikasi dari Bennet, 1976: 38; Rambo, 1984: 8; Marten, 1986:21)

Pengembangan Tanaman Kulit Manis

Pengembangan tanaman perdagangan di kawasan hutan merupakan suatu proses pengambilan keputusan yang dipengaruhi faktor-faktor yang dimiliki serta situasi yang dihadapi petani. Sebagai contoh tekanan penduduk di tempat asal, faktor stabilitas ekosistem, tingkat pendidikan merupakan faktor-faktor pendorong yang menyebabkan penduduk tertarik untuk membuka lahan di kawasan hutan. Studi yang dilakukan Vayda, dkk di Kalimantan Timur menunjukkan bahwa kebanyakan para migran (Bugis, Banjar dan Kutai) memasuki kawasan hutan merupakan suatu respons terhadap peluang ekonomi, yaitu membuka kebun tanaman lada dan perladangan. Faktor yang melatarbelakangi mereka membuka lahan pertanian di kawasan hutan, juga disebabkan oleh adanya kemiskinan, lapar tanah (*land-hungry farmers*) dan kebutuhan subsistensi (Vayda, 1993:7).

Di lain pihak, pengembangan tanaman perdagangan di kawasan hutan sebagai daya tarik penduduk (*factors associated with the area of destination*), merupakan kesempatan kerja atau peluang berusaha bagi seseorang untuk meningkatkan pendapatannya. Oleh sebab itu, lahan di kawasan hutan selalu dianggap sebagai *frontier areas* yang dijadikan daerah tujuan para migran (Riwanto, 1992: 1). Setiap orang

memiliki hak yang sama untuk masuk ke dalam kawasan hutan yang dianggap “bebas” dari klaim penguasaan orang lain. Oleh sebab itu, hak penguasaan lahan di kawasan hutan justru diperoleh dari mereka yang berhasil merintis-bekerja keras membuka lahan dan menanam dengan berbagai tanaman sebagai tanda penguasaan lahan (Gudeman, 1986: 23). Akses terhadap penguasaan lahan merupakan faktor penting bagi petani untuk mengembangkan berbagai jenis tanaman. Barlett mengatakan bahwa “*Access to land not only influences crops choice but also the amount of land planted to each crop*” (Barlett, 1980: 35). Sebuah rumahtangga petani bisa mengembangkan beberapa jenis sistem bercocoktanam, misalnya sejumlah tanaman semusim dalam suatu lahan, atau cara lain dengan tumpangsari.

Marten (1986: 38) membedakan beberapa jenis *cropping systems* yang biasa dilakukan petani-petani di Asia Tenggara, yaitu : (1) *Sequential cropping*: dua atau lebih tanaman yang ditanam secara bergiliran dalam suatu lahan yang sama. Berdasarkan dari jumlah tanaman, *sequential cropping* dibedakan lagi menjadi *double cropping* (dua tanaman dalam satu tahun), *triple cropping* (tiga tanaman dalam satu tahun), *Ratoon cropping* (pengembangan jenis tanaman baru dengan cara sistem perakaran (*root system*) atau batang (*stems of proceeding crop instead of by sowing seed*)). (2) *Relay cropping*: dua tanaman atau lebih yang ditanam secara bertahap dalam satu musim dan saling melengkapi. (3) *Crop rotation*: kombinasi tanaman campuran pada lahan yang sama yang dilakukan secara berurutan dan diulang-ulang; (4) *Shifting agriculture*: bentuk rotasi tanaman yang ditandai adanya lahan yang diberokan ditumbuhi tanaman, semak-semak dan rerumputan; (5) *Annual-perennial rotation*: sejenis sistem bercocok tanam berpindah (*shifting agriculture*) tetapi lahan yang ditinggalkan atau diberokan ditumbuhi oleh tanaman perkebunan.

POLA PENGELOLAAN LAHAN TRADISIONAL

Dalam hukum adat Kerinci dikenal dua macam tanah berdasarkan jenis tanaman penutupnya, yaitu tanah kering dan tanah basah. Tanah kering adalah lahan yang dipergunakan untuk perladangan, sedang tanah basah berupa lahan persawahan. Ada beberapa jenis perladangan yang dikenal penduduk Kerinci, yaitu *Perelak*, *Kebun mudo*, *Umo ranah* dan *Umo Talang*. Perelak atau “pelak” adalah sebidang lahan yang terletak tidak jauh dari permukiman yang ditanami jenis tanaman untuk memenuhi kebutuhan hidup sehari-hari, misalnya cabe, tomat, serai, laos. Berbagai jenis tanaman ini ditanam di sela-sela tanaman ubikayu atau ubi rambat dan pisang. Kebun mudo adalah sebidang tanah yang sebagian besar ditanami oleh jenis tanaman tertentu yang diselingi dengan jenis tanaman lainnya. Misalnya kebun pisang yang dikelilingi oleh tanaman kedelai atau kacang tanah. Pengertian *kebun mudo* sebenarnya lebih merupakan kebun yang ditanami tanaman sejenis yang umurnya relatif panjang, tetapi bukan tanaman tahunan. *Umo ranah* adalah ladang yang cukup luas terbentang pada

sebidang tanah yang subur dan rata, biasanya terdapat disekitar Daerah Aliran Sungai [DAS], atau di lereng-lereng pegunungan yang mendatar. *Umo ranah* sebenarnya merupakan bentuk ladang campuran antara tanaman keras dengan tanaman muda.

Umo talang adalah ladang yang dibuat di dalam kawasan hutan yang letaknya jauh dari permukiman dan umumnya berada disekitar DAS. Sarana perhubungan menuju ke ladang Umo talang biasanya jalan setapak. Biasanya terdapat sebuah pondok sebagai tempat istirahat dan sekaligus tempat penjagaan dari gangguan hama binatang. Umo talang ini sebenarnya juga bentuk ladang campuran antara tanaman keras [kulit manis] dengan tanaman muda. Ketika tanaman muda tidak dapat tumbuh lagi karena tanaman kulit manis semakin membesar, maka Umo talang ditinggalkan penduduk [tidak ditunggu] dan berubah menjadi hutan kulit manis sebagai simpanan kekayaan.

Selain keempat jenis ladang yang disebutkan di atas, dikenal pula sebutan *Umo rimbo* dan *Umo belukar*. *Umo rimbo* adalah jenis ladang yang dibuat di hutan rimba yang belum pernah dijamah manusia. Sedangkan *Umo belukar*, yaitu ladang yang berada di kawasan hutan yang dianggap sebagai peninggalan nenek moyang penduduk Kerinci. Ladang Umo belukar ditandai adanya tanaman kayu-kayuan yang sudah tua [*Umo belukar tuo*], aupun tumbuhnya tanaman kayu-kayuan yang masih berumur muda [*Uma belukar mudo*]. Biasanya suatu lahan akan dijadikan daerah perladangan dipilih menurut pertimbangan tertentu, misalnya status lahan itu belum menjadi pilihan orang lain, yaitu tidak ada tanda-tanda kepemilikan lahan. Oleh sebab itu, kawasan hutan yang belum dijamah merupakan kawasan yang baik untuk tujuan pembuatan ladang. Lokasi seperti ini lebih menguntungkan, karena tidak banyak ditumbuhi semak-belukar dan lebih subur karena tanahnya gembur serta belum pernah ditanami.

Di lihat dari status penguasaan lahan, di Kerinci dikenal beberapa sebutan tanah, yaitu: *Tanah Depati*, *Tanah Paseko* dan *Tanah Tembilang Emas* [Abbas, 1985: 9]. Tanah Depati adalah tanah yang dikuasai secara adat [tanah ulayat]. Penggunaan tanah Depati diatur oleh Nenek mamak. Tanah Depati dibedakan menjadi dua, yaitu tanah depati yang terdapat di wilayah suatu dusun dan tanah Depati yang berada di wilayah Kemandopooan.³ Perbedaan kedua bentuk tanah depati terletak pada orang yang mengatur penggunaan tanah, pada tanah Depati Dusun penggunaannya diatur oleh Depati Nenek Mamak Dusun, dan tanah Mendapo yang terdapat di wilayah Kemandapooan diatur oleh Depati Nenek Mamak Kemandapooan.

Depati Nenek Mamak memiliki kewenangan adat untuk memberikan dan mencabut hak penggarapan lahan sering disebut *arah* (Adji, 1986: 300-305). Pencabutan hak penggarapan lahan kepada seseorang karena membiarkan lahan

³ Kemandopooan adalah wilayah kesatuan masyarakat adat yang dipimpin oleh Depati Nenek mamak Kemandopooan. Setiap kecamatan dapat terdiri dari beberapa adat kemnadopooan. Di Dati II Kerinci terdapat sekitar 16 wilayah kemandopooan, sedangkan di Kecamatan gunung Kerinci terdapat tiga wilayah kemandopooan: Siulak, Natasari, Kayu Aro dan Natasari. Desa Siulak Kecil termasuk kemandopooan Siulak.

tumbuh semak belukar [tidak digarap] disebut *arah digulung* [Abbas, 1985:4]. Biasanya, arah digulung terjadi jika ada warga lain yang ingin menggarap lahan yang ditelantarkan. Arah digulung ini hanya berlaku pada tanah kering atau lahan perladangan. Selain itu dikenal istilah “*mengajun mengarah*”, yaitu suatu tindakan meminta ijin kepada Depati untuk membuka hutan.

Tanah Pesako atau tanah pusaka adalah tanah yang asalnya diperoleh nenek moyang penduduk Kerinci dari pembukaan hutan [*meneruko*] pada waktu mendirikan permukiman. Jadi dalam pengertian ini, tanah pusaka adalah bagian dari harta pusaka yang diperoleh dari nenek moyangnya. Tanah yang dapat digolongkan sebagai tanah pusaka, pada umumnya adalah lahan persawahan. Di kalangan masyarakat Kerinci ada semacam ketentuan bahwa sawah adalah harta pusaka yang tidak dapat diperjualbelikan. Jadi setiap orang yang menggarap sawah sebenarnya hanya memiliki hak pakai. Orang hanya berhak atas hasilnya bukan tanahnya. Penguasaan sawah seperti ini paling banyak dijumpai. Namun demikian, bukan berarti tidak terdapat pemilikan lahan persawahan. Sedikit sekali warga yang memiliki sawah secara perseorangan. Biasanya pemilikan sawah secara perseorangan melalui jual beli, atau dalam istilah Kerinci disebut tanah yang diperoleh melalui tembilang emas. Pemilikan sawah secara perseorangan terjadi ketika penduduk masih mudah membuka kawasan untuk dijadikan sawah [*meneruko*].

Penguasaan sawah diperoleh melalui pewarisan jalur perempuan [*matrileneal lineage*]. Pada sistem pewarisan seperti ini, hak penguasaan lahan sawah [hak pakai] berada di tangan perempuan. Luas sawah yang diberikan kepada keturunan perempuan tergantung dari jumlah keturunan perempuan yang berhak atas lahan sawah tersebut. Jadi semakin banyak jumlah keturunan perempuan, maka semakin sempit luas lahan sawah yang digarap, atau yang digilir (Adji, 1986 :300-301).

Tanah Tembilang Emas⁴ adalah tanah yang dikuasai secara perseorangan. Tanah yang digolongkan dalam kategori ini adalah tanah hak milik pribadi. Dalam pengertian ini, tanah persawahan dapat digolongkan tanah yang diperoleh melalui tembilang emas. Sawah yang dikuasai melalui cara tembilang emas, adalah sawah yang diperoleh melalui membeli atau cara gadai. Persawahan yang diperjualbelikan ini biasanya bukan tanah pusaka.

Selain melalui tembilang emas, persawahan dapat juga dikuasai melalui tembilang besi, yaitu persawahan yang diperoleh melalui membuka kawasan [*meneruko*]. Kawasan hutan yang akan dijadikan sawah tentu saja kawasan yang belum dimiliki orang lain. Dalam pembukaan hutan harus mendapat persetujuan secara adat dari Depati, yaitu melalui *ajun arah*. Lahan pertanian yang diperoleh melalui tembilang

⁴Istilah Tembilang Emas menunjuk pada sejenis alat pertanian yang dibuat dari besi atau kayu yang digunakan petani Kerinci dalam mengolah tanahnya. Arti simbolik dari kata sembilang pada tanah Tembilang Emas adalah tanah yang diperoleh melalui jual-beli dari hasil usaha sendiri.

emas maupun tembilang besi merupakan lahan yang dimiliki secara pribadi dan tanah ini kemudian diwariskan kepada anak keturunannya. Oleh karena, lahan persawahan tidak mungkin lagi diperluas maka sebagian besar lahan persawahan di daerah Kerinci merupakan tanah pusaka.

STRATEGI PERLADANGAN TANAMAN KULIT MANIS

Pola perladangan tanaman kulit manis yang dikembangkan penduduk Kerinci adalah ladang campuran atau tumpangsari (*inter cropping*) antara tanaman kulit manis dan tanaman sayuran. Pola tumpangsari ini merupakan pola pertanian yang masih dilakukan sebagian besar penduduk di Desa Siulak Kecil. Tumpangsari antara tanaman sayuran dan tanaman kulit manis merupakan strategi petani untuk memanfaatkan semaksimal mungkin dari lahan pertanian.

Pola ladang tumpangsari sangat menguntungkan petani karena pada ladang tumpangsari tidak diperlukan penyemaian biji kulit manis. Tunas-tunas muda kulit manis hampir selalu tumbuh di ladang bekas penebangan kulit manis. Penyemaian biji dilakukan apabila petani ingin mengembangkan ladang kulit manis baru di kawasan hutan.

Pada saat tumbuh anakan ini, sayuran ditanam di antara sela-sela tunas-tunas kulit manis. Pemupukan dan penjarangan atau mengatur jarak tanam antara tunas kulit manis dan sayuran dilakukan agar kedua tanaman dapat tumbuh subur. Sifat tanaman kulit manis tidak memerlukan pupuk secara khusus, sebab pemupukan tanaman kulit manis dilakukan secara tidak langsung, yaitu pada saat petani melakukan pemupukan tanaman sayuran. Waktu pemupukan kulit manis dilakukan bersamaan dengan pemupukan tanaman sayuran. Ketika umur ladang kulit manis mencapai 4 tahun, pemeliharaan secara intensif berkurang atau bahkan dapat dikatakan berhenti sama sekali dan sekaligus menandakan ladang tumpangsari berakhir. Ladang kulit manis yang berumur di atas 4 tahun tidak dapat dikembangkan kebun tumpangsari karena daun tanaman kulit manis yang telah tumbuh membesar menutupi sinar matahari yang masuk ke tanah.

a. STRATEGI PETANI MENGATASI KESUBURAN LADANG

Strategi petani mengatasi kesuburan ladang sangat tergantung dari ketersediaan lahan-lahan baru yang dapat ditanami sayuran. Tabel 1 memperlihatkan ada dua cara yang ditempuh responden petani di Siulak Kecil untuk mengatasi kesuburan ladang, yaitu membuka ladang sayuran di kawasan hutan (29%) dan membuka ladang sayuran di kawasan perladangan kulit manis (34%). Namun demikian, kawasan perladangan kulit manis yang menjadi tumpuan berjalannya siklus ladang sayuran berkaitan dengan pola penguasaan ladang kulit manis. Apabila petani hanya menguasai satu petak ladang, maka siklus ladang sayuran tidak mungkin dilakukan. Penguasaan ladang kulit

manis merupakan syarat utama berjalannya siklus ladang sayuran dapat dengan pola yang tetap. Jadi dengan demikian, apabila petani tidak memiliki luas ladang yang cukup maka kemungkinan besar akan membuka kebun tumpangsari (kulit manis dan sayuran) di kawasan hutan.

Tabel 1. Persentase Responden Menurut Strategi dalam Mengatasi Kesuburan Ladang

Strategi mengatasi kesuburan ladang	N	%
1. Membuka ladang di hutan	29,0	29,0
2. Membuka ladang di ladang kulit manis	34,0	34,0
3. Tidak mengembangkan ladang sayuran	27,0	27,0
4. Mengembangkan ladang menetap	10,0	10,0
Jumlah	100	100

Sumber : Hasil Penelitian Lapangan, Th 1999

b. PENGEMBANGAN LADANG SAYURAN DI KAWASAN HUTAN

Responden (petani) yang menyatakan bahwa kawasan hutan sebagai alternatif untuk mengatasi kesuburan ladang, ternyata lebih dari separuhnya (51,2%). Mereka adalah petani kulit manis yang menguasai lebih dari tiga ladang, sedangkan responden-petani yang menguasai dua petak ladang hanya sekitar 13%. Responden-petani yang menguasai tiga ladang atau lebih, tampaknya cenderung tergantung pada kawasan hutan untuk mengatasi kesuburan ladang. Sementara itu dari responden-petani yang menguasai lebih dari tiga ladang kulit manis ternyata seperempatnya [24,9%] adalah petani yang tidak memiliki keragaman umur tanaman kulit manis yang memungkinkan dilakukan siklus tanaman kulit manis di atas sepuluh tahunan. Hal ini berarti bahwa sebagian besar (75,1%) responden-petani tidak mengembangkan siklus tanaman kulit manis atau sayuran yang tetap. Oleh sebab itu dapat dimengerti apabila kelompok responden-petani menyatakan lebih tergantung pada kawasan hutan untuk mengatasi kesuburan ladang.

Tabel 2. Persentase Responden Menurut Penguasaan Ladang dan Ketergantungan Terhadap Kawasan Hutan

Penguasaan Ladang Kulit Manis	Ketergantungan terhadap kawasan hutan		
	Tergantung	Tidak tergantung	Jumlah
1. Dua petak ladang	13,5	86,5	100,0 (59)
2. Tiga petak ladang atau lebih	51,2	48,8	100,0 (41)
3. Tiga petak ladang atau lebih dan memiliki umur tanaman kulit manis yang beragam (<3; 3-10; >10) tahun	24,9	75,1	100,0(41)

Sumber : Hasil Penelitian lapangan, 1999

Keterangan : Angka dalam kurung () adalah N.

c. PENGEMBANGAN LADANG SAYURAN DI KAWASAN PERLADANGAN KULIT MANIS

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kurang dari separuh responden (40,6%) yang menyatakan tergantung pada kawasan perladangan kulit manis adalah responden-petani yang menguasai dua petak ladang. Apabila dibandingkan dengan data yang tersaji dalam Tabel 3, tampaknya responden-petani yang menguasai dua petak ladang jauh lebih besar dari persentasenya responden yang menyatakan tergantung dengan kawasan hutan. Jika petani hanya menguasai dua petak ladang, jelas tidak mungkin mereka mengembangkan siklus ladang sayuran di kawasan perladangan kulit manis yang mereka kuasai. Dari sini dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa petani tidak memiliki pola siklus ladang sayuran yang jelas. Wawancara dengan beberapa petani memperlihatkan bahwa strategi bercocok tanam yang mereka lakukan adalah membuka sebagian petak ladang untuk ditanami tanaman sayuran dengan menebang beberapa tanaman kulit manis yang dianggap tua.

Di lain pihak, petani-responden kulit manis yang menguasai tiga ladang atau lebih yang menyatakan tergantung pada kawasan perladangan kulit manis lebih sedikit persentasenya jika dibandingkan responden-petani yang menguasai dua ladang kulit manis, yaitu hanya 24,4%. Dari Tabel 3, persentase responden-petani yang menguasai tiga ladang atau lebih, ternyata sekitar 14,6% nya yang memiliki komposisi umur tanaman kulit manis beragam. Hal ini semakin memperjelas kesimpulan di atas, bahwa petani kulit manis yang melakukan strategi tumpangsari dengan tanaman sayuran tidak memiliki pola siklus ladang yang teratur. Kecenderungan ini memberi kesan bahwa penguasaan ladang kulit manis tidak berkaitan dengan kecenderungan petani untuk mengembangkan ladang sayuran di kawasan perladangan kulit manis.

Tabel 3. Persentase Responden Menurut Penguasaan Ladang dan Kegiatan Membuka Ladang Sayuran di Kawasan Perladangan Kulit Manis

Penguasaan Ladang Kulit Manis	Kegiatan membuka ladang sayuran di kawasan perladangan kulit manis		
	Ya	Tidak	Jumlah
1. Dua petak ladang	40,6	59,4	100,0 (59)
2. Tiga petak ladang atau lebih	24,4	75,6	100,0 (41)
3. Tiga petak ladang atau lebih dan memiliki umur tanaman kulit manis yang beragam (<3 ; 3-10 Th ; >10) Tahun	14,6	85,4	100,0 (41)

Sumber: Hasil Penelitian lapangan, 1999

Keterangan : Angka dalam kurung () adalah N.

d. PETANI YANG TIDAK MENGEMBANGKAN LADANG TUMPANGSARI

Sebagaimana telah disebutkan sebelumnya, terdapat sekitar 27% responden-petani yang tidak mengembangkan ladang tumpangsari. Kelompok responden ini tidak tergantung pada tanaman sayuran sebagai sumber penghasilan, tetapi hanya mengandalkan hasil kulit manis. Responden-petani yang tidak tergantung pada tanaman kulit manis, disebabkan petani tidak memiliki alternatif lain untuk mengembangkan ladang sayuran. Tabel 4 memperlihatkan hampir separuh responden-petani [45,7%] yang menyatakan tidak memiliki ladang sayuran, adalah petani yang hanya menguasai dua petak ladang. Dilihat dari jumlah ladang yang dikuasai, kelompok responden ini jelas tidak mungkin melakukan siklus tanaman kulit manis di atas sepuluh tahunan. Oleh sebab itu, mereka tidak dapat mengembangkan ladang sayuran.

Strategi yang dilakukan petani untuk memenuhi kebutuhan rumahtangga yang hanya tergantung pada ladang kulit manis adalah mengambil hasil kulit manis, yaitu menebang sebagian tanaman kulit manis yang sekaligus merupakan upaya penjarangan tanaman kulit manis supaya pertumbuhan tanaman menjadi baik. Tentu saja kualitas kulit manis yang diambil dari penjarangan sangat rendah, karena umur tanaman kulit manis yang ditebang masih muda. Apabila strategi penjarangan tanaman tidak mungkin dilakukan, maka petani mengambil dahan dan ranting kulit manis untuk dijual, sekalipun dengan harga lebih rendah. Cara ini merupakan strategi petani untuk mengatasi kebutuhan rumah-tangga sehari-hari.

Tabel 4. Persentase Responden Menurut Penguasaan Ladang dan Pemilikan Tanaman Sayuran di Ladang Kulit Manis

Penguasaan Ladang Kulit Manis	Pemilikan tanaman sayuran di kawasan perladangan kulit manis		
	Tidak Memiliki	Memiliki	Jumlah
1. Dua petak ladang	45,7	54,3	100,0 (59)
2. Tiga petak ladang atau lebih	0,0	100,0	100,0 (41)

Sumber : Hasil Penelitian lapangan, 1999

Keterangan : Angka dalam kurung () adalah N.

e. PENGEMBANGAN LADANG SAYURAN MENETAP

Adanya sebagian kecil responden-petani yang mengembangkan pola pertanian menetap, juga merupakan strategi untuk mengatasi kesuburan ladang sayuran yang semakin menurun di tahun ke empat. Tabel 5 memperlihatkan sekitar 24% responden-petani yang mengembangkan ladang sayuran menetap, adalah petani yang menguasai tiga petak lading atau lebih. Dilihat dari jumlah ladang yang dikuasai, kelompok responden ini jelas tidak mungkin melakukan siklus tanaman kulit manis di atas sepuluh tahunan. Oleh sebab itu mereka tidak dapat mengembangkan tumpangsari dengan sayuran.

Ladang menetap pada umumnya dikembangkan oleh petani yang menguasai lebih dari tiga petak ladang kulit manis. Ladang menetap ini dikembangkan untuk mengatasi ketergantungan pada ladang kulit manis. Strategi pola pertanian menetap yang dikembangkan petani sebenarnya merupakan model pola pertanian menetap sebagaimana dikembangkan petani Jawa di Kayu Aro (sebelah utara Siulak Kecil). Umumnya tanaman sayuran yang dikembangkan petani ladang sayuran menetap adalah tanaman kentang.

Tabel 5. Persentase Responden Menurut Penguasaan Ladang dan Pengembangan Ladang Sayuran Menetap

Penguasaan Ladang Kulit Manis	Mengembangkan ladang sayuran secara menetap		
	Ya	Tidak	Jumlah
1. Dua petak ladang	0,0	100,0	100,0 (59)
2. Tiga petak ladang atau lebih	24,0	76,0	100,0 (41)

Sumber: Hasil Penelitian lapangan, 1999

Keterangan : Angka dalam kurung () adalah N.

POLA PENGUASAAN LADANG KULIT MANIS

Pengembangan kulit manis sebagai tanaman perdagangan tidak membawa perubahan yang mendasar dalam pengaturan pemilikan. Scholz (1993: 60), mengatakan bahwa berubahnya sistem ladang berpindah secara umum digantikan dengan sistem

budi daya tanaman perdagangan tidak menyentuh pada prinsip-prinsip pemilikan tanah, yaitu pemilikan dan wewenang bersama atas tanah dengan hak pakai perorangan dan pemilikan perorangan akan hasil garapannya. Hak pakai sementara sebagaimana diperlakukan pada sistem persawahan (hak pengolahan sawah secara gilir ganti) bergeser menjadi hak pakai tak terbatas yang dapat diwariskan dan dipindahtanggankan kepada orang lain.

Hak pakai tak terbatas pada ladang tanaman kulit manis berhubungan dengan penguasaan ladang kulit manis. Penguasaan ladang kulit manis bagi petani Kerinci di Siulak Kecil tidak identik dengan penguasaan lahan tempat tanaman tumbuh tetapi penguasaan atas tanaman yang tumbuh di atasnya. Tabel 6 memperlihatkan kecenderungan bahwa membeli, membuka ladang di hutan, dan warisan orang tua adalah pola penguasaan tanaman kulit manis yang terjadi di lokasi penelitian. Hal ini berarti petani berhak atas hasil ladang kulit manis pada lahan yang diperoleh dari usaha sendiri, baik membuka hutan, membeli atau tanah yang diperoleh dari *tembilang emas* atau *tembilang besi* (tanah pencaharian).

Tabel 6. Persentase Responden Menurut Pola Penguasaan Ladang dan Cara Memperoleh Ladang Kulit Manis

Pola penguasaan ladang kulit manis dan cara memperoleh ladang	%	N
1. Ladang milik		
• Membeli ladang	37,6	32
• Warisan	9,6	8
• Membuka hutan	5,8	5
• Membeli dan warisan	25,9	22
• Membeli & membuka hutan	16,4	14
• Membeli, warisan & membuka hutan	4,7	4
Jumlah	100	85
2. Ladang sewa	100	5
3. Ladang milik dan sewa		
• Membuka hutan & sewa	60,0	6
• Warisan & sewa	40,0	4
Jumlah	100	10

Sumber : Hasil Penelitian Lapangan, 1999

Pola pewarisan ladang kulit manis tidak berlaku sistem warisan matrilineal, tetapi pewarisan secara Islam. Hak atas ladang kulit manis adalah hak pakai tak terbatas yang dapat diwariskan kepada keturunannya (Scholz, 1993: 123.). Perubahan hak pakai terbatas [misalnya gilir ganti] menjadi hak pakai tak terbatas terjadi, karena kelembagaan ajun-arrah yang mengatur penggunaan lahan tidak berfungsi lagi, terutama sejak ditetapkan kawasan hutan negara. Ketika peranan adat ajun-arrah masih kuat,

pembukaan hutan untuk perladangan harus melewati ketua adat. Setiap penggarap mendapatkan hak pakai tanah yang ditunjuk dan tidak terbatas untuk hasilnya. Jika tanah tersebut terbelong, maka secara otomatis menjadi milik marga [adat].

Tumbuhnya hak pakai tak terbatas dalam kasus penguasaan ladang kulit manis, dan tidak berfungsinya pranata sosial *ajun arah* menumbuhkan model jual beli ladang dan pewarisan ladang sebagai strategi penduduk baru untuk menguasai ladang ladang kulit manis. Seperti diketahui pemilikan ladang melalui jual-beli merupakan model penguasaan ladang kulit manis yang paling banyak dijumpai (Scholz, 1993: 129). Namun demikian, kebiasaan jual-beli ladang kulit manis penduduk tidak dikontrol desa. Kegiatan transaksi jual-beli ladang kulit manis yang terjadi di desa tidak pernah dicatat dalam buku administrasi desa.

Selain pemilikan ladang, model penyewaan ladang telah berkembang di desa ini. Penyewaan lahan pertanian di Sumatra sebenarnya belum begitu lama berkembang, Pola penyewaan ladang berkembang sekitar awal tahun 1970-an (Scholz, 1993: 127). Tumbuhnya pola penyewaan ladang kulit manis didorong oleh petani yang ingin mendapatkan lahan subur untuk ditanami sayuran. Tanaman sayuran merupakan tanaman yang menguntungkan karena merupakan tanaman semusim yang dapat memenuhi kebutuhan hidup sehari-hari serta dapat dijual ke pasar sebagai pendapatan rutin rumah tangga petani. Dari pola sewa ladang ini, petani-penyewa dapat bertanam sayuran sampai tanaman kulit manis berumur 5 tahun, selama ladang itu masih memungkinkan ditanami. Penyewaan ladang kulit manis sebenarnya merupakan bentuk manifestasi sempitnya luas penguasaan ladang yang memungkinkan dilakukan pengembangan siklus tanaman sayuran. Kebutuhan untuk mengembangkan ladang sayuran sangat tergantung dari keberadaan ladang-ladang kulit manis muda yang berada di sekitarnya.

KESIMPULAN

Dari uraian gambaran lokasi penelitian, hasil penelitian dan pembahasan dapat disimpulkan beberapa hal.

Motivasi dan latar belakang petani mengembangkan tanaman perdagangan kulit manis berkaitan dengan sifat fleksibilitas ladang kulit manis di lihat dari segi ekonomi dan ekologi. Tanaman kulit manis dapat dipanen setiap saat menurut kehendak dan kebutuhan petani. Hasil kulit manis dapat memberikan manfaat jangka panjang sebagai tabungan keluarga terutama untuk keperluan yang memerlukan dana besar (naik haji, membangun rumah, dsb). Ladang kulit manis dapat dicampur (tumpang Sari) dengan tanaman berumur pendek yang menguntungkan (sayuran) yang dapat menyambung kebutuhan sehari-hari. Selain itu, pengambilan kulit dahan, dan ranting dan penjarangan kulit manis juga merupakan strategi petani untuk memenuhi kebutuhan uang mendesak.

Pola ladang campuran yang dikembangkan sebagian besar responden-petani menuntut siklus pengembangan ladang berpindah. Kesuburan ladang sayuran yang

semakin menurun di tahun keempat menyebabkan petani untuk mencari lokasi lahan baru. Ada dua cara yang dilakukan petani untuk mengatasi kesuburan, yaitu mengembangkan ladang di kawasan hutan dan di kawasan perladangan kulit manis. Dilihat dari segi penguasaan ladang dan keragaman umur kulit manis yang dikuasai, tampaknya petani Kerinci tidak memiliki siklus dan pola perpindahan ladang yang tetap. Sedikit sekali responden yang menguasai tiga atau lebih ladang kulit manis yang memiliki keragaman umur tanaman yang memungkinkan berlangsungnya siklus tanaman. Akibatnya siklus ladang kulit manis tidak berjalan di atas minimal sepuluh tahunan. Oleh sebab itu, sepanjang petani masih mengembangkan ladang campuran sebagai strategi petani untuk mengatasi kebutuhan rumahtangga, maka kebutuhan ladang-ladang baru akan terus berlanjut dan perluasan ladang cenderung ekspansif, bertambah luas.

Pengembangan tanaman kulit manis di Kerinci tidak lepas dari introduksi tanaman perdagangan-ekspor yang diperkenalkan oleh pemerintah kolonial Belanda pada awal abad kedupuluh. Masuknya tanaman perdagangan-ekspor di Kerinci semakin mendorong perluasan perladangan tanaman kulit manis. Perluasan tanaman kulit manis di Kerinci membawa implikasi pada menguatnya peranan keluarga inti sebagai unit sosial-ekonomi di masyarakat Kerinci, di mana peranan lelaki (suami) sebagai kepala rumah tangga semakin dominan. Sebaliknya peranan kelembagaan adat dalam perladangan kulit manis semakin berkurang. Sungguhpun peranan adat masih kuat, yaitu pemberian hak pakai menggarap sawah kepada kaum perempuan (adat gilir ganti), tetapi fungsi sosial sawah pada masyarakat Siulak lebih menonjol daripada fungsi ekonominya. Fungsi sawah ditekankan pada perekat solidaritas keluarga besar. Oleh sebab itu, sawah masih dapat memberikan manfaat bagi rumah-tangga petani yang membutuhkannya.

Penguasaan ladang kulit manis cenderung lepas dari kontrol adat *ajun arah*. Akibatnya membuka peluang secara meluas untuk mengembangkan ladang kulit di kawasan hutan. Hilangnya *ajun arah* bersamaan ditetapkannya hutan negara (penetapan kawasan TNKS). Hak penguasaan lahan hutan beralih dari penguasaan adat ke penguasaan negara. Perubahan penguasaan hutan membawa implikasi pada persepsi penduduk terhadap penguasaan ladang kulit manis. Penguasaan ladang kulit manis tidak identik dengan penguasaan lahan di mana tanaman kulit manis tumbuh, tetapi terbatas pada penguasaan atas tanaman kulit manis yang tumbuh di atasnya. Persepsi ini berbeda jika dibandingkan dengan pola penguasaan pada persawahan. Hak pakai (hak garap) terdapat pada lahan sawah, sedangkan hak pakai ladang kulit manis menjadi hak pakai yang sifatnya tidak terbatas, karena hal ini terjadi tidak ada lagi pranata yang mengatur pemanfaatan lahan sebagaimana diatur dalam *ajun arah*. Hak penguasaan ladang kulit manis cenderung bersifat individu dan lebih menampakkan sifat yang komersial. Ladang kulit manis dapat diperjualbelikan kepada orang lain. Pola penguasaan ladang yang demikian menyebabkan setiap orang bebas untuk memiliki dan mengembangkan ladang kulit manis.

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DAMPAK INVESTASI TERHADAP KETIMPANGAN KESEMPATAN KERJA REGIONAL DI INDONESIA

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Abstrak

Iklim investasi merupakan salah satu isu krusial di Indonesia, sebagaimana yang disebutkan dalam *White Paper* dan *President Decree No. 87 Tahun 2003*. Investasi dapat mendorong perbaikan aspek ketenagakerjaan di mana tulisan ini memfokuskan pada dua aspek, yaitu *pertama*, untuk menemukan karakteristik investasi paska krisis moneter, dan *kedua*, bagaimana dampak ikutannya bagi penyerapan tenaga kerja di tingkat regional di Indonesia, terutama yang terkait dengan kualitas sumber daya manusia. Terdapat perbedaan yang nyata dari dampak induksi investasi terhadap penyerapan tenaga kerja antara wilayah Indonesia Bagian Barat dan Bagian Timur.

Investment Climate is one of the crucial issues in the country as stated in the White Paper and President Decree No 87 of 2003. Through investment, it is expected the employment is encouraged the national economy. This paper focusses on two major points, firstly, characteristics of investment in post crisis program and, secondly, how it impacts on employment in the regions of Indonesia, especially in West and Eastern Indonesia with certain quality in human resources. The outcomes indicate that the diversity of regional investment and labour absorption with specific quality of human resources. The former refers to regional variations and the latter gives the impacts on employment with specific level on human quality resources. There would be a significant difference between West and Eastern Indonesia to impose the impact of investment inductions in several areas with specific patterns emerge.

Keywords: Investasi; Kesempatan kerja; Kualitas sumber daya manusia; Indonesia Bagian Barat; Indonesia Bagian Timur

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PENDAHULUAN

Sebagaimana disebutkan dalam Keppres 87/2003 tentang Peningkatan Ekspor dan Peningkatan Investasi, pemerintah telah menunjukkan orientasi yang jelas terhadap kebijakan bagi percepatan pertumbuhan ekonomi dalam menanggulangi ketertinggalan pembangunan pada saat dilanda krisis yang lalu (Menko Perekonomian, 2005). Dalam kaitan tersebut, salah satu unsur penggerak pertumbuhan ekonomi adalah investasi. Munculnya kebijakan tersebut cukup beralasan karena dalam dua tahun terakhir ini, kondisi arus masuknya penanaman modal masih terlihat stagnan. Kondisi tersebut tidak sejalan dengan rencana pemerintah yang telah mencanangkan tahun 2002-2003 sebagai tahun tata niaga, dan kemudian dicanangkan tahun 2003 hingga 2005 sebagai tahun investasi (BKPM, 2005). Kebijakan terkait dengan iklim investasi juga tertuang dalam Inpres No.3 Tahun 2006. Meskipun demikian, tidak bisa dihindari bahwa keterpurukan ekonomi sebagai akibat dari krisis moneter tahun 1997/98 yang telah memukul kondisi ekonomi dan pembangunan secara keseluruhan.

Hal yang semakin jelas dengan semakin membengkaknya tingkat pengangguran, di mana penciptaan lapangan kerja dapat dikatakan relatif terhambat, bahkan pemutusan hubungan kerja (PHK) justru semakin meningkat. Saat IMF memberi bantuan secara bertahap pemulihan dirasakan dampaknya, namun bantuan IMF ini pun dimaksudkan untuk mempercepat penciptaan kesempatan kerja yang merupakan salah satu indikator penting dalam pembangunan ekonomi. Ketergantungan terhadap IMF tidak bisa dilaksanakan terus menerus sehingga pemerintah, melalui Inpres No 5/2003 bulan September berupaya untuk mempersiapkan tahapan pembangunan tanpa menggunakan 'infus' IMF tersebut. Disusul kemudian dengan Keppres 87/2004 guna mendorong ekspor dan investasi.

Makalah ini berupaya untuk mengungkapkan dua hal utama, yaitu pertama, mengobservasi kondisi investasi pada masa *recovery*, atau pascakrisis, dan kedua, bagaimana dampak ikutannya bagi penyerapan tenaga kerja di tingkat regional pada tahapan waktu berikutnya. Rentang waktu bagi informasi investasi digunakan pada basis tahun 2000-01, dan data yang digunakan adalah realisasi investasi menurut BKPM yang diperoleh dari Bank Indonesia (BI). Sementara dampak ikutan bagi tenaga kerja ditinjau menurut batasan waktu 2 tahun berikutnya, yaitu menurut data Sakernas tahun 2003 yang dilakukan oleh Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS).

ULASAN DAN METODA DASAR

Berdasarkan data Bank Indonesia, nilai investasi PMDN tahun 2000 adalah sebesar Rp88.294,7 juta yang merupakan puncaknya nilai investasi, sementara tingkat investasi tahun 2002 hanya mencapai sekitar 50%-nya. (Bank Indonesia, 2003). Ini tercermin dari data nilai persetujuan penanaman modal dalam negeri (PMDN) dan pananaman modal asing (PMA) yang dikeluarkan Bank Indonesia (Bank Indonesia, 2004).

Situasi tersebut berdampak terhadap pembentukan Produk Domestik Regional Bruto (PDRB). Menurut Bappenas, sumbangan investasi dalam pembentukan PDRB menurun dari 29,5% pada tahun 1996 (sebelum masa krisis) menjadi 20,2% pada tahun 2002 (Bappenas, 2003: 1-3). Menurunnya kemampuan perekonomian tersebut akan berdampak negatif pada penciptaan lapangan kerja. Sementara meningkatnya pertumbuhan ekonomi akan berdampak positif terhadap peningkatan penyerapan tenaga kerja. Di sini, sudah dapat diduga adanya kecenderungan yang sama terhadap dampak peningkatan investasi. Dengan demikian, investasi, pertumbuhan ekonomi, dan penyerapan tenaga kerja merupakan tiga unsur yang saling terkait. Namun di sisi lain, terdapat indikasi pertumbuhan ekonomi di Indonesia dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ini didorong oleh faktor konsumsi (C). Oleh sebab itu, meskipun perekonomian meningkat, namun penciptaan lapangan kerja relatif sangat lambat (Bappenas, 2003: 1-22).

Berdasarkan ulasan di atas, makalah ini berupaya untuk menjawab pertanyaan mendasar yang berkaitan dengan investasi dan tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja, yaitu pertama, bagaimana fakta dinamika investasi dalam masa *recovery* dan seberapa besar dampaknya dalam menciptakan lapangan kerja. Kedua, bagaimana refleksi investasi pada tingkat makro secara regional. Metode sederhana yang diterapkan di sini adalah mengkaitkan tipe investasi, baik PMA maupun PMDN, dengan tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja, di mana kemunduran atau penurunan investasi menyebabkan pertumbuhan ekonomi tidak menarik disertai dengan pengangguran yang meningkat (Sugiyarto, 2005). Selain itu, bagi kepentingan kelenturan investasi, pemilihan lokasi cukup beralasan sehingga perlu ditinjau secara makro menurut region, yaitu, wilayah-wilayah yang terletak di Kawasan Barat Indonesia (KBI) dan Kawasan Timur Indonesia (KTI).

Dalam metode *input output* (tabel I/O) diketahui bagaimana peranan induksi investasi pada salah satu sektor kunci dan dampaknya terhadap sektor lainnya, termasuk penyerapan tenaga kerja. Pada dasarnya dalam Tabel I/O dengan model multisektor, peneliti dapat memahami peran multisektor melalui metode pembalikan matriks (*inverse matrix*) di mana nilai koefisien mengacu pada besaran peran suatu sektor ekonomi secara relatif terhadap sektor lainnya. Demikian pula, besaran koefisien penyerapan kerja dalam sektor yang bersangkutan.

Silogisme yang sama dapat dituangkan dalam agregasi nilai keseluruhan investasi menurut wilayah. Dalam data investasi menurut wilayah atas dasar nilai investasi yang direalisasikan dan dicatat BKPM dan BI dapat diketahui nilai tertimbang secara relatif bagi penyerapan tenaga kerja. Namun, karena dampak investasi di suatu wilayah tertentu tidak secara langsung dapat menciptakan lapangan kerja maka sebagai *proxy*-nya diambil data sakernas pada periode waktu berikutnya, yaitu 2 tahun berikutnya. Hal ini dengan mempertimbangkan bahwa investor membutuhkan waktu tertentu dalam mempersiapkan pengembangan usahanya yang pada gilirannya akan menciptakan lapangan usaha.

Secara singkat, ulasan ini meliputi (i) Dinamika investasi PMDN dan PMA di wilayah KBI dan KTI, (ii) Situasi tenaga kerja di wilayah KBI dan KTI, dan (iii) Peranan investasi terhadap penyerapan tenaga kerja di wilayah KBI dan KTI. Indikasi data yang digunakan adalah data tahun permulaan (tahun 2000-an), guna mendapatkan ilustrasi dampak pada tahun-tahun berikutnya terhadap tenaga kerja.

KERAGAMAN INVESTASI DI TINGKAT REGIONAL

Daya tarik investasi bergantung pada banyak faktor. Hasil kajian Komite Pemantau Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah (KPPOD) menyatakan bahwa sumber daya alam migas, faktor keamanan, dan iklim usaha yang kondusif merupakan prioritas utama bagi investor (Kompas, 25 Januari 2002). Selain itu, aspek stabilitas politik dan keamanan, meskipun tidak mencukupi merupakan prasyarat yang sangat penting bagi keberlangsungan investasi. (Bappenas, 2003:IV-5). Di lain pihak, belum mantapnya program desentralisasi secara tidak langsung juga berdampak terhadap minat investasi di mana dari sisi kebijakan ditandai dengan adanya keragaman yang besar antar kebijakan investasi antar daerah. Keragaman inilah yang pada akhirnya menimbulkan perbedaan daya tarik investasi antar daerah. Untuk lebih jelasnya, Tabel 1 menunjukkan fluktuasi investasi PMDN dan PMA pada periode Agustus 2000 hingga Juli 2001.

Dari Tabel 1 yang bersumber dari laporan BI menunjukkan bahwa total investasi periode Agustus 2000 hingga Juli 2001 mencapai 244.333,60 miliar rupiah yang terbagi atas Rp 168,9 triliun di wilayah KBI dan Rp 75,4 triliun di KTI. Nilai investasi di wilayah KBI mencapai lebih dari dua kali nilai investasi di KTI sehingga hal ini mengindikasikan adanya ketimpangan pembangunan antara kedua wilayah tersebut. Sementara, daya saing investasi PMA di KBI tampaknya jauh lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan KTI. Kondisi daya saing tersebut diilustrasikan dengan nilai persetujuan investasi PMA di KBI yang mencapai lebih dari tujuh kali nilai persetujuan investasi di KTI. Berbeda halnya dalam lingkup PMDN, nilai investasi PMDN tampaknya relatif seimbang antara KBI dan KTI.

Daya saing investasi PMDN Pulau Sumatra paling tinggi dibandingkan dengan region lainnya di wilayah KBI. Pasalnya, lebih dari 60% investasi PMDN di KBI teraglomerasi di Pulau Sumatra, disusul oleh Pulau Jawa sekitar 30%, dan Pulau Bali yang kurang dari 1%. Hal sebaliknya terjadi dalam lingkup PMA di mana nilai investasi Pulau Sumatra hanya sekitar 30%, Pulau Jawa sekitar 70%, dan Pulau Bali sekitar 1%. Secara tidak langsung fakta ini menunjukkan perbedaan yang cukup mendasar terhadap pemilihan sektor di mana di Sumatra terdapat banyak sektor perkebunan, dan migas yang mendapat dorongan PMDN, sementara di Jawa dan Bali cenderung berfokus pada sektor-sektor jasa dan perdagangan, selain manufaktur.

Untuk wilayah KTI, daya saing investasi PMDN tertinggi adalah Pulau Sulawesi akibat luas daratannya yang luas dan terdiri atas beberapa provinsi. Nilai investasi PMDN di pulau tersebut mencapai lebih dari 80% dari nilai total KBI. Di sisi lain,

Tabel 1. Realisasi PMDN dan PMA di KBI dan KTI Periode Agustus 2000- Juli 2001

Propinsi	Nilai Invests (M Rp)		Total
	PMDN	PMA	
NAD	154.00	15,440.25	15,594.25
Sumut	816.40	1,191.19	2,007.59
Sumbar	117.70	368.90	486.60
Riau	36,399.60	13,062.80	49,462.40
Jambi	575.30	2,144.55	2,719.85
Sumsel	683.30	2,112.25	2,795.55
Bengkulu	0.00	1.70	1.70
Lampung	652.40	322.15	974.55
SUMATERA	39,398.70	34,643.79	74,042.49
DKI Jakarta	3,971.80	27,230.60	31,202.40
Jawa Barat	8,220.90	25,029.95	33,250.85
Jawa Tengah	2,038.60	799.85	2,838.45
Yogyakarta	128.60	103.70	232.30
Jawa Timur	4,136.80	21,554.30	25,691.10
JAWA	18,496.70	74,718.40	93,215.10
BALI	450.00	1,232.50	1,682.50
JUMLAH KBI	58,345.40	110,594.69	168,940.09
NTB	1,273.00	11,979.82	13,252.82
NTT	1,081.10	8.67	1,089.77
Kalimantan Barat	12.00	563.55	575.55
Kalimantan Tengah	306.60	23.80	330.40
Kalimantan Selatan	3,051.50	1,027.65	4,079.15
Kalimantan Timur	1,453.20	158.10	1,611.30
KALIMANTAN	4,823.30	1,773.10	6,596.40
Sulawesi Utara	2,602.20	17.00	2,619.20
Sulawesi Tengah	1,328.30	118.15	1,446.45
Sulawesi Selatan	44,844.80	35.28	44,880.08
Sulawesi Tenggara	1,368.30	5.10	1,373.40
SULAWESI	50,143.60	175.53	50,319.13
MALUKU	0.00	955.40	955.40
PAPUA	3,180.00	197.20	3,180.00
JUMLAH KTI	60,501.00	15,089.71	75,393.51
Indonesia	118,846.40	125,684.40	244,333.60

Sumber: www.bkpm.go.id

daya tarik investasi PMA tertinggi di wilayah KTI dimiliki NTB di mana hampir 80% dari total investasi PMA di KTI berada di provinsi tersebut. Kelihatannya, fokus PMDN cenderung ke investasi di sektor perkebunan dan pertanian, di mana pada masa krisis, hasil bumi Sulawesi, terutama cengkeh, pala, dan rempah-rempah serta sejenisnya, sangat tinggi nilainya. Secara sepintas, saat itu Sulawesi tidak mengalami krisis, bahkan sebaliknya sehingga tidak mengherankan jika fokus investasi, khususnya PMDN cenderung tinggi di wilayah ini. Untuk NTB, penjelasan terhadap sektor pertambangan, khususnya PT Newmont, yang meskipun masih terjadi konflik antara pemerintah, PT tersebut dan masyarakat sekitarnya menjadikan nilai PMA meningkat.

Secara lebih rinci, distribusi spasial nilai investasi antar daerah/provinsi, nilai investasi tertinggi di wilayah Sumatra adalah Provinsi Riau diikuti NAD. Jika dibandingkan antara investasi PMDN dan PMA, minat investor PMDN di Propinsi Riau jauh lebih tinggi dibandingkan PMA. Kebalikan dengan itu, minat investor PMA di Provinsi NAD lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan Provinsi Riau. Selain keragaman potensi sumber daya alam, fluktuasi investasi di atas juga dapat mengindikasikan adanya keragaman iklim investasi antarregion. Keragaman iklim investasi tersebut dapat lebih jelas terlihat pada situasi investasi yang berbasis potensi sumber daya alam nonmigas.

Daya saing investasi tertinggi di Pulau Jawa adalah Provinsi DKI Jakarta dan Jawa Barat. Sebabnya, DKI Jakarta merupakan pusat pemerintahan, pusat perdagangan dan bisnis serta jumlah uang beredar di sini mencapai 60% sehingga tidak dapat dihindari memiliki daya saing investasi lebih kompetitif dibandingkan dengan daerah lainnya. Tingginya daya tarik investasi di Provinsi Jawa Barat sejalan dengan hasil temuan Komite Pemantauan Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah (KPPOD)¹ di mana hasil kajiannya menempatkan daya tarik Kabupaten Bogor, Indramayu, dan Kabupaten Bekasi termasuk dalam 10 peringkat terbaik se Indonesia (Kompas, 2002). Selain itu, tampak bahwa minat investor PMA di kedua provinsi tersebut jauh lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan PMDN (lihat Tabel 1).

Untuk wilayah KTI, daya saing investasi tertinggi di Pulau Kalimantan dimiliki oleh Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan. Pada wilayah tersebut, minat investor PMDN tampak lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan PMA (lihat Tabel 1). Sementara, untuk Pulau Sulawesi, daya saing tertinggi dimiliki oleh Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan. Hampir 100% investasi di Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan didominasi oleh PMDN. Seperti halnya Riau dan Aceh di atas, tingginya minat investasi di Provinsi Kalimantan Selatan dan Sulawesi Selatan ini lebih disebabkan oleh aspek ketersediaan sumber daya alamnya.

Dengan demikian, dari seluruh provinsi di Indonesia dicatat tujuh provinsi yang memiliki nilai investasi di atas Rp10.000 m. Ke-tujuh region tersebut terdiri atas lima wilayah di KBI dan dua region di KTI. Lima wilayah di KBI meliputi Provinsi

¹ Kajian dilakukan pada bulan Agustus hingga Desember 2001, menggunakan 7 (tujuh) indikator utama, yakni keamanan, potensi ekonomi, budaya, tenaga kerja, infrastruktur, peraturan daerah, dan keuangan daerah.

Tabel 2. Dinamika Investasi Antar Sektor Periode Agustus 2000 – Juli 2001 (Rp. Mil.)

Sektor	Investasi		Total
	PMDN	PMA	
Industri barang logam	1,599.86	3,922.75	5,522.61
Industri kayu	289.79	527.00	816.79
Industri kertas	11,272.32	6,304.45	17,576.77
Industri kimia dan farmasi	74,426.30	50,421.15	124,847.45
Industri lainnya	1,523.20	4,148.85	5,672.05
Industri logam dasar	315.44	4,056.20	4,371.64
Industri makanan	13,492.55	5,393.25	18,885.80
Industri mineral non logam	3,083.05	858.50	3,941.55
Industri tekstil	2,501.44	3,518.15	6,019.59
Kehutanan	452.90	685.95	1,138.85
Konstruksi bangunan	2,367.56	515.10	2,882.66
Listrik/perdagangan/jasa dll	2,000.81	21,907.90	23,908.71
Perhotelan	826.19	3,701.75	4,527.94
Perikanan	186.80	310.25	497.05
Pertanian	1,624.77	4,771.05	6,395.82
Perumahan dan perkantoran	437.90	2,031.50	2,469.40
Tambang	824.63	855.95	1,680.58
Transportasi	1,620.69	11,754.65	13,375.34
Total	118,846.20	125,684.40	244,530.60

Sumber : Bank Indonesia, 2004

Riau, Jawa Barat, DKI Jakarta, Jawa Timur, dan Aceh, sedangkan dua wilayah lainnya di KTI adalah Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan dan NTB.

Secara umum, ulasan terhadap fluktuasi investasi antar region di atas dapat mengindikasikan distribusi spasial penyerapan tenaga kerja antar region. Namun, situasi penyerapan tenaga kerja juga bergantung pada jenis usaha investasi. Untuk itu, Tabel 2 mengilustrasikan dinamika investasi antar sektor.

Tabel 2 menunjukkan bahwa pada periode Agustus 2000-Juli 2001, investasi di sektor kimia dan farmasi mendominasi investasi yang ada di Indonesia yang jumlahnya mencapai lebih dari 50% yang secara spesifik, sekitar 60% PMDN dan 40% PMA terkonsentrasi pada sektor tersebut. Selain sektor industri kimia dan farmasi, empat sektor lainnya yang memiliki nilai investasi di atas Rp1 trilyun, yaitu (i) sektor listrik/perdagangan/jasa dan lainnya, (ii) sektor transportasi, (iii) sektor industri makanan, dan (iv) sektor industri kertas. Melihat karakteristik usaha kelima investasi yang memiliki nilai tinggi di atas, dapat diindikasikan terdapat kesetaraan pengembangan usaha yang bersifat padat modal dan padat karya.

Jika dibandingkan antar PMDN dan PMA, minat PMDN pada sektor industri kertas dan makanan lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan PMA. Investasi PMDN di kedua sektor tersebut mencapai sekitar dua kali investasi PMA. Sementara, pada sektor listrik/perdagangan/jasa dan lainnya serta sektor transportasi, minat PMA tampak jauh lebih tinggi dibandingkan PMDN. Perbandingan antara investasi PMA dan PMDN

mencapai 7 : 1. Gambaran terhadap dinamika investasi PMDN dan PMA tersebut dapat mengindikasikan minat investor PMDN lebih berorientasi pada sektor-sektor yang berkaitan dengan pemenuhan kebutuhan pokok masyarakat/konsumsi, sementara minat investor PMA lebih berorientasi pada sektor-sektor yang terkait dengan pembangunan.

Di lain pihak, minat investasi di sektor kehutanan tampak sangat rendah, yaitu hanya mencapai sekitar 0,4% dari total nilai investasi (lihat Tabel 2). Lemahnya minat investasi di sektor ini kontra produktif dengan fakta bahwa Indonesia memiliki potensi sumberdaya alam hutan yang sangat besar. Indonesia dikenal sebagai negara dengan hutan tropis terluas ketiga di dunia dan memiliki keanekaragaman hayati yang sangat menonjol dan menyebar. Sementara ekspektasi kebutuhan kayu dunia hingga tahun 2005 jauh melebihi kondisi persediaan yang ada (Koestoer, 2002: 27). Namun, bukan tidak mungkin hal ini disebabkan investor melihat aspek kepastian hukum yang tidak kondusif sehingga banyak di antara investor yang mengubah haluan di bidang lain. Di lain pihak, kasus-kasus *illegal logging* serta protes dari para pecinta lingkungan turut mewarnai situasi investasi di sektor kehutanan. Selain faktor permintaan pasar global dan ketersediaan sumber daya alam, keberadaan investasi kehutanan berdampak positif terhadap industri ikutan lainnya. Dampak positif tersebut terlihat dari tingginya nilai investasi di sektor industri kertas.

TENAGA KERJA DI KBI DAN KTI

Keterkaitan antara investasi dan tenaga kerja dapat ditunjukkan melalui pengembangan industri di suatu wilayah tertentu. Industri tersebut diharapkan menyerap tenaga kerja baik dari daerah tersebut maupun dari luar daerah. Jadi dengan induksi investasi, pertumbuhan ekonomi regional akan merupakan indikasi pertama yang dapat dilihat, dan kemudian disusul oleh penyerapan tenaga kerja.

Tidak lepas dari aspek investasi dan tenaga kerja, bagian ini akan mengulas informasi tentang ketimpangan angkatan kerja dan tenaga kerja antar daerah. Secara umum, perbandingan jumlah angkatan kerja antara wilayah KBI dan KTI mencapai hampir 5: 1, artinya KBI berpotensi lima kali lebih besar dibandingkan dengan wilayah KTI. Begitu pula dengan tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerjanya. Tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja di wilayah KBI lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan wilayah KTI. Ini terilustrasi dari perbandingan persentase angkatan kerja yang bekerja sebagai buruh tetap. Untuk lebih jelasnya, Tabel 3 mengilustrasikan keadaan tenaga kerja tahun 2003.

Tabel 3 menunjukkan bahwa sebanyak 24,84% dari jumlah angkatan kerja di wilayah KBI bekerja sebagai buruh tetap. Sementara untuk wilayah KTI, jumlah angkatan kerja yang bekerja sebagai buruh tetap hanya mencapai 16%. Ini berarti tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja buruh tetap di wilayah KBI lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan KTI.

Tabel 3. Keadaan Tenaga Kerja Berdasarkan Status Pekerjaan Utama Tahun 2003

Propinsi	Jumlah Angkatan Kerja	Pekerja/ Buruh/ Karyawan		Berusaha dengan Buruh Tetap	
		Jumlah	%	Jumlah	%
NAD	2,538,189.00	609,876.00	24.03	128,985.00	5.08
Sumut	5,159,678.00	1,214,676.00	23.54	111,221.00	2.16
Sumbar	1,947,876.00	378,756.00	19.44	56,532.00	2.90
Riau	2,385,328.00	861,738.00	36.13	45,575.00	1.91
Jambi	1,166,158.00	184,904.00	15.86	53,589.00	4.60
Sumsel	3,040,646.00	454,482.00	14.95	36,316.00	1.19
Bengkulu	727,484.00	85,414.00	11.74	11,008.00	1.51
Lampung	3,316,226.00	497,391.00	15.00	67,240.00	2.03
SUMATERA	20,281,585.00	4,287,237.00	21.14	510,466.00	2.52
DKI Jakarta	3,968,884.00	2,228,186.00	56.14	168,492.00	4.25
Jawa Barat	16,082,417.00	4,518,722.00	28.10	421,905.00	2.62
Jawa Tengah	16,257,270.00	3,371,778.00	20.74	443,064.00	2.73
Yogyakarta	1,756,662.00	457,287.00	26.03	46,555.00	2.65
Jawa Timur	18,097,118.00	4,044,036.00	22.35	541,536.00	2.99
JAWA	56,162,351.00	14,620,009.00	26.03	1,621,552.00	2.89
BALI	1,877,422.00	548,780.00	29.23	41,900.00	2.23
JUMLAH KBI	78,321,358.00	19,456,026.00	24.84	2,173,918.00	2.78
NTB	1,966,719.00	247,840.00	12.60	38,620.00	1.96
NTT	1,969,933.00	189,231.00	9.61	20,349.00	1.03
Kalimantan Barat	1,826,645.00	334,064.00	18.29	38,807.00	2.12
Kalimantan Tengah	842,969.00	102,769.00	12.19	40,231.00	4.77
Kalimantan Selatan	1,594,275.00	263,689.00	16.54	31,960.00	2.00
Kalimantan Timur	1,160,158.00	404,981.00	34.91	26,239.00	2.26
KALIMANTAN	5,424,047.00	1,105,503.00	20.38	137,237.00	2.53
Sulawesi Utara	853,548.00	220,146.00	25.79	48,351.00	5.66
Sulawesi Tengah	941,386.00	156,868.00	16.66	31,129.00	3.31
Sulawesi Selatan	3,457,525.00	563,477.00	16.30	84,498.00	2.44
Sulawesi Tenggara	852,505.00	111,054.00	13.03	21,382.00	2.51
SULAWESI	6,104,964.00	1,051,545.00	17.22	185,360.00	3.04
MALUKU	495,667.00	68,487.00	13.82	19,399.00	3.91
PAPUA	1,161,888.00	139,026.00	11.97	8,880.00	0.76
JUMLAH KTI	17,123,218.00	2,801,632.00	16.36	409,845.00	2.39
INDONESIA	95,444,576.00	22,257,658.00	23.32	2,583,763.00	2.71

Sumber : Badan Pusat Statistik, Keadaan Angkatan Kerja di Indonesia, Agustus 2003

Di dalam KBI sendiri, tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja dengan status buruh tetap, relatif sama dengan Pulau Sumatra, Pulau Jawa, dan Pulau Bali, yaitu berkisar 25%. Dari ke tiga wilayah itu, Pulau Bali menempati peringkat pertama dengan tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja sebesar 29,23%; kemudian disusul penyerapan di Pulau Jawa sebesar 26,03% dan penyerapan di Pulau Sumatera 21,14%. Adapun untuk wilayah KTI, tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja, tertinggi dimiliki oleh Pulau Kalimantan, yaitu sebesar 20,38% dan terendah NTT sebesar 9,61%. Secara spesifik, tingkat penyerapan tertinggi di KTI terletak pada Provinsi Kalimantan Timur, yaitu 34,91%, kemudian diikuti oleh Provinsi Sulawesi Utara 25,79%. Dari 26 provinsi dalam ulasan ini, Provinsi DKI Jakarta merupakan provinsi tertinggi dalam tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja. (lihat Tabel 3). Tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja di provinsi ini hampir dua kali lebih tinggi dari umumnya provinsi lainnya.

Di lain pihak, antara KBI dan KTI terdapat kesetaraan dalam hal tingkat penyerapan tenaga kerja berstatus *employer*. Fenomena ini menarik mengingat pertumbuhan ekonomi di wilayah KTI jauh lebih rendah dibandingkan KBI. Untuk menjadi pekerja berstatus *employer* atau berusaha dengan buruh tetap dibutuhkan adanya jiwa kewirausahaan. Jiwa kewirausahaan terkait dengan kualitas sumber daya manusia. Untuk mencapai kondisi kualitas sumber daya manusia yang baik, jenjang pendidikan formal merupakan salah satu tahapan yang harus ditempuh oleh masyarakat. Tidak terlepas dari hal itu, dalam konteks kemandirian, kreativitas masyarakat lokal merupakan salah satu isu penting bagi terselenggaranya pemerintahan berdasarkan asas desentralisasi (Sitawati, 2002 : 48).

Dalam tulisan ini penilaian terhadap kualitas pekerja akan didekati dari jumlah pekerja dengan pendidikan SMA ke atas terhadap jumlah angkatan kerja yang bekerja. Selanjutnya, Tabel 4 mengilustrasikan keadaan angkatan kerja yang bekerja berdasarkan tingkat pendidikan yang ditamatkannya.

Dari Tabel 4 tampak kualitas pekerja yang berpendidikan SMA ke atas, relatif seimbang antara wilayah KBI dan KTI. Meskipun persentase pekerja yang berpendidikan SMA ke atas di KBI lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan KTI. Namun ketimpangan tersebut relatif kecil, terpaut hanya sekitar 3%.

Dari seluruh provinsi dalam ulasan ini, Provinsi DKI Jakarta memiliki persentase pekerja dengan pendidikan SMA ke atas tertinggi dibandingkan region lainnya. Persentase pekerja dengan pendidikan SMA ke atas provinsi tersebut sebesar 58,12%, lebih tinggi dua kali dibandingkan dengan rata-rata wilayah Indonesia yang sebesar 22,97%. Provinsi lainnya yang memiliki persentase pekerja dengan pendidikan SMA ke atas di atas rata-rata wilayah Indonesia adalah Provinsi Kalimantan Timur, Sulawesi Utara, Maluku, dan Sulawesi Selatan yang terletak di KTI. Provinsi Bali, Sumatra Utara, Sumatra Barat, dan Bengkulu di KBI.

Jika dikaitkan dengan keberadaan investasi, Provinsi Bali yang memiliki nilai investasi relatif kecil, ternyata memiliki kualitas sumber daya manusia yang lebih baik dari umumnya region-region di Indonesia. Kondisi yang sama terjadi pada Provinsi Yogyakarta, Bengkulu, dan Sumatra Barat (lihat Tabel 4). Berkebalikan dengan hal

Tabel 4. Keadaan Tenaga Kerja Berdasarkan Pendidikan Yang Ditamatkan Tahun 2003

Propinsi	Penduduk Berumur 15 Tahun Ke Atas yang Bekerja Selama Seminggu yang Lalu (Jiwa)	Pendidikan yang Ditamatkan SMA Ke Atas	
		Jumlah	%
NAD	2,254,155.00	862,761.00	38.27
Sumut	4,595,268.00	1,381,269.00	30.06
Sumbar	1,749,020.00	498,848.00	28.52
Riau	2,133,627.00	763,833.00	35.80
Jambi	1,091,782.00	205,647.00	18.84
Sumsel	2,767,849.00	532,470.00	19.24
Bengkulu	673,239.00	175,117.00	26.01
Lampung	3,017,916.00	502,983.00	16.67
SUMATERA	18,282,856.00	4,922,928.00	26.93
DKI Jakarta	3,379,202.00	1,964,146.00	58.12
Jawa Barat	14,103,352.00	3,168,734.00	22.47
Jawa Tengah	15,124,082.00	2,331,902.00	15.42
Yogyakarta	1,658,103.00	529,537.00	31.94
Jawa Timur	16,525,698.00	3,221,650.00	19.49
JAWA	50,790,437.00	11,215,969.00	22.08
BALI	1,777,196.00	539,441.00	30.35
JUMLAH KBI	70,850,489.00	16,678,338.00	23.54
NTB	1,842,905.00	290,995.00	15.79
NTT	1,890,042.00	269,395.00	14.25
Kalimantan Barat	1,707,747.00	323,442.00	18.94
Kalimantan Tengah	779,968.00	132,407.00	16.98
Kalimantan Selatan	1,472,745.00	275,995.00	18.74
Kalimantan Timur	1,115,513.00	348,448.00	31.24
KALIMANTAN	5,075,973.00	1,080,292.00	21.28
Sulawesi Utara	803,574.00	245,520.00	30.55
Sulawesi Tengah	898,383.00	200,310.00	22.30
Sulawesi Selatan	2,870,757.00	666,517.00	23.22
Sulawesi Tenggara	765,783.00	169,759.00	22.17
SULAWESI	5,338,497.00	1,282,106.00	24.02
MALUKU	433,594.00	117,767.00	27.16
PAPUA	1,094,100.00	158,418.00	14.48
JUMLAH KTI	15,675,111.00	3,198,973.00	20.41
Total	86,525,600.00	19,877,311.00	22.97

Sumber: Sakernas 2003, BPS

itu, Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan, Jawa Barat, Jawa Timur dan Jawa Barat yang memiliki investasi tinggi ternyata memiliki kualitas sumber daya manusia di bawah rata-rata wilayah Indonesia.

Secara umum, ilustrasi di atas mengindikasikan kualitas pekerja di Indonesia relatif kurang baik. Ini tercermin dari kecilnya persentase pekerja yang berpendidikan SMA ke atas, yaitu hanya mencapai 23%. Sementara, sisanya sebesar lebih dari 70% merupakan pekerja yang berpendidikan SMA ke bawah. Tidak terlepas dari hal itu, masalah penyerapan tenaga kerja sebetulnya tidak sepenuhnya bergantung atas kualitas pekerja itu sendiri, namun masih terdapat faktor lain yang mempengaruhinya. Salah satunya adalah faktor kebijakan ketenagakerjaan yang ada.

PERANAN INVESTASI BAGI PENYERAPAN TENAGA KERJA DI KBI DAN KTI

Sebagaimana disebutkan di atas, investasi akan mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi. Aspek ketenagakerjaan merupakan salah satu indikator ekonomi makro. Pada bagian ini akan diulas dampak dari investasi terhadap penyerapan tenaga kerja. Investasi, pertumbuhan PDRB dan penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan merupakan tiga unsur yang saling terkait. Meningkatnya pertumbuhan ekonomi akan meningkatkan penyerapan tenaga kerja dan ini akan terealisasi apabila terjadi peningkatan investasi. Pada kenyataannya, penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan di Indonesia tidak sesederhana seperti gambaran di atas. Meningkatnya investasi belum tentu setara dengan laju peningkatan lapangan kerja.

Menurut Bappenas (2003) menurunnya penciptaan lapangan kerja terjadi setelah krisis ekonomi dan ini disebabkan oleh adanya perubahan hubungan industrial yang drastis sejak tahun 1998. Reformasi politik dan demokrasi telah memberi kesempatan bagi pekerja untuk berpartisipasi dalam penetapan kondisi dan standar kerja. Namun, perubahan tersebut telah mengakibatkan ketidakpastian dalam hubungan industrial sehingga lebih sering terjadi konflik dan pemogokan yang merugikan baik bagi pekerja maupun pemberi kerja (Bappenas, 2003 : IV-16-17). Selain itu, berbagai kebijakan ketenagakerjaan diindikasikan sebagai salah satu penyebab terjadinya penurunan penciptaan lapangan kerja. Kebijakan tersebut di antaranya adalah kebijakan yang menyangkut penetapan upah minimum serta kebijakan yang terkait dengan pemutusan hubungan kerja dan pemberian pesangon. Kebijakan tersebut dirasakan memberikan porsi perlindungan yang lebih besar kepada pihak pekerja.

Ada suatu kecenderungan penerapan peningkatan upah minimum dalam skala cukup tinggi memberikan dampak negatif terhadap peningkatan penyerapan tenaga kerja. Penerapan upah minimum tersebut berdampak ganda, tidak hanya terhadap pemberi kerja yang memang belum menerapkan upah sesuai dengan standar minimum, tetapi juga bagi pemberi kerja yang sebetulnya telah menerapkan upah di atas upah minimum. Bagi perusahaan tersebut (terutama perusahaan besar), peningkatan upah minimum berdampak secara psikologis. Agar tidak menimbulkan adanya perbedaan

antara upah tenaga kerja perusahaannya dan perusahaan lain yang masih menerapkan upah tenaga kerja di bawah standar, perusahaan tersebut terpaksa harus meningkatkan pemberian upahnya. Ini dapat menjadi penghambat penyerapan tenaga bagi perluasan usaha.

Selain itu, ketentuan pemutusan hubungan kerja (PHK) dan pemberian pesangon yang lebih berpihak pada pekerja berakibat terjadi kecenderungan penggunaan mesin sebagai pengganti manusia. Hal-hal inilah yang pada akhirnya menimbulkan pergeseran usaha dari yang mulanya padat karya menjadi suatu usaha yang relatif padat modal. Secara tidak langsung, ini akan berpengaruh terhadap penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan. Dengan demikian, kebijakan ketenagakerjaan tidak dapat dipandang sebagai satu bagian yang berdiri sendiri, tetapi merupakan bagian dari rangkaian penciptaan iklim investasi yang kondusif.

Di sisi lain, akibat rendahnya pemahaman sumber daya manusia di Indonesia umumnya, pekerja kurang dapat menyadari dampak jangka panjang tuntutan peningkatan upah terhadap keberlangsungan suatu usaha. Fakta menunjukkan bahwa dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ini, tercatat beberapa perusahaan besar mengalihkan lokasi usahanya ke tempat lain di luar Indonesia yang dianggap lebih memiliki iklim usaha kondusif.

Tidak terlepas dari hal itu, rendahnya pemahaman sumber daya manusia di Indonesia, umumnya terkait dengan tingkat pendidikan. Seperti yang telah diutarakan di atas, sebagian besar pekerja di Indonesia ($\pm 70\%$) memiliki tingkat pendidikan SMA ke bawah. Oleh sebab itu, peningkatan kualitas sumber daya manusia dapat juga dipandang sebagai salah satu bagian dari rangkaian penciptaan iklim investasi yang kondusif.

Hasil perhitungan korelasi statistik memperlihatkan bahwa secara umum terdapat ketimpangan penyerapan tenaga kerja di wilayah KBI dan KTI. Ini ditunjukkan dengan hasil korelasi antara investasi PMDN dan PMA terhadap jumlah angkatan kerja yang bekerja sebagai buruh tetap. Di wilayah KBI hasil korelasi relatif kuat ($+0,65$). Sementara untuk wilayah KTI kebalikannya ($-0,23$). Hal ini mengindikasikan beberapa hal, antara lain pekerja di wilayah KTI umumnya bukan penduduk lokal, tetapi umumnya dari wilayah KBI. Kondisi ini sejalan dengan fenomena ketersediaan angkatan kerja di KTI yang jauh lebih rendah dibandingkan dengan KBI (lihat Tabel 3). Selain itu, mungkin juga terkait dengan jenis usaha yang ada relatif padat modal. Namun, pola yang sama tidak seluruhnya terjadi di region-region KTI. Di Pulau Kalimantan, meskipun tidak sekuat nilai korelasi region-region di KBI, hasil korelasi bersifat lemah positif ($+0,15$). Inipun sebetulnya didukung oleh keberadaan investasi PMDN.

Untuk wilayah KBI, korelasi terkuat terjadi di Sumatra. Korelasi investasi PMDN dan PMA terhadap penyerapan buruh tetap di region tersebut sangat kuat ($+0,90$). Ini dapat mengindikasikan bahwa peningkatan investasi akan diikuti dengan peningkatan penyerapan tenaga kerja. Sementara, untuk wilayah Pulau Jawa dan Bali, menunjukkan nilai korelasi sedang ($+0,47$).

Jika dibandingkan antara investasi PMDN dan PMA, investasi PMDN pada wilayah Sumatra lebih membuka peluang kesempatan kerja dibandingkan dengan investasi PMA. Hal ini ditunjukkan oleh nilai korelasi investasi PMDN terhadap buruh tetap di Sumatra relatif kuat (0,83), sedangkan korelasi investasi PMA terhadap buruh tetap lebih rendah (0,75). Fenomena ini dapat mengindikasikan jenis usaha yang berkembang di wilayah Sumatra adalah jenis usaha yang lebih bersifat padat karya. Sebaliknya di Pulau Jawa dan Bali, investasi PMA yang lebih menciptakan lapangan kerja ketimbang investasi PMDN. Hasil korelasi antara investasi PMA terhadap buruh tetap relatif sedang (0,53), sedangkan hasil korelasi antara investasi PMDN dan buruh tetap sangat lemah (0,15). Jika dilihat kualitas sumber daya manusianya, Pulau Jawa dan Bali memiliki kualitas sumber daya lebih baik tertimbang Sumatra. Dengan demikian, lebih rendahnya nilai korelasi Pulau Jawa dan Bali dibandingkan dengan Pulau Sumatra dapat mengindikasikan bahwa bukan faktor sumber daya manusia yang menjadi penyebabnya, melainkan faktor jenis usaha. Dalam hal ini ditunjukkan oleh jenis usaha yang berkembang pada region tersebut adalah jenis usaha yang lebih bersifat padat modal. Selain itu, kemungkinan juga terkait dengan jiwa kewirausahaan yang dimiliki masyarakat Pulau Jawa dan Bali. Masyarakat wilayah tersebut cenderung untuk memilih bekerja sendiri/*self employer*.

Peranan kualitas sumber daya manusia terhadap penyerapan lapangan kerja sebagai *employer* atau berusaha dengan buruh tetap jelas terlihat melalui hasil korelasi antara investasi dan tenaga kerja yang bekerja sebagai *employer*. Di Jawa dan Bali yang memiliki kualitas sumber daya manusia lebih baik tertimbang Pulau Sumatra, hasil korelasi memperlihatkan nilai lebih kuat dibandingkan dengan Sumatra. Ini ditunjukkan dengan nilai korelasi investasi PMA terhadap *employer* di Jawa dan Bali cukup kuat (0,65), sementara di Pulau Sumatra relatif sedang (0,44).

Jika dibandingkan dengan investasi PMDN dan PMA, investasi PMA ternyata lebih memberikan dampak positif terhadap penciptaan lapangan kerja sebagai *employer*. Ini diilustrasikan dengan nilai korelasi investasi PMA terhadap pekerja *employer* sebesar +0,65, sementara nilai korelasi investasi PMDN terhadap pekerja *employer* hanya sekitar +0,24. Kesenjangan nilai korelasi antara investasi PMA terhadap *employer* sebagai yang terjadi di Pulau Jawa dan Bali tersebut banyak terkait dengan sifat masyarakat yang memiliki jiwa kewirausahaan di region tersebut.

Tumbuhnya jiwa kewirausahaan masyarakat Pulau Jawa dan Bali lebih jelas terlihat dari perbandingan nilai korelasi antara investasi PMA terhadap *employer* dan antara investasi PMA dengan buruh tetap. Korelasi kelompok pertama lebih tinggi (0,65) ketimbang kelompok kedua (0,53). Di lain pihak, penciptaan lapangan kerja sebagai *employer* memberikan dampak ganda terhadap dunia ketenagakerjaan, yaitu memberikan dampak terhadap penciptaan lapangan kerja bagi buruh tetap di bawahnya meskipun buruh tersebut berupa buruh *unskill* sekalipun. Selanjutnya, ini akan berdampak terhadap pengurangan masalah pengangguran di Indonesia. Dengan demikian, melihat tingginya dampak keberadaan investasi PMA terhadap dunia

ketenagakerjaan, investasi di lingkup PMA tersebut perlu lebih didorong untuk lebih berkembang.

Melihat besarnya peranan keberadaan investasi terhadap penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan; penciptaan iklim usaha yang kondusif merupakan hal penting bagi jalannya roda perekonomian negara. Berkaitan dengan hal tersebut, pemerintah telah melakukan berbagai tindakan dalam rangka meningkatkan investasi, ekspor dan kesempatan kerja. Berbagai tindakan tersebut antara lain, perbaikan pada iklim investasi, hubungan ketenagakerjaan, fasilitas industri dan perdagangan, reformasi hukum, keamanan dan memperbaiki tata kelola. Perbaikan tersebut di antaranya diterbitkannya undang-undang yang terkait dengan penyelesaian hubungan industrial, pengaturan yang menyetarakan perlakuan bagi investasi PMA dan PMDN, perbaikan kondisi investasi dan harmonisasi peraturan investasi untuk meningkatkan daya saing menarik investasi yang diperlukan untuk mempercepat pertumbuhan dan penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan serta diterbitkannya Undang-Undang No. 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan. (Menko Perekonomian, 2004). Di sisi lain, dalam rangka harmonisasi peraturan daerah dalam konteks otda dan untuk lebih menghasilkan iklim investasi yang lebih kondusif; pemerintah telah mengkaji lebih dari 3.000 peraturan daerah. Dari jumlah tersebut, 161 perda telah dibatalkan oleh Mendagri dan 284 lainnya diminta oleh Mendagri agar dibatalkan oleh daerah yang bersangkutan.

Dengan demikian, sejalan dengan ekspektasi kondisi perekonomian dunia tahun 2004 lebih baik sebelumnya, membaiknya kinerja pemerintah dalam menciptakan iklim investasi yang kondusif serta fakta memperlihatkan adanya keterkaitan yang cukup kuat antara investasi terhadap penciptaan lapangan pekerjaan, dunia ketenagakerjaan tahun 2004 diharapkan akan membaik.

RINGKASAN TEMUAN

Paparan di atas telah mengulas kemajuan penanaman modal setelah masa krisis ekonomi dan dampaknya terhadap penyerapan tenaga kerja, dengan kerangka waktu tertentu, data 2000-01 untuk investasi disertai dampak tenaga kerja pada tahun ikutannya 2002-03. Beberapa butir temuan dan ringkasan penting untuk dicatat.

Pertama, Pemerintah telah meletakkan prioritas utama pada program yang menuju pada langkah-langkah guna mengatasi pasca-IMF dan dorongan ekspor serta investasi, melalui Inpres No 5/2003 dan Keppres 87/2003. Keduanya merupakan langkah-langkah kebijakan strategis untuk menarik investasi dan penciptaan lapangan kerja.

Kedua, dalam perspektif regional, profil investasi untuk masing-masing wilayah sangat bervariasi. Untuk KBI, investasi dua kali lipat lebih besar daripada KTI. Investasi asing lebih dominan di KBI, khususnya di Jawa. Sementara di KTI, investasi domestik lebih dominan yang ditunjukkan Kalimantan, Sulawesi, dan Papua.

Ketiga, investasi domestik, menyebar di sektor-sektor tradisional dan ini banyak disebabkan oleh ketersediaan sumber daya alam yang dimiliki daerah, seperti di

Sumatra dengan pertanian dan migas, Sulawesi dengan pertanian, Papua dengan migas dan tambang. Sementara sektor-sektor modern seperti industri farmasi dan kimia umumnya berkonsentrasi di Jawa.

Keempat, kualitas SDM di Indonesia umumnya masih rendah. Hal ini ditunjukkan oleh rendahnya pencapaian tingkat pendidikan pekerja. KTI sangat menonjol profilnya, termasuk Kalimantan Barat, Kalimantan Tengah, dan Kalimantan Selatan serta Papua; sementara di KBI adalah Jambi, Lampung, dan Jawa Tengah. Sekitar 70% tenaga kerja di Indonesia memiliki tingkat pendidikan rendah. Perusahaan-perusahaan cenderung menentukan standar keterampilan pekerja dengan tingkat pendidikan yang memadai guna mencapai nilai produktivitas tinggi, sebab dengan pendidikan tinggi, produktivitas akan meningkat.

Kelima, dalam kaitannya dengan tingkat korelasi antara buruh tetap dan investasi, terdapat pola yang kontras antara KBI dan KTI. Tenaga kerja formal memiliki korelasi positif dan kuat di KBI; sebaliknya di KTI, korelasinya negatif dan relatif lemah. Di KBI, korelasi kuat tampak di Sumatra yang berarti induksi investasi memberi dampak positif terhadap penyerapan tenaga kerja akibat tingkat pendidikan yang tinggi. Investasi domestik menyebar di Sumatra dan mempunyai akses terhadap penyerapan tenaga kerja yang padat karya; sementara di Jawa dan Bali tidak demikian halnya.

Dengan demikian, secara keseluruhan, pemerintah daerah di seluruh Indonesia perlu mempertimbangkan butir-butir penting di atas guna mendorong penciptaan iklim usaha dan investasi yang kondusif serta peningkatan pembangunan daerah. Tidak mengherankan jika pemerintah pusat mengeluarkan Inpres No 3/2006 tentang Peningkatan Iklim Investasi.

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