



Land of Hope and Land of the Lost: Study of Power Relations and Local Wisdom Ethnic Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper examines the marginalization of indigenous lands belonging to Lampung ethnic group and changes in power relations between Java and Lampung ethnic groups. Lampung has been the destination area of colonization since 1905 and was followed by transmigration of Javanese. The turnout of population from Java in Lampung was a part of the program of development distribution and poverty alleviation in Indonesia. The impact of the arrival of Javanese to Lampung is the marginalization of indigenous lands in Lampung. The lands in Lampung have been largely controlled by the new comers and the plantation companies growing in Lampung. The relationship between Javanese and Lampung ethnic groups has also given an effect to this marginalization. The research used qualitative method with ethnographic approach. The data were collected through in-depth interviews and participative observation. The results of this investigation indicate that the marginalization of land belonging to Lampung ethnic group occurs in such a way that not realized by the Lampungnese or may due to the change of the views of Lampungnese on the meaning of "power". A power over a land has no longer described the real power, but the power in the political system and the local bureaucracy does. Lampung ethnic group also experienced extinction in the culture, except the identity of the "self-esteem" which has been actualized in form of power in local politics.

Keywords: Power; Marginalization; Tribe; Indigenous lands; Lampung ethnic group; Java Ethnic group

Introduction

This study examines the change of power between the migrants (Javanese) and landlords (Lampungnese) in Lampung. Colonization, namely the displacement of Javanese to Lampung has lasted more than a century, which was since 1905. Colonization was followed by transmigration. Lampung is the largest and most important colonization and transmigration destination region in the world.

Lampung is located in the southernmost region of the island of Sumatra, Indonesia. To learn transmigration in Lampung is very important, because Lampung is a major area of transmigration destination in the world. Lampung is selected as the destination of transmigration because it has a vast land and sparsely populated. Besides, Lampung is the closest to the island of Java.

Java population movements to Lampung have been initiated since the Dutch colonial period. Since 1905, the Netherlands has brought some Javanese to Lampung. This event is often referred to as the colonization period. The island of Java at that time was identical with poverty and population density, with small island and the imbalanced population. This was one of the reasons why the colonial government forcibly moved the Javanese to Lampung.

For the perspective of Javanese itself, there is no possibility to wander leaving their own land in Javanese tradition. Javanese people may migrate only because of two things: *wirang* or *Kirang*. *Wirang* is a condition of embarrassment happens to a person in social life and *Kirang* means severe poverty. Instead, in this context, the moving of the Javanese to Lampung has been done not only through legal transmigration, but also illegal movement which is called spontaneous transmigration. The official movement through the transmigration program has encouraged some population movements in another way: the people moved on their own wishes. This was driven by the invitation and success stories from relatives and friends, who had first moved to Lampung.

The arrival of the Javanese to Lampung is not only seen as a big wave of mobilization of the population but also the mobilization of socio-cultural life of the society. This is due to the impact of transmigration which does not only moving the people but also shifting the culture in people's live in Lampung.

It has been over a century of colonization and transmigration in Lampung now. Some major changes in the socio-cultural context have occurred in Lampung. The number of Javanese population – which is nearly 60% of the population, is bigger than the native Lampungnese that is only 11% (CBS, 2000). The areas that used to be forests and deserted even barren regions have been turned into rural areas. It can be seen from the cities as *Metro*, *Bandar Jaya*, and *Pringsewu* which are now highly developed urban centers initiated by the Javanese. The areas are not rich with natural resources; do not have sea, mineral or other natural resources. They just rely on service industries, but they can grow quite rapidly, surpassing even the areas that have been there before.

Lampung ethnic group consists of two indigenous groups, namely *Lampung Sai Batin* and *Lampung Pepadun*. The area of Lampung Sai Batin is located around the coast while the Pepadun is inland and hinterland. Lampung has very few ethnic groups but covers a vast area of settlement. They live in groups based on *Buay* or descendant groups. The *Sai Batin* is the group of people whose leadership is based on descendant system, while the *Pepadun* leadership is based on consensus of the people which is reached through *Cakak Pepadun* customary manner similar to a process of ascending a throne. However, both embraced patrilineal system, with exalting the eldest son as traditional leader or commonly called *Penyeimbang* or the balancer. There are two main things crucial for the native people of Lampung namely the blood (descendant) and land (settlement area). The higher one's position in the tribe system, the more land he/she has. In fact, the land is a crucial symbol related to the position of a *penyeimbang*.

The main livelihood of the Lampungnese is farming – usually called *Ngumo* in the Pepadun tribe and *Ngehuma* in the *Sai Batin*. Based on this fact, the Lampungnese both the *Sai Batin* and *Pepadun* usually have a vast land. The land owned by the Lampungnese is usually originated from indigenous land, the land owned by an indigenous group called *kebuayan* (descendant groups). The land is entrusted to the sons in the family. Usually the oldest son gets the most extensive land.

Since the coming of transmigration to Lampung, some of the lands of the Lampungnese were shared and traded. The Lampungnese often do not like to cultivate their own lands, so the lands are handed over to the migrants who come with sharecrop system. However, as time goes, these lands are sold cheaply to the Javanese. For the Lampungnese, selling their lands is not only to make money, but

also to make more population to enliven their area and in addition to the fact that they avoid to work on the lands.

Most of the lands of the Lampungnese have already been widely sold. Especially since the 1980s, some companies have started to establish their plantation business and bought the lands owned by the Lampungnese. As the result, the lands possessions of the Lampungnese reduced significantly. As the lands were set aside and marginalized, the power of the tribe coincidentally faded away. The political changes in Indonesia were greatly affected by the marginality of land and the power of Lampung tribe in its own country. Besides, the changes in the political will also affect to the marginalization processes.

During the New Order era, in addition to the increasing number of transmigration to Lampung and the inclusion of plantation companies to Lampung, the Lampung ethnic group was culturally and politically marginalized. The culture of Lampung turned to be minority to the culture of the major population that is the Javanese. The names of the streets and the area are dominated by some terms derived from the language of Java as the more dominant language, and so is the local political power. The new order government authorities pointed decentralized local elite of Javanese ethnicity became the leaders in the area. In Lampung, the governors who led during the new order era were Javanese.

The marginalization of occupation over the land and the political culture prevailed in the New Order. However, after the reign of the new order collapsed and turned to the reform era, some major changes of the political and cultural marginalization of land in Lampung happened. This paper examines the marginalization of occupation of community lands and the local wisdom of Lampung people by understanding the power relations between Lampung and Java tribes, as well as the influence of local political changes on both ethnic groups.

Literature Review

This study refers to the theories of power which can be seen from two approaches. Firstly, the power is defined as an authority. This approach shows that power is only owned by a group of people who have certain positions and authority in a group. For example, in a country, the power belongs to the leader who has the authority. Classical anthropological approach also emphasizes on the regularity and balance in which the power belongs to a group of people who lawfully has an authority, i.e. legitimized by the state. This type of ruler even use legalized violence to maintain the balance and order in an organization or community. This means that the state has the legal authority to maintain order and balance in society, even violence may be used legally to maintain such regularity. This can be seen in earlier studies of political anthropology such as of Radclife Brown (1940) and M. Fortos and E.E. Evan Pitchard (1940).

The second approach views that a power is different from an authority, which is known as the postmodernism view. One of the well known views is from Foucault (1980), which explains that a power is something dynamic. Power does not belong to a group of people and eternal. Power is everywhere, and not monopolized by a group of classes. The relations between Java and Lampung ethnic groups, as migrants and landlords, can be studied in the aspect of power theory. The power relation between the two groups is highly influenced by the dynamics of political changes in Indonesia.

The marginalization of community lands in Lampung has been in effect since the transmigration and capitalization plantations era. National political changes in Indonesia have also affected the marginalization. It seemed that the power faded away from the people of Lampung. The Javanese was powerful in economic, culture and local politics at the time. Viewed from the number of population, it

seemed that power was monopolized by the Javanese. However, everything changed in the reformation period.

In the reformation period, local issues began to blow, among others was the issue about leadership by native people, which was often understood as the leader originated from the native. In Lampung, it emerged as the issue of native man of Lampung tribe. This drove to the appearance of native Lampung men in the local political arena. When the people of Lampung were marginalized and in the powerless state in terms of land possession as well as culture and local wisdom, they rose to take control through other forms, such as by holding important positions in local government. It did not mean that the Javanese had no power, but they adapted to the changing local politics. This study is particularly relevant to the second approach of Foucault (1980) that a power is not the same as an authority; the power is everywhere, and dynamic.

Besides the power theory, this research also developed the studies of power marginalization over local wisdom through two following examples. An important investigation is related to the marginalization of power by the State over natural resources owned by local people. Michael R Dove's investigations include *Manusia dan Alang-alang di Indonesia (Human and Coarse Grass in Indonesia)*, which he wrote with Sugeng Martopo (1987); *Living Rubber, Dead Land and persisting System In Borneo: Indigenous representations in Sustainability* (1998); *Indigenous People and Environmental Politics* (2006); *Agro ecological Mythology of Javanese and The Political Economy of Indonesia* (1985) and *Peranan Kebudayaan Tradisional dalam Modernisasi (The Role of Traditional Culture in Modernization)* (1985).

In his investigations, Dove (1985; 1998; 2006), describes that as a developing country, Indonesia is among countries that see development as desired and needed changes, thus traditional cultures hindering the development will be marginalized or even eliminated. It is fallacy. In fact, the traditional culture has a dynamic nature, always adaptable to the changes so it does not conflict with the development. Dove's investigation about the *Kantu* tribal longhouse in Borneo found that the systems of *Kantu* tribal longhouse organization has been able to adapt to changing environments, and make the *Kantu* tribe survive. The system of *Kantu* tribal longhouse organization was influenced by communal myth of communal work in which the work should be done communally, and the wealth owned should be also enjoyed communally. *Kantu* people have reciprocal work exchanges among its members, share of food to the needy, as well as joint ownership of land, through which the longhouses have customary rights over the land (Dove, 1985; pxxviii).

However, the development has damaged the *Kantu* tribal land ownership system through the Agrarian Law of 1960. Due to a misunderstanding of the concept of ownership of land and forest, *Kantu* lost their lands without compensation which was for the sake of enterprises, transmigration housing, and so forth. There were some protests but were considered anti government protests and subversive (Dove, 1985; pxxx).

Dove also studied about the differences of view between the government and the local community about the forest. The forest destruction according to government version is often claimed as the evidence of ignorance of traditional society towards forest management, thus farming system with shifting land was blamed for environmental damage. Dove cited that farmers who live alongside government-owned forests often illegally cut trees and it was criticized by the government. In fact, they did it under the order of business people of the city. Another example is when large companies cleared forests, the farmers stormed in, cut and burned the rest of the forest and farmed there for a few years and then abandoned the land for quite long time. This was blamed as the trigger lot of the growth of wild weeds as coarse grass (*Imperata Cylindrica*) and reeds. Reeds and other weeds were considered potential to impair the soil and environments (Dove, 1987; 1985: xxxiii).

Michael R Dove and Sugeng Martopo (1987) has developed an anthropological study of the environments by observing a kind of coarse weed (*Imperata Cylindrica*) and its relationship with humans. The views of government and local communities about the weeds were not the same. While scientific knowledge may consider the weeds as destructive plants, the society had different view completely. The process of land cultivation done by the community was claimed to cause the weeds to grows much. Dove and Sugeng Martopo (1987) describe that the local community belief towards the reeds was related to myths, superstition, spirits, tales and so on, thus reeds were not believed as destructive things. The different views of the local community and the government lead to the policy to eradicate the reeds. For this reason, Dove and Sugeng urge the need for studies from government to learn certain hidden data about the government's view with regard to political and economic interests. The investigations conducted by Dove (1987) using a structural approach found that the culture and cultural values hold an important position in understanding human behavior.

Research Methods

This research used qualitative method with ethnographic approach (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). This method is used and relevant in the study because the aim of the research is to understand the power relations between Java and Lampung ethnic groups due to the need of a method that is able to understand in depth (thick description). The power trade-offs can be seen from the day-to-day relationships, ranging from land sales case, harmonization, conflict, and trade-offs in local politics. Lampung ethnic marginalization in terms of land, local wisdom and local culture must be understood through the everyday circumstances of the indigenous peoples, so that the qualitative method that emphasizes on the understanding is very relevant to this study.

Data collection techniques in this study are in-depth interviews and participative observation. In-depth interviews were carried out to informants, who are some families of Javanese and Lampungnese residing in the *Buwai Pemuka Rajabasa* village an old village of Lampungnese located in the city of Bandar Lampung. The *Buwai Pemuka* is very relevant because it is one of the indigenous groups who live in urban area where socio-cultural changes occur very quickly. Lands belonging to indigenous groups have run out affected by changes in local politics. Local wisdom and culture have also been increasingly marginalized. Participative observation was carried out through staying with the informants and following the daily activities.

Data analysis was performed by means of triangulation, peer review and member checks. Triangulation is an analysis to confirm the depth interviews and participative observation. Peer review was carried out by discussing and asking for advice and criticism of this research from the experts of this field. Member check is done by re-confirming the results of data analysis with the peer group who are the people who study the same thing with this research, especially those with same subject in this study.

Data analysis was also done in a way to classify and categorize data according to their classification, or commonly referred to as data reduction. Once the data were reduced, then the data were verified again with the informants. The data were then presented and read at the level of theory. The final result of a qualitative study with ethnographic approach is to build a theory.

Results and Discussion

Lampung ethnic group lives in South Sumatra. This ethnic group has two custom groups namely *Pepadun* and *Sai Batin*. The *Pepadun* people live in rural areas and the *Sai Batin* in the coastal region. Land is important for the ethnic identity of Lampung *Pepadun*. For this group, land is customarily owned. This group is ruled by a leader called *Penyeimbang* (balancer). In this group, the sons of a family take control of the land while the daughters do not.

Each sub group of the *Pepadun* people manages a piece of the lands of at least 300 acres. These lands were then planted with various kinds of crops, especially rice, for example *padi gogo* (upland rice). Lampung people name their cultivation activities *ngumo* especially in Lampung *Pepadun* people who live in the inland area. *Ngumo* which is a traditional agricultural system has been applied by this indigenous people of Lampung *Pepadun* since their ancestors' period. Lampung people are recognized as a community with dry land farming system (non-irrigation). Migrant communities, for example some Javanese migrants, introduced planting irrigation system in Lampung. The fact that *Ngumo* was carried out by burning land area and moving from one area to another has often been accused as one of the causes of the destruction of native forests and environments. The people usually do the activity (*ngumo*) together with their relatives, because this is only to meet the needs of day-to-day basis.

After the arrival of people migrated from Java, some of the cultivation work were handed over to the Javanese, while the Lampung enjoy the results of the crop. The type of cultivation plants were also changed, for example with cassava. Even forest areas were also opened for paddy rice farming – previously Lampung people only knew upland rice type. This is one of the major changes in farming systems of Lampung *Pepadun* people. The shares of the crops were about 25% for the working farmers or varied depending on the agreement made between both parties. However, spontaneous transmigration people only work on vast farm field owned by Lampung people and then live in the plantation area.

They built semi permanent houses in the plantation area, working while maintaining the crops. The arrival of the Javanese to Lampung increasingly grew in number, one of which was caused by the Javanese who invited their colleagues and relatives to come to Lampung. That might due to the fact that the plantation required a big number of labors to work, so that the Javanese who had come to Lampung then invited their relatives who were still in Java to come up with various kinds of promises. One of the promises was that the land of Lampung is called *loh jinawi*, which means the land to bring prosperity. They also assumed that lands in Java should not be expected anymore because Java population growth rapidly increased so it is not sufficient anymore. Levang (2003: P45) called it "*manusia tanpa lahan*" (landless men).

Land and the people of Lampung are two things that cannot be separated because the strength and power as well as the identity of Lampung are attached to the land owned. Usually people of Lampung have a lot of land. However they do not utilize all of the land due to the vast size. The lands that are not cultivated are then cultivated by the spontaneous migrants who come and live in the land. They build semi permanent houses made of plait of bamboo called *gribik*. The results of lands planted by the Javanese migrants are usually shared flexibly that means if the migrants were willing to share the benefit, they may share it, if not they may keep it for themselves. The Javanese introduced their farming systems, such as making rice fields, irrigation and transform forests into plantation fields and settlement.

The massive migration of Javanese population – or other ethnic groups, to Lampung from the colonial, transmigration, and spontaneous transmigration periods has changed Lampung not only politically and economically, but also ecologically.

According to historical records (Hilman Hadikusuma, 1989; Kingston, 1991; Elmhirst, 2001) it is obvious that Lampung ethnic clan system has undergone changes and ups and downs due to political influences from colonization, transmigration, new order and period of regional autonomy. It is very difficult to talk about an ideal standard of custom of Lampung, because the community has been always in the creation process adapting to the conditions of the time. There is no single written custom guideline as the reference for various clans of Lampung, as each clan has its own guide which may be adapted by the era. The guidebook and custom rules of Lampung is called *Kuntara Khaja Niti*.

Lampung indigenous people are in the forms of *buay* – a group of major descendant, which has also experienced some dynamics due to political changes. In the Dutch colonial period, many clans were established as the territorial limits for each community group, to facilitate the mapping of the area in Lampung. However, later on, the clans changed due to the development of the clans in which people created their own clans. In addition, the effect of Banten on the coastal regions of Lampung was also strong. There were some *keratuan* (small kingdom) established in Lampung, in the framework of political cooperation and economic relations of marriage bind with the Banten in that period.

Lampung is the land of hope especially for the people of Java. The pepper products used to be in demand especially in the Dutch era. The pepper is recognized as an emblem of Lampung Province, and Lampung is famous as *Tanah Lado* or the land of pepper. Previously, each pepper farmer in Lampung could have 5000 trees or about three hectares of pepper, and they were rich and lived prestigious life and were able to take their children to school (Kompas, 2003). But that glorious time has faded away as the pepper regions reduced significantly. Nowadays, about 90% of the pepper productions are produced by the community plantation.

In addition to the reduction of pepper productions, the decline was also triggered by the exchange system of Javanese fields which usually plant cassava. In addition, the invasion of large companies to Lampung has changed the traditional plantation tradition (*ngumo*) of Lampung people. The plantation has been converted into oil palm and sugar cane fields. In fact, big companies have also begun to explore the forest for the purposes of their estates. They got access to establish plantations in a large scale from the government and even greater parts of the land have become proprietary. This is why the customary rights of indigenous people were denied and marginalized by the laws of the country under the legal claim that all the soil, earth and water belong to the nation. Thus, the lands that are not used by the inhabitants are considered state property. The weak position of customary law and customary rights versus the power of the state law is due to the increasing number of forest exploitation and spontaneous settlement establishment, and even worse, the clans' customary rights were abolished (Elmhirst, 1997). Moreover, Indonesian government has also changed the Forestry Law No. 5/1967 and Mining Act No. 11/1967 which were supported by the Law on Domestic Investment and the Law on Foreign Investment. However, the laws are very detrimental to indigenous rights, as well as to the land and forests of indigenous people.

For the Indonesian government, there is no customary land; all land and forests that do not have any legal certificate is considered the state's property. Indeed, the Indonesian government provide easy access for private or state owned companies obtain legal rights to explore the forest or so-called HPH (The right for forest Logging / Forest Ownership). With the enactment of these laws, the exploitation of native resources on a large scale by the government was unilaterally commenced (Tempo, June 17, 2004). The government also set a state forest area covering an area of 143 million hectares, or approximately 70% of the total land area of Indonesia based on the Fundamental Agrarian Law (UUPA) No. 5 1960 which is known as the Forest Land Use Agreement (TGHK). However, it was later abolished in 2004 because of some criticisms, that it became only 120.3 million hectares or 61% of the total area of Indonesia (Sandra Moniaga, 2006; Tempo June 17, 2004). This determination was made unilaterally and without considering the indigenous people's territories which had existed far before the Indonesian state was established (Tempo, June 17, 2004).

Not only is the power over the land, the power over the forest is also eliminated. Indonesia Forestry Authority, NGOs and forestry experts in Indonesia in 2009 stated that the arrival of massive population has certainly reduced the amount of forest area in Lampung. The destructions of forests in Lampung was caused one of them by the process of transmigration to Lampung and a burst of population, lack of understanding of the status of the land, human activities, illegal logging, construction activities and the conversion of forests into plantations, settlements and so forth.

Indonesian Police officers also often marginalized the people's authority over the land and the land they farm. What worse was that the police insulated the local population access to utilize forest, let alone to possess it (Lopez, 1997). Some programs during the Dutch colonization and transmigration during the old and new order have given the impression of the long socio-cultural colonization after 106 years and 61 years of transmigration. Lampung ethnic group turned to be minority and triggered some conflicts between ethnic group, land conflicts, the loss of power of the local indigenous communities and others. The situation got worse as more and more land conflicts happened due to large number of plantation companies which were given permission by the government of New Order for taking of communal lands, acquiring the rights to use, and other rights without negotiating with the local indigenous people.

The arrival of migrants has also been a major influence to change Lampung. The arrival of other ethnic groups to Lampung can be said as a great wave as if Lampung is under the shadow of Java, Palembang and Banten. Although minority, but a deep study related to whether Lampung people are dominant need to be carried out. The study of the domination is related to how big the power relation between these ethnic groups is. The fact about Lampung is interesting to learn as this is different from those of other minority ethnic groups in other places, for example the minority *Dayak* which was marginalized by the group Malay Borneo and other newcomers. Lampung ethnic group, on the other hand, was never been marginalized by other ethnic, but refracted within the framework of regional and national circumstances, as well as the representation of the national culture. At the regional level, the domination of Javanese culture strengthened in the local political system, so that the symbols related to Lampung are Javanese symbols.

Reformation waves that hit Indonesia had turned all the predictions of experts on Indonesia in the future. The relationship between the central and the local governments that seemed to have been very safe within the national integration of unity and integrity, in fact is very fragile. The reformation phase in 1998 which then has produced regional autonomy is one indicator of how weak national integration so far is. The emergence of upheaval in areas that demanded their freedom and more power which so far were dominated and controlled by the central government seemed to disturb the latent dangers. The emergence of a desire for regional autonomy to obtain more dominating power is one of the indications of dissatisfaction over injustice of central government. Then the conflict of identity started to spring about who I am, who they are, who's who and who got where. The boundaries of ethnic identity have led to conflicts since the reformation period. The emergence of ethnic based politics is the strength of the local government to fight the 'center' because the ethnicity will clarify the boundaries of who owns and controls what.

In various regions in Indonesia, the demands of regional autonomy have raised the issues of ethnic identity and *putera daerah* or son of the native. This shows how far the new order has weakened the existence of ethnicity beyond its national integration framework. Javanese were dominant in the new order which was characterized by ethnic domination of Java in the central government, suggesting that other ethnic groups had been ignored. It seemed that the demand for autonomy was indirectly the demand of recognition of the existence of other ethnic groups who want to rule in their own country. Regional autonomy in almost all provinces in Indonesia has reawakened cultural and local elite competition, especially the indigenous elite. This centralistic system of government that set a static position on

indigenous rulers has fueled the resurrection of customary governance system which has experienced ups and downs since the time of colonization until the new order. In the New Order era, customary or ethnic based government system was abolished and only used as a symbol. The New Order government has set the system controlling the smallest government system by the name of 'village', with law No. 5 of 1979 and abolished the customary administration system throughout Indonesia. In the reform period with regional autonomy, the reconstruction of the custom government was started by a group of supporters of the system. Even more, some areas were courageous to abolish the system of village government and replaced it with a system of customary administration. Take for example West Sumatra province which is inhabited by a majority of *Minangkabau* ethnic group. They have to rebuild the *nagari* (state) customary system of government and abolished the system of village administration which was identical is Javanese.

Objections and antipathy towards 'Java' is so prominent when the reform and regional autonomy rolled, each ethnic in every corner of Indonesia began to show its identity and tried to eliminate the symbols and culture of "Java" from its territory. It shows how imbalance the power among the ethnic groups during the period before the reforms. The power included the control of natural resources in the area, and anyone who enjoyed and marginalized. The ethnic matter constellation was not only to emulate the 'Java' but this protracted to other ethnic groups. This is because in a region which has been inhabited by various ethnic groups, the clash among the ethnic groups emerged in various ways including tracking their real ancestors.

Although Lampung got a big wave of immigrants from various parts of the country and made people of Lampung become minority, according to the result of Levang's research (1997), the condition did not make the identity of Lampung people faded away. This analysis could be true if we look at the lives of indigenous Lampung in general, at the level of political power, for example, in regional and national, the power Lampung become 'invisible' as the minority. Although some regional leaders were occupied by the man of Lampung, but majority of the governors of Lampung were Javanese. Likewise, the representation of ethnic identity on a national level is predominantly represented by the culture of 'Java'.

Regional autonomy has paved the way and opened more access to power for Lampung ethnic group. Through ethnicity and ancestral identity issue, the elite of Lampung began to appear and showed themselves. Those people do not only occupy positions in local government, but also began to dare to put up within local elections which were held through direct local elections. In this election, various ways are done to reap many votes, especially by using ethnicity campaign, the issue of native people, and so forth. The means used by Lampung ethnic group was not to create a conflict with the Javanese but by negotiation and accommodation, since the majority of population in Lampung is the Javanese that may give great contribution for votes. Therefore, ways of negotiating a deal were done for that purpose.

In the period of regional autonomy, the existence of clans in the Lampung ethnic group was pulled back, seizing back the position of marginalized which were grabbed away, especially at regional level and may step up to national level. So far, the issues about Lampung language revitalization emerged. Since the reform and regional autonomy era, some regions almost simultaneously want to find their identity back that had been silenced by the national culture. Lampung is one of the ethnic groups whose élites care about the existence of Lampung language that tends to fade away from everyday language use, especially in the younger generation. *Bahasa Indonesia* as a language of unity is so strong to dampen local language. Nowadays, many efforts have been taken to revitalize the local language of Lampung which is feared to be extinct, as it is one of the crucial identity and a proud of the people.

Power relations between ethnic Lampung as the landlord and transmigration of Javanese, and cultural and social changes they experience can be seen in the following chart:

Chart I. Analysis of ethnic power relations of Java and Lampung in Indonesia's political dynamics.

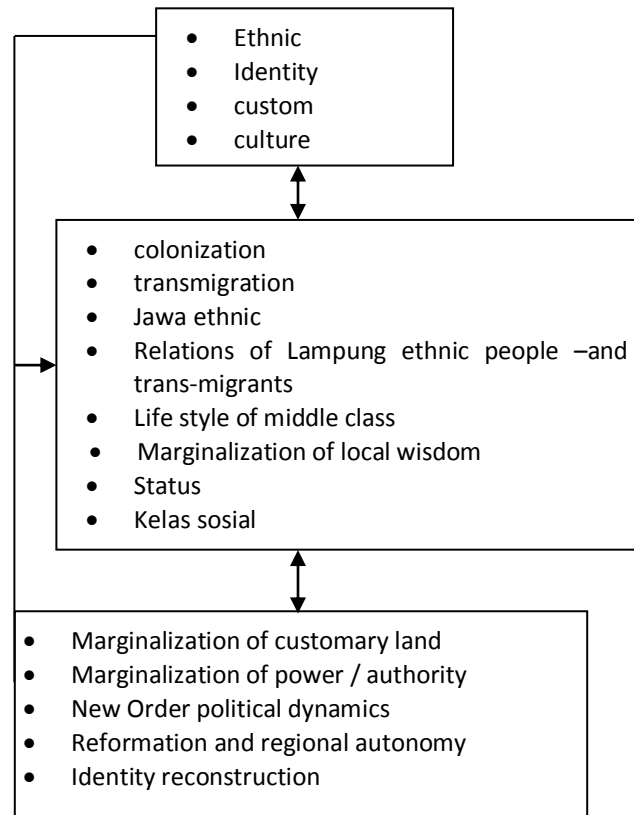


Fig. 1 Analytical framework

The above analytical framework (Figure 1) describes that this research dealt with the ethnic, custom, identity, and culture. *Lampung Pepadun* ethnic customs and culture are central to extinction. Land as an important identity of a Lampung ethnic clan has been marginalized. This exclusion is influenced by the history of colonization, transmigration, minority population, middle class lifestyle, competition with the Javanese, and culture and customs which are almost extinct. This study looks at how *Lampung Pepadun* has accommodated itself to a condition in which power marginalization of customary lands is increasingly depleted and the culture and customs are almost extinct. Customary land for the Lampung ethnic group is a land of hope for the people of Java. The people of Lampung try to reestablish their power by realizing their original identity: the "self esteem".

Conclusion

The domination of Javanese culture in everyday life is a form of Lampung ethnic group ways of welcoming to the 'guests' that are the Javanese people who were expected to live side by side. The acceptance process of the Lampungnese to the Javanese culture is a process of response to the migrant cultures. Lampung people have the confidence and trust to easily sell the land to new settlers, for such reasons of kinship as "to enliven the community".

On the other hand, the Javanese who work in the lands of Lampungnese assume the Lampungnese their family on which they initially depended. This relationship is a form of adaptation of the Javanese to their landlords. Later the Javanese exist as farmers with vast lands, while the

Lampungnese sold their lands and turned to the world of bureaucracy. That was why some local wisdom of the Lampungnese began to disappear.

This relationship has experienced some dynamics due to the changes of social, cultural and political community. Periods in Indonesian politics affected the relations between the two ethnic groups.

This research assumes that the basic transmigration development over a long term has given a serious impression to the marginalization of local power communities over the land and other original sources. The making of transmigration took only one aspect of anxiousness which was the poverty in Java and denied the impression of culture to socio-ecological transmigration destination of the local native. Among the impressions are the reduction in the access to cultivate the land, the changes in agricultural system from plantation into rice field fields, the decreasing land as a result of buying and selling land carried out by the natives to immigrants, the life orientation of the natives which turned to be materialistic, and the marginalization of local wisdom as a result of the exclusion of local power marginalized.

The results of previous anthropological research studies for examples from Dove (1993), Myrna Safitri (2007) and Zulkifli Lubis (1997) describe that there is a difference of views between local communities and the government on natural resources, especially land. Frequently, the government policies that tend to marginalize the power of local communities over the lands are viewed contrary to the customary law of Lampung tribe. This different view sometimes causes a conflict between the public and the government.

From the discussion about the transmigration above, there is one case that is not overlooked or forgotten by the decision makers, namely socio-cultural impression and marginalization of power over the land for indigenous people. The marginalization and the shift of power of the native also gave a big impact to the exclusion of meaning and wisdom of the local indigenous community. Transmigration and colonization in Lampung has resulted in the marginalization of power and access to land and the original source, for example the forest reduction, river pollution and a reduction in the number of land and changes in farming patterns of the locals. In fact, it also gave the impression to the enactment of the gap between the development in the area of the source village of people joining the transmigration from the destination of transmigration village which are much more developed and advanced rapidly. Facilities of life are far more developed in the area of migrants compared to their source areas.

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