



*Field Report*

# Moving Out of Poverty: The Case of Gura, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara

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December 2006

FIELD REPORT

**Moving Out of Poverty:  
The Case of Gura, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara**

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December 2006

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Moving Out of Poverty: The Case of Gura, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara/Sulton Mawardi & Akhmadi.  
–Jakarta: The SMERU Research Institute, 2006.

iii, 83 p. ; 31 cm. –(Field Report SMERU, December 2006)

ISBN 978-979-3872-44-5

1. Poverty

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362.5/DDC 21

# Moving Out of Poverty: The Case of Gura, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara

## ABSTRACT

The selection criteria for research locations for Moving Out of Poverty (MOP) in Indonesia uses two main variables: the level of conflict intensity and level of economic growth. The village of Gura in Kabupaten Halmahera, in the Province of Maluku Utara, represents the sample area with a high conflict intensity and high economic growth. Based on these two variables, the MOP research focuses its study on specific questions, including: 1) how and why are there groups of people that can increase their prosperity or move out of poverty; 2) how and why are there groups of people that are still trapped in poverty; and 3) how and why are there groups of people who tend to fall into poverty.

In general, this study shows that the people of Gura face complex problems. In the context of community and individual prosperity mobility, this complexity is a result of the interaction of various factors, such as economic, social, and other factors related to conflict. The community in Gura responded in different ways to the presence and direction of change in these factors. Some are able to adapt and take advantage of the changes that took place, and some appear to be astonished and have just started to adapt. Others appear not to be doing anything, or resign themselves to the fact that they have been left behind.

Keywords: poverty, democracy, conflict, governance, livelihood.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS

<i>Adat</i>	: Traditional customs/customary law
BPD	: <i>Badan Perwakilan Desa</i> (Village Representative Council)
F	: Female
<i>Katinting</i>	: motorized boats used for fishing
Krismon	: <i>krisis moneter</i> (monetary crisis)
KKN	: <i>korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme</i> (corruption, collusion, and nepotism)
M	: Male
PDAM	: <i>Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum</i> (Public Drinking Water Company)
PKK	: <i>Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> (Family Welfare Movement)
PNS	: <i>pegawai negeri sipil</i> (civil servant)
Puskesmas	: <i>pusat kesehatan masyarakat</i> (community healthcare center)
Raskin	: <i>beras untuk masyarakat miskin</i> (rice for poor communities)
SD	: <i>sekolah dasar</i> (elementary school)
SMP	: <i>sekolah menengah pertama</i> (junior high school)
SMEA	: <i>sekolah menengah ekonomi atas</i> (senior economics high school)
SMU	: <i>sekolah menengah umum</i> (public high school)
TDL	: <i>tarif dasar listrik</i> (basic price of electricity)
TK	: <i>taman kanak-kanak</i> (kindergarten)
TKI	: <i>tenaga kerja Indonesia</i> (Indonesian migrant workers)
TKW	: <i>tenaga kerja wanita</i> (Indonesian female migrant workers)
TPA	: <i>Taman Pendidikan Al Qur'an</i> (School for Koran Studies)
UGD	: <i>Unit Gawat Darurat</i> (Emergency care unit)

# I. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

## A. Background

The aim of the study “Moving Out of Poverty” is to identify which individuals or groups have successfully moved out of poverty and their process of moving out of poverty. The study also tried to look at the reasons concerning why and how they moved out of poverty and why some people remain trapped in chronic poverty.

In Indonesia, two issues are highly relevant to the dynamics of socioeconomic mobility: growth and conflict. Indonesia is a heterogeneous country with hundreds of ethnic groups, cultural heritages, traditions, and local languages, and conflict has a complex mix of historical, political, social, economic, and structural causes (Mawdsley 2002). Local tensions based on ethno-religious or spontaneous migration to other regions can lead to local competition for jobs and to disputes over land and resources between newcomers and indigenous people, which results in social jealousy and economic disparities between groups (Mawdsley 2002). In the context of responses to these main questions, this study will also try to find whether or not more people move out of poverty in areas with higher economic growth or better governance, and if the occurrence of conflict affects movement out of poverty?

The study was undertaken in Indonesia on the basis of sampling that used two main variables, namely, the level of growth (high and low) and the intensity of conflict (high, medium and low/non-existent). The research was carried out in two provinces, North Maluku and East Java, both of which have been affected by conflict. Two administrative districts (*kabupaten*) were selected in each province, one with a high level of growth and one with a low level of growth. In each district, two or three villages were chosen that had a high, medium and low intensity of conflict or no conflict at all.

This study explores a wide range of physical, social, political, institutional, and economic mechanisms that hinder or facilitate the movement of poor people out of poverty. The study complements and makes use of ongoing work at the macro level and is highly relevant to the design and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies and policies in Indonesia. The perspectives of policy-makers and local people on key events and policies that have impacted on poverty over the last decade will also be captured in this study.

## B. Methodology

An integrated package of qualitative and quantitative methods developed by the Moving Out of Poverty Global Team<sup>2</sup> was used in this study. The qualitative methods discovered the unknown, the how and why behind people’s movements, and explored whether the factors are multidimensional and combined or are sequenced in certain ways. The

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<sup>1</sup>This section is taken from the research design of the study: “Moving Out of Poverty: Understanding Freedom, Democracy, Governance, and Growth from the Bottom-up. Indonesia Case Study: North Maluku and East Java.” Country Synthesis Report. Draft, September 2006.

<sup>2</sup>Led by Deepa Narayan from the World Bank Office of India.

quantitative methods produced data that demonstrates the magnitude of various experiences in escaping poverty. In addition, the quantitative methods identified the factors that have the strongest correlation with movements out of poverty.

In adopting a qualitative approach at the village level, the research team interviewed community leaders and conducted at least seven focus group discussions (FGDs) with groups of men and women separately. The community leaders were men and women with a high level of knowledge of the village. In addition, the team also sought the assistance of community leaders to obtain a list of village community members and, wherever necessary, to confirm the movers and chronic poor (those who have been trapped in poverty over a period of time) who were identified in the FGDs using the Ladder of Life technique.

Information from the Ladder of Life FGD was used to select 35 respondents for the household questionnaire. The respondents were grouped into four categories by composition namely, "never poor", "mover", "chronic poor", and "faller"<sup>3</sup> with the composition shown in Table 1.2.1.

**Table 1.2.1 Composition of Required Respondents**

Ten years ago	Now	
	Poor or worse off	Rich or better-off
Poor or worse off	Chronic poor (20%)	Movers (40%)
Rich or better-off	Fallers (10%)	Never Poor (30%)

In total, the Gura study has involved seven FGDs, 37 household respondents and 15 individual life story respondents (See Appendix 1). Field research in Gura was undertaken parallel with four other communities in East Java and North Maluku and simultaneously from 12 July–24 July 2005. The researchers spent approximately two weeks in this village.

The analytic framework for the *Moving Out of Poverty* study is broad and looks at the relationship between the agency of different actors and the opportunity structure within which they operate. It assumes that most societies are stratified and hence assumes

<sup>3</sup>The prosperity mobility of a household is determined by examining the change in the position of the household on the Ladder of Life at the current time (2005) and ten years ago (1995). A household is classified as belonging to the chronic poor if the household is positioned below the poverty line (CPL or OPL) on the Ladder of Life, both now and ten years ago. Alternately, households can be said to be "never poor" if they are above the poverty line (CPL or OPL) at the present time and also were ten years ago. Households that were below the poverty line ten years ago but have now passed the poverty line are classified as "movers". A household that was above the poverty line ten years ago but is now below the poverty line is classified as a "faller".

Ten years ago (1995)	Currently (2005)	Mobility
Rich (above the poverty line)	Rich (above the poverty line)	Never poor
Poor (below the poverty line)	Rich (above the poverty line)	Mover
Poor (below the poverty line)	Poor (below the poverty line)	Chronic poor
Rich (above the poverty line)	Poor (below the poverty line)	Faller

During this study, a household's prosperity position was determined by FGD participants, with each FGD consisting of a maximum of 12 people. After FGD participants (men and women were in separate groups) discussed the Ladder of Life, they were then asked to determine the position of households in this community (sometimes as many as 150 households) on the steps of the Ladder of Life, both at the present time and ten years ago.



inequality in power relations that are reflected in a society's institutions. The framework focuses on the relationship or the interaction between the agency of different actors and the opportunity structure leading to different outcomes in mobility (Narayan 2005).

Appendix II presents the four domains of the framework or the key forces that interact to facilitate or constrain poor people's efforts to improve their own well being and also affect broader development outcomes. The figure highlights the fact that the empowerment and movement out of poverty of individuals or groups are influenced by (1) a change in the capacity of these actors to take purposeful actions, that is, to exercise *agency*; and (2) a change in the social, political, and institutional context that defines the broader *opportunity structure* in which these actors pursue their interests. There are multiple interactions between agency and opportunity structure, indicated by the arrow in the center of the figure (Narayan 2005).

The concepts of opportunity structure and agency developed by Patti Petesch, Catalina Smulovitz and Michael Walton are superimposed on these building blocks (Narayan, 2005). The first two building blocks constitute the opportunity structure that poor people face, while the second two make up the capacity for agency of poor people themselves. The opportunity structure of a society is defined by the broader institutional, social, and political context of formal and informal rules and norms within which actors pursue their interests. Agency is defined by the capacity of actors to take purposeful action, a function of both individual and collective assets and capabilities. All four components influence each other, and together they have effects on development outcomes. The empowerment of poor, excluded or subordinate groups, which ultimately enables the poor to move out of poverty, is a product of the interaction between the agency of these individuals and groups and the opportunity structure in which this agency is potentially exercised.

This field report (Community Synthesis Report/CSR), however, will only present part of the framework by using mainly FGD results and community profile from the informants. Later, the framework will be fully exhausted in the Country Synthesis Report that will analyze the ten communities studied and make use of the field Community Synthesis Reports.

### C. Sampling

The sampling frame was developed using a combination of the 1996-2002 gross regional domestic product (GRDP) data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS), the 2003 Village Potential (*Podes*),<sup>4</sup> and other resources and informants. These data were then combined with other sources or reports specifically focused on conflict issues. Among other sources were the World Bank Conflict Team (Patrick Barron), UNSFIR, LIPI, and local informants who have knowledge of their areas. The 1996-2002 GRDP was used to select

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<sup>4</sup>The Village Potential Statistics (*Podes*) has been conducted three times in ten years by Statistics Indonesia (BPS). BPS has adopted a definition of local conflict beyond some threshold of violence within a given locality in the past year that may have resulted in loss of life, serious injury or property damage (Barron 2005). Localities are rural villages or their urban equivalent. Responses were compiled from village leaders and central government statistical agents (*mantri statistik*) posted at the subdistrict level.

the districts based on economic growth,<sup>5</sup> while the 2003 (*Podes*) and other conflict reports, as well as the information gathered from key local informants were used to identify villages where conflict had occurred.

The local conflicts that were considered for selection of the villages for this study included open violence conflict between groups (villagers and inter-ethnic disputes) and other local horizontal conflicts that have been resolved peacefully.<sup>6</sup> The conflict questions appeared only in the 2003 *Podes* and there are no data covering ten years ago. One of the questions also asked was whether the conflict was new or old but this question does not mention when the conflict started.

In the province of North Maluku, the sample district and city that are representative of a high rate of growth are Kabupaten Halmahera Utara and Kota Ternate. Kabupaten Halmahera Barat is representative of a low rate of economic growth. For Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, two sample villages were chosen, namely Gura and Gorua, both of which are located in the subdistrict of Tobelo. Gura is a sample village that represents a village with an experience of high intensity conflict and a high rate of economic growth.

Based on previous experience that informants (FGD participants) might only be able to identify the welfare status of maximum 100 persons who are community members now and also were ten years ago, whereas the size of a village could be more than 1,000 families, it was decided to choose hamlets (RWs) consisting of 4-6 neighborhoods<sup>7</sup> as sample community to represent a village. The research team decided to focus the research on Hamlets I and V because it is considered to be a social-geographical unit with clear limitations in the sense that its residents are well acquainted with each other. This is important because the FGD participants have to know and undertake the household groupings in their community for the mobility matrix. However, a “hamlet” also still has quite a large population—more than 150 households are needed for the mobility matrix—to stand as one socio-economic unit that has specific characteristics. In this report, ‘community’ is used as a synonym for “hamlet” or “kampong” with the stress on various social relationships that bind the citizenry. The village of Gura consists of 27 hamlets.

All the key informants and FGD participants were chosen from Hamlets I and V. In discussions and interviews, the hamlet and the village are often difficult to separate consistently. Identity as a citizen of Hamlet I or V and Gura is closely tied, so the FGD participants and key informants refer to those two identities equally or interchangeably when providing their responses.

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<sup>5</sup>Except in North Maluku; since data were not available local judgment was used.

<sup>6</sup>*Podes* 2003 questions that relate to the definition of local conflict appear in the politics and security module (question numbers 1703 to 1704). These are: 1) Has there been any conflict in the village over the past year? (2) If yes, what type of conflict has frequently occurred over the last year (disputes between groups or villagers, disputes between villagers and apparatus, disputes between students, inter-ethnic disputes and other security issues)? (3) If yes, is the conflict new or old? (4) Number of conflict victims (dead, injured, material damage)? (5) Was the conflict resolved peacefully? (6) If yes, who resolved the conflict (the community, village officials or security apparatus)?

<sup>7</sup>A neighbourhood usually consists of 30-40 households.

#### **D. Community Mobility Measurement**

The analysis of community mobility is based on a mobility matrix consisting of the positions of each household on the Ladder of Life now and then (ten years ago). The analysis will use twelve different mobility indices, namely: (1) the Prosperity Index, (2) the Falling Index, (3) the Net Prosperity Index, (4) the Mobility Index, (5) the Moving Out of Poverty Index, (6) the Shared Prosperity Index, (7) the Mobility of the Poor Index, (8) the Mobility of the Rich Index, (9) the Falling of the Poor Index, (ten) the Falling of the Rich Index, (11) the Net Prosperity of the Poor Index, and (12) the Net Prosperity of the Rich Index (see Appendix III: an overview of the twelve indices). In short, the indices are a way to sort communities by type of movement and are intended to provide an understanding of how mobility patterns may or may not be linked to the policy focus, growth context or other key findings of the study.

## II. CURRENT COMMUNITY PROFILE

### A. The Province of North Maluku<sup>8</sup>

The SARA<sup>9</sup> conflict that happened in North Maluku at the end of 1999 followed by a local political crisis that was triggered by the protracted election process for governor, caused a delay in the implementation process of the North Maluku's provincial administration. For that reason, although the province of North Maluku had existed since 1999 (based on Law No. 46 of 1999), administratively the government administration of North Maluku had only been effective from early in 2003 after the governor succeeded in being definitively chosen by the DPRD (provincial parliament).

Before the administration separation of the region in early 2003, the area of North Maluku province only consisted of two districts and one city, namely Kabupaten Maluku Utara, Kabupaten Halmahera Tengah, and Kota Ternate. Based on Law No. 1 of 2003, Kabupaten Maluku Utara and Halmahera Tengah were administratively separated, so the area of North Maluku province now covers six districts and two cities, namely:

- a. Kabupaten Halmahera Tengah, which was split into two districts and one city: one original district (Halmahera Tengah), one new district (Halmahera Timur), and one new city, Kota Tidore Kepulauan.
- b. Kabupaten Maluku Utara, which was split into four districts: Kabupaten Halmahera Barat, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, Halmahera Selatan, and Kabupaten Kepulauan Sula. Maluku Utara is no longer used as the name of the district because it has become the name of the province. During the transition process in 2003-2004, Kabupaten Halmahera Barat acted as the host district.
- c. Kota Ternate

Kabupaten Halmahera Utara and the other new districts/cities have their own independent government administrations as a result of the general elections of 2004. During the period 2003-2004, the government administrations of the new districts/cities were still affiliated with each host district. The positions of *bupati* (district head) and *walikota* (mayor) during that period were temporary, and the district/city did not have their own DPRD (district parliament) and budget. In parallel with the change in the Regional Autonomy Law No. 22 of 1999 into Law No. 32 of 2004, a direct election process was carried out for regional heads (governor, *bupati* and *walikota*). In Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, the new *bupati* was elected on 27 June 2005.

### 1. Social Violence in North Maluku

There has been a long tradition of inter-ethnic and inter-religious harmony in North Maluku, and in the past the region has been a model of religious tolerance. The multi-religious village community has formalized this model of tolerance and harmony with a

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<sup>8</sup>This part was adapted from Mawardi, Sulton: "Kajian Lingkungan Dunia Usaha di Daerah Pascakonflik, Kasus Provinsi Maluku Utara," SMERU, 2003.

<sup>9</sup>SARA: *suku, agama, ras and antargolongan*: ethnic affiliations, religion, race, and societal groups.

*pela* system, meaning a mutually beneficial system of cooperation. As an example of the *pela* system, if the Muslim community of a village was establishing a mosque, then the Christian population would automatically assist. The same was true if the Christian population of a village established a church, as the Muslim population would help (Taylor 2001). But in 1999/2000 this harmonious order of social life unexpectedly fell apart with the explosion of social conflict that finally polarized into a religious conflict.

This leads to the question how could a 'humanitarian tragedy' causing such great human suffering and material losses occur in an area whose community had lived in harmony for centuries? According to the observation and analysis of Taylor (2001), it can be concluded that religious difference is not the root of the conflict. The analysis done by Tadjoeuddin (2002) mentioned that the recent escalation of social conflict in Indonesia cannot be separated from the turbulence created as a consequence of the economic crisis and multi-dimensional transition (political, economic, and social) in Indonesia since 1998.

The fragile legal, political, economic, and social conditions arising from the transitional process caused the explosion of social violence. Snyder supports this hypothesis by stating that the early phases of democratization of a nation are susceptible to outbreaks of communal conflict (2000, quoted in Tadjoeuddin, 2002). Based on the study undertaken in 152 countries during the period 1816–1992, Hegre found a relationship like an inverted "U" that describe a connection between social violence and the level of democratization in a country (Heagre et al, 2001 in Tadjoeuddin, 2002). They conclude, "Semi democracies are more likely to experience civil war than either democracies or autocracies". Thus, the peak of violent explosion that occurs in a country has a close relationship with the occurrence of a change in the political system of the relevant country.

In regard to the occurrence of this phenomenon, it is indeed true that a transition period in one country is not always associated with, or accompanied by, social conflict. However, Indonesia's own history notes that episodes of social violence appear to be associated with certain historical changes. As an example, a series of regional rebellions in the 1950s took place at the same time as the failure of constitutional democracy; likewise with the massive explosion of social violence in 1965–1966 that marked the regime change to the New Order. Following this trend, it can be suggested that the recent wave of social violence is connected with the systematic transition process in Indonesia beginning in 1998 (Tadjoeuddin 2002).

## **2. The Impact of Conflict on Economic Activities**

Social conflict that ended in the SARA conflict and social violence in North Maluku province had a negative impact on various sectors. A deep negative impact arose in the economic sector, and several aspects continue to be affected. The picture of economic deterioration can be seen from the GRDP of Kabupaten Maluku Utara in 2000 (at constant prices) that experienced a decline of 7.89% (BPS, Kabupaten Maluku Utara Dalam Angka 2001).

The negative impact of the conflict in North Maluku can also be seen from the volume indicator for commodity flows entering and leaving the main port in the North Maluku region, port of A. M-26 Ternate. In 2000, the volume of goods entering (unloaded)

experienced a decline of 14.5% compared to the previous year before the conflict. During the same period, the volume of goods leaving (loaded) experienced a decline of 38.2%.

The conflict also had quite a serious impact on the fisheries sector. A large part of the fishing fleet was destroyed or lost. In 2000, the total number of fishing vessels destroyed or lost reached 33.2%, consisting of motorized vessels (10.2%), boats with outboard motors (28.1%), and non-motorized vessels (35.2%). As a consequence, open-water fisheries production at that time experienced a decline of 27.8%, from 51,342 tonnes in 1999 to 37,461 tonnes in 2000 (Maritime and Fisheries Office, Kabupaten Maluku Utara). One of the big fisheries companies operating in North Maluku stated that for eight months their business activity was interrupted because their company office housed displaced people. In addition, approximately 40% of the *plasma*<sup>10</sup> fishing fleet of this company was damaged. As a consequence, the level of production in 2001-2002 fell dramatically, only reaching 1,000 tonnes per year or only 18% of the production level in 1999.

Apart from the impact of the general decline in economic performance, the conflict also resulted in changes to several aspects of community economic activities. In the plantation sector, for example, many production centers, such as Kecamatan Jailolo, Gane Timur and Ibu opened a direct trading relationship with Manado that continues to this day. This development has reduced the flow of inter-island plantation commodities through the port of Ternate. According to one respondent's estimate, the flow of North Maluku's plantation commodities via Ternate before the conflict reached approximately 80% of the total trade volume, with the remainder exported from Tobelo and Sanana. After the conflict, the rate declined and it remains at around 60%-70%. As another impact of the conflict, the trading relationship between Ternate and Kota Ambon has practically ended.

## **B. The Community/Village of Gura**

### **1. Physical Environment**

Gura is geographically located in a strategic position on the coast and is one of four villages forming Kota Tobelo. Before becoming the capital of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, Kota Tobelo was the capital of Kecamatan Tobelo and was the center of economic activity in the northern part of the island of Halmahera. In the province of North Maluku, Kota Tobelo is the second largest town after Kota Ternate.

The village of Gura itself is a coastal settlement established a long time ago. According to participants in the Community Timeline FGD, the Sultan of Ternate named the village around the 18th century when he sailed via the settlement. "Gura" is the name of a coastal plant.

Gura became part of Kota Tobelo efforts to adapt to its status as the *district* capital. One effort was the adaptation from a rural community based on a traditional, agricultural economic sector to an urban community based on a modern economic sector, like trading services. All the public roads in Gura are asphalted and used as public transport routes.

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<sup>10</sup>*Plasma*: A fisherman who is part of a business production system where the output (the fish catch) is sent to the factory that provides the facilities and production costs.

Gura is only one kilometer from the center of the Kabupaten Halmahera Utara government administration (offices for the *bupati*, DPRD and other government offices), and approximately one kilometer from the center of business activities (main market, shops) of Kota Tobelo.

## **2. Population and Number of Households**

Data provided by participants in the Community Timeline FGD show that the number of households in Gura in 2005 (July) consists of 817 family heads, with a total population of 3,503 people. Ten years ago (1995), the number of households in Gura had just reached 517 family heads or 2,794 people. So, during the last ten years, the number of households has increased by as much as 58% and the population by as much as 25%. The rather high rate of development in the number of households in Gura is one consequence of the increasingly large number of arrivals from outside the region to look for work or to open businesses in Kota Tobelo.

## **3. Important Social Groupings**

Ethnically, Gura's population is composed of natives of Tobelo (90%), Timorese (7%) and natives of Galela, Java, Bugis peoples and others (3%). Meanwhile, if viewed from the observed religious composition, the majority (75%) of the population of Gura is Christian and the remainder (25%) is Muslim.

## **4. The Main Livelihoods**

The statistics on the community noticeboard in Gura stated that the composition of livelihoods in Gura at this time consists of: coconut/copra farmers (80%), fishers (10%), civil servants (8%), carpenters and bricklayers (1%), and traders (1%).

This data shows that although Gura is in an urban area, the agricultural sector—with plantations as the main contributor—still holds a dominant role. The Community Profile FGD stated that approximately 70–80% of households have plantation land; whereas ten years ago only 40–50% of households owned plantation land. The increase confirms that the Gura community has not abandoned agriculture as a livelihood source in its transition to an urban community.

The main agricultural crops include coconuts, cacao, nutmeg, and cloves. The fisheries sector also represents a rather significant livelihood source. Many of the villagers fish at sea, either as their main source of income or as a part-time job. In the post-conflict period, the handicraft sector has evolved as a livelihood source.

The information presented by participants in the Community Profile FGD estimated that around 6% of the population are civil servants, not far different from the data from the noticeboard. Ten years ago, only 3% of the population worked in the civil service. This increase was the direct consequence of the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara inaugurated in 2003. Members of the local Gura population were appointed as civil servants, in addition to the transfer of civil servants from other regions to Gura.

## 5. Access to Basic Infrastructure

As part of Kota Tobelo, basic public facilities provided in Gura and the surrounding area are quite adequate. Public roads are asphalted, and the majority of roads in the area have been strengthened. Only a few of the district roads are still unsealed. Public transport is easily available, in the form of *angkutan kota* (city minibuses), *becak* (motorized and non-motorized pedicabs), as well as *ojek* (motorcycle taxis). The majority of houses in Gura have an electricity supply, and some have a telephone. For clean water, the majority of villagers still use pumped groundwater. This is not a problem, as the groundwater in Gura is classified as good and the source is not too deep underground.

The village of Gura has two large churches and one mosque. There is also a public hospital (Bethesda) in one church complex. The mosque was damaged during the conflict in 1999, and is now being rebuilt.

Communication means in the form of *wartel* (telephone kiosks) and public telephones are also available in adequate numbers. Public markets, a post office, and bank offices are easily accessible as they are located only about 0.5 km-1 km from the administrative area of Gura.

Currently 50% of the villagers have title to their houses, while ten years ago this was just 30%.

## 6. The Development of Education and Health Sectors

Educational institutions available in Gura include an elementary school, junior high school and senior economic high school (SMEA), as well as a computer course institute. With the exception of the computer course institute, these educational institutions have been in Gura since the 1980s.

The church-owned Bethesda hospital is available in Gura, and the regional public hospital is approximately 1.5 kilometers away. In addition, doctors and midwives have opened public practices.

## 7. Important Institutions

The Gura village administration is led by a village head directly chosen by the community. The current village head was elected in 1999. The village secretary, section heads of the village administration (*kaur: kepala urusan*), head of security, head of social welfare, etcetera, assist the village head with administration of the village. As the result of the implementation of the regional autonomy law, in 2001 Gura formed a village representative council (BPD), which functions as the legislative institution at the village level.

*Karang Taruna* is an organization that provides a place for the activities of young men and women. This organization is especially active in football activities. PKK is an organization that provides a place for women's activities, and is run under the village administration.



The other community organizations in Gura are generally affiliated with either the Catholic or Protestant churches or with Islam. The Catholic and Protestant church organizations include Pemuda Gereja, Kaum Bapa, and the Saronifero credit union. Organizations for the Muslim community include Majelis Ta'lim and Remaja Masjid.

During the research, no information was obtained on the activities of local NGOs operating in Gura, however World Vision Indonesia is an international NGO that has been active in assisting displaced people since the conflict.

### III. COMMUNITY PROSPERITY AND UNDERSTANDING MOBILITY

#### A. Trends in Community Prosperity

Although socioeconomic functions have returned to pre-conflict working order, respondents generally stated that their prosperity has not truly recovered. This is understandable because the villagers of Gura have only enjoyed the current normal conditions since the end of 2003. It took dozens of years to reach the pre-conflict prosperity levels—two years is insufficient to replace assets and rebuild a life destroyed by the conflict. Houses destroyed during the conflict are still being rebuilt, however on average, the condition of the new houses are below previous standards in relation to size, building quality, and completeness of fittings. Many households lost their livelihoods and had to restart from zero. Based on conditions such as these, it is understandable that respondents state that the prosperity of villagers in Gura is generally worse now than ten years ago. The Ladder of Life-Female FGD (LoL-F FGD) notes that “compared with now, we had a more prosperous income ten years ago. Previously it was better because all the villagers had a job each, now this has dropped away” (F, 45). “Previously, we had quite a good life, at the time of the conflict everything collapsed, so we had to start from scratch. Previously there was no unemployment because there were a lot of companies [operating in this area], now looking for work is difficult” (F, 36).

For relatively different reasons, the same conclusions were also given during the Ladder of Life-Male FGD (LoL-M FGD). They stated that “Previously, incomes could be Rp300,000 to Rp400,000, now they are Rp200,000 or less. ...previously our incomes were quite high, now they have declined and are less” (M, 40). In addition, because of the decline in incomes, the increasingly high prices of inputs and the lack of jobs is the reason for the decline in the prosperity of the villagers of Gura: “The price of fertilizer has now reached Rp3,000/kg, it doesn’t make sense, whereas in 1995 the price of fertilizer was very cheap, at Rp1,050/kg” (M, 53); “ten years ago there were far more government projects. My condition before the disturbances was far better and more prosperous, after the disturbances we have just restarted putting our lives back in order” (M, 43).

In connection with work opportunities, the presence of displaced people in Tobelo/Gura—some of whom still remain in the area—and the presence of outsiders is also considered to as factors contributing to the increase in competition for jobs: “Ten years ago [the level of prosperity] was better, because with the occurrence of the conflict, Tobelo was flooded with displaced people. There were a lot of people working at the port ten years ago ... ten years ago it was better because the population of the community was not yet too many so the level of community prosperity was better” (M, 65), and “It is said to be difficult [to look for work] because the number of outsiders is continually increasing” (M, 53). In this regard, participants in the LoL-F FGD also stated that the chances of obtaining work were now more difficult compared with ten years ago: “My husband previously worked at the port as a laborer, at the time of the conflict we fled. But now my husband can’t find work again at the port” (F, 38), and looking for work “is now more difficult” (F, 45).

In parallel with the opinion of participants in the Community Timeline FGD, participants in the LoL-F FGD attributed the decline in prosperity of the villagers of Gura to the 1999 conflict and its consequences: “The disturbances damaged our houses, all our property was lost” (F, 45), “The disturbances also made companies close, so now it is difficult to look for work” (F, 36), “We all suffered as a result of those disturbances” (F, 48).

Participants in the LoL-M FGD have relatively different views on the above issue. Indeed, some male participants mentioned the occurrence of conflict as the factor that caused a drop in prosperity, yet it seems that this factor is not considered to be the dominant factor. Participants in the LoL-M FGD saw the life attitudes of villagers as the trigger for the drop in their prosperity. Those factors cover “the *togel* [gambling] factor that makes people become work-shy, and they always drink alcohol” (M, 65), “Gambling and conflict, because the community often gambles and a lot of people become dreamers and work-shy” (M, 53), “Alcohol, because young people here are often drunk and it makes them lazy and sometimes their peers fight with each other” (M, 65), “Gambling and drinking” (M, 48), and “The influence of the horizontal conflict (disturbances)... In addition, the shortage of agricultural tools and infrastructure as well as other supportive equipment that resulted in the destruction of agricultural tools during the disturbances” (M, 39). In the end however, all discussion participants agreed that the important factors causing a decline in prosperity were gambling and alcohol.

Fortunately, government post-conflict assistance has lessened the people’s burden. “Previously [after the conflict] there was government assistance in the form of *katinting* [a motorized boat for netting fish], handicraft tools, cooking tools and so forth. If it weren’t for that assistance, what work would we do? Because everything was destroyed during the conflict” (F, 45), “We could also get assistance to rebuild our houses that were damaged during the conflict” (F, 38), and “That government assistance helped us” (F, 48). As opposed to the LoL-F FGD participants, LoL-M FGD participants stated that the factors that helped villagers to rise above the poor conditions that resulted from the conflict were “agricultural factors—by farming we never suffered from hunger” (M, 53), “the conducive security factor helped villagers to increase their incomes” (M, 39).

Leaving behind the conditions that they are currently experiencing, respondents in general are still optimistic that several prerequisites can improve their future prosperity: “It will be better if there is assistance. In Gura people need help to build houses, if there are houses people will easily work” (F, 45), “With effort and hard work this village will be more prosperous. But not if there is more disturbances” (F, 36), and “It will be more prosperous because education is becoming better” (F, 45). The same level of optimism was expressed by participants in the LoL-M FGD: “In my opinion, this village is increasingly prosperous because it has natural resources of significant potential, for example there is nutmeg, vanilla, *melinjo*<sup>11</sup> and coconuts and still a lot more that is already growing at this time” (M, 53), and “In the future this village will be increasingly prosperous because the education sector has started to progress with community awareness of education as the means to make humanity better” (M, 53).

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<sup>11</sup>*Melinjo*: a type of tree bearing edible leaves and seeds.

**Table 3.1.1 The 2005 Ladder of Life and the Characteristics of Each Step  
According to the Women's Group**

Category	Characteristics
<p><b>Step V-f:</b> Highest step <i>haere</i> ("Elite, boss")</p>	<p>F, 36: "For the people who are in the highest step and are the very rich, if we use the terminology of the people of Jakarta, we say they are the elite, the boss. Their houses are tiled, with a nice fence."            F, 45: "Having two cars"            F, 36: "A lot of money, savings in the bank"            F, 38: "Having a lot of motorcycles"            F, 45: "Having a large coconut plantation"            F, 35: "A large income"            F, 36: "Their children are university graduates (up to post-graduate level), successfully become civil servants or private sector workers or have a business."            F, 36: "If he is sick he can be treated in Jakarta, Manado, or Singapore"            F, 40: "Can eat imported fruit every day"            F, 38: "Having a maid to cook, wash, and iron"            F, 36: "Can have expensive clothes"            F, 35: "Their house has a garage"            F, 35: "Have two trucks"            F, 45: "Have a lot of capital; their business is successful"            F, 36: "Have carved chairs/an expensive corner sofa. Have dining chairs that are probably the same as the guest chairs that we have"            F, 36: "If traveling it's by plane, often go here and there"            F, 36: "He also has a HP, internet, computer"            F, 45: "He has a hotel"</p>
<p><b>Step IV, f</b> <i>wowangoroka</i> ("rich")</p>	<p>F, 36: "There are also rich people in Gura. They have children who have post-graduate educational qualifications. The difference with the 'elite' level is quite small"            F, 45: "Have a two-storied house"            F, 40: "Have a refrigerator, washing machine, electric iron"            F, 38: "Have a car and two motorcycles"            F, 38: "Have a maid who washes, irons and cooks"            F, 40, F, 48, F, 35: "Have a TV, VCD, cell phone, AC, radio Orari, computer and satellite dish"            F, 36: "Their meals are regular: four healthy, five perfect"<sup>12</sup>            F, 36: "Snack, morning and afternoon"            F, 48: "All of their appliances use electricity"            F, 36: "Have an entertainment business, have a café"</p>
<p><b>Step III-f</b> <i>demaenenga</i> ("well-off")</p>	<p>F, 36: "Able to educate their children to tertiary level"            F, 36: "Their houses have tiled floors, have a fence but not the same as the rich and elite"            F, 38: "Have a TV, refrigerator, electric iron"            F, 35: "Have electric lighting"            F, 45: "If sick, seek treatment at the Bethesda hospital in Tobelo or Manado"            F, 36: "Can buy expensive clothing but not often"            F, 45: "Eat regularly"            F, 48: "Have one to two motorcycles"            F, 36: "Have savings in the bank, but not as much as the rich and elite"            F, 40: "Their guest room has a corner sofa"            F, 45: "Go anywhere usually by ship"            F, 38: "He also has cable TV"            F, 45: "Sometimes eat in restaurants"</p>

<sup>12</sup>A menu consisting of rice or other carbohydrates, vegetables, fruits, meat, and milk.

Category	Characteristics
<b>Step II-f:</b> <i>biaha</i> (“simple”)	<p>F, 36: “These people have a house, but the walls are not plastered (the walls are not plastered, but the house is still made of bricks)”</p> <p>F, 45: “Eat enough”</p> <p>F, 36: “School children can only go to junior high school, or at best, to senior high school”</p> <p>F, 38: “Have a fixed livelihood, but the output is not a lot”</p> <p>F, 36: “Simple clothing”</p> <p>F, 48: “A <i>strongking</i> lamp (kerosene/oil pressure lamp)”</p> <p>F, 40: “Household furnishings include plastic chairs”</p> <p>F, 36: “If they go outside the local area, for example to Manado, it is usually by the vessel <i>Theodora</i>”<sup>13</sup></p>
<b>Step I-f</b> <i>womangakunua</i> (“less well-off”, “just enough”)	<p>F, 38: “They do not yet have their own house, their life is still sharing with their parents or in other people’s houses”</p> <p>F, 40: “Eating irregularly and taking pot-luck”</p> <p>F, 36: “Only able to educate their children to elementary school level”</p> <p>F, 36: “Have no permanent work. Their work keeps moving, becoming this laborer or that laborer”</p> <p>F, 35: “Standard of their health is not adequate”</p> <p>F, 45: “For clothing they take pot-luck, can’t change clothes”</p> <p>F, 48: “Lighting in the house is not electric, use an oil lamp”</p> <p>F, 36: “For furniture they’re still using benches, chairs made of bamboo/wood”</p>

Source: FGD-Ladder of Life-Female.

Notes:

1. ■■■■ = government and community poverty line.
2. Participants in the LoL-F FGD placed the government-determined poverty line for North Maluku at Rp550,000/household/month, exactly between Steps I-f and II-f. So, the government-determined poverty line is identical with the poverty line determined by the community.
3. The addition of ‘f’ to the step numbers indicates steps determined in the women’s Ladder of Life FGD (LoL-F FGD).

To compare the prosperity between now and ten years ago, the FGD participants also discussed the Ladder of Life which will show the number of steps and the number of households on each step in both ladders. According to the women’s group, the level of prosperity of the villagers of Gura can currently be divided into five steps (Table 3.1.1), while the men allocated four steps (Table 3.1.2). The women were of the opinion that there were four steps on the ladder ten years ago (Table 3.1.3).

<sup>13</sup>A large lumber ship that services passengers sailing from Manado, Tobelo, Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo and Sula. Respondents mentioned this ship to differentiate it from the more expensive passenger vessel owned by Pelni.

**Table 3.1.2 The 2005 Ladder of Life and the Characteristics of Each Step  
According to the Men's Group**

Category	Characteristics
Step IV-m (the highest step) <i>haere</i> or “well-off”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Have a high level of education”</li> <li>• “Have a vehicle (car, motorcycle)”</li> <li>• “Have a television and satellite dish”</li> <li>• “Own a computer”</li> <li>• “Have a permanent house”</li> <li>• “Have a cell phone”</li> <li>• “Have a speed boat”</li> <li>• “Their house is usually located on the side of the main road”</li> <li>• “Are reasonably skilled”</li> <li>• “If they are sick, can seek treatment from a doctor/specialist”</li> <li>• “Sometimes travel abroad”</li> <li>• “Have a private driver”</li> <li>• “Have a maid”</li> <li>• “Own a washing machine”</li> <li>• “Have a varied diet and sufficient food”</li> <li>• “Children are cared for and have a nanny”</li> <li>• “If they go anywhere, they use their own car”</li> </ul>
Step III-m <i>imagakunu</i> or “rather well-off”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Permanent house”</li> <li>• “A bathroom inside the house”</li> <li>• “Have a motorized <i>becak</i> (<i>bentor</i>) for a livelihood”</li> <li>• “On average educated to university level”</li> <li>• “Have a refrigerator”</li> <li>• “Have a television”</li> <li>• “Use a coking stove for cooking”</li> <li>• “Have a cell phone”</li> <li>• “If they're sick, seek treatment from a doctor's general practice”</li> <li>• “Have a satellite dish”</li> <li>• “Have a small wooden speedboat”</li> <li>• “They have sufficient to eat, often have leisure time and are clean in their appearance”</li> <li>• “Children go to school and are cared for”</li> </ul>
Step II-m, <i>biaha</i> or the “middle” group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “House with a cement floor (not tiled), iron roof, doesn't yet have a ceiling”</li> <li>• “Have a motorcycle bought on credit”</li> <li>• “Still using firewood for cooking”</li> <li>• “Semi permanent house”</li> <li>• “Do their own washing”</li> <li>• “Children are taken care of”</li> <li>• “Children go to school”</li> <li>• “Schooled to higher education level”</li> <li>• “If sick, seek treatment at a public hospital”</li> <li>• “Go on outings to the beach (local)”</li> <li>• “In their daily life, they eat rice with a small variety of side dishes. If they go anywhere they use public transport”</li> </ul>

Category	Characteristics
Step I-m, (The lowest step), <i>huha</i> or the “not well-off”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Live in a boarding house, does not yet have their own house”</li> <li>• “Don’t have a fixed income, their incomes are between 0 and Rp20,000 per day”</li> <li>• “Have a simple house, only two rooms, bamboo walls, a roof made of sago palm, with no inside toilet”</li> <li>• “Children are not always taken care of”</li> <li>• “Have a radio but not yet a television”</li> <li>• “Marrying age is still too young”</li> <li>• “Seek health treatment using a card for the poor”</li> <li>• “Usually their appearance is just ordinary”</li> <li>• “Their work is not certain and incomes are relatively smaller below Rp550,000/month”</li> <li>• “Their food includes rice, cassava, sago, and bananas”</li> </ul>

Source: Ladder of Life-Male FGD.

Note:

1. ■■■■ = government and community poverty line.
2. According to the participants in the LoL-M FGD, the government-determined poverty line is Rp550,000/household/month and is located exactly between step I and step II.
3. The “m” following the step number refers to the Ladder of Life-Male FGD.

**Table 3.1.3 The 1995 Ladder of Life and the Characteristics of Each Step According to the Women’s Group**

Category of Prosperity	Characteristics
Step IV-f <i>wawangoroka</i> (Highest step) or “rich”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Education of their children to D2, D3 and at best undergraduate level at university”</li> <li>• “Houses have one level, none have two”</li> <li>• “Don’t have a refrigerator, but have an electric iron”</li> <li>• “Have a motorcycle, but only one”</li> <li>• “Don’t yet have a handphone, AC, computer”</li> <li>• “Don’t yet have a café business”</li> </ul>
Step number III-f <i>demaenanga</i> or “well-off”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Their children’s education only reaches senior high school or SPG (<i>Sekolah Pendidikan Guru</i>: teacher training schools)”</li> <li>• “Condition of house is not yet complete”</li> <li>• “Seek treatment at a <i>puskemas</i> (community healthcare center)”</li> <li>• “Eating whatever, dependent on the plantation output”</li> <li>• “Have a motorcycle”</li> <li>• “Type and way of dressing is normal, but not yet following the latest fashions”</li> <li>• “Don’t yet have savings in the bank. Only have savings at home”</li> <li>• “Still using a coal iron, don’t yet have an electric one”</li> <li>• “Not yet using a cupboard to keep clothes, but kept in a box”</li> <li>• “Have a black and white TV”</li> <li>• “Nylon chairs”</li> </ul>
Step II-f <i>biaha</i> or “simple”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Their houses have walls made from <i>gaba</i> (made from the stems of sugar palm leaves), with a dirt floor and a palm leaf roof. Houses don’t have a foundation of river stone”</li> <li>• “Able to send their children to school but only to junior high school level”</li> <li>• “Work as a farmer or fisher”</li> <li>• “Chairs are made from bamboo”</li> </ul>
Step I-f (the lowest step) <i>womangakunua</i> or “less well-off/just enough”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Couldn’t send their children to school”</li> <li>• “Their health condition was worse than now”</li> </ul>

Source: Ladder of Life-Women FGD.

Table 3.1.1 shows that a combination of economic and lifestyle variables became the determinants for prosperity classification in the LoL-F FGD. These variables encompass:

- a. the ownership of assets, especially home ownership and condition of the house, type of furnishings and other household items, as well as modes of transport;
- b. the consumption factor, which covers the sufficiency and quality of food;
- c. possession of money or savings;
- d. the ability to put children through school;
- e. access to health services;
- f. type of work or income;
- g. type and quality of clothing.

FGD participants did not mention any other variables as distinguishing characteristics for the determination of household prosperity level. The difference between each step of life—or level of prosperity—is determined by the quality and quantity of the economic and lifestyle variables.

There have been many changes to the household characteristics at each step in the ladder between 1995 and 2005. Worth highlighting is the fact that ten years ago, no households in Gura had reached level V-f. The V-f household group emerged around 1998–1999; ten years ago there were only four prosperity levels in Gura.

Like the participants in the LoL-F FGD, participants in the LoL-M use economic variables and lifestyles to group social classes or individual levels of prosperity in Gura (see Table 3.1.2). The majority of variable dimensions used by the men are identical to variables used in the LoL-F FGD, namely ownership and condition of the house, household contents and other house facilities, ownership of a means of transport, access to health facilities, adequacy and quality of food, and so forth. Unlike the women's LoL-F FGD that provided detailed information regarding conditions ten years ago, the men's LoL FGD stated that the characteristics of each of these steps have not experienced much change. According to the men, only the following changes have occurred: "previously there weren't many handphones (mobile or cellular phones). For the *biaha* (II-m) group there previously were not yet any motorcycles because credit facilities for new motorcycles only started in 1997." For the poor household (I-m), the men mentioned that the change is in the condition of houses. "In 1995 houses [for group I-m] were made from bamboo and their roofs were made of sago palm, ... now their houses have half walls of masonry although the roof is still made of sago palm". In addition, the presence of refugees who have not yet returned to their villages of origin are considered a distinguishing factor; in the past the poor were the original inhabitants of Gura but refugee families have now added to the poor in Gura.

One important differentiating variable for household prosperity levels presented by the women's LoL-F FGD is education. The higher the ability of a household to put their children through school, the higher the household's level of prosperity and position on the ladder. The women participants stated that households on Step I-f "have the ability to educate their children up to the elementary school level" (F, 36). At Step II-f or "simple", "school children only get to junior high school or at best senior high school" (F, 36). At Step IV-f or the "rich": "he has children who have post-graduate degrees" (F, 36), and households at Step V-f: "their children are university graduates, up to post-graduate level" (F, 36).



On the other hand, for the men's LoL FGD, education was not an important defining factor for determining a household's prosperity level. Households included in categories II-m, III-m, and IV-m, are all characterized as having the ability to educate their children to university level.

When compared with the prosperity level groupings of the women's LoL FGD, step IV-m seems to be a merger between Step V-f with IV-f, while Steps III-m, II-m, and I-m can be equated with Steps III-f, II-f, and I-f. The comparison of steps I-m with I-f must be paid special attention; they have similar characteristics and terms used to name them. Households on I-m include houses that still have bamboo walls and sago palm roofs as well as not having an inside toilet. According to the women's LoL FGD, these characteristics are similar to the household characteristics for steps I-fi and I-fii (Table 3.1.2), which are not found in Gura.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the men's LoL-M FGD used the local term *huha* for step I-m, meaning "difficult" or "miserable". The women used this terminology to name Step I-fi (Table 3.1.2).

Irrespective of the presence of these differences, participants in the men's LoL FGD were also of the opinion that the prosperity level of the villagers of Gura is generally far better than that of people in other villages.

Although Gura is now experiencing lower prosperity levels than ten years ago, the prosperity levels there are better than surrounding villages. "In general, the condition of the Gura community is more well-off" (F, 36). "Yes, I agree with her, even if compared with villages outside the city" (F, 40). To support this opinion, participants of the LoL-F FGD stated that outside Gura there are still two categories of prosperity below Step I-f (characteristics of these households are presented in Appendix IV). FGD participants agree that these two social statuses or prosperity levels are found in other villages, and not in Gura—neither now or ten years ago.

After discussing the Ladder of Life and the characteristics of each step, FGD participants placed the community members of Hamlets I and V onto the 2005 and 1995 ladders. Based on the list of 201 households living in Hamlets I and V provided by the village administration (Appendix IV), the LoL-M FGD and Lol-F FGD identified all households by their prosperity status for the present time as well as ten years ago. The results are presented in the mobility matrices (Table 3.1.4 and Table 3.1.5).

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<sup>14</sup>From the observation of the researchers, in Gura there were no houses with sago palm roofing.

**Table 3.1.4 Mobility Matrix of Household Prosperity Mobility in Hamlets I and V, Desa Gura, According to the LoL-M FGD**

Now Ten years ago	Step I-m Not well-off <i>huha</i>	Step II-m Medium <i>biaha</i>	Step III-m Quite well-off <i>imagakunu</i>	Step IV-m Well-off <i>haere</i>	Total ten years ago
Step I Not well-off <i>huha</i>	13,24,45,46,47,73, 74,79,82,108,111, 118,121,132,138, 142,154,179,180	1,4,5,8,11,12,16,17,22,25, 34,39,51,66, 157,187,188, 198, 200	35		<b>39</b> <b>(19%)</b>
Step II Medium <i>biaha</i>	2,6,14,23,33,186, 195	3,7,15,18,19,21,26,27,30, 31,32,36,37,38,40,42, 48, 49,50,54,55,56,60,62,63, 65,67,69,71,77,78,80,81, 83,84,85,86,88,89,90,91, 92,93,94,95,96,97,98,99, 100,101,102,103,104,105, 107,109,110,112,113, 114,116,117,119,120,122, 123,124,125,126,127, 128,130,131,133,134,135, 136,141,143,144,145, 146,147,150,151,153,155, 156,158,162,163,164,165, 166,167,168,169,170,171, 172,173,174,176,177,178, 181,182,183,189,190,191, 192,193,194,196,197,199, 201	41,76,139,152,159, 160,161,175,184	28,29,137	<b>138</b> <b>(69%)</b>
Step III Quite well-off <i>imagakunu</i>		72,87	9,10,20,44,52,53,58, 61,64,75,106,115, 140,149,185	57	<b>18</b> <b>(9%)</b>
Step IV Well-off <i>haere</i>				43,59,68,70,129, 148	<b>6 (3%)</b>
<b>Total Now</b>	<b>26</b> <b>(13%)</b>	<b>140</b> <b>(70%)</b>	<b>25</b> <b>(12%)</b>	<b>10</b> <b>(5%)</b>	<b>201</b> <b>(100%)</b>

Source: Ladder of Life-Male FGD.

**Table 3.15 Mobility Matrix of Household Prosperity Mobility in Hamlets I and V, Desa Gura, According to the LoL-F FGD**

Now Ten years ago	Step I-f Less well-off <i>womangakunua</i>	Step II-f Simple <i>biaha</i>	Step III-f Well-off <i>demaenenga</i>	Step IV-f Rich <i>wowangoroka</i>	Step V-f Elite <i>haere</i>	Total ten years ago
Step I-f Less well-off <i>womangakunua</i>	1,3,4,5,6,12,13,14,15, 18,21,22,23,24,25,27,30, 31,32,33,35,37,38,40,42, 45,46,47,49,53,54,55,56, 58,62,63,64,67,69,72,73, 77,78,79,81,82,83,84,85, 86,88,89,90,91,94,95,96, 98,99,101,102,103,104, 105,106,107,109,110,111, 112,113,116,117,119,123, 124,127,131,132,134,135, 145,150,151,155,158,159, 160,162,163,164,170,173, 174,176,177,178,179,180, 185,186,188,191,194,197, 198,200, 201	17,26,34,66, 92,114,120, 126,140,144	2,39,61,71, 80,115, 141			<b>125</b> <b>(65%)</b>
Step II-f Simple <i>biaha.</i>	130,136,181,183,187	10,20,51,60, 125,128,156, 166,167,168, 171,196	7,9,16,139, 157,165,169, 172,184	175		<b>27</b> <b>(14%)</b>
Step III-f Well-off <i>demaenenga</i>	19,87,93,142,143,189, 190,192,193,195,199	97,147	11,28,29,36, 41,44,50,52, 57,68,70,75, 76,100, 121, 122, 133, 146,149,152, 153, 161	43,137		<b>37</b> <b>(19%)</b>
Step IV-f Rich <i>wowangoroka</i>				59,129		<b>2</b> <b>(1%)</b>
Step V-f Elite <i>haere</i>						<b>0</b> <b>(0%)</b>
<b>Total Now</b>	<b>124</b> <b>(65%)</b>	<b>24</b> <b>(13%)</b>	<b>38</b> <b>(20%)</b>	<b>5</b> <b>(3%)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0%)</b>	<b>191</b> <b>(100%)</b>

Source: LoL-F FGD.

From the matrices above based on the views of the men's group, ten years ago the majority of households (70%) were on Step II-m ("ordinary") of the ladder of life. Currently the number of households on Step II-m is relatively unchanged, some 69% (Table 3.1.6). The household status proportion that experienced a quite significant change occurred among households on Step I-m or poor households. Ten years ago, the proportion of poor

households reached 19%, which has fallen to the current proportion of 13%. Meanwhile, households included in the upper groups—namely levels III-m and IV-m—have also experienced an increase from 9% to 12%, and from 3% to 5% respectively.

On the basis of the men's distribution of households on the LoL, there are currently more poor households in Hamlet I and V compared with the average in Desa Gura. On the other hand, there are fewer households in category III-m in Hamlet I and V compared with Desa Gura in general. It can therefore be said that the prosperity of households in Hamlets I and V is currently lower than the average for Desa Gura.

Meanwhile, the LoL-F FGD was only able to identify the prosperity status of 191 of a total of 201 households in Hamlets I and V (Table 3.1.5). Data on the prosperity status of households in the table shows that the women's group had a far different perception of household prosperity distribution than the men's group. The LoL-F FGD considered the majority (65%) of households in Hamlet I and V to be poor (Step I-f), both now and ten years ago. This percentage is more than triple that expressed by the men in the LoL-M FGD (19%). Such a large difference in numbers for poor households category directly influences the large differences for households included in Step II-f, which is only 13%, far below the number of households (70%) in Step II-m. So, if the households in levels I-f and II-f are combined (78%), it is relatively the same as the combination of Step I-m and II-m (83%).

According to the LoL-F FGD, the number of households currently on Step II-f is 13%, III-f is 20% and IV-f is 3%. These numbers are similar to ten years ago. It also must be noted that the LoL-F FGD did not place any households in Hamlet I and V on Step V-f, either now or ten years ago. This means during the last ten years the total mobility of household prosperity in Hamlet I and V has been in a relatively stagnant condition. Table 3.1.6 shows that 56.5% of households are included in the category of "never poor" and 26.2% are classified as "chronic rich". Meanwhile, 8.9% of households are classified as "movers", a total that is relatively the same as the proportion of households that are classified as "fallers" (8.4%).

In the previous section, the LoL-F FGD estimated that the status of household prosperity in Desa Gura at this time is split between level I-f (approximately 10–20%), level II-f (30%), level III-f (40%), level IV-f (3–6%), and level V-f (2%). Using these estimates, the level of household prosperity in Hamlet I and V is now far lower than Desa Gura.

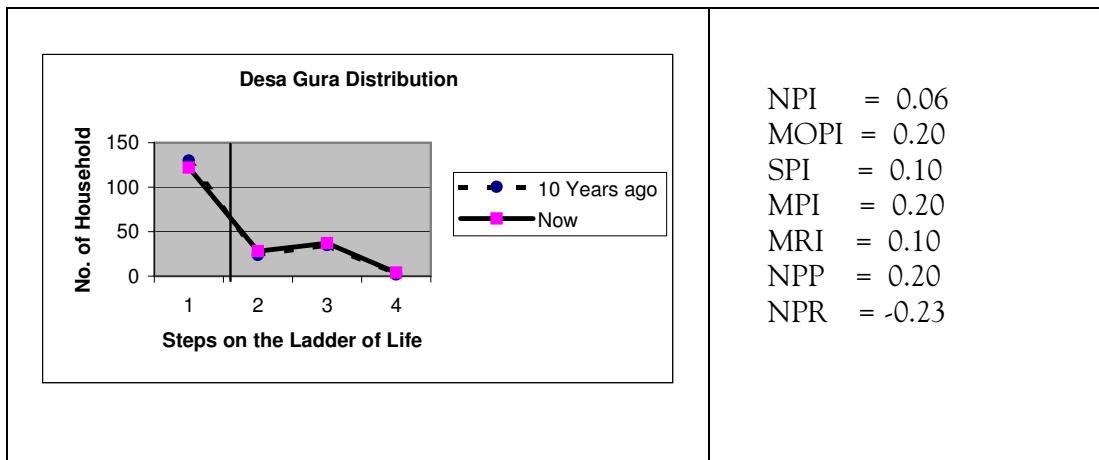
Table 3.1.6 shows a summary of mobility that during the last ten years the proportion of households in the "never poor" category reached 77.1%, while the "chronic poor" category is 9.5%. Meanwhile, 10.0% of households have experienced an increase in their prosperity and succeeded in moving out of poverty ("mover"). At the same time, only 3.5% of households fell into poverty ("faller").

**Table 3.1.6 Status of Household Mobility in Hamlets I and V during the Last Ten Years**

Household Mobility Status	According to the LoL-Male FGD		According to LoL-Female FGD	
	Number of Households	Percentage	Number of Households	Percentage
Never Poor	155	77.1%	50	26.2%
Chronic Poor	19	9.5%	108	56.5%
Mover	20	10.0%	17	8.9%
Faller	7	3.5%	16	8.4%
Total	201	100.0%	191	100.0%

Source: LoL-M FGD, LoL-F FGD (processed).

Based on the mobility matrix above, Figure 3.1.5 below presents the results of the mobility indices calculations in Gura (see Appendix III). The indices that were analyzed are only those indices that show movement in the prosperity of the community and households, especially poor households, namely NPI, MOPI, MPI, MRI, and NPP.

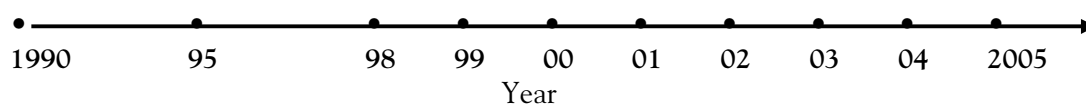


Even though participants in the men’s and women’s Ladder of Life FGDs believe that Gura was more prosperous today than it was ten years ago, the above indices explain that household prosperity—whether wealthy or poor—tends to have stagnated (very low NPI). Although several poor households have passed the poverty line, as is evident from the positive MOPI, most households are still below the poverty line (between step 1 and 2). Moreover more rich households have experienced falls in their prosperity compared with those that have risen, as illustrated by a negative NPR with a large value. However, more poor households have improved their prosperity than wealthy households.

### **B. Key Events and Factors Affecting Community Prosperity**

The events that are considered to have had an important influence on the life of villagers in Gura during the last 15 years (1990-2005), are presented in Diagram 1.

Diagram 2.1 Community Timeline



Year	Important Events and Impacts
1990	The beginning of the trade/maritime relationship with Surabaya and Manado: the no longer dependent only on Ternate for supply of goods.
1995	Transportation starts to improve: the most isolated areas are opened up; farmers easily sell their produce.
1998	Monetary crisis: the price of goods rose.
1999–2000	Conflict/unrest between Muslims and Christians: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Muslim villagers of Gura sought refuge in Ternate</li> <li>Christian villagers from other places sought refuge in Gura</li> <li>Economic activities deteriorate</li> </ol>
2000–2002	Trade/maritime relationship with Surabaya and Manado was broken off: limited supplies of goods, high prices.
2001–2004	Post-conflict government assistance: preliminary capital to restart a normal life.
2002	The formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara: permits became easier to obtain, appointment of civil servants.
2003	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Trade/maritime relationship with Surabaya and Manado reopened: economic activities started to return to normal.</li> <li>Some Muslim villagers who had fled returned: social familiarity started to re-form.</li> </ol>
2004	Return of displaced people: social life returned to normal <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All Muslim villagers who had fled have returned to Gura</li> <li>The majority of Christian villagers who had sought refuge in Gura returned to their villages of origin.</li> </ol>

Note: The analysis of the impact of these events on the life of the villagers of Gura is presented in Part III B (Understanding the Mobility of Community Prosperity).

Source: FGD Community Timeline.

#### Events and factors with a positive impact

According to the community leaders (FGD/interview on Community Timeline), the important event in the post-conflict period that directly influenced the lives of Gura villagers was the availability of various forms of assistance from the government and other institutions. “After the disturbances, in 2001-2002 the government started to provide a lot of assistance to the community, such as BBR,<sup>15</sup> *katinting*, handicraft tools, and so forth. This assistance helped the community a lot to return to a normal life” (M, 50, teacher). Associated with the role of the government in restoring social life, the policy to send displaced people home was also evaluated positively by the Community Timeline FGD. “The year 2004 was an important year for the village of Gura because all of the Muslim villagers returned from asylum, so we could live together once again (M, 53, section head of the Gura village administration).

<sup>15</sup>BBR: *bahan bangunan rumah*: house building materials.

The second event considered important by the Community Timeline FGD was the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara in 2002 (legalized by Law No. 1 of 2003). This event had a positive impact, as evident from the statements of several community members: “before we had our own district, to organize a KTP (identity card) you had to go to Ternate. Now getting a permit from the local government is easy and fast” (M, 70, retired teacher–community figure). As a new district, Kabupaten Halmahera Utara needed many additional workers, so “many of the residents here [in Gura] can now work in the government administration and become civil servants” (M, 80, prominent traditional figure).

The women’s LoL-F FGD also considered the conflict of 1999 to be a very important event. Hence, the post-conflict period was seen to be an important event with a positive impact on prosperity levels. Parallel with the opinion of the Community Timeline FGD, the women’s LoL-F FGD considered the government post-conflict assistance as the only event that helped their lives. “There was assistance from the government in the form of *katinting*, handicraft tools and so forth. If it wasn’t for that assistance what work would we be doing? Because everything was destroyed during the conflict” (F, 45). “We also obtained assistance to rebuild houses that were damaged as a result of the conflict” (F, 38). “The assistance of the government helped us” (F, 48).

For the men’s group, the conflict and the post-conflict conditions also significantly affected the level of prosperity. The men saw the restoration of security as the factor that could revive them. “After the disturbances, the situation in this village was conducive for fishers to go back to fishing, for *ojek* drivers and farmers to start working well” (M, 53). “In Gura it was already conducive so people could start diligently to look for a living” (M, 48). “the factor of conducive security helped villagers to improve incomes” (M, 39).

In reference to the development of falling copra prices, the men agreed that “the agricultural products market” (M, 53) was beneficial to farmers, and was the important factor that could immediately enhance the prosperity of the villagers of Gura.

#### Events and factors with a negative impact

According to the community leader, the important event that had the greatest negative impact on the lives of the villagers of Gura in the last ten years was the horizontal conflict at the end of 1999. In addition to causing large number of casualties among people and property, the conflict caused economic activities and other aspects of their lives to deteriorate. Not only for the villagers of Gura, but also for all the citizens of the Halmahera region.

“Its impact on the economy was very significant. They have an economy that is still in a poor condition. Houses that were already nice were destroyed, and are just now being rebuilt. In Gura, approximately 80% of the Muslim community’s houses were destroyed. All of the Muslim villagers were forced to flee to Ternate and other places. We were all miserable. The houses that were destroyed were, indeed, owned by Muslim villagers but we were all troubled. During the conflict, maritime transport with Surabaya and Manado was broken, goods became difficult to obtain and expensive, and increased by around 50%. From 2003, the

maritime connection started to flow again” (M, 53, section head of the Gura village administration).

“During the period 2000-2002 the maritime connection was only with Manado, but with small boats, and the price of goods became expensive. The people who suffered more in that conflict were our Muslim brothers. Apart from their houses that were destroyed, they were forced to seek refuge in Ternate. But those of us who are Christian, who stayed in this village, also had a lot of trouble” (M, 50, teacher).

Apart from the scarce availability of goods, the price of copra—the source of income for the majority of villagers of Gura and the surrounding area—experienced a sharp fall. This was attributed to a decline in trade: “our trade was less. Only starting in 2001-2002 [the Chinese] copra traders who had fled returned to Tobelo” (M, 50, teacher). “The disturbances also made the opportunities for work fall, because all the traders left Tobelo. The Chinese entrepreneurs also fled because security could not be guaranteed. Large companies also closed. Banana plantations and the cooking oil factory were forced to close and have not, as yet, reopened. So, there are a lot of unemployed (M, 80, prominent traditional figure).

The negative impact of the conflict is not limited to economic problems:

“At that time it was like there was no law, the law of the jungle ruled. Consequently, for those of us who didn’t flee we were scared and not calm. If we wanted to pick coconuts in the plantation, we had to ask for an escort from the authorities. If you wanted to go somewhere it was also scary, security was not guaranteed. Starting in 2003 the situation here was actually safe” (M, 57, village secretary).

“One more thing, ... education activities were also forced to stop for more or less six months for reasons of security, and many teachers students also fled. The point is that the conflict disrupted the life of everyone (M, 50, teacher). “The conflict made us all traumatized, scared” (M, 80, prominent community figure).

The direct and indirect impacts of the conflict in 1999 were the only factors mentioned by the women’s group as having depressed the prosperity of the Gura villagers. These impacts are still being felt. Material losses were a direct impact of the conflict: “The conflict destroyed our houses, all of our property was lost” (F, 45). “The conflict made us all suffer” (F, 48). All of the houses of the villagers of Gura that were destroyed or damaged have been rebuilt. Even so, the houses built using BBR funds have not yet been restored to the pre-conflict standards. It is still visually evident which houses were damaged and which were not.

One of the indirect impacts still felt in Gura is the increasing jobs shortage. This was caused by the closure of major employers: “the conflict also made companies close, so it is now difficult to look for work” (F, 36). The banana plantation company in Galela, for example, was forced to close when the conflict happened and has not yet resumed operating. A lot of villagers previously worked at this company. In association with the increasing scarcity of jobs, women who previously made and sold cakes are now having



difficulty returning to business due to a shortage of capital. Their husbands are having difficulty obtaining work, and so cannot provide them with capital: “It is difficult to obtain money to buy the tools and ingredients to make cakes” (F, 45).

The men’s group has a slightly different view. Apart from the conflict, the explosion in illicit gambling practices and a passion for alcohol are factors that have played an important role in reducing prosperity. “The *togel* [gambling] factor makes people work-shy, and they always drink alcohol ... with the availability of alcohol young people here are often drunk and it makes them become lazy” (M, 65), and “because the community is often gambling so many people have become dreamers and work-shy” (M, 53).

Problems in the agricultural sector have directly impacted prosperity levels, as the majority of the community still works in this sector. “The price of copra now is bad” (M, 45). As 80% of Gura villagers are copra/coconut farmers, the price fall is an important factor that has led to a decline in prosperity levels.

Table 3.2.1 and Table 3.2.2 represent a summary of important events and factors that caused changes to prosperity levels for Gura villagers over the last ten years.

**Table 3.2.1 Events or Factors that Caused an Increase in Prosperity**

<b>Community Leader/Informant</b>	<b>Women’s Group</b>	<b>Men’s Group</b>
1. Post-conflict assistance from the government	1. Post-conflict assistance from the government	1. Markets for agricultural produce
2. The formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara	2. Additional business capital	2. Conducive security

**Table 3.2.2 Events or Factors that Caused a Decline in Prosperity**

<b>Community Leader/Informant</b>	<b>Women’s Group</b>	<b>Men’s Group</b>
1. The 1999 conflict	1. The 1999 conflict	1. Conflict
2. The falling price of copra	2. Decline in work opportunities	2. Gambling
		3. Alcohol

## C. Economic Opportunities, Migration, Inequality, and the Role of Governance

### 1. Economic Opportunities

#### Main livelihoods

As was presented in the community profile chapter, both the men's and women's community profile FGD determined the main livelihoods in Gura as being agriculture/plantations (80%), especially coconut/copra plantations, and fishing (10%) and civil servants (8%). The rest of the villagers are bricklayers, carpenters, and traders. Traders are generally women who sell cakes in the market or women who have opened a *warung* selling rice. Coconut plantations are the main livelihood source for the villagers of Gura, however during the last ten years they have become unprofitable. The price of copra has become unstable and has experienced continuous decline. In the past, the price of copra could reach Rp300/kg, however it has currently steadied at Rp180/kg, or at most Rp200/kg. This has led to the abandonment of some plantations: "A lot of coconut plantations are not being maintained now" (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD).

On the other hand, developments during the last ten years have been increasingly profitable for fishers. The increasing numbers of fishers who use *katinting* has supported this development. Of the total *katinting* owned by fishers, some were organized by the fishers themselves and others were provided by the government post-conflict assistance package. By using *katinting*, fishers can go further out to sea and bring back a greater catch. The increasing price of fish (the price of fish was formerly only Rp5,000/kg, but can now reach Rp10,000/kg) makes fishing as a livelihood "very profitable" (F, 31, LFPD-F FGD).

Livelihoods as bricklayers or carpenters also show increasing potential. "Ten years ago, the number of carpenters and bricklayers could still be counted on the fingers, now there are a lot of villagers in Gura who have become tradespeople" (M, 56, LFPD-M FGD). The increase in the number of tradespeople was caused by creation of the new *district*: "The formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara made for the building of a lot of offices and housing that needed a lot of carpenters and bricklayers. Now tradespeople don't have any chance of being unemployed, there is always work ..." (M, 56, LFPD-M FGD). Wages for tradespeople in Gura have now reached Rp30,000/day, twice as much as the wages of ten years ago (Rp15,000/day).

The trade sector also provides greater economic opportunities: "Commerce is also developing well because of the increasing size of the population here. The needs are adding up so trading activities are increasingly busy" (M, 43, LFPD-M FGD).

#### Production and marketing obstacles

Two factors are causing difficulties for coconut/copra farmers: the high cost of inputs and the low prices received for the produce. "A lot of fertilizer and pesticides are also sold here, but their prices continue to rise—probably because fuel prices are also now expensive" (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD). "The price of copra is poor now" (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD). Livelihoods in the commerce sector are also becoming difficult due to problems at the Tobelo market: "if you want to trade in the market now it is [difficult] because the market is full. You can see if you go past the market that it is always crowded because people are selling things all the way to the main road" (M, 43, LFPD-M FGD).

Outside the problems at the Tobelo market, none of the participants in either LFPD FGD mentioned other problems associated with production and marketing of local produce. Currently economic activities in Gura and Tobelo are generally operating normally. Material needs of the community, both raw materials as well as other needs, are available in sufficient quantities.

“There is no problem now with raw materials. At the time of the conflict, we all experienced difficulty here because there were no goods. Now, things are normal, everything [raw materials] can be bought here... There are also plenty of ingredients for making cakes. In regard to prices, it is just normal, according to the market prices. If the price is expensive, we also have goods to sell at expensive prices” (M, 43, LFPD-M FGD).

Equipment for other economic activities is also available. For fishers, for example, “Spare parts and workshops for outboard motors are also here. So if we have a broken *katinting*, we don’t have to worry. Previously it was difficult, if you had a broken motor it needed to be repaired in Ternate” (LFPD-M FGD). The same is true of market information, “we hear it on the radio from RRI Ternate, as well as the newspapers of Halut Press”<sup>16</sup> (F, 31, LFPD-F FGD), or by “asking friends, or asking traders in the market or shop because they certainly know the market prices” (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD).

#### The role of economic organizations

According to the men’s LFPD-M FGD, economic organizations do not currently have a strong role supporting community prosperity: “In Gura, there are no important economic organizations. At best, there are only small-scale *arisan* of the PKK women. We have separate work” (M, 45). Previously there was a village cooperative (KUD), but this organization “didn’t develop and finally it closed ... because of the problem of poor management” (M, 43). “There was a cooperative in Gura, but it didn’t operate for the community of Gura” (F, 25, LFPD-F FGD).

Other economic organizations, such as savings and loans cooperatives do not exist in Gura. Nevertheless, there is a cooperative office in Tobelo so if Gura villagers want to access it, they can do so easily. “Anyone can join as long as they want to fulfill their requirements” (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD). In general, the community can easily access credit from formal and informal finance: “Now it is easy to obtain credit because there are several credit bodies. There were previously only banks, now there are savings and loans cooperatives” (M, 37, LFPD-M FGD). In fact, “from shops, customers can also obtain credit through a cash advance. This means if we need money we can ask at a shop, later paying it back in-kind with copra or cloves” (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD). The ease by which the community accesses credit is also supported by the availability of information on easy credit. “If you want to know about the credit issue, information is easy to obtain. It can be obtained from members of the cooperative, leaflets, advertising boards, or by asking directly from the bank” (M, 45, LFPD-M FGD).

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<sup>16</sup>Halut Press: Halmahera Utara Press, a local paper.

### Migration

The tendency for villagers of Gura to move out of the village permanently has been very low. This is because of the potential for life, especially the economic life in Gura and Tobelo, is considered to be quite promising. If Gura villagers do move, it is generally not to look for a better livelihood. “They move for reasons of schooling, marriage with someone from outside Gura, and also because they’ve been transferred, but the number is not that many. These are their official reasons. If villagers of Gura move because they wish to look for work in other places, they feel why not” (M, 57, FGD Community Timeline). “For the community of Gura, if you want to leave it is apparently rather difficult. Possibly there are, but very few, there aren’t any who want to leave Gura. The reason is that life here has already started to return to normal (F, 36). “Life here is already alright, it is only possible because of the conflict so we had to restart our businesses from scratch” (F, 45, LoL-F FGD). The small tendency of the villagers of Gura to move permanently is also confirmed by participants in the LoL-M FGD, because “they moved away from this village permanently and settled in other villages usually because of education or going to school in other areas. Or marry and work there so they don’t return (M, 53), or “Because of government duty” (M, 65).

The temporary migration of large numbers of villagers from Gura has only occurred once, with the evacuation at the end of 1999 caused by the conflict in Tobelo and the surrounding areas. During the disturbances there were “272 Muslim households who fled to Ternate, but now all of them have returned to Gura” (M, 53, Community Timeline FGD).

A Community Timeline FGD participant explains the migration trend: “People from other places who just came here, not us leaving” (M, 70,). This trend has been occurring since the 1980s. “The problem with outsiders from Java, Bugis and Buton has been happening since the 1980s. They came here to sell food (*wastep*), clothing and other things. At the time of the disturbances, they also fled, but now everyone has returned because it is now safe” (M, 50, Community Timeline FGD). When the conflict exploded, and Tobelo and surrounding areas, including Gura, became a refuge site for Christians from other places, most of these displaced people have not wanted to return to their place of origin.

“Many of the people from Galela and Morotai who sought refuge in Tobelo now do not want to return to their original villages. We have data that in 2000 there were 533 households who fled here [Tobelo/Gura], and now there are still 180 households who don’t want to return to their villages. The reason that they don’t want to return is that their life is already suitable here, they have jobs, and their children are in school here.” (M, 53, Community Timeline FGD)

The formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara also resulted in the transfer of a lot of civil servants from other places to settle in Gura. “In 2002, because of the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, there were approximately 40 civil servants from Ternate, Manado, and Morotai who moved here to become civil servants of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara” (M, 53, Community Timeline FGD).

Regarding the level of prosperity of the villagers of Gura who have moved, respondents have different opinions. “Usually they don’t come back because their prosperity is better”

(M, 57 Community Timeline FGD). “In general, they are more prosperous because they left this village to go school, so the ones who fail definitely return to this village, while the ones who don’t return are those who are successful. There are two reasons for their success, namely a better job and their education is higher” (M, 53, LoL-M FGD). Meanwhile, participants in the LoL-F FGD stated the opposite, “If there are people who have sought their fortune in other peoples’ villages they are probably not happy” (F, 48). “There are rarely people from Gura who have left to seek their fortune who are continually successful or become more prosperous in other places” (F, 45).

### Inequality

After discussing the concept of inequality (see Box 3.3.1), the men’s group was of the opinion that during the last ten years, inequality in Desa Gura has been declining. An increasing variety in the types of livelihoods was mentioned as one of the causes.

“In the past it was more unequal because most villagers here were oriented only towards agriculture. Now, because of the administrative separation of the district, a lot of people have moved away from agriculture and are working as construction workers, *ojek* drivers or have opened *wasteps* (food stalls). Most villagers in Desa Gura now have motorcycles, in the past only a few villagers did” (M, 45).

The conflict that occurred was also the cause for declining inequality, especially economic inequality for the reason “after the conflict, many of us had to restart from scratch, so our differences are now not great” (M, 36).

#### **Box 3.3.1 Concepts of Inequality**

The men’s group defined inequality as the difference between members of the community in issues of life—a condition of imbalance. Specifically, one FGD participant gave an example: “There are rich and poor people. There are upper classes and lower classes, and there are employers and employees. There are people who have cars and some use bicycles” (M, 43). By referring to these differences, they then concluded that inequality means an absence of equality.

The types of inequality found in Desa Gura include economic, social (educational and welfare), and political (those who are elected and those who vote) inequality.

The concept of inequality was not well understood by participants in the women’s group. This is reflected in their answers that define inequality as: “a blockage in the road, household problem” (F, 25), “business failure” (F, 32), “bankruptcy” (F-33), and “failure to have a household” (F, 25). So, when answering the question on the types of inequality, they stated that in Desa Gura there is “political inequality” (F, 39), “inequality in education” (F, 25), and “social inequality and inequality between the rich and poor” (F, 31). According to the women’s LFPD FGD, the levels of these inequalities have not experienced change during the last ten years.

On the issue of political inequality and the level of community involvement in the decision making process, participants in the men's LFPD FGD stated that the decision making process in the village has always involved the community. However the community is not directly involved, they are represented by community figure: "RT (neighborhood unit) heads, community figures, and so forth. Because it is not possible to invite all villagers, the village hall doesn't hold them" (M, 36). Young people are also involved through the youth group, Karang Taruna. The decision-making processes have taken this form for the last ten years. So, the quality of the decision making process is better now than it was ten years ago because "in the past, the community didn't want to talk at meetings. Now everyone wants to talk, meetings take a long time" (M, 45).

In regard to economic inequality, discussion participants referred to the declining trend of inequality and were of the opinion that more people in the community now have access to economic opportunity.

According to the men's group in Gura "there is no inequity because people often come and go here (social intercourse), there is no difference (just the same)" (M, 53). "Because we have a high level of tolerance so in social intercourse, everyone assimilates" (M, 65). These statements show that the understanding of inequity of participants in the men's LoL-M FGD is limited only to the problem of inequity in the field of everyday social intercourse. It is not the problem of economic, social or political inequity and so forth in the way it was meant by the questions in this research.

#### Participation in decision-making processes and access to employment networks and associations

The process of important decision-making in Desa Gura currently involves the community through a representative system, and was the same ten years ago. For the reasons like those presented earlier, the men's group gave just the same ranking for the level of participation of the community in this decision making process. The women's group agreed that process for making important decisions in Desa Gura at the present time always involves the community, and this was also the case ten years ago. The rank of community participation is also the same.

For community access to employment networks and associations, men's group agreed that in the last ten years, their access has been just the same. Unfortunately, they didn't provide reasons for their opinion. According to women's group there are no employment networks or associations, now or ten years ago. Although they gave the same ranking for the change in community access to work networks and associations, this answer was meant more as the absence of work networks and associations over the last ten years.

#### The role of government policy

Information provided by the men's LFPD-M FGD on the role of government policy towards livelihoods in Gura was limited. They only referred to licensing requirements: "For a trading or kiosk business in the market, they have to ask for permission from the Market Agency. But if it is only to trade as a *kaki lima* [a sidewalk stall trader], you just need to pay a fee" (M, 43). Meanwhile, "For other work, you don't need government permission" (M, 45).

Participants in the women's LFPD-F FGD also evaluate the permit process as being complicated: "the government makes it too difficult or complicated ... the government doesn't see the lower classes in the community and rarely socializes anything to the community here..." (F, 31).

#### D. Key Local Factors: Freedom, Power, and Democracy

##### 1. Freedom

The concept of freedom developed by the men's group (see Box 3.4.1) shows the men's group could not reach agreement on the groups or individuals in Gura who have the greatest freedom. Their individual opinions were as follows: "the village head, because he has staff. So he can give orders" (M, 56), "people who have money or the rich, because they can buy whatever they like" (M, 43), "people who are not under punishment [in jail]" (M, 45), "People who are not yet married, because they do not need to take responsibility for the lives of a family. They only think of themselves" (M, 32), "People who do not have enemies, so they can go anywhere and not be afraid" (M, 37), "Religious figures, community figures, and *adat* figures because they are respected by the community so they are free to give orders" (M, 43).

#### Box 3.4.1 Concept of Freedom

The concept of freedom as it is understood by men's group is: "being unimpeded, not being tied down" (M, 45), "the freedom to leave the house" (M, 32), "freedom to have an opinion" (M, 45), "There are no impediments to having a business" (M, 43), "freedom to choose one's religion" (M, 36), and "Free to deliver on one's aspirations" (M, 45). Based on this understanding, the dimensions of freedom cover freedom to engage in politics, freedom to engage in religion, freedom to engage in business, and freedom to have an opinion. According to the FGD participants, all of these types of freedoms have an important meaning for them, and no particular kind of freedom is more important than any others.

The women's group has a narrower concept of freedom than the men's group. The women limited freedom to "the freedom to make things" (F, 25), "happy, free to make anything at all" (F, 32), "can do anything we want to within limits" (F, 33), "we do things responsibly and don't hurt other people or the environment" (F, 31). These last two comments show that for the women, freedom has an aspect of self-control or rather large restrictions. Their narrow concept of freedom means the understanding of the types and dimensions of freedom by participants in the women's LFPD-F FGD is limited just to "the freedom to act or talk" (F, 31), "but to the limit of ethnics and morals". They interpreted the meaning of being a free person, among other things, as being "free to run a business but not to meddle with other people" (F, 25).

The men's group also had different opinions when identifying the groups and individuals with the least freedom. Three groups of people who are evaluated as being the least free: (1) "The poor, because anything is limited. They only give importance to looking for food" (M, 45); (2) "The sick or the elderly, because it is difficult for them to go anywhere" (M, 32); and (3) "People who have no education, because of their backwardness [in their thinking] so they are not taken into consideration by the community" (M, 36).

The women's group had different opinions to the men's group when identifying community groups with the greatest freedom. One community group the women identified is "the large *marga* [clan] because of the large number of members so they can have power in this village" (F, 31). What is surprising is that they are of the opinion that men are the group that has the greatest power, "all men are free compared with women who are limited by *adat* (traditions)" (F, 25). They identified women as being the least free: "women, because women are limited by customs and traditions (*adat istiadat*) compared with men for whom everything is free" (F, 31). The issue of *adat* also means "women in the village can't demand more freedom" (F, 31).

There were two different schools of opinion in the men's group regarding the level of freedom enjoyed by men and women. The first opinion states that men have greater freedom than women, especially on the issue of morality: "Men have more freedom. For example, men can go to a café or karaoke on their own until late at night without becoming the subject of gossip. If you're a woman? You can be the subject of the neighbor's gossip, considered to be a loose woman ... Women indeed have more rules on their morals. Doing this is wrong, doing that is not allowed" (M, 36). In contrast, the second group stated that women have just the same freedoms as men: "The difference is just on the issue of morality. For other things we think their freedom is just the same. Men are allowed to work, as are women" (M, 45). In parallel with this opinion, one discussion participant stated, "If you go to the market you will see that there are more women traders there. There are also more women workers in the government" (M, 56).

Irrespective of the presence of these differences of opinion, the groups agreed that a variety of factors can influence the level of someone's freedom. Discussion participants identified factors that can enhance someone's freedom as having a lot of money, higher level of education, having a higher position, as well as having a lot of relationships. Of these factors, education and having a lot of money are considered to be the two most important factors in enhancing freedom.

The greater the level of freedom someone has, the greater their chances of achieving economic opportunities. This is reflected in the understanding of economic freedom shown by discussion participants. Economic freedom in men's opinion is: "The freedom to make a living" (M, 45), "Freedom to create a work opportunity" (M, 43), "All of life's needs can be provided for" (M, 32), "Free to work or have a business without being restrained by other people" (M, 36), "Free to seek a profit and compete with others" (M, 45), and "Don't need a permit if we open a business" (M, 37).

The women's group viewed economic freedom as "free to look for a livelihood" (F, 39), "free to engage in commerce" (F, 31), and "free to make an effort to enhance the family's economy" (F, 32).



According to men's group, someone having a greater degree of freedom can improve their economic prosperity and the opposite can happen if this freedom is misused. So we can find a cause and effect relationship between having freedom and the chances of falling into poverty. In support of this opinion, participants in the men's LFPD FGD, stated, among other things: "because we are free, want to do as we like, then we can make mistakes in managing our business, go bankrupt and finally become poor" (M, 56). Also, "Because they feel free, they break the law and then can go to jail" (M, 43). This also applies for those who have livelihoods as employees, in both the public and private sector. Because of "misusing your position or finances, you can be fired" (M, 37).

When someone becomes poor, they don't actually lose their freedom. At certain levels the poor still have freedom. "Although they are poor, they are free to pursue their aspirations, free to seek the law (justice). Whether you're successful or not is another matter" (M, 37). In politics, the poor also do not lose their freedom, "at the time of the last general and regional elections, all villagers, whether they were rich or poor, were free to vote. There were no impediments" (M, 36).

In line with the opinion of the men's group, the women's group agreed that there is an association between having freedom and being poor. "For example, if you have a business that is doing well, but you gamble and drink alcohol then you will eventually fall into poverty" (F, 25). And the poor, still "have freedom, namely the freedom to form a group, freedom of life, and freedom to make an effort" (F, 31).

## 2. Power

Based on definition of power developed by the men's group (see Box 3.4.2), in the community of Gura, the community groups and people with the greatest power or who are influential are the prominent religious figures, community figures, *adat* figures, the village head and the rich. Those considered to have the least power are the ordinary people: "like us who don't have occupations. At best, we only have power at home, giving orders to our wives and children" (M, 45). People who don't have money don't have power. Low-level workers like a porter at the port also don't have much power because "they are only ordered to carry things" (M, 43). In addition, "people who don't have money don't have power..." (M, 45).

For the men's group, power is something desirable and is an important objective, like "seeking a livelihood" (M, 45), "looking for a government appointment" (M, 45), as well as the "tools for taking action" (M, 36).

Although the men's group tended to see power as something positive, they assessed excessive power ('very powerful') as being negative in nature. One discussion participant stated that being very powerful was "not good because you can be authoritarian, full of your own self-importance" (M, 56). Other discussion participants saw this issue as depending on the personality of each person. "That is influenced by a character that is powerful. So it can be good, can be bad" (M, 36).

### Box 3.4.2 Definition of Power

FGD participants linked the concept of power with government, because “government has power over the people” (M, 43), as do “Officials in the government” (M, 45). In addition to associations with government, power also means, “making rules and giving orders” (M, 56), “Authority” (M, 32), “Commando” (M, 37). In this regard, power has the meaning of “can get what you want” (M, 45), “have strength, can do anything” (M, 32), “having power means having respect” (M, 45), as well as “what is important is being able to get money” (M, 43). Meanwhile, becoming powerful can mean one “can have influence” (M, 37), or can “become an official such as a village head or *bupati*” (M, 36).

Based on these understandings, the participants in the men’s LFPD FGD grouped the types of power and their sources as:

- The power of the government based on legislation
- The power of the law based on legislation
- Economic power sourced from great economic strength
- Political power sourced from general elections
- Religious power based on religion
- Mass power based on the masses or the people
- The power of the household head sourced from marriage

According to the men’s group, there is a close relationship between economic power and political power. In the current regional autonomy era, anyone can nominate themselves as *bupati* or governor provided they “have a lot of money” (M, 45). One participant explicitly stated “The economy is not free of politics. People whose economic circumstances are good, can also have a strong position in politics if they want to” (M, 43). The relationship of these two types of powers can, in fact, represent a cause and effect relationship because “they become party managers so they can become members of the DPRD (regional legislative body) in order to get a lot of money” (M, 32). In a rather different context, one participant described the relationship between economic and political power: “Look at the tennis court, if a rich person plays tennis they will certainly often be with someone official” (M, 36).

Social power as participants in the men’s LFPD FGD understand it is power associated with community organizations whose activities are more associated with social needs, such as religion, education and health. Community organizations of a religious nature include Mosque Youth, *Majelis Ta’lim* and Church Women. Membership of these organizations is restricted to the followers of the particular religion. However membership is open for organizations such as the Family Welfare Movement (PKK) and *posyandu* (secondary health posts) that operate in the family welfare, education and health fields.

The men’s group were of the opinion that power could be obtained through education, money, and participating diligently in villagers activities. However, people can lose their power if they lose the trust of the community, through KKN (corruption, collusion and nepotism), if their business is going bankrupt, and through retirement.

The men's group agreed that power has a relationship with the possibility of moving out of poverty. By having power "it is easier to find money so you can escape poverty" (M, 43). And the greater the power someone has "the larger the amount of money they obtain. For example, my wages as a village member are smaller than the wages of the village head" (M, 36).

According to the men's group, to become a politician, someone has to have a lot of friends or supporters. In line with this, the first step is to get yourself known by the people. In addition, in order to rise in your political position, you have to be concerned about having achievements and looking after the people. In the context of Gura, the men's group stated that they did not know for certain whether local politicians had helped the community or not. In this regard, one discussion participant stated, "possibly during the meeting at the council they asked the government to build a road or market. This means they helped the people" (M, 43).

In the field of local politics, currently "important decisions in the village involve the community" (F, 31). This kind of decision-making process has been going on for the last ten years. "It's just the same, there hasn't been any change" (F, 31). Meanwhile, for economic power, participants in the women's LFPD FGD stated that more community members now had access to economic opportunities. This is reflected in the statement: "because in the past only a few people sold bread, but now everyone can sell bread" (F, 31).

Economic power and political power, in the opinion of the women's LFPD FGD, have a mutual association. The plan to construct a market and a cooking oil factory in Desa Gura was mentioned by one FGD participant as an example of the relationship between economic power and political power.

According to participants in the women's LFPD FGD in Desa Gura, there are no work networks or associations associated with community activities, especially activities associated with economic matters. In conducting their economic activities, the villagers of Desa Gura "just work independently" (F, 31).

In regard to security, discussion participants agree that the condition of security in Gura is now included in category 2, namely that the lives of the community here are secure, and crime occurs only occasionally. Ten years ago, the security condition in Gura was also included in category 2.

### **3. Democracy**

During the last ten years, the men's group saw that the implementation of democracy as having experienced a change for the better, especially from the aspect of freedom and security. "Previously, general elections were directed, now they're not. We are free to vote without fear" (M, 43). This freedom makes "people more courageous in speaking out now. If there is a bad law, we are not afraid to hold a demonstration now" (M, 45). For the community, a change like this made an impact that was "positive, if there is a bad decision or action by the government, the community can immediately protest it" (M, 56).

In line with the opinion of the men's group, the women's group agreed that during the last ten years, the conduct of democracy in Desa Gura have experienced changes: "the community now has courage to speak directly with the village head to discuss conditions in Desa Gura" (F, 31). This change brought a positive impact because with the courage to speak directly to the village head "one can receive a good response from the village head, and there will be improvements" (F, 31). Although participants in the women's group did not provide an answer to the question on the association between democracy and community prosperity, this answer is at least indicative that those two factors actually have a relationship.

### Box 3.4.3 Opinions on Democracy

The concept of democracy according to the men's group can be defined as: "free to vote", "can convey aspirations", "consensus from community consultation", "decision by the largest vote", as well as "having the same rights". Based on this understanding, participants in the FGD then identified important democratic dimensions covering the aspects of freedom, equal rights, representation, aspirations, maturity in thinking, as well as adequate education. While the women's group understand democracy within the parameters of "democracy is the people's aspirations" (F-33), "discussion and tolerance" (F, 25) "*musyawarah*" (community consultation) (F, 31). With this limited understanding of democracy, the important characteristics of democracy are only associated with the issue of "*mufakat*" (consensus) (F, 31) and "*musyawarah* and *gotong royong* (mutual assistance)" (F, 25). In order for democracy to work well "*gotong royong*, *musyawarah* and tolerance" (F, 32) are needed.

Among these dimensions of democracy, the three that are considered to be the most important are representation, equal rights, and freedom with the reason of as follows:

- Representation: "Because there is a large population, we must use a representative system, but the representatives have to be good and able to understand the desires of the people" (M, 43).
- Equal rights: "Not allowing discrimination. Although we are little people, we have the same rights as the elite" (M, 45).
- Freedom: "Without freedom there is no democracy. Free, there is no pressure or threats, that's a good democracy" (M, 32).

According to the men's group, democracy as one part of the system of state and community affairs was assessed as "having a relationship" with the level of community prosperity, both directly and indirectly. Freedom as one dimension of democracy, for example, directly influences the fact that "if we're not free to work we can't become prosperous" (M, 45). Democracy is also assessed as capable of creating a good security environment. With a good security environment, its influence on community prosperity will occur via "we can work calmly now because it is safe" (M, 45).

### Conduct of politics and local governance

Someone who wants to be a politician, according to the men's group, must have "a lot of friends or supporters" (M, 43) in order to be elected in a general or local election. This support is important because "if the people don't offer support then they can't get into politics" (M, 45). For that reason, before someone enters the world of politics, the relevant thing is "being popular or well-known first" (M, 37). If these politicians want to climb to higher positions, they have to "continue to be active in politics and know a lot of people in authority" (M, 43), as well as "have achievements and want to help the people" (M, 45). While according to the women's group they have to have an ability to "hear the aspirations of the community, ... to advance the economy" (F, 31). For that reason the position of a politician is determined by how involved they are in "assisting the community" (F, 31). In this regard, participants in the women's group only provided a normative answer, namely "if they have good ethics, they will definitely help [the community]" (F, 25).

In association with "having achievements and wanting to help the people", the men's group stated that they were uncertain of the role politicians played in policy formulation. Discussion participants only guessed, "Perhaps when there is a council meeting, they ask the government to build a road or market. If that's the case, it means they are already helping the people" (M, 43). "When the conflict ended, we received assistance with building materials and so forth, perhaps because a [DPRD] member requested it. We don't know the process (M, 36). In the view of one other participant in the men's LFPD FGD, politicians have not yet demonstrated their performance in assisting the interests of the community. "We want many job opportunities, many investors to come here. Until now we have not seen the results" (M, 32).

Irrespective of the lack of clarity on the role of politicians, the men's group believed that local government, both the village administration as well as the district government, now gives greater attention to the interests of the community. Unfortunately, in the current phase, this greater attention is not the result of the awareness of government politics itself. This change in government attitude is more the result of "because the government is afraid the community will demonstrate against it" (M, 36). In parallel with this statement, participants in the men's LFPD FGD assessed that in the last ten years, the ability of the community to relate to and influence local government, especially village administrations, experienced an improvement. This was because "the community is now more critical" (M, 36).

In Desa Gura, the introduction of direct elections at the local level was undertaken to elect village heads and the *bupati* of Halmahera Utara. The village heads who currently hold power were elected in 1999. The men's group agreed that the election process was conducted very openly and fairly, "there was no manipulation". In the election for village head, the candidates did not conduct a direct and open campaign. Candidates usually formed a 'success team' that campaigned for their candidate by means of word of mouth. In this way, the village community knew about the candidates they would be electing. According to participants in the men's LFPD FGD, the people elected the village head who is now in office because "he was well-known by the community. He was known because up until now he had been associating himself with the community" (M, 43). Only one participant in the women's group assessed the election process as dishonest and not open. One other FGD participant stated that, "honesty in democracy is very good" (F, 31).

In the elections for village head, a candidate was not allowed by law to conduct a direct and open campaign. In this regard, FGD participants stated that the community obtained information on the candidates for village head from the regional government. In that election for village head, one candidate who “promised to build a road” (F, 32) was elected.

The first direct election for *bupati* was held in June 2005. Discussion participants also assessed their election process as having been open and honest. In that election process, candidates for *bupati* were obliged by law to conduct a direct and open campaign. In this way, the community knew the quality and programs that each candidate would implement. The community also obtained information on candidates for *bupati* from many sources, such as local radio, local newspapers, banners, and leaflets.

“During the campaign, the candidates for *bupati* made attractive promises, like developing North Halmahera so its people would add to their prosperity” (M, 43). In addition, the theme of the campaign delivered by all the candidates for *bupati* was related to the aspect “will guarantee security and harmony” (M, 45). This campaign theme was evaluated as very much in keeping with the condition of the community of Gura in particular and Halmahera in general.

In the operation of the village administration, important decisions associated with the interests of the community are taken on the basis of a consultation between the village head and prominent community figures. “So village decisions are made on the basis of a consultation between the village head and community leaders and village elders [*adat* leaders]” (F, 32). So the impact of the community on the village decision-making process is indirect in nature. Nevertheless, “the decision of the village head has to be agreed by the community” (F, 31).

At the level of the *district* government, until now the community has not had a direct influence on the decision-making process. One participant in the women’s group said that it was difficult to have a direct relationship with district government “because of the complicated bureaucracy” (F, 31). In addition, discussion participants assessed the performance of the district government at the present time as worse than in the past. Their reason: “in the past they made and widened roads, provided lighting, telecommunications, and cleaned the market. But now the roads are jammed and dirty” (F, 31).

In regard to corruption, participants in the men’s group stated that at the level of village administration there was no corruption. In regard to the *district* administration, they said that they didn’t know because they had no news (in the local newspaper or radio) in relation to corruption. Meanwhile, one participant in the discussion stated that in the case of the central government “most officials are involved in corruption” because “on television every day there is news on corruption” (M, 45). The women’s group viewed that in general these cases are “not too obvious, although they happen” (F, 31). At the level of village administration, only some officials are involved in corruption, for example corruption in the case of “assistance with rice for refugees.” At the level of the subdistrict government, the level of corruption is also minor and the only known case for participants in the women’s group was “corruption in the Social Affairs Agency of Kecamatan Tobelo” (participant). In the case of governments at the district, provincial, and central level, participants in the women’s group said that they had no knowledge of corruption cases.

The summary of the men's and women's group view on the implementation of local politics appears in Table 3.4.1.

**Table 3.4.1 Important Aspects of Local Politics**

Aspects of Democracy	Men's Group	Women's Group
1. Three important aspects of democracy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Representation – representatives have to understand the desires of the people</li> <li>2. Equal rights – there is no discrimination between social classes</li> <li>3. Freedom – there was no pressure or threat</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Gotong royong</i> (system of mutual assistance)</li> <li>2. <i>Musyawaharah</i> (community consultation)</li> <li>3. Tolerance</li> </ol>
2. The relationship of democracy with prosperity	<p>There is a relationship through the mechanism:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Free to work – the community becomes prosperous</li> <li>2. Creating security – able to work calmly – prosperity improves</li> </ol>	<p>There is a relationship: the community is not afraid to speak directly with the village head and the village head gives proper account to the problems presented by the community.</p>
3. Trend in community ability to relate to local government	<p>Improving because the community is increasingly critical</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Village administration: worse</li> <li>2. District government: just the same</li> </ol>
4. Level of corruption in the government	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Village government: there is no corruption</li> <li>2. District government: don't know</li> <li>3. Central government: most officials are involved in corruption</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Village administration: some officials are involved</li> <li>2. Kecamatan government: some officials are involved</li> <li>3. Kabupaten government: don't know</li> <li>4. Provincial government: don't know</li> <li>5. Central government: don't know</li> </ol>

Source: FGDs of LFPD-M and LFPD-F.

#### Hope for democracy and governance

The men's group was optimistic that the conduct of democracy during the next ten years will become better. This optimism is based on the reason: "people are increasingly aware of their rights and responsibilities because education is better" (M, 45), "the community now is already able to protest against the government" (M, 43). Discussion participants also had the hope that "leaders would give increasing attention to the people, that there is no more KKN" (M, 32) so governance in the future becomes better. The women's group

used only democracy and governance implemented at the village government level as a reference for viewing democracy and governance in the future. For that reason, they stated that the quality of democracy and governance in the future “depends on their village head. There will be no change if the village head is like now, ... [the village head needs] very good ethics so he can develop Desa Gura” (LFPD-F FGD participant).

## **E. The Youth and their Aspirations**

### **1. Preparing to Enter the Workforce**

Some young men’s group participants stated that when they enter the work force, they want to be entrepreneurs such as chicken breeders, start a workshop business, or become musicians. Only two of them stated that they wanted to be civil servants. As was the case with the young men’s group, the majority of the young women’s group wanted to be entrepreneurs, such as oil traders, opening a food stall, and building a cake factory. Other FGD participants said that they wanted to be politicians and doctors. To achieve their goals, the men’s group are preparing by studying at university, through computer courses, and being active in organizations, among other activities.

Important steps that need to be taken to give succeed with these aspirations according to the young men’s group include saving money in the bank for capital accumulation, and obtaining appropriate training, for example music. According to the young women, each of these aspirations can be achieved if there is a strong desire, capital and parental support.

Meanwhile, the factors that could possibly impede the men’s aspirations include government regulations and intensive business competition. For the women, impeding factors include a lack of capital, increasingly expensive education costs, and the increasingly high prices of everyday needs.

### **2. Exploration of Freedom, Power, Inequality, and Democracy**

#### Freedom

In the local language, freedom is called “*Matemo-temo dika*” (meaning free to choose). For some young men, the understanding of freedom refers more to an expression of self-freedom that revolves around issues like “freedom to smoke and drink alcohol” (M, 20), “freedom to have sex, to fulfill biological needs” (M, 27). Some others see freedom from the perspective of politics and democracy, such as “freedom of speech, because if government is not truthful, we have the freedom to speak out” (M, 26). For participants in the young men’s FGD, the opposite of freedom is being “pressured”, having “impediments”, and “suffering”. According to young women’s group, the concept of freedom includes “not tied down”, “can do anything at all”, “relaxing”, “being free of things that inhibit you”, “independence”, and “being able to determine one’s own future”. Meanwhile, the opposite of freedom is suffering, being pressured, and being tied down. The dimension or types of freedom cover “free to give an opinion, free to speak” (F, 20), “free to express your desires, free to work” (F, 18), “free to choose” (F-26), “free to obtain work, free to take formal or informal lessons” (F, 20). From the many dimensions of freedom, the dimensions considered as important are being “free to express an opinion/speak, achieve aspirations, be expressive, and take classes” (F, 20).



For the young men, the purpose of freedom is also “not far from obtaining happiness by wanting to go anywhere, relax” (M, 22), “biological needs” (M, 18), and “acquiring more experience” (M, 26). So, when discussing other dimensions of freedom, they have a different perspective. In defining freedom, for example, they state: “there is work and can take leave and have a honeymoon after getting married” (M, 20), “free to choose the kind of work” (M, 27). It was also the same when they stated the type or dimension of freedom—the issue of “disturbances” arose less and less. This is reflected in their opinion that dimensions of freedom encompass being “free to work”, “free in giving an opinion”, as well as having “freedom to vote”. The type of freedom that was considered most important by the young men was the freedom to work and freedom of expression. For young women, freedom can mean that one “can be happy, can be expressive, free to determine something that we do” (F, 18), or being “free of all burdens” (F, 22). In connection with this, being free for participants in the women’s FGD is defined as “free to do something, free of problems, free of parental and local rules” (F, 26). One other participant defined it as “free of family rules that ban outside schooling. Parents prevent us from going to school outside the region because in the city there are a lot of thieves, robbers, and murders, so parents are afraid to let their daughters go to school in the city” (F, 18).

With this understanding and dimension to freedom, being free has the meaning, among others, of freedom from poverty, freedom to seek knowledge and free of other burdens. By being free, it is important to use it to become successful, to “live without being pressured again” (M, 26).

In the village of Gura, the community group that has the greatest freedom according to the male’s group is “the upper class because they aren’t pressured by problems” (M, 18), and “the youth” (M, 20). What is interesting is that the unemployed are included in the group with the greatest freedom because “they do not yet have permanent work” (M, 27). Possibly, what they mean is that because they do not yet have permanent work, they have a lot of free time. On the other hand, the community groups that have the least freedom include “people who are less well-off”, and “those with low standards of education”. The young women’s group is of the opinion that the young men, village head, government officials, and rich people are the community groups or people who are considered to have the greatest freedom. They cite the community groups with the least freedom as being children, the elderly (“grandmothers and grandfathers”), as well as people who are ill.

The young women’s group mentioned “having a lot of money”, “having a position”, and “having influence in the community” as factors that can enhance someone’s freedom. The young men felt, To broaden the freedom they have... to “work ... be honest ... and be diligent at work so as to move out of poverty” (M, 20). Among these three factors, the young men’s FGD agreed that honesty was the most important factor for increasing someone’s freedom.

The young men’s group was of the opinion that men’s and women’s freedoms are different. It is interesting to note that one reason presented in support of this opinion was “because women who have the ability continue their education to tertiary level, while men join the unemployed” (M, 20). Other FGD participants agreed with this opinion. In regard to the level of freedom of men and women, the young women’s group agreed that there was no difference between these two groups because “everyone (men and women) is free to do any positive thing” (M, 26). In contrast to the opinion of the men’s group, the young

women considered that women had less freedom than men. This differentiating factor was that “men ... can look for their livelihood anywhere, while women only cook, wash, and that is the expectation on women, to just stay in the home” (F, 18). In addition, “Men can go wherever they want to. Men also can eat and sleep as much as they want” (F, 20).

According to the young men’s group, the dimension or type of certain freedoms can be the factor that causes someone to fall into poverty, including the “freedom to play” and “freedom that is not controlled.” In contrast, the females did not consider that there was a connection between having freedom and being poor, the reason being “because free people are those who have a position and money” (F, 20).

### Power

According to the young men’s FGD, power is “wanting to own the family wealth”, “to look for work”, “to control the village of Gura, to lead the island”, and “control the natural resources of Tobelo”. In the local language, power is called *hininga amoko*. Power can be used to “control a particular region” (M, 26), and “to develop the area of Tobelo” (M, 27). In contrast with the opinion of the men’s group, the women’s group defined the possession of power as “can give orders”, “can determine something for yourself”, and “free to distribute duties to other people, free to control”, and “to give orders, to rule, to control” (F, 20). Using this definition, power can be used to “create tranquility, security, and peace in the village” (F-26), and for “getting rid of bad things like alcohol and corruption” (F, 20). For them, the understanding and types of power as they have expressed are important.

Meanwhile, the purpose of being very powerful for the young men’s group is “so as to be respected by the community and not considered unimportant” (M, 18), as well as “wanting to have power in other villages” (M, 27). Nevertheless, the women’s group stated that being very powerful is “not good, because the monopoly of the position in the language of Tobelo is called *foloi* or greedy” (F, 20).

In the view of the men’s group, the types of power also have an association with territorial control, such as “the power of the regional head, governor... and if you’re the president, over the whole of Indonesia” (M, 26). For that reason, power for them represents something that is very important and desirable. Nevertheless, being very powerful does not automatically appear to be something good, this is dependent on the person holding this power. “For example, the *bupati* who develops the district is good, if the *bupati* is not good, he is a hoodlum” (M, 18).

The men’s group said that the village head is the only person who is the most powerful in the village of Gura, as they can “create a better village”. Gura does not have a community group with the least power because of the presence of “very close fraternal relationship between villagers”. This reason is also used by the FGD to support the argument that in Gura there is no young man or youth group with power. The women’s group said that the most powerful figures are the village head, *adat* figures, religious figures and “the district head (*bupati*) because they can give orders and their opinions and decisions are followed by other people” (F, 20). In association with this, “there are no powerful young men in the village of Gura, everyone is the same” (F, 22).

The factors needed to achieve power are “having money, having a position, and having an influence on the community” (F, 22). But the young men stated that the most common means used by the villagers of Gura to achieve power is by having an honest character, a better nature, having an education or expertise as well as being close to the community. By mentioning these factors, the men’s group saw that to achieve power, especially the power as village head, the relevant party has to have a good personality and be known by the community. However, someone can lose power if “they are extravagant, arrogant, or their [community] influence is lost” (F, 26), or if they act self-important, have a poor character, are corrupt, or retire.

The men’s group still associated economic power with territorial power. A person can achieve economic power if they become a leader or village head. Apart from this, other participants concluded that economic power could be achieved via the development of a business enterprise. Thus, the young men’s FGD considered that, currently there are no people or groups in Gura with significant economic power.

Given that power is defined more as occupying the formal position of leader of a region, power has a close connection with the opportunity to move out of poverty: “Because by having power, then automatically you have a better income” (M, 18). The women’s group also emphasize that having power has a close relationship with the opportunity to escape from poverty. It was the same with the opinion of the young men that power “can be used to look for money in order to move out of poverty” (F, 18).

In identifying the group or person who is least powerful, the young women’s FGD has the same opinion as the young men’s. In the village of Gura, “everyone is the same, ... everyone’s opinion is heard as a member of the community” (F, 20), and therefore they could not identify an individual group with the least power.

### Inequality

The young men’s group defined inequality as the existence of “ethnic, religious, social, and economic differences” and the presence of a community that is “poor and rich”. Based on this understanding, apart from being rich or poor, they consider “ethnic difference”, “religious difference” and differences of “customs and traditions” as the forms of inequality that are found in Gura. In general, the understanding of inequality according to the young women’s group is a condition that shows “the presence of difference”, “not balanced”, “not the same”, as well as “there are less well-off people in the economy and there are the ‘well-off’” (F, 18). In their opinion, the latter is their understanding of the only form of inequality in the village of Gura. Participants in the women’s group do not see the presence of other forms of inequality.

In regard to the distribution of political power, the men’s group indicated that the majority of villagers of Gura are involved in the decision-making process. This involvement is considered by the group to be an obligation because these decisions are for the “interests of everyone” (M, 18). For political power associated with political parties, “only educated people” (M, 18) can relate to them. This statement indicates that the presence of political parties in the village of Gura is still exclusive in nature.

The existence of the inequality between the rich or the poor in the village of Gura is a manifestation of the inequity in the distribution of economic power among members of the community. In the view of the young men's FGD, the occurrence of this inequality is the consequence of "the poor not wanting to make an effort" (M, 20), "already poor, also lazy" (M, 27), as well as the "low level of education of the poor" (M, 18). The existence of this rich-poor inequality, is also assessed as not being an important problem, because "the poor can eat, but not because of the influence of the rich" (M, 26). In this regard, the men's group didn't give an answer regarding the relationship of political power with economic power. Although there is economic inequality in the village of Gura, the women's group stated that it wasn't considered important, "It is not a problem if it's only an economic problem. Those who are not well-off still have the right to follow their aspirations and opinions" (F, 18). One other participant in the women's group stated: "we are all family here, can ask each other [for help] among neighbors" (F, 26). In association with these reasons, the women's group stated that in the village of Gura there were no social differences. "There aren't any and there don't appear to be. We often help each other" (F, 20).

From the aspect of social power, the women's group stated that inequality or social difference that is found in the village of Gura encompasses inequality in the field of education and type of work. This social difference, among other things, causes an impact on the difference in access to work opportunities. One participant in the men's group gave as an example "for the civil service test, you must have capital, be a recent graduate, whereas the poor don't have capital" (M, 18). So, for the youth, the men's group stated, there is no social difference between them, "everyone is the same". The group also stated that in Gura there is not yet any organization or group that can provide a place for their activities. What is rather surprising is that they stated that in Gura there are also no groups or organizations for adults.

Apart from these answers, the young women's group did not provide an answer to the question on the relationship between political power and economic power, as well as the impact of social difference on work opportunities.

In the village of Gura, political power is not concentrated in one person. As the leader of the village, when important decisions, the village head always "decides together with community figures in a consultative meeting at the village office" (F, 18). Young men and women are also involved in that decision-making process through organizations such as the church or mosque youth.

In contrast with the young men, the young women stated that in Gura there are groups or organizations for youth, "for example *Karang Taruna*" (F, 26). The membership of this organization is open, "anyone is allowed to be a member" (F, 20). For that reason, the young women's FGD stated that there are no social differences in the youth's movement. "There is no social inequality between young people. Everyone is family" (F, 20). For adults, important community organizations include "family *arisan*, PKK *arisan*". The youth do not join these organizations because "they're already represented by old people" (F, 18).

## Democracy

The young men's concept of democracy is "being involved in politics, free to have an opinion" (M, 18), "free to choose" (M, 26), as well as "free to work" (M, 25). Based on this concept, the important dimensions of democracy include being "free to choose leadership figures" and "prosperity". Democracy can work if it is supported by teamwork, or "working cooperatively" (M, 20), "avoiding pressure" (M, 26), and "one group supporting others" (M, 20). The group also sees a relationship between democracy and community prosperity in general. The reason is "because with the presence of democracy, prosperity is guaranteed" (M, 18). This reason is possibly associated with the understanding of democracy that was previously defined among other things as "free to work". For the young women, democracy means "change, renewal" (F, 22), or reform: "situation that is changing" (F, 20), and "can hold direct elections" (F, 26). Democracy, according to the group, still has the dimension of "from the people, for the people" (F, 18), "community consultation for agreements ... and free to put forward one's aspirations and opinions" (F, 18). The young women could not name three important things that can make democracy work. The group of young women also could not answer the question about the relationship between democracy and community prosperity.

### *The implementation of local political practices*

In the village of Gura, for someone to become a politician, leader or village figure, the prerequisites are "good behavior and being known by the community" (M, 26). In addition, if "close to the community" (M, 26), these politicians will obtain increasingly higher positions if they genuinely are able to do something that is associated with the interests of the villagers, for example, "making a water channel, and creating a clean housing environment" (M, 18). According to the young women's group, one must have the prior confidence of the community. Then, with the "sense of confidence of the community" (F, 20), they can reach their position because they are respected by the community. The young women's group did not provide an answer for the question whether politicians or community figures have assisted the community or not.

In the village of Gura, the election of the village head is undertaken directly by the community and the community obtains information on the candidates for village head from village authorities. The men's group assessed the election process for village head (last undertaken in 1999) as having been done honestly, openly, and fairly. In regard to the campaign, as has already been presented previously, the candidates for village head were not allowed to deliver open campaigns. This was also the case for all the elections for village head throughout Indonesia. The women's group knew about the candidates for village head from "small banners" (F, 20). The group did not provide an answer to other questions that were associated with the election of the village head.

In the daily life of the village administration in Gura, the young men's group does not know for sure how the village head undertakes the decision-making process. Nevertheless, they stated that the community has an influence on the decision making process because those decisions are taken by means of "always by meetings and community consultations" (M, 26). In this connection, the young men's FGD stated that youth have not yet been involved in the village's decision-making processes. In contrast to the young men's opinion, the young women's group stated that the community, including the youth, were involved by "being invited to a meeting" (F, 26) in order to discuss the decision. On whether the community has an influence or not in that meeting, the young women's

group did not give an answer. It was also the case on the question of corruption; the group stated, “on the issue of KKN, we don’t know” (F, 18).

In answering the question on the level of corruption and misuse of official positions in the village administration, participants in the young men’s FGD stated that only a few officials were involved without giving any further explanation.

For the next ten years, the young men’s group has the hope that the implementation of democracy and the village administration in Gura can be progressed even further, be more secure, more honest and have better leaders. One way to fulfill this hope is via “a village head and community that has to work together to develop the village in the future” (M, 17). The young women’s group also stated that in the next ten years, there would be democratic changes in the village of Gura. “We are very optimistic about change in Gura, so we can be more free to meet our aspirations” (F, 22), and “increasingly free to determine our own choices or what each villager wants” (F, 26).

## **F. Conflict**

### **1. The Effort to Provide Public Security and Conflict Reduction**

In the last ten years, there have only been two activities undertaken by the villagers on their own initiative to protect the security of the village. Firstly, there is the *hansip* (civilian defense unit). But activities undertaken by the *hansip* are only active in the times surrounding elections for the village head, *bupati*, and general elections. Outside these times, the *hansip* is not active in Gura. Starting in 2000, when the conflict was still ongoing, the community took the initiative to operate a *siskamling* (a local security system) by creating security posts in several places. This was deemed successful in suppressing criminal acts in Gura.

In the daily life of the villagers of Gura, if there is a dispute or conflict between the villagers of Gura or a conflict with other villages, the effort to resolve it is undertaken as much as possible “internally” or within the family. In this regard, the village head, priest, *imam* or *adat* figures have the role as mediators to ensure a fair resolution, depending on the nature of the dispute.

For disputes that involve women, all the religious leaders, both *imam* at the mosque as well as priests, are often asked to be mediators. The decision to involve these religious leaders is in general followed by women and considered fair because it has until now proven capable of resolving problems fairly and quickly. If it is felt necessary, the village head and *adat* heads are also involved in this conflict resolution. This practice of informal conflict resolution is also often used to resolve conflict that involves young men or women. These conflict resolution mechanisms are generally applied in low-intensity conflicts. Nevertheless, if disputing parties feel this “internal” resolution of low-intensity conflict is unsatisfactory, the police will become involved.

Conflict or disputes involving serious crimes such as murder are reported to the police by the village head for resolution according to applicable laws. In association with this, in answering the question on the possibility of the occurrence of illegal use and occupation of

land and other resources, and the efforts to be undertaken, respondents stated that in the event that this occurred, they would “report it to the village head and not take the decision themselves, so that the law can take its course” (respondent).

Whatever their problem, and whoever was involved in the conflict, the above analysis shows that the villagers of Gura made efforts to resolve them via valid legal channels, religious law, *adat* law, and state law. There has been no tendency by the villagers of Gura to resolve conflict by means of a “kangaroo court”. It is interesting to note that the confidence of the villagers of Gura in security authorities protecting them from criminal acts has tended to decline. This is because “authorities have not adequately provided for the villagers’ security” (respondent). They gave as an example the case of recurrent coconut thefts that were reported to the TNI headquarters but were not acted upon. However perhaps the villagers are unaware that the TNI does not have the authority to handle such cases, and instead such authority rests with the responsibility of the police.

During the last ten years, with the exception of the time of the large-scale conflict of 1999–2000, the village of Gura had actually never experienced a problem of security or serious criminal acts (Table 3.6.1). This table shows that during the last ten years in Gura there has been a relatively high number of crimes associated with the consumption of alcohol, gambling, and cases of theft. Nevertheless, during this time, all of these crimes have tended to decline. Meanwhile, most other types of crime have almost never, or never occurred, either ten years ago or now.

**Table 3.6.1 Crime Trends in Gura During the Last Ten Years**

Type of Crime 1995–2005	Number of Occurrences During the Last Ten Years	Trend During the Last Ten Years
1. Theft	2 (often)	8 (declining)
2. Fraud	5 (almost never or never)	7 (no change)
3. Gambling/ <i>togel</i>	4 (rare)	8 (declining)
4. Narcotics use	5 (almost never or never)	7 (no change)
5. Consumption of alcohol	1 (very often)	8 (declining)
6. Robbery *	5 (almost never or never)	7 (no change)
7. Assault *	4 (rare)	8 (declining)
8. Murder **	5 (almost never or never)	7 (no change)
9. Prostitution	5 (almost never or never)	7 (no change)
10. Sexual assault	5 (almost never or never)	7 (no change)
11. Others	na	na

Note: \* In a normal condition, there is no theft but in the year 1999 after the community fled to *Korem 732* (TNI headquarters) there was an attack from outside.

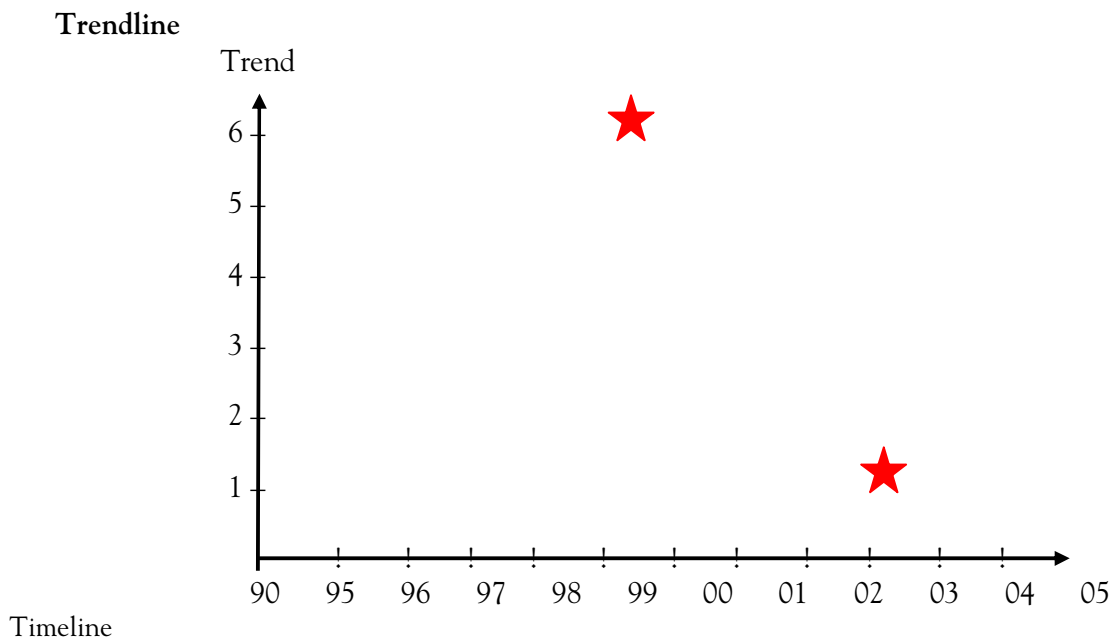
\*\* At the time of the conflict there was a murder of two people from Gura who had moved to the village of *Kampung Baru*.

## 2. History of Conflict

In the last ten years, respondents only noted the occurrence of two important conflicts that have been experienced by the villagers of Gura (Diagram 1). The first and only large-scale conflict (scale 6) happened in Gura in 1999-2000. As has been presented previously, this was not a conflict between the villagers of Gura. This was a conflict in a broader

constellation, namely a sociopolitical conflict that finally erupted in a religious conflict between Christians and Muslims, and hit most areas of Maluku. In this conflict, the villagers of Gura, both Christians and Muslims tried to avoid it by fleeing to a more secure place.

Respondents told of the tension in Gura and Tobelo in general during the conflict of 1999-2000, starting from October 1999. This tension arose because only about 90 kilometers from Tobelo/Gura a conflict had been occurring between the people of Kao (the majority of whom are Christian) with the people of Malifut (the majority of whom are Muslim). As a result of this conflict in Kao, information and issues of a provocative nature continued to circulate in Tobelo and the surrounding areas, so making the situation increasingly unstable. On the evening of 26 December 1999, open conflict exploded in the southern part of Tobelo (in the village of Gosoma). In Gura itself, only about 3 kilometers from Gosoma, there was no conflict between villages. While the male Muslim villagers gathered in the mosque, the female villagers and children fled to the military headquarters of Battalion 732) located about two kilometers from Gura. When they were gathering in the mosque, a pastor came and stated “*Sir, this is a red area (controlled by Christians), please leave this area, we don’t want bloodshed ...*” (quoted by respondent). To avoid conflict, these Muslim villagers then joined the evacuation to the army post.



Information on the scale of the conflict:

1. Tension present
2. Protests from the community/demonstrations
3. Fighting, community protests, and loss of property
4. Fighting, demonstrations, loss of property, and injured people
5. Fighting, demonstrations, loss of property, injuries, and fatalities
6. Fighting, demonstrations, loss of property, injuries, and many fatalities



Respondents said they didn't know what had caused the conflict. Information they heard was only that the conflict that occurred in North Maluku commenced with a dispute over the border between Kecamatan Kao and Kecamatan Malifut.

"The cause is unknown, suddenly there was conflict, there were attacks from outside. I don't know, I only heard there was a fight over the border between Kao and Malifut, that was all we heard in October 1999 ... In my opinion, the conflict that happened was not the result of religious problems but because religion was used as a political tool by a certain group. In Gura, we are all related because we are descended from one bloodline, there is no problem in Gura." (Lifestory: N.R.R., Desa Gura)

"In the past we usually helped each other on Lebaran and Christmas, the same as in our own houses, now it is no longer happening." (Lifestory: M, 36, Desa Gura)

**Box 8.1**  
**This is Not Our Conflict**

"there was fighting here [in Gura] but those involved were not the people of Gura but people from outside the village that was still one subdistrict. During the fighting there were a lot of fatalities, but not among the people of Gura" (in-depth interview: History of Conflict and Institutional Map).

"I don't know what happened to my village..." the respondent was quiet for a few minutes with glassy eyes, "...for the officials of this region to actually have the heart to act like this towards the weak community for their own interests, and we became the victims, with our property destroyed and many families lost and killed and life protracted. Whereas we in Tobelo, especially in Gura, had a level of friendship between the Muslim and Christian communities that was very closely tied together." (Lifestory: A.B., Desa Gura).

When the conflict exploded in Tobelo and the surrounding areas, the Muslim and Christian community helped each other. The following story is one indication of this.

"At that time, our Muslim neighbors said that I [as a Christian] should leave Gura first and they would look after our house and property. We also gave a message to the Muslim neighbors who stayed that if the situation deteriorated they should flee immediately to the army accommodation. On the morning of 27 December we fled by boat to Tomahalu. During the day, when we arrived in Tomahalu, we received news that our Muslim neighbors were also forced to flee. One week later, after the condition was fairly calm, I returned here to look at the condition of the house. It appeared that my house and the contents were still intact, and hadn't been damaged or lost. I then visited my Muslim neighbors who had fled to the army accommodation. They instructed me to protect their houses and their wealth. One or two days later, the situation in Tobelo was heating up, a lot of provocative issues were circulating. I was scared so I decided to flee again to Tomahalu." (Lifestory: O.G., Gura).

Gura, whose citizens were not involved in the conflict, became the site for fighting between Christians and Muslims who came from outside the Gura area. According to respondents, there were victims on both sides. This conflict in North Halmahera lasted for quite a long time, approximately two years. Two villagers of Gura died during the conflict, but not in the fighting in Gura. They died in Kampung Baru, approximately 10 kilometers from Gura. They had moved from Gura to the village of Kampung Baru because they married people from Kampung Baru.

When they returned from evacuation, the villagers experienced a smaller scale conflict. There was tension between villagers who had just returned from exile and the government authorities with responsibility for channeling aid to them. This tension was the result of the late distribution of aid, and some refugees felt it wasn't handled fairly. When they arrived in Gura, some refugees immediately received a living allowance of Rp2.5 million per family and Rp3 million for building materials, while some others did not receive it at that time. The distribution of other assistance was also felt to be unfair. "I saw myself, there was a carpenter from a poor family who did not receive assistance with the tools of his trade, while there was a carpenter whose wife was a civil servant who did ..." (F, 36, FGD LoL-F).

### 3. Institutional Mapping

According to respondents, the institutions or organizations associated with the daily life of the villagers of Gura, can be sorted into two types: the institutions from Gura itself, and institutions from outside Gura. The institutions from Gura include the village administration; the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), *Majelis Ta'lim*, and Mosque Youth for the Muslim community; the Church Council, Church Women, and Church Youth for the Christian community; as well as village consultative bodies (LMD/BPD). External Institutions include the Social Affairs agency, police, regional governments (subdistrict, district, and provincial), TNI and World Vision Indonesia. The role of each of these institutions in phases during and after the 1999 conflict is presented in Table 3.6.1.

#### Institutions involved in the conflict

The internal institutions of Gura, including the community of Gura, did not have a role in starting the conflict. In relation to institutions outside Gura—such as TNI, police, and the regional government—respondents stated that they didn't know whether they were involved in the conflict or not.

During the conflict, the village government had a role in the effort to protect the Muslim villagers of Gura by assisting with the evacuation process to the TNI hostel. Apart from the use of its headquarters as a temporary evacuation center, the TNI also undertook mobile patrols to try to suppress the conflict so it didn't spread. It appears, however, that this effort failed and the conflict continued sporadically for approximately three years. The other role of the TNI during the conflict period was to send the refugees to Ternate on warships. It is interesting to note that the police authorities that should have the duty of safeguarding the villagers, joined the evacuation and were protected at the TNI headquarters. They were forced to do this because "we were not able to survive at the police post because of the mass numbers" (respondent).

**Table 3.6.1 Role of Internal and External Institutions During the Conflict Period**

Name of Institution	Involved in the Conflict	Reduce Conflict	Repatriation of and Assistance For Refugees
<b>a. Internal institution:</b>			
• Village government	Not involved	Involved	Involved
• Village Consultative Bodies (LMD/BPD)	Not involved	No	No
• Family Welfare Movement (PKK)	Not involved	No	No
• <i>Majelis Ta'lim</i>	Not involved	No	No
• Mosque Youth	Not involved	No	No
• Church Council	Not involved	No	No
• Church Youth	Not involved	No	No
• Church Women	Not involved	No	No
<b>b. External institution</b>			
• TNI	Don't know	Involved	Involved
• Police	Don't know	Involved	Involved
• Regional government	Don't know	Involved	Involved
• Social Affairs Agency	Not involved	Not involved	Involved
• World Vision	Not involved	Not involved	Involved

Source: In-depth interviews: History of Conflict and Institutional Map.

#### Institutions involved in post-conflict reparation

Our respondents fled to Ternate early in the conflict. They respondents returned to Gura in the middle of 2003. For that reason, the respondents did not know the role of these institutions during the three-year conflict period. Their knowledge is limited to the post-conflict period, especially for the refugee repatriation program.

For the refugee repatriation program, involved internal and external village institutions were as follows:

- a). The village administration together with the regional government had a role in data collection on the villagers who fled to Ternate and other evacuation centers. The government authorities came to the refugee settlements to register villagers from Gura who had fled and scheduled their return.
- b). TNI and the police had a role to prepare a transportation fleet and transport the refugees to Gura. In Gura, refugees were temporarily accommodated in barracks built by the government.
- c). The social affairs agency had a role in distributing assistance to refugees in the form of living allowances and house building materials.
- d). World Vision Indonesia facilitated data collection on the refugees for the Social Affairs agency, and provided direct assistance in the form of essential commodities such as rice.

#### **4. The Impact of the Conflict on Local Government Administration and Inter-Communal Relationships**

As Gura's internal institutions were not involved, the 1999–2000 conflict did not influence the configuration of the local government, the participation of the community in the decision-making process and, in general, relationships between members of the community.

Relationships between community members, specifically between the Christian and Muslim communities, seem not to have been affected. The three-year separation appears not to have resulted in a tight segmentation of society. Nevertheless, in certain limits, two tendencies were found in community opinion regarding the conflict. The first tendency, and perhaps the tendency of the majority of the community was to consider that the villagers of Gura from the Christian community were definitely not involved in burning down or destroying the assets of the Muslim community that were left behind when they fled into exile. This is reflected, for example, from the expression “upon arriving in Gura from exile, we [Muslims] were greeted by the community of Gura, especially the Christian people and we embraced each other and cried...” (Lifestory, A.B., Desa Gura). When the Muslim community had just returned from exile, some of them did indeed have a less than harmonious relationship with the Christian community. “In the past when we met, the Muslim and Christian communities would certainly be morose. Now we are living in harmony again” (F, 36, FGD LoL-F). This statement indicates that early on the two communities experienced a kind of psychological blockage to directly mix together. This statement perhaps represents something natural because, whatever its cause, the conflict forced the Muslim community to go into exile for approximately three years. So, at that time, “there was no change in community relations, for either individuals or groups, and now this has been added to with cooperation, reconciliation, and peace” (respondent).

The second tendency, for some of the community, was that there is still a feeling of suspicion and lack of trust: “We the lower classes don't know anything, but we fight, in the end there is mutual distrust. Maybe other people burnt our possessions, but we do know that the people of the village who stayed [the Christian community of one village] burnt them” (Lifestory, B.M., Desa Gura). This statement demonstrates the view that although it was not the Christian community of Gura that burnt down the assets of the Muslim community, those of them who did not flee should have joined in defending or protecting those assets. This feeling of mutual suspicion is also reflected in the statement “I can no longer work at the port because many of the laborers are from the Christian community. Sometimes I feel everyone's eyes are on me when I come to work...” (Lifestory, B.M., Desa Gura).

#### **5. The Impact of the Conflict on Villagers' Assets**

Even though the villagers of Gura were not involved in the conflict, the impact of the conflict on them was still very significant. When the conflict occurred, all the Muslim families fled to the headquarters of Battalion C-732 that was only about 1 km from the village of Gura. After about one week there, they were then evacuated to Ternate. Given the rapid and unexpected escalation in the conflict, the Muslim community that fled did not have an opportunity to save their property. In fleeing, they generally only brought “the clothes they were wearing” (respondent). In addition to the fatalities, the impact of

the conflict that was immediately experienced by the Muslim villagers of Gura was the destruction of 175 houses and their contents, as well as the loss of hundreds of cattle and goats. Mosques and businesses (shops) owned by the Muslim community were also destroyed. As the people who attacked Gura came from Christian groups, all the assets owned by the Christian community were not destroyed. "Apparently my house and its contents were still needed, so they weren't destroyed and nor was anything lost. When the village was empty, there was an attack from outside that burnt down all the houses and the property of the Muslim villagers, while the houses and property owned by the Christian community was not destroyed (Lifestory, O.G., Desa Gura).

In this context, the Christian community was not disadvantaged by the conflict. Given that they did not go into long-term exile, this group was considered by respondents to have enhanced their prosperity although the conflict at that time was ongoing.

## **6. The Impact of the Conflict on Main Livelihoods**

While the Muslim community was in exile in Ternate for approximately three years, practically all their livelihoods in Gura came to a halt. Coconut groves that were the main source of income for the community and other plantation crops such as cloves, nutmeg, and cacao were all neglected. In addition, "many copra, nut, clove, and chocolate plantations were burnt or their produce was taken by other people" (respondent). Based on this information, the respondent concluded that farmers were the party that suffered most losses in the conflict. It was also the same with traders whose places of business and stock were burnt. For them, "now we have to start from scratch" (respondent). In this regard, the villagers of Gura whose professions were formerly as tailors could not yet restart their businesses because their machines were lost in the conflict and up until now they have not yet been able to replace them.

Meanwhile, the livelihoods that were least disadvantaged by the conflict were "bricklayers, carpenters, and fishers" (respondent). In the post-conflict period, bricklayers and carpenters had the most profitable livelihoods, as they received a lot of work building and repairing houses and other buildings destroyed during the conflict, and from the construction of new office buildings resulting from the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara. "Now tradespeople are not unemployed, there is always work... in the past their wages were only Rp15,000/day, now it is Rp30,000/day" (M, 56, LFPD-M). In addition to the increasing numbers of bricklayers and carpenters, other livelihoods that emerged after the conflict were *ojek* drivers and public transport drivers. With an increasingly conducive security situation with the development of the city, the need for transportation means increased. Motorcycle dealers also benefited significantly from the increasing numbers of *ojek*. The respondents also mentioned fishing as a livelihood that benefited post-conflict because the price of fish "reached Rp15,000/kg, whereas before the conflict the price was Rp5,000/kg."

## **7. Supporting Factors for Livelihoods Recovery**

Respondents assessed the security condition at the present time in Gura in particular and in Tobelo in general as very conducive. Economic activities are also developing more and more with the population growth resulting from the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara. The community now has greater economic opportunity compared with ten years ago.

The recovery of the villagers who had previously fled and lost their assets and livelihoods would be accelerated with the support of “assistance from the government” (respondent). Respondents referred to capital assistance or provision of tools to do business in accordance with the livelihoods developing in Gura. Fishers, for example, hope for “assistance with *perahu* (non-motorized boat)...” (respondent), while most women expect assistance with “tools and materials to make cakes. The community wants to conduct a business with the tools they have, while we need money to buy the raw ingredients. We don’t have money, so can’t do business even though we have the tools” (F, 45, LoL-F).

## IV. UNDERSTANDING INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY

### A. Community Perspectives

#### 1. Factors and Processes that Influence Changes in Prosperity

Participants in the women's group classified the prosperity of the villagers of Gura into five levels or steps. Discussion participants agree that step II-f ("simple" or in the local terminology *biaha*) and above are no longer considered "poor". So, "poor" households are those placed on step I-f or "not well-off/just enough" or in the local terminology *womangakunua*. The women's group agreed with the government-determined poverty line of Rp550,000/household/month: "We think that households that have that level of income in Gura are on step I-f. So they are indeed poor households" (F, 48). "With that income, you can't live sufficiently well in Gura. I have the same opinion as Ibu F, 48. They are poor families" (F, 45).

When discussing the middle class, the women's group agreed that households located on Step III can be considered to be middle class: "The *demaenenga* or "well-off" (step III) group is the middle-class because they are in the middle" (F, 38), and "the group at Step III are indeed not rich, but can provide sufficiently well for their daily needs" (F, 36).

The women's group also gave an estimate of the distribution of household numbers for each step as follows: "the 'not well-off' (level I) 10%" (F, 45), "the 'not well-off' around 20%" (F, 38). "The 'well-off' (level III) 40%" (F, 36), "the 'simple' (level II) 30%, the 'rich' (level IV) 5%" (F, 45), "the 'rich' 3%, 'elite' 2%" (F, 36), "the 'rich' 5%" (F, 38), "the 'rich' 6%" (F, 36). Based on these estimates, the majority of the population of Gura are now placed at step number III-f (40%) and II-f (30%) of the ladder of life.

When identifying households according to prosperity levels, participants in the women's group gave very significant defining characteristics between households with low prosperity levels with those with high levels of prosperity. In the previous analysis, the women's group also stated that ten years ago, there were no households on step V-f in Gura. In relation to inequality, participants in the women's group stated that the level of inequality in Gura has "declined because there have been changes that are a little better" (F, 36). To support their conclusion, they stated: "because of the disturbances, the majority of us had to start from scratch together. So our lives are just the same as each other" (F, 45). More specifically, participants in the women's group gave the reason: "inequality is not too significant now. There are people who have changed from "simple" to "well-off" because there are businesses, children also are at school and succeeding, then working as civil servants, have wages and can help their parents. If they're still poor it is because they don't have any schooling" (F, 36). "Now [inequality] is possibly a little better. Previously, their livelihoods were the same old things, now there are others, such as *ojek*, there have been improvements and changes" (F, 45). "Ten years ago, those in the "less well-off" category (I-f) did not have a good education, now it is a little better because their children go to school, although only to elementary school. Previously, they couldn't go to school" (F, 36). "The standard of health was previously low, now it has improved,

there has been a change in clothing because there is second-hand clothing, we usually buy second-hand clothing but it is still good” (F, 36).

Participants in the men’s group stated that the households that are no longer ”poor” are: “those that are on step II or above or are called *biaha*” (M, 53). Other discussion participants agree with this opinion. In line with this, the men consider households on Step I-m (*huha*) as “poor”. The men’s group participants also believe the government-determined poverty line of Rp550,000/household/month can be applied in Gura because “for example, a fisher, if he goes to sea, ... in one month can make more or less Rp500,000-Rp600,000” (M, 43). And households with this level of income are “in the *huha* group” (M, 53). For that reason, households are no longer classified as poor households if they are “at or above the government poverty line” (M, 53), while households included in the “middle” group are those at the *biaha* (Step II-m) and *imagakunu* (step III-m) levels. People in this group often look after people below them” (M, 53).

The men’s group determined the distribution of households at each step as “the *biaha* (Step II-m), between 60–70%; for other groups, namely the *imagakunu* (Step III-m), approximately 20%; *haere* (Step IV-m) between 5–10%; and *huha* (Step I-m), 5%” (M, 53).

## 2. Supporting Factors for an Improvement in Prosperity

Change or mobility in villager prosperity levels in Gura is affected by many interconnected factors. Participants in the women’s group mentioned education, occupations in government administration, additional capital, enterprise or business opportunities, changes in economic conditions, and changes in attitudes, as factors that can support upward prosperity mobility. Table 4.1.1 presents the factors considered by the women as supporting factors for enhanced prosperity for each household category.

Furthermore, the women’s group stated that the various causative factors for improvement in prosperity have to emerge one by one. For households on the “poor” Step (I-f), the first factor that has to emerge is a strong desire to change their lives. If this factor has emerged, they then need capital assistance to start or add to their business. These two factors cannot yet improve prosperity optimally without the presence of the third factor in the form of an improvement in general economic conditions. Meanwhile, for households at Step II-f to climb to Sep III-f (“well-off”), the availability of additional business capital is the first factor which is needed. This should be followed by education or improvements in skills, the willingness to work harder, and finally, the presence of more conducive changes in economic conditions. With a little variation in the sequence of their occurrence, the presence of these factors is also valid for households who wish to raise their status from Step III-f to Step IV-f, and from Step IV-f to Step V-f.

According to participants in the women’s group, it is currently easy for poor households to climb from one level to the next (Step II-f or “simple” or “not poor”). Their reason: “I can say easy because there are work opportunities. Moreover, there has now been the administrative separation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, so if you are a university graduate you can now easily obtain work as long as you have the desire. I see in Gura that everyone wants to work” (F, 36). “If you have a motorcycle and you want to be an *ojek* driver you can make a reasonable income—as long as you want to” (F, 36). However, the



participants did not give consideration to the consequences of lacking prerequisites such as having a tertiary education or motorcycle.

**Table 4.1.1 Supporting Factors for Household Prosperity Mobility and the Sequence of their Occurrence**

Prosperity Mobility	Supporting Factors	Sequence of Factors
Step V-f ↑ Step IV-f ↑	F, 38: The “rich” can climb to the “elite” level because they have a successful business. F, 36: The rich can rise to the “elite” step because they have children succeeding in becoming civil servants, with positions for example as agency head. F, 45: Those who are already rich can rise to the elite level because of inherited wealth, there is additional capital.	1. Change in economic times and conditions 2. Business school 3. Human resources 4. Capital 5. Skills
Step III-f ↑	F, 36: The “well-off” can climb to the “rich” level because many of the children of this group are able to go to business school. They have a lot of capital, have business skills, there are some who are civil servants while running businesses, possibly also because of a change of times.	1. Strong desire 2. Scholars [education] 3. Hard work
Step II-f ↑	F, 45: Families at the “simple” level can climb to the “well-off” level because the level of the children’s education is better. Their children have been educated to university level, can get work and have adequate incomes. F, 40: There are some who because of their business can sell things on credit.	1. Business capital 2. Education 3. Willingness to work 4. Economic change
Step I-f	F, 36: Usually because they have a strong desire, also because they are bored with a difficult life. There is a change for them in their attitude to life.	1. Strong desire 2. Assistance with business capital 3. Changes in economic conditions in general, like more work opportunities

Source: FGD LoL-F.

In regard to the mobility from Step II-f to Step III-f (the “middle” group), participants in the women’s group have varied opinions. On one hand, there were some who stated that mobility at this level was most easily attained with the reasoning: “because he is industrious, via a good education children are able to obtain suitable work with a sufficient income” (F, 36). This statement confirms that the desire to make an effort, education, and availability of work represent prerequisites for the attainment of enhanced prosperity for households at level II-f. On the other hand, there were some who stated: “The ‘well-off’ group (III-f) is not easy to reach because of the factors of very limited

capital, human resources and occupation” (F, 35). “For civil servants of my type, to become “well-off” needs a long time, have to wait for a promotion. But for a civil servant with a husband who is also working, it is possible to get to the “well-off” step quickly” (F, 48). To find some middle ground in these differences of opinion, one participant stated: “It depends on the person. If they want to work hard in the plantation, and the price of copra is good, for example, they can certainly climb to the level of ‘well-off’” (F, 38). This difference of opinion signifies that the mobility of prosperity of someone is more in the nature of the individual rather than the community.

Apart from the occurrence of these differences of opinion, participants in the women’s group agreed that in order for households in II-f to not fall into poverty (to Step I-f), then one must “want to do any work at all, work hard and not be embarrassed” (F, 40).

In regard to the question whether there are households that can climb several steps simultaneously, participants in the women’s group agreed with the answer that there were no such cases in Gura. “everything happens via a slow process. For example firstly work as a driver’s assistant, then become a driver, and then get your own vehicle. Especially for Gura there is no one who becomes rich suddenly” (F, 36).

It is difficult for the villagers of Gura to reach Step IV-f and Step V-f. “The ‘rich’ and *haere* is difficult to reach for the villagers of Gura, in general, due to the factors of capital, limited human resources, and the lack of skill in conducting a business” (F, 45). “It is most difficult to climb from ‘rich’ to ‘elite’ because occupations are difficult to obtain, even more so if you are not propped up with money or capital” (F, 36).

Unlike the participants in the women’s group, participants in the men’s group did not mention the causal factors for the increase in prosperity by each category on the ladder. In general, they stated that the factors that could cause an increase in prosperity included: “the motivation to be active in business” (M, 39), as well as “capital assistance, together with grouping of businesses and technical guidance from associated agencies (government) accompanied by well-constructed information” (M, 53). These factors are considered important for the reason “after the conflict, many of the community lost handicraft tools so with capital assistance tradespeople can but tools to work again” (M, 53). In addition, “with a basis of good education, technical guidelines, and information, as well as grouping by kind of work, we can work cooperatively so that we can achieve what we want” (M, 65). Like the women, the men also sequenced these factors: “motivation, technical direction from associated agencies, implementation by the community, and the security factor” (M, 53).

In relation to the issue of mobility, participants in the men’s group stated that poor households would have difficulty in climbing to the next step above them (II-m). This is because to move out of poverty, households need “additional business capital” (M, 53), whereas for the current condition, “villagers here still enjoy being extravagant, alcohol, and gambling” (M, 39).

The most difficult step to climb on the ladder of prosperity is from level III-m to Step IV-m. One participant in the men’s group gave an example of their problem: “because moving from a motorcycle to a car is indeed difficult” (M, 53). In addition, the factor that makes this climb difficult is the presence of “business competition, you have to be thrifty in costs

and savings” (M, 53). In addition, “the majority of villagers still have only a small amount of capital and a less than adequate education. Seen from their business, the income of the *haere* is a business monopoly...” (M, 53).

The households that can easily or without too much difficulty move up to a higher level are households at Step II-m climbing to Step III-m, namely “from the ‘middle’ group (*biaha*) to the *imagakunu* (‘rather well-off’)” (M, 39). The reason why these households can easily climb up is “because in this village human resources are very supportive” (M, 39). Nevertheless, to achieve an increase, the necessary requirements are “capital without collateral and with low interest” (M, 53), and the presence of “motivation, marketing, easily obtained government permits, because without those things we can’t compete” (M, 39).

Participants in the men’s group were also of the opinion that no households can climb several steps simultaneously in Gura. “You can’t jump several steps simultaneously, but have to climb step by step and the factors that affect that are conducive security, education, capital, and motivation” (M, 53).

### 3. Causal Factors for Prosperity Stagnation

The factors that cause stagnation or impede households from climbing to a higher level of prosperity are rather varied. In identifying these factors, participants in the women’s group did not break them down specifically by category of each ladder of life. Nevertheless, the factors that were mentioned by participants in the women’s group appear to refer more to households located in categories I-f and II-f. These factors cover:

- The vicious circle of poverty: “usually for the poor, because it is too difficult, so the climb is also difficult” (F, 36).
- Attitudes to life: “it is rather difficult for someone on the ‘difficult’ step to climb to the ‘less well-off’ step because they are spoiled by the natural surroundings” (F, 36). “They don’t want to work hard if they’re spoiled by nature” (F, 40).
- Limited opportunities of work: “it is quite difficult for families on the ‘simple’ step to climb to the ‘well-off’ step because there is no other work. If the fishers’ work is just looking for fish, their incomes will be low” (F, 45).
- Education: “not able to go to school” (F, 38).
- Parents: “parents, children who are kept at home, their parents have a low level of education” (F, 36).
- Gender bias in association with education: “here there is sometimes a parental principle or understanding “*wa hakola de hakola ua may oyomo*’ (school or no school, you can still eat), men go to school, women don’t need schooling, just stay in the kitchen” (F, 38).
- Transportation: “Poor roads, difficult, can’t be used by cars” (F, 45).

According to the men’s group, four factors brought stagnation or impeded an increase in the prosperity of a household. Firstly, the absence of capital: “if you want your business to progress then capital is definitely needed, how can someone progress if there is no capital” (M, 65). “Someone will progress if they have capital. For example, if an applicant for the civil service wants to become a civil servant they have to pay a bribe” (M, 53). Secondly, is “extravagance” (M, 53). The third is related to the “village [government] regulations on levies that are too high” (M, 53). The fourth factor is “bribery involving the military and police” (M, 53), because “in fact, there is also still a lot of bribery here and the authorities often act outside the law, it is difficult for the community to progress” (M, 53).

#### 4. Causal Factors for a Decline in Prosperity

Specifically, the women's group identified factors that are the cause of the decline in the level of prosperity at each step as appears in Table 3.6.2. One interesting piece of information in Table 3.6.2 shows that for households classified as "elite" and "rich" (V-f and IV-f), one dominant factor that is considered as able to cause a decline in the level of their prosperity is "womanizing". Other causal factors involve mistakes in managing finances (extravagance), changes in the business environment, and loss of position because of corruption.

Table 3.6.2 Causal Factors for a Decline in Prosperity at Each Step

Decline in the Level of Prosperity	Causal Factor
"Elite" (V-f)	F, 36: "The 'elite' fall to 'rich' because of extravagance, there's a second person (business competition)."
"Rich" (IV-f)	
"Well-off" (III-f)	F, 38: "Husband in two minds, having affairs, being a little dishonest, his money is split up."
	F, 45: "Business profitability is lost, fall of position because of corruption, change of occupation."
	F, 36: "Extravagance, short of capital, defrauded by someone, misusing money, often taking women to a hotel."
"Simple" (II-f)	F, 45: "Enterprise not running well, business less than operational, decline in work ethic."
	F, 45: "The causal factor of the disturbances, can't yet work because of post-conflict trauma."
"Less well-off" (I-f)	F, 36: "Having an indifferent attitude, only expecting assistance, lazy to make an effort."
	F, 36: "Lack of self-confidence."
"Difficult" (I-fi).	F, 36: "They're too lazy, excessive in their laziness; the local term is <i>matipa</i> , <sup>17</sup> work-shy."
	F, 36: "The meaning in Gura of this is if someone has a <i>matipa</i> attitude that is already excessive, [they] are <i>bahenju</i> (pretending to be clever and lazy in adding to this knowledge, but they are actually very stupid)."
"Destitute" (I-fii).	F, 36: "Because of <i>matipa</i> , you just go back to the village, climb the coconut palm, drink palm wine, steal the people's cassava, grill their duck, and this is even more serious."

Source: FGD LoL-F.

For the group of households in III-f (middle class), a business/enterprise that is not running smoothly and the loss of the desire to work hard can reduce their prosperity to level II-f. A loss in motivation to work hard is possibly associated with the trauma of the conflict. If this is correct, then the conflict, which occurred approximately six years ago (1999), has brought an enduring negative impact. Meanwhile, households in II-f (not poor) can fall to being a poor household (I-f) if they have a lazy attitude lack self-confidence. This poor group can fall to a lower level of prosperity again, namely Step I-fi and I-fii (although this group is no longer found in Gura), if this laziness becomes excessive. In local anecdotes, attitudes such as this are called *matipa*.

<sup>17</sup>*Matipa*: makan, tidur, pusing apa: eat and sleep, what is there to worry about.

The men's group did not break down factors that cause a decline in poverty according to the prosperity status of each household. They only gave the general statement that "what pushes households to fall is poor management accompanied by extravagance" (M, 53). These factors are considered important because "there are indeed still a lot of villagers here who don't yet have a good education so management also can't yet operate well and a lot of people are still living extravagantly" (M, 65). In addition, "disaster", "business failure", "can't face business competition", "gambling" and "alcohol" are important factors that make someone's prosperity level decline. Among these factors, the men's group sees that the poor management of household finances implicates extravagance, gambling, and alcohol as the dominant factors that cause household prosperity to fall.

## **B. Individual Experiences**

The individual life stories below present the work history and experiences of two movers. They show the factors that helped these households to move out of poverty. They were chosen because work experiences are often connected with other aspects of one's life, such as migration history, history of economic prosperity, history of social relationships, and also often reflect the mobility of someone's economic circumstances. They were selected not because the history of their work experience is more interesting than the life story of other respondents, but because of the presence of various differences in background together with several similar aspects that caused changes in their economic circumstances.

The first story represents the career of a civil servant (teacher), who was born and raised in Tobelo. It is likely that the respondent's choice to become a teacher was influenced by his parent, who is a teacher. His career path—starting out as a teacher paid in honorarium and reaching his current position as school principal—provided several interesting lessons. Firstly, from the kind of education that he gained at SGO (sports teacher training school), it seems that the respondent had the desire to become a teacher from an early age and he continued to pursue this desire consistently. Secondly, networks, associations, or friendships had an important role, especially in the early phases of his career. Thirdly, he was thrifty and able to save. He then used these savings as an investment to improve his career "capital" by obtaining a tertiary education. Fourthly, the respondent has a realistic attitude towards his life. This is seen, for example, when he consciously wanted to be a porter on the wharf when developments in local conditions forced him to make that decision. This meant his determination, or his unwillingness to surrender to adverse conditions, was key to his survival.

These factors also provided the background for the successful economic mobility shown in the second story. As a migrant, the only seed capital that the respondent had was the desire and determination to improve his life. Operationally, these factors translated into the desire to seek information, learn, and work in whatever field would make it possible for him to do this. His experience also shows that networking, such as the assistance of a teacher he knew in the transmigration location, had an important role in the early period of his migration to Tobelo. He was also determined, and did not want to surrender to the poor conditions. When he was living in asylum in Ternate, he did not want to rely on government assistance. He constantly sought work opportunities, and with the skills he possessed, he was able to obtain work in a motorcycle workshop in Ternate. His ability to

save and continue to invest his savings in any productive business activity also became the key to his success in reaching Step III-f on the Ladder of Life.

It is also interesting and important to note that both respondents' wives also work, so their household income is not solely dependent on the respondent. On this basis, income diversification, whatever the form, was an important factor in the process of a change in economic circumstances.

#### Box 4.1

#### The Experience of a "Mover" (From "Simple" or *Biaha* to "Well-Off" or *Demaenanga*)

##### Work History

I was born on 19 September 1968 in the village of Tagalaya, Kecamatan Tobelo. This village is located on Kakara Besar Island, approximately 30 minutes travel by motorboat from Tobelo. I started work in 1990 as a teacher paid by honorarium at the Tobelo Christian SPG (Teacher Training School). I obtained this job because I was invited by a friend who was already a teacher at this school, his term for it was "a friend helping a friend." Other teachers and the foundation managing the school also didn't object to accepting me because by chance that school had a shortage of teachers. As a teacher paid by honorarium, I was paid a wage of Rp150,000 per month. During the two years I worked here, I never had a raise. At that time, my prosperity was at level +1.

As I said before, after two years at that SPG, I continued my D2 studies in Ambon. After graduating in 1994, I returned to Tobelo and worked as a teacher paid by honorarium at the "Maranta Senior High School", that actually is an SPG that later changed its function as a senior high school. Thanks to the efforts of friends I was accepted as a teacher paid by honorarium in this school. In this high school, I taught the subjects PPKN<sup>18</sup> and sport. Although at the time I was studying for my D2 I was taking the educational studies stream, this subject was not foreign to me. Moreover, for sports lessons, I was a graduate of an SGO. At that time my wages were Rp175,000/month, higher than the wages that I was paid when I was a teacher paid by honorarium previously. So my prosperity rose to level +1.5.

In 1996, I made the decision to take the test for acceptance as a civil servant in the Transmigration Agency in Ambon. My consideration was that if I stayed as a teacher paid by honorarium, my economic prosperity would be difficult to develop. I used my D2 certificate for that test and didn't pass. Still in the same year, I took the test again as a civil servant in the Education Agency, also in Ambon, and this time I used my SGO certificate, and I passed as a civil servant.

In 1997, after being appointed as a civil servant (teacher), I was assigned to teach in the Birinoa Public Elementary School, approximately 26 km from Tobelo. Every day, I had to travel to and from school because my family stayed living in Tobelo. At the time of my appointment as a civil servant, my wages were Rp290,000/month. When I taught for the first time at elementary school, I experienced some difficulty because I usually taught at the level of senior high school. Apart from the teaching material that was different, I had to teach elementary school pupils reading, writing, and arithmetic. Other difficulties were also encountered. Because the people of Birinoa village were tribal peoples, so many pupils did not yet speak the Indonesian language. Pupils were also sometimes frightened to come

<sup>18</sup>PPKN: *Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan*: Citizenship and Pancasila Education.

to school. The availability of teaching and learning tools was also very limited. The point being that at that time it was very difficult to teach in that elementary school. Nevertheless, I felt very happy because I had become a civil servant. My prosperity at that time could be said to be at the level of +2.5.

In early 2000, when the conflict exploded in Tobelo, all schooling activities came to a halt and the payment of my wages also came to an end for four months. To provide for our daily needs, we sold cakes and cigarettes on a small-scale in front of our house. The return was not that much, at most a profit of Rp5,000-Rp10,000 per day. Apart from that, I also worked as a porter in the port of Tobelo for approximately two months. My income as a porter was approximately Rp100,000-Rp200,000 per month. Frankly, although my income actually was not much different, at that time I felt like I was suffering a lot and my prosperity fell to zero.

In 2000, around July, when schooling activities started to return to normal, I was transferred to teach in the village of Upa, still in Kecamatan Tobelo. Simultaneously with this move, my wages were raised to Rp375,000/month. At that time I was very happy because I could teach again and my wages were also increased. So, at that time my prosperity returned to a pre-conflict condition, namely at the level of + 2.5, in fact less. After around two years teaching in Upa, in 2002 I was then transferred to teach in the village of Tomahulu, on the island of Kakara Besar, and my wages rose to Rp550,000/month. I only stayed for a short time in this village and my prosperity rose to the level of +3.

In 2003, I was assigned as administration clerk in the office of the National Education Agency in Kecamatan Tobelo. In this place my wages were increased to Rp1,350,000/month. I was happy to be moved because apart from receiving a wage increase, the location of the office was very close to my house. So, with this move, my prosperity climbed to the level of +3.5. Starting in early 2004, and until now, I was appointed as the principal of the Sukamaju (transmigration area) Public Elementary School, Kecamatan Tobelo. As principal, my wages were increased again to Rp1,500,000/month with a classification of IIIA, and my wages have not changed again until now. By becoming a school principal, I now have a position so my prosperity rose to the level of +4, and still is now.

#### **Influence of the Conflict on Work**

As a consequence of the conflict at the end of 1999, it can be said that all government institutions in Tobelo were not functioning, including educational agencies. Learning and teaching activities came to a halt for a total of six months. There wasn't a single school open. Not until July 2000 did educational activities start to work normally again. The payment of my wages as a teacher was also delayed for four months. To provide for my family's needs, I was forced to work as a porter or manual laborer at the Tobelo port for almost two months. In addition, we also sold things on a small-scale at home, such as cigarettes and children's snacks. The hospital where my wife worked also closed and her wages were also not paid.

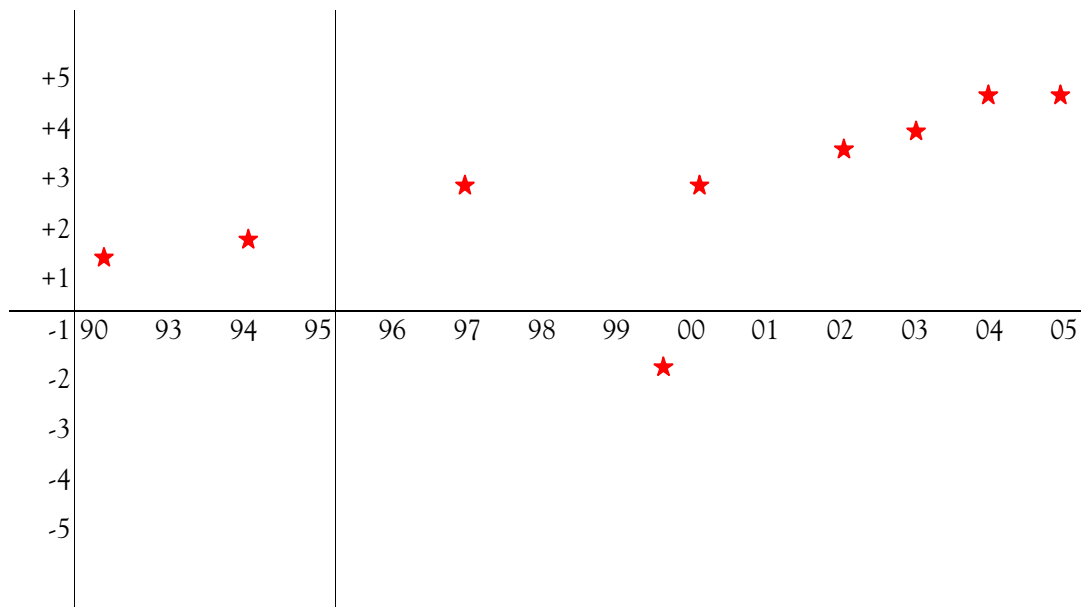
#### **Membership of Organizations**

As a teacher, nationally we have a professional organization, namely the PGRI.<sup>19</sup> In this organization, I now have the role of the PGRI secretary in Kecamatan Tobelo Selatan. The aim of PGRI is to fight for the interests of teachers and enhance the quality of teachers as well as to assist colleagues who are in trouble, such as those who have been affected by disasters. We organize routine meetings of members. This organization is very helpful for my profession as a teacher, there are no factors impeding my activities or duty as a teacher.

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<sup>19</sup> PGRI: *Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia*: Indonesian Teachers' Union.

I. Diagram 3.1. Trendline of Occupational History of O.G., Gura



**Notes:**

1990: Started work as a teacher paid by honorarium at Christian SPG, Tobelo  
 1994: Working as a teacher paid by honorarium at Maranta Senior High School, Tobelo  
 1997: Appointed as a civil servant and work as teacher at Birinoa elementary school  
 1999–2000: Conflict explodes, the school closes, salary stopped. Worked as porter at the Tobelo port and opened a snack kiosk at home.  
 July 2000: Started teaching again and transferred to Upa elementary school  
 2002: Transferred to teach in Tomahalu village  
 2003: Transferred as an administrator in the National Education Agency office in Kecamatan Tobelo  
 2004–now: Appointed as school principal at the Sukamaju Elementary School (transmigration area), Kecamatan Tobelo.

**Box 4.2**

**A Story of Migrant ‘Mover’ (From “Less Well-Off” or *Womangakunuta* to “Well-Off” or *Demaenanga*)**

**Work History**

I was born in the village of Semen, Kabupaten Blitar, East Java. From when I was born until I grew up I lived in that village. Then in 1984 my family and I moved to Ternate. The only thing I brought to Ternate was a letter from the farmers’ group “Tani Usaha Maju” that was in my village. To get to Ternate I went by ship, but after arriving in Ternate we were confused because we didn’t know what the condition of Ternate was like. We then mustered the courage to question someone who was waiting for his family at the port. It turned out that he (his name was Pak Romoni) was a transmigration official of North Maluku Province. After chatting, he gave us permission to stay in his house while waiting for communication with my wife’s parents who lived in the Subaim transmigration area.



After we had stayed several days in Ternate at Pak Romoni's house and succeeded in contacting my parents-in-law in Subaim, we went straight to that transmigration village. Upon arriving in Subaim, my parents-in-law said that there was no productive land available in that transmigration area, and it was the same with houses as none were available. Finally, we were forced to stay with my parents-in-law in their house and I worked there helping my father-in-law in his rice field. After several months living in Subaim, I tried to look for information on economic opportunities in other places. One piece of that information stated that there were a lot of opportunities for work in Tobelo. Finally, my wife and I decided to go and look for work in Tobelo. My parents-in-law also gave us permission and supported us at that time. In 1984, my wife and I went to Tobelo.

In Tobelo we stayed at the house of a teacher (Pak Guru). We knew Pak Guru because he taught at the elementary school in Subaim. After three days, a brother of Pak Guru obtained a work contract to build the BRI (Bank Rakyat Indonesia) office. With the assistance of Pak Guru, I obtained work there as a worker paid by honorarium. The salary that I received at that time was Rp3,500/day. Meanwhile, my wife at that time worked as an assistant in a *wastep* that sold ice. The ice seller was also someone who had come from Java to seek their fortune.

After finishing work at the bank construction project, I then worked as a *becak* driver. I rented this *becak* for Rp1,000/day. As a *becak* driver my income was rather a lot, I could earn around Rp20,000/day. Half of my income was saved and half was used for daily needs. My food was only rice with tofu and tempeh. What was important was that I could live. Several months later, from my savings and my wife's income, we were finally able to make our own ice cart. With that cart, my wife then sold *es cukur* (shaved ice) and fried bananas in front of the Tobelo Junior High School Number 1. Her income was reasonable, apart from being enough for daily needs, we could also save a little.

After the ice selling business had been in operation for about six months, by chance there was someone who wanted to sell their *wastep* for Rp1,000,000 and we bought it immediately. The purchase price was obtained from our savings. After a few days of cleaning and getting the *wastep* ready for occupation, we then parted with Pak Guru to move to the *wastep*. A few days after moving to the *wastep*, I fell ill for approximately one month. During that month, only my wife was working to fulfill our household needs. When I was well again, I no longer worked as a *becak* driver, but tried another business, namely buying and selling goats. This business continued for approximately one year, and then after I acquired sufficient capital, I also tried selling cattle and chickens.

With the income we had, we were finally able to buy a house in the Subaim transmigration area. In 1986, one of my nephews from Java came here. He brought a compressor and the tools for a workshop. I then gave him a place in front of the *wastep* to open a workshop business. It operated for approximately six months and then my nephew was asked to return to Java by his parents because his mother was ill. I was forced to continue operating the workshop although I didn't have the necessary skills. With venture capital, and wanting to learn, I continued that workshop business and I left behind the job of buying and selling cattle and goats. In the end, the workshop business that I was doing progressed more and more and is still surviving today. With the return from the workshop, we could repair our house.

Regarding the conflict, this is my story. On 26 December 1999 the conditions in Tobelo were already very tense and cross issues were continuing to develop. In the Tobelo area, places of worship and houses had already been burnt down and there had been victims. Facing such a condition, the Muslim community was evacuated to the headquarters of the military Battalion 732. On 27 December 1999, the rioting finally also happened in Tobelo. After several days of turmoil, we fled to the accommodation of Battalion 732 and were then evacuated to Ternate.

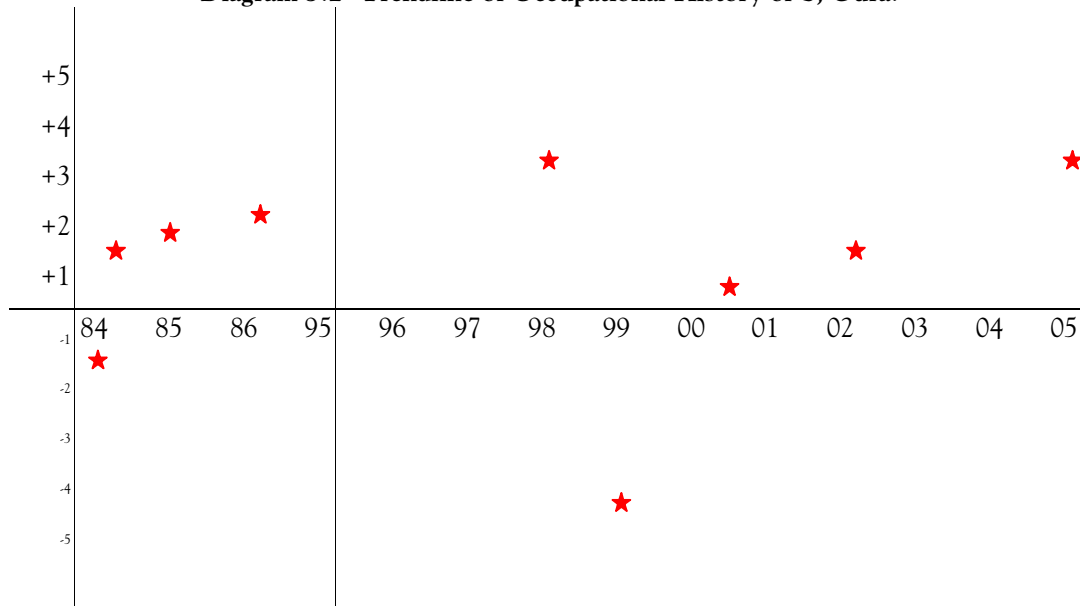
Several families and I were put in a place for displaced persons in Bastiong, South Ternate. To obtain money during that period, I worked in a workshop in Jembatan 3, Bastiong for more or less three years. Although it was not a lot, the money I earned from that work was enough for daily needs.

At the end of 2002, we were sent back to Tobelo by the government because it was now safe. After arriving in Tobelo we were very shocked because the assets we owned had been burnt down, and we lived in barracks that had been provided by the government. The impact of the conflict was very significant for me because all of those businesses were lost.

At that time I brought approximately Rp6,000,000, the income from working in Ternate and from the assistance provided by the government. With that money I repaired the house and with the remainder I bought a new compressor and other workshop tools. I reopened the workshop business and have operated it until now. The income of this business is quite good, it can be around Rp30,000/day. In early 2005 I bought a motorcycle on credit. I could buy a refrigerator to add to our income from ice sales and could still save.

My prosperity is quite reasonable. At the present time, the source of my income comes from the workshop, small *wastep*, and the trade in ice and fried bananas. In doing my work each day I have not joined any economic organizations at all.

**Diagram 3.2 Trendline of Occupational History of S, Gura.**



**Notes:**

- 1984: Migrated to Tobelo and worked with his father-in-law in the rice field.
- 1984. Worked as a building laborer and *becak* driver in Tobelo, his wife worked as a maid.
- 1985. Worked as a *becak* driver, his wife is sold shaved ice.
- 1986. Business, buying and selling goats.
- 1986. Opened a motorcycle workshop on "spec".
- 2000–2002: Worked as a mechanic at the evacuation site in Ternate.
- 2002–now: Workshop business in Tobelo.

## V. CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

### A. Conclusion

#### 1. The Dynamics of Socioeconomic Life at the Local Level

The information presented in this report shows that the community of Gura face complex problems. In the context of prosperity mobility, this complexity is the result of a combination of various positive and negative factors that have emerged both internally and externally, as well as factors that are under or outside the control of the local community. These various factors cause members of the community to react in different ways. Some were able to adapt to the changes and benefit from the process of change. Some were temporarily stunned and have only just started the process of adapting, and others remain in a state of inaction and simply regret being left behind.

In general, the socioeconomic dynamics of current community life in Gura are reflected by the following problems.

##### Problems centered on the conflict and prosperity levels

The village of Gura, composed of Christian and Muslim communities, has never previously been involved in conflict. The two communities can live together in harmony with a high degree of tolerance. To date, the differences in religion between families have not been a special or unique phenomenon; hence religious differences are not an important distinguishing social factor. Although in 1999–2000 there was great conflict between the Muslim and Christian communities hitting most of North Maluku, the Muslim and Christian communities in Gura were definitely not involved. Rather, these two communities protected each other and so avoided the impact of the large conflict that occurred outside the context of their social relationships.

Nevertheless, the impact of that conflict on the Muslim community of Gura was great. Among other things, 175 houses were destroyed and many cattle were killed and lost. In addition, all the Muslim families in the community were forced to flee to Ternate for around three years. This three years period was certainly not sufficient for them to return to their pre-conflict level of prosperity. For that reason, according to all respondents, informants, and FGD participants, the level of prosperity in Gura is generally worse now than ten years ago.

While houses that were destroyed during the conflict have been rebuilt, the housing conditions are now far worse than before the conflict; the houses are smaller, and the quality of buildings is poor and furnishings are inadequate. This leads to households using any surplus income to improve their housing conditions, not for the accumulation of business capital or savings.

For most villagers of Gura, the increasing scarcity of employment opportunities is the consequence of the conflict that is still being felt. One reason for this is that several industries and factories that previously provided a large number of job opportunities (such as banana plantations in Galela) have still not resumed operations.

Within certain limits, the conflict also marginalized the rather important social agenda. The social relationship between the two communities was previously very strong, however a rift has formed and the social relationships have not yet returned to normal. If it is not wisely and immediately managed, this rift—however small—could become the trigger for greater social divergence.

### Urbanization

The formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, and the selection of Tobelo (including the village of Gura) as the district capital brought changes to various aspects of community life. During the last few years, the village of Gura has been experiencing a process of transition from a rural community to a community that is urban in character. In this transition process, several aspects of life in Gura have begun to change, including:

#### a). *Livelihood orientation*

The main livelihoods in Gura have been based on coconut plantations for hundreds of years. Coconut crops do not need intensive management like seasonal crops. Moreover, the natural environment in Gura is very conducive for growing good coconuts. Coconuts are also only harvested once every three months. As a result, coconut farmers are only busy for a short period every three months, so villagers who base their lifestyles entirely on this crop have quite a lot of free time. When the price of copra was high, the output of the coconut harvest was good and the patterns of life were relaxed and could indeed support family life.

As the price of copra is continuing its downward trend, coconut plantations can no longer be relied on as a main source of family income. Many coconut plantations are now not being looked after. In addition, young people now no longer like working in the coconut plantations.<sup>20</sup> This shows that the coconut plantation sector is starting to be viewed as a secondary sector for livelihoods. Unfortunately, on one hand, the majority of the population is not yet ready with skills and the ability to diversify their livelihoods in the context of change from a rural community characterized by the agricultural sector to an urban community characterized by the industrial, service, and trade sectors. On the other hand, the availability of non-agricultural work opportunities has still not recovered since the conflict.

#### b). *Social patterns and lifestyle*

In this transition period, while the productive characteristics of an urban community have not yet been established, the unproductive excesses of city life developed quickly. The night entertainment sector, like discotheques, karaoke bars, cafes and pubs, is developing very quickly. One negative impact of this is the increase in gambling and alcohol consumption. These unproductive activities are taking away from community economic activities that are starting to rebuild.

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<sup>20</sup>Chapter II, part B. The general description of the community mentioned that in the last ten years more villagers in Gura own coconut plantations. If looked at in depth, this development is not the result of those coconut plantations being able to provide better incomes. The increase in ownership of coconut plantations is because of the anticipatory factor regarding urban development, and can be seen as land speculation. The city that continues to develop certainly needs land for housing and so forth. In fact, there is news circulating now in the community that not long from now an airport will be built in Tobelo. While waiting for the possibility of increased land prices, the owners of coconut plantations can harvest the crop without having to intensively manage their plantations.

c). *Outsiders*

Since the 1980s, a number of Bugis and Javanese migrants have been coming to Tobelo to open businesses such as restaurants, workshops, and so forth, or to work for companies in the Tobelo area. During the conflict they joined the exodus, but they have now returned. The presence of refugees in Tobelo and Gura, some of who did not want to return to their home villages, increased the number of people categorized as newcomers. All of these newcomers pursue livelihoods in the urban sector. This has made business competition and competition for work opportunities between locals and newcomers increasingly tight.

In that competition, the community group with the skills, expertise, and work ethic consistent with the aspirations of the urban community, combined with the support of capital, will emerge as winners. All of these characteristics are found more among newcomers than the local population.

d). *The formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara*

One positive impact of the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara has been the creation of additional employment opportunities in government administration. Many of the local people, including those of Gura, were appointed as civil servants. But unfortunately, “those who obtained work in the government were already graduates and had connections. If you didn’t have connections, it was difficult to become a civil servant” (M, 70, FGD CT). In addition, there was the problem: “if you wanted to be a civil servant you had to pay a bribe” (M, 53, FGD LoL-M). Therefore, the opportunity to become a civil servant was limited only to the middle class. Lower class and poor households (level II-f and I-f) are unable to take advantage of this opportunity.

## 2. Factors that Support Movement Out of Poverty

The analysis of the Household Mobility Matrix shows that in the context of the prevailing socioeconomic condition in Gura, there are households that are always rich or always poor, some that fall into poverty, and others that have the ability to move out of poverty. The existence of differences in household economic mobility such as this is an interesting phenomenon. The following section presents the possible causative factors for the occurrence of such differences.

### Household-level factors

Economic mobility or the level of prosperity of the villagers of Gura is influenced by many inter-related factors with a cause and effect relationship. The results of the Ladder of Life FGDs, combined with information provided in the life stories, show that the following factors are present among households that experience an increase in economic mobility, and are thus able to move out of poverty:

a) *Motivation*

Being strongly motivated to work hard and wholeheartedly utilize every available economic opportunity is the important factor which starts the process of upward economic mobility, regardless of livelihood. When someone has lost the motivation to progress, whatever they do tends to eventually become routine, with no serious efforts to improve their household’s economic condition.

*b) Capital*

The availability of capital that can be sourced from one's own savings, government assistance, and assistance from other institutions, commercial financial institutions, or from inheritances. Among other reasons, poor households in Gura need capital because after the disturbances many of them were forced to restart their businesses from scratch. Capital from their own savings is the safest source of capital, as it does not involve other parties, and hence eliminates various types of risk. However, in the post-conflict conditions, most households are still in the recovery phase, and it is difficult indeed to create an income surplus for capital accumulation.

*c) Formal education and its influence on economic mobility.*

Direct relationship. The higher the formal education of the household head, the higher also the position or career that can be achieved and the higher the wages they can obtain. This is especially valid for household heads who are civil servants. It is interesting to note that the majority of lifestory respondents who are categorized as movers or chronic rich have senior high school educations or higher, irrespective of whether they are civil servants or not. This indicates that a higher level of formal education has a positive correlation with the level of prosperity that a household can obtain.

Indirect relationship. A child with a high level of formal education who then obtains work, generally as a civil servant, can assist the economic condition of their family. A career in the government sector or as a civil servant is beneficial, and the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera provided the opportunity for the people of Gura to get involved. Although there were limited opportunities to become a civil servant, those with an adequate formal education could take advantage of these opportunities.

*d) Non-formal education*

For poor household heads in general, non-formal education is an important factor that can support household economic mobility. Non-formal education, in the form of courses, training, guidance, and the like, represents a means to increase knowledge and skills and expertise. This factor is needed to capture new economic opportunities in the framework of income source diversification, or to enhance the income of existing livelihoods. Without the presence of this factor, poor households will experience stagnation, and will experience difficulty when facing increasingly tight business competition, uncertain market conditions, or when navigating new economic opportunities that arise as the consequence of urbanization.

*e) Networking*

Networks, associations, and friendships, play an important role in supporting economic mobility. While this factor is not unconditional, it can help someone to obtain work, start a business, or obtain a loan of capital. Such networks are also important as a means of learning and drawing knowledge from more experienced people. During the conflict, social relationships also helped to protect property.

Community-level and broader factors

The positive factors at the community level apply equally for households of all prosperity statuses. These factors are found in the life of the community, and can be viewed as the public good. Some are non-rivalry public goods and some others are rivalry public goods. Because these factors represent public goods, their problem is up to each household in that

community in utilizing them. For rivalry public goods, households that have certain prerequisites or endowments can eventually utilize them in a maximum way. If such a trend continues to occur, that public good will change into a private good for certain household groups.

#### Non-rivalry factors

In the village of Gura there are many factors at the community level that support the level of prosperity of all villagers. Several of those factors include:

##### *a) Security*

The security situation in Gura has now fully recovered. The fear, worry and feelings of insecurity that were present between the end of 1999 and 2003 have all ended. With the increasingly conducive security situation, all households can now work in peace and security.

##### *b) Post-conflict assistance*

The conflict led to the mass destruction of housing and other assets. Government assistance and assistance from other institutions, especially assistance in the form of house building materials (BBR), was an important factor for helping returned evacuees restart their life in Gura. As the economic condition of most households has still not fully recovered, the villagers of Gura want post-conflict assistance to continue.

##### *c) Freedom to conduct a business and work, and freedom to express opinions*

The freedom to carry out business and work is also better with the improving security situation, which allows the villagers of Gura to freely go about their business and work activities. There is no intimidatory or discriminatory treatment or particular restrictions placed on any parties; all villagers, regardless of their ethnic or religious background, or whether they are native inhabitants or newcomers, receive the same treatment and opportunities. In addition, in the era of democratization, the community now has the freedom to express its opinions and aspirations. With the presence of this freedom, the community has the opportunity to take a role in public decision-making, especially decisions at the level of village administration.

##### *d) The availability of economic infrastructure*

As part of the capital of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, the village of Gura already has adequate economic infrastructure. The inter-city and intra-city transportation networks as well as the electricity and communication (telephone, postal) networks are available and function well. Financial institutions, both government and private banks and non-bank financial institutions are also available. In this regard, community access to loans from formal and non-formal financial institutions is generally quite easy. Markets for daily requirements, local products, and raw materials are also available. This entire infrastructure is important for improving local economic capacity.

##### *e) Natural resources*

The village of Gura and the surroundings are fertile, and high-value commercial crops such as clove, cacao, and nutmeg thrive. This potential, if utilized properly, can accelerate the improvement of household incomes. Apart from fertile natural conditions, the village of Gura also has a maritime area with economic potential that could lead to improvements in prosperity.

*f) Social cohesiveness*

Social relationships in Gura are recovering. Although they have not returned to the pre-conflict levels of closeness, social networks are expanding. As was previously presented, a broad social network is one important aspect that can make it possible for someone to improve her or his economic mobility.

Rivalry factors

The current urbanization of Gura, and the formation of Kabupaten Halmahera Utara, opened several economic opportunities and fields of employment. As the center of economic growth in the northern part of Halmahera, the City of Tobelo in general and Gura in particular, have attracted newcomers.

Economic opportunity in general, and the opportunity to become a civil servant in particular, is a positive rivalry factor at the community level, for the following reasons:

Employment opportunities as a civil servant are limited. There are prerequisites to become a civil servant, including having a high level of formal education. However, those who are interested in becoming a civil servant also have to have connections and sufficient capital; hence only certain households can fulfill such prerequisites.

Employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector that are starting to develop in Tobelo and the surrounding areas are generally in the service sector. Livelihoods as bricklayers and carpenters, for example, are developing rather quickly. Fairly rapid population growth also causes the trade sector to offer greater economic opportunity. To exploit such economic opportunities, however, requires certain prerequisites such as expertise and skills, and to some extent, capital.

### **3. Factors or Events that Cause Households to Remain Trapped in Poverty**

Household factors

There are many factors at the household level that cause poor households to remain in long-term poverty. The Ladder of Life FGD explicitly stated that individual factors that can cause poor households to stay poor or fall into poverty include:

*a) Poor household financial management*

Poor household financial management is the inability of the household to synchronize their income and expenditures. Such households have extravagant expenditure, or do not create a scale of priorities for their needs. They do not differentiate between immediate needs and needs that can be deferred.

*b) Gambling and alcohol*

The negative factors that accompany the current urbanization of Gura include a perceived increase in illicit gambling practices, alcohol, and other aspects of nightlife. For lower class households, the existence of these factors can affect a rather large proportion of their income and cause them to fall into poverty.

*c) Poor work ethic*

According to FGD participants, one impact that arises from the gambling and alcohol habit is that it makes the people affected work-shy. They become lazy and lose self-confidence. Such conditions by themselves will make it difficult for the economic life of



the household to improve. In addition to gambling and alcohol, the natural fertility of Gura and surrounding areas is also the trigger for this laziness; the attitude of not wanting to work hard is the consequence of “being spoiled by nature” (F, 36, LoL-F FGD).

*d) Lack of capital*

A lack of capital, for whatever reason, will make it difficult for poor households to move out of poverty.

Community and broader level factors

At the community level, several factors cause poor households to remain poor or others to fall into poverty include:

*a) Conflict*

While the 1999 conflict was not a conflict between the villagers of Gura, its impact was the deterioration of economic conditions for the majority of households. The conflict destroyed economic life in Gura, for both the villagers that continued to live in the village and especially for those who were forced to evacuate for approximately three years. Economic life started to return to normal in 2003. Nevertheless, in general, the level of household prosperity in Gura has not yet truly recovered.

*b) Limited employment opportunities*

One impact of the conflict still felt is the narrow range of employment opportunities, as the result of the closure and withdrawal of large businesses. The increasing scarcity of work has also meant that women who formerly had small businesses such as making and selling cakes find it difficult to revive their businesses if their husbands are unemployed and cannot provide the capital.

*c) Fall in the price of copra*

During the last ten years, the price of copra has been unstable and has fallen, and so coconut plantations—as the main source of livelihood for the villagers of Gura—have not been profitable. In the broader context, this is true for the whole of Indonesia. This development has been taking place since the early 1990s. Before the 1990s, copra was the main raw material for the cooking oil industry. However, with the spread of oil palm crops, especially in Sumatra, the role of copra as the raw material for cooking oil is being replaced by oil palm. As a result, the price of copra has experienced a decline. Currently the use of copra as the raw material for the production of cooking oil is limited to small industries and cottage industries.

*d) Limited networks*

At the community level, there is no economic organization or association that organizes or empowers the economic activities of poor households. In the context of the current socioeconomic life of the community of Gura, access to networks or economic associations is more individual in nature.

*e) Access to credit*

Given the majority or all of a poor household’s income is spent to cover family food needs, there is little money left for the cost of children’s education, emergency needs (sickness, loss of work) or the need to take advantage of available economic opportunity. In the primary economic activities in the plantation and fisheries sectors of Gura, incomes are

internally influenced by the size of the business and the intensity of the business activities. While there are limited alternative economic activities in Gura, the scale of small enterprises and the low intensity of economic activities make it difficult for poor households to move out of poverty.

Based on this phenomenon, one factor that can enlarge the scale and intensity of business is via additional capital. For example, the business activities of poor households in general, both agricultural and non-agricultural, are still subsistent and marginal in nature, so it is not possible to source capital from internal business activities. Without the existence of external sources of capital, such from banks or other types of microfinance institutions, business activities will increase to raise income beyond subsistence levels.

As was previously presented, such financial institutions are available in Gura and the surrounding areas. However, the existing credit products of the banks are unable to fulfill the financial needs of poor households. While some poor households have been given the opportunity to access these products, the vast majority of others, especially the chronic poor, do not have the opportunity to access these services.

#### **4. Factors or Events that can Maintain Prosperity Levels**

The factors that can maintain the level of household prosperity in Gura and prevent a household from falling into poverty are related to the various factors that have been previously presented. At the household level these are, firstly, a desire to work hard, accompanied by an attitude of thrift and wanting to save; secondly, access to sufficient capital; and thirdly, the factors associated with improved human resources, both through formal as well as informal education. At the community level, the Ladder of Life FGD stated that general improvements in economic conditions, especially in the creation of employment opportunities and the control of inflation, are key for households to maintain their prosperity level.

#### **B. Policy Implications**

It must be emphasized that the causative factors of poverty, increased economic mobility, and factors that can maintain prosperity levels do not stand alone. They are inter-related as a series of cause and effect relationships. For that reason, policy must integrate specific local conditions. Nevertheless, given the limitations on financial capability and institutional capacity (of regional government and non-government), it does not appear that this is possible. In this regard, problems should be listed according to a priority scale, and should be tackled gradually, so policies are guided and consistent.

The complexity of the problems facing the villagers of Gura indicates that the policy needed to alleviate poverty, or at least to maintain prosperity levels, can be singular in nature. In this regard, several policy options can be considered:

1. Increasing access to education for the children of poor households. While education cannot immediately enhance the economic capacity of poor households in the effort to move out of poverty, there is a good chance that the vicious cycle of inter-generational poverty can be broken if children have a better education.

2. Increasing the skills or expertise of poor households. In the short-term, the regional government can do many things to this end. These include conducting skills and expertise courses or providing skills-training venues so both the heads and members of poor households are able to take advantage of available economic opportunities. In the agricultural sector, the regional government has already had time to seriously revitalize aspects associated with agricultural extension.
3. In the socioeconomic context of Gura in particular, and Kabupaten Halmahera in general, safeguarding and continuing to enhance the community's sense of security is a must. This includes early efforts to prevent anything that could trigger a repetition of the conflict. In the short-term, the effort to accelerate social solidarity within the community is a priority so that lingering feelings of mutual suspicion, however small they may be, can be eliminated.
4. The creation of employment opportunities that can accommodate the interests of all social strata, especially the lower classes in society. The regional government should take a pro-active role on this issue. They can undertake promotional efforts to invite new investors and instill confidence among potential investors, and invite investors who left the Tobelo area during the conflict to return.
5. Improving the ability of poor households to access appropriate microfinance services. The problem of limited capital is still an important obstacle for poor households wishing to increase their economic mobility. The majority or all of a poor household's income is spent on food; hence, they need an outside source of funds in order to take advantage of economic opportunities such as starting a new business or buying better seed and fertilizer. For the economically active poor, access to microfinance services, especially credit, is an important coping strategy. However, in order to be helpful and not harmful, microfinance institutions must operate in accordance with the needs of poor households. This is not an easy task to achieve, but regional government and local stakeholders should at least devise credit models and mechanisms that are most appropriate for poor households in this region.

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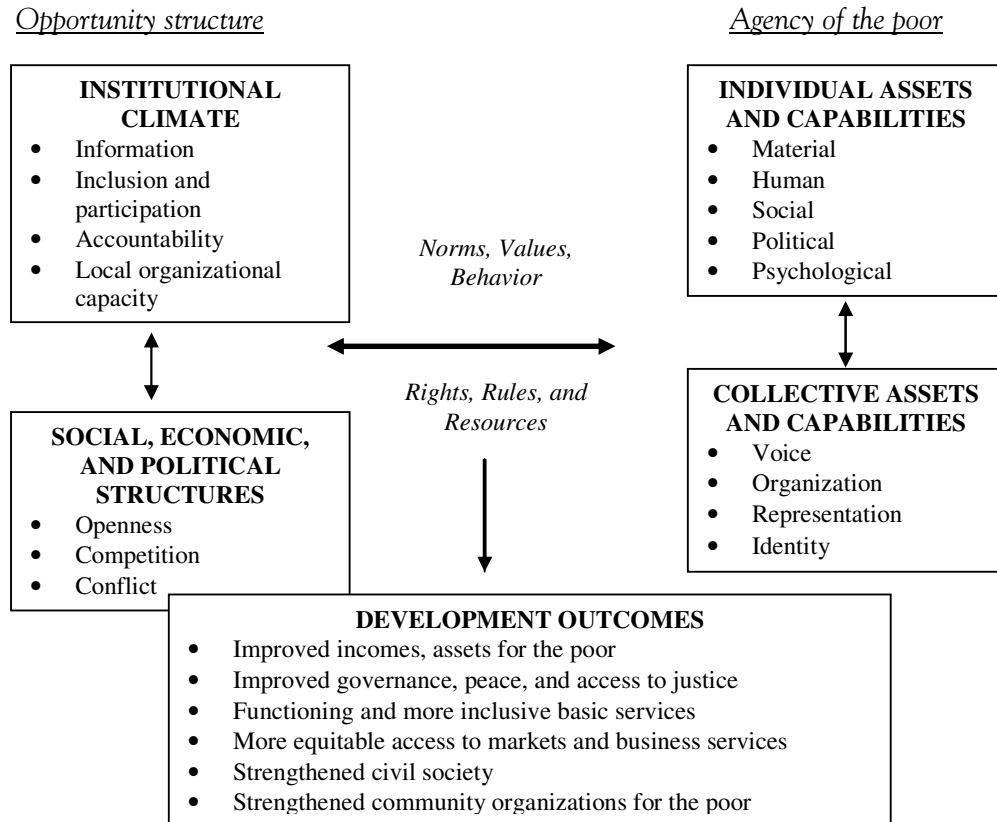
## APPENDIX 1.

### List and Summary of Research Activities

Type of activity	Data collection method and informant position	Number of informants
<b>Activity 3: Community Profile</b>	Questionnaire: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Village secretary</li> <li>• Retired teacher</li> <li>• Prominent <i>adat</i> figure</li> <li>• SLTA teacher</li> <li>• Head of Village Administrative Affairs (<i>Kepala Urusan Pemerintahan Desa</i>)</li> </ul>	5 individuals
<b>Activity 4: Community Timeline</b>	Focus Group Discussion (FGD) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Village secretary</li> <li>• Retired teacher</li> <li>• Prominent <i>adat</i> figure</li> <li>• SLTA teacher</li> <li>• Head of Village Administrative Affairs (<i>Kepala Urusan Pemerintahan Desa</i>)</li> </ul>	5 individuals
<b>Activity 5: Ladder of Life</b>	Focus Group Discussion (FGD) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 men</li> <li>• 7 women</li> </ul>	15 individuals
<b>Activity 6: Livelihood, Freedom, Authority, Inequality, Democracy, and Local Governance</b>	Focus Group Discussion (FGD) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 men</li> <li>• 8 women</li> </ul>	15 individuals
<b>Activity 7: Aspiration of Youth</b>	Focus Group Discussion (FGD) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 young men</li> <li>• 7 young women</li> </ul>	16 individuals
<b>Activity 8: History of Conflict and Institutional Map</b>	In-depth interviews <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 men</li> </ul>	2 individuals
<b>Activity 9: Household Questionnaire</b>	Questionnaire Choice of household respondents was based on identification during the Ladder of Life FGDs and verification from informants. Each category was chosen at random (if the numbers of each sample category exceeded the number of samples needed): 1. 16 respondents "mover" 2. 10 respondents "never poor" 3. 7 respondents "chronic poor" 4. 4 respondents "faller"	37 households
<b>Activity 10: Individual Life Stories</b>	In-depth interviews: Respondents were chosen from the results of the household questionnaire at random in accordance with the status of respondent: 1. 6 respondents "mover" 2. 5 respondents "never poor" 3. 3 respondents "chronic poor" 4. 1 respondent "faller"	15 households

# APPENDIX II.

## Conceptual Framework



## APPENDIX III. Indices Used for Mobility Measurement

### (1) Prosperity Index

The Prosperity Index (PI) is the extent of all upward mobility in a community which captures *only upward movement* in a village, irrespective of the individual's position on the Ladder of Life ten years ago.

### (2) Falling Index

The Falling Index (FI) is the extent of all downward mobility in a community which captures *only downward movement* in a village, irrespective of the individual's position on the Ladder of Life ten years ago.

### (3) Net Prosperity Index

The Net Prosperity Index (NPI) is the extent of net upward mobility (upward minus downward) in a community which captures *net upward mobility* in a village, that is, it shows whether the share of upward movement was greater than the share of downward movement.

### (4) Mobility Index

The Mobility Index (MI) is the extent of all (upward + downward) mobility in a community, irrespective of the direction of mobility, which captures *all movement or changes in status* in a village irrespective of whether it is downward or upward.

### (5) Moving Out of Poverty Index

The Moving Out of Poverty Index (MOPI) is the extent of upward mobility by the poor across the community poverty line in a community which captures *only upward movements across the poverty line*, that is, from below to above the poverty line. This index differs from other indices because the prosperity and mobility indices are independent of the individual's initial position on the ladder ten years ago. They only capture upward movement (in the case of the prosperity indices – gross and net) and both upward and downward movement (in the case of the mobility index).

### (6) Shared Prosperity Index

The Shared Prosperity Index (SPI) is the extent of upward mobility by the poor minus the non-poor in a community, which compares upward movers who were poor in P1 with upward movers who were non-poor in P1. The shared prosperity index is simply the difference between the two ratios.

### (7) Mobility of the Poor Index

The Mobility of the Poor Index (MPI) is the extent of upward mobility by those who were poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those poor in P1 who moved upwards, irrespective of whether they did or did not cross the CPL.

**(8) Mobility of the Rich Index**

The Mobility of the Rich Index (MRI) is the extent of upward mobility by those who were non-poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those non-poor in P1 who moved upwards.

**(9) Falling of the Poor Index**

The Falling of the Poor Index (FPI) is the extent of downward mobility by those who were poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those poor in P1 who moved downwards.

**(10) Falling of the Rich Index**

The Falling of the Rich Index (FRI) is the extent of downward mobility by those who were non-poor ten years ago. It calculates the percentage of those non-poor in P1 who moved downwards.

**(11) Net Prosperity of the Poor Index**

The Net Prosperity of the Poor Index (NPP) is the extent of net upward mobility (upward minus downward) by those who were poor ten years ago.

**(12) Net Prosperity of the Rich Index**

The Net Prosperity of the Rich Index (NPR) is the extent of net upward mobility (upward minus downward) by those who were non-poor ten years ago.



**APPENDIX IV.**  
**Characteristics of Households Outside Gura, Below Step I-f**  
**(Current Conditions)**

Category	Characteristics
I-fi. The “miserable” or in the local terminology <i>huha</i>	<p>F, 36: Life is miserable, like the displaced people who live in the village of Birinoa.</p> <p>F, 36: Land for their house was borrowed from other people.</p> <p>F, 45: They don’t have work.</p> <p>F, 36: Children don’t have an education.</p> <p>F, 45: Have torn clothing.</p> <p>F, 36: Their daily food is only tubers and bananas, one day they eat and one day they don’t.</p> <p>F, 48: There is no electric lamp for illumination.</p> <p>F, 40: Health is poor, sometimes children are born and die immediately, if sick seek treatment from a <i>dukun</i> (traditional healer), if they give birth it is also with a <i>dukun</i>.</p> <p>F, 35: Don’t have a toilet, if they need to go to the toilet they go to the bushes, garden, or beach.</p>
I-fii. The “destitute” or in the local terminology <i>huhamadorou</i>	<p>F, 36: They live on the capes, their houses have sago palm roofs. Eat raw food, eat fish. I once went and had a look at how they live. They live in villages in Kao Barat, Kusuri, and Wangongira. If we compare them with conditions in Tobelo, it is like comparing heaven and earth.</p> <p>F, 45: If they go anywhere it is by walking or in a sailboat.</p> <p>F, 36: The main thing is that their lives are not settled; depend on the natural, forestry, and ocean conditions. They live from hunting and fishing.</p> <p>F, 36: They have clothing but they’re still wearing loincloths.</p>

Source: Ladder of Life-Female FGD.