

Original Paper

## LAND TENURE TRANSFORMATION IN A REMOTE ISLANDS: A case of a historical sociology prespective in Karimunjawa islands

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### ABSTRACT

*The interesting problem is the phenomenon of the transformation of land tenure of local residents to the outside residence massively. The research method used is a qualitative method by using data collection techniques of depth interviews, group interviews, participant observation, archival studies and documents and literature study. The results showed, that there has been a transformation of land tenure with the indicator of controlling the small islands in Karimunjawa Islands by outside residents. Of the 22 small islands with a total area of 358.9 ha of which are not inhabited by the population, remained 24 ha (6.69%) is controlled by local residents. The condition is caused by several factors, among others: (1) enactment Karimunjawa as a National Marine Park, and then as one of the leading tourism region of Central Java province, (2) the low level of education of local residents and the limited productive business opportunity in agricultural sector, (3) low levels of welfare and the weak bond of local residence to their land property. In this context the land then becomes a commodity more than the means of production, and a decline in social status of the local population, which is only switched on as a tenant or other livelihood as laborers or open a small business.*

**Key words:** transformation; land tenure; local residents; commodity

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### INTRODUCTION

As an archipelagic state, Indonesia had thousands of remote islands, mostly got less attention from the government or even neglected by holder of power authority. The disclaimer of Simpadan and Ligitan, the two remote islands in Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) territory was certainly a lesson for Indonesian government to be more intensely giving attention to the existence of remote islands through protective policies and concrete activities. Indeed, every remote island had its own characteristic in ecological, social, economic, cultural, and defense and security, so that detailed knowledge on every remote island was needed. The knowledge was important in order to make the government's policy more targeted and in synergy with the needs of

population, or even encourage their advancement and welfare.

Residents of remote islands in general were not single-faced. They were very heterogeneous in ethnics/ races and coming from different areas of origin with fisherman as their main livelihood. Therefore, residents of remote islands were similar to fishing communities, characterized by independent, courageous, high social solidarity, opened and expressive, egalitarian social life, straightforward and not complicated cultures (Kusnadi, 2009). The economic condition of isolated islands population was still in subsistence category which identical with poverty as expressed by Mubyarto (1984) in fishing communities of coastal societies. Similarly, the population of isolated islands

Karimunjawa (Lescinsky *et al.*, 2002), socially, culturally and economically, within certain limits indicated the typology of coastal communities with particular characteristic.

Karimunjawa marine national park is one of the most important Indonesian national park is situated off the central Java coast (Campbell and Pardede, 2006). Karimunjawa residents those inhabited five out of 27 islands were originated from various ethnic groups in Indonesia such as Javanese, Bugis, Makassar, Banjar, Buton, Madurese, Bajau, etc. They all underwent highly harmonic social life that was indicated by unprecedented open conflict among social groups. As a multi-ethnic community of isolated islands, the people had a sense of common fate as a community of nation that bound them. In this context, they naturally underwent the formation process of Indonesian nation that consisted of various ethnic and social groups, religions, and different races. It was obvious that ethnicity was not an obstacle for living in harmony as Indonesian nation (van Miert, 2003). Even the phenomenon of diaspora (migration process of large number of people that lived in other area) allowed a *cross-cultural communication* between the social elements of different ethnic cultures that later became part of the so-called community of Indonesia (Sulistiyono, 2011).

Residents of Karimunjawa remote islands in general lived as fishermen as well as farmers in west-winds season when natural condition made it impossible for them to go fishing. So farming was one of the residents' strategies for survival. In farming process, the existence of land played an important role because food crops, horticulture, fruit, etc. were cultivated on the land. Therefore, the extent of land tenure would determine the productivity of agricultural products that eventually determined the life level in rural area (Hongyan, 2005; Wiradi and Makali, 2009; Wolford, 2004). The characteristics of land tenure in the urban areas is totally different from the rural areas as mentioned by Brueckner and Selod (2008). Thus, the land was one of the means of production that significantly influenced the farmers' welfare. In contrast to Java in general, the average tenure was relatively narrow, i.e.: 0.30 ha in 1938 and narrower for Central Java with average of 0.25 ha (Tauchid, 2009) while the average tenure of Karimunjawa population was more than 0.5 ha.

Ironically, the average tenure of Karimunjawa population that was more than 0.5 hectare, turned out to be unrelated with the population welfare level. It was indicated by the number of poor people that remained high, i.e.: as many as 3.064 out of 9.079 inhabitants or 31.34% of population, or 767 households and spreaded in five islands (Karimunjawa, Kemujan, Parang, Nyamuk, and Genting) within three units of village administrations, i.e.: the Villages of Karimunjawa, Kemujan, and Parang. The poverty issue in Karimunjawa could not be resolved following the massive transformation of land tenure. In the last decade, the process of land trading in Karimunjawa showed an increasing trend. It even appeared to have shifted the position and function of land from being one of the means of production into trading "commodity". Even at this time of research (2010), the attempts to trade the land of Karimunjawa were obviously higher and more massive. It was indicated by the efforts of local residents to offer land for investment or speculation to almost every visitor. The interesting question of this article was how and why the ongoing transformation of land tenure in Karimunjawa occurred. The facts to answer these questions is discussed in this study.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

### *Study area*

This study revealed the phenomenon of transformation of land tenure in remote islands with case study in Karimunjawa. This actual phenomenon could be answered by looking at the reality constructed by chronological process of causality. Therefore, this study was concentrated on historical sociology perspective, because transformation of land tenure was a phenomenon with contemporary dimensions that could not be separated from *historical aspect* of the root and process of transformation. In this case the transformation of land tenure in Karimunjawa was indicated by the significant conversion of land ownership to the outsider. Almost the entire deserted islands in Karimunjawa, or 93.31% of deserted islands land were owned by the outsider both as legal entity or individual. As the implication, these islands legal status had changed into the

property (HM), right to the building (HGB), or the right of use (HP), and separated from the tenure of local population. Presumably there were internal and external factors that caused this transformation.

### *Qualitative study*

This study used a qualitative method that was intended to provide a better understanding on how and why the reality was formed and how and why the reality could give a meaning and significance to both individuals and communities. In the context of qualitative study, the reality was *socially constructed* and therefore the purpose of qualitative research was essentially to gain an understanding of subject from the perspective of the subject itself. This implied that the study approach required a set of assumptions that was different from human behavior when they were approached for the purpose of getting the facts and the causes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Nevertheless sociological phenomenon could not be assessed solely from the actual perspective, but must also be approached from historical perspective. Assessment of the actual problem with historical approach had advantages in terms of structural and procedural clarity (Skocpol, 1984).

### *Data collection*

The whole process of data collection in this research was done through several techniques, i.e.: depth interview, group interview (GI), and participant observation, the study of archives and documents and literature study (Garraghan, 1957). Depth interviews were conducted toward individual respondents using an interview guidance that was prepared in advance. In this case, selection of respondent was determined by snowball sampling technique (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Patton, 1984; Babbie, 2004). The GIs carried out on respondents collectively or together to discuss various issues related to the transformation of land tenure. Respondents included landowners, tenants, brokers and land brokers, traders, businessmen, concerned government officials and NGOs.

### *Data analysis*

Data of this study was analyzed by classifying sequential data, organizing data into category patterns and basic outline units (Marvasti 2004). Data categorization was adjusted with the formulation of questions posed in this study and was intended to provide ease of interpretation, selection, and explanations in the form of analysis descriptions. This analysis phase also put more emphasis on interactive analysis model, i.e.: the data collection process took place as cyclical process with three main components, namely: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### *Description of Research Area and Its Natural Potency as Attractiveness for Foreign Parties*

Karimunjawa as coastal area and remote islands were geographically located not far from Semarang city, the capital of Central Java province. It only takes 4-5 hours by Kartini speed-boat from Tanjung Mas Semarang seaport. Its position lies between 05°40'39" S and 100°05'57" E with boundaries as follow.

- North : Java Sea
- East : Java Sea and Jepara district
- South : Java Sea and Semarang city
- West : Java Sea

Karimunjawa Islands area's topography of undulating lowland were divided into three forms, namely flat to choppy (15%), wavy to hilly (35%), and hilly to mountainous (50%). The elevation of Karimunjawa Islands land was ranging from 0-506 m above sea level, while the sea bottom waters were at depths of 0,5 to 20 m. Of the 27 islands, Karimunjawa was the largest island, mostly hilly with a small portion of flat area.

Karimunjawa was a district in Jepara regency of Central Java Province. Karimunjawa consisted of three sub-districts or villages and each village consisted of several hamlets, i.e.: (Karimunjawa District in Numbers, 2010):

1. Karimunjawa village (including Genting and Karimunjawa islands) consisted of Karimunjawa, Alang-alang, Cikmas, and Genting hamlets
2. Kemujan village (including Kemujan isle) consisted of Kemujan, Mrican, Telaga, and Batu Lawang hamlets

3. Parang village (including Parang and Nyamuk islands) consisted of Parang and Nyamuk hamlets. These conditions gave significant impacts on population distribution that was uneven and tended to be concentrated in the major islands. Therefore of the 27 islands, only 5 were inhabited by residents and divided into three administrative regions in village units with density distribution as follows:

**Table 1.** Number and Population Density of Karimunjawa islands in 2010

No.	Village / Isle	Mainland Area (Ha)	Total Population (Life)	Population Density per-Ha
1.	Karimunjawa	4,624	4,285	1.08
2.	Kemujaan	1,626	2,957	0.55
3.	Parang	870	1,837	0.47
<b>Total</b>		<b>7,115</b>	<b>9,079</b>	<b>-</b>

Source: Adapted from *Village Monograph of Karimunjawa, Kemujaan and Parang, 2010*.

The data showed that the highest population density was 1,08 inhabitants per Ha in Karimunjawa village. It was related to the fact that Karimunjawa was the largest isle where the village or district governance, education center (junior high school and vocational school), and most territory of the national marine park and the National Park were located.

Karimunjawa islands had a territorial area of 107,225 ha, 7,115 ha of which was the mainland, while the 1,626.8 km<sup>2</sup> was sea waters. The vast majority of the land was covered by both lowland tropical rain forests that covered 1,285.5 ha area and mangrove

forest that covered 396,60 ha area, seagrass beds that covered 97,28 ha of area and coral reefs covered an area of 713,11 ha. Of the 7,115 ha mainland, 2,068.4 ha (28.6%) was dedicated for residential area and the 5,046.6 ha (71.94%) non-residential area divided into 215 ha of rice field (4.26%), 1,539 ha of wetlands (30.45%), 2,430 ha of dry land agriculture (48.16%), and 2,492.5 ha of forest (49.38%). The remaining land was used for public facilities and others such as sport fields, roads, cemeteries and land barren and sandy soil. More detail shown in the following **Table 2**.

**Table 2.** Land Extent in Karimunjawa District by Allotment

No.	Types of Land Allotment	Area (Ha)
1.	Rice Field (irrigated & rainfed)	215
2.	Dry Land (garden & field)	2,430
3.	Wet land (ponds & marshes)	1,539
4.	Forest (tropical rain forests, mangrove , seagrass beds & coral reefs)	2,492.5
5.	Land for public facilities	5.22
6.	Others	782
<b>Total</b>		<b>7,115</b>

Source: *Sunito, et. al., 2010*.

The data above showed that forest covered most of the area which was naturally potential for its beauty and attractiveness. The

ecosystem of lowland tropical rain forest could easily be found in Karimunjawa at the altitude of 0-506 m above sea level with an area of

1,285.5 ha. Based on the previous identification (Karimunjawa National Park, 2009), there were 5 genera and 124 species of flora. The common trees found in Karimunjawa were Sentul (*Sandoricumkoetjape*), ande-ande (*Antidesmamonstanum*), Berasan (*Gomphiaserrata*), *emphisacidula*, Sentigi (*Lythraceae*), Medang Wangi and Gondorio (*Boueamacrophylla*), and the typical Karimunjawa flora were Dewandaru (*Fragrariaeleptica*), Kecik Sapodilla (*Manilkarakauki*), and Kalimasada (*Cordiasubcordata*). Similarly, the marine waters around Karimunjawa islands were potential for its authentic characteristic and uniquely attractive natural beauty and biodiversity.

These natural potencies particularly attracted investors' attention to speculate by investment or formal judicial control of Karimunjawa lands. This was how capitalist economic system started to enter Karimunjawa people's lives, marked by the land tenure by investors. The essence of capitalist economy was the ownership of means of production (land) with the smallest capital to achieve maximum profit to be reinvested (Ritzer, 1996; Boudon and Cherkaoui, 2000). It impacted on land commercialization that shifted the land position and function that was previously as one of the means of production into a commodity, i.e. trading object. Therefore, the massive transformation of land tenure from local residents to the outsiders especially the deserted islands of Karimunjawa carried on. The transformation was caused by both external factors such as a government policy that stated the National Marine Park (NMP) and the Area Leading Tourism (ALT) and internal factors such as the low education level of population, the limited agricultural productive business opportunity, and the low level of welfare as well as the weak bonds between residents and their properties.

#### *TLN and KUP Triggers Transformation of Land Tenure*

Karimunjawa as a cluster of isolated islands in between oceanic waters had a potential natural beauty and biodiversity with authentic and unique characteristics. The beauty of Karimunjawa characterized by the existence of rare species such as white chest albatross,

hawksbill sea turtle, and green turtles, as well as approximately 242 species of ornamental fish. There was a breeding center in Menjangan Besar Island that bred sharks, turtles, and hawks. Tourists could directly and safely watch the ferocious sea predator by swimming or snorkeling in the pool of dozens of tamed sharks. Visitors could also witness the beauty of the coral reefs of Menjangan Kecil Island from a specially equipped boat that had a glassy hull bottom. Through the glass, visitors could see various types of coral reef and the unspoiled coral animals.

With these natural potencies, Karimunjawa islands had interested many parties. Moreover, the natural beauty was unable to provide adequate benefits for development and prosperity of the islands yet threaten its future sustainability. Therefore, both central and regional government made various policies to harness and develop the potency of Karimunjawa islands. Central government policy initiated in 1986 established 111,625 ha of Karimunjawa as nature conservation area and the National Marine Park (Decree of Forest Ministry No. 123/Kpta-II/1986). Furthermore in 1999 the region changed into National Park equipped by the establishment of zoning district and specifically managed and supervised by a government agency, the Karimunjawa National Park Authority (BTN) (Decree of Forest Ministry No. 78/Kpts-II/1999).

Meanwhile, Central Java province also issued a Local Regulation (Perda) No. 14 year 2004 dated August 26, 2004 regarding the Master Plan for Tourism Development (RIPP) of Central Java Province. This regulation stated that the province of Central Java region has four categories, namely seeded areas, selected areas, development areas, and areas of potential. One of the leading region of Central Java Province as mentioned in RIPP was Karimunjawa region. It was a coastal area consisted of a group of remote islands with amazing natural beauty and biodiversity both on land and at sea, which was predicted to be one of tourist attractions that would provide superior benefits to the government and society, especially in Karimunjawa Islands.

In fact, the government policy was proved to be successful enough to boost tourism in Karimunjawa. In line with the policy, the government provided complement and

infrastructure facilities to support the development of tourism, for example: up to 12 units of wharfs were built, and vessel service facility to and from Karimunjawa and between islands in Karimunjawa was also increased. The

large number of wharf was intended to support tourism sector as well as transportation facility for Karimunjawa islanders that mostly relied on ship or boat. Complete data about ship or boat ownership shown below.

**Table 3.** Number of Ship / Boat in Karimunjawa in 2010

No.	Type of Ship / Boat	Number
1.	Ferryboat	22
2.	Speed boat	8
3.	Ship	657
4.	Boat	127

*Source: Adapted from Karimunjawa in Numbers, 2009.*

The data showed there were two ferryboats as the main facility to transport people that regularly travel from and to Karimunjawa. The two ferryboats were KM Muria and speed KM Kartini I. KM Muria served Jepara-Karimunjawa route that departed from Kartini port of Jepara every Wednesday and Saturday at 09.00 pm and from Karimunjawa every Monday and Thursday at 09.00 am with travel time about 6-8 hours depending on the ocean waves condition. The speed KM Kartini I served both Semarang-Karimunjawa and Japara-Karimunjawa route that departed from the Tanjung Mas port of Semarang every Saturday at 09.00 am and from Kartini port of Jepara every Monday at 10.00 am while departed from from Karimunjawa every Sunday at 14.00 pm with travel time about 4-5 hours depending on the ocean conditions.

Thus, the development of marine transportation (in quantity and type variation) in Karimunjawa was also influenced by the increase of number of tourists visiting the island. Realized or not, these conditions contributed significantly to the opening of access to remote islands in Karimunjawa. Therefore, the higher the people's mobility, the more intense and broader the social interaction and it was a stimulant for the occurrence of big changes in society. Changes related to the realism of thought (in certain circles), attitudes and behaviors resulted from interaction processes, socialization and adaptation, especially with people from the outside.

In addition to transportation, the government also opened greater opportunities in the community to do business and invest in

order to develop Karimunjawa islands as an excellent maritime attraction in Central Java. The government through Department of Tourism held a tourism development program by encouraging local people to be tour guide personnel. Hotels, resorts, and homestays were equipped with marine tourism devices (for diving, snorkeling, etc.) and tour guides. Indirectly it resulted in the occasionally fluctuating increase of number of visits by domestic and international tourists for various purposes besides recreation.

The development of tourism sector in Karimunjawa Islands as the impact of government policy affected the development of local people service businesses such as hotels (10 units), homestays (15 units), transportation, guide and trade (shops, stalls, etc.). However, local residents who had extensive opportunities to participate in this sector primarily those who were strong socio-conomically. Those with lower social level had a business opportunity limited to tour guide service, inter-isle ferry, worker and so on. In general, the positive impacts of Karimunjawa islands development could only shared by Karimunjawa island inhabitants because the available facilities such as hotels, homestays, diving or snorkeling equipment rents, ships/ boats, etc. were almost all only available on Karimunjawa island. But the more opened access for the outsiders to Karimunjawa as the impact of tourism sector development had led to fundamental changes in the orientation of local people toward the existence, function and role of land for their lives. Inhabitants of islands had a strong tendency to put the land as a commodity, not as a mean of production.

**Table 4.** Statistic of Karimunjawa National Park Visitor Year 1998-2007

Year	Research			Recreation			Others			Total		
	Domestic	Int'l	Total	Domestic	Int'l	Total	Domestic	Int'l	Total	Domestic	Int'l	Total
1998	96	0	96	118	40	158	172	27	199	391	67	456
1999	281	13	294	181	110	291	503	1	504	965	124	1069
2000	365	13	378	303	92	395	589	28	617	1260	133	1393
2001	220	0	220	485	301	786	404	1	405	1109	302	1411
2002	378	0	378	561	134	695	399	0	399	1336	134	1470
2003	667	17	684	772	157	929	304	7	311	1743	181	1924
2004	818	0	818	3409	517	3426	701	0	701	4928	517	5445
2005	1059	0	1059	5980	1010	6990	1131	0	1131	8170	1010	9180
2006	50	0	50	2718	380	3098	1206	12	1220	3976	392	4368
2007	490	0	490	1043	245	1288	661	0	661	2196	245	2441
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,422</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>4,856</b>	<b>15,570</b>	<b>2,986</b>	<b>18,556</b>	<b>6,066</b>	<b>786</b>	<b>6,852</b>	<b>26,066</b>	<b>3,105</b>	<b>29,171</b>

Source: Karimunjawa National Park Statistics, 2007.

Therefore, nowadays there were many large area (>1 ha) in Karimunjawa islands owned by people from the outside while the local residents lower their social status as a tenant, or shift into working in small-scale productive enterprises. Almost all (93.31%) of deserted islands had changed the status from the property of local resident into property of the outsider, as shown in the following table.

The data showed that only a small portion of land ownership in Karimunjawa with the status of Property Rights (HM) and most of it owned by people from outside Karimunjawa ranging from Jepara, Semarang, Temanggung, Surabaya, Bandung, Jakarta and other regions. Even based on the *depth interview* with several Karimunjawa village figures in Karimunjawa, Kemojan and Parang, it was right to say that only in inhabited islands (Karimunjawa, Kemojan, and Parang) some part of the lands owned by local residents. As for the land on deserted islands, nearly all had been owned by parties from outside Karimunjawa islands on behalf of either persons or legal entity with ownership status of HM or Right to Build (HGB) and the Right to Use (HP). In this respect, regardless the ownership status (owned by person or legal entity), the lands in deserted islands were mostly in unproductively cultivated state. These lands were likely just an investment or speculation that will be traded at any time required or had become profitable

(higher value). Therefore in this context, Karimunjawa lands were more likely to become a "commodity" instead of the "means" of production.

There was phenomenon in terms of ownership and land tenure system in Karimunjawa as a coastal area and cluster of remote islands that had a different characteristic in comparison with agrarian region. Land ownership in Karimunjawa local residents tend to be dominated inheritance pattern, whereas the control appeared to be more diverse although there was also a tendency to put emphasis on the aspect of de facto, not de jure and concentrated in certain communities those were economically strong. This condition appeared to make it easier for transformation of land procurement of Karimunjawa islands to the outsiders.

*Low Education level, Agricultural Business Opportunities and Sense of Land Tenure as Determinants of Transformation of Land Tenure*

Residents of Karimunjawa islands inhabited remote islands surrounded by ocean waters. They were 2.798 households (KK) spreading across five islands within three units of rural administration, i.e.: 1.429 households in Karimunjawa Village, 810 households in

**Table 5.** The number of islands in Karimunjawa according to Area and Tenure Status

No.	Name of Islands	Area (Ha)	Tenure
1.	Karimunjawa	4,302	BTNK 1285 ha, PT. IK (SMG) 70 ha, SDQ (SMG) 20 ha, NG 3 ha, 10 ha Endowments, Population, etc.
2.	Genting	137	TN 15ha, PT. PR (KDS) 3 ha, PT. PGK (Jkt) 4 ha, 3 ha Endowments, Population
3.	Menjangan Besar	56	PT. IK (SMG) 20 ha, PT. PR (KDS) 10 ha, S (Jkt) 2 ha, Population
4.	Menjangan Kecil	46	PT. PPG (SMG) 44 ha, ha W 2
5.	Batu	0.5	TN
6.	Geleyang	24	TF (JPR)
7.	Burung	1	W (SMG)
8.	Cemara Besar	3.5	BPPP (Date)
9.	Cemara Kecil	1.5	S. (Jkt)
10.	Seruni	20	PT. IK (SMG), W (SMG), H (SMG)
11.	Sambangan	8	PT. PR (KDS)
12.	Menyawakan	24	KKRG, Endowments
13.	Kemujan	1,501	BTNK PT. IK (SMG) 200 ha, TN, Endowments, Population, etc..
14.	Sintok	21	S (SMG)
15.	Tengah	4	PT. PR (KDS)
16.	Cilik	2	Pd (SMG)
17.	Gundul	2	Navy
18.	Cendekean	13	PT. TM (Jkt)
19.	Bengkoang, Kokok	105	PT. TM (Jkt)
20.	Mrico	1	Wd. (TMG)
21.	Parang	690	TN, Endowments, Population, etc..
22.	Nyamuk	125	TN, Endowments, Population, etc..
23.	Kumbang	12.05	Tf (Sby)
24.	Kembar	6.7	Bp. Tg (SMG)
25.	Katang	2.5	Bp. Pd (Bd)
26.	Krakal Besar	3.2	Bp. Ib (Jkt)
27.	Krakal Kecil	1.5	Bp. Ad (JPR)

Source: Sunito, et. al., 2010.

Kemujan Village and 559 households in Parang village. Thus, Karimunjawa Village inhabited by the largest number of residents (4,943 heads) followed by Kemujan (2,936 heads) and Parang (1,897 heads). Education level of the total population was relatively lower than those living in another region of Jepara district. It was indicated by the majority of residents did not

complete primary school (52.7%) and other finished primary school/ equivalent (32.01%). Nevertheless there was positive phenomenon that the number of Karimunjawa residents graduated from college steadily increased and reached 44 people. This low education condition was certainly related to the economic life of population that had a high poverty rate



besides of course, caused by geographic factor as a group of remote islands. Education levels of Karimunjawa population are shown in the following table.

**Table 6.** Total Population of Karimunjawa District based on Education in 2010

No.	Level of Education	Number
1.	Pre-School	512
2.	Uncompleted Primary school	5,378
3.	Graduated from Primary school/ equals	3,266
4.	Graduated from Secondary school/ equals	612
5.	Graduated from High School	388
6.	Graduated from College	44
	Number	10,200

*Sources: Karimunjawa in Numbers, 2009.*

Data in **Table 6** showed that despite the majority of Karimunjawa population had a low education (primary school), there were many residents graduated from high school and higher education which were possible only for those who ever left Karimunjawa islands. Most of them had left Karimunjawa islands since primary school because the junior and senior high school education were pursued in Jepara, Kudus, Pati etc. Karimunjawa residents who successfully completed universities preferred working outside Karimunjawa islands. This resulted in the level of Karimunjawa residents that remained low. Therefore, in the name of getting a better life, they tended to migrate to another area outside Karimunjawa islands and sold their lands, farms, gardens and houses. The current land price that was relatively high according to their calculations (Rp 50,000,- Rp. 75,000,- /m), encouraged some residents to sell their properties and migrate to another places as fishermen while running small businesses. Migration was often triggered by the difference of income received from running businesses in the area of origin and destination. Migration would increase if productivity and business opportunities in the area of origin tend to decrease which would result in the decrease of revenues (Harris and Todaro, 1976).

Of the 25 respondents who had conducted transaction to sell the land at Karimunjawa islands, 80% of them did not complete primary school. Interestingly almost all respondents acknowledged that the decision to sell lands was the most easy and quick way to resolve financial problems as residents living in a remote isle. It means that they tended to think shortly for temporary interest and gave a less thought about the future. Previously the

land was traded between local residents and in the last five years, land trading occurred between local resident and the outsider intermediated by another local resident that had access to and network with people from the outside. In this case, 60% of respondents claimed to have sold lands more than once because they had an average more than 1 hectare. However, the reasons underlying their decisions to sell lands varies greatly and each respondent had more than one answer, i.e.: to fulfill daily needs (70%), to send their children to school (50%), to find jobs and business opportunities in another areas (40 %), to open a productive enterprise (30%), interested in the high rates (90%).

Those numbers showed an interesting phenomenon that the averagely low education of respondents significantly influenced their simple point view about lands that made them easily sell their properties. But they tended to have a good orientation about education. It was indicated by 50% of respondents said the reason of land trading was, among others, to send children to school. Another interesting phenomenon was almost all respondents (90%) based their decision to sell the land on the high prices offered by the buyer. It means that the outside investor forces determined the disclaimer of Karimunjawa islands from local residents. It was a critical remark for all parties who concerned about preservation and sustainability of Karimunjawa islands future.

Karimunjawa islands and other remote islands had a typical problem that agricultural productive enterprise opportunity was very limited. It was all because of the limited access to agricultural products market besides the high cost of inter-islands transportation. As a result,

farming was not prospective because it tended to stagnate and failed to thrive. This condition affected the resident's point of view about the importance of land that was different from agricultural society's point of view. Karimunjawa islanders mostly lived as fishermen instead of farmers. Therefore, agricultural enterprises were more likely become secondary livelihood when weather made it impossible for them to go fishing. Most (70%) of respondents said that they would easily sell their properties when there was an urgent because their lands were not prospective for agricultural businesses. Moreover, many of Karimunjawa inhabitants were not free from poverty problem. Of the 10,200 population, there were 3,064 poor residents or 767 households (Karimunjawa District in Numbers, 2010). These data showed that the level of population welfare was very low because there were 31.34% of poor people spread across the five islands with the highest percentage in Genting isle of Karimunjawa village. This condition was easy to understand because Genting isle was geographically located far from the center of village and district administration.

Although most of Karimunjawa residents lived as fishermen, the land ownership still determined their socioeconomic status. It was not because of the land's agricultural potency, but more likely because of the economic value of the land itself. Land even tended to be a "commodity" for trading and moreover there were high intensity and massive efforts to trade lands in Karimunjawa islands. It was indicated by the local residents' effort to offer their land to every visitor for investment or speculation purposes. It was interesting that all respondents agreed that lands were important for lives but not as the main source of needs fulfillment. Therefore, they tended to have a weak emotional bond with their lands so it was easily sold whenever necessary. This condition can be understood by tracing the original history of land ownership and tenure of Karimunjawa islands.

Historically, based on *depth interviews* with elders and community leaders, it was known that the land ownership of population in Karimunjawa islands could be broadly divided into 4 (four) categories, namely; yasan, inheritance, grants, and purchases. Yasan lands were the oldest and the most dominant.

Therefore the ownership of yasan lands could be used to track migration process of people from various regions in Indonesia that later settled in Karimunjawa islands. The majority owner of yasan lands in Karimunjawa came from outside Karimunjawa and became the forerunner of population in particular area locality of Karimunjawa. Therefore, population of Karimunjawa had a multi-ethnic background, namely Java, Madura, Buton, Banjar, Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, Bajo, Batak, Flores, etc. Almost all yasan land owners were fishermen and they obtained it by clearing forests, bushes or burying the sea which were then recorded in the letter C book of village government to get confessions. So the process of land ownership and tenure was only through the claim and occupation. Starting from this, then there was a tendency that they did not develop a strong bond to the land and supported by their culture as fishermen who were more integrated with marine life than the land. This condition made them contributed significantly in the process of transformation of land tenure in Karimunjawa to the outside population.

## CONCLUSIONS

The transformation of land tenure in Karimunjawa islands is an actual phenomenon that is very prominent today, especially in the last five years and peak in 2010. Of the 22 deserted islands, none of it was owned by local residents. Formal judicially almost all of it shifted into the outsiders' tenure, whether in personal or legal entity state. In such conditions, the land of Karimunjawa no longer functioned as a means of production that resulted food but has turned into a commodity. This was influenced by several internal and external factors. External factors were related to government policy that set Karimunjawa islands as National Park and A Leading Tourism Regions that had an impact on the sharp increase in the flow of people visiting Karimunjawa for both research or public service and recreation. Along with the entry of people, came the force of investors for land investment or speculation. Internal factors included the low education level, agricultural business opportunities, and emotional bond to the land as preconditions of an easy disclaimer of land tenure from local population, amid the

high land price bid in the local residents' point of view.

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