

THE ROLE OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN RECOVERY ACTIVITIES IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE TSUNAMI

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ABSTRACT: On 26 December 2004 the biggest earthquake for in the last 40 years occurred between the Australian and Eurasian plates in the Indian Ocean. The quake triggered a tsunami (a series of large waves) that spread to several coastal cities in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province, including its Capital, Banda Aceh City. In this region over 200,000 lives have lost and 1 million become homeless. The central government has been preparing a new coastal spatial planning which promotes a buffer zone (about 2 km from the seashore) in the formerly densest areas. Many groups of local community and NGOs are asking for the involvement of local community in decision making process.

The Disaster Risk Reduction and Recovery Activities should be based on the involvement of local institutions. The *panglima laot* (the sea admiral) or chieftains of the coastal and fishing communities is one of some less-known traditional institutions because of decades of uniformity of government structure. Their togetherness reflected from their organizations (*Lembaga Adat Panglima Laot Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*) has made it easier for outside organizations to assist and work with them. Facilitated by Yayasan Laut Lestari and Bogor Agricultural University, on 19-20 February 2005, they were able to gather remaining resources they had to assist survivors. The meeting launched several points of recommendation for Aceh Recovery.

After the meeting, we have attempted to facilitate the local community-based recovery processes in the aftermath of tsunami in three locations. This paper raises institutional dimension issues, the persistence and capacity of local and traditional institutions for Coastal natural resources management, and proposes a possibility to set up an institutional arrangement for a sustainable natural resource management, and recovery activities in the future.

Keywords: Tsunami, Coastal, Spatial Zoning, local institution, *panglima laot*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) is the northernmost province on Sumatra in Indonesia. Banda Aceh is the capital of Aceh Province, located in the Northern side of the province, facing the Indian Ocean and also the main gateway to the province. The provincial capital of Banda Aceh is clearly the largest and was most lively city in the region. About 70% of the city area is situated on a landform system with the elevation of less than 10 meter above the sea level.

In NAD religious and cultural institutions are an important part of social life. The Major Mosque of Baiturrachman in Banda Aceh is built on the site where the oldest mosque was demolished by the Dutch in the 9th Century. A cemetery called Kerkhoff has more than 2000 graves of Dutch soldiers as a result of Aceh War in 1873-1908. NAD has a strong Islamic tradition with 96% of its population are Moslems. After decades of severe conflicts with violence between GAM (Liberation Movement of Aceh) and the Indonesian Government, NAD has become a misery region without an established certainty in security. This uncertainty has weakened optimal advancement, social order and tradition of Aceh culture. The region is much further left behind in many ways compared to the other parts of Indonesia.

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On 26 December 2004 the biggest earthquake for the last 40 years occurred between the Australian and Eurasian plates in the Indian Ocean. The quake triggered a tsunami (a series of large waves) that spread to several coastal cities in Aceh Province, including Banda Aceh City and Nias Archipelago, North Sumatera Province. According to the government report of 2 May 2005, in this region the disaster has caused 126,602 deaths and 93,638 people missing and over than 500,000 internally displaced persons. Government and World Bank estimates put physical loss and damage in 16 affected districts at over Rp 41 trillion or US\$4.3 billion, an amount equivalent to 2.7 % of Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product and over 97% of GDP for Aceh Province.

Based on the analysis of remote sensing data (preliminary report of LAPAN), more than 120,000 ha of lands are damaged, covering settlement (21%), fishpond (17%), rice field (28%), plantation and shrubs (28%) and open space (5%). These land use/cover changes have a significant impact on the future socioeconomics activities of Aceh people. The central government has launched a Master Plan for the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province (NAD) and Nias Islands, North Sumatera.

The tsunami turned out to lead to a new agreement in which NAD became a peace region with the signing of Helsinki Agreement in August 2005. The NAD region is liberated in stages from weaponry contacts and is granted an authority in managing its own region. NAD is experiencing a transformation moving into a far more stable secured condition.

Now Aceh regains its opportunity to manage itself from the zero point, reorganize or integrate its fragmented social, economic, political and cultural aspects which have been utterly damaged. The institutions having the role in determining the scope/limit and the rules of the game in all aspects of life (social, economic, politic, cultural and religious) become important to reestablish according to the root of their tradition. Physical development become the main priority to improve the look of Aceh after the severe damage by tsunami, but the spirit and soul of Aceh seems to an inseparable part of reconstructing buildings and institutions desired.

However, behind all aids flowing heavily to NAD, it is important to take precaution in grasping the opportunity available. It is not unlikely that Aceh would fall into the victim of following the reconstruction perception of those who do not understand Aceh. If this happens, then Aceh loses its opportunity to be able to develop itself within its varied tradition, capacity, and culture.

In general, natural resources management in Indonesia - including marine and coastal resources - have typically been characterized by resources transformed from governance as common property by local communities into state governance. Due to a lack of capacity, in many cases this action has made things worse for the resources as well as the users. The government does not have enough well-trained personnel, technology and supporting resources on the field to monitor the natural resources. Thus, in reality, what (natural resources) have been a common property with a limited access, yet in the legal term the use pattern is the (central) government property, and due to the lack of enforcement, it frequently become de facto (in reality) an open access. In some cases, indigenous knowledge includes common resource management institutions and patterns of natural resource use that have been proven sustainable for generations, and merit greater scrutiny and respect by researchers and policy-makers. At the same time, these institutions face internal and external pressures that may compel transformations or deterioration as indigenous groups adapt to changing circumstances.

Spatial planning and zoning have been a typical regulation and action in governing public and common resources carried out by national and local governments. In fact, these policies have been facing "master plan syndrome", in which the formal policy is very hard and difficult to implement due to internal (internal coordination and management) and external (community, private sectors and government conflicts) problems.

Until recently, environmental services on coastal areas including disaster mitigation/protection, provided by natural resources managed as common property, have not been recognized or considered of little value. Due to the increasing levels of environmental degradation and associated problems, experienced at both the local and global levels, however, the true value of these services has become apparent and is becoming increasingly recognized.

In the aftermath of tsunami, the Government has launched a three-stage program for Aceh recovery, namely: rescue, rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Ministry of National Development Planning has developed a comprehensive plan to rebuild the lives of the people of Aceh and Nias. The central government has been preparing a new coastal spatial planning to promote a buffer zone (about 2 km from the seashore) in the formerly

densest areas. Many groups of coastal community and NGOs are asking for the involvement of local community in decision making process.

The *panglima laot* (the sea admiral) or chieftains of the coastal and fishing communities is one of some less-known traditional institutions because of decades of uniformity of government structure. Their togetherness reflected from their organizations (*Lembaga Adat Panglima Laot Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*) has made it easier for outside organizations to assist and work with them. Facilitated by Yayasan Laut Lestari and Bogor Agricultural University, on 19-20 February 2005, they were able to gather remaining resources they had to assist survivors. The meeting launched several points of recommendation for Aceh Recovery.

The meeting was an entry point for two study centers of IPB (under the coordination of WGAR IPB working together with several institutions to conduct local community-based action programs in the Aftermath of the Tsunami). After the meeting, we have attempted to facilitate the local community-based reconstruction processes in the aftermath of tsunami in three locations. This paper raises institutional dimension issues, the persistence and capacity of local and traditional institutions for Coastal natural resources management, and proposes a possibility to set up an institutional arrangement for a sustainable natural resource management, disaster risk reduction and recovery activities in the future.

All data were collected by a rapid rural appraisal method for 2 -30 days and participatory rural appraisal method, resulting in a village planning which was done for 3 days involving several components of rural institutions in every Gampong. The table below shows a further detail.

Name of Village	Mukim	District	Regency	RRA	PRA	Participants Planning
Pucok Lueng	Lhok Bubon	Samatiga	West Aceh	2 days	13-15 April 2005	45 people
Beurandeh	Krueng Raya	Mesjid Raya	Big Aceh	7 days	21-23 April 2005	87 people
Lamreh	Krueng Raya	Mesjid Raya	Big Aceh	30 days	18-20 October 2005	68 people

The data of village history was obtained by having a group discussion focused on the native elders of villages and by producing a matrix of changes happening in the years considered important by the people. The understanding of the concept of village was made by participative mapping of village land use sketch.

2. SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE TSUNAMI

Natural disaster in Aceh significantly has changed biophysical properties of the natural resources. Land use management previously developed has disappeared and new land use planning should be rebuilt, particularly at the coastal zone such as Banda Aceh Municipal which is considered as one of the worst hit. As all economic activities are clustered in Banda Aceh Region, the tsunami highly affects both social and economic aspects.

As the major aspect on spatial planning, land use planning is a systematic assessment of resources in order to select and adopt the best land use options that will best meet the needs of the people while safeguarding resources for the future.

Zoning is one of the most common tools in coastal planning and management. Basically, zoning provides a simple mechanism for urban planners to integrate complex and competing demands and land uses on to a single plan or map and zoning plans provide an effective tool for communicating implicit and often complicated management objectives to the community in an easily understood form (Kay and Alder, 1999).

The Master Plan proposed by Central Government (Bapenas) gives a special attention to spatial arrangement issues and offers draft plans of how to use space in affected districts (kabupaten/kota). Local governments are invited to build drafts as they develop detailed spatial plans in a close consultation with communities. The primary aim of the process is to ensure that as areas, cities, regions, and settlements are rebuilt; living conditions are improved, and lives and property are safeguarded in the event of future disasters. Business centers, social services, and densely populated urban settlements are best located in tsunami-proof zones, for example. With the emergency relief efforts concluded, the Master Plan will guide efforts over the next five years. Master Plan is a

policy and strategy document that will guide an ongoing dialogue, planning, and action – it is not designed to be a finished blueprint. In short, the Plan promotes locally and culturally appropriate solution, community participation and broad stakeholder input, holistic and integrated approaches, transparency, accountability and effectiveness.

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According to Bapenas (National Development Planning Agency) and Ministry of Public Work Working Groups, based on the destruction levels, the Banda Aceh Municipal could be classified into three destruction zones (BWK): most destroyed zone (BWK I), damaged zone of building structure (BWK II) and lightly damaged zone (BWK III). Areas in BWK I zone are characterized by coastal land, alluvium soil, high risk of flooding, severe drainage problem, and saline water. BWK II is characterized by lowland landform, slight slope, highly suitable irrigated rice field, better quality of water, suitable only for earthquake-proof building. BWK III is located on upland landform system, having low risk flooding problem, high quality of ground water, highly suitable for agriculture, and highly suitable soil physics for construction.

Spatial zoning is considered as a tool often used to manage a region efficiently and effectively. The master plan promotes 9 zones, namely: (1) coastal zone, (2) fishery culture zone, (3) city garden, (4) settlement, (5) city center/landmark, (6) new settlements areas, (7) new business and offices center, (8) education areas, and (9) agriculture. The coastal zone functions mainly as buffer zone (wave/wind breaker), and located within 300-400 meters from coastal line. The aquaculture area mainly serves as fishery (ponds) activities and as the second wave breaker and fisherman housing. This area is located in the range about 1300 m from the first zone line. City Garden/Public Greenery areas are the third buffer area, and utilized as public space and city garden. Settlement areas function as a limited settlement and public facilities centers. The City Landmark is the location of main city landmarks (Baiturrahman Mosque, Museum of Tsunami and other city landmarks), local government offices, and Cultural Centers. New settlement areas function as new housing complex of the relocated inhabitants (formerly living close to the seashore). New business and offices centers are promoted as the city and province service centers (CBD and government offices). Education Center areas function as the location of higher education campus and its supporting facilities. Agricultural areas function as agriculture production areas, rural settlements and their supporting facilities.

The three buffer zones (about 2 km from the seashore) are located in the previously densest areas. Many groups of coastal community and NGOs are asking for the involvement of local community in decision making process. According to National Land Agency (BPN) assessment, within the promoted buffer areas, 8,795 houses were located, some of which have been ruined. During the planning process, many inhabitants started to claim and build their own new houses.

The government-promoted buffer zones (about 2 km from seashore) are located in the previously most urbanized dense areas. To implement this planning, community-based participatory planning process is needed.

3. THE SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONS FOR NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT AND AND RECOVERY ACTIVITIES

Designing a better way of governing resources, including a disaster risk reduction system in coastal areas will continue to be a major issue in the aftermath of tsunami. During the rescue stages, the role of international parties (government and NGOs) and domestic organization were very significant including that of the central government. On reconstruction and rehabilitation stages, the central government has tried to lead the process, but the local government (provincial and district levels) were unable to take the burden. At the national and regional levels, with some limitation, there's no doubt of the main role in regulating and promoting the master plan of reconstruction program.

But the effectiveness of a zoning plan, especially at the local (basic tiers) level, will ultimately rely on the community's acceptance and government's commitment to provide the resources for implementation. In order to select and adopt the best use of land, the coastal spatial zoning in the aftermath of the tsunami should determine several basic issues. Two conditions must be met if planning is to be useful: (1) the need for changes must be accepted by the people involved, and (2) the political will and ability to put the plan into effect (FAO, 1993). Studies have shown that where the public has been actively and meaningfully involved in the planning process

there is a greater acceptance of the plan, its regulation and implementation (Savina and White, 1986; Stone, 1988; Ehler and Basta, 1993; Kelleher, 1993).

The people of Aceh in their daily lives firmly hold customs and religious traditions inherited from Aceh of the past age (its glory peaked under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Muda in 1607 – 1636), which can be seen from their daily lives and existing institutions.

The current traditional/custom institutions of Acehnese are formed on the basis of social interaction and geographical conditions from the sea to the mountainous areas, from generation to generation, e.g. the currently acknowledged social position, “*Geucik*” (a village chief), as the leader of *Gampong* (village), *Panglima Laot* (Sea Admiral) as the ruler of sea and coastal area, and *Mukim* (the leader of a number of *Gampong*) as an institution one level higher than or above *Gampong*. According to Aceh customs passed down from its predecessors, there is a hierarchy of autonomy of institutions from the levels of *Gampong* and *Mukim*. At each level, the institution has an institutional structure suited to as existing geographical condition (from sea to mountainous area) and social and religious lives of the people.

A *Gampong* which occupies the regions of sea, coast, coast protection area, housing, rice field, plantation, and mountainous area has a custom head/chief (*Petua/Imam/Panglima*) in charge of a certain region agreed according to local customa or traditions.⁵

As a result of the enactment of Law No 5/1979, the religious lives and customs have become stagnant or have not developed well because of institutional and organizational change of customs by applying a system of government or non-Aceh system (Javanese), for example, the name of *Gampong* changed into ‘*desa*’ (Javanese word), *Geucik* replaced by ‘*Kepala Desa*’ (village chief), ‘*Tuha Peut*’ and ‘*Tuha Lapan*’ by LKMD (Security Institution of Rural Community) and LMD (Rural Community Institution), ‘*Kepala Lorong*’ replaced by ‘*Kepala Dusun*’, *Petua Glee* (Chief of Mountain or Hills), and *Petua Blang/Kejeun Blang* (Chief of Rice Field). *Huria Peukan* (trade or market), *Petua Uteun* (Chief of forest) replaced by ‘*Kepala Urusan*’ (Chief of Affairs). The Law has made the customs institutions stop functioning or even disappear at the levels of *Gampong* and *Mukim* as well as at the levels above these up to the present time. However, in their daily lives the people of Aceh still acknowledge the presence of *Geucik* as the Chief of *Gampong*, *Panglima Laot* with his legal region of sea and presently applied rules or customs, and the existence of *Mukim*.

Considering the worse effect of Law No 5/1979, the Government of Indonesia introduces a substitute law to the Aceh Province, that is, Law No18/2001 on Special Autonomy for the Special Province of Aceh as Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province. In Article 1 of the Law, it is explicitly stated that the existence of *Mukim* and *Gampong* is acknowledged.

4. The Hierarchy and structure of Local Institutions

The hierarchy in each institution in NAD which is autonomous in nature creates a pure power because there is no inside party who is able to influence the coordinating line between institutions unless there is a request from the parties in conflicts, thus no one can damage it by simply discontinuing one institution.⁷ For a detailed hierarchy, see the figure below.

At the level of *Gampong* headed by a *Keucik*, a variety of institution can identified according to more specific characteristics and region. A group of several nearby *Gampongs* is called *Mukim* headed by an *Imam of Mukim*. A group of *Mukims* forms into a *Kenegerian* uniting into *Sagoe* headed by *Panglima Sagoe*, and finally becomes *Kesultanan* led by a *Sultan*. Each institution autonomously conducts its duty according to the authority determined by customs.

At the level of *Gampong*, the institution consists of

- (1) *Keucik* (Chief of settlement area)
- (2) *Tuha Peut* (supervision of custom institutions/development/planning of custom laws and other functions)
- (3) *Tuha Lapan* (Solution of custom conflicts and other functions)
- (4) *Tengku Munasah* (Leader of Praying Place such as in a mosque and the like)
- (5) *Ketua Pemuda* (Head of Youth Matters)
- (6) *Kepala Lorong* (chief of neighborhood)
- (7) *Petua Glee* (Chief of Mountains or Hills)

- (8) Keujruen Blang (Chief of rice field)
- (9) Huria Peukan (trade/market)
- (10) Peutua Uteun (Chief of forest)
- (11) Peutua Seuneubok (garden/home yards)

The Mukim institution consists of

- (1) Imam Mukim (chief of Mukim)
- (2) Imam Mesjid (Leader of Mosque)
- (3) Tuha Peut
- (4) Tuha Lapan
- (5) Peutua Seuneubok (Chief of forest)
- (6) Petua Glee (Chief of Mountains or Hills)
- (7) Panglima Laot
- (8) Huria Peukan

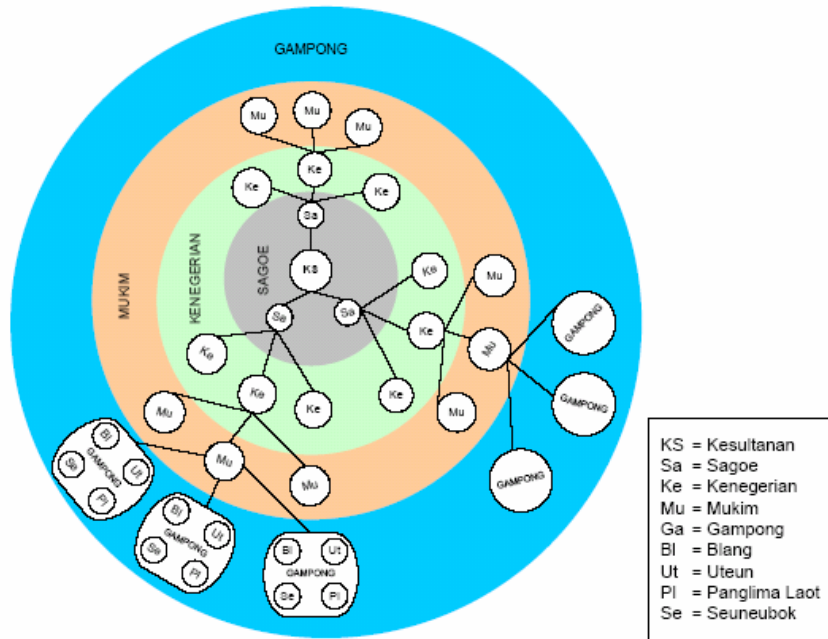


Figure 1. Institutional Hyrarchy

The use of land and other natural resources is regulated by the customs institutions (Gampong/Mukim) and can be classified into:

- (1) Protection of natural resources (ecology) such as forest (Uteun), mountains/hills (Glee)
- (2) People's settlement area (Gampong)
- (3) Economy such as rice fields (Blang), market (Peuken), and forest field (Seunebok)
- (4) Religion (Mosques/Munasah)

Such regulation is approved among the Chiefs of Customs in Gampongs and Mukim (the customs institutions between the two governments have a similarity only in different level of government). For example, the arrangement of space on coastal area which is regulated by the institution of Panglima Laot is classified into:

- (1) Protection of Natural resources: Uteun Banka (Mangrove Forest), Uteun Areon (casuarinas Forest)
- (2) Economy: Bineh Pasié (coastal area), Leun Pukat (an area to pull dragnet), Lancang Sira (salt processing area), and fish sale
- (3) Others such as Kuala (river mouth), Teupin (area where fishermen land their boats)

5. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN PUCOK LHUENG

The people of Pucok Lhueng come from Aceh Raya (Great Aceh) and Pidie, which has been in existent since before the era of Dutch colony. Originally the name Gampong was Lueng Baru because at that time many people made new 'lueng' (ditches). In 1945 (in the struggle for independence) forest logging was widely done for the expansion of rubber plantation because the rubber trees existing since the era of Dutch colonialization had decreased.

Entering the New Order in 1966, the government began to change the custom system in the villages entirely. Besides changing the role of Keucik as the village chief, the government also changed other village apparatus into the structure determined the central government, for example, LKMD and LMD. Although the customs institutions have experienced changes and new formal institution already available (LKMD and LMD), until 1980 the functions of both Tuha Peut (Law) and Tuha Lapan (Customs) were still applied. By the 1972 General Election, a new Keucik was elected whose name was Sulaiman Ibrahim who came from Ujung Parit (pucok Lueng), therefore people began to call the village Pucok Lueng.

The government's first aid in irrigation was in 1978, but unfortunately the people of Pucok Lueng had never had the agricultural experience in cultivating wet fields; they were accustomed to rainfed fields. In Pucok Lueng there has never been Panglima Huteun (as far as the young generation can remember) because the forest has long become a rubber plantation. Meanwhile field cultivation is organized by Keucik through farmers' groups set up only to manage aids.

The formal structure of village is currently understood differently by the people. The structure available is not originally from the local people but from the central government (in Jakarta), which introduces uniformity like villages in Java. Similarly, the informal institutions formed by the government (farmers' groups) do not function well – only to manage aids. See the following structural diagram (but it may not give a true structure)

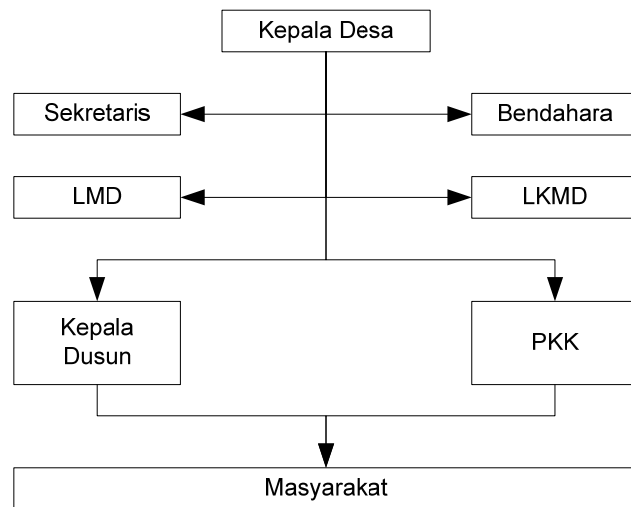


Figure 2. Institutional structure of Gampong Pucok Lueng

The informal rural institution can emerge because of some need or the need of outside parties; generally the institutions set up by the outside parties do not work optimally. Below are the institutions that have been formed and not in the formal structure of rural institution:

- (1) Religious institutions: The Holy Qur'an Recital Training for Children, Women's Recital of Yasin (Chapter 36 of The Holy Qur'an), Mosque Youth
- (2) Youth organization (Youth Association of Pucok Lueng Village), Karang Taruna
- (3) Panglima Laot – still tied to Panglima Laot of Kuala Bubon.

In identifying the problems of institutions before the tsunami disaster, it was found that:

- (1) Most institutions in the villages did not function optimally and transparently
- (2) There was a welfare problem for custom chiefs
- (3) There was an ambiguity or uncertainty of institution leaders.

After tsunami the problems encountered by rural institutions include:

- (1) The Heads of Villages are not optimal in function because of the absence of facilities, dual leaderships (heads of relief posts), and institutions below it do not function well.
- (2) Village Secretaries do not function optimally because they are in line with the decisions by Keucik (i.e. setting up a shadow government)
- (3) LKMD and LMD do not work because all matters after tsunami are organized by relief posts
- (4) Village Treasurers do not work because so far there has been no village income, documents are carried away with the tsunami, and no coordination with the apparatus of other villages
- (5) Heads of Neighborhood cannot function because there is a substitute for the Neighborhood Head during the emergency period after tsunami.

The existing institutions cannot function as needed by the people, so their proposals return to the custom and rural institutions that can meet the following needs: (1) The need for reviving institutions that can handle with livelihood of rural people (rice fields, plantations of rubber, jute and palm, fishermen, home industries, small traders), and (2) The need for strengthening institutions which can organize public and social facilities in the villages.

6. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN BEURANDEH

Various groups including customs, religions, and others are quite many, which indicates that there is a quite close relationship among individuals in the forms of Gampong kinship to attain common goals of the people. The results of institutional identification are as follow:

- Routine Holy Qur'an Recital
- Women's Recital of Yasin (Chapter 36 of The Holy Qur'an)
- Rebana Group (Music Group)
- Integrated Service Post (Health and Nutrition Program)
- Mothers' Collective Saving (conducted like a lottery)
- Handicraft Group
- Farmers' Group
- Goat raisers' Group
- Fish Pond Group
- Fishermen Group
- Panglima Laot
- Sea Safety Ceremony (Kenduri Laot)
- Ghechik
- Imam Meunasah (Leaders of praying)
- Gampong Assembly
- Tuga Peut and Tuha lapan
- Aceh Dance 'Ranuh Lampuan'
- Music Group of 'Siuput' of the Islamic Five Pillars)
- Gotong Royong (Cooperative Work)
- Samadiyah (death alms or charity)
- Gampong Safety Ceremony
- Imam Mukim

In addition to those groups, there are other informal institutions in the forms of Gampong rules which then become common bindings based on Gampong values. The rules or norms are among others:

- In case of deaths, all people visit the deaths (samadiyah) and no other activities
- Women must visit houses in the case of deaths
- Not going to the sea on Fridays
- In marriage, the bridegroom proposes to the bride and go to Gampong bringing 'seulengke' and a little dowry

Reciting the Holy Qur'an during the fasting month of Ramadhan for the people is obliged and also providing cakes and coffees alternately or in turns.

In case of a conflict between Persons A and B, solution is based on Gampong law, at the minimum offering sticky rice of 10 are or bamboo or in case of adultery, the doers are poured with ditch water and hit. Guests in the fasting months must pay 'fitrah' in this gampong.

Some Institutional Problems were identified, namely: (1) Discontinuation of gampong institutions set up by the government, (2) Disappearance of custom/traditional institutions because they have been replaced by those formed by the government, and (3) Disappearance of local rules and values, and incompatibility of available rules with the need for gampong management. The local communities recommend some institutional development as follow: (1) Strengthening local institutions and values within the existing gampong institutions if so far they have not functioned well., (2) Reviving the gampong institutions which have disappeared but their existence is still needed such as Tuha Peut which manages gampong, and (3) Forming new rules or reviving rules previously working, and making law enforcement.

7. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN LAMREH

The historical records of Lamreh can be traced back to 17 -18th centuries, beginning from the Portuguese Occupation in which Malahayati was a woman Commander of War whose soldiers were all widowers fighting against Portuguese. During the war a place called Benteng Inong Balei in Lhobok region was built. However, around 17-19th centuries, Malahayati died in Lamreh and was buried on the mountain or hill of Lamreh together with her family.

The Dutch then came to Lamun with the purpose of trade but then demanded taxes and built fortress for defense. In 1942, Japanese arrives in Lamun and dove away the Dutch and colonize the lamun region. Japanese returned to their country after the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the allied armies.

During the independence era, Lamreh was changed in name into Lamun by Ulei Balang and Teungku, and then the intention of Ulei Balang to bring in again Japan/Dutch to Lamun created a war with Ulama (Islamic scholars) who did not permit him. The war is known as Cumbok war, which was won by the Ulamas/Keuchik Makam. The Dutch then made a war again with the people of Aceh who won the war.

Entering the era of DI/TII in 1953 in which Keuchik Nya Waki Makam and the people of Lamreh were in a miserable condition because they were ordered to work together without wages, thus forced work. With the desire of setting up Islamic government, DI/TII rebelled against the Indonesian Government. In this year, too, Aceh was struck by a devastating earthquake.

In 1963 – 1965 known as the era of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), the people of Lamreh were encouraged to become its members and when they made a little mistake, there would be a neck slaughtering. At the time the Keuchik was still Ahmad Makam. The gampong was still left behind with houses numbering to 40 units surrounded by bushy land and threatened by tigers.

The seaport of Malayahati began to be built in 1970. The Keuchik was Bustamam Yusuf, people's houses amounting to 60 units with around 80 heads of families. In 1977 Malahayati Seaport was officially opened by the President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1995 tree planting was conducted on the Hill named after Suharto because it was attended by the President of Indonesia, Suharto in groups. When Keuchik Fauzi Maun took office in 2003, the number of population grew rapidly and began orderly, and there was also the beginning of 'lorong' (neighborhood) and lorong streets.

On 26 December 2004, a tremendous quake and devastating tsunami completely demolished Lamreh village, which drew a lot of foreign aids and in 2005 there were positive sides of tsunami: a peace agreement was made between RI (Republic of Indonesia) and GAM (Aceh Liberation Movement), NGOs' arrivals to help with village reconstruction, and the arrival of Bogor Team to assist with the planning of Lamreh Village.

Religion-based activities of the people have so far been active until now, and professional organizations such as the labor force (called TKBM, which has a large number of members) also still continue actively; whereas fishermen organizations do not work, but they help one another on the sea and the empathy of large-scale fishermen towards the small-scale ones still exist. On other hand, custom-based institutions do not work. The people's custom such as 'meugang' and 'Intat Linto' still continue. People's agreement on deciding the border of livestock grazing region is still applied, while the other 3 'lorong' within the distance of 1.5 km from housing area is livestock grazing area –if plants grow into this area, they must be cut down or fenced. Formal village

institutions work actively with the exception of the village Chief along with his subordinates and youth organizations – they are less active. Social activities of the people such as ‘gotong-royong’ (cooperative work), visiting the deaths, and others still continue actively.

The given attribute to Aceh as the Mekkah Terrace is reflected in the people’s fanaticism in practicing religious values, routine recital of the Holy Qur’an, and ‘tahlilan’ (also a kind of recital) not only as religious rituals but also as social interactions.

The formation of TKBM as a labor organization is advantageous for local people in organizing employment opportunity especially after the tsunami many ships are contributed, while the people need money to meet their living needs and those at the seaports always receive labor supply to unload goods from the ships.

In contrast, fishermen groups that are formed to organize projects from the government after the tsunami disaster do not function because sea infrastructure has collapsed. However, the habit of helping each other on the sea has been maintained till now.

The custom institutions which existed in the past has disappeared since the enactment of the rural government’s law (the application of rural governmental structure in Java to all smallest governmental structures outside Java), whereas the currently existing institutions do not receive full support from the government, such as Panglima Laot. However, the custom institutions related to religious aspects, such as Mosque Leader (Imam Mesjid) and Munasah (a type of mosque) Leader, and not going to the sea on Fridays, are still actively carried out.

Topographically, Lamreh is mostly composed of hills. It has stony land with grasses which are not quite thick, so it is used for raising livestock. The people is now inherited with the unwritten agreement that it consists of ‘Dusun (village) Lubuk (from Lubuk to Blang Ulam) which is used for raising livestock; plant cultivation must be fenced by the owners. While in the other 3 ‘lorong’, the agreement is within the distance of 1.5 km from housing/settlement area towards the hill is for cultivation, livestock may not enter this area and must be caged.

The formal village institutions are active, but the village apparatus do their functions inadequately as reflected from their lack of encouragement to the people’s involvement in making decisions of NGOs who give assistance. In distributing aids directly to the people, the role of ‘lorong’ (neighborhood) Chief is important in organizing the people. The activities of PKK (Family Welfare Programs) discontinue because the offices as well as supporting facilities are lost or driven away with the tsunami. Other social activities still take place such as sounding (by striking) the large drum three times when people die, cooperative work, etc. The formal institutional structure of Lamreh Village (Gampong) can be seen in the Figure 3 below.

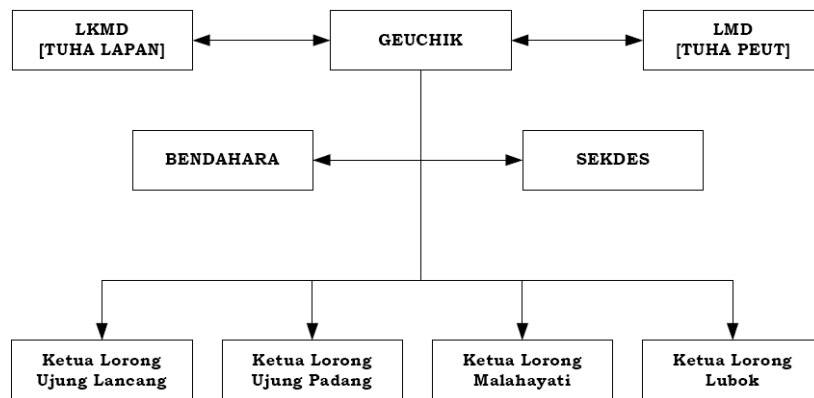


Figure 3. Institutional structure of Gampong Lamreh

According to the result of PRA process, some Institutional Problems were identified as follow:

- The disappearing social spirit such as ‘gotong royong’ (cooperative work)
- Absence of unity
- Land problems where people are not willing to let it go or sacrifice
- Groupings among people

Disappearing fear of returning to previous jobs
 Too many aids from NGOs causing people to be indulged
 Keuchik/Leaders must be honest, wise and just
 No communication
 People's low awareness
 People easily lose hopes
 need for guidance
 Law enforcement
 People need serenity, necessary conducive security, chaotic problems in Gampong
 Many Gampong assets/resources are misused
 Panglima Laot included in Krueng Raya causes a weak responsibility in Lamreh
 Peutua Seunubok consisting of one person was active until 1960-1970s, but is now inactive
 Tuha Peut (of 12 persons) are no longer in existence because in 1970s was replaced by LMD
 Tuha Lapan is not available now; it was replaced by LKMD in 1970s
 Fishermen Group (of 150 people) formed before the tsunami is not in active condition because the
 facilities break down and there is the presence of aids (DKP) that causes further groupings.
 Village Chief and apparatus are less active.
 PKK (Family Welfare Programs) which were active previously are no longer active because of tsunami

The community proposed the following institutional development:

- (1) Improving social values according to customs and 'syariat' (Islamic rules of conduct)
- (2) Strengthening the institution of Gampong to be able to manage administration and natural resources justly
- (3) Reviving the management of natural resources based custom rules.

8. DISCUSSION

Important years for the villages related to institutional problems involve many aspects: (1) The change of gampong names (Lueng Baru became Pucok Lueng and Lamun became Lamreh), (2) The change of village apparatus [Keuchik became 'Kepala Desa' (chief of village), Tuha Peut and Tuha Lapan were changed respectively into LMD and LKMD], and (3) The emergence of new institutions (farmer group and fishermen group) because of the need for managing the aid from the government

New values incompatible with the people's owned values have caused the disappearance of local values (law and custom), thus no law certainty to apply sanctions to law infringement, in turns no law enforcement (no transparency in the management of village assets or resources, in fact there is a disappearance of some village assets)

The big role of central government to make uniformity and determine village institutions has led to the people's inability to solve their own problems (tsunami has caused a dual leadership; Petua Seunebok is getting less functional)

Relationship between rural institutions adopted from the outside region (Java) and which is never understood by Acehnese has caused a lack of understanding among people about the duty and authority of each institution, and the type of relationship between institutions (no certain or clear structural pattern of institutions in the villages)

The currently existing institutions cannot function as expected by the people, so their proposals or ideas return to any custom institutions and village institutions that can meet the people's need:

- (1) It is necessary to make or revive institutions that are able to organize and manage the problems of livelihood for villagers (rice fields, plantations of rubber, jute, palms, fishermen, home industries and small traders).
- (2) It is essential to strengthen the institutions which can manage public and social facilities in villages.
- (3) Strengthening the local institutions and values in gampong institutions which still exist but so far have not been functioning well enough, were needed.
- (4) To restore disappeared Gampong institutions whose existence is still needed, such as Tuha Peut, which organizes gampong matters.
- (5) To form new rules or restore previously-working rules and ensure a law enforcement,
- (6) To improve social values according to custom and 'syariat' (Islamic rules of conduct),

- (7) To strengthen the Gampong institutions those are able to manage administration and natural resources justly,
- (8) To restore the management of natural resources based on custom rules.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The social institutions which are still firm and accepted by the people are those that deal with the religion. Some reasons for the disappearance of institutions managing natural resources are:

1. The change of space system in villages (e.g. the forest case in Pucok Lueng),
2. The introduction of government's aid that requires the application of new institutions/farmer groups (e.g. the case of rice field management in Pucok Lueng),
3. People's indifference towards custom institutions (e.g. the case of no longer active Petua Seunubok in Lamreh)
4. The further away from the central management, the less the sense of responsibility of an individual (e.g. the case of Panglima Laot who enters the settlement of Krueng Raya in Lamreh)
5. The disappearance of custom institutions which organize people and the presence of less acknowledged substitute institutions:
6. Tuha Lapan no longer exists because it was replaced by LKMD in 1970s (e.g. the case of Lamreh and Pucok Lueng)
7. Tuha Peut no longer exists because it was replaced by LMD in 1970s (e.g. the case of Lamreh and Pucok Lueng)
8. No people's understanding of function, position, and authority of various institutions in villages.
9. The effects of insufficiently rooted institution
10. The occurrence of power takeover from Kuechik to the Head of Relief Post (e.g. the case of Pucok Lueng)
11. No law enforcement for law infringement because of uncertainty in the types of sanction to be applied (e.g. the case of illegal opening of land in Lamreh)

The institutions now available cannot work according to the needs of the people, so it is necessary to return to custom and village institutions that can meet the needs of the people for both managing administration, public facilities, economy (rice fields, plantations of rubber, jute and palm, fishermen, home industries, small traders) and natural resources (forest, grazing fields, sea, mine) according to custom rules and 'syariat' (Islamic rules of conduct).

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