

## Propositions

attached to the thesis

Inclusion, Exclusion and Agrarian Change:  
Experiences of Forest Land Redistribution in Indonesia

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1. Indonesia's upland communities need security of tenure for their land and farming systems, to protect them from land appropriation by both state and local players. (this thesis)
2. Land redistribution to tillers in the form of individual land titles may initially provide relatively egalitarian access to land, but within few years after the land redistribution, a significantly differentiated agrarian class structure emerges. (this thesis)
3. The change to individual land ownership also changes the agrarian relations from more feudal agrarian relations (rent in labour, rent in cash and rent in kind) to market surplus transfer mechanisms (wages in cash, wages in kind, terms of trade, usury). (this thesis)
4. These changes are set in motion and accelerated by both external and internal forces and actors. (this thesis)
5. The premise of the evolutionary theory of land rights that individual land ownership will address the problems of tenure security and productive farm investment is valid only for better off peasant households, the emerging landlord class and especially urban absentee land owners. (this thesis)
6. Individual land ownership in Indonesia's upland communities does not work to maintain equality in upland communities. There is a need to explore other types of land tenure, such as communal land title with secure individual use rights, which allow for periodical local review and re-allocation of land rights.
7. There is a need for further study and policy change to ensure equal rights to land for women farmers and access to land for young (would-be) farmers.
8. Individual land ownership titling leads to increased land prices and unhealthy speculation in land.
9. 'Land to the tiller' should be reinstated as the basic principle in Indonesia's land laws and their implementation.
10. After many decades of conflicting claims over land between the national land board and the forestry department, it is time that land administration be located firmly within a single agency.
11. Peasant households need staple foods in their farm to ensure food sovereignty, cash crops in agroforest systems to provide for other needs, and also a motor cycle and nice cellular phone.