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A Social History of the Balinese Movement to Central Sulawesi 1907-1974 (1)
A Dissertation submitted by Gloria Davis

PARIGI:

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE BALINESE MOVEMENT TO CENTRAL SULAWESI, 1907-1974

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES

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FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Gloria Davis

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PREFACE

This research was conducted under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, and with the permission of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (L.I.P.I.), and the Department of Transmigration.

My work was facilitated by officials throughout Indonesia of whom I can mention only a few. Special thanks are due to Chakorde Ngurah Agung (Transmigration Office, Denpasar), Torki Rajiman (Transmigration Office, Palu), H. Abdul Aziz Lamadjido (Bupati of Donggala), Arsid Passau (Camat of Parigi), and the village heads the kampungs where I worked, namely, I. Wayan Lukiya (Kampung Bali), Wayan Simon (Massari), Hadhy Prajetno and Gede Raktha (Sumbersari), Gusti Ngurah Malen (Astina), and M. R. Tumakaka (Tolai).

For information and support I am also indebted to I. Gusti Ngurah Bagus (Udayana University, Denpasar), Abdul Wahi Towana (retired, Palu), Rusdi Towana (Tadulako University), Masjuhudin Masjhuda (Cultural Office, Palu), and numerous other friends throughout Sulawesi who freely gave of their time and information. To them I owe my knowledge and my understanding of the Balinese movement to Central Sulawesi.

I would also like to thank five special families, without whom I feel that at times I could not, or would not, have been able to continue my work. In order of adoption they include:

- Gusti Bagus Oka and Ibu Gedong in Denpasar,
- the Narendra Mayun family in Denpasar,
- Poppy and Sapri who were my constant oasis in Palu,
- and the families of M. R. Tumakaka and I. Wayan Lukiya who looked after me in Tolai and Kampung Bali, respectively.

To these people I owe my understanding of Indonesian hospitality and my love of Indonesia.

Finally I would like to extend my appreciation to my dissertation committee, Bernard Siegel, Charles Frake and Renato Rosaldo for their advice and encouragement. A final word of thanks to Larry Sargent, Frank Lucas and Barbara Stoops, who in separate ways helped make this effort possible.

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INTRODUCTION

When I first arrived in Bali in late September 1972, I went directly to the Office of Transmigration.[1] There I was given a report on the most recent group of Balinese migrants to depart for Parigi, a district in Central Sulawesi, a thousand kilometers away. At that time neither Chakorde Ngurah Agung, the director of the office, nor I could have predicted that the report concerned one of the last groups of Balinese to be officially sent to Parigi; nor would we have guessed that I was about to spend the next eighteen months among them. Nevertheless, even at that time, I remember being struck by the story of this group of migrants, curious why they had moved, and fascinated by the possibilities for their adaptation in Sulawesi. What follows is a rough translation of those pages which first caught my attention.

A report: On the Movement of 127 Families (626 People) to Parigi
Prepared by I. Nyoman Ardhana, Transmigration Office, Denpasar

I. The Journey
Our group departed from Benoa Harbor, [Bali], September 2, 1972, aboard the K. M. Kenaga enroute to Parigi [Central Sulawesi]. In the straits of Lombok the waves were so large that everyone fell sick, and by the next day so many were seasick that the health officer was incessantly busy providing pills for the group. On the 4th of September the waves were so high that most of the group was seasick, and many among them had fever and diarrhea. The health officer did what he could to aid those who were sick.

On the 5th of September the ship docked in Kendari [Southeast Sulawesi] to unload cargo, and late in the day, the wife of I. Nengah Gebyog gave birth to a baby girl who was named Ni Ketut Kenaga [after the name of the ship]. With this event, our numbers expanded to 627. Both mother and child arrived safely in Torue.

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[1] Transmigrasi, is the Indonesian term for migration within Indonesia.

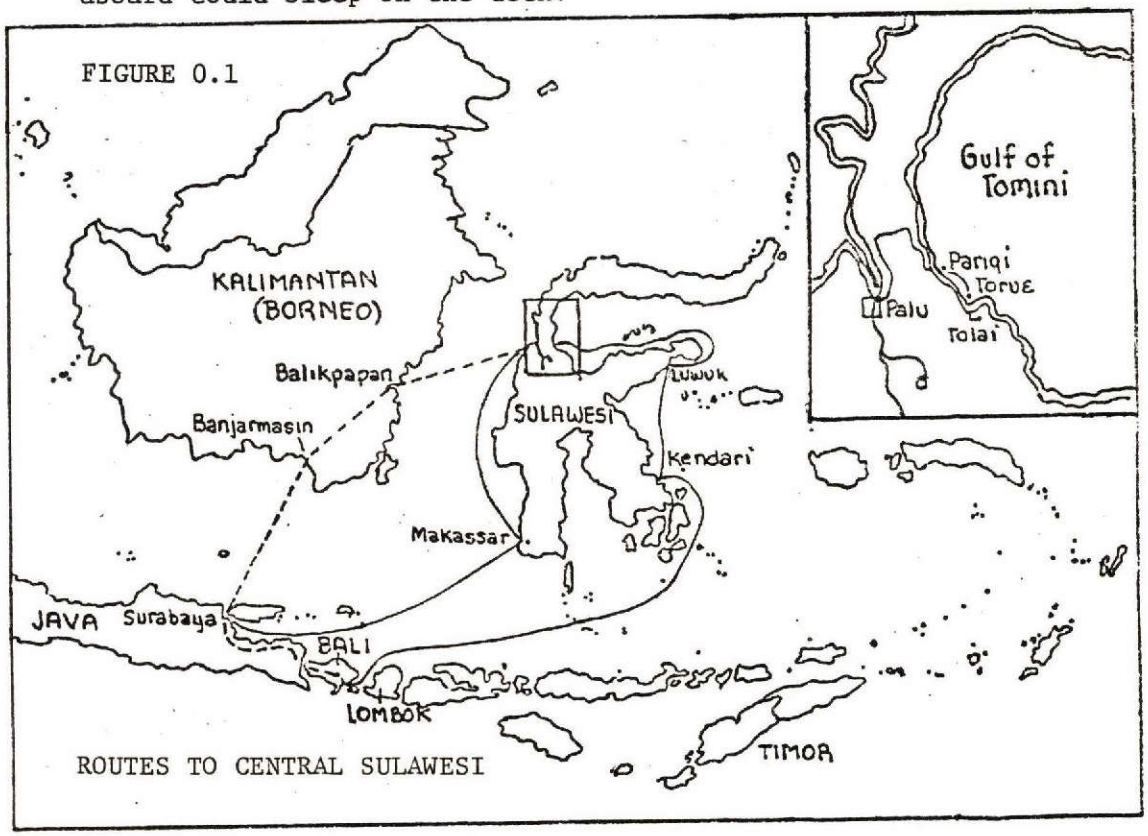
On the 6th of September the ship left Kendari and was no sooner at sea than the waves began, and all of the migrants became sick once again. On the 7th the ship docked in Luwuk to unload baggage and the migrants began to look better. On the 8th of September the sea became completely calm and everyone improved.

Finally, on the 10th of September the ship arrived safely in Parigi. There we picked up several officials and departed again for Torue. We arrived in Torue at 2 pm, debarking immediately, but because of bad weather we could not claim our goods until the next day.

So it was that on the 11th of September at 10 am, these 127 families (627 people) were transferred from the jurisdiction of the department of transmigration in Bali, to the department office in Central Sulawesi. At the same meeting the migrants received farm implements (hoes, knives, and shovels), and building supplies (thatch and nails). Unfortunately, plans had only been made for 100 families, so 27 did not receive tools. All received building supplies.

II. The Situation Aboard Ship

While we were aboard ship, the relationship between migrants and crew was excellent. There was enough food and enough drinking water, though we occasionally had to request water for bathing. Once aboard the ship each family received a woven mat, a pillow complete with pillowcase, and four containers for fresh water. The conditions were sufficiently uncrowded that everyone aboard could sleep on the deck.



III. The Situation in Tolai

A. Area for Migrants

According to the plans for this group, migrants were to be settled in Sulih. Sulih is located 17 km from Torue in the village of Tolai, and according to reports, all intervening land has been claimed by migrants before us.

It is said, that the greater portion of Tolai can be irrigated, and hence made into sawah [wet ricefields]. In fact, earlier migrants have already constructed dams and channels which lead directly to their land. In Sulih there is also a river which can be used for irrigation. This river, the Sausu, is the largest in all of Tolai.

At this time, the only way of getting to Sulih is by foot. This involves walking 12 km [three hours] to Lebagu and then going 5 km through the forest [three more hours] to Sulih. The last part of this trip is extremely difficult as there is not so much as a path through the forest. We had intended to visit this area, but we found that the way was impassable.

B. Land and Houses

Until the land is divided, all of the migrants have dispersed to the homes of their relatives. We estimate that they will have to stay with them two to three months, until the land is surveyed and each is assigned a lot. After that the migrants will have to clear the trees from their houseyards and erect temporary shelters to protect them while they gradually push back the forest from their ricelands.

Each migrant will be given two hectares; 25 are for houselots and the rest for ricefields. The land that is available is very fertile as the forest which covers it has never been cut by humans. Further evidence of its fertility can be seen in the fact that earlier families have harvested two tons of rice per hectare, in addition to subsidiary crops. Even the migrants who were settled in Lebagu, in April 1972, have already harvested corn, sweet potatoes, manioc, peanuts, and vegetables. Their gardens are flourishing and extremely fertile.

Under such circumstances it is likely that the high hopes of the migrants can eventually be met.

* * *

This is a report on the period when I was the leader of the migrants to Tolai, in the district of Parigi.

Denpasar, 29 September 1972

I. Nyoman Ardhana

The report was as tantalizing for what it did not say, as what it did. How, for example, had all of those migrants moved by the transmigration department come to have kinsmen in Parigi? Why were there more families than expected? What was the role of the government in their recruitment and selection? Why had these Balinese left the security of their villages for the uncertainties of Sulawesi, while others, equally poor, remained behind? What made people move? And why did they move to Parigi?

A week later I was in the transmigration office in Jakarta making arrangements to visit three Balinese settlements in north, central and southeast Sulawesi. It was my intention to visit each of these areas and then choose one as the site for my fieldwork -- an anthropological study of selection and adaptation among resettled Balinese. I had chosen to work among Balinese as I had done previous research in Bali and knew that traditional Balinese culture and society was well documented in the literature. I also speculated that the integration and homogeneity of traditional Balinese culture would make areas of change somehow more visible. I had chosen Sulawesi for its shape.

After securing the appropriate papers and doing preliminary work in Bali, I flew to Menado, capital of north Sulawesi. From Menado it was twenty bumpy hours due west to Dumoga, a resettlement area for 680 Balinese families displaced by the eruption of the Gunung Agung in 1963. The two villages of Werthi Agung and Kembang Mertha were my first introduction to transmigrant settlements and I remember my astonishment that they were inhabited by Balinese. The most disorienting quality of the villages was a feeling of vast, uninterrupted space. In Bali, courtyards

are secluded behind high walls and lush vegetation; very little of Balinese life can be seen from the narrow lanes which thread their way between the compounds. Paths, pigs, ducks, canals, foliage, shrines, and household structures all compete for the limited space that characterizes the nucleated Balinese village.

In Dumoga, the setting was disconcertingly different. Simple migrant houses lined the broad, straight streets at fifty-meter intervals. In place of the protective walls were delicate and wholly unfunctional fences. Except for an occasional fire-scarred trunk, houseyards were devoid of trees, making it possible to see for long distances along the ground. Whereas in Bali the landscape reached out and enclosed you, in Dumoga it seemed to sit back and wait.

Dumoga, however, was not without its own particular beauty. The villages were located in a valley surrounded by low mountains which seemed perpetually engulfed in a bluish haze, a haze, no doubt, caused by the smoke from fires set to burn off the last of the fields before the monsoon set in. There was a strong and continuous wind which carried the sound of tingklets (bamboo xylophones). The weather was wonderfully cool, and the people receptive to my research proposal.

Yet the villages had been beset by problems which had retarded their growth both economically and numerically. Six years had passed before water was found for sawah (wet ricefields), and although 580 hectares were said to be irrigated in 1972, further expansion depended upon the completion of a government irrigation project to tap the waters of the Dumoga River. In other words, the Balinese of Dumoga had been dependent

on the government for their selection, their resettlement and their economic development. Surrounded by indigenous immigrants, they could neither expand nor support spontaneous in-migration. Thus, while it was clear that Dumoga would provide an excellent arena for the study of strategies for coping and adapting, it was also apparent that it would reveal little about the origin and momentum of migration itself. Fearing that I too might be caught by the monsoons, I stayed only a week and returned to Menado.

In early November I flew from Menado to Palu. Getting to the migrants, however, proved rather more challenging. No stranger to Indonesian roads, nothing had prepared me for the sixteen jarring hours that it took to travel the ninety kilometers (sixty miles) from Palu to Parigi. Only jeeps were up to the effort, and even those frequently failed to negotiate the ruts and the landslides. Then, after the arduous journey from Palu, in Parigi one is confronted with the choice of walking twenty-five kilometers to Torue (six hours), or waiting a day or two for a Buginese outrigger which can cover the distance in something between two hours and two days, depending on the wind. I couldn't bear to wait, so the day after my arrival in Parigi, I set out for Tolai on foot.

The walk proved to be more than an orientation in space; it was a trip through time as well. On the outskirts of Parigi, my hiking companions (various friends, officials, and guides, sent along for my first trip) and I, passed through Kampung Bali, named for the Balinese exiles who had settled there sixty-five years before. In Kampung Bali the descendents of the original exiles cultivated broad expanses of <u>sawah</u>

and engaged in a half-dozen businesses. Indication of their success was manifest in several two story concrete houses, well-appointed temples, and a scattering of Hondas and Suzukis. These Balinese, I was told, continued to observe Hindu ritual, married endogamously, and spoke Balinese.

Twelve kilometers to the south we passed through the thriving villages of Massari and Sumbersari where Balinese Christians had first settled fifteen years before. In these villages substantial houses built of hewn lumber sat in dense thickets of coconut and papaya. The ricefields were broad and regular. The uneven road was plied by ox-carts carrying rice to the market and goods from Parigi. We paused in Sumbersari to rest.

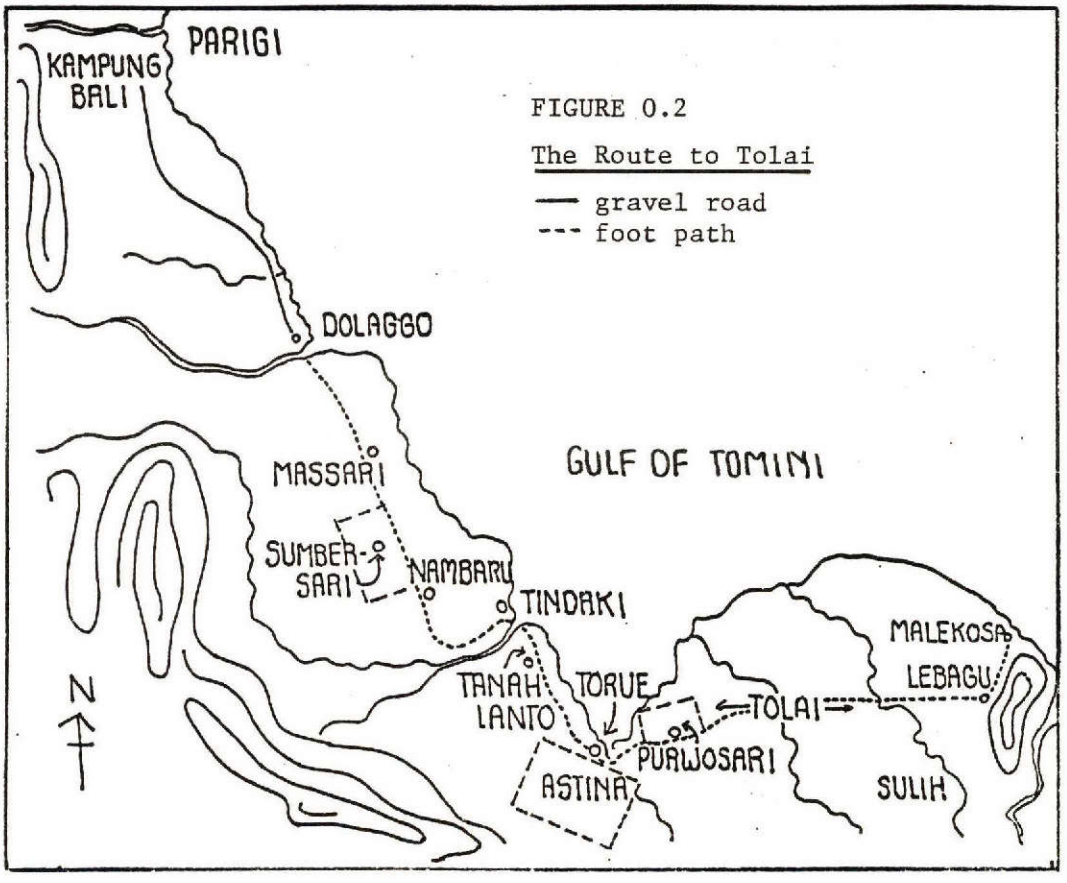


FIGURE 0.2

The Route to Tolai

— gravel road

--- foot path

That afternoon we set out for Tolai. Shortly after Sumbersari the road took a drastic change for the worse. Stones, boulders, mud, ruts, gullies and mini-lakes -- the unintentional consequences of unregulated irrigation -- made the road all but impassable. Not that there was much traffic. Most of the settlers between Sumbersari and Torue appeared to have arrived in the last year or so, and had yet to obtain surpluses for sale, or money for goods. In place of plank houses in fenced yards, there were thatch and bark houses which occupied narrow clearings between the road and dense woods. Everywhere, however, there were signs of Balinese industry -- felled trees, the tangle of new irrigation channels, and irregular patches of sawah. Most surprising were the warungs, the ubiquitous coffee shops, now placed strategically along the road to turn surplus manioc into a few extra pennies and some pleasant conversation, both provided by the longer and more knowledgeable immigrants into the area.

At Torue the road passed the government sponsored settlement, Astina, where two-hundred Balinese families had settled five years before. Astina was the first and last of the migrant communities to have the vast open appearance which had struck me so strongly in Dumoga. It was too old to have areas of forest left, and too new to have cultivated trees. Immediately after Astina was the smaller and less fortunate community of Purwosari, a government settlement of one hundred families of Javanese. Just two kilometers from Torue we crossed a well-made footbridge, the first of our journey. The footbridge it seemed, marked our entrance to Tolai.

Tolai, it turned out, was something of an administrative anomaly

A village some twelve kilometers long, and perhaps half as wide, it consisted when I arrived of some 1,450 families, almost all of them Balinese. With an estimated population of 5,000 people, it was the largest town in the district outside Parigi (population 8,000). With the daily arrival of migrants, the rapid growth and differentiation of the community, the constant innovation, and the spirit of optimism which pervaded the place, I never had reason to leave. I could imagine no better site for the study I proposed.

Soon after I arrived, I was invited to live in the office of the head of the village, M. R. Tumakaka. His wife cooked for me, his family became my family, and his sponsorship more or less assured that I could wander about as I wished. Thus my setting was not particularly different that that of the people around me. My house was made of thatch and planks, I bathed in the same river, and planted my sawah along with the Balinese. My distinquishing possessions were a pressure lamp and a typewriter. This was to be home for the next year and one-half.

Although I originally planned to study adaptation and change among a small number of Balinese, I rapidly modified my plan to include an additional study of the entire history of the Balinese movement to the area. Because the community was bounded both spatially and temporally (in-migration was halted in 1972), I felt I had a unique opportunity to get the details of an entire migration movement. It seemed possible to discover who came, why they came, how they knew about the area, and what they did upon arrival; and this, I hoped, would facilitate an understanding not only of the Balinese, but of the processes of migration as well.

To obtain the necessary data, I visited almost every one of the sixty or so banjars (Balinese neighborhoods) in Parigi. In each new settlement I inquired about the relationship of the individuals, their contacts in Sulawesi, the history of their movement, reasons for leaving, conditions of the move, and activities upon arrival. Later, I began to more systematically investigate agriculture, irrigation, adat (customary law), religion, and the like. Generally I travelled alone from area to area, and I must take full responsibility for whatever misunderstandings have crept into this dissertation based on my original innocence of the language and culture of the Balinese. In time, my constant perambulations built up a network of friends and informants with whom I could stay and talk throughout the migrant area.

In early 1973 I began a systematic census of the migrant area, followed by a detailed questionnaire administered to 1,000 migrants. In this effort I was assisted by a number of school teachers in the various villages, and also by two assistants, I. Made Mudana, and I. Gusti Ngurah, who together administered about one-half the questionnaires and coded and compiled all the results. In early 1974 the three of us returned to Bali and gave the same questionnaire to 500 Balinese from sending areas for migrants in Sulawesi. This dissertation is a report on both the historical and survey materials which I gathered and it illustrates, among other things, the need for one approach to be complemented by the other.

Before finally turning to theoretical issues, I feel obliged to issue a caveat or two. First, I have told this extended story of my "search procedures" in order to make it clear that Parigi is not typical

of all migrant areas, not even areas of resettled Balinese. Moreover, I was not assigned this particular movement to study, I chose it; and therefore, not surprisingly, it tended to confirm my prejudices. I chose to investigate the Balinese movement to Parigi because it was growing and thriving, and doing so almost entirely without government support. I also knew that the migrants were moving into a depopulated area in which they could shape their own futures without having to conform to the demands of an overpowering host society. The fact that the movement was self-initiated, and adjustment self-directed was of particular interest to me, but these features cannot be said to be representative of all, or perhaps even most pioneer settlements within Indonesia.

Thus, although I will argue in the end that the movement of Balinese can be considered illustrative of a range of important principles, I wish to pause to emphasize the fact that the movement is atypical; atypical because it was Balinese, because it was spontaneous, and because it was unusually successful. I urge that this be kept in mind when other cases of transmigration are considered.

The next chapter is an introduction to the study of migration and it suggests something of the viewpoint upon which this work is based. Chapters two and three provide the background materials assumed by the study itself. For those minimally interested in Indonesia, and transmigration, in particular, these chapters might well be skipped. Subsequent chapters document the social history of the Balinese movement to Central Sulawesi.

This is the story of men and women I came to greatly admire and respect. It is also an on-going history which may some day be of value to the Balinese and Sulawesi peoples themselves. For these reasons the study retains the true names of the people and places involved, both as a tribute to their courage, and to their place in history. In one or two isolated cases I have slightly altered facts which might have embarassed my informants, and occasionally I have deleted information which would have supported my theoretical position but been prejudicial to the individuals involved. I hope that the Balinese in Parigi approve of this treatment of the material, for this is their story and they have reason to be proud of it.

CHAPTER ONE

MIGRATION

> Migration is not, however, to be identified with mere movement. It involves, at the very least, change of residence and the breaking of home ties. The movement of gypsies and other pariah peoples because they bring about no important changes in cultural life are to be regarded rather as a geographic fact, than a social phenomenon. (Robert Park, 1928, 886-887, my underlining).

What makes migration interesting to the anthropologist is the fact that spatial mobility often moves individuals from one cultural context to another. But migration alters more than the cultural milieu of the migrant, it changes the sending and receiving communities as well. This is significant, for without a comprehension of the systematic changes which migration produces, subjects such as selection and adaptation prove nearly impossible to understand.

This dissertation is about process in migration. It proposes that migration movements progress through predictable stages, and it suggests that the recognition of such stages is a prerequisite to the understanding of both migration as a system and the selection and adaptation of migrants over time. On one hand, it argues that the facts of the Balinese migration to Central Sulawesi are best understood within a theoretical perspective which emphasizes the interaction between social events and their cultural significance, a dialectic which necssarily evolves over time. On the other hand, the facts themselves are used to support the general proposition that migration movements progress through a series of analytically separable stages. More

particularly, the study of the Balinese migration to Central Sulawesi is used to illustrate the three corollaries of this proposition, namely that:

1) selectivity necessarily varies with the stage of the movement;

2) initial migrants exert an influence disproportionate to their numbers; and

3) mode of adaptation varies by number and density of emigrants in the new area, a factor which itself changes over time.

The paper suggests, in conclusion, that all of these points tend to be obscured by the a-historical methods, survey techniques and aggregate statistics generally employed in migration studies. What makes this analysis possible, not to mention anthropological, however, is the fact that it rests on the concept of culture.

Culture

Ever since Boas recognized that human beings share sets of understandings which are integrated, patterned, partly unconscious, and passed on from one generation to the next, culture has been a recurring theme in anthropology. The concept itself has been refined and re-defined, but among cognitively oriented American anthropologists the fact that it is a learned, shared, and largely symbolic system, which provides the basis for the interpretation of objects and events, is largely undisputed. What is disputed, is whether this aesthetically agreeable concept has any utility in the discipline (cf Barth 1966, Geertz 1973).

Rather than reiterate the general controversy, let me move directly to the specific subject and ask whether the concept of culture has anything at all to contribute to the study of migration. In this work, I

define migration as movement which involves physically leaving one socio-cultural system and joining another -- a subject to be discussed in a subsequent section. The point to be made here is that psychologically and socially most people on either end of a migration stream have their toes in two cultural pools. When migrants remain in touch with old communities and kin, the experience of one group feeds into the culture of the other, providing information by which both movers and stayers judge their everyday experience and decide what it means.

This meaning is not delivered full-blown. It is, to borrow a phrase, transacted[1]. That is, meaning is negotiated -- among individuals, in the community of migrants, in the community of non-migrants, and in the interactions between the two. The experience and implications of migration are discussed, evaluated and interpreted. Low order facts with their qualifications and idiosyncracies are woven into higher order abstractions; these abstractions, in turn, are simplified, stereotyped, and in the end rendered mere symbols of the processes they are intended to subsume.

Minimally, it is to be expected that in the first stages of migration little is known about the experience of others in a new areas and very few people will consider moving. Later when stories of emigrants are woven into the fabric of the culture, more people will weigh the opportunities, and more people will move. Because many would-be

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[1] I have borrowed Barth's word (1966), but insist that transactions of status are only a part of the larger process of transacting meaning.

migrants in a single migration movement dip into a common cultural pool, it is not surprising that either none move, or many do. Single home communities are decimated long before others are touched -- not because of the presence of receiving networks, though these are important -- but because a consensus has been reached about the meaning of migration itself. To the extent that the movers are successful they broaden the flow of positive information to home, and, hence, continue to enlarge the migrant stream.

But all of this is logical; like other paradigms of seminal significance it has become a part of our general worldview. So the question remains, of what utility is the concept of culture in defining the direction of further investigation? To address this problem, however, we must ask not what we can explain, but what we can't. Then the question becomes: what holes in our understanding does a model based on culture expose? There are many, but if we focus on selectivity, which is the subject of this dissertation, three stand out:

1) Why, in lieu of the kind of cultural consensus we have discussed, do the first people move?

2) Why, given a transacted, hence largely common culture, do some individuals migrate while others stay at home?

3) Do differential pressures produce migration as the migration stream grows?

The second question has been debated endlessly, while the others have been all but ignored: and what I hope to show in the ensuing section is that the second question cannot be answered until we have addressed the other two.

Background

One of the greatest frustrations in developing an anthropological approach to migration is the discovery that we have let the geographers and demographers define our terms and design our models.[1] As early as 1885, for example, Ravenstein, a geographer, classified migrants into four types: local, short journey, long journey, and temporary. His criteria, distance and duration, are still used, even though the advent of modern communication and means of travel has rendered their absolute properties all but meaningless.

Kant (1962), claimed that such typologies were neither complete, nor sufficiently grounded in principle; but his classic typology is based on similar dimensions:

1. Temporal Criteria
   a. Temporary
   b. Periodic
   c. Permanent

2. Spatial [locational] Criteria
   a. Cross-boundary Migration
      1) Inter-continental
      2) Continental
   b. Intra-local or Regional
      1) Intra-urban
      2) Intra-rural
   c. Inter-local or Regional
      1) Rural-Urban
      2) Urban-urban
      3) Rural-rural

(Kant, 1962: 352, cf. Hagerstrand, 1959)

Like Ravenstein, Kant focuses on properties which are all but irrelevant to the cause and outcome of migration. His typology, like Ravenstein's, leads us to such questions as whether nomads and

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[1] For recent studies of spatial mobility using models from geography see Heenan, 1968, Internal Migration in the south Island (New Zealand); Hirst, 1971, A Migration Survey in Bukoba Town, Tanzania; Simpson, 1973, Internal Migration in Trinidad and Tobago; Bedford, 1973, New Hebridean Mobility: A Study of Circular Migration.

commuters are migrants, rather than what factors affect the behavior of the two. Both typologies cause us to focus on the differences between types of migration rather than the similarities behind them all.

Fried, among others, has gone to some pains to point out that the process of migration -

> ...varies relatively little whether it involves internal migration from rural to urban areas, or, as in the great European migration of the nineteenth century, emigration from the rural areas of one country to the urban areas of another.(25).

Similarly, the processes of selection, movement, and adaptation vary little from one type of migration to the next, but they vary greatly depending on when, in the course of migration, an individual moves. As the culture of both the home and host societies changes, the processes of selection and adaptation are also altered. For this reason it is imperative that both our definitions and typologies include the concept of culture.

Toward a Definition

It is almost fifty years since Robert Park pointed out that migration was more than mere mobility. As noted in the opening quotation, Park felt that the key feature of migration was the change in "cultural life". Migration which does not produce such change, is not to be regarded as social phenomenon, he says, but "rather as a geographical fact..." (886-887). Census-takers and demographers may be interested in physical relocation, per se, but anthropologists are interested in something different.

To be of anthropological interest migration must involve not only change in location but also a change in one's cultural milieu. Therefore if physical relocation does not entail change in cultural context, as among nomads and pastoralists; or if it does so so briefly that we can agree that the change is an integral part of a single system, as among commuters; we are justified in claiming that for our purposes, such movement will not be considered migration.

In this dissertation I define change in location without change in cultural context as "spatial mobility"; I will call change in cultural context without change in location "social mobility" where it applies to individuals, and "social change" when it applies to an entire collectivity of people[3]; and only the conjunction of change in location and change in culture can be considered migration. In its ideal form this distinction may be diagrammed as follows:

FIGURE 1.1

MIGRATION DEFINED

New Location?

	New Cultural Context? −	New Cultural Context? +
−	Non-Movers	Social Mob. / Soc Change
+	Nomads Pastoralists ?Hippies	Migrants

All would be well could we contain reality in these categories. It is obvious, however, that individuals moving through space change

[3] I am aware of the shift from cultural to social, but find the implications of these two concepts appropriate and somewhat less contrived than "cultural mobility" and "culture change".

their social and cultural contexts to a greater and lesser degree. Nomads may move and keep the better part of their social networks intact, thus insulating them from the necessity of significantly revising a given system of meanings. Or they may come into contact with other groups in such a way that significant change in their world-view occurs. Under these conditions, do nomads become migrants?

And what about Buginese sailors, Australian aborigines on the walkabout, colonial administrators in West Africa, and hippies in India who in spite of the distance or duration of their movement seem to have developed a conviction that the world is patterned and predictable, who do not learn the symbolic systems of the people they pass among, and who appear to change very little in the face of jarringly discrepant culture systems? Shall we regard them as non-migrants?

I have no interest in changing our common sense vocabulary. I only wish to point out that our inability to specify the degree of contextual change can no longer be ignored. There may have been a time when greater distance implied greater change in context, or when longer duration or more frequent visits meant more exposure to the differences which existed, but this can no longer be assumed. What we need now is a model which specifies not the objective attributes of migration, but the subjective ones, i.e. a model which trades the perspective of the geographer for that of the anthropologist.

Toward a Typology of Migrants

Generally, specifying the degree of socio-cultural change is difficult, if not impossible. But in the context of migration this is not so true. Here we can reason, a priori, that the first

migrants move into a context which is the most novel, while later migrants (everything else being equal) will find the receiving area increasingly familiar and predictable. Not only will they be surrounded by like-minded folk, but they will find that much of the significance of new acts and events has already been transacted.

The diagram below establishes a preliminary typology for migrants which is based on two dimensions, both subjectively interpreted by the would-be mover. These are pressure to move, and the degree of socio-cultural change entailed in so doing. As the model indicates, the greater the presumed change, the greater the pressure which is necessary to make people move.

FIGURE 1.2 - KINDS OF MIGRANTS

DEGREE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE	PRESSURE TO MOVE			
	EXTREME	VERY STRONG	STRONG	MODERATE
TOTAL	Exiles Slaves Forced Labor Military			
GREAT		Refugees Outcasts Deviants Impoverished		
MODERATE			The poor Dissatisfied Ambitious	
WEAK				The curious Entrepreneur Upwardly Mobile

In this table the so-called "pushes" and "pulls" are viewed as necessary complements to one another, collapsed into one dimension and called for want of a better label, "pressures to move". In other words, as the attractiveness of the receiving area increases and/or the desirability of remaining in the home area declines, one moves from low to high on "pressures to move".

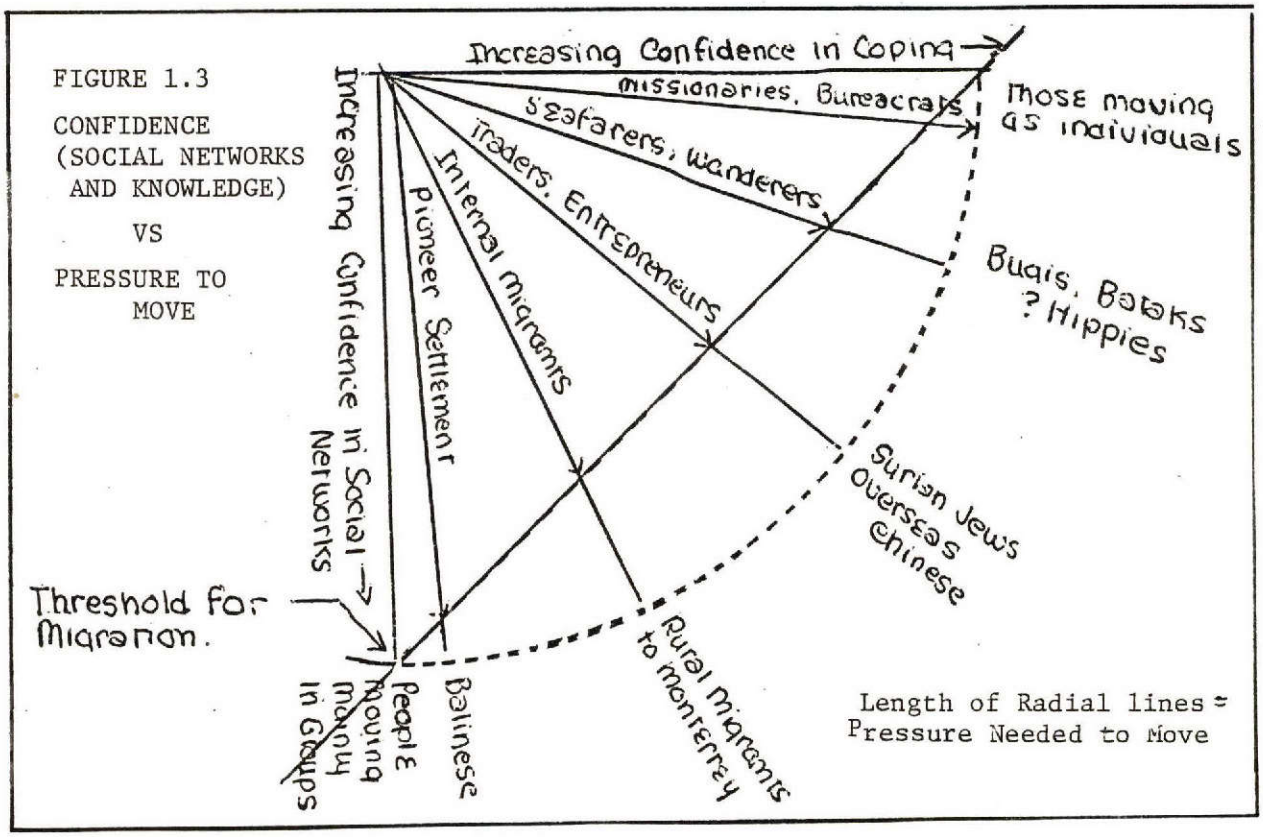
It does not seem to me that the model in any way profits from an analytical distinction between "push" and "pull" since for most purposes one necessarily implies the other; i.e. the desire to get work in the city is the reciprocal of the lack of work in the country; voluntary movement to escape persecution presumes both a push from the homeland, and an expectation of something better, a "pull" somewhere else. Fried makes this point succinctly, commenting that,

> ... a model which views "pushes" and "pulls" as an opposition between two distinct and competing forces ... or a procedure which uses only data from an ... area of origin ... or destination, is inadequate for clarifying the complex interacting system of forces. (1969, 32).

The second dimension is not an objectively measureable one, but is rather an evaluation on the part of the migrant-to-be of the difficulty entailed in adapting to a new cultural context after his move. Anticipated difficulties are reduced if either of two main elements is present; the first is confidence in coping strategies regardless of the situation -- a psychological factor; the second is the accessibility of friends or relatives who have already moved -- a social factor. The probability of moving is further increased by a combination of the two.

Figure1.3, below, suggests the overlap of these two dimensions and the way in which different kinds of migrants may use one or the other or both. Obviously people, either as individuals or as members of a specific society, may be able to tap a general confidence in personal or cultural strategies, or they may make use of pre-existing social networks in the new place.

The degree to which individuals depend on one or the other, however, is largely culturally determined. The Balinese, for example, have little confidence in their ability to manage in unknown areas, and they move almost exclusively through established social channels. But in either case, as confidence in strategies or networks increases, more people are more likely to move. Where both exist, the threshold for migration should be lower than where the migrants rely on only one of the two.



The distinction between coping strategies and social networks is critical for what will ultimately be the temporal dimensions of this model. Obviously for the first people to a new area, there are, by definition, no preceeding social networks. So these people must either have been under severe pressure to move, or had considerable confidence in their coping strategies. Sucessive migrants can be less confident in their coping abilities and more certain of social networks in the receiving area. Under any circumstances, as a culture of information, examples, and predictability is built up, it takes less and less pressure to make people move.

Stages of Migration

What is most interesting about the model for the typologies proposed is that the matrix of two dimensions not only describes different types of migrants, but in so doing, identifies the stages of migration as well. Conscious that the matrices were based on continua and not a series of discrete types, and with the Balinese movement mainly in mind, I initially labelled the kinds of migrants, and, hence, the stages of migration as the exiles (IA), the outcasts (IB), the pioneers (II), and mass migrants (III). Later, in reconsidering Peterson's 1958 article, A General Typology of Migration, I decided to relabel the stages (what Peterson calls types) in order to build on his work. Therefore, in successive chapters the stages will be called: force (IA), impelled (IB), pioneer (II)[4], and mass migration (III). Peterson's first stage, "primitive migration", is the same as nomadism, and hence, will not be considered in this work.

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[4]Peterson actually calls the third stage, "free migration", an unnecessarily confusing term since he refers to its participants as pioneers.

FIGURE 1.4 - THE STAGES OF MIGRATION

DEGREE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE	PRESSURE TO MOVE			
	EXTREME	VERY STRONG	STRONG	MODERATE
TOTAL	Stage IA FORCED			
GREAT	↓	Stage IB IMPELLED		
MODERATE	↓	↓	Stage II PIONEER	
WEAK	↓	↓	↓	Stage III MASS MIGRATION

Stage I - The Forced and Impelled

If we focus on selection, the differences in the stages of migration and types of migrants can be simply suggested. In the optional and extreme first stage, migrants arrive in a situation which is almost totally unfamiliar. They have neither prior knowledge of the area, nor mediating kin to guide them. The skill and understanding needed to cope with the environment must be learned virtually anew.

Geertz has commented that what prevents us "... from grasping what people are up to, is ... the lack of familiarity with the imaginative universe within which acts are signs ..." (1973, 13). What prevents people from moving, in the face of pressure to do so, is the understanding

that one may be unable to interpret acts and events appropriately. Under such circumstances, I hypothesize that it will take inordinate pressure to make people move. Where nothing is known of the new area, people will wind up there only by force or accident. Slaves, forced laborers, exiles, those displaced by war and natural disasters, and those who have no control over their posting like criminals and military men are all examples of people who may find themselves in a new place with no prior knowledge of it.

In a slightly less extreme case, the pressure to leave may be so great that the fact that the environment is largely unknown will be of secondary importance to the mover. Alternately, migrants may have previous experience which convinces them that they can cope with the new and unfamiliar. In this group are those subject to great presure, but not physical force. So it can be said in some sense that these people have chosen to move. Among them are the outcasts, deviants, political and religious refugees and perhaps even colonial bureaucrats and early entrepreneurs.

Because overriding pressure to leave is characteristic of both the first two types of migrants, they are grouped into a single class. At the same time, however, it is important to distinguish between the two. Peterson recognized this fact, commenting that

> ... it is useful to divide this class [1] into impelled migration when the migrants retain some power to decide whether or not to leave, and forced migration when they do not (261).

Following Peterson, stage IA is called "forced"; stage IB, "impelled".

Stage II - The Pioneers

The stage II migrant is distinguished by the fact that he has

predecessors, sponsorship, or knowledge of the area which has convinced him it is manageable and predictable. By definition, however, he moves into a context in which neither his people nor his way of life predominate. For this reason, the number willing to move is small. Again, Peterson makes a similar observation, noting that

> Free [pioneer] migration is always rather small, for individuals strongly motivated to seek novelty or improvement are not commonplace. The most significant attributes of pioneers, as in other areas of life, is that they blaze trails that others follow, and sometimes the numbers who do grow into a vast stream (ibid, 263).

Small numbers and new contexts identify pioneers.

Many migration movements, in fact, begin with pioneers. Ifugao expand into territory which is ecologically similar, but culturally unfamiliar; Ladinos move to Monterrey where they have visited, but know no one; Javanese farmers are resettled with government support. In cases where exiles or refugees arrived first, constant communication and deliberate recruitment on the part of the early emigrants informs the stayers of the new circumstances, shows them what can be done by people like themselves, and promises them a somewhat familiar setting when they arrive. The promises of government labor recruiters or prospective employers may make the potential migrant feel sufficiently insulated from a hostile environment to induce him to move with less pressure than would be expected were he to make the move entirely on his own.

Pioneers may be distinguished from mass migrants on the basis of the real and perceived difficulties they face in the receiving area. Not only is the pioneer nearly alone in a new environment and a new

cultural context, but it is often an artifact of pioneer migration that either the distance, the money, or the risks make it improbable that the migrant will return, another reason so few have gone before. Alternately, the pressure to make pioneers move in the first place may well have been so great that they do not and would not choose to return (cf Lee, 294). In either case, among pioneer migrants the efficiency of the migration stream (the number leaving compared to the number who return) is high.

Stage III - Mass Migration

It is on the backs of the pioneers that chain migration is built, and it is for this reason that early immigrants exert an influence over the later community which far exceeds their numbers. Chain migration along pre-existing social networks facilitates the movement of the less experienced and less motivated. Rather than a challenging and potentially hostile environment, the mass migrant finds one he knows.

> One of the myths about migrants that persists even with mounting evidence to the contrary is that migrants experience social and psychological deprivation because they must exchange the well integrated interpersonal networks of village and small town environments for the impersonality and lack of kin and friendship ties that characterize the big city. Just why it is assumed that migrants enter an interpersonal void ... is hard to explain. (Browning, 297).

Seven-ninths of Ghanaians claim to know what city life is like before they move (Caldwell, 80); 84% of migrants to Monterrey, Mexico, had relatives or friends there (Browning, 297); 75% of migrants to Jamshedpur, India, moved to be with relatives or friends (ibid), and 100% of all West Indian women (and nearly all the men) moving to Great Britain knew the exact address to which they were headed (Davison, 23).

In addition to increasing social networks, mass migration introduces a new cultural element, the acceptability of migration. In the middle stages of mass migration the two ends of the migration stream are so intermeshed that in the widest sense the cultures are almost fused. Sundborg's study of Swedish-born school children at the turn of the century showed that they knew more about Minnesota than they knew about Stockholm (in Thomas, 28). And Lindberg reports that Swedes weighed migration carefully, but when they finally arrived at a decision, "they merely followed a tradition which made migration the natural thing ..." (55-57).

Another factor which increases the volume of migration is the act of migration itself. As Lee comments;

> A person who has once migrated and broken the bonds which tie him to the place in which he spent his childhood is much more likely to migrate again than is the person who never migrated. Furthermore, succeeding migration lowers inertia even more (291).

As we shall see in subsequent sections, the mobile and more experienced are not only likely to move more often, but to move further and take greater risks.

Since there are many mass migrants they obviously move for multiple reasons and under differing degrees of pressure. Some may be forced out by social and economic circumstances, others may be adventurers and entrepreneurs. When they arrive in the new area they find proliferating opportunities, which, in turn, draw more people into the movement.

Because many mass migrants are under minimal pressure to move, and others have money or opportunities elsewhere, for the first time in

settlement-oriented migration a counterstream of migrants occurs. Lee comments that:

1) where origin and destination are similar, or

2) intervening obstacles are great,

3) where people were originally pressured out, or

4) where economic conditions remain better in the receiving area,

the efficiency of the migration stream (the number moving in, compared to those moving out) is high (294). Obviously under the opposite conditions the counterstream gains momentum.

Employment and economic opportunity are most frequently cited as the reasons for moving and the determinants of the volume and direction of migration (Bogue, Thomlinson, Browning). But stream and counter-stream depend on cultural elements as well. Throughout Africa urbanites express a preference for retaining their land and an intention to return to their villages (cf Mayer): overseas Chinese will go half-way around the world to return home (Watson, 1975) and Australian Italians are split; some assimilate, others wait to retire in Italy (Cronin, 1970). Ironically such countercurrents, far from having a deleterious effect, usually facilitate communication, and provide the avenues along which others may move.

Examples from the Literature

Detailed studies of early migrants are distressingly few and far between. In most cases early migrants have been long forgotten before the attention of social scientists is drawn to the movements they have created. In addition, where social scientist have been available to observe immigrant communities they have generally focussed on adjustment

rather than selection. E. H. Larson (1966), for example, lived with Tikopeans during their early years on Russell Island and was presumably in an excellent position to report on the reasons why they moved; yet he fails to do so in any systematic way. Probably this is due, in part, to the absence of an adequate conceptual framework for the study of selection, but it also calls attention to the fact that a two-community approach is necessary to do an adequate study of this sort, and few researchers seem to have the time or money to engage in such work. [5]

The pattern of early migration movements can occasionally be pieced together, but since the evidence is thin and scattered, the work is extremely laborous. For this reason I would like to confine myself to documenting only what I take to be the two most problematic of the assertions which follow from the model presented --- namely, that early migrants are frequently forced or impelled to move, and that mediation and/or experience are virtually ubiquitous among people making large-scale moves into unknown territory.

Exiles and Alienated - The Forced and Impelled

The deportation of undersirables (criminals, political prisoners, and the like) to places such as the Americas, Australia, and more recently Siberia, the massive exchanges of population between India and Pakistan and through European countries after World Wars I & II, are all well known; but many smaller movements of people have also resulted from the displacement of the original migrants by force.

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[5] For recent studies which look at both the sending and receiving communities see Cronin, 1970; Philpot, 1973; and Watson, 1975).

In a review of labor recruitment in the Pacific, for example, Deryek Scarr states that "there is no reason to dispute the established view that in the trade's early years many recruits were kidnapped" (5). Later, according to Scarr, voluntary laborers were attracted by the knowledge gained from those who went before. R. O. Bedford documents a similar pattern in the New Hebrides. According to Bedford, mobility in the pre-contact societies of the New Hebrides was severely constrained by differences in language and custom and by the universal fear of sorcery and strangers (15). Social groups were small and insular and their was little incentive to move. The Sandalwood trade from 1840 to 1860 was limited to only a few islands but "knowledge [of the trade] and the utility of goods diffused through the traditional trading networks to areas not affected by the sandlewood trade" (ibid, 21).

Nevertheless, knowledge alone was not sufficient to induce many people to sign up when recruiters arrived to find laborers for plantations in Australia and Fiji. Instead Bedford says, recruitment was based on deceit and force. In Aoba early migrants were kidnapped from their boats (ibid, 23). In other areas they were deceived into thinking they would go to nearby islands. When these laborers returned with wages, trade goods, and tales of relatively good treatment, others signed up to leave voluntarily. In the early years, however, binding contracts for specified periods were usually necessary to keep the workers on the plantations. Only in recent years has a culture arisen which accepts and fosters mobility. In 1969, Bedford found that 88% of New Hebridean adults had moved at least once (ibid, 89), and 76% had taken trips of more than twelve months (ibid, 79).

The development of mobility in New Guinea is nearly identical. Prior to the 1850's, recruitment amounted to slave trade (Curtain, 270). After that a system of "indenture" was enforced in which Papuans rarely knew what they were binding themselves to (ibid). According to Curtain;

> ...the key mechanism utilized to "mobilize" the New Guinea labor force was the head tax. This tax was specifically used to force the young adolescent and adult males into indentured labor contracts. (ibid)

These conditions persisted through the mid-nineteenth century in the highlands, and they left in their wake a population increasingly sophisticated and eager to engage in wage labor.

In South Africa abolition of tenant farming and the imposition of a head tax served to stimulate the movement of South African blacks from their homes to the mines and cities (Magubane, 240); Baldwin, in fact, claims that one and three-quarters million natives were forcibly relocated in South Africa to stimulate labor migration (in Magubane, 240), and this relocation is said to be the basis of labor mobility today (ibid).[6]

Mair (1969) in a review of native policies in Africa provides a litany of land alienation, taxes and forced labor throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In a comment which is a bit bemusing Mair remarks, "The decree of 1930 [in the French colonies] ... prohibits recourse to compulsion for the benefit of private enterprise. The only condition laid down as necessary to justify the recourse to compulsion is the absence of voluntary labor" (207).

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[6]For an excellent account of contemporary South Africa, see Philip Mayer (1961), Townsmen or Tribesmen.

Examples of labor recruitment in which force, duress, and impressment are followed by a system of indenture and then voluntary migration seem almost the rule. Among the earliest Indian immigrants to the West Indies for example, deception and force were so common, that a folk-belief in Trinidad holds that all early arrivals were tricked into servitude. Later migrants were indentured laborers sold or pressed into service for repayment of debts; only in the last stages of the movement was voluntarism required and practiced (cf Van den Berghe, Schwartz). By then the advantage of moving temporarily must have been quite clear, for between 1834 and 1937, thirty million Indians traveled under labor contracts, of whom some 24 million are estimated to have returned.

Mediated Migration - Social Support

Even where physical force was not used, the importance of employers in mediating change for first migrants cannot be overlooked. Sandhu states that the modern Indian migration to Malaya "was not so much a spontaneous flow, but more a regulated and arranged movement, induced to a considerable extent by governmental action and the persuasions of prospective employers...(31-32).

Burnley indicates how little the role of initiators is understood when he remarks:

> Paradoxically, the influx of Italians [to New Zealand] did not result from chain migration [how could it?] but was a response to the call by the Vogel administration of the 1870's for workers from continental Europe to supplement the assisted migrants from Great Britain in public works, forest clearing, and settlement (144-5).

In the case reported by Burnley, early migrants from two different towns in Italy led to entirely seperate streams of migration to two different areas of New Zealand (ibid). Parenthetically, Lee also notes that most of the Italians who came to the U.S. were from Sicily and southern Italy, while those from Lombardy and Tuscany tended to go to South America -- attesting again to the importance of chains once established in migration (293).

In a study of migrants in Norristown, Pennsylvania, Goldstein found a disproportionate number of Negroes from Saluda, South Carolina. Apparently a few men had been recruited during World War I to work for the Pennsylvania railroad, and from their small number a steady chain grew, which resulted in a large number of blacks from this one small sending area in South Carolina. Similarly West Indian migration to Great Britain began after West Indians were initially recruited to work in arms factories during World War II (Davison, 22).

Government and helping agencies also have intervening roles. Pioneer settlement, for example, is often initiated by government support. In speaking of the resettlement of Tikopians on Russell Island we are told;

> It is notable that the sources of suggestions to colonize did not spring from the indigenous population itself. Instead they stemmed from missionaries, managers of a large plantation operation, government personnel and an anthropologist (Larson, 1).

Later the community becomes large enough to attract people on its own (more detailed examples are available in chapter two).

Although it seems self-evident, I feel I must note in passing

that while many situations of recruitment and government mediation give rise to the spontaneous movement of additional individuals, not all of them do. Without force or mediation the effort may not be worth the reward. Alternately, as opportunities decrease, migration, too, declines. In his Ghanaian studies Caldwell focused on distance itself, noting that it reduced the messages home (prevented diffusion of knowledge about the new area), made transport more difficult, and reduced the liklihood of returning home (57-58). For this reason, movement over large distances, like movement into drastically different environments, is most likely when social networks are already established or when migrants are impelled or experienced. Significantly many of the most radical moves with which we are familiar were made by people who were both impelled and experienced. As an outstanding example, the early immigrants to the Americas may be cited here.

Mediated Migration: The Interaction of Experience and Force

The story of the pilgrims is, of course, a classic tale of this type. In early seventeenth century many congregations dissenting from the church of England were forced to modify their beliefs or leave. Presumably they could have departed directly for distant places but they didn't. At first they went to the nearest area with religious freedom -- Amsterdam. After ten years in Holland a smaller number of these original migrants, armed with experience, dissatisfied with the Dutch, and cramped by dissention within the community, set forth for the new world. In 1620 they founded their colony at Plymouth. I mention this story not because it is the bicentennial, but because it strikes me as highly significant that these innovators had had previous

experience with migration. And their example does not stand alone.

The second group of refugees, the Huguenots, also had prior experience with moving. As Norwood points out "...most of the French Huguenot migrants to America were already refugees. They had fled to Holland or England and subsequently to the New World" (207). The first group of 30 families settled in New Netherlands in 1621; they were followed by 140 families from England in 1622 (ibid, 207-8). Only after 1680 was there a steady stream of Huguenots directly from France.

The Menonite migration beginning in the late 1600's was similar. The first of these Swiss Protestants to move to the new world were from communities which had already resettled on the lower Rhine (ibid, 219). Not until the nineteenth century were there Menonite migrants from Switzerland itself. A persual of Norwood's book Exiles and Refugees indicates few exceptions to this pattern; and even in internal migration those moving to the frontier are generally those who have moved before.

I have taken pains to emphasize the ubiquity of prior experience because one of the most significant findings in my own work was that most of the earliest migrants to Central Sulawesi were Christians who had migrated before. Not until a sizeable community of these experienced Balinese had grown up in Parigi were the inexperienced folk sufficiently reassured and confident to move.

The Interaction of Forces - San Tin

One of the few case studies which shows in some detail the inter-

action between impressment, experience, and innovative, independent mobility is Watson's study of the emigrant Chinese village of San Tin. San Tin, a small port in the new territories of Hong Kong has 90% of all able bodied men now employed in restaurants in Europe. As one might expect such long distance migration had mediating steps.

In the last years of the last century San Tin, as a small port, was subject to the frequent predations of recruiters seeing men who would do menial work on ships. As the result of recruiting and impressment one-third of San Tin households had a male member who had worked at sea (60). With few exceptions these men were from families of landless poor (ibid).

Based on the biographies cited, one concludes that originally shipboard life so so intolerable some men were forced to jump ship and find temporary work ashore. When these men had some success in small chop suey restaurants a pattern was initiated in which young men would sign aboard, specifically to jump ship in a certain port. As these men prospered more wealthy individuals emigrated -- by buying their passage -- and established larger and more successful restaurants, particuarly in England. Through them many dependents were brought to Europe to serve as waitresses and cooks. This emigration stream became so successful that it resulted in the near depopulation of the able bodied in San Tin, although until recently it has been the aspiration of most individuals to return to San Tin and retire.

Watson lists the stages of migration as those brought about by:

1) economic distress - [high pressure, little knowledge]

2) pursuit of economic opportunity - [medium pressure, medium knowledge

3) and mass migration - [medium pressure, thorough knowledge] (ibid, 70). The first migrants moved to Britain by accident, the next were under strong pressure to move, third came the entrepreneurs and innovators, and finally the mass migrants moving into a full-blown system of social and economic support. The accidental aspects of this movement: San Tin's location, idiosyncratic factors causing the first men to jump ship and the subsequent migration, are all emphasized when Watson compares San Tin with surrounding villages; "each village", he claims, "was influenced by a unique combination of factors", each resulting in a unique outcome (ibid, 76). As we have noted before and will see again in the Balinese example, accidental factors at early stages have significant implications for later migration.

Issues from the Migration Literature

In this last section I wish to ask whether the concept of stage migration contributes anything to the existing literature on migration. Using Browning's excellent review of migrant selectivity as a baseline, this section will briefly consider three problem areas -- step migration, selectivity and adaptation. I suggest that each is illuminated by the idea of stages in the migration process and the notion that process, selection, and adaptation will necessarily vary over time.

Step Migration[7]

The existence of step migration is frequently contested in the literature. As proposed by Ravenstein in 1885, this "law" states that people move out of large towns and into cities as opportunities arise. This, in turn, leaves a vacuum in the towns into which migrants from smaller towns are drawn and so on down the line (II, 198-99). Stauffer (1940) expanded on this idea with the hypothesis that the distance moved was inversely related to the number of intervening opportunities (845).

As reformulated by Taeuber (1968), the proposition of stage or step migration has come to mean that individuals progress from towns to cities "not by direct moves, but by a series of less drastic moves..." (22). As Browning comments:

> This formulation carries a significant implication. It suggests that stage migration is an important social mechanism making the urbanization process more tolerable, for it means that migrants are not required to change their environment radically (279, underlining mine).

Admittedly the evidence for step migration is contradictory. Ravenstein and Taeuber have found evidence for it while Caldwell and most other recent writers have found support largely wanting. Browning himself concluded that the step migration hypothesis was not confirmed by his Monterrey data (279) even though 42% of migrants had partial conformity to the model -- in this case defined as movement to successively larger places.

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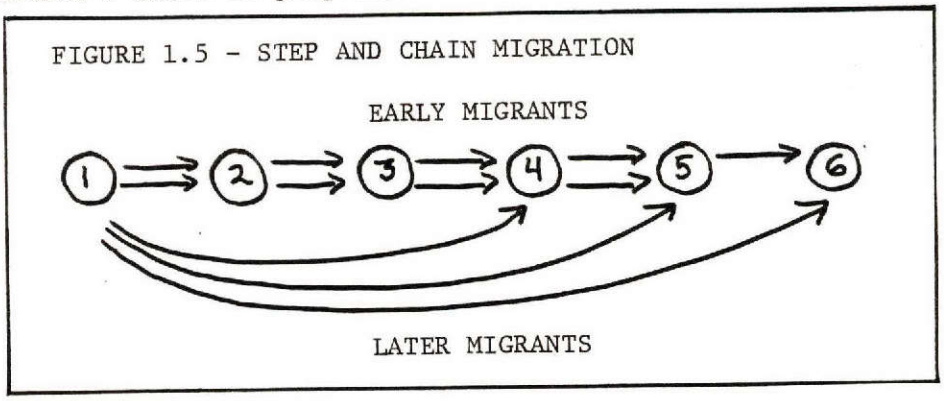
[7] I will use "step migration" rather than the equally common "stage migration" to avoid confusion with the diachronic stages I have proposed.

Once again the lack of a diachronic perspective distorts the issue. I suggest that Browning was right when he claimed that step migration minimizes environmental change, what he failed to recognize was that the size of the receiving area per se has only a little to do with the perceived adjustment which migration entails. What is more important, or certainly equally important, is the anticipated degree of socio-cultural change; and this will vary not only from place to place, but from culture to culture, and also over time.

Step migration and chain migration are, in fact, alternate paths to the same end. Early migrants to new places move in a step-wise fashion during which they develop the experience and coping strategies which facilitate change. Later, however, chain migrants can move directly over long distances and be insulated from radical change. It seems apparent to me that a rural migrant with relatives in Monterrey might well find the urban environment less alien than a rural town in which he knows no one. With this in mind, the following modification of Ravenstein's model is proposed:

FIGURE 1.5 - STEP AND CHAIN MIGRATION



It will be obvious that if the above model is to be tested, geographers and demographers as well as social scientists are going to have to come to grips with social conditions which determine the perception of difference and similarity and the changes which occur at different times.

Selectivity

Nearly all studies of migrant populations confirm the fact that movers are people predominately in their young adult years. Browning gives the percent of migrants under thirty in the following cities (85),

Bangalore	49.9%
Mysore	44.4%
Buenos Aires	53.0%
Santiago	69.0%
Mexico City	81.0%

Of the Balinese migrants to Central Sulawesi 49.7% of those surveyed were under thirty and 79.6% under forty years.

Beyond this, however, the data are unclear. In some kinds of labor movements the population is nearly all male. Among Chinese in Singapore in the early part of this century only one in five were women (Freedman, 18), and among east Indians in the West Indies the figure was about the same. In Accra today there are 20% more males than females (Caldwell, 58), while Browning reports that women are slightly more likely to move to Monterrey (286). Browning comments, however, that "extreme sex imbalances whether favoring males or females, are inherently unstable and over time they will move toward a more even balance" (288). The same may be said for variations in marital status and even differences in education and employment levels, which tend to be sharp at first but are eventually obscured.

Browning is, to my knowledge, one of the few writers to recognize that as migration increases selectivity declines (292-4). Unfortunately he gives a probablistic rather than social explanation for the phenomonon.

> In the course of urbanization the "reservoir" of rural potential migrants tends inevitably to decline relative to the ever-increasing demands placed upon it by sustained urbanization. Thus as a large proportion of the total population is drawn upon, the characteristics of the migrants come to resemble the average of that population (293).

But this is only part of the answer. Even in the Balinese migration, which drew on a miniscule part of the reservoir (1/100th of the pop-uation) it is consistent with my observations that selectivity for the young, married, motivated and able, consistently declined. As the climate of optimism grew (both in the old land and the new), more and more people were attracted to Sulawesi. Some of them were so unsuited and incapable that they could not help but fail. Others were less than appropriate, but sheltered by protective family networks they eventually became productive members of the community.

Thus, Browning was right that growing migrant communities look increasingly like the areas from which they are drawn, but he was right for the wrong reason. It is my contention that as migrant communities expand and create an environment of confidence and familiarity, aged parents, spinster sisters, people with unusual motivations and vocations, the generally conservative, the lazy, the specialist; all are drawn into the migrant stream. In a very powerful migration movement the cultures of the homeland and the receiving area become, for a moment, partially fused.

Conclusion

This dissertation argues that the concept of culture is crucial to our understanding of selection (and adaptation) in migration. It proposes that people without a prior pattern of spatial mobility and with

little shared knowledge of a new situation will be almost unable to move. Those who do leave their homes, in fact, will be regarded by definition, as deviants from the cultural norm. When such sedentary people first move, the reason behind their movement is quite generally external force.

In a secondary but similar condition, some confidence in coping strategies (based on experience or knowledge), coupled with extreme pressure may be enough to motivate small numbers of such people to migrate into largely unfamiliar territory. This confidence may be the idiosyncratic quality of a single individual, but more frequently it arises when a small group exists in which the members mutually reinforce one another for deviant interpretations of the conditions around them.

Later in a migration movement when information about the new area is available and some mediation either on the part of early migrants, sponsors, or social support in the homeland occurs, an expanded number of people are motivated to move. Some migrate to escape difficult personal situations, others to exploit new economic opportunities, a few because they have little better to do. So long as these people move into a new environment in which their culture is not predominant, however, all these individuals may be regarded as pioneers. Although assimilation will not be considered in detail, the minority status of most pioneers strongly influences the course of their adaptation in the new socio-cultural setting.

Pioneers who successfully adapt to the new environment generate chains of in-migration which lead to the rapid expansion of a migration movement. Where many people agree that migration is likely to be a

positive experience, they reinforce one another in this interpretation. Where earlier, few moved, in this situation many do.

Mass migrants are not confronted with the same kind of socio-cultural change as immigrants in Stage I, or Stage II. They find, instead, a receiving area populated by recent immigrants like themselves. In mass migration, in fact, recent arrivals are almost totally isolated from the host population by their numbers alone. In addition, since most mass migrants move with mediation and the assurance of support, the mass migrant finds more sophisticated folk to cushion his arrival. Because it is easier to depart (a culture of mobility exists in the sending area), and easier to adapt (a familiar culture exists in the receiving area), more individuals of greater diversity are sucked into the migration stream. Selectivity on all counts declines.

Under special circumstances, a counterstream develops which facilitates the exchange of information and ideas. When the stream and counterstream are sufficiently large, the sending and receiving communities are virtually fused. The time, the place, and the situation may be different, but the culture remains nearly the same.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSMIGRATION CONTEXT

Although the Balinese movement to Central Sulawesi was almost entirely generated by the Balinese themselves, at times it has both benefited from, and contributed to the government programs of colonization and transmigration. A review of Javanese resettlement also serves to illustrate patterns described in the preceeding section, and foreshadows the processes involved in the later movement of the Balinese. For these reasons it seems appropriate to take a chapter to give an historical overview of sponsored migration within Indonesia -- even though these programs do not affect the Balinese movement until the early 1960's.

Since the Dutch materials on colonization before the war have been definitively summarized in Karl Pelzer's work, Pioneer Settlements in the Asiatic Tropics (1948), I intend only to review the early work,[1] update the pre-war material from recent Indonesian sources, and tentatively suggest ways in which the overall movement to the outer islands exemplifies the processes described in the preceeding chapter. Not all readers will be equally interested in the history of Indonesian transmigration, and for those primarily concerned with the story of the Balinese, this chapter can easily be skipped. It remains important, however, as another

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[1] Both Hurwitz (1955) and Sjamsu (1959) also draw heavily on Pelzer. When this is made clear I have cited Pioneer Settlements as the original source.

context into which the story of the Balinese movement must eventually be couched.

Colonization

Early Dutch Efforts at Resettlement

When the Dutch consolidated their power over the outer islands in the early years of this century, they were reminded again of the striking maldistribution of the Indies population. In 1905 there were 28,386,000 people in Java, or 226/km^2, while in the outer islands the population was estimated at no more than 7,000,000, only four/km^2. As late as 1948 Pelzer estimated that fully 77% of the area of the outer islands had a population under 10/km^2 (185).

Cognizant of impending overpopulation and high tenancy rates in Java, in 1902 the government of the Netherlands Indies instructed the Assistant Resident of Sukabumi, H. G. Heyting, to explore various ways of transferring families from his district to less populated areas (ibid, 191). Heyting's first plan proposed the establishment of eleven Javanese colonies, five in Java and six in Lampung (south Sumatra). The idea of the Javanese colonies was given up when members of parliament pointed out that the redistribution of population within Java was proceeding without government intervention (Sjamsu, 5), but permission for the Lampung colonies was granted in early 1905.

In November of 1905, 155 Javanese families were moved from Kedu to a place called Gedong Tataan, which was located just across the Sunda straights in the district of Lampung (Pelzer, 192). To be induced to move, these settlers received a premium of 20 guilders before their

departure, plus transportation, tools, building supplies, and the promise of provisions until they were self-supporting. Eventually this cost the government an estimated f300 per family (ibid). Heyting, however, envisioned a time when the cost would be much reduced by the spontaneous movement of related families from Kedu.

Originally Heyting proposed the movement of 90,000 Javanese within 10 years. By 1911, however, only 4,818 villagers had been resettled in Gedong Tataan and the cost had risen to some f150 per person (ibid). For this reason the government chose to modify the colonization plan. After 1911, migrants received the premium and transport, but they had to borrow any additional funds which they required, and repay the sum[2] within 10 years. To implement this plan a special credit facility, the Lampung Credit Bank (commonly called Bank Kolonasasi), was established, and in 1915 financial management of the colonies fell to its administrators (Sjamsu, 5). In spite of difficulties, the Lampung Credit Bank was the main lending institution in the colonization projects until its collapse in 1928.

In the decade between 1911 and 1921, Gedong Tataan grew from 4,818 to 19,572 (Sjamsu, 6) -- a total still below the 90,000 anticipated in Heyting's proposals. Clearly, however, both limited peasant response and erratic government participation must be linked to the competition of the agricultural estates for labor. Between 1911 and 1931 nearly

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[2]Up to 200 guilders at an interest rate of 9 percent (ibid).

one million Javanese were recruited for estate labor, primarily in Sumatra. Only about half ever returned to Java (cf Hurwitz, 11). To meet their quotas in the early part of this century "... recruiters for estate labor depicted the transmigration effort in the blackest terms..." (Hurwitz, 24), and estate managers worked actively against subsidies for colonization. In periods of economic growth, interest in colonization declined; in periods of economic stagnation, it appealed to many as an answer to Java's problems.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the early 1920's when the economic malaise following World War I affected the plantation economy of the Indies, that officials turned again to colonization as a means of absorbing excess labor. And in 1922 "in a moment of renewed interest," as Pelzer puts it, a second colony was opened in Lampung. It can hardly be regarded as coincidence that most of these colonists had been former plantation workers in Sumatra (Pelzer, 197).

The new colony, called Wonosobo, was an early study in failure. Poor planning, poor preparation, financial mismanagement, the lack of irrigation, and a death rate which reached 70/1000 in 1926, resulted in a decline in the population from 5,927 in 1924, to 3,200 in 1928 (ibid, 196). Both Pelzer (197) and Hurwitz (14) seem to accept the government position that the plantation workers were in part responsible for this sorry state. Pelzer remarks that contract workers were poorly prepared for pioneer life "since as laborers they had been accustomed to taking orders instead of working on their own initiative" (197). It must also

be mentioned, however, that as men with some experience as wage earners these laborers had more options than the ordinary colonist. No doubt many returned to plantation work as the economic climate improved, while others may have remained in agriculture but moved.

It is interesting to note that in this same period, 1924-1928, Gedong Tataan grew from 20,144 to 25,090, and one wonders whether part of this growth might not have been due to a shift in population back to the older site. The government could not have thought so, for in later years it specifically forbade the movement of contract laborers to the colonies.[3]

In 1926 allegations of corruption caused the resignation of the head of the Lampung Bank; scandal, embezzlement, default on migrant loans and the depression, led to its liquidation in 1928 (Pelzer, 198). Without financial support the colonization program essentially folded. As we shall see, however, between 1927 and 1931, 3,500 Javanese moved on their own to Lampung (ibid, 199). As Pelzer observes "...after 25 years of priming a small but steady stream had begun to flow" (ibid).

Interim Programs

It was in 1927 that officials first noted that 914 Javanese had moved on their own to Lampung (Pelzer, 198). Apparently these spontaneous migrants were recruited by their relatives to work in the fields during

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[3]Rule number six of the colonizations ten commandments (1921): "Don't select former plantation laborers; in 90 percent of all cases they are the cause of discontent in the colonies." (cf Pelzer, 210).

harvest. In return they received 1/5 to 1/4 of the harvest -- a share which Javanese call bawon. Realizing the potential of this system of mutual help, officials initiated a new program in 1928 which later became known as bawon colonization. Under the new plan the government provided transportation to the colonies, and relatives in Sumatra provided all further support. In 1928 funds were available for the transport of 14000 families, but only 438 applied (Hurwitz, 15). Worldwide depression ended this experiment in 1929.

The years 1929-1931 mark a watershed in the colonization program. In the early years government efforts were erratic and half-hearted. A redistribution of population was deemed desirable, but only if it could be obtained at limited expense. In the depression years, 1929 and 1930, no funds at all were available for the support of colonization. Those who moved did so entirely on their own. In 1931, however, a limited program was begun based mainly on the bawon system; and in 1932, full-scale colonization was resumed.

Again, it was no coincidence that government interest in resettlement was aroused in the 1930's. The depression displaced wage earners throughout Indonesia and Java was particularly hard hit by the drastic fall in the price of sugar. In 1928, Javanese received 106 million guilders in wages from the sugar industry, in 1936 less than 1/14th this amount -- 7 1/2 million (Pelzer, 168). In addition, the displacement of some quarter of a million workers on Sumatran plantations (cf Metz and Klomp, 154), drove many Javanese contract laborers back to their villages, thus compounding the problems of overpopulation and underemployment.

The 1930 census also provided grounds for concern. Between 1905 and 1930 the Javanese population had increased from 30 to 41 million (Pelzer, 254). In overcrowded areas of central Java the population had reached 1,765 per kilometer of cultivatable land (ibid). In an example from the Preanger highlands, cited by Pelzer, 21.8% of the labor force was engaged in agriculture, 25.5% in industry (including sugar), and 28.9% in "insufficiently described" occupations, i.e. presumably unemployed. To prevent political unrest it seemed imperative to embark on social welfare programs immediately. With the decline of estate interests there were few to object to resettlement.

At the same time that social concerns argued for resettlement, the financial condition of the government argued for minimal expense. For this reason when the colonization program was resumed in 1932 it was on the basis of a modified bawon system. Under the new program the settler was given nothing free but his land. Previous colonists were responsible for interim aid and support (ibid, 203). The cost of transport was provided but repaid. Using this system a limited number of settlers were moved in 1932 to Sukadana, a new colony northeast of Gedong Tataan. They were followed in 1933 by a small number of spontaneous migrants (ibid, 204), but the government sent no one pending the completion of surveys on irrigation and development.

In 1934 and 1935, 14 desas (villages) were established in the vicinity of Sukadana and these were promptly occupied by teenagers and recent immigrants from Gedong Tataan (Pelzer, 204). It seems that although the first settlers in the Lampungs had received 1 1/4 bau (about one hectare) --

an amount deemed suitable for wet rice agriculture -- within a generation this land had become fragmented. In a study reported by Van der Leeden, 32% of the settlers in Gedong Tataan were found to have no sawah while 73% had less than one bau (0.709 ha). The average land holding was .23 hectare/person, barely better than the per capita average of 0.17 hectare in Java (Hurwitz, 30-31). While it is true that many who moved to Sukadana were landless farmers who were late arrivals to Gedong Tataan, others were long-term colonists who moved to secure more land for their children or to escape increasing indebtedness on limited land (ibid). It is also in keeping with our hypothesis that those with previous experience with migration were the first to move again.

By 1940 Sukadana had a population of 47,000; Gedongtataan, 38,000. Pelzer comments, "within seven years Sukadana had acquired through the effectiveness of the government's new program a much larger population than had Gedong Tataan in 35 years" (204). The comparison however is somewhat misleading. Sukadana was not a different colony, merely a different phase in the on-going movement of Javanese to south Sumatra. And while I do not wish to minimize the importance of government efforts between 1937 and 1941, neither would I want to overlook the fact that the 1930's mark the beginning of an ever increasing mass migration to the Lampungs.

Later Dutch Efforts at Colonization

In 1936 the colonization program was entirely reorganized and placed under the administration of C. C. J. Maasen, advisor on agrarian

affairs within the Department of the Interior. Maasen, in turn, became the head of the Commission for Migration and Colonization, or the C. C. M. K. I.[4] This commission was committed not only to the welfare of migrants, but also to the meaningful redistribution of the population of the Indies.

Maasen himself estimated that if the birth rate remained the same (1 1/2%/year) the population of Java would reach 116 million by the year 2,000 (1939, 184). If, however, 80,000 families a year migrated to the outer islands, the population would be 74 million; and if 120,000 families a year were removed it would attain 57 million. Finally, if those 120,000 families were childless (so that all children were born outside Java) the population would only be 45 million after 60 years. Stability could be obtained, according to Maasen, by the departure of 240,000 families per year (ibid).

While never approximating these goals the success of the colonization program in the ensuing years owed much to Maasen's own energy and commitment. In 1937 he was able to raise the allocation for migration from 220,000 guilders to 3,000,000 guilders by tapping welfare funds from the Dutch government to the Indies (Pelzer, 206). With this he began surveys, experiments on seeds and fertilizer, irrigation works and improvements in infrastructure in the colonies. Also in 1937, officials throughout the

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[4]In 1937 this organization was called the "Centrale Commissie voor Emigratie en Kolonisatie van Inheemschen," and in 1939 the name was changed to the "Centrale Commissie voor Migratie en Kolonisatie van Inheemschen" or C.C.M.K.I. I have used the latter throughout (cf Pelzer, 205).

outer islands were solicited for suggestions on sites appropriate for colonies. Each area was then studied to determine land ownership, the quality of the soil, and the potential for irrigation (ibid).

Given the commitment of the government and the momentum of the migration movement, the number of Javanese tripled in south Sumatra in the years between 1937 and 1941 (Sjamsu, 9). In fact, at the end of this period, the number of Javanese in Lampung, estimated at 245,000, exceeded the number of indigenous residents, 215,000 (ibid, 18). Substantial colonies also existed in central and north Sumatra, Borneo and the Celebes. In 1941 the government prepared to move 60,000 Javanese, and it drew up an ambitious nine-year plan for large-scale migration to the outer islands. Both efforts were ended by Japanese take-over in the Indies.

Transmigration

The Transition

With the onset of World War II, Dutch colonization efforts came to an abrupt halt. Batanghari Utari, a complex of 20 villages begun by the C. C. M. K. I. in 1941, was abandoned (Sjamsu, 77). In 1943 the Javanese considered resuming the migration program and actually moved 1867 families from Java and 355 from Banka to the Batanghari Utari complex. But according to Sjamsu, those who were moved were not farmers and the experiment was a failure, When the war ended, most of the settlers fled from the colony (ibid).

During the years immediately following the world war, Indonesia became involved in a prolonged struggle to secure her independence. Even

under adverse circumstances, however, the fledgling government of the Republic of Indonesia set up a commission to study the feasibility of resuming resettlement. At that time Maasen's calculations on the demographic impact of colonization were still very much on the minds of government officials; and in the same year, 1947, A. H. O. Tamboenan proposed a massive scheme to move 31 million Javanese to the outer islands within 15 years (ibid, 81). Obviously neither Tamboenan nor the government was in any position to implement such a plan at the time.

As a direct effect of the revolution, however, in 1948 the name "colonization" was changed to "transmigration." Transmigration, which was meant to be distinguished from emigration and immigration -- the movement across international boundaries, was defined as the transfer of populations within Indonesia. The emphasis on the passive nature of those involved has persisted to the present. In a recent address by Soebiantoro head of the transmigration office in Jakarta, transmigration was defined as "... the transfer or removal of people from one region to settle in another within the territory of Indonesia, either in the interests of national development, or for such other reasons as may be considered necessary by the government" (1974, 36).

Early Efforts: 1950-1960

With independence achieved, the newly established government of the Republic of Indonesia established a formal Department of Transmigration on the 15th of March, 1950 (Sjamsu, 79). By December of the same year the Department had eight branches in Java and six in Sumatra. Preliminary

plans called for large-scale transfers of Javenese under a system in which transport was paid, but the settlers were required to repay the cost of household supplies and tools (ibid). Because of the financial condition of the government, however, only 23 families (77 people) were sent to Lampung in 1950.

In the 1950's and early '60's a tension existed between the long term demographic objectives of resettlement and the practical problems of population redistribution. In 1951 the Department of Transmigration, under A. H. O. Tamboenan, formulated an ambitious plan to send 40 to 50 thousand migrants to the outer islands, but again because of the precarious financial condition of the country, only 653 families (2375 people) were moved. All of these families went to pre-war settlements in Sumatra and Sulawesi (ibid, 80).

Confronted by the continual discrepancy between objectives and accomplished fact, Tamboenan revised his 15-year plan in 1952, this time proposing the transfer of 48 million people over a period of 35 years (ibid, 81). This feat was to be accomplished in a series of five-year stages beginning with the removal of one million people between 1953 and 1958, and increasing the sum by one million every five years until in the seventh five-year period, 1983-1988, seven million people were to be relocated from the center to the periphery.

To achieve these targets, the transmigration department felt the need for larger incentives to encourage farmers to move. To this end it proposed a program of comprehensive government support to be called

Transmigrasi Umum (general/public transmigration). Under this plan transport, pocket money, one-fourth hectare for a houselot, and one and three-fourths hectare for sawah were provided at no cost to the migrant. The house, six to ten months of supplies, agricultural implements, seeds, kitchen utensils, and clothing were also provided, but after a suitable period the cost of these materials had to be repaid (Sjamsu, 82). This program was adopted on the 27th of August 1952, the first time such extensive support had been provided in nearly forty years. In 1952, 15,600 families were scheduled to be recruited, but only 3,855 families actually moved. Of these, 1671 (8252) were general (supported) migrants while another 2,250 (8671) moved on the bawon system. Ninety-four percent of these migrants went to areas of long settled colonies in south Sumatra (ibid).

In 1953, 10,000 families (40,000 people) were moved to the outer islands, a major accomplishment had not the target been 25,000 families and 100,000 people (ibid, 83). Given the difficulties of achieving meaningful demographic goals, social and developmental objectives were incorporated into all transmigration programs after 1953 (T.T.R.C., 1974b, 115), and the goal for 1954 was lowered to 21,000 families (90,000 people), of whom 7,266 (26,510 people) were resettled. Also in this period Bali was included among the overpopulated provinces and in 1953 the first group of 154 families was sent from Bali to Belitang (south Sumatra).

By 1955 it was quite clear that the targets set by Tamboenan were unattainable, and the entire notion of an effective shift in the Indonesian population was being called into question. Santoso and Wardhana writing in

1957 pointed out that inequality in population distribution was probably based on objective factors such as the quality of the soil (415), and they suggest that industrialization might be a better way to development than population redistribution (ibid). They also emphasized the fact that the number of Javanese that had been resettled in the preceding 50 years (between 1905 and 1955) was only 145,000 families (393,553) people). This number was less than one-half the annual increase of the Javanese population at the time (ibid, 419).

In spite of widespread reservations, however, demographic objectives seemed to prevail; and in 1955 a new five-year plan was proposed which aimed to move almost three million people from Java and Madura. (Sjamsu, 90-91). Of these approximately 135,000 or roughly 1/20th were moved between 1956 and 1960 (ibid).

Figure 2.1 - Proposed and actual numbers of migrants 1956-1960

	Proposed - people*	Actual - people (families)**		
1956	40,000	26,304	(4,534)	
1957	80,000	20,045	(4,421)	
1958	280,000	21,093	(4,794)	← estimate, figures incorrect in book
1959	400,000	46,096	(11,439)	
1960	2,000,000	22,078	(5,625)	
	2,800,000	135,616	(30,813)	

* Source: Sjamsu, 90-91
** Source: Department Transmigrasi, 1971, 10a-c

Although nowhere near the targets set by the department, 100,000 people were moved by the government between 1950 and 1955, and another 135,000

between 1956 and 1960. No comparable records exist for spontaneous migrants, but scattered statistics indicate that their number may have been three to four times as great, perhaps more.

Spontaneous Migration

Descriptions of spontaneous migration are difficult to find in the literature since these migrants rarely registered and the Transmigration Department took little official responsibility for their welfare. Santos and Wardhana, an exception, do briefly mention three villages of spontaneous migrants in Lampung. Banjumas, the first of these settlements, was opened by 15 families of pre-war, government sponsored migrants from Java (429). In 1952 these families attracted 50 new families, and in 1957 they were joined by 177 more. In Banjuwangi the pattern was similar. In 1950 this land was cleared by migrants from the old Dutch colony of Pringsewu (ibid, 425). In 1953 these migrants agreed to take 40 families sent by the government, and 60 more families arrived on their own. In 1955-56 another 226 families settled in the community (ibid). Sribawono, in central Lampung, was opened by 200 Javanese families who were transferred there from Metro, a colonization project in the vicinity of Sukadana. In 1954-'55 they were joined by 256 additional families, most of whom had moved spontaneously and had not registered with the government.

The most interesting thing about this report is the fact that all of these communities were settled by long-term residents of Lampung. Even though the most recent arrivals were the most likely to be landless, all of these communities were begun by pre-war transplants, people who

had been in south Sumatra ten years or more. One might assume that this is merely an artifact of the small number of communities recorded, but it is also a pattern I have observed in Blimbingsari (west Bali), and on numerous occasions in Parigi (central Sulawesi). Over and over again it is the long-term residents, not the new arrivals who establish satellite settlements.

No doubt one reason new communities are established at all is a result of the rapid overcrowding of old settlements, created, in part, by government policy. Junghans has commented (1971) that resettlement, particularly that based on irrigation, is necessarily "a short term solution which incorporates from the very beginning social tensions and deficiencies in the agrarian structure and land tenure system" (71). He argues that in the late 1930's capital intensive irrigation systems were begun in several areas of south Sumatra in the interest of promoting the rapid resettlement of large numbers of Javanese.[5] As Junghans points out, however, high capital investment motivated the government to divide all of the land into small lots as it was inefficient to let irrigable land lie unused. (It also lowered the cost of irrigation works in per capita terms). In some areas farmers were given as little as 1/2 hectare of land -- enough for subsistence, but hardly enough to raise the standard of living (ibid). Thus within a single generation, when land was to be

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[5]This pattern applies to a number of areas beside Sumatra, particularly resettlement areas in Java itself, Bali, Lombok and Sulawesi.

divided among their descendants, migrants faced the same land scarcity which confronted their parents in Java. For example, in Pringsewu, south Sumatra, settlers were given 1/2 to 1 hectare of land in 1936. But by the early 1950's land shortages were so severe that 35-40% of the youth between 18 and 25 had to migrate again (ibid, 72).

Overall land scarcity cannot be used to explain the movement of old migrants, however. In theory the old migrants should be least vulnerable to land shortage and therefore least motivated to move. Instead, a combination of social and cultural factors seems to make it easier for long-term residents to leave. On one hand, they may have accumulated surpluses or dependable social networks to fall back on in case of difficulty. Newcomers might be less able to take economic risks.

But the idea of back-up support does not account for the fact that experienced migrants are also the first to move into areas where they no longer have contact with their former homes -- for example, Christian migrants within Bali were the first to move to Sulawesi. In this case there seems to be a climate of confidence, or at the very least a certainty about the predictability of unknown places, which allows the most motivated to migrate again. If they succeed, others follow; if they do not, they return. First-time migrants are not prepared to take the psychological, as well as economic risks, of moving into unknown territory with unproven ability. The appropriate cultural understandings do not yet exist.

The Interim Period. 1961-1968

Under Sukarno's guided democracy, transmigration and land reform were ideologically linked as two paths to a common end -- that of giving every peasant a share in the land. To accomplish this goal was no easy task; by 1960 it was estimated that 38% of Java's 63 million peasants were landless. Of the remaining 62%, three-quarters owned less than 1/2 hectare of land (Pelzer in McVey, 127) and 20% owned plots of 1/10th hectare or less (T.T.R.C. 1974_a, 129). The amount of land required for subsistence wet-rice agriculture is generally estimated at one bau (0.709 hectare).

In the late 1950's growing landlessness, tenancy, and inflation led to mounting calls for remedial action, particularly from the P.K.I. (Indonesian Communist Party) and the B.T.I. (the Indonesian Peasant Front). Under increasing political pressure, the parliament passed the Basic Agrarian and Reform Act of 1960 (Tjondronegoro, 135). This act limited holdings to five hectares per family in areas with population densities of $400/km^2$ or more.[6] Implementation of the guidelines proved impossible, however, until the agricultural census of 1963 provided the demographic data upon which redistribution could be based (ibid, 136).

Enrollment in the 1963 census showed 720,000 hectares available for

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[6]Most of Java had land limits of five hectares per family; in Bali, five to eight hectares were allowed. In the underpopulated areas of Central Sulawesi, land holdings of up to thirty hectares were permissible.

reallocation, and 337,000 hectares available for immediate dispersal -- most of this in national and estate land (ibid). Village committees charged with the task of reallocation were variously successful, but prior to 1966, 682,000 hectares had been redistributed. In Java, 592,958 farmers received 294,000 hectares of land (usually in one-half hectare plots); and in the outer islands, 274,025 farmers received 388,198 hectares (in plots of one and two hectares) (ibid, 137). It is my impression that transmigration officials took an active role in the land reform movement.

Transmigration itself was the less popular path. The deteriorating political and economic situation forced the central government to discontinue funds for migration after 1963 (D.T., 1970, 5). Settlers continued to receive free land in Sumatra and Sulawesi, but subsistence needs had to be met by the migrants, their relatives, or the receiving region (ibid). Owing to the worsening conditions in Java, however, thousands of Javanese did move. According to one source, 132,000 people were resettled between 1961 and 1965 (D.T., 1971, 10b). In 1965, alone, it is claimed that 13,249 families, or 53,223 people, were transferred to the outer islands, more than in any preceding year (ibid).[7] Without pre-planning or back-up support, however, transmigration was gaining the reputation as a means of moving misery from one island to the next.

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[7]I strongly suspect the accuracy of these figures though I have seen them repeated in several sources and have no figures of my own to contradict them.

The coup and counter-coup of 1965 led to the demise of the Communist Party, the end of the land reform movement, and the temporary immobilization of the transmigration department. For this reason, in 1966 only 1,065 families transferred to pre-existing settlements, and in 1967 fewer than 500 families were moved (D.T. 1971, 10c). In 1968 the figures climbed to 2,991 families but this still represented fewer families than in any year of the transmigration program prior to the coup. In Bali 750 families were moved between 1965 and 1969, 400 of them to central Sulawesi.

Pelita I, 1969 - 1974

Under the Suharto regime, economic stability and an influx of aid and advisors stimulated a series of five-year plans called Pembangunan Lima Tahun or PELITA. The purpose of these plans was to rationalize and facilitate economic planning and national development. The first five-year plan, 1969-1974, placed particular emphasis on regional development and the integration of the regions within the state. Transmigration, it was believed, had a substantial contribution to make to these objectives.

Given the goals of Pelita I and the demonstrated futility of attempting to rectify population imbalance with migration measures, the emphasis in transmigration was shifted from demographic to economic ends. Transmigration was to be viewed as a tool for overall economic growth and its main goal was to promote regional development through the reallocation of manpower resources (D.T., 1975, 4). In addition the pretense of considering transmigration primarily from the settlers' point of view -- what did it

do for the farmer? -- gave way to the explicit recognition that what was important was what transmigration could do for the state (ibid).

The implementation of the transmigration program in Pelita I also differed from previous periods as realistic projections and conscientious planning and evaluation were given high priority.[8] It is a measure of their success that 46,566 families were targeted to be moved from Java, Madura and Bali between 1969 and 1974. And of these, 43,420 families, or 93% of the target were actually moved (D.T., 1975, 12) (see figures below).

Figure 2.2 - Proposed and actual numbers of migrants 1969 - 1974

	Proposed - families	Actual - families (people)	% Target
1969/70	4,489	3,933 (17,848)	87.5
1970/71	3,865	4,438 (19,995)	114.8
1971/72	4,600	4,171 (18,870)	90.7
1972/73	11,200	11,314 (51,918)	101.0
1973/74	22,412	19,564 (89,334)	87.0
Totals	46,566	43,420 (198,965)	93.2

Source: Kebijaksanaan dan Pelaksanaan Transmigrasi dalam Rangka Pembangunan Nasional (D.T., 1975, 12)

In a preliminary report which did not include all migrants for 1973/74, those moved were divided into three categories -- general (that is,

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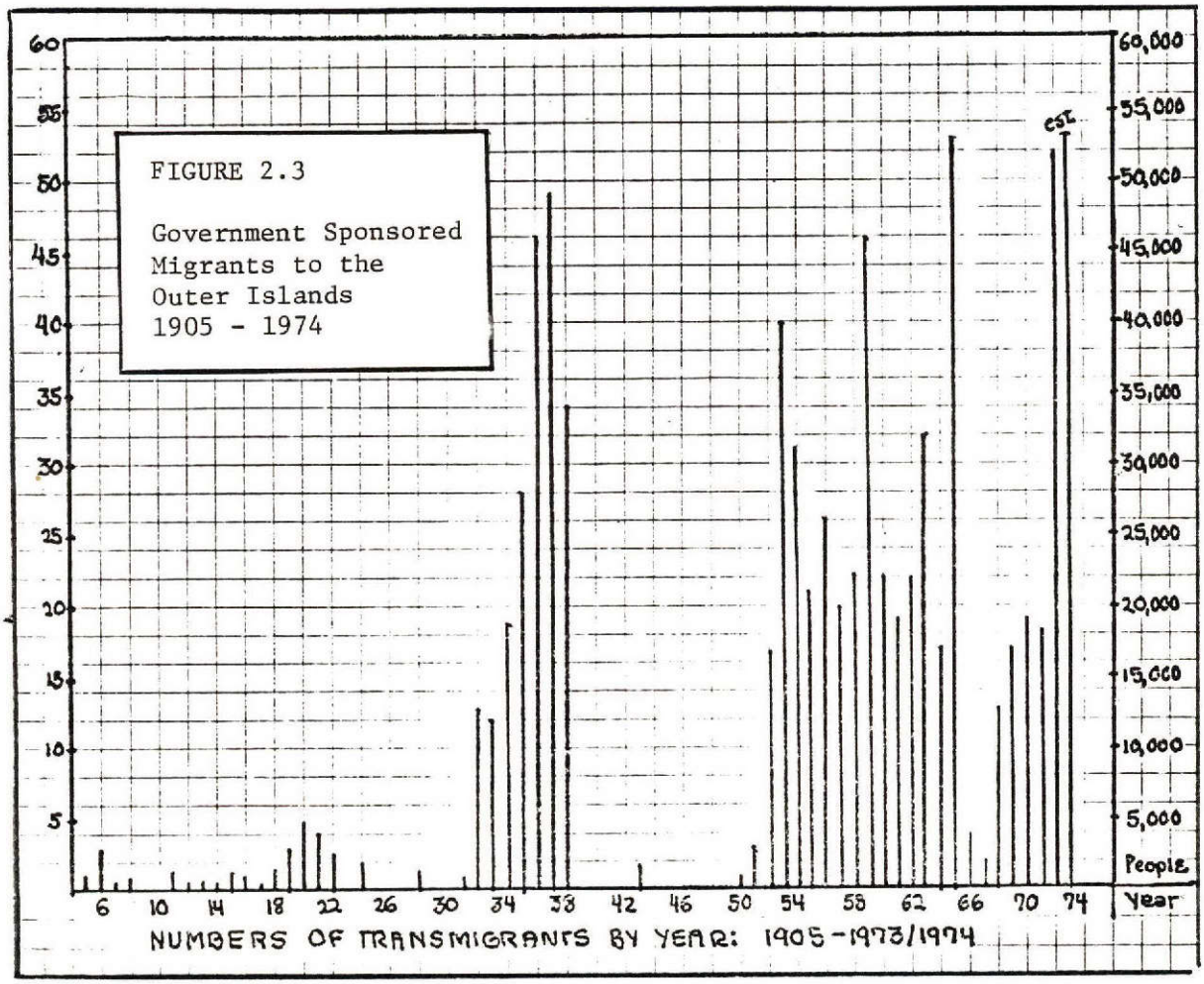
[8]To this end the Transmigration Training and Research Center was established in 1973, "this center is intended to conduct multidisciplinary training... and to undertake scientific research of matters relevant to transmigration, and to evaluate such training and research (T.T.R.C., 1974c, 13).

fully sponsored migrants); spontaneous I (with assistance) and spontaneous II (no assistance). Among the 35,979 families listed in the preliminary report, the breakdown was as follows:

General	18,701 families	87,796 people
Spontaneous I	13,019 families	58,119 people
Spontaneous II	4,259 families	18,594 people

The last category is obviously underreported as there are minimal incentives to an unsponsored migrant to register even though they are legally required to do so.

In total, some 878,000 people were moved by colonization and transmigration programs between 1905 and 1974 (see Figure 2.3, below). Of these, 54,484 were Balinese who were all moved in the post-independence period.



Developments in PELITA I

In a 1971 speech Soebiantoro, the director general of the Transmigration Department, remarked:

> In the years between 1951 and the present time there have in actual fact been no new developments in the implementation pattern followed in transmigration undertakings nor in the agricultural patterns of the transmigrants (T.T.R.C., 1974a, 32).

Actually this is somewhat modest. There have been a number of innovations notably experiments with settlements in tidal lands, and communities based on the cultivation of perennials.[9] In addition, considerable headway has been made in incorporating green revolution technology in transmigration. But in terms of the recruitment and settlement of the individual, Soebiantoro's remarks ring surprisingly true.

Contemporary migrants are treated little differently than the colonists of the 1930's. Today, each government sponsored migrant is guaranteed transportation to the resettlement site, a cleared houselot, completed house, and generally two hectares of potentially irrigable land. In addition, he receives provisions up to 18 months including rice, salt fish, salt, coconut oil and a small amount of kerosene. He is also provided with kitchen utensils, cloth, seeds, tools and access to health and agricultural extension services. The cost of these provisions is detailed in Figure 2.4, below.

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[9] The model for these latter programs is taken from the FLDA settlement schemes in Malayasia.

Figure 2.4 Cost of Transmigrant Services per Family - 1970 (T.T.R.C. 1974).

A. Survey and Planning	Rps
1. Survey of land ownership	400
2. Feasibility survey	2000
3. Evaluation and compilation of data	600
	3000

B. Preparation and Land Clearing	
1. Surveying and Map Making	350
2. Opening 1/4 hectare	3500
3. Building one house	35000
4. Dormitories	2000
	40850

C. Guidance and Expansion	
1. Guidance and Expansion	10277

D. Settlement and Consolidation	
1. Provisions - 18 months	
- Rice	31,347
- Salt Fish	11,250
- Kerosene	810
- Salt	360
- Coconut Oil	1,800
2. Kitchen Utensils	6,445
3. Health Supplies	2,500
4. Mobilization	1,200
5. Assembling	8,000
6. Sea Transport	12,500
7. Local Transport	3,850
8. Seeds	1,000
	81,062

Administrative overhead = 5% of total or 6,754 rps

Total Cost of Standard Transmigration = 142,000 rps/family, $355.00.
Cost of Crash Program = 239,638 rps/family, or $580.00.

As the figures above indicate, the total cost to settle a family of five averages about U.S. $355.00, excluding administrative services. Even taking the total transmigration budget, however, the estimate of ten billion rupiah given in 1971 still only averages out to a cost of $858.00 per family, far below the $4,500 reported to resettle a family in Thailand (D.T. 1974, 70). Nevertheless, it is frequently claimed that the main reason for the limited program is limited funds (ibid).

An encouraging trend from the point of view of the transmigration department is the recent influx of foreign aid. In 1972 the World Food Program pledged over three million dollars (U.S.) in bulgar, wheat and wheat-soy blend. This was to be used for the rehabilitation of transmigration settlements in Lampung (T.T.R.C., 1974a, 52). At the same time

an additional five million dollars worth of food has been earmarked for South Sulawesi.

In return for this support, migrants will be required to spend a specified number of hours working on projects (road construction, building maintenance) which will up-grade the communities themselves. Technical assistance is to be supplied by UNDP, and health care by UNICEF. The last year of Pelita I (1973/74) also saw aid programs to improve the cultivation of annuals, particularly oil palm and rubber, and a total of $100 million in aid from IBRD, USAID, CDC and ODA directed at improving transmigration programs in Sumatra, Sulawesi and Kalimantan. Funds from these sources have quadrupled the budget of 1971, but it is as yet too early to assess the effect of such programs in the provinces.

PELITA II

One of the main objectives of Pelita II is the expansion of opportunities for employment between 1974 and 1979. This objective may be reached in one of two ways -- first by creating more jobs, second, by moving men where jobs are. The second of the goals is obviously within the role of the Department of Transmigration. The department itself has set its main objectives as the integration and consolidation of services provided to the transmigrant.[10]

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[10]In particular the department anticipates improving planning and coordination with other ministries such as public works, home affairs, education and health (cf Soebiantoro, op cit).

Given continued political stability and improvement in the international economic climate, the transmigration Department has estimated that it can move 250,000 families in the next five years.

Figure 2.5 Projections 1974 - 1979 (Pelita II)

1974/75	30,000 families
1975/76	40,000 families
1976/77	50,000 families
1977/78	60,000 families
1978/79	70,000 families
Total	250,000 families

It is anticipated that this number will reduce the population increase in the inner island to 1 - 1.5%, and increase population in labor short areas of the outer islands from 3 - 7% (ibid). Fifty percent of the above total will be to priority areas (those of acute manpower shortages), fifty percent will be scattered to other sites. If the target is reached it will be nearly twice the number of migrants transferred in Pelita I, and equal to the number transferred in the program's first fifty years.

Discussion: Indonesian Transmigration and Migration Theory

The story of transmigration, and Javanese resettlement in Lampung, in particular, raises some interesting issues related to migration theory. Let me confine my remarks here to a few ideas on the interaction between recruitability and experience, mediated movement and adaptibility. I will conclude with a few comments on the general problems of transmigrants.

The colonization experience illustrates once again, that among conservative and inexperienced people -- like the Javanese and Balinese --

it takes considerable pressure to compel the average person to move. Hurwitz comments on this "problem" at some length, concluding that even after great government effort -

> ...it still remained true that the tani [farmer] would leave his village only if it was strictly necessary -- in the case of stringent material needs, or if he had become socially undesirable. Even if the former was the case he would try to earn additional income elsewhere without having to break off his ties with the desa [village] where he had been born and raised. Only if it was absolutely necessary would this tie be broken altogether (22).

Shortly thereafter Hurwitz continues -

> It was for this reason it was held that agricultural resettlement could only succeed if there was a government which could goad the Javanese into leaving his island by organizing everything for him and by making the step for the Javanese easier by being able to tell him that in the outer islands he would live in a social environment which would not differ significantly from the one he was accustomed to (ibid).

These paragraphs from Hurwitz illustrate the interaction between the necessity of moving and confidence in the predicability of the new environment. When it was not absolutely imperative to move and no social networks existed (other than the surrogate, the government), the average Javanese farmer needed considerable reassurance that the receiving community would be exactly like the one he left behind.

The fact that the government chose (and chooses) to concentrate its recruitment efforts on this particular population, however, implies a contradiction. Those who need the most assurance that the new life will be like the old, are obviously not the ones who will find it easiest to

adapt. Over the years colonization officials, in particular, have complained that those in government-sponsored projects were slow to adjust. Junghans quotes officials to the effect that it took generations for the Javanese to become accustomed to perennials (72). But he goes on to explain that this was true "only in government sponsored projects in Lampung .... Wherever independent migration took place, the Javanese farmers showed high adaptability for socio-economic adjustment" (ibid, 73).

The problem is clear. The government did not select the migrants most eager to move and adapt; instead it sent individuals who needed familiar surrounding and depended on the government for help. Hurwitz recognizes the problem but does not attribute it to selection;

> The bawon system left more to the settlers and encouraged self respect. Tendencies among the government of organizing almost everything for the Javanese instead of letting them do things themselves, the maintenance of a strict paternalistic supervision, however well intentioned, should also be mentioned among the factors which do explain the resistance among the Javanese. (26)

While acknowledging that migrant programs were, and are, largely over-controlled, I would nevertheless place the blame as much on selection as on the unrealistic expectations of the migrants.

Although no expert on transmigration problems, it seems to me that the government might well have reached its goals earlier had it moved the misfits, the oppressed, and the contract laborers and allowed those who failed to return. This recidivism could have been regarded as natural attrition rather than a flaw in the plan. Implicit in such a program is

the idea that the migrants would no longer be bound to the land,[11] a condition which has caused considerable resistance to formal resettlement efforts. With such a program the government itself would find itself moving with, rather than against, the normal migration flow. What I am suggesting, of course, is sponsored spontaneous migration in which those who leave are largely self-defined.

Two last points bear repetition. The first is that large plots of land stimulate in-migration because as one migrant succeeds, chain-migration ensues. There has recently been a re-recognition of this principle in the Transmigration Department in Jakarta, and communities are now being planned with settlers in the center and open land in the outlying vicinity to allow for population growth. There has also been a new interest in larger land allotments, and proposals have been made to provide ten hectares and more (T.T.R.C., 1974).[12]

Finally I wish to reemphasize the fact that those who move once are the next pioneers. By implication anything that the Transmigration Department does to facilitate rather than restrict the movement of old settlers will hasten the opening of remaining frontiers.

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[11]Although seldom mentioned in the literature the migrant contracts to stay on his property until permitted to leave. These days permission is given only in the case of acute illness so the farmer is essentially bound to the land as long as it is under transmigration jurisdiction -- an average of 5 to 10 years.

[12]Migrants to Mindanao are allotted an average of 6.7 hectares of land; most of this is not irrigable (Horakova, 12).

CHAPTER THREE

SULAWESI

The island of Bali is well described in the literature.[1] This is, in fact, one of the most important reasons the Balinese could be chosen for the study of migration and change. However, Sulawesi -- and more specifically Central Sulawesi -- is largely unknown to English language audiences. The major work on the area, Adriani and Kruijt's four volumes, De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes, has not been translated from Dutch. And the most important English work, Kaudern's Ethnographic Studies in the Central Celebes (1925), seems seldom read, and infrequently referred to in secondary sources. For these reasons, chapter three will very briefly summarize the geology, geography, the people and history of both Sulawesi in general, and Central Sulawesi in particular. The aim of this survey will be to introduce the island of Sulawesi and provide a context into which the story of the Balinese migration to Central Sulawesi may eventually be placed.

The Land

A glance at a map of the archipelago is sufficient to call attention to the island of Sulawesi. Looking like a crab sidewinding its way from

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[1] For descriptions of pre-war Bali in English, see Covarrubias (1936), Belo (1935, 1937, 1960), Bateson and Mead (1942), Bateson (1949), and the translations in Swellengrebel, ed (1960, 1969).

For more recent works, check Clifford Geertz (1959, 1966, 1967), Hildred Geertz (1959, 1967), Clifford and Hildred Geertz (1964, 1974). Other articles of interest include Boon (1974, 1976) and Lansing (1974).

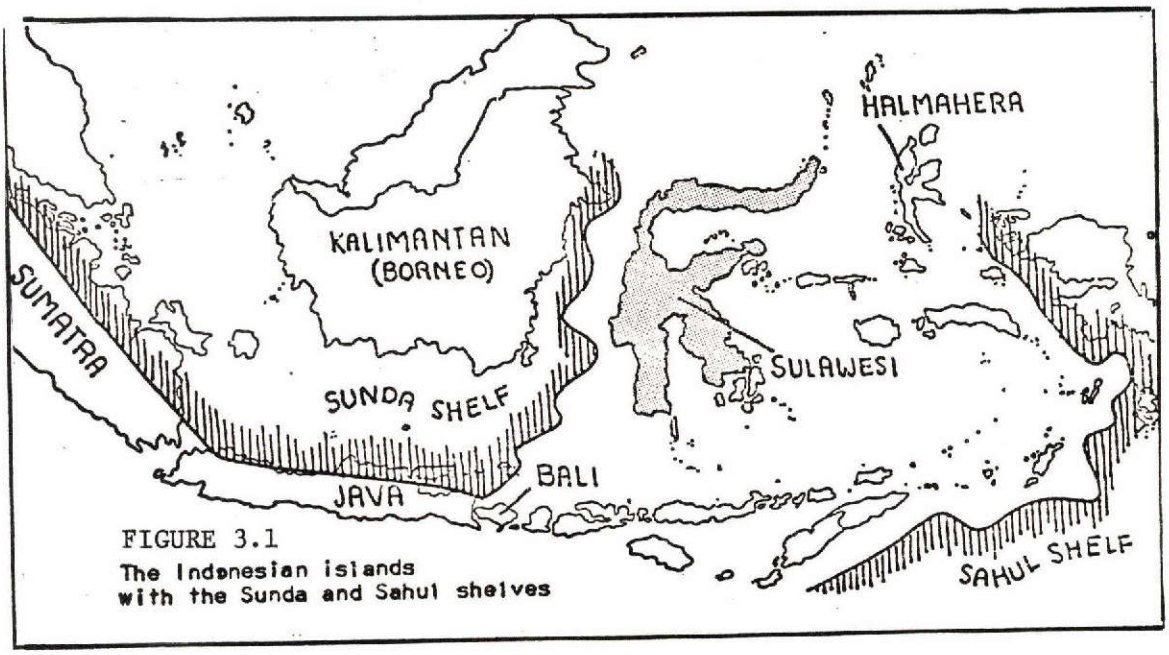

FIGURE 3.1
The Indonesian islands with the Sunda and Sahul shelves

the Philippines to Borneo, Sulawesi is the largest and most diverse of the islands of the "Great East".[2]

The extraordinary shape of Sulawesi, and her smaller neighbor Halmahera, results from their location between two great land masses (see figure 3.1, above). To the northwest the Sunda shelf links the islands of western Indonesia with the Eurasian land mass. To the southeast the Sahul shelf connects the eastern islands and the Australian continent (Brouwer, 1925, 9). In between a "whirlpool" of tectonic stress has caused the complicated folding and faulting visible on the high islands (Stauffer, 327).

A comparison with Borneo, the most immediate island to the west, illustrates the significance of these geological features. An old and stable mountain range forms the backbone of north Borneo. Over the

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[2]In the colonial period the outer islands were divided into three regencies; Sumatra, Dutch Borneo and the Great East -- the lesser Sundas, the Moluccas, and the Celebes.

years tropical rainfall has eroded the mountains and deposited alluvial debris over the shallow (50 to 100 meter) Sunda shelf. Together, the high annual rate of rainfall, and the shallowness of the shelf, have produced the vast, swampy plains and meandering rivers which are characteristic of south Borneo today.

By contrast, Sulawesi consists of steep, recently formed mountains broken by irregular faults and fissures. Short rivers plunge through these toruous routes into seas which are 1,000 meters deep and more. Thus at land's end, erosive materials are scattered by deep-running currents. Ironically, it is in the northern peninsula, which has the only volcanic activity and hence potentially the best soil, that most eroded material is lost to the sea. In the south where alluvial valleys occasionally occur, eroded materials consist primarily of granitic rocks and crystalline schists -- the poorest soil makers. Of these alluvial areas in the south, only the plain near Makassar possesses sufficient volcanic material to be rated by Mohr as even "relatively fertile" (1944, 371); and it is no coincidence that the Makassar plain has a population density of nearly 200 people/km^2, while the population of Sulawesi as a whole is not more than 38 people/km^2 (Biro, 1971, 88-89).

Central Sulawesi, site of this research loses by any reckoning. It has neither the volcanic soils of the north, nor the significant alluvial plains of the south. Like much of the island, the core of this area consists of metamorphic granites and schists, which break down into soils consisting of little more than sand. For this reason, the mountain people of the area formerly practiced slash and burn agriculture relying on the residual ash to provide fertility to their fields. Also,

when possible, they settled in alluvial basins which were the remains of old lake bottoms. Significantly, the major highland kingdoms in western Sulawesi -- Kulawi, Gimpu, Winatu, Kantewu, Tawaila, Napu, Bada and Basoa -- are all located in broad plains which were once lake beds (Kaudern, 1, 20).

The town of Parigi itself lies at the mouth of the Parigi river in the western portion of the province of Central Sulawesi. This region is dominated by a short north-south mountain chain topped by Nokilalaki a peak of some 3,311 meters (10,863 feet). From the slopes of Nokilalaki the major rivers of the area descend; the Palu river to the north, a complex of rivers from the south emptying into the Lariang valley in the west, and the innumerable small rivers and streams flowing through the district of Parigi to the east (see Figure 3.2, below).

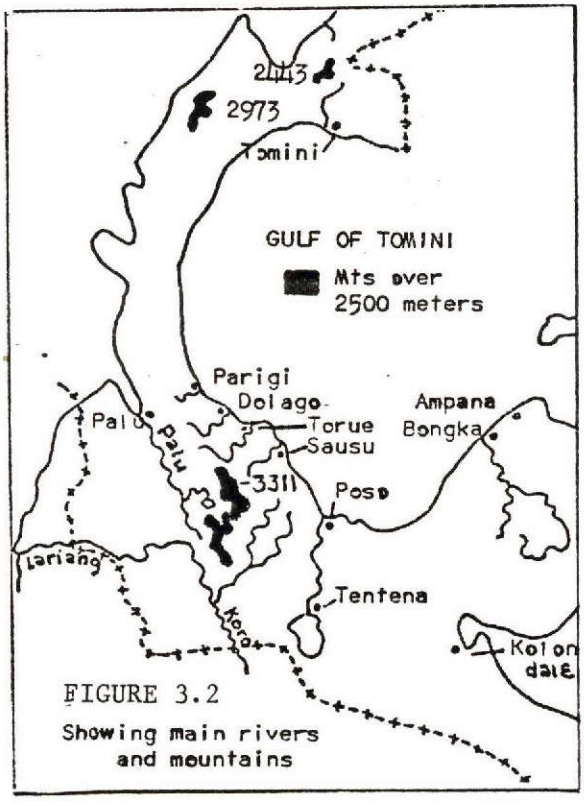


FIGURE 3.2
Showing main rivers and mountains

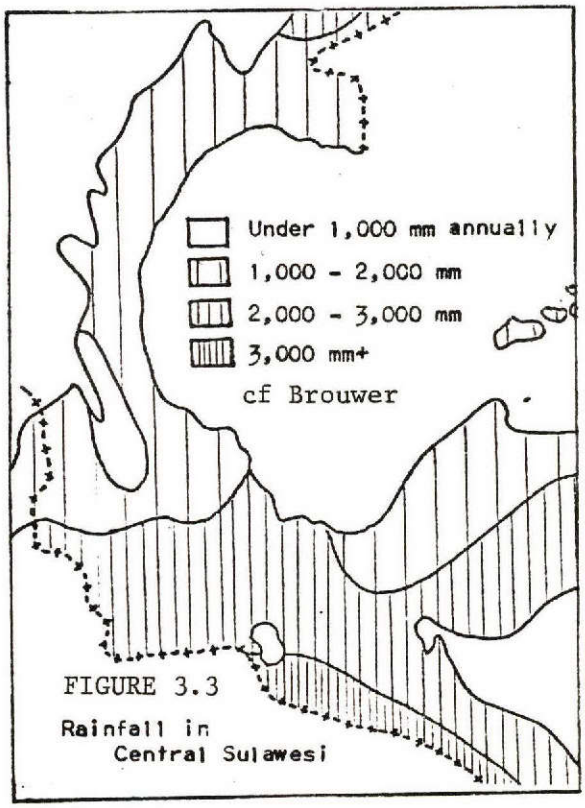


FIGURE 3.3
Rainfall in Central Sulawesi

The rainfall in this area while not high is constant, showing little variation from January to July (see Figure 3.3, above). And even when the coastline is dry for weeks, a regular swelling of the rivers each afternoon attests to near daily rainfall in the mountains. From October to April the western monsoon brings torrential rains to the entire island.

With year-round rainfall and erosion, a few small swampy, alluvial shelves have begun to build up, particularly in the valley of Palu and near the mouths of the Lariang and Parigi rivers. These plains remain very narrow, rarely exceeding five to fifty kilometers (two to twenty miles), but they run for considerable distances along the coasts. Given their poor soils, these lowland areas offered few attractions to slash and burn agriculturalists, and in the past these disease-ridden swamps attracted only crocodile hunters, traders in resin and ebony, nomadic seafarers and refugees.

Today, however, the situation is changing. With government support, swamps are being drained and malaria controlled. Wet rice agriculture is possible since irrigation maintains a low level of fertility in even minimally productive land. More important, modern technology in the form of fertilizer promises to transcend the limits of poor soils, thus enhancing the value of Parigi's year-round rainfall and flat, albeit limited, land. What was once a wasteland is becoming an oasis for opportunists from a number of Indonesian ethnic groups.

The People of Sulawesi

Ethnic Classification

Describing the ethnic groups of Sulawesi is by no means simple. In

spite of her moderate size and relatively small population, early linguists attributed to Sulawesi the largest number of Malayo-Polynesian language groups of any island in the Pacific. S. J. Esser, in the Atlas of Tropical Netherlands (KNAG), for example, lists seventeen language groups in all of Indonesia, eight of them in Sulawesi (Figure 3.4). Richard Salzner, a German linguist, gives Taiwan, the Philippines, Sumatra and Borneo, among others, one language group each, while Sulawesi is listed with nine (Figure 3.5). The work of Isadore Dyen has recently put the languages of Sulawesi in a more realistic perspective, but even in Dyen's classification, two of the nine language subfamilies which comprise Western Malayo-Polynesian are found in Sulawesi, while a majority of Indonesian languages are included in a single subfamily in the West Indonesian cluster (1965, 26).

To add to the confusion the people of Sulawesi rarely make the language distinctions which the linguists do. Over the years, petty kingdoms and isolated populations have developed distinctive dialects, many of which are mutually unintelligible, and today it has become customary for Sulawesians to indicate the language they speak with the word they generally use for "no". In the local idiom there are as many languages as there are ways of saying "no" -- and there are more than fifty ways of saying "no" in the province of Central Sulawesi alone.

Given the complexity of language patterns, it is not surprising to find that the people of Sulawesi often use region, religion, and

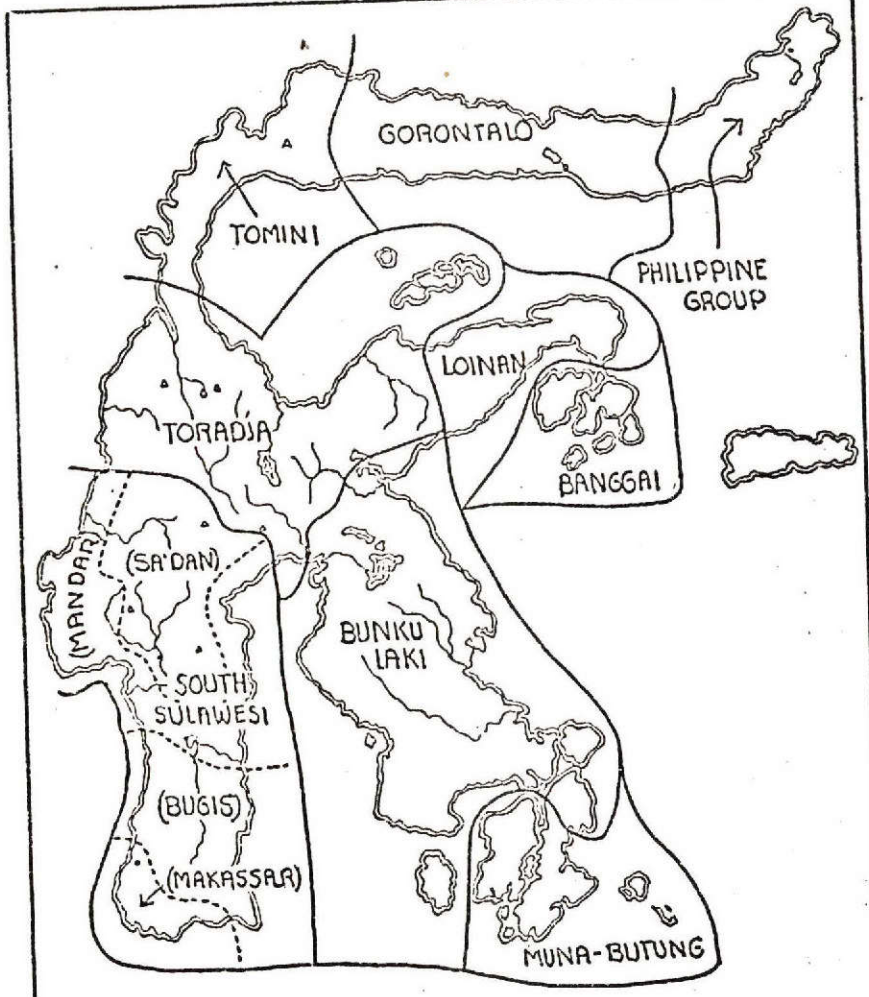


FIGURE 3.4
Language families in Sulawesi.
From S.J. Esser in Atlas van Tropish Nederland, 1938

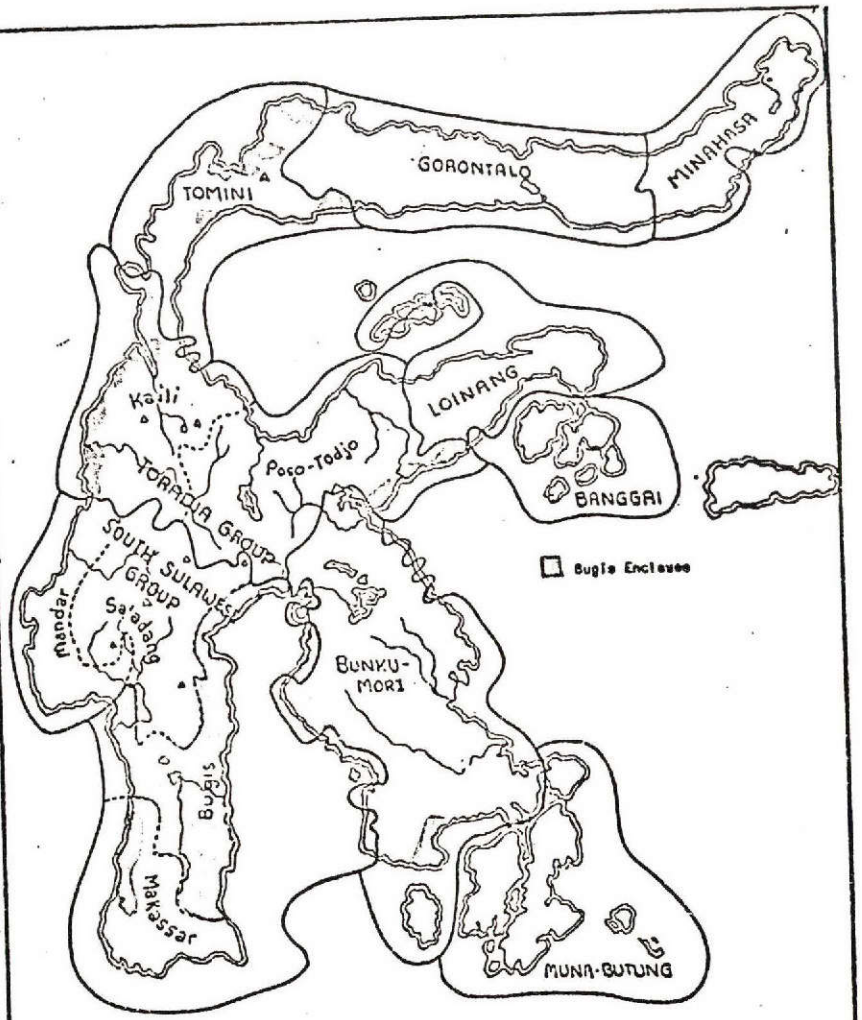


FIGURE 3.5
Major languages of Sulawesi showing Bugis enclaves. From Richard Salzner, Sprachenatlas des Indopasifischen Raumes, 1960

subsistence as criteria for ethnic classification -- either overlaid upon or overriding language considerations. For example, a man from Central Sulawesi may refer to the Christian Mamasa speakers of south Sulawesi as "Toradja", while he calls the Islamic Mamasa speakers "Bugis" or "Mandar". Similarly the distinction between Gorontolo and Tomini speakers is frequently collapsed, as these adjacent but linguistically different groups are both culturally and religiously similar.

Ethnic labels are also based on subsistence style. Thus "Bugis" may be used to mean the seafaring Makassarese and Mandarese as well as coastal Bugis. "Baja'" can refer to either the Samal speaking boat people of the Philippines (Badjau) or a mixed bag of local folk, marginal sailors, who make their living from the sea. Finally, in the less accessible areas of the east and southeast, unsettled tribesmen may be referred to by different names than their acculturated kin -- even though they differ only in degree of integration within the state and speak precisely the same language.

In an attempt to simplify future discussion, Figure 3.6 shows the overlap of religion, subsistence and language in an attempt to present a workable picture of the major ethnic divisions within Sulawesi. Based on this synthesis, the major ethnic groups are as follows:

Language Group	Religion	Traditional Economy
1. Minahassa	Christian	Plantation and mixed agriculture
2. Gorontolo-Tomini	Islamic	Mixed agriculture (slash and burn, plus settled areas)

Major Ethnic Groups of Sulawesi (continued)

Language Group	Religion	Traditional Economy
3. Toradja		
a. Kaili	Islamic	Mixed agriculture
b. Upland Kaili and Pamona	Christian	Upland slash and burn
c. Sa'adang	Christian	Mixed agriculture
4. Bugis-Makassar		
a. Bugis	Islamic	Lowland agriculture, commerce, seafaring
b. Makassarese	Islamic	Lowland agriculture, seafaring
c. Mandarese	Islamic	Lowland agriculture, seafaring
5. Luwuk - Banggai	Mixed	Slash and burn, fishing
6. Bunku - Mori	Mixed	Slash and burn, fishing
7. Muna - Butung	Islamic	Slash and burn, fishing

For the purposes of this dissertation, little more need be known about most of the groups listed above. The Toradja, however, are an exception. Not only are they the most immediately involved in the Balinese migration to Parigi, but they are also the people whose definition causes some of the worst confusion in ethnic classifications of Sulawesi.

Linguistically the Sa'adang Toradja of south Sulawesi seem to be more closely tied to the Buginese and Makassarese than to the upland people of Central Sulawesi. But culturally the highland people of south and central Sulawesi are unmistakably related. In addition to their language, the upland people share a common pre-colonial heritage based on slash and burn agriculture; animism and buffalo sacrifice; class

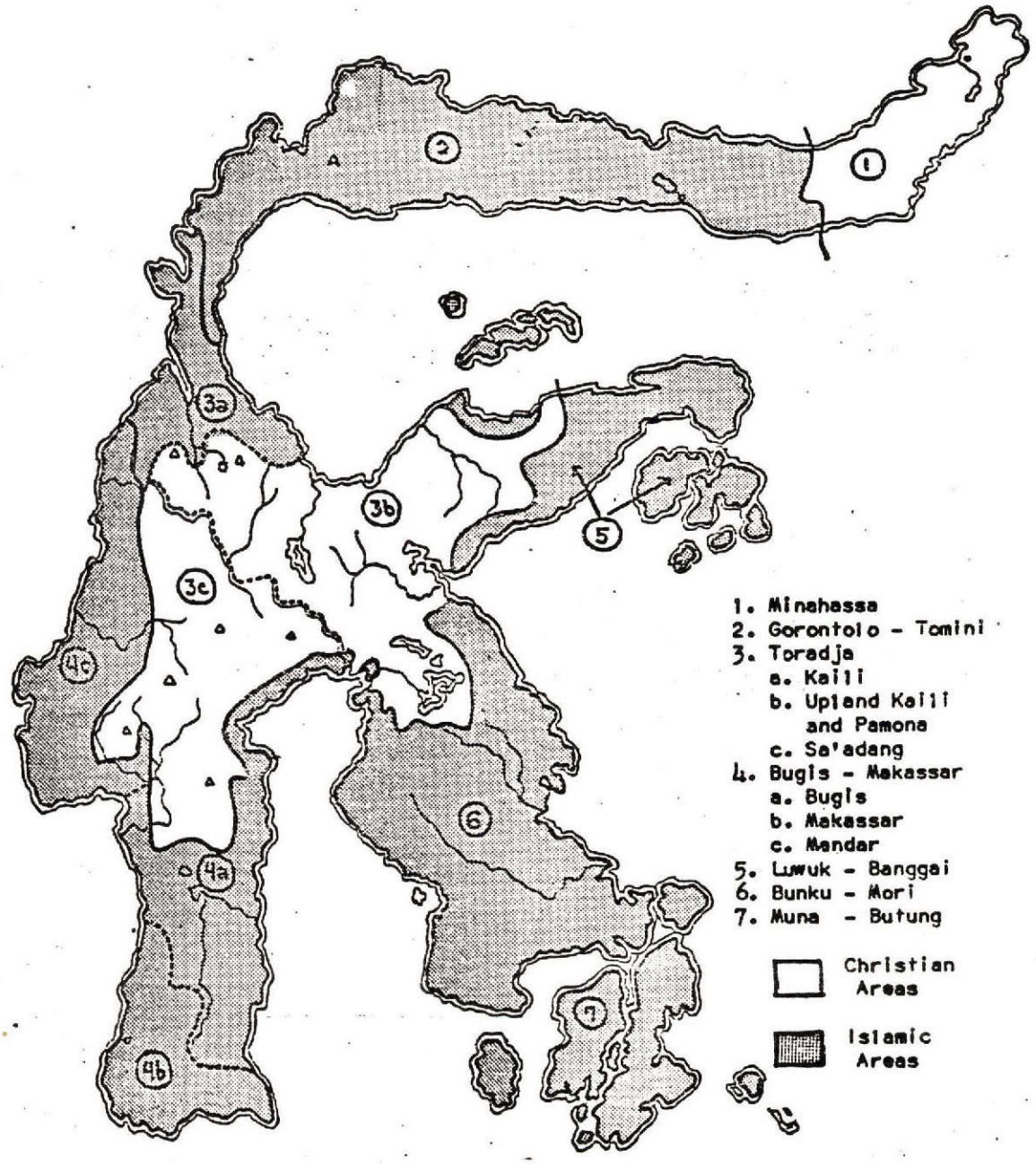


FIGURE 3.6 **Major ethnic groups of Sulawesi based on language, religion and subsistence considerations**

stratified societies, endemic warfare; and, in the north, a distinctively high bride price and emphasis on the work of women.

Adriani and Kruijt, missionaries who did extensive ethnographic study in this area, recognized the overriding cultural similarity of the people and referred to all of the upland groups of south and central Sulawesi as "Toradja". They further divided the Toradja into three groups --

the western Toradja, or Kaili;

the eastern Toradja, or Bare'e (now called Pamona); and

the southern Toradja or Sa'adang (today the Toradja proper).

(See Figures 3.7 and 3.8 for maps).

Gradually the highland people themselves came to recognize this classification. First, because "to adje" in the local languages means "mountain people", which, of course, they were; second, because the classification was institutionalized in the colonial bureacracy to distinguish them as a single ethnic group, which they really were not. Later "Toradja" came to demark upland Christians from lowland Moslems.

Interestingly, just as the word "Toradja" came to be confined to the southern Toradja, so too the word "kaili" is now coming to refer to lowland Moslem groups in Palu and Parigi, as opposed to the highland Christians from places like Kulawi and Poso. In other words, upland Christians who speak Kaili languages in all linguistic classifications are nevertheless reluctant to call themselves Kaili. Because these are precisely the people who are significant in this thesis, however, an appropriate way of designating them is particularly important.

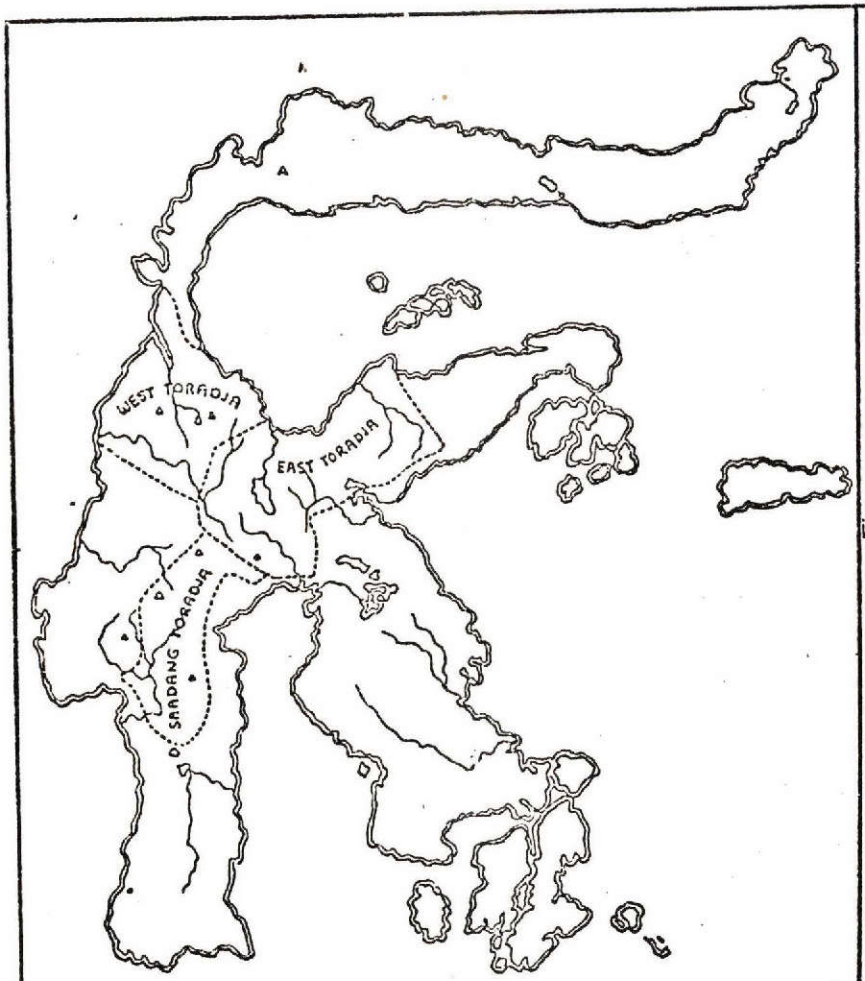


FIGURE 3.7

Distribution of the Toradja languages according to N. Adriani, in the Bare'e SpreckendeToradjas , 1912, 3, 4.

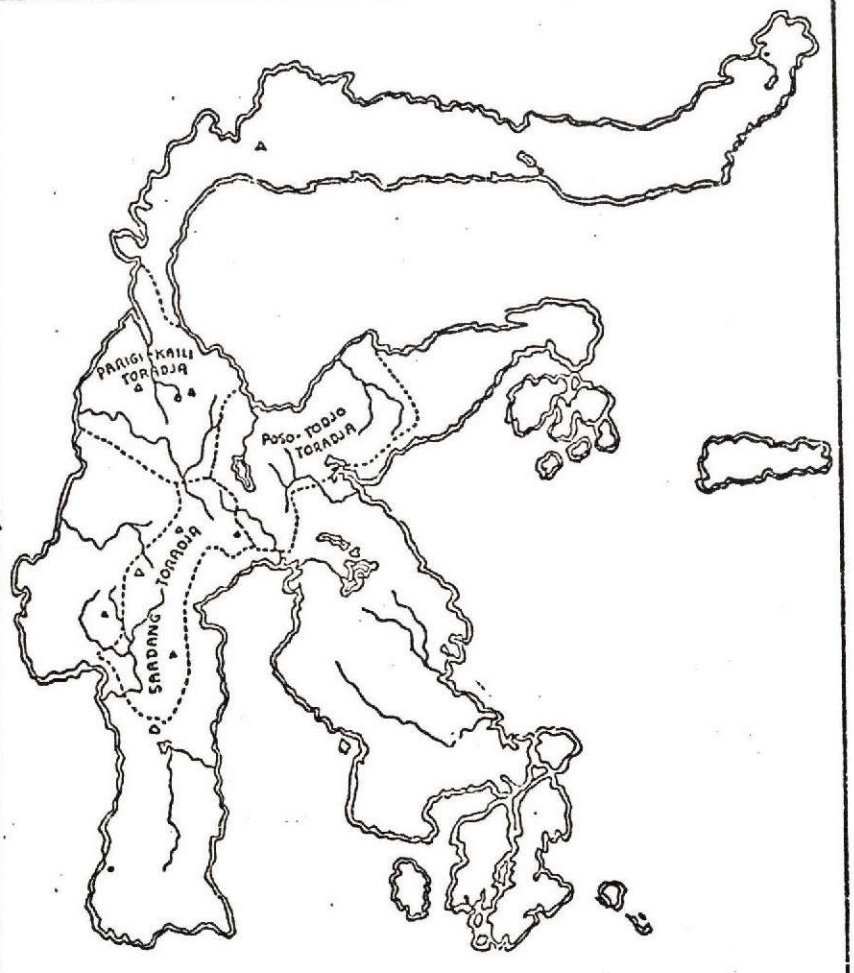


FIGURE 3.8

Distribution of the Toradja languages according to Albert Kruijt in the Bare'e Spreckende Toradjas, 1912, 1, 4-5.

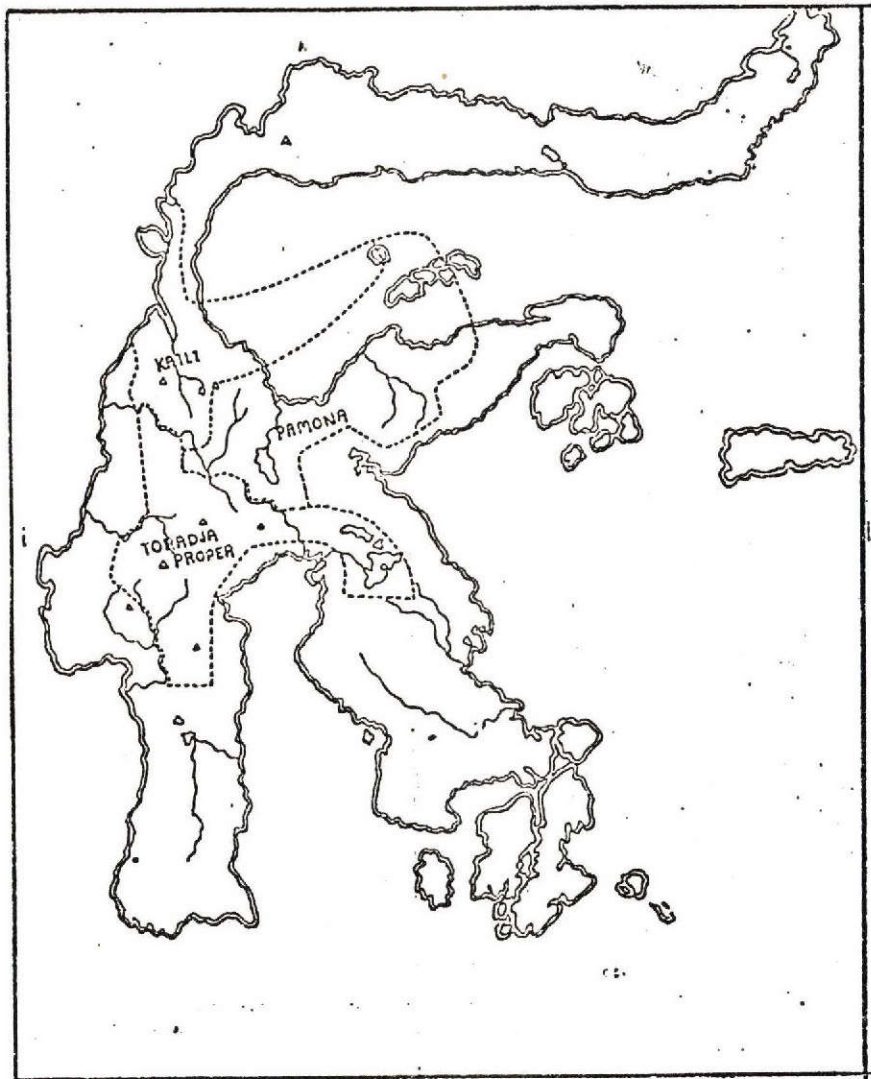


FIGURE 3.9

The Toradja languages of central and south Sulawesi according to Masjuddin Masjhuda, 1972, 63.

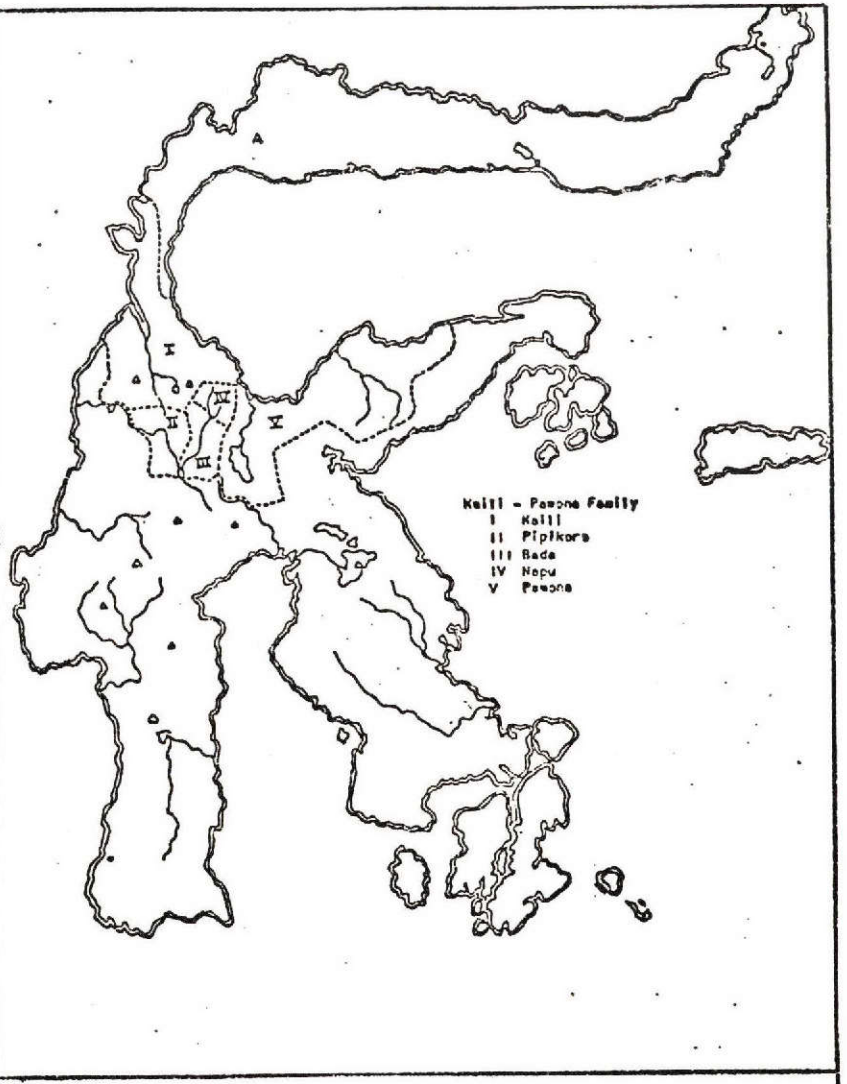


FIGURE 3.10.

The toradja languages of Central Sulawesi according to Indra Bangsawan Wumbu, 1973, 90.

Given the on-going increase in religious sophistication in the area and the concomitant changes in traditional culture and self-identification which follow, it is likely that the divergence between Moslem and Christian groups will continue for a time. For this reason I intend to recognize the distinctions which the people themselves make, and reserve the word "Kaili" for the Islamic people of Palu and Parigi. I will generally refer to the Christian Kaili-speakers by place names only, i.e. Napu, Lindu, etc. Similarly the word "Toradja" will be used to mean the south or Sa'adang Toradja, except when the term is evoked to mean the widespread cultural similarities observed among all the highland people.

The People: North and South Sulawesi

Not all of the people of Sulawesi have played an equally important role in her recent history. In the heart of Luwuk and on the peninsula of Tomini, for example, there are unsettled "tribes" which are among the last in Indonesia to follow their traditional animistic practices and modes of subsistence. These isolated and simple societies are called suku terasing from the word asing meaning "stranger." To this day they remain almost entirely untouched by modern religion, technology and government bureacracy.

By contrast the people of Menado and Makassar are among the most advanced in Indonesia. Menado, the Christian capital in the north, and Makassar, now called Ujung Pandang, the Islamic stronghold in the south, have long dominated the island of Sulawesi. They have also had an impact on the rest of the archipelago as well.

Menado is the capital city of the Minahassa people, and often the Minahassa are called Menadoese. Catholicism reached this area as early as 1560 but converted only the extreme north end of the peninsula. Later under the influence of the Dutch, most of the population became Protestant. As a relatively classless and Christian society, the Minahassa were favored by the Dutch, and in the colonial period they became the most educated and westernized of all the Indonesian people. Menado, in fact, became the chief administrative center for the Great East and the Menadoese came to refer to themselves as the 13th province of Holland.

Located in the only volcanic area of Sulawesi, the Minahassa had better than average soil but difficult terrain. They were located on important trade routes, however, and so they planted the shores in coconut and the uplands in rubber and coffee. In this way the Minahassa -- more than any other Sulawesi people -- became incorporated into the colonial plantation economy. Coconut remains the chief export of North Sulawesi and copra from this area accounts for more than half the production of Indonesia as a whole (Biro, 1963, 177). And although the economic and administrative importance of Menado has declined considerably since independence, individuals from the area, through their education and experience, continue to exert a strong influence--especially in Central Sulawesi.

To the south, the autochthonous kingdoms of the Bugis and Makassarese have long played a significant role in the history of the East Indies. Islamicized in the early 1600's, these kingdoms withstood the incursions of the Dutch East Indies Company until 1667. At that time the massive

fort of Makassar was taken after a four month siege. Never as tractable as the Menadoese, the Bugis and Makassarese were forced from legitimate trade and turned quickly to smuggling. In the early colonial period these groups conducted most of the everyday trade of the islands through "unofficial" channels.

Owing to the limitations of their own land, and their affinity for the sea, the Bugis have been dispersed throughout Sulawesi (see Salzner, Figure 3.5 for Bugis enclaves). The Makassarese, located in the most fertile plain on the island, showed less tendency to dispersion though they were, and are, excellent seamen. The Mandarese, reputed to be among the best sailors of the Celebes, are now scattered over the west coast of the island. Of all these people, it is the Bugis who are most respected for their command of agriculture, commerce and seamanship, for their aggressiveness, hospitality and the strength of their Islamic convictions.

The People of Central Sulawesi

Until the beginning of this century the people of Central Sulawesi were highly mobile shifting cultivators. They were animists devoted to pleasing and appeasing a wide variety of spirits and natural forces. Headhunting was practiced out of spiritual and social necessity, as the taking of heads was thought to assure the health of both people and crops (Kruijt, 1929, 7). When the Dutch arrived in 1905 they forbade headhunting and destroyed the temples for skulls. They also began to resettle the natives in areas more accessible to roads and administrators. These efforts caused dislocation and moral deterioration within the highland groups; and, it is said, within ten years of Dutch arrival the

the traditional culture had largely collapsed (Adriani, 1932, 22). During this transitional period the highland people were nominally converted to Christianity and the task of integrating old ways and new beliefs was begun.

Social Organization

Prior to Dutch arrival the highland people lived in nucleated villages mainly during the non-agricultural season. During the rest of the year they spent their time in dispersed settlements of perhaps three to eight households located near their fields. The field houses themselves were temporary affairs built on stilts a meter or two off the ground. The floor consisted of bamboo or branches in times of peace, thick bark or wood planks if enemy attack was feared.

Nucleated settlements, on the other hand, were built on ridges and strongly fortified. Among the eastern people, the Pamona, precolonial villages consisted of clusters of longhouses on high slender supports. In the western upland areas families lived separately. Houses were elevated on thick poles and walled with bamboo or bark. Roofs were made of thatch or bamboo shingles.

Prior to this century an adat or traditional house was the community center, a place used for guests and feasting. Adriani, Kruijt, and Kaudern refer to these buildings as temples since they served as the repositories for skulls and places of religious practice, but they were clearly used for secular activity as well. Many of these buildings disappeared with headhunting, others fell into disuse when the Dutch consolidated villages after 1905, some survived in the highlands to be

destroyed in the Islamic insurrections of the 1950's.

It is obvious from local histories that warfare has always been endemic in the highlands. In the past, men fought for heads, skulls, or scalps to present to their gods to assure the smooth continuation of the moral order. Enemies were taken as slaves, and revenge was necessitated by an attack on one's property or kin. To fall under the suzerainty of a petty raja no doubt afforded some protection to the beleaguered villagers, but it also involved them in conflicts not of their own making. In one war at the end of the last century, the entire population south of Parigi was driven from the land after a long period of conflict between two rival kingdoms. Presumably the combined efforts of headhunters and power hungry rajas accounted, in no small part, for the low population densities throughout Central Sulawesi.

With the exception of the Minahassa, all the people of Sulawesi were clearly class-stratified; and while the degree of stratification varied from area to area, most people recognized at least four classes -- the rajas, their descendents, commoners, and slaves. Ordinarily, rulers were selected from the most eligible young men of the noble class. The raja then married a first wife from the highest class, thereby maximizing the status and opportunity for the succession of his sons. After that a raja took commoner wives and concubines as he pleased (a ransom could be paid to free a slave).

The fate of slaves varied. Some escaped, others were freed after reasonable service, still others earned their independence. In one particularly feudal custom, a Kaili slave could obtain freedom by bathing in the water used to wash the corpse of his dead master. Those who

did not gain independence in one way or another provided the basis for families of slave-servants which arose within wealthy households.

To balance the picture it must be emphasized that the degree of stratification varied widely from area to area and group to group. Most areas of wealth and trade had nobility of some sort -- the rajas of Sigi and Parigi, for example, were quite powerful; but the Pamona, on the other hand, were minimally touched by rank and had very few slaves among them. The further from the center of power and conflict the more the people approached the sterotypic picture of classless shifting cultivators.

Subsistence

When the Dutch arrived in Palu and Parigi they found scattered low-land farmers planting wet rice in a primitive manner. Buffalo were walked back and forth across wet fields and the seed broadcast without transplanting. In general, however, the people of the area were shifting cultivators who relied on slash and burn techniques for the fertility of their fields. Such farmers were little tied to their land and moved to a new site when the fertility of the soil began to decline.

Although the most important crop was rice; chili, manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas and coconut were also planted. Coconuts, in particular, were highly valued in the lowlands, and with a little practice an individual quickly learns to estimate the age of scattered villages by the size and density of coconut trees in the vicinity.

In the not infrequent case of crop failure, people salvaged what they could and turned to other resources. Happily, the virgin forests of Central Sulawesi provide plentiful quantities of meat, tubers, and

and fruit, as well as a drunken man's dream -- the wild sagu palm (Metroxylon Rumphii). Unfortunately sagu grows only in the swampy lowlands. In upland areas a tree called pohon enau (Arenga Pinnata) is tapped for sap, but it does not have the starchy trunk of the sagu palm. For this reason hunger is not unknown in the highlands, and when crops are unsuccessful the people today turn to maize, manioc, and wage employment.

Today the people of Central Sulawesi grow a number of new crops including coffee, cloves, peanuts, tobacco and a variety of vegetables hitherto unheard of. They are being caught up in the green revolution, the production of surplus, and a taste for canned salmon, tinned biscuits and beer. But change comes slowly and most farmers remain near the subsistence level. They have little and lack little. They themselves note with irony the contrast between their official poverty (the second lowest per capita income in Indonesia) and unofficial plenty. "We may lack rice," they say, "but we never lack food." And they continue in comfortable self-effacement, "perhaps that's why we're so lazy."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prehistory

Oral history does little to clarify the origins of the people of Central Sulawesi. In both legend and popular belief the people have always lived where they are, their forefathers springing from leaves and seeds or from bamboo impregnated by divine ancestors.

Archeology has little more to say in spite of the fact that Central Sulawesi has some of the most remarkable megalithic monuments on earth. For example, in addition to stone menhirs such as those found throughout

south and central Sulawesi, highland Central Sulawesi has also yielded stone mortars, vats, and enormous stone images from the old lake basins of Napa, Bada, and Basoa. One vat in Basoa is two meters high, seven meters in circumference, and has eight human faces in relief on the sides (cf Kaudern, 1938, 66). In Bada huge stone images are found on the shores of an ancient lake; the largest of these measures 44 cm (about 14 1/2 feet), and has a round face with a diameter of 175 cm (nearly six feet across) (ibid, 94). Kaudern counted 38 mortar-like stones, 32 vats or covers, and 25 statues in the highlands.

Heine-Geldern has hypothesized that these megaliths arrived in Southeast Asia with the Dongsong culture (149). But while carbon dating has been done on the Dongsong in mainland and peninsular Asia, the fact that there are living megalithic cultures in Indonesia makes the age of these monuments extremely uncertain. Nonetheless, the absence of the buffalo motif (Kaudern, 1938, 174), and the location of these findings on the shores of long dead lakes suggests that the upland areas have been inhabited for a very long time.

The Historical Record

The recent history of Sulawesi is only slightly better understood than the archaeological record. As elsewhere in the archipelago, Islam and the Portuguese arrived and survived symbiotically. According to historians, Malacca -- a trade center on the Malay coast -- first adopted Islam in 1414 (Cady, 166). From Malacca the Islamic faith was carried throughout the spice islands. (See Figure 3.11, next page). Ternate, the most influential kingdom in the east, was affected by Islam as early as 1430 and the Sultan himself converted in 1475 (Team, c, 9). Apparently the

northern and eastern shores of Sulawesi were already in contact with, and commercially linked to Ternate at that time.

The Portuguese took Malacca in 1511, and, downplaying their own religious intentions, used Moslem intermediaries to expand and extend existing trade lines. By mid-century the Portuguese permeated trade relations throughout the east. In 1555 they even built a fortress in Parigi presumably to defend their trade interests in the area. Remains of this fort were visible well into the 20th century and its influence still lingers, for today the harbor of Parigi is called Lodji -- the Portuguese word for fort.

During the mid-1500's Islam, no doubt, became increasingly familiar to the inhabitants of small trade centers in the mid-Celebes. But the official date for the establishment of Islam in Central Sulawesi is not until 1602 (Team, c, 9). In that year it is said that Datok Kerama

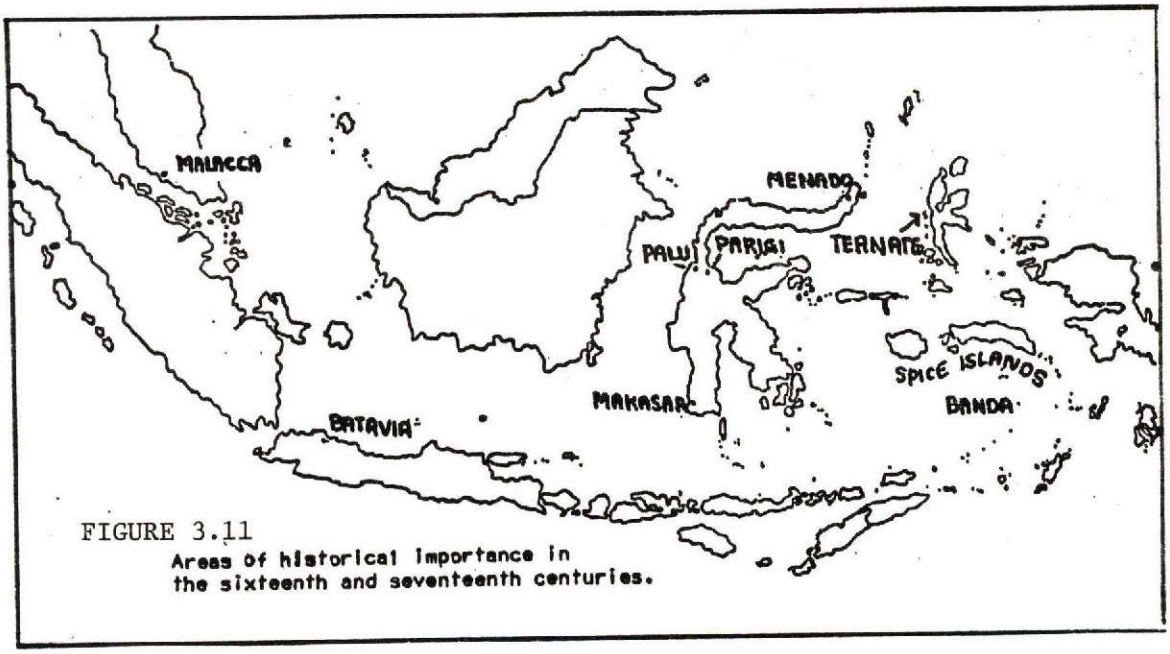


FIGURE 3.11
Areas of historical importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

and Datok Mangaji arrived in Palu and Parigi respectively. These two brothers from the Minangkabau area of Sumatra married, settled, and remained in the area to promote their commercial interests and attend to the propagation of the faith. Makassar was not officially converted to Islam until 1605, although it had clearly experienced Islamic influence long before that (ibid, 8).

With the Portuguese ouster from Ternate in 1574 their influence in the eastern islands began to wane; it collapsed completely with the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641 (Moorhead, 1, 231-235). By this time, however, the Dutch had already become the most important commercial power in the spice islands. Following the establishment of the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) or the Dutch East Indies Company in 1602, the eastern islands of Ambon (1605), Tidore (1608) and Banda (1609), fell rapidly under Dutch control.

Free of involvement in Europe's thirty years war, the Dutch used this time to consolidate their commercial activity in the absence of serious rivals. In 1663 the Dutch took Menado, and in 1667 they conquered Makassar with the help of the sultans of Ternate and Bone (Cady, 219). In monopolizing the trade of these cities the Dutch effectively drove the Bugis to piracy and assimilated the entrepreneurial class of the Minahassa. The cities themselves became the major commercial centers of the area for the next two centuries.

Central Sulawesi 1600-1900

While not so strategic as the north or the south, neither was Central Sulawesi ignored by the long arm of the VOC. In 1680 there is a report

that Jan Fransoon, a Dutchman, was delegated by Governor Robert Padtbugge of Ternate to meet with Magu Ma'ruf of Parigi on the subject of trade and taxes (Team, c. 11). Apparently both ToliToli and Palu paid tribute to Ternate at that time (ibid, 12).

In 1730 the VOC established an outpost in Parigi itself, presumably in an effort to share in the local gold mines (Colenbrander, 411). Early on, however, the raja of Parigi established a reputation for incorrigibility. Not only did the local raja take most of the gold, he refused the Dutch permission to depart. In 1793 a VOC report stated that Parigi was the most dangerous spot in the area; and Colenbrander (411) reports continued piracy and military skirmishes throughout the 1800's.

For unknown reasons Parigi Impuu was shelled in 1857 (ibid). It is possible that this shelling corresponds to a series of serious internecine wars between Parigi and Sigi which Kruijt dates around 1860. As this incident bears directly on the Balinese settlement in Parigi, however, the story bears elaboration here.

Although Kruijt's account of these wars is extremely contradictory (1898, 384-396), it seems from present day recollections that Parigi and Sigi were engaged in an ongoing struggle to determine hegemony in the area. While Sigi was the most powerful kingdom of the period, Parigi was an important polity in its own right, and for this reason a Princess of Sigi had married into the house of Parigi. According to one version of the story, however, the Princess was so humbled by her treatment in

Parigi that she herself begged her kinsmen to wage war on her husband's house.

At the same time, the people directly south of Parigi, the To Balinggi, became allied with Sigi. No doubt Sigi provided some protection against untrammeled exploitation by the raja to the north. Chafing at this alliance and expecting an attack by sea, the raja of Parigi advanced by land and destroyed all the settlements of the To Balinggi between Dolago and Sausu (ibid). The inhabitants then fled. In another, less likely version of this story, Sigi destroyed the houses and took the inhabitants as slaves.

The significant point is that the area between Dolago and Sausu (about 40 km) was entirely depopulated. When Kruijt arrived in 1897, this land was referred to as Tana Boa, the unsettled country. Forty years after the war the land was still uninhabited, and after almost one hundred years it was populated by only a handful of refugees and traders. It is to this land that the Balinese were drawn a century later, an event, they believe, foreshadowed by the name "Balinggi." Balinggi in Balinese sounds like "Bali, yes!"

Until the early twentieth century Central Sulawesi maintained its autonomy through inconspicuousness and recalcitrance, but the advance of the Dutch was ultimately irreversible. In 1892 the Dutch signed their first contracts with Sigi-Biromaru (ibid) and in 1895 a second contract was signed abolishing autonomous kingdoms and establishing swapradja, self-governing units with the right to govern internal affairs (Toana, 19-20).

Even then, however, the Dutch had no easy time. A number of battles had to be fought in Napu, Tinombo, Ampana and elsewhere before the population was subdued. In 1905 2,000 natives of Dolo, Kulawi, Lindu and Sigi united in opposition to the Dutch army (ibid, 21). Fighting an Australian commander with well armed Ambonese soldiers, the locals held out from December 11, 1905 until January 15, 1906 when they were decisively defeated. Thereafter, all of Central Sulawesi fell rapidly under Dutch control.

Parigi: 1905-1959

At the turn of the century the Tana Boa was completely depopulated; by mid-century scattered hamlets existed at the mouths of important rivers and at a few inland sites. Parigi, itself, had become an important commercial center and an area of considerable ethnic diversity. Since this growth is part of the Sulawesi record, it seems profitable to violate the overall chronology -- which includes the story of the Balinese movement into the area -- and to document local history, prior to 1959 in this chapter. After 1960 the Balinese and Parigi stories become inextricably intertwined.

The first Kaili to move into the Tana Boa were not Tara speakers from Parigi as one might expect, but Rai speaking people from an area north of Palu. They moved to Tindaki and Torue (Figure 3.12), between 1904 and 1908 seeking relief from the incursions of the Dutch on the west coast. In the end they gained little from the move since all of Central Sulawesi fell under direct Dutch supervision within the next decade.

In time, however, these Kaili-Rai refugees were joined by Tara speaking people from the vicinity of Parigi, and Bare'e (Pamona) speak-

ing people from the area around Poso. These groups were culturally similar, they were swidden cultivators who supplemented their diets with sago and fish (neither group was particularly adept at sailing); and gradually they developed the distinctive manner and intermediate dialect which marks the watershed between Kaili and Pamona people today.

Minahassa first came into the area about 1910. Most were government officials charged with administration and police work within the new colonial government. As such their language and customs came to have a considerable impact on the local Kaili people. None of the Minahassa threatened the Kaili claim to their land, however, as none of them were farmers.

The Bugis, for their part, had long been present in Parigi as traders, and only in 1926 did the first Bugis families request land in the Tana Boa. At that time, some locals objected. They claimed that their adat did not permit the transfer of land to those of another suku (ethnic group). Towana, the offcial in charge, replied that everyone was descendant from Adam and therefore of the same suku. With that he gave them the land and effectively ended Kaili claims to exclusive rights in the lands surrounding Parigi.

In 1925 the Dutch began work on a road from Palu. In anticipation of increased trade a permanent market was constructed in Parigi in 1927. When the road was completed in 1930 it reduced the arduous three day walk to a pleasant three hour drive. It also made Parigi a focal point for the accumulation and redistribution of supplies throughout the Gulf of Tomini. With this increased importance, Chinese, Arab, and Bugis merchants arrived to set up shop.

Not far behind the merchants were traders dealing in the products of Parigi's virgin forest. Bada, Basoa, Mandar and Bugis were attracted to the area looking for lumber, ebony, resin, rattan, and even crocodile skins for ladies purses. Some stayed only briefly, but others married and settled down.

In the mid-1930's these traders were joined by more than one hundred families from the Bada, Basoa, and Poso highlands who had left their areas in reaction against Dutch regimentation and the enforced planting of coffee and cloves. From this time on, the Tana Boa was to be a place of refuge.

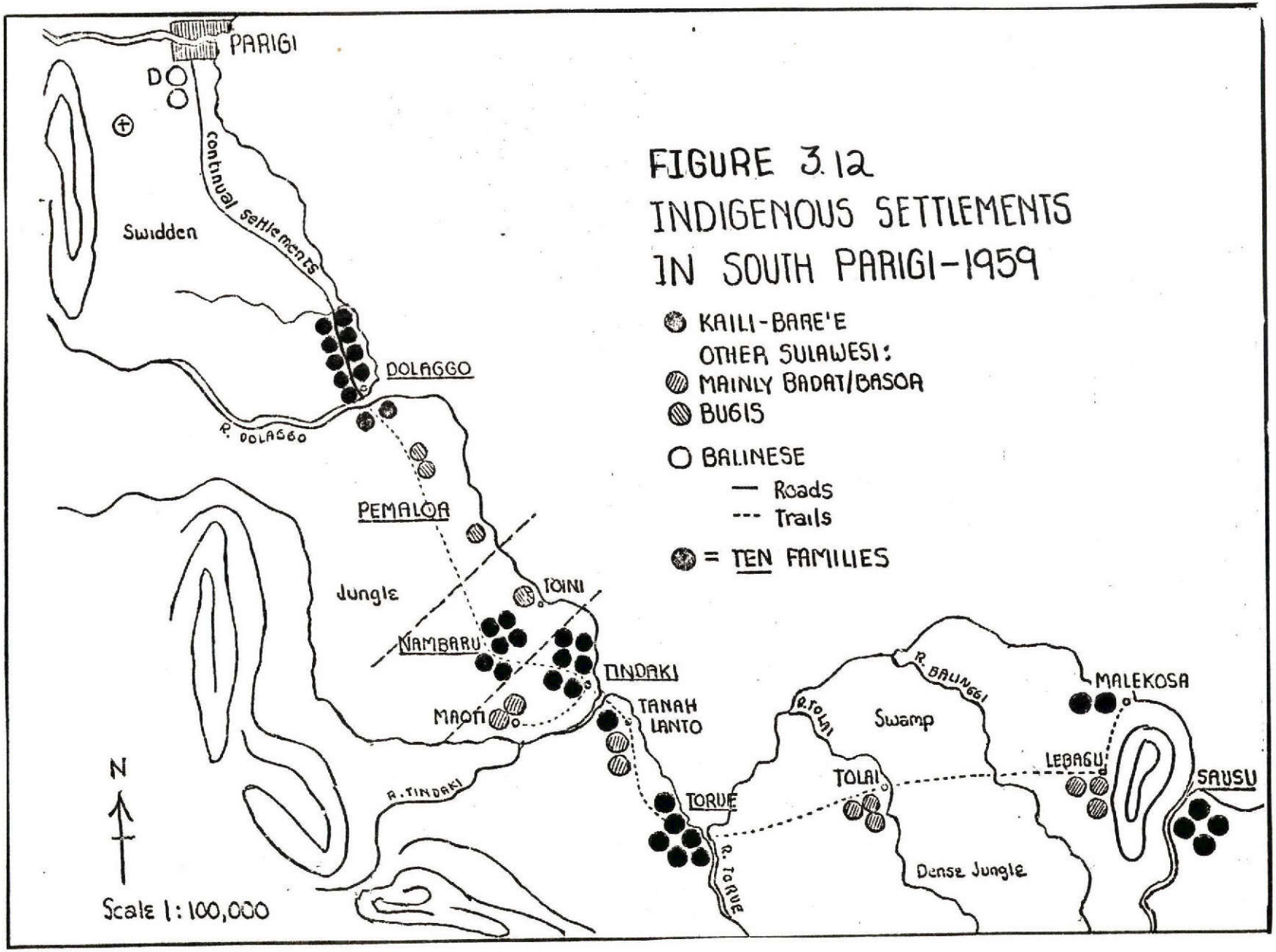
The residents of the town of Parigi, and those in the south, were minimally affected by World War II. They saw American planes flying from Molokai to north Borneo, and they experienced the war through rations and radio reports. Japanese were stationed throughout the area and earned the enmity of the people with their self-centered disregard for local welfare. When they discovered the superior taste and tenderness of the Balinese cattle, for example, they butchered every cow in a herd of several hundred, reducing the Balinese to water buffalo and manpower to cultivate their crops.

Throughout the revolution Sulawesi was under Dutch control, and escaped most of the conflict which racked the islands of Bali and Java. In 1952-53, however, the Tana Boa began receiving refugees from Islamic insurrections in the south. Some twenty families from Rampi and Rongkong (south Sulawesi) settled in Lebagu; scattered others went to Tolai and Tanah Lanto. (See Figure 3.12).

What began as Moslem agitation to establish Indonesia as an Islamic state, gradually escalated into a full scale secessionist movement intended to separate the outer islands -- particularly Sulawesi and Sumatra -- from the cultural and economic domination of Java. In 1958 this led to an unholy alliance in which the Islamic forces of south Sulawesi joined hands with the Christian Menadoese and called for an autonomous political state. This movement, called PERMESTA, occured mainly in 1957-58, but as early as 1955 the road to Palu was cut by Islamic forces. During this period, kidnapping increased, migration ceased, and the people of Central Sulawesi stayed close to populated areas.

In late 1958 the back of the secessionist movement in Central Sulawesi was broken with the capture and execution of the PERMESTA leaders. Then in a last spasm of military activity some 1,000 guerrillas and their dependents, who had been fighting in the highlands, began a retreat to Parigi where they hoped to meet a ship from Menado. Nominally allied with pro-government forces, Parigians put up sporadic resistance to the withdrawal. Olabaru somehow managed to get itself shelled, and and old man was killed who was unable to get out of the way. In the end, however, the suspense proved greater than the action. Civilians happened to be deep in the jungle when the rebels passed through, the evacuation ship outmaneuvered the Indonesian Navy, the rendezvous was made, rebels and refugees proceeded north.

With peace in 1959, population movements in south Parigi temporarily subsided. From Parigi to Dolaggo the land was more or less continuously populated by indigenous (Tara speaking) slash and burn agriculturalists


PARIGI
DO
Swidden
continual settlements
DOLAGGO
R. DOLAGGO
PEMALOA
Jungle
TOINI
NAMBARU
TINDAKI
MAOTI
TANAH LANTO
R. TINDAKI
TORUE
R. TORUE
R. TOLAI
Swamp
R. BALINGGI
MALEKOSA
LEBAGU
TOLAI
SAUSU
Dense Jungle
N
Scale 1:100,000
FIGURE 3.12
INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS
IN SOUTH PARIGI-1959
KAILI-BARE'E
OTHER SULAWESI:
MAINLY BADAT/BASOA
BUGIS
BALINESE
Roads
Trails
= TEN FAMILIES

living near the shore. South of Dolaggo the land was inhabited exclusively by people who had moved into the area in the preceeding fifty years (see Figure 3.12). At the major river mouths such as Tindaki, Torue and Sausu, for example, there were sizeable settlements of Kaili and Pamona. Tindaki had a population of about seventy-five families, Torue and Sausu both had one-hundred families or more. Nambaru, the only inland village of indigenous people, numbered perhaps sixty-five Bare'e (Pamona) households.

The only other free-standing communities in the Tana Boa consisted almost entirely of refugees from the highland areas of Napu, Bada, Basoa and Kulawi. Fifteen of these families lived in Maoti, twenty in Tanah Lanto, and fifty to sixty in Lebagu and Tolai (Figure 3.12). In the entire Tana Boa, however, there were fewer than 500 families on more than 50,000 hectares of potentially irrigable land.

Conclusion

The lowlands of Parigi were never densely populated as poor soils and malarial swamps confined most indigenous people to lake valleys in the highlands. In the 1860's, moreover, those few people who did live along the coast between Parigi and Poso were decimated by warfare; warfare which left the land between Dolaggo and Sausu completely depopulated.

When the Dutch arrived at the turn of the century, they instituted a policy requiring all natives to live in nucleated villages which could be used as administrative sites. Under these regulations

repopulation of the Tana Boa was impossible. In the 1930's the collapse of the Indies economy and the deterioration of Indies administration resulted in the influx of the first refugees to the area. Between 1940 and 1960, however, Sulawesi was almost ceaselessly at war:

1942 - 45, World War II,

1945 - 50, the Indonesian Revolution,

1952 - 56, Darul Islam,

1957 - 58, PERMESTA.

During these years population movement was minimal, and the Tana Boa remained largely uninhabited. Whereas in 1960 Bali had over three hundred people per square kilometer, the Tana Boa had no more than four.

In the next fifteen years, however, 15,000 Balinese flooded into south Parigi, most of them arriving between 1970 and 1974. Just how these migrants got from Bali -- island of the gods, to the god forsaken swamps of Central Sulawesi, is the subject of the ensuing chapters: a social history of the Balinese movement to Central Sulawesi, from 1906 to 1974.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FORCED - STAGE IA

According to the 1971 census there were 2,154,000 Balinese, of whom only 57,000 lived outside of Bali. This means that less than one-quarter of one percent of all Balinese lived outside the province in which they were born. For Indonesians as a whole the rate is nearly five percent (Speare, 66), and only three provinces in the Republic have migration rates which are under one percent (ibid).

Most Balinese, in fact, die within a few kilometers of the place of their birth. Young men generally marry women from the same, or a nearby village, and then take their brides into the ancestral home. Thus both men and women tend to live out their lives in a world which is figured with relatives, rules, and landmarks, familiar since their childhoods. The extended family itself forms the basis of most important social relationships. Individuals become members of community and temple organizations solely by virtue of their membership in specific households. People are addressed not by personal names, which sound isolated and alienating, but by names which specify their position in the family; mother of ..., grandfather of ..., child one or two, and so forth.

Adat, or traditional law, sanctions the intertwining obligations which knit separate families into a complex whole. For example, upon marriage, a couple becomes part of a network of households which aid one another in times of celebration and suffering. These suka-duka groups

spring less from collective planning than the private knowledge that what one gives, one can claim in return. For Balinese to physically remove themselves from groups in which they have assisted with births, marriages, sickness, and death, means that they must abandon certain helpmates for strangers on whom they have no claims.

Agricultural relationships are also based on the principle of reciprocity called, in this case, gotong-royong or "mutual self-help". Where labor is in short supply, detailed records are kept of family contributions to communal work, and fines are levied if a family's representative is either absent or late. In this exact reckoning, even past efforts count, so it is often easier for men to start an entirely new subak (irrigation society) in a new area, than to attempt to join a functioning one and repay the cost of the long-term members' work. Given the difficulty of moving into established organizations, only the most marginal farmers will be likely to see any profit in leaving their old land, where, if nothing else, they are at least assured their rights and water by virtue of years of communal work.

Temple functioning too, depends on the careful calculation of duties. And while self-interest dictates full participation in suka-duka and subak activities, it is the fear of spirits and neighbors which ultimately guarantees that every family meets temple responsibilities. In cases of non-participation, ostracization is the last resort. When Balinese Christians refused to contribute to the maintenance of community temples, they ceased to be members of the community. Early Christian converts relate that their neighbors began to act as though they were no longer there. They were refused help and even conversation. When friends

walked by them it was as though they could no longer be seen. When this proved ineffective, Christians were forcibly driven from the communities in which they had spent their entire lives. In analogous situations, Hindus may be refused the right to leave kin and temple obligations. This then makes migration difficult, if not impossible. For to move in the face of such opposition would be to forfeit the right to any future support.

Religious observances, like religious obligations, are associated with a particular place. Temples are the property of the family, dadia (extended family), subak or community which maintains them. Traditionally there was no community of believers other than those who contributed to a single temple's support. Balinese seldom enter temples they do not belong to, and even the gods are careful to frequent temples to which they are specifically tied.

Balinese cosmology reinforces this sense of place. The holy mountain of Bali, the Gunung Agung, is the navel of the world. Temples are oriented toward it, directions derived from it, and in relation to it the Balinese orients himself in space. Balinese have been said to turn their faces to the mountains and their backs to the sea, and the expression seems most apt. Unlike many other Indonesian groups the Balinese are neither seafarers nor fishermen. They do not have the custom of merantau, the period of wandering. They know little of other islands, and what they do know convinces them that Bali is the very best place to be.

This general appreciation of the status quo is enhanced by Balinese hesitance in situations which are unknown. Because Balinese villages have

been so encapsulated, they have independently evolved complicated variations on a few basic themes. Codes for proper language, dress and behavior vary from place to place. And for this reason, uneducated Balinese are likely to feel awkward and uncomfortable when moved from familiar surroundings to situations where they feel they must save face. Gradually this self-consciousness is diminishing, however, as the Balinese world is expanded through experience and education.

Yet even today, a kind of provincialism, self-satisfaction, and fear of the unknown, combine to keep the Balinese generally in their social and physical places. Until recently, rural Balinese without education and special aptitude, rarely moved except under great duress. Christians moved to west Bali to excape religious persecution, Hindus moved to Dumoga (north Sulawesi) as refugees from the eruption of the Gunung Agung. Parigi was the same. The first Balinese to land there were exiles banished from their homes in Bali.

The Exiles -- Those Forced from Their Homes

The Historical Setting

At the turn of the century, the government of the Netherlands' Indies was consolidating its authority and rationalizing its administration throughout the archipelago. Under the ethical policy promulgated from Holland in 1901, it formally abandoned the policy of non-interference in the affairs of native states. With this, it extended direct control to previously inaccessible areas -- such as Central Sulawesi, and previously protected areas -- such as the feudal kingdoms of Java and Bali.

Dutch intervention in Balinese matters, had actually begun in 1848. In that year, the Dutch landed troops in Buleleng (north Bali) over a

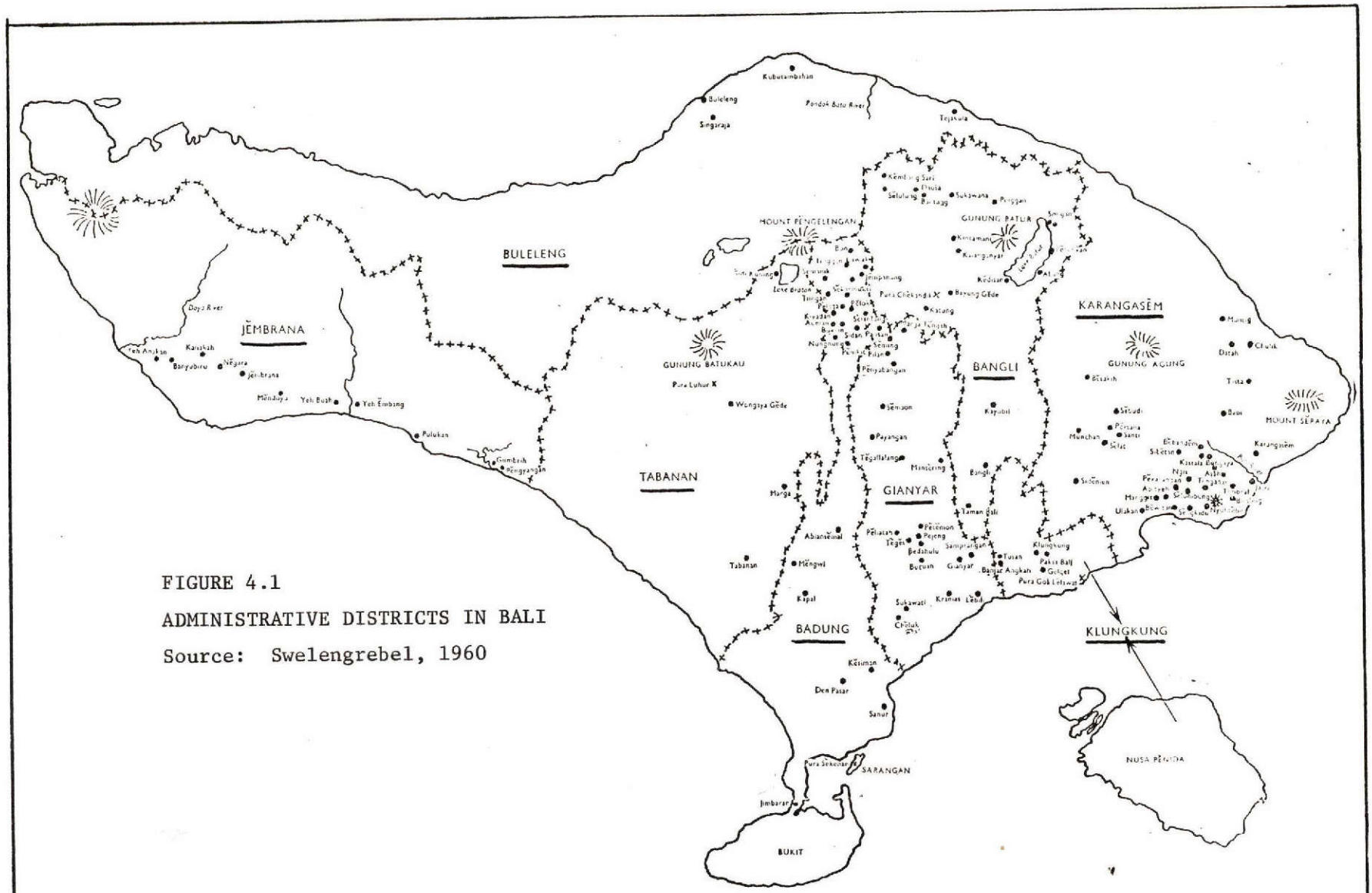


FIGURE 4.1

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS IN BALI

Source: Swelengrebel, 1960

trivial issue regarding salvage rights to a sunken ship. What began as a minor skirmish, eventually became a full-scale military operation which Vandenbosch called " ... one of the most important campaigns in the archipelago" (11, 324). As a result of this operation the Dutch were able to affect the choice of rajas in four princely states (including Lombok), and these rajas, in turn, agreed to destroy their military fortifications and take the Dutch side in all future wars (ibid).

In 1860 the Dutch appointed an Assistant Resident to Bali, and after complaints from the Balinese he engineered the exile of the raja of west Bali. The raja of north Bali was deposed in the 1870's. Without their feudal hierarchies these two states were placed under Dutch control in 1882. The arrival of Governor-General Van der Wijck in 1893 marks the end of even the pretense of non-intervention in the affairs of the Balinese (ibid). In 1894 a military operation ordered by Van der Wijck, resulted in the subordination of Lombok's Balinese elite and the exile of her royal family. Karangasem (east Bali) was then brought under direct government control.

In 1898 the Resident in north Bali, was informed of a political study group reputed to be plotting against the Dutch. Following an examination of the issue, he ordered the exile of six Balinese from Singaradja (north Bali) to Banda, a labor-short coral atoll, 1500 kilometers away. As one might expect, descendents of these men say that there was no truth to the allegations of disloyalty; they claim their ancestors were betrayed by a rival political faction. Be that as it may, this unlikely group of six political exiles was the base upon which the migration to Central Sulawesi was eventually to be built.

The Early Exiles, 1906 - 1910

Banda, among the most beautiful of the islands in the Indonesian archipelago, was an inhospitable prison to the Balinese. A hot, dry, coral reef planted entirely in nutmeg, Banda had neither the water nor the land needed for ricefields. There was little for the Balinese to do there but open coffee shops and engage in petty trade. From the stories of this period one has the picture of early exiles creeping up to great plantation homes and peddling fried bananas and sweets to the Dutch overseers and their household servants.

After the turn of the century, the six original exiles were joined by eight more, these banished for crimes against Balinese adat, or customary law. The second group fared no better than the first. Wearying of their life in Banda they made every effort to leave. They petitioned the Dutch to reduce their sentences to no avail. Then they begged to be allowed to move to Lombok or Java -- anywhere they could plant wet rice. To make their point, Pan Manis, one of the original six resolved

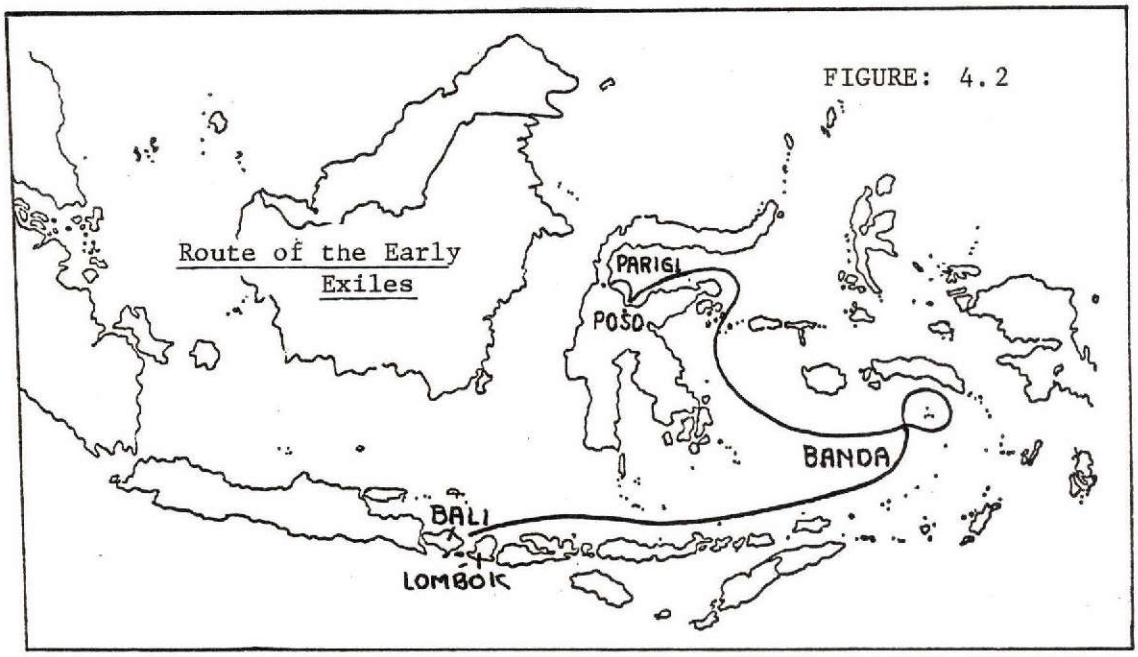


FIGURE: 4.2

to lead the group in a fast. It is said that he neither ate nor drank for two weeks until at last the Dutch relented.

It may have been less pity than common sense which caused the change of heart. The government had just opened the territory of Central Sulawesi and was casting about for wet rice agriculturalists who would move there and provide an example to the indigenous population. How the need of the government for models was associated with the Balinese desire to leave Banda is another of the coincidences which mark the history of this migration movement, but once the connection was made the solution was obvious. If the Balinese would move to Central Sulawesi, the government could kill both proverbial birds with one stone. The Balinese could farm, the locals would have their example. The Dutch offered them the choice.

It is doubtful that the Balinese were overjoyed at the prospect of moving to yet another remote island with unknown people and unknown problems, but the knowledge that Sulawesi had ample water and unlimited land at last prevailed. After eight years in Banda, they were ready to go. According to contemporary accounts, of the original fourteen, two remained in Banda with local wives, another had died. Thus eleven Balinese families left Banda in late 1906 (Figure 4.3). The Dutch arranged for their transport from Banda to Poso and provided small stipends for additional expenses. In Poso the exiles waited a week until a boat was found, and then they set sail to the north. On December 11, 1906, an ambivalent band of Balinese landed in Lodji -- the harbor of Parigi.

Figure 4.3 Early Exiles to Parigi

Exile		From	Reason for Exile
1. Pak Sudarmo	(no wife)	Singaradja	Opposition to the Dutch
2. Dewa Kepug	(no wife)	Singaradja	Opposition to the Dutch
3. Pan Ranis	(no wife)	Singaradja	Opposition to the Dutch
4. Pan Tapesan	(Ranis' brother)	Singaradja	Opposition to the Dutch
5. Pan Manis	(Danang's father)	Singaradja	Opposition to the Dutch

With Pan Manis came his Balinese wife whom he had married in Banda. She was the former wife of a minor noble in Tabanan. According to the story, her co-wives told tales about her and she fled to North Bali. There she was discovered and exiled.

6. Pan Jero — Tabanan — Adat Offense
Pan Jero was married in Banda to another wife of a raja of Tabanan. In fact, Pan Jero fled to Buleleng with this woman and the woman mentioned above, there he was apprehended and exiled with them. Pan Manis therefore regarded Pan Jero as his father-in-law.

7. Gusti Putu Lombotan — Gianyar — Adat Offense
He married a woman of the same caste whose father was a minister of the raja. For this reason her status was higher than his and they were both exiled for mis-caste marriage.

8. Wayan Jelada — Tabanan — Adat Offense
He married a woman who was an intended bride of a noble (raja?) in Tabanan. He carried two wives into exile to Banda and Parigi.

9. Ketut Rarod (?with wife) Karangasem Adat Offense

10. Ketut Biang — Karangasem — Adat Offense
No wife in Banda, he remarried in Parigi.

11. Guru Gede Tjomdol — Gianyar — Adat Offense
Accompanied by a wife from Bali

12. Dewa Raka
A dancer in the raja's court. It is said he was so handsome that all of the raja's wives were crazy about him. The raja became jealous and had him exiled. He was not in Banda and actually arrived in early 1907.

Early Adaptation

When they first arrived in Parigi the exiles camped near the shore to the south of the town; there they suffered from mosquitos and malaria. Next they moved to an inland area several kilometers away. They were driven from this area by local disapproval of their cremation practices and colorful lives. Eventually they settled a kilometer from the harbor in a place to be called Kampung Bali.

The Kaili may well have had reason to wonder at their visitors. Not only did the exiles come with checkered pasts, they persisted with their general disregard for decorum. When Dewa Raka arrived, for example he stayed with the village head. Living up to his reputation as a lady's man he promptly made off with the headman's wife -- proving, one supposes, that the raja had reason to worry.

Worse than Balinese behavior, from the Kaili point of view, was their commitment to burning rather than burying the dead. Even today bizarre stories persist that the early Balinese buried corpses with heads peering out of the ground, cremated bodies which were not yet cold, and so on. And while it is unlikely that any of these tales are true, they suggest the emotional impact which Balinese funeral customs had on the local people.

The Balinese reaction to local disapproval was condescension. Having associated with the Dutch in Banda, scornful of both the culture and agriculture among the Kaili, and unable to speak a common tongue (there was not yet an Indonesian language), the Balinese kept largely to themselves. Through Dutch mediation they received stipends,

supplies, and good land which they planted in rice.

Since the Balinese were unaccustomed to using water buffalo and local long stemmed rices, soon after their arrival they requested that the Dutch send them Balinese cattle and seed. One exile also requested that his ten year old son and his nephew accompany these goods. Thus in 1907, Ketut Danang[1], his cousin, the seeds, and twenty-eight cattle (one pair for each of fourteen families), found themselves bound from Bali to Palu. Ketut Danang, a child at the time, is still alive today, and it is he who has provided the stories, information and link to those early days in Parigi.

With the Balinese cattle and Balinese seed, the exiles set about clearing their land. In the first few years, each family opened about one bau (0.7 hectare) of land. They worked in cooperative groups in cutting, clearing, plowing and making sawah (wet ricefields). Most of the work was done within the Balinese community as Danang claims they had no way to talk to the locals. No doubt they also found it easier and cheaper to work with other Balinese. The leaders of Kampung Bali did approach local officials to request the use of a dam some four kilometers away, but they made no attempt to work with the indigenous agriculturalists, nor did they form an irrigation society. In fact, except for a brief period in the 1920's, the people of Kampung Bali never formed a subak -- the quintessential Balinese agricultural organization.

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[1]To facilitate recall, the names of important male migrants will be underlined the first time they are mentioned.. Since the men are regarded as the representatives of their households, women's personal names will not generally be given.

In the initial stages of the settlement, simple household temples were constructed and daily offering were made, but the ceremonial cycle was greatly curtailed and no village temples were constructed. Pan Manis, Danang's father, became the first pemangku or lay Hindu priest. He had dabbled in religion in Bali and proceeded on intuition in Parigi. The first crisis of his religious career occured when his assumed father-in-law (Pan Jero) died. No one knew about cremations. Feeling responsible, Pan Manis wrote to a priest in Bali. He asked what to do about the complicated ritual since they had no experts in Parigi. The priest replied that all they needed was make an offering of food to Bhatara Surya (the sun), from whom they would request holy water. After that they should make an offering of cooked rice to Sang Pertiwi (the earth). Then they could cremate the corpse. Many of the Balinese were ambivalent about attempting the ceremony, feeling that something might go wrong. But Pan Manis insisted they proceed and they did. In these years the Balinese maintained the right to do pretty much as they pleased.

The Expansion of the Exile Community 1910 - 1928

In 1910 a visitor arrived who altered the history of the small exile community. The guest, Anak Agung Made Jilantik, was no less than a son of the deposed raja of Lombok. At the end of the 19th century, most of Lombok was ruled by Balinese nobles from Karangasem (east Bali). In order to stop Balinese abuse of the indigenous Sasak population and advance their own colonial interests, the Dutch attacked the capital of Lombok in 1894. According to the legend told in Parigi, when the King of Lombok saw that he was defeated he got into a carriage pulled by green horses and ascended to heaven without leaving a corpse. According to the more mundane accounts of history, the raja and his four sons were banished to Batavia.

The aged raja died within months of his exile, but the sons lived royally in Batavia and Bogor. Jilantik, one of the sons, amused himself by traveling among Balinese exiles scattered in the outer islands. He had been living for a time among outcasts in Benkulu (Sumatra) when he first heard of Parigi. Jilantik, a colorful character, with a beard to his waist, is still remembered in the tales of the local people.

When he first arrived, Jilantik stayed with the head of Kampung Bali, and then spent several months with Pan Manis and his son Ketut Danang. The longer he stayed, the more convinced he became that this area had the most fertile fields and most regular rainfall outside of Bali. He concluded that all future exiles should be sent to Sulawesi. Thus with the blessings of those in Kampung Bali, Jilantik returned to Bogor in 1910 to persuade the Dutch to send to Parigi any Balinese exiles not guilty of criminal offenses.

In Bali, at the turn of the century, feudal privilege, reinforced by tradition, required the death penalty for certain non-criminal offenses against the adat (traditional law). Among these offenses were miscaste marriage -- marrying a woman of higher status, and intimacies with the wives or intended wives of a noble. When the Dutch arrived they abolished the death penalty for such cases, but agreed, in turn, to remove adat offenders from Bali, as their impurity defiled any areas where they remained.

At first the exiles were banished to scattered parts of the archipelago and supported by small stipends, but Parigi offered a positive alternative. Not only could the exiles become self-supporting, they could promote

regional interests by providing an agricultural model for the local population. At Jilantik's request, the government willingly assigned further Balinese exiles to Parigi.

In 1912 Jilantik returned to Parigi with two exile families and his younger brother. In 1913 three additional families followed. Thereafter, a slow trickle began consisting of several families a year. All of the arrivals were guilty of adat offenses; most were being punished for miscaste marriage. Since the length of exile varied according to the degree of caste difference (hence, the degree of pollution), migrants arrived with sentences of three, five, eight years or even life. Gradually, therefore, a stream and counter-stream developed; Ketut Danang himself left Parigi in 1918. Although some fifty to sixty Balinese families must have resided in Parigi over the years, the community seems to have been no larger than forty households at any given time.

In the early 1920's the exile community was at its height. Over one hundred hectares of sawah had been planted, and rice fields extended as far as one could see. Coconut trees had matured, the cattle had reproduced, and the community prospered. At one point the ambitious Balinese even began to plant two rice crops a year, but the water was irregular in the dry season, and the grasshoppers increased so dramatically that they were forced to stop.

The Kaili, as hoped, profited from the Balinese model and the Balinese learned from Kaili lore as well. Agricultural co-operation began, though social contacts were still limited. Religious celebrations flourished and offerings of magnificent proportions were made. The contrast with the minimal ritual of the Kaili was no doubt, in part, purposeful.

In 1924, a dance organization was founded, though the orchestra consisted of only an old drum and a gender (xylophone) of empty bottles.

When the exiles arrived in Parigi, they came as a high culture group (in terms of religious, political, artistic and agricultural organization) into a relatively low culture area. And in spite of their status as exiles and their inferior numbers, they considered themselves superior to the indigenous population. Having arrived with the support and sponsorship of the Dutch, they were not actually answerable to the local raja or his people for either economic or social support. The Dutch, for their part, encouraged traditional culture, and discouraged the imitation of western (or local) models among Balinese.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Balinese exiles did very much as they wished. They put increasing amounts of land under cultivation, preserved their religious ritual and traditional worldview, made a conspicuous display of offerings, and held several cremations. They maintained much of their customary law and continued (as most Indonesians do) to speak their mother tongue at home. They were little adapted or assimilated to Kaili ways.

The Collapse of the Exile Community, 1928 - 1940

The rising tide of egalitarianism in Indonesia in the 1920's and 1930's spelled the end to this period of growth. In 1928 the practice of banishment was ended and a general amnesty proclaimed. The government even provided a small travel allowance to those who wished to return home. Having maintained and even cultivated their identity as Balinese for years, most of the exiles departed; others left following the collapse of the

Indies economy in the 1930's.

Only three Balinese families arrived in Parigi between 1928 and 1940; these included Nengah Gelejeh who arrived from Bali in 1928 to claim the property of a returning relative, Gusti Kontia who arrived in 1930 to join his brother the exile Gusti Gejir, and Ketut Danang who returned to Parigi with his family in 1934. When Danang arrived, no more than a dozen exile families remained in Parigi, and the community was in a state of general deterioration. The land to the north had been sold to Minahassa immigrants; the Kaili had occupied the area to the south. When the Balinese population fell below the numbers required for minimal self-sufficiency, social and cultural absorption began.

Kampung Bali, 1940 - 1950

During World War II an atypically brash young Balinese, Gusti Ngurah Malen, had occasion to tour central Sulawesi with the Japanese Navy. In 1944 he debarked in Parigi and ventured into the market. There he saw two men in Kaili garb haggling over a chicken -- in the Balinese language. Barely able to contain his astonishment he approached the men and asked who they were. They explained that they were descendents of Balinese exiled to Parigi. They said they were Hindu, had household temples, and spoke low Balinese. At the same time, Malen noted, they were fluent in the Kaili language, and dressed in the Kaili way. As they talked they told Malen of year-round rainfall, fertile fields and free land. Since he had no time to visit the Balinese village, Malen reluctantly departed; but he did not forget Parigi and resolved one day to return.

By the time the war and revolution were over in 1950, the Balinese community in Parigi was almost unrecognizable. Most of the former exiles

had gone home or died, only three were still alive and they were old and out of touch with Bali. Of the seventeen families which composed Kampung Bali, eight family heads had been born and raised in Parigi, and six of them had married Kaili. Two second-generation Balinese also had local wives (see figure 4.4). Old-timers remember that Kampung Bali was quiet and desolate in those days. Gone was the gaiety and color of the exile community. Weddings were small, cremations in abeyance. Religious ceremonies were held on only the most important holidays. There was little interest in adat or religion; the people, they claim, were not in the least spiritually inclined.

The seventeen families still farmed, and their combined holdings totalled some forty hectares. The wealthiest man had four hectares in sawah. In those days the fields were still fertile since the rice strains were less demanding and dry season crops added nutrients to the soil. Harvests were large, coconuts plentiful; many families engaged in petty trade.

Despite the rate of outmarriage, the Balinese and Kaili maintained some distance. Most Kaili did not frequent Balinese homes, and if they visited they would neither eat nor drink as they objected to the Balinese practice of eating pork. They also viewed the Balinese religion with its pantheon of gods as pagan and backward. At the same time they admired the Balinese industry and their success in agriculture and trade; both, of course, reinforced the Balinese impression of their own superiority.

Given the degree of assimilation which had occurred, the most distinctive marker of the Balinese was the persistence of their Hindu religion. Admittedly, the historical antipathy of the Balinese toward

FIGURE 4.4 Balinese Families in Parigi, 1950
(See Appendix I, for Geneologies)

*1.	Dewa Raka	Exile from Tabanan, No descendents Head of Kampung Bali
	Nengah Dangin (deceased) - Exile from Singaradja	
*2.	Ketut Danang	Dangin's son Married to a Balinese
*3.	Made Nuke	Ketut Danang's son
4.	Wayan Karti	Dangin's son Married to several Kaili women over the years
5.	Nengah Darpa Wayan Regug	Dangin's daughter - married to Wayan Regug Son of the exile Gubug (deceased)
6.	Nyoman Darpi	Dangin's daughter Married to a Kaili man who became Hindu
	Darsono (deceased) - Exile from Tabanan	
*7.	Made Sukra	Darsono's son
8.	Wayan Lukiya	Made Sukra's son Married to Ketut Danang's daughter
9.	Made Loka	Made Sukra's son Married to a Kaili woman who becomes Hindu
10.	Nyoman Kasih	Made Sukra's daughter Married to a Javanese who becomes Hindu
*11.	Nyoman Merakih	Darsono's son Married to a Kaili, then a Balinese woman
12.	Wayan Sukarno	Darsono's grandson (mother married to Ketut Danang) Married to a woman from Parigi
*13.	Gusti Gejir	Exile from Gianyar
14.	Gusti Arka	Gejir's son Married Kaili women
*15.	Gusti Kontia	Getjir's younger brother Married to a Kaili woman
*16.	Nengah Gelejeh	Arrived 1928 to assume the inheiritance of a returning exile
*17.	Dewa Anom	Exile from Gianyar No descendents

* = born in Bali
underlined = original exile to Parigi

Islam, and their lack of knowledge about Christianity, gave them few viable choices; but it is interesting that in 1950 there were no conversions to Islam, even among those who married Islamic spouses, and in three of these marriages the spouse converted to Hinduism (figure 4.4). This is particularly remarkable in light of the strong disapproval of the Balinese religion, and it suggests, no doubt, the real economic and social power of the remaining Balinese.

In spite of the retention of language and religion, on the whole, this was a period of assimilation which might well have lead to the eventual absorption of the Balinese. But with the end of war and revolution in 1950, new Indonesians everywhere began to take stock of their assets and consider the future. In Kampung Bali, thoughts turned again to Bali, and a number of residents made plans to visit. Although their reasons for leaving were mainly social, they agreed to seek recruits as well. For by 1950 even the exiles were aware that without the influx of new blood, it was only a matter of time until their community disappeared.

Comments

For parochial and culture-proud people like the Balinese, significant force is necessary to make the initial migrants move. Among the first migrants to Parigi the force behind the early arrivals was exile -- banishment, mainly for adat offenses. If they had the choice these exiles would never have left Bali, even with a choice they were reluctant to venture into the unfamiliar territory of central Sulawesi.

However, it is upon historical accidents that migrant communities come to be founded. Without the coincidences of the period in which exile occurred, the phase of Dutch colonization in central Sulawesi, the kind

of territory and rainfall in Parigi, and the request to leave Banda coming when it did, without these coincidences it is unlikely that there would be any Balinese in Parigi today. The exile community, insignificant in numbers, was the base upon which further migration would be made possible.

Once in place, the exiles in Parigi formed a nucleus to which other Balinese could be attracted. They would, in the end, be able to provide information and support to new recruits. But in the first years after the war, only a few Balinese appeared. Apparently, for most, the situation in Bali was still either congenial or inescapable; and not until the political and economic difficulties of the 1960's was sustained immigration to begin.

During the 1950's, however, a small number of variously motivated individuals did settle in Parigi. Their story illustrates, among other things, the unusual degree of motivation, experience, and pressure which lies behind early migrants -- even those moving along pre-established chains.

The Interim Arrivals

In 1950, Gusti Putu Arka, and Made Nuke, elder sons of two exiles (Gejir and Danang, respectively), made plans to visit Bali. Their trip ultimately led to the recruitment of the first new Balinese to move to Parigi in twenty years.

Young Gusti Arka had, among other objectives in Bali, the task of finding a husband for his sister Gusti Nyoman Warni. Balinese adat, as one recalls, prevents men from marrying women of a higher caste. Since

Arka and Warni were the only descendents of the three high caste families left in Parigi (Dewa Raka and Dewa Meranggi were childless), there were no obvious suitors for Warni. Even though her father had been exiled for miscaste marriage it was deemed desirable for Warni to marry appropriately, and this meant that Arka had to find a suitable candidate in Bali.

With little difficulty Arka located his cousin (his father's sister's son) Gusti Made Tjenik in Bedahulu, south Bali. Tjenik's family was impoverished and Tjenik himself had little in the way of prospects. Little wonder that for him Parigi presented a viable alternative to life in Bali. What ever reservations he had were overridden by Arka's position in the community. In spite of Arka's glowing accounts, however, no other migrants joined them when the returned to Parigi.

Upon his arrival in Bali, Made Nuke also proceeded to his ancestral home, Jagaraga, north Bali. There he stayed with his family including his younger sister Luh Sita, one of the two children Ketut Danang left in Bali when he returned to Parigi in 1934. The other child had died, so Sita was the lone remaining descendent of Danang's aged parents. In the preceeding year Sita had married Ketut Mare an ambitious young man without resources of his own.

With no thought of recruiting, Made Nuke spoke of the opportunities in Parigi. He talked about free land and water. He told of the desire to bring in new Balinese. As he spoke, Mare was tempted. He was embarassed to depend on his in-laws for support, and he wondered whether he could make enough money in Parigi to return to Bali and stand on his own feet. He discussed the possibility with Nuke; but lacking the means to leave, and fearing the displeasure of his in-laws, he resigned himself to

staying. Made Nuke found no one else who was interested or motivated to leave, and he returned to Parigi alone.

Back in Sulawesi, however, Made Nuke told his father the story of Luh Sita and Ketut Mare. Danang, in turn, sent money and an offer of the use of his land should the couple wish to come temporarily. The in-laws were adamant that Mare stay in Bali, but he was determined to leave. He packed in secret but then felt compelled to ask the family's blessing. The grandmother wept. Finally, Mare promised that they would stay only long enough to acquire a small amount of money for the future. On July 8, 1951, Mare, a pregant Luh Sita and their first child, arrived in Parigi.

The Entrepreneur

Since Mare and his wife exemplify the place of unusually motivated individuals in the migration process, their story will be elaborated in some detail. As Mare says, he and Luh Sita were "crazy" to make the most of their opportunity. They worked constantly. Mare worked all day, every day, on one hectare of sawah, which he had borrowed from his father-in-law. Soon he observed that vegetables were always in demand in the market so he rented dry fields for tomatoes and peanuts, and at night he engaged in trade. Mare used the vegetable money to feed and support his growing family but made it a policy to save all the profits from his rice in order to buy wet ricefields. His wife also worked incessantly leaving their three year-old and a new baby alone with the pig in the field house. She says she was so busy, she only saw her children when she nursed them.

Mare's first rice harvest was 60% greater than any he had ever gotten in Bali, so he was spurred to new efforts. He wrote to his in-laws that he could not return immediately; they refused to reply. In two years, Mare worked hard enough to save the money for four hectares of sawah, but he felt guilty about his "parents". He asked Danang what to do. Danang replied that the first law of Hinduism was to honor one's parents. So Mare sent them the sawah money and began again.

Mare did go back to Bali in 1958 but after a year he made plans to return "for a short time". This time his in-laws insisted he leave his wife and children. But he claimed he needed them to help get a few more good harvests in Parigi. He began to pack. He made a box with agricultural implements, seeds, mangoes, and other things he needed. He had just arranged his papers when his own father died. Since his papers would expire if he didn't depart, he left after only eleven days of mourning. Again he was subordinating filial responsibility for economic ends, an extremely unusual decision among family-oriented Balinese.

On the way back to Parigi Mare had an unusually arduous trip. At one point his bus caught fire, and his goods were nearly destroyed. This, he assumed, was the result of shirking his adat responsibilities, and he feared he might always be plagued by bad luck. But eventually Mare's singlemindedness and energy paid off. In twenty years he acquired twenty hectares of sawah and became one of the wealthiest and most progressive farmers in Parigi.

The Idealist

While Mare worked largely for himself, Parigi, as a whole, was changed through the efforts of Parigi's third in-migrant, I. Made Sidiswara.

In 1951 when Mare was first considering moving to Parigi, a middle-aged school teacher from south Bali was also taking stock of his life. I. Made Sidiswara was born near Sanggeh, south Bali, and at the age of twenty became a school teacher. From 1935 to 1945 he was the headmaster of a small school in Sibang Katje near his home town. When the revolution began, he closed his school and fought with the nationalists. Now that the revolution was over he was considering what to do next.

Always something of a dreamer, an intelligent and religious man, Sidiswara had long taught his students about national development and the goals of government programs such as transmigration. He had been impressed with Sukarno's conviction that each person must use his talents to the fullest to develop the new nation. Sidiswara thought that he had a talent for farming, but he had no land. To be a farmer, he felt he would have to move. Coincidently, the parents of a friend of Sidiswara's had once been exiles to Parigi. Since he was curious about their experience he had talked to them many times and had some knowledge of the area. He had heard the tales of empty land and fertile fields, but he did not know the nature of the people, nor the condition of the village after 1930. He had some money, however, so he decided to look for himself.

In mid-1952, a solitary Sidiswara arrived in Parigi. He noted the wealth of the fields, the deterioration of the temples, the relationships with the indigeneous people. He spoke with local officials. In particular, Sidiswara sought out Andi Pelawa, an important local noble, and director of the agricultural office. Together they discussed the possibility of increasing Balinese in-migration in the hopes of ending Parigi's rice deficit. Pelawa gave serious attention to the discussion and authorized

Sidiswara to recruit migrants for Parigi. He also took Sidiswara to Pemaloa, an alluvial area twelve kilometers to the south, and the beginning of the Tana Boa (empty land). There he promised Sidiswara all the land from the mountains to the sea for whatever migrants he might bring. With this, Sidiswara made plans to return to Bali to get his family and persuade others to join him.

At the end of 1952, Sidiswara travelled throughout the district of Sanggeh, holding meetings and speaking of Parigi. He told the Balinese of the advantages to them -- of free land, and ample water, and he encouraged them to think of the advantages to their new nation -- of building unity and producing rice. No one was impressed. The farmers had heard rumblings of Islamic uprisings in Sulawesi, and the Bugis had a reputation for religious fanaticism. Moreover, the situation in Bali was not all that bad. With fewer than one million people, the population was still managable. Most men had land or labor and the revolution promised more land, more work. In addition, few wished to incur the displeasure of dead ancestors or living relatives by moving and failing to contribute to the maintenance of family temples. In the end, not one person followed.

Therefore, a disheartened Sidiswara set out in April of 1953 with only his wife, two of five children, and a last-minute addition, a relative (I. Wayan Linggit), who died shortly thereafter in Parigi. When Sidiswara arrived, however, he was somewhat cheered to see that two families had preceeded him.

The Relatives

In Sidiswara's absence, Nengah Gelejeh had died, without leaving

relatives in Parigi, and a nephew (Made Kantum) had been recruited by letter to take over his land. Dewa Raka, dancer and village leader, had also passed away without heirs, and Dewa Kaca had come with wife and child (Dewa Alit) to claim his uncle's property. Thus, there were a total of twenty families in Kampung Bali.

Later in 1953, Gusti Arka's grandfather died in Bali, and for the second time in three years Arka returned to Badahulu. Among the relatives responsible for the cremation was Gusti Gerbag, Tjenik's father. Tjenik, one recalls, was the man Arka recruited to marry his sister. Already impoverished, Gerbag had been exhausted by the financial responsibilities of so large a cremation ceremony. Arka told Gerbag that he could not repay him with money, but he could give him land in Parigi if he wished to go there. In late 1953, Arka, Gusti Gerbag and Gerbag's child (Gusti Ketut Midep) departed for Parigi.

The infusion of new blood, however thin, affected the lethargy of the Balinese community. Thwarted in recruiting migrants, Sidiswara turned his attention to building up the kampung itself. With the zeal of a convert, Sidiswara insisted that a community temple be errected, offerings improved, and the children instructed in the rudiments of the Balinese religion. He participated actively in the local veteran's association and returned to teaching school in 1955. In general, interaction with local officials and the in-migrants from Menado increased, and land was being reclaimed from the forest once again.

The main discordant note was the insecurity caused by increasing religious and political conflict in Sulawesi. In the mid-fifties, the residents of Kampung Bali could see the results of Islamic agitation in

the hills. Refugees were arriving in the lowlands, and in 1955 the road to Palu was periodically cut by guerrilla forces. In spite of the disturbances, however, Gusti Gerbag and the wife of Dewa Kaca (Gong Biang), managed to leave Parigi in 1956. They went back to Bali and returned with Gerbag's wife and third child (Gusti Made Tantra), his nephew (Gusti Putu Taman) and family, and an unmarried nephew (Gusti Tjama). All were handicapped in Bali by the financial misfortunes of the Gerbag family. At Sidiswara's request Gong Biang had also brought his daughter, Madiasih, to Parigi.

Made Nuke too, returned to Bali in 1956, and brought back his brother (Ketut Suta) who had been sent to Bali to go to school. Suta married Sidiswara's daughter within the year. At that time Made Nuke also recruited three teenage relatives (Persi, Djantos, and Swara), whose parents felt that they might do better in Parigi than they had in Jagaraga.

Owing both to PERMESTA and the inherent difficulties in interesting new migrants, no additional Hindus arrived in Parigi until 1960. In the intervening years the population of Kampung Bali included about twenty-five families of Hindu Balinese. And, at this point the stage was set for the last in a series of unlikely events which determined the nature and course of migration to Parigi.

The Outcasts

In 1957 Dewa Meranngi, an old exile without wife or kin, went back to Bali to die -- he wanted to be sure of an appropriate burial. He took a boat to Java, and then boarded a bus for Bali. Just after the ferry ride from Java to Bali, two Balinese Christians boarded his bus. The two, Made Daud and Pan Mundro, sat down next to Meranggi and began to talk. It seems

that they came from a large community of Christians who had been driven from their homes in central Bali and settled in west Bali some twenty years before. The land they had been granted at that time was now filled and those who were landless or ambitious were now seeking new land for their families. They were, at that moment, on their way to the transmigration office in Melaya to check on their application for sponsorship to Sumatra.

Dewa Meranggi was animated. Why would they choose to go to Sumatra? Everyone knew that the land there was poor, and the Balinese could not find water. Besides, it was well known that the locals could not be trusted; Meranggi had heard that they would reclaim their land even after it had been cleared. In Parigi, however, the raja himself gave land to anyone who wanted it. It rained everyday, and the sawah was incomparable. The local people were Moslems, but hardly fanatical; and there were many Christians from Menado. There was little talk that day of Islamic rebellion, the secessionist war, the incidence of malaria, the isolation, or the virgin forest; Parigi was the promised land.

Daud and Mundro were dazzled, but unresolved. A small group of migrants had already moved from Blimbingsari to Sumatra and awaited their arrival. Some had kin among them. Daud and Mundro went into the transmigration office. No word. It might be months before they heard. Daud was impatient, he decided he would go immediately to Parigi.

That Daud was an extraordinarily independent and strong willed individual there can be no doubt. He was one of the first seven Balinese to be baptized in 1931[2]. In 1933 he was sent to Makassar to study theology,

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[2]This story will be elaborated in the first section of Chapter Five.

and after three years of training he went to Lombok to preach among Moslems. In 1938 he was called to Untaluntal a small town in south Bali, as an evangelist. Within two years Daud became the head of this village, a position which he held until the previous year.

During his years as an evangelist, Daud supplemented his income by trading in pigs throughout Bali and Java. In 1956 he had moved to Blimbingsari, but since he could find no land there he had decided to migrate. He was willing to go to Sumbawa or Sumatra, but had heard nothing about them from the transmigration department. At this point he decided it was useless to wait for government sponsorship and he decided to proceed on his own.

That afternoon, Made Daud traveled to Gianyar to find Meranggi. He proposed to pay for the passage of Meranggi and any of his family who wished to accompany him, if he would escort them to Parigi. Meranggi consented. The people of Blimbingsari were less easy to persuade. They had heard of the secessionist movement PERMESTA. They had relatives in Sumatra. They knew nothing of Parigi. Worst of all, they had none of the promised aid from the government and too little time to think. No one wanted to take the chance.

Made Daud grew adamant. He would go if he had to go alone. Mundro had heard the stories of Mewa Meranggi and he agreed to follow. In the end, Daud and Mundro gathered three more families (those of Ngurah Lasir, Pan Tegir, and Pan Sirini) -- twenty-three people in all. Each of these families had moved before, and they were now prepared to move again. They sold their belongings and made arrangements to depart.

The day before they were to leave, the Dutch pastor brought a telegram from Makassar. It reported that PERMESTA was out of control, and advised the migrants not to come. But they were completely ready. They had sold all their land and cattle. They held a meeting and decided to go anyway. The next morning they departed.

First they went to north Bali where they caught a ship to Makassar. A theology student met them at the harbor there. He had bad news. They had not picked the best time to arrive. It was April 1957, government and secessionist forces were engaged in heavy fighting. Since the navy had requisitioned most of the ships for supplies there was no telling how long they might be delayed[3]. Miraculously, however, after only seven days, they received word that there was a boat to Donggala. This was the first of many occasions on which these migrants were to be assured they were following the will of God.

Upon landing in Donggala, however, they were at a loss. Military skirmishes were occurring throughout the area and there was no easy way to proceed to Parigi. A local shopkeeper took pity on them and advised them to find the Social Minister in Palu. The Minister, in turn, acknowledged that as refugees they fell within his jurisdiction, and he consented to help them find a place to live. It was his intention to settle them in Olabaru (a town near Parigi), with other Christian refugees who had fled the military activity near Tinombo. The following day they were sent by auto to Parigi and housed in a dormitory there.

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[3]Unknown to the Christians, Ketut Mare had just waited forty-five days in Donggala to get a ship going the other way.

The next morning Gusti Arka was at the door. He had brought ox-carts to escort them to Kampung Bali. Christian or not, a Balinese was a Balinese. But the isolated Hindus of Parigi had hardly counted on the religious intolerance of the Christians. Despite their hospitality and help, the Hindus found their religion the subject of derision -- not from strangers, but from other Balinese. The Christians, for their part, were suspicious of the Hindus, and had no intention of settling in Kampung Bali. They feared the worst being in an area where Hindus were again the majority. They also nurtured the hope that others would follow from Blimbingsari, and for this reason they wished to settle in an area with ample land.

Sensing the tension, Sidiswara suggested that the Christians move to the area reserved for Balinese in Pemaloa. To this end, Sidiswara, Arka and the Christians journeyed twelve kilometers to the south, where the raja again presented them with all the land from the mountains to the sea. Kampung Bali supplied the ox carts and the migrants went to Pemaloa every day to build temporary lodgings. After two weeks they moved to the land and began clearing the forest.

Once in the forest, however, the Christians became increasingly uneasy. Whether it was the impenetrability of the forest, the lack of medical care, or the fear of PERMESTA, the migrants grew more and more afraid. Some said they should have gotten government permission to move so their permanence would be assured (the raja no longer represented the government). Others worried that such a small group might be endangered by Islamic settlers near the sea.

After a month the migrants had become so anxious they went to the

Social Minister to ask him what to do. He told them they should have stayed with the other refugees as originally suggested. Having heard what they wished, the five Balinese families left shacks and sheds and moved into the company of fifty other Christian families in Olabaru. Although they did not know it at the time, they were leaving the land which would become a refuge in the future for thousands of Christian Balinese.

The Wanderer

After two months, Parigi received its final interim additions, Made Weco, a Christian teenager, and his younger brother Ketut Mundro. Weco had heard of Parigi from his second grade teacher, I. Made Sidiswara. Temporarily without studies or work, Weco had decided to merantau (wander). As a part of his plan he intended to go to Parigi just to see what it was like.

Like most other early migrants, Made Weco was an exception to the stereotype of the sedentary, home-loving Balinese. Weco was born in 1938 in Carangsari, near Sanggeh, south Bali. In the second class his teacher was Sidiswara, and even at that time (1945) he was discussing transmigration. After class three, Weco, his brother and an uncle moved to Blimbingsari to find land. There they first heard about Christianity in detail. Weco says he was attracted to Christians because they had a goal -- to improve themselves. Hindus, he felt, had no aim in life but to pacify the gods. At twelve Weco was baptized and confirmed.

Weco stayed three years in Blimbingsari. Then at 15 he went to Java to join the Navy. This lasted only three months. He became disillusioned and returned to Bali, settling in Untaluntal. There he met

Made Daud who encouraged him in his studies. He then spent three years in Denpasar, one in the hospital there. He had just decided to be a health officer when his family announced they could no longer support his tuition. Weco was in despair. He borrowed some money and decided to merantau. He persuaded his reluctant brother to accompany him. Over the years, Made Weco had maintained his connections with Sanggeh, and he knew of Sidiswara's move, his return, his speeches, and letters seeking recruits. He decided to go to Parigi to see what it was like since they had nothing better to do.

Weco and Mundro arrived in Parigi on June 1, 1957. Weco was just nineteen, his brother seventeen. At first they stayed with Gusti Arka in Kampung Bali, but when they decided to remain they moved into the Christian community in Olabaru where Weco eventually found a wife among the people from Sanggir (an island north of Sulawesi). Later, Made Weco was to be instrumental in recruiting Christian migrants from Blimbingsari, and he became the head of the first Christian village in the south.

Comments

In the absence of force, what causes individuals from a largely sedentary society to leave and travel to an unknown land? The data indicate that the independent Balinese migrants to Parigi were motivated by exceptional ambition and experience. But these qualities alone were not sufficient. In all cases the migrants were under extreme pressure to leave Bali, were men with migration experience, or were relatively certain of social support.

Among the first twelve Balinese families to arrive in Parigi, only three family heads can be said to have moved independently, that is:

Sidiswara, Made Daud, and Made Weco. All were self-actualizing and exceptional men. All were highly motivated to leave Bali.

Sidiswara was the headmaster of a sizeable school in Sanggeh, and became an important social force in Kampung Bali. He was instrumental in recruiting Hindu migrants, and the prime mover of the first Hindu organization in Central Sulawesi, the Badan Musjawarah Hindu Dharma. Made Daud, who was already fifty-one on arrival, had earned most of his credentials in Bali. He was one of the first seven Balinese to be converted to Christianity. Thereafter he attended school in Makassar, and became a respected evangelist in Bali. Weco, a mere youth upon arrival, eventually conducted two of the largest groups of Christian immigrants to Sulawesi, and became the head of the first Christian village, Massari. All three were exceptional in any culture; and the kind of individualistic decision making they displayed particularly set them apart among Balinese.

Throughout this fieldwork, however, I continued to feel curious why successful men in their own settings -- particularly Sidiswara and Made Daud -- would leave positions of status and respect in middle-age for the unknown backwaters of Parigi. Only at the very end of my stay did I learn that Sidiswara was forced from Bali by a serious altercation with his younger brother, while Made Daud had become estranged from the church. Made Weco had been thwarted by the interruption of his plans and left Bali partly out of pique.

On the other hand, all the remaining adult migrants (with the possible exception of the Christians), were persuaded to come by local Balinese; all arrived to assume land or positions in the community. Dewa Kaca and Made Kantum came to take over working sawah. Made Tjenik,

Gusti Gerbag, and Ketut Mare, each used family connections to pursue economic ends. But not even these men can be said to be typical followers. All were ambitious to get ahead, all assumed positions of responsibility in their communities, all were unusually motivated men. Ketut Mare, as noted, came to have more land than any other individual in Kampung Bali.

The early Christians also show this combination of unusual competence, and particulalry pressing reasons to leave. As we shall see in the following chapter, all of the first Christian migrants were outcasts from homes in central Bali. Most had resettled in western Bali before moving to Parigi. Thus they had experience with migration and confidence in both their own ability to cope and the opportunity to improve their lots through migration. In addition, their movement was mediated by Meranggi, and precipitated by Daud's insistence they leave.

Finally there was a small group of teenagers, the two nephews of Gerbag, and the three relatives of Made Nuke. Several had disgraced themselves with gambling and idle behavior, all were deemed better off in Sulawesi than in Bali. Of all the interim migrants, only these had not made the decision to leave on their own, and they had the worst time adjusting. Several say they thought of nothing but Bali for months. They dreamed of ice, shadow plays, markets and the day when they could return to Bali. Gradually they adapted; eventually they married; but only after ten or fifteen years did they realize they were going to stay.

In view of this diversity, it is hardly surprising that aggregate surveys have difficulty assessing the motivations of migrants. In the first place, too few distinquish between early and late arrivals, thus

obscuring the differences in patterns of movement over time. But also, as this section illustrates, migration is always a play-off between what is known of the new area, what one assumes of one's abilities, the aspirations which an individual has, and the degree of force impelling the migrant to leave. Obviously the combinations and permutations among these are myriad. It may be worthwhile to emphasize, moreover, that these data indicate that the economic incentives so apparent in surveys are a necessary but not sufficient condition for movement in the early stages of migration. All of the immigrants after the exiles had either extraordinary ability and wide experience, a previous record of migration, or relatives in the receiving community. Most had some combination of the above. No Balinese simply wandered into Parigi looking for land.

Because of PERMESTA, no Balinese found their way to Sulawesi in 1958 or early 1959. As the 1950's drew to a close, only twenty-five Hindu families lived in Kampung Bali, seven more families of Christian Balinese were located in Olabaru. On this base of twenty leftover exiles and their descendents, and a collection of oddly motivated individuals, the Balinese movement to Central Sulawesi was to be born.