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CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPELLED - STAGE IB

With the end of PERMESTA activity in 1959, Parigi entered its first period of genuine peace since the beginning of World War II. The implications of the moment were not lost on progressive local officials. With the Minahassa in disgrace, they saw an opportunity to press for regional autonomy and provincial status for central Sulawesi, which until then had been united with the north and governed from Menado. To attain this end, officials particularly wished to increase rice production to enhance their claims to regional self-sufficiency. Since the Minahassa, Bugis, and Balinese immigrants had all produced rice surpluses and stimulated increased production on the part of the locals, regional self-interest now called for the encouragement of additional in-migration.

Given peace and the potential for growth in central Sulawesi, the Office of Transmigration in Makassar also chose 1959 to open a branch office in Palu. Among the tasks of the new office was assisting in the relocation of those displaced by secessionist activities. As an adjunct to this assignment the new office was to make a preliminary survey of areas suitable for resettlement. Among other areas, it recommended three sites in south Parigi: Nambaru, Torue and Tolai.

Officials in Parigi also envisioned a "breadbasket" in the lands of the Tana Boa. But since the Bugis and Minahassa were both in temporary political disfavor, and could hardly be expected to enhance the claim

of regional autonomy in any case, their eyes fell on the Balinese. Sidiswara and Gusti Arka were reminded that the land in Pemaloa was still available, and Ngurah Lasir and Made Weco were assured that land could be found for any Christians who might wish to come. With this in mind, individuals of both religions made plans to return to Bali and recruit their family and friends.

While conditions in Sulawesi were more than favorable for the in-migration of either Hindus or Christians, the circumstances affecting their out migration could hardly have been more different. Widely praised for cultural achievements, and protected by Dutch policy against disruption from outside influences, the Hindu Balinese had become isolated, ill-informed, and minimally interested in affairs outside of Bali. Christians, on the other hand, had chosen to adopt the religion and adat of non-Balinese. And while most Hindus were Bali-oriented and largely immobile, most Christians were outward looking and had prior experience with migration.

In a 1973 survey of 300 Hindu family-heads from four rural areas in separate parts of Bali, I found only six men living in villages other than their place of birth; only two of these men were in a district different than the one in which they had been born. Among Christians, however, 90 out of 150 family-heads were living in a different district than their place of birth, and most of the rest had parents who had moved just one generation before. The etiology of this difference is largely a matter of historical record.

Early Christians in Bali

From the consolidation of Dutch power in 1907, to the Indies

Governmental Act in 1925, Bali received special privileges regarding religion. Assuming her art and culture to be inseparably intertwined with her animistic form of Hinduism, Dutch officials kept missionary activity in abeyance. The Balinese elite, having a vested interest in the issue, also opposed ecclesiastical Christianity claiming that it would "... carry with it a disturbance in the social equilibrium, and [endanger] public order and peace..." (Vandenbosch, 33).

However, in 1929, a Chinese bookseller Tsang To Hang, affiliated with the Christian Missionary Alliance, was granted permission to minister to the religious needs of the Chinese Christians in Denpasar. Owing to the advance of education, some Balinese were also curious about Christianity, and one, Pan Loting, from Buduh asked Tsang To Hang to visit his home and explain it. He and some friends formed the first Christian study group among Hindus in Bali.

In November of 1931, seven individuals from this group were baptized in the Poh river in Badung, among them Made Daud, one of the first Christians to Parigi. A year later, on November 11, 1932, 113 more Balinese were baptized, causing a general outcry and resulting in the expulsion of those evangelizing in Bali. This was hardly sufficient to stem the movement, however, and by 1936 there were nearly 1,000 Christians, primarily in the vicinity of Buduh and Abianbase (see Figure 5.1, next page). Bali, at that time, had a population of almost one million.

As converts of the Christian Missionary Alliance , a fundamentalist church based in the United States, the Balinese Christians adopted an extremely conservative form of Christianity. The new church forbade all

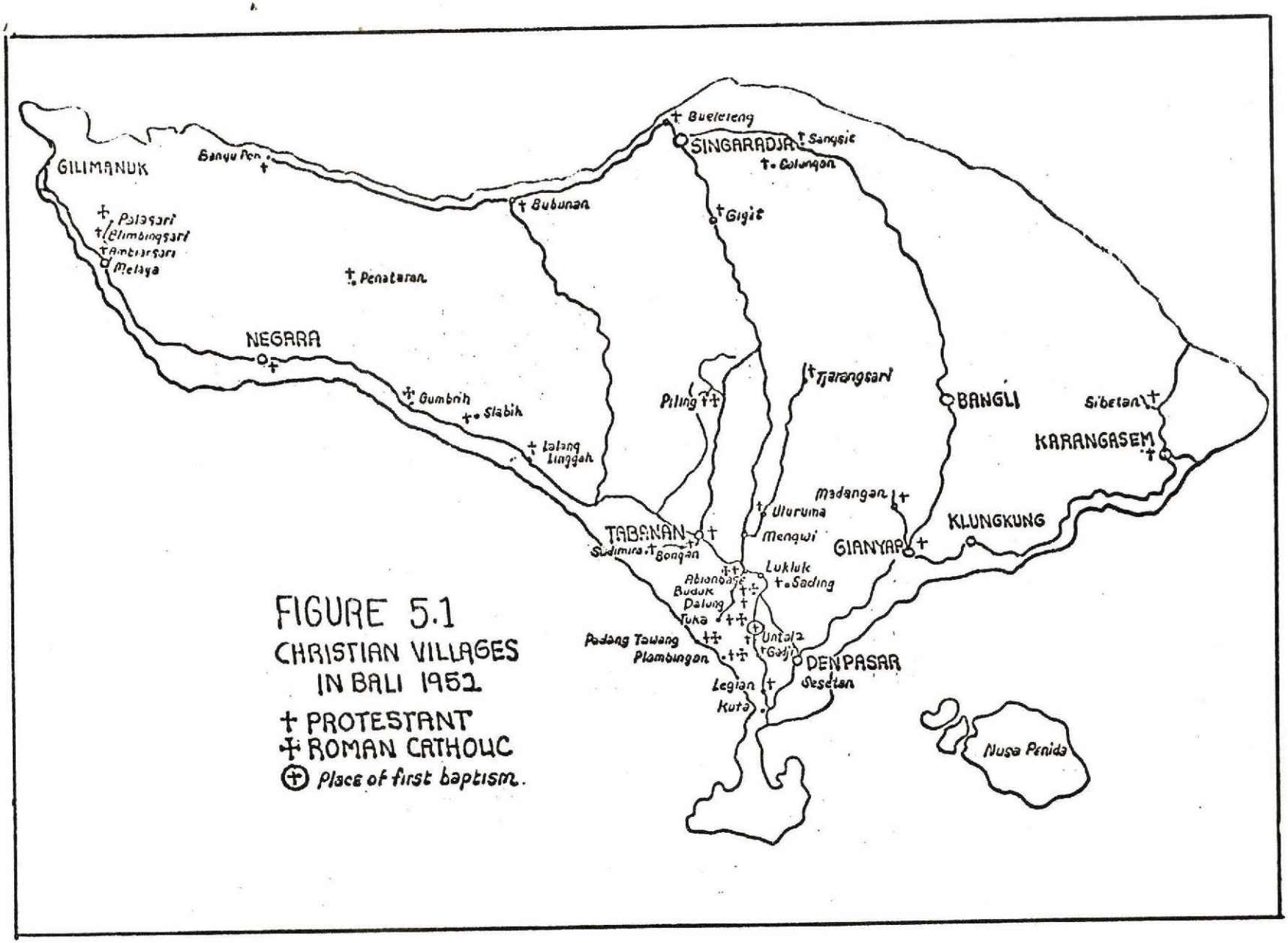

FIGURE 5.1
CHRISTIAN VILLAGES
IN BALI 1952

† PROTESTANT
✝ ROMAN CATHOLIC
⊕ Place of first baptism.

Balinese arts associated with the Hindu myths and models of the past. Woodcarving, statues, and offerings were eliminated from the churches, as were the traditional bamboo decorations used on religious holidays. Dancing, drama, and shadow plays were abolished; singing was permitted, only if confined to hymns. Gay Hindu holidays were replaced by solemn Sunday services. The ministers were dressed in black -- in Bali, the sign of evil spirits.

More important socially, gambling was halted and the practice of black magic eliminated. To discourage the permissiveness of the Balinese, extra-marital sexuality was unconditionally forbidden, and divorce or remarriage no longer allowed. Changing gods is one thing, but changing social practice another, and after several years, the Roman Catholic church made a number of converts among Protestant Balinese who found the asceticism of the CMA overly oppressive. In 300 years of missionizing in Indonesia, the Catholic church had developed a more tolerant and syncretistic attitude toward indigenous religious beliefs; it encouraged the use of traditional religious symbols where appropriate, and supported the development of native arts. It also looked more lightly on sexuality and divorce.

From the first, however, both Protestants and Catholics represented a threat to custom and community solidarity in Balinese villages. Protestants, for example, no longer worshipped at irrigation temples, as they were dedicated to pagan gods. Yet they expected to use the irrigation channels for water. They no longer contributed to the support of village temples intended to maintain unity with the cosmos and protect the people from harm, and yet they expected to enjoy the advantages of village life

as before. Their lack of participation in community work and ritual ruptured the very basis of social solidarity among Balinese: that is, the expectation of absolute reciprocity.

The Christians claim that in those days the Hindus would do anything to disrupt their lives and discourage further converts. They would not talk to Christians; they refused to work with them or sell them things in the store. When this didn't work they tore up their fields, cut off their water, poisoned their cattle and destroyed their property. Worst of all, many villages even refused to let Christians bury their dead because they no longer contributed to the temples of the spirits of the earth. In extreme cases, Christians were also prevented from carrying their corpses to the sea.

The Dutch, for their part, also felt aggrieved. Since Hindu officials could not, or would not, make impartial decisions, they were called upon continually to extinquish brush fires in a battle they did not want to win. Cooley comments "... artists, anthropologists, and tourism promoters did not wish Balinese religious and cultural life disturbed. The Balinese ruling groups did not wish to see any pluralism in society [and] the colonial government only wished to placate one and all so as to reduce problems to a minimum" (64-65).

In the early thirties, West Bali was largely unpopulated. It lacked water for irrigation, and most of it was dense forest. Tigers still roamed there, spirits haunted the jungle, and malaria was rampant. The Hindus regarded the area as <u>ancer</u> or cursed, and even when Dutch officials assured them of irrigation, the Hindus refused to move.

The Dutch made a logical connection. Many of the Christians were landless and others were being driven from their homes. With a worldview renouncing spirits, they were perfect candidates for the land in west Bali. The Dutch found they could contribute to the welfare of the Christians and the development of Jembrana, reduce conflicts, and end conversion, all in a single stroke. Migration officials were sent to each village with Christians with an offer to help them move. Many agreed to go.

In November of 1939, thirty Christian families were settled in an area of Jembrana near Melaya, a place which they called Blimbingsari -- the place of the Blimbing fruit. They were followed by two more groups of thirty families each. These ninety families erected a church and laid out their village in the form of a cross. They drew lots for the land. The migrants from Untaluntal settled in the center, those from Pelambingan to the west, Tjarangsari to the north, Abianbase to the east, and Sumate in the south. They began to clear the land.

In 1940, forty Catholic families were moved to an adjacent region renamed Palasari, the place of the Pala trees. Thereafter spontaneous migrants trickled steadily into both areas. The war and revolution ended Dutch efforts to relocate Christians; and when the air cleared in the early fifties, the surrounding land was nearly filled. Javanese and Balinese had both discovered Jembrana as a place of refuge and work.

With the desireable land taken, the Protestant and Catholic communities stabilized at about 500 families (2,500 people), about half the Christians in Bali at the time. When both Blimbingsari and Palasari prospered, new families were attracted and the area began to overflow with landless immigrants. Since land division was strongly discouraged, these newcomers

could, at best, be given temporary comfort and work, before being encouraged to leave and seek their fortunes in Sumatra, Sumbawa, or Sulawesi.

Thus, in 1960, the background of Hindus and Christians in Bali was radically different. Hindus were still knit into traditional reciprocal relationships with family, friends, and kin, and they were not free to leave them. Rural farmers identified strongly with their villages and their adat (traditions); and, indeed, few had any experience beyond them. In addition, Hindu Balinese had a preoccupation with place -- physically, socially, and spiritually -- which bound them to village, home, status, and fate, in a distinctively Balinese way.

Christians on the other hand, had already broken most Balinese norms. In conversion they rejected traditional gods, values, and their very identification as Balinese. They were not only free to leave their villages, many were forced to do so. As individuals they were rebels. Unlike Sulawesi where entire ethnic groups were co-opted by Christianity and then grew into their new cultural clothes, the Balinese converted individually and often in the face of great antagonism. Having already cast off an important part of their own culture, and having been exposed to new models -- particularly from the west, the new Christians aptly characterized themselves as "open to change". In addition, since they had already moved and adapted, and since they had seen examples of people who prospered in new areas, they were inclined to view migration favorably.

With these differences in mind, it is not surprising that in the years between 1960 and 1966, three-quarters of the Balinese migrants to Central Sulawesi were Christian, even though they represented no more than

one-half of one percent of the Balinese population at that time.[1] One could hardly have predicted this outcome, however, when Made Weco and Ngurah Lasir made preparations to leave Parigi and return to Blimbingsari in September of 1959.

The Spontaneous Migrants to Massari

Although the Christians in Parigi had written frequently to Blimbingsari to encourage immigration, Ngurah Lasir and Made Weco found their kinsmen ambivalent when they arrived. Wayan Simon spoke for those who hesitated. He had just written to his uncle (Pan Mundro), and the letter had been returned saying "Daerah Tertutup" --"Area Closed". Then they heard that Lasir had left Parigi by disguising himself as a soldier in order to accompany the army across the mountains; it seemed an uncertain peace. Finally, they had no government sponsorship and too little time to prepare. Simon, and most of the others, wanted to wait.

But not all. Made Weco was able to convince his parents; Ngurah Lasir persuaded old friends. Eventually twenty families, some seventy people, agreed to accompany Weco and Lasir to Parigi. Within weeks they were ready to depart. In late October they left Blimbingsari, and on November 10, 1959 they arrived in Parigi. They stayed briefly in Kampung Bali until they could be escorted to Pemaloa. There they were given all the land above the road, as Sidiswara still intended to settle Hindus below it. It was Sidiswara's intention to keep the two communities separate, mindful of the trouble which had already occurred. Having settled the Christians, three Hindus -- Made Nuke, Sidiswara, and Gusti Made Tjenik

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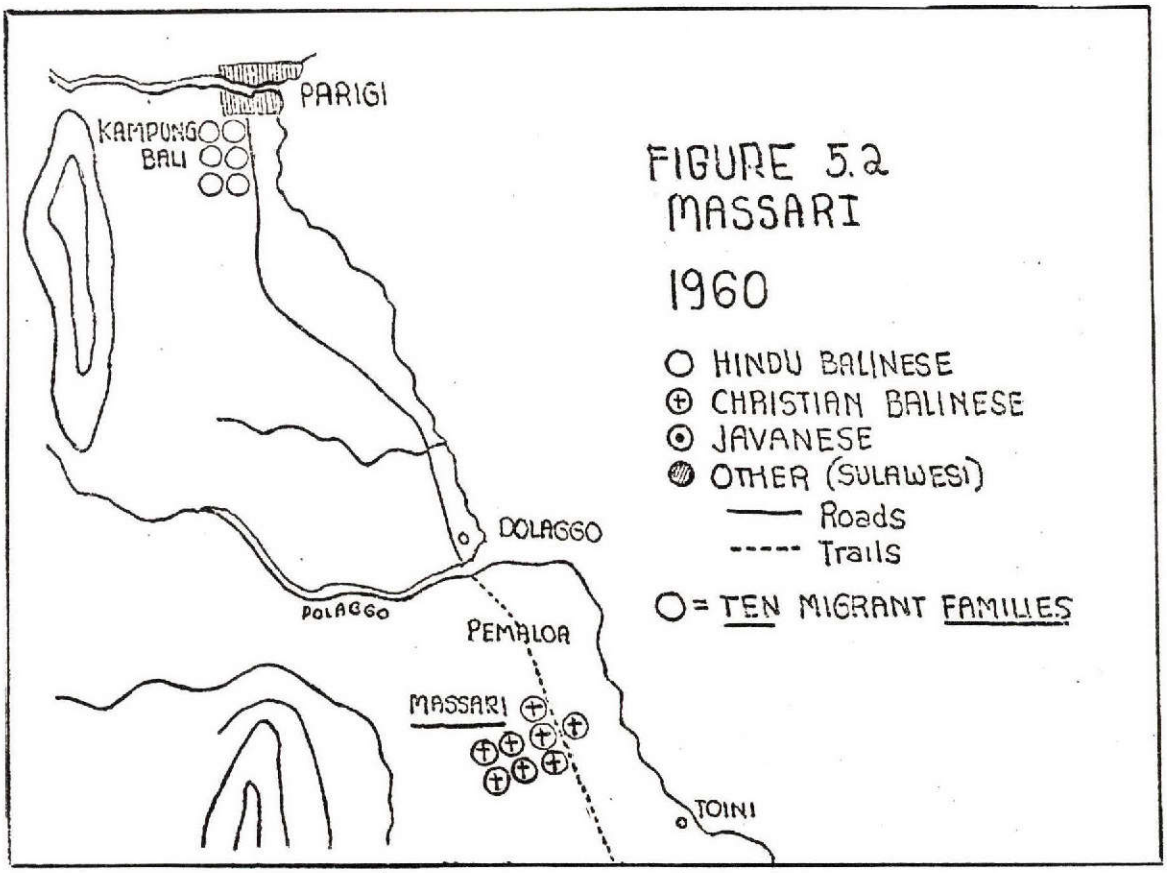
[1] In 1970, Bali had an estimated 5,000 Catholics, and 6,000 Protestants in a population of approximately 2,200,000.

-- set off for Bali to recruit Hindu migrants from their own villages.

As he had done eight years before, Sidiswara wrote letters and made speeches in the vicinity of his village, but this time his efforts paid off. Eight young men, mostly relatives from the vicinity of Gerana, decided to follow. On April 22, 1960, Sidiswara returned to Parigi with the eight and three of their families, fifteen people in all. Soon after, Made Nuke arrived with five additional families from Jagaraga, north Bali. Not only was the situation in Bali worsening, both politically and economically, but apparently Balinese were beginning to believe that Parigi was a place of opportunity.

Resting temporarily with their kinsmen, the new Hindu families took notice of the difficulties of the migrants to the south. Every day Christians passed through Kampung Bali to be treated at the clinic for malaria and infections. Seeing this, the Hindu recruits became discouraged. Instead of joining the Christians in Pemaloa as intended, they chose to stay in Kampung Bali and work the land of others. They were followers rather than leaders, a distinction to be seen even among pioneers.

The Christians, on the other hand, were not to be deterred. With twenty families in the new community, and the expectation of more to come, they had reason to persevere. Using their knowledge of the pattern of resettlement which they had learned in Blimbingsari, they constructed a dormitory, divided the land, and distributed it by lottery. Since the area along the road was in secondary growth, they cleared their houselots separately, rather than by the typical Balinese method of gotong royong (reciprocal work groups). Apparently they had altered more than their religion.



When the first Christians had been in place a month or two, Pan Mundro received a letter from Wayan Simon. It asked, "Is there peace? Is there land? Is there water?" Mundro answered "Yes!", and Simon resigned himself to what he took to be his fate. He sold everything, and on May 18, 1960, he and eight others set out for Parigi. He took only nine families, in case it did not work out.

Simon's families were, in fact, exposed to many of the difficulties of an inexperienced and unaccompanied group. Arriving in Makassar on May 20th, they spent nearly forty days waiting for a boat to Donggala. When they arrived in Palu they still had problems. Since it was to the benefit of the regional government to seed migrants throughout the district, Simon's group was ordered to Palolo, a highland area above Palu. In so

doing local officials showed a fundamental misunderstanding of the process of chain migration. Simon was going where relatives had gone before, and he was not about to settle in an area without a kinship network for support. His group refused to move. The government withheld transportation, thinking they might change their minds. They waited nearly a month in Palu.

Finally, in desperation, the migrants in Pemaloa approached Gusti Arka for help. Arka, in turn, commandeered a vehicle from Andi Pelawa (who also had an investment in bringing the migrants east), and they drove to Palu. There they located four or five more cars and piled the migrants in. On the 13th of July, after nearly two months of travel, they arrived in Kampung Bali. Since the Hindus had no intention of moving south, Simon's nine families were given the land below the road (see Figure 5.2, preceeding page).

This second group had the advantage of living temporarily with the first. They divided their land, and conducted a lottery. They cleared the houselots individually, taking two weeks or so. Then they built shacks and began to plant dry crops such as manioc, peanuts, dry rice and maize. After the first harvest, both groups began to push back the forest in anticipation of the day when they would make sawah.

In Blimbingsari the picture was gradually becoming clear; free land, free water, and a cordial reception from the government. The laggards were becoming more willing to move. Having heard of Simon's problems, however, they wrote to Sulawesi requesting an escort. They would be ready when he arrived. With this request, a newly engaged and relatively reluctant Made Weco returned again to Bali.

This third and largest group of spontaneous migrants to Massari was organized by Nyoman Kurma and escorted to Sulawesi by Made Weco. It consisted of some forty-eight families from Blimbingsari and Tjarangsari (the ancestral village for many Christian Balinese). At the time of departure, five of these families were Hindu; upon arrival they all became Christian -- the first of many Christian converts among migrants to Central Sulawesi.

After a brief rest in Parigi, the migrants proceeded to Pemaloa. They arrived on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1960. Because of the size of the third group, and because Sidiswara still reserved some land below the road, this last group was given the land above the road and toward the mountains (Figure 5.3). With seventy-seven families working together they had reason to be optomistic. They renamed their land Massari: a place of golden trees. It was later to be thought of as the source of gold.

Adaptation and Dispersal

The year 1961 was one of consolidation and effort on the part of the migrants in Massari. Not only did they have to adapt to a new area and system of agriculture, but to a new set of social conditions as well. They quickly affiliated themselves with the local church G.M.I.M.[2] (though there were many who would have preferred to remain associated with the church in Bali); they adopted Indonesian as the language for all official functions (in Bali, worship was held in the venacular); and they established working relations with local officials.

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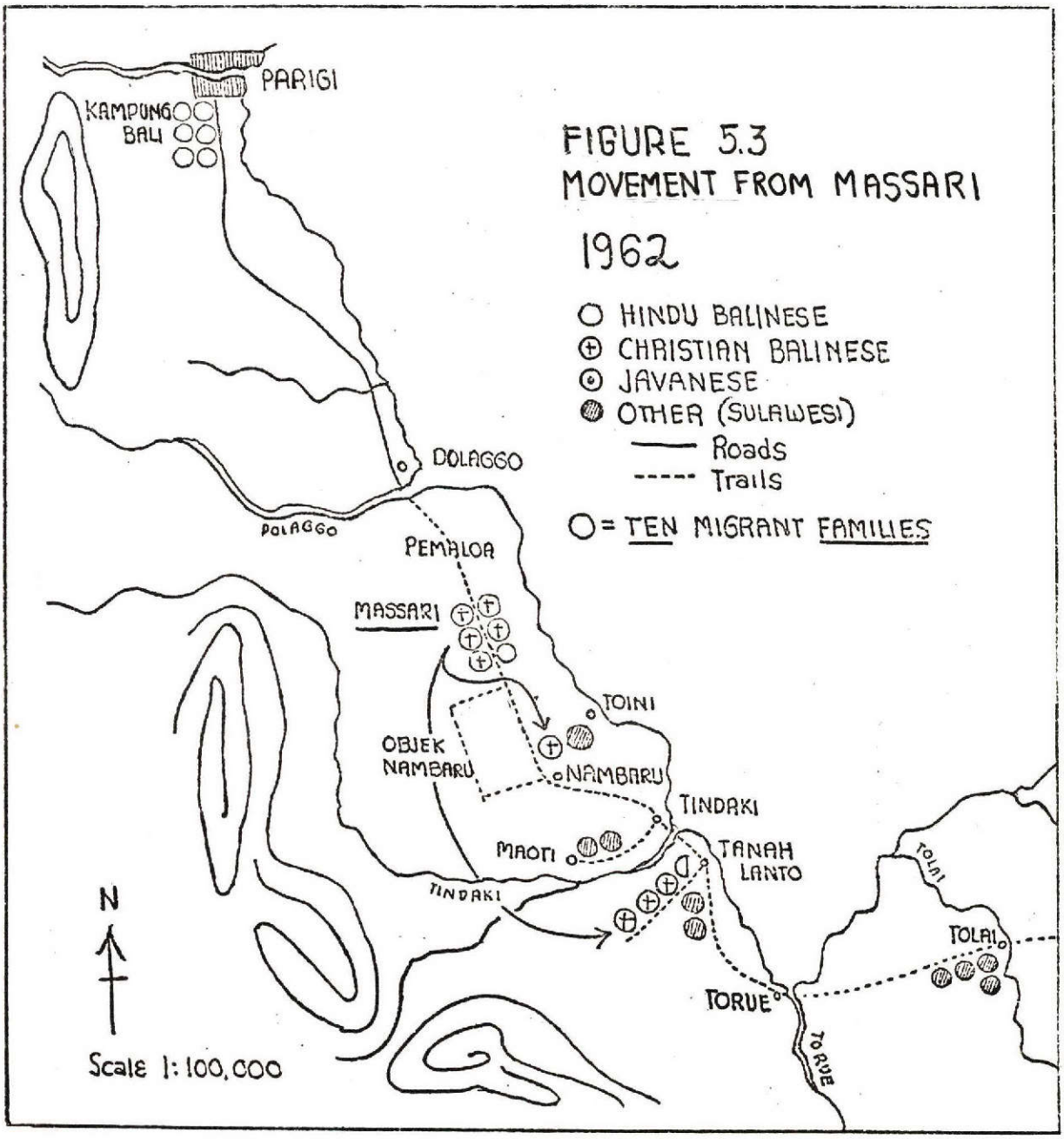
[2]Geredja Masehi Indonesia Minahassa, the Minahassa Protestant Church.

In early 1961, transmigration officials stayed in Massari while surveying the land between Massari and Nambaru -- the local settlement three kilometers to the south. They said they were making preparations for 200 Indonesian families who were to be relocated from the Philippines. The Balinese, however, were more interested in opportunities for those still in Blimbingsari, and they inquired whether there were any possibility of resettling Balinese, if not in Nambaru, in Torue. The officials listened sympathetically, but no definite arrangements were made. Bugis were hired to begin clearing shrubs, and building houses for the anticipated in-migrants (the Balinese were too busy on their land to work for wages). The Bugis labored much of the year, but no migrants appeared.

In late 1961, attention was distracted by trouble above the road. The group of Nyoman Kurma was in difficulty. After the Balinese had worked nearly a year to clear primary forest, several Kaili returned to claim "their" land. Feeling that they were newcomers without any real voice, and fearing that any additional work would be wasted, the forty-eight Christian families decided to abandon their labor. They went to Gusti Arka to request help in finding new land.

Coincidently, local officials had been seeking agriculturalists willing to move into the area of Tindaki, seven kilometers to the south. In Tindaki, the local people were still using primitive agricultural techniques, and officials hoped that an example might provide them the incentive to improve. Even with the good land in Tindaki, however, the migrants were ambivalent. Seven kilometers was sufficient to make work exchange and social support problematic, and because these were so important, they cast about for alternatives. Twelve of the families found that they

had money to purchase land from the Bare'e and Basoa in Nambaru. One moved in with kinsmen in Massari proper, but thirty-five families were left without land, money or alternatives. And in spite of their misgivings they were forced to accept the land in the south. Thus in early 1962 over one hundred Balinese moved to Tindaki to begin entirely anew (see Figure 5.3, below).



While the Christians were searching for new sites, Sidiswara began to fear that the good land in Massari might be lost altogether to the Hindus. He approached Andi Pelawa,who told him the Hindus could claim rights to the land below the road only if they moved there immediately. So in January of 1962, under pressure from Sidiswara, seven of the eight Hindus he escorted to Sulawesi moved south to Massari. Four more Hindu families were added to this group over the next two years. Although there had been Hindus in Kampung Bali for fifty-five years, these were the first to settle outside Parigi proper. Having lived in Kampung Bali for two years, however, this group continued to maintain ties with the Hindus in the north. They returned to Parigi to find work and observe the Hindu holidays. For a number of years the Hindus and Christians of Massari lived in the same village with minimal socializing between them.

By early 1962, the community of Massari had shrunk to some thirty Christian and seven Hindu families. Twelve Christians lived in Nambaru, and thirty-five more in Tindaki. Fewer than ninety Balinese families lived in south Parigi; but the stage was set for the next phase of Balinese in-migration -- the arrival of government sponsored Balinese.

The Government Sponsored Migrants -- Sumbersari

The spontaneous migrants of Massari represented only a portion of those in Blimbingsari who were willing to move to the outer islands. A few preferred Sumatra or Sumbawa, but most were simply unable or unwilling to move without some form of government support. For the poor, the decision to leave on their own had been made more difficult by word from Massari that the government was surveying land in Nambaru. They registered for transmigration and asked to be sent to Sulawesi.

The First Group

As the news from Massari increased and improved, those remaining in Bali became more and more restive. Finally they appointed Gede Raktha, an articulate young Balinese, to travel to the main transmigration office in Denpasar to check on the chances of government sponsorship to Sulawesi. The Balinese transmigration office was enthusiastic. At that time they still had difficulty filling their quotas for out-migration, they were in touch with transmigration officials from Central Sulawesi, and the reputation of Parigi was spreading. They told Raktha that if he could find 100 families willing to go to Parigi that they would petition Jakarta for full support. Government sponsorship meant that transportation, cleared land, houses with zinc roofs, supplies for the transition, schools and health facilities, would all be provided.

Raktha returned to Blimbingsari with the news. In the short time available he could find only seventy-five families in both Blimbingsari and Abianbase (a village of Christian kinsmen in Badung, central Bali); but he divided them up to look like one-hundred, and he registered them all. He returned the list to Denpasar in January of 1961.

For nearly a year they heard nothing. Some of Raktha's friends had sold their cattle and land immediately upon registering and they suffered considerably while waiting. Others gave up, got frightened away, or had a change of circumstances and no longer wished to go. Raktha himself decided the whole thing had fallen through when the transmigration officials appeared. It was the first Sunday of 1962.

According to the officials, the department was prepared to send two hundred families to "Objek Nambaru" since the anticipated migrants from

the Philippines had never arrived. The Balinese would be sent in four groups of twenty-five families each, at three month intervals since the facilities in Surabaya could accomodate only a small number at a time. The first group was to be prepared to depart the next day.

So many chances had already gone by that Raktha packed immediately. Before he could depart, however, the transmigration officials announced that they would have to check to see that everyone met the requirements. It was a policy of the department that migrants be farmers and married, but no migrant could have a wife who was more than three months pregnant or a child under six months old. Since this eliminates most young men in Bali, a general scurry ensued to find women who weren't pregnant, and daughters who could be passed off as spouses. Raktha himself had a new baby so he had to borrow an older one for the inspection. The transmigration officials checked them off. Only a few failed to pass, and on the 8th of January 1962, twenty-one families (98 people) left Blimbingsari.

After their hasty departure the group waited two months in Surabaya for a government ship. Morale declined. One family turned back. Finally a ship arrived to take them to Donggala. When they reached Sulawesi it was mid-March and the middle of the rainy season. The road over the mountains was all but impassible. For this reason the local transmigration office arranged for them to travel by ox-cart instead of auto. It took them three days to cover the 90 kilometers (56 miles) from Palu to Parigi. From there they proceeded on foot to Nambaru. They finally reached their destination on March 24, 1962, almost eleven weeks after their departure.

Even with the arduous journey ended, however, the migrants had little reason to rejoice. Objek Nambaru was separated from both Massari and the

local community by dense stands of forest. And although the promised warehouse was waiting, it contained no supplies. The wooden houses with zinc roofs, were bamboo huts covered with thatch. The houselots had been cleared, but dense underbrush had grown back around the houses. The forest remained to be felled.

The people were unhappy and sick at heart. Nevertheless they divided the houselots, cleaned up the kintal and bagan to plant sweet potatoes, manioc, and maize. At the recommendation of the local people they planted dry rice in April. Their spirits improved when their crops were in, and the second group of thirty-one families (147 people) arrived on April 29th.

The Second Group

The new immigrants had also had their problems. Thinking the rainy season to be over, they waited a week in Palu to find cars. Barely up the mountain the road was completely severed by a landslide. Reluctant to go back, they proceeded on foot in the rain carrying children and belongings on their backs. They spent one night at the summit wet and cold, and the next night at the beach among the mosquitos. On the third day they found transport to Nambaru.

Unlike the first group, which had been hastily assembled from willing recruits in Blimbingsari, the second group contained migrants who were selected from all the applicants in Bali. Unfortunately, at the time Hindus were making preparations for the massive 1000 year celebration at the mother temple of Bali, Pura Besakih. Purification of the island called for cremation of all remaining bodies and numerous other adat responsibilities no respectable Hindu would be willing (or allowed) to shirk. Among others, Gusti Ngurah Malen, the sailor who had landed in Parigi in 1944,

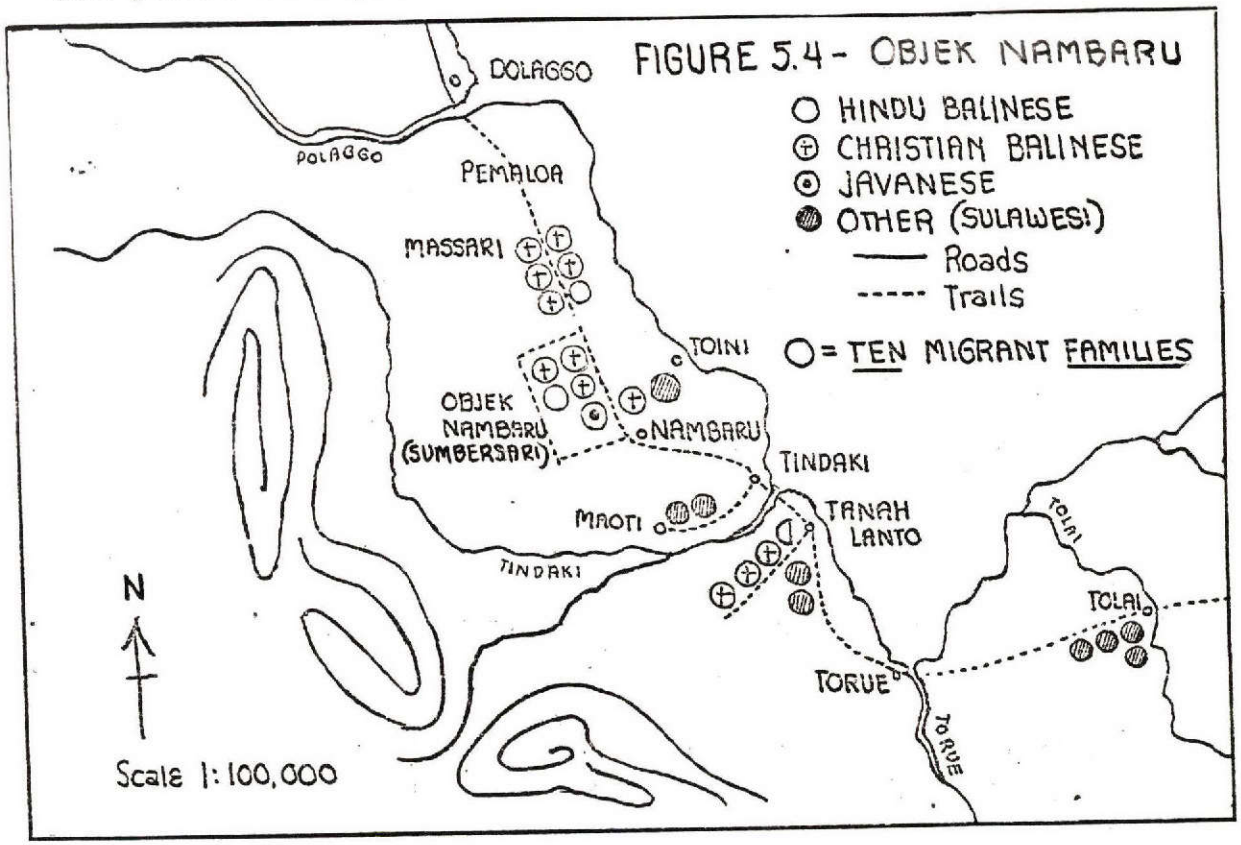
was called but could not go. After many such refusals the disgruntled transmigration department stopped recruiting Hindus and concentrated its efforts on the Christian and Moslem populations of Jembrana, the province of refugees on Bali's west coast.

During the war and revolution, Jembrana had become a refuge area not only for Balinese, but for Javanese as well. When the land filled, and opportunities decreased, both Balinese and Javanese felt the need to move on. Many signed up for transmigration. Given the refusal of Hindus to move, the second group of recruits ultimately consisted of fifteen Javanese families -- mainly Moslems, and sixteen Balinese. Among the Balinese, only two were Hindu and the rest were Christians from Blimbingsari.

The leader of the second group was actually Javanese. Hadhy Prajetno, the youngest son of a nominally Moslem official in Solo, had always been uncommonly ambitious. At thirteen he moved to Magelang because he heard the Catholic school there was the best in the area. He signed up, became a Catholic, and hired himself out as a servant to see himself through school. In 1952, he moved on his own to Bandung to enter the technical institute, but this time he could not find the funds and he left after two months.

With little else to do, Prajetno traveled to Sumatra to look for work. He made some money and returned to Solo where he served as the head of his village for a time. Later he worked as a school teacher, but became dissatisfied with the wages and quit. Then he moved to west Bali in search of work. While working in the vicinity of Blimbingsari he began to hear rumors of the wealth of the Balinese in Parigi. With his

experience and ambition, he was perfectly willing to move to Sulawesi to see. The transmigration department confirmed the stories, and he signed up. Ultimately the wealthiest man in Sumbersari, he could hardly have predicted his good fortune on arrival.



The second group, in fact, faced an even worse situation than the first. There were still no supplies, there were not enough huts to go around, and even less of their land had been cleared. Their predecessors were disconsolate. The time for planting field rice had passed. Given their collective poverty, however, they had little choice but to cope.[3]

The thirteen remaining shacks were divided by lot and the losers

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[3]Among the government sponsored transmigrants, 10 brought no money to Central Sulawesi, 26 had less than 1,000 rps. At that time 5 rps bought one kilogram of rice.

remained in the warehouse while the Bugis built the rest. When the houses were completed, a lottery was held and work began in earnest. Houselots, which were nucleated, were cleared, burned, and planted by small work parties. And although Balinese and Javanese were scattered randomly throughout the village, the Balinese tended to work in one group, the Javanese in another, as the pace and custom of working were different between the two.

Adjustments in Nambaru

Within a month, both groups had planted corn and manioc, but without any harvests the enlarged community soon began to experience serious food shortages. Technically the government sponsored migrants ought not to have wanted for anything. In addition to one-quarter hectare for a houselot, and two hectares for sawah, they had been promised monthly provisions including:

15 kg rice for the family head,
7 kg rice for the wife,
6 kg rice for all other family members.
2 kg saltfish per person,
2 bottles of kerosene per family,
2 bottles of coconut oil,
2 kg of salt.

They were also to receive farm supplies, kitchen utensils and cloth.

Unfortunately, the deterioration of the Indonesian economy, the isolation of the area, plus the inexperience and inefficiency of regional officials combined to hamper the delivery of goods. For three months no supplies arrived. The Balinese with relatives in Massari begged and borrowed manioc to mix with their rice, but the Javanese had no one to fall back on. Neighbors in Nambaru had taught the new arrivals to find fruits and tubers in the forest, and most migrants learned to make sagu, or starch. But when both rice and reserve funds were exhausted the

migrants became seriously deprived.

Illness compounded their suffering. Forced into the forest to find food and clear their land, the migrants contracted numerous new diseases. Many of them had malaria much of the time, and in the early years of the settlement nearly one in ten died -- most of them small children. The nearest health resources were located in Parigi, fifteen kilometers to the north. Needless to say, the promised school and health facilities did not exist.

Gede Raktha, who was functioning as temporary head of the settlement, wrote continuously to the transmigration offices in Parigi, Palu, Denpasar, and even Jakarta. He begged for provisions, pointed out their suffering, and complained about their neglect. Seeing the complications entailed by this settlement, the transmigration office in Bali decided to delay the remainder of the migrants until the situation in Sulawesi improved.

By September, six months after arrival, supplies had begun to flow. The first crops were harvested, and relations with the transmigration office had improved. At this time the transmigration department was able to secure sufficient funds to allow each householder to hire the laborers to clear one hectare of land. As this money, 2,000 rps, could also buy two good cows, each migrant faced a choice. Some chose to work gotong-royong (by labor exchange) and save their money for cattle, others hired Bugis to clear the land, a few chose to work completely alone. In general, the Javanese hired Bugis "because they had less experience in the forest", while the Balinese worked together "because their system of gotong-royong was stronger". There were many exceptions in the pattern.

It should be noted in passing, that while many of the Balinese were related by kinship or community origin, the Javanese had little in common other than the fact that they had all been migrants to Bali. Moreover, government claims to the contrary notwithstanding, few of the Javanese had been full-time farmers before transmigration, and this alone may have contributed to their relative lack of solidarity in agricultural efforts. In any case, government funds were well used by both groups, land was cleared and cattle purchased. And by the end of 1962 each family had fields available to plant non-irrigated rice.

In January 1963, all community members planted dry rice on new fields for the first time; houselots remained in subsidiary crops. The long period of maturation for dry rice (six months), combined with the termination of their supplies, meant yet another period of hunger, but when the crops were harvested in July and August, the quantity exceeded all expectations. With rice in reserve, the residents of Objek Nambaru were able to complete their homes and finish clearing their land. They opened a provisional school and drafted Hadhy Prajetno to teach for minimal contributions of rice.[4]

In addition to a school, the new migrants in Nambaru built two temporary buildings to be used as a church and a mosque. At the insistence of their own leaders and mindful of the Moslem majority in Central Sulawesi, tolerance and mutual respect between religions became a corner-stone of this community's philosophy. Moslems and Christians alike

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[4] Somewhat chagrined, Massari also opened a school in their church, but when the government sponsored teacher left, it closed. The most highly motivated students attended school in Objek Nambaru; the others missed out. securing teachers and schools has remained one of the primary problems in the transmigrant communities.

exchanged labor and supplies to build both places of worship. The two Hindu families worked co-operatively for a time, but eventually one converted to Christianity and the other moved out -- a pattern to be amplified over time.

To minimize confusion and distinquish the government sponsored migrants from the later arrivals in Nambaru, the newly stabilized community of Balinese and Javanese will henceforth be called Sumbersari -- the name it assumed upon normalization of its status in 1968. Sumbersari means, more or less redundantly, the source of the source, or source and provider; and it is an appropriate name for a community destined to become the most productive village in Parigi in less than ten years.

Irrigation in the Tana Boa

Owing to the advantages of government sponsorship, within one year the new residents of Sumbersari had nearly approximated the conditions of their kinsmen in Massari. By mid-1963 both communities had cleared substantial amounts of land and were turning their attention to the task of finding water for sawah. Therefore, when the residents of Massari decided it was time to build a dam, those in Sumbersari decided it was in their best interests to-follow.

Using their knowledge of Balinese irrigation hierarchies as a model, the thirty remaining farmers in Massari, and the fifty-two farmers from Sumbersari, began to dig a channel through solid rock six kilometers above Massari. After three arduous workdays the Sumbersari contingent decided that it would have an easier time digging channels through softer soil further down the river. Realizing that they need not be united with Massari to form an effective irrigation unit, they withdrew their labor

and began anew.

The second time, rather than work co-operatively, the migrants of Sumbersari decided to assign each household head the responsibility for digging a section of the irrigation channel. Each person was to be responsible for an amount of digging which varied from 15 meters through easy soil to 5 meters through rock. If the community had consisted only of Balinese this allocation of work would never have occurred, as all of the migrants would have worked together until the work was finished. The Javanese, however, refused to co-operate with the Balinese and their endless rules, and thus individual responsibility for specific parts of the work seemed the best compromise. Of course the farmers themselves were still free to exchange work, hire labor, or do it alone; and once again there was a tendency for the Balinese to work bergotong-royong while the Javanese labored individually. When I asked why the Javanese didn't work together, one informant replied, "if you don't work alone, when you finish with your section, you have to work again." This man was a Javanese.

However unconventional by Balinese standards the Sumbersari system clearly worked. The channels were completed within two months. In early 1964 a selamatan (traditional offering and feast), was given for the dam, and the water began to flow. Sumbersari then had the first irrigable land, south of Dolaggo (Figure 5.5). Massari was less fortunate. Owing to the higher elevation of their land the Massari farmers were forced further upstream and through more difficult terrain. Beginning in 1963 all members of the irrigation system worked together every Monday for a year before the channels were finally finished. In

mid-1964, a worship service was held, the channels were opened, and during the first storm the village was overrun with water. In spite of innumerable improvements on the dam, the village continued to be periodically flooded in the rainy season. Some residents of Sumbersari suggest that this is because they never gave a selamatan for the dam; they seem to suspect that Christian prayers may not be enough.

Comments

While Hindus were knit into traditional communities which they could not, or would not, leave; the Christians were experienced migrants who characterized themselves as open to change. In many discussions the Balinese themselves have noted this difference, and in comments and interviews both Hindus and Christians have characterized this dichotomy as follows:

Hindus	Christians
1. Conventional (afraid of the unknown).	1. Rebellious (not afraid).
2. Only know traditional ways.	2. Curious about new ideas, eager to imitate the West.
3. Identify with their villages and village adat.	3. Identify with other Chrisitans wherever they are located.
4. Tied to one place, physically, socially, spiritually; dislike change.	4. Open to change.
5. Subscribe to traditional temple and kin relationships -- discouraged from leaving them.	5. Have renounced temple and kin relationships -- often forced to leave them.
6. Little experience outside natal villages.	6. Many with experience outside natal villages.
7. No experience with migration.	7. Over half have migrated.
8. Limited knowledge of the outcome of migration.	8. First hand knowledge of migrant successes.

Given these differences, it is hardly surprising that between 1957 and 1962, nine-tenths of the families to move to Parigi were Christian. Hindus viewed migration as an alternative only if all others had failed, Christians viewed migration as an opportunity for improvement. In addition, Christians were sufficiently experienced to be confident of their ability to cope. Not until these experienced migrants had established an example would the less experienced Hindus be willing to move.

Expansion into Nambaru, 1960 - 1964

As good land to the north decreased, claims by locals for the return of old agricultural areas increased, and the problems of working in the forest became ever more evident; the long-settled, second-growth areas of Nambaru began to look more and more attractive to incoming migrants.

In 1960 Nambaru was a small town of slash and burn agriculturalists who had filtered into the area from the south. In the village proper were some sixty families of Islamic Bare'e speakers from the vicinity of Sausu. A kilometer or two away in an area called Maoti were a small number of Bada and Basoa, mainly Christian refugees from Islamic insurrection in the highlands. On the beach, ten or twelve Bugis families lived more or less permanently in a place called Toini (see Figure 5.5). The first Balinese to move into Nambaru were the twelve families from Massari who purchased swidden when displaced from their original land. Shortly thereafter, three of the earliest Christian immigrants, Daud, Mundro and Berata, purchased second-growth areas adjacent to Sumbersari. At that point, all of the Balinese in Nambaru were Christian.

In 1963 Sidiswara returned to Bali with the specific intention of attending the 1000 year ceremony at the temple of Besakih; he also

intended to conduct his own forty-two day celebration in his village. During this period, however, the Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and most holy volcano, began to explode, and neither Sidiswara, nor most other Balinese, were able to attend the proceedings. Neither was he able to recruit new migrants, for most Balinese in his area were still involved in ritual responsibilities intensified by the volcanic explosion. In the end, only three families returned with him to Parigi, all of them relatives from Gerana, Sidiswara's home town.

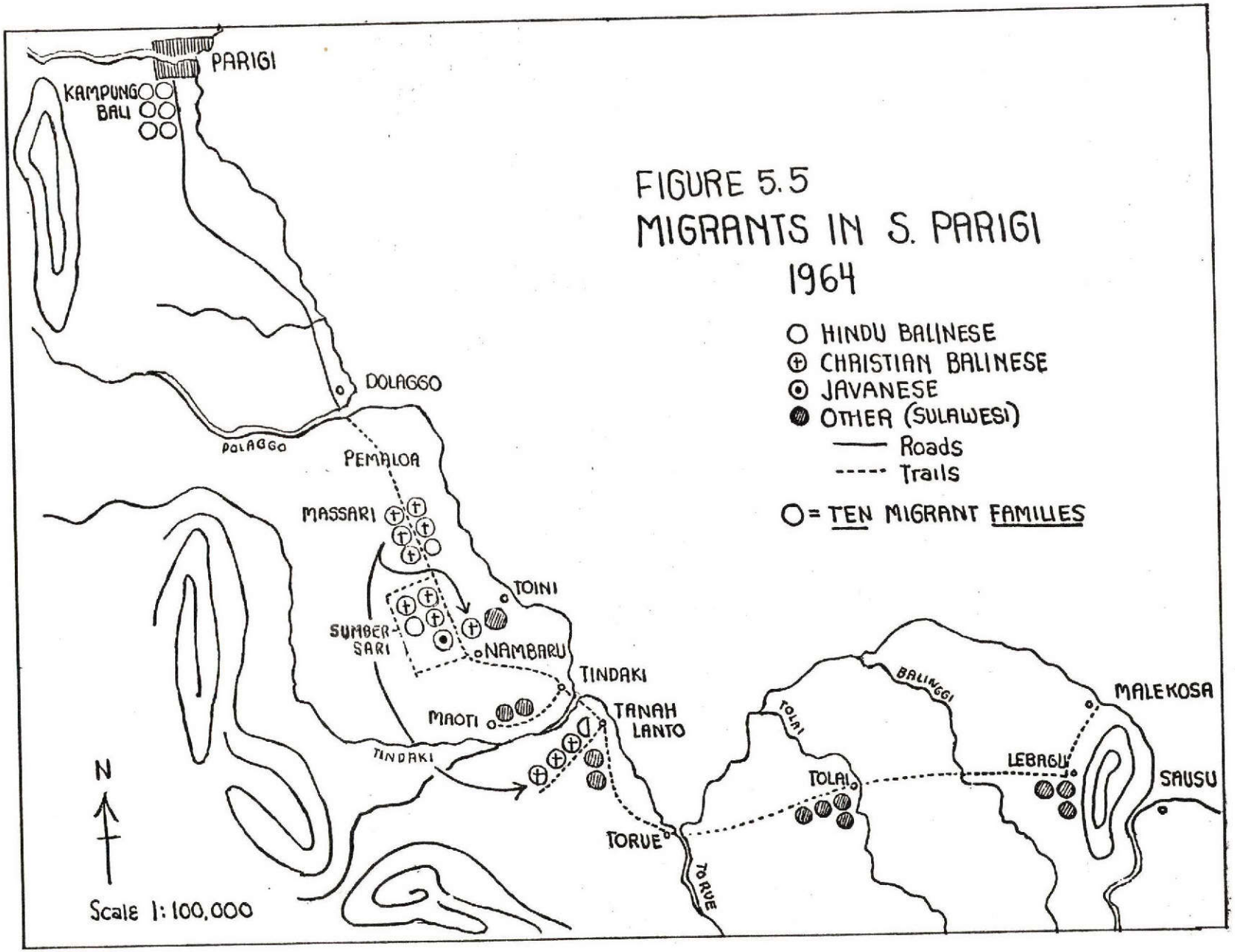
Five additional Hindu families, from Jagaraga, were waiting in Parigi when they arrived. Four families out of this new group joined the Hindus in Massari at the beginning of 1964. This still left some sixty Balinese families in Kampung Bali, most of them the descendents of the original exiles. Later in 1964 Nyoman Koper became the first Hindu to move independently to Sulawesi (that is, without being brought by relatives) since the Christians arrived seven years before. He was also the first Hindu to move directly from Bali into the forest. Like the other early independent arrivals, Koper was an unusually motivated and experienced man.

Koper was born in Tabanan and attended Dutch schools. He was in an agricultural program until the revolution broke out, at which time he was forced to return to his village. Since he had visions of farming, but no land, Koper migrated to Metro (Sumatra) in 1957. Although there were already Balinese there, he had problems with his health and was discouraged by the lack of water for irrigation. He returned to Bali in 1959. Five years later Koper was working in the forest in Jembrana when he met Suwandi, a Christian from Tanah Lanto who had just returned to

Bali to get his family. Hearing that Koper had been in Sumatra, Suwandi decided to compare notes. Koper was extremely attracted by what he heard. He had a little capital at that time, but was watching it eaten away by inflation; so he decided to check on Parigi before he had nothing left. He returned to Tabanan to pack up his family and depart.

In September of 1964 Koper landed in Donggala and found a car straight to Parigi. Upon arrival, the driver asked where he wanted to go; he said he didn't know but suggested they let him out in front of a Balinese house. The driver took him to the home of Gusti Arka. Arka was a bit surprised to see him but put him up and later gave him work. At the end of two months Koper had checked out the situation and decided to move to Nambaru. Within a few months, five Hindu families in Kampung Bali took courage from his example and decided to follow. (See Figure 5.5 for the distribution of Balinese families in south Parigi in 1964). Not only was Koper an innovator in this instance, he was later instrumental in recruiting the largest group of Hindus to move to Central Sulawesi, the migrants to Astina in 1967.

With the influx of sedentary agriculturalists in the vicinity of Nambaru the Bare'e began to evaporate. Their numbers declined from sixty to twenty families in the space of five years (1960--1965). Since it was still too early for them to feel the effects of population pressure on swidden lands, and since relations between the ethnic groups had always been hospitable, locals and newcomers alike found it hard to explain their rapid disappearance. Clearly some of the Bare'e saw the opportunity to sell what, to them, was regarded as valueless land; others were attracted to the sea by the growing demand for fish. A few were employed to cut


PARIGI
KAMPUNG BALI
DOLAGGO
PALAGGO
PEMALOA
MASSARI
TOINI
SUMBER SARI
NAMBARU
TINDAKI
MAOTI
TANAH LANTO
TINDAKI
TORUE
TORUE
TOLAI
BALINGGI
MALEKOSA
LEBAGU
TOLAI
SAUSU
N
Scale 1: 100,000
FIGURE 5.5
MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI
1964
HINDU BALINESE
CHRISTIAN BALINESE
JAVANESE
OTHER (SULAWESI)
Roads
Trails
= TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES

lumber by the Japanese. The deterioration of the Indonesian economy and uncertainty of the political situation may have motivated some to move to the security of their old villages; but most apparently chose to return to their swidden in Sausu simply to avoid the expectation that they would make sawah. With the departure of these indigenous families only about 100 Sulawesi families were left in the Tana Boa; and the way was open for rapid settlement by immigrant Balinese.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PIONEERS -- STAGE II

Sorting out the factors affecting the growth of migration movements is complicated by changes in objective conditions over time. While the stage of migration affects the sending and receiving communities, other conditions are also being altered; and it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to try to disengage the two.

In the case of the Balinese movement, increased migration resulted in increased knowledge and confidence, and enlarged social networks in Central Sulawesi. At the same time, however, the deteriorating political and economic climate and the growth of landlessness and unemployment in Bali began to contrast with improving opportunities in Central Sulawesi. The situation in Sulawesi was enhanced by regional autonomy, concern with development, and the introduction of green revolution rices. Almost imperceptibly the balance was being shifted in weighing the desirability of the two states.

Bali and Central Sulawesi: Tipping the Balance

By mid 1965 the economy of Indonesia was in ruins. Inflation had reached 800% per year, and the state was in a condition of political chaos. The situation in Bali was particularly critical. Overpopulation added to economic dislocation had contributed to dissatisfaction and enabled the nationalist, socialist, and communist parties to factionalize the countryside. As the role of the rajas declined, political parties stepped into the vacuum. Between-village squabbles broadened into area-

wide conflicts over land, water, and local authority. With a communist governor in office, non-communist Balinese felt particularly threatened.

The deterioration of the social and economic situation was compounded by the growth in population, and increasing alienation from the land. Between 1952 and 1965, the population of Bali nearly doubled, and the population density in some areas reached 2,000 people per kilometer of irrigable land. Fully one-third of the population was underemployed and a substantial proportion of these were completely jobless.

On September 30, 1965, a communist coup and rightist countercoup known as GESTAPU, lit a long fuse of resentment among non-communist Balinese. After burning for nearly two months it exploded in an irrational blood-letting which led to the massacre of perhaps 80,000 Balinese villagers by their neighbors. No family escaped; the myth of community solidarity was shattered, and the violence personally abrogated by Balinese in their everyday life was made manifest in a nightmare of retribution. The ensuing disorder ripped across the fabric of traditional social relationships, and alienated men from their villages, from their temples, and from their kin. As stability was gradually restored, deep-seated animosities made migration attractive to many who would never have considered it before.

In Parigi, however, the tolerance and lack of fanaticism which had come to be associated with the area during PERMESTA prevailed. Communist leaders were arrested, suspected headmen stepped down, but even villages which had been largely communist escaped serious disruption. Sanity ruled and farmers continued about their business. Nevertheless, it was

a full year before the economic and political situations improved sufficiently to allow people to speculate about the future.

In the interim, however, the farmers of Kampung Bali planted their first hybrid-variety rice. Owing to the rapid maturation of these strains, they could plant and harvest two crops a year. But the work entailed in this schedule rapidly accentuated their need for additional labor. Fortunately, the resulting surpluses also meant that their economic footing was increasingly sound. Thus with economic stability, and the advent of the green revolution, systematic recruitment of labor was inevitable. With the deteriorating conditions in Bali it led to an unprecedented number of immigrants looking for work.

Government Migrants II

During the political turbulence of the mid-sixties, migration declined. While nearly fifty Balinese families moved to Sulawesi in 1964, only ten arrived in 1965, and six in 1966. Since the political and economic complications of the period were less keenly felt in Parigi than in Bali, however, there were some short-range movements within Sulawesi at that time.

In 1965 Gusti Made Tjenik and six other families from Kampung Bali arranged to open unsettled swidden above Dolago. They picked their area and cleared it for one month, when the original residents came back to claim it. They all gave up and moved out.

A second group of Hindus from Parigi, under the leadership of a young man named Dirgayusa, began to negotiate for land as far south as Tolai, but with the collapse of the government in September of 1965,

these plans were also abandoned.

Then in mid 1966, the transmigration office in Palu was alerted to the possible placement of 200 families in "Objek Torue", an area above the harbor of Torue twenty-five kilometers south of Parigi. Provincial officials moved into action. The job was a big one, ten barracks had to be constructed to accomodate twenty families each; houselots had to be cleared, the forest had to be opened. To accomplish the task, the district head conscripted labor from every village. At one point, 500 men were said to be working at a single time. As the year wore on, however, no further news was received, and interest in the project waned.

For six months the barracks stood empty. The new year arrived, and still no word. In January 1967, Nyoman Koper, the Hindu who moved independently to Nambaru, went to see the head of the transmigration project. Koper and his friends wondered if they could facilitate the settlement of Torue by returning to Bali and recruiting new migrants themselves. The official consulted Palu, and a compromise was reached. The Balinese could use the land and the barracks if they would also share in the responsibility for supporting the new migrants when they arrived. In turn, the transmigration office in Palu would write letters to the appropriate authorities in Bali expressing their approval and support.

The Recruitment of Balinese for "Objek Torue"

Koper returned to Nambaru to solicit the opinion of the previous settlers. There was considerable enthusiasm for the plan. Most families were willing to be responsible for relatives and friends, as nearly all were in need of labor. Many had already been in Parigi five years, their sawah had matured, and they had surpluses which could be spared.

FIGURE 6.1 - Recruiters to Bali, 1967

	Religion	From	Assigned to:
1. Nyoman Koper	Hindu	Nambaru	Co-ordinator (Tabanan)
2. Wayan Cetug	Hindu	Massari	Gerana /Sanggeh (Badung)
3. Pan Sumiasih	Hindu	Kampung Bali	Jagaraga (Buleleng)
4. Ketut Kempel	Hindu	Kampung Bali	Jagaraga (Buleleng)
5. Pan Magelong	Christian	Tanah Lanto	Carangsari (Badung)
6. Ketut Semprong	Christian	Tanah Lanto	Carangsari (Badung)
7. Made Santi	Christian	Sumbersari	Abianbase/Blimbingsari
8. Pak Pardi	Islam	Sumbersari	Jembrana (Javanese)
9. Pan Sumina	?		

With this consensus, nine men were chosen to recruit migrants in Bali, and they were systematically selected to represent the religious and geographical interests of those already in Parigi. (See Figure 6.1, above). It would be their task to recruit family members and friends from Jembrana, Buleleng, and Badung.

In addition to recruiting migrants the Hindus were given a second task. Spiritually inclined men like Sidiswara and Ketut Danang had long been disturbed by the superior knowledge and religious commitment of Christians when compared with the Hindus in Parigi. They were also sensitive to the fact that in the years between 1960 and 1966, one-quarter of the Hindus embarking from Bali became Christian in Sulawesi -- many, admittedly, in order to join families in Christian villages. They were distressed by this turn of events and determined to improve the cohesion and commitment of Hindus in the community.

When Sidiswara returned from Bali in 1963, he had brought back news of a modern religious movement, the "Parisada Hindu Dharma", which he felt might provide leadership and authority. Those in Sulawesi wished to know more about it. Therefore, they assigned Koper and the other Hindus the job of first making contact with the appropriate Hindu organization; and then seeking a priest who might be willing to migrate, perform the necessary rituals, and provide religious guidance in Parigi. If possible, they wished to halt the trend toward Christian conversion among incoming migrants.

The nine delegates arrived in Bali in early February and dispersed to their respective homes. On the 15th of February 1967, they each began registration. Nyoman Koper says that they hoped for assistance from the government, but they promised nothing. He himself told potential migrants to be prepared for the worst. He told them that they would have to sleep in river beds, eat tree leaves and be attacked by malaria. There would be no ice, no movies, no entertainment, only unending forest. If they wanted to move they had to expect this and worse.

In spite of this advance publicity, Balinese for the first time were ready to move. Unlike 1962, when transmigration quotas could hardly be filled, there were now 3,000 families on the transmigration roles. Within a month, Koper and his colleagues had collected more than enough signatures. They met, pared their list down to two-hundred names, and in March 1967, presented the list to KOMDAK (a division of the Indonesian armed forces) and the transmigration office, requesting permission to leave.

Both the military and transmigration department were aghast. The 200 families represented nearly 1,000 people proposing to set out across Indonesia with neither guidance nor support. The military had no assurance that the migrants were politically safe, the transmigration office had no way of knowing whether they met the requirements for migration, and no one knew whether they had the financial resources necessary to succeed in Sulawesi. Permission to travel was denied. The recruiters issued a plea to Parigi and the Governor of Central Sulawesi was enlisted to contact the Governor of Bali requesting special permission to depart. This time the request was granted.

Thus in June of 1967, re-registration began under the auspices of officials from the transmigration department. Basically they wished to know that those registered meet the department's requirements for migration. At that time the conditions were that migrants be:

1. married,
2. not over fifty,
3. no wife over six months pregnant,
4. no child under six months old.
5. no individuals involved in GESTAPU.

Again there was some fancy footwork on the part of the prospective migrants. One of the leaders who was single, listed his grandmother as his wife. Others took fictive dependents and children to the check-in. In some cases young couples registered with their parents rather than as independent households, in order to maximize the number of families which could be sent.

Unfortunately, by the end of registration there was still no sponsorship

from Jakarta, and the departure was again delayed. Fortunately, the Hindus were able to use this opportunity to press their religious concerns. They applied for association with the Hindu Parisada, and on the 10th of June (1967) they were accepted as a branch of the Parisada's social and political arm, the Badan Perdjuangan Hindu Dharma in Denpasar. This was a temporary affiliation until they could establish the appropriate religious organization in Parigi and be accepted as a branch of the religious body itself.

At the same time Nyoman Koper heard from the Parisada of a priest, Giri Putra, who had moved to Lombok and might be willing to migrate to Sulawesi. Koper and Cetug went to Lombok to discuss the situation. The priest agreed to their terms. Thus, Pedanda Giri Putra was added to the transmigration roles. The Hindus then collected what lontars (palm scriptures) and Hindu publications they could find. They also secured a few musical instruments to provide the basis for a small cultural group in Torue.

After three more months, the application for sponsorship was approved. The migrants were to be supported by the SEKTORAL program, a regional development plan in which the provincial government assumed the major share of expenses for in-migration. With this news, a definite departure date was set for mid-October. In mid-October the date was postponed to early November. In mid-November they were still waiting. Once again those who had sold their land and cattle found this a difficult and disheartening period.

Finally on the 17th of November 1967 the cars arrived and two-hundred families set out from Jembrana, Tabanan, and Buleleng, bound for Denpasar. In the city they were put up in schools and dorms. The only Brahmana, Ida Bagus Mas, was appointed to lead the group. His assistant was Gusti Ngurah Malen, sometimes Japanese sailor, who had registered in 1952 for migration to Central Sulawesi, and who had been waiting ever since.

On the 18th of November the migrants were escorted to the harbor at Benoa to meet their ship. It never arrived. The migrants were returned to their dorms. They stayed there for nine days. On the 27th of November they were taken again to Benoa. In the late afternoon 200 families, 1017 people, set out for Makassar.

The ship reached Makassar on November 29th and put up for eight days to have its engines overhauled. Many people spent their last rupiah on ice, movies and fruit, hoping to pass the time. Finally the migrants left Makassar, December 7th, bound directly for Torue. For some this was the worst time of all. The boat had become filthy during the delay, waste was running everywhere. Perhaps because of the unsanitary conditions three infants died, and when they landed in Torue on the 12th of December 1968, 300 people were sick.

The first night in the new land, however, the Hindus unwrapped their instruments and held an impromptu drama. This was the first Balinese theater seen in Sulawesi since the time of the earliest exiles. Many old-timers who had come in from Kampung Bali, Massari and Nambaru grew nostalgic at the event. Some considered moving to new areas in the

south. In spite of the sickness, spirits rose all around. After the drama the locals danced the modero till daybreak.

Even with the ignominious descent the migrants were relatively positive. Unlike the migrants in Sumbersari who had been promised everything and were sorely disappointed, these migrants had expected little and felt they had gotten much. They had been given one-quarter hectare for houselots and another 2 hectares for sawah. Barracks, rice, saltfish and other provisions were provided. Some who had property in Bali were regretful for a time, others were homesick for a month and more, and many felt as though they were just waiting to see what would happen. But most were optimistic about the future.

No doubt the difference in attitude between Sumbersari and those in the new community can be traced in part to deteriorating conditions in Bali, the increased efficiency of the transmigration department, and the visibility and successes of migrants in the north. But the migrants themselves say they couldn't be let down because they had never been built up. Ida Bagus Mas remarked, "In Bali I had nothing, in Sulawesi I got something, how could I be disappointed?"

Early Adjustments in Objek Torue

On Sunday December 17, the Christians requested permission to hold a worship service in the barracks. The Hindu leaders objected. The situation tensed. Twenty-one families had been Christian in Bali, sixteen had converted enroute and sixteen more had yet to choose. Christians feared that Hindus might begin to cause trouble here as they had in Bali, now that they were numerically stronger.

In fact, the Hindus were in a poor position to cause trouble. Markus, the transmigration official, was himself a protestant of Sanggir descent; neighbors to the north and south were also Christian. In the end the issue was simple; the Hindus feared that the barracks used for worship might become a holy place. As in Hinduism, they had associated the object and act of worship with the place of worship. When the Christian view was explained, they consented.

This issue, the arrival of the priest, and the continuation of Christian conversion prompted the Hindus to act swiftly. Within a week of the transmigrant's arrival, Sidiswara called a meeting to be held in Kampung Bali. Those invited were Sidiswara and Wayan Lukiya from Kampung Bali, Ida Bagus Mas and Gusti Ngurah Malen from Torue, Nyoman Koper from Nambaru, Dirgayusa from Tolai, and several other prominent Hindus. The first meeting was held December 29, 1967. At that time they decided on a name, Badan Musjawarah Hindu Dharma (The Hindu Council). At the same time they elected officers, and drew up a formal religious organization, a schedule of meetings and a plan of religious study. The meeting laid the groundwork for the consolidation and future development of the modern Hindu movement in Parigi.

In the meantime, after five days of rest the migrants began to work. Perhaps one-quarter of the land for kintal was open, the rest remained to be cleared. All 200 migrants worked together on this project and their enthusiasm and energy was so contagious that Markus found himself

felling trees. It took them only a month to clear the land, and then they paused to wait for the debris to dry. On January 25th while waiting to burn the area, the kintal was divided into four main sections, and representatives from each main group drew lots. As usual they chose to settle among friends and the new areas were designated as I have here:

			From
1. Rantingsari	(R.K. III)	38 families	(Hindu) Carangsari/Telugtug
2. Wirata	(R.K. II)	51 families	(Hindu) Sanggeh/Gerara
3. Pajala	(R.K. I)	53 families	(All other Hindus and Moslems)

Panjala received all Hindus and Moslems not in the first R.K. 37 families from Tabanan, 12 from Buleleng, 3 from Melaya, 2 Javanese.

4. Wanosari	(R.K. IV)	58 families	(All Christians)

After the initial drawing the sections were divided into houselots and a second drawing was held for individual plots. Since clearing could not proceed the migrants spent the next month looking for work and learning to make bamboo and thatch for houses. In early March the area was burned and the fire was so intense the ground was hot for seven days. The burn was so clean it looked like the area had been swept. Only the largest trunks remained.

Then on the 13th of March 1968 the first and worst of a series of floods hit Torue sending torrents of water through a dry channel and washing away five houselots, one barracks, and all the medicine. The next day Markus ordered everyone up to shut off the channel. This flood was repeated in April of 1969 and the damage sufficient that the governor

contributed wire and cement to permanently deflect water from the low areas of the village. Flooding was to become an increasingly important problem as migrants moved further and further south into areas of increasing rainfall.

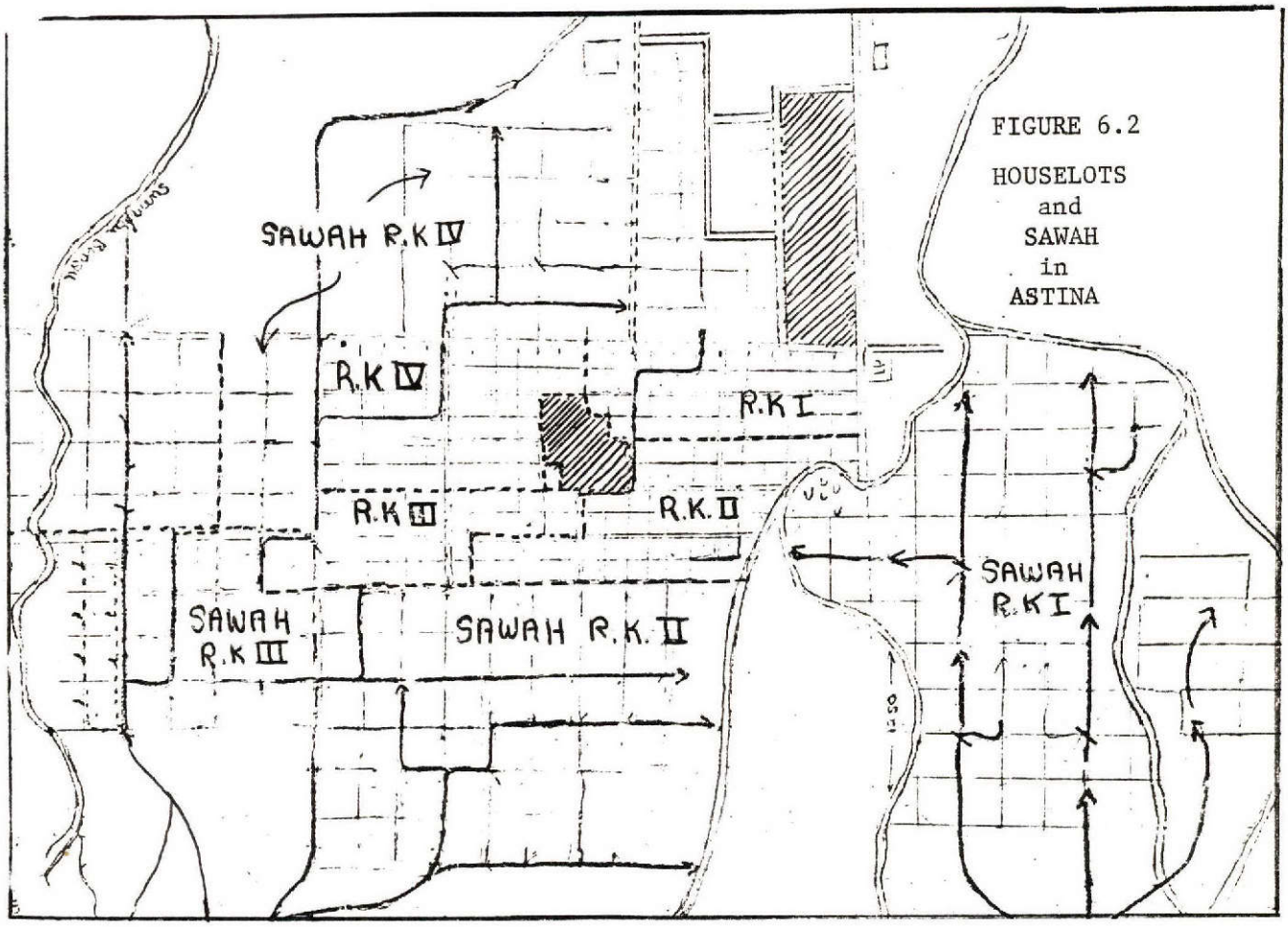


FIGURE 6.2
HOUSELOTS and SAWAH in ASTINA

By April the migrants were in a position to build their huts. To this end the transmigration department specified a certain size and quality of building and provided 1,700 rps to each household (approximately 70 kg rice) for materials. Some people, however, decided only to erect lean-tos. When Markus saw what was happening he ordered the

lean-tos torn down and houses meeting the specifications erected. Markus says he was concerned not only with what the transmigration office would say, but also with the fact that the people would be psychologically better off with comfortable homes, once the real work began.

As migration continues, the diversity among migrants widens. And in Astina a difference in means became apprent for the first time. One person who had brought money from Bali, built his first house of lumber. The man who initially built the lean-to had no money at all. In fact, over half of the migrants report that they had no money when they left Bali, only four say they had more than 10,000 rps.[1] Excluding these four, the entire community averaged only 200 rps per household upon arrival, the equivalent of fifty U.S. cents. For this reason, the money for housing was sorely needed and used to good ends. With the assistance, most of the migrants were able to erect substantial buildings of bamboo and thatch.

After the initial collective sweep of the area, the migrants broke into small reciprocal work groups to build their houses, improve the land and plant their crops. And in "Objek Torue" a general pattern of work relations finally became clear. Where related people lived in the same kampung (settlement) they chose help from family and friends to make the bonds of reciprocity even tighter. Where unrelated people from different areas lived together they expressed a definite preference for work groups based on proximity within the village -- so that no one would be left out.

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[1]Rice was then worth 25 rps/kilogram, and the currency had stabilized at 400 rps to the U. S. dollar. Thus only four migrants arrived in Torue with more than $25.00

In April the gotong-royong groups planted dry rice, peanuts, cassava and corn. The first crops were, of course, extraordinary. The corn, in particular, was so abundant that the tonnage from their fields was broadcast over the radio in Bali, and the farmers joked that they should call the place "America." In the end the migrants called their community Astina, a name which will be used from here on, to distinguish it from the indigenous village of Torue proper.

The year was not one of unmitigated blessing, however. In addition to the toil and trouble of everyday life, some half-dozen adults and still more children died. A new health officer, Lelei Putong, had to be recruited from Parigi. But the cruelest blow came when it was discovered that the area of Astina included no more than 250 hectares, rather than the 1000 hectares specified in the transmigration survey. This was barely enough for houselots and one hectare of sawah for each of the officially registered families. Since a few families had also entered covertly and others had divided since arrival there was not enough land to go around. To compound the problem a large number of youth who had been counting on the "endless jungle" to provide them with homesteads of their own were barely better off than in Bali. Finally, transmigration department rules required that migrants neither sell nor leave the land for five years or as long as the settlement was under the authority of the transmigration office. This made consideration of alternatives difficult.

When the farmers of Astina attempted to clear land to the northwest near Tanah Lanto, they found themselves in a land dispute with the residents there. When they turned to the east they found that the land was reserved

for Javanese migrants. When the sawah was finally divided in one hectare plots, seventeen official families failed to get any at all. Later through the intervention of the district head they received seventeen hectares in Kampung Torue.

For the unofficial others nothing could be done. Mindful of the possibility of ever increasing in-migration, some half-dozen families and more than one-hundred youth, made plans to overlook the regulations and attempt to stake claims to outlying areas, primarily in the virgin forest of Tolai.

Comments

Both the enthusiasm for migration in Bali, and the rapidity with which the migrants adapted attests to changing conditions in both the sending and receiving societies. Many of the would-be migrants knew of the opportunity in Parigi as early as 1966 when the social and economic situation in Bali was at its very worst. They were prepared for difficulties in Sulawesi, and were, therefore, pleasantly surprised whenever things went well. They enjoyed the support and back-up of those who had gone on before, and profited from both their knowledge and their example. Administration of this project by the transmigration department was both efficient and humane.

This positive experience was, of course, fed back along various channels of communication to the homeland. In Bali, in select communities, Parigi was becoming a part of every day conversation. Discrepant information was disputed and weighed. Both the report and the reported were

evaluated. Gradually, Parigi came to be part of the culture, the system of understandings, of specific communities in Bali. When a sufficient number of people were involved the threshhold was reached when migration was no longer the activity of idiosyncratic individuals, but rather conventional masses. This stage was to be reached in Tolai.

Interim Developments, 1968-1970

A Javanese Community in Parigi - Purwosari

On June 28, 1968, six months after the arrival of the Balinese in Astina, ninety-five families from Central Java settled in "Objek Tolai," or Purwosari, a government sponsored transmigration project across the river from the village of Torue (see Figure 6.3). Most of these migrants had registered for transmigration in the cities of Central Java and consented to go anywhere. Only by chance had they been sent to Central Sulawesi; no one had prior acquaintance with the area.

From the beginning the community was beset with problems. The migrants had been promised cleared land and completed houses. When they arrived they found eight barracks and ten units of cleared kintal. No worse off than Astina, they were nevertheless demoralized by this development. To compound the situation the Javanese elected to begin by clearing houselots individually which meant almost certain failure for the inexperienced and less ambitious members of the community.

Poor planning and timing made matters worse. The houselots were located in the swampiest part of the area, and malaria was particularly

debilitating. After two years the death rate was so alarming that the community was forced to move to higher land above the road. While former houselots were eventually turned into sawah considerable time and effort had been wasted.

The migrants were also settled in mid-year, after the time for planting dry rice had passed. This meant they had no rice harvest for more than fourteen months. When supplies ended, the village became a veritable ghost town as the urban-oriented Javanese coped in the best way they knew how -- by going to the towns to work. In this respect the Javanese contrast strikingly with the Balinese who were most comfortable in agricultural situations and could not be tempted from the land by city work nor wages.

The initial disappointment, the inability to succeed, and the moral deterioration which followed are seen by the Javanese as both a result and a cause of the high death rate in the community. In the first five years, Purwosari had sixty-four deaths among ninety-five families. In the same period Astina had twenty-seven deaths among two-hundred and five families -- 14% mortality in Purwosari compared to 2 1/2% in Astina. While the government blames complications from malaria the people blame beri-beri, malnutrition and hepatitis; diseases compounded by self-neglect, lack of spirit, and loss of the will to live.

This is not the end of the story. Encouraging signs of reveral were to be seen in 1973-74. In the minds of local administrators in 1970,

however, the progress of the Javanese in Purwosari was officially regarded as "disheartening" (Pribadi and Soegiarso, 1).

The Growth of Sumbersari

Nothing could contrast more strikingly with Purwosari than the progress of the fifty-two original transmigrants to the north. In a period of six years the residents of Sumbersari had opened an average of more than one hectare of sawah and together with Massari, the area was now taken to be potentially one of the wealthiest in the province. Under these circumstances the residents were deemed able to pay taxes and function autonomously.

Thus, on September 10, 1968 "Objek Nambaru" was surrendered to provincial authorities with the same Sumbersari. Upon normalization of its status the houselots which had been reserved for the last two transmigrant groups was made available for settlement. Nine Hindu families and nearly thirty Christian families (including the twelve who had moved to Nambaru when displaced from Massari), acquired lots and moved into the village to be close to other Balinese. The distant land they had cultivated would be resettled only when nearby land ran out. Owing to original inaccuracies on the part of the surveyors, however nearly all these late-comers were forced to secure sawah outside the boundaries of the former "objek." With the arrival of the migrants in Astina, the Balinese in Massari, Sumbersari and Tanah Lanto harvested their own rice for the last time. Not coincidently, the communities of north Parigi had reached precisely the point where their own labor was inadequate for harvesting

when the new transmigrants arrived. In six years the old-timers had gone from pitiable in-migrants to enviable landholders. Both their example and their potential for supporting new labor were a substantial factor in the rapid success of those to come.

The Role of the Green Revolution Rice

In 1965 the first hybrid rices became available in Parigi. By 1970 they were used on half the migrants' fields, and in 1972, all farmers were required by the government to plant the high-yield hybrid seed. This growth of the green-revolution led directly to the demand for labor and indirectly to the influx of new migrants into central Surawesi. For this reason I wish to introduce the rices and their consequences here.

The importance of the new rices in Parigi was less in their highly-touted per-harvest yield, than in rapidity with which they grew. Whereas traditional Balinese rices ripened in 165 to 180 days, the hybrid-varieties matured in 120 days or less. The most common of the hybrids, C4, had a growing period of only 105 days. PB and Pelita strains were only slightly slower to mature.

If the hybrid-variety rices were planted only once a year as indigenous varieties were, the shortened growing period would have had little impact on labor patterns. But most of the HVRs are non-photosensitive, that is that can be grown throughout the year. This, together with government pressure to increase rice production, year-round water, and the Balinese proclivity for work, led to a system of continuous cropping

aimed at producing five harvests every two years, and increasing cultivation put increasing pressures on animals and men.

A pair of Balinese cattle, for instance, were expected to do field preparation for about two hectares of land. In this respect the government allocation of 2 1/2 hectares was ecologically tuned to the minimal farming unit of a man and two oxen. If pressed to cultivate more land, more often, cattle loose weight, sicken and die. Mutliple cropping not only required that the cattle work at least twice as often each year, but it put such strains on humans that draught animals were used for work formerly done by men. Without sufficient labor an increasing number of cattle were pressed beyond their limits.[2] To circumvent the problem the migrants were compelled to rent draught animals or recruit more human labor.

However, the people in Sulawesi, like their cattle, felt the strain of continuous cropping. In Bali, there were too many hands and too little work. In Sulawesi, they said, there was no respite. After continuous cultivation began in earnest growing numbers of Balinese made arrangements to "drop out" for a season even though they could ill afford it. Others recruited laborers to temporarily take their places. Sharecropping arrangements were limited only by the number of people who were willing to farm another's land. Systematic recruitment of labor was therefore inevitable.

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[2]In Astina 10 of 140 young cattle died in 1973, an unprecedented occurrence in the experience of the Balinese, and one which they attributed to overwork.

Ironically, a second feature of the hybrid-variety rices which accelerated the demand for labor was their notorious unpredictability. Problems resulting from reducing the number of rice varieties, and the hybrid's vulnerability to disease, were well known hazards on the road to the green revolution. But more important in Sulawesi, was the increase in insect pests (particularly grasshoppers and white borer worms) which developed as a result of continuous cropping.

With traditional agricultural practices ripening fields were attacked by small numbers of insects, but in the long fallow periods (five months or so) pest populations declined. With multiple cropping, not only were the fields continually in sawah but planting was done in such a way as to stagger the harvests both within Balinese villages and between them -- this, to facilitate the needed exchange of labor. Under this system some rice ripened in any given month. Under these conditions pest populations soared. Even pesticides proved ineffective against the growing insect hordes.

As an example of the destructiveness of insects a friend lamented that he planted 10 are (1/10 hectare) and harvested 400 kg of rice in his first year. The next year he planted 25 are and got 250 kg rice. In his third season he planted 50 are and still got 250 kg of rice. In other words, his overall average had declined from four tons/hectare to one-half ton/hectare. Two tons per hectare would have been a minimal yield even for traditional rice varieties.

In an attempt to control insects the regional agricultural office in Parigi first encouraged all farmers of a single village to plant within the same week. In theory, no number of borers or grasshoppers could eat all the crops of an entire village if they all matured at once. Needless to say, this planting system severely strained the labor resources of the villages, and it only proved manageable in so far as farmers could recruit kinsmen from neighboring towns with the arrangement to repay services in kind. The plan complicated planting, but made no impression whatsoever on the insects which merely moved a little further to find another field.

By 1974 things became so bad that the regional office considered requiring all farmers in Parigi to plant within a single ten day period. This move was strongly resisted by the farmers who believed themselves incapable of planting their fields without labor exchange. The plan eventually failed for lack of organization but it was earmarked for consideration again. It takes little predictive power to suggest that either the rule was never enforced, or the number of "visitors" again climbed.

A third factor leading to increased cultivation and expanded labor demands was the poor storability of hybrid rice. Traditional rice varieties cling to the shaft and are therefore stored in sheaves. When kept in this way the padi is well aerated and may be stored for several seasons. In fact informants have reported keeping crops in Bali for ten years and more. This storability was the peasants' bank; it protected him from

the vagaries of inflation, and allowed him to accumulate capital for occasional large-scale investments.

Hybrid-variety rice, however, has a tendency to fall from the stalk. For this reason it is threshed in the field and stored as unhulled padi or grain. If it is not thoroughly dry, or if the weather is continuously damp, lack of aeration leads to rapid deterioration. Middlemen, recognizing this quality, refuse to buy anything other than newly threshed grain and this forces the farmer to sell all of his crop immediately after the harvest, a time when prices are lowest. In Parigi the response to the problem, like the response to low yield was to increase production. To increase production required labor, to get labor required recruitment. In-migration climbed.

Thus, in the mid-1960's two events foreshadowed the mass-migration of Balinese to Parigi. The first was the maturation of the early communities and their subsequent production of surplus. The second was the introduction of hybrid-variety rice.

Self-sufficiency and surplus production in the Christian communities was far more rapid than the government predicted. Within five years, each migrant family cleared and put into production an average of one hectare of land. To exploit the second hectare while intensively cultivating the first, required more time or more labor. Having already pushed their own resources to the limit, the Balinese sought to recruit labor. As we have noted, however, most of the indigenous populations had been

driven from the area a century before, and those families which had resettled in the last fifty years were singularly uninterested in wage work. For this reason, the Balinese were forced to turn their attention toward home and seek laborers there.

With the arrival of the government sponsored migrants in Astina, the labor needs of the old migrants were temporarily satisfied. More recent immigrants, in spite of the need for help, were hardly in a position to hire any, much less support relatives, and therefore in-migration slowed. In 1968 and 1969, no more than one hundred families found their way to Parigi. This, however, was the metaphorical low before the storm.

By 1970 government pressure to use green revolution rice had increased, production was up to four tons of rice per hectare (compared with the normal two tons), and the southern communities had further matured. With growing prospects of surplus, and the increased effort needed to cultivate the new rice, additional laborers were necessary and welcome. Immigration again climbed.

In 1970, 300 families arrived in Parigi; in 1971, 500 more. In 1972 -- five years after the migrants arrived in Astina -- 1,500 families (some 7,000 Balinese) moved to Central Sulawesi. These "mass" migrants more than doubled the Balinese population in Parigi in less than one year. Their arrival was due in no small part to the fact that additional parameters had been altered with the introduction of the green revolution rice.

Foreshadowing the Mass Migration

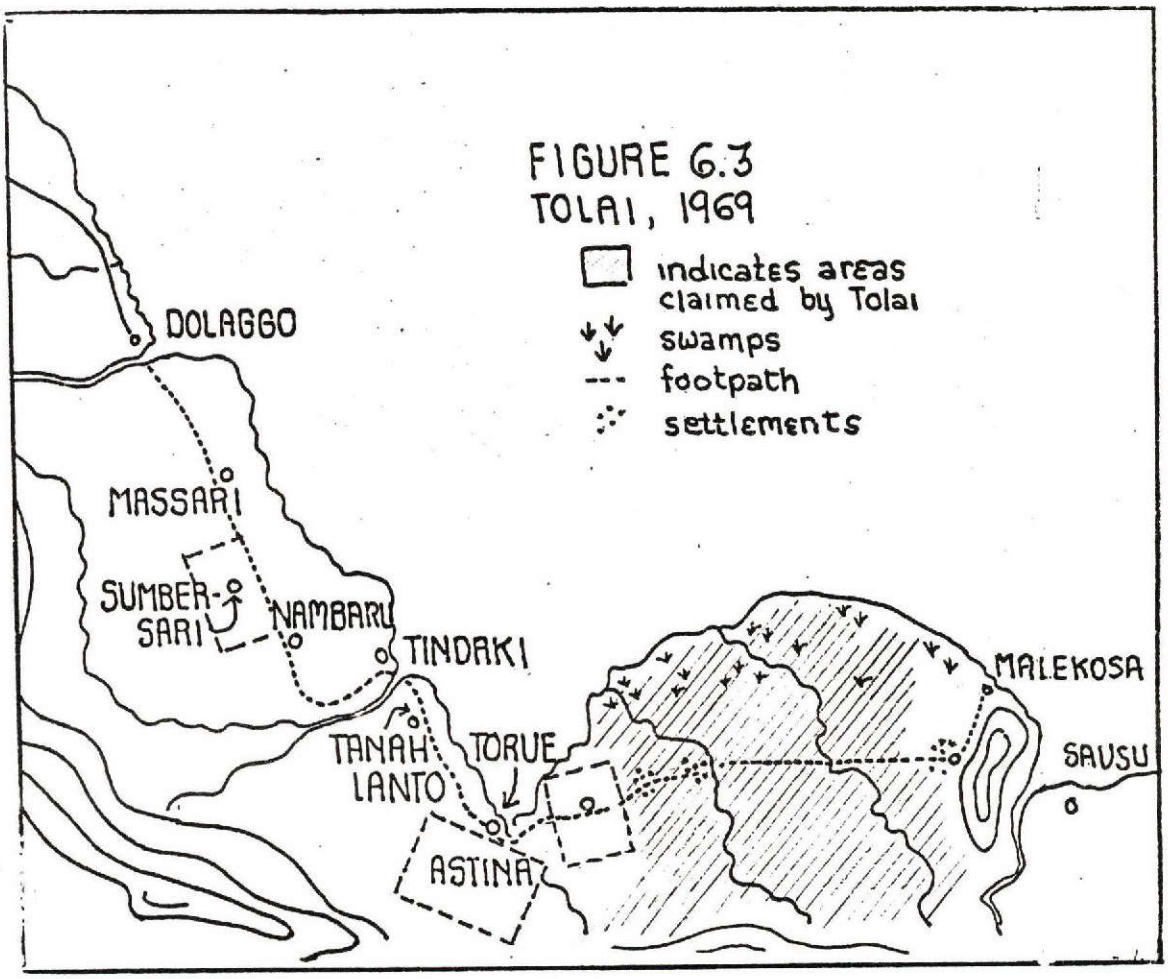
Initial Movements to Tolai

The most significant period of Balinese migration to Central Sulawesi occurred between 1970 and 1973 and was highlighted by the mass migration to Tolai. It was the events of 1968 and 1969, however which anticipated and allowed the massive influx of migrants in the 1970's.

The name Tolai refers in general to the vast area of swamp and virgin jungle stretching from Torue to Legau, and specifically to the small settlement of some thirty highland families who lived near the river Tolai, five kilometers from Torue. Physically the region of Tolai consists of a sandy alluvial shelf fed by the Tolai, Balinggi and Sausu rivers (see Figure 6.3). Because of its shallow runoff most of the land is no more than a muddy malarial swamp -- none too hospitable to the local people. The indigenous populations which inhabited the area in the past, including those of the kingdoms of Balinggi and Sausu, confined themselves to areas along the sea where they had access to dry sandy beaches, transport and seafood.

As noted in the history the interior areas were not settled until the 1930's, when Badat and Basoa traders came into the region seeking ebony, resin and rotan. In time they switched to swidden cultivation and alternated permanent residences between the relatively high, dry areas surrounding Tolai and Lebagu -- their gardens were widely scattered. In the 1950's this small population was doubled by the arrival of refugees

from Rampi and Rongkong -- Christian areas of south Sulawesi abandoned during the Islamic insurrections there. Even with their arrival, in the mid-1960's, the region contained no more than sixty or seventy families practicing slash and burn cultivation in two tiny villages. The administration of the area was done from Torue.



In 1965 while on tour of the area the former district head (Pak Achmad), asked the Badat and Basoa colony if there would be any objection to having Balinese move to Tolai to help liven things up a bit. Everyone

approved and Dirgayusa, a relatively recent immigrant to Kampung Bali, actually began to make plans to move a small band of Balinese into the area. With the political uncertainties following GESTAPU, however, this project was abandoned. It would be another four years before the residents of Kampung Bali were actually confident enough to move.

In 1966 Tolai did receive one new resident, an ex-government official and native of Sulawesi, M. R. Tumakaka. Tumakaka was born in Mori Bawah (Poso), the son of a noble family there. As all Mori from his area, he was raised as a Christian. As a child Tumakaka attended Dutch schools, and at 15 he began to teach in the fifth grade in Kolonodale; fearing he was a bit young for the job his supervisor listed his age as 25. Thereafter, Tumakaka went through teacher's training and taught for 15 more years in schools throughout Poso. In 1956, he began to work in the education office in the city of Poso, and in 1959, he was sent to Menado to work on education with the governor's staff (central Sulawesi was administered from Menado at the time). When the new province of Sulawesi Tengah was formed in 1964, Tumakaka was among the first transferred to Palu. Once there he was placed in charge of a contract to secure lumber in Tolai.

As soon as he arrived he says he recognized the potential of the place. He heard that Balinese migrants would be settled in Torue, and he predicted on the basis of past events that they would soon move down to Tolai. He says he was inspired when he thought about it. He fulfulled his contract, went back to Palu, but never forgot about Tolai.

Then in 1966, at age 42 Tumakaka was unexpectedly retired. Ordinarily Indonesians are pensioned at 50, but given the extra ten years added to his age, and his long term of service to the state (twenty-seven years), he was eligible early. He took his money, moved to Tolai, married a local girl and settled to the east of the river. At the time he was the only person living in the dense forest between Tolai and Lebagu.

The First Balinese to Tolai

With the arrival of the transmigrants in Astina in 1967 the interests of prospective settlers from Kampung Bali was rekindled. Dirgayusa and Gusti Arka again approached the police and village heads. The police chief said the Balinese were welcome to move in if they were willing to become residents of Torue and abide by its rules. The village head also approved, and to facilitate the Balinese move, he offered to pull the Badat and Basoa houses together near the river in the east, freeing areas of old swidden to the west (see Figure 6.3). The locals intended to maintain their gardens in Gameli, an area between Tolai and the new Javanese settlement of Purwosari.

In spite of this news, obtaining settlers from Kampung Bali was not easy. The life there was comfortable and secure, most residents had little experience with the forest. Once again the fear of disease and lack of access to the area were formidable obstacles to settlement. There were seldom boats to Torue and it was five slippery kilometers from the harbor to Tolai. After several months of propaganda there were still too few settlers to move, and Dirgayusa and Cetug from Massari began to look for recruits to the north; some were interested.

Then in mid-October word reached Kampung Bali that more than 100 youth from Astina intended to stake out claims to land in Tolai. To obtain areas of secondary growth, Dirga's group would have to move. On November 11, 1968 Dirgayusa led seven Hindu Balinese to the south, where they were joined by ten family-heads from Astina who were still landless. Gombo Laki gave them the relatively clear land along the road to the west of the main kampung, and together the seventeen laid claims to the first Balinese land in Tolai in an area still known as Bandjar 17 (the land of the 17). (See Figure 6.4)

Figure 6.4 -Banjar 17: The First Balinese Settlement in Tolai

Group One		Group Two	
1. Dirgayusa	Kampung Bali	1. Rentut	Torue (Astina)
2. Rai	Kampung Bali	2. Pan Tilus	Torue (Astina)
*3. Surumo	Kampung Bali	3. Sudiaka	Torue (Astina)
*4. Katjol	Sumbersari	4. Rawi	Torue (Astina)
5. Pan Suar	Nambaru	5. Garte	Torue (Astina)
6. Nyoman Cetug	Massari	*6. Gusti Djaja	Torue (Astina)
7. Arka	Massari	7. Ganti	Torue (Astina)
		8. Amal	Torue (Astina)
* Did not remain in Tolai		9. Sekun	Torue (Astina)
		10. Widia	Torue (Astina)

In late November, 80 youth (about 50 Hindus and 30 Christians) also arrived to set out claims to land for future cultivation. Tumakaka persuaded the Christians to settle near his house, envisioning a day when

the east bank of the Tolai would be entirely Christian. The Hindus were given an area in the west, between Bandjar 17 and the sea - a place to be called Pantaisari. In his plan to cultivate a Christian community Tumakaka was to be temporarily disappointed; for early in 1969 twenty-seven of the young Christians chose to open land above the Christian settlement in Tanah Lanto. This area was closer to their families in Torue, had long been settled, and on both counts would make it easier for the youth to obtain assistance and moral support.

In Tolai only about twenty Hindu youth and another dozen Christian boys ever began to open land, and owing to their extreme youth and inexperience no more than five Hindus and five Christians of this group ever succeeded in establishing permanent residences. The five Christian teenagers opened land directly across from Tumakaka in an area to be called Anekesari. They were joined shortly thereafter by four Christian families from Astina who left on the pretext of seeking carpentry work. While forced to discourage the move, sympathetic transmigration officials took no direct action so long as the requisite 200 families were maintained in Astina.

Seeing the land consumed, eleven more families, mostly from Kampung Bali and under the leadership of one of the earliest migrants Gusti Made Tjenik, moved to Tolai on December 28, 1968 (See Figure 6.5). They were given the land to the north (below) the Badat and Basoa settlement. The forest in this area was so dense it took them twenty-two days working on and off just to clear lanes for roads. In January this group was joined

by eleven Balinese and four Javanese from Kampung Bali and Astina. Shortly thereafter four more Balinese followed. This last group of fifteen cleared a road parallel to the first and these thirty Hindus made up a complex to become known as Mertejati.

Figure 6.5 - Mertejati: The Second Balinese Settlement in Tolai

First Phase	Second Phase	Third Phase
1. Gusti Made Tjenik	1. Wayan Sumerado	1. Sugando
2. Wayan Gandra	2. Astawa	2. Ketut Suta
3. Wayan Bagli	3. Ardnawa	3. Satra
*4. Sukanto	4. Giwara	4. Sukadio
*5. Barjo	5. Sukra	
6. Sumerta	6. Kerdia	Phase Two (cont)
7. Sedia	7. Made Tojo	12. Radito
8. Kerko	*8. Sinab	13. Djara
9. Nadru	9. Made Marta	14. Tidro
10. Nengah Kandi	10. Siden	15. Gede Sumalia
11. Suarto	*11. Sekar	* Did not stay in Tolai

One notices among the early settlers to Tolai a number who did not choose to remain on the land once they laid claim to it -- a phenomena not seen since Made Daud and the first Christians fled the jungles of Pemaloa in 1957. Even excluding the teenagers from Astina whose optimism exceeded their ability seven of the first forty-five Balinese to Tolai turned to other areas in the end -- 15%. In this settlers of 1968-69 accurately foreshadow the main trend of migration in the 1970's, the

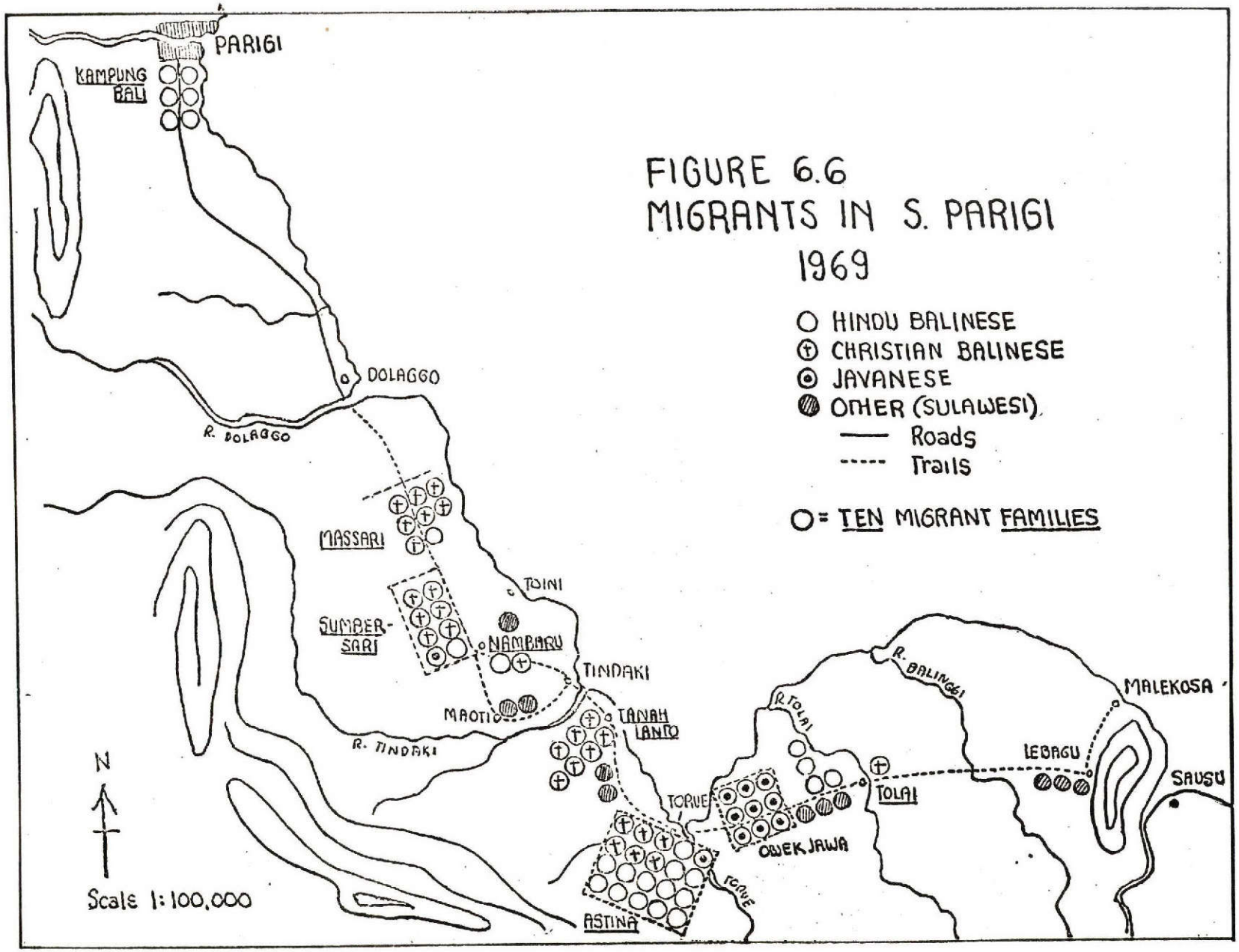
opening of alternatives. The first migrants to Parigi came with no money to buy land, no money to return home, and neither the knowledge nor opportunity to pursue possibilities other than farming. They sought free land and where they found it they made the best of it; they had no choice. The later migrants not only brought increased financial resources and new skills but they found multiple possibilities for land and labor when they arrived.

Comments on the Movement to Tolai

When taxes were first collected in Tolai in early 1969, 150 household heads were on the rolls. Of these 49 were Badat or Basoa, some only nominally clinging to swidden in the area (no more than 30 actually resided in Tolai). There were also seventeen Hindus in Banjar 17 and the 30 in Mertejati, a total of 77 Balinese families working land in Tolai. The remaining names were those of young people in Astina who had reserved land in the hope of one day farming it. (See Figure 6.6 for settlements in south Parigi in 1969).

Significantly, of the eighty or more early Balinese settlers in Tolai, all were migrants to other areas of Parigi. None moved directly from Bali to unknown areas without mediation and support. Once again we find that the most difficult moves are made by those with the most experience and not by novice immigrants.

Recognizing the rapidity of in-migration and the potential of the communities in the south, the district head, Arsid Passau, began to


PARIGI
KAMPUNG BALI
DOLAGGO
R. DOLAGGO
MASSARI
SUMBER-SARI
TOINI
NAMBARU
TINDAKI
MAOTI
R. TINDAKI
TANAH LANTO
TORUE
ASTINA
TORUE
OWEK JAWA
R. TOLAI
TOLAI
R. BALINGGI
MALEKOSA
LEBAGU
SAUSU
N
Scale 1:100,000
FIGURE 6.6
MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI
1969
HINDU BALINESE
CHRISTIAN BALINESE
JAVANESE
OTHER (SULAWESI)
Roads
Trails
= TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES

rationalize administration of the area. In February of 1969, Tanah Lanto was separated from Tindaki, and an outsider (neither Balinese nor Badat/Basoa) was appointed as the head of the village. At the same time, Tolai was severed from Torue and another outsider, M. R. Tumakaka, was appointed as village head. Thus February 1969 marks the official founding of Tolai as an independent administrative unit, and opens a new chapter in the history of Balinese migration. A new stage was about to be reached, that of mass migration to Tolai.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MASS MIGRANTS - STAGE III

In Tolai a population threshold was reached which allowed for the diversification of labor, elaboration of arts and services, and exertion of Balinese ethnicity. This increase in Balinese numbers, arts and ethnicity, in turn, made Sulawesi increasingly attactive at a time when overpopulation, poverty and communal strife made life in Bali increasingly grim. In Tolai one feels for the first time the shift from migrants who were "forced" from Bali to those "attracted" to Parigi.

Because of the greater appeal of Sulawesi, the "new" Balinese migrant had less compelling reasons to leave Bali, more personal resources at his disposal, and more alternatives upon arrival. For those not especially suited to felling trees, for example, a range of other laborers were required. Schoolteachers, tailors, shopkeepers, nurses and numerous others found a ready place in Tolai, and the proliferation of alternatives permitted the success of many who might never have migrated before.

At the same time, new migrants who became discouraged had the option and resources to return home, and for the first time since the exiles, some, in fact, did. As we shall see, however, recidivism among migrants had no meaningful impact on the general trend of mushrooming in-migration.

Patterns of Settlement in Tolai

The following section will concentrate largely on the pattern of settlement in a rapidly growing community. To simplify discussion maps

of Tolai at annual intervals, appear in appropriate places throughout. What is important, however, is not the names and places, but the principles involved in pioneer settlement.

The Christians

Nothing in the early history of Tolai would lead one to expect anything but a repetition of religious patterns among immigrants in the past. And among those arriving directly from Bali in previous years, nearly three-quarters had been Christian.

As mentioned in Chapter Six, with the separation of Torue and Tolai, Tumakaka, the new village head, began the process of settling Christians to the east of the Tolai river. He himself housed the twenty Protestant youth from Torue as they began opening roads, and he recruited the four adult families as craftsmen and carpenters, supporting their early efforts. All of these settlers were immigrants from two other areas of Parigi. The initial settlers were soon joined by a handful of individuals attracted by Protestant families to the north, but seeking land of their own in Tolai. Together these two dozen families opened the land directly below Tumakaka's house (Banjar III, Figure 7.1). Together with Tumakaka they worshipped with the Badat and Basoa families in a small church in the village proper.

The Protestants had barely settled when Pan Naris, the sole Catholic among the transmigrants to Astina, arrived with fourteen families from Pelambingan, a Catholic region near Denpasar. Tumakaka settled them in

a separate banjar to the east of the Protestants, below the road. These were the first group to move directly from Bali to Tolai. But initially, they were compelled to eat and sleep in Astina, and walk each day to Tolai to clear their fields.

In July of 1969 Pak Merta, a long-term resident of Massari, returned to Bali to visit and find friends. He recruited twenty-nine families from familiar Protestant areas; all but four were Christian. These four converted enroute. Pak Merta's group provides a good example of the conflict between two important priorities among new immigrants. The first was the desire to be in the vicinity of family and friends both for emotional support, and, more practically, to have access to work in the period while becoming established. The second was a strong drive to obtain free land and become a landholder in one's own right. In the past migrants had never faced a choice.

The Christians in Massari, for example, were prevented by religion, and their sensitivity to it, from activating ties with the Hindus in Parigi. Thus when free land became available in the middle of the forest twelve kilometers from Parigi, they faced minimal conflict. On the other hand, when the majority of Massari residents were uprooted from their own community, those who had money tried to buy land nearby rather than take free land only seven kilometers away. In essence, this is nothing more or less than the migration model on a small scale. All things being equal, the Balinese remain among neighbors and kin. Some pressure must be exerted to make them leave the group. The more different the new

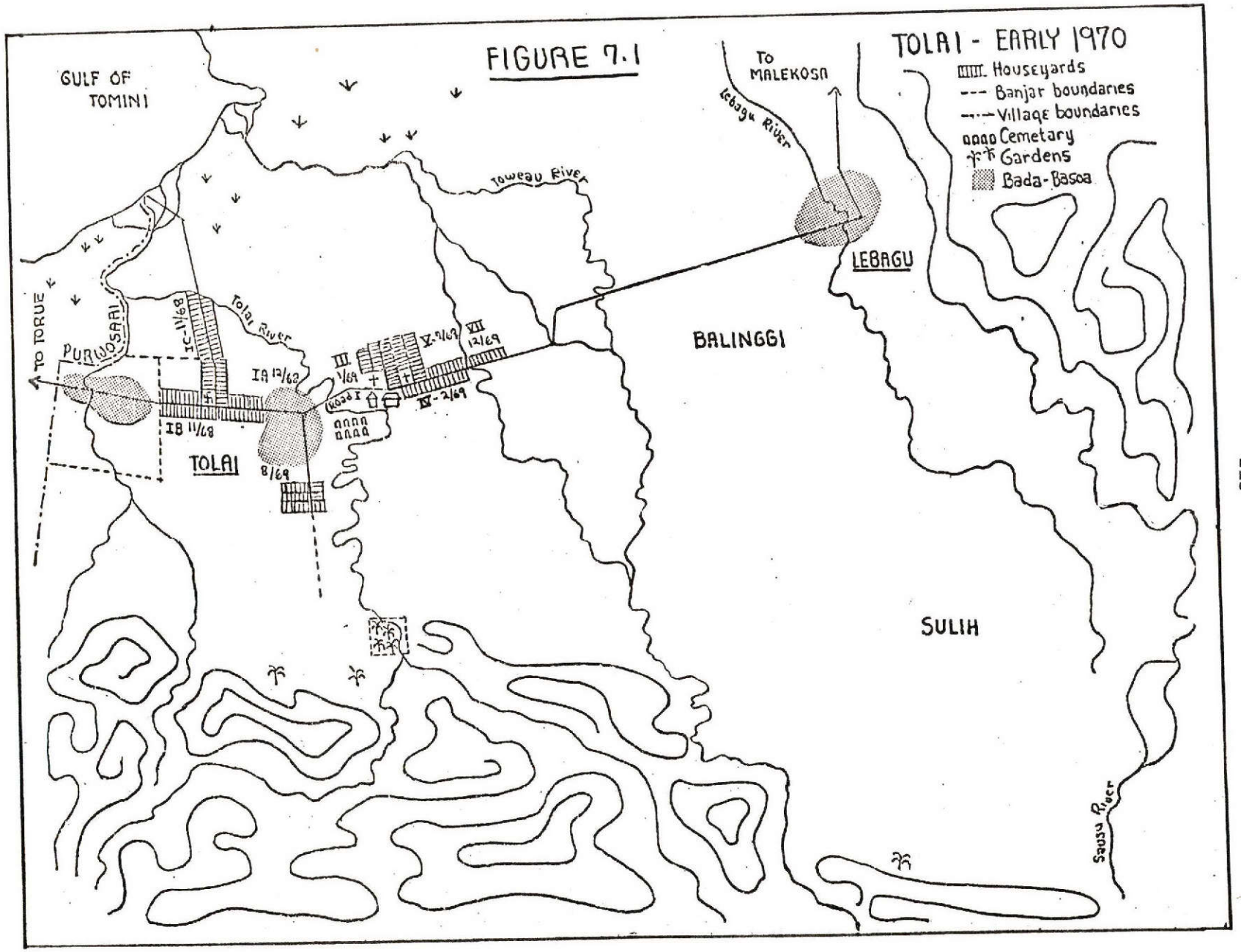


FIGURE 7.1
TOLAI - EARLY 1970
Houseyards
Banjar boundaries
Village boundaries
Cemetary
Gardens
Bada-Basoa
GULF OF TOMINI
TO MALEKOSA
Lebagu River
Towaeu River
TO TORUE
PURWOSARI
IC-11/68
TOLAI RIVER
IA 12/68
III 1/69
V-1/69
VII 12/69
IV-2/69
IB 11/68
TOLAI
8/69
LEBAGU
BALINGGI
SULIH
Sesua River

environment the less likely they are to go, if they have the choice. The poorer residents of Massari had no recourse but to move to the next free land south.

The government decided by fiat the location and nucleation of the communities in Sumbersari and Astina. Spontaneous migrants with money purchased land between the two communities. Poorer migrants were forced once again to the south. As the distance and significance of the move increased, the decisions were harder to make. Witness the fact that it took the residents of Kampung Bali more than three years to move to Tolai, thirty kilometers from their kin. Even though financial and emotional back-up were available, it was difficult for them to pull themselves away. When they did leave, the move was precipitated more by the fear of loosing all opportunity than by any real enthusiasm on their part.

For the inexperienced migrants with Pak Merta, the conflict was immediate. On one hand there was the attraction to relatives in Massari, Sumbersari and Nambaru. This alternative had recently become more salient as maturing sawah and the green revolution combined to expand both the profits and need for labor among the long-established settlers in the north. On the other hand there was a strong desire to obtain sawah of one's own. Having moved in search of land, the Balinese were powerfully motivated to risk several years of unrewarded labor to become landholders in their own right. Naturally, however, the closeness of family ties, distance from support, the amount of back-up resources, and the perceived hardship of working in the forest were all factors which were weighed.

Pak Merta's twenty-nine families arrived in Parigi in mid-August, and stayed with families in Sumbersari and Astina while a representative approached Tumakaka for land. Since Tumakaka viewed the ideal banjar as thirty to forty families he was reluctant to settle thirty new arrivals with the earlier Protestants. He also wanted them to be as close to the center as possible. Therefore he offered them an area above the existing kampung, land still on the west of the river (Banjar VI, Figure 7.1).

Of the original twenty-nine, only nineteen families moved to Tolai. The others had more desirable alternatives elsewhere. These nineteen began the process of opening roads and clearing land. After a month, one of their number was killed by a falling tree and the others fled from the forest. Sensing their uncertainty Tumakaka encouranged them to merge with the Christians below the road. In the end, however, only four families stayed in Tolai. The other fifteen moved permanently to Massari, Nambaru, and Astina. Obviously the scale was so delicately balanced that the fear engendered by the unexpected death of one of their number was sufficient to persuade the others to opt for a slower but more secure path to prosperity, one in the company of friends and kin.

In early 1970 Tumakaka himself went to Bali to recruit migrants. As his primary contacts were with Christians in Tolai he recruited mainly through Christian channels. After a month he had located twenty willing families. Three were Protestant, nine had no objection to becoming Christian if they could settle on good land near the center of the kampung (one family reneged upon seeing the number of Hindus in Tolai), eight others were related Hindu families from Sidiswara's area, Sibang (central Bali).

When Tumakaka's group arrived on February 12, 1970 they found another group of Christians had preceded them. This earlier group consisted of eleven families, all Protestants from Blimbingsari and all related to Pan Budi of Astina. They had been waiting since January 3rd to request land in Tolai. Together the two groups were large enough to tackle the land above the kampung again. According to our model, moreover, it was more likely that they would succeed. Tumakaka's recruits had few close relatives to whom they could flee for comfort and support. Pan Budi's group was too large to rely solely on its kinship ties with a single family. Like the early pioneers, these Protestants were compelled to succeed and they did. Over the next two years they were joined by forty additional families and were the foundation of Banjar VI, called Buanasari.

Comments on Christianity 1959 and 1970

In the year 1969, some 120 Balinese families arrived in the district of Parigi. Nearly three-quarters (73%) settled in Christian communities. Nearly one-third their total became Christians in Sulawesi. This was 50% of the Hindus who moved. In the year 1970, over three-hundred families arrived in Central Sulawesi, and while the proportion of Christians declined from three-quarters to one-half, fully 40% of the Christians were new converts in Parigi.

It might be supposed that new Christians would rationalize their conversion by citing religious commitment or evangelical effort as the reason for their choice. In a questionnaire on this subject, however, only 20% of those surveyed gave unequivocally religious reasons for changing their

religion; 47% gave purely social considerations-- i.e. they wanted to get along with their neighbors, or they went along with the decision of a husband or wife. Many explicitly stated that it was soal tanah -- a matter of land.

Since land was in some sense available to both Hindus and Christians alike, the choice to convert could not have been made to gain land in general; apparently it was made to gain land in the company of one's kin. In 1969 one-half of the Hindus leaving Bali chose to change their traditional religion rather than live in an area without relatives. For them, changing religion must have been less stressful than striking out on their own.

By 1970 the percent of Hindus making the choice to become Christian declined to 30% of those leaving Bali; and in 1971 and 1972 it fell to 4% and 2.5%.[1] The reasons for the dramatic decline must be sought in the patterns of settlement and range of alternatives available to new migrants. To understand these we must first look at the pattern of settlement in the Hindu community.

The Hindus

The migration of Hindus to Tolai illustrates the personalistic and explosive nature of chain migration once begun. The "unlimited" land in Tolai, the rapidity of in-migration, and the fragmentation of arriving

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[1] In actual numbers, conversions fell from a high of 64 families in 1970 to 17 and 21 families in 1971 and 1972, reflecting a real as well as statistical decrease.

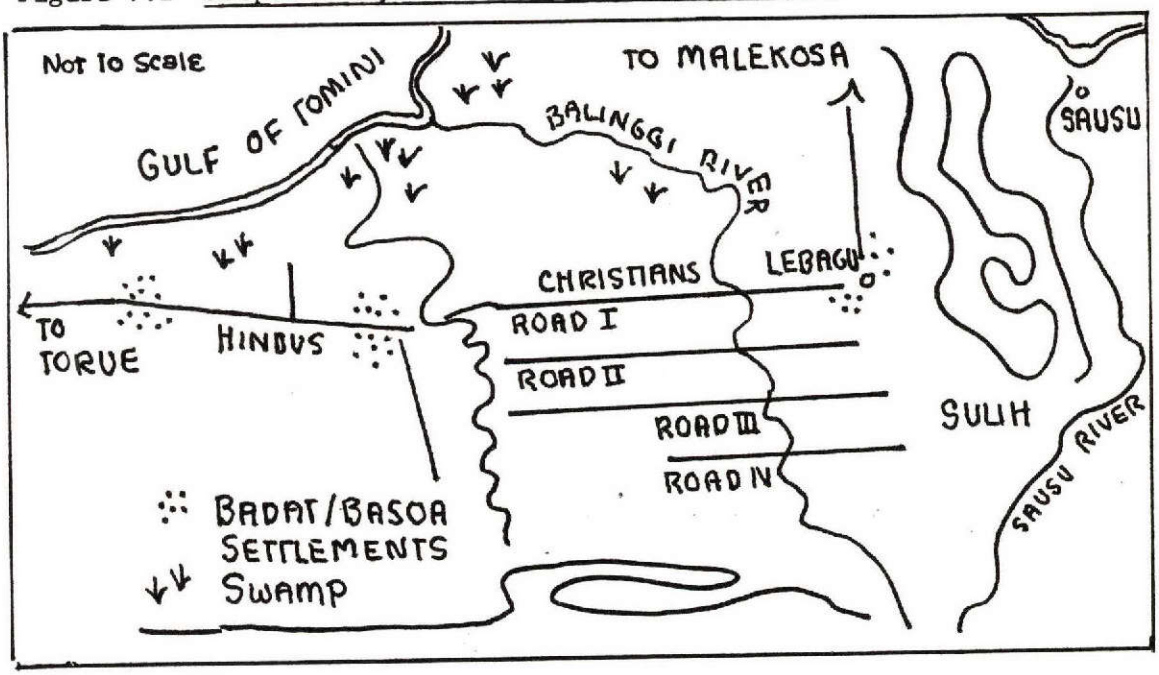
groups, also provides us with a natural laboratory for the study of settlement in an area where few of the ordinary parameters were structured.

In Tolai the tendency toward nucleation which we have noted within banjars (neighborhood/villages) is seen to apply between banjars as well. In other words, not only did Balinese seek to live as close as possible to one another, they located their settlements as near to each other as they could. Since Tolai was regarded as one village with a single nucleus of market and administrative services, the new migrants also found it important to maximize their proximity to the center. Naturally these objectives eventually came into conflict with the goal of securing ample land for sawah and the addition of one's friends. Therefore, with the rapidity of in-migration in 1970 - 1973 settlement pattern became highly problematic, and involved weighing possibilities which changed with each incoming group. Every decision, in turn, gave form and structure to the possibilities for the next. At the simplest level migrants had to consider the emerging pattern of the village as well as kinship, former village religion and affiliation.

As envisioned by Tumakaka and his surveyor Nikodemus Ndio (a Badat from Tolai), the village was to consist of two or three roads paralleling the road to Lebagu and running roughly in a east-west direction. These roads were to be surveyed and carved through virgin forest (see diagram 7.2 below). Working with a dime-store compass and dead reckoning the roads were laid out in something less than parallel lines (see figures 7.3) and,

in fact, they more nearly followed the contour of the land than the proposed east-west axis. Although it frequently confused the villagers this layout in no way affected the fundamental strategy of village settlement.

Figure 7.2 Proposed layout for the village of Tolai



As one can see in a detailed consideration of settlement patterns, the village filled out in an arc radiating from the village center and extending continually eastward. To the north, settlement was bounded by unworkable swampland, to the south by mountains and rocky terrain. Since the muddy path to Lebagu provided the only existing access into the forest, migrants invariably selected sites along this trail until distance outweighed access, then a new community would be started on road two or, later, road three. This practice provided the pattern of concentric arcs which becomes apparent from the maps and discussion (see Figures 7.3 - 7.5).

Early Hindu Settlements

Past practice, the size of the migrant groups, and access to land, initially determined the degree of nucleation in the sub-settlements or banjars. When possible previous models -- i.e. indigenous and government settlements, and the desire to affiliate -- dictated the nucleation of primary groups.

The earliest Hindus in Tolai, for example, grouped themselves as much as possible along two intersecting roads between the gardens and village of the Badat and Basoa people (refer back to Figure 7.2 and 7.3). At the union of these two roads they eventually built their temple. Similarly, Tumakaka grouped both the Protestants and Catholics in more or less nucleated settlements to permit easy access to the churches. The twenty-two families of Buanasari put their houselands together and their sawah on the periphery.

During 1969 Hindu migrants from Kampung Bali (Parigi) filled the areas vacated by the unsuccessful Torue youth (IC). Hindus coming late to the area, that is after all the free land was gone, then faced one of two choices. Those with money (generally those via Kampung Bali) began to purchase land from Bada and Basoa families along the main road. The locals, in turn, merely moved to their gardens. As the first warungs (coffee shops), markets and mills grew up in this area, the entire region west of the river came to be known simply as "the Kampung."

Hindus without money (generally those directly from Bali) were settled little by little to the south of the Protestants and Catholics on

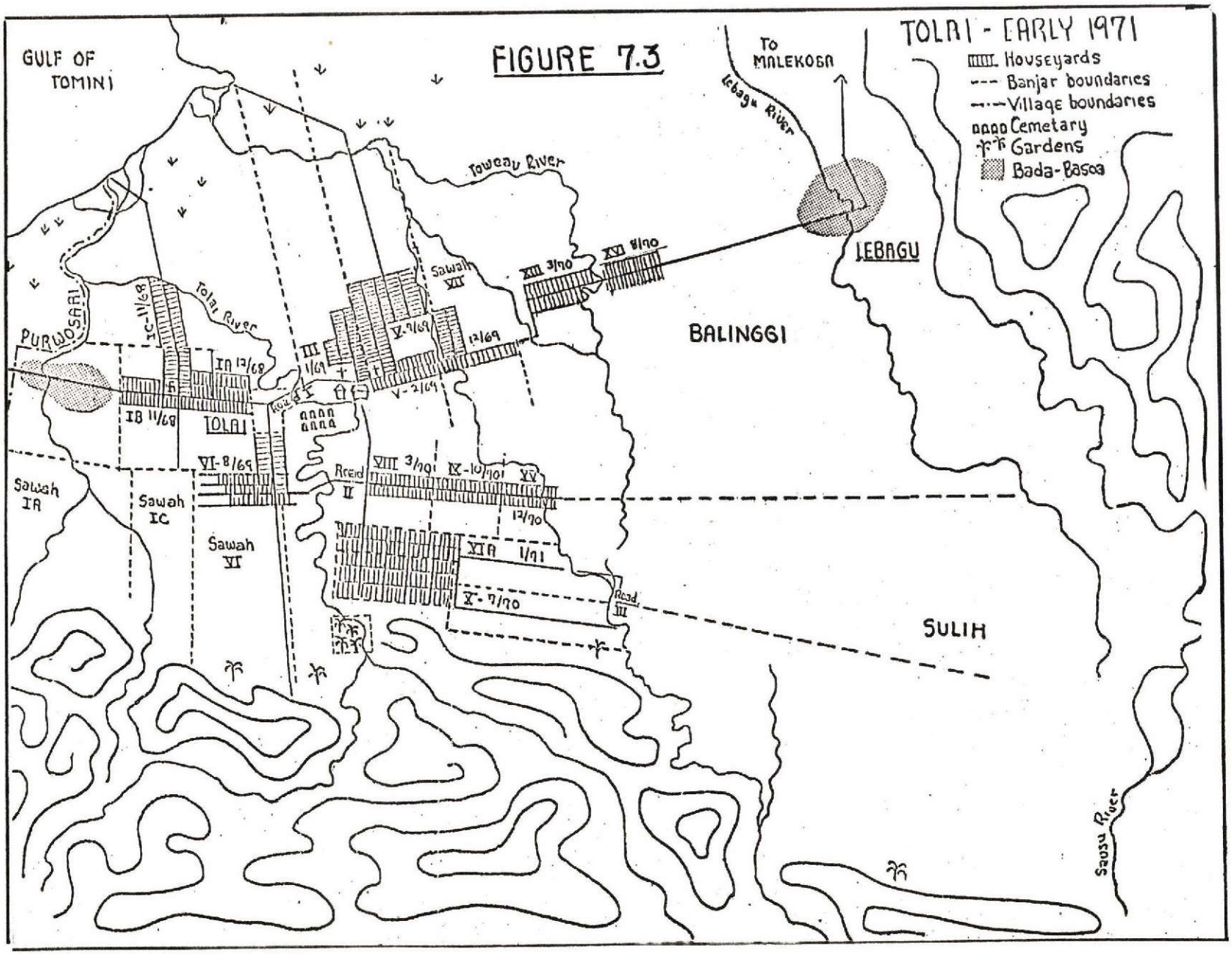


FIGURE 7.3
TOLAI - EARLY 1971
Houseyards
Banjar boundaries
Village boundaries
Cemetary
Gardens
Bada-Basoa
GULF OF TOMINI
TO MALEKOSA
Lebagu River
Toweau River
LEBAGU
BALINGGI
SULIH
PURWOSARI
Tolai River
Sawah VII
Sawah IA
Sawah IC
Sawah VI
Road II
Road III
Saoni River

the road to Lebagu. This area, which came to be called Banjar IV or Wanosari, was settled by small, unrelated groups over a period of two years. These families had in common only the fact that they were from central Bali in the vicinity of Denpasar. (This was largely a residual category, as the north Balinese settled in the kampung and those from west Bali gathered on road II).

Banjar IV typifies a "least effort" factor in effect among small groups. Where a road was already present and people came as individuals or in unrelated small groups, they did the expedient thing and settled in adjoining sites along the same road. Their fields were then directly behind their houses. Small groups of migrants were usually unmotivated to nucleate because 1) their small numbers meant they were in close proximity even in linear settlements; 2) they did not have the resources to carve out land for crucial roads; 3) they would not, in any case, do work for people they didn't know without either supervision or some overriding model in mind.

As I have suggested, supervision was on a laissez-faire basis; and the commitment to an abstract nuclear model was apparently minimal. This is evidenced bythe early settlement pattern in all unplanned villages. In Massari, Nambaru, Tolai, and later sites, the initial pattern was invariably linear. It is interesting, however, that the Balinese saw no positive advantages to linear settlement until well into the 1970's.

I have emphasized that linear settlements were made up of small and/or unrelated groups relatively uncommitted to mutual support. When group

size expanded or the migrants had a common background, they usually chose to place houselands together to enhance opportunities for interaction. Later immigrants weighed both alternatives. An example which illustrates all three patterns is Banjar VII named after the migrants' area of origin, Antosari (Tabanan, west Bali).

Antosari - Mixed Patterns of Settlement

The first seven families to arrive in Antosari had the distinction of having no family ties whatsoever in Sulawesi. By 1969, it seems, Parigi was already developing a reputation in select areas of north, west, and central Bali. These seven families had heard rumors from friends and chosen to believe them. They signed up for transmigration and were sent to Sulawesi on a government program which aided but did not fully support or regulate the migrants.

Arriving in late 1969, the seven from Antosari were given the choice of land among other Hindus in Banjar IV, or a section of their own beyond the Protestants and Catholics. Already anticipating the arrival of their fellow villagers, they elected to settle beyond the Christians on the road to Lebagu (Banjar VII, Figure 7.3). In predictable fashion they settled along the trail (no more than a footpath at that point), reserving the land behind their houselots for sawah.

After a year or so, this group was joined by nearly thirty related families from their hometown. Given the size of the new group, these families chose to clear, and then cluster in an area along a single road perpendicular to the first. This essentially nucleated the settlement as

it forced the new migrants to open their sawah in a separate area to the north. The slowness with which the second group opened their sawah first alerted the residents of Tolai to the very real advantages of adjoining, as opposed to distant, ricefields. The residents of Antosari were so impressed, in fact, that when twenty-seven of their kin arrived in early 1972 they were encouraged to settle with the lands behind their houselots even though this increased the distance between neighbors (Banjar XX, Figure 7.5). But by 1972 this system, called tere, was in wide use throughout the village.

Rapid Linear Settlement - the Atas

Since Antosari was almost two kilometers from the center of the village the benefits of a trail, when contrasted with proximity to the center, began to wane. Thus Tumakaka was forced to consider opening land for settlements along the proposed upper road directed toward Sulih (see Figure 7.3).

The first migrants into this region, called the Atas (upper area) were a group of twenty-eight families from Penebel (Tabanan) who had relatives in Astina. They had already stayed several months in Astina in the hope of obtaining free land nearby but found nothing. Finally they gave up and approached Tumakaka about settling in Tolai. He offered them the land in the Atas pointing out that they would have to create a new road into the forest. Since this area was within a kilometer of the kampung, however, they agreed. They moved to either side of the new trail in March of 1970, and named the new banjar Penebel (after their town in Tabanan).

Immediately thereafter, Tumakaka inadvertently assured linear settlement in this area by placing seven unrelated Hindu families (those he brought from Sibang) along the road to the east. Six months later, in October of 1970, thirty-two families arrived from Sanggeh a town adjacent to Sibang. They settled along an extension of Road II to the east of their former neighbors. With this the stage was set for a hop-scotch pattern of related settlements which eventually extended ten kilometers along a single road to Sulih. Among these settlements were:

	Settlement	From	Date	Number	Sponsorship
VIII	Penebel	Penebel (Tabanan)	3/70	28 HH	Spontaneous
		Sibang (Badung)	3/70	7 HH	Spontaneous
IX	Palasari	Sanggeh (Badung)	10/70	32 HH	Spontaneous
*XV	Wanoprasta	Sibang (Badung)	12/70	25 HH	Spontaneous
*XIV	Sanggehsari	Sanggeh (Badung) & Gerih (Badung)	4/71	50 HH	Government Assisted
*XII	Tamansari	Penebel (Tabanan)	4/71	40 HH	Govt. Assisted
XXII	Sukasado	Sanggeh (Badung)	7/71	40 HH	Spontaneous
XXIII	Purwokertasari	Gerih (Badung)	1/72	15 HH	Spontaneous

* Some banjars were divided or renumbered after others had settled causing discrepancies between their numerical order and date of establishment

By 1972, road II had been entirely preempted by migrants from two main areas in Tabanan and Badung. (See Figure 7.5 for a complete view of road II. Banjars XXVIII and XXXI are part of an unrelated settlement discussed under Sulih). A large number of the migrants on road II arrived in April of 1971 among a group of 105 government assisted families escorted by officials from the transmigration department in Denpasar. Although

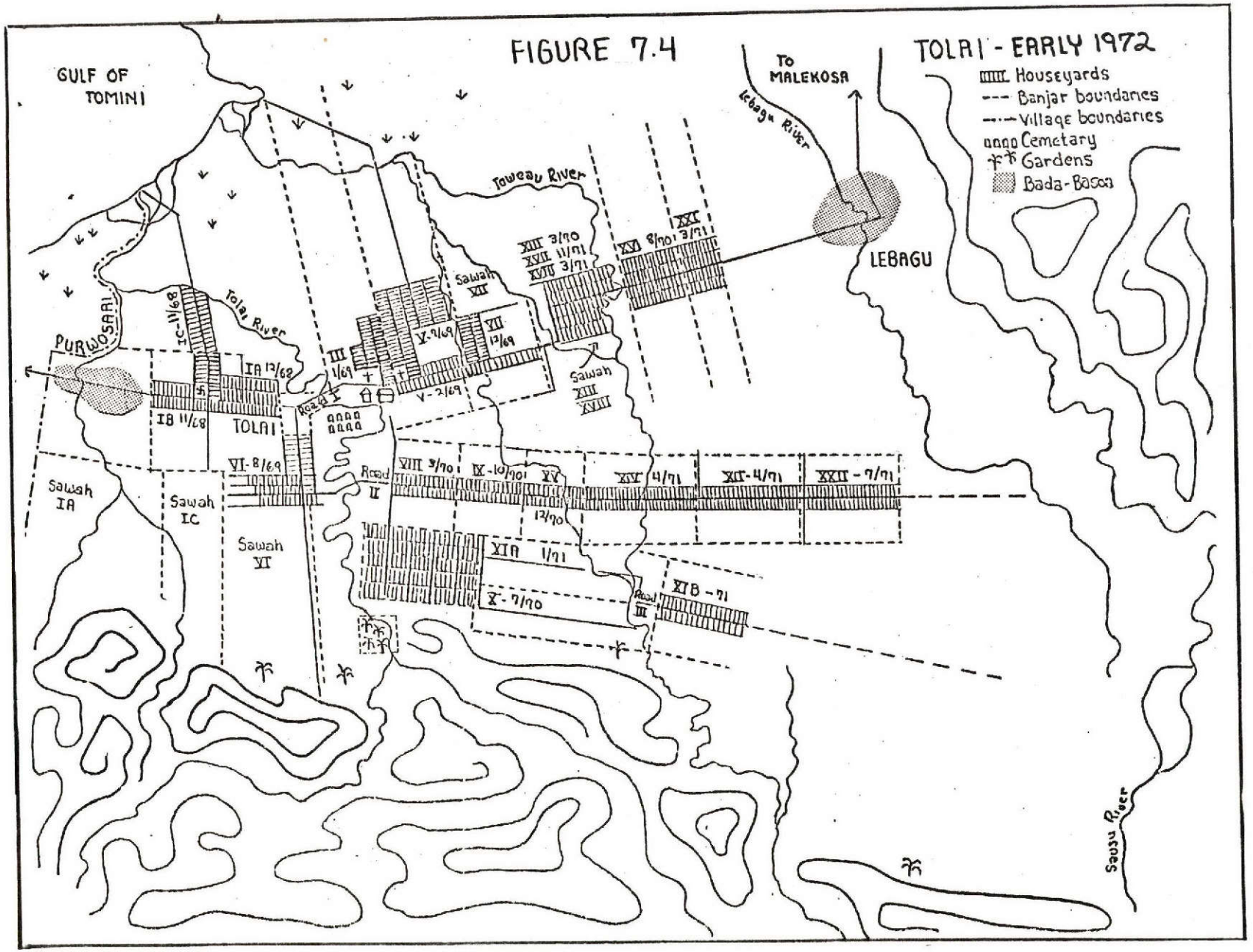


FIGURE 7.4
TOLAI - EARLY 1972
Houseyards
Banjar boundaries
Village boundaries
Cemetary
Gardens
Bada-Basan
GULF OF TOMINI
TO MALEKOSA
Lebagu River
Towaau River
LEBAGU
PURWOSARI
Tolai River
TOLAI
Sawah IA
Sawah IC
Sawah VI
Sawah XII
Sawah XIII XIV
Road II
Road III
Saoru River

these migrants were theoretically recruited throughout Bali, most were in fact from the vicinity of Penebel (Tabanan) and Sanggeh (Badung), as applicants from these areas had registered to go to Parigi and would consent to be moved nowhere else.

Nucleated Settlements: Bebehan, Balinggi and Sulih

As time passed the advantages of tere (adjacent sawah) became increasingly obvious to the residents of Tolai. Nevertheless nearly 40% of the banjars incorporated between 1970 and 1972 were nucleated. This was largely due to transmigration department policy. Spontaneous migrants when left to their own devices nearly always chose tere.

An early exception to this rule was the nucleated settlement of Bebehan (Banjar XI, at the base of road III - see figure 7.3). The core of this community was formed by a single party of forty families arriving from Bebehan, Bali, an area near Penebel. Seeking to settle between an earlier group (Banjar X) and their relatives (Banjar VIII), they requested permission to open two short paths to the north of road III. This move was encouraged by Banjar X which welcomed the company. The two new roads had the effect of uniting and nucleating both banjars (X and XI), and the residents of the combined unit opened their sawah to the east. (See Figure 7.4).

As Banjar X continued to grow, new houselots were also added (south of) road III, and sawah was assigned further and further east. The inefficiency of this pattern for those with the most distant sawah eventually became so obvious that in late 1971 a second section of Banjar XI was opened and called Bebehan Tere. As the name implies this banjar

consisted of houselots with adjacent sawah. It was settled by new migrants with relatives in Bebehan I, and by old residents of Bebehan I who had distant or undesirable sawah in the nucleated area. After this example, all spontaneous migrants to the Atas, including all migrants on roads II, III, IV and V, elected to put their land in tere.

In the meantime, road I, in general the most accessible, had been preempted for government-assisted migrants. To this point only minimal mention has been made of the role of the transmigration department in the accelerating movement to Tolai. In part this is due to the remarkably spontaneous nature of the migration pattern as a whole. Unlike other areas in Indonesia, in Parigi the transmigration department followed rather than initiated the migration process. Sumbersari, Astina and the Javanese village were the only fully supported government settlements and included only a small fraction of the in-coming migrants.

Many more settlers were aided by the transmigration department's program of partial assistance to marginal migrants. Typically such assistance included full or part payment of the cost of transportation, help with travel arrangements, housing and provisions while waiting to depart. The cost of these services were borne by the transmigration department in the sending area, in this case Bali. Surveyed land, farm equipment and modest home furnishings were provided by the transmigration department in the receiving area, i.e. Central Sulawesi. Ordinarily assisted migrants were expected to receive interim support and work, not from the transmigration department, but from their kin. For this reason area preference was respected in selecting migrants for this program.

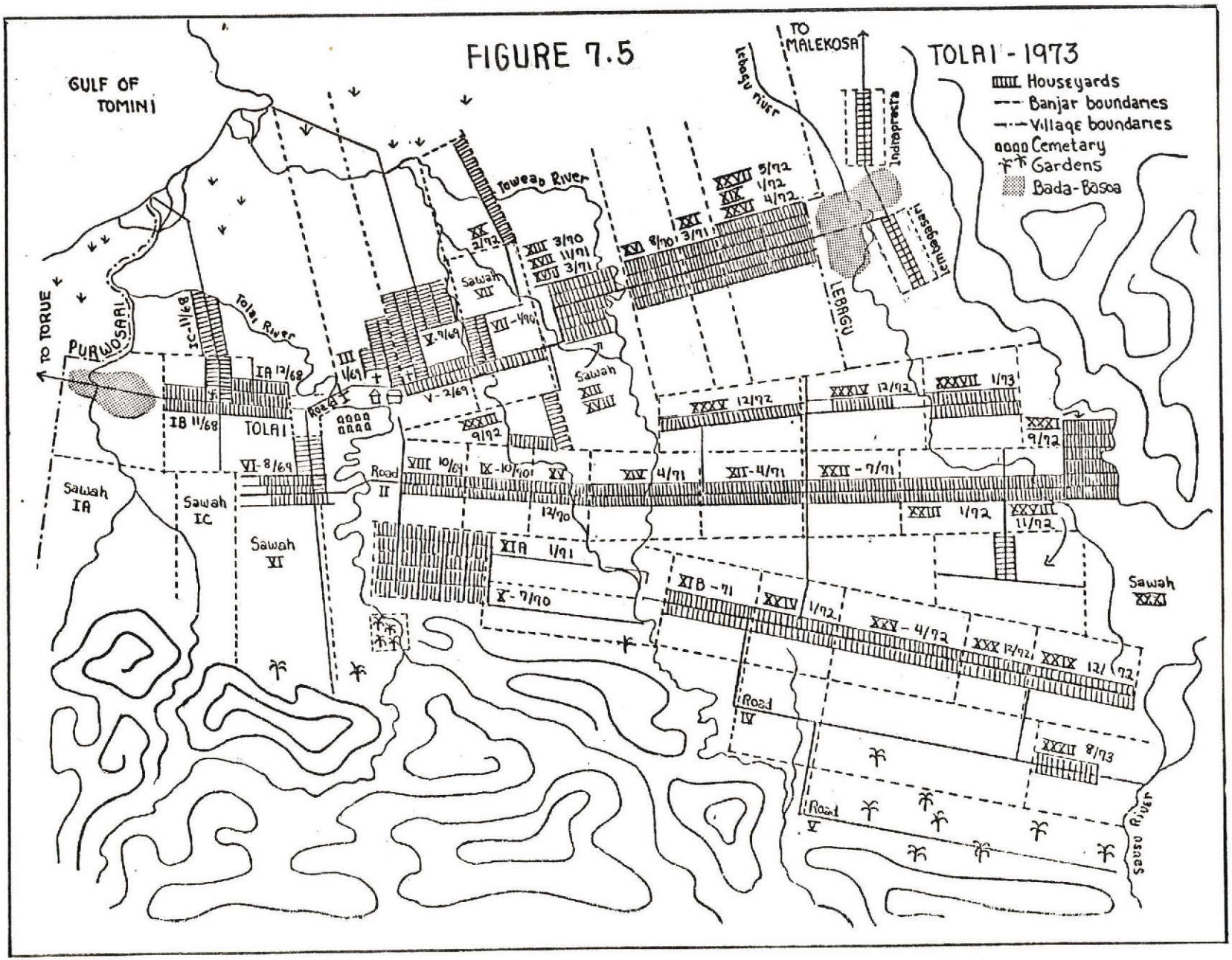


FIGURE 7.5
TOLAI - 1973
Houseyards
Banjar boundaries
Village boundaries
Cemetary
Gardens
Bada-Bosoa
GULF OF TOMINI
TO MALEKOSA
TO TORUE
PURWOSARI
TOLAI
LEBAGU
Towaea River
Tolai River
Lebagu River
Indraprasta
Lembagasari
Sawah IA
Sawah IC
Sawah VI
Sawah VII
Sawah XIII XVIII
Sawah XXXI
Road II
Road IV
Road V
Sesau River
IA 12/68
IB 11/68
IC-11/68
III 1/69
V-2/69
V-7/69
VI-8/69
VII-4/70
VIII 10/69
IX-10/70
X-7/70
XI 12/70
XIA 1/71
XIB-71
XII-4/71
XIII 3/70
XIV 4/71
XV
XVI 8/70
XVII 11/71
XVIII 3/71
XIX 2/72
XXI 3/71
XXII - 7/71
XXIII 1/72
XXIV 1/72
XXV - 4/72
XXVI 4/72
XXVII 5/72
XXVIII 11/72
XXIX 12/72
XXX 12/72
XXXI 9/72
XXXII 9/73
XXXIII 9/72
XXXIV 12/72
XXXV 12/72
XXXVII 1/73

Transmigration department subsidies obviously accelerated the rate of migration and assured a broader range of in-migrants. Although we have seen that the highly motivated migrants generally made it with or without help, for many applicants in the 1970's some form of government assistance was the condition for departure. From 1970 to 1972, the transmigration department assisted 1,416 families (6,652 Balinese), perhaps one-half the total of those who moved. Anticipating this influx of assisted migrants, the transmigration department in Sulawesi surveyed the most accessible land, namely that in Balinggi. Since the department favored consolidated villages to facilitate administration as well as the distribution of goods and services, the anticipated communities were laid out as a series of nucleated settlements. Thus we find some half-dozen Hindu communities (Banjars XII, XVII, XVIII, XXVII, XXVI, and XIX) consisting of perhaps 275 families, all nucleated and lined up along the road to Lebagu (check Figure 7.6).

Balinggi also contained two Christian settlements of another 180 Balinese families. The first of these settlements (Banjar XVI) consisted of relatives and friends of the Protestants in the village center. The second (Banjar XXI), was a spin-off from the Catholic settlement (Banjar V). Like their Hindu neighbors, most of these Christians arrived with government assistance, and settled in pre-surveyed areas.

Not everyone assisted by the government chose to settle in nucleated areas, however. In fact, in 1972 there was a great deal of moving about, expecially within Tolai. For example, a number of migrants intended for "Objek Lebagu", the most distant part of Balinggi, merely set up shops

in the village center. Through their influence the number of commercial establishments in the kampung grew from two to almost twenty in a year.

Other migrants left Balinggi to join their families in the Atas or to secure land in tere. A handful of families from Bonganchina and Bebitin (Tabanan, west Bali) staked out claims to two large sections near the very end of road II and road III. Many took distant land in order to be assured of land for their neighbors. Although this move seemed foolhardy at the time, within a year Banjars XXVII and XXX had nearly filled their initial areas and Bonganchina had spilled over into the area between roads I & II (figure 7.6). Residents from Gigit settled between roads I and II (Banjar XXXIII). In so doing they limited their land but maximized their proximity to the village center.

Since all land was free, consideration had to be given to a number of priorities involving access, centrality, fertility of the soil and so forth. Under these circumstances some were hard to please. The residents of Omaryasa (Banjar XXX), for instance, moved from Balinggi to Sulih before finally settling on their present location on road III. In the end they had good land, but their development was retarded by nearly a year.

In this same period, literally hundreds of families moved into Tolai, took one look around and fled to better established communities in the north. For this reason statistical records are quite unreliable. Official "best guesses," however, suggest that between mid-1969 and mid-1972 Tolai mushroomed from 150 to 1500 families, reaching a population of nearly 6,000 Balinese.

By late 1972, however, the "unlimited" land of Tolai was rapidly coming to an end. I. Nyoman Wardhana's group, whose story is recounted in the introduction, was assigned the last land in Sulih, an area at the extreme edge of Tolai. But very few ever settled there.

Upon arrival few of these migrants knew or understood the dimensions of Tolai. Most were surprised when they realized that the trip to Sulih would involve walking the seven kilometers to Lebagu (as this was still the best path in the village), then turning south for five kilometers through virgin forest (see figure 7.4). In late 1972 this trip took five hours or more, and was particularly threatening to new arrivals.

The proposed location would also isolate migrants from their families and friends and remove them from other resources as well. They would be particularly disadvantaged in seeking work. Migration had accelerated to such a pace that those between Sulih and Tolai were all recent migrants with little to offer the new arrivals in the way of provisions or support. Older residents in areas of sawah had permanent relationships with laborers nearby.

Weighing these factors only thirty-one out of Wardhana's 127 families ever moved to Sulih (Banjar XXXI). Three-quarters elected to seek land and work among friends and relatives in the proliferating Balinese communities north of Torue. Although few would have been likely to predict it at the time, within the year, migrants were so desperate for land that even Sulih was filled, and late arrivals were forced to turn their attention to land 50, 100 and 250 kilometers to the north.

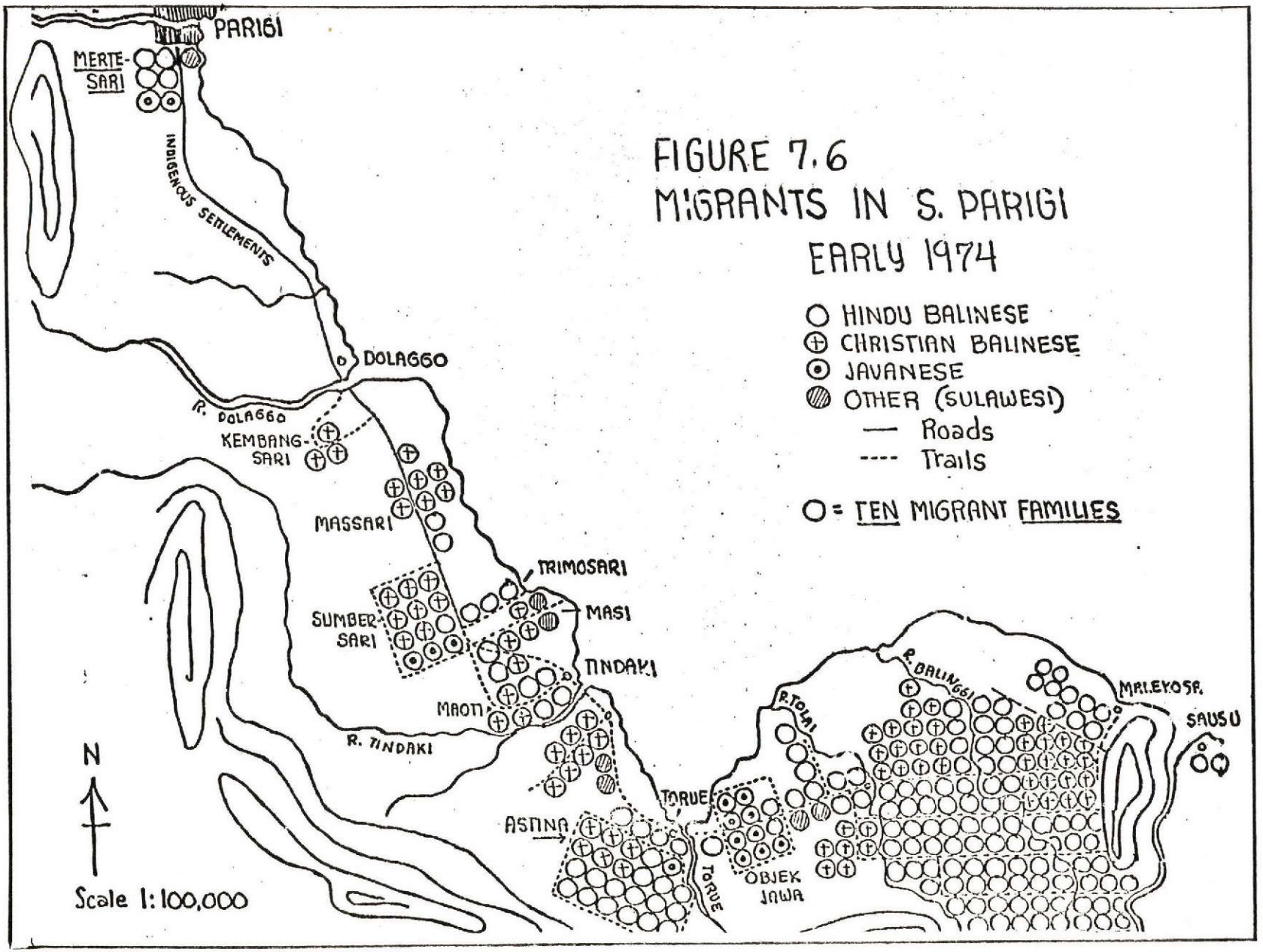
Migration to Areas Outside Tolai

New Villages to the North

As I have emphasized, the rapidity of in-migration between 1969 and 1972 made many sites in Tolai extremely remote from established centers of work and trade. Under these circumstances Balinese began to fill in the "holes," unsettled areas primarily in the north. In the past these "holes" had been either relatively, or really, inaccessible or undesirable. Some areas were closed to Balinese settlement because of the policies of local village heads, others were in swidden which was reserved by locals, much was agriculturally marginal. Through a combination of circumstances, however, all were alternatives in the early 1970's.

For example, land in Dolaggo and Tindaki had been unavailable to Balinese prior to the administrative realignments of 1968. Under the new camat, Arsid Passau, however, new village heads were persuaded to open all possible areas to migrants. Thus in 1969 several families with kin in Massari obtained permission to settle in a swidden area south of Dolaggo; and on July 1, 1969 eight Christian families moved to this area and named it Kembangsari (see Figure 7.6). As secondary growth on the main road to Parigi, this property had many advantages to the new migrants. So many in fact that it soon attracted twenty-eight Balinese families, eighteen of whom were Hindu but converted upon moving into the area.

In 1970 Passau was able to secure the release of another small amount of land, this time near Maoti in Nambaru (see figure 7.6). Although there was barely room for houselots in this area, ten Christian families with


PARIGI
MERTE-SARI
INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS
DOLAGGO
R. DOLAGGO
KEMBANG-SARI
MASSARI
TRIMOSARI
MASI
SUMBER-SARI
TINDAKI
MAOTI
R. TINDAKI
N
Scale 1: 100,000
R. BALINGGI
MALEYOSA.
SAUSU
R. TOLAI
TORUE
ASTINA
OBJEK JAWA
FIGURE 7.6
MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI
EARLY 1974
HINDU BALINESE
CHRISTIAN BALINESE
JAVANESE
OTHER (SULAWESI)
Roads
Trails
= TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES

relatives in Sumbersari choose to move there rather than to a more expansive but inaccessible place. In August 1970 these migrants moved to Maoti and began clearing a trail to Tindaki. As this trail developed, additional migrants moved in to secure houselots on either side of the road.

In Maoti and several other areas the land for kintal was free, but space for sawah had to be purchased from Bare'e and Basoa who retained the rights to their old swidden. In the past, purchasing such land would have been impossible or impractical. In the seventies, however, many new migrants seem to have had sufficient funds or sufficient aversion to the forest to find this a workable alternative to isolated and uncleared land.

In another area of changing priorities, thirty Hindu families chose to settle in a swampy area below Sumbersari, rather than seek dry land further south. This area which they called Trimosari (Figure 7.6) had been deemed too wet to be desirable in the past, but in 1971 its strategic advantages for seeking work, and its proximity to markets and the sea outweighed other considerations.

In September of 1972 fifteen of the families intended for Sulih approached Nyoman Koper, the first settler in Nambaru. They wondered if he could help them find land in a more accessible site. Nyoman Koper and Arsid Passau consulted the new village head in Tindaki who gave them permission to settle the Balinese in houselots along the new road which had been opened from Maoti. Within a year some fifty Hindu families, most of them bound for Sulih, had cleared kintal in this area and were seeking sawah near the sea.

By this time the Balinese had also begun to buy land from inhabitants in such places as Tanah Lanto and Torue. In fact the Balinese had even made in-roads in Purwosari, the marginal settlement of government sponsored Javanese.

Technically, as I have mentioned, the land surrendered to the transmigration department could not be rented or sold and was available only to official transmigrants. In 1972, however, the transmigration department in Parigi made the decision to give land to seven Balinese to make up its full complement of one-hundred families and perhaps encourage the disheartened Javanese. At the same time nine other Balinese individually worked out arrangements to assist the widows of deceased household heads.

Within one year the Balinese had cleared as much sawah as the Javanese had opened in five. They built a temple, started several coffee shops and attracted eleven additional Balinese families to a previously uninhabited area between Purwosari and the Torue river. Through the Balinese example the Javanese were in fact encouraged, and by 1973 the atmosphere throughout the community was one of brisk competition rather than unremitting gloom.

Throughout Parigi alternatives were being born, weighed, retained or discarded, alternatives which often enough had never existed before. Some of these alternatives had to do with changes in the migrant population. In the 70's some migrants brought money which was used to buy open land or pay to have it cleared. Others brought skills which could be plied while waiting for the first crops to come in.

More important, the new migrants cut across the grain of conventional expectations for the "transmigration process." Not every man had to be a farmer. One man might choose to open one-half hectare of land near to a road rather than two hectares in an area without access to markets. Another might opt for an unirrigable area with the idea of planting coffee and cloves. For the first time, migrants took an interest in developing fields in the foothills, raising pigs for profit, and moving into positions as middlemen. Schoolteachers, priests, secretaries and speculators all found outlets for their talents. A viable and in most ways self-sufficient economy was in the process of being born.

Movements Beyond Parigi

By the end of 1972 district and provincial officials saw the danger of overcrowding in Parigi and they decided to halt the in-migration of Balinese. Therefore on January 1, 1973 the district government stopped providing free land to immigrants and notified the transmigration office in Bali that additional settlers could no longer be received.

In spite of government discouragement some 750 families settled in Parigi in 1973 while another 250 or so dispersed to areas in the vicinity. Without provincial controls an influx of at least 5,000 families had been expected.Those who did manage to settle in Parigi generally moved in as laborers, bought old sawah or divided the lots of close kin or neighbors. Not all migrants were inclined to divide their land, however, and among those with relatives who wished to migrate, pressures developed to find new land in the area.

As early as 1972, Gede Kertia began to systematically inquire about available land from all locals who stopped in his warung while passing through Tolai. Frequently he heard stories of near empty land to the north of Parigi in the district of Amphibabo. When immigration to Tolai was closed, he bicycled 100 kilometers to the north to explore. As the Balinese were well aware, in Amphibabo the mountains were lower and the watershed shallower meaning that much of the area had water only in the rainy season (see Figure 7.7). For this reason the region had seemed unattractive to wet-rice agriculturalists in the past. Kertia reasoned, however, that such conditions were not unlike those in his own area of origin, Sawan (north Bali). There, irrigation was possible only in the wet season. At other times the farmers cultivated gardens of fruit trees, coffee and cloves. In addition, Amphibabo had one great advantage over the areas to the south, access to an all-weather road running from Parigi to Tomini (some 200 kilometers to the north). Having been forced to carry his merchandise five kilometers on his back, Kertia was especially impressed by the benefits of a permanent road.

While the Balinese were likely to have an interest in areas to the north, it was a fortunate coincidence that village-heads had reason to be interested in the Balinese as well. As it happens, the Indonesian government had just reinstituted a system of tax collection in which village heads received a percentage of all revenues obtained. In this situation it was in the best interests of headmen to have as many residents and as much land in agriculture as possible. For this reason Kertia found several officials ready to relinquish swidden for small financial

renumeration at the time, and the prospects of greater things to come. Kertia returned to Tolai, wrote to Sawan, and began to discuss his plan with others.

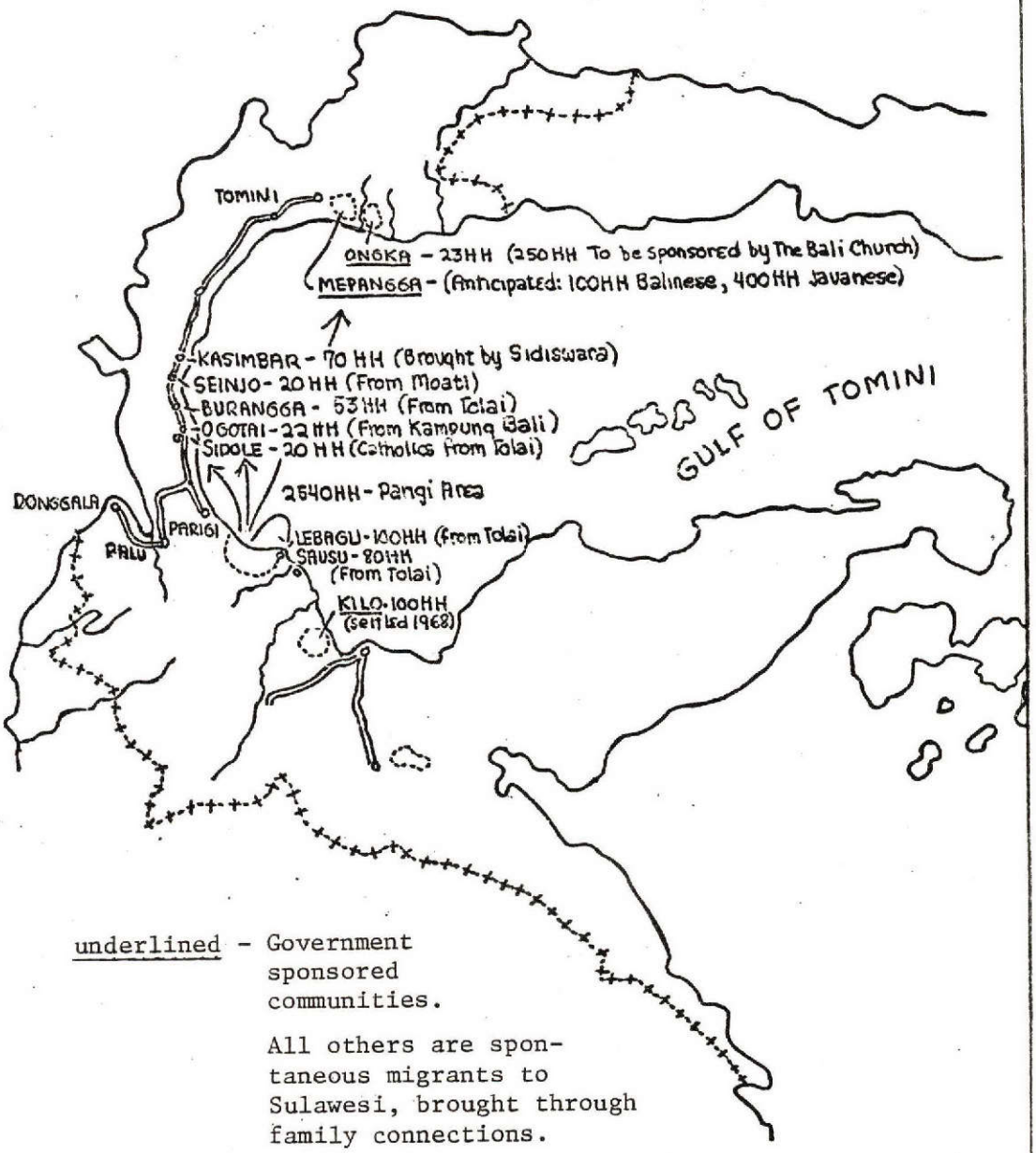
In June of 1973, after the coffee harvest was completed in Bali, Kertia returned to Sawan to get his relatives and friends. Only a small group was persuaded to move at that time, but by the end of 1973, 53 families, primarily from Sawan, had settled in Burangga (Amphibabo). There they hoped to succeed by planting dry rice and gardens of coffee and cloves.

Recognizing the advantages of the road, a dozen families from Kampung Bali also decided to move north. They negotiated for land near Ogotai some forty kilometers away, and settled in a riverless area behind Sidole. They were joined in an adjacent village by twenty Catholic families who had failed to get land in Balinggi. And before the end of 1973 twenty additional families moved to Seinjo because they could not get sawah near Maoti (Figure 7.7).

In the most ambitious project, our old friend Sidiswara personally secured land near Kasimbar (76 kilometers north), and recruited fifty families in Bali to move there. Disappointed in the preparations and lack of water, most of the first fifty moved down to Tolai. Within months, however, fifty more families arrived from the same area. For them Tolai was no longer a possibility and they moved directly to Kasimbar.

FIGURE 7.7

BALINESE MIGRANTS IN CENTRAL SULAWESI - MARCH 1974



underlined - Government sponsored communities.

All others are spontaneous migrants to Sulawesi, brought through family connections.

In early 1974 the prognosis for these satellite settlements was still uncertain. In Sienjo and Ogotai the distance from water hampered not only agriculture but normal household efforts. Plans were made to dig ambitious channels and new wells, but the likelihood of success was still questionable. Nevertheless an increasing number of recent arrivals were considering the northern communities as a possibility and all of the areas steadily increased in size.

At the same time that Kertia was exploring opportunities in Amphibabo the Protestant church in Bali initiated a program to sponsor migrants to Tolai. Finding this area closed to settlement, in the fall of 1973 the G.P.B. (the Bali Protestant Church) sent a small group to Central Sulawesi to check out other possible sites. This group settled on an area near Ongka some 250 kilometers to the north. The choice to settle Christians in Ongka had been influenced by two factors. First, the government had plans to settle 500 migrants (from Java and Bali) in a nearby area called Merpangga, providing at least some solidarity and support. Second, the area had ample rain and year-round rivers fed by the wider watershed of the north. This was promising both for early agricultural efforts, and attracting additional in-migrants.

In early 1974 the G.P.B. and the Transmigration Department jointly sponsored the departure of twenty-three pioneer families to Ongka; most were apparently related to the Protestants of Parigi. They were to be followed at yearly intervals by five more groups of fifty families each. Applicants did not need to be Christian though most were. With this as

a nucleaus, Hindus and Christians alike began to discuss the possibility of Ongka and Merpangga developing as a second Tolai.

Conclusion

In the period between 1964 and 1974, both the quantity and quality of Balinese migration had changed. Unlike the hesitant pioneers of ten years before, the new migrants saw possibilities everywhere and seemed willing to try them all. Whereas it took an extremely attractive area to entice migrants in the past, in 1973 Balinese were dispersing to areas of even marginal productivity.

Clearly, optimism and in-migration were mutually reinforcing. The old migrants saw the influx of new settlers as a measure of their early wisdom. They viewed their advantages when compared to the newcomers as a measure of their growth. The new immigrants also provided the old with particularly cheap labor, which further advanced the conditions of those who came first. Individuals, every bit as much as ethnic groups, push their forerunners up economic and social ladders.

The new arrivals, in turn, were better off than before. They brought more with them; they found more alternatives, opportunities, and support. They saw in the example of their relatives, a portent of things to come. The rather universal success of the old-timers gave the impression that anything would work; and when it didn't, failures were disguised by the overall progress of the entire community.

In the wave of optimism to wash through Parigi in 1973 and 1974, Balinese began to envision the day when they would be the dominant ethnic

group on the Gulf of Tomini. They imagined a community which combined the culture of Bali with the economic prosperity and personal equality found in Sulawesi. They had come full circle, from exiles driven from their homeland, to ordinary individuals in search of a better Bali.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MIGRANTS AND NONMIGRANTS: AN ANALYSIS OF STATISTICAL MATERIALS

As a part of my research in Sulawesi, I administered a questionnaire intended both as a census and an independent measure of subjective impressions gained in the field. The questionnaire was to be given to a sample of 1,000 migrants in Sulawesi and 500 non-migrants from sending areas in Bali. This, I supposed, would be a sufficient number to give me information on differences between migrants and non-migrants, and changes in the migrant population over time.

Not all of my hypotheses were confirmed by this adventure in empiricism; in fact, one of the greatest contributions of the computer to this study has been to keep the ethnographer honest, not to mention modest. Some notions were, of course, given support by the statistics, and these, as well as many of those disconfirmed, will be mentioned throughout the ensuing chapter.

Every bit as rewarding as statistical significance, however, was the growing recognition of the subjective nature of what was purporting to be objective data; and axiomatically, my increasing conviction that aggregate statistics alone are incapable of describing or explaining much of the migration process. As we shall see, the importance of early migrants and their prior orientation, idiosyncratic experiences, and changes over time are typically obscured by survey statistics and can be recovered or inferred only by a detailed knowledge of case histories

and historical changes in the pattern of migration itself.

Introduction to the Instrument and Methods

The questionnaire, reproduced in Appendix B (1-3), consisted of seventy-seven questions largely related to the personal history of the household head (HH). To obtain uniformity, the questionnaire was administered only to men. It would be equally meaningful and perhaps more interesting to repeat the questionnaire with women, and I hope to do so some time in the future.

As the questionnaire was intended for multiple ethnic groups, it was written in Indonesian. For this study, however, it was administered entirely in Balinese. The interviewers consisted of two trained assistants, and supplementary school teachers and university students -- all Balinese. Most of the interviewing was conducted during the early afternoon when farmers return to their homes to rest. In Sulawesi, however, the villagers often worked from dawn to dusk, and this necessitated some interviewing at night.

In Parigi the interviewers visited every Balinese family in Kampung Bali, Massari, Sumbersari, Astina and Kampung Tolai -- the older settlements. In addition, they sampled 100 families in Nambaru/Tanah Lanto, and 300 families of recent immigrants in Tolai. The recent arrivals in Dolago, Tindaki and Lebagu were not surveyed, although they were included in a general census of Sulawesi.

The original intention was to survey 1,000 household heads in Sulawesi in order to obtain a sample stratified by --

1. religion,
2. village,
3. type of sponsorship, and
4. year of arrival.

In the end, 959 useable cases were obtained, slightly over 900 of these were household heads born in Bali. Although the population was not randomly sampled, the large sample size (nearly half the households in Sulawesi at the time), may be assumed to provided an adequate representation of those categories detailed above.

When the survey in Sulawesi was completed, the area of departure, religion, and age of each migrant was determined in order to obtain a matched population of non-migrants in Bali. To assure comparability, the two assistants from Sulawesi returned to Bali and did half the interviews, approximately the same proportion that they gathered in Sulawesi. All other interviews were done by anthropology students at Udayana University who were paid for their work.

Because the Balinese sample was to be matched to a select part of the Sulawesi sample, only one-half as many families were surveyed. Interviews were conducted with married men, matched with the migrants by age, area of origin and religion. The resulting sample in Bali looked as follows:

Village	District	Religion	Sample Size
Blimbingsari	Jembrana	Christian	100
Abianbase	Badung	Christian	50
Jagaraga/Sawan	Buleleng	Hindu	100
Carangsari	Badung	Hindu	100
Sangeh/Gerana	Badung	Hindu	50
Antosari	Tabanan	Hindu	50

As an indication that the survey indeed tapped important sending areas the interviewers found on two occasions that the population was so depleted by migration that they could not find the requisite number of household heads of the proper age. In Blimbingsari, for example, only 64 of more than 150 household heads fell between the ages of 20 and 49; most of the men expected in this age group had already moved to Sulawesi. As a further indication of the strong association between the Balinese and Sulawesi samples it may be noted that all but four of the 450 families in Bali had connections with people in Parigi, 62% claimed to have relatives there, and fully one-third had a sibling already in Sulawesi.

Following the completion of the Sulawesi and Bali surveys, the assistants coded all material to assure the same biases in both samples. The variables which were coded are listed in Appendix C. Keypunch and computation was completed in the U.S.A.

Results of the Survey

Two of the variables tapped in the Sulawesi survey -- area of origin and age, must be compared to figures on Bali as a whole, since they were specifically controlled in the nonmigrant sample. All other analysis will refer to cases in the survey sample alone.

Area of origin

The most striking feature of Balinese migration to Parigi is its strong association with specific sending areas in Bali. Ninety-seven percent of the migrants come from four of Bali's eight districts.

Nearly one-half come from Badung alone. Three districts in Bali are entirely unrepresented.

Bali consists of eight administrative districts which correspond to feudal kingdoms which persisted well into this century (See Figure 8.1, next page). In order of their population density, these districts include:

	District	1971 Pop	km^2	People/km^2
*1.	Badung	410,212	542	755
2.	Gianyar	276,469	368	751
3.	Klungkung	138,962	315	441
4.	Tabanan	336,180	851	394
5.	Buleleng	413,319	1,320	312
6.	Karangasem	267,231	860	310
7.	Bangli	139,949	520	269
8.	Jembrana	176,398	841	209

* Badung includes Bali's main administrative center, Denpasar, a city with a population of approximately 100,000.

(Statistics, Kantor Transmigrasi, Denpasar)

If migrants were selected at random from Bali, the relative size of the sending area should be a major factor in determining the number of migrants from each area. The fallacy of this approach can be seen when comparing the percentage of Balinese in each district with the percentage of migrants from that area.

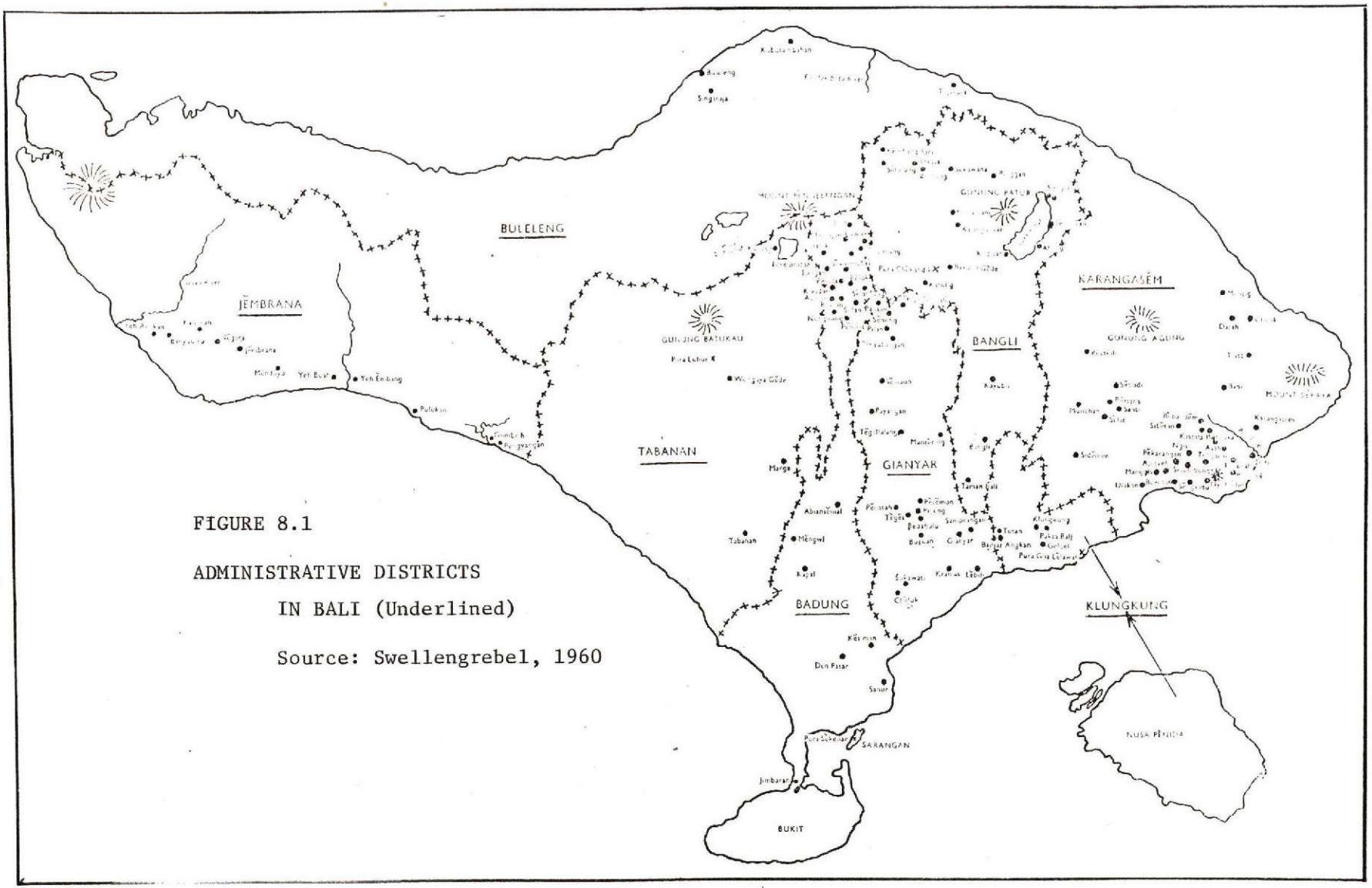


FIGURE 8.1

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS
IN BALI (Underlined)

Source: Swellengrebel, 1960

Balinese districts by size	% total pop	% in migrant pop
1. Buleleng	19.1	10.4
2. Badung	19.0	46.8
3. Tabanan	15.6	16.4
4. Gianyar	12.8	2.9
5. Karangasem	12.4	0.0
6. Jembrana	8.2	21.4
7. Bangli	6.5	0.1
8. Klungkung	6.4	0.0

As the figures above indicate, migrants do tend to be from larger districts, and they are particularly apt to come from Badung -- the district of Bali's main urban center Denpasar. But relative frequency does not account for the reason why four of Bali's districts, Gianyar, Karangasem, Bangli, and Klungkung, with 38% of Bali's population, contributed only 3% of the migrants to Parigi. Because of this discrepancy, size alone seems a minimally satisfying predictory of migration.

Population density as a factor in out-migration is no more illuminating. Two of the areas with the highest population densities in Bali, Gianyar (751 people/km^2) and Klungkung (441 people/km^2), are almost entirely unrepresented in the Sulawesi sample, while Jembrana (209 people/km^2), the least densely populated district in Bali, is the second largest contributor to the migrant population.

A third factor, general economic prosperity within the various regions might also be proposed as a reason for selective out-migration. Unfortunately statistics are not available ranking per-capita income or

regional productivity. There is a general consensus, however, that Tabanan and rural Badung are relatively prosperous while Karangasem and Bangli are economically depressed. Yet, nearly two-thirds of the sample comes from these apparently prosperous districts, while only one family was recruited from either Karangasem or Bangli.

The issue of selectivity and out-migration is further complicated by the Transmigration Department statistics on migration from Bali as a whole. During the first five year plan, 1969-1974, 60,533 Balinese received official permission to migrate. Of these, one-tenth, 6,654, registered to go to Parigi. Most of the migrants who actually registered hoped to get support, in whole or part. Not all migrants registered although they were legally required to do so.

Among those who did register, there was a five-fold difference in the number of migrants per 100,000 inhabitants between the districts of lowest and highest out-migration.

District by amount of out-migration/100,000 people	# of migrants	# per 100,000	% of total	% in Sul sample
1. Karangasem	15,704	5876[1]	26.0	0.0
2. Jembrana	10,704	5835	17.0	21.4
3. Tabanan	10,876	3235	18.0	16.4
4. Klungkung	4,886	3516	8.1	0.0
5. Bandung	8,560	2086	14.1	46.8
6. Bangli	2,856	2042	4.7	0.0
7. Gianyar	3,371	1219	5.6	2.9
8. Buleleng	3,986	964	6.5	10.4

1 This figure is inflated by the resettlement of refugees from the 1963 eruption of the Gunung Agung.

Note that two of the four areas of heaviest out-migration sent no one to Parigi while the area of greatest impact, Badung, is not conspicuous for either its absolute number of out-migrants or rate per 100,000 population.

If we change our focus from Bali to Sulawesi, however, the picture becomes somewhat clearer. Of the 959 families surveyed in Parigi, ninety-seven percent came from four districts -- Badung, Jembrana, Tabanan and Buleleng; and fully one-third of the migrant sample was drawn from four of Bali's presumed 10,000 village clusters.

	Village	District	# of Cases
1.	Jagaraga/Sawan	Buleleng	73
2.	Sangeh/Gerana	Badung	87
3.	Blingbingsari	Jembrana	104
4.	Carangsari	Badung	60
			324

It is no coincidence that as early as 1957 these four villages were already represented among the twenty-seven Balinese families in Parigi.

1.	Jagaraga/Sawan	Area of origin for the Parigi exiles	1907
2.	Sangeh/Gerana	Sidiwara's hometown	1952
3.	Blimbingsari	Christian community in Jembrana. Departure point for Made Daud's group	1957
4.	Carangsari	Area of origin for Made Weco who later led the largest groups of Christians	1957

Of the twenty-seven Balinese families in Parigi at the time, nine were

from Buleleng, six from Tabanan, five from Jembrana and four from Badung. In other words, by 1957 the four major sending areas were already represented in Parigi. The three areas sending no migrants had no representatives there. Clearly, looking from Parigi, the best possible predictor of who follows is who has gone before.

Unfortunately the nine, six, five and four families add up to only twenty-four. The three remaining families in Parigi provide the exceptional case and open another dimension in this issue. Among those in Parigi to 1957 were three high-caste families: Gusti Arka; the man he attracted to marry his sister, Gusti Tjenik; and Tjenik's father, Gusti Gerbag; all from Gianyar. This potential line of recruitment eventually led to the arrival of about twenty related families, but it never expanded into the kind of mushrooming in-migration we observed in all other districts. This may be merely a matter of chance, for in small populations any small group can disappear.

It is noteworthy, however, that these three families from Gianyar were the only triwangsa (high caste) families among the early Balinese in Parigi. Since very few high caste individuals migrated (less than 5% of the survey sample), and since networks were drawn along caste as well as regional lines, it is possible that the pool of people these Gusti families were able to influence was too small to set in motion the accelerating process of chain-migration.

There is, however, yet another hypothesis about the reason Sulawesi draws on specific sending areas, one proposed by the Balinese. If a migrant in Parigi is asked to account for the absence of individuals from

Karangasem, Bangli, Gianyar and Klungkung, he will almost invariably state that it is because these four areas are "still feudal," implying that residents there find it difficult to break with custom and kin in these areas.

The Balinese heartland consisting of Klungkung, Gianyar and to a lesser extent Karangasem, is, in fact, an area of ancient kingdoms which maintained their nobility well into the 1900's. Jembrana and Buleleng, on the other hand, fell under Dutch administration before the turn of the century. Corresponding, in part, to the strength of the nobility, the high Balinese language and the complicated traditions of respect are most carefully observed in Karangasem, strongly cultivated in Gianyar and Klungkung, rapidly fading in Badung, Tabanan and Buleleng, and nearly extinct in Jembrana.

The effect of all this, the Balinese claim, is to knit the farmers of Gianyar and Klungkung into a network of feudal relationships and family responsibilities which preclude the possibility of migration. If we disregard the high out-migration rates from Karangasem (a direct result of displacement caused by the explosion of the Gunung Agung in 1963), there is some slight statistical evidence for this view. In the "feudal" areas of Klungkung and Gianyar, out-migration averaged 1657 per 100,000 people between 1969 and 1974. In the changing areas of Badung and Tabanan, the rate was 2,603 per 100,000 and in the non-feudal area of Jembrana the rate was a remarkable 5,835 migrants per 100,000 inhabitants. Unfortunately in the supposed less feudal region of Buleleng the out-migration rate was the lowest in Bali, a mere 964 migrants per

100,000 inhabitants.

For this reason I conclude that there is a founder principle, rather than a feudal policy at work. The founder principle as a determinant factor in the evolution of isolated biological populations is well understood. Based on chance alone certain physical or cultural characteristics of a population are carried to a new area while others are left behind. If the population is small enough, even those features initially represented may die out, frequently enough by chance.

Similarly, among migrants the original settlers may be gathered by a series of idiosyncratic events; in this case by exile, personal jeopardy, religious persecution and the like. Once in place, however, the early migrants generate chains of in-migration along predictable pre-established lines. The failure of the Gianyar families to establish themselves in a substantial way as well as the extinction of all of the other high-caste families in Parigi alerts us to the fragile and perhaps unpredictable nature of small populations before they are well established.

The issues raised in a consideration of areas of origin call attention to the need to complement survey material with a detailed understanding of the idiosyncracies and coincidences of the early migration process. Without this it is almost inevitable that the researcher will generate a series of spurious conclusions about lines of causality in the general migration pattern.

Religion

A variable which illustrates both the founder principle and selective

push-pull factors is that of religion. Religion, specifically the incidence of Christianity, is also one of the most distinctive characteristics of the migrant population, and therefore one which affects all further analysis in this work.

As we have seen, the original exiles and their descendants were all Hindu. The first Christians arrived in Parigi in 1957, having been deflected from their original destination by a chance meeting with an old exile in Bali. But between 1960 and 1966, three-quarters of the migrants to arrive in Sulawesi were Christian even though they constituted only one-half of one percent of the population of Bali at the time. If migration were a random statistical event these facts would be mystifying. Fortunately, for the analyst, it is not; and the founder principle coupled with differential pressures on Hindu and Christian populations and the regular process of migration recruitment make the pattern quite intelligible.

The founder principle suggests that there was nothing inevitable or teleological about the arrival and persistence of the first Christians. Had Made Daud and Made Weco gone to Sumatra as intended it is entirely possible that further development in Parigi would have been arrested or would have occurred through Hindu channels alone. I cannot overstate the importance of accident and the characteristics of early migrants in determining the course of the later migration process. Once both Hindus and Christians were in place, however, the enormous influx of Christians when compared to Hindus attests to differential pressures for out-migration. Prior to 1966 the rate of Christian out-migration to Parigi was 67

migrants per 1,000, while the rate of Hindus was less than .03 in 1,000.

Historical pressures on Balinese Christians have been discussed in detail in Chapter Five. In summary, the initial unconventionality of Christians, their eviction from natal villages, and the consequent loss of their homes and land gave them experience with migration and strongly predisposed them to engage in later moves. At the same time Hindus remained secure in their village settings unmotivated and often unable to leave.

These differences between Hindus and Christians are reflected in the statistical materials. If all Christians, those in Bali as well as those in Sulawesi, are compared with all Hindus, we notice significant differences on a number of variables. The statistics cited below note the degree to which the variables are associated with one religion rather than the other. They will be explained in the material which follows.

All Christians compared to all Hindus
(HH = head of household)

Strong Associations[2]		Ø/V	C	X^2
VAR024	FA/HH HOME DISTRICTS	.61	.52	.0000
VAR008	MOBILITY IN BALI - HH	.55	.48	.0000
VAR034	WIFE/HH HOME DISTRICTS	.55	.48	.0000
Good Associations				
VAR032	CONVENTIONALITY - PARENTS FAMILY	.36	.34	.0000
VAR041	CONVENTIONALITY - EGO'S FAMILY	.36	.34	.0000
VAR019	INHERITABLE PROPERTY	.31	.30	.0000

[2] X^2 expresses the statistical independence of the population, while Ø (V in other than 2 x 2 tables) and C express the degree of association between the variables being measured.

Moderate Associations

VAR021	SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI	.23	.23	.0000
VAR020	INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI	.21	.21	.0000

Migrating Christians compared to non-migrating Christians

Strong to Good Associations

VAR018	POSSESSIONS IN BALI	.45	.47	.0000
VAR020	INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI	.45	.46	.0000
VAR021	SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI	.38	.36	.0000

Moderate to Weak Associations

VAR024	FA/HH HOME DISTRICTS[3]	.25	.24	.0000
VAR008	MOBILITY IN BALI - HH	.22	.22	.0000
VAR034	WIFE/HH DISTRICTS[4]	.17	.17	.0000
VAR032	CONVENTIONALITY - PARENTS FAMILY	.18	.18	.0000
VAR041	CONVENTIONALITY - EGO'S FAMILY	.25	.25	.0000

Mobility in Bali

If we compare the area of origin of Hindus and their fathers with the area of origin of Christians and their fathers, we get the strongest statistical associations in this study.

VAR024 FATHER'S HOME DISTRICT COMPARED TO HH (Head of Household)

	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS	
SAME	97.8%	46.1%	X^2 = 0.000
			Ø = 0.6176
DIFFERENT	2.2%	53.9%	C = 0.52546

Only two percent of Hindus (17 cases) lived in areas other than the one in which their fathers were born, while fifty-three percent of the Christians in Bali and Sulawesi (208 cases) lived in different villages.

---

[3] Compares the districts in which the head of household and his father were born.

[4] Compares the districts in which the head of household and his wife were born.

In a nearly identical measure originally intended to gage distance and amount of mobility, we find that only 21 out of 806 Hindu household heads (2.6%) have ever lived outside their natal villages, while 184 out of 392 Christians (53.1%) have done so.

VAR008 MOBILITY IN BALI - HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS	
NEVER MOVED	97.4%	53.1%	X^2 = 0.0000
			Ø = 0.5523
HAS MOVED	2.6%	46.9%	C = 0.4831

Finally, we notice that among Hindus 93.3% marry women from their natal villages while only 43.9% of Christians do so. This is no doubt a function of the proximity of young people who have migrated to new villages from diverse areas of origin.

VAR034 WIFE'S HOME DISTRICT COMPARED TO HH

	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS	
SAME VILLAGE	93.3%	43.9%	X^2 = 0.0000
			Ø = 0.5517
DIFFERENT	6.7%	56.1%	C = 0.4831

Predictably, there is less difference on measures of mobility between migrant and non-migrant Christians than between Hindus and Christians in general. It is a bit surprising, however, that Christians who remain in Bali appear to have been more mobile in the past than those who eventually move to Sulawesi.

VAR004	FATHER AND HH DISTRICTS (ALL CHRISTIANS)			VAR008	MOBILITY IN BALI - HH (ALL CHRISTIANS)	
	MIG.	NON-MIG.			MIG.	NON-MIG.
SAME	58.2%	31.8%	NEVER MOVED		63.5%	39.7%
DIFF	41.8%	68.2%	HAS MOVED		36.5%	60.3%
	$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.2538$ $C = 0.2460$				$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.2287$ $C = 0.2229$	

These unanticipated results are apparently related to two factors: first, to the increasing number of migrants born in Jembrana (the refuge area), and second, to the tendency of Christians to leave directly for Sulawesi rather than by-pass Blimbingsari. Among the nonmigrant population, for example, only 9.3% of the Christian household-heads were born in Jembrana. They were the older generation, those who arrived first in Blimbingsari, claimed land, and settled down. Among migrants, 22.5% were born in Jembrana. These were the sons without land who were inspired to follow the example of their fathers and seek their fortunes elsewhere. As one might assume from this explanation, the Bali Christians are in fact slightly, but significantly older than those from Sulawesi.

Finally, if we look at the pattern of movement over time, we have support for the position that as Blimbingsari filled and became inaccessible to new settlers, Christians tended to move to Parigi directly from their natal villages, rather than from the refuge area.

VAR008 MOBILITY IN BALI - HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (ALL CHRISTIANS)

YR OF ARRIVAL	1950-66	1967-69	1970	1971	1972
DEPARTED FROM NATAL VILLAGE	59.4%	59.5%	81.8%	83.3%	N.S

LEFT FROM A DIFFERENT AREA	40.6%	40.5%	18.2%	16.7%	N.S.

V = 0.1424
C = 0.2395

Statistics aside for the moment, the pattern is perfectly clear. On one hand, Hindus were strikingly immobile; only 21 had ever lived outside the village in which they were born. Christians, on the other hand, were particularly mobile; almost half, in fact, had moved before departing for Central Sulawesi. Among Christians, moreover, those who first moved to Bali were more likely to be from Blimbingsari and, hence, previous migrants. Later Christian arrivals were more likely to move directly from their natal villages in central Bali, or to have been born in Blimbingsari. In either case the number with migration experience declined from 40% to 18%, between 1950 and 1970. Among other points, this again illustrates the fact that early migrants need prior experience to feel confident enough to move. Later arrivals, whether Christian or Hindu,proceed along pre-existing chains.

Personal Characteristics

Given the high incidence of conversion and mobility, it is difficult to assess conventionality and personal characteristics in Christian migrants. For example, the Christian sample has a significantly greater incidence of unconventionality both among householders and their parents than does the Hindu sample, but since "index of conventionality" measures such social variables as relative caste of partners (father and mother, or husband and wife), area of origin for partners, and number of times married, it is strongly associated with mobility. For this reason a

comparison of Christians and Hindus on "conventionality" is necessarily spuriously related to the high rate of movement in the Christian sample.

VAR041	CONVENTIONALITY EGO'S FAMILY		VAR032	CONVENTIONALITY PARENT'S FAMILY	
	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS		HINDUS	CHRISTIANS
CONVENTIONAL	75.1%	37.7%		72.5%	35.8%
UNCONVENTIONAL	21.0%	49.5%		20.0%	55.2%
DEVIANT	3.9%	12.8%		7.5%	9.1%
	$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.3660$ $C = 0.3437$			$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.26953$ $C = 0.34662$	

It is possible to further illustrate the relationship between conventionality and mobility by looking at Christians alone. As we have seen, the migrant sample shows a past history of less mobility than the nonmigrant sample. This being the case we would expect migrants to be more "conventional" than nonmigrants; and this is indeed the case.

VAR041	CONVENTIONALITY EGO'S FAMILY		VAR032	CONVENTIONALITY PARENT'S FAMILY	
	MIG	NON-MIG		MIG	NON-MIG
CONVENTIONAL	42.5%	29.2%		44.2%	25.8%
UNCONVENTIONAL	40.1%	65.3%		47.9%	63.6%
DEVIANT	17.4%	5.6%		7.9%	10.6%
	$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.2566$ $C = 0.2488$			$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.1822$ $C = 0.1793$	

Interestingly, migrants also fall more often than nonmigrants into the "deviant" category, indicating that they, more often than nonmigrants, have given several unconventional answers to measures of social conformity.

This gives some slight support to the as yet unstated hypothesis that mobility aside, migrants are collectively less conventional than their nonmigrating kin. Rather than confuse the issue further here, however, a more detailed analysis of this proposition seems best relegated to the discussion of the more controllable Hindu sample.

Relative Wealth

While historical circumstances make it difficult to evaluate the role of conventionality among Christian migrants, it creates no confusion in assessing wealth. The economic variables in this study unambiguously indicate that while Christians are, in general, poorer than Hindus, the Christians who migrate are much poorer than those who remain behind. One exception to this rule is found in the factor INHERITABLE PROPERTY.

VAR019 INHERITABLE PROPERTY
(ALL CHRISTIANS)

	MIG	NON-MIG	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS
NONE	54.9%	47.3%	21.6%	52.9%
HOUSE/LAND	45.1%	52.7%	78.4%	47.1%
	X^2 = 0.1653*		X^2 = 0.0000*	
	Ø = 0.0700*		Ø = 0.3157*	
	C = 0.0700*		C = 0.3010*	

*Not significant

Among Christians, about half of those who move and those who do not, claim that they had property they could have inherited in Bali. In this one respect, movers seem no poorer than non-movers. When comparing all Hindus to all Christians, however, it is clear that Christians, on the whole, are far less likely to have inheritable property (47.1%), than are Hindus (78.4%). Either the Christians left their natal villages

because they did not have property, or by migrating they renounced their claims to property and former homes.

Aside from inheritables, all other economic variables show a stronger association with migration than with religion. This is true of INDEX OF WEALTH, and SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI, both of which are moderately correlated with religion and strongly associated with migration. For example, INDEX OF WEALTH which is a collective measure of all other economic indices in the survey, clearly indicates that Christians are somewhat poorer than Hindus, and migrants considerably poorer, on the average, than those who stay behind.

VAR020 INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI (ALL CHRISTIANS)

	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS	MIG	NON-MIG
LOW	35.5%	41.4%	43.7%	24.4%
HIGH	64.5%	58.6%	56.3%	75.6%
	X^2 = 0.0000 Ø = 0.2166 C = 0.2165		X^2 = 0.0000 Ø = 0.2902 C = 0.2787	

Similarly, SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI shows rather substantial difference between land owned by Hindus and Christians in general, and an even larger difference in the amount of land held by Christians who moved and those who did not. In fact, more Christians who remain in Bali have over one hectare of land (19.9%) than do the collective Hindus (6.4%) or even the Hindus who remain behind (10.8%). Clearly the move to Blimbingsari provided a considerable advantage to the early Christians who actually obtained land there.

VAR021 SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI

	HINDUS	CHRISTIANS	(ALL CHRISTIANS) MIG	NON-MIG
NONE	33.0%	45.5%	48.7%	47.7%
UNDER 1 HA	60.7%	40.3%	47.7%	32.4%
OVER 1 HA	6.4%	11.2%	3.6%	19.9%
	$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.2384$ $C = 0.2319$		$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.3886$ $C = 0.3623$	

In the most striking example of the religion v. migration correlation, the number of possessions -- for example, bicycles, radios, household goods and the like, is found to be wholly unrelated to religion, i.e., both groups have approximately the same. When we compare the possessions of Christian migrants with nonmigrants, however, we have one of the stronger associations in this part of the study.

VAR018 POSSESSIONS IN BALI (ALL CHRISTIANS)

	MIG	NON-MIG	
FEW	62.5%	14.7%	$X^2 = 0.0000$ $\emptyset = 0.4580$ $C = 0.4164$
MANY	37.5%	85.3%	

Only 14.7% of Christians in Bali have "few" possessions, while 62.7% of those who migrated fall into this category. Let there be no question that economic conditions play a strong role in determining Christian out-migration.

Differences Between Hindu Migrants and Nonmigrants

To provide the most precise possible analysis of the factors leading to migration, a controlled sample of Hindus was selected from both Sulawesi and Bali. Christians were omitted from this study because of the com-

plexities introduced into the analysis by their conversion and mobility; and because their relatively small numbers made population breakdown and statistical manipulation increasingly unreliable.

To be included in the following portion of the study, migrants had to be:

1. Hindu.
2. Over 17 at time of arrival in Sulawesi (to eliminate those born in Sulawesi or brought by their families).
3. Between the ages of 20 and 49 (to compensate for the restricted age range in the migrant sample).
4. Married (to eliminate non-householders).
5. Born in Badung, Buleleng, or Tabanan. (Migrants born in Jembrana were almost entirely Christian).

Nonmigrants met the same conditions; that is, they were:

1. Hindu
2. Between 20 and 49
3. Married
4. Born in Badung, Buleleng, or Tabanan.

These selection factors produced a sample which was matched for religion, age and marriage, but which still contained differences in cell size by area of origin. To control for spurious correlations with special features caused by district of birth, this factor was weighed to give equal cell seize to all three districts in both the migrant and nonmigrant samples.

Weighting factors:

Migrants from	Absolute # of cases	Weight factor	Corrected # of cases
1. Badung	346	0.5	143
2. Tabanan	127	1.1	140
3. Buleleng	79	1.8	142
Nonmigrants from			
1. Badung	143	1.0	143
2. Tabanan	50	3.0	150
3. Buleleng	95	1.5	143

This weighting process produced samples of equal size in Bali and Sulawesi, thereby allowing the use of an additional statistic appropriate for ordinal data, Lambda. L like Ø, V, and C expresses degree of association between the variable and location (Sulawesi, Bali).

Under these refined conditions, prior mobility and father's home district were found to have absolutely no correlation with migration among Hindus.

VAR008	MOBILITY IN BALI	
	MIG	NON-MIG
NEVER MOVED	98.2%	97.6%
HAS MOVED	1.8%	2.4%

$X^2 = 0.7108$*
Ø = 0.02
C = 0.02
L = 0.0

VAR024	FA/HH HOME DISTRICTS	
	MIG	NON-MIG
SAME	98.5%	99.3%
DIFF	1.5%	0.7%

$X^2 = 0.4068$*
Ø = 0.04
C = 0.04
L = 0.0

*Not significant

These figures are important because in case histories reported in earlier

sections tend to lead one to believe that even Hindus have had an usual amount of migration experience, while the statistics indicate they have not. Once again the shear number in aggregate statistics obscures a significant trend, that is the tendency for the earliest migrants to be experienced while the latter build on migration chains.

In fact, of the forty variables hypothesized to be correlated with migration (see Appendix C), only eight proved to be statistically significant. The variables and the measures of their statistical association include:

Moderate Association

VAR021	SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI	.27	.27	.19	0.0000
VAR020	HOUSING IN BALI	.25	.25	.18	0.0000
VAR017	INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI	.23	.22	.19	0.0000
VAR013	MAIN WORK IN BALI	.21	.20	.11	0.0000

Weak Association

VAR031	SIBSET SIZE	.17	.17	.16	0.0000
VAR022	SIBLING POSITION	.17	.17	.15	0.0000
VAR006	CASTE	.15	.15	.07	0.0000
VAR041	CONVENTIONALITY-HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	.14	.14	.07	0.0001

Economic Variables and Out-Migration

All four of the stronger associations with migration are economic variables. Of these, SAWAH AND LADANG, or working land in Bali, is the most strongly associated with location (migration). In this case, the less land in Bali, the more out-migration.

VAR021 SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI (Migrants v. Nonmigrants)

NO SAWAH	38.5%	18.7%	X^2 = 0.0000
.01 THRU .49 HA	44.3%	43.2%	V = 0.2720
.50 HA OR MORE	17.2%	38.1%	C = 0.2625
			L = 0.1935

In the uncontrolled sample, which includes all Hindus and Christians, this association is even more striking. Among nonmigrants 36.8% of the population claims to have one-half hectare of working land or more, 15.5% say they have more than one hectare. Among migrants, however, only 14.3% had more than one-half hectare of land in Bali before departure, and only 3.7% say they had more than one hectare.

The cumulative INDEX OF WEALTH shows precisely the same pattern.

VAR020 INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI (Migrants v. Nonmigrants)

LOW	11.1%	4.0%	$X^2 = 0.0000$
MED LOW	26.6%	17.1%	V = 0.2592
MED HIGH	45.5%	41.4%	C = 0.2509
HIGH	16.8%	37.4%	L = 0.1804

Although they may not have much in absolute terms, 37.4% of nonmigrant Balinese have a relatively high index of wealth, while only 16.8% of migrants fall into this category. Obversely, 11.1% of migrants are in the lowest category of wealth, while only 4% of nonmigrants are found there.

Similarly, 34.9% of all migrants lived in temporary or shared dwellings before they left Bali, while only 15% of nonmigrants lived under such conditions. 85% of nonmigrants owned their own homes, compared to 65% of all migrants.

VAR017 HOUSING IN BALI

	MIGRANTS	NON-MIGRANTS	
			$X^2 = 0.0000$
TEMPORARY OR SHARED	34.9%	15.0%	Ø = 0.2299
			C = 0.2214
OWN HOUSE	65.1%	85.0%	L = 0.1948

Interestingly, the nonmigrant situation is also moderately associated

with not being a farmer or farm laborer. 18.2% of nonmigrants gave their main occupation as something other than farmer, while only 4.8% of non-migrants said they worked in non-farm positions before moving to Sulawesi.

VAR013 MAIN WORK IN BALI

	MIGRANTS	NON-MIGRANTS	
			$X^2 = 0.0000$
FARM	93.6%	80.3%	V = 0.2080
			C = 0.2037
NON-FARM	4.8%	18.2%	L = 0.1153

These results may indicate that economic competition is most keen among the saturated farming population, and those who are able to get other forms of employment are then less motivated to migrate. Or it may simply be a case of selective remembering, either because migrants wish to meet transmigration department expectations, or because it feels to them as though they have always been farming.

Some credence is lent to the notion that migrants misremember by the fact that education plays almost no role in migration. (Presumably the better educated are more likely to have non-farm jobs). In the samples we are considering, migration is entirely unassociated with illiteracy (about 20% of both groups), or elementary education (the remaining 80%). No members of the matched samples have any education beyond grade school, although in the entire survey 12.7% of nonmigrants and 6.2% of migrants have education beyond the sixth grade (most of these are young, unmarried men who are therefore not represented in the controlled sample).

Social Variables

A non-economic variable with economic implications is SIBSET SIZE. Not surprisingly, those from large families are overrepresented in the

migrant population with 54.2% of migrants and 37.2% of nonmigrants derived from families of five or more children.

VAR031 SIBSET SIZE

	MIGRANTS	NON-MIGRANTS	
			X^2 = 0.0000
SMALL 1-4	45.8%	62.8%	Ø = 0.1706
			C = 0.1682
LARGE 5+	54.2%	37.2%	L = 0.1622

No doubt economic pressures on large families provide some impetus for migration. In fact, when asked why they moved, 13.6% of migrants mention among their answers that their families were too large.

SIBLING POSITION is a related variable which is considerably more difficult to assess. As we might expect, only children are underrepresented among migrants, although they still make up 5.3% of the migrant sample.

VAR022 SIBLING POSITION (Migrants v. Nonmigrants)

ONLY CHILD	5.3%	10.6%	
			X^2 = 0.0000
OLDEST MALE	34.5%	45.4%	V = 0.1710
			C = 0.1686
MIDDLE CHILD	29.2%	19.9%	L = 0.1496
YOUNGEST MALE	31.0%	24.2%	

More surprising is the fact that elder and younger sons are found to migrate in nearly equal numbers. According to most authorities, including the Balinese, inheritable property ideally is divided equally among all sons, but in fact tends to be reserved for the last. The Geertzes, for example, remark that "in most commoner villages it is the youngest son who succeeds the father..." (1975,54); and later they comment, "many commoner families can be found in which a line of youngest sons -- the youngest son, of a youngest son, and so on -- has held the core house-

yard."

If true, this principle would lead us to anticipate that older sons migrate in significantly greater numbers than their younger brothers. According to the statistics, however, eldest sons are underrepresented in the migrant population while youngest sons are overrepresented. Only 34.5% of the migrant population consisted of elder sons, compared to 45.5% of the nonmigrant population; while younger sons comprised 31.0% of the migrant, and 24.2% of the nonmigrant sample.

This association is also reflected in the total survey sample although the differences were more modest.

VAR022 SIBLING POSITION

	(ALL HINDUS)		(ALL CHRISTIANS)	
	MIG	NON-MIG	MIG	NON-MIG
ELDEST	30.6%	34.9%	34.0%	37.6%
YOUNGEST	34.0%	23.7%	33.6%	23.1%

While these figures are less significant than those in the controlled sample they continue to work against the hypothesis that younger sons will stay home to inherit the farm. Clearly additional statistical manipulation is merited to assess whether the youngest sons who do move are more often from landless families or whether they have other striking dissimilarities to the population as a whole. If not, reconsideration of Balinese inheritance patterns may well be suggested.

Leaving sibling position and turning to caste position we find that high-caste families are slightly but significantly underrepresented in the migrating population.

VAR006 CASTE

	MIGRANT	NON-MIGRANT	
			$X^2 = 0.0000$
TRIWANGSA	5.8%	15.5%	$\emptyset = 0.1560$
			$C = 0.1541$
SUDRA	94.2%	84.5%	$L = 0.0744$

As the table reveals, the triwangsa or elite castes make up 15.5% of the Bali sample, but only 5.8% of those who migrated. Given the preference for non-manual labor and higher education among the higher castes this correlation is expected.

Conventionality

The final variable which is associated with migration among Hindus is the aggregate measure CONVENTIONALITY. As I mentioned earlier, the conventionality index is a composite score based on questions concerning relative caste among spouses, area of origin and number of marriages. The supposition behind this aggregate measure is that individuals who have married out of their caste, taken wives from another area, or had multiple marriages might, in general, be less conventional than the rest of the population, and this unconventionality, in turn, might lead to a greater incidence of migration.

In devising this score an individual was given a "1" each time he fell into the modal, "conventional", category on the above questions. If he gave an atypical answer he received a "2". If a man answered one or two questions in an atypical fashion he was assigned to the "unconventional" category. If he gave atypical answers on three or four questions, he was placed in the category which I have arbitrarily labelled "deviant". Let me emphasize that this is merely a method of aggregating scores which are not significant on their own. The labels "conventional", "unconventional"

and "deviant" do not describe people, but a pattern of responses to questions in this survey.

With these caveats in mind we may turn to the conventionality scores, and we find that migration is entirely unrelated to parents' conventionality ($X^2 = 0.12$), but weakly associated with conventionality in the nuclear family. In the case of Hindus this is not a difference in mobility, but reflects the fact that migrants are slightly more likely to have married out of their villages and married more than once.

VAR041 CONVENTIONALITY- HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	MIGRANT	NON-MIGRANT	
CONVENTIONAL	73.1%	81.0%	
UNCONVENTIONAL	20.8%	18.0%	$X^2 = 0.0001$ V = 0.1452 C = 0.1436
DEVIANT	6.1%	1.1%	L = 0.0723

Let me restate that "conventionality" is an index of social behavior, not a measure of personality predisposition and perhaps for this reason unconventionality in the past is a positive but poor predictor of migration. In fact, knowing CONVENTIONALITY improves our chances of predicting migration in only seven cases in 100. INDEX OF WEALTH, on the other hand, improves predictability eighteen times in 100.

All of these statistics point once again to the multiplicity of possible motivations leading to the migration process. Some individuals seem to move for economic reasons, others for personal reasons. Many have both economic and personal motives while others go along for the ride. Taken separately the measures we have discussed merely hint at patterns; taken together they begin to suggest a picture which while

complex becomes gradually more comprehensible with the addition of each new detail.

Summary and Conclusions

The statistical materials derived from the questionnaire lend important evidence to a number of hypotheses. Specifically they tend to confirm the impression that migrants are attracted from selected sending areas and drawn from a restricted age range when compared to the population of Bali as a whole.

Christians were poorer and more mobile than Hindus in Bali, while migrating Christians were still poorer but less mobile than their non-migrating kin. Because of their prior mobility Christians obtain more deviant scores on INDEX OF CONVENTIONALITY than do Hindus.

In a matched population of Hindus from Sulawesi and Bali migrants were found to have less working land, more shared housing and less wealth in general than nonmigrants. Balinese who remained in Bali tended more often to have non-farm occupations, to be only-children, older children or from elite castes. They were also slightly more conventional on the average than their migrant neighbors. Migration seems statistically unrelated to education, urbanization, parental background or a host of personal factors measured in the survey.

These variables would be a mass of contradictions were it not for the impressions based on the narrative materials regarding their interrelations and significance. For this reason I maintain that survey research, while an extremely useful corrective and control, is nonetheless dependent on sound observational data for its form and relevance.

Aggregate statistics cannot weight or assign priorities to individual variation, idiosyncratic experience, coincidence, or historical process. The computer does not make cuts in the data, discuss thresholds or sense trends. The researcher alone is responsible for such decisions and must do so on the basis of detailed knowledge of the variables at work. As the preceeding chapter indicates, aggregate statistics without basic information about idiosyncratic factors and the historical setting would be not only colorless but misleading.

CHAPTER NINE

CHANGES IN THE MIGRANT POPULATION OVER TIME

Chapter Nine concludes this dissertation with an analysis of statistical and non-statistical materials which indicate the ways in which the Balinese movement -- and, by extension other migration movements -- change over time. The interaction of wealth, motivation, expectations, and adaptation, will be discussed.

An Analysis of Statistical Materials

Throughout this work I have consistently maintained that early migrants must be given a greater push than later ones. Over time a successful migrant community becomes more accessible and attractive and increasing numbers of families are pulled rather than pushed into it. The statistical materials lend consistent support to this view.

Considering all Hindu migrants and dividing them between those who arrived before 1970 and in 1970 or after (corresponding to the arbitrary division I have made between "pioneer" and "mass" migrants); the following variables prove to be statistically associated with period of arrival.

Strong Associations		Ø/V	C	X^2
VAR047	TYPE OF SPONSORSHIP	.73	.59	.0000
VAR054	AMOUNT OF MONEY ON ARRIVAL IN SULAWESI	.69	.59	.0000
VAR017	HOUSING IN BALI	.41	.38	.0000
Weak Associations				
VAR060	APPRAISAL OF SITUATION IN SULAWESI	.18	.18	.0002
VAR048	MAIN REASON FOR MOVING	.17	.17	.0047
VAR020	INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI	.16	.16	.0028

VAR019	INHERITABLE PROPERTY IN BALI	.13	.13	.0050
VAR021	SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI	.13	.13	.0129

Type of Sponsorship, Money and Motivation

A variable which at first glance appears highly related to the period of arrival is TYPE OF SPONSORSHIP, the type of support which a migrant obtained.

VAR047 TYPE OF SPONSORSHIP (HINDUS ONLY)

	PRE-1970	1970+
SPON WITH ASSIST	0.0%	55.2%
SPON NO ASSIST	36.9%	44.1%
GOV'T SPONSORED	57.8%	0.0%

X^2 = 0.0000
V = 0.7347
C = 0.5921
L = 0.5984

Of the Balinese to arrive in Central Sulawesi prior to 1970 about half, 57.8% of Hindus and 45.0% of Christians, were fully supported by national or regional transmigration programs. After 1970 there were no settlements in the Parigi area which were fully sponsored by the government. Apparently by the early '70's it was already obvious that Parigi had become a magnet for in-migration and would continue to grow with or without government effort. Under these circumstances the transmigration department wisely invested its money and energy in nascent communities elsewhere, and contributed only token sponsorship (transportation and tools) to the growing numbers of would-be migrants to Tolai. Therefore, total support by the transmigration department was necessarily contingent on arrival before 1970.

If we compare the percent of migrants who embarked entirely on their own, with the percent who received official government support of any kind, however, we find almost no association between independent movement and time of arrival. Over 50% of both early and late migrants receive some form of government support.

	PRE-1970	1970+	
GOV'T HELP	57.8%	55.2%	(No statistical associations calculated for this table).
NO GOV'T HELP	42.2%	44.1%	

In theory these findings could mean that early migrants were no worse off than later arrivals, but this would challenge our basic premise, that earlier migrants are under greater pressure to move.

Variable 054, AMOUNT OF MONEY ON ARRIVAL IN SULAWESI, addresses itself specifically to this question and suggests that there is in fact, a striking difference in the relative wealth of the early and late migrant populations.

VAR054 AMOUNT OF MONEY ON ARRIVAL IN SULAWESI (HINDUS ONLY)

	PRE-1970	1970+	
NO MONEY	30.1%	0.7%	
LESS THAN 1,000 RPS	38.4%	2.2%	X^2 = 0.0000
LESS THAN 50,000 RPS	20.1%	62.6%	V = 0.6951
MORE THAN 50,000 RPS	11.4%	34.4%	C = 0.5708 L = 0.6507

One might question whether these statistics could be systematically skewed by both general inflation and the economic crises which beset Indonesia from 1963 to 1966. But only about 100 migrant families actually arrived in the crisis period, and the price of rice (an economic indicator) varied only from 25 to 100 rps during the remaining time. This strongly suggests that monetary instability alone can hardly be credited with the dramatic difference in amount of money carried by the pre- and post-1970 groups.

To be statistically safe, however, we can look at only those migrants without funds. In this category we find 69 of 229 early migrants (30.1%), but only 2 of 270 in the later migrant group. Although this tends to indi-

cate that the early migrants were significantly poorer, the fact that complete government sponsorship made it possible for families to embark without money raises the question whether the increase in wealth merely reflects the end of total transmigration support.

To test this last hypothesis we can confine our consideration to spontaneous migrants who have arrived during the period of monetary stability -- 1967 to 1972. During this period the Indonesian rupiah maintained itself at a rate of 400 rps to one U.S. dollar. Dividing the migrants into three time blocks we see that there is a strong association between year of arrival and wealth -- an association which far exceeds national per capital increases for the same period.

VAR054 AMOUNT OF MONEY ON ARRIVAL

	1967-1969	1970-1971	1972+	
LESS THAN 10,000 RPS	71.4%	22.6%	6.0%	(No statistical associations calculated for this table).
LESS THAN 50,000 RPS	20.1%	70.9%	52.3%	
MORE THAN 50,000 RPS	8.6%	26.5%	41.7%	
# of CASES	304	234	151	

The regularity of the above associations confirms the supposition that increasing numbers of (relatively) wealthy Balinese have chosen to migrate in recent years. And that early migrants were under greater economic duress. Taken together, TYPE OF SPONSORSHIP, plus MONEY ON ARRIVAL indicate first, that very poor Balinese declined among the migrant populations, and second, that the relatively wealthy increased.

That the poorest Balinese were no longer moving to Parigi is confirmed by transmigration department statistics. Of those registering for transmigration programs in Bali in the four years between 1969 and 1972, the

percent ultimately moving to Parigi declined from a high of 51% in 1970 to 31% in 1972 -- in spite of the increasingly favorable publicity which Parigi was receiving.

	1969	1970	1971	1972
% MOVING TO PARIGI	36.3%	51.9%	34.6%	31.2%

Transmigration department officials attribute this decline to the lure of full sponsorship in other receiving areas.

Not only did poor migrants decline over time but the rich got richer as well. This increase in wealthy migrants was particularly obvious to the Balinese. At one point my assistants independently calculated the number of migrants who claimed they had brought at least 100,000 rps ($2,500) to Sulawesi. No migrant before 1970 brought such a sum, but after 1970 fifteen individuals brought 100,000 rps or more -- an amount equivalent to ten years' worth of wages for a Balinese school teacher.

The pattern is made redundantly clear by the other economic variables in this study. In housing, for example, we find that 57.4% of Hindus moving before 1970 lived in temporary or shared houses while only 17.0% of those moving after 1970 did so.

VAR017 HOUSING IN BALI (HINDUS ONLY)

	PRE-1970	1970+	
			X^2 = 0.0000
TEMPORARY OR SHARED	57.4%	17.0%	Ø = 0.4192
			C = 0.3866
OWN HOUSE	42.6%	83.0%	L = 0.3852

Similarly among both Hindus and Christians the composite variable INDEX OF WEALTH reveals the same form.

VAR020 INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI

(HINDUS)	PRE-1970	1970+	(CHRISTIANS)	PRE-1970	1970+
LOW	14.9%	6.3%		28.0%	10.4%
MED LOW	34.0%	29.3%		29.0%	29.2%
MED HIGH	40.2%	50.0%		31.0%	31.3%
HIGH	10.8%	14.4%		12.0%	29.2%
	X^2 = 0.0028 V = 0.1661 C = 0.1638			X^2 = 0.0064 V = 0.2228 C = 0.2175	

If the two lowest and highest cells are collapsed on the above table we find that 48.9% of the early Hindus, and 57.0% of the early Christians fall in the bottom half of the table compared to 35.6% of Hindus and 39.6% of Christians among the late arrivals.

Among Christians, the late-comers have inheritable property significantly more often than those who arrived before. (Hindus show no difference in property).

VAR019 INHERITABLE PROPERTY IN BALI (CHRISTIANS)

	PRE-1970	1970+	
NONE	61.0%	31.3%	X^2 = 0.0004 Ø = 0.2364 C = 0.2300
HOUSE/LAND	39.0%	68.8%	

And among both groups there is a modest association between the amount of sawah and ladang (working land) in Bali and the period of departure.

VAR021 SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI

(HINDUS)	PRE-1970	1970+	(CHRISTIANS)	PRE-1970	1970+
NONE	43.4%	35.2%		52.5%	31.3%
LESS THAN 1/2 HA	39.3%	52.2%		34.5%	45.8%
1/2 HA OR MORE	17.2%	12.6%		13.0%	22.9%
	X^2 = 0.0129 V = 0.1301 C = 0.1290			X^2 = 0.0233 V = 0.1741 C = 0.1715	

All this merely reinforces what the narrative material has already indicated. As Bali declined in viability and the relative opportunity in Parigi became known, growing number of Balinese were attracted to Sulawesi. Among them were still many individuals who had been forced from Bali, but there was also a growing contingent of those who did not need to move, but weighed the alternatives and chose to do so.

Reason for Moving and Appraisal of the Situation

If, as I have suggested, the later the migrants the more frequently they are attracted to Sulawesi rather than expelled from Bali, then there should be an increasing number of Sulawesi-oriented answers to the question, "why did you want to come here?" If we collapse all appropriate answers into two cells, one reflecting the need to leave Bali, the other expressing the desire to go to Sulawesi, we see that this is indeed the case.

VAR048 MAIN REASON FOR MOVING

(HINDUS)	PRE-1970	1970+	(CHRISTIANS)	PRE-1970	1970+
PUSHED	54.9%	39.3%		45.0%	33.3%
PULLED	39.3%	53.7%		48.5%	62.5%
	$X^2 = 0.0047$ V = 0.1708 C = 0.1684			$X^2 = 0.1007$ V = 0.1769 C = 0.1742	

Whether migrants say they are pushed or pulled, becomes itself an important variable. For example, it has absolutely no association with any of the economic indicators. Nor is there any significant difference between spontaneous migrants who have partial support and those who have none -- about 40% of both groups claim they were pushed from Bali. Among government sponsored migrants, however, 65% feel they were driven from

Bali, a significant though appropriate increase. Similarly, among migrants with no money on arrival 64% say they were compelled to leave Bali for one reason or another, while among those with 50,000 rps or more 62% claim to have left because of attractions in Sulawesi.

Interestingly, the most significant variable in predicting whether a person will say he was pushed or pulled, is caste. Among Triwangsa (elite) families, 70% claim to have been pulled, that is, attracted to Sulawesi, while the Sudras (commoners) are split half and half. This is compatible with the notion that those who have advantages in Bali will have to view Sulawesi in a particularly positive way to move. Finally, both those who say they were pushed and those who say they were pulled register precisely the same degree of satisfaction with Sulawesi, 83% of the first group and 84.4% of the second saying it was better than they expected.

This is not true of the migrants over time. It is significant that while migrants are more and more likely to be pulled or attracted to Sulawesi they register increasing disappointment with it.

VAR060 APPRAISAL OF SULAWESI

(HINDUS)	PRE-1970	1970+	(CHRISTIANS)	PRE-1970	1970+
BETTER THAN EXPECTED	89.8%	77.0%		91.0%	70.8%
THE SAME OR WORSE	10.2%	23.0%		9.0%	29.2%
	X^2 = 0.0002 V = 0.1801 C = 0.1773			X^2 = 0.0000 V = 0.2891 C = 0.2776	

It seems clear that the early migrants filled with trepidations about the unknown were likely to wind up pleasantly surprised. No doubt older migrants had also gotten used to the place and hence reported it more positively.

Many migrants in the 1970's, on the other hand, were being oversold. Dreams of six tons of padi and irrigated fields led many to overlook the hardships of migrant life. As I have mentioned, the 1970's saw the departure of the first migrant "failures" -- those who looked around and left.

The Decline of Christianity

The most conspicuous change in the migrant population was neither in the wealth nor adjustment of the migrants, however, but rather in the change of religious composition over time. From 1960 to 1970 more than half (55%) of the migrants were Christian. By 1971 and 1972 this number had fallen to less than one-tenth (9.5%). Corresponding to an increase in Hindu migrants was a decrease in Christian conversions. In the ten years between 1960 and 1970, 37% of the Hindus leaving Bali became Christian. In 1972 only 2-1/2% converted.

For an explanation of this phenomena we can hardly look at the Christians alone. Even in 1971-1972 Christians were migrating to Parigi in numbers exceeding their proportion in the population of Bali (10% of all migrants v. 1/2% of the Balinese), and by 1972, at least one-quarter of Bali's Christians had already moved to Parigi. Instead, we must consider pressures which first, caused an increasing number of Hindus to migrate; and second, resulted in a falling number of conversions.

The answer to the first problem has already been suggested. In the 1960's population growth, landlessness and communal strife built up tremendous pressures in Bali which eventually pushed some community members out of conventional patterns and into new ways of coping. Some of the more able and/or marginal people in the Hindu population looked at the alternatives and chose migration. Their successes made it easier for

others to follow. A momentum was built up which within a few years nearly emptied several small communities in Tabanan and Badung.

The acceleration of Hindu migration, in turn, allowed the maintenance of Hindu tradition in Parigi. This is not meant to minimize changes which had taken place in the position of Hinduism in general. Politically, Hinduism received support when the Indonesian government recognized (Bali) Hinduism as a world, and hence, acceptable religion. In the late 1960's and '70's books and publications appeared, which explained the basis for Hindu ritual; the leadership in Bali began to defeudalize many religious practices and make them more understandable to the masses. Finally, the focus on Bali as a world tourist spot reinforced the Hindu Balinese sense of self-importance.

Equally important, however, were demographic factors affecting the position of Hindus in Sulawesi itself. As I have mentioned in previous sections, during the early period of individual or pioneer movement, the need to identify and affiliate caused a large number of Christian conversions. In the later stages of mass movement, migrants were insulated from Christian contacts both while traveling (by the size and homogeneity of their groups) and on arrival (by the overwhelming number of Hindus and the general isolation of many areas). Whereas individual movement to old Christian communities maximized the chance for Christian conversion, the large-scale migration of like-minded Hindus reduced it to an absolute minimum.

At the risk of overworking a metaphor, it may be suggested that in Tolai the specific mass of Hindus exceeded that of the Christians for the first time. When this happened the attraction toward the Christian commu-

nity abruptly ceased, and the number of converts declined -- from 30% to less than 3% in barely two years. Were the physical model to be taken literally one might expect a day when Christians began to return to the Hindu fold. Of course the larger Indonesian context, the influence of dissonance, and myriad other factors work against this hypothesis, interestingly, in 1973 the first of such cases appeared. But reconversion was not the only sign of a reviving Hindu community.

Trance and Dance in Sulawesi

On May 16, 1973, a small group of Balinese and I picked our way through thorns and swamps in an area of dense forest on the road to Sulih, the most distant part of Tolai. Our destination was a small knoll which was said to have many unusual properties. It was a hill in a flat area; nine large stones were found among the undergrowth; a small spring issued forth at its base and flowed around the mound. The task was to discover whether traditional Balinese symbols and supernatural forces still prevailed in Central Sulawesi.

The day wore on without a sign. Some old folks chanted, a few prayed. Most just sat and talked. Having been there all day we committed ourselves to staying the night; when, just as the sun set, an old woman fell into a trance. Weeping and sobbing the old woman reported that she was possessed by a messenger from Ratu Bagus Gede, a long-dead priest from the island of Bali. The messenger assured us that Ratu Bagus would come to Sulawesi to provide advice to his children, and that he would sit in the holy place they had discovered. In the meantime they should build only a small temple, work hard on their land, and when they were prosperous they would receive additional instructions.

In Bali such an event would have been commonplace. But the Balinese had been in Sulawesi for nearly sixty-five years, and until that date there had been no sacred spots, nor had there been a trance. Within a week, moreover, the Christian community of Anekesari held the first Balinese shadow play using Hindu dalangs (puppeteers). The occasion of the performance was the opening of one of Tolai's first dams, suggesting, perhaps, that Tolai Christians learned from Massari's problems that prayer alone would never do. At the performance there was a demonstration of silat (a kind of Indonesian karate), and janger (a kind of Balinese dance). Whether a cause or a symptom, these activities marked the acceleration of the retraditionalization of Parigi's Balinese.

It was not only in religion and the arts, however, that the growing identification with Bali could be seen. In Astina, the Hindus had no more than arrived when they felt the need to reinstate traditional community regulations or adat. Previous communities had developed village rules based on all-Indonesian models, but this was not enough for the new Hindus. Unable to agree among themselves about the relative merits of their respective forms of adat, they sent to the Parisada Hindu Dharma, in Bali, for a model. The document they received specified in considerable detail the rules for community meetings, mutual assistance, administration, and the regulation of Balinese ceremonies. While the "model" was intended to represent "modern" administration, it was most distinctively Balinese, and most enthusiastically adopted.

Later Balinese who tended to move to Parigi with others from their home villages, simply imported their own adat intact. In these communities, Indonesian-style administration (used in all the early villages) rapidly

atrophied, and civil officials (village heads, and the like) learned to intervene only in cases of inter-ethnic dispute.

Agricultural systems were also set up with minute attention to the appropriate adat, even though Parigi's surplus water made many of the rules rather irrelevant. Irrigation temples appeared first in Tolai, and as the new immigrants grew in numbers and confidence they also began to put pressure on the more successful farmers of Parigi to conform to Balinese standards, establish a subak (irrigation society) and build agricultural temples.

As the 1970's progressed and the number of in-migrants grew, an increasing sense of Balinese identity was felt. New immigrants were encouraged by their relatives to bring Balinese hats, mats, cages for fighting cocks, and other distinctive Balinese goods with them to Parigi, as they would find a ready market for such objects when they arrived. Markets sprouted suddenly, enterprising Balinese took the role of middlemen, and goods appeared for the first time which catered to Balinese taste. A Balinese house-style appeared. Gambling spells, magical deaths and poisonings were all of a sudden rampant among the Parigi Balinese.

Whereas one might well expect more traditional behavior among the newest migrants, this assertion of Balinese-ness infected the older, more established communities as well. Long-term Hindus, in particular, were placed under considerable pressure to build irrigation temples, improve community temples, and return to customary law. Christians too were drawn into solidarity with their Hindu brothers. Some Christian settlements even came to claim that they had truer or better Balinese art or agriculture than the Hindus. The best drama in the area, in fact, was said to belong

to the Catholics.[1]

Gains in political and economic strength in the new areas increased the interaction of old settlers and new arrivals. Marginal Christians were forced to identify with Hindu Balinese as structural opposition heightened feelings of ethnicity among neighboring groups. Christians and Hindus began to cooperate in economic endeavors, both groups crossing religious lines to use Balinese work groups, rice mills and middlemen.

On a fine night in the full moon of June, 1973, 2,000 armed Balinese migrants proceeded from Tolai to the beach to "get" a Buginese who had been cheating them. Fortunately for him, the Buginese fell from his house into the swamp where he remained totally submerged for the entire night, with only his nose above water. Even though the consequences for all Balinese would have been very grave had they succeeded in harming a member of another ethnic group, only three Balinese attempted to stop the mob -- all long-term, highly assimilated residents of Kampung Bali. The rest, and especially the recent immigrants, all regarded this activity as a necessary and successful show of their new-found physical strength.

Six months later the Hindu representative in the local parliament married the daughter of Kampung Bali's most respected Hindu family. Far from closeting away the Hindu ritual, as was done in the past, the family invited all the major government officials (mainly Moslems) to attend the ceremony. At this time they were given a full explanation of Hindu cosmology, the nature of offerings, the reason for incense and so on. I attended

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[1]My assistants reported that the reason this drama was so good was that the stories were all new; it seems they had been taken from the Bible.

in full ceremonial regalia to lend a little anthropological authenticity to the occasion. The evening ended with the first full-scale performance of Balinese dance and drama for a non-Balinese audience. An obvious show of cultural strength.

The Pattern of Adaptation Over Time

There are two features of Balinese adaptation between 1905 and 1974 which make it unusual. In the first place, Balinese came as a high culture people into an area which had relatively little traditional culture left; and in spite of their small numbers they never lost the sense of their cultural superiority. In the second place, the Balinese settled in a frontier area where they were not initially in competition with the local population for resources or prestige; thus the Kaili cared very little if they proceeded as they pleased. Even under this circumstance, however, the mode of adjustment of the Balinese varied with the stage of the migration movement in which they were enmeshed.

In the very earliest years, the Balinese exiles depended largely on the Dutch for mediation and support. They were discouraged by Dutch policy from emulating Western models and they were too proud to imitate the Kaili. Therefore, in the early period, almost by default, they retained a strong identification with Bali. When offered the opportunity to return home, most hastily did so. The remaining community of four extended families was too small to maintain its autonomy, however, and many were forced to marry out; all interacted extensively with local people. In this situation they learned the system of meanings which characterized Kaili culture and became increasingly assimilated to Kaili ways.

The early Christians, unlike the early Hindus, had already renounced key elements of Balinese culture in their conversion. On arrival in Sulawesi they emphasized this separation by affiliating themselves with local Christians rather than Hindu Balinese. And by the late 1960's, the Christian community was clearly moving in the direction of a new collective identity: first, as Christians, second, as Indonesians. Hindus who moved into Christian communities changed their identification almost overnight, choosing to conform to the concrete expectations of their neighbors rather than some abstract principle which identified them with Hindu Balinese.

Only when the government moved 140 Hindu families to Astina did the requisite community of interaction exist which permitted Hindu growth. The presence of Astina Hindus, attracted the reclusive Hindus from Parigi into the virgin forest of Tolai, and established the basis for the mushrooming in-migration which ensued. Apparently cultures, like physical populations, need a certain mass in order to survive.

In the last years of mass migration, new immigrants were isolated from local folk. Because of the rapidity of their arrival, they found themselves settling among like-minded Balinese. Assimilation slowed. Without local models the new arrivals could depend on traditional behavior to obtain power and prestige, because they were in a pioneer area, no sanctions were applied to cause them to change.

In the early days of migration the new arrivals are the most compromised because of their lack of understanding of new cultural rules. In a society which values its heritage, however, new arrivals can come to have

superior status, because they are nearer to, or more aware of, the "real" culture at home. Throughout the old migrant area in Parigi people scurried about seeking newcomers who knew about priests' duties, temple measurements, correct times for planting and so forth. Instant authorities were quickly displaced as new immigrants arrived with the very last word. As I have mentioned repeatedly, at this stage in the migration process, the culture of the homeland and the culture of the receiving community become partially fused.

Thus throughout the history of this migration stream, adaptation, like selection, varied according to the stage in which people moved. Without recognition of the fact that patterns of migration change systematically over time, however, the complex interplay of these variations is largely obscured.

Conclusion

The story of the Balinese movement to Central Sulawesi illustrates the changes which can occur in a single migration movement over time. It also exemplifies the effect of these changes on both selection in the homeland, and secondarily, on adaptation in the receiving community. But the major conclusions of this study are best summarized by a brief review of this story.

Until recently Balinese had few incentives to move. They looked to their villages for the rules which gave order and meaning to their lives, and to their island as a verification of their cosmology. They were told that Bali was a paradise, and to a considerable extent they believed it. Little wonder, that collectively the Balinese were, and

still are, among the least mobile people in Indonesia.

The model proposed in Chapter One, predicts that in lieu of mediators such as jobs, relatives, or government support, people like the Balinese will find themselves in totally unfamiliar territory only as a result of accident or force. Three separate settlements mentioned in this work support this hypothesis. In Parigi, for example, the first Balinese immigrants were exiles with little or no control over their destination. The Christians who moved to west Bali in the 1930's were also individuals who were forced to move from their homes. And the Balinese in Dumoga, north Sulawesi, were all refugees; people displaced by the 1963 eruption of the Gunung Agung. None of these migrants moved by choice.

In the second ripple of migrants to Parigi, however, there were a handful of people who arrived independently, several who came with mediating social support, and a few who were simply sent -- young men and teenagers with little enough choice. Among those who moved independently, Sidiswara, Made Daud, and Made Weco, each combined compelling reasons for leaving Bali with unusual experience, independence, and competence. Not only were they pushed, but they were confident enough to evaluate the alternatives and deem themselves able to function in a wholly new environment.

Significantly, the migrant families in Parigi in 1957 generated chains of in-migration which defined the shape of the movement for the ensuing fifteen years. Fully one-third of the migrants in a 1972 sample of 1,000 Balinese households, were from village clusters already among the thirty households present in Parigi in the late 1950's. Of

those surveyed 99% were from the five Balinese districts which were already established at that time. The three Balinese districts which were not represented in the 1957 population of Parigi sent only 0.1% of the migrants to this area in the next fifteen years.

Even with early migrants who could provide mediating support, however, recruitment was not easy. Initially, Hindus in Bali could not or would not leave. Between 1953 and 1963 Sidiswara returned to Bali three separate times, recruiting only four families, all relatives. Hindus, lacking experience with migration, apparently did not feel enough pressure to choose to exchange a secure sociocultural setting for one which was not only unfamiliar, but almost unknown.

The early Christians, on the other hand, were experienced migrants who had already been expelled from their homes, had adapted, and were again ready and willing to move. Within five years of the arrival of the first Christians, over one-hundred Christian families had followed them to Parigi, fully one-fourth the population of the sending community. Because the meaning of migration is negotiated, either few move, or many do so.

During the mid-sixties, several events combined to increase the pressure to leave Bali. The first was the deterioration of the economy, overpopulation, and landlessness, which combined to make the economic prospects of the poor particularly bleak. The second, was the social divisiveness resulting as the aftermath of the 1965 coup. In Parigi, on the other hand, provincial autonomy in 1964 and the introduction of the green revolution rices in 1965, provided a climate particularly conducive to growth. With sufficient knowledge and confidence the balance

was being tipped in favor of migration.

Thus, when the nine recruiters went from Parigi to Bali in 1967, they had no difficulty locating families willing to return. Apparently individuals in these families knew enough about Sulawesi to assure themselves that they too could succeed. The climate of confidence had spread as knowledge and examples were incorporated into the culture of the would-be migrants. Within weeks the names of 200 families were collected.

The arrival of these government sponsored migrants in Astina was a watershed in the movement to Central Sulawesi. Christian conversion was no longer necessary to assure economic and social support. And because these migrants were neither idiosyncratic individuals, nor outcasts, they could generate ever widening chains which reached ordinary Balinese who could identify with their example.

No more than 100 Balinese families arrived in Parigi in 1968 - 1969. But when the Astina migrants finally got their feet on the ground both surplus production and the need for labor increased and in-migration climbed. In 1970, 300 families arrived, in 1971, 500 more. In 1972, 1,500 families, nearly 7,000 Balinese moved to Parigi. By the end of 1972 the provincial government had become sufficiently concerned with this rapid population increase that it decided to end immigration in order to reserve some land for normal population growth.

But by this time the Balinese were so confident of their collective coping strategies, and social networks that they could not be deterred. In spite of government discouragement, 2000 families arrived in 1973, most of whom bought land from the locals or squatted on the settlements

of relatives. Others moved to new and less auspicious locations. When I left Parigi in 1974 no fewer than ten new communities with some 500 Balinese families ringed the Gulf of Tomini; and the Balinese were discussing the day when the gulf would become a second Bali complete with sawah, subaks, and a Hotel Bali Beach.

With this mass exodus the model and the movement have run their course. The migrants had gone from exiles and outcasts forced from their homes, to families abandoning their homes in search of a better Bali. When one asks Balinese migrants these days what the differences are between Bali and Sulawesi, one is greeted with a haunting refrain. Nothing has changed, the Balinese remark, but "desa, kala, patra" -- the time, the place, and the situation. The migrants, it seems, understand what I have been saying throughout this dissertation; namely, that in large-scale migration the culture on both ends of the migration stream is nearly the same. Nothing changes but the time, the place, and the situation. Only with a diachronic perspective and attention to changes in culture can we understand the general patterns of migration.

APPENDIX A

EXILES TO PARIGI

I. Nengah Dangin (Pan Manis) To Banda 1898, To Parigi 1906, Died 1949. Exiled for opposition to the Dutch, From Singaradja

First wife (Meme Manis) - remained in Bali in 1898

A. Wayan Manis - remained in Bali

B. Ketut Danang - sent to Sulawesi 1907, returned 1918-1934

First wife (Luh Ginari), died 1938 in childbirth

1. Made Nuke

First wife - Ni Wayan Sasih (II, C, 1)

a. Luh Sumerti (F) - Ketut Sukaragia (I, C, 4)
   Five children, all small
b. Made Sukanti (F) - Eddy (Chinese Catholic)
   Married 1971, moved to Makassar
c. Nyoman Jinga (M)
d. Ketut Murni (F) - Ismael (Acheh, Islam). She enters Islam. Married 1972, no children yet.
e. Luh Gitar Sri Utami (F)
f. Made Sulastri (F)
g. Nyoman Sutari (F)
h. Ketut Swater (M)
i. Luh Masning (F)
j. Made Stat (M)
k. Nyoman Arnowati (F)
l. Ketut Suwagio (M)

Second wife - Nyoman Warni (III, B)

m. Luh Januwati (F)
n. Made Srikandi (F)
o. Nyoman Kamajaya (M)
p. Ketut Kasmawati (M)

2. Nyoman Gunitri (F) - born 1924, in Bali, to Parigi in 1934

Husband - Wayan Lukiya (II, B, 1)

a. Ni Luh Kompian (F) - Gusti Ketut Midep (Arrived 1953)
   Five children under 12 years of age
b. Made Swari (F) - Wayan Pujati (I, C, 1)
   Three children, oldest 4 years
c. Suwarni (F) - attends high school in Java
d. Sarinah (F) - 10 years
e. Harlina (F) - 6 years

3. Ketut Dangin - stayed in Bali in 1934

4. Luh Sita (F) - stayed in Bali in 1934, married there. arrived in 1951 with husband

Husband - Ketut Mare (Pan Jenning)

a. Ni Luh Jenning (F) - Sumantra (I, C, 9)
   one infant child
b.-k. 11 more children, all unmarried

APPENDIX A

EXILES TO PARIGI (cont. p. 2)

5. Ni Luh Bakti (F) - Lem (Moslem) - she enters Islam
Seven children, all unmarried.

6. Ketut Suta (M) - Marries Sidiswara's daughter, Madiasih.
Seven children, all unmarried.

B. Ketut Danang (continued)
Second wife - Wayan Diasih (Meme Sutji) (II, A)married 1940-62
7. Ni Luh Sutji (F) - Wayan Togog (arrived 1960)
Third wife - Dangen, married 1962
8-10. Three children, all small.

I. 1. Nengah Dangin (continued)
Second wife - Serangan. Married in Parigi.
C. Wayan Karti (M) - born 1909, died 1973
First wife - Surabek, Kaili from Una2, no children, divorced
Second wife - Uwa Sira, Kaili from Palu divorced
1. Wayan Sati (F) - Sukarna (II, A, 1)
She dies in childbirth, he remarried Wasih (II, B, 4)
2. Made Siti (M) - Marries Moslem girl, moves to Palu

Third wife - ?Moslem
Fourth wife - ?Moslem
Fifth wife - Putu Kreped - Balinese Brahmana, exiled with husband, no children, he returns to Bali.
3. Mukti (F) - Capt Julius (Toradja). She becomes Christian
Live in Poso, ? children
4. Sukaragia (M) - Wayan Sumerti (see I, B, 1, a)
5. Suriasti (F) - Asah Basri (Sumatra) She enters Islam

Sixth wife - Senggeh - Kaili from Parigi
6. Widnya (M) - Marries Kaili girl, enters Islam
7. Pujati (M) - Suwarni (see I, B, 2, b)
8. Bastiari (M) - Made Sridamping (II, C, 4)
Three children, all small
9. Sumantra (M) - Luh Jenning (see I, B, 4, a)
10. Ati (F) - Marries Moslem, enter Islam
11. Gunawan (M)
12. Ratna (F)

D. Nengah Darpa (born ?1914, in Parigi)
Husband - Wayan Regag (Pan Sutjita) (IVA)
1. Wayan Sutjita (F) - Sartje (Menadoese)
six children under 12
2. Made Sukaria (M) - Marries Balinese girl in Bali. Stays in Bali
3. Nyoman Sukari (F) - Durma (arrived 1956)
three children, all young
4. Ketut Sukarta (M) - Luh Radi
two children

APPENDIX A

EXILES TO PARIGI (continued p. 3)

E. Nyoman Darpi (born ?1916 in Parigi)
First husband - Pali (Kaili from Palu). He enters Hinduism
1. Wayan Budarata (M) - Sedjia (Javanese). He enters Islam
2. Made Budi (F) - Putu Gria (VI, A, 1)
Many children, none married
3. Nyoman Nuli (M) - Utam (Gorontolo). Nuli enters Islam
- Mantu (Arab)
Second husband - deceased
4. Abdullah (M) - deceased (Islamic). He enters Islam
- Larumu (Islamic, from Palu)
5. Esa (F) - not married, has entered Islam

Third husband - deceased
6. Wayan Tata (19)
7. Made Chandrayanti (17) still Hindu

II. Darsono - Arrived in Parigi 1912 or 1913, Died 1936
Exiled for adat offenses, from Penebel, Tabanan
Wife - Ibu Tirinya (His father's second wife)
A. Wayan Diasih (Meme Sutji)
First husband - Wayan Minyam
1. Wayan Sukarna
First wife - Sati (Balinese, no children)
Second wife - Sanawi (Minahassa/Kaili, from Parigi, Islamic)
a. Sukanto (M) - Marries Palu girl, enters Islam
Third Wife - Ketut Wasih (II, B, 4)
b. Made Alit (M) - Wayan Karmi
c. Mudaning (F) - Gusti Made Tantra
One child, Gusti Putu
d. Nyoman Sukarta (M)
e. Ketut Suwari (F)
f. Nyoman Sunarti (F)
g. Wayan Karianta (M)
h. Gusti Putu (M)

Second husband - Ketut Danang (see I, B, 7)
2. Luh Sutji (see I, B, 7)

B. Made Sukra (Pan Lukiya) Died 1970
First wife - Nengah Madri (died 1935, child of exiles who returned)
1. Wayan Lukiya (Pan Kompian) - Nyoman Gunitri (see I, A, 2)
2. Made Loka - Wah (Kaili from Palu, follows Hinduism)
a. Wayan Sukanadi (M) - Sitiasta (Palu). He enters Islam
Three children, all small
b. Made Rai (F) - Wayan Mundro (Bali Christian, he become Hindu)
Three children, all small
c. Ketut Sudaria (M) - Sedia (Moslem from Palu, she becomes Hindu)
Two small children

APPENDIX A

EXILES TO PARIGI (continued p. 4)

d. Ni Luh Muriani (F) - Leon Key (Chinese, he becomes Hindu)
Married 1972
e. Suwendro (M)
f. Sadria (F)
g. Sadria (M)
h. Sutari (F)

3. Nyoman Kasih (F) - Dahlen (Javanese, he becomes Hindu)
a. Supadjo (M) - Tin (Javanese)
Newly married
b. Muriati (F) - Gusti Made Kerta
One child, she dies in childbirth with second
c. Nuriati (F)
d. Suriati (F)
e. Madiya (F)
f. Nyoman Sari (F)
g. Saringing (F)
h. Wayan Sujadi (M)
i. Made Rusdi (M)

4. Ketut Wasih (F) - Wayan Sukarna (see II, A, 1)

Second wife of Made Sukra - Made Ngartai (Meme Gadung)

5. Luh Gadung - Dewa Made Alit
Married in 1973, moved to Ogotai

C. Nyoman Merakih (Pan Sasti) - Arrived in 1912 at age 9
First wife - Arija - Moslem from Parigi, died in childbirth
1. Wayan Sasih (F) - Made Nuke (see I, A, 1)
2. Sudarta (M)
First wife - Eluh Sumandri - died
a. Sumitro (M)
b. Suwitri (F)
Second wife - Sukinum (Java). He becomes Islamic.
Many small children

Second wife - Tumbeg (Meme Sasti) (III, A)
3. Wayan Sasti (F) - Marries Moslem (Mandar). Remains Hindu
4. Made Sridamping (F) - Bastiari (I, C, B)
5. Nyoman Surapati (F) - In school in Makassar
6. Ketut Riti (F) - 15

III. Gusti Gejir - Arrived 1913, Freed 1918, Died 1960 in Parigi
Exiled for Miscaste Marriage, from Gianyar
First wife - Balinese returned to Bali
Second wife - Ketut Sari, Married 1928.

Note on Ketut Sari: formerly married to Krumpung
Krumpung - Arrived 1915, Left in 1927.
Wife - Ketut Sari (Krumpung leaves for Bali while she is pregnant)

APPENDIX A

EXILES TO PARIGI (continued p. 5)

A. Tumbeg (F) - raised with Gusti Gejir and family
First husband - Rintan (V, A)
1. Gawa Darsono - married Palu girl, enters Islam, moves to Palu
Second husband - Nyoman Merakih (see II, C)

Gusti Gejir and Ketut Sari (continued)
B. Gusti Arka (born 1930 Parigi)
First wife - Mani (Moslem from Palu). She enters Hinduism
1. Gusti Putu Ratni (F) - A.A. Gede Ngurah
C. Gusti Nyoman Warni (F)
First husband - Gusti Made Tjenik (arrived 1951)
Second husband - Made Nuke (see I, B, 1)

IV. Gubug (Pan Regag) - Arrive ?1916, Returned to Bali in 1935
Exiled for miscaste marriage, from Bangli
Wife - Pina (Meme Regag) died in 1925 or so
A. Wayan Regag - born in Parigi 1917
Wife - Nengah Darpu (see I, C)
B. Lueng (F) - returned to Bali with her father

V. Pete (Pan Rintin) - Arrived in 1914, died in 1940
Exiled for miscaste marriage, from Badung
Wife - Balinese, died in Parigi
A. Rintun - left for Bali in late 1950.
Wife - Tumbeg, divorced (see III, A)
1. Gawa Darsono - (see above)

VI. Charkorde Ngurah - Arrived in ?1915, left in ?1928
Exiled for miscaste marriage, from Gianyar
Left no descendants, but attracted:
A. Nengah Gelejeh - arrived ?1928 to assume inheritance, died 1953
Wife - Ni Ketut Rina, no children, they adopt boy from Palu
1. Putu Gria (M) - Made Budi (see I, E, 2)
Many children, none married

VII. Dewa Anom (Dewa Nyoman Merrangi) - arrived ?1920, died 1962
Wife - Desak Biang (a Brahmana woman)
A. Desak Rai (F) - Married a Javanese, followed him to Sumatra

Dewa Anom left no descendants in Parigi but conducted the Christians to Massari.

VIII. Dewa Raka - Arrived 1906, died 1953. Head of village 1917-1953
Exiled because of alleged offenses with wives of the raja, from Tabanan
Wife - Ni Luh Lingit - (Biang Luh) see note below
no children, left no descendants in Parigi

When Dewa Raka first arrived he stayed with the village head-
Gusti Putu Lombotan - Arrived 1906, left 1917. Village head 1907 1917.

APPENDIX B

6 Name _____ (Father of _____)

7 Location _____

8

Transmigrants
Year of Arrival _____
Age at Arrival _____

9 10. Ethnicity
1) ___Balinese
2) ___Javanese
3) ___Kaeli
Other _____

11. Religion (P, C, H, I)
At birth _____
In Bali _____
In Sula _____
Other _____

12. Age _____
1) ___below 14
2) ___15-19
3) ___20-24
4) ___25-29
5) ___30-34
6) ___35-39
7) ___40-49
8) ___50-59
9) ___60 & up

13. Education
1) ___1,2,3,4,
2) ___5,6,
3) ___elem grad
4) ___7,8,9
5) ___J.H. grad
6) ___10,11,12
7) ___S.H. grad
*) ___other
9) ___never been to school

10 11 12 14. Caste
1) ___Brahmana
2) ___Ksatrya
3) ___Wesya
4) ___Sudra
Dadia _____

15. Indonesian
1) ___ none
2) ___ a little
3) ___ average
4) ___ fluent

13 Where were you born? 16)Village _____ 17) District _____

14 Where did you live last in Bali? 18)Village _____ 19) District _____

Before moving here, had you ever lived outside of Bali?

20. Year(s) Place Reason

15 16 17

18 21. Main work in Bali _____

22. Other work in Bali _____

19 23. Positions in the community (in Bali)
1) ___ in the village (desa) _____
2) ___ in the commnity (bandjar) _____
3) ___ irrigation society (subak) _____
4) ___ religious organizations _____
5) ___ political parties _____
6) ___ other organizations _____

20 21 22

24. In Bali
___ Have been to local healers (dukun)
___ Have been to the health clinic
In Sulawesi
___ Have been to local healers
___ Have been to the health clinic

23 24

25 Religious Practices (Hindus only) IN BALI

25. Do you make offerings
___ every day
___ most days
___ special religious days (tilem, purnama)
___ on holidays only (galungan, kuningan)

26 27

26. Do you prepare offerings
___ before you begin to plant padi
___ when the padi is rippening (ngusaba)
___ when the padi is to be stored

28 29

27. If you had a child in Bali, did you observe
___ its birth (dapatan)
___ 42 day ceremony (montjolongan)
___ three months
___ six months (ngotonin
___ no children in Bali

30

28. Possessions in Bali (Before Migration)

___ Parental Property ____
___ Business _____
___ Houseland _____
___ Riceland _____
___ Cattle _____
___ Pigs _____

House
___ Own house
___ Share with another family
___ Share with relatives
___ Rent
Type of House
___ Cement
___ Traditional
___ Temporary

Other Property (in Bali)
___ Automobile
___ Motorcycle
___ Bicycle
___ Ox cart
___ Radio
___ Tape Recorder
___ Sewing Macine
___ Bed(s)
___ Table and chairs
___ Gas Lamp
___ Iron
___ Dishes (complete with cups, etc)
___ Kitchen utensils (complete set)
Other _____

APPENDIX B

I. Father

31. Caste _____
32. From what district? _____
33. Main work _____
34. How many times married? _____
35. Has your father ever lived outside of Bali? Where?

II. Mother (Wife # _____) 36.

(31) Caste _____
37. From district? _____
38. How many times married? _____

III. Siblings

39. Older sibs: Brothers _____
Sisters _____

Younger sibs: Brothers _____
Sisters _____

40. Do you have relatives in Sulawesi?

Name	Relationship	Where do they live?

IV. Wife

41. Caste _____
42. From District _____
43. Main work _____
44. Indonesian _____ (none, a little, average, etc)
45. How many times married? ____

V. Head of Household

46. How many times married? _____
47. How many children? _____
48. How many children do you want? _____
49. Do you want family planning at this time? ___ yes ___ no ___ not sure

VI. Household List the names of all the people in this household (HH, wife, children, servants, relatives, etc)

Name	Relationship	Age	Position (work, school servant)

Date _____
Name of Interviewer

APPENDIX B

TRANSMIGRANTS ONLY Name of Head of Household:

56. Year of Arrival
1) ___ before 1950
2) ___ 1951 - 1956
3) ___ 1957 - 1961
4) ___ 1962 - 1966
5) ___ 1967 - 1968
6) ___ 1969 - 1970
7) ___ 1971
8) ___ 1972
9) ___ 1973

57. Age _____
1) ___ below 14
2) ___ 15 - 19
3) ___ 20 - 24
4) ___ 25 - 29
5) ___ 30 - 34
6) ___ 35 - 39
7) ___ 40 - 49
8) ___ 50 - 59
9) ___ 60 & up

58. Type of Transmigrant
1) ___ Partial Assist
2) ___ No Assistance
3) ___ General
4) ___ Other

59 - 60. Why did you want to come here?

61. How did you hear about Central Sulawesi?

62. Before you left Bali did you know anyone in Parigi? Who? (Relationship)

63. When you arrived where did you stay? With whom? (Relationship)

64. Who arranged your departure?

65. Did anyone give you financial assistance to help you move? Who?

66. How much money did you have when you left Bali?

67. Did anyone give you assistance when you arrived? Who?

68. Main work in Sulawesi _____

69. Secondary work in Sul _____

70. Positions in Community (in Sulawesi)
1) ___ In the village (desa) _____
2) ___ In the community (banjar) _____
3) ___ Irrigation society (subak) _____
4) ___ Religious organizations _____
5) ___ Political parties _____
6) ___ Other organizations _____

71. Ties with Bali
Since arrival, have you ever:
___ gone back to Bali?
___ travelled to Palu?
___ travelled to Parigi?
___ received letters?

72. How does Sul compare with your expectations?
___ the same
___ better
___ worse

Religious Practices in Sulawesi (Hindus only)

73. Do you make offerings
___ every day
___ most days
___ special religious days (tilem, purnama)
___ on holidays only (galungan, nyepi, etc)

74. Do you prepare offerings
___ before planting padi
___ when the padi is rippening (ngusaba)
___ when the padi is about to be stored

75. If you have a child in Sul, do you observe:
___ birth ceremonies (dapatan)
___ 42 day ceremonies (montjolongan)
___ three month ceremonies
___ six month ceremonies
____ no children in Sulawesi

76. Possessions in Sulawesi

___ Business _____
___ Houseland _____
___ Riceland _____
___ Cattle _____
___ Pigs _____

House
___ Cement
___ Wooden boards
___ Temporary (thatch, etc)
Walls: _____

Other Possessions
___ motor cycle
___ bicycle
___ ox cart
___ radio
___ tape recorder
___ sewing machine
___ beds
___ tables and chairs
___ gas lamp
___ iron
___ dishes (complete set)
___ kitchen utensils (complete set)

77. Property in Bali
___ sold before departure
___ went home and sold
___ still have, will sell
___ still have, will keep
other _____

APPENDIX C

VARIABLES FOR STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Sulawesi and Bali Samples

VAR001 AGE AT TIME OF CENSUS
VAR002 YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN SULAWESI
VAR003 ETHNIC GROUP
VAR004 RELIGION
VAR005 EDUCATION
VAR006 CASTE
VAR007 INDONESIAN LANGUAGE FLUENCY
VAR008 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN BALI
VAR009 DISTRICT OF BIRTH
VAR010 SIZE OF LAST TOWN IN BALI
(To determine whether migrants were leaving urban areas)
VAR011 LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN BALI
VAR012 EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE OF BALI
VAR013 MAIN WORK IN BALI
VAR014 SECONDARY WORK IN BALI
VAR015 COMMUNITY POSITIONS IN BALI
VAR016 HEALTH CARE IN BALI
VAR017 TYPE OF HOUSE IN BALI
VAR018 POSSESSIONS IN BALI
VAR019 INHERITABLE PROPERTY IN BALI
VAR020 INDEX OF WEALTH IN BALI
VAR021 SAWAH AND LADANG IN BALI
VAR022 SIBLING POSITION
VAR023 RELATIVE CASTE OF PARENTS
VAR024 FATHER'S HOME DISTRICT COMPARED TO HH (Head of Household)
VAR025 FATHER'S MAIN WORK
VAR026 FATHER'S # OF MARRIAGES
VAR027 FATHER'S EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE OF BALI
VAR028 MOTHER'S POSITION AS WIFE #
VAR029 MOTHER'S AND FATHER'S HOME DISTRICTS
VAR030 MOTHER'S # OF MARRIAGES
VAR031 SIBSET SIZE
VAR032 CONVENTIONALITY IN PARENTAL FAMILY
(A composite score of VARS 031, 032, 034, 035, 036, 037 and 038)
VAR033 WIFE'S CASTE COMPARED TO HUSBAND'S
VAR034 WIFE'S HOME DISTRICT COMPARED TO HUSBAND'S
VAR035 WIFE'S WORK
VAR036 WIFE'S INDONESIAN LANGUAGE FLUENCY
VAR037 WIFE'S # OF MARRIAGES
VAR038 HUSBAND'S # OF MARRIAGES
VAR039 NUMBER OF CHILDREN
VAR040 NUMBER OF WIVES IN HOUSEHOLD
VAR041 CONVENTIONALITY IN HEAD OF HOUSHOLD'S FAMILY
VAR042 CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD
VAR043 RELATIVES IN HOUSEHOLD
VAR044 OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD
VAR045 TOTAL NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD
VAR046 CONNECTIONS WITH PEOPLE IN SULAWESI

APPENDIX C

VARIABLES FOR STATISTICAL ANALYSIS (continued, p. 2)

For Sulawesi Sample Alone

VAR047	KIND OF SPONSORSHIP
VAR048	FIRST REASON FOR MOVING
VAR049	SECOND REASON FOR MOVING
VAR050	TYPE OF HOUSE IN SULAWESI
VAR051	POSSESSIONS IN SULAWESI
VAR052	INDEX OF WEALTH IN SULAWESI (Composite score based on VARS 050, 051, and 063)
VAR053	PROPERTY RETAINED IN BALI
VAR054	AMOUNT OF MONEY ON ARRIVAL IN SULAWESI
VAR055	MAIN WORK IN SULAWESI
VAR056	SECONDARY WORK IN SULAWESI
VAR057	COMMUNITY POSITIONS IN SULAWESI
VAR058	CONTACT WITH BALI AFTER MIGRATION
VAR059	TRAVEL WITHIN SULAWESI
VAR060	APPRAISAL OF SITUATION IN SULAWESI
VAR061	AGE UPON ARRIVAL IN SULAWESI
VAR062	SAWAH IN SULAWESI
VAR063	HEALTH CARE IN SULAWESI

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