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Report on Formal and Informal Leadership in Selected Transmigration Villages in the area of Luwu - South Sulawesi No. 2

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REPORT ON FORMAL AND
INFORMAL LEADERSHIP IN SELECTED
TRANSMIGRATION VILLAGES
IN THE AREA OF LUWU — SOUTH SULAWESI

NO. 2

KERTARAHARJA II AND
CENDANA HITAM I, II
(1973)

INSTITUTE OF RURAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES
GADJAH MADA UNIVERSITY
YOGYAKARTA

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PREFACE

This study of the transmigration villages of Kertaraharja II/ Cendana Hitam I, II was one of three studies resulting from a project studying the role of formal and informal leadership in the transmigration area of Luwu valley in South Sulawesi. It was carried out by the Institute of Rural and Regional Studies from January to June 1978 with a team of young anthropologists living in four villages in the area. The principal aim of the project was to identify the types of leadership that existed in these transmigration villages and to suggest how the government input might best be able to build on both the formal and informal leadership and organizations to stimulate development in the area. The two villages in this report situated 10 km from the small district town of Mangkutana lie some 385 km north-east of the capital of South Sulawesi Ujung Pandang. First opened in 1973 they have a total of 348 families coming from four different ethnic backgrounds with groups from Lombok, Bali, Yogyakarta and Sulawesi itself. The Sulawesi settlers were particularly interesting as they consist of ex-service personnel and their attitudes were very different from the usual transmigrants.

In fact the presence of these ex-ABRI transmigrants provided an interesting contrast to the other groups as they were relatively rich already having pensions and in many cases lived the life of absentees landlords using tenants to look after their land. It is also interesting to note that there were also some spontaneous transmigrants who had moved of their own accord into both villages but whose entry after the initial years was increasingly restricted owing to the lack of land. Thus this report provides us with a rare insight into an important aspect of transmigration in Indonesia as while it is the practice to allow spontaneous transmigrants of this type to move into new government projects it is unclear how many in

fact move in, what they are given in land or facilities and generally how they are treated. In this report we find that in these villages they are initially fully accepted and then as land pressure builds up, are excluded.

The researcher who lived in these villages for two months makes some interesting observations on both the formal and informal leadership organizations. Living initially with the government head of the project he was able to study the formal aspects of the government administration as well as of the formal organizations. Then, as he became more acquainted with life in the villages he began to trace the different informal organizations that existed. He makes some interesting points as a result of this study. He notes (as we have found in other studies, notably in Belitang in South Sumatra)* that the K.U. is always the key person in getting the project moving, that much of the organizational involvement in the project depends on the character and energy of this man. Thus if the government wants to stimulate the development of projects like this the selection of the right person for this job is clearly crucial. Just as significant is the researcher's argument that the transmigrants in early years of a new settlement cannot be expected to take part in the administration of a project as their time has, by necessity, to be concentrated on farming their plots. He also concludes that the transmigrants should also not be expected to help in building up in the physical infrastructure such as the houses, roads and offices as this cuts into their ability to develop their plots.

Returning to the role of the Kepala Unit it is argued that he must, as well as be providing active leadership, be able to establish a close relationship with transmigrants and not keep his distance - he must work in cooperation and not just be a bureaucratic administrator. In this way he can organize effectively the various organizations and in a situation where (as the writer

*See IRRS Reports nos. 1 to 8.

emphasizes) informal organizations play a greater role than formal ones (but these are based mainly on the different ethnic groups) he can clearly both utilize these and can cut across group barriers to establish close working relationship on the projects. But just as important is the necessity for good planning by the government to support the Kepala Unit or his efforts are wasted.

If the Kepala Unit plays such an important role as an innovator, as the writer points out, he must be adequately supported by the government efforts. Thus the researcher notes that while courses to upgrade the transmigrants are organized they often are not relevant. Again these two projects as in so many other projects had seen a number of changes in the position of KUT thus breaking the important element of continuity of leadership that is highly desirable in situations such as this.

Finally the writer makes the interesting and important part point that with markedly different ethnic groups in village like this, not only should government programmes build on this ethnic base to build on formal and informal leadership and organizations that emerge primary from such groups but should not try in the early year to try and force too fast a pace of integration between groups - this well occur slowly with time.

This report is full of fascinating details and information on the life of these two projects that at the time of the research had been opened 4 years. As the Indonesian government is trying to expand the present transmigration programme and make it more effective, this kind of report is invaluable as it provides the kind of detailed reporting that's very rare and helps to understand fully the conditions and the development in th's kind of projects. The Institute of Rural and Regional Studies must thank the writer Purwanto Iskandar, a fourth year anthropology student from UGM, Mr. Roggie Kale for translating the report into English and to USAID for funding this project.

Yogyakarta 1978.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH

This report describes the structure of formal and informal leadership in the transmigration area of Luwu, South Sulawesi. It was carried out by a research team from the Institute of Rural and Regional Studies of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta with the author of this particular report living in this village for 2 months. The aim of the study was to examine the process by which leaders are chosen, how they carry out their duties and how government development programmes, notably extension services might be the effective ones introduced to new transmigration areas in Indonesia. This particular report covers a transmigration village unit established in 1937 and referred to throughout this report as the Unit Desa Transmigrasi Kertaraharja II, Cendana Hitam I and II. It is located in the District of Mangkutana in the Kabupaten of Luwu in South Sulawesi.

B. METHODOLOGY

Three main methods are used in this study to gather data:

1. direct interviews with village leaders and individual villagers using taperecorders and written notes. Emphasis was placed on those settlers who had arrived with the transmigration group brought in by the government and known generally as the angkatan pertama (its first wave) as these had been in the area for the longest time and thus leadership patterns had begun to emerge. Members of later transmigration groups and villagers who live outside the transmigration settlement were also interviewed
2. direct observation and participant-observation of activities

- carried out in the village. These included all aspects of the village's daily activities
3. secondary data collected from the government offices and other sources.

C. PROGRESS OF THE RESEARCH

Initially the team studied available secondary data in Yogyakarta before moving to live in villages in Luwu for two months from the end of December, 1977. In this initial period preliminary team meetings were held to discuss proposed fieldwork. The research team consisted of Dr. Colin MacAndrews (consultant), assisted by Drs. Raharjo and Mr. Patrick Guinness and four students majoring in Anthropology at Gadjah Mada University. In late December, accompanied by Dr. Colin MacAndrews and a representative (Mr. Arie Supit) from USAID, the research team went to the Luwu area and moved into their assigned areas. The writer was the last to be located as the village to which he had been assigned was the most distant.

During the first week preliminary work was carried out and the villagers met. (One important aspect of this preliminary work was to memorize the residents' names so if someone on the road was met and there was the opportunity to speak for a moment, this could be done).

In terms of living, the researcher stayed for a few days at the home of each village head and then with individual villager from different groups. All the researchers met with the Consultant and his assistants on two occasions during the field work and also met regularly every Thursday with the three other anthropologists at Cendana Hijau to discuss their experiences. In general, the project went smoothly despite problems, such as excessive rain (almost everyday) and the farmers' preoccupation at this time with preparing the soil and planting rice, which took them to the field from morning till late afternoon. (Thus it was more practical to

do interviews in the evening).

D. WRITING THE REPORT

A draft report was completed in May 1978 with each section being discussed with the Consultant and other project staff. On June 9, 1978 this draft was discussed at a seminar with Dr. Trostle and Mr. Arie Supit from USAID Jakarta and as a result several alterations suggested at the seminar were made in the final version. This was completed in early July.

This report is designed to give the reader an indepth picture of these two villages (Chapter II), then (Chapters III and IV) analyze the existing organization and structure of leadership. Finally (in Chapter V) the findings are summarized and recommendations are made on how improvements might be made to provide more effective leadership and implementation of government policies.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE VILLAGE

A. LOCATION

The Transmigration Unit of Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II is located in the district of Mangkutana in the kabupaten of Luwu in South Sulawesi, about 10 kilometers from the town of Mangkutana and 385 kilometers from the capital of South Sulawesi, Ujung Pandang.

This area is well located lying along the main road that connects the older transmigration villages (some dating back to 1937 with the new transmigration settlement area. In the coming years, this road will be improved and extended to Maliki. The access to this road means that transportation to the village is good. (Each day, for example, a passenger-carrying mini-bus makes the run to Palopo, arriving at 17.00 WIT and leaving the next morning at 06.00).

B. INITIAL ADMINISTRATION

This transmigration region was initially opened up under an agreement between the local (district) government and the Transmigration Department. This stipulated that the District acts as the implementing agency in the initial stage so when the transmigrants arrive the camat (district head) escorts them to the temporary receiving station and in fact in 1978 the kecamatan (district) local government was still handling some administrative matters. Then once the projects are established the internal administration is done by the Transmigration Department. To coordinate both administrative systems there is a monthly meeting between the camat (district head) and all the heads of the transmigration units (UDT) in the district to discuss the supervision of transmigrants in their different area. This regular meeting from the early days

particularly useful as eventually (after ~~some~~ 5 years) each transmigration village will be handed over to the Camat (district head) by the Transmigration Department.

Due to careful presite planning it was interesting to note that there have been no land disputes in this project with the local residents. The initial land survey was done by the local Head of Agrarian Affairs for the District of Bone-Bone and his office conducted an inventory of land ownership. Consequently, the owners of land that was to be used for transmigration settlement were paid compensation by Transmigration Department and the local government at that time. This is paid for both the land and also for the crops and vegetation on the land (such as durian, coffee, and sago trees).

It was also interesting to note that, as with Javanese villages in Java, these villages (UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II) were separated from the other (transmigration) villages by extensive land including sawah, ladang, forest, rivers, and hills. Thus to the west lies another transmigration village (UDT Kertaraharja I) which in turn is bordered with UDT Kertaraharja II. To the east separated by a hill and the Kalaena River, is UDT Kalaena Kiri. On the other side of the road going to UDT Kalaena Kiri is one of the few local villages that of Baku-Baku.

The soil in this region is not fertile, and the Agricultural Department officials reported that it will become barren within 5 years unless fertilizers are provided. However the transmigrants had other views saying that the soil is certainly far more fertile than that of their original village in Java and thus fertilizers are unnecessary. (There are some who argue that the addition of fertilizers would cause lower yields).

C. TRANSMIGRATION AT UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAM I AND II

The Transmigration area UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II was first occupied on October 17, 1973 with the houses being

completed a few months before the transmigrants arrived. The transmigrants arrived in stages as they came from different areas and thus departed at different times. In all there were five groups. The first came from Bali, numbered 98 heads of households, and arrived on October 17, 1973. This was followed by a group from Central Java and Yogyakarta numbering 52 families which arrived on January 23, 1974. A 98 family group arrived on April 6, 1975 from Central Lombok. An ABRI transmigration group from South Sulawesi totalling 50 families came on January 29, 1976, and a few days later another group from South Sulawesi, this time veterans numbering 50 families, also arrived.

Besides these five groups sent under the official transmigration program, there has also been spontaneous transmigration into UDT Kertaraharja II. These are of two kinds of spontaneous transmigrants, 1) those who moved in from other settlement areas and 2) those who moved from their home villages in Java to Sulawesi at their own cost. Thus two groups had come directly from Bali (8 families on December 10, 1975 and 12 families in early 1978) and two other groups totalling of 22 families moved from another transmigration area (in Poso) in early 1975. (See table 1).

D. RECEPTION AND TEMPORARY PLACEMENT

When they first arrived, the Balinese groups were placed in the homes of the transmigrants of UDT Kertaraharja I, who were already well-settled (the owners were reimbursed by the Project Head for the one night the newcomers spent there). A similar pattern was followed on the arrival of the other groups. The new arrivals stayed with transmigrants who had already settled in paying a small fee (usually Rp. 200 a day) to the settled family.

TABLE 1

TRANSMIGRANTS IN THE UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA
HITAM I AND II SENT UNDER OFFICIAL
TRANSMIGRATION PROGRAM

Date of Arrival	Place of Origin	Number of Household	S e x		Total Number of People	N o t e
			M	F		
October 17, 1973	Bali	98	267	205	472	General Transmigrant
January 23, 1974	Central Java/ Yogyakarta	52	130	140	270	ibid
April 6, 1975	Central Lombok	98	199	212	411	ibid
January 29, 1976	South Sulawesi	50	183	152	335	ABRI
February 1976	South Sulawesi	50	123	103	226	Veteran

Source: Records of the Coordinator of Village Administration (KAD).

E. FOOD AID

For one year the Transmigration Department supplied monthly food allotments until the first crops could be harvested.

TABLE 2
MONTHLY FOOD ALLOCATIONS FOR TRANSMIGRANTS

Foodstuffs	Given to	Amount (in kg.)
Rice	adult male	15 kgs.
	adult female	7.5 kgs.
	child	6 kgs.
Salt	family	1 litre
Salted fish	family	5 kgs.
Kerosene	family	3 litre
Coconut oil	family	1 litre

Source: Data from transmigrants.

There were considerable administrative delays in the distribution. During some research it was reported that the settlers had not received 3 months worth of allotments. (When asked why these goods have not been distributed the warehouse manager answered that "they had not yet arrived."). A further factor causing delays was the bad condition of the roads from the warehouse center in Palopo to the project and also, according to some transmigrants, corrupt dealings by the transmigration officials who they suspected of selling the ratios.

Apart from problems of delay the transmigrants said that these food subsidies are insufficient as fifteen kilograms of rice "cannot sustain a farmer working in the fields." One alternative used by some transmigrants to enlarge their food

supplies was to sell the rice and then buying cassava (which is much cheaper) from other villages.

Generally nutrition levels are low in these villages. Some families eat rice, other rice mixed with cassava, and many others only corn or rice and corn.¹ This is in contrast to Java where the staple food was rice and in Luwu they had to eat cassava and corn as there was no alternative. (At first they said "they lost their appetite," but after a while become accustomed to their new diet).

Balinese transmigrants seem better able to quickly adapt themselves to a changed diet but transmigrants from Java and Lombok have difficulty and are often forced to borrow food from Balinese because they run out. They borrow rice for a period of one month agreeing to repay 5 kilograms as interest for each 15 kilograms borrowed, and inevitably their food debts quickly mount each month.

The ABRI and Veteran groups, however, do not borrow rice from others. They have sufficient funds to buy with as some of them receive pension as much as 40,000 rupiahs/month, and there are also those who make up the shortages with food from their home villages which are not too far away as they come from Sulawesi.

Besides food aid, transmigrants also receive farm tools, craft tools, and cooking equipment. One major complaint about the tools was that the saws were far too few in number as they were in high demand due to the large amount of surplus wood both in the fields and their grounds. In fact, if each family could only own one saw, removing excess wood would be no problem, the transmigrants claimed, as it could be used in framing houses and many other uses.

¹For data on nutritional levels and eating patterns in another Indonesian transmigration area see Belitang Report No. 2, Socio-Economic Survey, p. 68, tables 16 and 17, Institute of Rural and Regional Studies, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, 1978.

F. SEED SUBSIDIES

The transmigration office provides seed aid for both short and long term crops. This aid has continued from 1973 until now (1977), the kind and amount varying from year to year depending on the availability of supplies.

However the coconut seeds and the other plants were of low quality and the transmigrants said that this aid in fact was useless. The clove tree seedlings given to the residents were also almost all of bad quality and shortly after planting they died. In most cases the causes were bad quality seeds and delay in transportation so when the seeds arrived they were already dried up.

Our work in the villages illustrated some important features of this type of aid. One was the delays in delivery already noted so that although the rice distributed to the transmigrants was the kind resistant to the wereng pest, it arrived too late to be used. Again there was a question over the quality of the seeds. The farmers who were suspicious of the quality of the seeds wanted to test the quality of the seedlings due to bad experience from previous years. For example, the farmers were told in one case that the type of rice given to them was the PB variety, yet it was later obvious that it was, in fact C4. This resulted in substantial losses, because the two types have different lengths of growing season and require different methods of husbandry. Generally this type of experience discouraged the farmers from wanting to plant the government allotted seedlings.

G. SPRAYING EQUIPMENT

Although a number of sprayers (20 since 1974) were provided they were all broken down due to lack of spare parts and maintenance. The problem of damage to the sprayers and lack of maintenance is a serious one and requires special attention. It was observed

that the villagers do not, for instance, take adequate care of equipment provided to them free by the government and clearly a way must be found to instill a proper attitude of mutual ownership and care for this equipment. Certainly the common feeling that the government must always replace broken equipment which it initially provided must be corrected.

H. WATER PUMPS

Since 1974, the Transmigration Department has given the resident 10 water pumps, of which only two are still in good running order. These are located on the north side of the primary school and in front of the market in the territory of RW I.

The pumps were placed in strategic spots, i.e. along main roads within easy reach of the local residents or near the homes of village officials. Installation was done by contractors.

Yet the pumps were generally not functioning. There seemed to be a number of reasons. One was damage to the valves caused by brackish water and overuse as the capacity of the pumps was quite insufficient for the local demand.

Damage to the water pumps luckily did not greatly inconvenience the transmigrants as there are other facilities which can be used to obtain water for drinking and bathing. A majority of the citizens of RW I and RW II, for instance, own wells, and the residents of RW III and RW IV use water from the river. It is interesting to note that pumps are in fact a novelty for the transmigrants as in their home regions they have been used to using wells and rivers. (One aspect of this past experience is that they are already familiar with the necessity of boiling such water before use). The river water is certainly not as clean as pumped water, but after boiling it present no more health problems and the river water used for drinking is filtered naturally beforehand with kangkung plants that grow wild in the river.

I. CATTLE

The government has given 31 heads of cattle to this village. Of this total, 4 are from the Dinas Peternakan² and 27 are from Jawatan Transmigrasi. By sex, 23 are cows and 8 are bulls. These cattle have been given since 1975.

Each RW decides who uses the cattle. Thus during the distribution of the cattle, priority was given to the village officials and social leaders, such as in RW I the Ketua RW, Ketua adat, and sekretaris adat who all received cows. The remaining cattle were then awarded to those citizens with clean orderly houses and yards. The decision as to which of the citizens were thus qualified was made by the Ketua RW and a representative from Jawatan Transmigrasi.

The cattle given to the transmigrants eventually becomes the persons' personal property after an established period of time. In the case of bulls, the period is 5 years although the owner is obliged to let the animal out for stud to whoever requires it. Cows that have borne three calves become the property of their caretakers, while calves over 1 year old are awarded through a lottery to those who have not yet received such aid. (Several cows, in fact, were barren, which caused great hardship to those who were caring for them because there was no regulation for such a case).

There was also a market in bartering these cows. In some cases the original caretaker received compensation between 5,000 rupiahs and 15,000 rupiahs. Key factors causing this trading was a sudden need for money, the desire to raise other livestock, and the inability to raise cattle.

J. OTHER TYPES OF TRANSMIGRANTS

In addition to those transmigrants brought to the project by the

²See Glossary for translation.

government, there are also other transmigrants living at Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II who moved from other transmigration projects.

1. Transmigrants transferred from Poso (Central Sulawesi)

One group are refugees from Poso. The first group (numbering 10 families) of these arrived on February 11, 1973 and were located in RW II, in empty land. Each family was assigned 0.25 ha of cleared land and 0.75 ha of uncleared land and no other facilities were given to them (as they were to the other official transmigrants).³

2. Spontaneous transmigrants

The spontaneous transmigrants at Kertaraharja II came from Bali but their exact number was not known, as several of them have not yet registered with the local authorities. However the record did show that the first spontaneous transmigrants (88 families) arrived on December 10, 1975; and then they were followed afterwards by individuals. Most of these in this one large group came at the request of their families who had lived here for quite a while and attained an adequate standard of living. They live temporarily in the homes of their relatives, from whom they borrow land to support their families. Later they received an allotment of land at the same time and in the same amount as the transmigrants from Poso. The individual spontaneous transmigrants who came after this were not given any land as it all had already been distributed. (In addition, the government in 1976 had rules that the transmigration area at Luwu was closed to spontaneous transmigrants). To avoid further inflows other measures were also in force. Thus transmigrants who returned to visit their original homes were not allowed to bring back their families to prevent a shortage of land in the future.

³For the full story of why these transmigrants moved see Appendix I.

3. Other types

One other type of transmigrant who came to UDT Kertaraharja II was Tator (Tanah Toraja) people. They came to be agricultural laborers for hire in the fields particularly for the Veteran transmigration group. This group of Veterans is interesting and deserves some explanation.

The majority of the Veteran transmigrants who live in RW IV are wealthy and receive an income from businesses in their home regions. (Among them are those who own a hotel in Ujung Pandang, a transportation concern in Toraja, and many are civil servants in their home areas). Usually they only came to the project for one or two days and then returned home after having received their allotted house and land, leaving watchmen to look after their land. They were usually given wages (up to Rp.5,000 a month) and in addition to wages, they received as the "representative" of the original transmigrant the food allotments for one year. They work the farm land, some of them sharing a portion of the crops with the owners and others not. According to my information, the Veteran transmigration group had also promised to the workers brought with them to give them a portion of the land when the certificates of ownership have been handed over by the Jawatan Transmigrasi. At the time of this research only 12 of the 48 families (25%) of the Veteran transmigrants were living on their land and working it themselves. Again this group broke the regulations in other ways. Thus several owned more than one allotment of housing, land use in many means to obtain more land than they are entitled to. One way was to register their underage children as heads of households (according to information from one of the Veteran transmigrants who holds the duties of Ketua RT, one of his friend even registered his newly born baby as a head of household). There are also those who have their wives change their names and register themselves as a separate family to receive another allotment of land.

These irregularities finally came to the attention of the local Jawatan Transmigrasi officials, who started an investigation,

but during this investigation, the owners of the land returned to the settlement area and were able to answer the questions of the officials and it could not be proved that they were not working the land given to them.

4. New heads of household (Pecahan KK)

This is a special and particularly interesting group as it refers to those not yet married. This group (who are children of transmigrants) can, by the decision of the Kepala Unit, receive land for housing and farming, so that when they do marry preparations have already been made and they will not be dependent on their parents.

K. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Settlement patterns are an important aspect of land settlement affecting a village's development and remarking social/ethnic boundaries in this project. The Jawatan Transmigrasi officials based the placement of the transmigrants on the date of their arrival. This meant in practice that the group which was first to arrive would occupy the housing area most strategically placed (i.e. near to main roads and the village-owned lands intended for the construction of public buildings such as the medical center, school, warehouse, etc.). In this area land was settled by the Balinese.

The Javanese transmigrant group arrived next, and in the consideration of the officials it was best to locate this group to the south of the Balinese, some distance from the main roads but near the farm lands.

The Lombok group were less lucky as they were the third to arrive; so they were placed to the east of the Balinese in a location that is far from the public buildings, and is partly swamp as it lies nearby a poorly draining river. In heavy rains this area is flooded, as it was during January 1978.

The ABRI and Veteran groups occupy settlement area farthest from the main roads, to the east of the Lombok people and near to the Kalaena river, which flows full and large.

1. Housing

Each head of household receives a house which is already assembled usually from low quality unmilled wood. The construction is generally very poor.

A lottery is held for distributing the houses, to ensure fairness with only leaders of the transmigration group allowed to choose their homes before the lottery.

After the lots were drawn, the transmigrants had to search for the house by the number they had received. When first entering the settlement area, the roads were mere paths which were full of unfelled trees and much fallen wood. The condition of their house lots was also bad - there were overgrown in many cases with young forest.

One story illustrates these early conditions. A Balinese named Kasid told as he looked for two days before finding his house. On the first day he entered the settlement area and met an ABRI transmigrant clearing his lot, numbered 140. Kasid then headed west, searching for his own lot number 150. In the end he could not find it and was forced to return to the reception center. On the second day he continued his search. Seeing a tall mango tree, he got the idea to climb it and look around. From his perch he spied a house in the middle of a thick stand of trees and luckily on examining it turned out to be his house. For two days he cleaned out the inside of the house, which was filled with spiny rotan, sawdust, and wood shavings not disposed of by the workmen. There were many poisonous insects such as centipedes and keluwing (lulu in the local dialect). Several tree stumps were inside the house.

Other transmigration groups were luckier as when they arrived the houses were just built and the main roads by that time in reasonable repair, although side lanes were not yet laid out.

2. Farm land

The distribution of farm was done in the same manner as the housing with an allocation to the officials and then by lottery. The farm land had already been cleared by the contractor, but badly so it was in no condition to be tilled. Consequently although the trees had been felled, the logs and rubbish were still lying about everywhere, and many stumps were still left in the ground.

3. Irrigated farm land

According to information in Java, the transmigrants were promised 1 ha of cleared irrigated rice paddy field, but in fact, on arrival they found that this 'promised' land was still completely forested. Thus the first two groups, the Balinese and the Javanese groups were given land which they had to clear themselves without any assistance from the government.

The Lombok settlers were luckier as under a new policy sawah land was by the time of their arrival cleared by the contractors but the contractors were still clearing other land in early 1978 (the time of the research) and progress on that was slow.

4. Period of settlement

This was a difficult period as while the transmigrants had to settle they also were ordered to do unpaid group labor (gotong-royong) which delayed the work on cleaning up their house lots. What happened to the Balinese provides a good example of this problem. After having occupied their houses for only two days, they were ordered to construct a road, even though their house lots were still covered with brush. This project lasted about 3 months, each head of household being required to complete 3 meters of roadway from 07.00 till 11.00 in the morning, and 2 meters from 14.00 to 17.00 in the afternoon. So they only had the very limited free hours to clean the house area. In this, they also had to work quickly to take advantage of the dry season to burn the scrub.

It is thus not surprising that they put in long, hard hours

of labor. Even as late as 22.00 there were piles of wood being burned. At the same time, the transmigrants were busy planting cassava and corn which they had brought with them from Bali. (They refrained from planting rice, because corn and cassava grow more quickly).

The land which they planted in these two crops was the area around their homes, which took on the average 1 month to clear. Besides having to build paths to each of their house, the transmigrants were also ordered by the Jawatan Transmigrasi to construct fences around their house lots. After being completed, the appearance of the houses was quite pleasing but this was only accomplished after 3 months of daily, tedious, and exhausting labor. Finally, a representative of the Balinese approach the Kepala Proyek to ask that the group labor be lessened. The Kepala refused their request, stating that as long as they were receiving assistance from the government, they had to place importance on this group activity for the common good. The other groups had similar experiences.

I. STATUS AND CONDITION OF THE VILLAGE TODAY

1. General

The village UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II is still under the direction of the Jawatan Transmigrasi. As of October 17, 1977 this was four years for the first group, the Balinese. The minimum such period is five years, after which, if the village is thought to be self-sufficient it is handed over to the local district, in this case Mangkutana. If not, then the period of supervision can be extended until such status is attained. Although the Jawatan Transmigrasi prefers to release the villages at the end of the statutory period, in fact it is often extended, usually because of difficulties with the local government which delays this transfer. Thus the Kepala UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II cannot say if the local government will receive his village at the end of next year (1978) or not.

2. Births, deaths, etc.

Since their arrival at UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II, their numbers have grown, due first to births and secondly to the arrival of spontaneous transmigrants from outside the village.

a. Births

Since the original establishment until 1977, the number of births in the village are as noted below:

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF BIRTHS BY TYPE OF TRANSMIGRANT

Type of Transmigrant	Number of Families	Number of Births
Original families	348	50
New families	9	2
Additions	30	3
TOTAL	387	55

Source: Archives of yearly reports from Kepala UDT.

b. Deaths

Until now, there have been recorded 22 deaths, the majority being children during the first years of the village. The principal cause of death was malaria.

c. Defections

In 1976, four transmigrant families from Lombok numbering 13 people, led by the second Ketua RW left the village. (They first sold their land to others and two of these families are taking part in another transmigration project in Central Sulawesi.)

d. Marriages

Until 1977, there had been 9 marriages; during the course of this research, 2 more were held. Marriages between different ethnic groups has been limited to the Javanese and the Lombokese. Due to their common religion, and because the Lombokese consider themselves to be descendants of the Majapahit empire. This marriage between Balinese and Lombokese is not considered possible by both parties, because of difference in religion and the fact that Bali once colonized Lombok. In the same manner, marriage between Tator people and Lombok or Bali people is made difficult by religion.

e. Divorces

According to information from the Koordinator Administrasi Desa (KAD), the number of divorces have been very low. Among the Javanese, two occurred as the husbands (who worked as laborers outside the village) had left their homes without any form of notice to their wives. One other was the result of the couple's having married too young and they fell into frequent fighting, which was finally ended with a divorce.

Within the Lombok community there was one divorce caused by a wife's unfaithfulness. One fact worthy of comment is that among the Lombokese, men often make advances to the wives of the other men, even though they are already married themselves. This leads to severe sanctions by the community itself. In one case, a man who was fond of making passes at other's wives was temporarily ostracised from the community. He was detained by the police and released into the custody of the Ketua RW III, with the condition that he moved to another area.

One unusual occurrence among the Lombok community is that of "syarat" (precondition) marriage, in order to qualify for the transmigration program. This is necessary because the original wife does not accompany the husband to the new homeland. All adult transmigrants must be married; if the wife refuses to leave

with her man, then he must quickly find someone who will.

f. Visiting families in the original village

Several transmigrants have returned to their home villages to visit their relatives. The ABRI and Veteran groups did this most frequently, because their villages were not far, being on Sulawesi island.

The number of Balinese who made return visits was 20 people, one went by ship, and the rest by plane. It was interesting to see that transmigration officials in Palopo would arrange for tickets for those who wish to fly. The Balinese began to make home visits in 1976. Besides visiting relatives, they often also go back to escort their relatives back to Sulawesi with them, and to sell the remainder of their possession in Bali. Those who make the trip are well enough off financially so that they do not exhaust their funds during the trip. (While in Bali, their families cover all living expenses).

All four Javanese who travelled home to visit relatives did so by plane. The first was in 1977. When this transmigrant arrived in Kabupaten Wonosobo, he received a warm reception from the local transmigration officials. Afterwards he was asked to relate his experiences to prospective transmigrants but telling only what was good and leaving out anything bad.

In order to travel to their original villages, the transmigrants must possess a permit from the Kepala Unit, and if they do not have this they will be stopped by the transmigration officials in Palopo. In general, permission is granted for a journey of 2 months. (This time limit is to prevent the transmigrant's land from falling into neglect).

The flow of new transmigrants who accompany those returning to Sulawesi has caused great difficulties for the officials in providing land. So, in 1978 the Kepala Wilayah Transmigrasi (Head of Transmigration Unit) Sulawesi issued an instruction to stop all future spontaneous transmigrants.

3. Religions

Four major religions are presented in this village; Islam, Hinduism, and both Protestant and Catholic Christianity. Of these, Islam has the most adherents but the least unity. It seems that the degree of unity is influenced by the particular ethnic group as each such group's culture affects the manner in which it practices the tenets of Islam. Nevertheless, the fact of a same religion is the dominant factor in the process of integrating people of different ethnic backgrounds.

Statistics for religious association are as follows:

TABLE 6

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION ACCORDING TO FAMILY AND INDIVIDUALS

Religion	Number of Families	Number of Persons
Islam	215	879
Hinduism	145	725
Protestantism	46	384
Catholicism	2	13

Source: Daily notebook of Kepala Unit, middle of 1977.
In this village, three different sects are represented.

4. Neighborhood and daily life

a. Territory RW I

The transmigrants who occupy RW I are those from Bali. They have lived in this village for four years now; and it is thus not surprising that, compared to the other groups, they show the most progress, especially in the area of economics. This can be seen from the existence of houses that have been totally rebuilt and redesigned. All the Balinese transmigrants who live in RW I, 23 houses, have kitchens separate from the main structure of their

homes. In this year, when the harvest season arrives, it is estimated that 65 new houses will be built. In the eyes of their fellow Balinese, those who are not building new houses are not "shrewd" about handling money affairs or are "lazy" farmers. (Those in fact who are not so diligent in the fields are usually suffering from health problems).

Balinese transmigrants are well known as hard working farmers. Every morning at 06:00, even in heavy rain, they go to the fields with their friends. To save time, they do not go home for the afternoon meal; one of their wives' duties is to send food to their husbands at 11:00. This is the hottest part of the day, and the farmers use this opportunity for rest. The women usually go to the fields with the small children; the whole family stays there till evening.

After 11:00, the entire kampung of RW I is empty, since everyone has gone except those who are sick, the very old, and older children who have chores around the house. No one in the fields sits and watches - the wife and even the children too young to work does some task. Balinese women do not consider hoeing the fields as only work suitable only for men. The small children are charged with cleaning out grass and ilalang, or helping their father spray the crops to guard against pests. From 18:00 to 19:00 groups of Balinese return to their homes after a hard day of work in the fields. They rarely return with empty hands, usually carrying grass for the livestock, kangkung for the pigs, or fruits, corn, or cassava if in season. Everyday they work in the fields.

The children of Balinese transmigrants are not allowed to be idle. They are assigned to set daily chores. In the morning, they sweep the yards, in the early afternoon they find feed for the livestock. The impression is that Balinese divide their labors as follows: adult males work the fields; adult females cook and care for the pigs, chickens, and ducks; children herd the cows and clean the yard. Preparing feed for the pigs is no inconsiderable task, for pigs require much attention to become a profitable livestock.

One praiseworthy characteristic of the Balinese is their willingness to conserve on food consumption. They place greater emphasis on a full stomach than on the value of the food they eat. This is shown by the fact that their daily staple in Sulawesi is chopped up cassava with whatever vegetables there are or bulgur and corn. Their rice harvest is usually saved and sold when there is a need to buy something.

Bicycles, radios and livestock are also bought with their profits both from their fields and from immigrant labor, which they sometimes do during the slack seasons.

Coconut trees are the principal crop of the Balinese due to the need for young coconut leaves in traditional and religious festivals. Thus the unirrigated fields are mostly planted with coconut. Part is also given over to coffee, usually those who have some experience with this crop. Clove trees are now being pioneered; and in early 1978 they were almost at the stage of yielding a harvest.

Other crops for the dry fields are bananas, nangka, and mangoes. One crop found in everyone's fields is sugarcane, seedlings for which they brought from Bali. (This is very effectively used as a delicacy to stop children when crying. When first arrived at Sulawesi, snack foods were rarely available, the only way to replace sweets for the children was to use sugarcane).

The dry fields of the Balinese are well tended and fully planted in trees as trees, although bearing yields after some time, require less care than crops which yield quickly. However part of their allotted dry fields can not be planted with trees, because it is swampy and this land is only be planted in rice. Some of the transmigrants who received such land felt it was an advantage, others not depending on the availability of help in working the land. Those with many children have no problem, while those without having difficulty. It is felt that the labor in working 1 ha of irrigated fields is very heavy. It should be noted that the sawah here is not yet irrigated, but eventually will be. The greatest obstacle to the farmers is the grass which quickly grows

back after being cleared thus the task of weeding this is as heavy as hoeing. If the government will provide weed killer (even if the farmers must pay for the chemicals) the transmigrants would be willing to use them but although they have heard that such chemicals exist from local agricultural instructors they are still unavailable.

One other notable improvement that the Balinese have undertaken is to provide drinking and bathing water. Every house has a well, which if simple provides clean water. (They are not yet able to afford a well made from bricks, so they line the shaft with wood bark. The bark from large trees they remove and form inter-curved sections which they join to form the well).

b. Territory RW II

The Javanese transmigrants who occupy RW II have lived here for 4 years. During the first 3 years to early 1978 there was little sign of improvement in their economic status, such as rebuilding of their houses.

The houses are generally in poor condition; the frames are not strong, and many of the structures are leaning.

The Javanese say that the yields from their agricultural labors are not sufficient for their daily requirements so they must purchase coconuts and other foodstuffs. One problem is that they persist in maintaining a rice based diet and will not eat substitutes like corn or bulgur when their stores of rice are totally exhausted.

Most of the Javanese have done migrant or non-farm labor at some time. In contrast to the Balinese (who only do such work to obtain funds for a specific purpose) the Javanese feel that the wages for non-farm labor are a good way to add to their daily income. The principal forms of employment are in forestry and lumber work. Contractors pay lumberjacks Rp.500 a day, without food or drink. They usually work as a group of 5 to 10 person under a foreman who receives a daily wage plus food, drink, and a package of cigarettes. Usually the workers are paid weekly.

The sample of this kind of outside labor can be seen in the case of one Javanese transmigrant who built a house for Rp.85,000 (an amount he had saved up from his harvest and work as a sawyer). From the beginning he was diligent in saving money and lumber for building and said that without his income as a laborer he would not have been able to build a house.

It was noticeable that ownership of bicycles, radios, and pump kerosene lamps is rare among the Javanese. This is true also of cattle and they only own chickens and ducks in small numbers, although everyone does have a few bicycles, it should be noted, they are expensive in transmigration areas. (Used ones in not very good condition can cost as much as Rp.29,000). The lack of ownership of such kind of property shows the general lack of economic development of the Javanese.

Among the Javanese, only the head of the family does farm labor, even if they have sons old enough to help in the fields. These adolescent males prefer to work as laborers or not to work at all. The women do not work farm work either; they look after the children and do work around the house. Those women who do help their husband in the fields, do not work as hard as the Balinese women. They limit themselves to weeding and harvesting, hoeing and other harder tasks being man's work.

c. Territory RW III

Transmigrants from Lombok occupy RW III, where they have been for three years. They have made no progress at all, and in the eyes of the Balinese, Javanese, and several of the transmigration officials they are lazy and demanding.

Their kampungs are filthy; the pathways are overgrown with grass, even those around the house of the Ketua RW and other social leaders. Their lots are dirtier than those of the Balinese.

They have made no efforts to provide facilities for bathing and sanitation, depending instead on a nearby river for all these purposes, although the water is not too clean. But for cooking and drinking, some of them obtain water from the area where kangkang

grows in the river, which is a bit cleaner. They say that kangkung filters the water, and that when they tried to build wells the water that they found was not healthy.

Not surprising no houses have been built since they arrived nor have they accumulated any household objects such as bicycles in any great numbers. A few cows can be found among them, but these are gifts from the Jawatan Transmigrasi. In general, they raise chickens and ducks (the majority of the ducks raised in this village are the property of the Lombokese).

In the area of agriculture, the Lombokese have not progressed either. Their dry fields (0.75 ha) have not yet been completely planted in corn or rice. In the preceding years, many of them did not work their land at all. And at the time of this research, the irrigated land was still forest, many of them did not even know where their land allocations were. As with the Javanese, Lombokese women and young men do not provide much help in the fields.

The Lombokese in particular have experienced several crop failures; their rice has been eaten by rats or has not reached fruition, their corn has been destroyed by wild pigs, and because their land is partly swamp heavy rains cause the crops to be flooded and drowned. These failures have discouraged them from wanting to stay on here. Most of them want to return to Lombok; and several of them have already sold their holdings to friends or to others from outside their kampung.

To some extent off-farm labor compensates them for their failures in farming. Since the curtailment of government subsidies

⁴In contrast one can see the orderly style of the Balinese refugees from Poso who live nearby. They work hard and are careful in their purchases. Several of them have built houses of good quality, one of which is the best house in the village. Its grounds are clean and orderly, and is bordered in the front by neat rows of "sepatu" flowers. The owner of this house is a hard working farmer and his wife also works buying and selling gold which she gets from Palopo to the transmigration villages.

and the first crop failures, the Lombokese have labored felling trees in new transmigration areas and uprooting stumps in the fields of others. Although this is quite heavy work, they have continued to do it since they have no other source of income. (In the estimation of the Ketua RW, about 25% of them now do this kind of work).

Their daily staple is about the same as the Javanese, with the addition of more corn. As side dishes they also eat much river fish which is easy to catch in both the dry and wet seasons, which they do almost every day.

d. Territory RW IV

Part of RW IV has been occupied by ABRI transmigrants for two years. The majority of these are Torajanese and the remainder are Bugis. They have made rapid progress as farmers.

Their kampung is neat, clean, and orderly. The pathways are all well kept as are their yards, in striking contrast to those of the Lombokese. Before coming to Sulawesi, the ABRI transmigrants lived in cities in Java, which has had some influence on their living habits. In almost every house there is some form of decoration, usually flowers or a portrait of the head of the family in uniform. Although they also raise cattle and pigs, these are kept penned up and not allowed to run free as with the Balinese.

Their leaders have instilled in them an awareness of their role as pioneers in development, which has also influenced their lifestyle. Wells, and sanitation facilities are found in each house, even though they could very well get their water from the river like the Lombokese. This they will not do, regardless how dirty the well water may be.

They can easily afford to build a new house, because their pensions are sufficient for a family to live on at a simple standard of daily fare. Part of them have already completed new homes, and the remainder are making preparation to do so.

Because the majority of them were farmers before joining the armed forces, they have made significant progress in agricul-

tural development. Besides working the land themselves, they also hire laborers, usually Lombokese. Their dry fields are filled with crops.

The wives and children of the ABRI transmigrants help in the farm chores. There is little difference in the method and devotion to farming between the ABRI group and the Balinese. One thing to their advantages is the closeness of their fields to their homes, and that their dry fields are near the Kalaena river.

When the Lombokese sell their property, it is usually an ABRI transmigrant who is the buyer because they have surplus cash. For this reason, there are a few ABRI people who have houses in the Lombok kampung. None of the ABRI group, either young or old, have had to go outside the village to find work, although many of the children go to schools far away from home.

The other transmigrants in RW IV are the Veteran group, about which much need to be said. During the 2 years that they have been here they have caused considerable trouble to the Kepala Unit and the other transmigrants in developing the village.

Theirs is the filthiest of all kampungs. The grass along the main roads there is so thick that it is nearly impossible, the only clear areas being around the houses of the resident Veterans.

The 12 resident Veterans (the majority are absent) own nice houses that are well maintained and adorned with flowers. One person has even planted markisa (passion fruit) tree which provides afternoon shade. This stands in stark contrast to the houses of the absent Veterans which have been rented out to tenants and are not maintained at all.

The dry fields owned by the Veterans are for the most part unworked, due to the lack of laborers. Few of them were farmers before becoming "transmigrants", so they are unused to such work. Of the 12 families who live here, only one has planted his land in rice. These people are lucky that their sawah land is directly behind their houses, making it easier to till.

The fields let out to the laborers are mostly still forest,

and that which has been cleared is only sparsely planted in crops. They only work to eat. Since the majority of them are young, they prefer to do migrant labor which provides immediate rewards than farming which they are ignorant in.

If the situation caused by the Veteran transmigrants is allowed to continue without improvement, it will result in much hardship to everyone concerned. The development of the village will be greatly hindered, so that the local government will refuse to take over authority of the village from the Jawatan Transmigrasi. The Jawatan Transmigrasi will then have to make expenditures for additional aid and salaries for its officials.

One strong recommendation of the researcher is that the land of the Veterans who do not live in the village be given to the laborers instead. If this is not done, there will undoubtedly arise conflicts later over land rights. For example, the Veterans may refuse to release part of their land to the laborers as agreed earlier; or the tenants might refuse to relinquish the land to the owners. In fact, the Kepala Unit already plans to revoke the rights of the Veterans and transfer ownership to the tenants who are now looking after these holdings.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter the formal and informal structure of government is analyzed and the different types of organization are discussed.

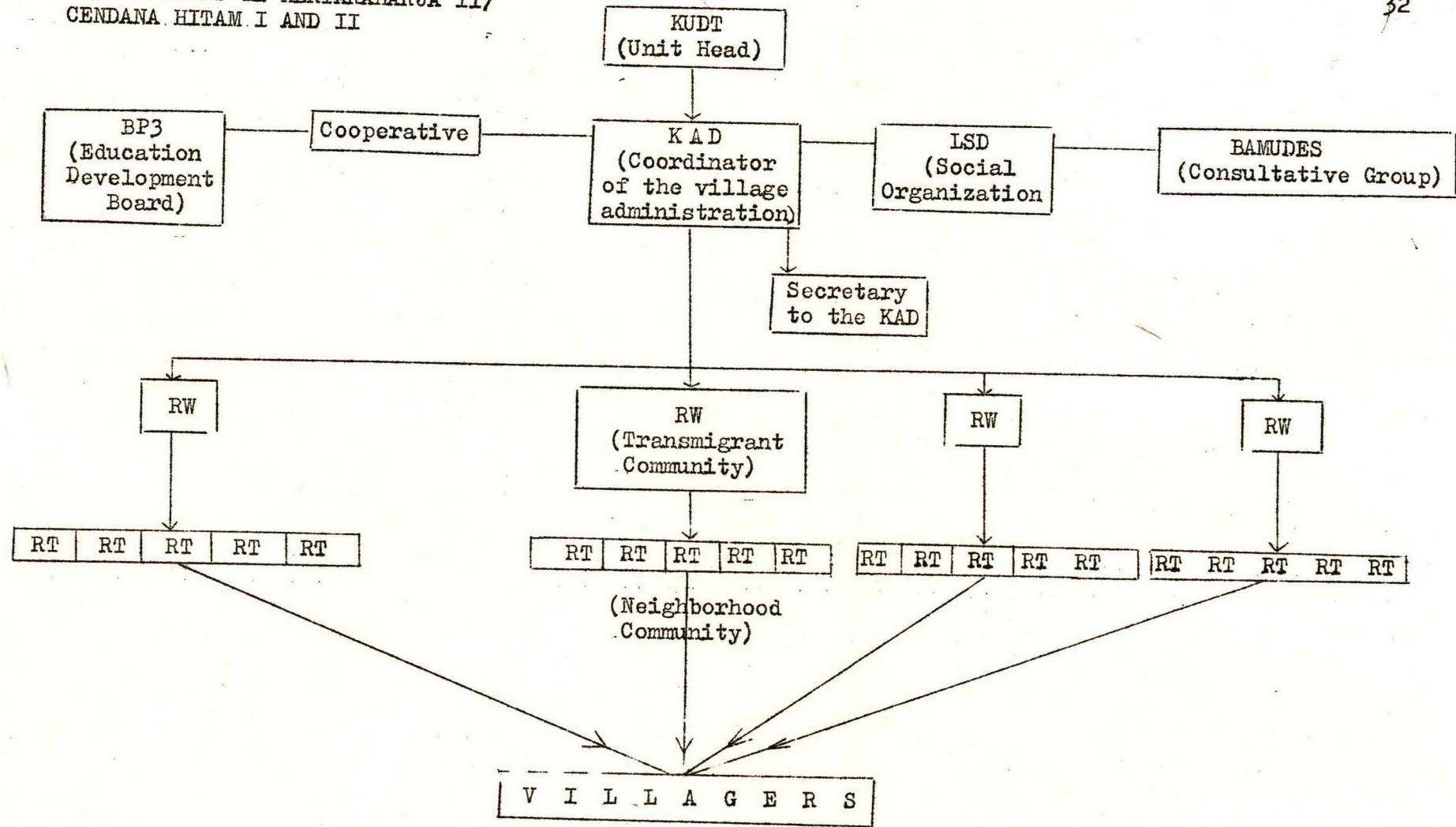
A. FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Those are defined as those organizations established under the Transmigration Office.

1. Governmental Structure

The UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II is under the administrative authority of the Transmigration Office, which appoints an official to supervise the transmigrants. He is called Head of the Transmigration Unit (the Kepala Unit Desa Transmigrasi (KUUDT)). As the top official in the village, his role is similar in some ways to the traditional Lurah in Java but with some differences which will be discussed later. However, before these projects are formally established, a temporary official is appointed called the Head of the Project. He in turn is responsible for appointing junior officials called the Head of the neighborhood community (Ketua RT) whose duty is to help the Kepala Proyek (the Head of the Project) look after the groups on arrival. There are also Ketua RTs appointed.

On June 5, 1975 the Central Transmigration Office in South Sulawesi instructed each Kepala Proyek to establish a Transmigration Unit (Unit Desa Transmigrasi). The first Kepala Unit (Head of the Transmigration Unit) appointed by the Jawatan Transmigrasi was one of their officials, but to help in executing his duties he selected his staff from the village population. The aim here was to enable the villagers to become self-governing when the time came to join the local government structure.



Source: Information from the Transmigration Unit Head.

In the selection of officials the first post to be filled was the Koordinator Administrasi Desa (KAD) and a Balinese was elected to this position. It is interesting to note how he was chosen. In the election there were two candidates; one Balinese transmigrant, and a Javanese ABRI member with the rank of Sergeant Major (retired). All the Balinese chose the candidate from their ethnic group but the Lombokese voted for the Javanese as they had no candidate because they had just arrived. They voted as a block for the Javanese (even though they had no idea about his qualities as an official) as he was of the same religion, and past history showed that Balinese and Lombokese have never had harmonious relations. The Javanese lost the election as he had not been an enthusiastic participant in daily affairs and did not have close relation with his neighbors. It was decided that the secretary of the KAD would be chosen from the losing candidate for the KAD, so the loser in the first election automatically became the secretary.

The election of the Ketua RWs was held in the same location, i.e. the house of the Kepala Unit (Head of the Transmigration Unit), each group elected its own RW. The newly elected KAD, Sekretaris KAD, and the Ketua RWs held a meeting attended by the Kepala Unit to formulate a complete village governmental structure. After candidates for each of the jobs were decided upon, the list was submitted to the Kepala Unit (Head of the Transmigration Unit) to be presented to the people for approval, which they granted.

The structure is as follows:

- Kepala Unit Desa Transmigrasi/Kepala Unit (Head of the Transmigration Unit).
- Secretary to the KAD.
- Security.
- Religious Affairs (Islam, Hindu Dharma, and Christian).
- Community Welfare.

Later, new organizations were also established, such as Auditing Group, Farmers Association and Education Development

Board (Badan Pengembangan Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan (BP3)). Two points were noted during the research. One was that the security and religious officials only have authority in the individual RW units (and not over the entire village). Secondly, it was clear that the unit head (Kepala Unit) and the officials did not understand fully the governmental structure which they have designed as we often found differences of opinion about the divisions of authority and duty among the various officials. (See diagram which shows the village government structure).

2. The Head of the Transmigration Unit (KUDT)

The Unit Head is the top official in a transmigration village, and the man most responsible for the proper running of its affairs.

From the time the village was opened in 1975 to March 1978 there have been 2 Unit Heads. The first was in his fifties and had former been a successful transmigrant in Lampung. He was then made an official of the Transmigration Department and was sent to Luwu, Sulawesi to become the KUDT (Head) at Sidomakmur transmigration region. Sidomakmur was known to be especially slow in developing, but in the two years of his tour there significant progress had been made. He had encouraged the transmigrants to switch from farming to fish raising to take advantage of the large supply of water in the area and devised a long range development plan.

Almost the entire village community was happy to be governed by the first KUDT. He had a pleasant personality, was approachable, and firm in his decisions. Most evenings he would visit the residents in their homes, and used this time to conduct unofficial consultations. In his opinion, this was an ideal time to conduct such matters, since the farmers had returned from the fields, and were relaxed and open. Official gatherings, he said, restrict the citizens' openness and cut the available hours of farm work. During the term of the first KUDT, public gatherings were, however, frequently held, but limited to one hour in length and specifically timed in the middle of the day when the farmers were resting. These

meetings were of two kinds; one for the whole population and the other only for the group leaders. Generally the entire village met 3 times a month; the leaders met once a month.

The first KUDT said that public gatherings 3 times a month were rather "frequent" but he had several good reasons for calling. One reason was to keep up the pressure on the transmigrants to work hard and strive for a good standard of living. Secondly, this was a good method of letting the transmigrant get to know each other. Thirdly, in this way the KUDT could come to know the people himself and begin to cultivate potential leaders within the community whom later the community accept.

He did however identify certain characteristics necessary in a good leader. He should be clever in finding work opportunities to produce money to build facilities for public needs. A leader must also be a skilled conversationalist to win the easy friendship of his followers, for there have been many instances where a village has developed slowly due to the distance between the people and their officials. In this matter the role of the leader's wife is also important, for she too must be sociable.

The transmigrants still maintained a close relationship with the first Unit Head. Every night someone would visit at his house. Even if the KUDT was not at home, they were sure to receive a friendly welcome from his wife who always offered drinks.

According to the current KUDT, the former KUDT was replaced because of actions which were not acceptable to the Transmigration Department. He allowed for instance the transmigrants to do non-agricultural and hired labor in other transmigration areas and this led to the lack of development of their own farms. (This may in fact not have been the fault entirely of the KUDT as the Lombokese in their own land were used to being laborers with ready cash and not just farmers).

The second mistake, which proved fatal, was his first KUDT's approval of land transactions among the transmigrants. At first the superiors did not know about this, but eventually a Lombokese

newspaper reporter who was visiting the Lombok transmigrants reported this fact to the officials. Consequently due to two matters the first KUDT was replaced.

The current Unit Head is a Torajanese, and later became an official in transmigration as the Head of the warehousing at UDT Kertaraharja I. It is said that he has risen quickly due to a good work record and also his close relationship with the Head of the region. He is still quite young, about 30 years of age, and has only worked by 1978 for the Transmigration Department for 4 years. Ill health has been a frequent problem interfering with his daily duties.

His youth is considered a liability by many of the people and the leaders of the community. They feel that the KUDT should be the "father of the people." Thus one of the requirements for this role (which clearly this KUDT does and fills) is that the KUDT should be sufficient age and experience so that his suggestion will carry weight, especially in family matters.

In daily intercourse, the transmigrants also feel "distant" from the Unit Head, who as long as he has held this office has yet to visit the homes of many of them. When visiting one of the RW, he only stops at the head of the RW's house. Again he has been invited to several function but he has never attended, even at the funeral of a transmigrant who lived nearby. The attendance of the Head is considered deeply important to the transmigrants, who need a father-figure in their new homeland.

They spoke quite openly about that, because they had felt close to the first Unit Head, who still lives in the village and maintains his friendly relations with the community. Needless to say his continued presence has not helped the transmigrant to make a positive judgement of the current KUDT.

The result is that many matters the people refer to the former KUDT first for his advice and inevitably conflicts arise between the two sets of advices. One recent example could be seen in the distribution of fertilizer which was being stored in the warehouse

for food supplies. The present Unit Head was afraid to distribute this material without instructions from his superiors. The former KUDT (now head of the warehousing) handed out the fertilizer to the transmigrants so that in the long wait for direction from the central office the fertilizer would not be spoiled. He also gave a portion to the spontaneous transmigrants, who were not supposed to receive any. Both these decisions were considered "illegal" by the present KUDT, and certainly if the central transmigration office found out he would certainly be called to account.

This friction within the community could be seen in another way. While the former Head always placed a lantern in the front of his house as a sign that visitors were welcome, the new KUDT only lights up his kitchen, which is taken as meaning that none may drop in. As long as this research was being done the transmigrants rarely visited the KUDT at night although every night the former Head's house was a meeting place till late at night.

A further criticism directed at the current KUDT is that he pays too little attention to the cleanliness of the village, and rarely makes inspection rounds. Many of the transmigrants also feel that he is not decisive in implementing agreed on discussion. A good example of this is gotong royong projects; those who do not participate usually are punished by being made to clean up the lots around the public buildings. Under the present KUDT (head) this punishment is not applied, so many people now try to avoid their community (gotong royong) obligations. In contrast, the former Unit Head was very tough in applying such sanctions (9 people from RW II were once told to work for a full day making a fence around the school for this kind of offence and as a result only one afterwards tried to shirk gotong royong duties).

Generally the transmigrants said that development in the village had stopped since the current KUDT took over. Most of the villagers prefer the old Unit Head to the new one. They have made it clear that they do not want a Unit Head put in from on top, and want a role in the selection of any new Head and also they want

to be allowed to dismiss a head if he is not satisfactory to them.

Generally it was clear that, and the former KUDT confirmed this, the transmigration authorities are not sufficiently selective in choosing KUDTs and there are a number of examples of how the wrong man for this important post was selected.

3. Coordinator of the Village Administration (Koordinator Administrasi Desa (KAD))

The KAD is the second in command in the village, and his duty is to coordinate the village activities. He has however no authority to make decisions. He is basically an assistant to the KUDT, and only carries out his instructions. The present KAD - a Balinese - feels that this is an obstacle to his providing active leadership in the village as he has significant previous experience (having been the village scribe in Bali) and this experience is now not being used in UDT Kertaraharja II.

One example could be seen in gotong royong which he wanted to organize but could not do this as he can only do the instruction of the Unit Head, who in turn has made no efforts to give such instruction.

Apart from this general problem the most difficult matter faced by the KAD in this Unit is in working with the ABRI and Veteran transmigrants. These two groups often oppose his instructions and make their own suggestions. However if they are very quick with suggestions (often good ones) they also often ignore the KAD's decisions, even though they have agreed to them initially.

Although the division of labor has been agreed on by the Unit Head and the KAD, this in practice has not been observed and all important village matters are handled in practice by the KUDT himself. The KAD is only called in when there are suddenly too many problems to be overcome. It would be far better in our observation if the KAD were allowed to be responsible for a number of things of the routine administration. One example shows this. This

is in the making out the registry of transmigrants who receive bulgur subsidies - a job that could be easily managed by the KAD but which the KUDT insists on keeping it in his hands. Inevitably a mistake was made by the KUDT (because he was too occupied with other work) and delays resulted in the distribution of the bulgur. Unfortunately the transmigrants do not accept these kinds of mistakes they argue that civil servants may not make mistakes because they have been elected. To add insult to injury the KAD or the Ketua RW takes the blame from the transmigrants, who often accuse these officials of corrupt in such matters as the bulgur stocks even though they are not in fact responsible.

Generally the research in this village showed that the KAD did not play a meaningful role in the village. At the best he would attend gotong royong activities. Nor did the KAD have a close working relationship with the secretary of the KAD who in turn had little influence in the community. (He was a retired ABRI officer who was thought by several of the transmigrants to have no real work to do and that he only wasted time walking around the market or small talking at the stalls).

If generally these two officials (the KAD and the secretary of the KAD) had little influence in the community. It was the Ketua RW who did as their role in daily affairs was far greater than the KAD and the secretary as they were in direct contact with the villagers.

4. Head of RW

The duties of the Head of RW are to oversee the transmigrants within his territory and to implement all the instruction from the higher authorities (which all must pass through him first).

Consequently the responsibilities of the Head of RW within his district are extensive as he deals directly with the transmigrants and the people rely heavily on his abilities for their welfare (one result of this is that Ketua RW have been frequently replaced when they lost the confidence of the constituency). To

clarify their role the work of each RW described individually.

a. Ketua RW I

This is a Balinese group and Balinese people consider honesty to be the cardinal quality that a leader must possess. Dishonest officials are removed at a traditional gathering, and replaced with someone who is chosen by a general vote or by public acclamation.

In RW I, there have been 4 Ketuas who have resigned because of rumours of dishonesty. When this occurs in the traditional manner, the Ketua at a public meeting offers his resignation and his reasons for doing so, and then he suggests someone who he thinks should be his replacement. If this suggestion is agreed to without dissent, then the matter is settled. If not, then an election is held.

b. Ketua RW II

This group is comprised of ABRI and transmigrants. Since the election of the first Ketua RW II, there have been no replacement, although there are some who do not agree with his policies.

What is surprising about this group is that the five ABRI members who were hoped to play a strong leadership role for this group in the village have not. One person in fact who the transmigrants genuinely like (an ABRI man) is not willing to take an official post.

But during the research it was clear that the Ketua RW II had in fact shown good qualities as the leader of his district. One example is his willingness on several occasions to approach the Unit Head to ask about the bulgur stocks which had not yet been distributed.

He is also able to handle conflicts within his constituency, although sometimes the contending parties go straight to the Unit Head. (In one case the Bugis ABRI transmigrant quarreled with one of the Torajanese ABRI members. This became a knife fight in which

several other people took part. Only after the affair was settled by the Unit Head was the Ketua RW informed of the incident).

c. Ketua RW III

The Lombokese residents of RW III are well known for being trouble makers. This is the opinion of the Ketua RW III, and was corroborated by other transmigrants and the Unit Head. Every small problem they apparently exaggerate until it eventually becomes a major incident.

Not surprisingly there have been 3 replacements of the Ketua RW in this community. The first man to hold the office was removed because he cheated during the dry field allocations. Two transmigrants encouraged the others to revolt, one of them agreeing to become the Ketua RW if he had their support. This being arranged, the two sent a letter to the Unit Head expressing their disappointment with the current Ketua RW because of the land affair. He was subsequently dismissed and replaced by the new leader.

This second Ketua RW III was recognized to be a skillful leader, but unfortunately he was even more corrupt than his predecessor. The first case involved the distribution of sawah land. According to the instructions from the Unit Head, the Head of the RW, the Head of the Cooperative, and the Head of the Village Social Organization were the only citizens to be exempted from the lottery process. But in fact the Ketua RW added 4 persons closely connected with himself to receive priority in land selection.

The Ketua RW managed to remain in his post until returning to Lombok due to another scandal. In this case he sold six hectares of village land to several people. After selling this land, the Ketua RW and all his family and relations fled from the village. (They left quietly before dawn; at noon those whom he had cheated came to his house to find it empty. Rumor has it that he is now at another transmigration project in Kendari, under an assumed name, although it was said that he had returned to Lombok).

The third Ketua RW III is the second of the two persons who

sent the letter of dissatisfaction with the first Ketua. During his term as the Ketua RW III, the situation in his kampung has deteriorated. Again there is a land scandal with the RW making a lot of money from land sale transactions, which all have to receive his approval beforehand.

The fourth and current Ketua RW III, has issued several decrees forbidding the transmigrants to buy and sell their land or to borrow money using their holdings as collateral. The majority of the Lombokese affirm that the current Ketua RW is firm in the execution of his duties. If he feels that he is right, he is sure to defend his opinions. Many of the transmigrants from other RWs respect him, and even the Unit Head listens to his advice.

He has particularly good at stopping disturbances. Thus at the end of 1976, the Unit Head was thought to be lying because of the delay in bulgur stocks. He was even stoned by the Lombokese when riding his bicycle through their kampung and afterwards for two months he was afraid of going there again. One day when the KUDT had business with one of the transmigrants and visited his house, he heard people shouting 'bring the bulgur, bring the bulgur, or we will chop the Unit Head.' Luckily Ketua RW came quickly and was able to quell the mob, he then escorted the KUDT to the border of the Kampung to prevent any further incidents. This Ketua RW has recently taken on two transmigrants as assistants to handle disturbances; and he asks their advice before making any decisions.

It was striking to see the authority of this RW. Nothing can be accomplished in this kampung without the Ketua's presence. There was for instance once a decree to do gotong royong on a day the Ketua RW was sick. All the transmigrants had gathered at the Ketua's house, awaiting his orders on where to work. After learning that the Ketua was sick, they decided to disperse.

Besides the Lombokese, there are a small number of Balinese in RW III. According to the Ketua RW, they are the easiest to administer. They are respectful toward the Ketua RW, whom they

consider fair in governing. The Ketua has one time asked the Balinese to help him clean the road and build a fence at his house, which they carried out well. They have also helped do farm labor in his fields. The Balinese have even gone so far as to ask when they can help the Ketua again, for they realize that without help from the community he will have difficulties in accomplishing his daily tasks.

The Ketua RW III's style of leadership is impressive. He encourages the people to obey all decrees of the Unit Head; if they do not agree with these decisions, he tells them that the proper way to handle this problem is to negotiate at the Kepala's house. He rarely opposes the KUDT in public, taking a hard line with the transmigrants in the matter of public obedience.

d. Ketua RW IV

This is the Veteran group of transmigrants. The Ketua RW is an ABRI transmigrants who still holds the active rank of Sergeant Major. Although not yet retired, his duties are no longer with the main force, but to maintain security in the transmigration area. He is a Torajanese Christian.

He holds this job appointment by the Unit Head, not by election. In 1976, the Veteran transmigrants suggested that the Ketua RW be replaced because in their opinion he could not govern the residents. Two prominent men were nominated; a Ketua RT, who refused the position; and a religious leader who agreed to accept the job if the community would obey his decisions which he would base on Islamic precepts. For example, if someone were found to be guilty of an offense his hand would be cut off. Not surprisingly the community of RW IV refused to accept this. Eventually, the Ketua RW was extended in his post.

The Ketua RW IV stated (to the researcher) that the ABRI transmigrants are conscious of their responsibility to provide a good example to the community, and do not cause any problems. Besides this, it was noted that they generally were of the same

ethnic group and religion. However, the Veterans have been troublesome, as they wish to manage their affairs themselves, and in reality the Ketua RW IV only exercises authority over the ABRI

Generally the transmigrants of RW IV, especially the Veterans, cause the Kepala Unit the most problems. Both the former and current KUDT attest to this. The Veterans pay no heed for instance to the instructions of the current Unit Head. And the fact that the Unit Head is not respected by the Veteran transmigrants can be seen from the sermon given by one of the Veteran leaders named Ustadz at Idul Fitri. He stated that it is not fitting that Muslims be governed by a Christian. Although he did not mention the Unit Head by name, everyone understood what was meant. Several of the transmigrants who did not agree with the assertions of Ustadz left the gathering before the sermon was finished.

As the Ketua RW once quarreled with the youths of the Veteran group, he does not speak with them unless delivering instructions from the KUDT. In trying to analyze these problems it is clear that the source of these problems was the placement of the Christians and Muslims in the same area as this kind of grouping had already led to these two groups clashing in other areas in South Sulawesi.

5. Rukun Tetangga (RT)

An RT is comprised of 10 families as a subdivision of the RW. Some RT have a little more or less than 10 families depending on the actual number of families in the RW.

The duties of the Ketua RT are to act as a conduit for the flow of instructions from the Ketua RW to his constituents, and in the reverse direction to channel complaints and requests from the people upwards to the officials. He naturally has a close relationship with the people to whom he has been assigned responsibility by daily contact.

Although it is agreed that all matters pertaining to the

residents of an individual RT must be referred first to the Ketua RT, it often happens that he is bypassed by the residents. (Eventually, the Ketua RW is sure to inform the Ketua RT). In contrast, the Ketua RW almost never neglects to involve the Ketua RT first for to do so would be to look for trouble. Only in the case of an individual matter will the Ketua RW feel free to deal with a problem directly.

The position of Ketua RT is filled by election, but presents fewer difficulties than RW. Usually, a person is chosen by the Ketua RW and then receives approval from the people in that RT. In the eyes of the transmigrants, the Ketua RT is not so important so his post is rarely replaced. Those who take part in the replacement election are the citizens concerned and the Ketua RW. The Kepala Unit is only informed of the final result.

Several of the Ketua RT are illiterate, which bars them from the posts of Ketua RW or higher. The majority of the people choose their RT for qualities of friendliness and willingness to look after his charges. These are most often older men and little attention is paid to their educational background. (The low regard for this job is seen in the fact that the Kepala Unit has not memorized the Ketua RT's names and did not even know that one of them had been replaced).

6. Badan Musyawarah Desa (BAMUDES)

BAMUDES is the development planning institute for the village and is responsible for all the development activities involving the village. The summary of a BAMUDES meeting held on September 17, 1975 shows its role. The meeting decided on a work project (1) to complete main road II with a length of 1,300 meters, the allocated work day being once a week on Tuesday; (2) all citizens of UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I must work on this road; (3) Sanctions: whoever shirks their obligation to participate in this work is to be punished by being made to do work on the public facilities such as the Pura, Mosque, or the

Church. Those who try to avoid this are to be given over to the police.

The Transmigration office established the BAMUDES so that the transmigrants would become accustomed to reaching decisions and to planning their development through meetings. (For most of the transmigrants this body is not in fact an innovation as there being BAMUDES in their home villages).

The members of BAMUDES are the Ketua RW's by virtue of their office, and other leaders who elected. With approval of the people, the Unit Head appointed the Ketua RW I to be the Ketua BAMUDES. The Ketua BAMUDES is a Javanese police officer who was previously the Ketua RT I among the Javanese. He turned out to be a bad choice as he has never once attended a BAMUDES meeting and he does not even know who are the other officials. In his own words, "he does not feel himself to be the Head of the BAMUDES," because he was not present when appointed and even the Transmigration Head had not yet informed him either in person or in writing that he now occupies this post. It is interesting to note his reasons for not wanting to take office. He said that to hold office in the village government was "a great bother." He joined the transmigration project not, he said, to become a public leader, but to be a farmer, which at this time was already a fulltime job. In addition he pointed out that there was no salary for the job as Ketua BAMUDES.

Apart from this strange situation over his appointment the Head of the BAMUDES thinks the BAMUDES to be useless because he argues that the people are not yet ready to start planning construction at their own expense. Only the direct orders and supervision from the Transmigration Head had made the transmigrants work on the BAMUDES and without these they would concentrate on their farming. One example he mentioned was the problem of building the high school. This was not done yet as to provide money for this project, the transmigrants have to work at uprooting stumps, which cuts considerably into their time need for planting the fields.

The suggested contribution of Rp.2,000 a family is in fact a huge amount for the transmigrants, which they cannot spare from their daily food budgets for it is clear from that experience here that it is better not to force the people to work on these projects. They do not appreciate the value and it would be far better to help them build up their standards of living through their farm. Institutions like BAMUDES will then naturally emerge at the right time.

A striking example of this can be seen among the Balinese. In this group the need for certain organizations led to their spontaneous establishment. And the funds for their activities were available from the extra money they had made from intensive farming.

7. Lembaga Sosial Desa (LSD)

This is an institution for the collection of funds for public projects for use by other organizations. Its closest contact is with BAMUDES, for which LSD finds the funds.

The LSD in 1978 had no work, although it had had earlier successes. According to its Ketua, the LSD has ceased to be active because it had been neglected by the Unit Head and a lack of interest among the transmigrants. Both sides in fact blamed each other.

The LSD was initially established at the same time as the Transmigration Unit. According to the government instructions, its officers are a head, a secretary, a treasurer and six members. In carrying out its work, it forms Work Groups that cover the areas of education, health, economy, culture, agriculture, animal husbandry and welfare. Each of these divisions are managed by one of the officials.

The head of the LSD is a talented Lombokese. He is sociable and influential. (In Lombok he was an official of the Agricultural Office). One of the first project initiated by the LSD Work Group was the planting of bananas in each person's yard. The proceeds

from the sale of this group was to be used to bring in funds. But the project failed as the head of the LSD failed to collect the bananas, (so they were eventually eaten by the people themselves). After the failure of the banana scheme, LSD head decided to plant the Unit land behind the Balai Desa in peanuts and soybeans. This also failed as it was not looked after by the transmigrants and the plants were attacked by rats. The project was tried again with the same results. Because of these two failures, the transmigrants later refused to take part again.

In the field of education, the LSD also tried to add much needed school desks. Donations were asked for this and then the LSD allowed the transmigrants to uproot stumps for Rp.500 a day for P.T. Rahmatan, the contractor, with each family being required to donate Rp.2,000 or 4 days work. This again did not work out in practice.

Generally until 1978 the LSD had no funds, and thus had no role to play in the structure of local government. In my opinion, this failure was the result of insufficient efforts on the part of the officials including the Unit Head. A second factor was the lack of any salaries for those who worked in the organization. Finally the transmigrants did not appreciate the usefulness of the LSD and thus it had no support.

8. Civil Defence (Hansip)

In 1976, a village security system called Hansip was set up. This was the idea of the first Unit Head, so that the village would be able to handle security within its territory. It was hoped that the ABRI transmigrants would train the Hansip staff and form its core.

The village Hansip comprises one platoon and is headed by the Ketua RW IV. Membership in Hansip is at the appointment of the Ketua RW with the approval of its residents.

In short, the Hansip duties are: guard the village, keep order in the market, answer calls from the Kecamatan for local

security help, keep order during elections, and break up fights that arise in the village.

To aid Hansip, the first Unit Head donated funds to build a post in 1976. It was built with gotong royong by the residents of RW I in which it was located.

The first Unit Head also provided the Hansip uniforms (which were not provided by the Transmigration Office). But the Hansip fell on bad times as the second Unit Head neglected it, so that it has collapsed.

9. Educational Development Board (BP3)

The BP3 was established in May 1976 by the school teachers and village officials to help in gathering funds to help education in the village. As with the other organizations, the BP3 has a head, a secretary, a treasurer, and a few members - all chosen by election. In practice BP3 has no activities.

The only meeting of the BP3 was when it was officially formed. After that the Ketua BP3 urged the people to plant bananas in the school yard, which no one did and not surprisingly he then lost his enthusiasm and tried no other plans afterwards to secure better facilities for education.

But for all his failings in this role he is well respected by the transmigrants. He is a Torajanese Christian who lives in RW II with the Javanese and is an ABRI member with the rank of Corporal. He presents a complex picture as a man. From his first arrival he exhibited a strong desire to develop the village and was at first not reluctant to sacrifice his energies and wealth to do this. He is also one of the more successful farmers and gets along well with the transmigrants (helped by the fact that his wife is a Javanese). But his one weakness is that he cannot stand to be disappointed, and while many villagers had wanted him to become the Unit Head at some future date he had lost his opportunity through his failure at the BP3. Today he concentrates on business matters and has opened a small shop in the market with almost no

capital.

The current Unit Head plans to change the membership of the BP3 shortly and try to activate it. But he himself must pay much more attention to the progress of this organization if it is to succeed.

10. Cooperative (Koperasi)

The Cooperative in this village handles savings and loans, and selling consumer goods; it had an interesting history originally. It began to operate when the village was still a part of Kertaraharja I, with the leader called the Head of the project.

After their arrival and before they moved into the new villages the transmigrants of UDT Kertaraharja II were ordered by the Kepala Proyek to become members of "Giat", the Kertaraharja I Cooperative, because as transmigrants they "had" to have a Cooperative. The transmigrants did not pay much attention to this reasoning, as most of them did not know what a Cooperative was.

However, little by little the transmigrants learned about Cooperative matters while a part of Giat, several of them in fact becoming assistants in its operation. In 1975, a new (and separate) Cooperative was formed in Kertaraharja II. The initial capital was 5 kgs of rice taken from each of the transmigrants monthly allotments in installments, (3 kgs at first, the remainder later). This had a value of roughly Rp.44,000, and additional contributions were made with each month's general subsidy distribution. Thus all those who received government assistance were required to make donations each family who received a can of insecticide had to pay Rp.25 to the Cooperative and Rp.5 was assessed for each coconut seedling.

The Coop staff consists of a Head, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and several assistants for administration and marketing. There have been only two changes in the staff since its foundation in 1975, and these were both in the position of the 'Head'. The first Head (a Buginese ABRI resident of RW II), had to be replaced

because of fraud. The second Head was a Lombokese from RW III. During his tenure, the Coop experienced several losses, especially in the purchase of salt. Eventually the position was given to a Buginese Veteran, who was hoped could manage the Coop as he had experience as a former camat.

Making use of the residents gotong royong, the Coop has constructed an adequate warehouse of lumber and thatch, located at the rear of the market. This was used at first to store food stocks, but now holds insecticides. Several activities which the Coop wanted to undertake for the villagers included supplying kerosene and other household needs. But to raise the necessary capital, the Coop had to ask the villagers to sell their harvests to them. At first this was done, but then a too large number of middle-men came into the market offering higher prices than the Coop and stopped sales to the Coop. Another factor which clearly encouraged the farmers from selling their product to the Coop was the conviction that it was not working to their own welfare but instead for the officials who were skimming of the profits. One good example was that the treasurer was mixing his private business with that of the Coop. Thus if his general transactions sustained a loss, he would write off the failure to the Coop. If there was a profit, he then claimed that the goods sold were his own. This distressed many of the members, but they remained silent waiting for the Unit Head to check into the Coop's affairs. This he never did and his lack of supervision was particularly noticeable over this. The Coop's officers were also obliged to make a financial accounting twice a year, but since 1975 (by 1978) there was only one accounting. By 1978 several leaders from various groups insisted that the Unit Head take action in this matter, but after promising to do so he never in practice did.

The Head of LSD also stated that the failure of the Coop in this village is due to the fault of the officers for not actively promoting its activities.

Again the problem of payments to officials at this level of

village organization was a factor causing difficulty. A good example of this dilemma could be seen in the case of the former secretary of the Coop whose own finances were badly effected while he was piling up profits for the Coop. Finally he had to resign to look after his own affairs.*

At the accounting, it was published that the Coop had funds totalling Rp.122,000, which is far less than it would be if everyone had contributed the amount required. Actually if both the transmigrants and the officers fulfilled their obligations, the Coop would make rapid progress. The policy of the first KUDT of donating sets sum upon receiving government assistance led to quick growth of the Coop's capital. This was accompanied by close supervision of the Unit Head helped by the Ketua RWS.

11. Farmer's Organization (Kelompok Tani)

The Kelompok Tani is a professional organization whose membership includes all farmers in the village. Each Kelompok Tani has 20 to 25 members, headed by a Ketua assisted by a few officers. The purpose of this organization is to lighten the transmigrants farm chores and to increase their yields.

These organizations have existed since the transmigrants began living here and have undergone several changes in their statutes, caused by the changes of Unit Head and PPL.

In March 1974, the Head of the project instructed all the transmigrants to assemble at Kertaraharja I to establish a Farmer's Group (Kelompok Tani). (Each group has 20 members and a head). On the 27th of each month, the transmigrants had to gather at the office of the UDT Kertaraharja I to discuss the projects. The

* Another reason he resigned was because of the fraudulent activities of the Ketua, so if he remained on, his own reputation would be badly effected, especially if his personal finance were seen to have progressed smartly. His neighbors, the Balinese, are particularly incensed at corruption and quick to spread rumors that someone is involved if there is the smallest shred of evidence. Such is the case of the KAD, who is intensely disliked by the community because of corrupt practices.

The programs running to date include: (1) working patterns: all KT must work together from the time of tilling to planting with each KT group looked after rows of dry fields (ladang) - i.e. 2 rows of 10 plots; (2) an attempt to deal with a rat plague. This failed due to the poor coordination among the members. Generally there have been no KT activities, although it was noted in reports to the superiors that these did in fact take place.

On checking the KT was inactive due to the fact that (1) the farmers were too busy; (2) some KT schemes were not workable because of the bad condition of the land, which was just unsuitable for the crops ordered to be planted by the officials. This second example can be illustrated in this way. There was a case when all the farmers were told to plant soybeans in the dry season, but some of them had muddy fields which they had to plant in rice or other crops. (The officials argument was that the aim of the order was to get the farmers to fight pests together using the same poisons, but this was now not possible as they were tending different kinds of crops with different enemies). Again, it should be noted that the Unit Head paid no attention to the troubles of the KTs. They for instance have had no general meeting since they were first formed.

The establishment of UDT Kertaraharja II headed by a Unit Head in 1975 brought several changes in the work of the KTs. He began to hold consultations of the village officials with the Ketua KT at his house once a week and at these meetings he suggested new programs and improvements in the ones already operating. He also inspected the fields daily to check on the execution of the projects by the KTs and he used these times to give instructions on the proper methods to prepare soil, plant, and fight pests. Upon finding a field well tended, he would always praise that person's efforts at the meetings and encourage competition among the KT. The result of this new interest was that several programs which had collapsed restarted. These include weeding, planting, and pest eradication. The one activity which failed was the

eradication of rats, because no matter the method used or how well organized, the rats continued to cause damage. In fact from the farmers inability to conquer the rat problem arose the belief that rats were mysterious and invincible animals.

One program that has yet to be improved is the mix up on the planting of the same crops in both completely dry and wet fields. One serious hindrance is that the membership of the KT are not well organized as the farmer's sawah and ladang fields are not located according to who their neighbors are (but to the numbers drawn in the lottery) and this means that each farmer belongs to both a KT sawah and a different KT ladang. This makes communication between the members and the various KT very difficult.

After the change of Unit Head, the KT ceased to be active just as before. The KUDT pays little attention to the organization, and the farmers cannot be relied upon to manage themselves. Actually, the members of PPL are supposed to help in overseeing the KTs, which they once did by ordering the KTs to give themselves names and to submit a list of their officers. Some of the KT did this, and some did not; but nobody pursued the issue or looked further into the KT activities.

There was a sudden change in the membership of the PPL. The Ketua KTs and the farmers did not know the new PPL officials were. They decided to change the membership of the KT to be composed of neighbors in the kampung, by grouping of RTs. As an example, in RW II there are two KTs, one to the east of the road and the other to the west. This also meant that the staff of the KT had to be changed too. The farmers were not invited to consult in the re-shuffle of the staff, only the Ketua RWs, KTs, and the former officials. At this time the PPL officers were on vacation too, so that the farmers did not even know that this reorganization was taking place. But nobody asked questions in this regard. Since the KTs were not functioning well anyway, it caused no disturbances when they were radically realigned.

On the one hand, communication among members was easier, but

then coordination of field labor was impossible because their fields were not contiguous. The problem was only reversed, not solved. It is also felt that the size of the KTs are too large. If 20 men make one KT of 20 ladangs of $\frac{3}{4}$ ha a piece, then their labor is not fast enough to keep up with the task of weeding. By clearing $\frac{1}{2}$ ha of ladang a day, the KT requires 20 days to weed all the fields alternating from one to the next. But by the 20th day the first lot is already overgrown, and their efforts have been in vain. According to one of the Balinese, the weed problem will be solved by irrigation, and the weeding could be left to the individual transmigrants. Without coordinating efforts by the government, the farmers could be brought into cooperative labor with the "subak" system. Without irrigation it is unlikely that the farmers will work together because they do not feel the need to do so.

It is explained above that 20 members is too many for a KT. By comparison, look what happened in RW I, where a Balinese farmer who had been named the most progressive farmer in his village and had followed an agricultural course in Palopo was a Ketua KT. The KUDT issued an instruction that the KT were to implement cooperative labor for their 20 members. But, 10 of those in his group could not join in because they were doing hired labor elsewhere. He did not try to force them to be a part of his plan, because he preferred the members to do so voluntarily. In fact, he felt it was a good thing that the group was now smaller and more manageable.

This group went to work, weeding, tilling, and planting. Each person's lot of $\frac{1}{4}$ ha was worked in rotation by drawn lots. In this way, each hectare of land was worked in 4 stages. The workday ran from 07.00 till 18.00, for each hour someone was late, the fine was a bucketful of unhusked rice. If there were some obstacle, he could be replaced by his wife or children. If no one came, for whatever reason, the fine was 3 buckets of rice. The proceeds were to be placed in savings. Since this program began, only one person has been absent, and that was because of a field injury. At the harvest, each member is required to hand over 10

buckets of rice. KT can also be used to organize the construction of houses.

During this research, I was able to meet with the PPL official, who was in charge of 3 UDTs, i.e. Karambua, Kertaraharja I, and Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II. He lives in Tomoni, 10 kilometers from Kertaraharja II. He uses his own motorcycle for transportation, because the office does not provide any. In my observation, he only visits the house of the Unit Head, rarely if ever seeing the KT members or their fields. It is not surprising that few people know who he is. As proof, when I asked him to accompany me to the home of the Ketua RW IV he did not know where it was. In the 3 months that he was stationed here, only once did he give information to the Balinese community at the balai banjar from 13.00 to 17.00.

12. Listeners Group (Kelompok Pendengar)

The Kelompok Pendengar organization consists of social leaders whose aim is to raise the level of knowledge in the village by listening to radio broadcasts about matters of concern to the people.

The staff of this group is the same as for a KT, and appointed by the Kepala Proyek. The Ketua KP is an ABRI member who is now the Sekretaris KAD. In fact, the KP has never executed its plan of operation because there are no radios in the village. At first, some of the transmigrants had radios, but these were soon sold to raise money for daily needs.

The death of this organization's activities is most evidenced by the fact that most of the people do not even know it exists, the Ketua has forgotten the names of the staff and the members.

The KP is supposed to be divided into two groups, one male and the other female. The Ketua Wanita is the wife of the Ketua and is the kindergarten teacher of the village.

B. FORMAL TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Formal traditional organizations are those that originate within the community and whose role is recognized by the government. Often these organizations are more important than the government sponsored ones. In this village all these organizations were found only in the Balinese community.

In daily life, the Balinese people are deeply involved in religious festivals and although there exists a distinction between religious and traditional matters, in practice among the Balinese this is not clear. A person for example who becomes a member of a traditional group must make his vows in the temple in a religious rite. However, for clarity, the two functions will be divided.

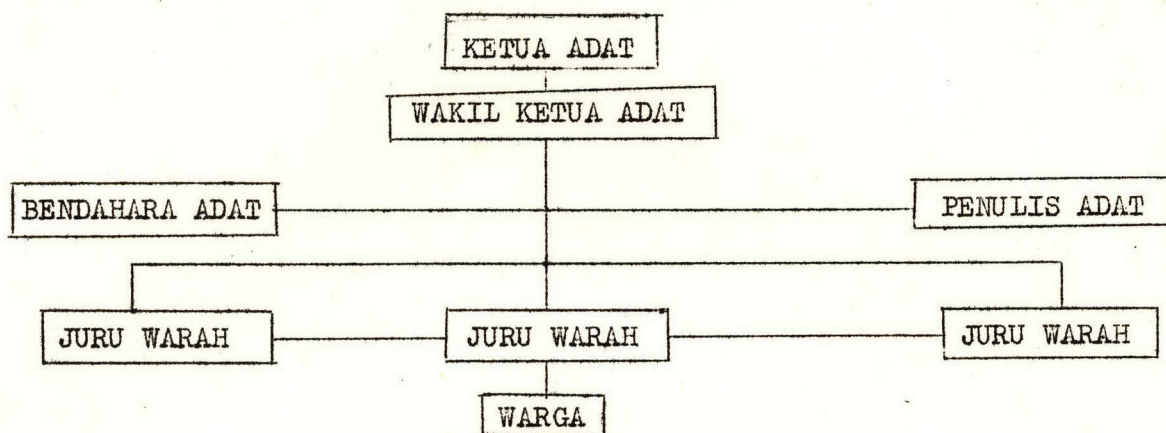
Traditional Law Organizations

Balinese traditional law is executed through the banjar, the center of all daily activities of the Balinese transmigrants. The banjar owns a balai banjar (a community center) that is used for its members.

All the Balinese who live in RWs I, II and III are members of the banjar. Membership in the banjar is the same for both regular and spontaneous transmigrants. Although membership in the banjar is not compulsory, all the Balinese in fact have joined because as members they will receive help in times of difficulty. One common example can be seen in holding religious and traditional rites, in these the expense is often too great for one person so the burden is shared among the members of the banjar.

Several facilities given by the government have become the property of the banjar, including the cemetery. Non-banjar Balinese transmigrants have no right to be buried there, nor are they allowed to use other banjar facilities, such as the temple. Nor do non-members of the banjar receive assistance in their burial when they die. There is considerable pressure on Balinese to become members of the banjar.

The banjar officials manage all matters of importance for their members. Any member is eligible to be chosen as an official and choice is made through public consultation. Banjar officials consist of the following:



As can be seen from the above diagram, the principal roles are played by the Ketua Adat (KA) and the Juru Warah (JW). The KA presides at each meeting at the balai banjar every selapan (35 days), so that he is always well known to the people. The JW informs the people of orders from the Ketua Adat; his function is similar to that of a Ketua RT. I received the impression that a KA, although he has considerable authority in the village, only in fact acts as a conduit for the wishes of the banjar citizens. This could be seen in the fact that his ideas are only approved after he has presented them for discussion to the banjar. In addition, the banjar members are quite vocal in making suggestions. It is easy in this structure to replace a KA, but usually before this is done publicly, he will resign as he understands that his term is over when he hears disparaging comments on his leadership among the people. The usual reason given for resigning is because he is "too busy". Resignation of the KA leads to quick replacement through a public meeting.

The authority of the banjar in the village can be summarized

as follows:

1. Organize and officiate at traditional festivals and work projects.
2. Construct facilities needed for the banjar members.
3. Exercise responsibility for the maintenance of public buildings such as the temple, cemetery, etc.

The principal labor method used for construction among the Balinese is gotong royong. In projects involving heavy labor, the entire banjar helps out; in lighter work only part of the membership pitches in. Heavy work includes projects like erecting a temple structure, light work would be cleaning the graveyard grounds.

The Bendahara Adat (Treasurer) looks after funds accumulated from fines, excess funds from building projects, and the proceeds from crops grown on banjar land. The banjar owns many coconut trees which have reached maturity and are thick with fruit and their planting and tending are done with gotong royong.

Fines are used as an instrument to enforce obedience to decisions of the public assembly. The fines for failure to attend group meetings, gotong royong, etc. are insignificant (Rp.25), but levying and collecting the fines is done publicly, which causes considerable embarrassment to the offender.

The Balinese observe a strict separation of labor between the sexes which is strictly observed. Women are in charge of festivals and religious rites; men do tasks involving heavy labor.

All the activities of Balinese transmigrants are dominated by their religious beliefs, which makes the role of the Ketua Agama (KAG) very powerful. The KAG has a close working relationship with the KA, whose influence, as I observed it, he exceeds.

In Bali, society is divided into castes with titles, inherited by birth. This village is also socially stratified, with triwangsa (Brahmana, Satria, and Vesia) group on one hand, and jaba or sudra caste on the other. Because of their greater numbers, the sudra peoples have been able to dominate the leadership. Twice the KA

has been a sudra; while the current one is of the Satria class. Although their numbers are fewer, the higher castes are very influential. The current KA is thought to be the best. The sudras admit to feeling respect toward their social superiors, the tri-wangsa group.

This is shown by the use of different levels of language and respectful behavior like allowing a superior to pass ahead in front. The position of KAG is held by a Brahmana, who despite his distancing formality and social reticence exercises great influence among the transmigrants. (To preserve his image of authority, he rarely goes to the coffee stands, and when I asked him along with me one time, the owner refused to accept payment).

One interesting aspect of the Balinese transmigrants is the existence of a large kinship group (patrilineal) called dadia, whose membership in this village is excluded to those from Nusa Penida. The Nusa Penida transmigrants (about 20% of the Balinese) wanted to hold a minor ritual (an initiation) separate from that of the banjar, because their custom was slightly different. Although the procedures for such minor rituals differ from village to village, the membership refused to allow this unless the Nusa Penida members surrendered their membership. The NP transmigrants were unwilling to comply with this condition, so they dropped the idea.

C. INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Informal organizations are usually defined as those that fall outside the government structure. But in this analysis, I will also include village institutions which are both inside and outside this structure of organizations.

1. Gotong royong

Gotong royong is cooperative labor, both for public and private needs. It is based on the realization that the members of a community must all live together. In fact, gotong royong in

this village is partly the result of pressure from the government through the Transmigration Office. Gotong royong is one of the main strengths of the government in developing the village as it is free labor. In addition there is also spontaneous gotong royong. Thus gotong-royong in the village covers:

a. Gotong-royong desa (GTD)

Gotong-royong desa. This is done by all the villagers together or in shifts to complete projects in the common interest. This covers building roads, bridges, sports fields, and other social facilities of the village.

Gotong-royong desa has deteriorated, because there are some of the residents who do not participate. One example of this was in cleaning the main road to welcome the arrival of the regional Head of Transmigration from Ujung Pandang. All the residents of RW I and II, a small part of RW III, and the village officials of these RWs showed up but no one from the RW IV residents. This inevitably aroused resentment among the transmigrants, who said that it would be better if there were no gotong royong if not everyone were going to share the load.

b. Gotong-royong wilayah (GRW)

Gotong-royong wilayah is that done by a single RW for its own interests. In this type of activity the work times and loads are less than that of village projects.

This is more active than citizens who cannot participate still ask permission from the Ketua RW or tell one of their neighbors. The one GRW that functions well is RW II; in RW I and III it is less active. Observation showed that those who do not work in GRW are the village leaders and officials. One example shows this in RW II when the hedgerows were being clipped and the roads swept on the south side of the mosque grounds, those registered as absent were all officials i.e. the Sekretaris KAD, Ketua BP3, Coop Trasurer, the former RK I and the Kepala staff

of the Pontecostal Church. All five are ABRI members. In response to the lack of support, the Ketua RW saw to it that the yards and roads in front of these five were not cleaned. But generally attitudes such as this have effected the number of people willing to take part regularly in group work.

c. Gotong-royong World Food Program

Gotong-royong WFP is on both the village and RW level, with payment in bulgur. WFP handles repairs and construction of the roads in the kampung, sawah, and ladang, including the bridges. Residents are required to put in two days a week, Tuesday and Friday from 07.00 to 11.00, in this program. Those who do not attend are marked absent by the Ketua RW and their bulgur rations cut.

Since its inception in May 1977, WFP has constructed roads and paths in the village, both near the kampungs and the fields, totalling 51,050 meters. The work projects are divided into segments and assigned to the different RW. Currently, the villagers are constructing farm-to-market type roads to handle 4-wheel vehicles.

Each month, the transmigrants receive rations of 20 kgs of bulgur for 10 days work. The first time that these rations were distributed, they were also given canned fish and vegetables. (However many of the cans were damaged and the contents inedible).

Gotong-royong WFP has retrogressed recently, the only ones taking part being RWs I, II, III and IV. The Veterans for instance say they do not want to participate. They say that they feel demeaned at only receiving bulgur (of little value) for their labor. The threat of the Unit Head and Ketua RW to cancel their rations if they do not show up is felt to be insulting as in other gotong-royong without pay they had always done their part. So, since the KUDT published his threat to take action, they have stayed at home. They also intend to sue for their share of the bulgur, which in their opinion, is aid from the UN meant for all the

transmigrants and not bound to any gotong-royong contractual arrangements.

The process of how the bulgur is rationed is interesting. Firstly the Ketua RW fills in the registration lists for the work accomplished. Those who do not do gotong-royong work are marked as such. But in January 1978 the villagers were heartedly making an issue of the fact that bulgur had not been handed out although they had worked for two months and the Ketua RWs had handed in the lists. There clearly had been some administrative foulups. The Unit Head claimed for instance that the lists have not yet been received. If WFP refused to accept some names as although some of the villagers have the same name, they think this is a double ration!

d. Gotong-royong adat (Traditional)

Gotong-royong adat is done by all the Balinese in the village, to make and repair the facilities owned by the banjar. The banjar handles the distribution of labor. For example, the transmigrants of RW II are close to the cemetery so they are responsible for its maintenance; the same is true for RW I which lies near to the temple.

GRA is done on set days according to the Balinese religious calender; those who fail to help are fined Rp 25, but few fail to participate because of shame in the eyes of the community.

The social leaders and village officials are freed from doing GRA due to their other jobs.

e. Gotong-royong agama (Religious)

Gotong-royong agama is that done by all the adherents of a particular religion, in consultation with the religious leaders of the group, and covers the construction and maintenance of buildings for spiritual activities. It is done together or in rotation depending on the lightness or heaviness of the task.

Each of the religious groups - Hindu, Islam, Protestant,

and Pentecostal Christian - does gotong-royong agama.

The implementation of gotong-royong agama is good as no transmigrant dares to shirk his duties in this work. The moral sanctions against those who are lax are very hard.

f. Gotong-royong kelompok perorangan (Individual)

GRKP is that done by a group of villagers at the request of one of them who has a job he is unable to manage by himself. The Javanese call this sambatan; the Balinese name is ngajak. Usually, GRKP is done by people who are neighbors, relatives, of the same ethnic group, or who come from the same original region before transmigrating. These are some of the different forms that exist in this village.

(1) Gotong-royong merintis dan menebang (pioneering).

GRMDM is done by some of the transmigrants to help the task of clearing the fields for planting. Those who need this group together in teams of 3-5 men (it is too dangerous to have larger numbers of people when felling big trees). GRMDM is generally done by people whose farm fields are adjoining.

(2) Gotong-royong menanam (Planting). Gotong-royong menanam is done in planting rice seedlings, by the Balinese and Lombokese. (The Javanese no longer do GRM, although I was told that in previous years they did).

GRM is differentiated into kinds by the nature of the membership. There are those groups with set members and officers, and those without. Among the Balinese there are fixed groups, called seka, in this village. To show how this works I will use this example. A planting gotong-royong group was organized headed by the former Sekretaris Coop, numbering 18 member families originating from kecamatan Kediri in Bali. The rules were as follows:

- Each member who received help from the group must pay into a central fund Rp 50.
- The aforementioned member must also provide delicacies for breakfast (but is not required to give coffee and food in

the afternoon).

- The work day runs from morning until evening.
- Members who do not attend are fined Rp 25.

This group worked each others land in rotation until all were finished.

GRM with unfixed membership occurs when someone needs help in the planting and goes directly to his neighbors, one by one, to ask their assistance. The number is not set, but usually runs between 10 to 25 people. The owner of the field must provide rice and chicken meat or some other kind of meat for food. Some of the transmigrants who have never asked for such help say that it is cheaper to hire out the work, which those who have used gotong-royong corroborate.

In looking at changes in the village one example shows the retention of old values. Thus the Ketua LSD once suggested that in doing gotong-royong, the host be freed from the obligation of providing food and everyone agreed. But when the Ketua himself asked for help in planting, his wife brought food to the workers as they were busy in the fields. She insisted that it was their custom to serve the laborers and it is clear that old patterns are followed by the transmigrants, even if uneconomical.

In the case of the Javanese they do not make use of GRM, but use hired labor.

(3) Gotong-royong mendirikan rumah (house building).

GRMR is cooperative work to build or repair a house. It can begin at sawing lumber or may only be the actual construction. GRMR is common among the Balinese, less so in other groups because few of them are building houses.

The Balinese carry out GRMR in this way: the person who wants to build a house asks the neighbors of his choice, then begins to divide up the work. Some go off to the forest to cut logs; the rest will finish the lumber.

GRMR runs from morning till evening until the job is finished and the number varies from 15 to 25 workmen. They are

given sufficient food for the day, though it does not have to be special. If the host only has cassava, then that will do. To the carpenter/foreman of the job, the host donates a few days labor as special compensation.

There are also GRMR that are organized groups with officers and rules agreed upon by the members. In general, this type of group dispenses with the requirement that the host provide food to save on expense.

2. Arisan

a. Arisan atap

In 1976 in RW I, an Arisan atap was formed at the suggestion of Ajin Manudari, who was having trouble with finances while building a kitchen. At the time, he felt he could not afford to feed a gotong-royong group; so he told his story to his friends at a gotong-royong adat at the temple. His idea to form an arisan adat fell on friendly ears. This arisan atap group has 14 members, each of whom is obliged to donate 5 sheets of roofing tin 4 meters long. This is done each month at the house of the one of them who is laying a roof, decided in advance not by lottery but by request. Upon asking to receive one's turn, a person must give Rp 140 for transport. This fee of Rp 10 per person is placed in a central fund, the total of which is now Rp 22,000.

At the laying of a roof, the owner may provide coffee and snacks, usually boiled cassava. Those who do not show up are fined Rp 200. But since its establishment, no one has failed to turn up at a roof laying, which always is scheduled for "tilem" day (new moon) a sacred day in the Hindu calendar when no one goes to work the fields.

The central fund is loaned out to the members in a fixed amount and for a set length of time, at 5% interest a month to be used for personal needs. Every 3 months a meeting called "rapat memungut bunga" is held, where in the principal activity is the collection of the interest due from the members with out-

standing loans.

This arisan atap has been in operation for one-and-a-half years. For the time being, roof laying has ceased because everyone is busy working the fields. It is likely that the group will continue later with balai adats and individual rice granaries.

Arisan groups like this are a great help to the transmigrants in constructing houses when in financial binds, and guarantee that the building will not be halted for lack of assistance.

b. Arisan pasar (market)

In 1977 the wife of the then Unit Head formed an arisan consisting of all the sellers in Kertaraharja II market. The 20 members included sellers from outside the village who bring their goods there, and not just Javanese but Buginese and Tator people too. The dues were Rp 500 per member.

The reason for this arisan was to help the members who are short of capital, which they feel is successful. The other purpose was to form a closer relationship among the sellers. At each drawing of the arisan lottery (on a Monday) one of them would get Rp 10,000 to invest in their line of selling.

3. Kelompok Sprayer (Pesticide group)

On January 18, 1977 in RW I, a KS was formed to fight agricultural pests. The suggestion for this came from the former Sekretaris Coop who felt that government assistance in spraying the crops was insufficient. From the beginning he also had worked hard to eliminate the rats which were in profuser numbers in the fields. At the time the government was not providing rat poisons, so he approached his friends to pool funds for the purchase of such chemicals. With the Rp 1,200 collected, he bought 1 kg of zynphospit from the farm supplier in Tomoni. Each person who donated money was given one spoonful of the poison to spread in the fields.

He made other attempts to combat different kinds of pests

that required spraying equipment. But there were no sprayers as yet in the village, and he himself had never used one in Bali. So he formed the KS which has 15 members, each of whom must contribute Rp 1,500 to buy the equipment. A sprayer costs Rp 35,000, more than the members dues; the difference is made up from usage fees, the payment is made in installments so as to not be too large a burden of the group. The KS has rules which apply not only to the members but also to anyone who borrows the equipment:

1. The members do not have to pay for use of the sprayer for three days.
2. Non-members must pay Rp 100 for each day the sprayer is borrowed.
3. Members who damage the sprayer must pay a fine of Rp 250. Non-members who damage the sprayer are fined Rp 500. The payment of fines is made under oath.
4. Both members and non-members are charged Rp 25 per portion of insecticide from the KS stock.
5. Members who do not return the sprayer within the allowed time period (3 days), are fined Rp 50 for one day or Rp 25 for half a day.
6. Both members or non-members who take the sprayer home, except for the keeper, are fined Rp 100.

Thus the sprayer must be returned to the person charged with looking after the equipment after it has been used.

Because of the care in use of the equipment and the central fund, the KS has prospered. The sprayer bought one year ago is in good condition, in sharp contrast to those provided by the government.

4. Perkumpulan Gabah (Rice Group)

A religious teacher urged the Islamic residents of RW II to form a group "Perkumpulan Lumbung Paceklik" (Rice granary for famine group). At the time, many people grumbled but the promoter

of the idea was not discouraged by this reaction. He persuaded the confessed Muslim community to cooperate by pointing out that in the Koran the faithful are commanded to surrender 10% of their income to be used in good works.

This group has no staff, everything is handled by the originator himself. The group was formed just before harvest time in 1977, and they collected a total of 500 kgs. At the suggestion of the members, and repayed with 50% interest at the next harvest and all the members must donate again at the next harvest. Of the 500 kgs save three hundred were borrowed in 1977 for planting, because of insufficient seed stock.

5. Perkumpulan Pecah-Belah (Crockery Group)

This group was formed among the Muslims of RW II by the Kyai, who saw that the residents had difficulty in borrowing enough crockery for use at religious rites and funerals. Each family was required to donate Rp 100; with the amount collected they were able to buy 37 plates and cups.

6. Veteran's Cooperative

Among the Veterans of RW IV, there was once a "Veteran's Coop". The idea originated with one of the Veteran leaders of the village who started it with a private contribution of Rp 100,000. Each Veteran transmigrant was allowed to borrow goods for daily needs without paying any interest when they were returned. The transmigrants felt this was an excellent organization. Later not only Veterans but also their laborers were allowed access to the Coop. But as loans were made based on trust and no interest charged in less than one year the Coop folded as its capital depleted with many of those who borrowed goods not returning.

7. Arts

a. Jangger

One of the better known Balinese art forms is the

Jangger, so it comes as no surprise that many of the Balinese transmigrants wished to stage a Jangger performance in their new village. Several of the Balinese who had a little talent in the Jangger dance joined with some others who knew how to make gamelan instruments to form a Jangger troupe and in August 1975, the troupe was formed, with 40 dancers from the young people of RW II and III including spontaneous transmigrants and the refugees from Poso.

The gamelan instruments were made from sadeng wood. The current Ketua RW I is an expert in making drums and tuning gamelan instruments, and it was he with the help of a few others who were in charge of this task. And it was in his house that the practices were held. Since they did not yet have a gong, they borrowed one from the Balinese in UDT Kertaraharja I.

The instructors for both the musicians and the dancers were not transmigrants themselves, but members of some of the local families who had come to visit. They remained in the village for one year, using this time to train the Jangger group.

The Jangger troupe did not last long. One reason given was that there was disagreements from the members.

To replace the loss of the Jangger arts group, the Balinese formed a Joget group in 1977. This group owns a complete gamelan which they fashioned themselves with gotong-royong, and dance costumes purchased (with money communally donated) by one of the members in Bali. During the course of my stay, the Joget troupe performed in the roadway in front of the house of one of the members for a private celebration. The group has 20 members; all the dancers are female, and all the musicians are male. The leader of the group is one of the spontaneous transmigrants.

b. Ketoprak

Ketoprak was introduced in 1976, the players drawn from the Javanese transmigrants in RW II and Tampaksiring in UDT Kertaraharja I. The Unit Head was receptive to their desire to establish this traditional art form from their homeland in the village. To

help them, he allowed the Javanese residents of RW II to contract the construction of a bridge in Cendana Hitam I. The proceeds, Rp 50,000 were used to buy a gamelan set from one of the transmigrants who lived in the village of Bayoondo.

Practices are held at the home of one of the transmigrants who has a large room. There has been one trial performance held in the yard of the home of Pak Kyai, the story being "Johar Manik". The players were ordinary clothing, but many people nonetheless came to watch. After this trial run, practices became infrequent and eventually stopped. One of the players stated that the Ketoprak group broke up because the members are too old and can not devote so much time to this activity because they have other more important duties. Another one said that they have little time to think about the arts, because they spend all day in the fields and are tired when through. Pak Kyai says, however, that the real reason is that the members could not agree among themselves as to the proper interpretation of the gamelan music! None of them has complete knowledge of gamelan music, and each player wants to set his own style. (This is probably because the style of play differs from one area to another).

c. Selawatan

The Islamic residents in RW II formed a Selawatan arts group in September 1974. Selawatan is an Islamic art form for the purpose of warding off sleepiness when reading the Koran. The 20 members are all old people, young people do not like it at all because it requires concentration. The founder of the group is a prayer reading teacher who is not so old, but while still in Java was active in religious training in his village.

The musical instruments for Selawatan are very simple: only a large and small drum, and several tambourines. Reading of the Koran, accompanied by Selawatan, takes place every Friday night at the home of one of the members in rotation.

d. Kasidah

The residents of RW III formed a Kasidah group in 1976. This art form has many adherents for it is popular in the rural areas of Lombok where these transmigrants come from. The initiator of this group was a prayer reading teacher who also doubles as an elementary school teacher in the village.

The 12 members of the Kasidah group are young girls; the musical instruments are quite simple, only tambourines and a few kempengs (an instrument made of tin). The first Unit Head was pleased with the idea to form such an arts group and donated 3 kempengs.

e. Prese

Also found among the Lombokese transmigrants in RW III is another popular art form from their home island, Prese. Prese art is associated with the demonstration of bodily invulnerability. The equipment used is a rattan club and a shield made of leather with a rattan handle. Performances are accompanied by percussion instruments, and consist of 3 pairs of players who take turns entering the arena to exchange blows which are allowed to be blocked.

My informants say that Prese as performed in this village is not particularly violent, being only a performance. (Whereas in Lombok, the players often use black magic, and have to obtain official permission before performing).

f. Orchestra

In 1975 an orchestra was formed at the suggestion of one of the young married transmigrants, a Hansip member, who before coming to this village was the son of a transmigrant in Mulyosri.

The members of the orchestra come from all the ethnic groups in the village, and now include some young people from the village Mulyosri, which has no instruments of its own. The desire of the Unit Head to achieve unity and ethnic harmony has been successful through this orchestra. The members include Balinese Hindus,

Torajanese Christians, and Muslims from Java and Lombok. The one group which refuses to take part is Buginese Islamic Veterans, who declare themselves embarrassed to play in a band which in their estimation is of poor quality and only hurts the ears to listen to!

The membership of the orchestra numbers 25 people, all youths and smaller children. The former KUDT also plays and acts as the announcer. The orchestra has no fixed staff or practice days; they rehearse only before a scheduled performance. At performances they use electricity drawn from batteries, both for the guitars and the microphone.

8. Sports organizations

The sports organizations found in the village include soccer, volley ball, badminton, and table tennis. All were established at the urging of the first KUDT and not the government. The Unit Head bought complete sets of equipment himself. Following the initiative of the Unit Head, the villagers used gotong-royong to construct a soccer field, the expenses again coming from the KUDT's private resources.

Sports activities continued until the installation of the new KUDT, since which they have stopped. According to the Ketua Bidang Olahraga (Sports), these activities have stopped because everyone is too busy working in the fields.

9. Prayer Reading Group (Kelompok Pengajian)

One of the most important areas requiring assistance and labor is religion. To fulfill this need, the transmigrants first built simple prayer buildings; afterwards they felt it necessary to organize spiritual activities.

As has already been pointed out, the majority of the transmigrants are adherents of Islam (among the Javanese, Lombokese and Veteran/Buginese). In my observation, however, the degree of devotion varies from one ethnic group to the next. The Javanese

are the least devout, with the most strict of all being the Lombokese.

10. Funeral Group (Perkumpulan Kematian)

The Islamic transmigrants in RW II and III have formed a funeral group, which loans out white cloth for wrapping the corpse which must be repayed with cloth to the same length as that which was borrowed. The prayer teacher originated this idea, because at the time there was not yet a market, and it was difficult to obtain white cloth, except from the village at Kuwarasan.

The cloth owned by the Muslims in RW II was bought with deduction from their wages of Rp 25 when they were working a contract to construct transmigrant housing in Karambua. This was sufficient for 13 meters. The Muslims in RW III, however, bought their cloth with deductions of 1 kg per family from their bulgur allotments.

CHAPTER IV

FACILITIES

A. HEALTH

Before the present polyclinic was built, the house of the KAD was made into a temporary infirmary because of its strategic location on the main road. The first medic was a Javanese from Kertaraharja I who came every day from 11.00 until late afternoon. At first the Jawatan Transmigrasi did not provide sufficient medical supplies and due to this frequent shortages of medicine, many of the transmigrants had to go to the clinic at UDT Kertaraharja I where there were enough supplies. At the beginning the newly arrived transmigrants were mostly subject to malaria and fevers. To try and deal with this the Jawatan Transmigrasi every 6 months (since 1974) conducts a mass spraying campaign. Although this has met with some success, there are still many who contract malaria in the village.

Beginning in 1975, the health center dispensed medicine to all the transmigrants who needed it. During my research here this house was also being used to house the Unit Head and his family as it was the only spare house available. As a result, only one room for the health center can be used, and this doubles as the checkup room and the medical warehouse.

The current medic began his duties at UDT Kertaraharja II in 1976. Before this he had been a transmigrant in Kertaraharja I. He graduated from a school for medics in Bali, and applied for a job as a medical officer. But after waiting for a long time and not receiving any reply, he decided anyway to join the transmigrati-
on programme. After a few weeks as a farmer, the Jawatan Trans-
migrasi asked him in 1974 to become a medic.

Although still young, he is well regarded by the transmigrants because he is never rude to his patients. The transmigrants consider this rare, because in their experience health officials

stationed in transmigration regions are generally not kind in manner! His salary totals Rp 44,000 a month, Rp 24,000 from the Health Department and Rp 20,000 from Jawatan Transmigrasi. From his savings he has bought a small motorcycle so as to get about on his work. He is always available at any hour to make house calls, even late at night. Until now he maintains his residence at UDT Kertaraharja I, living in one of the allotted houses.

On an average day the medic sees 10 patients, who are not charged a fee. The majority of the patients are Balinese (I have noted that 7 out of every 10 who come to the polyclinic are from Bali). The least frequent are the Javanese.

The ABRI and Veteran transmigrants rarely attend the polyclinic, first because of the distance, and secondly because there is a medic among the ABRI members who has opened a practice (though without permission). This is necessary because sudden illnesses are difficult for the medic in Kertaraharja to treat.

The Javanese transmigrants are reluctant to use the services of the polyclinic because they think that it still charges a fee of Rp 150 for medication, as it did in 1975-6. This was necessary at that time because supplies from the Jawatan Transmigrasi were few, and the rest had to be filled by the medic himself. In my observation, the Javanese do not like to go to the polyclinic, preferring to suffer in silence or to go to a dukun, a magic healer. Most of the transmigrants use two systems of medication in alternation. If the dukun is unsuccessful, then they go to the medic, and vice versa. If they are not yet cured then they repeat the treatment of the first one asked. The medic says this is the result of a poor understanding of the nature of diseases, some of which require weeks for a full recovery. The transmigrants wish to be cured instantaneously! There is also the belief that one treatment should be enough to produce a cure.

In addition to treating the sick, the medic can assist at births. This happens most frequently with Balinese women, who are not embarrassed to be tended by a male medic, because among

their group and even in Bali, the midwives are in fact men.

Midwives generally reign supreme over the government paid medic, and the transmigrants often request the services of midwives from outside the village. It was interesting to note that the medic felt that the transmigrants should become accustomed to paying for each time they are treated, so they would become accustomed to this when they are moved outside the authority of the Jawatan Transmigrasi to the local Marga.

There seems to be some competition between the medic and the Puskemas doctor for patients. The medic opens a private practice after his official hours in his house, which is not far from the Puskemas hospital, where the doctor lives. It often happens that a person who lives close by the hospital ignores the doctor and goes instead to the medic whom he has known for some time.

The medics complain about the medicines provided by the Jawatan Transmigrasi. Before 1977, medicines requested were often not received, and medicines not commonly prescribed were sent, many of which had to be thrown away because they had passed their expiration date. Clearly the Kepala Wilayah spends his budgeted medical funds without considering the suitability of the medicines purchased for the types of diseases found in a village. The medic points out that the diseases that occur in one village rate not necessarily the same as that in another, so the medical supplies must be adjusted to fit the situation.

Tables 7 and 8 the medicines received on December 5, 1977 and the types of illness and number of visitors to the polyclinic in December 1975, 1976, and September 1977.

TABLE 7

REGISTRATION OF MEDICAL REQUISITIONS AT UDT KERTARAHARJA II/
CENDANA HITAM I AND II FOR THREE MONTHS

No.	Type of drug	amount	No.	Type of drug	amount
<u>I. Injection drugs</u>					
1.	Pen procain 3,000,000 IU	150 vials	19.	Procain	30 vials
2.	Streptomycin	" "	20.	Antalgin	50 "
3.	Pen-strep 4:1/2	" "	21.	Adrenalin	30 "
4.	Vit. B 12 1000 mic	100 "	<u>II. Oral drugs</u>		
5.	Vit. B 1 100 mig	" "	1.	Trisulfa	3 cans
6.	Lever	150 "	2.	Chloroquin 250 mo	4 "
7.	Vit. B Comp.	" "	3.	P	1 "
8.	Papaverin	100 "	4.	Antalgin	3 "
9.	Ephedrin	" "	5.	Vit. K	1 "
10.	Cortisen	5 "	6.	Vit. C	3 "
11.	Calaplex D	10 "	7.	Vit. B1	2 "
12.	Deladryl	100 "	8.	Vit. B2	4 "
13.	Chloroquin	" "	9.	Piramidon	2 "
14.	Dellamidon	" "	10.	Sulfas Ferrosus	6 "
15.	Emetin	" "	11.	INH	4 "
16.	Aquades 300 cc	5 "	12.	Bekarbon	2 "
17.	Vit. K	50 "	13.	Echina	2 "
18.	Vit. A	" "	14.	Vit. B5	2 "
			15.	Vit form	2 "
			16.	SG	3 "
<u>III. Surface Medicines</u>					
1.	Eye salve	20 tubes	17.	Anthelcolin	2 "
2.	Ichtyol salve	1 can	18.	Primaquin	2 "
3.	Fish oil salve	1 "	19.	Vit. A	2 "
			20.	Mag tablet	1 "
			21.	Prednison	2 "

TABLE 7 continued ...

No.	Type of drug	amount	No.	Type of drug	amount
4.	2-4 salve	1 can	22.	APC	2 cans
5.	Boor salve	1 "	23.	Acetosal	2 "
6.	Zinc salve	½ kg.	24.	HCT	1 "
7.	Sulfas Nelamid	2 dozens	25.	Asthma tablet	1 "
8.	Mercurochrome	2 liters	26.	Lactus Calacus	2 "
9.	Ear drops	20 tubes	27.	Tetracyclin	2 "
10.	Gauze 10 cm	20 rolls	28.	CTM	1.5 "
11.	" 5 cm	" "	29.	Vit. B comp.	5 "
12.	Bandaid	3 "	30.	Chloramphenicol capsules	2 "
13.	Kalpanak	20 bottles	31.	Chloramphenicol syrup	40 bottles
14.	Revanol	2 liters	32.	OBH	10 liters
15.	Lysol	2 "	33.	OBP	5 "
16.	Ethyl Chloride	9 bottles	34.	Acopar	1 dose
17.	Alcohol	2 liters	35.	Epsom salts	15 packs
18.	Spritus	2 "	36.	Oralit salt	40 "
<u>IV. Equipment</u>					
1.	Sputit 2 cc	1 "	11.	Catheter	2 sets
2.	Sputit 5 cc	1 "	12.	Examination table	1 "
3.	Injection needles	2 dozens	13.	Writing table	2 "
4.	Sewing needles	2 "	14.	Chairs	4 "
5.	Circumcision kit	1 "	15.	Cabinet	2 "
6.	Stethoscope	1 "	16.	Waiting room couch	3 "
7.	Tensimeter	1 "	17.	Washbasin	2 "
8.	Scales	1 "	18.	Towels	" "
9.	Thermometer	2 "	19.	Buckets	" "
10.	Infuset	10 sets	20.	Gauze scissors	1 "

Source: Archives of Annual Reports - Medic.

B. FAMILY PLANNING

The Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning) program which the government has launched with such visibility in Java has only just begun to receive attention (in 1978) in the transmigration villages. This could be seen from the lack of specific information on KB from officials until 1977. In February 1978, the Information Department showed a film on the subject, but it had little to do with the lives of the transmigrants (and however no inappropriate) since it showed scenes of prosperity and a level of living far beyond these villagers.

KB is familiar to many of the transmigrants from their home areas, and some are even participators. At his own initiative, the first KUDT gave a talk on KB in front of his house, which resulted in 28 people deciding to join the program. But lower officials did not pursue the subject any further, and consequently the prospective members did not in fact participate. In addition, the vasectomy which the Unit Head himself underwent was seen to be unsuccessful, when his wife became pregnant. This had been the fault of the doctor who performed the operation, (he had not informed the KUDT to refrain from sexual relations for a certain period afterwards).

In 1978 there were no KB officials in the village. The distribution of contraceptive pills is handled by the medic, while the installation of IUD's is done by a midwife at the Puskesmas in Kertaraharja I.

According to the medic, the majority of KB receptors are Balinese, and they prefer to use pills. The Balinese willingness to limit their families seems to correlate to their system of values in which the ideal number of children is three, and the wife is free to help her husband in working the fields. The first of these values is obvious from the Balinese naming system in which the first three children are given specific names, but the fourth is called Ketut which means "the one that follows". Any further

offspring only repeat the names of the first 4 in sequence. The second can be seen daily in the farming areas, where the Balinese women work no less hard than their men.

Following is a table of KB acceptors and the contraceptive methods used in the village.

TABLE 10
FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTORS IN UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAM
I AND II IN 1977

Class of Acceptor	No.	Contraceptive Device	No.
Old	19	IUD	9
		Pill	92
New	83	Vasectomy	1
		Condom	-

Source: Archives of Monthly Reports of the Medic.

C. EDUCATION

1. Taman Kanak-kanak (Kindergarten)

In 1976, the first KUDT established the TK of the village. The teachers were two Torajanese women; one was the wife of a Javanese transmigrant, the other was the niece of the Ketua BP3, and had come to this village to escape being married off by her parents. Quite a large number of children attend the TK, although the facilities provided by the government are very inadequate. The TK for instance has no building of its own and at first the lessons were given at the polyclinic, but after the Unit Head moved into that building the TK moved to the Community Center. It later had to move again. In 1978, lessons were given in the grounds of the primary school and the school master of the transmigration primary school is now requesting permission to the officials of the

Pentecostal church to use their building for the TK.

Table 11 shows the composition of the school children according to religious affiliation for 1977-8:

TABLE 11
SCHOOL CHILDREN AT UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAM I AND II
BY RELIGION AND SEX IN 1977

Religion	Male			Female			Total		
	En-ter	Leave	Re-main	En-ter	Leave	Re-main	En-ter	Leave	Re-main
Islam	12	5	6	20	10	10	32	15	17
Christian	2	1	1	1	1	-	3	2	1
Catholic	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hindu	1	-	1	4	1	3	5	1	4
TOTAL	16	6	10	25	12	13	41	18	23

Source: Student Registration Book of TK Transmigrasi.

TABLE 12
SCHOOL CHILDREN AT UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAM I AND II
BY RELIGION AND SEX IN 1977

Religion	Total Students		Total
	Male	Female	
Islam	13	19	32
Christian	3	4	7
Catholic	1	-	1
Hindu	1	9	10
TOTAL	18	32	50

Source: Student Registration Book of TK Transmigrasi 1978.

NOTE: This total includes both those students who are holdovers from the year before and those who are entering for the first time.

2. Primary School

The Primary School (Sekolah Dasar) Transmigrasi opened in January 1976. At the time the school building was not yet complete, so classes were held in the warehouse for seedlings until June, when the SDT was finished. The SDT has cement floors, wood walls, tin roof, and consists of two structures - one facing north and the other south. Each building is divided into 3 rooms, making 6 rooms altogether.

The conditions here are not good. There is no janitor to clean the buildings and boil drinking water for the teachers.

Again during my stay here the writing chalk stocks ran out so that for several days classes were held without chalk. There was a dispute as to who should buy the chalk, there were no funds and the school used to overcome this problem by charging the pupils Rp 15 per month. Sometimes the teachers themselves tried to keep the school running by buying the chalk supplies on their own, but with their low salaries of Rp 15,000 a month they could not continue to do so. These salaries were only first received in April 1977 and for the 15 months before this they were only given an honorarium of Rp 12,500 (although in the records they were entitled to Rp 15,000).

The 6 classrooms are too small to hold the full student body, so school hours are arranged in 2 shifts, the first running from 07.30 to 13.00 and the second from 14.00 until 17.00.

3. Primary School Inpres (by Presidential Instruction)

In January 1978, Kertaraharja II added a new SD school building, from Inpres funds. The roof was made of tin, the walls of brick, the floor from cement and the windows of glass. From the outside, the building looks well done, but initial inspection by the camat revealed part of the floor to be in bad repair. He then ordered the contractor to redo the floor or the building would not be accepted by the government.

D. PRAYER HOUSES

At first, the construction of facilities for spiritual activities was handled by the members of the individual religions. To this end, the first Unit Head gave ample opportunity to the different groups to accumulate money for these projects by awarding them contracts to complete work in the village itself or in villages nearby. Each religious group found this to be helpful, and had been able to erect a prayer house of their own, except the Catholics who because of their small numbers have to go to another village.

Fifty families joined together under the leadership of an ABRI member who was an assistant RT to build a mosque. The Kepala Proyek awarded them contract worth of Rp 150,000 for village work. The cost of the mosque was Rp 100,000, the remainder was divided up among those who had done the work (and the village work was never done). Ten carpenters worked continuously with the assistance of the other transmigrants who worked in shifts. These 10 carpenters were freed from the obligation of gotong-royong while they were building the mosque, which was completed in 4 months and was dedicated on November 11, 1974, 10 months after moving to this village.

E. MARKET

The first Unit Head was clever in solving the problem of providing daily food supplies to the transmigrants as he started a social market. He ordered the transmigrants to clear 1 ha of land (which was purchased from the Kepala of Baku-Baku for Rp 60,000), and each seller who wanted to build a stall on 4 X 6 meters of land was required to pay Rp 2,500. The total sum collected was not in fact enough, so the KUDT had to pay personally for part of the land's expense. Construction of the market began in 1976 and was finished in a few months with small emergency stalls.

The market became busy in 1977, and the methods the Unit Head used to draw people's attention to do their buying there were

excellent. First of all, he opened a shop himself, stocked with a complete assortment of goods and tended by his wife. Next, he loaned capital to several of the prominent citizens to open shops and food stalls themselves. Afterwards, people became interested in their own initiative. The current total of stalls is 18, some of them owned by people from outside the village. These include radio and bicycle repair stalls, and an agent for the "colt" to Palopo. ("Colt" transportation connections to this village began in 1977, an indication of the growth in the village). Although the Kertaraharja II market is crowded, the transmigrants still have trouble disposing of their surplus crops besides rice, for example corn, cassava, and chilis. In the harvest season particularly, the prices drop dramatically. Following is a list of prices for daily needs in 1977:

TABLE 13

Item	amount	Price Rp	Item	amount	Price Rp
rice class III	kg	125	tomato	kg	100
corn	"	50	cucumber	"	50
soybeans	"	100	coconut	1	30
peanuts	"	200	beef	kg	500
sesame seed	"	275	buffalo meat	"	600
coffee	"	950	chicken	1	500
mung beans	"	175	duck	"	750
cassava	"	5	Chicken eggs	"	25
sweet potato	"	10	duck eggs	"	30
gaplek	"	10	coconut oil	bottle	250
sawi	"	75	Kerosene	liter	50
chili	"	50	dried fish	kg	175
garlic	"	1250	palm sugar	"	100
onion (red)	"	170	sugar	"	225
green beans	"	50			

Source: Archives of Yearly Reports KUDT.

Market day in this village falls on Monday and Friday, this last being the busiest when many people from outside the village come. Those who come from quite a distance sometimes arrive the night before and sleep at the coffee stall near the market on benches and mats. The market is already busy at 05.30 a.m. and empty by 11.00 a.m. After the transmigrants of UDT Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II, the majority of buyers are from Kalaena Kiri, which does not yet have a market nor enough stores.

F. RICE MILLING

Three people in this village own rice mills: the first Unit Head, a Buginese ABRI man from RW II, and a former camat in RW IV. The miller owned by the former KUDT is now broken and unusable. Of the two remaining ones the most advanced is that of the transmigrant in RW II. It is located in the village Baku-Baku near the market. (He actually owns two machines, one with a capacity of 9 PK and one of 7 PK which he only uses in the harvest season). The miller owned by the former camat is of 11 PK and is located on his grounds. It was newly bought in Ujung Pandang for Rp 500,000.

The fees for milling rice are not paid in cash but in kind, 1 kg for each 11 kg milled. This arrangement applies to the harvest season; at other times the ratio is 1 out of 10 kgs.

According to the owner of one of the mills, during the harvest season he can realize 100 kgs per day less the cost of fuel. At other times the yields are more like 11 kgs of rice. In my work it was clear that only the Balinese and Torajanese mill their rice to be sold outside of harvest time.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

FORWARD

The study of leadership in the transmigration village Kertaraharja II/Cendana Hitam I and II was interesting because of the many factors which influence the style and process in which leaders arise among the community. In this conclusion I will show briefly the leadership situation in the village now.

A. CLASSIFICATION

In this transmigration village there are three types of leadership: formal, formal traditional, and informal.

Formal leaders are those elevated and authorized by the Jawatan Transmigrasi, and can either be transmigrants or others. Formal leaders are either elected by the community or appointed by the JT, and they hold office below the Unit Head. These include village officers such as the Unit Head, KAD, Ketua RW, Ketua RT, and all their subordinates, and the officers of other organizations like Bamudes, LSD, Kelompok Tani, Koperasi, etc.

Formal traditional leaders are those elected by the transmigrants in accordance with the customs of their home regions and then recognized by the Jawatan Transmigrasi. This occurs only among the Balinese, who maintain their traditional leadership style through the activities of the banjar and the familial organization of the dadia. The banjar leadership includes the Ketua adat, penulis adat, and the Juru Warah's, etc. There is also one position of authority outside the banjar structure, the Ketua Agama, whose role is in fact more important and prestigious than that of the Ketua adat.

Informal leaders are those persons who exercise influence and authority in the community through the force of their talents

and personality and not their position in an officially recognized organization of government or traditional law. These are, and usually not found outside those already involved in official activities. Good examples, however, would be certain old people, such as magic healers, and religious figures who fit into this type.

B. ROLES AND DUTIES

Formal leaders are charged with all matters relating to the growth and welfare of the village community, and they have the authority to enforce compliance with decrees to this end. The Unit Head, a salaried official of the Jawatan Transmigrasi, makes all important decisions in the village and all subordinate officials must get his approval on all decisions and they receive no salary or honorarium for their work.*

Because of the all-encompassing authority of the Unit Head, the progress of the development of the village depends entirely on his qualities of intelligence and enthusiasm, or adversely lack of them. The Unit Head also has to show his superiors that he is successful. This accounts for the limited role in decision making of the village officials below him as the Unit Head is reluctant to entrust his personal career to the results of decisions made by his assistants, particularly as they are chosen from among the transmigrants. Thus usually the formal officials under the Unit Head are ineffectual.

Many of the lower officials suffer from a lack of morale due to their administrative impotence, the confusing lines of authority and often cloudy job definitions. One example shows this - the KAD

* It was decided in one period to give each Ketua RW/RT a $\frac{1}{4}$ ha plot of land, but then the practice was dropped because it was uncertain whether this land was to become the possession of the person only during his term of office or permanently.

has duties that parallel those of the Kepala Unit but he is not allowed to make even the smallest action without asking the prior permission of the KUDT. The majority of the transmigrants are thus inclined to take their official concerns directly to the KUDT, and to bypass the intervening governmental hierarchy.

In light of these findings it is clear that Unit Head should be encouraged to give more responsibilities to their subordinates in exercising authority in their areas. This will develop their pride and confidence in their leadership abilities. It will also lighten the work load of the Kepala Unit.

It should be noted that in this project the first Kepala Unit had tried to do this. He tried to develop leaders from community in this way. First, he held meetings to select people to fill slots in the government. Then he took steps to upgrade their financial status so as to free them for working effectively. Afterwards, he took every opportunity to present these officials at public functions attended by large numbers of the transmigrants, to increase their exposure and acceptance by the community.

Regretably this practice was dropped by the second Kepala Unit and so secondary leadership has withered as a result. It is clear in this project as in many others that the replacement of a Kepala Unit often brings with it a shift in priorities and policies which can have a decided effect on the rate of progress in the village.

C. THE CONDITION OF FORMAL ORGANIZATION

Formal organization in the village can be divided into two parts: the administrative functions handled by the Kepala Unit, the Ketua RW, and Ketua RT; and those organizations that directly deal with developments concerns at the community level: LSD, BAMUDES, BP3, Koperasi, Kelompok Tani, etc. The Kepala Unit is involved in all activities as he acts as the conduit of instructions from the Jawatan Transmigrasi to the KAD, and then on the Ketua RW and so forth.

It has been shown that the lower officials have no authority and little activity. The organizations such as BP3, LSD, and so on are in even worse straits in that they are completely inactive or limited to small numbers of people in relatively unimportant matters.

The Kepala Unit in practice has given full freedom to the officials of these organizations to manage their affairs. They claim however that they have failed because they have not been guided by the KUDT and that the villagers do not realize the importance of their positions and their organizations.

Generally it seems extremely difficult to develop the villagers economic status as whether the people are given freedom to manage their organizations or not, they still fail to work well. One glaring example is the Cooperative where the freedom given in its operation has been abused for the financial gain of certain of its officials.

These are some recommended areas:

1. What has to be done is to give the officials free rein in reaching decisions within their jurisdiction, also check their performance and to prevent the misuse of their power or help them avoid mistakes. It is also important to upgrade their skills.
2. Again the Kepala Unit should be assisted by paid officials, not volunteers, if these organizations are to be run according to standards laid down by the government.
3. The assistants to the Kepala Unit be elected by the transmigrants from among themselves. In this way they will be responsible both to the Kepala Unit and to the community.
4. Compensation for their services in the form of land is not adequate. They should be paid a salary. (It takes at least 5 years to make 2 hectares of land productive, an additional allotment will further strain the officials' time and energies).

D. WHAT ORGANIZATIONS ARE NEEDED BY THE TRANSMIGRANTS

There is no question as to the value of the administrative formal organizations in the village, but there is some doubt whether the transmigrants understand the utility of them (i.e. Banudes, LSD, etc.). Only the Kelompok Tani has any reputation as a useful organization, as it directly effects the transmigrants means of livelihood.

It is too much for the Jawatan Transmigrasi to ask the transmigrants to be active in all fields of development, when during the first 5 years they are totally absorbed in building up their base of their economic livelihood out of what was on their arrival only a wilderness. In addition their previous experience of the transmigrants with organizations like LSD, etc. is limited and many of these organizations are too complicated for them to understand as their own educational level is very low.

One answer would be for the JT to station a few officials from the agricultural field service (PPL) in the village to help the new residents with their farming needs. They could then start the process of building effective organizations by reorganizing the Kelompok Tani to suit the situation in the particular project.

E. FACTORS THAT OBSTRUCT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE

A major problem is the existence of 5 ethnic groups living in this village, each with its own cultural background (the Javanese, Balinese, Lombokese, Buginese, and Torajanese). Of these, it seems that the Javanese are the only group that has reasonably good relations with the others. The Others tend to fight. Thus the Lombokese do not get on well with the Balinese, for internal reasons (i.e. in the time of the kingdom of Karangasen they were colonized by the Balinese). Similarly, the Torajanese and

Buginese were enemies in the time of Andi Sose and Frans Karangan. These historical events still have great influence in preventing these groups from integrating.

The second major obstacle is religion, where the different faiths make differing demands on their adherents. A clear example is in the husbanding of swine. Only the Islamic religion proscribes pigs, whereas the Balinese Hindus and Torajanese Christians like to raise pigs for the high profits that result. The pigs are often allowed to roam free to forage, or if caged they can usually break their way out anyhow. Free roaming pigs are a serious insult to devout Muslims, who anyway object just as strongly to penned in pigs.

The third factor is the difference in arrival dates of the transmigrant groups. Those groups that arrived here first have been able to stabilize their economies and are in a stronger position than those who have newly transmigrated. During the initial periods, the government assistance is insufficient so that the villagers are forced by accumulated debts to work for cash in the fields of their more advanced neighbors who are thus able to take advantage of cheap labor. This time lag also shows up in the area of leadership, where the earlier groups are better organized and function more smoothly (although this does not mean that such leaders are capable of organizing people of different religion and ethnic background).

One last factor is the feeling among the transmigrants that they are "special", a sort of heroes, because they are helping the government in a development program. (They were told **this** in their home regions before departing for the transmigration settlements). Thus they have the attitude that they should receive a lot of attention, reflected in their endless demands to the Kepala Unit asking for government help. This in turn effects their ability to become self-sufficient. The Kepala Unit should be ordered to urge the people to work hard and not depend on government handouts. He should not hesitate to be stern with the transmigrants.

F. HOW TO IMPROVE THE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ALREADY EXIST

It is first necessary to drop those organizations which the people feel no need for, since without support they will be impossible to help. Secondly, the government should pay close attention to those informal organizations which the community forms on its own initiative, so that they do not needlessly overlap with formal organizations. An example of this is the Lumbang Paceklik, which serves the same basic needs as the cooperative and could be encouraged to play an expanded role in economic matters. Informal organizations often have more "real" and useful activities than formal ones.

It would be wiser to avoid the formation of organizations that involve the entire community at this early date, as localized informal ones are clearly more effective. Generally the process of integration among the different groups is slow, and forms an obstacle to the quick mobilization of the village. It will, however, evolve with time.

G. INTRODUCING INNOVATIONS PROPERLY

The all important role of the Kepala Unit makes him the logical choice as the conduit for innovations in the village. Without his blessing, no project or innovation can hope to have any impact. After him, the Ketua RW because of his close contact with the people is the next best channel for such activities. It is thus necessary for these two to cultivate close relations with the informal leadership in the village, who can help select which innovations are needed and will receive the best reception. This may be somewhat dispersed in result, but it will be more effective than trying to start a total campaign to adopt new ideas.

An example of this is the Kredit Candak Kulak (KCK), program of credit to small traders. When this was started it is too early to begin offering credit in the form of cash to traders. First,

because the transmigrant are all struggling farmers already in debt to pay for their daily needs. Any cash credit offered to them will most likely be used to redeem the debts they have already piled up, not to begin a growing business. Secondly, their real needs are agricultural not mercantile. It is more prudent to help them buy equipment like sprayers, insecticides, and saws - all of which they lack.

It was interesting to note that the Balinese most readily accept innovation and are advanced in many aspects, including thrift, willingness to work hard and take risks to improve their prospects.

Several Decisions by the Transmigration Officials/KUDT that
Need to be Brought

First, some of the transmigrants feel that the location of the public facilities close to RW I and II, but far from RW III and IV is a bad one.

Second, the allotment of ladang and sawah by separate lotteries has scattered the location of farm plots in a way that makes it impossible to coordinate group agricultural activities among neighbors.

Third, awarding land allotments to unmarried men causes the land given to remain unused, and the ventual unavailability of land for couples who have already married.

Fourth, the classification of infant babies and married women as heads of families, and the fact that rich people were accepted as transmigrants in the first place, is contrary to transmigration regulations and purposes.

Fifth, permitting transmigrants to buy, sell, and pawn land has led to disputes within the community; in fact, it is already expressly forbidden.

Main Recommendations

1. Formal Leadership

- a. The highest position in the governmental structure, the Kepala Unit, because of his near unlimited authority, is responsible for the development of the village and should be carefully chosen.
- b. He should if possible be a successful former transmigrant, who is sociable in manner but firm in his actions.
- c. It is best that the KUDT is not too frequently replaced when he is the usual result is that programs which have been already implemented by the former office holder are changed by the new one.
- d. To check the work of the KUDT his superiors should make continuous checks.
- e. The KUDT should be assisted by salaried officials, so that they can work with enthusiasm and without fear of losing economic advantage in the sacrifice of their time and energy.
- f. If the KUDT is to be chosen from outside the villagers, then his assistants should be elected from within the transmigrant community.

2. Informal and Formal Traditional Leadership

- a. Informal leadership - which is found in every group of transmigrants - is an important way to generate initiative within the community, to channel and upgrade social activities, the culture and the economy, because of its influence with the people. They should be given full opportunity to play roles commensurate with their abilities and status.
- b. Informal and formal traditional leaders can also be used as agents to introduce innovations and commands

3. Transmigrants

- a. In the first years of their settlement, the transmigrants should be urged to devote as much of their time and energies to working the fields. To this end, they should not be burdened with excessive gotong-royong projects in constructing public facilities.
- b. Priority should be given to all activities which promote economic growth, especially in agriculture.
- c. During this first stage of development, it is best to not introduce formal and informal organizations that are not yet relevant to the pressing problems that the people face. Once the villagers economic base is more secure, the other needs which can be serviced by new social institutes will develop naturally in stages as they are needed.
- d. The transmigrants should be educated to become self-sufficient. This can be done through formal and informal leaders, and by using films and other media.
- e. Careful attention should be paid to the existence of different religious customs as this causes differences and misunderstandings among the various groupings within the community.
- f. Land lotteries should be arranged so that neighbors also hold adjoining plots of farm land, to facilitate communication and coordination of joint efforts in agriculture.
- g. Public facilities should be spread evenly through the village, or better centralized, to prevent part of the transmigrants from feeling isolated.
- h. Awarding land to newly married couples should be reorganized.
- i. It is vital to find ways to prevent the transmigrants from buying, selling, and pawning their land

- holdings either among themselves or with outsiders.
- j. It is necessary to have clear policies to discipline transmigrants who abandon the settlement area.
 - k. Innovations in any form should be carefully considered as to their usefulness and structure, so that they are effective. These should be introduced by the Kepala Unit, through the hierarchy of formal and informal leaders.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DATA ON LAND, CROPS, PLANTING METHOD AND LIVESTOCK
AT UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAM I, II

A. Composition of land according to use and location in 1977

Location	Grounds ha	Dry Fields ha	Wet Fields ha	Unit Land ha	Temple ha	Mosque ha	Church ha
Kertaraharja II							
Kertaraharja II	45	148,75	212	9	4	½	½
Cendana Hitam I, II	63,75	152,50	204	-	-	1	½
Total	108,75	301,25	416	9	4	1,50	1

(Source: Private notes of KUDT)

B. Area of farm land and type of crop planted in 1977

Crop	Area planted ha	Number
-Irrigated rice	250	-
-Dry rice	25	-
-Corn	-	-
-Soyabeans	3	-
-Cassava	65	-
-Sweet potato	2	-
-Vegetables	30	-
-Others	20	-

395 ha

continued

continued Appendix I.B

Crop	Area planted ha	Number
-Coconut	215	21300
-Cloves	4,50	656
-Coffee	15	32150
-Pepper	0,75	500
-Others	1,50	300
Total	234,25 ha.	54906

(Source: Archives of Annual reports of KUDT)

C. Crops and planting method employed by a family of 3 (father, mother, and adult female daughter)

Month	Planting season	Harvest season
November	soybeans/corn	-
January/February	rice	-
February	-	soybeans/corn
March	soybeans	-
May/June	-	rice
June	-	soybeans
July	soybeans	-
October	-	soybeans

(Source: Interviews with several transmigrants)

D. Livestock

Type	Number
-Cattle (aid from Jawatan Transmigrasi)	39
-Cattle (aid from Livestock Bureau)	6
-Cattle (self-acquired)	18
-Chickens	3400
-Ducks	1025
-Geese	6

APPENDIX II

DATA ON LIVELIHOODS, INCOMES, AND EXPENSES IN UDT
KERTARAHARJA II AND CENDANA HITAM I, II

A. Transportation, communication, and other possessions in 1977

Type of object	Number
Motorcycles	-
Bicycles	60
Radios	25
Tape recorders	4
Sewing machines	13
Pump lamps	30

(Source: Annual reports of KUDT)

B. Non-agricultural livelihoods

Type	Number
Weaving bamboo	1 unit
Sewing	2 units
Sawing	16 people
Stone masonry	5 people
Making coconut fiber products	275 people

(Source: Annual reports of KUDT)

C. Income and expenses for a family of 7 (5 adults and 2 children)
for year (1977)

a. Income

1. ½ ha. rice	Rp. 20,000.	
2. Peanuts	3,000.	
3. Corn (850 kgs.)	16,000.	
4. Red onions (500 kgs.)	130,000.	
		Rp. 201,000.

b. Daily expenses

1. 2 liters rice	Rp. 250.
2. Kerosene	20.
3. Coconut oil	50.
4. Salt	5.
5. Trasi	10.
6. Vegetables (from own garden)	25.
7. River fish (caught)	50.
8. Eggs (from own chickens)	60.
9. Soap	20.
10. Tooth paste	10.
11. Cigarettes	70.
	570.

for 1 year x Rp. 570 Rp. 205,200.

deficit 4,200.

APPENDIX III

DATA ON EDUCATION AT UDT KERTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAMI, II

A. Name, origin, religion and education of primary school and kindergarten teachers in 1978

N a m e	Date of birth	Education	Religion	Origin	
Wayan Wantra *	1939	PSGA	Hindu	Bali	Kertaraharja I
Mrs. Rundah	1951	SMPN	Hindu	Bali	Kertaraharja I
Sudimi	1954	PGA	Islam	Java	Kertaraharja II
Y. Panggalo	1953	SPG	Christian	Toraja	Cendana Hitam II
Abdul Waas	1949	PGA	Islam	Lombok	Cendana Hitam I
Titus Sutomo	1948	SPG	Christian	Java	Purwosari
Thomas P.	1948	SPG	Christian	Toraja	Kertaraharja II
Ester Panggoa	1950	PGSLP	Christian	Toraja	Cendana Hitam II
Debora Sewa **	1953	SPG	Christian	Toraja	Kertaraharja II
Martini**	1933	-	Islam	Toraja	Kertaraharja II

(Source: SD & TK statistics 1978)

* School master

** Kindergarten teachers

B. Number of students at SD Transmigrasi by age, sex, and grade in December 1976

Age	Grade I		Grade II		Grade III		Grade IV		Grade V		Grade VI		Number		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
6-7	39	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	39	78
8-9	38	16	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	23	68
10-11	5	1	14	9	3	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	26	13	39
12-13	-	-	5	2	18	5	7	3	1	-	-	-	33	10	43
14-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	7	1	-	-	-	9	4	13
16-17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	82	56	26	18	21	5	13	10	3				152	89	241

(Source: Student registration book SDT 1976)

C. Number of SDT students by religion and grade in
December 1976

Religion	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV	Grade V	Total
Islam	75	14	8	9	3	109
Christian	10	6	5	7	3	31
Hindu	52	24	13	4	7	100
Total	137	44	26	20	13	240

(Source: Registration book SDT 1976)

D. Number of SDT students by age, sex, and grade in December 1977

Age	Grade I		Grade II		Grade III		Grade IV		Grade V		Grade VI		Number		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
6-7	43	40	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	43	89
8-9	14	3	57	43	19	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	59	149
10-11	-	-	10	3	10	2	11	5	1	-	-	-	32	10	42
12-13	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	5	7	6	2	21	9	30
14-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	1	7	3	10
16-17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	58	43	70	49	29	15	21	5	8	9	11	3	196	124	320

(Source: Registration book SDT 1977)

E. Number of SDT students by religion and grade in
December 1977

Religion	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV	Grade V	Grade VI	Total
Islam	32	59	12	6	9	4	122
Christian	26	13	9	7	5	3	63
Hindu	42	47	23	13	3	7	135
Total	100	119	44	26	17	14	320

(Source: Registration book SDT 1977)

F. Number of SDT students by age, sex, and grade in Januari 1978

Age	Grade I		Grade II		Grade III		Grade IV		Grade V		Grade VI		Number		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
6-7	16	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8-9	8	5	44	37	26	15	3	2	-	-	-	-	16	11	27
10-11	-	-	3	5	39	23	7	10	5	-	-	-	81	59	140
12-13	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	2	12	3	5	5	54	38	92
14-15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	5	3	34	10	44
16-17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	4	12
Total	24	16	47	42	65	38	27	14	20	4	10	8	193	122	315

(Source: Registration book SDT 1978)

G. Number of SDT students by religion and grade in Januari 1978

Religion	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV	Grade V	Grade VI	Total
Islam	13	32	43	8	8	8	112
Christian	1	20	9	14	4	7	55
Hindu	26	37	51	19	12	3	148
Total	40	89	103	41	24	18	315

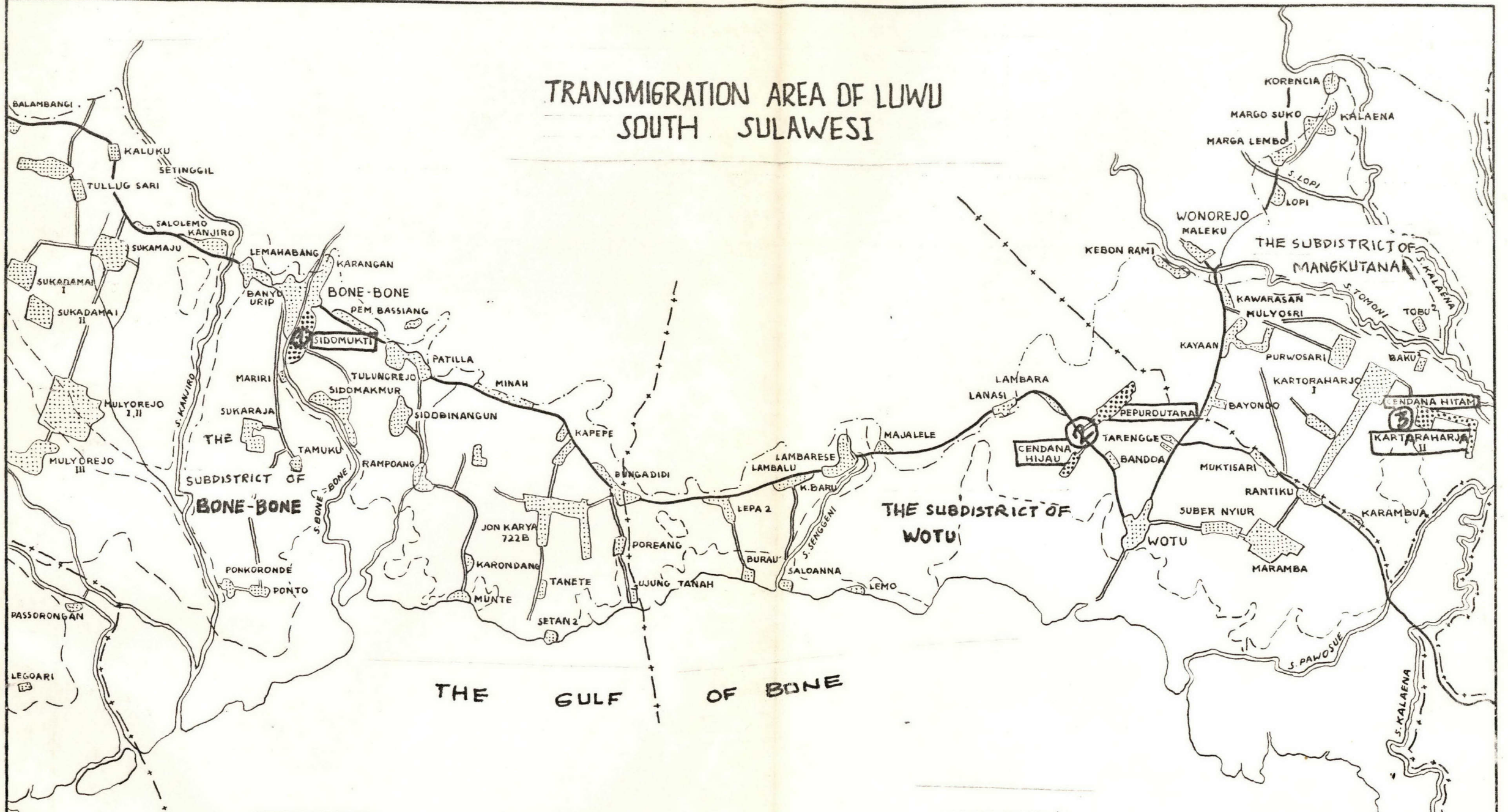
(Source: Registration book SDT 1978)

GLOSSARY



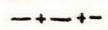


ABRI	=	this refers to members of the Indonesian army.
angkatan pertama	=	this refers to the first wave or group of transmigrants who arrived.
arisan	=	a kind of lottery common in Indonesia.
badan musyawarah desa (BAMUDES)	=	this is a consultative group found in transmigration villages.
badan pengembangan penyclenggaraan pendidikan (BP3)	=	organization involved in educational activities in the village.
bendahara adat	=	an official under (Balinese) customary law who acts as a treasurer in the village.
bulgur	=	a type of imported rice usually reddish in colour.
camat	=	head of a local district.
C4	=	this is a variety of rice seeds.
dinas peternakan	=	a government office dealing with cattle.
dukun	=	traditional healer in Indonesian society.
gotong royong	=	the practice of mutual self-help in Indonesian society.
ilalang	=	wild grass.
imam	=	leaders of Islamic prayers.
jaba/sudra	=	the lowest caste in the Balinese Hindu caste system.
kabupaten	=	administrative units under a province.
KAD	=	a local official in the village administration.
kampung	=	another term for village.
kangkung	=	a kind of plant eaten as vegetables.
kecamatan	=	local districts, administrative units under a <u>kabupaten</u> .
kelompok pendengar (KP)	=	a listeners' group to the rural radio programmes.
kelompok tani (KT)	=	a farmers' group.
keluwing	=	certain poisonous insects
ketua adat (KA)	=	the officer responsible for traditional law in Balinese society.

ketua rukun warga (KRW)	=	the head of an administrative unit in the village composed of about sixty families.
kredit candak kulak (KCK)	=	credit given to small traders.
ladang	=	dry unirrigated land for plantation.
lembaga sosial desa (LSD)	=	social organizations in Indonesian villages.
lumbung paceklik	=	rice storage facility to keep supplies for time of need.
lurah	=	village heads.
pinangka	=	a kind of fruit.
OPSTIB	=	the synonym given for campaign against corruption in Indonesia.
PB variety	=	a variety of rice seed.
pecahan KK	=	a special term in transmigration areas referring to offsprings of transmigrants who then live with their families apart from their parents.
PUSKESMAS	=	government health center.
rotan	=	rattan.
RT	=	small administrative units in the village consisted of usually thirty families.
RW	=	administrative units in the village consisted of some sixty families.
sawah	=	irrigated rice fields.
SD Inpres	=	elementary schools built under a direct presidential instruction.
subak system	=	the traditional Balinese irrigation system.

TRANSMIGRATION AREA OF LUWU SOUTH SULAWESI



- TRANSMIGRATION VILLAGES:**
1. SIDOMUKTI 1935
 2. PEPURU UTARA/CENDANA HIJAU 1974/75
 3. KARTARAHARJA II/CENDANA HITAM I, II 1972/73

- LEGENDS:**
-  TRANSMIGRATION VILLAGE
 -  ROAD
 -  ALLEY
 -  SUBDISTRICT BOUNDARIES
 -  RIVER

