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Indonesia Transmigration Sector Review Files - Gloria Davis - Drafts -
Papers 1970

Varieties in Adaptation:

Balinese Migrants in Central Sulawesi

Gloria Jean Davis

November 20, 1974

Prepared for the American Anthropological Association Meetings
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are reserved by the author and other quotations may not be made with-
out written consent of the author"

On May 16, 1973, a small group of Balinese migrants and I picked our way through thorns ^{fallen trees and inextinguishable swamp which surrounded} and swamps in an area near their new homes in the jungles of Central Sulawesi. ^{the} Our destination ^{of our undistinguished band} was a small knoll which was said to have ^{Not only was it a mound otherwise even swamp but} ~~many~~ unusual properties. ^{had been} ~~It was a hill in a flat area; nine large stones~~ ^{found among the undergrowth; a small spring issued forth at its base and flowed} ~~around the mound.~~ ^{it to merge with the stagnant waters of the rainforest.} Our task was to discover whether traditional Balinese symbols and supernatural forces ^{have succeeded to move from the island of the gods to the god-possessed} ~~still prevailed~~ in Central Sulawesi.

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

In Bali such an event would have been commonplace. But ~~the~~ Balinese had been in Sulawesi for nearly 65 years and, until that date there had been no sacred ^{hills} ~~spots~~, no familiar spirits, ^{and} ~~nor had there~~ ^{to my knowledge, nor had} ~~ever been a trance.~~ ^{effluence} In fact, the reassertion of traditional Balinese culture which ensued could hardly have been predicted from past events. Earlier groups had shown ^{diverse, but} ~~distinctively~~ different patterns of adjustment to Sulawesi. ~~What had happened? And why?~~

The exiles

When the Dutch consolidated their power in Central Sulawesi in 1905 they immediately recognised the fertility of the Parigi area and the marginal productivity of the indigenous people. Casting about for a means of inspiring the locals

*Central Sulawesi (formerly the Central Celebes) is a province in the Republic of Indonesia.

GD (2)

the Dutch imported twelve families who had been exiled by the radjas of Bali for political and marital indiscretions (mainly for marrying women of higher castes). Over the next twenty years, perhaps sixty additional Balinese families were exiled to the area. When a general amnesty was declared in 1928 most returned home.

When ~~the~~ Balinese exiles ^{had} arrived in Parigi they came as a high-culture group (in terms of religious, political and agricultural organization) into a relatively low-culture area. The indigenous people, called Kaili, were mainly swidden agriculturalists and nominally Moslem. The Balinese, who had arrived with the support and sponsorship of the Dutch, were not entirely answerable to the local radja or people for either religious or social sanctions. The Dutch themselves formally discouraged conversion and/or assimilation among the Balinese whose culture they admired for its artistic and religious expression.

Under these circumstances there is little wonder that the exiles progressed pretty much as they pleased in Parigi. They set up their agricultural system, put increasing amounts of land under cultivation, preserved their religious rituals and traditional worldview, made a conspicuous display of offerings and held several cremations. They maintained much of their customary law and continued (as most Indonesians do) to speak their mother tongue at home. When amnesty was proclaimed, all but four patrilineal extended families returned to Bali.

After the war and revolution the remnants of this community could neither count on Dutch mediation nor the insulation of a large Balinese community and they made many adjustments to local conditions.

GD (3)

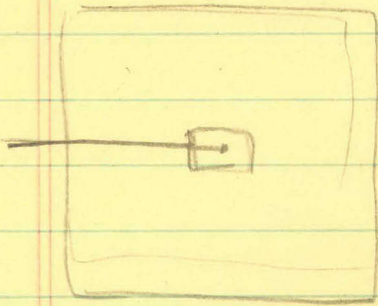
Even greater absorption into the indigenous culture may have been prevented by the fact that the Balinese continued to enjoy elite economic positions within the community, and in spite of limited contact with the homeland they continued to maintain a feeling of cultural superiority.

The Christians

The first group of Christians arrived in Parigi in 1957 at the height of Islamic secessionist activity, and in a period when Hinduism enjoyed no official recognition or protection from the national government. Under these circumstances they allied themselves neither with the Hindu Balinese nor the local Moslem people, but settled instead with another Christian group who were themselves refugees from Islamic activity in the north. In their attempt to distinguish themselves from the Hindu Balinese and maintain themselves in this time of Islamic threat, these Christians and those that followed embarked on a self-conscious program of social and economic development. Their examples were taken from national and Christian sources with an emphasis on the western models presented to them by the fundamentalist church in Bali and observed in the westernised ways of the Christians from Manado and islands to the north.

Phases
Stages of Growth within The Settlement

PHASE I



Phase I - first year

1. Heavy machinery clears, nucleus village
builds barracks for construction workers & agriculturalist

2. Adjacent to core area trial fields and seedling plots are established, they will provide information

- a - info on appropriate cash crops
- b - info on appropriate fertilization
- c - demonstration fields for migr.
- d - seedlings

3. Heavy machinery clears house lots and gardens for nucleus village

- Spreads rock phosphate
- suds cover crop
- 4. Builds barrack for 100 kK. +
- 5. Stockpiles for building houses

* Stockpiled in center (Pioneer settlers can be entered but so many wait till conclusion of phase I)

6. Roads

Phase II

1. Pioneer settlers > 100 kK of most competent farmers established in nuclear area

2. Machinery repeats process in four corner villages clear on house lots for 75 kK each (1/4 of peripheral villages reserved for non-sponsored home villages, builds barracks, stockpiles supplies)

4. 400 Settlers arrive (build houses)

3. Clinic, market buildings erected in nucleus village

4. House lots are cleared in villages B, D, F, H. Heavy machinery departs 1/4 of land in

Phase III

When surplus are being produced

Villages B, D, F, H. Open to Semi-sponsored migration transport, tools stipend to hire local labor for construction of houses clearing of land

Roads

lay of land
soil types

1
2
3
4
5
6

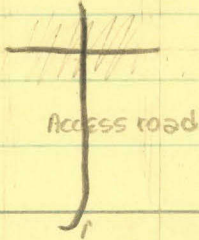
Hypothetical Example of Phasing Project Development

Land development

- At Nucleus
Community
 Market
 School
 etc -
 Migrants

STAGE I

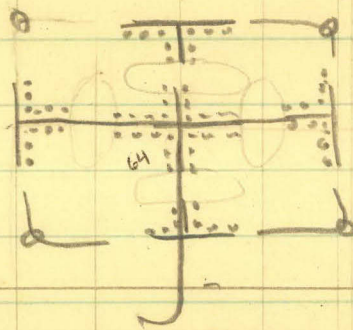
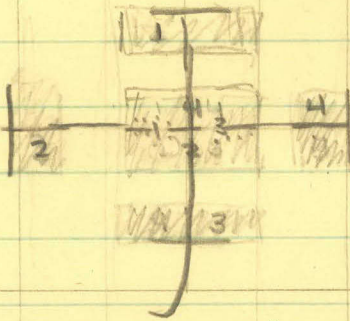
- capital intensive
- land clearing
- planning
- support intensive



- Provided
- travel
 - open house lots
 - open 1 ha
 - one year support
 -
 -
 -

STAGE II

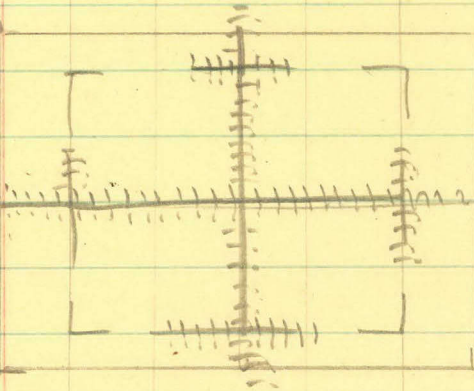
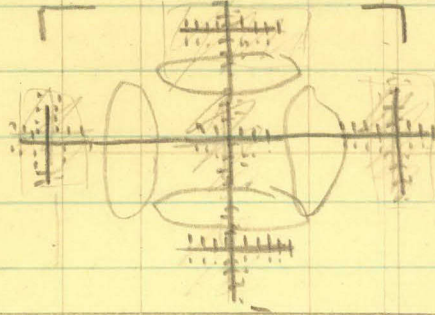
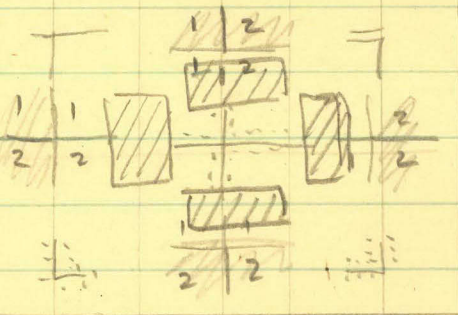
- stage I
- migrants arrive
- plant house lots
- clear stage 2 lands
- 2 lands



- fully sponsor
- moderate support & services

STAGE III

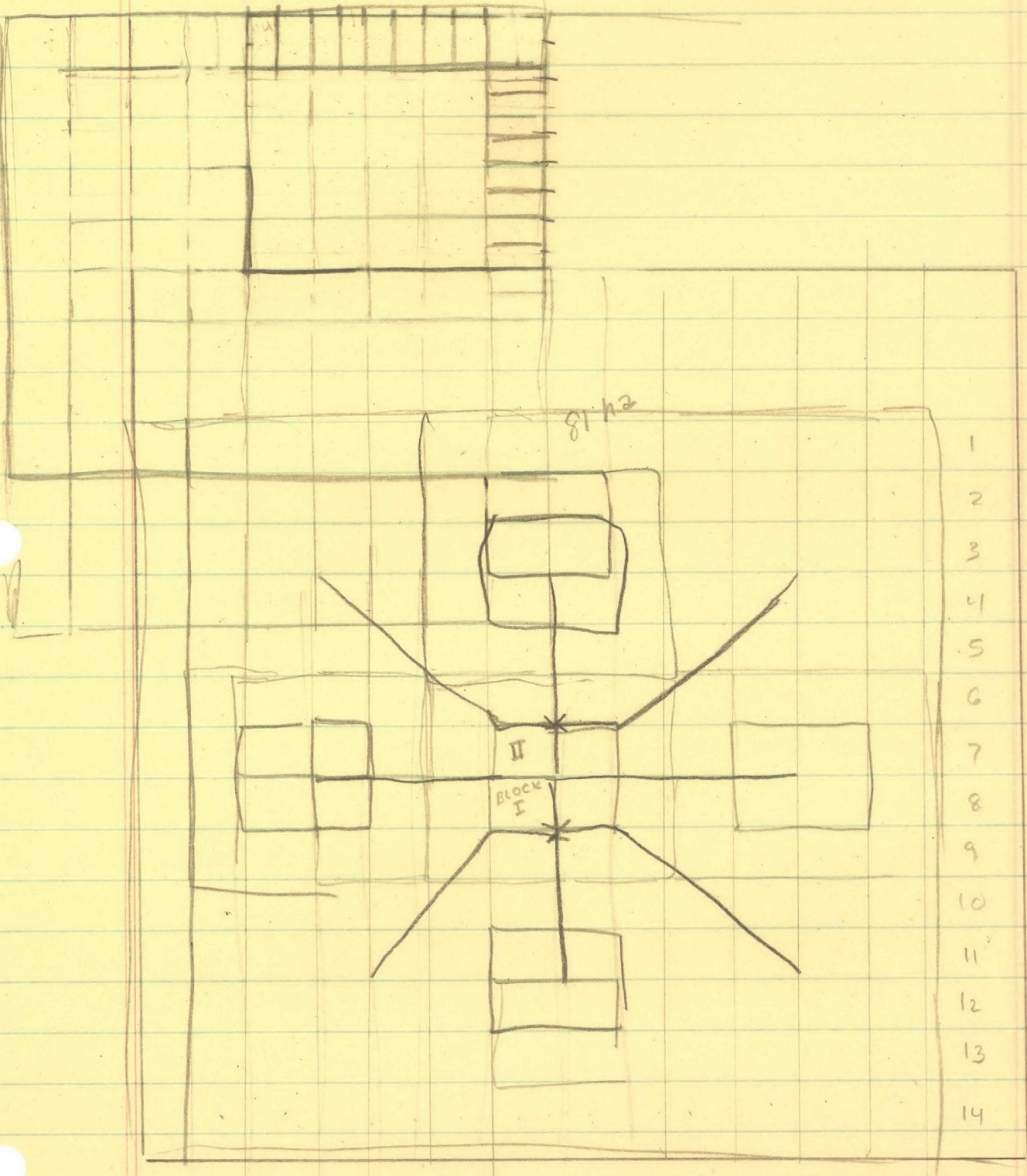
- stage II migrants arrive
- plant lots
- clear stage III land
- stage I mig
- open odd 1 ha (for rubber etc)
- unspon mig allowed to settle
- can hire labor



50m

48
56

$16 \overline{) 56} \begin{array}{r} 3.5 \end{array}$



350

16x4=64

← For all of these reasons it is necessary to develop a perspective which will place particular communities into an on-going settlement strategy. A strategy which acknowledges and builds upon the different problems and potential inherent in migrant communities at different stages in the settlement process. To this ^{end} this brief paper ~~looks at stages of development~~ ^{builds a model which illustrates stages in the} process:

is intended as a means of opening discussion and debate about the need for and nature of such a settlement strategy (TRANSPROGRAM) to which ^{the paper} ~~begins~~ ^{on}

- within the settlement (Singkur, Rimbobuang, and Muli) and
- within the "project" (all the settlements within a bounded space of land)
- within the geographical area in which the projects are located

It then asks what this model tells us that can be used to answering the questions on page one. It concludes by asking what questions are unanswered and need further explanation in the field

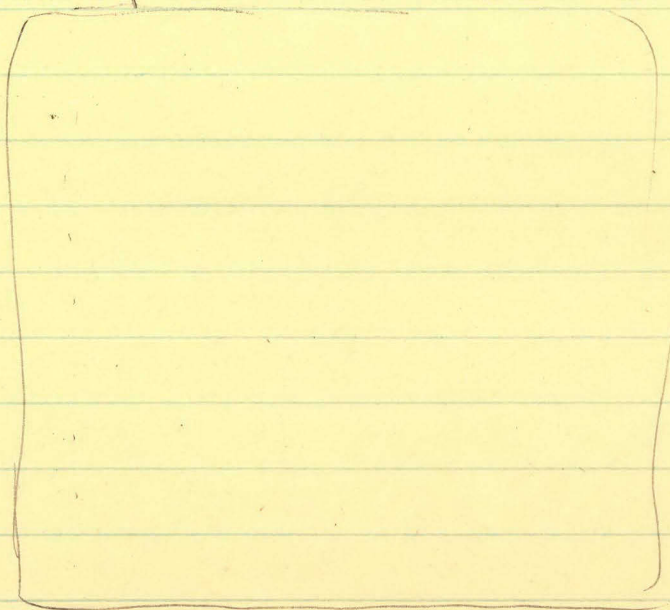
contributed to the ~~unanswered~~ questions on p. one. It then in explains whether these answers are sounder than those we obtain using a piecemeal approach. Finally

STAGES OF SETTLEMENT

The ~~latterly~~ arbitrary model presented below is based on the assumption of a 50,000 ha site, 20% of which is unusable. ~~The target~~ ~~paper~~ In this particular model each migrant family is given ^a 0.5 ha house lot ~~lot~~ and an additional 1.0 ha for food crops. A further 3.5 ha are ^{available} reserved for ~~an~~ appropriate combinations of food crops cash crops and pasture; determinations which are to be made on the site, as it evolves.

The paper refocuses on what we ~~need to know if the area~~ ^{is to} actually develop such an ~~area~~ ^{approach, and} ~~strategy~~ ^{strategy} and for my own purposes ~~it~~ ^{it} suggests ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~goals~~ ^{goals} in ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~an~~ ^{an} anthropologist might make ~~con~~ ^{con} ~~tributions~~ ^{tributions} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~area~~ ^{area}

The building blocks of the settlement are villages consisting of a village



four ~~duruk~~ ^{of 64} ~~fam~~ ^{families} 96 families

On May 16, 1973, a small group of Balinese migrants and I picked our way through thorns, fallen trees through thorns, fallen trees, and the interminable swamp which surrounded their new homes in the ^{rainforest} ~~jungle~~ of Central Sulawesi.¹ Our destination was a small knoll which was said to have highly unusual properties. Not only was it a mound ~~on~~ ^{an otherwise flat plain} ~~an otherwise even swamp~~, but nine large stones had been found among the underbrush, ^{and} on the mound and a small spring ^{of fresh water} ~~issued fresh water~~ ^{from} ~~at its base of the mounding,~~ ^{the base.} flowing and ~~flowed~~ ^{and into} ~~around the base to merge with~~ the stagnant waters of the swamp, rainforest. Our task was to discover whether traditional Balinese symbols and supernatural forces ~~could be said to prevail~~ ^{still} in Central Sulawesi. ~~This island that~~ ^{was} ~~was their new home.~~

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

In Bali such an event would have been commonplace. But Balinese had been in Sulawesi for nearly 65 years, and until that date there had been no sacred hills, no familiar spirits, nor, to my knowledge, had there ever been a trance. Early immigrants had shown diverse and distinctively different patterns of adjustment: ~~the~~ self-sufficient isolation, near assimilation, Christian conversion, the emulation of a national Indonesian ~~middle~~ elite. ^{Indeed, of all patterns of adaptation} In fact, the efflorescence of traditional Balinese culture of which this trance was a part seemed ^{but} ~~unpredictable~~ ^{the least predictable, likely} in light and in fact ~~inconsistent with~~ ^{of} past events.

A Brief History of the Balinese Migration to Central Sulawesi

THE EXILES

In 189^{the} ~~9~~ ^{the} Adriani and Kruijt, Dutch ethnographer-missionaries, travelled through the Parigi ~~district~~ ^{of} on a tour through Central Sulawesi. At that time they noted a 40 km stretch of ^{land} ~~land~~ ^{distance} between the Dolaggo and Sausu rivers which was completely depopulated during interethnic wars of the 1860's. The authors reported that ~~this was an area of dense forest and was referred to by the natives as the~~ ~~this area was called~~ ^{form} "Tana Boa" or "the empty land", ~~but~~ ^{neither} they nor the locals could have predicted that when the land was eventually filled it would be ^{filled} ~~by~~ ^{some 15,000 immigrants from} ~~some 15,000 immigrants from~~ Balinese.

The first Balinese to settle in Central Sulawesi arrived in Parigi in 1907.

Given the fact that ^{Hindu} Balinese are noted for being parochial, ~~and~~ ^{and} culture-proud, and that ~~their island was still a purported paradise at the time,~~ ^{they are among the least mobile of all Indonesian peoples} one suspects that it took drastic conditions to drive these ~~people so far from.~~ ^{individuals to move.} ~~And, in fact,~~ the first of the Balinese ^{immigrants were} ~~exiles were immigrants,~~ men and women banished from Bali for ~~alleged~~ ^{alleged} political offenses and violations of ~~the~~ ^{the} adat or ^{customary} ~~traditional~~ law. In most cases the men had married women of higher caste.

no A
O.K.

Beginning with twelve families in 1906, the exile community reached a peak of ~~perhaps sixty families in the mid-1920's.~~ ^{perhaps sixty families in the mid-1920's.} It collapsed in 1928 when the Dutch ended their use of exile as a means of social control. ~~Most Balinese~~ ~~exiles returned to Bali as soon as amnesty was granted, others left Sulawesi during the economic chaos which followed the world depression. After the second world war and the Indonesian revolution only four patrilineally extended families, about twenty Balinese households remained in Parigi. These descendants of the early exiles~~

~~These~~ ^{the} exile families ^{had} arrived in Parigi with the support and sponsorship of the Dutch, ~~and under these circumstances there is little wonder that they progressed pretty much as they pleased.~~ ^{traditional than} They set up ^{into} ~~their~~ ^{western} agricultural systems, put increasing amounts of land ^{under} ~~under~~ ^{Hindu} cultivation, preserved their ^{religious} ~~religious~~ rituals and traditional worldview, made a conspicuous display of offerings and held several ^{ceremonies} ~~ceremonies~~. They maintained much of their customary law and continued ^{as most Indonesians do} ~~to speak their mother tongue at home.~~ ^{Balinese in their home communities} They continued ^{In spite of their exile they continued to identify strongly with Bali and when amnesty was declared in 1928 virtually all returned home.}

Balinese converted individually and often in the face of great antagonism. Having already cast off an important part of their culture, and adopted new models for behavior they aptly characterized themselves as "open to change". Be that as it may, ~~as we have seen~~ there was no⁴ great enthusiasm for the move to Parigi. Sulawesi, it was known, had been wracked by Islamic secessionist activity³ and the district of Parigi was a complete unknown. Of the sixty families waiting to go to Sumatra, all but five decided to wait.

The five who did venture to Parigi settled first in the TanaBoa, but became⁵ afraid of their isolation and the threat of guerilla activity, eventually ^{they} took refuge with other Christians outside of the town. When peace returned to the area Wayan Simon wrote to his uncle and asked, Is there⁶ peace? Is there land? Is there water? The answers ~~were~~ ^{were} yes and Simon prepared to ~~go~~ ^{depart}. The first group ^{to leave Demberana} consisted of twenty families, then nine, ~~more~~, then forty-eight more. ~~Christian families arrived.~~ All settled in the northern areas of the Tana Boa, a place which they called Massari, the source of gold.

^{yet} These spontaneous migrants ~~still~~ represented only a portion of those in west ~~These~~ Bali who were willing to move. A few preferred Sumatra or Sumbawa, but most were simply unable or unwilling to migrate without some form of government ^{sponsorship.} ~~support.~~ ^{Early emigrants, Parigi officials, and those waiting continually petitioned the office of mig for support.} ~~Thus in 1962~~ the government agreed to transfer 1000 Balinese to a point just south of Massari. Owing to difficulties in getting transport and supplies, only 52 families ^{in 1962,} ~~actually~~ ^{families, however,} moved. ~~But~~ these 52 ultimately constituted the core of a community which was, within a decade, to become the most prosperous ~~community~~ ^{main community} in the district of Parigi, ~~This government sponsored settlement was aptly named~~ ^{village was called Simpuy} ~~Sumbersari,~~ the source.

same time they kept an open mind toward the indigenous populations, used Chinese and Buginese middlemen in trade, remained deferent to local sensitivities (in eating pork, for example) and tread lightly in the minefields of government and inter-ethnic relations. Generally they identified themselves first as Christians then as Balinese.

In 1966 the transmigration office began to clear land 10 km south of Sumbersari in a place called Torue. They intended the area for settlers displaced from the Philippines, but none arrived. The Balinese had long had their eyes on this land, and ~~when~~ after waiting a year they organized a delegation consisting of a representative group of those already present in Sulawesi. It was the task of this group to attempt to persuade the ~~gxxx~~ governor's and transmigration offices in Sulawesi or Parigi to sponsor the movement of a second group of Balinese. With the support of the governor's office in Sulawesi, the transmigration office agreed to provide support and the nine delegates immediately registered 200 families consisting primarily of family and friends. This group of 1,000 people, arrived in Torue December 12, 1967.

Of the 200 families, only ___ were Christian upon departure, ___ converted on the way, while ___ families were and remained Hindu. Thus for the first time, there was a substantial community of non-Christians in the Tana-Boa. Then in December of 1969, 17 Hindu families, long-term residents of Kampung Bali, staked out their claims to land in a wide alluvial plain called Tolai. (See map). These new arrivals, together with the government sponsored migrants of Torue were to provide the nucleus for a chain reaction of in-migration which entirely filled the Tana Boa which was to entirely fill the Tana Boa within a period of five years.

GD (6)

The economically successful and politically powerful Hindus in Parigi, much surprised
The Hindus in Parigi rediscovered forgotten ceremonies and attempted to form
an irrigation society after thirty years without one.

Christians were also drawn into a solidarity with their Hindu brothers, and a
certain sense of competition ^{even} developed in which Christian settlements claimed
to have truer or better Balinese drama or agriculture. The best drama in the
area, ^{for example} was said to belong to the Catholics. (One of my assistants ^{claimed} told me it was
good because no one knew the stories ^{but still} — it seems they had been taken from the
Bible.) Christians and Hindus also began to cooperate in economic endeavors
both groups crossing religious lines to use Balinese work groups, rice mills
and middlemen.

On a fine night in the full moon of June, 1973, 2,000 armed Balinese migrants
proceeded from Tolai to the beach to "get" a Buginese who had been cheating them.
Fortunately for him, ~~Amok~~, the Buginese, fell from his house and into the swamp
where he remained totally submerged for the entire night, with ^{only} his nose ^{remained}
above water. Even though the consequences would have been grave had they succeeded
in injuring someone from another ethnic group
only three Balinese attempted to stop the mob — all were long term Parigi resi-
dents. The recent immigrants ~~and~~ regarded this as a highly successful show of ^{new} ^{found}
physical strength.

Six months later the Hindu representative in the local parliament married the daughter
of Parigi's most respected Hindu family. Far from closeting away the Hindu ritual,
as was done in the past, the family invited all the major government officials
(mainly Moslems) to attend the ceremony. At this time they were given a full
explanation of Hindu cosmology, the nature of offerings, the reason for incense
and so on. I ^{also} myself attended in full ceremonial regalia to lend a little anthro-
pological authenticity to the occasion. The evening ended with the first full-
scale performance of Balinese dance and drama for a non-Balinese audience. ~~This~~
was seen as an obvious show of cultural strength.

In the ten years between 1957 and 1967^{only} about 200 Balinese families arrived in Sulawesi, ^{but} three-quarters of them Christian. ^{During this period} All Hindus settling initially in the ^{Christian areas} Massari or Sumbasari area eventually ^{converted, generally to conform to the} became Christian (in the one exceptional case, ^{the family eventually moved out.} ~~the family eventually moved out.~~ ^{On many occasions it seems likely} In theory it seems that conversion from Bali-Hindu beliefs to Christianity ^{was} must have been very stressful to the migrants ^{themselves}

since ^{Given that} so much of Balinese culture ^{appears to be said to be} seems identified with ^{Hindu ritual &} their religious beliefs,

It is my impression, however, that this was not the case. ^{Admittedly} a factor of self-selection was at work. Villagers who strongly disapproved of Christianity were unlikely to have moved, and extremely unlikely to have settled in Christian communities. ^{Apparently} For most who did move, ~~the~~ acceptance, and inclusion within their new communities was ^{clearly} more important than ~~their~~ traditional beliefs. ⁽²⁾

And while one might suppose that the decision to convert would at least be rationalized in religious terms, a short survey among Christians who converted in Sulawesi indicated that only 20% of community members gave unequivocally religious reasons for having become Christian; 47% gave purely social considerations -- i.e. they wanted to get along with their neighbors, they went along with the decision of a spouse, and so on.

^(a) This the new arrivals choose to be like the people they interacted with the most, the Christian Balinese; and through this decision they embarked on a lifestyle which was characterized by non-traditional ways of behaving. ^{Using as ~~models~~ ^{this guide} idealized models of Christian behavior based on knowledge received through the fundamentalist Bali Church} the westernized Christians ^{to the} people of north Sulawesi (the ~~Minahassa~~ ^{Minahassa}) the new immigrants embarked on a ^{forward-looking} ~~program~~ ^{planned} of ~~planned~~ change. They joined GMIM - the Minahassa Christian Church, they erected church structures and placed their schools and clinics within ~~them~~ ^{them}. They adopted Indonesian as the language for all official functions (including worship, which in Bali was held in the vernacular), ~~they adopted~~ and they began to wear "western" dress. ^{Although the new immigrants} ~~They adopted modern agricul~~ ^{they adopted new ag practices as well.} tural practices while maintaining traditional work patterns where effective, ^{Most} surprising, ^{Christians} they managed to almost totally eliminate gambling and divorce (cherished Balinese institutions), control the use of black magic and the belief in poisoning; and significantly decrease the belief in spirits and animistic practices. At the

The Mass Migrants

~~Between 1957~~^{By} and 1967 conditions bearing on an evaluation of Parigi and Bali had completely changed. In Bali, population pressure increased, the central ~~the~~ districts of the island had average population densities/~~km~~^{km} of 750^{and more}. At least one in ~~four~~^{four} owned no land, fully one-third of the work force was under-employed. Whereas in the past, absolute deprivation was disguised by "shared poverty" (~~cf Geertz, 1963~~), the coup and countercoup of 1965 ~~had~~^{had} rent the fabric of community solidarity, poisoned reations among kinsmen and ^{obtain} made it possible and ^{Sometimes} even necessary for individuals ~~to move~~ who would never have considered migration in the past. ^{to move}

In Sulawesi, on the other hand, land and water were still free, and the community was becoming increasingly well known. Relatives and friends who were doubtful at first now had concrete evidence of the success of those who had gone before. Additionally, in 1965 a new factor ^{was} had been added, ~~to the equation~~, the advent of the green ^{rice} revolution in Central Sulawesi. With the introduction of hybrid variety rices, immigrants found themselves able to harvest two to two and one-half times ^{per} year. This not only provided increasing surpluses, but additional amounts of work. Land-holders who were desperate for labor could find none; other Balinese were busy, the local people were indifferent to the opportunities for wage work. Under these circumstances ^{In search of labor the} Balinese turned their attention ^{to} Bali, enjoining and, in fact, sponsoring the immigration of kin. ^{thus} With the green revolution rices, individuals were not "pushed" or "pulled", but "sucked" into Central Sulawesi as agricultural help. Arriving in Parigi, families could expect to spend a season or two on the land of a sponsor and then move to land of thir own. In time of hardship they could usually return to their benefactor (generally a kinsman) for both emotional and financial support.

Under these circumstances, mushrooming in-migration occurred. In 1968 and 1969 only 100 Balinese families found their was to Central Sulawesi. 300 families arrived in 1970, and in 1971 there were 500 more. In 1972 1,500 families --

an estimated 4,000 Balinese, settled in Parigi. By the end of 1972 the provincial government decided to halt the distribution of land, in order to ~~allow normal~~ provide for normal population growth. In spite of government discouragement, ~~2~~ however, ^{some} 12,000 ^{immigrants} families arrived in 1973 either to buy property from the locals or squat on the land of relatives. Without provincial controls, some 8,000 ~~families~~ ^{families} had been expected.

In spite of an effort on the part of ^{many} Christians to recruit and reserve land ~~mainly~~ ^{mainly} for other Christians, this new wave of spontaneous migrants consisted almost entirely of Hindus, ^{few of whom converted.} ~~who remained Hindu.~~ Prior ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ 1970, 25% of the Hindus arriving in Sulawesi had become Christian. In 1971, 4% of the new migrants converted, and in 1972 and 1973 ~~this~~ ^{this} became a mere fraction of one percent. ⁽¹⁾ (For 1973 I have records of only 12 conversions among two thousand or so immigrants).

A number of factors may be cited for the decline in Christian conversion. Historically the ~~position~~ ^{position} of Hinduism in Indonesia had improved with the recognition of (Bali) Hinduism as a world, and ~~hence~~ ^{hence} acceptable religion. Books and publications appeared which explained the basis for Hindu ritual and ~~a~~ ^{an} the leadership in Bali began to defeudalize many religious practices. ^A Hindu ^{organization} leaders had also grown up in Sulawesi ^{when} who could direct the adaptation of a highly Bali-specific set of beliefs ^{to} ~~a~~ ⁱⁿ new situation. Finally, the focus on Bali as a world tourist ~~spot~~ ^{spot} reinforced the Hindu-Balinese sense of self-importance.

But it was not only in religion that the assertion of a strong sense of ~~Balinese~~ ^{Balinese} identification with tradition ^{values} and behavior ~~could~~ ^{were} be felt. New agricultural systems were set up in Tolai with minute attention to ~~the~~ ^{the} ancient rules and regulation, in spite of the fact that Sulawesi was a water-surplus area which made many of the rules ~~quite~~ ^{quite} irrelevant. Irrigation temples ~~also~~ ^{also} appeared for the first time in Tolai, ^{the first Hindu community most recent} ~~the last~~ of the migrant communities. Customary law was reestablished by ~~the most recent~~ ^{in Tolai} migrants as the basis for social order, and government intervention was restricted to cases of inter-group dispute. Elsewhere ^a Balinese house-style appeared, shadow plays were held ~~for the first time~~, and a gamelan and dance troop were established. Sacred hills were found, the first trance occurred. Gambling, spells, magical deaths and poisonings were all of a sudden rampant among Balinese.

Initially the focus of Balinese ethnicity was on Tolai, but ultimately ^{the idea of longest or from B. comm.} Although one might expect a kind of conservative interpretation of ethnicity among the most recent arrivals, the surprising thing was that this assertion of Balinese-ness extended into the older more established communities as well. Hindus, in particular, were placed under considerable pressure to build irrigation temples, improve community temples and return to customary law. The economically successful and politically powerful Hindus in Kampung Bali were persuaded to revive forgotten ceremonies, and they began to ~~form~~ ^{develop an} and irrigation society after thirty successful years without one.

Christian were also drawn into a solidarity, or perhaps competition, with their Hindu ^{Kuri} brothers. In some cases Christian settlements claimed to have truer or better Balinese culture as evidenced by their dramatic ^{agricultural projects and productions} of agriculture. The best Balinese drama in the area, for example, was said to belong to the Catholics. ¹ (One of my assistants claimed that it was good because the stories were all new -- it seems they had been taken from the Bible.) Christians and Hindus also began to cooperate in economic endeavors, both groups crossing religious lines to use Balinese work groups, ^{cooperated in} rices mills and middlemen. Balinese together marched on the Bugis ^{enclaves} and attended with pride the ~~Bugis~~ marriage.

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

^{or} Six months later the Hindu representative in the local parliament ^{to} married the daughter of Parigi's most respected Hindu family. ^{a ceremony to which} Far from closeting away the Hindu ritual, as was done in the past, the family invited all the major government ^{were invited to attend} officials (mainly Moslems) to attend the ceremony. At this time they were given in other words the penululum had come full swing; for the ~~to~~ ^{Second King} in ~~sixty~~ ^{Seventy} years Parigi once again contained a community that was ^{unparalleled} ^{unlike any other} ^{Balinese}

74
06

Problem

What has been described ~~seems~~ ^{are} multiple forms of adaptation, ^{forms} which seem at first (or at least so they seemed to me) to be diverse and in fact contradictory. The exiles were isolated and self-sufficient, while the descendants of ~~the~~ exiles were gradually assimilated to local ^{customs} ~~ways~~. Among Christians there was the adoption of an idealized "Christian" or "modern" model for behavior and ~~the concomitant~~ an abandonment of traditional ^{patterns of behavior} ~~ways~~. ~~Toward the end of this history there is a~~ Then, with the appearance of the mass migrants there was an emphatic ~~re~~statement of Balinese ways and an eventual attempt ^{not only} to be incorporated, ~~and, in fact~~ ^{but actually to} re-Balimize ^{the} earlier groups.

~~So the problem is to~~ Upon returning from the field I wondered whether I might discover a relatively simple concept which could be used to understand the differences in adaptation and which could answer the questions ^{which emerged from the data} I had: why didn't the descendants of exiles assimilate to the numerically more important group? Why didn't Christians adapt to the patterns of previous immigrants? Why the number of Christian conversions? Why did they stop? ^{How had} ~~Why did~~ Balinese ethnicity become so important? And why could previous immigrants ~~be incorporated into more traditional forms of behavior?~~ have their behavior altered by less ~~able~~ knowledgeable and more traditional groups? The analysis, I ~~believe~~ ^{am reluctant to admit seems} ~~is best~~ ^{beginning with} facilitated by ~~use~~ of that old sociological work horse, the ~~former~~ ignominious reference group.

They identified themselves first as Christians then as Balinese.

Mass Migrants

In 1966 the transmigration office began to clear land ^{10km} south of Sumbersari in a place called Towe. They intended to ~~bring refugees from~~ the area ~~land for settlers who were displaced~~ from the Philippines. A grant passed but and non-arrived. ~~At this point they~~ ^{the Balinese had noted the progress of the project and after a year} organized a delegation consisting of ~~representing~~ ^{deleg} the various regions and religions represented in Sulawesi. They ~~then~~ ^{del} and they dispatched ~~them~~ ^{to} to ~~once again~~ request government support. The transmigration office in Sulawesi and Bali to request government support. ~~for the movement of odd Balinese~~ ^{in Bali} ~~to Sabu formosa and friends~~. Permission was granted and the delegation immediately ~~started~~ registered 200 families consisting almost entirely of family and friends. They arrived in Towe Dec 12, 1967.

Of these 200 families ^{in 1968} only ~~_____~~ were Christian upon departure. ~~Sixteen~~ ^{_____} and ~~_____~~ converted on the way, ~~_____~~ families were and remained Hindu. ^{For the first time, there was a substantial community of} ~~_____~~ ^{non-Christians} in the Tama Boa. Then in

In December of 1969 17 Hindu families ^{long-term residents of Hampung Bel} from Parigi staked out claims to land in a wide alluvial plain called Tolai, 30 kilometers to the south of Parigi. They, together with the government sponsored migrants ^{of Towe} ~~then~~ ^{were to} directly to the north, provided the nucleus for a chain reaction of in-migration. ^{over the next five years} ~~leading to the rapid settlement~~ which virtually filled the Tama Boa in the next five years.

During the period between 1957 and 1967 the ~~balance of power~~ situation leading to migration had been totally transformed. Bali was subject to gross overpopulation, there were nearly 2,000,000 Balinese now attempted to eke out a living in the homeland population densities rose to ~~750~~ /km² in districts on Bali's heartland.

The Mass Migrants

Between 1957 and 1967 ~~the~~ situation conditions leading to migration had completely changed. In Bali population pressure increased, the central districts of the island had average pop densities of 750+ at least ~~one~~ ^{man} in ~~_____~~, owned no land. Whereas in the past absolute deprivation was disguised by "shared poverty" (Geertz, 1963), the coup and counter-coup of 1965 had ~~run~~ ^{ruined} the fabric of community solidarity, poisoned relations among relatives and made it ^{necessary or} possible for individuals to move who would never have considered migration before.

^{Paragi}
 In ~~Sulawesi~~, on the other hand, land and water were still free and the community was becoming increasingly well known. Relatives and friends who were doubtful at first now had concrete evidence of the success of those who had gone before. ~~Not only did this provide motivation and reassurance but in fact it was, in fact a very real source of support.~~ A ^{Families} man could expect to be put up by fellow villagers and fed in the ~~transition period~~ in return for a small amount of work. In times of difficulty ~~he could count on support~~ - ^{born} emotional, financial - ^{acquaintance} from kinemen and friends.

~~Also~~ In addition, around ~~1965~~ a new factor had been added to the equation, the advent of the Green Revolution in Central Sulawesi. With hybrid variety rice immigrants could harvest 2-2 1/2 times/year, ^(since the potential for sponsoring kinemen) this not only provided increasing surplus but additional amounts of work. Land holders who were desperate for labor could find none; other Balinese were busy, the local people were indifferent to ^{farmers, kinemen} the work. Under these circumstances ^{villages, enjoying} ~~they~~ turned toward their ^{parents} ~~homes~~, ^{produced} and, in fact sponsoring the immigration of kin. With the green revolution, individuals were less "pushed" or "pulled" than "sucked" into Central Sulawesi ^{to get help.}
 Arriving in Paragi a man could expect to spend a few seasons on the land of his sponsor and then move on to land of his own. In times of hardship he could always return to his benefactor (generally a kineman) for both emotional & financial support.

Under these circumstances, mushrooming im-migration occurred

~~families arrived in '68-'69~~ ^{100 Balinese families had settled in C.S.} ~~300 families arrived in 1970, 500 families came and in 1971~~
~~500 more. In 1972~~
~~in 1971, and 1,500 families - perhaps~~ ^{an estimated} ~~4,000 Balinese - arrived in 1972.~~ ^{landed in Paragi.}
 the end of 1972 the provincial government decided to ^{halt the distribution of land, in order to} ~~curb~~ ^{reserving} ~~in-migration, so that~~
 some land would be available for normal population growth. In spite of government discouragement, 2,000 more families arrived in 1973 either to buy ^{property} ~~land~~ from the locals or squat on the land of relatives. Without provincial controls some 8,000 families had been expected.

Following the depression, war and revolution ^{residual} ~~remnants~~ ^{of the} ~~the~~ Balinese ^{community} ~~community~~ in Parigi ^{Kampung Bate} was completely transformed. Gone was ^{the} ~~the~~ color, gaiety, and self-sufficiency of the exile community. ^{of the} ~~of the~~ 1950s, ^{seventeen} ~~seventeen~~ families which composed Kampung Bate, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ eight family heads had been born and raised in Parigi, and six of these had married indigenous women. Two other additions Balinese ~~also~~ had local wives. ~~It is interesting, however~~ that in spite of ^{a high rate of} ~~all~~ this out-marriage, ^{however} not a single Balinese ~~had~~ converted to Islam and in three of the eight marriages ^{the} ~~the~~ spouse had become Hindu. ^{this is all the more} ~~this is particularly~~ remarkable in light of strong ^{antipathy} ~~disapproval~~ of the Bali religion ^{which} ~~which~~ Moslems felt toward the Bali ^{religion} ~~religion~~ which they regarded as ^{backward} ~~backward~~ and pagan. ^{and} ~~and~~ Islam is also ^{suggestive} ~~suggestive~~ of the real economic and social power ^{of this handful of} ~~of this handful of~~ Balinese immigrants.

~~Old-timers~~ ~~used~~ that Kampung Bate was quiet and desolate in these days. ^{The early 1950s} ~~in these~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ agricultural system ^{was} ~~was~~ more or less dissolved, religious ritual was ^{greatly} ~~simplified~~, cremations ^{had} ~~ceased~~, and Hindu practices in general were hidden away as Sulawesi went through periods of fanatical Islamic activity. Customary law gave way to governmental regulation, ^{young people} ~~a number~~ of marriages were ^{sent to national schools,} ~~necessarily~~ to non-Balinese, ^{and} children came to speak the local language, ~~Kali~~, as well as Indonesian and Balinese. ^{In spite of their} ~~prosperity~~, ^{the} ~~the~~ residents of Kampung Bate made little

attempt to attract transmigrants or Kuevas. Between 1950-1957 they were joined by ^{only} ~~a~~ handful of ~~the~~ Balinese - refugees, outcasts, and the occasional ^{new} ~~new~~ blood it seemed likely that the community ~~would~~ ^{would} ultimately disappear.

The Christians

In 1957 Dewa Meranggi, an aging exile, ^{left Parigi, on his way} ~~left Parigi~~ returned to Bali to die - he wanted, it seems, to be assured of a proper cremation. ^{On the way home he happened to sit next two} ~~On the way home he happened to sit next two~~ two Christians ~~Balinese~~ who were discussing emigration to Sumatra. Meranggi was animated. Why, he asked, would they go to Sumatra an area of ^{dry land} ~~barren~~ ^{unlimited} ~~limited~~ ^{land} ~~land and ^{water} ~~water~~ in Parigi? ^{They had been} ~~They had been~~ ^{He wanted} ~~He wanted~~ in their attempt to gain govt sponsorship to Sumatra ^{the Christians} ~~the Christians~~ agreed. Of ^{sixty} ~~sixty~~ families waiting for passage to Sumatra, ^{only five} ~~only five~~ ^{wanted to follow Meranggi} ~~wanted to follow Meranggi~~ were willing to ~~to Parigi~~ follow Meranggi to Parigi.~~

A digression is necessary at this point to explain the appearance of such an anomalous ^{character} ~~being~~ as a Christian Balinese. ^{in this story} ~~From the consolidation~~ ^{Early in this century} ~~Assuming Balinese~~ art and culture to be inseparably ^{in the early part of this century} ~~in the early part of this century~~ the Balinese had received special privileges regarding religion. Assuming her art and culture to be inseparably intertwined with her animistic form of Hinduism, Dutch officials kept missionary activity in abeyance. The Balinese elite, having a vested interest in preserving the status quo, also opposed ecclesiastical Christianity claiming that it would disturb equilibrium and peace (Vanden Bosch, 33).

Unusually old Balinese
Geert 12

In 1929, however, a Chinese bookseller was granted ~~permission~~ affiliated with the Christian missionary alliance was granted permission to minister to the needs of ^{urban} ~~the~~ Chinese in the city (^{he baptized} ~~he baptized~~)
In 1931 seven Balinese ~~were baptized~~ (including one of the men Meranggi met on the bus) and in 1931, 113 more ^{he baptized} ~~joined the~~ ^{He was expected} ~~point the Chinese was expected but Christian conversion continued~~ ^{At this point} ~~evangelists~~ ^{Christian faith}. As the Dutch and the ^{royals} ~~royals~~ predicted things then went from bad to worse. When Christians refused to worship at irrigation temples, Hindus refused them water. ~~When they~~ ~~they~~ ~~did not~~ when they refused to give offerings to Sang Periwari Goddess of the earth. Hindus refused the ^{right} ~~right~~ to burial, when Christians refused to conform to village ~~adot~~ ^{rituals} (inseparable from Hindu rituals) they were ^{facilitated} ~~driven~~ from their communities. Hoping to end both ^{conversion} ~~prejudicing~~ and endless religious squabbles the Dutch ~~then~~ decided to move all Christians to West Bali, a sparsely inhabited area regarded by most Hindus as an or cursed.

1234567-0000-1

family population?

In 1939 ~~some~~ ^{many} families were moved from central Bali to Lumbarama to a place called Blimbingsari. In 1940 40 Catholic families were moved to an adjacent plot. Ultimately perhaps half the Balinese Christians ~~came to be~~ ^{were} located in areas in the west. ~~A more~~

It is important to note that whereas ^{Sulawesi} Parigi was open to either Hindus or Christians the circumstances mediating their departure from Bali could hardly have been more ^{diverse} different. In the late 1950's Hindus were still knit into reciprocal relationship with family, ~~and~~ friends, and kin and they were not free to leave them. Rural farmers identified strongly with their villages and village adat; indeed, few had any experience beyond this. ^{In a summer of} Christians, on the other hand, had already broken most Balinese norms. In conversion they had rejected the gods, values, and their very identification as Balinese. They were not only free to leave their vill but often forced to do so.

As individuals Christians were ^{also} unusual. Unlike ^{other} ~~other areas or places in~~ Indonesian ~~where~~ ^{who} whole ethnic groups had been converted and ^{en masse} then grown gradually into their new cultural clothes, the Balinese converted individually and often in the face of great antagonism. They having already cast off an important part of their culture, and having adopted new modes for behavior they aptly characterized themselves as "open to change". In addition, as noted above, fully half the ^{Christian} ~~migrant~~ families had ~~pre~~ ^{pre} experience with migration while most of those who remained behind were ~~at least~~ ^{the other} ~~reluctant~~ to ~~move~~ ^{who had preferred to remain}. In other words, ~~the~~ ^{unusually immobile} Hindus were bound to their villages, while most Christians ~~had experience~~ ^{esp. those} ~~were~~ in the aggregate more mobile than ~~virtually every~~ ^{esp. those} Christians to move to Central Sulawesi, had ~~pre~~ experience with migration.

Yet despite the openness ^{of the} Christians ~~professed~~ there was an initial reluctance to move to Parigi. ^{Parigi} ~~The area~~ had been wracked by Islamic rebellion, ~~the area~~ ^{Parigi} was ~~entirely~~ ^{a complete} unknown. ~~The five families could persuade no one else to follow. Most decided to wait.~~ ^{of the six families wanting to go to Sumatra decided to wait.} no A

The five who did venture to Parigi called first on the Tama Bos but became afraid of their isolation and took refuge with other Christians outside of Parigi ~~proper~~ ^{the town.} ~~By 1959~~ 20 Christian families followed the first five. When Peace returned to the area, friends began to follow. First 20, then 9, then 48 Christian families arrived & stayed in the Tama Bos. They settled in an area ^{that to this day is still called} ~~called~~ Massara, the source of gold.

~~By 1962~~ the

The spontaneous migrants of Massara represented only a portion of those in Bali who were willing to move. A few preferred Sumatra or Sumbawa, but most were simply unable or unwilling to ^{migrate} without some form of government support. ~~After~~ Thus in 1962 the government agreed to transfer 100 Balinese to a place just south of Massara. Owing to difficulties in ~~the~~ getting transport and supplies, only 52 families actually moved. Of ~~that one half~~ ~~the Hindus converted~~ ~~emigrants~~ these 52 families provided the nucleus of a ^{primarily} Christian & Islamic community called Sumberawi ^{the} ~~and~~ ^{owing to the hard work of the Balinese (and a few scotters as well)} ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{years} this community was to become the most prosperous in Parigi. ~~Within a period of ten years~~ an appropriate name for a village which was to become the most prosperous in Parigi.

between 1957 & 1967

In the ten years following 1957 about 200 Balinese families arrived in Sulawesi, three-quarters of them were Christian. ~~Most of these migrants arrived in small area (that closer to town) of the tana Bca.~~

~~parties and eventually settled in Massari, an area of dense jungle about ten kilometers to the south of Parigi. The forward-looking Christians of Massari & Sumbawa lost no time in changing their ways. They~~

adopted Indonesian as the language for all official functions (including worship, which in Bali was held in the vernacular).

They joined the G.M.M. - the Minahasa Christian Church. They erected churches, schools and and more frequently were modern or "western" clinics almost as soon as they arrived. They adopted modern agricultural practices while maintaining traditional work patterns where effective. Most surprising, they managed to almost totally eliminate gambling and divorce (cherished Balinese institutions), control the use of black magic and the belief in poisoning; and significantly decrease the belief in spirits and animistic practices. At the same time they kept an open mind toward the indigenous populations, used Chinese and

Dutch middlemen in trade, remained deferent to local sensitivities (in eating pork, for example) and tread lightly in the minefields of government and inter-ethnic relations.

Virtually all of which

All of the Hindus settling initially in the Massari area, ~~one-quarter of the total, became Christian~~ eventually ^{of the two families which did not one eventually converted} And while it might be supposed that this conversion

occurred through evangelical effort, in fact, only 20% of the community members gave unequivocally religious reasons for having become Christian; 47% gave purely social considerations -- i.e. they wanted to get along with their neighbors, they went along with the decision of a husband or wife, and so on.

Thus, the new arrivals chose to be like the people they interacted with the most, the Christian Balinese; and through this decision embarked on lifestyle which was characterized by non-traditional ways of behaving.

One supposes that conversion from the Bali-Hindu beliefs to Christ must have been ~~And what is meant by supposed that this was highly stressful to Balinese who are so clearly identified with their religion, it is my impression that it was not. More important than their traditional beliefs in their community, and to the Balinese way of thinking, is that their neighbors might be nationalize in religious terms but this seems hardly the case. In a survey~~ ^{conversion} ^{that is not} ^{the election} ^{was often} ^{rather than} ^{new} ^{and when} ^{and when} ^{suppose} ^{that the decision} ^{of} ^{had converted} ^{in Bali}

In spite of an effort on the part of Christians to recruit and reserve land mainly for other Christians this new wave of spontaneous migrants consisted almost entirely of Hindus who remained Hindu. Prior to 1970 25% of the Hindus arriving in Sulawesi became Christians. In 1971 4% of the new migrants converted and in 1972 and 1973 this became a mere fraction of a percentage. (For 1973 I have records of only 12 conversions among two thousand or so ^{1m} migrants). What had happened? ^{Before any further analysis we must ask what had happened to Christian conversion and why.}

A number of reasons may be cited for the decline in Christian conversion. Historically the position of Hinduism in Indonesia had improved with the recognition of (Bali) Hinduism as a world, ^{and} hence acceptable, religion. Books and publications appeared which explained the basis for Hindu ritual and the ^{relationships of} leaders ship in Bali began to defederalize many religious practices. Hindu leaders had also grown up in Sulawesi who could direct the adaptation of a highly Bali-specific set of beliefs to a new situation. Finally, the focus on Bali as a world tourist spot reinforced the Hindu Balinese sense of self-importance.

But ^{It} was not only in religion, however, that the ^{assertion} emergence of a strong sense of Balinese identification ^{with traditional values} could be felt. New agricultural systems were set up in Tolai with minute attention to the ^{ancient} traditional rules and regulations, even though Sulawesi ^{is} a water-surplus area which makes many of the rules irrelevant. Irrigation temples appeared in Tolai for the first time. Customary law was re-established by the migrants as the basis for social order and the government ^{intervention} came to ^{was restricted to} intervene only in cases of inter-group dispute. A Balinese house-style appeared, shadow plays were held for the first time, a gamelan and dance troop were established, ^{sacred hills were found,} the first trance occurred. Gambling, spells, magical deaths and poisonings were all of a sudden rampant among the Balinese.

Although ^{whereas} one might ~~well~~ expect this among new migrants the surprising thing was that this assertion of Balinese-ness extended also into the elder more established communities. ^{as well.} Hindus in particular were placed under considerable pressure to build irrigation temples, improve community temples and return to customary law.

Over the next twenty years perhaps 60 Balinese families arrived and served out a variety of sentences

~~1928 General Amnesty was declared and most returned home~~

" The Balinese exiles in Parigi came as a high culture group (in terms of religious, political and agricultural organization) into a relatively low culture area. Having arrived with the support and sponsorship of the Dutch, they were not entirely answerable to the local raja or local people for economic or social support. The Dutch themselves formally discouraged conversion/assimilation among the Balinese whose culture they admired

art & religion

Under these circumstances the Balinese exiles

- Set up agricultural system
- put increasing amounts of land under cultivation
- preserved religious rituals and traditional worldview
- made a conspicuous display of offerings and had several cremations

They maintained their customary law
Spoke balinese ~~at home~~ and Dutch languages

~~1928 General Amnesty proclaimed, most returned home.~~

~~1942 Japanese~~
~~1945 Revolution~~

- Mid 1920s 40-60 families
- 1928 General Amnesty
- 1942 Japanese
- 1950 Revolution

Early Efforts

- 1905 226/km² in Java (28 million)
4/km² in Outer Islands (2 million)
- first proposal to relocate (Heuring) - called for 90,000 in 10 years
6 in Lampung
5 in Java - was already occurring spontaneously
- 1905 Gedong tataan - ISS HN.
inducement 20 guilders, transport, tools, building supplies, provisions
- 1911 received premium & transport
borrow the rest (Lampung Credit Bank) Bank koloniasasi
1911-1921 Gedong tataan grew to 19,572 (16 years)
- 1922 Wonosobo - economic malaise - absorbed plantation labor
1924 - 6,000 } death rate 7% in 1926
1928 - 2,200 } problem of contract labor
- 1927 Dutch first notice spontaneous migrants ~~914 Javanese~~
914 Javanese imported to do harvesting share, 1/4 - 1/5 = bawon
- 1928 Bawon colonization
funds available for 14,000
438 applied
- 1929 Depression
Problems - sugar
return of plantation labor
population = 1,765/km² in densely crowded areas
- 1932 Sukadana (near Gedongtataan) to be settled by bawon
- 1934-1935 14 new desas - promptly occupied by teenagers
& recent immigrants to Gedongtataan
- Given 1/4 baw
32% in GT had no land
73% had less 1 baw
average land holdings about what it was in Java

Later Dutch Efforts

1936 C.C.J. Maasen, advisor on agrarian affairs
committed not only to resettlement
but a meaningful redistribution of Indies pop.

Maasen predicted 116 million by year 2,000

move: 80,000 families/yr = 74 million
120,000 families/yr = 57
240,000 families/yr = stable

Never moved more than
Began energetic program

1942 WW II

1945 Revolution ~~was reformed to transmigrasi~~

1947 fledgling gov't appt Tamboraan
31 million to outer islands in 15 years

1948 Name change

1950 Department of transmigration
23 families moved

1951 plan: 40-50,000 actual 2,375

1952 new plan 48 million over 35 years
return to plan of comprehensive support

1953 beginning of shift demographic → development

1955-1960 target = 2,800,000
moved = 135,000

Spontaneous Migration

Santos-Wardhana

Three communities

All settled by long term residents of Lampung - then filled
overcrowding
confidence

Interim Period 1961-1968

Transmigration land reform linked

Peizer 38% Javanese peasants landless

1961-1966 682,000 ha redistributed

transmigration less popular

1963 funds discontinued

1961-65 figures → spontaneous

Pelita I - 1969-1974

Objectives - regional development

Integration within ~~state~~ nation

- abandoned demographic obj for ec obj
- shifted - what can trans do for farmer?
what can trans do for state?

largely same program as under Dutch

~~1965-1974 less than 1000 moved~~

1. Sulawesi - See map

A. Sunda & Sahul shelves

tectonic stress

high mountains deep currents

B. Metamorphic rock - poor soil builders

Soils lost to currents

what there is unusable

Main human adaptation in Central Sulawesi - my area was to live in former lake beds

deposits of humus & clay

constant headhunting & slavery kept pop at minimum levels

Slash and burn agriculture gave additional fertility.

Lowland marshes unattractive
poor soils, wet, malarial

Munado
Macassar

With a little foresight

With pop densities of 500-800 / km in Java & Bali

With shortages of rice throughout Indonesia

With the dependence of wet rice on constant water rather than good soils

With the development of fertilizer and malaria control

predict

That the lowland areas would have eventually become attractive to marginal wet rice agriculturalists from elsewhere in Indonesia.

What we would not have predicted

is the complexity of behavior on the ground

What I wish to suggest is that while predicting long-term ecological adaptation is relatively easy, talking about short term and cyclical changes is considerably more difficult (as many theories as cases)

high organizing & disorganizing features

Nevertheless we do have certain Ψ and sociological premises which make an understanding of these phenomena more regular and predictable, premises into which many low theories may be nested.

1921 1/4 of 190 of Balinese move

1931 7 Christians

1932 113 Balinese

1936 1,000 Christians

1939 30 Christian families to Jemberana
stabilized at about 500 families
half Bali's Christians

1957-1962 9/10s Christians

Indonesian Transmigration

1905 226/km² Java
4/km² Outer Islands

20 years to start spontaneous migration

1927-1931 3,500 Javanese to Lampung
(1927-914 moved)

1928 Bowon Colonization

Maasen (1936, advisor on Agrarian Affairs) predicted pop 116 million
year 2,000

1941 245,000 Javanese in Lampung

1947 Tambora 31 million in 15 years
1952 48 million in 35 years

1950-1960 235,000 moved
Spontaneous = 3-4 times

Santos Wanhama

3 Sumatran communities

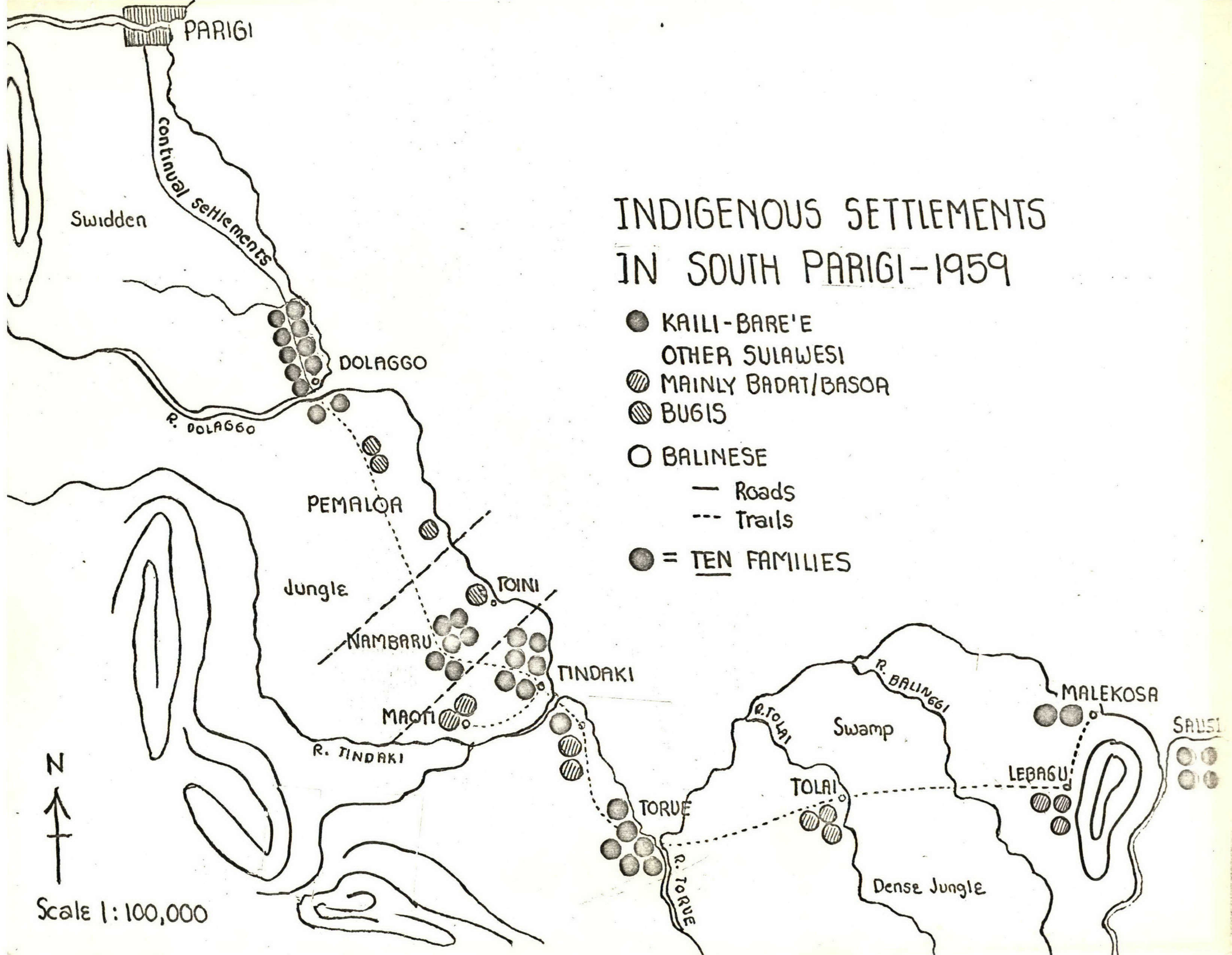
1950 Banjarmasin - settled by 15 pre-war colonization families
attracted 50 then 177 new families

1950 Banjarmasin - cleared by previous migrants
40 + 60 + 226

Bribawono - 200 families from Metro

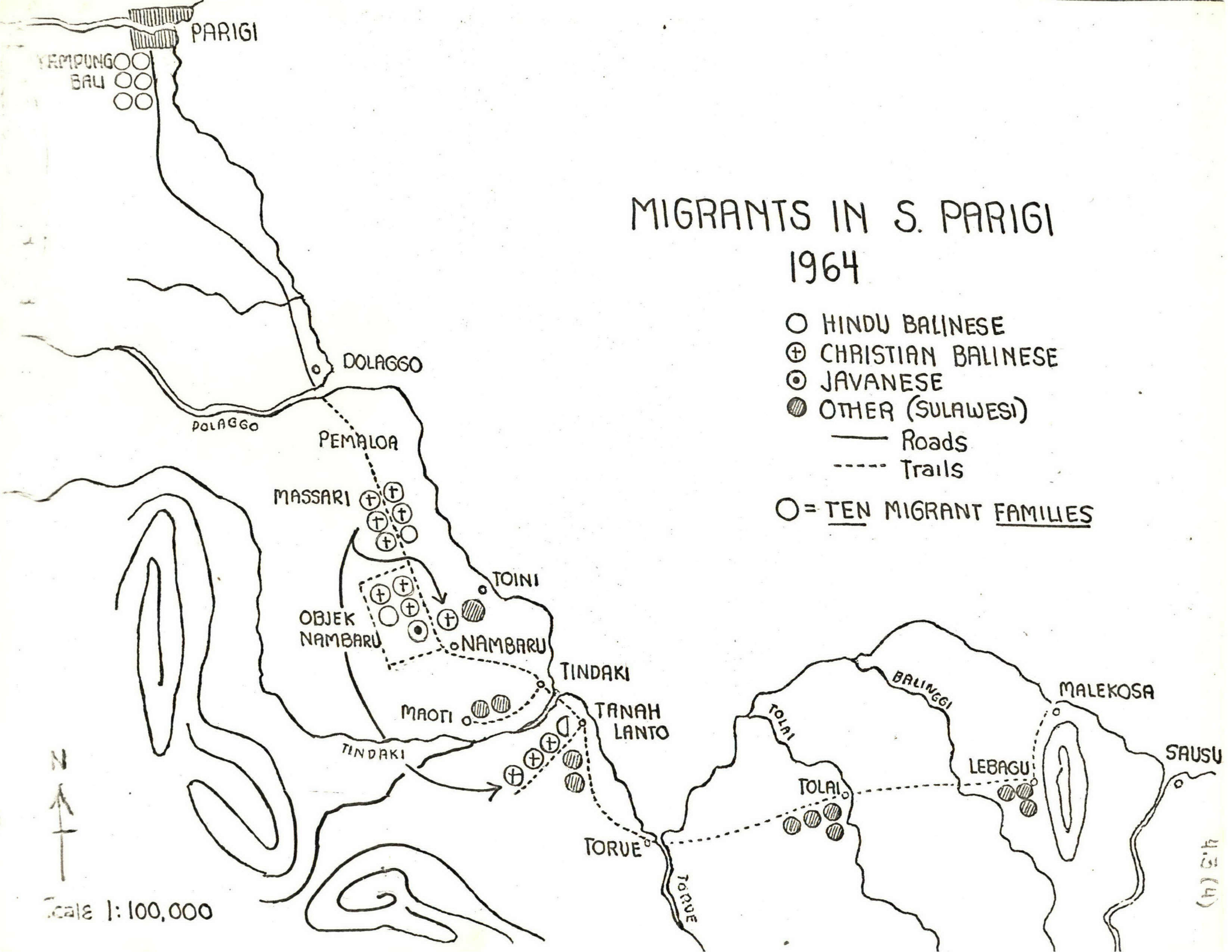
all established by migrants who had been in S. 10 years or more

≈ 900,000 people moved by colonization & trans in 70 years

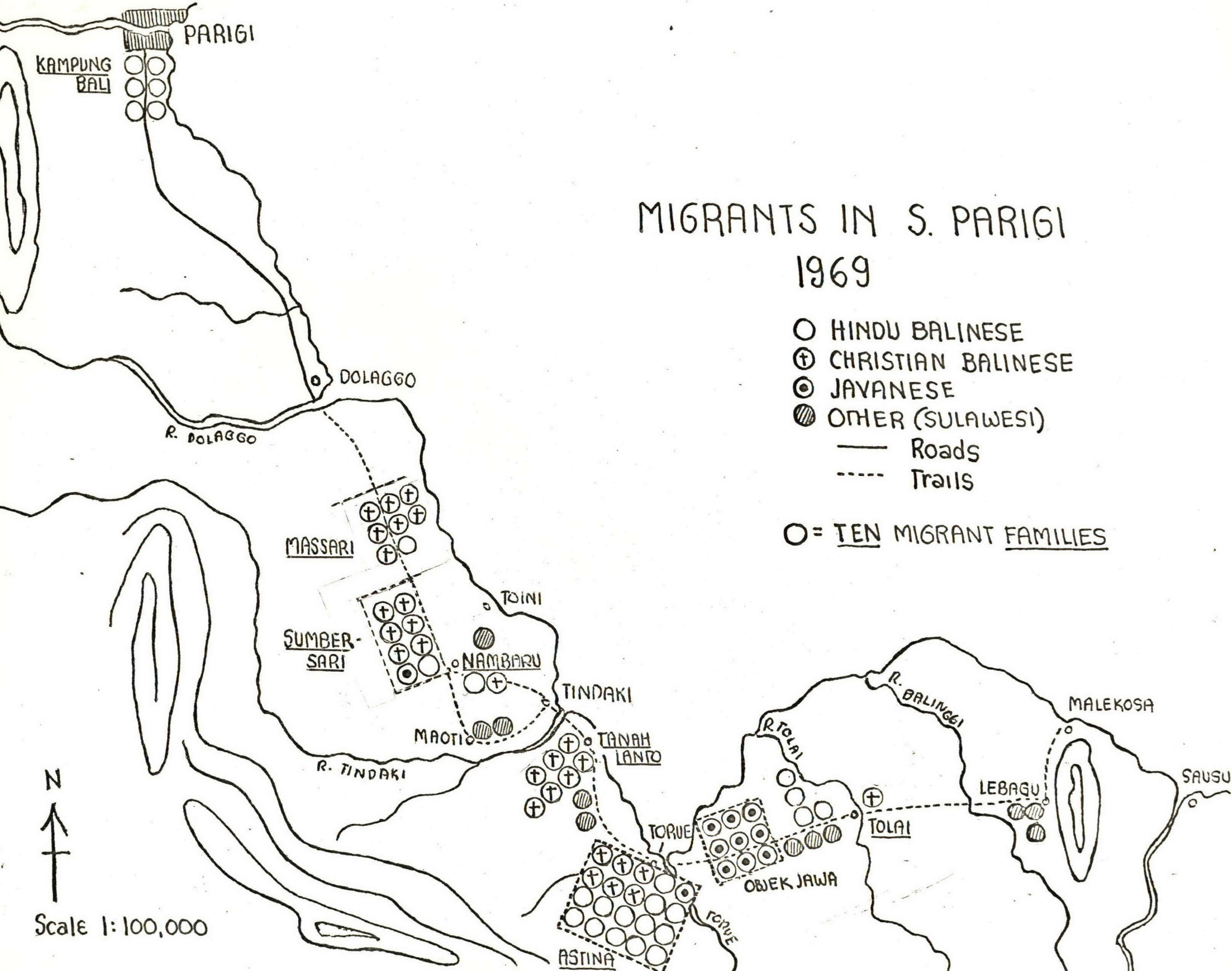


MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1964

- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- JAVANESE
- OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails
- = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



N
↑
Scale 1:100,000



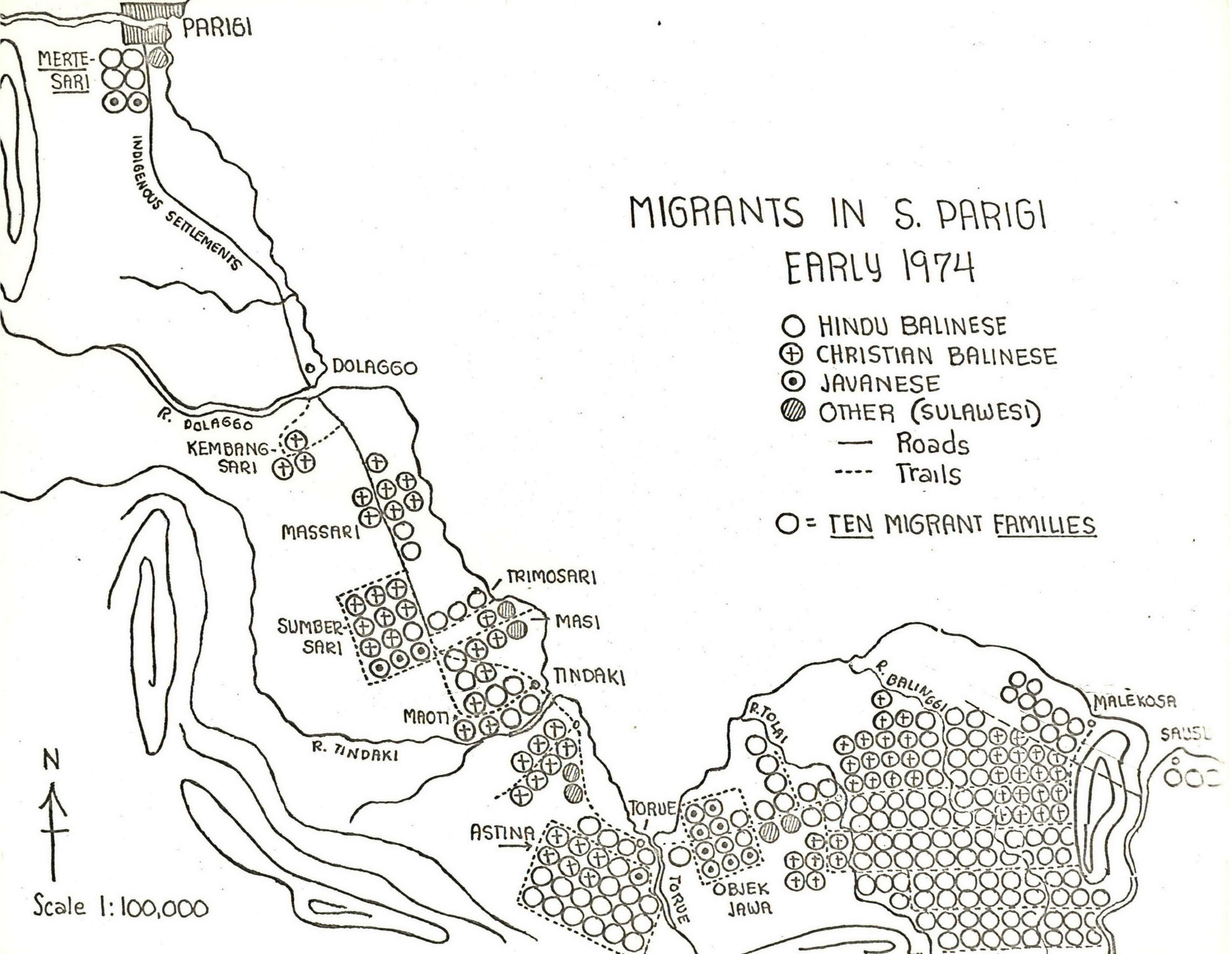
MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1969

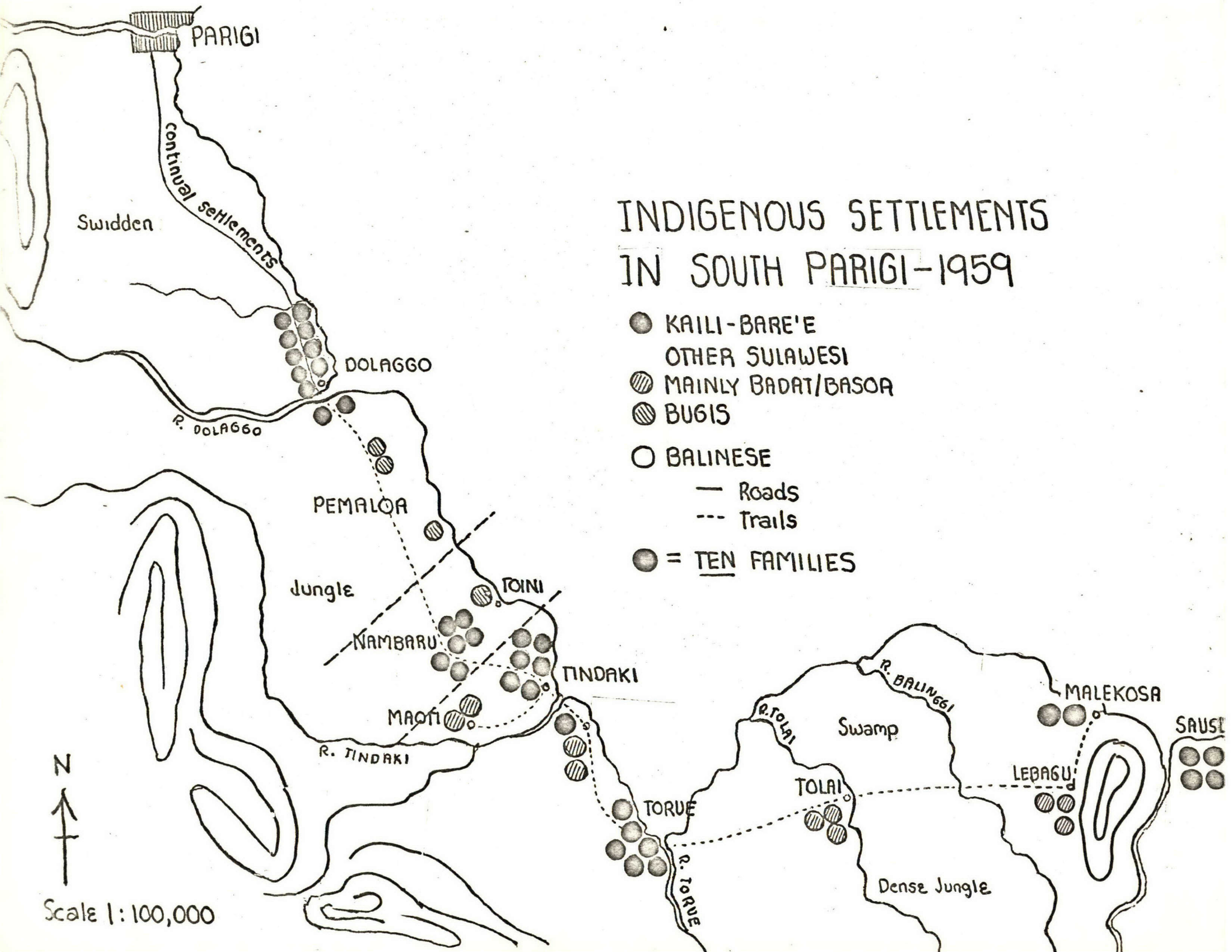
- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- ⊙ JAVANESE
- OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails

○ = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



Scale 1:100,000

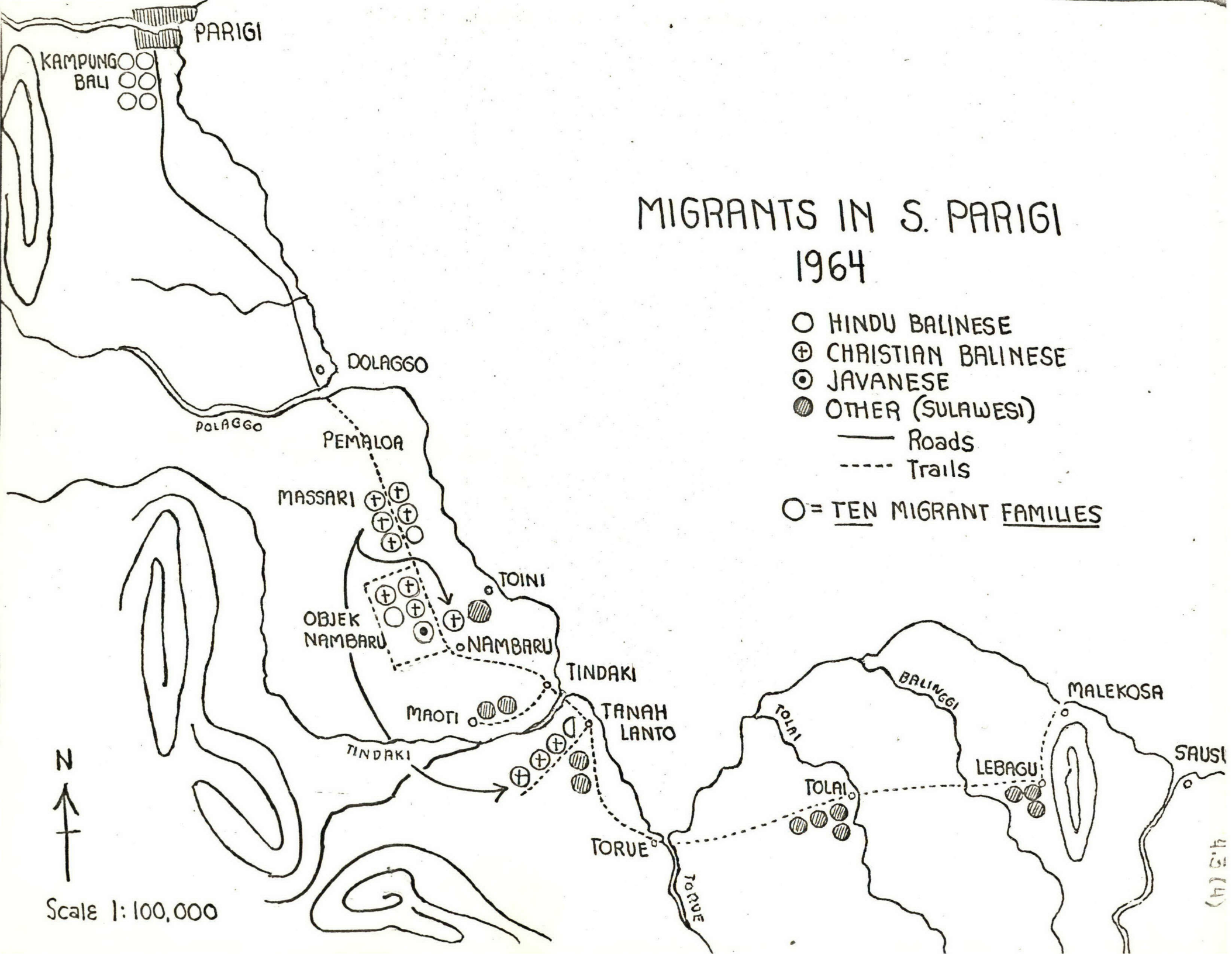




INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH PARIGI-1959

- KAILI-BARE'E
- OTHER SULAWESI
- ▨ MAINLY BADAT/BASOA
- ▩ BUGIS
- BALINESE
- Roads
- Trails
- = TEN FAMILIES

N
↑
Scale 1:100,000

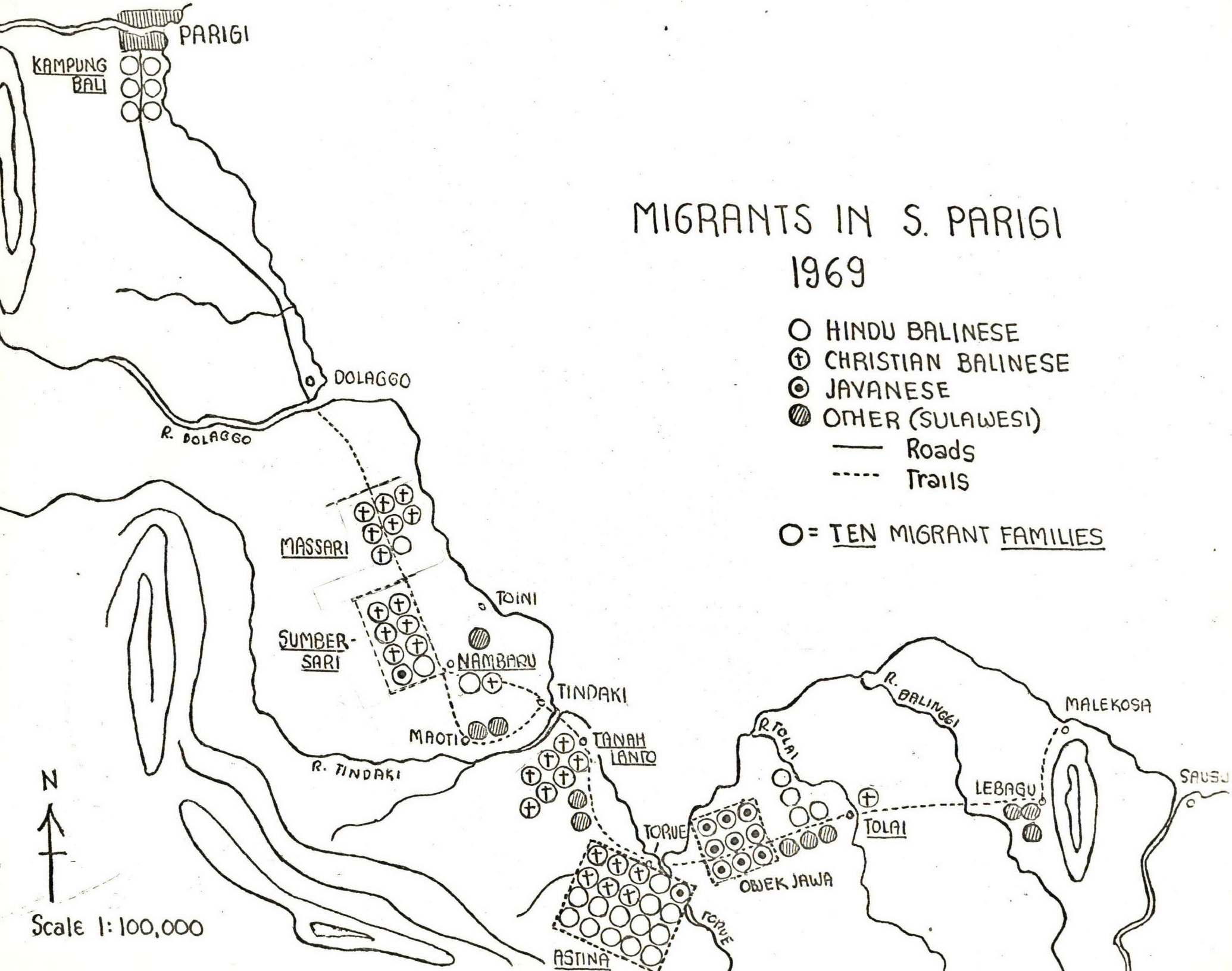


MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1964

- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- JAVANESE
- OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails
- = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



Scale 1:100,000



MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1969

- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- ◎ JAVANESE
- OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails
- = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES

N
↑
Scale 1:100,000

Unfortunately fair amount of information must get through
 described very briefly ^{rate} Soc or B. Village
 the context of the em of the M H movement
 the transformer of un- in Soc
 implications for broader consider of the
 role of religion & "Custom" in SE Asia.

Others may disagree

One thing that has struck me over & over is the
 a moral character the B. Social order

Def. moral - ethical ^{concern} as ~~conception~~ for actions
 which were good or bad in and of themselves
 Instead very pragmatic people
 Social control invested in adat council
 lay individuals with ~~no~~ pretension
 of ~~religious~~ expertise

lack of codified
 ethical systems
 gloss-concern
 with ultimate
 rights &
 wrongs

Balinese are
 accused paranoid
 about the management
 of power.

Concern with whether their neighbors would care
 whether their gods would notice

~~def~~ In the Balinese adat with which I am
 familiar no crime is committed until
 a complaint is lodged.

For most
 behavioral

It is the fact that someone took exception to it
 that makes an act offensive not the act
 itself

Social control invested in adat council
 lay individual with little pretension to
 religious expertise.

~~power~~ interprets
 the will
 of the community
 almost
 personal char

Soc neg reality
 endog
 won't move

Independent of this is a series of priests in
 patron-client relationships with commoners
~~is not~~ who follow the ^{nobles &} elaborately
 codified etiquette of the religion & who
 mediated between the people & their gods.

That ephemeral called political power is invested ^{not only in}
 yet another group, village big men ^{the heads of subans} ~~at~~ the first
 rajas, ^{misc} others who have access to ^{spiritual} ~~at~~ ^{power} ~~the~~ ^{clan-like} ~~clan-like~~ ^{clan-like} ~~clan-like~~
 others who have access to ~~at~~ ^{power} ~~the~~ ^{clan-like} ~~clan-like~~ ^{clan-like}

turn to the rise of the Hindu Movement,

The charge that nations give rise to religions in their own image, if not invented for Indonesia should have been. The ~~entire~~ history of ~~the Hindu~~ the evolution ^{of the most forms} particularly of Hinduism and Buddhism ^{in particular} has been a dialectical ~~static~~ process of mutual legitimation between

The problem is a simple one
The Dutch, without moral legitimacy, ^{in the islands} ~~never sought~~ to ~~enforce either religion or~~ ~~enforce~~ made few if any attempts to ~~obtain the support of~~ ~~the~~ ~~groups~~ ~~claiming~~ lay claim to

to oversite easy &
The problem for the new Indonesian nation was simple. Their

A. This statement assumes: ^{two points;} ~~two points;~~

1. That the Government of Indonesia wishes to facilitate movement from the overcrowded islands of Java, Madura and Bali to the less densely populated islands
 - a. Some ^{but not all,} who hold this view believe that such movement may significantly reduce the population & poverty of Java
 - b. ~~But even those who do not hold this view may support~~ ^{Others look upon} transmigration as a ^{way to} means of ^{improving production} expanding agricultural expansion ^{contributing to} productivity, ^{developing} regional development, ^{national} integration, or ^{Many simply as a wish to hope for those} improving the lives of those who move.
2. That the GOI wishes ^{to promote such movement} to do so as efficiently and economically as possible.

B. Because of the emphasis on efficiency and economy it is ^{presumed} ~~assumed~~ essential to promote and plan ~~for~~, not only for fully sponsored migration but for semi sponsored and non sponsored migration as well.

B. This statement is based on the premise that facilitating ^{movement in an} efficient and economically feasible ^{manner} ~~movement~~ ^{but} involves ^{not only} planning for and promoting ^{but} fully sponsored migration, semi-sponsored and non-sponsored migration. ~~as well~~ And it will involve different strategies of ^{sponsorship} ~~control~~ at different stages of development.

1. ^{by way of emphasizing} ~~the~~ term "non-sponsored" is used in preference to "spontaneous" migration ^{to areas where} ~~to emphasize~~ the fact that even ^{Such migrants are attracted} these migrants ^{will move} ~~move only~~ ^{are} ~~will go only~~ ^{are} ~~to where~~ ^{such as} ~~pre-existing~~ support systems (roads, surveys, markets) ^{already} exist ~~provided~~ in place.

- b. Conversely, it is ~~be~~ precisely because non-sponsored migration ~~can~~ ^{will} only occur if such services are in place that facilitating the movement of all types of migrants must be built into all stages of ~~planning~~ ^{pre} ~~planning~~
 - within ~~the~~ settlements
 - within projects
 - within designated ~~development~~ areas of development.

2. Use of Capital v. Labor intensive

C. If such a focus is ~~assumed~~ ^{will:} In the next few pages I intend

~~to~~ Discuss Present ~~to~~ Discuss

- 1) Explore the implications of building different levels of Sponsorship

- 2) Ask what information we would need to know to follow this.

- 3) Discuss the role of a social anthropologist ^{in gathering such information and promoting such planning}

~~Richard Ferris in an article on Religion:~~

~~I then~~ In analyzing my data I ^{always felt: vaguely uneasy} ~~have~~ consciously
felt uncomfortable ^{about} with this ^{summary} comment. After
all, most observers agree that modernizing
societies ^{rather consistently} ~~contrast~~ to ~~combating~~ religion. It
~~was~~ the traditional society in which the social
and sacred ~~are~~ fused. ⁱⁿ the emerging society

The only thing wrong is that it was that the
Balinese seemed to be getting it all wrong. After
all ~~most observers~~ ^{everybody} agrees that the process of
modernization is associated ^{leads to} with the ~~collapse~~ of
religion. As ~~just~~ observe in ~~an~~ article on
religion in ~~legitimation~~. One author (Rich Ferris) remarks for ex

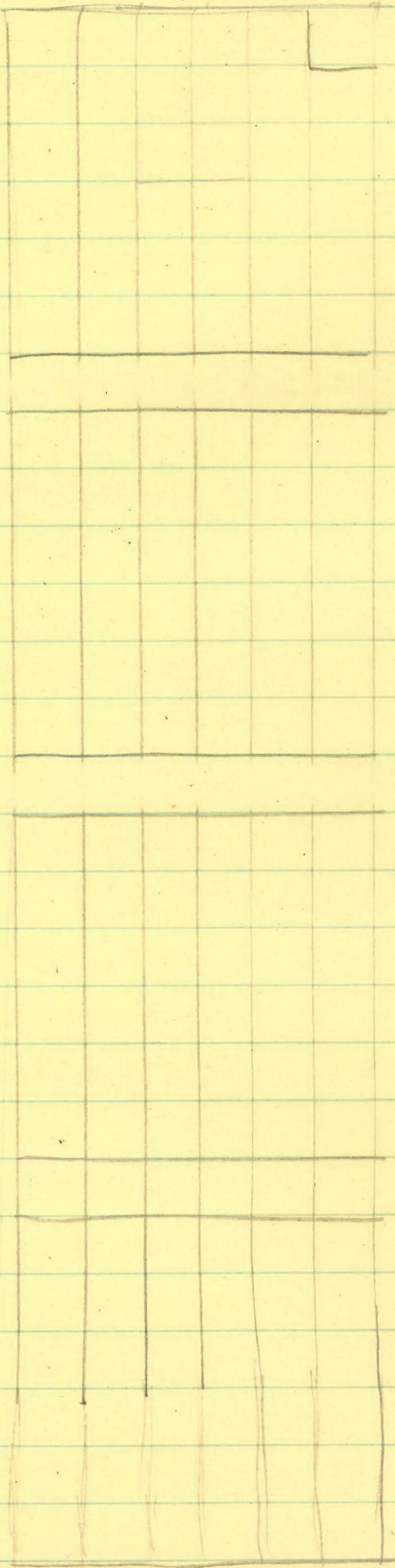
It is widely accepted that the religious
subsystem has been relieved of direct
control over the political, economic, legal,
welfare, and ed. functions in the more
modernized societies with the result that
religious institutions appear to specialize
in expressive activities ~~having~~ ~~with~~ ~~little~~ to
... personal meaning & social identification."

So my question is twofold. Why this particular
transform^{ation} among the Balinese? Why does it fly
in the face of conventional expectations (one question)?
And if we could understand this ^{transition} ~~process~~ we have
handle on new understandings which ~~are~~ ~~likely~~
to ~~emerging~~ and likely to ~~new~~ are developing
as Balinese peasants become integrated into
the Ind Nation-State?

to look at these questions need to cover two areas
very briefly 1) the nature of the impetus for the
modern Hindu movement 2) the reason for
its rapid dissemination and acceptance in C. S.

extend

1/4 Village



Stages
 sponsored
 semi-sponsored
 non-sponsored

Stages of Phasing migration within the project level

A. ^{efficiency} economy and ^{suggest} economy ^{the} that ^{the} earliest ^{should} settlements ^{received}

1) ~~partly~~ settlements was the most capital intensive forms of development - land clearing, ^{seed beds, exr. services} ~~house~~ building etc

2) the most external support provision of all food extension services

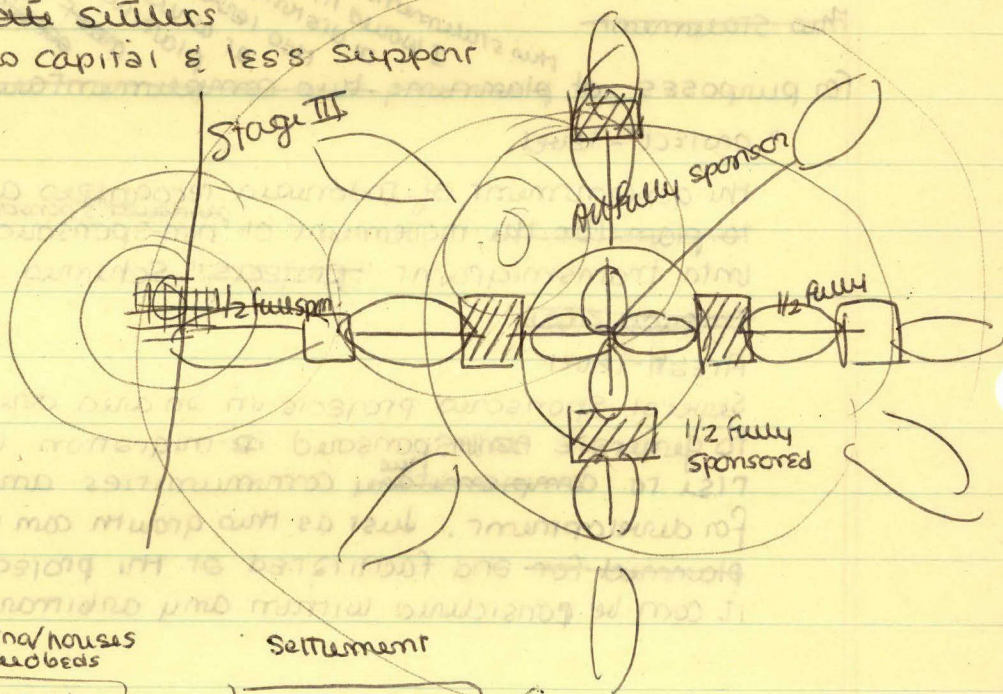
there are two reasons for this

1) they have no safety net

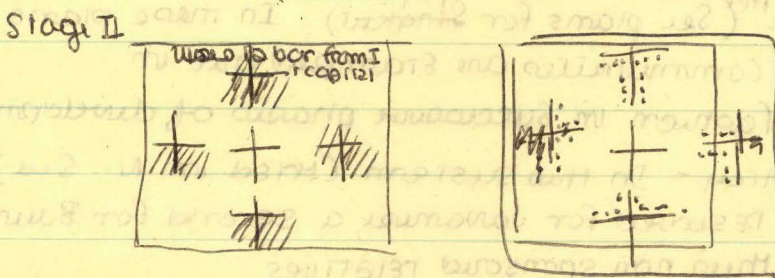
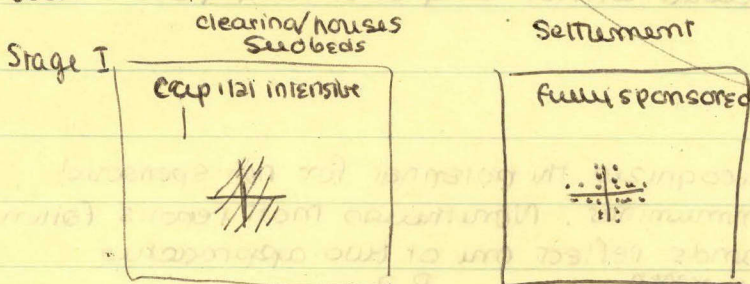
2) it is upon their good exp that further in mig depends

B. Intermediate ~~Intermediate~~ settlers require less capital & less support

P.P.



Stages



~~Stages in the process of migration~~
~~the development phase~~

GOI has ^{already} recognized this ^{fact} and ^{recently} begun to plan for "non-sponsored" migration into specific "projects" or settlements. (project-level planning). It has also left open space within ~~development areas~~ ^{anticipates} "spontaneous" movement ~~into~~ ^{into} within into development areas

~~This statement~~

for purposes of planning, ~~two complementary approaches exist~~

"project"-level

The government of Indonesia recognizes and has begun ^{to} provide for ~~to plan for~~ the movement of ^{particular} non-sponsored migrations into transmigrant "projects" schemes or "projects"

~~In such case~~

Area-level

Several sponsored projects in an area are often sufficient to generate ~~partially~~ ^{new} non-sponsored migration which gives rise to ~~complementary~~ ^{new} communities and further potential for development. Just as this growth can be anticipated, ~~planned for~~ and facilitated at the project level, so too ~~planned~~ ^{planned} ~~info~~ ^{area of} it can be considered within any arbitrary ~~growth and expansion~~

Project level

The govern O I recognizes the potential for non-sponsored migration within communities. Nonetheless most reports falling into ~~that~~ my hands reflect one of two approaches

- 1) Cookie cutter ^{Approach} (See plans for ^{P.P} Stratitai). In these plans 11 different communities are stamped out in identical fashion in successive phases of development
2. Pie Slice Policy - In this system (tried in N. Sum) One wedge is reserved for Javanese, a second for Bawmies, the third for their non-sponsored relatives

~~One of the first~~
more sophisticated plans no doubt exist. For this reason the first stage of

I ~~It is~~ ^{statement} ~~this assumption~~ two things

A. that the government OI wishes to facilitate movement from the ~~overcrowded~~ ^{are} is of JMB & L to less densely pop is

B. that is wished to do so as efficiently and ec as poss. To this end it is ~~assumed~~ ^{attempt} that the govt will

II ~~Central Anthropological Contribution~~

A wealth of data exists on various aspects of Indo migration

II ~~What can the~~

II This statement raises the problem of what a social anthrop can contribute to planning, implementation and evaluation of

Economically - the
C. GOI

Process of Movement

II Because of the emphasis on economic ~~emph~~ ^{ebb} most viable possible mix of promoting not only ~~part of~~ fully sponsored but also semi sponsored

Non-sponsored migration
~~this report~~ ^{factor} the term
- recognizing that "non-sponsored" migrants are

It is assumed that ~~any plan for~~ ^{promotional} ~~GOI of Indonesia~~ ^{factor} ~~should promote~~ ^{factor} ~~such movement~~ ^{factor} ~~conclude the~~ ^{factor} ~~in the~~ ^{factor} ~~fact~~ ^{factor} ~~range of mig~~ ^{factor} ~~those who are~~ ^{factor}

not entirely spent as they can only move ^{only} where ~~complete~~ ^{surveys} ~~development and~~ ^{roads} ~~support systems~~ ^{etc} exist (markets etc) exist

It further contends that recognizing further that facilitating migration requires ~~even~~ careful planning. It is the ~~basis~~ ^{basis} of this statement that ~~bank~~ ^{bank} ~~is~~

In fact
It is because non-sponsored migration can only occur if such services are in place that this ~~is~~ ^{is} important ~~been written~~ that facilitating the movement of all types migrants be considered at all stages of planning.

It is the ^{thesis} ~~conclusion~~ of this statement, however, that ef and ec can only be gained by systematic planning considering ~~for all types of mig~~ ^{are considered} ~~at all stages in the planning~~ ^{built into}

It is a corollary ^{that} ~~of the~~ ^{obvious} ~~collateral~~ ^{that} ~~of this statement~~ ^{obvious} ~~however~~ ^{obvious} ~~it is important~~ ^{obvious} to recognize that ef & ec

if the indication of

BIC /

A number of issues are being debated which affect Bank sponsored transmigrant programs activities. ^{Putting for the moment} aside from the fundamental ~~the issue of philosophical problem of~~ ^{problem of food crops v. cash crops,} most of these debates center around the problem of what should be provided and at what cost:

e.g. Should the land be cleared by heavy machinery (capital intensive) or local ~~or Java~~ labor? (labor intensive)

How much of the land should be cleared? ^{on the} house lots? Food crop areas? ^{Available} All available land?

Should the migrants ^{be settled on} ~~do the migrants~~ ^{fully improved} developed land or should they ^{be expected to} ~~improve~~ ^{develop} it themselves?

Should migrants receive completed houses, if so of what kind and quality?

Do migrants need the full complement of extension services or can they teach one another?

What about essential and semi-essential institutions, health clinics, schools, religious structures, etc. Who is to provide them? At what quality? In what numbers?

Sponsored Applicants

Finally ^{can} viable programs be designed which are replicable, which can function without or with limited on-going Bank support?

^{no} The correct decision on each of these issues is crucial to transmigrant success. Yet these questions, put in this way, place the cart to a certain extent ~~place the cart~~ before the horse. The answer to everyone of these ^{above} questions depends ^{on} when the migrants arrive; at what point in the migration process ^{they settle}. Early migrants need ^{the most} ~~more~~ help. They ~~can~~ ^{must} not ~~can~~ profit from cleared land (no ~~more~~ external support). Labor or equipment they need their land cleared and developed, they need houses built and seedlings planted as there ^{obtaining} will be no labor surplus at the start. They also need ^{massive assistance in receiving} ~~the assistance~~ ^{services} ~~supplies~~ ^{extension workers} of ~~essential~~ ^{supplies} and ^{health services} as there will be no preexisting community to provide back-up support. Intermediate migrants ^{can} ~~can~~ ^{use} ~~are~~ ^{pre} using a preexisting labor pool, administrative services (nursery's etc) and ~~early~~ ^{local} surplus. Later communities can ~~be~~ ^{grow} ~~form~~ with a minimum amount of government support.

Unfortunately, ^{however} our cookie-cutter philosophy of settlement ^{is} reflected in all the most recent plans - see the diagrams for Singkut and Pematigoras and, in fact, interferes with ~~the~~ ^{the} normal process of migration development of ~~the~~ ^{the} migration stream. This statement may seem extreme but both (see the plans for Singkut and Pematigoras, next page). By ~~providing~~ ^{providing} ~~the~~ ^{the} same moderate input at all ^{of} ~~at~~ ^{of} moderate amounts of assistance in early communities, jeopardizes their viability and future growth, while the same ^{degree of} ~~moderate~~ ^{moderate} assist in later communities ~~may~~ ^{is} be redundant. In short, a long-term strategy for transmigrant ~~understanding~~ ^{maximizing} of the migration process our resources requires that we take a long-term ^{for this reason} ~~for this reason~~ this paper has been written to provide a starting point for discussion on a long-range strategy of settlement (TRANS PROGRAM)

① Show you doubt that this is in fact the current practice see the settlement plans for Singkut & P.P. next page. Look also at our plans for TRANS II.

TRANS PROGRAM

For this reason This brief paper has been written as a starting point for discussion of an overall

developing a settlement strategy which will take a long range view of the settlement process and exploit take a long range view (TRANS PROGRAM). It argues with the following concrete points:

- 1. That the role of the bank should be to provide massive capital infusion into specific early settlements in a number of predominantly ~~area~~ ^{often} related areas.
- 4. This may entail the use of capital intensive equipment
- 2. That the ~~fund~~ to clear and develop land
- 6. It will involve the most extensive (and expensive) services being provided early in the program, not after the community is viable

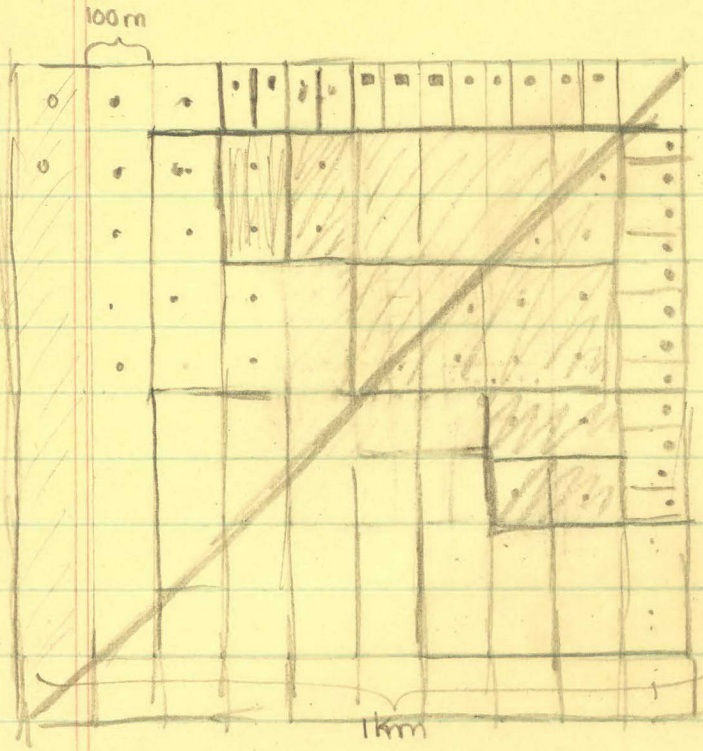
It argues ~~secondly~~, that ^{best} The purpose of this initial investment should be to stimulate an ongoing migration process which at later stages will be decreasingly capital intensive (though there must be a continual component of government support)

As corollaries of these points it argues specifically that

- 1) The success of such a program depends on a long-range (10-15 year) strategy of settlement program.
- 2. That this program must build in
 - variation in services provided
 - variation in the degree of migrant sponsorship?
 - flexibility in many of the topics we have considered
 - flexibility in ~~choice~~ ^{non-sequence} many major decisions which depend on information ^{which must be made on the common} information
 - community layout
 - type of cropping
 - rapidity with which the settlement expands.

situation-specific migration factors e.g. inform

$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \overline{) 63} \\ \underline{48} \\ 15 \end{array}$$

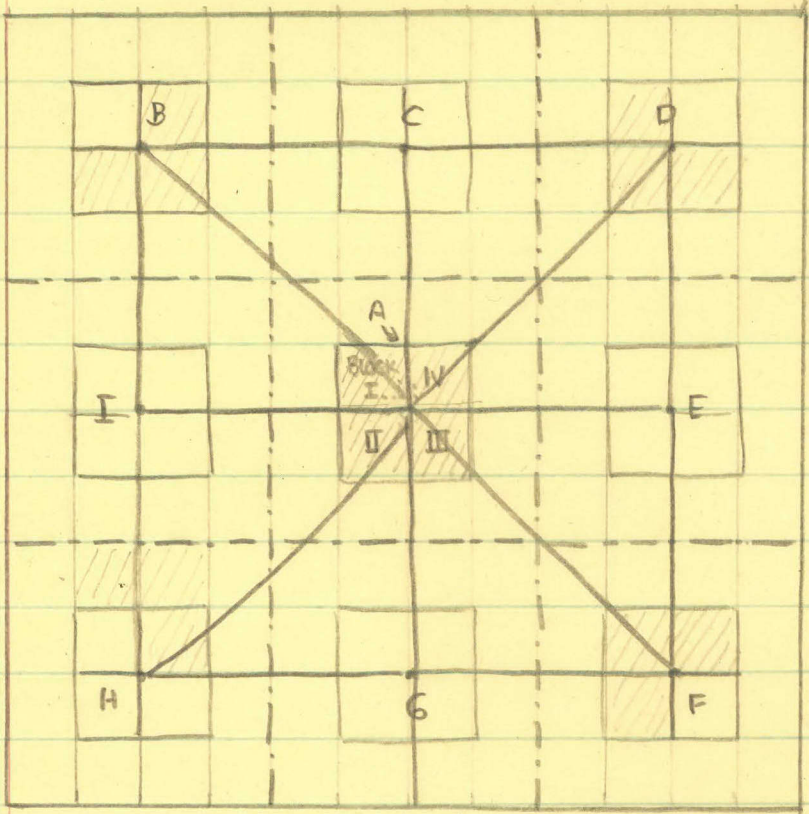


Detail of 1 Block (1/4 Village)
Settlement Plan for 1 block (not an ad unit)

- for 1/4 of a Village
- 1 200m unit of J.C. 1 ha
- ▨ 24 1/2 ha house lots 12 ha
- ▩ 24 1 ha gardens (for food crops) 24 ha
- 24 25 ha for 16 3.5 ha Tree Crops 60 ha
- 98 ha (100 ha)**

1 Village = 4 blocks
96 (100 KK) or (100 KK)
400 ha land

Assuming ^{unavailable} land with ^{some} trees that will be regarded as 400 ha sites

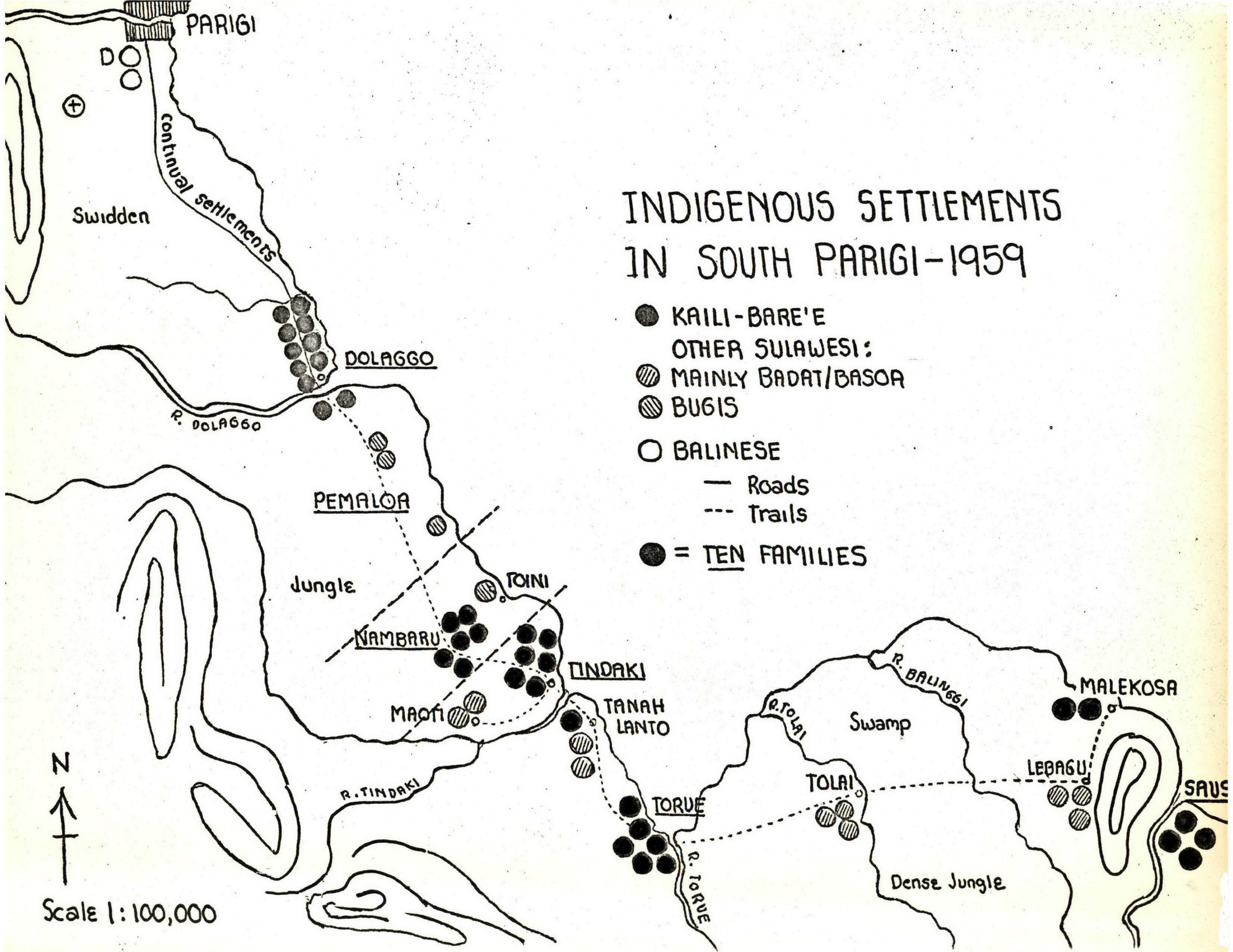


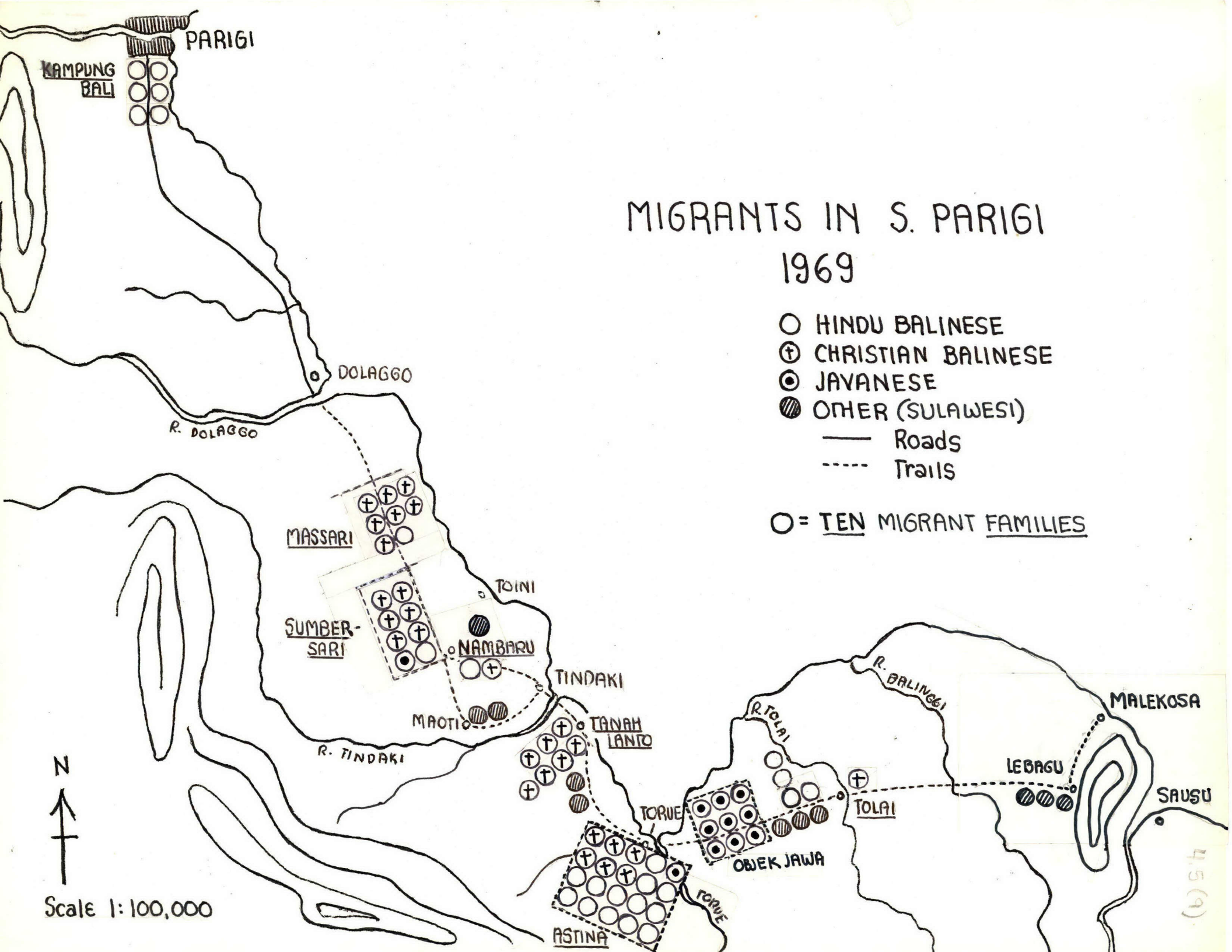
- ONE SETTLEMENT =
- 9 VILLAGES
- 900 FAMILIES
- 500 GOVT SPONSORED
- 400 SEMI OR NON SPONSORED
- 4500 ha
- WITHIN ONE SETTLEMENT
- 20 km on Perimeter
- 10 km in Center
- 12 km diagonals

HEAVY EQUIPMENT USED TO CLEAR DIFFERING AMOUNTS OF LAND AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

- IN ALL CASES
- INITIAL INVESTMENT
- ROADS - 42 km/Settlement
- LAND CLEARING - VARIES (see next page)
- SUPPORT SERVICES - VARIES

A. Grown within the Settlement





MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1969

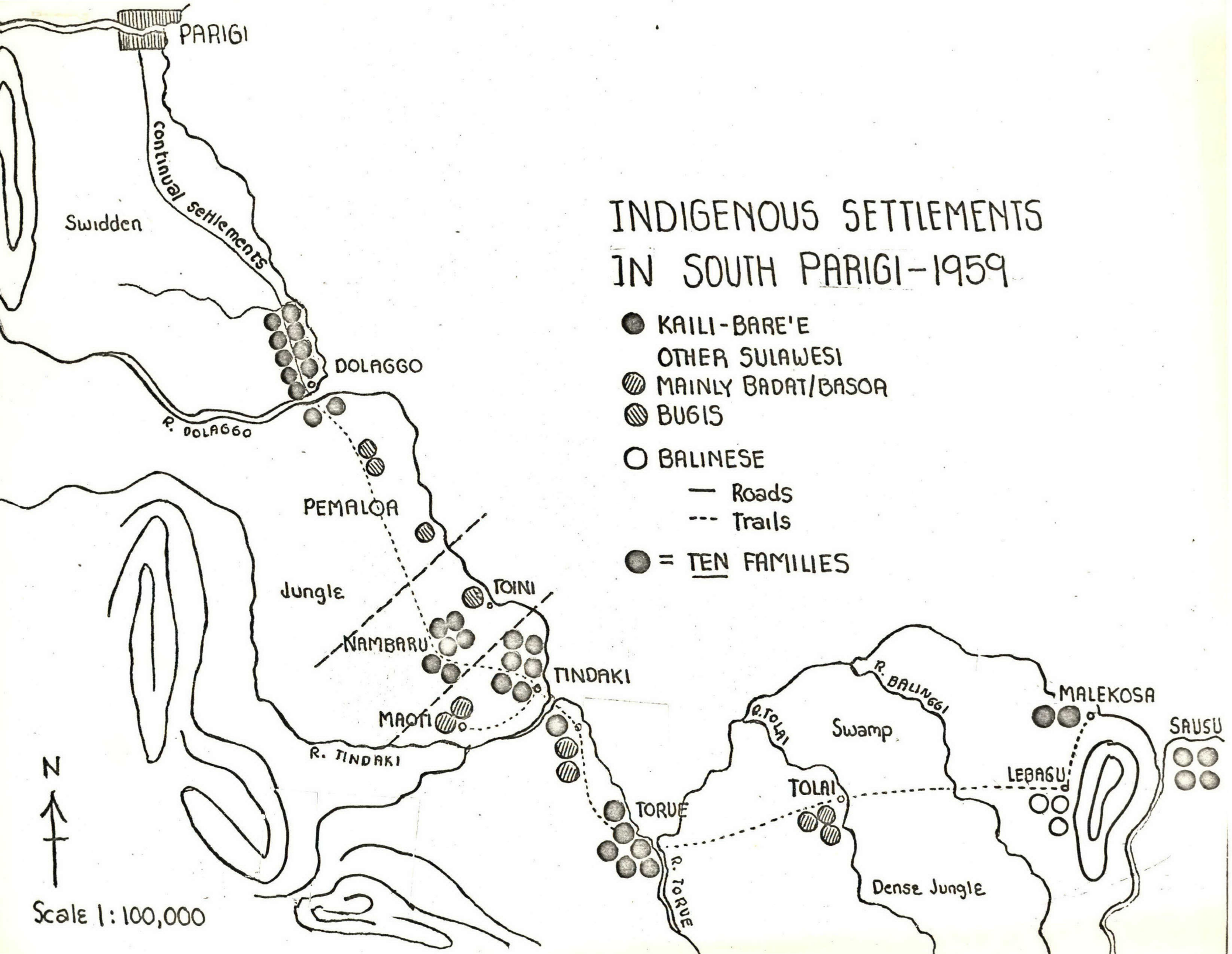
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Scale 1:100,000

415(9)

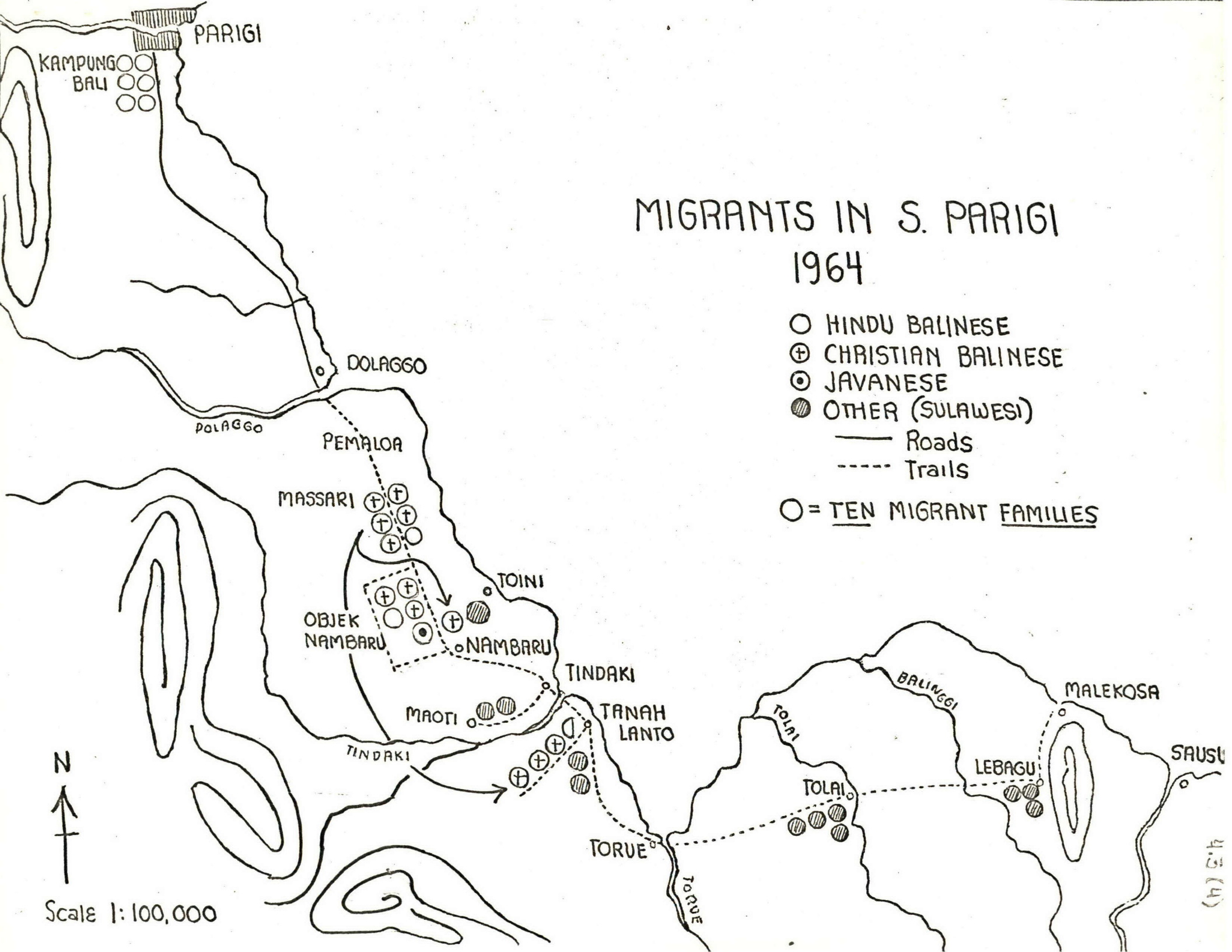


PARIGI
KAMPUNG BALI

MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1964

- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- JAVANESE
- OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails

○ = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



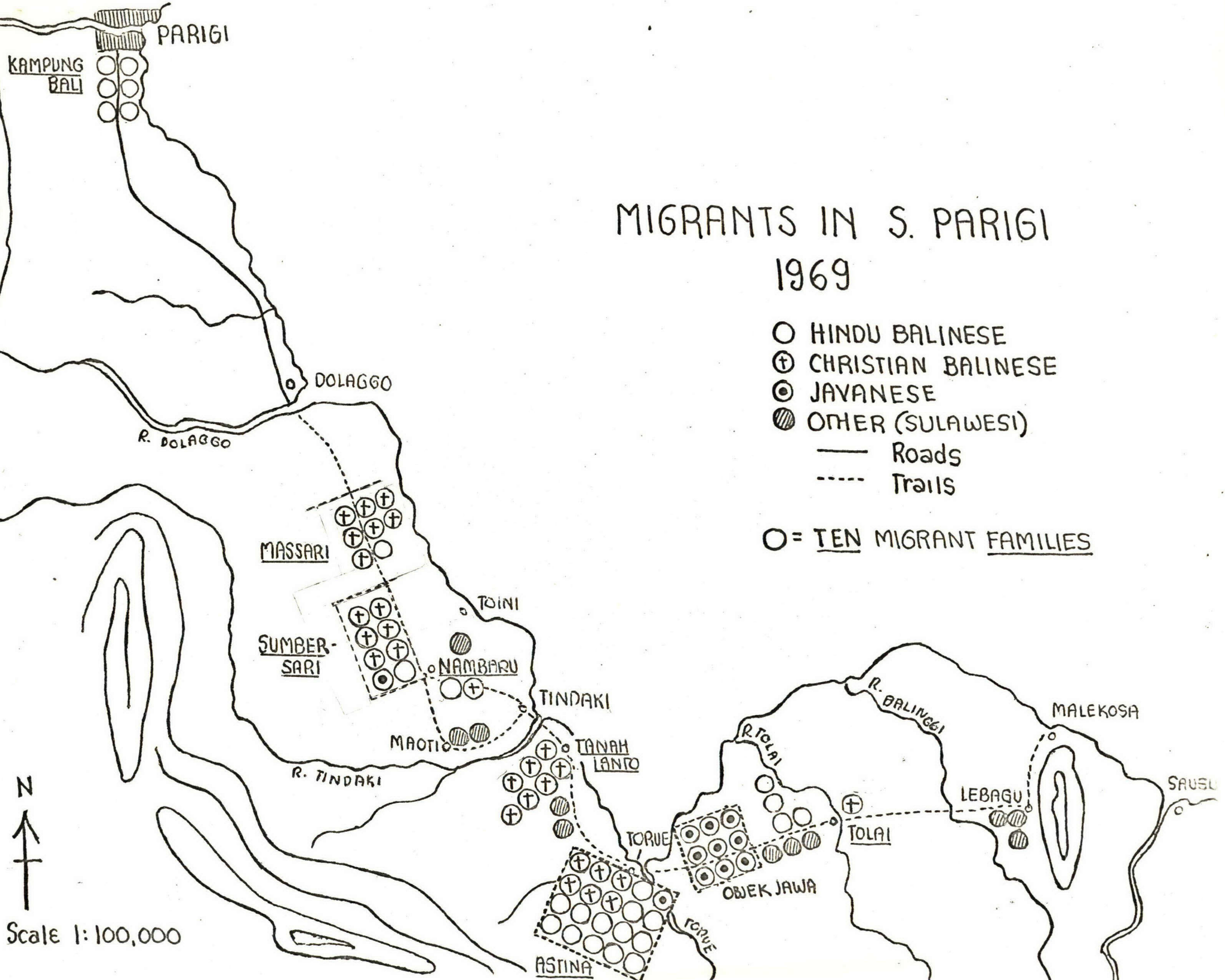
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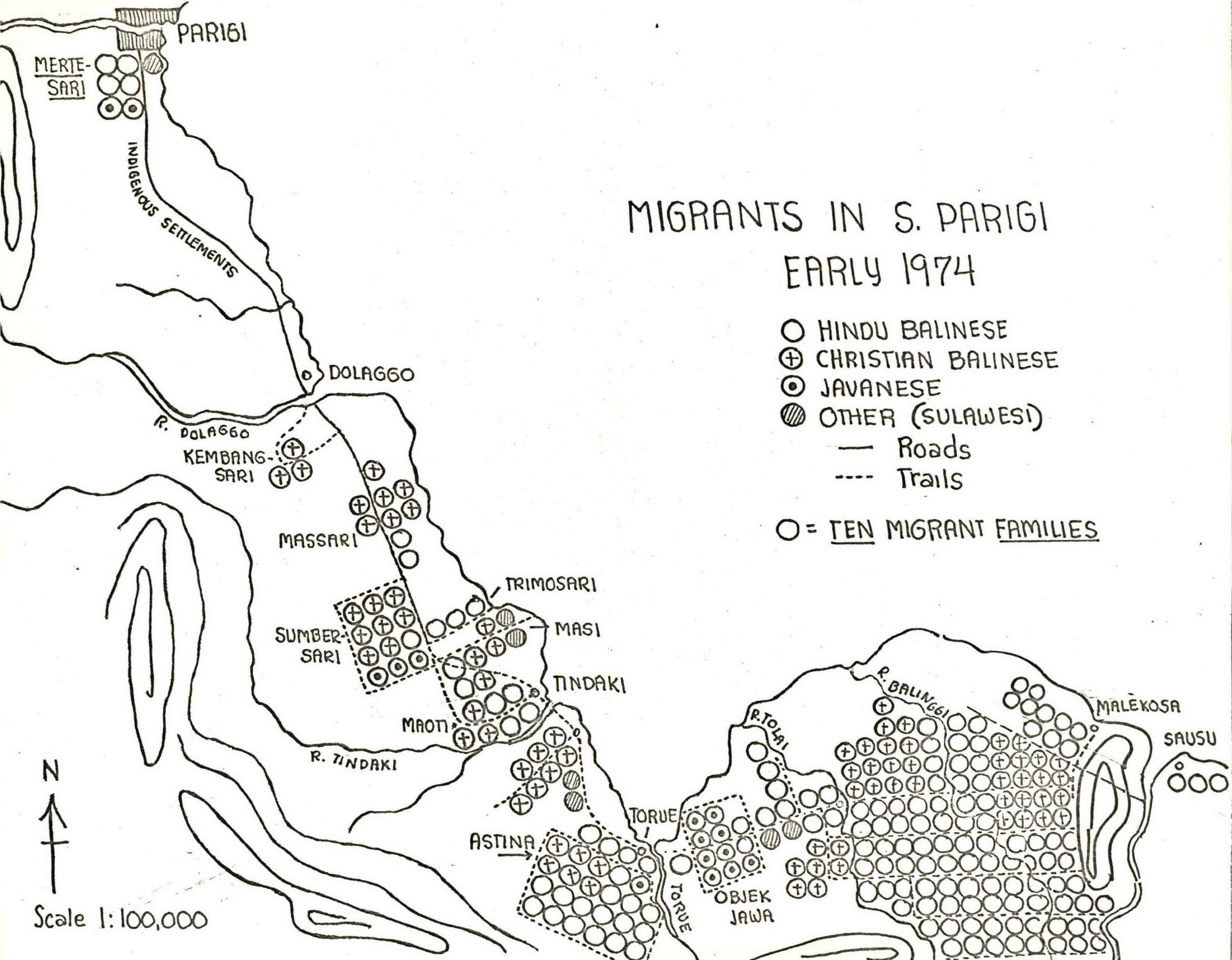
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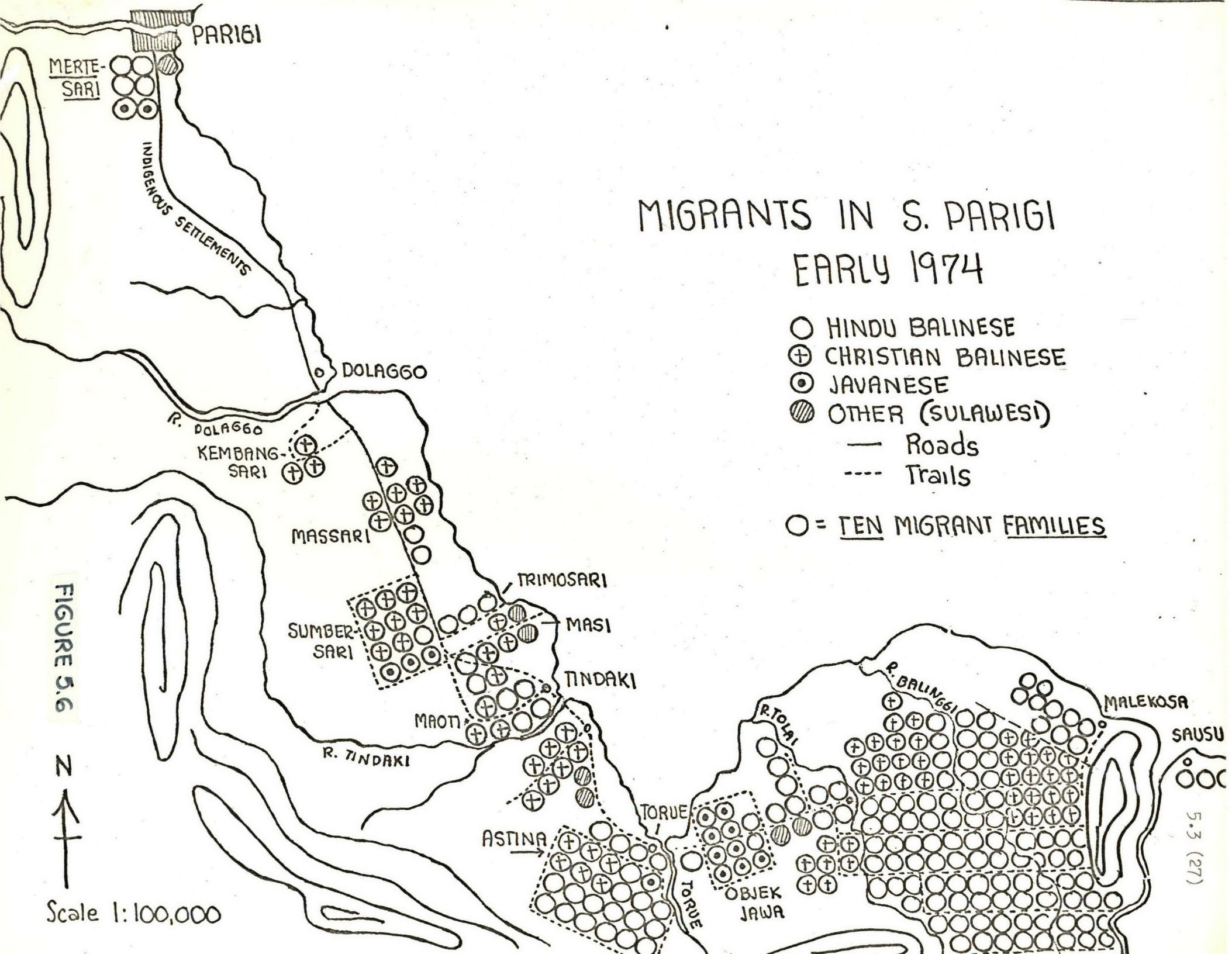
MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1969

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- JAVANESE
- ◐ OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails

○ = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES







	Hindu	Christian	Total Bali	Java	Total Mig.	Others	Total KK	Total Pop.
Kampung Bali	41 (233)	—	41 (233)	—	—	—	172-111	(513)
Olaya-Maesã	6 (33)	—	6 (33)	—	6 (33)	—	—	—
Kembanganari	—	28 (124)	↓	—	—	—	—	—
Before Massari	—	8 (34)	36 (158)	—	36 (158)	—	—	—
Massari	16 (74)	57 (315)	73 (389)	—	73 (389)	25 (190)	98	(579)
Sumbersari	11 (50)	81 (458)	92 (508)	26 (119)	118 (627)	—	118	(627)
Nambaru-kampung	20 (91)	16 (85)	36 (176)	6 (34)	42 (210)	29 ()	71	
- Masi	—	18 (95)	18 (95)	—	18 (95)	—	18	
- Trimosari	35 (138)	—	35 (138)	2 (11)	37 (149)	MENADO		
✓ Tindaki - Kelai	—	25 (132)	25 (132)	—	—	—		
✓ - " Moti	38 (164)	—	38 (164)	—	—	—		
✓ Tanah Lanto - managa Sari	—	35 (195)	35 (195)	—	↓	—	≈ 140	20KK Boda 60KK Kaeti (10 KK Terasing)
✓ - Masam	—	33 (121)	33 (121)	—	68 (316)	—		
✓ Towu - Kamp.	41 (238)	1 (6)	42 (244)	—	↓	—		
✓ before Purwosari	10 (68)	1 (6)	11 (74)	—	53 (318)	—		
✓ AEtina -	151 (753)	64 (364)	215 (1057)	5 (25)	220 (1082)	—		
✓ Purwosari - TOLAI - KAMPUNG	16 (79)	—	16 (79)	—	—	—		

TOLAI K. 45(121) 1(3) 1(4)

16(82)

31(161)

92

Buanosari 68(280)

The question then is whether these are idiosyncratic variations, ~~facts~~ ^{conditions which are} the result of historical and cultural forces ~~which are~~ ^{Whether they are} too complex to summarize; or the product of some few principles which follow a regular pattern over time. ~~As must be obvious~~ I'd be in trouble at this point if I didn't believe the latter were true. The point is that whether we label the phenomenon reference group orientation, elite emulation / ^{or Brown's law} the results are roughly the same; people change their behavior to become more like those who are in a position to reinforce them;

~~Other~~ ^{This means change to approximate in the direction} ~~that~~ ^{that} individuals emulate the ~~activities~~ ^{behavior} of people with power but it may also ~~mean~~ ^{mean} that ~~the~~ ^{they} modify ~~simply~~ ^{to please} their behavior simply ~~to please~~ ^{to gain approval of those with whom they most commonly interact} people from who they seek ~~approval~~ ^(it's pretty much the same in the end). ~~On the other side of the coin, however, punishment~~ ^{if} if ~~there is no reward~~ ^{if} ~~change structural opposition is likely to occur.~~ ^{change} ~~that is all the~~ ^{change} ~~more likely~~ ^{of when the rewards are too few to go around.}

~~Structural opposition will occur~~ ^{is} ~~if~~ ^{is} ~~likely to occur.~~ ^{likely to occur.} ~~It follows~~ ^{It follows} in my view it follows from these general premises that when expanding opportunities exist there ~~will be a~~ ^{is rapid} ~~rapid~~ ^{is rapid} homogenization, when opportunities close down, ~~people tend~~ ^{groups tend} to fragment, each emphasizing its distinctiveness and its legitimate claim to a larger share of the ~~total~~ ^{total} limited pie.

~~But~~ ^{But} back to the story, In Parigi the elites were dependent for support and mediation entirely on the Dutch. The indigenous aristocracy had been ~~kept~~ ^{subordinated} ~~to Dutch rule~~ ^{to Dutch rule} in the ~~preceding~~ ^{year before the exiles arrived} year. In addition the ~~Bahmuis regarded~~ ^{the Bahmuis perceived themselves as} themselves as culturally superior to the local people. ~~Under these circumstances the~~ ^{Under these circumstances the} Dutch, however, actively discouraged the westernization of indigenous people and encouraged them to practice their "native" ~~customs~~ ^{ways, which in the Bahmuis case} customs. ~~The Bahmuis were not about to become like the locals they despised.~~ ^{the Dutch they always & reinforced,} Since they were a rather ~~snobbish~~ ^{snobbish} lot anyway, the Bahmuis were ~~inclined~~ ^{inclined} to emulate the locals whose customs they despised. Under these circumstances, as I mentioned, they progressed pretty much as they pleased. In fact they flaunted their Bahmuis in spite of the fact they had been exiled, they emphasized the fact they were Bahmuis.

What interests me about the panels is that each in its own way has attempted to come to grips with the problems of old and new. ~~At the~~ Although I do violence to the complexity of the arguments &

~~think it is fair to say~~ At the risk of gross oversimplification it is interesting to analyze each of p. as an entry ^{one or two items} the political scientists for example ~~demonstrate~~ focus on the causality of change ranging from

B - K - m.

The second panel focuses on the security of the systems modernized. P. W.

What happens when you take a research field of almost bewildering diversity, approach it from sixteen different angles (literally), add four discussions and address all twenty to a topic with the specificity of a rorschach test? The papers in this collection provide one answer; the richness and diversity ~~remains there~~ ^{are there} but the common elements and unifying themes are, ~~at best~~, to say the least, obscure.

→ This is not to say that the panels lack ~~cohesive~~ ^{or striking} moments in which papers are brought together in delightful juxtaposition ^{or striking} ~~and surprising~~ complementarity. At times, in fact, ~~the authors~~ ^{the authors} ~~unselfconsciously and~~ ^{unselfconsciously and} ~~unwarily appear to~~ ^{almost} ~~elaborate on these~~ ^{elaborate on these} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~reasonably~~ ^{reasonably} reflect the state of ~~the art~~ ^{the state of the art} of their disciplines and.

In the third panel, ~~for example~~, ^{for example}, ~~for example~~, ^{for example}, the authors span the causal spectrum ~~of~~ ^{of} that on the exemplary center, one can hardly help but be ~~dazzled~~ ^{dazzled} ~~with~~ ^{impressed by} the way ~~that~~ ^{in which} ~~these~~ ^{these} group of political scientists ~~has~~ ^{has} ranged themselves along ~~the~~ ^{the} causal spectrum. Budiman, on one side, ~~gives~~ ^{provides} a ~~historical~~ ^{historical} structuralist explanation for political dependency and the potential ~~the~~ ^{change in the contemporary Indonesian} consequent course of ~~the~~ ^{the} evolution of the state. King sets his discussion in a structuralist context by suggesting that dependency and technocracy mean that modernization will be accompanied by a "unprecedented social control," but he illustrates his paper with an example - corporatism in labor - that gives full play to national and cultural forces and he ~~concludes~~ ^{concludes} his discussion ~~with~~ ^{with} a survey on individual attitudes toward authoritarian rule. MacDougall starts at precisely the opposite end of ~~the~~ ^{causal} continuum, describing the consequences of a technocratic value system based on "faith in the powers of reason", ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~fusion~~ ^{fusion} of mental enlightenment and material prog. We are left to infer the consequences of ideology for the functioning of the ~~state~~ ^{state} ~~political~~ ^{political} state.

continuum in
selecting factors
which are shaping
the medium the
state

The anthropologists are generally less theoretical, arguing, as anthropologists are wont, from the detail of their specific examples to the ^{broader} ~~general~~ conclusion that it is rather too ^{complicated} ~~difficult~~ to generalize. But at least one preeminent task in American anthropology is clear; in all the papers in the panel ~~and~~ there is an attempt to enliven history in the effort of sorting out ^{those} repetitive internal changes which ^{are} a part of the society itself and the intrusive changes which cause it to be something new. ^{At the risk of oversimplifying} Bartels appears to me to ~~be~~ ^{not much is} arguing that ~~there is something~~ new in Ambon ^{as a historical adaptation} because it represents the ^{continuation} ~~evolution~~ of a traditional ^{Ambonese} attitude toward power. Both Schugel and Ecklund, in strikingly ^{parallel} ~~complementary~~ papers, ~~are engaged in the task of explaining~~ ^{to use an historical perspective to explain} why the "new" look in Aceh and Lombok is Islamic, ~~and~~ not secular. ^{is being an important component of newness or} ~~Since secular in the west, is utterly synonymous~~ ^{modernity} ~~with modernity~~, the temptation exists for the reader to assume that these highly Islamized societies are ^{also} ~~also~~ traditional - an idea which careful reading of their two papers quickly dispels.

the heart of their dilemma being that

the panel on messages and media ^{also attempts} ~~also~~ addresses, among other things,

^{or selectivity} the perversity of modernizing influences; that is the way in which they ~~are selective~~ affect different parts of the population differently and the way in which they are selectively adopted and used. Papeyoko's paper, for example, provides a fascinating glimpse of what modernity means in a woman's world rather than a man's. Kantominari's and Wallis focus on different rates of change in different features of language use. ^{emphasizes} Maqenda ~~focuses on~~ the role of Japan's newspapers in fueling regional and national cultural streams.

→ what interests me most about these papers, however, is neither ^{nor the} ~~the emphasis only on selectivity~~ in which they ~~is given account~~ the way they almost ~~unself-consciously~~ attempt

to disaggregate that which is indigeneous - feminine modesty, polite circumspection & status oriented reference terms - from that which is new, ^{but what is fascinating to me is} ~~the opposite we presume~~, but the ~~triviality~~ ^{of tradition} of the ~~extremes~~ ^{traditional} benchmark, which ~~is used~~ ^{is accepted without} to rescue that ^{which has been} ~~which can~~ ^{without} ~~what an enormous degree of change~~ ^{we have come to expect} and what ^{small} ~~small~~ ^{comfort} ~~comfort~~ that ^{can be} ~~can be~~ ^{in the persistence} of hierarchical forms of address. ~~with apologies~~ ^{to all} ~~linguists everywhere~~ - ~~of which~~ ^{of something} as ~~trivial~~ ^{as} hierarchical forms of address. According to Wallace the Betawi are abandoning Betawi Malay, migrant's ~~are~~ ^{is learning} ~~the~~ ^a ~~language~~ ^{language} whose grammatical features explicitly deny the ~~system~~ ^{of status} of status, yet we are ~~to~~ ^{told} ~~believe~~ that the ~~persistence~~ ^{basinerness} of hierarchical modes of address means that something of ^a ~~what is~~ ^{part-} ~~really~~ ^{Indonesian} character is still ^{with us}.

what?

I use this example only as an illustration, there are many others, of what seems to be ^{the} ~~an~~ implicit question running through these works; ~~and that is not~~, "what is ^{modern} Indonesian culture", but ~~first~~ "what is Indonesian?" ^{and the question is whose} ~~and~~ "Does modernity ^{it is because of} mean they are becoming like us?" ^{it is limited} (the "us" being those authors, ^{that is} who whether ^{from} ~~from~~ ^{American, Australian or} ~~American, Australian or~~ ^{nevertheless represent} ~~give voice to attitudes common to the~~ ^{the} ~~unintentionally~~ ^{unintentionally} ~~uniform~~ ^{unintentionally} culture of the English-speaking West). I suspect, ~~that~~ ^{as} ~~as~~ ^{as} Brown does, that when the question is asked in this way it is likely to affect ^{not} ~~but~~ ^{emotional} predispositions as ^{much} ~~as~~ the facts. The question is not really whether Indonesian society is changing. It is. The question is whether this change is patterned and how. ^{For example,} ~~Can we see that change is affected~~ ^{we listen to Brown, how should we should look how we feel about} ~~inequalities of power~~ ^{we feel about} ~~and how~~ ^{we feel about} ~~we feel about~~ ^{we feel about} this. All of ~~these~~ ^{these} are questions to which I shall momentarily return.

What I am attempting to get at in ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~away~~ ^{argument} which ~~is~~ ^{admittedly} ~~targeted~~ ^{does} ~~at~~ ^{some extent} ~~the~~ ^{of my} ~~two~~ ^{of the} ~~points~~ ^{concerns}, first that ~~is~~ ^{is} that, two questions appear to be running through

These papers. ~~Not~~ ^{But} "What is modern Indonesian Culture?", but first, ~~what~~ ^{is} "What is Indonesianism?" And, if I may be permitted to stick my neck out a bit further, the second question appears

And second, ~~that~~ ^{a question so} ~~is~~ ^{most of us have} ~~the~~ ^{stopped} ~~old~~ ^{asked} ~~is~~ ^{asked} ~~it~~ ^{it} and continue only to feel it, "Does modernity mean

Why are becoming who we?" ~~Does~~ ^(This is in the case of using English) ~~Brown's~~ ^{Do} ~~law~~ ^{all} ~~apply~~ ^{that to} ~~?~~ ^{formal} ~~Do~~ ^{personnel} ~~all~~ ^{communities} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~perhaps~~ ^{perhaps} ~~even~~ ^{even} ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~highly~~ ^{highly} ~~accumulated~~ ^{accumulated} ~~human~~ ^{human} ~~aspects~~ ^{aspects} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~condition~~ ^{condition} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Java~~ ^{Java} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~most~~ ^{most} ~~drastically~~ ^{drastically} ~~decultured~~ ^{decultured} ~~island~~ ^{island} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~archipelago~~ ^{archipelago} ~~(Ambon)~~ ^(Ambon) ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~find~~ ^{find}

the subtle rather than the obvious. And I'm even inclined to think that the even-handed treatment of an intrusive

There is a part of ~~those~~ ^{those} ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~attached~~ ^{attached} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~Indonesia~~ ^{Indonesia} ~~when~~ ^{when} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~resistant~~ ^{resistant} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~change~~ ^{change}. And I'm even inclined to think that the

even-handed treatment of Islamic growth in Aceh & Lombok

articles by Schlegel & Echuand may

And I am even ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~persuaded~~ ^{persuaded} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~wonder~~ ^{wonder} ~~whether~~ ^{whether} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~even~~ ^{even} ~~handed~~ ^{handed} ~~treatment~~ ^{treatment} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~intrusive~~ ^{intrusive} ~~element~~ ^{element}

Why Islam arose from a sense of relief (or perhaps interest)

over the fact that whatever else these societies remain

distinctive? Does the discovery of cultural continuity

in down town Jakarta and ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~most~~ ^{most} ~~drastically~~ ^{drastically} ~~decultured~~ ^{decultured} ~~islands~~ ^{islands}

My first papers an argument which admittedly does some extent to target some of the concerns of the community

that to formal personnel communities

Echuand & Schlegel may not impart a sense although chamung's this societies still remain foreign

that is still attached to with the realm of our cultural relationship

W. I. am interested in that the community is still attached to with the realm of our cultural relationship

As always and sympathetically

do that which is difficult human minimum to our

It is not surprising that ^{many} these themes - the locus of causality, internal v. external influences, and particularly our emotional disposition ^{py} to ~~use~~ change as good or bad ~~are~~ brought together most clearly in the panel on Indonesian art. Art is ~~papers~~ after all not what interests me about the papers panels, is that ^{only the} ~~when you have read the papers as many times as~~ ^{achievement} ~~only the high point of a cultural tradition~~ ^{of a cultural} ~~I have each seems to develop its own rhythm its~~ ^{tradition} ~~retained and distinctive characteristics of a culture but is~~ ^{but perhaps} ~~can point and counterpoint. To begin, appropriately~~ ^{its most} ~~often is its most fragile vessel. When an art form disappears~~ ^{fragile} ~~enough with the panel on the performing arts the~~ ^{behave} ~~Karomi, ~~from one volume~~ gives a~~ ^{political} ~~we have on one hand Karomi's relatively detached~~ ^{and Anthropologists} ~~and detailed paper describing~~ ^{have a com} ~~the internal changes~~ ^{mission accompan} ~~of the~~ ^{to structure} ~~in the Munamakabau ~~read~~ music - and ^{Indonesians in} ~~change introduced from within~~ ^{Parsons's} ~~from the Portuguese,~~ ^{long pants but} ~~from Islam, from the West,~~ ^{we assume} ~~Hatch, picks up the theme however,~~ ^{the} ~~arguing somewhat obliquely that the introduction~~ ^{are strong} ~~of an exogenous feature - notation, and not (exogenous) need not~~ ^{continuity &} ~~necessarily affect the source of Javanese music and substance~~ ^{between change} ~~of Javanese music~~ ^{and non-change} ~~which is anchored in the~~ ^{which argues that} ~~creativity of and traditions of the musicians themselves. Perhaps~~ ^{today} ~~He protests too much? Similarly~~ ^{claims} ~~Wallis develops one side of the dichotomy/arguing~~ ^{that Balinese theater} ~~in a beautifully persuasive paper~~ ^{fulfills the same function} ~~that Balinese theater~~ ^{that it always has, that of} ~~fulfills the same function~~ ^{integrating past present and future} ~~that it always has, that of~~ ^{integrating past present and future} ~~integrating past present and future~~ ^{that Balinese art, (in what sounds like a hopeful metaphor} ~~that Balinese art, (in what sounds like a hopeful metaphor~~ ^{for Balinese society as a whole) provides an "internal} ~~for Balinese society as a whole) provides an "internal~~ ^{stability amid a sea of potentially upsetting influences"} ~~stability amid a sea of potentially upsetting influences"~~ ^{Perhaps,} ~~Perhaps,~~ ^{Becker leads us + presents us with a totally different,} ~~Becker leads us + presents us with a totally different, ^{a complementary view of view of audience and performer a} ~~a complementary view of view of audience and performer a~~ ^{traditional music based on a kind of communality, "an} ~~traditional music based on a kind of communality, "an~~ ^{understanding between artist and audience"} ~~understanding between artist and audience"~~ ^{but one face she also} ~~but one face she also~~ ^{with the specter of modernity a conclusion in which the performer} ~~with the specter of modernity a conclusion in which the performer~~ ^{is isolated from his audience and superior to ~~the~~ it.} ~~is isolated from his audience and superior to ~~the~~ it.~~ ^{individualistic, ego-centric, etc}~~~~

Nevertheless the same themes are here.

only the achievement of a cultural tradition but perhaps its most fragile behave political and Anthropologists have a com mission accompan to structure Indonesians in Parsons's long pants but we assume the

continuity & between change and non-change

Perhaps, Becker leads us + presents us with a totally different, a complementary view of view of audience and performer a traditional music based on a kind of communality, "an understanding between artist and audience" but one face she also with the specter of modernity a conclusion in which the performer is isolated from his audience and superior to ~~the~~ it. individualistic, ego-centric, etc

The phrase stays with me
was a comment on these
papers most
crucial

A full year after these papers were first given ^{in my mind} that stays with me clearly and disturbs me the most
~~thought that stays with me clearly~~ ^{which follow these papers, factually, and by its}
is the simple-minded statement of Brown's law: ~~that~~ everything
aspires to the condition of New York. You don't ~~believe~~ really
believe it and I don't really believe it, ^{Schlegel and Ecklund are proof against it.} but there is something

there. Something which ^{links} binds the papers from Budiman to Ecklund,
~~Bartels, Barrels, Schlegel, Barrels, Schlegel~~ ^{to}
to Becker, ^{And that something, it seems to me, has to do with a web}
^{in which such things as} ^{and} ^{and}
~~power, elite emulation,~~ structural opposition, and ~~reference~~

~~and reference groups are~~ all intertwined. Like a good anthropologist,
however, I ~~am forced to find it useful to my own work, work~~
^{I think I can not be persuasive unless I return to my} ^{speaks}
in an out of the way place, work.
which has nothing to do with the great forces of east and
west ^{interplay of between} to ~~show in order to~~ describe the source of my own ~~understanding~~
^{but work which not only} ^{understanding} ^{the basis for my own conviction}
~~conviction~~ that change is not nearly as capricious as we have
made it seem. ^{the direction of change} It may be impossible to predict but it is not
impossible to explain.

when
has so
changed
with
which were
for me
largely
neutral

The Baniwa Movement to Central Sulawesi

The task I set for myself at the beginning of my
dissertation research ^{now some five years back} was to ~~to~~ describe the way in
which traditional Baniwa farmers adapted to a new
land and new people some 1000 km from their homes.
I found, not surprisingly, not one form of adaptation
but many. The job was then more complex, ^{that is} to ~~show~~ (or
~~perhaps impote~~) ^{the} principles which ^{could both account for the patterns} ~~summed to link them~~ of adaptation
and explain ^{Musi} ~~the~~ ^{narration}.

The first twelve Baniwa families to settle in ~~central~~ Sulawesi
Pariqi (a tiny town in what would become C. Sulawesi) arrived in 1906.

The Balinese migration to Central Sulawesi

In 1906 twelve Balinese families settled in Parigi, a tiny town on the gulf of Tomini in an area eventually to become part of the province of Central Sulawesi. Given the cultural chauvinism of the Balinese, their attachment to their homeland, and their low rates of mobility, ^{it takes little imagination} ~~it is reasonable one~~ ^{to} hypothesizes that it took drastic circumstances to get these first individuals to move; and in fact this ^{was} ~~is~~ true. The first Balinese in Parigi were exiles, men and women banished from Bali for alleged infractions of adat or customary law. In most cases the offense was mis-caste marriage; the union of a man with a woman of higher status, a crime ~~practiced~~ at one time punishable by death.

After 1910 all non-criminal adat offenders ^{in Bali} were exiled to Parigi ~~for a period of several years~~ ^{perhaps} ~~and during by the 1920s~~ and over the next twenty years ^{saw} ~~more~~ ^{sixty or more} families arrived ~~there from the community~~ ^{from twelve families} to serve sentences of varying duration. Since these exiles arrived ~~sixty or more~~ ^{sixty or more} families arrived in Parigi with the support and sponsorship of the Dutch, ~~they were~~ ^{they were} ~~support and sponsorship of the Dutch and settled and~~ ~~not directly amenable to the local rajahs.~~ ~~Furthermore the on the local people for economic or social support and settled among~~ ~~and the exiles are~~ people whose agriculture and culture they regarded as inferior, ~~it is little wonder~~ that they progressed pretty much as they pleased. They set up their traditional agricultural systems, put increasing amounts of land into wet rice cultivation, preserved their Hindu rituals and traditional world-view, made conspicuous displays of offerings and held several colorful cremations. They maintained much of their customary law and spoke the Balinese language in the family. ~~their home~~. In spite of their exile they continued to identify strongly with Bali and when amnesty was declared in 1928 virtually all returned home.

Following the depression, War and revolution the residual Balinese community in Parigi was completely transformed. The color, gaiety and self sufficiency of the exile community was gone. The agricultural system had more or less dissolved, religious ritual was greatly simplified, cremations had ceased, Hindu practices in general were hidden away as Sulawesi went through periods of fanatical Islamic activity. Customary law had given way to governmental regulation, young people went to national schools and the children came to speak the local language, Kawi, as well as Indonesian and Balinese.

Of the seventeen families comprising Kampung Bani in 1950, eight family heads had been born and raised in Parigi and six of these had local wives. In spite of the high rate of out-marriage, however, not a single Balinese had converted to Islam and in three of eight marriages the spouse had become a Hindu. This ^{is all the more remarkable in light of} ~~is all the more~~ ~~remarkable~~ ~~in light of~~ ~~the~~ ~~strong~~ ~~antipathy~~ which the Islamic Sulawesi people felt for the animistic Bali-Hindu religion, ~~of the Hindu-Balinese~~ and is no doubt suggestive of the real economic power ~~of~~ which had been attained by the immigrant ~~the~~ Balinese.

In spite of their prosperity and the easy availability of land, however, the residents of Kampung ^{Bani} had made little effort and had even less success at attracting ^{to} ~~immigrants~~ ^{immigrants or friends}. Between 1950 and 1957 they were joined by ^{more families,} ~~only~~ a handful of ^{Balinese families} ~~immigrants~~ refugees, outcasts and the occasional heir to the lands ^{of someone newly deceased.} ~~of an aging exile~~. Without an influx of new blood, it appeared ^{probably} ~~certainly~~ that the community would ^{in all probability,} ~~disappear~~ ^{simply}.

The Chelodactyl

him in 1957. Dewa Muranggi, an aging exile left Parigi for Bau - ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~sure~~ he wanted to be assured of a proper cremation when he died. On the bus between ~~Jawa~~ ^{Surabaya} and Denpasar he happened to sit next to two Balmiese Christians who were discussing the possibility of moving to Sumatra. Before the day was out he had agreed to ~~take~~ ^{take} them to ~~Central Sulawesi~~ ^{instead to} Parigi instead.

The movement of Balmiese Christians to Central Sulawesi began slowly. The first group ^{in 1957} consisted of only five families. In 1960 they were followed by groups of twenty families, nine families and then forty ^{more}. In 1962 at the instigation of migrants already in ~~Parigi~~ ^{Sulawesi} the government settled 352 families in ~~Sumbawa~~ a permit just ¹⁰ km to the south of Parigi, ~~itself~~. ^{60% of them were} ~~60~~ percent of these immigrants were Christian Balmiese.

① In time nearly ^{one-quarter} ~~one-third~~ percent of Bau's 11,000 Christians were to move to Central Sulawesi.

↓
Interestingly, in the ten years between 1957 and 1967 about 200 Balmiese families were attracted to Sulawesi and three-quarters were Christian. Furthermore all Hindus settling in the Christian communities south of Parigi ^{converted} became Christian, generally to conform to the wishes of family and friends. ①

Given that Balmiese culture ~~is~~ so closely identified with Hindu ritual and religious belief, one ~~was~~ ^{might} hypothesize that this conversion must have ~~been~~ ^{was} relatively stressful to the migrants involved. ② But it is my impression that this was ~~is~~ not the case. Apparently, for most who moved acceptance and inclusion within the communities was more important than ^{its} religious belief. ②

- ③ Certainly a factor of self-selection was at work. Villagers who strongly disapproved of ~~Hinduism~~ Christianity were unlikely to have moved, and even more unlikely to have settled in Christian communities.
- ④ One might suppose that whatever the real reason for converting it would at least be rationalized in religious terms, i.e. belief in Jesus, attractions to the tenets of the church. But a short survey among Christian converts ^{in C. Sulawesi} indicated that only 20% gave unequivocally religious reasons for converting, 47% gave purely social considerations -- i.e. getting along with neighbors, following the decision of a spouse and the like.

1. The first Balmiese Christians were converted by the Christian Missionary Alliance in 1931. In 1936 about 1/3 the small Christian population was removed to the hills of the area of Limbata. To recruit Christians.

Thus, the new arrivals chose to be like the people they

interacted with the most; the Christian Batture, and ~~the~~ through conversion they committed themselves to a ~~self-conscious program of planned~~ ^{life style} decision ~~that embodied~~ ^{change} on a lifestyle characterized ~~by non-traditional ways of behaving.~~ ^{using as their} guide ~~their~~ ^{an} idealized version of christian life ~~as interpreted~~ ^{which they attributed to had} learned from ~~to them~~ by the fundamentalist church in Bali and ~~the~~ which they christian ~~monarchs~~ attributed to the highly "~~Indonesian~~ Westernized ~~and~~ nations (and Indonesianized) monarchs, these new immigrants embarked on a forward looking program of planned change. They adopted Indonesian as the language for all official functions (including worship, which in Bali was held in the vernacular). They erected churches, schools and clinics as soon as they arrived. They quickly turned to modern agricultural practice but maintained traditional work patterns where effective. Most surprising, they managed to almost totally eliminate gambling and divorce (cherished Balinese institutions), controlled the use of black magic and the belief in poisoning; and significantly decreased the belief in spirits and animistic practices. At the same time they kept an open mind toward the indigenous populations, used Chinese and Buginese middlemen in trade, remained deferent to local sensitivities (in eating pork for example) and tread lightly in the minefields of government and interethnic relations.

The point is that whether we label the phenomenon reference group ~~behavior~~, ~~orientation~~, elite emulation, or Brown's law, people generally have a propensity to orient themselves toward those, who for whatever reason, they perceive as superior -- people who have something they want. This may mean that individuals emulate the behavior of people in power, or it may mean simply that they adjust their actions to gain the approval of those with whom they commonly interact. I say "generally" because if people are excluded or unrewarded resentment and frustration are common and structural opposition often appears. (You can see that I'm not too partial to the notion that people wear green and blue hats for the purposes of identification alone. I tend to see identification itself as a largely political act -- political, that is, in the widest sense of the term). In my view, it follows from these general remarks that when expanding opportunities exist, homogenization occurs; when opportunities close down, interest groups (which may be ethnic groups) ^{became increasingly pronounced;} ~~appear~~; each emphasizing its distinctiveness and its claim to a larger share of a limited pie.

In Parigi the Balinese ^{exiles} depended for their welfare entirely on the Dutch. The indigenous aristocracy had been subordinated to colonial rule the year before the first ^{twelve families} ~~exiles~~ arrived. But the Dutch actively discouraged the Westernization of "native" peoples and this applied particularly to the Balinese whose ritual and culture they admired and wanted to preserve. Thus, the Balinese were precluded from emulating Dutch behavior and flattered into thinking it was all for the best. They were hardly inclined to imitate the locals for whom they had little respect. Under these circumstances, as I have mentioned, they progressed pretty much as they pleased. In spite of the fact they were exiles, they emphasized the fact they were Balinese.

As most exiles ^f returned home, however, those who remained became more and more dependent on the locals for labor, markets, spouses, and even friends. Increased interaction meant that the Kaili became a salient reference group, and over the years there was gradual assimilation to Kaili

ways. Total absorption was no doubt prevented, in part, by the fact that the Balinese continued to view themselves as not only economically, but culturally superior.

The Christians were already marginal to mainstream Balinese culture when they arrived in Sulawesi and they had gained this distinctiveness at considerable expense. Under these circumstances they used as their frame of reference -- not Hindus whose religious beliefs they regarded as inferior -- but an idealized Indonesian~~Christian~~ model, one which they attributed to the Menadoese. They also self-consciously extended networks of mutual help to Christians rather than Hindu-Balinese. Hindus who moved into Christian communities changed their identification virtually overnight, choosing to conform to the concrete expectations of their neighbors rather than the abstract principles which bound them to the religion of their ancestors.

When the influx of migrants reached a critical point, traditional farmers found themselves moving so rapidly that all ^{the} settlers in a new area tended to be recent immigrants. In earlier days, newcomers were handicapped by a lack of knowledge about the new land and people with new rules; but among the later Balinese, people who valued their heritage and were culture-proud, recent arrivals had a special status because they were nearer to, or more aware of, the "real" culture at home. (They also had relatively few opportunities to learn new ways, isolated as they were). Throughout the older migrant area people scurried about seeking newcomers who knew about priests' duties, temple measurements, correct times for planting and the like. Instant authorities were quickly displaced as new immigrants arrived with the very last word.

Finally, since a part of the superiority of all preceding groups had been dependent on their identity as "Balinese", old timers were under

considerable pressure to shape up or suffer a loss of respect. As I have suggested, Christians and Hindus alike began to pay more attention to outward displays of Balinese-ness in order to maintain their identity and prestige in the eyes of both locals and other Balinese.

But what has all this got to do with Budiman, Bartels and Brown's Law? Because the Balinese are changing in ways that are both like us and not like us, it is relatively easy to be dispassionate about their adaptation. (It is rather harder to be correct.) ^{And} ~~But~~ I hope I have argued persuasively that despite the variation in the forms of Balinese adaptation over time, a few principles are regularly involved. Groups are defined as superior and inferior and behavior change is generally in the direction of the first.

The parallel within the wider Indonesian context should now be relatively clear. Budiman is right, Indonesia's economy is, in fact, dependent and growing more so and not less. It is dependent both for its material resources and technocratic values on countries in the West. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that not only the values but the cultures of the materially superior societies are widely imitated, especially in the cities where there ^{is} not only more information, but more aspirations ^{for} and access to material goods as well.

^{Similar⁽⁴⁾} Indonesia's countryside is dependent on her cities; ~~in turn,~~ and hence the values to be imitated flow, for the most part, from the "culturally superior" to the "culturally inferior" and not the other way around. There is a metropolitan superculture and it is undeniably reaching out and homogenizing the countryside. Children in Indonesian schools sing songs selected in Jakarta, to tunes familiar in the U.S. They read comic books, ride motor cycles and wear Western dress. It is not just the Ambonese who believe that imitation of Westerners -- or any other elite -- provides them with the keys to their powers. We all believe it, and the conviction, to my mind, rests on a sound psychological base.

But surely some diehard will suggest that a people cannot abandon wholesale the values and traditions which have guided them through the years. I hope this is true and, in fact, I can think of some evidence that it might be the case; but for me this world-view suffered a near fatal blow with the conversion of the Hindus to Christianity. My notes to myself upon departure say: investigate the irreducible core of what it means to be Balinese. What an innocent. Converts abandoned their offerings, their rituals, their caste, and their sense of place. All with little noticeable effect on their psyches or identities. What I am suggesting is that there is not core, however sacred, which cannot be sacrificed if the price is right; and often the price is right.

In theory the re-traditionalization of Parigi provides a hope. But I think it is an illusory case. Admittedly, if any tradition could survive it should be that of the chauvenistic and fiercely culture-proud Balinese; and for one brief moment the traditionalists in Tolai were sufficiently isolated and numerous to exert tremendous influence on the direction of community growth. But the road is now in, the radios have arrived, the children are going to Indonesian schools and they are partaking of a rationalized and universalized form of their formerly location-specific religion.

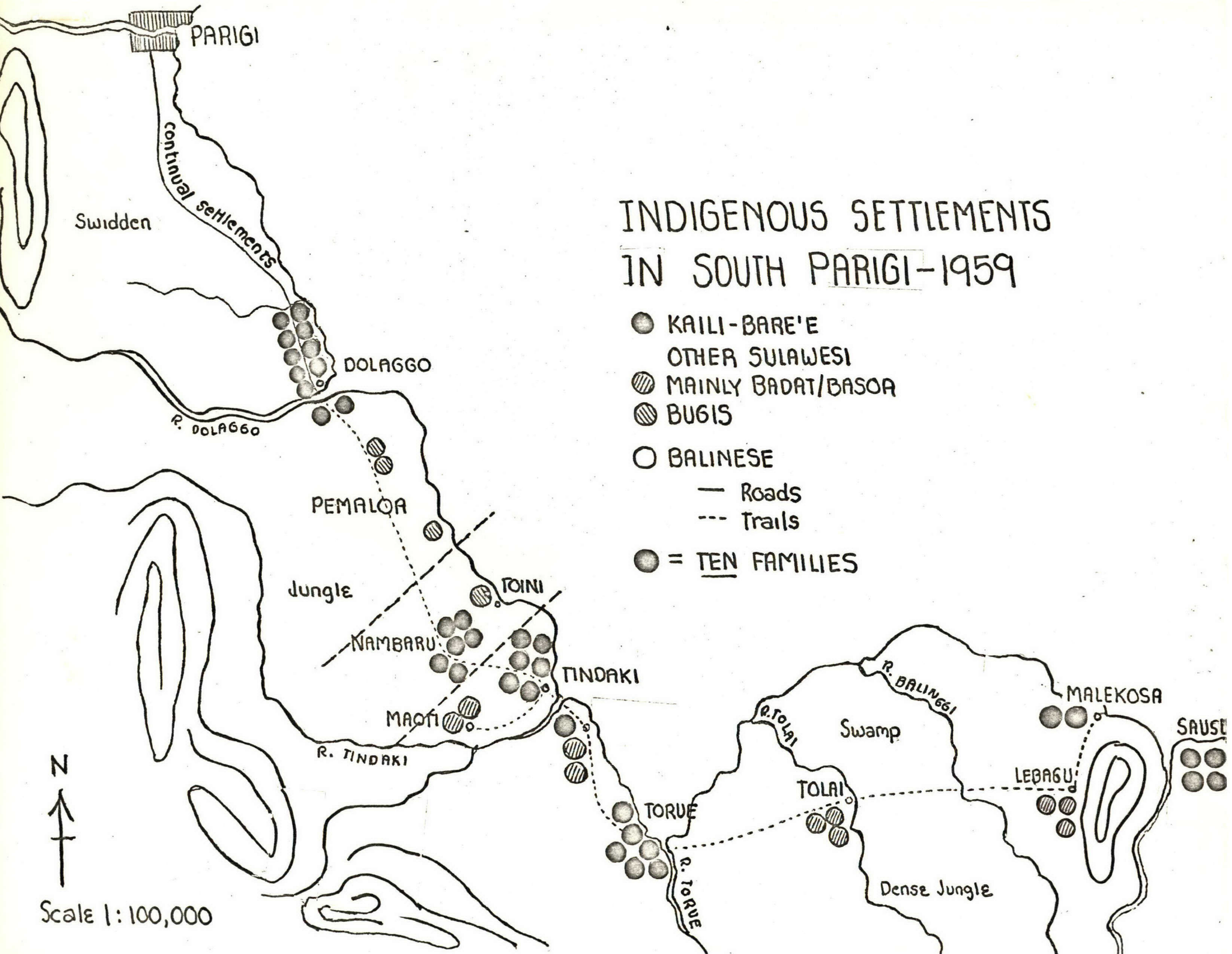
On Independence day of 1973 a confederation of long-term and recently arrived Balinese youth staged a drama which gathered a crowd from throughout the Parigi plain. When the lovely heroine and her handsome suitor entered the Puri (or palace) they abruptly switched from the low Balinese language to Indonesian. Why not the high Balinese language? Well, they admitted, the youngsters from Parigi had never heard palace Balinese and they'd be embarrassed to use the language improperly. Besides, they said, caste differences in language were feudal and not -- I have this in my notes -- and not really Balinese.

The point I want to leave behind, however, is not just that tradition

"is disappearing, and fast" (Brown, circa 1976); but that we might not want it any other way. If I am right, homogenization implies that people not only believe in and aspire to a richer and better life, but that they think they can get it. Increased structural opposition may well set in, but this will, in my view, not be an unmitigated blessing. What it will signal is the fact that the Western belief in "mental enlightenment through material progress" has failed. Some will, of course, applaud; but my own view, which will be considered atavistic by many, is that human welfare is unlikely to be advanced by any other means. There are alternate routes to material development, but none of them will leave the fundamental structure of traditional societies in tact.

"So friends," Brown writes, "I remain unconvinced. I think it is all disappearing before our very eyes while we diddle around with nuclear themes, inner melodies, overlapping cycles and gong exchanges." I agree with Brown. It is all disappearing -- well, perhaps not all, or at least not in our lifetimes; but it is disappearing and fast. I also agree with Brown that it's sad. But the alternative to being caught up in this stream is to be left behind, and unlike Brown I fear that this might be just as bad if not worse.

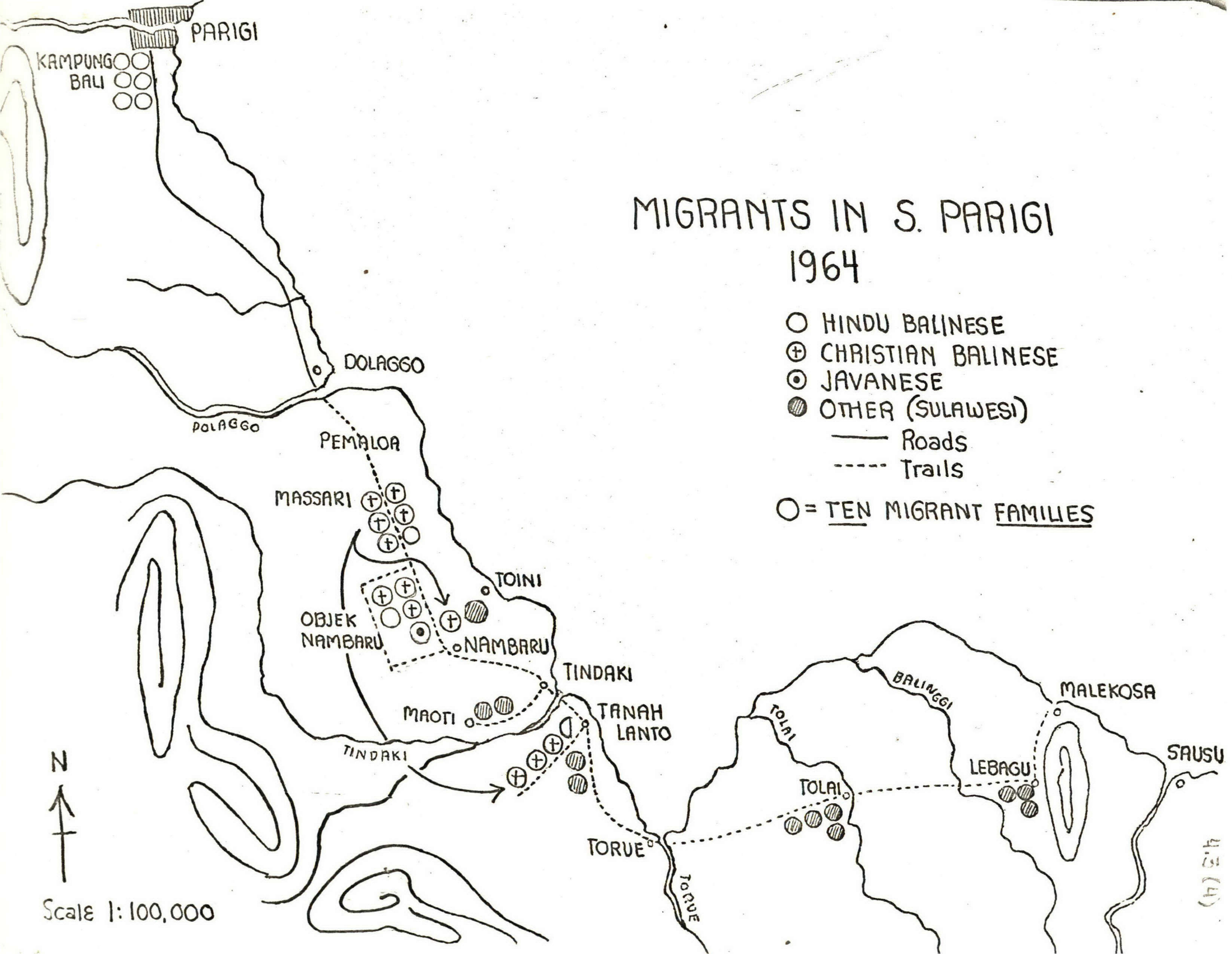
So what is modern Indonesia culture? If we were to look at it dispassionately, would we not have to admit that we were seeing more and more of ourselves?



INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH PARIGI-1959

- KAILI-BARE'E
- OTHER SULAWESI
- ▨ MAINLY BADAT/BASORA
- ▨ BUGIS
- BALINESE
- Roads
- Trails
- = TEN FAMILIES

N
↑
Scale 1:100,000



MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1964

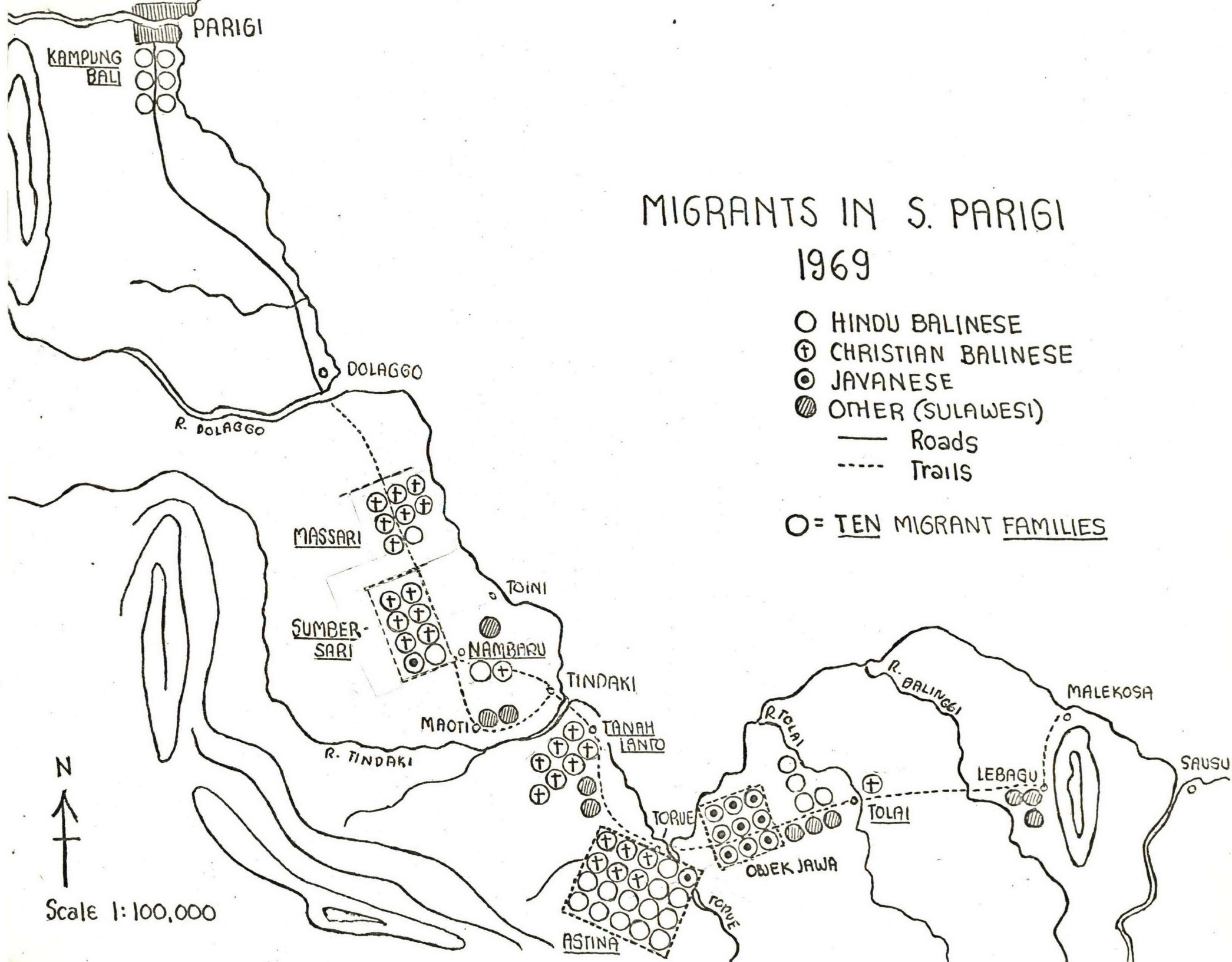
- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- JAVANESE
- OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails

○ = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



Scale 1:100,000

43(4)



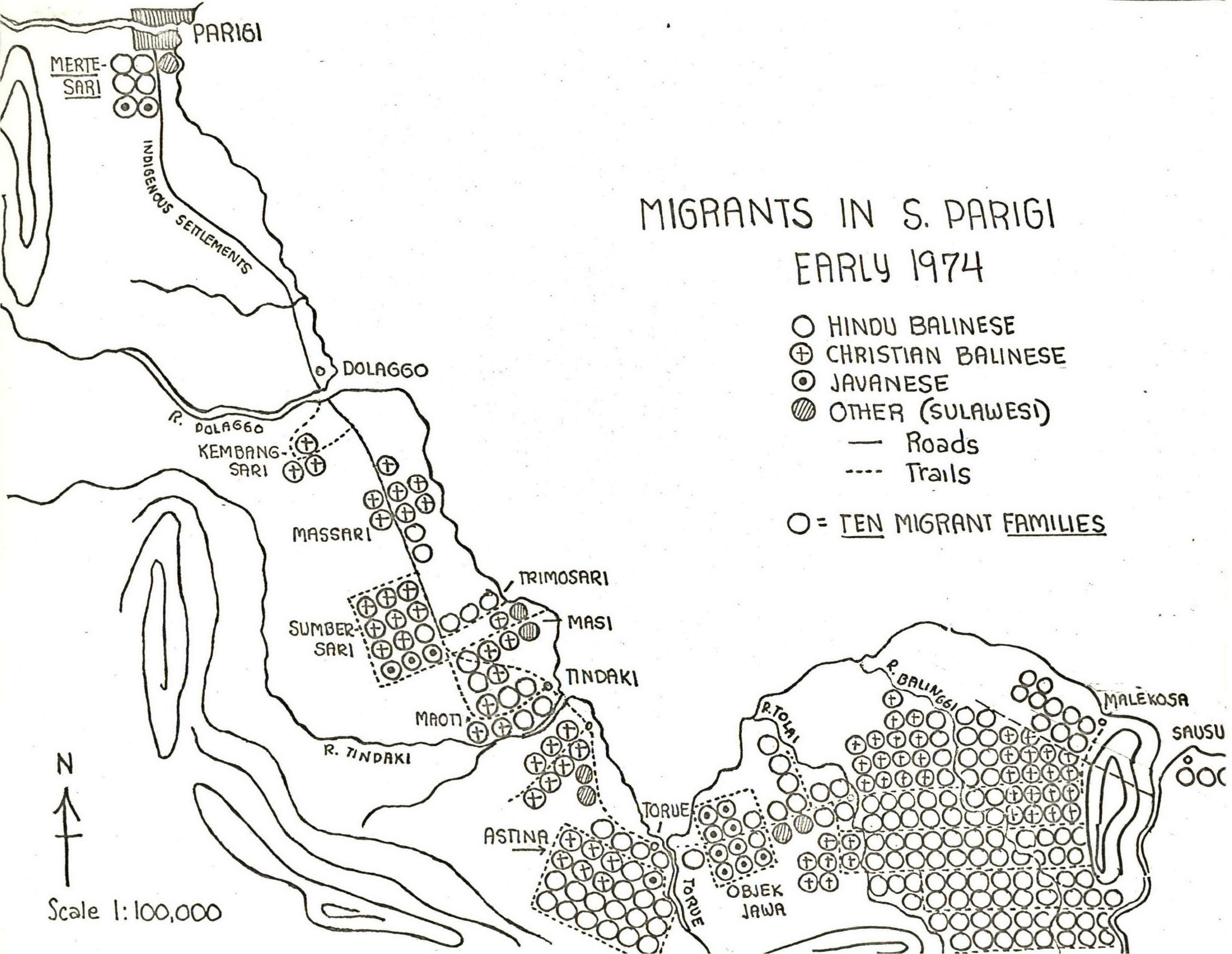
MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI 1969

- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- JAVANESE
- ◐ OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- - - Trails

○ = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



Scale 1:100,000



MIGRANTS IN S. PARIGI EARLY 1974

- HINDU BALINESE
- ⊕ CHRISTIAN BALINESE
- JAVANESE
- ◐ OTHER (SULAWESI)
- Roads
- Trails

○ = TEN MIGRANT FAMILIES



Scale 1:100,000

Title
Center

Moving with the flow: The case for
~~Spontaneous~~ Spontaneous migrants in the
Transmigration Program.

~~The following paper presents an argument~~
~~for mass movement~~

~~Obviously most of the major demographic movements~~
~~in the~~

Most migration occurs spontaneously, that is to say that individuals rather than their governments ~~select themselves, move, and~~ transport and settle themselves ~~within~~ in new areas. Governments may make this easy or difficult. In the case of the American West, for example, government surveys and ~~the rather~~ provisions for land transfer made homesteading/possible and peaceable. ^{west of the mississippi.} Pass systems and constraints to land transfer may also ~~not~~ be used ~~pass systems, and constraints to land transfer may also~~ to limit movement as in the case of rural urban movement in L.A. and Asia ~~to~~ Most migration in Indonesia also occurs spontaneously,

~~It also emphasized the~~

The movement of large numbers of people at low cost can be done efficiently only if many of the migrants are

I. The Cases

Center

Pariai - A Case of Spontaneous Migration

The movement of nearly 15,000 Balinese to the district of Pariai in Central Sulawesi ~~was~~ ^{is} unusual in two respects. First, although founded by government intervention (the first settlers were exiled there by the Dutch) the later development of Pariai was largely - though with timely exceptions, spontaneous; that is initiated by the migrants themselves. Second, it was Balinese. The Balinese are among the least mobile of all Indonesian peoples. / 1 and most Balinese grow up, marry and die within a few kilometers of ^{the place of} ~~their~~ birth / 2, ~~and~~ ^{For this reason} ~~the factors facilitating~~ ^{their movement} ~~relationships which caused them to move from~~ ^{the island} ~~of the gods, to what they literally regarded as a god-forsaken~~ ^{are} ~~swamp over 1,000 km from their homelands~~ particularly instructive.

The ~~EXILES~~ Outcasts

In 1950 the Balinese community in Pariai consisted of only 17 households - all, ~~the~~ ^{descendants} of ~~the~~ ^{Hindu Balinese} families who had been exiled to Sulawesi in the early years of → next page

~~the century for crimes against ^{Balinese} adat or customary law, / 3~~
~~(Most, in fact, were banished for miscaste marriage).~~

- 1/ According to the 1971 census only one quarter of one percent of those born in Bali were living elsewhere in Indonesia
- 2/ A survey in connection with this study showed that of 500 rural Balinese household heads only - had lived outside the district in which they had been born, and only - had ever lived outside the province
- 3/ The first ~~the~~ families were exiled for political activities but after 1910 most were banished for miscaste marriage - the union of a man with a woman of higher caste.

this century for crimes against Balinese adat or customary law 13. Between 1906 and 1928 about sixty families were exiled to Pariqi

~~They~~ ^{and} settled among the ~~nomadically~~ Islamic people shifting cultivators of the area. Soon after ~~their~~ arrival they established irrigation systems and began to produce ~~wet rice~~ ~~wet rice~~ wet rice. In the early twenties both the crops and community flourished

but when amnesty was proclaimed in 1928 ~~most~~ all but six extended families returned home. ~~Following~~ In the ensuing years a mere

~~only~~ handful of immigrants were attracted to the area and in 1950 the community seemed about to disappear. Of the 17 ^{Balinese} household heads, ~~in~~ Pariqi

eight had been born and raised in Pariqi and six had local wives. When ^{one resident of Pariqi} ~~Sidhiwara~~ returned to Bali

to recruit ^{settlers} ~~immigrants~~ in 1953, not a single family he talked to would move. The ^{Pariqi} community was 100 ^{far} remote, too isolated

and too unknown, ^{For Hindus} ~~and~~ tied to their villages by networks of kin relations and responsibilities to their temples and gods there was ~~that great~~ ~~in~~ Bali. ^{very little} motivation to leave.

1976 -
Rp per capita / mo
Urban 3,600 -
Rural 0-1 5,800
Om Ni Javan
Rural Jawa - 4,000
Urban Jawa - 6,700

Cable -

Then in 1957, Dewa Muranggi an aging exile
decide to return to Bali. ^{to be assured of a cremation}
~~When he died~~ ~~cremation~~ and (this was impossible among the
Islamic people of Parigi). On the bus in western Bali
he met two ~~Christians~~ ^{men including a Christian minister named Made Daud.} They were
petition the government to send sixty Christian
families to Sumatara. Unlike the Hindu Balinese
these Christians were actively seeking opportunities
to migrate. Most ~~had~~ were refugees from communal
strife in ~~that~~ ^{Central} Bali and at that time they were squabbling
on the land of Christians who had been relocated in
western Bali a generation before. ¹ Since there was no more
available land in Bali they ~~are~~ were seeking land in
the only resettlement area they knew of, Sumatara.

Muranggi, ~~however~~ ^{the old exile}, had other ^{ideas,} ~~plans~~. He told
them that Parigi had free land, free water ~~and~~ Moslems
who were not fanatical and he encouraged them to move there.

~~Instead.~~ ~~In spite of the fact that these Christians were~~
~~and~~ ~~their anxiety~~ ~~to move, however,~~ these Christians
had reservations, ~~Parigi was remote and unknown.~~ ^{but}

~~when~~ ~~government support to move to Parigi was not forthcoming~~ ^{Sumatara} ~~and that was anxious to leave the old~~ ^{man,} ~~area.~~ ^{they} ~~So they sought out Muranggi~~ ^{again} ¹ Five of the sixty Christian

families were prepared to move to Parigi if Muranggi the exile
would accompany them. The rest would await news.

^{HE} Muranggi agreed and in April of 1957 they departed for Parigi.
led by ~~Muranggi~~ ^{the old minister} and Made Daud.

¹ Made Daud was among the first - Balinese to be converted to Christianity in 1931. In
the first Christian conversion took place ^{by} 1936, however, there was ~~enough~~ ^{enough} ~~convents in~~ ^{enough} ~~to cover~~ ^{considerable} ~~considerable~~
concern to the ~~first~~ - Christian families were moved to western Bali
to avoid communal ~~strife~~ tensions in their villages.

Upon arrival in Parigi, ~~however~~, the Christians refused to settle with the Hindu Balinese; ~~Instead they laid claim to an area of primary forest 12 km to the south of the Hindu settlement.~~ ^{In part they both} Since they ~~feared~~ ^{feared} Hindu domination ~~in part~~ ^{and} they wanted land where they could settle relatives and friends, ~~so~~ ^{instead} they laid claim to an area of primary forest 12 km to the south of the Hindu settlement Parigi in a place they called Maspari. After about two ~~weeks~~ months, however, ~~in Maspari~~ ^{but} the enormity of the task, their small numbers and political disturbances in the area ^① reduced their confidence; and after clearing only a small portion of their land they fled to the north to settle with another village of ~~Sudawa~~ Christian refugees. ^{Among these people they found both mediation and support.} They ~~could not know it at the time~~ ^{but} they were ~~temporarily leaving an area which was to become~~ ^{abandoning} home to nearly ~~one~~ ^{several} thousand Christian Balinese.

Then, in late 1957 two more Christians were added to the group, Machi Weco and his younger brother. Machi Weco ^{in some ways bridged the two communities as he had been} ~~had the distinction of being~~ both a student ^{of Sidiowara's and a person who had lived with} a religious student of the preacher Machi David's. ^{with the arrival of these two} ~~with the arrival of these two~~ ^{the unannounced arrival of these two} ~~were~~ ^{with their arrival there} about thirty Balinese households in Parigi and the pattern of future immigration was set. ^{Although there} ~~After~~ ^{thirty} Balinese households in Parigi ^{in 19 at the time,} ~~beginning with~~ ^{which they provided to provide information and} ~~all future~~ ^{social support.} immigration ~~occurred~~ ^{was to occur} through existing networks of social support. Virtually every family which followed was in some way connected to those who were there in 1957.

Teacher Preacher

① This was the time of PERMESTA, a separatist rebellion in Sulawesi's Sumatra.

The Pioneers

After ~~three years~~ ~~peace~~ had returned to the area and ~~By~~ ~~Jan~~ 1959 ~~peace~~ had returned to the area and two of the Christians, ~~deserted~~ Macu Weco's and Ngurah Lasi ~~was~~ returned to parents were willing to move to Parigi as were several ~~members~~ of another of the early ~~Christians~~, Christian Ngurah Lasi. So the two ^{men returning to Bali} ~~set out~~ to accompany ^{them} ~~to Sulawesi~~ ^{while they recruited others.} Most of the remaining Christians were still ambivalent, ^{however} they knew of the rebellion and were not sure of the future. In the end, ~~however~~, only twenty families departed. ~~With~~ ~~their~~ larger numbers and the hope of more to come they moved immediately to ~~Pemata~~ ~~Massari~~. Using the knowledge of resettlement learned in West Bali they constructed a dormitory, divided the land, ^{and} distributed it by lottery. When the remaining families wrote to ask if there was land and water the answer was yes.

The next group ^{of noni families to depart} ~~to departed~~ ~~then~~ ~~decided~~ to ~~move~~ ~~it~~ to Sulawesi was exposed to many of the difficulties ^{besting} ~~in~~ inexperienced ~~it~~ ~~on~~ ~~their~~ ~~own~~. ~~Their~~ ~~story~~ ~~and~~ ~~their~~ ~~story~~ amply indicates an unaccompanied migration. First they had to travel from ~~the~~ ~~reasons~~ ~~migrants~~ ~~are~~ ~~unwilling~~ ~~to~~ ~~move~~ ~~without~~ ~~more~~ ~~experienced~~ ~~people~~ ~~to~~ ~~guide~~ ~~them~~. West to north Bali where they waited for a ship for several days. This ship took them to the port of Makassar in south Sulawesi where they waited for 40 days for a boat to take them to ~~the~~ harbor city of Donggala in Central Sulawesi. Fortunately during this period they received help and assistance from the church. Had they been ~~it~~ ~~landed~~ without previous knowledge of the area or connections they might well have been ~~ruined~~. Once in ~~the~~ Donggala they ^{enrichments} were subject to ~~the~~ **OVER**

~~many days~~ additional
~~another month~~ of administrative delays. They were
allowed to proceed only when the Balinese ^{already in} Panigai actively
intervened. Upon arrival ^{in Panigai} these nine families
to Masoari where they lived in the ~~new~~ ^{houses} ~~streets~~ of
those who had gone before.

~~By this time~~ ~~that~~ ~~Suming~~ the reception in Sulawesi
nearly 50 additional families were ~~now~~ ^{decided} ready to move, but because
of the problems of the earlier group they requested ^{wrote to Sulawesi} ~~for~~ someone
to escort them. They would be ready when he arrived.

With this request Macu Weco again returned to Bali.
After a relatively smooth trip this ~~had~~ group
this group of forty-eight families settled in Masoari ~~at~~
on Christmas eve, ~~December 24, 1960~~. moved in with those
who had gone before.

A note on Chavri migration and A note on the need to complement survey materials with an Aggregate Statistics and the Necessity for an anthropological and ethnohistorical approach to the study of migration.

Since 1950, some 10,000 Balinese have migrated to ^{a thousand kilometers to the presence of} the island of Sulawesi ~~and settle in an area~~ ^{the island of} Sulawesi Parigi ^{in an area consisting of} a small alluvial plain on the shores of some 1,000 km from their homes. There they have settled ^{in a shallow alluvial area} and called Parigi. They are attracted by ^{swamp} ~~fine~~ land, ^{plateau} ~~plain~~ which ^{is} ~~is~~ a 40 km stretch of sand and ^{plateau} ~~swamp~~ in the district of Parigi. ^(see map) ~~They~~ ^{today by} ~~are~~ ^{burgeoning} ~~attracted~~ by fine land, year-round rainfall, and ~~the~~ ^{the} prospect of ^{burgeoning} ~~wealth~~ ^{harvests} ~~of~~ ^{of} HVR. ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~green~~ ^{green} ~~revolution~~ ^{rice}.

"Push" and "pull" theories of migration to Sulawesi are singularly uninteresting.

Fully 92% of the immigrants state that they moved because they were too poor in Bali and were looking for land. But most Balinese are impoverished, why these ^{Balinese?} ~~migrants~~ ^{particular?} ~~Why this land?~~ ~~It is the~~ purpose of this brief paper to look at statistics ^{a survey of 1,000 household heads,} ~~collected in 1972~~ on ~~900 of the~~ ^{approximately} ~~nearly~~ one-half the migratory families in ^{Parigi} ~~Sulawesi~~ at the time, in order to assess the quantity of underfarming ^{as opposed to the microfocus of an} ~~attainable~~ ^{aggregates} ~~by~~ ^(Survey) ~~survey~~ ~~methods~~ ~~and~~ ~~micro~~ ~~approach~~ to historical or anthropological approaches ethnohistorical approach.

The Data

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

The Data

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

	<u>District</u>	<u>1971 Pop</u>	<u>km²</u>	<u>People/km²</u>
*1.	Badung	410,212	542	755
2.	Gianyar	276,469	368	751
3.	Klungkung	138,962	315	441
4.	Tabanan	336,180	851	394
5.	Buleleng	413,319	1,320	312
6.	Karangasem	267,231	860	310
7.	Bangli	139,949	520	269
8.	Jembrana	176,398	841	209

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

(Statistics, Kantor Transmigrasi, Denpasar)

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

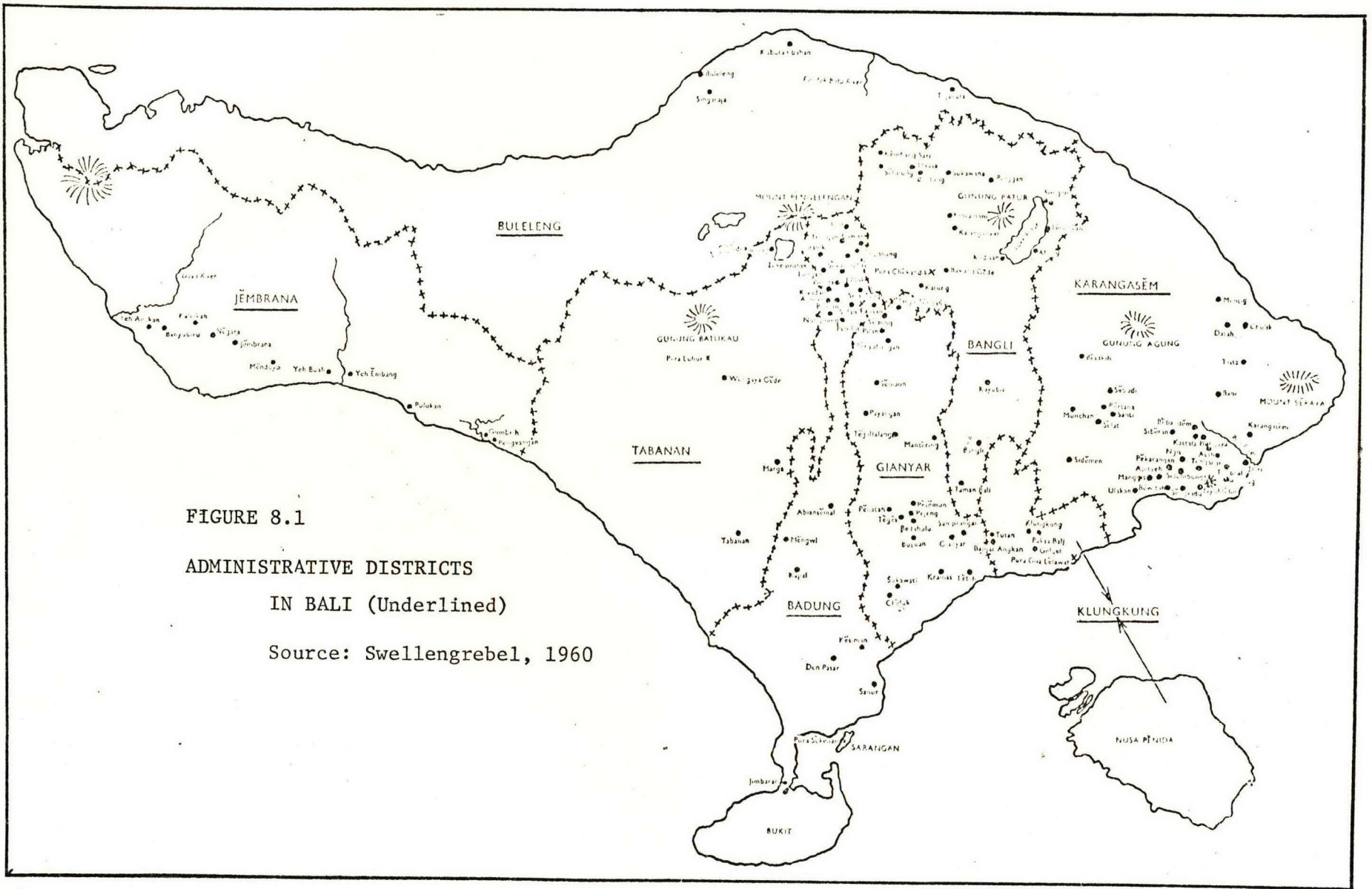


FIGURE 8.1

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS
IN BALI (Underlined)

Source: Swellengrebel, 1960

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

As the figures above indicate, migrants do tend to be from larger districts, and they are particularly apt to come from Badung -- the district of Bali's main urban center Denpasar. But relative frequency does not account for the reason ^{that roughly seven percent of migrants come from four of eight districts, while three districts have contributed virtually no migrants at all} why four of Bali's districts, Gianyar, Karangasem, Bangli, and Klungkung, with 38% of Bali's population, ~~tributed only 3% of the migrants to Parigi.~~ Because of this discrepancy, ~~size alone seems a minimally satisfying predictor~~ of migration.

Population density as a factor in out-migration is no more illuminating. Two of the areas with the highest population densities in Bali, Gianyar (751 people/km²) and Klungkung (441 people/km²), are almost entirely unrepresented in the Sulawesi sample, while Jembrana (209 people/km²), the least densely populated district in Bali, is the second largest contributor to the migrant population.

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

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

The issue of selectivity and out-migration is further complicated by the Transmigration Department statistics on migration from Bali as a whole. During the first five year plan, 1969-1974, 60,533 Balinese received official permission to migrate. Of these, one-tenth, 6,654, registered to go to Parigi. (Most of the migrants who actually registered hoped to get support, in whole or part. Not all migrants registered although they were legally required to do so.) *no P*

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

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

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

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

~~There is, however,~~ yet another hypothesis about the reason Sulawesi ~~draws on~~ specific ^{on the} sending areas, ^{ity of} ~~is one~~ proposed by the Balinese. If a migrant in Parigi is asked to account for the absence of individuals from Karangasem, Bangli, Gianyar and Klungkung, he will almost invariably state that it is because these four areas are "still feudal," implying that residents there find it difficult to break with custom and kin in these areas.

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

The effect of all this, the Balinese claim, is to knit the farmers of Gianyar and Klungkung into a network of feudal relationships and family responsibilities which preclude the possibility of migration. ¶

IF we disregard the high out-migration rates from Karangasem (a direct result of displacement caused by the explosion of the Gunung Agung in 1963), there is some slight statistical evidence for this view. In the "feudal" areas of Klungkung and Gianyar, out-migration averaged 1657 per 100,000 people between 1969 and 1974. In the changing areas of Badung and Tabanan, the rate was 2,603 per 100,000 and in the ^{refuge} non-feudal area of Jembrana the rate was a remarkable 5,835 migrants per 100,000 inhabitants. (Unfortunately in the supposed less feudal region of Buleleng the out-migration rate was the lowest in Bali, a mere 964 migrants per 100,000 inhabitants.)

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

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

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

Place	Reason for Move Connection	Date of Arrival
1. Jagaraga/Sawan	Area of origin for the Parigi exiles	1907
2. Sangeh/Gerana	Sidiwara's hometown of one of Parigi's most active Hindu protestants.	1952
3. Blimbingsari	Christian community in Jembrana. Departure point for Made Daud's group ^{my first emigrants} to move to Central Sulawesi.	1957
4. Carangsari	Area of origin for ^{a young Christian} Made Weco who later led the largest groups of Christians ^{to Parigi}	1957

Of the twenty-seven Balinese families in Parigi ^{in 1957} ~~at the time~~, ^{at least 9} ~~nine~~ were from Buleleng, six from Tabanan, five from Jembrana and four from Badung. In other words, by 1957 the four major sending areas were already represented in Parigi. The three areas sending no migrants had no representatives there. Clearly, looking from Parigi, the best possible predictor of who follows is who has gone before.

~~But this is~~
 The importance of this fact is easy to overlook in the pursuit of aggregate statistics, however. If we have figures on Bali & Sulawesi Balinese populations we tend to look for the dynamic reasons for of migration in factors which can be measured as a difference between the two. This is a useful but partial picture. The problem is that the salient characteristics of the founding population are obscured both by their absorption into aggregate statistics and by a failure to understand the idiosyncratic factors which led to their initial move (factors which ^{we are extremely unlikely to measure any way} frequently have nothing to do with variables such as economic, social in

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

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

100,000 inhabitants.

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

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

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

Religion

A variable which illustrates both the founder principle and selective

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

1. Bartels
2. Ecklund
3. Cunningham

Panel III

Modernizing The Nation: The Exemplary Center. Schlegel

1. The Issue of Modernization among Muslims in Indonesia: From a Participants point of view
Nurcholish Madjid
2. The Technocrat's Ideology of Modernity
John J. Mac Dougall
3. Defensive Modernization: The Structuring of Economic Interiors in Indonesia
Dwight Y. King
4. Modernization, Development and Dependency: A Critique on the present Mode of Indonesian Development
Arief Budiman

Comments:

Discussant: ~~Donald K. Roper~~ Donald K. Emmerson

Panel IV: The Periphery Modernized: Encounters in the Regions.

3. South Sulawesi: Aspects of Identity
Clark E. Cunningham
 4. Politicians and Magicians: Power, adaptive strategies and Syncretism in the Central Moluccas
Dieter Bartels
 - 4.1. Technocrats in A Muslim Society: Symbolic Community in Aceh
Stuart A. Schlegel
 - 4.2. Tradition or Non-tradition: Adat, Islam and local Control on Lombok
Judith L. Ecklund.
- Modern? Indonesian? Culture?
Edward M. Bruner

Discussion

What we have just covered is an example of change in the pattern of adaptation under certain highly specialised conditions. It is important to keep in mind,

- 1) that the Balinese regarded themselves as culturally superior to the surrounding population; and
- 2) that they were migrants moving into a frontier area where they were not yet in serious competition for resources and prestige.

Holding these parameters constant it is possible to observe many factors affecting Balinese adjustment. Here I wish only to comment on adaptation as it is affected by two variables; the degree of commitment to Balinese identity and the degree of interaction with Bali and Balinese.

The Balinese exiles shared a common commitment to their Balinese heritage partly through their contempt for local custom (a feeling which was not unreciprocated). With a community of sufficient size and autonomy they were able to maintain their traditional practices and beliefs, but when the community size fell they were forced to interact extensively with the local population and gradually adapted themselves to indigenous customs.

The Christians were already marginal to mainstream Balinese culture when they arrived in Salawati; in addition they chose to affiliate themselves with other Christians rather than Balinese -- especially at first. In the late '60's they appeared to be moving in the direction of a new collective identity, first as Christians and second as Indonesians. Hindus who moved into Massari adapted to their primary community of interaction by becoming Christians themselves.

Only when the government moved an entire group at once did the requisite community of interaction again exist for Hindu growth. Among the government sponsored migrants in 1967, 70%, 140 families, were Hindu. Their presence attracted the reclusive Hindus from Parigi down into the virgin jungles of Tolai and established the basis for the mushrooming in-migration we have mentioned.

Rapid in-migration means that the receiving community is that of like-minded recent migrants. Under these circumstances traditional patterns can be used to obtain power and prestige. This is particularly true in a pioneer area where there are no dominant population groups to influence the new arrivals. So rapid was the in-migration of 1972-73 that the recent migrants formed a support system nearly unto themselves.

Also in a society which values its heritage, new arrivals have a special status by being nearer to or more aware of the "real" culture at home. Throughout the migrant area people scurried to find newcomers who knew about priests duties, temple measurements, correct times for planting and so forth. Instant authorities were quickly displaced as someone else arrived with the last word.

Gains in political and economic strength in new areas increased the interaction of old settlers with new arrivals. Marginal Christians came to have a strong Balinese identity as structural opposition heightened feelings of ethnicity among neighboring groups. These forces taken together with the rather universal sense of cultural superiority among all Balinese have temporarily reversed the trend toward gradual assimilation to local and/or Indonesian lifestyles and worldviews.

This is not bad. What I have called "traditional" Balinese behavior is not regressive, on the contrary the Balinese are remarkably adaptive and resilient. They see their culture as superior because in many ways it is. What will be interesting to see now is whether the forces of identification and interaction will be sufficient to unite all Balinese into one community with a single course of development; or whether after this flurry of optimistic activity the various groups will pursue distinctive methods of adjustment and adaptation. At the moment I would be inclined to predict the former - a large and cohesive community emphasizing Balineseness as a uniting force. I suspect the die-hard Indonesian- or Christian oriented migrants will persist, but that they, like poor old Ambok will have all they can do to keep their noses above water.

These new arrivals chose to be like the people they interacted with the most, the Christian Balinese, and through this decision they embarked on a lifestyle characterized by non-traditional ways of behaving.

In an attempt to distinguish themselves from Balinese Hindus and the culturally inferior Islamic populations the Christians as a group embarked on a self-conscious program of social change. Using as their ^{guide} ~~model~~ ^{idealized} national models, ^{of christian behavior as portrayed to them by the} ~~as interpreted through~~ the fundamentalist church in Bali and the ^{the Christians as a whole} ~~westernized~~ Hindu ideas of the westernized behavior of ^{the} Christians to ~~the north~~ ^{the} Minahasan. In brief, these Christians

Those of you familiar with migration materials
may well feel like Margaret Mead
Anthropology and Psychoanalysis

"I feel like I've come in here before"

It seems that while
~~that is to say that while~~

ecological anthropology
economics
political science

seem somehow to have come to grips with
"ultimate causality" or "primary determinants"
(environment, money, power)

and are able to make long range predictions

Those of us who are interested in short term change
not to mention individual adaptation
continue to grapple with almost as many theories as
we have cases.

My talk today concerns the Balinese migration to Central
Sulawesi - don't panic - and in this presentation I hope
to suggest that while predicting long term ecological
adaptation is relatively easy talking about short term
and cyclical changes ~~is considerably more difficult~~ their
Nevertheless we do have certain Ψ and soc premises which
make an understanding of these phenomena more regular
and predictable, ~~and into which~~ premises into which
many low level theories may be nested.

organizing e
disorganizing
features - is
considerably
more difficult

1. Introduce Sulawesi
2. Talk about what happened when the Balinese arrived
3. Then go back and see if there is anyway to make sense of some rather complex and contradictory behavior.

What I propose is

1. To discuss what actually occurred in the Balinese migration to Sulawesi
2. To then review the material and see if some order can be given to what appears to be a complex & contradictory patterns of adaptation.

You had know very little about Bali to understand this story

3. They are parochial / culture proud (H. Geertz - highly integrated, relatively homogeneous)
2. They identify strongly with Bali (in fact place strong emphasis on membership in groups in general everything accomplished thru qps.)
4. They are superb wet rice agriculturalists

They are also, for the most part, Hindus, with an extremely elaborate, well integrated, and largely traditional ritual system which knits them into innumerable temple and reciprocity relationships.

So how did they ever get to Sulawesi?

As Hindus Balinese have a belief in maintaining moral order which includes the respectful observance of caste.

In pre-colonial times

~~Commonly~~ mis-caste marriages resulted in death

When the Dutch intruded on the actual administration of N. Bali at end of last century

1. they supported the feudal system of the rajahs
2. but abolished the death penalty "victimless crimes"

Nonetheless

Crimes against Customary law - Sebel Settled on Exile

1898 14 Couples exiled from N. ^{Bali} ~~Sulawesi~~ to Banda

Dry spice island - became servants unable to be as themselves they say - "sick at heart"

1905 Dutch consolidated power in C. Sulawesi

Noticed year-round rainfall marginal productivity of indiq people

Cast around for example coincided with a petition from Balinese to leave Banda

1906 12 Balinese exiles transferred to Parigi - wet rice ag.

1910 Ex^{iled} raja of Lombok - a Balinese - arrived

Best of all possible worlds

Requests Dutch send all further B. Exiles here

War/Revolution

1950 Descendants of 4 exiles remain

20 families - through their efforts quite wealthy

With a population this small gradual assimilation had occurred

Kauai-style clothes, food

attrition of ritual (no cremation)

abandoned Subak

Nevertheless remained Hindu, spoke Balinese at home identified themselves as superior to the local pop.

Balinese

no doubt prevented greater assimilation

B. Pioneers

1951 - high caste family goes back to find husband destitute ^{noble} - ~~gambling~~ rejected in love

1952 - Sidiswara - had imprisoned brother

1953 - Four men enticed to assume inheritance 2 go home

1956 - Made Nuru brings back 4 boys ruffians, gamblers (dreamed of returning home)

30 families in Paniki ^{interestingly} ^{mig} hypoth: first migrants not representative of general pop. deviant individuals / have prior experience with migration etc. TRUE

1957 Buwa Muranqqi goes home to die ^{Sur-Denpasar}

In bus - Made Daud / Christian minister thrown out wants to go to Sumatra w 60 families persuaded to go to Sulawesi only 5 families leave.

Arrive in middle of Islamic insurrection settle down not with Balinese Hindus but Menadese Christians

1960 Insurrection finished

20 Christians

9 Christians

48 Christians

Settle in Massau

All from Blimbingsari - All had moved before

Not only broken with relig/feudal trad Already saw adv. of mig.

1961 Seeing effectiveness of Balinese govt gives additional land
1962 52 families, mostly Christian, arrive w government sponsorship. Christians go home to recruit

Interestingly

1960 1/3 of ~~migrants~~ ^{migrants} Hindus, ~~the~~ became K.
1962 nearly 1/2 of Hindus became Christian

In the 10 years between 1957 and 1967, 200 Balinese families arrived in Sulawesi 3/4 of them were Christian

" In an attempt to distinguish themselves from the Balinese Hindus and the culturally inferior Islamic populations they Christians embarked on a self-conscious program ~~emphasizing~~ of social and economic development.

^{Their examples were} ~~Examples~~ based on National Values interpreted through Christian sources, ~~the~~ fundamentalist church in Bali
^{In short} ~~These~~ Christians from Manado
These Christians from Makassar

adopted Indonesian as the language for all official functions (including worship, which in Bali was held in the vernacular). They erected churches, schools and clinics almost as soon as they arrived. ~~They adopted~~ ^{they quickly turned to} modern agricultural practices ~~but~~ ^{ed} ~~while~~ maintaining traditional work patterns where effective. Most surprising, they managed to almost totally eliminate gambling and divorce (cherished Balinese institutions), control^{ed} the use of black magic and the belief in poisoning; and significantly decrease^d the belief in spirits and animistic practices. At the same time they kept an open mind toward the indigenous populations, used Chinese and Buginese middlemen in trade, remained deferent to local sensitivities (in eating pork, for example) and tread lightly in the minefields of government and inter-ethnic relations.

Let me re-emphasize that ~~this~~ model for ~~these~~ Christians was not a group of which they were a part but an idea which they had about an "ideal" Christian Indonesian

Most surprising accomplishment overnight elimination of spirits & animistic practices even among new converts

The Mass Migrants

1964-1966 Period of intense internal unrest in Indonesia
800% inflation
1965 Coup 1-10 Balinese males

1967 Sufficiently Settled

Group sent from Sulawesi to recruit friends & family

Dec 12, 1967 200 families arrived with govt support. **TORUE**

Although many of these were family members recruited by Christians only 1/4 of total was Christian and only 16% converted. → **Nucleus for chain of in-migration**

1968 Since they exceeded the land settled in **TOLAI**

For the first time Hindus backed up in Parigi moved S.

Owing to the increasing pressure of overpopulation and landlessness in Bali, and given the attraction of free land and year round rainfall in Sulawesi, 100 families arrived in '68-'69, 300 families arrived in 1970, 500 families came in 1971, and 1,500 families - perhaps 7,000 Balinese - arrived in 1972. By the end of 1972 the provincial government decided to end in-migration so that some land would be available for normal population growth. In spite of government discouragement, 2,000 more families arrived in 1973 either to buy land from the locals or squat on the land of relatives. Without provincial controls some 8,000 families had been expected.

Interestingly

1968 - 25%

1969 - 52%

1970 - 29%

1971 - 2%

1972 - 1/2%

1973 12 cases in some 2,000+ families

Changes in the Hindu religion in Bali

World respect for Balinese culture (Hindu) account in part

But in innumerable areas a resurgence of Balinese identification could be felt.

1. New agricultural Systems were set up in Tolai with minute attention to the traditional rules and regulations
water surplus, not needed
2. Irrigation temples appeared for the first time
3. Customary law was reestablished
government intervention discouraged
4. A Bauwau house style appeared
5. Shadow plays were held, a gamelan and dance troop established
6. After 65 years of Bauwau in Sulawesi the first drama occurred - Ratu Baqus Gede
7. Gambling, spels, magical deaths and poisonings were all of a sudden rampant among Balinese.

Whereas this might be expected among new migrants the impact was felt in older communities as well

Q1 (6). Hindus in particular were placed under considerable pressure build irrigation temples, improve comm. temples and return to customary law. The Hindus in Parigi rediscovered forgotten ceremonies and attempted to form an irrigation society after thirty years without one.

Christians were also drawn into a solidarity with the ~~Hindu~~ Hindu ~~brothers~~, and a certain sense of competition developed in which Christian settlements claimed to have truer or better Balinese drama or agriculture. The best drama in the area was said to belong to the Catholics. (One of my assistants told me it was good because no one knew the stories -- it seems they had been taken from the Bible.) Christians and Hindus also began to cooperate in economic endeavors both groups crossing religious lines to use Balinese work groups, rice mills and middlemen. instead of locals

The focus of Balinese identification became Tolai
For a time there was discussion moving temple
Tolai folk led a raid against Buginese
They initial resurgence of folk ~~culture~~ traditional B. culture

What we have ^{here} is an example of what appears to be multiple forms of adaptation

1. Gradual assimilation among the people in Pariai
2. The adoption of a ~~non-Balinese~~ ~~non-Balinese~~ idealized "national" and "christian" model by the christians
3. An emphatic restatement of Balinese-ness by the mass migrants
4. Gradual reincorporation ~~by~~ of the earlier groups

~~So~~ The question is: Can there be a simple concept which accounts for the difference in adaptation among these communities? That answers the questions:

Why didn't exiles ^{completely} assimilate to the numerically more important group?

Why didn't the christians adapt to the patterns of the long term residents?

Why did christian conversion stop?

Why did Balinese ethnicity become so important?

Why were earlier groups reinvolued in more traditional patterns of behavior?

And finally, ~~why~~ ^{why} above all, didn't this amount of change and regrouping ~~not~~ cause the social disorganization and personal deterioration ~~is~~ supposed to be intrinsic in mobility and rapid social change?

Obviously demographic and historical factors are important

But it is ~~my opinion~~ that ^{other} ~~the~~ key concepts ^{can} ~~is~~ of self-perception ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~role~~ of reference groups as loci of approval.

Throw in one more idea

(9)

The fact that positive self-evaluation is socially determined (with individual variation) is the a priori premiss of all social psychology and most sociology as well.

One heuristic device for denoting associations which provide relevant feedback (make a difference) is the old sociological horse — the reference group.

According to Merton such groups provide a frame of reference for attitude formation and self evaluation.

reference groups moreover may be ~~be~~

Real - actual membership groups

to which one ~~belongs or not~~ may or may not belong

Ideal - subj impressions of unbounded groups

"the wealthy" "christians"

to tie these two ^{points} ~~things~~ together, I believe that when self-evaluation is positive v.v. other members of the r.g. or because of membership in the r.g.

personal and social disorganizations ^{is} unlikely.

to say it another way:

If you like who you are all kinds of change can occur without being disorganizing.

A nice thing about the Balinese data

Able to see Ψ & soc not obscured by overriding economic determinants

competition for scarce resources
economic monopoly India elite

Pioneer settlement ~~when~~ allows us to see
other much - at work

Reflected in the

Balinese Dara is particularly conducive to this kind of analysis. reference group

Balinese, according to Geertz, tend to depersonalize gods and people and view them as members of fixed groups.

Whether precisely true or not, it is also my impression that Balinese have an extraordinary tendency to identify groups and identify with groups.

This suggests that relative status, hence relative self-esteem will depend greatly on their particular allegiances (reference groups) rather than individual accomplishment.

Back to the ~~Stamp~~ story:

1. In Parigi the exiles viewed themselves as culturally superior to the indigenous people. They were also superior agriculturalists and received ample praise & rf. from the Dutch. Thus in spite of radical changes in context and condition they adjusted well.

This was not true in Banda where they had been relegated to the status of servants and described themselves as "sick at heart"

2. As most ~~then~~ exiles returned home the Balinese became more and more dependent on the locals for labor, markets, spouses etc. Increased interaction meant that the Kaili became a salient reference group and, in fact, we see gradual assimilation to Kaili ways. Total absorption was no doubt prevented, in part, by the fact that the Balinese continued to view themselves as culturally superior.

3. The Christian Balinese used as their frame of reference not Hindus - whose religious beliefs they regarded as inferior - but an idealized Indonesian / Christian ethic. In this effort they self-consciously extended networks of mutual help to other Christians who would reinforce them.

Interestingly all, the Hindus who moved into Massari became Christian. Although they left the most important part of their beliefs and ceremony behind I could get little information on disorganization or deterioration.

It seems to me that they had reduced dissonance and were in fact adjusting well by doing what their r.g. approved of that is becoming Christian. Behaving like a Christian.

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4. Mass Migrants

When the influx of migrants reached a critical point there was suddenly a situation in which traditional Hindu-Balinese were being transferred to the new area in such numbers that their r.g. became people exactly like them. The receiving community ~~became~~ consisted only of like-minded migrants

Given that both ^{self-} maintenance and self-esteem depended on their identification as Balinese (alone) it is little wonder that they set about recreating in duplicate another Bali. A system of positive feedback got set up which accelerated the move toward "Balineseness"

5. ^{Finally} ~~Moreover~~ since a part of the superiority of all preceding groups had been dependent on their identity as "Balinese", old-timers were under considerable pressure to shape up or suffer a loss of respect. As I have suggested Christians and Hindu's alike began to pay more attention to outward displays of Balineseness to maintain their identity and ~~self-esteem~~ ^{prestige} v.v. the locals and other Balinese.

The arbiters of propriety became the most recent migrants.

Although not particularly relevant to this group can't

(12)

Let me conclude by broadening the applicability of reference group and self-esteem to migrant groups in general.

It has long been noted that migrants suffer a high degree of mental disorder.

Our impression is accentuated by the fact that many of our studies have to do with

labor migration - move into bottom rungs
lowering self-esteem

urbanization of minorities - ~~not only competing for scarce resources with fewer skills, but more~~

~~frequently exposed to prejudice & discrimination~~

in which
there is

rising expectations corresponding self-devaluation

~~And see~~ Most sociologists and anthropologists seem to regard positive migration experience as "exceptions to the rule

but if we look at examples there is a definite pattern

European immigrants to Israel show normal rates of m. illness

Asian & African Jews higher

Africans students in Paris high rates of mental illness

While British professionals moving to U.S. have very low rates

discerning differential admissions it is patently obvious that people who are able to maintain their status and self-esteem do well in new contexts, people who cannot experience stress and disorganization.

One way migrants have always found to minimize stress and threats to self-esteem is to confine the r. g. to people like themselves

Thus unassimilated Italians in Australia have less mental illness than ass.

The same has been said for ghettoized blacks

Barridos or squatter settlements in Peru show a high degree of social organization - self-contained

And migrant associations in Africa probably serve less to mediate the transition to city life than define appropriate reference groups for self-evaluation

All this is not to suggest that we
ghettoize migrants
lower their expectations
etc.

but rather to claim that
neither mobility
nor social change is intrinsically disorganizing

What is disorganizing is placing individuals in contexts in
which they cannot or do not succeed. This is true
whether people are migrating, urbanizing, acculturating
or staying at home.

While that comment has obvious applied or policy implications

I wish to stress at this time only the necessity
of understanding individuals ~~in their cultural~~
~~contexts~~ with universal rather than idiosyncratic
qualities nested in ~~cultural~~ contexts (r.g. soc, cult)
various

The study of these ~~cultural~~ settings and their impact on
individuals, is - to me - what anthropology is all about.

History

- 1860's - Balinggi decimated
- 1892 - Kruijt arrived - Tanah
Empty quarter
- 1898-1906 Balinese exiles to Banda
14 families mostly from Sing
- 1906 - Sent 12 families to Pariqi
- 1907 - Damang arrived with cows
various sentences
- 1910 - Gusti Made Jelantik
persuades Dutch to send all Balinese
± 60 families
- 1928 - Change in Dutch policy - most go home 4 stay
Become assimilated
- 1944 - Gusti Made in Pasar
- 1950 - 20 families
- 1950 - Gusti Arkā to Bali
to marry sister Warni - Gusti Made Jenik
& ~~Warni~~ Warni Rakkā
- 1952 - Siduswara arrives to check
elaborate
- 1953 - Siduswara returns
with wife and child - no one else would follow
- 1953 - Arkā goes home for Ngaben
brings back Jenik's father & brother & brother
- 1953 - Two young men arrive to assume warison
Dewa Kacir assumes warison of Dewa Rakk
- 1956 - Jenik's ~~father~~ mother dies, father goes back
brings back ~~assorted~~ Puffians Family
- 1956 - Made Nuke brings 4 - family & ruffians 130
-
- 1957 - Dewa Muranggi goes home
meets Made David Ngunah hasir
brings 5 families, flee to Otabang
- Weco and adik
-
- 1960 - Siduswara returns with Rombongan 7
Made Nuke = 3 or 12

- 1959 - Ngurah Lasir
20 KK to north of road - Sidiswana - but Itihau didn't move
- 1960 - Wayan Simon
9 KK to S.
- 1960 - ^{Weco / Sumo} Kurma 48 - above these were the ones which eventually dispersed

177 families eventually 35 to Tanah Lantar 1962

land had been surveyed in Sumberwaru

1960 - 1/3 off H → K
1962 - 1/2 of H → K

- 1961 Registration
- 1962 Departure 52 KK
80 Islam
154 Christian
6 Itihau Dharma

had to shuffle wives & children

1959-1967 200 families
3/4 Christian

- 1963 hardship remainder not sent Sidiswana home - 4 families
Triche

- 1965 - G.T. 30.S.
- 1966 - Nicman Koper requests help with settlement in town
- 1967 - Dec. 12 Arrival 212 families | 1/4K only 16% converted

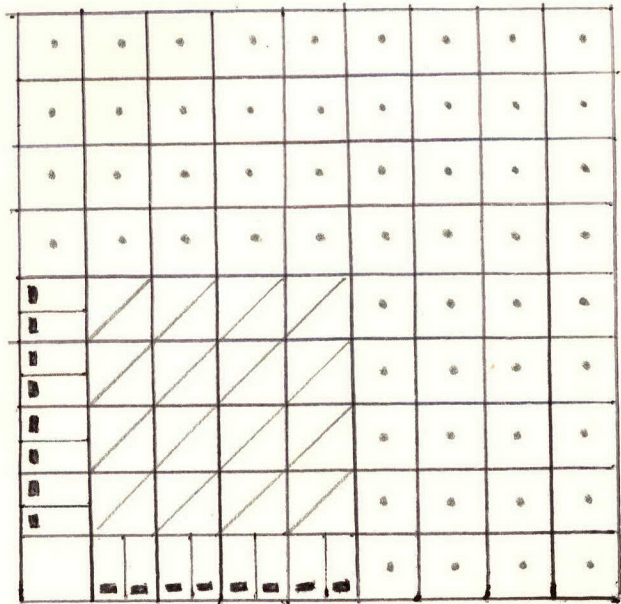
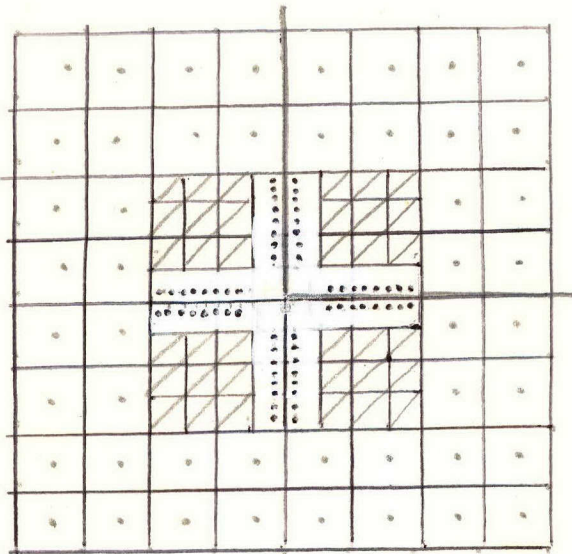
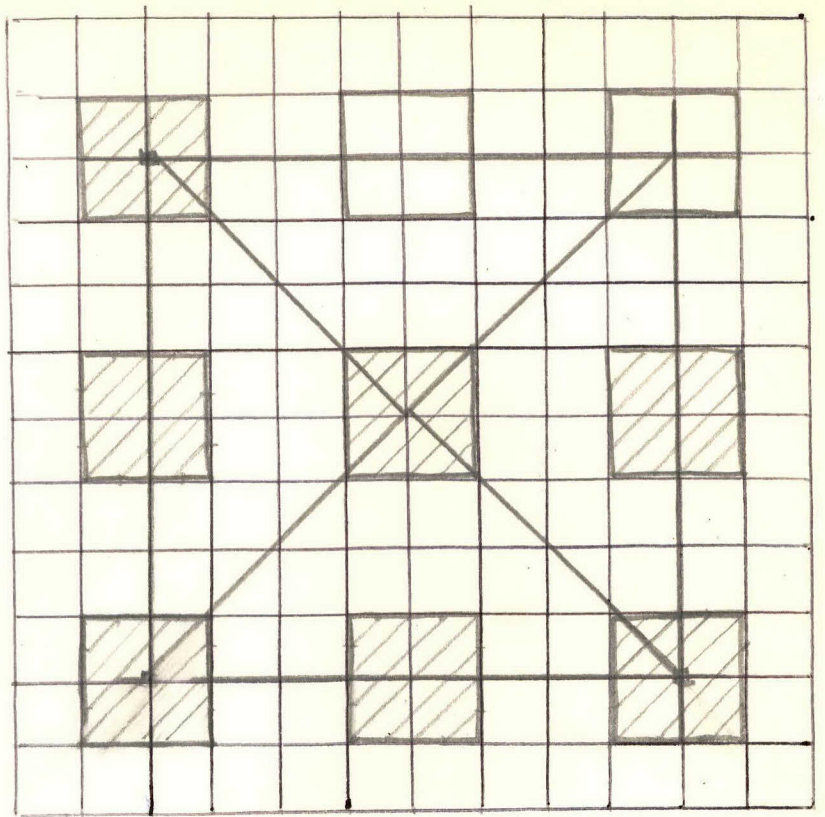
- 1968 - From Parigi - 17 families
From town to Toloi - 80 anak muda

before 1968 30-40 Bada

1968 - 2590
1969 - 5290
1970 - 2990
1971 - 290
1972 1/290
1973 12000
2000+ f.

February 1969 Separated from town probably 157 KK

- 1970 300 families
- 1971 500 families
- 1972 1800 families / cut off
- 1973 2,500 families



For all of these reasons it is ~~not~~ necessary to develop a program which will place particular communities into an ongoing settlement strategy. ~~To this end~~ this brief paper is ^{framed} ~~framed~~ this brief paper contends that efficiency, economy, and concern for the welfare of the migrant requires the development of an overall strategy for migrant settlement (TRANSPROGRAM). It argues specifically that

1. Heavy infusions of capital ^{machinery, sponsorship, support} and machinery are needed in the earliest settlements
2. That the purpose of this initial investment should be
 - a) to ~~then~~ assure the welfare of migrants who are taking the greatest risk, and ^{also facilitate} ~~promote~~ future growth ongoing ^{settlement} migration which will be decreasingly ^{capital} ~~intensive~~ dependent on ~~exp~~ external stimulation & support.

It argues further that this strategy must come to grips with the differences in the needs and potentials. The provision of services and degree of sponsorship ~~must be based on~~ ~~viewed in terms of the st~~ ~~should depend on the stage of~~ vary by stage of development

- within the settlement
- within the "project"
- within the geographical area

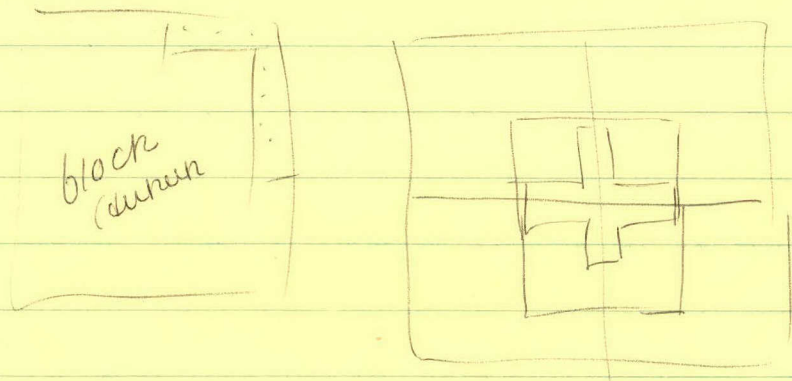
To ignore the migration process in planning, or worse yet to fail to make long range plans at all, is to make the resettlement process more costly and riskier than it would otherwise be.

To this end a hypothetical model ^{will be} given to illustrate the issues involved, ~~the advantages of the~~ ~~advantages~~ of planning ~~at~~ stages of settlement ^{will be} ~~are~~ summarized. And I will inquire what additional information

To illustrate this point the following sections will present a model with concluding stages. The following sections present a hypothetical example of migration stages planning migration within

STAGES OF SETTLEMENT

Building blocks of the community



A settlement strategy which acknowledges and builds upon changes in the migration process. For the purposes of this paper

variation in the problems & potential of mig comm over time

AM

Paper address prob

- 1. Degree of spcn / s
- 2. Amount of Support services
- 3. Capital intensive ^{was} turn of Rev

Contentends that all of these must vary depending on the Stage of development.

- 1) within Settlements
- 2) within "protec" sites "
- 3) within an ^{geographical} area of contiguous developments

None of this can be organized with out a relatively long range strategy for each of the units mentioned above

For this reason contentends that the purpose of such a ^{TRANS PROGRAM} strategy is to develop just such a strategy — one which uses early intensive injections of capital to initialize ~~and~~ a ^{or later stages will} ~~later~~ dynamic growth which can be less & less capital intensive

What we have ^{now} is an example of what appears to be multiple forms of adaptation

- 1. Gradual assimilation among the people in Parigi
- 2. The adoption of a ~~new~~ idealized "national" and "Christian" model by the Christians
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competition for scarce resources

economic inequality, individual elite

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Let me conclude by broadening the applicability of reference group and self-esteem to migrant groups in general.

It has long been noted that migrants suffer a high degree of mental disorder.

Our impression is accentuated by the fact that many of our studies have to do with

labor migration - move into bottom rungs lowering self-esteem

urbanization of minorities - ~~low competition for~~

~~scarce resources with fewer skills, but more~~

~~frequently exposed to prejudice & discrimination~~

in which they lose

rising expectations corresponding self-devaluation

Most sociologists and anthropologists seem to regard positive migration experience as "exceptions to the rule"

but if we look at examples there is a definite pattern

European immigrants to Israel show normal rates of m. illness

Asian & African Jews higher

Africans students in Paris high rates of mental illness

White British professionals moving to U.S. have very low rates

discounting differential admissions it is patently obvious that people who are able to maintain their status and self-esteem do well in new contexts, people who cannot experience stress and disorganization.

One way migrants have always found to minimize stress and threats to self-esteem is to confine the n.g. to people like themselves

Thus unassimilated Italians in Australia have less mental illness than ass.

The same has been said for ghettoized blacks

Barridos or squatter settlements in Peru show a high degree of social organization - self contained

And migrant associations in Africa probably serve less to mediate the transition to city life than define appropriate reference groups for self-evaluation

All this is not to suggest that we ghettoize migrants lower their expectations etc.

but rather to claim that neither mobility nor social change is intrinsically disorganizing

What is disorganizing is placing individuals in contexts in which they cannot or do not succeed. This is true whether people are migrating, urbanizing, acculturating or staying at home.

While this comment has obvious applied or policy implications

I wish to stress at this time only the necessity of understanding individuals ~~in their cultural contexts~~ with universal rather than idiosyncratic qualities nested in ~~various~~ contexts (e.g. sex, class)

The study of these ~~various~~ settings and their impact on individuals, is - to me - what anthropology is all about.

Throw in One more idea

the fact that positive self-evaluation is socially determined is the a priori premise of all social Ψ & much of Sociology as well.

One heuristic device for denoting associations which provide relevant feedback (make a difference) is the old sociological horse - the reference group

According to Merton ~~reference~~ ^{Such} groups provide a frame of reference for attitude formation
self evaluation

Reference groups may be:

- real - actual membership groups to which one may or may not belong
- ideal - subjective impressions of unbounded groups
"the wealthy" "Christians"

In its weakest form reference group theory states that when a person's attitudes and behaviors are influenced by norms he assumes to be held by others that constitute a reference group

In its strongest form it is proposed that people will change their behavior to obtain approval from those in their r.g.

To tie this pt to mental Health

I believe that when self evaluation is positive v.v. other members in the r.g. or because of membership in a r.f group. personal disorganization is unlikely

To say it another way:

If you like who you are all kinds of changes can take place without being disorganizing

A nice thing about the Baumeister Data

is that soc & Ψ much are not overridden by ec & pol determinants
competition for scarce resource
economic monopoly of the india elite

Pioneer Settlement allows us to see other mech at work