

Transmigration and Integration in Indonesia
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**Impacts on Resource Use in the Napu Valley,
Central-Sulawesi**

Michael Hoppe and Heiko Faust

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Abstract

The large population movements under the Indonesian resettlement scheme *transmigrasi* have brought significant changes for the economic, social and cultural structure of the local communities as well as the environment in the programs' destinations. Based on empirical findings in two transmigration settlements in the Napu Valley, Central-Sulawesi, this paper analyses these changes and focuses on the discussion of the relation between integration of the resettlement units and their inhabitants into the destinations' social environment and the way in which the natural resources are used. The results of our research show that failures in project planning, implementation, and maintenance as well as a lack of political and administrative integration (i.e. systems integration) lead to negative impacts on sustainable resource use. The economic and social development of the transmigrants' community is doomed to fail without the availability of suitable natural resources, sufficient financial and material support by the transmigration authorities. On the other side a successful development depends on the individual skills and ability of the households. However, the importance of ethnic affiliation cannot be neglected as some (trans)migrant groups persisted while others failed. Finally, it can be assumed that a certain degree of social integration has positive impacts on the way in which the natural resources are used although it does not necessarily imply a sustainable resource use.

Keywords: *Transmigration, Integration, Resource Use, Central-Sulawesi, Indonesia*

1. Introduction

In many tropical countries natural forests are cleared for the exploitation of resources or agricultural land use. This process is often linked to migration flows into the frontier zone of forest margin areas. The Indonesian transmigration program as a national resettlement scheme has contributed to large population movements from the 'Inner Islands' (Java, Bali, Madura, Lombok) to the 'Outer Islands' (Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Moluccas, Papua, and the provinces of Nusa Tenggara). With the objectives to improve living standards, to promote regional development, to contribute to a more balanced population distribution, to foster the utilization of natural as well as human resources and to strengthen national unity and security *transmigrasi* brought significant economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts and changes to the destination areas.

Critics of the transmigration scheme have argued that the program is one major driving force for deforestation and environmental degradation within the archipelago. Further criticism points to the assumption that the state-directed population movement has contributed to the outbreak of political and ethnic conflicts in the 'Outer Islands'. These conflicts are often

linked to a lack of integration of the resettled households and communities into the local structures of the program's destinations.

This article analyzes the economic, social, cultural, demographic as well as environmental impacts of two transmigration projects in the Napu valley (*Kecamatan Lore Utara*) in Central-Sulawesi. The paper focuses on the investigation of social integration respectively disintegration of the resettlers and the transmigration settlements in the destination area and the impacts on resource use. During ten years of development the transmigration villages in the Napu valley have been subject to significant population fluctuations followed by economic and social changes that also brought about implications for the natural resource use and the environment. This paper discusses the importance of social integration for sustainable resource management.

The paper proceeds as follows: Chapters 2 and 3 present the conceptual framework of our study, the approaches and the findings of other studies about transmigration. Then we explain our own research approach followed by the research questions, hypothesis and the methodology used. In the following chapter 4 a description of the initial implementation phase of the settlements is provided followed by chapters 5 and 6 with several sub-chapters illustrating the various demographic, economic, and social changes that have occurred. In these sub-chapters we describe the socio-economic situation in the transmigration villages considering, at the same time, the social integration and its impacts on resource use. The final chapter 7 draws a conclusion on the empirical findings of our research.

2. Conceptual framework and theoretical approach

Most studies about the national resettlement scheme in Indonesia have focused on specific aspects of the transmigration policy, the economic conditions of the settlers and the program's environmental impact (amongst others Hardjono 1977, Guinness 1977, Kebschull 1984, Fasbender and Erbe 1990, Fearnside 1997). Thorough scientific investigations about the role of adaptation, inter-group relations and the social and cultural integration of the transmigrants in the destination areas of the program have been limited. As Babcock suggested already in 1986 (:179) "the socio-cultural impact on local societies is a fertile subject for in-depth research, and it is surprising that so little investigation has taken place". In the following years, however, some research has been conducted about such issues. The investigations of Clauss et al. (1987) in East-Kalimantan as well as the work of Abdoellah (1993) in South-Kalimantan have provided a considerable contribution to the research about sociological and anthropological aspects of transmigration.

The research in East-Kalimantan investigated the social and economic formation of a transmigrant community. Though transmigrants were guided by government officials in the development of institutions and the economy new informal, unplanned, unforeseen activities took place instantaneously. A considerable amount of transmigrants returned to their area of origin, off-farm activities were found, shops and trading enterprises were established by transmigrants who were supposed to do nothing else but cultivate their allotted land. Former landless farm laborers continued wage labor although they meanwhile had become landowners. Inter-ethnic marriages quickly took place between transmigrants and the locals. Some families had the financial means to support relatives to follow them to the settlement. Clauss et al. (1987) concluded that despite the "total institution" (ibid.: 46) of the 'planned migration' the transmigrants' search for multiple strategies to secure their livelihood is partly influenced by pre-transmigration patterns, e.g. social and cultural background, life-styles and previous oc-

cupations. Whether the activities of the transmigrant lead to an integration or even assimilation is beyond the scope of the authors' research.

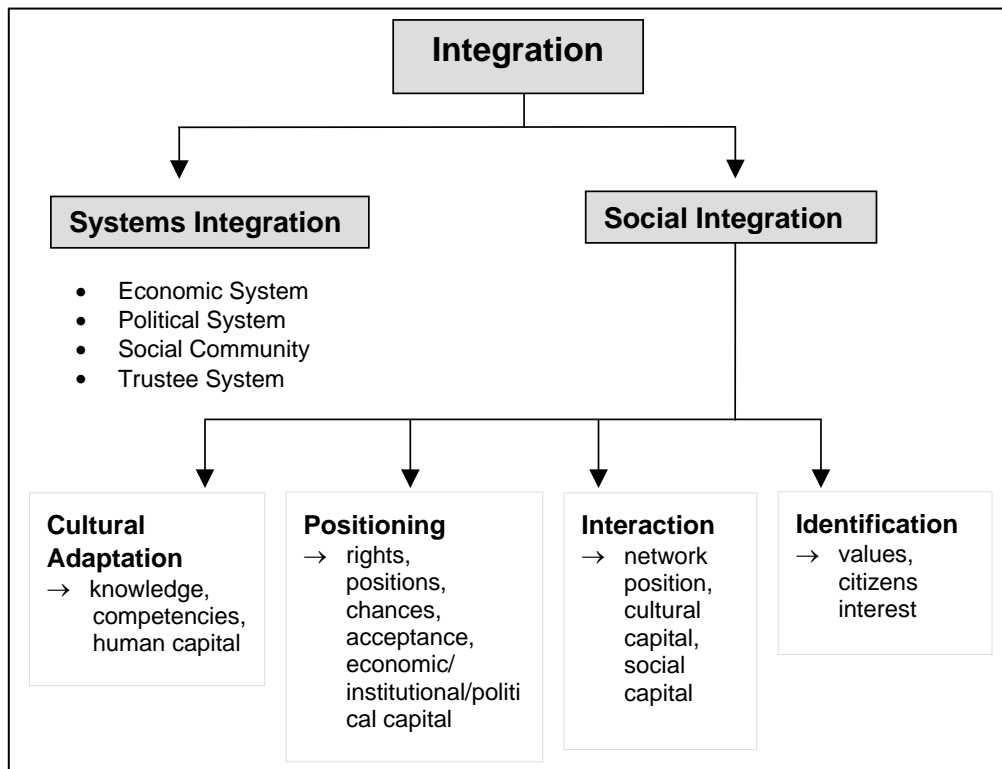
The anthropological investigation of Abdoellah (1993) in a tidal swamp area settlement explores in great detail the adaptive strategies of transmigrants in the destination. The study compares how transmigrants from different cultural backgrounds (Javanese and Balinese) adapt to new environmental conditions and to the same set of ecological and economic constraints. It highlights that various factors in both the cultural and physical environment may intervene and produce changes. The findings suggest that after 17 years the transmigrants of Barambai, South Kalimantan cannot depend on a single strategy, but must adopt mixed strategies to survive. These strategies, which range widely from agricultural to reproductive strategies, do not generally represent clear cut, mutually exclusive alternatives.

Abdoellah (1993) applies the theoretical orientation of ecological anthropology, which assumes that human behavior derives from the interactions between environmental, economic, and cultural conditions. It concentrates on the perspectives for adaptation of the transmigrant groups from Java and Bali. Part of the author's theoretical conclusion is that "adaptation must be interpreted holistically within a broad ecological-anthropological framework" moving away from either "assumptions of cultural or environmental determinism" (ibid.: 128). Therefore the question is not whether human behavior is determined by environment *or* culture, but how the two systems influence human thought and action interactively.

This interactive view is essential for the investigation of the interaction between humans and environment. The classical theory in cultural geography dealing with the relation between human action and the shaping of the environment is the approach of the "cultural landscape". This approach that traces back to the works of Carl Sauer (1962, cited in: Knox et al. 2001) perceives the human influences on the natural landscape in a rather unidirectional way. The cultural landscape is considered as the "humanized version of the natural landscape" (Knox et al. 2001: 235). The development of the cultural landscape is driven by successive cultures that shape their environment throughout time. With the introduction of a 'new culture' the remains of the former are superposed. This approach appears to be rather static and "also tends to downplay individual human agency" (Crang 1998: 22) as well as the actions imposed by distinct social or ethnic groups. The investigation of the "cultural landscape" as an archive with layers of human agency is rather simplistic. Hartke (1959, cited in: Werlen 2000) argues that human intervention in the environment is determined by the individual interpretation of values and norms of the individuals' social and cultural affiliation. Therefore the investigation of specific group values and valuation is favored instead of the evaluation of environmental features.

In order to obtain insight into the relation between social integration of different actors respectively groups and its influence on the natural resources our conceptual framework combines the two approaches. Firstly, the concept of the "cultural landscape" is used as a basis for investigation of the impacts the resettlement of transmigrants has in the destination, e.g. population and settlement structure as well as land use changes. Secondly, the sociological approach of "social integration" by Esser (2001) serves as the framework for studying the integration of the resettlers, the spontaneous migrants as well as the local population. Esser formulates clear and mutually linked dimensions for the complex investigation of integration, which serves the operational framework for our research (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Esser's (2001: 16) and Parsons' (1976: 20) schematic of social integration and systems integration.



Esser (2001) combines two perspectives on integration: systems integration and social integration. The former refers to “the orderly or conflictual relationships between the parts” of a social system while the latter describes “the orderly or conflictual relationships between the actors” (Lockwood 1964, cited in: Esser 2001). Systems integration therefore means the integration of a society’s system as a whole whereas social integration relates to the integration of the actors (respectively their groups) into the system. Our research is actor-oriented and therefore concentrates mainly on the social integration of the individuals and their groups. Between the four dimensions of social integration – *Kulturation* (*cultural adaptation*), *Plazierung* (*positioning*), *Interaktion* (*interaction*), and *Identifikation* (*identification*) – stated by Esser (2001) causal interrelations exist that have to be considered during inquiry and data evaluation:

- *Cultural adaptation* means that the actors need to have the knowledge that is necessary for reasonable, well defined, successful action and interaction in typical situations in society. This knowledge together with certain competencies that result from it (e.g. language) embodies a kind of human capital, which can be used by the actors in the process of acculturation. *Cultural adaptation* as part of social integration therefore mainly is a process of acquisition of knowledge and competencies.
- *Positioning* refers to the placing of an actor within the social system. The *Positioning* may be the most important aspect of social integration. It can be regarded as an indicator of the inclusion of an actor into society. However, a distinction has to be made between legal positioning (e.g. through citizenship) and inclusion, which is achieved through the actor’s participation in e.g. the labor market. Discriminations and prejudices (e.g. between ethnic groups) hinder the inclusion of an actor and can lead to marginalization.
- *Interaction* describes social action in everyday life, which is not formally organized. Relations between the actors (e.g. friendship, ‘good’ neighborhood) develop in the process of interaction. In this context the actors’ cultural background, norms and val-

ues are especially relevant since the interaction and therefore integration is hindered if the ability and the willingness of actors to accept each other is limited.

- *Identification* is the attitude of an actor to consider himself or herself and the social system as an entity. Identification therefore represents an emotional relation with the social system, e.g. the nation, an ethnic group or a village community.

With the combination of the classical approach of “cultural landscape” – as a merely descriptive concept – and “social integration” – as an analytical concept – we aim to explain the linkage between the actors’ and the settlements’ integration in the destination and their impact on the environment, i.e. the use of the natural resources.

3. Research area, hypotheses and methodology

The overall aim of our research is to analyze the economic, cultural, social and environmental impacts of the transmigration settlements and the settlers on the destination area. Starting from this objective we want to answer the question to what extent the settlements and their inhabitants can be considered as socially integrated. Therefore an investigation of the relations between the villagers in the settlements as well as inter-village relations with other communities in the area has to be undertaken. Resulting from this analysis our core research question is: Which role does the level of social integration among the transmigrants, the spontaneous migrants, and the locals play for the management of the natural resources?

In order to apply the above stated questions and theoretical framework the following core hypotheses will be evaluated empirically for the investigation of the transmigration settlements in the Napu Valley:

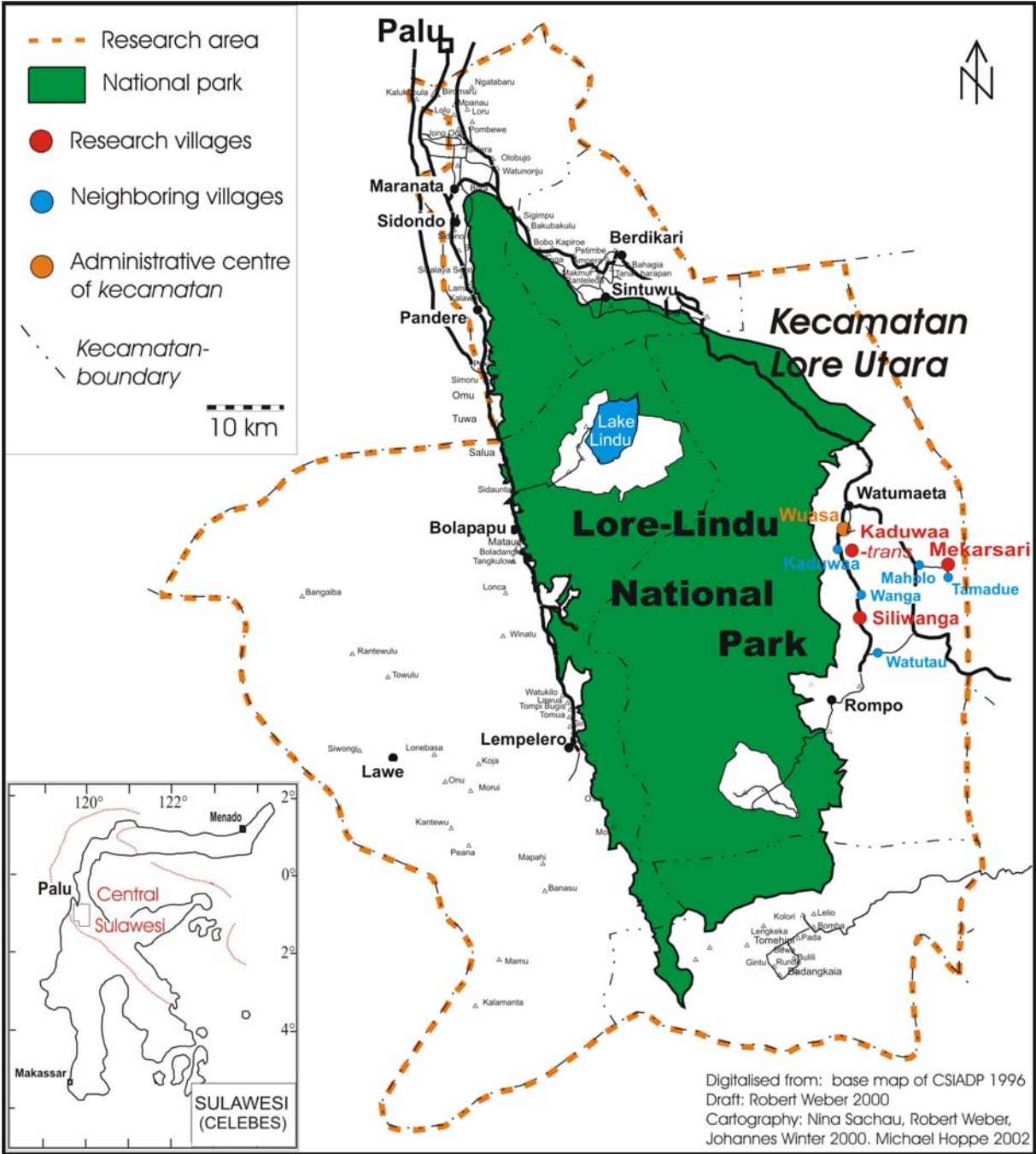
- a) The original resettlement design is subject to rapid change regarding population structure, land use and survival strategies of the resettlers.
- b) The degree of social integration is directly linked to the way in which the natural resources are used.

The methods used during our research in the three transmigration settlements in the Napu Valley – from Dec 2001 to April 2002 – combine quantitative and qualitative methodology. A clear picture of the demographical situation ten years after the resettlement could be gained by detailed household censuses in all three settlements. Besides data concerning age, sex, origin, ethnic and religious affiliation as well as education, we gathered information about land use, income, occupation, migration history of the households, motives for migration and the interaction of the villagers in the settlements as well as the exchange with neighboring villages. This survey was conducted with a standardized questionnaire that provided individual demographic data about all household members.

The results of the household census served as a basis for the selection of respondents for the qualitative interviews. The criteria for selection of individuals for the semi-structured interviews were ethnic and religious affiliation as well as origin of the transmigrants respectively spontaneous migrants. These interviews were conducted in the settlements of Siliwanga and Mekarsari only that constituted – due to the heterogeneous population structure and with respect to ethnic as well as religious affiliation and origin – the focus of our research. Semi-structured interviews were also carried out with key informants, i.e. village (resp. hamlet)

heads, religious and *adat* leaders, teachers, and other key respondents in the two villages. In order to gain deeper insights in the relations of the transmigration settlements with their neighboring villages interviews with village heads were also conducted in Watutau, Wanga, Kaduwaa-kampung, Tamadue-kampung, and Maholo.

Figure 2: Map of the research area



4. The planned migration in the Napu Valley

Transmigration has a long-standing history in Indonesia. Commencing in the province of Lampung in southern Sumatra the program has reached numerous remote areas of the archipelago throughout the history of the independent state. The province of Central-Sulawesi had for the first time been touched by the inter-island resettlement scheme during the 1960s. Many of the early *transmigrasi*-projects in Central-Sulawesi have failed due to a lack of road infrastructure and market access; in other locations the development was slow. The settlements in the sub-district Parigi in the regency of Donggala were among the most successful ones. One significant characteristic of the projects in the early 1970s has been the large number of independent migrants, mainly Balinese, who have moved to the destination on their own expense or with limited help from the transmigration agency only (Hardjono 1977). A situation that can also be observed in the Napu Valley (sub-district Lore Utara) as we will see later on.

The sub-district Lore Utara has become destination of the resettlement program in the early 1990s only. Altogether three transmigration projects: UPT¹-Kaduwaa, UPT-Tamadue, and UPT-Wanga were founded. This article focuses exclusively on the development in the latter two settlements, one is situated at the western side of the Napu Valley, bordering a national park (UPT-Wanga) and the other one is located in the very East of the valley (UPT-Tamadue) (see figure2). One objective of the transmigration policy for the Napu Valley is to eradicate schistosomiasis, by bringing the infected area under cultivation. Other major official motives include boosting the agricultural production of the region and setting an example of 'high working ethics', entrepreneurship and good agricultural practice for the local people by resettling transmigrants from the 'Inner Islands' (Sunito 1999). For the number of transmigrant households resettled in the Napu Valley, their province of origin and the year of settlement foundation see table 1.

Two different types of transmigration schemes are relevant in the Lore Utara sub-district: *transmigrasi umum*² and *transmigrasi bandep*³. UPT-Wanga – also called Siliwanga⁴ – belongs to the first type and was founded as an independent village within the sub district, while UPT-Tamadue and UPT-Kaduwaa were part of the *transmigrasi bandep* scheme. In this category the transmigrants are invited by a local host community to help developing the existing agricultural potential.

Table 1: Year of settlement foundation, scheduled number and origin of transmigrant households (hh) in the sub-district Lore Utara

	UPT-Wanga	UPT-Tamadue	UPT-Kaduwaa
Year of foundation	1993	1991	1991
Number of hh	300	200	100
Provinces of origin	East-Java: 59 Bali: 181 Central-Sulawesi: 60	NTB: 70 West-Java , Lam- pung: 65 East-Java: 65	East-Java: 27 Central , West-Java: 73

Source: STORMA A1 data

The villages of Tamadue and Kaduwaa were extended by one respectively two *dusun* (hamlets) for the allocation of the migrants. The hamlets for the transmigrants in Tamadue were named Mekarsari (I and II). As commonly provided by the transmigration program each household received 2 hectares of land. This allotment consisted of three parcels: *lahan usaha 1* (land for agricultural use; LU1, 0.75 hectares), *lahan usaha 2* (LU2, 1 hectares) and 0.25 hectares for the yard including the house and the house garden. Land and houses were allotted by lottery. While the area of the yard had been allocated at the time of the arrival of the various transmigrant groups, the LU1 and 2 were distributed when all the resettlers had arrived in the destination. Included in the scheme is also an area of reserve land called *tanah restan*, mostly consisting of remaining forest. Furthermore community buildings such as *balai desa* (public hall), school, church, mosque, temple, cemetery as well as village offices were built. By order of the transmigration authority a contractor was in charge of the clearing of the area from the forest and the building of houses and infrastructure, i.e. roads and water supply.

Previously to resettlement the area for the two new hamlets in Tamadue was covered by forest, where the villagers of Tamadue-*kampung* used to collect rattan and wood, while the resettlement location of Siliwanga was part of the wide grassland areas in the Napu Valley intermitted only by remaining forest pieces. Due to the lower soil fertility of the grassland and the heaviness of putting it under cultivation the settlement area of Siliwanga had always been used extensively only, i.e. for pasture farming by the people of the neighboring village of Wanga.

With the implementation of the transmigration projects the former woodlands in Tamadue and the grassland in Siliwanga were to come under intensive cultivation for the first time. In accordance with the scheme the agricultural area was split into the LU1 for dry farming and the LU2 for irrigation agriculture. In the initiative phase of the new settlements the transmigrant farmers received different kinds of support. In addition to the financial support that covered the travel costs to the destination area every household received cooking and household utensils as well as tools for agriculture. A food allowance (rice, salted fish, salt, sugar, oil) for the first year was given and the farmers received fertilizer and seeds. In both settlements – Siliwanga and Mekarsari – seeds for maize, rice, peanuts, cassava, different kinds of beans and seedlings for different sorts of fruit trees were distributed.

Before the resettlement of the transmigrants the Ministry of Transmigration sent a *kepala-UPT* (K-UPT, head of the resettlement unit) and his team to the resettlement site who stayed in the village until it was handed over to the local government. Siliwanga became an independent village under the administration of the *kecamatan* after five years while UPT-Tamadue (Mekarsari) was administratively integrated into Tamadue after two years. The K-UPT team is responsible for the development of the settlement, welcomes the transmigrants, handles the allocation of land and houses, delivers the food allowance and organizes the administrative structure of the new village, i.e. the formation of the neighborhood units (RT) and the election of representatives. The resettlement of the inter-island transmigrants in Siliwanga (Javanese and Balinese) had been completed in November 1993 while the local transmigrants came to the location one month later; in Tamadue all the transmigrants had arrived by February 1992.

5. Ten years after: Five assumptions

“Transmigration settlements are ‘synthetically’ created villages composed of settlers from different regions of origin who are implanted into an economic and social environment to the development of which they are supposed to contribute. A whole range of measures is taken by the government in order to support the settlers. These measures provide the basis for and to some extent pre-structure the process of the formation of a peasant society.” (Clauss et al. 1987: 2).

This statement made about transmigration settlements in East Kalimantan is equally appropriate for the resettlement projects in the Napu Valley. The results of our research show that the development of the ‘synthetically’ created villages is on the one hand strongly affected by government measures respectively the absence of these measures and the lack of support. Furthermore the natural potential of the resettlement sites plays a major role for development. On the other hand, however, the development is dependent on the individual capability, the skills of the single transmigrant household and eventually its prior capital as well as the interaction between the migrant groups of different origin and the local population. As will be illustrated throughout this article the current economic and social situation of the settlements and the communities as a result of a ten years’ development is in parts contrary to the specification of the resettlement scheme and the official objectives of the transmigration policy:

- 1) In both villages out-migration set off shortly after the resettlers had arrived. The population structure in both villages has changed significantly since the foundation of the two settlements, especially, by in-migration of spontaneous settlers.
- 2) The unsuitable allocated land in Siliwanga remains widely unused while additional land was brought under cultivation.
- 3) The persisting households employed a variety of strategies, including off-farm activities and forest clearing, to secure their livelihoods.
- 4) Major parts of the allocated land in both villages cannot be accessed by its legal owners due to disputes over land with the neighboring villages.
- 5) In some respects systems integration has been achieved while the level of social integration is limited.

These phenomena result from different factors: External influences like suitability of the natural resources, site-preparation and government support play a major role in the development of the transmigration projects in the Napu Valley. However other factors must be taken into account: The relation between the different migrant groups and the locals in the settlements as well as the interaction between the transmigrants, the spontaneous migrants and the local population and administration in the destination area as a whole have influenced the development in Siliwanga and Mekarsari.

6. Demographic change and the reasons behind

6.1 Out-migration because of bad site selection and preparation

The selection of suitable sites for transmigration settlements relies on careful and effective survey work. Throughout the course of the transmigration program many projects have failed because the quality of the land has been overrated or survey work has been superficial so that problems were only identified after the sites have been selected and developed. The reasons for that are the disability of the administrative framework to perform satisfactorily on the one hand and the constant pressure to meet policy targets on the other (Rigg 1991). There are

strong indications that the survey work prior to development of the settlements in the Napu Valley was not carried out with the required thoroughness because the sites selected for transmigration are differing widely concerning their suitability for successful agriculture. While the soil of the grasslands in Siliwanga have proven to be of low fertility the land cleared from primary forest in Mekarsari have turned out to be fertile.⁵ In Siliwanga harvests failed or were of low scale. In Mekarsari the transmigrants were confronted with a settlement site that had not been properly prepared prior to the arrival of the resettlers. Although houses, wooden bridges and non-asphalt-roads had been built and the yard including the house gardens had been cleared the other parcels of land (LU1 and 2) were left covered by forest – in contrast to the guidelines of the resettlement scheme. In Siliwanga not only the potential of the resources was low, also the support by the transmigration and other executing authorities for an adequate land use was limited. Since the foundation of the village the transmigration authorities have promised the construction of a technical irrigation plant that is independent of the rainfall. Until the time of our research it has not been realized. The immediate answer of the majority of the respondents to the question why wide areas of the agricultural land remains unused was always – besides the low fertility of the soil – “*tidak ada irigasi*” (there is no irrigation).

Thus, in both settlements Mekarsari and Siliwanga the transmigrants were confronted with considerable obstacles at the time of their arrival. The two main reasons for the large out-migration of transmigrants, that started already in the early years – even within months – after their arrival are the low soil fertility and the absence of an irrigation plant in Siliwanga and the enormous efforts the settlers in Siliwanga and Mekarsari had to make to bring the land under cultivation are. Reportedly out-migration in Siliwanga reached its climax in the year of 1996 when government support ran out, while several households in Mekarsari left the settlement already a few months after their arrival in 1992. In Siliwanga and Mekarsari the end of the government allowance for food marked the beginning of the major wave of out-migration. The current population structure in comparison to the scheduled number of transmigrant households in Siliwanga and Mekarsari illustrates the large out-migration until today (see table 2).

Table 2: Actual population structure regarding the type of migration of the households (hh) in Siliwanga and Mekarsari

Type of Migration	Number of hh in Siliwanga	Number of hh in Mekarsari
Inter-island transmigrant hh	86	68
Local transmigrant hh	5	–
Refugee hh	11	3
Spontaneous migrant hh	26	175
Civil servant hh	4	6
Total hh in the year 2002	132*	252
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Transmigrant hh scheduled	300	200

Source: STORMA A1 census data,

*according to information given by the mayor of Siliwanga the total number is 170 hh, the difference is to be explained by the high rate of hh that reside outside the village for longer periods of time in order to work

Considering the current population structure a fundamental demographic shift has taken place in Mekarsari. Some groups stayed (mainly the Eastern-Javanese) while others (mainly the transmigrants from the provinces of Western-Java and West-Nusa-Tenggara, NTB, precisely the island of Lombok) left the village and were replaced by spontaneous migrants (mainly of Eastern-Javanese and Balinese origin). Various reasons are important for this development. Firstly, the obstacles of a poor site-preparation in the initial phase of the foundation of Mekarsari, as stated above, have caused serious problems for the majority of the state-supported settlers. Joining the transmigration program as landless and poor farmers from the 'Inner Islands' they were highly dependent on effective implementation of the resettlement project to secure their livelihoods. A further obstacle for many of the settlers was the fact that they were not used to the climate conditions in the destination. Many settlers were in bad health due to the cold temperatures in the high altitude (approximately 1100 m above sea level) of the Napu Valley. Most of them did not expect such environmental conditions prior to their arrival.⁶ In most cases a preparation or training of the transmigrants still in their area of origin did not take place. The inter-island transmigrants came with the expectation to find prepared land for agriculture but when they arrived the situation was different.

This discrepancy led to different responses of the transmigrants. These actions and decisions are based on the individual capability of the settlers (know-how and skills), their financial capital prior to resettlement and are influenced by personal factors, i.e. the will to stay as well as feelings such as homesickness⁷. Therefore some transmigrants were not able to adapt to the new situation in the settlement while others persisted. Considering the census data from Mekarsari one observation is that certain transmigrants of the same origin stayed whereas other groups have left the settlement nearly entirely. Only 14 of the initially scheduled 70 households from the province of NTB remain while 38 households of the settlers from Eastern-Java (originally 65 households) still reside in Mekarsari and were even able to support relatives to follow them to the resettlement village in the past years. The out-migration of the majority of the settlers from NTB, as reported by villagers in Mekarsari, was linked to their dissatisfaction with the new environment (climate) and the difficulties to prepare the agricultural land. Some respondents including the spontaneous migrants, however, labeled the group of transmigrants from NTB as a whole as being "lazy" and "not able to work hard". Furthermore "it became their habit", as stated by respondents, "to join the transmigration program up to nine times, returning home and joining again, only to benefit from the governmental support". This is a stereotype of the NTB-transmigrants that is widely spread in the village community of Mekarsari. Whether this judgment about the settlers from NTB led to an open resentment against them already during the early time after resettlement, hindered their integration, and therefore was an additional factor for the large out-migration of this group is subject to speculation. However it can serve as an indicator for the attitude of the households that decided and managed to stay in Mekarsari despite the obstacles they had to face. Both the knowledge and the skills acquired in the process of *cultural adaptation* and applied in the destination as part of the acculturation, and the personal attitude determine the success of the individual household.

Like in Mekarsari the demographic development of Siliwanga is characterized by large out-migration. Due to the low fertility of the soil, the absence of an irrigation plant and the overall difficulties to cultivate the grassland, a large number of households have left the settlement. The result of this development is that nowadays only 91 of the initially scheduled 300 transmigrant households (see table 2) remain in the village. The majority of the resettled households returned to their areas of origin while a significant number of households moved to other places (e.g. in Central-Sulawesi). For the inter-island transmigrants from Bali and Eastern-Java the prospect of large plot sizes and the opportunity to cultivate wet rice had played a

major role in their decision to join the transmigration program. This attitude can be clearly seen in the statement of a Balinese respondent in Siliwanga: “It is a general manner of the Balinese that if they leave to join the transmigration, for sure they want to cultivate wet rice.”⁸ Therefore the disappointment of the settlers after their arrival in the destination is evident. Many resettlers regretted that they had joined the program: “The people could not cultivate wet rice like they had hoped, that is why they did not hold on (...) many could not hold on because an irrigation was not provided. So they returned to their home”⁹, another respondent in Siliwanga argued.

6.2 Spontaneous in-migration facilitated by social networks and access to land

The migration data from Siliwanga and Mekarsari does not only highlight the large out-migration that has occurred in the two settlements since their foundation it also shows the large influx of spontaneous migrants especially in Mekarsari. These spontaneous migrant households came without any government support and beyond the resettlement scheme. They bought houses and land of those transmigrant households that had left the settlement. Nowadays only 68 of the initially scheduled 200 transmigrant households remain while 175 spontaneous migrant households have settled down in the two resettlement hamlets of Mekarsari. As table 3 shows, the population fluctuations in Mekarsari began already in the year of arrival of the transmigrants when state-supported settlers started to leave the settlement and were replaced by spontaneous migrants.

Table 3: Year of arrival of the households in Mekarsari with regard to type of migration

Year of arrival	Inter-island transmigrant hh	Spontaneous migrant hh	Refugee hh	Civil servant hh
1990		1		
1991	9	3		1
1992	56	29		
1993		17		
1994	1	16		3
1995	1	18		1
1996	1	11		
1997		19		1
1998		28		
1999		14		
2000		8	2	
2001		11	1	
Total	68	175	3	6

Source: STORMA A1 census data from Mekarsari

The total number of households in Mekarsari nowadays exceeds the originally scheduled 200 transmigrant households. New houses were built and land was reclaimed mostly in the *tanah restan* (reserve land) of Mekarsari. Additionally, the spontaneous migrants bought land from farmers of the neighboring village of Maholo. They mainly originated from the province of Eastern-Java and followed the advice of relatives and friends who came within the resettle-

ment scheme. 90% of the Balinese spontaneous migrants had been living in Central-Sulawesi before they moved to Mekarsari. About 58% came from the *kecamatan* of Parigi north of Lore Utara where they had been living as descendants of spontaneous migrant and transmigrant families. Since agricultural land had become scarce they decided to resettle. In Mekarsari they found a destination where agricultural land was available and suitable for successful agriculture according to information by Balinese friends and relatives already living in Tamadue. Nowadays the largest group of settlers in Mekarsari – consisting of transmigrants and spontaneous migrants who came in the process of chain-migration – are the Javanese from the province of Eastern-Java followed by a considerable number of Balinese migrants.

For the persistence of the spontaneous migrants two factors played an important role: Firstly, many of these households had sufficient (financial) means to support their agricultural activity in the destination and to overcome the difficulties with site preparation in the initial phase. Secondly, the presence of a social network of farmers who have already been successful in the destination was conducive in the process of integration. The Eastern-Javanese (spontaneous) migrants as well as the Balinese *pendatang* (immigrants, newcomers) who came after the transmigrants could benefit socially as well as economically from the presence of relatives and friends. Relatives supported their early attempts for a livelihood in Mekarsari. The presence of communities¹⁰ with the same cultural background (e.g. concerning language, *adat* and religious matters) provided a familiar surrounding. Therefore the cultural adaptation and social integration of the spontaneous migrants from Bali and Java was eased. They benefited from the fact that they had reliable information by relatives and friends in Tamadue about the land use and the environmental conditions and knew precisely what they could expect. They were actively looking for a place to settle down and the conditions in Mekarsari were in line with their objectives.

The attitude of the locals is another conducive factor for the integration of the transmigrants and the spontaneous migrants: The statements of respondents among the locals in Mekarsari as well as Tamadue-*kampung* show that the resettlement of transmigrants as well as the immigration of spontaneous settlers was highly appreciated by the native community in Tamadue. This is due to the fact that the settlers brought innovations in agricultural techniques to the village and therefore ameliorated the land use of the local farmers. This process of adaptation by the local farmers depends on interaction between the (trans)migrants and the local population and therefore requires a certain degree of social integration and social acceptance. Although the repeated extraordinary positive illustration of the impacts of transmigration and spontaneous migration by almost all local respondents sometimes appears to be the simple reproduction of the transmigration agenda for the Napu Valley – “of setting an example of high working ethics and good agricultural practice”, as a matter of fact the in-migration had positive impacts on the agriculture in Tamadue. The villagers in Tamadue have strongly internalized this matter. This is partly due to the fact that the village government of Tamadue actively initiated the resettlement of transmigrants in the community and was able to successfully socialize this decision in the aftermath of resettlement. Thus the objectives of transmigration have obviously been reached to a certain extent in Mekarsari.

Unlike the inter-island transmigrants in Siliwanga the local resettlers who originated from surrounding villages in the *kecamatan* – Wanga, Watutau, Wuasa – had known about the conditions on the location before they decided to join the program. They did not expect to have agricultural success unless the transmigration authorities support their agricultural activities sufficiently. For the majority of them – still deeply rooted in their villages of origin – the participation in the transmigration project was an opportunity to acquire additional land in the Napu Valley. But since the government support for agriculture was limited they withdrew

from the resettlement again. As reported in several interviews only few local transmigrant households of the 60 households originally scheduled, have ever moved definitely to Siliwanga. The majority of them have stayed in their home villages waiting for sufficient support by the government for agriculture on the resettlement location, especially concerning irrigation. According to the STORMA-A1 census data only five households of the local resettlers permanently live in Siliwanga nowadays. Even some of these households still live and work in their villages of origin temporarily. For the local transmigrants Siliwanga therefore has the status of an 'outpost'. From the beginning, the transmigration project was only one option for them to obtain an additional source of income. Compared with the majority of the inter-island transmigrants from Bali and Java the local resettlers had alternatives in the close vicinity of Siliwanga. Returning home did not mean traveling for high expenditures back to their area of origin and admitting that they have failed.

6.3 Integration and livelihood strategies of the persisting households

It is specified in the guidelines of the transmigration program that every transmigrant household receives the same economic starting base when joining the resettlement scheme: land and house, costs of transport, food allowance etc. Chosen through specified socio-economic criteria only families with a certain profile can join the program. Therefore – in theory – every transmigrant household has the same preconditions for economic development. It is obvious, however, that this 'equal' precondition is subject to different influencing factors such as personal experience, value of personal skills as well as individual attitudes. All these factors are the result of the individuals' *cultural adaptation* (cultural background and socialization). With regard to the opportunities of a transmigrant in a program's destination these individual characteristics are again challenged by the potentials of the new surrounding, e.g. the potential of the natural resources and external support. Thus the processes in which the transmigrants apply their personal knowledge and attitude in reaction to the challenges of the new natural and social environment is a process of acculturation. The livelihood strategies of the households in the transmigration settlements are therefore part of this process.

Due to financial obstacles or the will to succeed in the new surrounding to return home was not an option for all resettlers. One example for a strategy to survive in Siliwanga was to cultivate wet rice despite the difficulties with the grassland and the absence of a technical irrigation plant. 55 of the remaining 132 hh in Siliwanga cultivate *sawah* on the allocated LU2 nowadays. The fact that only about 40 of the originally allocated 300 hectares (of the LU1) for wet-rice-cultivation are used highlights the difficulties with subsistence farming in Siliwanga. The Balinese and Eastern-Javanese transmigrants created their own system of water channels that made irrigation possible (*subak*-system). Although many fields of Siliwanga still depend on rainfall, harvests have increased in the last years. The *subak*-system of constructing and maintaining a system of water channels has been developed over centuries on the island of Bali to guarantee the irrigation of *sawah*. This irrigation system is highly dependent on the cooperation of different farmers. Nearly every farmer depends on an irrigation system that originates several kilometers upstream and flows in fragile channels through the land of many neighbors.

In Siliwanga the *sawah* area is of much smaller scale than in Bali, nevertheless the participation of the farmers who receive their water from the same water flow is inevitable for successful irrigation. Two *subak*-groups have been created for the wet rice fields in Siliwanga in which only transmigrants from Bali and Java participate. The local transmigrants do not cultivate *sawah* in Siliwanga and therefore do not cooperate with the inter-island settlers in the *subak*-groups. However, the local transmigrant farmers do have a cooperative group based on

the Christian church community. This implies that the other resettlers – e.g. the Balinese Hindus and the Javanese Muslims – are not involved. The function of this group is to provide mutual assistance for the renovation of houses, preparation of fields and harvesting – mainly in the *tanah restan* (reserve land) where the local resettlers concentrate on dry farming. The Balinese and Javanese households who also use the *tanah restan* have built up their own cooperative groups for this purpose. Thus interaction between the different groups is once again limited.

In the eyes of some Balinese and Javanese respondents in Siliwanga the fact that the local resettlers do not want to cultivate wet rice is due to their ‘disability to work hard’. Like in Mekarsari certain stereotype notions prevail in inter-group relations. While the local resettlers are often described as being ‘lazy’ by the Balinese and Javanese transmigrants, some statements by local settlers refer to their impression that the Balinese and Javanese wanted to ‘master’ them, especially in the initial phase. This reminds the observer again on one major objective of the resettlement scheme which is “to set an example of high working ethics for the local population”. It may well be that some transmigrants who arrived in the destination area took this official objective serious and they therefore encountered negative responses of the local resettlers. The ‘lower commitment’ of the local transmigrants – seen from the perspective of the inter-island settlers – and the decision of the overwhelming majority of them to leave the settlement has further fostered this attitude towards the locals and has contributed to the separation of these two groups (inter-island and local transmigrants) in certain respects.¹¹

The social integration of the local transmigrants was hindered by the simple fact that they nearly disappeared from the resettlement village. In addition an interaction between those local households who stayed and the Balinese and Javanese transmigrants concerning, for example, cooperative working groups for agriculture does not exist. Eventually the decision whether a household – either originating from the Napu valley or the ‘Inner Islands’ – stayed in the settlement or returned home is a question of alternatives and the premises with regard to skills, ability to persist as well as personal attitude of the individual. In this regard the different groups clearly had different alternatives for action. While many of the inter-island settlers did not have the financial means to return home or simply did not want to fail in the destination the locals had a substantial backing in their villages of origin. Nevertheless, with regard to the process of cultural adaptation to a new environment those Balinese and Javanese settlers who stayed benefited from the fact that they had some valuable agricultural skills and knowledge about land use techniques. The wet rice cultivation in the *subak*-groups is an example for strategies that were employed by the resettlers in Siliwanga.

Finally, the formation of a close-knit village community has been hindered as a result of the obstacles for agriculture, the large out-migration, and the fact that complete households or family members have stayed and still stay for relatively long periods outside the village to work. The community life in Siliwanga in the early stages was often described as “*ramai*” (lively, crowded) while the situation nowadays is, as stated by villagers, “*sunyi*” (quiet, desolate). Others said that in comparison with other villages Siliwanga is not a ‘normal’ village community. It seems that the commitment to village affairs in Siliwanga is limited due to the disappointments of the past also. For instance the commitment to community action, e.g. *kerja bakti* is relatively low. However, as respondents noted, the community life is also limited because those people who have stayed in the village need to concentrate on the cultivation of the land and other strategies to ensure their livelihood.

In their attempt to secure their livelihood the resettlers in Siliwanga employed multiple strategies. The inter-island transmigrants in Siliwanga – in comparison to the local resettlers –

could not fall back on a secure source of income in the vicinity of the settlement. Off-farm activities played an important role to secure livelihood.

One major off-farm source of income has been wage labor on the P.T. Hasfarm tea plantation in the Napu Valley. For the settlers in Siliwanga and Mekarsari the opportunity to work on the plantation was essential to endure the early years in the settlement. It provided the minimum income they needed to survive until they could obtain the first yields. Many of them worked for periods of up to 15 days on the plantation and then returned to cultivate their fields again. Farm labor on the fields of other farmers in the settlement or in the surrounding villages has been another way of gaining additional income, e.g. the transmigrants in Siliwanga found employment on the fields in the neighboring village of Wanga. The Balinese in Siliwanga could moreover benefit from the network of Balinese communities in Central-Sulawesi where they found the opportunity to work as farm laborers. In Siliwanga some heads of households or even whole families still left the village for weeks or months to stay and work outside the settlement at the time of research.

6.4 The search for additional land and conflicts over land rights

A very important source for additional land in the transmigration settlement was and is the *tanah restan*, the reserve land. The villagers in Siliwanga have started to clear several parts of the *tanah restan* the mid 1990s, when it was still covered by primary or secondary forest. The soil of these plots has proven to be of higher fertility than the allocated LU1 and 2. The local transmigrants were among the first farmers who started to use this area. As one respondent of the local resettlers admitted ‘it is well possible’ to cultivate the allocated land and plant wet rice like the Javanese and Balinese settlers do – on the allocated land – but this task is time and labour intensive and the chances of success are limited. Furthermore he had a *sawah* field in his home village Wuasa. Therefore already in 1996 he concentrated on the cultivation of the *tanah restan*. Thus the fact that the transmigration settlement was just one option for the local transmigrants is obvious.

But the reserve land was not an alternative for the locals only. The majority of the villagers in Siliwanga plant maize, beans and other annual crops in this area that stretches mainly along little rivers within the settlement as well as close to the river Lariang, that is the village boundary to the East. Cocoa plantations are becoming also more and more important in this area. The access to the *tanah restan* is not limited by village regulations. Whether a farmer cultivates land within this area depends only on the individual capability of the household. The general rule for claiming such land is: “*siapa yang dulu itu yang mujur*” – literally, “the one who is first is the lucky one”.

A similar rule applies to the area in the nearby primary forest that legally does not constitute a part of the settlement. Besides the *tanah restan* the farmers in Siliwanga also encroach forest inside the national park. In the meantime large areas within this area (reaching up to 1 km from the asphalt road in Siliwanga which is partly concordant with the border of the national park) have been cultivated with annual crops such as maize and beans. In addition to this the collection of forest produce, i.e. rattan and wood from the nearby forest has been a source for additional cash income since many years. Nowadays the rattan resource has become seriously depleted and the villagers have to go to far to find it. Therefore the importance of rattan exploitation as a source of cash income has decreased.

In their struggle to survive in the new environment the majority of the resettlers in Siliwanga have applied one or the other or a combination of those strategies. However, the necessity to apply multiple strategies for the few local transmigrants in Siliwanga is lower than for the inter-island resettlers due to the above stated reasons. They mainly concentrate on the cultivation of the *tanah restan* and, as stated by respondents, do encroach on forest within the national park to a lesser extent than the other transmigrants. This is in addition linked to the fact that especially the local transmigrants from Wanga have a different attitude towards the national park. Community regulations in the village of Wanga control the use of forest produce from the area inside the national park. Forest clearing is strictly forbidden while some kind of a “gentlemen agreement” exists concerning subsistence use of e.g. rattan and timber. Nevertheless, all the villagers in Siliwanga have one common attitude: they clearly blame the government for the questionable site selection, the poor follow-up support for irrigation and their difficult situation nowadays. All the resettlers in Siliwanga share this point of identification. One could even argue that a feeling of ‘common destiny’ has evolved among the transmigrants. This feeling of ‘common destiny’ is developed to a greater extent among the inter-island transmigrants – due to the fact that they have fewer options for livelihood in the area. In this light especially the encroachment into the primary forest of the national park by the remaining Balinese and Javanese settlers can be interpreted as a kind of protest against the ‘mistreatment’ of settlers in Siliwanga. This leads to some sort of ‘common identity’ and has on the one hand integrative effects but on the other hand facilitates negative impacts on the conservation of the forest and on sustainable land use.

In Siliwanga as well as in Mekarsari the transmigrants were allocated land by the transmigration authorities. Each household received 2 hectares of varying quality of soil due to the location. In the case of Siliwanga moreover some local transmigrants stated that they have never received their land. They drew a lottery number that belongs to a certain location that was neither indicated nor shown to the legal owners. This difficulty is directly linked to a problem that has occurred in many other transmigration projects: uncertainty and disputes over land rights. Not only in Siliwanga but also in Mekarsari a fundamental discrepancy prevails over land rights. This ambiguity is caused by the two-sided perception of the land on the one hand as *tanah negara* (state’s land) and *tanah adat* (customary land) on the other.

The 1960 Basic Agrarian Law – that was relevant at the time of settlement foundation – recognizes existing *adat* (customary) law, but only as far as it is not opposed to the interests of the state (quoted in RIGG 1991). Therefore the local *adat* law that still governs the land in many areas is not allowed to stand in the way of the national resettlement program. However, the land disputes in the Napu Valley are not linked to the claims on *adat* land of indigenous communities prior to resettlement development but related to the uncertainties in the aftermaths of the settlement foundation. The transmigration authorities consulted the neighboring villages of Siliwanga (Wanga in the north and Watutau in the south) and Tamadue (Maholo) during the planning process.

The background of the government agreement with the villages of Tamadue and Maholo as well as the question whether there was an understanding between Tamadue and Maholo on the resettlement of transmigrants and the borderline between the two villages remains nebulous. In fact soon after the resettlers in Tamadue had cleared the forest and started to cultivate the land the village government of Maholo claimed a considerable part of the transmigration area. During interviews the village representatives of Maholo argued that Maholo gave 80% of the land the transmigrants reside and work on while Tamadue contributed only the remaining 20%. Reportedly the government had also promised the development of the village of Maholo by the resettlement of transmigrants. While Maholo “gave a large part of its land for

free” only Tamadue has “received” resettlers, respondents in Maholo said. They further noted that prior to resettlement there was no agreement between Maholo and Tamadue on the resettlement. This is the reason why they reclaimed parts of the land that originally belonged to Maholo – according to their perception.

The statements of the village representatives in Tamadue show a different side of the case: Prior to the forest clearing for the resettlement scheme the forest that both communities consider as *tanah adat* was not divided by an administrative boundary. Village representatives of Tamadue, however, claim the primary forest as their *tanah adat* as it had been used by their villagers exclusively as a source of forest produce (wood and rattan) and to pasture water buffalos and horses. Reportedly the villagers of Maholo had never used the forest. In the eyes of the representatives of Tamadue the disputes over land rights only occurred after the former village head of Maholo with whom an agreement had been reached resigned from office. That means local leadership has a significant influence on the decision making in questions of land use and land rights.

Approximately 69 ha of land allocated to the transmigrants have been claimed by Maholo and therefore have been excluded from land use by the resettlers. According to the statements of the village government of Tamadue the case has been settled. The two village heads met, defined the new borderline and agreed upon the transfer of land to Maholo. The transmigrants received compensation from Tamadue with another land area. In the eyes of the transmigrants in the hamlets of Mekarsari, however, the incidence is still a cause for annoyance and uncertainty. The compensational plots are situated far away in the hills north of the settlement. The location in a hillside situation makes them less suitable. At the time when villagers of Maholo claimed parts of their land the transmigrants retreated to evade further conflicts with the locals since they, as the newcomers, did not feel in the position to intervene. Especially against the background of a future independence from the host village Tamadue (within the policy of “*otonomi daerah*”; regional autonomy) the transmigrant representatives in Mekarsari are doubtful. In the past land disputes the mayor of Tamadue backed the transmigrants. He led the negotiations with Maholo and made the arrangements. In case of Mekarsari becoming an autonomous village within the *kecamatan* the resettlers might lose bargaining power due to their status as ‘newcomers’.

The situation in Siliwanga is somewhat similar to the circumstances in Tamadue. In contrast to the agreements between the transmigration authorities and the neighboring villages (Wanga and Watutau) concerning the resettlement and the borderline of the UPT the village of Wanga claims land originally allocated to the transmigrants. Representatives of Wanga argue that the land for the settlement was provided ‘for free’ but the village did not receive the expected gratification. Although respondents in Wanga noted that the land in Siliwanga is “bad” and “only good for animals” the representatives of Wanga claimed parts of the allocated LU2 fields of Siliwanga. The village heads of Siliwanga and Wanga presented the case to the government of the *kecamatan* and tried to settle it, without result. Wanga still claims parts of the transmigrants’ land south of the village border with Wanga.

Both cases illustrate the problems that occur due to a lack of legal arrangements and sufficient involvement of all parties in the development of the resettlement sites. For the transmigration authorities, however, the case appears to be clear. According to information given by a member of the transmigration authorities in the provincial capital of Palu the problems concerning land rights arise years after the settlement foundation. Prior to foundation of the settlements the *tim identifikasi* (team of experts that is sent by the Ministry of Transmigration for the evaluation of the potential resettlement site) gathers information about the land history and

customary law. As reported by the transmigration authorities, in many cases the local communities do not inform the team about the land claims. Only after the settlement has been developed those claims are put forward. The interviewed member of the transmigration office in Palu says clearly that the transmigration authority is in the legal position to insist on the specifications of the resettlement scheme. In practice, however, legal procedures are abandoned, because this would harm the relation between the transmigrants and the neighboring local communities. Therefore the solution normally applied is compensation with land, like in the case of Mekarsari. Whether the *tim identifikasi* consulted every party involved in the resettlement project on the local level with the required thoroughness remains unclear. However, it seems that the neighboring villages only agreed upon the resettlement of transmigration because they expected (or they were promised?) a certain gratification or government support if they accepted. After they saw that the agricultural activities of the transmigrants, at least in Mekarsari, were successful they ‘remembered’ that the land belongs to the customary land of their village and claimed it.

The transmigrants find themselves amidst the dynamics of state law and local regulations that refer to *adat* law. As participants of the transmigration scheme they were allocated land by the state, as transmigration is a national program. This is to be considered as part of their ‘systems integration’. But after their arrival in the Napu Valley they have to cope with the situation in a new surrounding and the regulations that prevail in the destination. They want to claim their rights to the land but cannot stand up against the local communities without causing serious conflicts. Therefore the social integration on the local level is hindered – “the land was given by the state but taken again by the neighbors”.

6.5 Access to government support: the minor status of the settlers

The resettlement scheme *transmigrasi* has the objective among others to decrease poverty and unemployment in the areas of origin of the transmigrants, i.e. mainly Java and Bali. Therefore most families that were selected belonged to the landless poor or those who owned small pieces of land only. It has been argued that the poverty was only transferred to the outer islands through resettlement (compare among others Otten 1986). These critics point out that in many cases the natural potential of the chosen resettlement sites were low and the preparation insufficient. The transmigrants rely heavily on government support for settlement maintenance and infrastructure during the initial phase.

If we look at Siliwanga not only the potential of the resources was low but also the support for adequate land use was limited. The transmigration authorities have promised the installation of an irrigation plant that has not been built. The subsistence production with rice was limited from the beginning. Several times the mayor of Siliwanga and other officials of the village consulted the authorities of the *kecamatan* and *kabupaten* to demand the installation of an irrigation plant. Although survey work has been started – e.g. by the Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development and Conservation Project (CSIADP) – for the construction of irrigation their attempts were without success. In the year 1995 an alternative land use on the allocated LU1 was found for the farmers in Siliwanga. In cooperation with P.T. Hasfarm and with assistance from the transmigration authorities – who helped to enable the contact – a tea plantation was to be installed. P.T. Hasfarm provided the seedlings and assistance in the preparation of the land. A fixed price was arranged between the farmers and the company. However, when the first harvest came P.T. Hasfarm refused to fulfill the agreement. The price offered for the tea was far below the one stipulated and did not cover the farmers’ investments so that the tea plantation could not be continued. The detailed agreement between the com-

pany and the transmigration authorities for the plantation remains unclear for the farmers in Siliwanga. They could just conclude once again that they could not rely on the government authorities to support them solving the conflict.

Both examples show that Siliwanga is a 'synthetically created' village in different respects. Composed of transmigrants from different parts of the country it does not have the same standing as native villages in the Napu Valley. It might be that little priority is given when it comes to give financial support for e.g. infrastructure like an irrigation plant. This carries considerable implications for the way in which the resources are used. While the native villages in the *kecamatan* Lore Utara are comparatively well integrated the transmigration settlement still remains partly isolated in an administrative way. Thus the ability of the village head of Siliwanga to add weight to the demands of Siliwanga is limited.

In Mekarsari a similar situation can be observed concerning the power of the transmigrants to intervene to their benefit. In the two transmigrant hamlets of Tamadue the resettlers feel to be in an inferior position in relation to the village government. According to respondents Mekarsari does not receive the full amount of financial support it should obtain, e.g. the funds that are given for *bangdes* (village development) by the district government. Thus the transmigrants complain that money, which is needed for the reparation of bridges and roads in Mekarsari is not delivered by the village government of Tamadue. It seems that again the transmigrants as 'newcomers' are not in the position to enforce their demands effectively. One reason for this is that they on the other side rely on the support of the village government in other cases, e.g. disputes over land, as illustrated above. These circumstances are especially relevant in the context of the national policy of decentralization (*otonomi daerah*, regional autonomy) with the objective to strengthen regional autonomy, e.g. through the creation of further administrative units. For Mekarsari this would imply that it is transformed into an autonomous, independent village (*desa definitif*) having its own village government and therefore being able to receive financial support directly from the government of the *kecamatan*. The opinion of the transmigrants in Mekarsari about this option is – due to past experiences in Tamadue – ambivalent. On the one hand they fear to lose the backing of the host village Tamadue that has been crucial in settling disputes with the neighboring village as well as conflicts within the village. On the other hand they appreciate the prospect of Mekarsari being an independent village due to the benefits from potential government support, e.g. for infrastructure. The doubts of the transmigrant representatives in Mekarsari with regard to independence from Tamadue are rooted in their status as *pendatang* (immigrants, newcomers). The *pendatang* still have a minor status compared with the locals, their neighbors. This shows that social integration between the (trans)migrants and the local communities has not been achieved in this respect.

7. Conclusions

The empirical findings of our research in two transmigration settlements justify the general conclusion that social integration within the resettlement communities as well as beyond village boundaries has not been achieved to a satisfactory extent. However, in both villages we find conducive factors as well as constraints in the process of systems and social integration.

In the case of Siliwanga it is obvious that economic and social development of the community has been impeded by the low quality of the natural resources, i.e. the unsuitable soil of the grassland, and the failures of responsible authorities to construct an irrigation plant. Therefore the resettlers were deprived of considerable prerequisites for a successful economic as well as

social integration in the destination. This is to be seen as a lack of systems integration of the transmigrants. Despite the difficulties for the resettlers in Siliwanga and despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of transmigrants have left the settlement, a certain extent of social integration within the village community can be observed. Examples for this are the cooperative working groups, negotiations between the different *adat*-communities, and the fact that a certain degree of common identification as ‘mistreated or fooled transmigrants’ has emerged. On the other hand the integration of the local transmigrants failed almost completely. Only little interaction between the inter-island and the local resettlers could be observed during our investigation.

Our study in Siliwanga shows that the lack of systems integration of the transmigrants leads to negative impacts on conservation and sustainable resource use. The encroachment into the national park and the clearing of secondary and primary forest within the settlement boundaries (*tanah restan*) is the outcome of failures in project planning, implementation, and maintenance. Their struggle for survival hardly left the resettlers with another choice.

Which role does social integration within the community play in this respect? On the one hand the interaction of the Balinese and Javanese resettlers in wet rice cultivation facilitated a subsistence production for many households. This land use takes place on the allocated *sawah*-plots and does not affect the forest margin. The cooperation between these two transmigrant groups is an indicator for social integration. Social integration occurs on many different levels and in several facets. With regard to identification as another aspect of integration, we found different levels of identification, e.g. in the conceptualization of in-groups and out-groups. While the identification with the individual ethnic group of the actors is pronounced also a common identification with the (transmigrant) village community has been observed. However, this common identity as “*orang² trans*” (transmigrants) is directly linked to the attitude that all the transmigrants have been ‘fooled’ by the government when resettled to Siliwanga. This attitude caused actions that have intensified the negative impacts on sustainable resource use and conservation. Therefore we assume that the emergence of a certain degree of social integration does not necessarily imply a sustainable resource use. As long as the pre-conditions for prosperous economic and social development are not provided social integration in some respects can impair or have adverse effects on conservation.

Our results from the research in Mekarsari respectively Tamadue show that social integration within the resettlers’ community and between the (trans)migrants and the local population is developed to a much greater extent than in Siliwanga. However, the integration of the originally immigrated resettlers was hindered mainly due to the inadequate preparation of the resettlement location. This has to be seen as a lack of systems integration – like in Siliwanga the implementation of the resettlement scheme was subject to considerable deficits. While a significant number of transmigrants left, new spontaneous migrants came to Mekarsari. They had the economic power to overcome the obstacles and brought agricultural skills to the village of Tamadue, which fostered their social integration. The local farmers appreciated the land use techniques brought to Tamadue and used them to ameliorate their agricultural systems. This process of adaptation is possible only with a certain degree of social acceptance and the willingness to integrate the migrants into the village community. In this regard social integration and the management of the natural resources are fundamentally related.

On the other hand we could observe considerable constraints for integration of the transmigrants in Tamadue. The fact that many transmigrant households could never use their allocated land due to conflicts with the neighboring village shows that the integration of the transmigrants in the destination is limited. They are still in an inferior political position. Due

to their status as ‘migrants’ they lack bargaining power in negotiations with the local communities. This has an impact on the use of the natural resources in two ways: Firstly, the resettlers were not able to cultivate their allocated land. Secondly, the resettlers were forced to move to another location in the primary forest situated in the hills north of Tamadue.

In principle, aspects of social integration are inherent in both transmigration project designs (*transmigrast umum* in Siliwanga respectively *transmigrasi bandep* in Tamadue). While in Siliwanga local farmers were included in the scheme, the two resettlement hamlets of Mekarsari were administratively and spatially attached to the native village of Tamadue. The comparison of the two settlement types shows significant differences with respect to the benefits for integration – though the potential of the natural resources as a limiting factor has to be kept in mind. When it comes to demand governmental support Siliwanga as a new administrative unit composed of resettlers from outside the *kecamatan* encounters problems to obtain equal treatment with the native communities. The (trans)migrants in Mekarsari on the other hand benefit from the fact that the host community of Tamadue supports their demands, e.g. concerning negotiations with the neighboring village of Maholo. The fact that the host village of Tamadue invited the transmigrants was crucial for the process of integration of the resettlers. It showed the willingness of the community to benefit from the immigrants. However, the interaction between the representatives of Mekarsari and the village government concerning internal village affairs is also subject to frictions, as we can see from the difficulties of the (trans)migrants to receive financial support for village development provided by the *kecamatan*.

In conclusion we would like to emphasize again two major results of our investigation:

- The economic and social development of a transmigrants’ community is doomed to fail without the availability of suitable natural resources. If in addition the financial and material support for the resettlers is not provided the actions of the resettlers can lead to unsustainable use of the resources even though a certain degree of social integration has been achieved.
- Favorable conditions of the natural resources on the other hand foster social integration. However, if a certain degree of economic and social development is reached the competition over economic and political powers might lead to the political marginalization of certain groups in the community.

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Notes

¹ *Unit Permukiman Transmigrasi* = Resettlement Unit for Transmigration

² *Transmigrasi umum* means General or Official Transmigration

³ *Transmigrasi bandep* is an abbreviation for *Transmigrasi Swakarsa Pengembangan Desa Potensial* which means 'transmigration for the development of a potential village'.

⁴ Both names are still used for the village by the inhabitants as well as the people from other villages. Also on the village sign in front of the mayor's office the term *desa* (village) Siliwanga and UPT Wanga can be found.

⁵ The third transmigration site in the Napu Valley (Kaduwaa-Trans) is situated within the floodplain of two rivers. Frequent flooding has made agricultural production almost impossible.

⁶ In fact the overwhelming majority of the respondents said that the information they received about the destination before they left their area of origin was limited and partly false. Thus according to the information of the transmigration authorities (in the *monografi transmigrasi*) the altitude of the Napu Valley is not higher than 400m above sea level – while in reality it reaches more than 1100m.

⁷ "rindu keluarga" (missing the family) was a reason for leaving the transmigration settlement that was often mentioned throughout the interviews

⁸ "Karena secara umum orang Bali itu kalau keluar untuk ikut transmigrasi itu pasti mereka maunya bersawah "

⁹ "Mereka tidak bisa bersawah sesuai dengan harapan mereka, jadi mereka tidak tahan (...) karena tidak didukung adanya irigasi ya sudah, mereka banyak yang tidak tahan, pulang"

¹⁰ Already prior to the development of the resettlement site five households of Balinese origin were living in Tamadue-*kampung*. Today 53 hh Balinese live in the *kampung* while altogether 78 hh reside in the hamlets of Mekarsari.

¹¹ Although as a matter of fact also many transmigrant households from Bali and Java have left the settlement due to the obstacles for agriculture this did not lead to similar attitude towards the members of the own group.

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