



THE FORMATION OF A PEASANT SOCIETY: JAVANESE TRANSMIGRANTS IN EAST KALIMANTAN

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Introduction: Transmigration and the Formation of Society

The Indonesian transmigration program can be traced back to resettlement schemes started in 1905. Since the beginning of the third Five-Year Development Plan (*REPELITA III*, 1979/80–1983/84) transmigration has been stepped up and has become a main stream of Indonesian development policy. The program has in recent years been the target of criticism from inside as well as from outside Indonesia. It is currently being debated whether or not the costly program should be continued or whether major adjustments should be introduced. In this article we intend to assess the situation from the point of view of the settlers and discuss some of the problems encountered by transmigrants in creating a new and functioning peasant society.

Transmigration settlements are planned according to a standard administrative blueprint, though plans and reality do not necessarily go together. They are "synthetically" created villages composed of settlers from different regions of origin who are implanted into a new economic and social environment. The settlers are therefore confronted with the task of establishing social relationships within their new village on the basis of a marked heterogeneity and plurality with regard to languages, cultural elements, customs, and religious practice. This heterogeneity may lead to a fragmentation into distinct groupings within the settlements, which in turn may lead to conflict especially in the initial phase. Problems are more pronounced with regard to social relations with indigenous groups. Transmigration settlements on the one hand and those of the indigenous population on the other are distinctly different communities which initially have only a narrow basis for integration due to differing values, norms, traditions, principles of social organization, languages, and sometimes religious affiliation. There is, indeed, evidence from various settlement areas indicating that the process of social integration is not without problems.¹ Apart from these differences, struggle for access to economic resources such as governmental subsidies or land may affect this relationship. A

¹Among the more recent accounts see J. M. Hardjono, *Transmigration in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur/London: Oxford University Press, 1977); P. Guinness, ed., *Transmigrants in South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi* (Yogyakarta: Population Institute, Gadjah Mada University, 1977); M. Oey, "The Transmigration Programme in Indonesia," in *Population Resettlement Programmes in Southeast Asia*, ed. G. W. Jones and H. V. Richter (Canberra: ANU Development Studies Centre, 1982); Koentjaraningrat, "Lima Masalah Integrasi Nasional," in *Masalah-masalah Pembangunan—Bunga Rampai Antropologi Terapan*, ed. Koentjaraningrat (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982); M. B. Fulcher, "Resettlement and Replacement: Social Dynamics in East Kalimantan, Indonesia" (Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1983); C. B. Raharjo, *Benturan Nilai-nilai Budaya di Daerah Transmigran* (Salatiga: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, 1983); Tim Peneliti Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana (R. Warsito et al.), *Transmigrasi, Dari Daerah Asal sampai Benturan Budaya di Tempat Pemukiman* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1984); Sri Edi Swasono and M. Singarimbun, eds., *Transmigrasi di Indonesia 1905–1985* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1985); R. Gondowarsito, "Transmigrasi Bedol Desa—An Empirical Case Study of Inter-Island Village Resettlements in Indonesia" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Bielefeld, 1986); D. Kebschull and K. Fasbender, *Transmigration, the Indonesian Resettlement Programme* (Bielefeld/Hamburg: Sociology of Development Research Centre and HWWA Institute for Economic Research, 1987).

whole range of measures is taken by the government in order to support the settlers. As an official measure to reduce the potential for conflict and promote integration, guidelines for transmigration implemented some years ago stipulated that 10 percent of the households in the settlements be recruited from indigenous inhabitants of the settlement areas (APPDT = *Alokasi Pemukiman bagi Penduduk Daerah Transmigrasi*, Settlement Allocation for Inhabitants of Transmigration Areas). With the beginning of *REPELITA IV* this share has been raised to 20 percent.

All transmigrant households initially receive the same "equipment" in the form of land, houses, and subsidies, which means that the communities should be economically homogeneous. Nevertheless, processes of socioeconomic differentiation are usually soon set in motion which are influenced by several factors, such as a developing division of labor within the settlements and the utilization of sources of income besides or instead of agriculture (wage labor, handicraft, small-scale trade within or outside the settlements). Possibilities for making use of such sources are determined by preconditions, such as location of the settlements, infrastructure of the region (transportation facilities), opportunities for wage labor (plantations, logging companies, factories, urban households), developing markets for agricultural or handicraft products, labor force of the families, capital, individual skills, and the willingness to take risks. If incomes from these activities are invested productively, this can result in a considerable extent of stratification within the settlements.²

Transmigration in East Kalimantan

This study is concerned with a recently settled transmigration area in *Kalimantan Timur*. With an area of 211,440 sq. km and 1,419,798 inhabitants in 1984, East Kalimantan is the second largest and at the same time one of the least densely populated provinces of Indonesia.³

The first transmigration settlements in East Kalimantan date back to the 1950s. It is, however, only since the third Five-Year Development Plan that the province has gained importance as a recipient area for transmigration. 26,789 families (more than 13,000 of them during *REPELITA III*) had been settled there by 1984. Another 110,000 families resembling roughly 15 percent of the total transmigration target of 750,000 families for that period were planned to follow during *REPELITA IV*.⁴

With the beginning of *REPELITA III*, transmigration to East Kalimantan has been linked to regional development in a wider sense. Since 1977, development efforts in the province have been assisted technically by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) through the TAD (Transmigration and Area Development Project, later renamed Technical Cooperation for Area Development Project). Project activities comprise development planning and training of planning institutions and the development

²See P. Guinness, ed, *Transmigrants in South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi*; Nengah Bawa Atmadja, *Pekerjaan di luar pertanian pada petani transmigran Jawa di desa Bukit Hagu, Aceh Utara* (Banda Aceh: Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-ilmu Sosial, 1984), and Gondowarsito, *Transmigrasi Bedol Desa*.

³Pemerintah Daerah Propinsi Kalimantan Timur, Kantor Statistik Propinsi Kalimantan Timur dan TAD, *Kalimantan Timur dalam angka* (Samarinda, 1985), p. 3.

⁴Pemda Kaltim et al., *Kalimantan Timur dalam angka*, p. 39; J. Hardjono, "Transmigration: Looking to the Future," in *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 22, 2 (August 1986): 45.

of infrastructure, agriculture (cropping systems, seed improvement, extension), small-scale industry, health, and nutrition.

The majority of development activities has been concentrated on Kabupaten Kutai, the largest of the province's four districts. During *REPELITA III*, the Kutai district was to receive 15,000 transmigrant families representing 60 percent of the target for East Kalimantan and 3 percent of the target for all of Indonesia. During *REPELITA IV*, another 55,000 families were targeted to be settled in this district.⁵

One of the transmigration settlements established in *Kabupaten Kutai* during *REPELITA III* is Rimbayu, located in the middle Mahakam area about 150 km upriver from the province capital, Samarinda.

Rimbayu consists of six separate settlement units (*Satuan Pemukiman, SP*) opened between 1983 and 1986 with a total of about 2,500 families initially settled. The Rimbayu settlements are connected by former logging roads to Kota Bangun, the capital town of the subdistrict (*kecamatan*) of Kota Bangun, and Lampiri, a former logging camp on the banks of the river Mahakam which has developed into a trading post. During the rainy season (October–December) or during other periods of heavy rainfall, the roads may become impassable for weeks.

Rimbayu SP1, located about 8 km inland from Lampiri, was opened in early 1983. Unless otherwise stated, the findings reported here refer to this settlement.⁶

The population of the Rimbayu settlements consists of "general" (*umum*) and "self-initiative" (*swakarsa*) transmigrants from West, Central, and East Java, *Nusa Tenggara Barat*, and APPDT settlers.

Table 1
Composition of Settlers in the Rimbayu Transmigration Area

SP (settlement units)	Transmigrants (families)	APPDT Settlers (families)	Total	APPDT Settlers %
1	195	112	307	36.48
2	373	27	400	7.23
3	629	1	630	0.15
4	315	99	414	23.90
5	290	95	385	24.70
6	?	?	400	?

Source: *Laporan Bulanan*, Rimbayu.

⁵K. Fasbender and G. Roelcke, *Planning Perspectives for Kabupaten Kutai* (Samarinda: TAD, 1983), pp. 114 ff.

⁶Field work for this paper was carried out in March and in September 1986 under the auspices of the South-east Asia Program of the Sociology of Development Research Centre, University of Bielefeld, with the financial assistance of the Volkswagen Foundation. We should also like to express our thanks to the staff of the TAD Project, particularly Mr. Wiesner and Dr. Blank for answering many questions and for allowing us to make use of TAD transport facilities from time to time. We have also greatly benefited from discussions with Dr. Kebschull of the Hamburg Institute for Economic Research (HWWA) and sometime Visiting Professor at the University of Bielefeld.

The inhabitants of Rimbayu SP1 comprise Javanese from East and Central Java, Sundanese from West Java, and Kutai, the ethnic group originally living in the transmigration area (see Table 2).⁷ While 195 families are transmigrants from Java (124 from Central Java, 49 from West Java, 22 from East Java), 112 families are of Kutai origin. So one third (36.5 percent) of the village population is recruited from the area.⁸

Table 2
Composition of Settlers in Rimbayu SP1: Date of Arrival and Sending Region

Date	Region	Families	Persons	Male	Female
January 1983	Kendal, Central Java	59	237	133	104
January 1983	Magelang, Central Java	65	289	146	143
January 1983	Karawang, West Java	49	193	110	83
January 1983	Pacitan, East Java	22	83	38	45
February 1983	APPDT, Kutai	78	395	193	202
March 1983	APPDT, Kutai	<u>34</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>72</u>
		307	1344	695	649

Source: *Laporan Bulanan*, Rimbayu SP1, April 1983

Because the Kutai were allowed to select their plots before the Javanese transmigrants arrived in Rimbayu, most of them live close together in one relatively homogeneous block of the settlement. The transmigrants from different parts of Java are widely scattered and mixed, as their plots were distributed by lottery.

According to the information of our respondents, many families left Rimbayu soon after arrival. About 30 to 50 families (out of 307) have returned to Java or settled in other regions of Kalimantan, but so far it is not possible to determine how many of them left Rimbayu definitely.⁹ Most of those staying in Kalimantan went to Samarinda to work on estates or in logging companies.¹⁰ The vacant houses of the transmigrants who left were often occupied by newly married couples or given to new arriving settlers.

Most of the transmigrants who left Rimbayu did so in the first year (1983/84) while more recently the numbers of those returning to Java have rapidly declined. As main reasons for return migration, the following three were mentioned: (a) problems of get-

⁷The Kutai are coastal Malays, who form the main ethnic group of the former Sultanate of Kutai with its capital at Tenggarong on the lower Mahakam river.

⁸This high proportion, well above the official 10 percent target, is certainly an exception due to the Kutais' former land rights in the area. In the settlement unit SP2 there are twenty-seven Kutai families, in SP3 only one (see Table 1).

⁹In another transmigration village near Long Iram (300 km upriver), which was founded in the 1960s we found that quite a number of those families who gave up their claims in the first months after arrival returned to the village at a later time. They saw no alternative for a better life in Java, although they were disappointed by the facilities found in the transmigration village. Some also tried to motivate family members to follow them to Kalimantan. There is no data about such population movements in Rimbayu, but it can be assumed that a similar process may have taken place or will take place there.

¹⁰In this context it is interesting to note that village officials only told us about people from urban areas, especially Jakarta, who went back to Java or other areas. The prejudice that urban people are weaker and less hard working than people from rural areas and therefore give up earlier is to be found quite often. Regardless of whether this is true or not, the settlers of SP1 were only recruited from rural areas; no one came from Jakarta.

ting used to climate and area; (b) susceptibility to illness; (c) too great a distance from relatives. The unusually long drought of 1982/83 and the resulting devastating forest fire in the first half of 1983 certainly also played a role for some in the decision to leave.

According to the statistics of Rimbayu SP1, the population did not decrease in 1983/84 despite the observed population movements. It is unclear whether the statistics are absolutely wrong on this point or those transmigrants who left had been replaced by new arrivals who could adapt better to the circumstances. It was therefore also not possible to establish the exact number of transmigrants who came on their own initiative.

Javanese transmigrant women who leave Rimbayu form a special case. Informants mentioned that an unknown but remarkably high number of women left their families to work in other regions of Kalimantan as well as to marry Kutai men.

Administrative and Formal Organization

In the Rimbayu settlements, the official standard pattern of village administration and formal organization is being fully implemented.¹¹

Rimbayu SP1 consists of three blocks (*blok A, B, and C*) which at the same time constitute RWs (*Rukun Warga*, citizens' association) headed by an elected *kepala RW*. Each RW is further divided into a number of RTs (*Rukun Tetangga*, neighborhood association), each containing about 25 households which elected their *kepala RT* immediately after arriving.

Elections for a village headman were held in early 1984 and the standard apparatus of village administration was formed, comprising a secretary and sectoral heads, each for general affairs, financial affairs, welfare, economic affairs, and development. Officially, the KUPT (*Kepala Unit Pemukiman Transmigrasi*, headman of a transmigration settlement unit), an official representing the Ministry of Transmigration, is still in charge of the internal administration and of contacts with the higher levels of the bureaucracy (and thus also in control of resources).¹² The village headman still has the status of *Kepala Desa Persiapan* (village head in preparation) and is supposed to receive "on the job training" together with his staff, but is apparently gradually given more responsibilities.

An LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*, institution for the maintenance of village society) was formed soon after the establishment of Rimbayu, consisting of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer, and 10 section heads (1. security; 2. education; 3. information; 4. economic affairs; 5. infrastructure + environment;

¹¹The pattern of village administration was officially standardized for all of Indonesia in 1979 (*Undang-undang No.5, 1979 tentang Pemerintahan Desa*). This official model of administration is based on the government's perception of Javanese rural society. We do not wish to enter into a discussion as to whether or not this perception corresponds to historical reality (on this issue see, among others, J. Breman, *The Village on Java and the Early Colonial State* (Rotterdam: Erasmus University, Comparative Asian Studies Program [CASP], 1, 1980). In practice, the implementation of the 1979 law is still a far cry from nearing completion in all parts of the country. For a collection of case studies concerning local administration see P. Quarles van Ufford, *Local Leadership and Programme Implementation in Indonesia* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1987).

¹²The KUPT is responsible for the administration of transmigration settlements until their official integration as a village into the regional administration, which is supposed to take place five years after their establishment.

6. religious affairs; 7. PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, guidance for family welfare); 8. population and family planning; 9. youth activities, sports, and cultural activities; 10. welfare).¹³

A village cooperative (KUD, *Koperasi Unit Desa*) was established in 1984. In 1986 it had 150 members, the majority of whom were Kutai. The heads of households of each RT are organized in farmers' groups (*Kelompok Tani*) which are looked after by extension workers (PPL, *Petugas Penyuluhan Lapangan*) for agriculture and animal husbandry. PKK activities are organized in 12 groups with a total membership of 100 women.

Between 1983 and 1985, five cultural groups (Pop Music Group, *Ketoprak*, *Kuda Lumping*, *Robbana*, and *Soreng*), volleyball, badminton, and table tennis groups have been formed under the guidance of volunteers (*Tenaga Kerja Sukarela*, TKS) provided by the Ministry of Manpower. Rimbayu also has a youth group for social activities (*Karang Taruna*) and a Boy Scout group (*Pramuka*).

Muslim residents of each block have formed burial associations (*rukun kematian*); the small number of Christian families form a separate association.

Although we made no systematic attempt to evaluate the performance of all administrative and formal village institutions, it is perhaps not too bold a conclusion to state that there is a certain degree of discrepancy between the impressive multitude of institutions and their actual "output" in terms of efficient functioning along the officially prescribed lines.

The LKMD, designed as a means of promoting "bottom up" development activities, has hardly produced any visible results.

Officially, the main function of the KUD is the provision of agricultural inputs and basic consumption goods as well as the marketing of agricultural products. In practice, most consumption goods and agricultural products are channeled through a network of (mostly Javanese) private traders. According to our informants, there have already been three attempts at getting the KUD "off the ground." The poor performance of the KUD was ascribed to its former chairman's mismanagement. The new chairman, appointed in early 1986, a Kutai, is trying to expand the sale of consumer goods and purchase of agricultural products. The only rice mill in the settlement, privately owned by a Kutai, is formally operated under the KUD on a commission basis. In 1986, a corn mill was installed in the KUD warehouse.

The extension workers for agriculture and animal husbandry in all of the Rimbayu settlements are generally young and have only recently graduated from training schools. As some of them openly admitted, they almost completely lack practical experience. This obviously sets limits to their effectiveness, of which fact the farmers are apparently aware. As one of them put it: "these fellows have never before touched a mattock, so what are they supposed to teach us?"

According to informants, the only one of the cultural and sports groups still functioning in 1986 was the Pop Music Group. Government organized "culture" has largely failed.

¹³For a study on the function of the LKMD and its historical roots see N. G. Schulte Nordholt, "From LSD to LKMD: Participation at the Village Level," in *Local Leadership and Programme Implementation in Indonesia*, ed. P. Quarles van Ufford, pp. 47-63.

Socioeconomic Differentiation

Despite the fact that all transmigrants, as well as locals, received the same "basic equipment" upon the establishment of Rimbayu, in the form of houses, subsidies, and land (with the Kutai being given the privilege of selecting their plots), the settlements by no means resembled socioeconomically "leveled societies" even at the beginning.

The transmigrants were no homogeneous group in socioeconomic terms at the time of their arrival. In a recent study, 350 transmigrants from rural areas were interviewed about their motivation to transmigrate shortly before their departure to Kalimantan and other regions.¹⁴ Kebschull came to the conclusion that most of the people took part in the program because of deep poverty, hopelessness, and lack of economic alternatives in Java. They hoped for a better life for themselves and their children in the transmigration area. This motivation apparently also holds true for many of the transmigrants in Rimbayu.

Pak Tukijo and his family (wife and five children) came from the area of Magelang. They owned no land in their home village. Pak Tukijo used to work in a brickyard. Poniman, his oldest son, attended primary school for one year but had to stop for lack of money. He later worked in a car repair shop for several years. Poniman was left behind in Java when the family transmigrated, but joined them later. He has worked with a construction company from Samarinda for some time, building a bridge. He earned Rp 3000 per day but was not kept on when the bridge was finished. In mid-1986 he married the daughter of a neighbor, also originating from the Magelang area. The young couple still lives with Poniman's parents. Pak Tukijo's family have two more related families living in other parts of SP1. They have discussed the question of moving closer together, but could not agree about who should move. Having no experience with agriculture, Pak Tukijo's family find it very difficult to adjust to the situation in Rimbayu. Poniman would like to make use of his skills as a mechanic, but does not know where to look for employment.

Pak Tukiman, a 32 year old farmer, originally came from *Kabupaten* Kendal in Central Java with his family (wife, 28 years, children, ages 8, 5 years, and 3 months). In Java he was a landless agricultural laborer with a wage of Rp 300 for half a day. In Rimbayu he also often works for wages and receives Rp 750 for half a day. The family are mainly producing for their own consumption but do not harvest sufficient rice for the whole year. So they often have to eat corn ("*nasi jagung*") as they used to do in Java. The cassava they grow they sell at a negotiated price before the harvest (*borongan*). They feel better off in Rimbayu, because one day's work brings enough money to have food for two days, whereas in Java the daily wage was just enough for one day. The furniture in their standardized transmigration house is very plain, consisting of only two tables and two benches. The family are mainly reproducing their life style from Java with little chance for a better future.

In addition to the large group of transmigrants motivated by poverty, there are also families whose economic situation in Java had not been as bad. Some of them owned land which was, however, not enough to guarantee a sufficient income (and education) for all their children, so they decided to transmigrate. Others even were owners of bigger landholdings in Java, now cultivated by relatives or their own children, but they saw

¹⁴D. Kebschull, *Transmigration in Indonesia: An Empirical Analysis of Motivation, Expectations and Experiences* (Hamburg: Verlag Weltarchiv, 1986).

more chances for economic progress in Kalimantan because of land resources and the demand for labor. Most of these transmigrants had had contact with Kalimantan or had even visited the area before deciding to transmigrate.

Pak Sukri, aged about 40 years, was born near Magelang, Central Java. His grandfather and father had been *lurah* in his home village, and one of his older brothers succeeded his father. Pak Sukri came to Kalimantan first in 1973 to visit a relative in Tenggara. He began to think about joining the transmigration program after the eruption of Mount Merapi in 1975, when most of his land was destroyed. But he visited Kalimantan again before he definitely decided to transmigrate. He and his family (wife and four children aged 15, 13, 3, and 1) came to Rimbayu in 1983. Pak Sukri was the voyage leader (*kepala rombongan*) of the Magelang group. In Rimbayu he was first elected as *kepala RT*, later became *kepala RW* and finally won the election for the village headman. His wife is the treasurer of the PKK groups. The family own one hectare of *sawah* and attempt to grow vegetables which can be sold profitably. Meanwhile Pak Sukri has persuaded two younger brothers and a younger sister to come to Rimbayu. They have teacher certificates and are now working as teachers at the primary school in Rimbayu. He claims to have 30 relatives in Kalimantan, among them also his parents and parents-in-law who are living in another transmigration settlement near Samarinda. Some of his relatives are married to locals. He feels well integrated.

Pak Sutomo was already an experienced petty trader when he joined the transmigration scheme. Originally from a village near Magelang, he traded goats and cattle and soy bean cakes (*tempe*) produced by his family. Immediately upon arrival in East Kalimantan he invested his trading capital of Rp 200,000 in kitchen utensils, agricultural tools, and soy beans and yeast for *tempe* production. He augmented his capital further by selling part of the rice allotted to transmigrants during the first year. By now Pak Sutomo runs a far-flung trading enterprise. He owns a well-stocked *warung*, for which he has partitioned off part of his house, to which he moved from the one originally allotted to him on his arrival in Rimbayu in 1983. He buys agricultural produce from Rimbayu SP1 farmers which he normally takes to Lampiri. Occasionally he bypasses the Lampiri middlemen by taking his goods directly to Samarinda and brings back supplies for his *warung* from there. Needless to say, he now finds little time to work his 2 1/4 hectares of land in Rimbayu. For this he uses fellow transmigrants as wage laborers. The *warung* and the production of *tempe* are taken care of by his wife and his children. During the fasting month of 1986 Pak Sutomo returned to Magelang, taking along in cash Rp 1.4 million. He bought a cow in his village and left it with a fellow villager on a share basis (*gaduh*). He also bought and brought back to Rimbayu a plough, Javanese sickles, mattocks, and batik cloth to sell in his shop.

Prior to the establishment of Rimbayu, part of the land in the area had been used by Kutai from Kota Bangun and neighboring villages for shifting cultivation and growing rice in swamps, land rights being determined by *adat*. When the transmigration settlements were established, Kutai had the choice of joining the APPDT scheme or giving up their claims. In the area of Rimbayu SP1, which lies at a tributary to the Mahakam river, a number of Kutai owned field huts. Most of them joined the APPDT scheme. Those not joining received compensation for land or fruit trees to which they could lay claim. Other Kutai families from Kota Bangun and the neighboring villages, who had not used land in the Rimbayu area, also joined the scheme in order to ensure access to land or

because of economic difficulties caused by the long drought of 1982/83. The same happened in Rimbayu SP4 and SP5 which were installed near Kutai villages.

The range of variation among the local settlers is indicated by the following cases:

Pak Ahmad, about 60 years old, has 11 children, five of whom are already married. He still owns some land in Liang, his home village about 5 km down river. The family did not own land in the Rimbayu area before. In 1982/83 they faced economic difficulties because of the drought. Their main incentive to join the APPDT scheme was the prospect of receiving the government subsidies for one year. Pak Ahmad and some of his children seasonally live in Liang to grow rice and vegetables. During their absence his wife and other children stay in Rimbayu to take care of the small shop (*warung*) they have set up in the front room of their house, where they sell a few consumption goods and some vegetables and fruits produced in their field in Liang.

Pak Jamri is one of the few Kutai in Blok B. He and his wife lived in Kota Bangun before joining the APPDT scheme. They did not own land there, but cultivated about two hectares of *ladang* and a small plot of swamp *sawah* in the Rimbayu area, which they retained. They owned a field hut on the site where their present house was built. In 1985 they opened a small shop in their house, where they sell basic consumer goods.

Pak Amang, aged about 45, is originally from Kota Bangun. Although his father was a Banjarese, he identifies as a Kutai. None of his seven children live in Rimbayu. Three of them are married: one owns a shop in Kota Bangun; the second one is an elementary school teacher in the same town; the third works as a mechanic for a relative in Melak who owns a river boat. The younger children all attend school in Kota Bangun. Pak Amang does not do much agricultural labor himself, but employs wage laborers. After having served as the KUD treasurer for some time, he became its chairman in early 1986.

Pak Abdullah owns a house in Kota Bangun and a medium size river boat carrying passengers and goods from Samarinda up- and down-river. In Rimbayu he has converted the front yard of his house into an open-air video arena, where a film is shown every evening for an entrance fee of Rp 150.

Among the transmigrants, former landless wage laborers, with little more than their clothes and perhaps a transistor radio, arrived together with ones who possessed specific skills and experience and either brought or were able to raise within a short time the money needed to make use of existing opportunities for economic activities in addition to agriculture. Some relatively wealthy Kutai took the chance of getting a foothold in the new settlement to exploit potential additional sources of income; other less wealthy ones were attracted by the prospect of at least securing access to land and the government subsidies. Given such differences already existing in the initial phase after the establishment of Rimbayu, the foundation for relatively rapid processes of further socioeconomic differentiation was already laid.

Roughly three years later, this differentiation has already reached considerable dimensions. A number of transmigrant families occupy key positions in the village administration, or in the trading network which began to evolve immediately after the establishment of Rimbayu. They have a sound and diversified economic basis, kinship and economic connections outside Rimbayu, and strong backward linkages to Java. Some of them can afford to employ wage laborers to work their fields, have bought houses from transmigrants who left Rimbayu (and perhaps also land), and have been

back to Java and managed to bring relatives over from there. The wealthier Kutai families make use of the transmigrants' relatively cheap labor but continue to pursue their former activities in their place of origin (i.e., mainly Kota Bangun). At the other end of the scale are transmigrant families whose staple food is "*nasi jagung*," who sold even a part of their clothes after the government subsidies were terminated in early 1984, presently sell the rice and cassava they grow before the harvest (*borongan*), derive a substantial part of their income from wage labor on other transmigrants' or Kutais' land, and can only dream of a visit to Java sometime in the distant future. The less fortunate families among the APPDT settlers at least still have their houses in Rimbayu and the hope of eventually securing their land rights through the certificates they are supposed to receive in due course.

Groupings and Intergroup Relations

The formal integration of the various ethnic groups which constitute the community of the newly created village has been achieved with the establishment of a whole range of village institutions in which all groups are represented. This does, however, not mean that the social integration of the village community has been automatically accomplished through these formal measures. A certain degree of segregation into various groupings still plays a role in many spheres of village life.

The Kutai are by no means a compact homogeneous group. Many of them still own houses and land in their villages of origin. They continue to follow their traditional pattern of combining the cultivation of dry land crops and swamp rice in the Rimbayu area during one season, with growing rice and vegetables in their fields on the river bank and fishing during another, with either the entire household or some members living in their village of origin during the latter season. While many have close or distant relatives in Rimbayu, they remain integrated into their villages of origin through kinship ties and economic activities, and some of their children attend school in Kota Bangun. This means that, in fact, these Kutai households are at the same time members of two communities, viz., Rimbayu and their home village, with Rimbayu apparently assuming the role of an "outstation." This fact influences the ways and the degree to which they are willing to involve themselves in economic and social affairs in Rimbayu. This is indicated by the outcome of the election for the village headman. There were two local and three transmigrant candidates. The Kutai divided their votes between their candidates, so Pak Sukri won the election with 93 votes, which could easily have been outnumbered if all Kutai had voted for one of their candidates. The Kutai also made no attempt to gain control of the trade in agricultural products or consumer goods. None of the Kutai shop owners buys agricultural produce. On the other hand, the KUD is almost a pure Kutai enterprise. While presently its role in the village economy is still limited, it may become more important once credits are made available through it.

The Javanese transmigrants can also hardly be identified as a coherent group. They do, however, generally see themselves as underprivileged as opposed to the locals, and they feel mistreated and impeded in their agricultural activities. In the transmigrants' eyes, the Kutai were systematically privileged when they were allowed to select the best plots of land. Reportedly, there have been incidents where, after transmigrants had converted parts of apparently unused swamp land into *sawah*, locals claimed to have long-standing rights to this land and demanded that it be given back to them. The trans-

migrants felt they had no choice but to surrender.¹⁵ These problems are based on differing interpretations of *adat* land rights. These rights served as the basis for the policy of allowing the locals to choose their plots of land upon the establishment of Rimbayu. The transmigrants are willing to accept in principle the existence of such *adat* rights. They are, however, less convinced that the Kutais' claims were always justified.¹⁶

The transmigrants also remember with bitterness the situation in 1984, when most of their first crops had failed. When the transmigrants had no seeds and planting material, the locals sold them cassava seedlings and corn seed at outrageously high prices.

A permanent source of trouble for the transmigrants is the locals' adherence to their traditional pattern of agriculture. Due to the Kutais' seasonal shifting from Rimbayu to the river banks, their house gardens and fields in Rimbayu are not properly tended all year round. As a result, rats and other animals living in the untended house gardens and fields often damage crops in adjacent plots of the transmigrants.

The transmigrants interpret the locals' behavior as evidence of laziness. They feel that they would have far less trouble with crop damage if there were no Kutai in Rimbayu. There are cases where Javanese chose to vacate their allotted house in the predominantly Kutai area of Blok A and moved to house plots elsewhere. Such movements are permitted in principle for the first three years, especially when transmigrants have left and homes are vacant.

The Kutai in turn regard and sometimes treat the transmigrants as somehow inferior. They recall with some amusement that when they first came, the transmigrants immediately planted all kinds of crops they were used to planting in Java, not being aware that climatic conditions in Kalimantan are different. Only after these crops failed did the transmigrants slowly begin to realize that the locals knew better how to adjust agricultural activities to the seasons and show some willingness to learn from them.

If transmigrants help locals harvesting rice, they are given 1/10 of the harvest in uncleaned paddy. Kutai informants emphasized that when locals help each other it would be absolutely unacceptable to be given uncleaned paddy.

The transmigrants are regarded as not too trustworthy. For instance, they allegedly sometimes steal fish from the locals' sawah. The former Javanese KUD chairman was put forward by informants as another negative example (note, however, that the KUD treasurer at that time was a Kutai!).

Transmigrants from Central and East Java are looked down upon because they are easily content to eat cassava or corn instead of rice. In this respect, the Sundanese are seen to have more in common with the Kutai, as for both groups rice is a must.

While in some contexts the transmigrants see themselves as one group in opposition to the locals, in others they differentiate among themselves according to their area of

¹⁵These conflicts were settled within the village; none of the cases was taken to court. The fact that the KUPT in SP1 is a Kutai certainly contributed to the transmigrants' feeling that it would be wiser to surrender. Although the conflicts were settled without violence, bitter feelings on the part of the losers remain. As one of them put it, "secara lahir hubungan tetap baik, tapi secara batin. . . ."

¹⁶The question of convincing evidence of such *adat* rights caused problems during the preparations for the establishment of the Rimbayu settlements. The initial policy of paying compensation for land to Kutai who were not willing to join the APPDT scheme was abolished after some time, and compensation was paid only for fruit trees on land for which Kutai claimed *adat* rights.

origin. With their former kinship and neighborhood ties disrupted, origin from at least the same region becomes an important factor in developing new relationships.

Most of the transmigrants feel more comfortable in a neighborhood of people from the same area. As one respondent spontaneously put it, "in this RT all families but two are from West Java, thank God." Reportedly, a number of families managed to exchange their allotted houses and thus were able to move into a neighborhood they liked better. There also appears to be a preference for people from the same region in the formation of labor exchange groups. It is also interesting to note that the members of the elite group beginning to emerge among the transmigrants (members of the village administration and the Javanese traders) all originate from the Magelang area of Java.

The fact that villagers conceptualize "in-groups" and "out-groups" at varying levels and in different contexts (e.g. people from the Magelang area vs. other transmigrants, people from Central Java vs. those from West Java, all transmigrants vs. locals) is of course not at all surprising as a general phenomenon. On the contrary, such conceptualizations are virtually "programed" by the composition of the settlements.

What is relevant with respect to these groupings are, first, the actual events which lead to such images (as for instance in the case of land conflicts), and second, the consequences for future behavior. A preference for a specific group in a specific context does not necessarily preclude the establishment of relationships with others in other contexts.

Conclusions

Though it may be premature to draw any final conclusions on the basis of the data presented above, we would nevertheless put forward two ideas about the way in which transmigrant societies develop.

The first observation concerns the rapidity with which transmigrant social and economic patterns emerge and change. Though transmigrants are guided by government officials to such an extent that a transmigrant settlement appears to fall into the category of, as sociologists would call it, "total institution," new informal, unplanned, unforeseen activities take place instantaneously. Several transmigrants returned to Java immediately after arrival in Rimbayu; off-farm jobs were found despite the relative isolation of the Rimbayu settlement; and shops or trading enterprises were established by transmigrants who were supposed to do nothing else but cultivate their allotted land.

Another observation concerns the way social relations are structured. In general, there appears to be a carry-over of pre-transmigration patterns, in part counteracting the officially designed organization. Previous life-styles, occupations, and skills are at least partly continued in Rimbayu and give rise to an immediate social differentiation. Former landless agricultural laborers may continue wage labor despite the fact that they have meanwhile become landowners; producers of *tempe* or *kerupuk* apply their skills also in Kalimantan; and petty traders build up their enterprise, preferring to use wage labor to tend their fields. Those who have the necessary financial means in Java or in Rimbayu import partial kinship networks by persuading relatives to migrate to Kalimantan either privately (*swakarsa*) or under a government assisted scheme. Others find it more difficult to establish kinship networks and have to follow the more laborious way of contracting marriages with neighbors. How far this will lead to an integrated peasant society remains to be seen.