

SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF TUBANG KARUEI VILLAGE LIFE IN MIGRATION TRADITION AND AFTER DETERMINATION *A Cultural Anthropology Studies*

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ABSTRACT

The paper aimed to explore the transformation of community traditions in Tubang Karuei village from migrating to settling down. The Dayak Ot-Danum people of Central Kalimantan have a tradition of migrating from generation to generation, due to various factors. Currently, this tradition is no longer being practiced and they have settled in an area called the village. The process of settling the Dayak Ot-Danum community of Tumbang Karuei Village is a result of the company's efforts to secure its concession area. The results of this study indicate that this transformation has a correlation with the development policies and economic growth proclaimed by the New Order government. In order to carry out the program, the company must draw clear boundaries between the communal rights area and the concession area. Efforts to fix this area are not carried out by force and coercion but run through compromise, persuasion and good communication. The company, through its CSR program, also has a huge impact on the local community, which then results in economic diversification, health improvement, education, etc. This further reduces the negative points of the area of origin and the positive points of the destination so that migrating is no longer the right choice.

Keywords: Migration, Determination, Tumbang Karuei village, and Cultural anthropology

1. INTRODUCTION

Talking about migration is tantamount to talking about movement and displacement. Broadly speaking, migration is defined as the movement

of a person from one place to another (Manning, 2005: 6). However, the definition of migration does not always mean such a rigid meaning. Riwanto

(2013) states that migration has many definitions where everyone has the right to use them according to conditions in the field, even someone can form their own definition of migration. To provide a more specific and comprehensive picture of migration, Manning classifies migration into four categories, namely (1) home-community migration in the form of the movement of a person or individual from one place to another, (2) colonization where the individual departs from one place or another. one community group to build a new group that replaces the original group, (3) whole-community migration is the transfer of all members of society, and (4) cross-community migration, the movement of a person to join other community groups (Manning, 2005: 5-6).

In this paper the migration used is the migration of the Dayak Ot-Danum people, Central Kalimantan. In the context of the Dayak community in Central Kalimantan, migration is the movement of people from one place to another involving a community group or village (Semedi: 2012). The migration of the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan is included in the category of whole-community migration because it is communal (usually involving all members of the community), not individually. The concept of Migration for the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan is a movement from one settlement (village) to a new settlement, not a movement from village to village.

The migration activities of the Dayak people (Kalimantan in general) have been widely studied by researchers. The migration of the

Dayak people is related to the environment and caused by rich wars (King: 1976). This rich war was included in the security factor, where the threat only came from fellow Dayak tribes themselves. In further developments, security threats were not only from fellow tribes, but from the Dutch colonial government, especially in relation to the very high tax demands. Natural disasters, floods, and disease outbreaks are also factors driving the migration of the Dayak people. In addition, a crucial condition that drives the Dayak people to migrate is the condition of the land.

The case of settling in the highlands of Central Sulawesi was carried out through a long process and involved the role of the government through intervention. Here the people were forcibly resettled and this has been done since the era of VOC (Dutch colonial) rule. The aim is to improve the community by organizing them into orderly residents, improving the environment by protecting forests from use and abuse, increasing land productivity as a source of prosperity for livelihoods. The VOC's efforts were not completely successful with most of them returning to the mountains. During the New Order government, the policing system for the highlands of Central Sulawesi was again carried out through the Ministry of Social Affairs' "Resettlement of Isolated Communities" program (Li: 2012). Programs like this are still pushy, especially when they have obtained official permission from the state.

2. HISTORY OF THE MIGRATION SERIES OF THE DAYAK OT-DANUM COMMUNITY IN THE

VILLAGE OF TUMBANG KARUEI

Some of the migration histories of the Dayak Ot-Danum people are still contained in the village custom history books. However, this history does not contain complete information, especially about the time of migration. Another source that can be used is information from local traditional leaders and their ancestral artifacts. These remains are also called traditional objects, in the form of objects for religious ceremonial purposes such as stumbling, toras, and sapundu, or fruit tree plants. Customary heritage can tell a lot about the history of migration that was carried out from generation to generation.

Toras is a pole with a height of approximately 3 m, made of iron wood (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*), and there is a protrusion at the very top (photo 1). This object is used as a symbol of burial in the Dayak Hindu Kaharingan community before performing the tiwah ceremony. Sapundu is wood carved into a male or female statue complete with accessories such as clothes, cloth, earrings and necklaces

(photo 2). The statue is a symbol that accompanies the spirit of the dead in the grave. When a man dies, the statue (partner) is made by a woman, and vice versa. Meanwhile, Sandung is a small house / object (not always in the form of a house) which has space to store the bones of the remains of a body that has been burned.

According to local people's beliefs, these objects are remnants of their ancestral settlement activities. Graves or statues are deliberately placed in residential areas (can be planted in front, side or behind the house) for economic reasons. Building these objects requires a lot of money, at least one pig, rice and tuak. Usually they do not necessarily carry out the toras erection ceremony but have to save first. This is also one of the factors in their transfer of belief from Hindu Kaharingan to Catholicism / Christianity. The cost of worship in the Hindu Kaharingan tradition is considered too heavy (Semedi: 2012). From this the assumption arises that if an area in which there is a sapundu, toras, or stumbling block, then that area was once a residential location



Figure 1. Toras (Sumber : Dokumentasi Septriani) **Figure 2 :** sapundu (Sumber : Dokumentasi Septriani)



Figure 3. Sandung (Sumber Dokumentasi Septriani)

Apart from religious objects, trees are also a marker used by residents to remember their (former) territory. In this regard, Peluso stated: "traveling trajectory..they moved from their place..to a new settlement" (Peluso: 1996). Fruit plants that mark the former settlement include Durian. Durian (*Durio zibethinus*) is a type of fruit plant that is always found along with stumbles, sapundu, and toras. At some sites Durian trees are neatly lined up along the Katingan river. The neat and patterned condition of Durian tree plants like this shows an indication of the activity of planting Durian trees / making Durian tree gardens. For the Dayak community, the Durian tree is a tree of life in which the family tree of descent is stored so that each Durian tree has a name. This name is the name of their ancestors who previously lived in that location (Peluso, 1996).

After conducting a surface survey, it appears that these customary objects and tree plants appear at several points of the customary site. There are 4 points of customary sites which, based on the artifacts, are the former ancestral settlements of the Dayak Ot-Danum Tumbang Karuei community, namely the Pantar Pak Sareh site, the Hulu Kuburan Site, the Sebiha River Site, and the Old Village Site. These four

sites serve as a trajectory for the migration of the Dayak Ot-Danum people from generation to generation to their settlement in Tumbang Karuei Village. Local people have their own wisdom to calculate and determine the chronology of their movements. One of them is by measuring the diameter of the Durian tree to find out its age. Local people believe that this Durian tree grows along with the birth of a settlement.

Durian trees grow by 1.5 cm per year, so to determine the age of the Durian tree, it is done by dividing the diameter of the tree to its growth each year. The diameter of the Durian tree at the Pantar Pak Sareh site is 230 cm. After dividing by 1.5 cm, the result is 153. This means that the durian tree has been growing there since 153 years ago, which is around 1860 (counted back from 2013). At the Upstream Grave Site, the diameter of the durian tree is 165 cm, divided by 1.5 cm, the result is 110, the initial growth was around 1903. The diameter of one of the durian trees at the Tumbang Sebiha site is 90 cm, divided by 1.5 cm, the result is 60, so it is likely that growth around 1953. Meanwhile, the Kampung Lama Tumbang Karuei site was only occupied around the 1960s.

Apart from being based on local wisdom, there are also written sources from previous research reports and village history books. Unfortunately, this data does not provide the year that people moved from one location to another. In the report, only the year of the move from the Sebiha River to Kampung Lama was stated because of the disease outbreak, which was around 1969 (Semedi, 2012: 33-36). Both calculations based on local wisdom and data from scientific research reports from various parties show the same results regarding the

ng Sebiha to the Kampung Lama Tumbang Karuei site, about 250 meters. Meanwhile, there is no distance between Kampung Lama Tumbang Karuei and the village that is now occupied because some houses are now being built on the site. The location of each site is on the river bank. The river is the main route used by people to migrate.

year the community moved to Kampung Lama, namely the 1960s: 1969-1970.

The migration route for the village of Tumbang Karuei does not show a great distance (sketch 1). The distance between one site and another site is not more than 500 meters, except for Pak Sareh's Pantar Site. The distance from the Pantar Pak Sareh site to the Hulu cemetery site is about 3.6 km. The distance between the Hulu Kuburan site and the Tumbang Sebiha site is about 80 meters. From Tumba

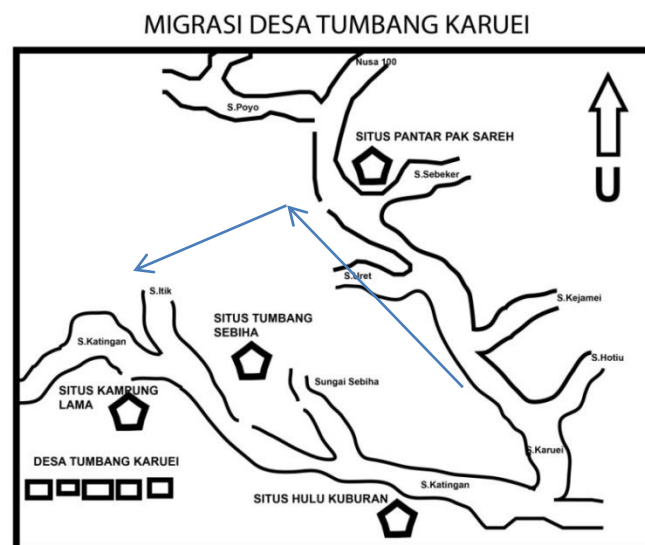


Figure 4. Jalur migrasi Desa Tumbang Karuei

Migration from one site to another occurs because of the need for arable land for cultivation. The cycle of displacement with the aim of accessing fertile land is 20-30 years or 40-50 years. In a crucial condition such as a disease outbreak, the transfer time is faster than usual. The Tumbang Sebiha site has only been inhabited for about

17 years because the community was stricken with a deadly disease outbreak. This disease is believed to have originated from the anger of the ancestors of the land they occupied. However, the tradition of burying corpses by the Dayak people (by burning them directly or leaving them for some time in stumbling) can result

in the emergence of various types of bacteria. At that time there was no system for preserving corpses so that corpses were left to rot and the bacteria generated from these corpses triggered disease outbreaks. Currently, some people still believe that at the Hulu Grave site, the disease can still infect people who come there. Another motivating factor for migration is security. The movement of the community from the Hulu Kuburan site to Tumbang Sebiha was due to a fight between community members that could not be resolved by local customary officials, so to avoid casualties they had to move to a new place.

3. MASYARAKAT DAYAK OT-DANUM SUDAH MENETAP DI DESA TUMBANG KARUEI

In an afternoon conversation, an elderly man in Tumbang Karuei Village stated:

"Kami tidak akan pindah dari desa ini, Tumbang Karuei adalah desa terakhir kami dimana kami akan menetap selamanya di sini"

"We will not move from this village, Tumbang Karuei is our last village where we will stay here forever" (interview Tumbang Krauei, 2013)

This brief conversation can serve as an illustration to see more about the current condition of the Dayak Ot-Danum community in Tumbang Karuei Village. Physically (buildings and infrastructure) Tumbang Karuei Village is not much different from other villages on the island of Java. The

completeness of the facilities and facilities is an indicator to see whether the community has started to settle down or is still temporarily in nature. For example, a permanent house will be occupied for a very long time, in contrast to the hut houses made of bark or tents such as the Mongolian shepherd society which always migrates from time to time.

Currently, mobilization is still being carried out, but on an individual basis, while the definition of migration used here is the movement of people from one village as a whole. This mobilization, for example, is commuting from fields to villages, hunting in the forest outside the village, fishing in rivers that are far from the village, continuing school to sub-districts, etc. Such mobilizations cannot be called migration in the context of this paper.

4. THE ARRIVAL OF THE HPH COMPANY PT. SBK AND THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS IN TUMBANG KARUEI VILLAGE

The description of the history of migration above can show how this activity has been a tradition among the Dayak community in general, the Ot-Danum Dayak tribe in particular. Now migration activities have become a traditional story of the past because they are no longer practiced. To be able to further explain why and how they could stop migrating and then settle in a permanent settlement called a village, we have to look at the context of events at that time. When the community lived in the former settlement site of the old village (circa 1960-70s) they joined a logging company holding a concession.

The birth of the HPH company is inseparable from state policy. Some sources say that the policy is related to efforts to control the state over forests and natural resources (see Siscawati: 2014 and Li: 2012). This policy has been carried out since the colonial period and continued into the post-colonial period, reaching its peak during the New Order government regime. This policy was born as part of the development and economic growth efforts launched by the government.

By law, this policy has been stated in the statutory regulations. One of them is Law No. 5 of 1967 concerning Basic Provisions of Forestry. Then to implement the provisions regarding forest exploitation which underlie the policy of granting forest resource concessions issued PP No. 21 of 1970, PP. 18 of 1975 concerning Forest Concession Rights (HPH) and Forest Product Harvesting Rights (HPHH). After the issuance of this government regulation, forest processing (products) activities by domestic and foreign investors began to arrive (Nurjaya, 2005: 45-47).

One of the domestic investors on a national scale is a HPH company called PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma (SBK). The company started operations in 1978. The state concession license was obtained through Forestry Agreement (FA) No. FA / N / 016 / III / 1978, dated 29 March 1978 and Decree of the Minister of Agriculture No. 599 / Kpts / Um / 11/1978, dated 18 November 1978. The concession area covers Seruyan District with an area of 48,000 ha and Katingan District with an area of 99,600 ha. The duration of this forest exploitation is only 20 years. However, PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma received a

concession extension based on a decree. Minister of Forestry No. 201 / Kpts-II / 1998 dated 27 February 1998.

This shows that the implementation of a development program and economic growth with a trickle down effect requires a space which is often called a 'region'. PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma cannot operate without a concession area. The state through its regulation has given a concession area to PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma with a very large amount. State assumption in granting concession rights to PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma is because Kalimantan is a frontier area, an empty area, which can then become the basis for natural resource extraction (Tsing: 1998). It seems that the state turns a blind eye if in an area / land that is considered empty even though there are still creatures that inhabit it, whether humans or animals and plants. Moreover, Kalimantan is one of the islands inhabited by Dayak people with a pattern of living in inland forests, such as the Dayak Ot-Danum people who live in the upstream and upstream rivers.

The vast number of concession areas cannot help but intersect with the Dayak Ot-Danum people who live in the fields. In this case the state has territorialized the area through PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma. The presence of the company has an impact on the division of forest areas between the Dayak Ot-Danum community and PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma. Forests that fall under the territory of the Dayak Ot-Danum community are commonly known as ulayat forest rights, while forests belonging to PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma is a concession forest.

Territorialization is a process to exclude or incorporate people into certain geographic boundaries and is related to controlling what they can and cannot do and their access to natural resources within those territorial boundaries (Peluso and Vandergeest: 1995). The stages in territorialization include:

1. Claiming land which he said does not belong to anyone to belong to the state (usually politically through law),
2. Define boundaries via map, and
3. Launch programs that divide the use of an area including HPH concession areas.

The state's interests in territorial territorialization have economic interests, including strengthening population claims, taxes, and potential natural resources. Furthermore, increasing the efficiency of tax collection that is used for state needs. This can be seen from the amount of tax paid by PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma every year. For example, in 2004, PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma has paid the tax arrears of Rp. 37.47 billion of the total Rp. 38.80 billion. Currently, there are even rumors that the Katingan regency government is mostly supplied with funds from PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma.

Apart from economic interests, territoriality has produced a force to restrict access, including determining boundaries. Territorialization in terms of forest control is the way in which state power over forest areas applies within politically determined forest boundaries. Just like the concept of territoriality in general, state power over certain forest areas applies to control the people who use the

resources in the forest (Peluso and Vandergeest: 1995).

5. THE DAYAK OT-DANUM BETAH COMMUNITY LIVE IN TUMBANG KARUEI VILLAGE

"Sementara sebagian besar kelompok yang patuh dipindahkan juga tidak mampu bertahan lama. ketika terbukti proyek pemerintah kolonial tersebut tidak layak dari segi kesehatan dan penghidupan, para pejabat tidak punya pilihan lain kecuali membiarkan para petani kembali ke pegunungan"

"Meanwhile, most of the groups that complied with being moved were also unable to last long. when it was proven that the colonial government project was not feasible in terms of health and livelihoods, the officials had no other choice but to let the farmers return to the mountains "(Li: 2012).

The above quotation shows that after people "obey" to be established in one area, further steps are still needed so that they do not return to their place of origin. This is what territorial actors often forget. They still have an obligation to create a place and conditions, which are feasible from any perspective (health, trust, economy, education). In the case of Tumbang Karuei village, this "Homework" was done through a CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) program in the PMDH division.

Territorialization began in the XIX century with the making of the first laws during the Dutch administration that separated the boundary between forest and agricultural land. During the New Order era, this policy was combined with the concept of industrial-scale forestry. The concept of CSR was born starting from the history of the emergence of an industry that only focused on profit. At this time, the industry (the business world) thinks that contributions to the community, especially the community around the operating / concession area, are sufficient in the form of providing labor, meeting needs through company products, and paying taxes to the state. The responsibility of corporations / companies to society has been submitted to the government in the form of income tax payments (Wibisono in Alfitri, 2011: 79). However, with the development of the industrial world and the exploitation of resources that are rife lately, every corporate (company) is required to have a social responsibility. Furthermore, CSR began to focus its programs on improving the welfare of the community around the concession area, especially in alleviating poverty and underdevelopment which was strengthened by inducing the improvement of the economic sector of the surrounding community (Alfitri, 2011: 80).

In their current development, these programs have a huge impact on the lives of the Dayak Ot-Danum community of Tumbang Karuei village. One thing that is striking is the emergence of diversification of livelihoods, where their economic resources do not only focus on farming

and hunting activities (table 2). The source of income / income for the community is not only from field rice but also cash from entrepreneurial activities. This means that, although farming activities are not as intense as before, people still survive because they have economic income in other sectors. People also do not become dependent on fertile land, so they don't have to

6. CONCLUSION

The aforementioned description can answer some of the main questions that have been formulated. The phenomenon of resettlement of traditional communities has occurred since the colonial era with the aim of development. The Ot-Danum Dayak community in Tumbang Karuei Village is an example. Those who are known as the migrating society have now settled and left this tradition. Unlike other traditional communities (such as highland communities in Central Sulawesi), they are not directly subject to the 'resettlement of isolated communities' program. Their settlement in one village coincided with the arrival of PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma. Therefore, the answer to the question why they do not migrate is tried to be explained by using the concept of territorialization by state actors and companies. Whereas the resettlement was deliberately carried out to fix the real boundaries between the local community's rights area and the state's rights which became the concession area of PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma. Its purpose is to control access to resources in it. The stopping of this migration activity is not only up to the territorial process, but there are other

efforts that need to be done by PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma so that they don't migrate again. These efforts include the CSR program by improving the welfare of the assisted community. These processes are carried out peacefully, through approaches, negotiations and compromises. Almost no cases of violence occurred between local communities and PT. Sari Bumi Kusuma.

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