

Transmigration and Agrarian Conflict: Agrarian Resources Conflict at Arongo, Southeast Celebes, Indonesia

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Abstract: Transmigration has negative impacts, namely, the resistance of the indigenous people against transmigrants and environmental damage. This study analyzes the resistance of indigenous people to defend their agricultural resources of transmigration project. Results show that the transmigration projects have failed because of the social tensions between the indigenous people and transmigrants related to agricultural resources. At the same time, emerging oil palm plantation companies occupied agricultural resources that become the dispute's object. Each party (group), either indigenous people, transmigrants, or oil plantation company claims that agrarian resource becomes the object of their properties.

Key words: Transmigration, agrarian conflict, agrarian resources, southeast Celebes, Indonesia.

1. Introduction

The last 10 years, the regulation policy in migration and transmigration in Indonesia has changed. In Suharto's regime, migration policy and transmigration emphasize supply-side oriented by moving people from densely populated areas (Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok) to areas that are still less populated (Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Irian). Post-Soeharto's regime (starting at President Abdurahman Wahid, Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo) has been a fundamental change of migration policy and transmigration in Indonesia, previously centralized orientation to a

decentralized supply-side to demand-side orientation. New government policy changes positively affect local government's involvement in regulating and determining the migration and transmigration policies during the era of Soeharto's regime controlled by the central government [1-3].

At the time of Soeharto's regime, especially the period between 1979 and 1984 is considered the pinnacle of the resettlement program's implementation when 535,474 families enter the transmigration program's scope. More than a quarter-century of economic development under the New Order (Soeharto's regime), the transmigration program has succeeded in removing about 1,662,000 million households or covers approximately 8,000,000 inhabitants of the island of Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok

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considerably heading to the island of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Papua [3]. In Suharto's era, transmigration organizing paradigm was oriented mainly to the deployment and equitable distribution of the population (demography-centric) by Transmigration Act No. 3 of 1972, giving rise to criticism from various groups and activists that the transmigration program is identical to the Javanization, Maduranization, Balinization, and Lomboknization. Despite the criticism that the central government denied, the transmigration program has the goal of improving standards of living, regional development, population distribution, utilization of natural resources and labor, national integration, and strengthening national defense and security. Nonetheless, the current administration's transmigration continues to criticism regarding the issue of Javanization, marginalization of indigenous people, and the impact of social conflict and environmental damage.

In 2009, the central government and the Parliament approved Transmigration Act No. 29 of 2009 on transmigration. The new regulations' presence in response to demands that the transmigration program must be protected from Javanization issues, marginalization of indigenous people, social conflict, and environmental damage due to the new regulation emphasizes improving public welfare through the empowerment of indigenous peoples. This regulation also showed a change in the orientation of demography-oriented to development-oriented. This is reflected in Article 32 Paragraph (1) of the Transmigration Act No. 29 of 2009, which states that the development community and the transmigration areas are geared to achieve prosperity, independence, integration of migrants with indigenous people, and the preservation of the environment in a sustainable manner. Although in Indonesia politically occurred paradigm shift transmigration, the fact that to date, particularly in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, is still arising several transmigration problems, the agrarian

conflict involving the various stakeholders Arongo.

The transmigration program implemented by the Indonesian government has led to a dilemma, namely, on the one hand, aims at improving the living standards of farmers in Java, Bali, and Lombok, national integration and unity of the nation, but on the other hand, had a negative impact, namely environmental degradation, social conflict and agrarian conflict between transmigrants and indigenous people. The emergence of social conflicts, agrarian conflicts, and negative impacts on environmental damage in transmigration in Indonesia can be found from various studies conducted by experts [4].

The transmigration program in Indonesia is an excellent example of the politics of migration in developing countries. Transmigration embraces various aspects of development created by the state to achieve various targets, not only demographic and economic goals but also political. The fact is that increasing tensions between the migrant and local populations were mainly due to unequal economic opportunities that put the local population at a disadvantage and marginal. The migration to eastern Indonesia is manifested in the gap in human resource development between the migrant and the local communities. Open conflicts occurred in several places where migrants and the local population have been segregated socially and economically. The first such conflict occurred in December 1996 in Sanggau-Ledo District, West Kalimantan Province, between the Madurese settlers and the local Dayak [1]. Many observers have argued that the economic inequality between migrants and local people is the underlying factor of these ethnic group conflicts [1].

For the Indonesian government, transmigration program is intended to the distribution of the population (demographic oriented), national integration, acceleration of regional development, and improvement of living standards of transmigrant and indigenous people (through regulation of law, Transmigration Act No. 3

of 1972, No. 15 of 1997, No. 29 of 2009). The research findings in central Sulawesi show that the transmigration program can integrate the social and economic aspects between transmigrant and indigenous people. However, from agricultural resources, both community groups compete for resources agrarian at transmigration area [5]. In the West, Papua also shows that the transmigration induces resistance to indigenous people for lebensraum, and agricultural resources, which have been the primary source of indigenous people's life, began to decrease. The environment begins to break down as a result of clearing land for transmigration settlements and corporation. For indigenous people of West Papua, the struggle for lebensraum and agricultural resources to the transmigration program is the best way to preserve life and their lives, despite having to deal with the state through military force [6, 7].

The transmigration and industrial timber plantations in Indonesia create inter-ethnic conflict and the degradation of natural resources as a result of massive land clearing transmigration areas. Although the transmigration program can reduce the population and poverty of rural farmers in Java, Bali, and Lombok, the transmigration program cannot provide safety assurance for transmigrants because of conflict between indigenous people transmigrants. Although the World Bank continues to assist with Indonesia's transmigration program, on the other hand, the transmigration program has been criticized internationally for failing to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts and environmental damage, hurting the indigenous people [8]. Beside that the transmigration program has led to violence in the transmigration site in West Papua, Aceh, and some areas in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Violence between transmigrants ethnic and indigenous people creates fear and anxiety to transmigrants in that transmigration area [7]. The transmigration program organized in Riau province has a goal of Indonesianizing (national integration). However, it is a cause of conflict between indigenous

people and transmigrants, especially the conflict to compete for agricultural resources in transmigration areas [9].

In central Sulawesi, indigenous people's participation is to be part of the local transmigration and transmigrants of Java, Bali, and Lombok in Napu Valley, Central Sulawesi can create the integration between the two groups. However, on the other hand, the integration process is not running well as the cases of land disputes between indigenous people and transmigrants. Land disputes in Siliwanga and Mekarsari indicate that the seizure of agricultural resources in resettlement is unavoidable, thus inhibiting the integration process. Two perceptions of the ground settings cause the emergence of these cases. On the one side, the land is allocated for transmigration sites in Napu Valley, Central Sulawesi public land (state's land) by the Indonesian government. On the other hand, the land is customary land by the indigenous people. Although 20% of the indigenous people have opted to be part of a local transmigrant together with 80% transmigrants from Java, Bali, and Lombok, the claims against indigenous people's customary land ownership in the area of resettlement continue to occur, both in Siliwanga and Mekarsari [5].

Agrarian conflicts in the resettlement areas in various regions in Indonesia are not just a fight over agricultural resources between indigenous people and transmigrant but also involve other actors in the agrarian conflicts, such as the company (corporation) plantations, mines, and other corporations. During the past several decades, members of Borneo's indigenous population commonly referred to as Dayakpeople, have repeatedly struggled to maintain their customary adat rights¹, in an ongoing contest with companies, national elites, and state policy [10].

Besides that the indigenous people retain the rights to agricultural resources to deal with the government's interests. For indigenous people, the ownership of

¹ Adat right in Indonesia, see Michaela Haug (2018) and Michael R. Dove (1988).

agricultural resources is customary, giving rise to a claim for agricultural resources between governments and indigenous people [11]. Other research also shows that the indigenous people's ownership rights on the agricultural resources following their customary laws are often beaten and neglected by the government [12].

2. Materials and Methods

The research was done at Unit Pemukiman Transmigrasi (UPT, Resettlement Unit for Transmigrantion) Arongo and the villages around it at Landonu and West Ranomeeto District, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia (Fig. 1). The research was done from October 2016 to March 2017. This research used a qualitative approach. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, nonparticipation observation, and documentation. In-depth interviews were done to the key informants; local government, village government, indigenous people, and transmigrant of the Arongo. In-depth interviews were also conducted to some forum activists for environment (WALHI²), Southeast Sulawesi, Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA³), Southeast Sulawesi, and Southeast Sulawesi and PUSPA⁴ human rights and other non-governmental organizations' (NGOs') activists in Kendari. There are three steps analyzing the data, consisting of data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification [13].

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Ambitious and Unrealistic Transmigration Project

The problems that occur are associated with central and regional governments' failure in planning the resettlement project. The paradigm change of transmigration implementation of supply-side oriented in the New Order era into demand-side oriented in the

reign of the reformation era does not reduce transmigration. Lousy management in managing projects of transmigration emergence of many problems, ranging from the coordination and communication between the sending area homesteader to the goal area, coordination between central and local governments in planning the project, determining the location of the project transmigration of place and less attention to spatial aspects, processes local transmigrant selection occurs less transparent and manipulation of data to the lack of seriousness in nurturing transmigration officer. The central and local governments' orientation is simply chasing the target, regardless of the capacity and spatial tendency to commercialization project indicating that the implementation of the UPT Arongo transmigration program is problematic. Conditions of hilly land with cliffs in UPT Arongo add new problems because the condition of land is not suitable with the settlement area of transmigration. Various UPT Arongo shows those transmigration projects are unrealistic and ambitious as a mega impressed project.

The preference and selection of transmigration sites without regard to the legality of land and customary law at Arongo village and Laikandonga add new issues and the impact of social conflict and agrarian conflicts. Moreover, the transmigration site's appointment is not made through mapping, accurate and precise measurement so that potentially add the problems of the overlapping with the customary lands. The preference and selection of UPT Arongo transmigration of 1,500 ha in the Arongo village, District Landonu, is correct. According to customary law, land in Arango and surrounding is under *homa* and *anahoma* (shifting cultivation) and the swamp area where sago trees grow (*o'epe*). Control and ownership of adat rights, such as *homa*, *anahoma*, and *o'epe*⁵ are directly under the control of communal and based on the family grove, according to customary

² WALHI, KPA, PUSPA kind of NGO activist at Southeast Sulawesi.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Adat right is traditional land or traditional culture that is part of adat law (customary law) in Tolakiness at Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.

law called *hanunowonuahunoo'* *kambo*, or of the village). *hanunotoonodadio* (owned together indigenous people

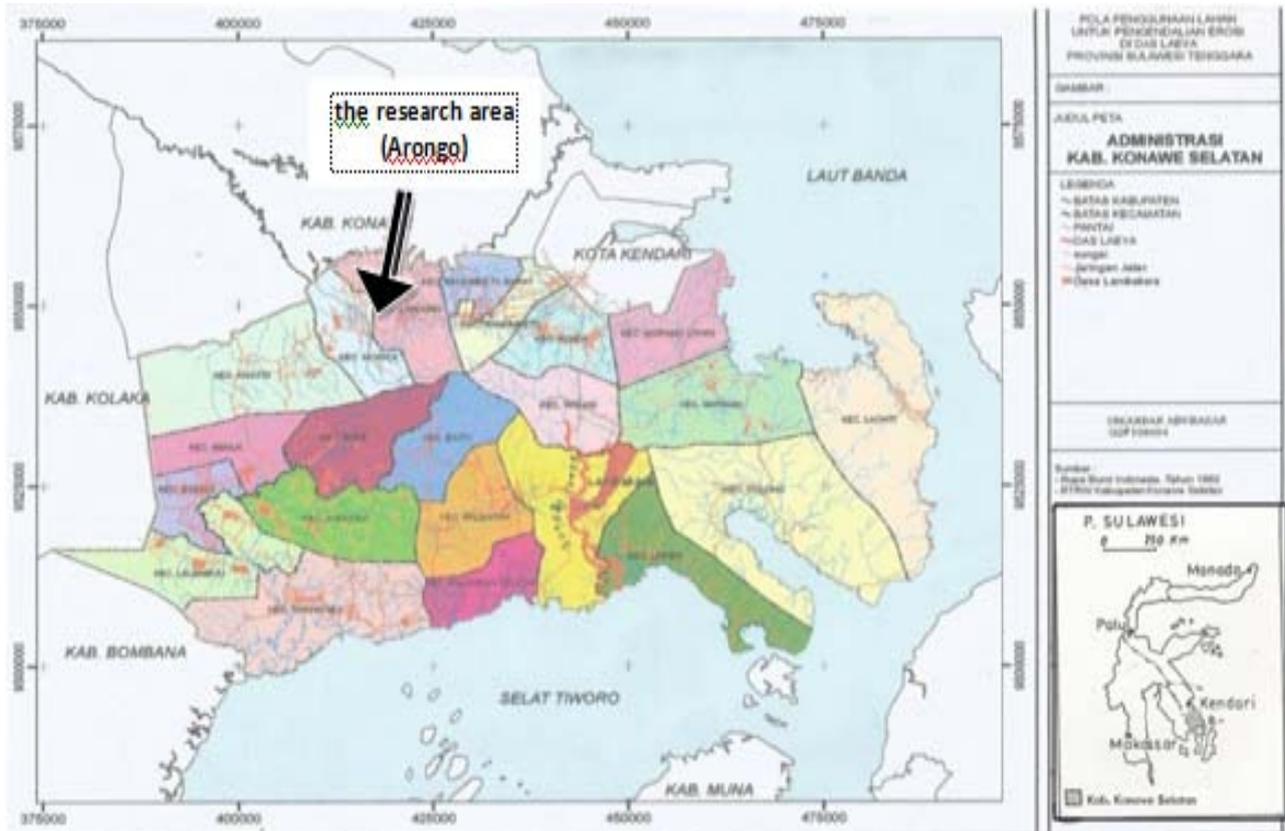


Fig. 1 Map of the research area.

Thus, UPT Arongo transmigration sites on land status still overlap with the adat right of Tolakiness ethnic. The condition affects the mutual claims of land and social conflicts between indigenous people and transmigrant at UPT Arongo.

Field data show that new problem at UPT Arongo because transmigration area of 1,500 ha corresponds to South Konawe Regent Decree No. 39 of 2008 of 1,500 ha overlap with oil palm plantations of PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group. The overlapping fields at UPT Arongo with oil palm plantations, PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group, led to mutual claims between transmigrants land and PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group. The condition happens because about 1,500 ha of land in UPT transmigration Arongo was controlled and occupied by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group. In the central agrarian conflict between transmigrant and PT Merbaujaya Indahraya

Group, while it lasted, indigenous people from the village and surrounding Laikandonga also claimed the land area of 1,500 ha in UPT Arongo, which became the object of a dispute between transmigrant and PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group. The issue became very complex and complicated due to the land of 1,500 ha in UPT Arongo. Land administration is located in the Arongo village area, District Landono based Regent Decree No. 39 of 2008, but became part of the village area of Laikandonga, District west Ranomeeto⁶.

The emergency of various problems at UPT Arongo shows that the central and regional governments have not adequately managed the resettlement program at UPT Arongo. Transmigration program at UPT Arongo is imposed; it can be seen through the aspect of planning that has not been running well and right, from the physical planning and socio-cultural aspect.

⁶ Field notes, UPT Arongo, December 2016.

In addition to planning, the other aspect has not run well and is truly visible from aspects of the implementation process in shambles in all areas, ranging from the recruitment and mobilization of transmigrant, placement in the housing transmigration coaching for living at UPT Arongo.

Inadequate management of UPT transmigration at Arongo proves that the central and regional governments have failed to manage and organize transmigration. Agrarian conflicts in transmigration sites at UPT Arongo involve many stakeholders, such as transmigrants, indigenous people, and PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group, proving that the transmigration program is a government program that is ambitious and unrealistic. Displace homesteaders partially in UPT Arongo because they lose their land appropriate for indigenous people, and PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group becomes one of the proofs of this failure. In addition to bad management, economically, PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group has created commercialization UPT transmigration because this project can bring substantial financial flows from the center to the regions, because UPT transmigration at Arongois has not qualified yet, such as livable, well worth the effort, and worth developing.

3.2 The Failure of Compensation through Local Transmigrant Scheme

The transmigration project of UPT Arongo constructed by the central and local government has not successfully integrated transmigration development and indigenous people's welfare at Arongo village and its vicinity. The compensation of indigenous people becomes a part of local transmigration because the loss of cultivation land and the plantation of *homa*, *anahoma*, and *o'epe* have not successfully raised the indigenous people's welfare. The emergence of policy about local transmigrants from the indigenous people at UPT Arongo is the government's policy aimed at integrating transmigration development and indigenous people

welfare improvement. The placement of 50% local transmigrants and 50% Java and Bali transmigrants does not change the indigenous people at UPT Arongo. By including the local transmigration scheme at UPT, Arongo expected to integrate the two groups of transmigrants in society, economy, and culture. Besides the occurrence of the integration of society, economy, and culture, the policy on inclusion of local transmigration scheme as much as 50% is expected to avoid social jealousy of indigenous people on transmigrants from Java and Bali. Compensation through the scheme by placing local transmigrants UPT Arongo raises problems precisely because of the recruitment and selection of local transmigrants, which are not targeted and transparent. Local transmigration at UPT Arongo should have come from villages in which the territory is at UPT Arongo transmigration area. However, the local transmigrants partially came from other villages that are not entitled to receive such compensation. The mistaken management of the selection process and recruitment of local transmigrants even cause a more complex problem because security officers and government officials and some areas become part of local transmigrants UPT Arongo. Data manipulation in the selection process and recruitment of UPT Arongo proves that local transmigrants' compensation scheme at UPT Arongo has not been on target and non-transparent⁷.

Besides, some local transmigrants forced themselves to get a grip of housing without going through the selection process and drawing to occupy the existing housing at UPT Arongo. They do it because the housing settlement's previous location is their former farming land areas that have been processed and controlled before the inclusion of the transmigration project of UPT Arongo. The case of overlapping local transmigrants placement at UPT Arongo is increasingly complex and complicated, as

⁷ Field notes, UPT Arongo, January 2017.

indicated by protests and claims of indigenous people who do not receive compensation through the local transmigration scheme. Moreover, the transmigrants who came from Java and Bali are not getting housing and land when they came first at UPT Arongo. This case occurred because the housing quota allocated at Java and Bali transmigrants has been controlled and occupied earlier by local transmigrants before Java and Bali transmigrants come.

The chaotic selection process and recruitment of local transmigrants show that government officials responsible for the selection process and recruitment of local transmigrants cannot work correctly and professionally. The emergence of many cases of overlapping placement of local transmigrants and Java and Bali transmigrants proved that local transmigrants' selection and recruitment processes do not follow the correct procedure and are not transparent because of collusion and nepotism. The involvement of security officials and government officials become part of local transmigration constitute a fatal mistake and has social implications because the indigenous people are entitled to receive such compensation eliminated.

The failure of local transmigrants' compensation scheme in UPT Arongo can also be seen from the number of settlements and housing formerly occupied by local transmigrants, which are now abandoned and neglected. Not only settlements and housing abandoned and neglected land, nor did they attempt to be processed and utilized by local transmigrants. The abandonment of settlements and residential and agricultural land by local transmigration occurred after one-year placements for life guarantee they get over. The assortment of reasons that cause local transmigrants to resettle in their original villages, such as the condition of uninhabitable housing, transport infrastructure is destroyed, life assurance is over, and others. Even most local transmigrants housings have been sold by the owner to the people of Kendari⁸.

3.3 Actors Who Struggle to Fight the Agrarian Resources

Since Arongo village is selected as a location intended for transmigration project, agricultural resources at Arongo village become a magnet and an attraction for many people because economically, the agricultural resource potential has a very high economic value. This is evidenced by the inclusion of the oil palm plantations company of PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group to carry out the land clearing at UPT Arongo, then to plant with oil palm. In addition to the company, indigenous people and transmigrants are other actors involved in the struggle for agricultural resources at UPT Arongo. The competition and struggle for agrarian resources prove that agricultural resources are a valuable commodity and strategic value, especially from the economic aspect.

Economically potential agrarian resources are especially wood jungle and cultivation areas, such as *homa*, *anahoma*, and *o'epe*. For indigenous people, especially those not categorized as local transmigrants, agricultural resources are the primary source of daily life, such as sago trees processed into local groceries (*sinonggi*). Meanwhile, for transmigrants, agricultural land obtained from the government and agricultural resources is necessary to improve the farm's welfare as a significant source of their income, such as land utilization to cultivate plantation crops, horticulture, and in part for freshwater aquaculture. For transmigrants from Java and Bali, where land obtained from the government is economic assets only as the primary source of their life, in addition to some of the transmigrants of Java and Bali have a side business, such as opening a grocery shop, raising chickens, goats, and cows, and others. Meanwhile, PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group claims the land which located in UPT Arongo as a part of its oil palm development area. Competition of taking over and controlling agricultural resources and mutual claims between the stakeholders in UPT

⁸ Interview with the informant at the UPT Arongo, January 2016.

Arongo and surrounding areas indicates that the problem and agrarian conflict in this area are very complex. The complexity of the problem and the agrarian conflict is sourced and rooted in the initial project planning transmigration after the regional government set in 1,500 ha of land in the village Arongo for transmigration projects. At the same time, PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group, which is a private company engaged in the oil palm business, is also expanding by way of buying and selling land fields and plantations of indigenous people, and most of the land is located in the area of project transmigration UPT Arongo. The problems and agrarian conflict in UPT Arongo and surrounding areas are increasingly complicated and complex when the local government shares 1,500 ha of land to transmigrants, both local and Java and Bali transmigrants. Moreover, the facts show that 1,500 ha is partly still the cultivated lands (*homa* and *anahoma*) and the swamp area where sago trees (*o'epe*) are still controlled by indigenous people of Arongo and Laikandonga villages. Thus, the actors involved in agrarian conflicts in UPT Arongo are increased, namely indigenous people of Arongo and Laikandonga villages, local transmigrants, Java and Bali transmigrants, and PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group. Of all the stakeholders involved in the struggle for agricultural resources, the most aggressive actors involved in agrarian conflicts are represented by the Java transmigrants led by Ujang Uskadiyana vis a vis (against) oil palm plantation's PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group.

3.4 Transmigrants Resistance against Oil Palm Plantation Corporation

The struggle and the resistance of transmigrants led by Ujang Uskadiyana that deal with the expansion of PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group in getting the agricultural land at UPT Arongo prove that agrarian conflicts that occur in UPT Arongo take place on a massive scale. The transmigrants have not been given

land for agricultural use at UPT Arongo, although it has been entered in the sixth placement of transmigrants at UPT Arongo. Therefore, it becomes one of the main reasons transmigrants claim their right to the local government because the local government is obliged to give 1 ha of land as agricultural land for transmigrants. This condition causes the transmigrants UPT Arongo apprehensive about the protracted fate because they have not received land for agricultural use; LU 2, 0.75 ha yet. They were more apprehensive when PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group condemned and took over the areas. Oil palm plantation companies are evicting land on top of LU 1 belonging to transmigrants because the LU 1 became part and in oil palm plantation development, both from the concession and partly derived from the purchase and sale transactions with the indigenous people of Arongo and Laikandonga villages.

The struggle and the resistance of transmigrants led by Ujang Uskadiyana versus PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group, which is engaged in oil palm plantations, are increasingly tense and peaked at the time of the eviction of the above LU 1 belonging to transmigrants conducted by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group escorted by security officers from the local police sector. The involvement of security officers in the local sector police who guard the backing and the plantation company in displacing LU in Part 1 shows that the state and the government are unable to protect its citizens from the oppression of the oil palm plantation company. Currently, LU 1 by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group at UPT Arongo is suspended under the Regional Secretary of South Konawe No. 595/6087, dated June 11, 2015, and South Konawe Regent Letter No. 560/734, dated May 2016. Although LU 1's eviction by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group was suspended for a while, the transmigrants are still worried. For transmigrants who were not able to deal with the psychological pressure and the expansion of oil palm plantations company in evicting LU1, UPT Arongo chose to leave for Kendari

to find work in the informal sector and others back to Java. Although most transmigrants leave transmigration UPT Arongo, it does not affect and discourage the struggle and resistance of transmigrant led by Ujang Uskadiyana to face and fight over PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group to maintain LU 1 at UPT Arongo while continuing to fight over for the justice of their right to obtain agricultural land of 1 ha of government that has not been given to them. Whereas following the regulations in this case Transmigration of Act No. 29 of 2009, each household transmigrant received 2 ha of land; *lahan pekarangan* 0.25 ha (the house garden), *Lahan Usaha* 1 (land for agricultural use) 1 ha, and *Lahan Usaha* 2 (land for agricultural use) 0.75 ha⁹.

In the demand of justice to the local government and the resistance of transmigrants against PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group, the transmigrants led by Ujang Uskadiyana are advocated and accompanied by the Environmental Forum (WALHI), Southeast Sulawesi, the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) Southeast Sulawesi, and Puspa human rights. The local NGO's assistance to the transmigrant is attributed to demand justice following the regulations and maintaining agricultural land of eviction PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group massively. Even eviction transmigrant on land owned by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group escorted by security officers in the local sector police, in this case, was reported to the Regional Police (Polda) Southeast Sulawesi. However, the report was not responded by Southeast Sulawesi Regional Police parties because of insufficient evidence. Nonetheless, transmigrants led by Ujang Uskadiyana representing the transmigrants by advocating and accompanied by several local NGOs continue to struggle and fight for justice until now, although it has not succeeded.

3.5 Ignorance against State Agrarian Conflict

⁹ Interview with the informant at UPT Arongo, January 2017.

The agrarian conflict that has entered the sixth year since transmigrant placement at UPT Arongo settlement process is not finished. It has not produced the results to find a solution by using *the win-win solution*. UPT Arongo is in deadlock due to a tug of the stakeholders' different interests in the dispute. Although they agreed with the stakeholders to the dispute in one of the hotels in Kendari, it turns out in the field challenging to implement because the stakeholders who are in dispute feel most true and consider the other wrong parties.

For transmigrants, the conflict's settlement must be done so that the unrest experienced by the transmigrants at UPT Arongo ends soon. Uncertainty for obtaining LU 2 (land for agricultural use) on 1 ha of government as transmigrants' rights must find a solution by Local Governments to LU 2 on 1 ha to be given to the transmigrants. Also, the transmigrant demanded that PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group developed the oil palm business in the village and surrounding Arongo and stopped doing land clearing agricultural Land LU 1 at UPT Arongo so that transmigrants can make activities to manage and to utilize agricultural land.

Considering agricultural land that belongs to transmigrant has been occupied and controlled by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group, the local government is challenging to find a land replacement to be given to the transmigrants. While on the other hand, there is no rational reason for local government to dislodge and remove land concessions oil palm plantation that has been processed and controlled by PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group in UPT Arongo and surrounding areas because the company already has a concession issued by the government and in part obtained through buying and selling land cultivation file of the resident. According to one of the activists, he said that there is a great strength of the outer that supports and protects Jakarta's oil palm plantation company.

To avoid widespread agrarian conflict at UPT Arongo related to their demands, the local

government, through the Department of Local Transmigration, compensates calf (approximately three months) instead of agricultural land (LU 2) that has not been given to the transmigrants. The forced transmigrants partially accept compensation in the form of a calf replacement land. However, some transmigrants were rejected because of the compensation following the regulations that each household transmigrant acquires agricultural land, not a cow.

The transmigrants represented by Ujang Uskadiyana continue to demand justice and resolution of agrarian conflict to the state through agencies and parliament, government, both at central and local levels. At the local level, the complaint has been submitted to the head of local regent, the governor, and the local parliament of Southeast Sulawesi province. The transmigrants' complaints were submitted to the central government through the Ministry of Transmigration and the central Parliament in Jakarta at the central level. All the transmigrants' complaint has not been responded so that there is an impact on the increasingly complicated and complex agrarian conflict at Arongo. Many people are worried if agrarian conflicts will not be resolved soon by the state, the government can potentially cause social unrest and violence¹⁰.

Despite the failure, through mentoring and advocacy of NGO's local activists, such as the Forum for the Environment (WALHI), Southeast Sulawesi, the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) Southeast Sulawesi, and the other NGO's activists, Ujang Uskadiyana, revealed the fate of transmigrants stranded in UPT Arongo on the talk show "Mata Najwa" in Metro TV media on February 17, 2017, Ujang Uskadiyana hopes that through the news in the national media (Metro TV), the agrarian conflict that occurred at UPT Arongo will get a quick response by President Joko Widodo.

¹⁰ Interview with Ujang Uskadiyana one of activist transmigrant.

Protracted agrarian conflict resolution and ignorance of transmigrants' fate at UPT Arongo prove that the central and local governments have sensitivity and a commitment to resolve agrarian conflicts involving stakeholders. Public assumes that the government (local and central government) deliberately let the agrarian conflict ongoing. The transmigrants and the activists of local NGO suspect that the government deliberately let the conflict among indigenous people, transmigrants, and oil palm plantation company at Arongo village. At the local level, the completion of the agrarian conflict shows the attitude of ambivalence Local Government and Parliament, because, on the one hand, the local government of the local transmigration office prepared the land for transmigration area of 1,500 ha by Regent of South Konawe Decree No. 39 of 2008, but on the other hand, the local government does not give punishment to PT Merbaujaya Indahraya Group that has taken over and displaced partially agricultural land owned by the transmigrants. The attitude of ambivalence and doubts of the government in resolving agrarian conflicts at UPT Arongo involving stakeholders, such as indigenous people, transmigrants, local government, and the oil palm companies, prove that the government has not been able to act decisively, quickly, and precisely in resolving the agrarian conflict at Arongo¹¹. Therefore, Ujang Uskadiyana representing transmigrants asked the government President Joko Widodo immediately to intervene in resolving the agrarian conflict at UPT Arongo, Southeast Sulawesi, quickly, precisely, unequivocally, and comprehensively.

4. Conclusions

The transmigration project has caused serious problems that harm social life. The transmigration project has failed because it leads to social tensions between the indigenous people and transmigrants. The struggle for agricultural resources triggered social

¹¹ Field notes, UPT Arongo, February 2017.

tensions. To obtain agricultural resources, the indigenous people have intimidated and threatened violence to transmigrants to leave the transmigration settlement. Intimidation and threats of violence were also made by the oil palm plantation company, who assumed that the agrarian resource located at the transmigration area becomes a part of their concession (own). Despite the intimidation and threats of violence, some of the transmigrants fight to defend themselves. The high intensity of the social tensions has started to lead to anarchic action, but the efforts to solve the agrarian conflict always fail and have not succeeded yet. In solving the conflict, the government seems to behave ambivalent, silent, and tends to let the conflicts happen continuously, so it causes social unrest in the society.

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