

## JAVANESE DIASPORA AND ADAPTED ECOLOGY OF JAVA ETHNIC IN SIMALUNGUN NORTH SUMATRA

**Rokhani,**

Doctoral Student  
Rural Sociology, Postgraduate, Bogor  
Agricultural University.  
Lecturer,  
Study program of Agribusiness/Socio-  
Economy Major, Faculty of Agriculture,  
University of Jember, Indonesia

**Didin S Damanhuri,**

Lecturer,  
Economics Science,  
Faculty of Economic and Management,  
Bogor Agricultural University, Indonesia

**Titik Sumarti,**

Lecturer,  
Department of Communication and  
Community Development Science,  
Faculty of Human Ecology, Bogor  
Agricultural University, Indonesia

**Ekawati Sri Wahyuni,**

Lecturer,  
Department of Communication and  
Community Development Science,  
Faculty of Human Ecology, Bogor  
Agricultural University, Indonesia

### ABSTRACT

*Plantation outside Java requiring workers triggers worker's migration from Java to outside Java, any of them to Simalungun North Sumatra. This research intends to depict the process of ethnical diaspora of Java in Simalungun, dynamic of life, vertical mobility and process of adaptation to the different ethnics of Java with the origin. This research is the qualitative study with the method of collecting main data namely observation and history study for 6 households of arabica coffee farmers already spread out in Simalungun. The results of research indicate that spontaneous transmigration of Java ethnic becomes diaspora origin of Java in Simalungun. Meeting of Java and Batak culture causes pluralism or diversity of culture in which each ethnic maintains tradition as the realization of its culture personal identity. Java ethnic conducts various activities of livelihood (multiple livelihood) as the form of the different ecology adaptation in the region of origin. Culture of Java ethnic in Simalungun is established due to the local environmental effect (ecology), even though the environment is not the only one factors to form the culture. By the philosophy of "gemi nastiti ngati ati" meaning that the economic, accurate, careful attitude of Java ethnic reaches vertical mobility, one of them through the trading activity (to be the agent of arabica coffee).*

**Keywords:** adaptation, culture diversity, javanese diaspora, tradition, and vertical mobility.

## INTRODUCTION:

The cause behind the increased interest among migrant workers being employed in the tea plantation is due to less interest among the local community to work as labourer. Wage factor in the sector of the lower plantation is under consideration of the local community to pursue job opportunity outside the agriculture (Angelson and Kaimowitz, 1999; Ahluwalia, 1995). According to the village secretary of Sait Buttu Saribu, the tea plantation in Simalungun provide chances of work opportunities to migrants from Java (Central and East Java). The immigrants work as laborers with a contract system. After the contract expires, most of them keep settling in Simalungun until now. There is an influence between the plantation area and the mobility of community (O'Malley, 1988).

According to Putnam (2002), there are three elements of social capital namely network, trust and norm. Migrant of Java to outside Java by utilizing kinship network, the network is one of the elements of social capital. Social capital, intensively appeared in the 1900's along with the works of France Fukuyama, Christian Grootaert, Deepa Narayan and so on. Portes (1995) also expressed the importance of this network. "Social network are among the most important types of structures in which economic transactions are embedded....Networks are important in economic life because they are sources for acquisition of scarce means, such as capital and information, and because they simultaneously impose effective constraints on the unrestricted pursuit of personal gain." (Portes, 1995).

Javanese ethnic has diaspora in Simalungun utilizing the relationship kinship network. The philosophy of "gemi nastiti ngati ati" and success in the process of adaptation to the ecology causing Java ethnic to experience vertical mobility. The research questions are:

1. How is the process of the Javanese diaspora in Simalungun?
2. How is the dynamic of life and vertical mobility of Java ethnic in Simalungun?
3. How is the process of adaptation to the ecology made in by Java ethnics in Simalungun?

This research has 3 (three) purposes. First, to depict process being followed of Javanese diaspora in Simalungun. Second, to depict the dynamic of life and vertical mobility experienced by Javanese ethnics in Simalungun. Third, to know about the process of adaptation to the Javanese ethnics within the different environment from the origin (Central Java and East Java).

## LITERATURE REVIEW:

### Javanese Diaspora:

Study on Javanese diaspora is not a new thing. The classical works of Utomo K (1957) which can explain how the Javanese diaspora occurs. However, it is different from Elmhirst (2000) who discussed Javanese diaspora through gender approach and identity politic in the transmigration program of Java ethnic in North Lampung. Javanese diaspora occurred in Simalungun was divided into strategic framework for the ecology adaptation of Java ethnic in Simalungun different from the region of origin (Central Java and East Java).

Some experts such as Pelzer (1963) and Geertz (1963) said that the lands in Java Bali would be more fertile compared to those of in Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi up to Jaya Pura, but people in Java Island are extremely dense. The findings of Rusli et al (2010), Java Island has been overpopulated and are evaluated to have passed the capability to provide the biological life elements. The density of the people caused the migration of people from Java to outside Java,, such as to Simalungun North Sumatra. But, it is different from the finding of Rusli et al (2010), the transmigration of Java ethnic to Simalungun was more caused by the economy factor (economy) in the region of origin (East Java and Central Java).

The results of research conducted by Rusli et al (2010) through the approach of pressure index of the people to show that Sumatra island with the area of 1,800 kilometer in length and 400 kilometer in width has index showing the figure of 0,8 meaning that Sumatra island can still accommodate the people of 53.339.255 persons in 2010, assuming that the agriculture is served as the life supporter. In perspective of the ecology adaptation, this research will know how much the Java ethnic is diasporic up to Simalungun, dynamic of life and vertical mobility of Java ethnic in Simalungun and how the household of Java ethnic adapts to the different environment with their core culture in the region of origin (Central Java and East Java).

### Adaptation to Culture Ecology:

In respect of the cultural-core, the writer used approach of Steward (1955) namely 'culture ecology' saying that the cultural-core includes technology, pattern of behavior, demography factor in which the adaptation to economy takes place or lasts to the cultural-core, meanwhile non-cultural core includes systems of religion, ideology, health or language. So, in the approach of Steward (1955), the culture was established not

only from the interaction between human and environment, other than that it is also affected by other factors. The cultural core is multi-disciplinary, according to Steward.

**METHODOLOGY:**

This research is the qualitative study with method of main data collection namely observation and history study on the farmer of arabica coffee having the diaspora in Simalungun. Specification of the research subject is conducted by the technique of snowball searched through the local history based on the native language said by the subject of research. A profound description is obtained how is the process of Java ethnic to conduct diaspora in Simalungun and adaptation strategy conducted by the farmer to encounter the different nature with the region of origin (Central Java and East Java). Of the said searching, redundant data in the subject of research in which the 6th that the householder of farmer of arabic coffee research (Table 1).

**Table 1: Initial and Category for the Subject of Research**

Initial of the married couple being the subject of research	Description on the Work for the Subject of Research
KIS-NEM	Arabica coffee farmer
WAN-KAT	Arabica coffee farmer
SAB-SOL	Arabica coffee farmer, employee of BUMN and seller of coffee
TIO-SAN	Arabica coffee farmer, owner of shop for the agriculture production facility and coffee seller
LIM-ATI	Arabica coffee farmer, arabica coffee seller and other natural produces
PAR-SUY	Arabica coffee farmer, ex-arabica coffee seller

To deepen analysis, the interview is held with the information namely secretary pangulu and public figure in Nagori Sait Buttu.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:**

**A glance of Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu:**

There is no written history which records about the inception of Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu. The history of nagori is obtained from the native language experiencing directly with various events in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu. In the first period of its establishment year of 1972, Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu is named Kampung Sait Buntu with the village head named Haji Pasang Damanik. Buntu originates from Java meaning the ending (entek entekan), since after Kampung Sait Buntu there is no longer village (the most end village). Haji Pasang Damanik was the village head until 1984 and as an agent of the first robusta in Kampung Sait Buntu.

During the period of Pasang Damanik, there was a tremendous growth experienced in Kampung Sait Buntu. Pasang Damanik joined in hajj worship with the tragedgy of Mina on July 02, 1990 which killed about 1.426 people with the status of hajj increased his honor popularity and affirmed him as public figure or leader. Pasang Damanik is known about his leadership and generosity. However, people remind of him until the latter becomes as the first agent of robusta coffee in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu.

In 1985, Haji Pasang Damanik was replaced by his son Aladdin Damanik holding the position until 2003. During the term of office, Aladdin Damanik along with various personal assets owned by Pasang Damanik transferred. Term of office of Aladdin Damanik was actually expired in 2002, but nominated as PJ for 1 year (2002 up to 2003). During the period of leadership Aladdin Damanik, the term of village head changed to village head and Kecamatan Sidamanik was spread to Pamatang Sidamanik, sharply in 2002. After the term of office of Aladdin Damanik expires, Kampung Sait Buntu was led by PJ from the office of Kecamatan Pamatang Sidamanik named Rikkot Damanik (in 2004 up to 2005).

From 2005 up to 2011, Wagimin Silalahi was elected as the pangulu of Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu. The change of name from Kampung Sait Buntu to Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu occurred during the period of Pangulu Wagimin Silalahi. The mention of village head changed to pangulu during the period of Wagimin Silalahi, sharply in 2009. After the period of government of Wagimin Silalahi terminated, the Presdon Amabarita was elected as the pangulu of Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu with the term of service of 2011 up to 2017. Pangulu Presdon Amabarita lost his popularity to the secretary of Sagala due to the governmental duties mostly signed by the secretary nagori, so that the people know more about the figure of secretary of pangalu compared to pangulu.

Pangulu is the local to mention village head. Only secretary nagori having the status of civil servant (PNS). Secretary nagori in Sait Buttu Saribu named Sagala group IIC with the basic salary around to 2,5 million

rupiahs per month. To date, the burden of nagori government has been under the hand of secretary nagori as it has the status of PNS nominated during the period of president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (of 2007) and will retire in 2022.

Sait Buttu Saribu consists of three words namely *sait*, in Bataknese language means body/village; *buttu* means rising or *dolok* and *saribu* means various (ethnic, religion, origin). So, *sait buttu saribu* means village in the rising resided by various ethnic, religion or origin. However, Bataknese ethnic which originally occupied Kampung Sait Buttu with the clan of Damanik, Saragih, Purba and Sinaga. The four clans are evaluated to participate in opening the land. However, their way to determine the land limit is very unique, namely by throwing areca nut (*jambe*) or *aren* as strong as possible. Areca nut or *aren* which grows to be the limit of field owned by the certain clan. But, now the four clans have assimilated through the marriage process, taking place not only inter-clan but inter-ethnic or religion, so that those who occupy Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu with various ethnic: Batak Simalungun, Batak Toba, Batak Karo, Mandailing, Melayu, Minangkabau, Cina, Nias, Betawi, Jawa and other ethnic. However, to date the dominant clan has been Damanik. To appreciate the clan, two between 7 (seven) wood in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu to use the names of Damanik, namely Huta Manik Saribu and Huta Manik Uluan.

Even though they have assimilated, but the respective ethnic of the culture identity remain being maintained so that occurring in Simalungun are the diversity of culture or variety of culture. Mostly, Batak ethnic has the religion of Christian, meanwhile the comer from Central Java and East Java is Islam. First of all, the relationship between Batak and Java ethnic is the labor and employer relationship, in which the Java ethnic which formerly transmigrate spontaneously to Simalungun to be the laborer in the plantation owned by Batak ethnic. By the attitude of *gemi nastiti ngati-ati*, finally Java ethnic could purchase the land (field) from Batak ethnic gradually.

The beginning of Java ethnic moved to Simalungun as the latter work as worker by the contract system in the tea plantation. However, after the expiration of period of contract, some Java ethnic do not return to their village to live in Simalungun. Even the relative whose place of origin also joined to move to Simalungun as the life in the territory of origin (Central Java and East Java) should not become better.

Now the ethnic occupying Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu varies and follows Islam and Christian (Protestant/Catholics). The followers of Islam are 3.024 and Christians (both Protestant and Catholics) by 2.444 spread in 7 (seven) huta (Table 2).

#### **Process of Javanese Diaspora for the Java Ethnic in Simalungun:**

Discussion on Javanese diaspora is highly related to the transmigration program. History of transmigration could be read in the works of Kingston (1987), in which this program was initialized during the period of the Netherlands colony due to the pressure of population in Java, so that the movement of population from Java to southern Sumatra, namely Lampung Province. It continues after Indonesian Independence under the government of the New Order for the transmigration program with a view to overcome the political stability, improvement in the proceeds of national agriculture until the development of region. This transmigration program was criticized as it really focussed on the economic and environmental impacts and environment and neglected culture dimension (World Bank, 1988), abolishment of local culture practice by migrant from Java through the process of “*jawanisasi/javanisation*” (Colchester, 1986).

In the concept of Bourdieu (1977) transmigration as the force practice of “*habitus*” of the country (through policy) either to the transmigrant or local population. However, it is different from the context in Simalungun, diaspora1 Jawa in Simalungun occurred through *swakarsa* or spontan transmigration2. According to Rusli (2012), the dominant character is the movement of permanent residence from Java to outside Java. Likewise, with Java ethnic in Simalungun, they have permanently lived in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu Kecamatan Pamatang Sidamanik. Transmigration is one of the types of the permanent migration. Migration, like mortality and fertility are the decisive factors for the growth of population (Lucas and Meyer, 1994) which means that transmigration of Java ethnic to Simalungun becomes one of the decisive factors pertaining to the growth of population in Simalungun.

Movement of Java ethnic to Simalungun whose majority is Batak ethnic could not change their cultural-core. This finding has similarity with the observation of Pelzer (1945) in Lampung, in which the movement of Java

<sup>1</sup> Diaspora is meant “to spread”. Javanese Diaspora is meant as the Java ethnic spreading to various territories to Simalungun North Sumatra. First of all the diaspora for the farmer of Java to Sumatra was initiated in 1950 at the initiative of the government of the Republic of Indonesia, but the ethnic diaspora of Java ethnic in Java in Simalungun was initiated with the need of workers in the tea plantation with the contract system.

<sup>2</sup> A spontan transmigration is a non-governmental sponsored or non-supported transmigration. This type of transmigration is different with that is sponsored or supported by the government (Rusli, 2012).

ethnic to Simalungun could not change the culture of planting the trade plants such as coffee conducted by Batak ethnic. Batak Ethnic keep cultivating coffee as the export plant and is believed to be the source of higher revenues compared to the proceeds of field. Pelzer’s observation showed that the people of Lampung origin remained maintaining the field to move to plant hard crop trees such as coffee, pepper and rubber, meanwhile Java’s farmers maintain rice plants with the permanent pattern i.e. wet field. However this finding is different with the concept of diaspora used in the scheme of settlement of the transmigration frequently called as the “Jawanisasi” through the process of re-settlement as expressed in the first sub-chapter of the writing that Javanese diaspora occurring in Simalungun starts from the spontan transmigration. Even though, it has assimilated and diffused with local ethnic (Batak), but there have been any imminent elements and maintained by Javanese ethnic as the tradition.

One of the traditions maintained by Java ethnic is gotong royong, as indicated by the transmigrant in North Lampung (Elmhirst, 2000). Either men or women cooperate (the term of local called marsidapari<sup>3</sup>) even though this tradition is scarcely done, only to those have kinship relationship.

Other traditions maintained by Java ethnic are bestelan. Bestelan is present in the celebration both at the neighbor’s house or brothers/sisters. In general, the women give twenty thousand rupiahs and Men thirty thousand rupiahs up to thirty five thousand rupiahs to the organizer of the celebration. Neighbours who help when the celebration is organized 1gandeng (2 items), egg 1 board (30 eggs), noodle 1 kilogram, and frying oil 1 liter. The rate of beskoman is more than one hundred thousand rupiahs. Besides giving beskoman, the women who help (the term of Java called as rewang, or in batak language called marhobas) give the present which contains: sarong or towel or long-cloth (term of Java called jarik) with a minimum of fifty thousand rupiahs. Meanwhile the husband give money in general in the amount of fifty thousand rupiahs. For practice purposes, some people whose rewang as the substitute with money of one hundred thousand rupiahs and present as well as cake in terms of kembang goyang (in the number of 1,5-2 kg), or rengginang (with the material of 2 kg glutinous rice), krupuk already fried in the weight of 0,5 kg or bawang cake (with the material of flour about 3 kg) and and put in the tin of krupuk with the size in big. Generally the people who have celebration on Saturday night (its peak), so that it starts from Tuesday, teratak (tarub) has been installed, if the organizer has relatively rich to make jenang, on Thursday, to make wajik, and Friday and Saturday to make traditional cake namely gemblong made from the glutinous rice is soaked, half steamed and then released from the steam and mixed with the grated coconut plus salt, then re-steamed until done, after being done, pounded until it is fine like traditional food of Java named gethuk. The taste of gemblong is the salty-tasty compared to gethuk which tastes sweet.

Jenang becomes special banquet if the organizer shows the status that the latter is categorized as the rich. If the party wishes to organize in a simple manner, the banquet is only wajik or gemblong cakes. Sunday (after completion of the party), bubur sumsun is taken to the parties who rewang/marhobas as the tiredome substitute. Bubur sumsum is given in the form of plastic package to enjoy all family members who are rewang. The portion of bubur sumsum distributed to the organizer to the neighbors who are rewang could be sufficiently enjoyed by 3 (three) family members. Enjoying bubur sumsum is believed to eliminate tiredness after the party. Although it has assimilated (diaspora), Javanese ethnic traditions in Simalungun tends to maintain the tradition of "gathering" as an inheritance or generation of norms and customs. Tendency to gather is also shown by Javanese ethnic transmigrating in Lampung, occupying densely populated villages by maintaining the sharing system being their habit. (Sajogyo, 1982). In the framework of Steward (1955), it indicates that viewed from the demographic factors namely settlement pattern and kinship structure is relatively unchanged, but land use and tenurial Javanese ethnic changes due to interaction in line with the change of ecology.

In Nagori Sait Buttu, the Javanese generally domiciled in Huta Sait Buttu and Ulik Manik. Batak Ethnic has the religion of Christians, they generally live in Huta Manik Saribu, Gunung Mulia and Gorbis. Meanwhile in Afdeling B and D Tobasari, the total population of Muslims and non-Muslims are relatively balanced (Table 2).

**Table 2 : Total Population of Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu According to Huta and Religion of 2016**

No	Huta (Hamblet)	Moslem	Christians	Total
1	Sait Buttu	1.617	577	2.194
2	Manik Saribu	117	885	1.002
3	Gunung Mulia	8	276	284

<sup>3</sup> Marsidapari is the togetherness work in the field or plantation of coffee. Now Marsidapari is increasingly weak and made only by the farmers who have brother relationship or relative. Marsidapari is increasingly weak as the money incurred by the owner of field is relatively large to prepare the food, beverage either breakfast and lunch for the workers in the field.

No	Huta (Hamblet)	Moslem	Christians	Total
4	Gorbus	6	199	205
5	Afd.B.Tobasari	345	219	564
6	Afd.D.Tobasari	257	225	482
7	Manik Huluan	674	63	737
<b>Total</b>		<b>3.024</b>	<b>2.444</b>	<b>5.468</b>

Source: Basic Profile Data on Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu of 2016

Table 2 shows that Javanese ethnic (Muslim) are dominant in Huta Sait Buttu and Manik Uluan because the former village head (his father Pasang Damanik) is a Muslim Batak who dominates the land in Sait Buttu to Manik Huluan. However, there are also Batak ethnic who follow the religion of Islam and joined in the Muslim Batak Association (IBAMU), but the number is restricted.

The origin of Javanese diaspora was the father of Pasang Damanik to give land to the Java ethnic who came to Sumatra because the condition of residents in such a village are not many at that time. The Java ethnic manage the land in accordance with their ability and then they occupy the same. It continues during the governmental period of Haji Pasang Damanik in which in fact that Moslem Batak ethnic, love work ethos of Java ethnic who came to Sumatra as a Tea Plantation Employee (KPT) on the contract status. The Java ethnic are known as the tenacious, patient and tolerable (nrimo) people in their work. The Java ethnic who would like to work on the field owned by Haji Pasaman Damanik are provided with the yard (local term called tapakan) with the area of one rante or 400 square meter, even Java ethnic are able to cultivate more extensive land shall be entitled to the land for the vaster settlement . The offer of Haji Pasang Damanik was well welcome by the KPT from Java having the Islam religion. Gradually, KPT contracted as a plantation laborer with the period of contract 3 through 4 years that originally lived in plantation huts moved to the settlement area granted by Haji Pasang Damanik. Most KPT of which the period of contract did not return to Java, but they settled in Sait Buttu village. Even Java ethnic who have settled, ask for their brother who still live in Java to go to Simalungun. During the time of village head named Haji Pasang Damanik was also, Java ethnic assimilated in North Sumatra Simalungun.

To date, Haji Pasang Damanik has been very familiar to Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu people because he is strict, humble and admired to the work ethos of Java ethnic who moved to Simalungun as KPT. Haji Pasang Damanik is also known as the first robusta coffee agent in Kampung Sait Buntu, so that his fields are planted with robusta coffee by utilizing the workers namely Java ethnic who work as KPT. Now thanks to his tenacity and efficient lifestyle, most land belonging to Batak ethnic have transferred the hand to the Java ethnic through gradual sales-purchase from the wage of employment as the employees of the tea plantation. In the tea plantation, generally women work as the tea pickers while men in the sectors of the tea plantation and maintenance.

Now the Java ethnic in Simalungun Sumatera has been 5 (five) generations. The older generation being a great-grandparent taken by their parents as the non-permanent plantation workers (KPT), as proposed by KIS (78 years):

*“Wong Jowo nang Sumatera kerono dikontrak karo perusahaan 3 utowo 4 tahun. Sing gak krasan yo bali nang njowo sak wise kontrake entek, lha sing krasan yo terus dadi penduduk kene”* "Javanese to Sumatra because they are hired by the company 3 or 4 years. They do not feel like going back to their Village (Java) after the termination of the contract, those who feel like, they like if they keep being the community in this village"(KIS, 78 Years Old, Farmer in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu Asal Wonogiri).

KIS settled in Sumatra since the age of 12 (1950) as the latter followed his/her uncle who first moved to Sumatra.

*“Aku mbiyen nyusul lelekku sing ngontrak neng kene. Omonge lelekku aku wes krasan neng kene, nusulo aku yen gelem. Neng kene mangane sego putih”.* "I formerly followed my uncle who contracted here. My uncle said to me," I have been content to be here, follow him if I want. Here we only eath rice “(KIS, 78 Years old, Farmer in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu Asal Wonogiri).

KIS only goes to Sekolah Rakyat (SR). Due to the difficulty of life in Wonogiri, it supports the intention of KIS to follow his uncle in Simalungun Sumatra. Generally, description on the Kisman's life in Java (Wonogiri) is a reflection of KPT from Java. In Java , we eath thiwl rice (made from cassava) every day and hard to find the job. We occasionally eat with the river fish behind the house, and eaten with the sauce.

*“Cilikanku mangan thiwl, sesekali mangan karo iwak hasile mancing neng mburitan dingo lawuh, dipangan karo sambel”* "My childhood ate thiwl, just eating with the fishing products behind the house as the side dish, eaten with the sauce". (KIS, 78 Years old, Farmer in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu Asal Wonogiri).

Seven years after KIS lived with his uncle in Sumatra, and its economic condition has become better, and his

father (SUT) followed to Sumatra, exactly in October 1957.

The said descriptions indicate that the movement of Java ethnic to Simalungun uses network (*network*) namely close relative. By utilizing this network of ethnic Java who subsequently got the job. The importance of network to find this work is also reflected in the works of Granovetter i.e. Getting a Job, in which almost 56% respondents in their research find a job by utilizing the network (Swedberg 2005). In relation to migration from the region of origin, economic factors are the factors that support one to conduct migration (push factor), as stated by Lee (2000). According to Everett S Lee (2000) generally, population mobility occurred as a person wants to change his/her living standard to live better. It means that the economic factor becomes the biggest one that encourage someone to do the population mobility.

#### **Dynamic of Life and Process of Vertical Mobility for Java Ethnic in Simalungun:**

When acting as the employee of tea plantation by a contract system, Java ethnic live in cottage or huts. Although they live in the hut, they are not lack of food because they can enjoy rice everyday. In the 1970s all non-permanent employees of the plantation did not earn "supply" in terms of food material from plantations such as rice, green beans, salt, fresh fish, salty fish, kerosene, cooking oil and soap.

Even clothing materials (fabrics) are also gained from the plantations. Even though the wage got is nominally small, but the expenditure on food is very low, since the DTL only buys spices in the form of chili, tomato and onion. Since 1996/1997 the supply was cashed at the request of employee so that the employees of plantation obtain the rice only. The workers of tea plantation (KPT) leave for work at 06.00 and return home at 17.00 Wib by truck. If the truck is late until they arrive home late in the evening. The children grew under no supervision from from their parents, because early in the morning (still dark), they left for the garden, and arrive home was already dusk as stated by NEM (71 years)

*"arek mbiyen ngunu sampek ora ngerti wong tuwane, lha piye, isuk-isuk isih peteng wis mangkat nang kebun, menko muleh-muleh wes bubar magrib kadang sampai Isya lagi teko ngomah"* the former children do not know about their parents, how come, early in the morning they go to the garden, and come home after magrib (sunset) even they arrive home at Isya (NEM, 71 years old, farmers in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu).

**The last time of KPT:** Living as the employee of the tea plantation is full of dynamics. KPT had the last time when the Rebellion of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) occurred in 1954/1955 up to 1958. The life of Java ethnic was under no security and they moved from the previous place to Binjane to find a safer place because at that time there was a chaos publicly known as "gang" to the PRRI-Semesta rebellion as stated by NEM (71 years):

*"Jamane gerombolan, wong Jowo mlayu rono rene, mencar-mencar golek slamet. Jaman kuwi opo enek wong ayu, lek enek wong wedhok ayu "dheweke" sing duwe. Wong wedhok siji iso sampek diperkosa wong lanang limo"*. During the times of gang, Javanese run to and fro, dispersed to seek for survival. At that time there was no beautiful person, if there is a beautiful woman, certainly she is (the insurgent). One woman could be raped by five men (NEM, 71 years old, farmer in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu).

At that time the DTL was considered as a low stratified person. Even the children of the Java ethnic of plantation laborer at school called as the "children of KPT". But now the nickname is never heard any longer, the children of Java and Batak ethnic are assimilated, even though their assimilation is not up to the phase of integration, but more to the diversity of their respective culture cores which are still maintained into a tradition bequeathed up to the generation

Now the life of Batak ethnic and Java ethnic can be harmoniously said. During their harmonious life, conflict triggered by SARA occurred once in 1996. Inter various ethnic has got married from generation to generation (amalgamation). The prolonged conflict between inter ethnic never occurred in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu. Any effort to fish in turbid water with sara issues always fails, due to the plural condition of the nagori. Inter-ethnic marriage serves as social life to be increasingly accomodative.

The conflict between Muslims and Christians in the late 1996 originated from the use of portal to attach the ornaments on the eve of religious celebrations by Muslims and Christians in turn. By the time of Christmas, Christians put the ornaments in the portal located in front of the mosque and the ornament is scratched by the unscrupulous Muslim. This situation causes anger on Christians so, every Muslim who wants to worship in the mosque is intercepted by Christians. The conflict took place for 3 months and fell victim to both Muslims and Christians. The conflict was resolved and not prolonged through mediation from the police, by signing out of court settlement agreement signed by both parties not to hamper each other for their respective religious activities.

Post-conflict in 1996 and has been amicably resolved, conflict triggered by SARA never occurred as both ethnic are dominant (Batak and Java) has high tolerance phase., Both parties realize that the conflict could suffer both

parties conflicting as stated by WAN (43 years):

*“Solidarity for the people of Sait Buttu Saribu is still categorized as high one. In Dusun Sait Buttu, 90 percent, Muslim and non-Muslim are only 10 percent. However, both ethnic have mutually understood and have jointly agreed even though it is not written. For instance, if there is a pick left, it is ensured that the said animal will be dead or be killed. However this matter will never occur as the pig breeder has spinned his/her pigs with the high wall“* (WAN, 43 years old, farmer and head of jorong in Huta Sait Buttu, Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu, Pamatang Sidamanik).

In the daily life, each ethnic respects difference. To avoid conflict, Batak ethnic breed pig by method to put the stable in the remote area or of which the location is relatively far from the settlement. Even Batak ethnic acknowledges to know about types of vegetables from the Java ethnic.

**In 1979/1980 up to 1986 as the glorifying period of Java ethnic in Simalungun:**

Robusta coffee planted during the period of village head of Haji Pasang Damanik (1972) reached the peak production of 1979/1980, so, each household of the coffee farmer has savings in terms of robusta coffee in the form of robusta coffee in the form of *green bean* in the number of 1 ton. During the glorifying period of Java ethnic in Simalungun Sumatera which still has family in Java went home for various purposes, namely only to release their longing (*kunjung*) or visiting a burial (*ngijing*). The couple of KIS-NEM to Wonogiri in November 1979 with a view to constructing the burial of KIS mother (*ngijing*) passed away during childhood of KIS. At that time, charges (to and fro) (Sumatera-Java) by using bus ALS only Rp 25 000. Now, thanks to their hard work they have the field with the area of 50 rante (2 hectare) managed by 4 their children. The land was gradually purchased from Batak ethnic in 1981. At that time, the price of yard (*tapakan*) to construct the house only Rp 50 per rante.

The above descriptions show that the phase of history experienced by the farmers of arabica of Java ethnic already assimilated in Simalungun, North Sumatra Utara with various dynamics (glory-down). The glory and black time suffered by the farmer in respect of the event of local and national history as described in Table 3.

**Table 3: Time of Glory and Blackness for the Farmer of Coffee for the Java Ethnic assimilated in Simalungun-North Sumatra**

Year	Highlights (Glory and Black Period)
1954/1955	A rebellion occurred known locally as a “gang”, continued by PRRI-Semesta (1958)
1955-1972	Huta Manik Uluan assentra pineapple and ginger (pineapple agent named Haji Kayat).
1972	Robusta coffee starts being cultivated
1979/1980-1986	Glory period of robusta coffee farmer due to abundant harvest In 1986 every household had nearly 1 ton of <i>green bean</i>
1992	Plantation Service starts introducing arabica coffee
1998	Innovator of arabic coffee was Pak TIO and Pak PON (the late)
2002-2008	Peak glory of the farmer due to the harvest of the arabica coffee ) (ateng coffee) abundant.
2013-2016	Production of arabica coffee fruit declined due to the attack of various pests and diseases

**Vertical Mobility:**

Most Java ethnic who have migrated to Simalungun have vertical mobility, namely the change of up social status (up) through various businesses (especially economic link) from the status of the original worker in the plantation to the owner's farmer, doing business in saprotan store, to be the seller of coffee, workshop business to become permanent employees of BUMN (State Owned Company). Through such businesses and values of *nastiti ngati-ati*, Java ethnic are able to buy the fields (coffee farms) belonging to Batak ethnic gradually as proposed by SAB (51 years):

*“I became an arabica coffee seller since 2007. Alhamdulillah condition of my family's economy is better than parents who only become laborers in the tea plantation. Now about seventy percent of my family's economy is supported from business as a coffee agent. Apart from being a coffee agent, I still work as an employee of the tea plantation with a salary of Rp 3.250.000 and get allowance of 30 kg rice, 20 eggs, ½ kg sugar, ½ kg green beans and 2 cans of milk. During the interval of time, i become agent and employees, I remain farming in the land with the area of 23 rante that I bought gradually. Lastly I bought in 2010 at block 77 with the area of 12 rante with the price of 2 million rupiah per rante. If now it is sold, it is about seven million rupiah per rante”*(SAB, 50 years old, the farmer of arabica coffee, the employee of State Owned Company and agent of arabica coffee in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu).



SAB is one of the Java ethnic who managed to carry out vertical mobility thanks to its perseverance to work. The work ethos as a seller was gained from its older brother who first became the chilli and coffee agents. It is different from TIO that inherited the spirit of trade from his parents-in-law (parents from the SAN):

*"The life of my family's economic improved first from the operating results to open the fertilizer and agricultural medicine shop. I opened this business in 1992 with the initial capital of 6.5 million from the sale proceeds of astrea prima motor. Of the said results namely opening kiosk saprotan I can buy the fields and 3 years later and I decided to be the farmer of coffee besides doing selling. My kiosk saprotan's business increasingly grows, now the turnover reaches 400 million rupiah, and the field of coffee that was original from only 10 rante, now it has become 50 rante or about two hectare. I became the agent of the new coffee during the last year (TIO, 60 years, owner of kiosk saprotan, the farmer of arabica coffee)*

The expression of TIO indicates that vertical mobility is gained from hard working either as a saprotan seller, and he farms until being the agent of arabic coffee. The businesses made by Java ethnic who have migrated to Simalungun do not always run well. It is not uncommon, to vertical mobility must have complicated life experience, as stated by LIM (47 years):

*"The business as the agent of coffee and other natural products and farming I do simultaneously after getting married, sharply in 1997. But I do not have my own land to date, all the land that I manage under lease. Now I manage the land in 4 locations, in the block of engine's room, in the block of simanjoloi, in the ancient mountain and block of seribu pane. Only in the block of Simanjoloi 10 rante, in the other blocks only 5 rante. Average rental rate for 3 million per block for 8 years. The income is not bad and it can complete the proceeds as the uncertain agent. (LIM, 47 years old, the farmer of coffee simultaneously as the agent of natural crops in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu).*

LIM is one of the Java ethnic who have resided in Simalungun but have not owned their own field. But LIM recognized that his economic condition is still much better than his parents who only work as laborers. Such three cases indicate that the vertical mobility of Java ethnic is gained from the trading business (being the agent of arabica coffee). However, to date to carry out business (trade business) is packaged in the framework of religiosity so that trade businesses can survive (persistent). Some of these values are: selling with due to observance to the values of honesty, in search of the profit and fair pricing, meaning work as the form of dedication to the family, dan taking economy action not only to accumulate capital but also for social motives indicated by the social goodness. Some forms of the social goodness shall become donor in the activity of religion festive day, being the donor of Ar-Ridho Foundation managing the poor, the orphan and the converts. Other forms of social goodness is demonstrated by the act of sharing profits with friends, neighbors and relatives of the profits earned by the seller. One of them in the form of saving and gift before the holiday / Lebaran. Trade business (to be agent) is terminated when physically it is not so strong, so it should be regenerated, as stated by PAR (61 years):

*"Now I concentrate only as the farmer of coffee by managing the land of 25 rante, the business as the agent, I submit to my son-in-law AWI. It is better for AWI to continue my business as agent than the latter works as the crew in Belawan Medan and lives far from his wife and children. I can give him knowledge to be agent" (PAR, 61 years old, the farmer of arabica coffee of the ex-coffee agent in Sait Buttu Saribu).*

Apart from the other three sellers, PAR left business as the agent of coffee with the reason to give more firm income to his son-in-law in which the latter formerly became the crew living separately with his wife and children. Meaning that science as the agent of PAR is inherited to his son-in-law. To be seller or agent of arabica coffee is evaluated more firmly than the latter becomes the crew. Of the operating result as the agent, now AWI has expanded his basic commodities business managed by his wife called ANI.

#### **Adaptation to Ecology of Java Ethnic in Simalungun:**

The difference from environment found by Java ethnic in Simalungun with the region of origin demands them to develop capability of the high adaptation. The capability of adaptation to Java ethnic in Simalungun is categorized high, with the indicator, some of them have resided for about more 5 generations, even as of the second generation, Java ethnic either from the Central Java or East Java transmigrated spontaneously at own cost, following the previous generation of which the economical life is more stable compared in Java. The research is in line with the finding of Sajogyo (1982) stated that within no less than 20 years (1950-1969) the transmigrants of Java have assimilated (diasapora) where some of them are the second generation conducting the spontaneous movement from Lampung leaving their parents and some of them are the transmigrats who

directly come to Java at their own expense.

But it is different from the findings of Sajogyo (1982), where spontaneous transmigrants gained farm land from the Lampung village heads by requesting some of the pioneer farm land, Java ethnic in Simalungun as the first generation gained the land from the village head as the return as it has helped manage the land owned by the village head at that time (named Pangulu Pasang Damanik).

Various types of work made by ethnic Java who have transmigrated to Simalungun indicate the form of adaptation to ecology of Java ethnic in Simalungun. While in the area of origin, the farm land in Java in terms of field area, plantation with the permanent food crop with cultivation system which is different from the agro-ecology landscape in the area of purposes (Dove 1985, Utomo 1957). The local economy of Simalungun starting from arabica coffee products, then changed to various forms of livelihood activities as the farmer of coffee, laborer of coffee picker, sellers of agriculture production facilities (fertilizers and medicines), become arabica coffee seller to the workshop business to repair various modes of transportation for the farmers who need repair, one of the items is a modified motor as a means of the coffee carrier until the arrival of the harvest. The entire activities of the livelihood is not uncommonly jointly conducted, meaning the farmer of arabica coffee apply the strategy of double livelihood to meet the need of family's economy life.

Within the framework of Steward (1955), the need of workers who are mostly in the coffee plantation compared in the field land indicates that the system of coffee economy is different from the field system. The process of changing the livelihood of ethnic Java living in Simalungun by planting the coffee and horticultural crops in the sides of coffee plants is the form of adaptation from the cultural core for the natural resource exploitation technology. The pattern of adaptation to ecology through the cultural core namely the organization of economy in terms of action to meet the demands of coffee export market wishing coffee with the certain quality to wish the farmer of coffee to group in the process of coffee by work (men and women). The existence and role of the farm group leader as the seller is the form of pattern for the adaptation to economy through socio-politic system as the cultural core,. This is different from the field rice farm group in Java which is generally established in the domicile or spread, meanwhile the arabica coffee farmer group in Simalungun which is formed more than the supply chain. The changer of ethnic Java to Simalungun in the framework of Steward (1955) is one of the cultural cores namely demography factor, meaning that also living with it between two ethnic with different culture or tradition, namely Batak and Java culture. Tradition or cultural core of Batak ethnic farms in the highland, while the Java ethnic to go to farm in the lowlands. The meeting between the two cultures is not as a result of cultural integration, but rather the cultural diversity thereby establishing heterogeneous culture. This means that the spontaneous transmigration program has impacted on cultural heterogeneity as said by Hefner (1990) that highland culture is different from lowland, the difference to use the dialect of language, religious practice to its agro ecology. The case like in Simalungun, Java ethnic go to farm more to the demand to adapt to the ecology of cultivation with the intercropping system of arabica coffee namely arabica coffee cultivation and young plants (cabbage, potato, chilli, corn).

Based on the foregoing, the result of research supports the thesis of Sajogyo (1982) that the meeting of two cultures (namely Lampung and Java) does not necessarily give rise to the culture integration. This is indicated with the native residents who permanently maintain the pattern of farm which always change the trade plants in terms of hard plants; coffee, pepper and rubber and show the reluctant attitude to work with the hoe in the wetland, different from Java ethnic utilizing the cultivation of food crop for the consumption even though in the new lands.

Viewed from the historical aspect, Java ethnic having *gemi* (economic), *nasititi* (accrate), *ngati ati* (careful) implicated to the life attitude with full prudence to use the harvest proceeds for the coffee plants with the relatively large quantity compared to the Java ethnic, as stated by TIO:

*“If our brother Batak ethnic is not doubtful to go shop the sales proceeds to buy the fertilizer. Likewise the coffee harvest purchased other than recovering the rail. It is different from ours from Java buying the fertilizer in the smaller amount, it is also mized”* (TIO, saprotan seller and agent of Arabic coffee in Nagori Sait Buttu Saribu).

With the philosophy of *gemi*, *nastiti*, *ngati-ati* also Java ethnic can purchase the land from Batak ethnic gradually. On the contrary, Batak ethnic sells the land for various needs such as party cost/child marriage, child education, remedies the parent's burial until they can finance the business pioneered by the child. To establish firm individual, batak ethnic not uncommonly invites the child to the coffee plantation as the form of association. It is different from the way of educating the children of Java ethnic to go to school, play after school, take a nap, studying at home until the latter they go to ngaji. Java Ethnic is more impressive to spoil the children compared to the way of educating Batak ethnic, not uncommonly to work outside the sector of

agriculture as a pride for Java ethnic.

Adaptation to Java ethnic is made by conducting the work in accordance with the natural condition (field ecology) by planting the Arabica coffee plants and in the side of coffee planted with kinds of vegetables short in age. Products from the harvest of chili, corn, tomato, cabbage or potato used to meet the daily needs, including child education. Coffee for the rich farmer (extensive area) more meaning as the saving plants.

Based on the said descriptions, it shows that the elements of culture such as technology, pattern of conduct and demography becomes the elements of culture having strong interaction with the nature. Meanwhile the other elements such as any language or religion system as categorized non-cultural core. Java Ethnic in Simalungun keep speaking Java language, even though the dialect has changed to the dialect of Batak. Also with the religion, Java ethnic in Simalungun remains various of Islam. In approach of Steward (1955) religion system or non cultural core.

## CONCLUSION:

Javanese Diaspora in Simalungun occurred through the spontaneous transmigration conducted by the Java ethnic originating from working as the laborer of tea plantation to contract system. Some of the plantation laborers of which the duration of contract is expired, they live in Simalungun, even relative at the place of origin (Central Java and East Java) in the following generation to participate to change to Simalungun utilizing the relative line.

Original ethnics in Simalungun are Batak with the clan of Damanik, Saragih, Purba and Sinaga. The meeting of Java culture (local ethnic) does not necessarily cause the culture integration, but more on the pluralism or culture diversity, as each of ethnic is still strong and maintain the tradition as a realization of the cultural identities. So this finding supports the thesis of Steward (1955) that culture of Java ethnic in Simalungun is established by multi-factors, other than the effect of local environment (ecology) only.

Various forms of the activity of livelihood made by Java ethnic transmigrating to Simalungun shall be the form of adaptation to the different ecology with the region of original. Various of activities made by Java ethnic in Simalungun is the double in gaining in livelihood, namely selling Arabica coffee (to be agent), farming, operating workshop, being the laborer picker, non-regular work (*mocok-mocok*) to be the employees of BUMN until they deal with business by opening saprotan kiosk.

Philosophy namely *gemi nastiti ngati ati* namely economic, careful attitude to bring Java ethnic to achieve vertical mobility, one of them through the business being the seller (to be agent of Arabica coffee). The work as the seller is persistent to date as it sells to highly upgrade towards the fairness values, to seek profit and pricing reasonably, the meaning of work as the form of family dedication, and taking action not only to accumulate capital but also social motive, as indicated by the social goodness.

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