INTERNAL MIGRATION AND HETEROGENOUS OF ETHNIC: CONFLICT AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS
(A CASE STUDY ON MIGRANT RECEIVING AREAS IN THE NORTH SULAWESI PROVINCE)

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Internal Migration and Heterogeneous Ethnic Groups: Conflict among Various Ethnic Groups (A case study on migrant receiving areas in the North Sulawesi Province)

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Introduction

People migration has occurred with various underlying reasons. Economic factors, such as a wider availability of job opportunities in destination areas and a desire to gain a higher income play a significant role in causing people to migrate to other places (Collier, et.al., 1993; Guibernau & Rex, 1997). Better social infrastructures and services in other areas, e.g. good schools, also stimulate people to move into such areas in order to pursue a better educational quality. Such reasons caused people to migrate voluntarily because they hope to better their living condition. On the other hand, there are people who migrate involuntarily. Natural or human-made disasters, conflict, situation of general violence, violation of human rights, and people displacement caused by development projects – among others: irrigation projects – are factors that forced people to leave their homes (Hugo et.al., 1990; Pettersson, 2002; Fardanesh & Walker, 2002).

Some people migrate under government-organized programs. The movement is fully managed by the government in the sense that the government determines the destination areas and covers all the cost. Population resettlement program, such as transmigration, which is considered as a development program in population, is a form of government-organized migration. Forced migration caused by social unrest and natural disaster is more likely to be organized mainly by the government. On the other hand, some people migrate with no government involvement at all. They migrate voluntarily and their movement is stimulated by the need to gain a higher income and to enjoy a better life. In this case, they choose the destination area that suits their needs and they cover their own expenses.

Migration enables people from different groups to share place of residence. Because they come from different ethnic groups with different social, economic and cultural backgrounds, every group is expected to adjust itself to other groups. Every group is also expected to tolerate the differences in social, economic and cultural lives in order to make a harmonious living condition. Unfortunately, this
could not be easily achieved because in some cases there are some resistant
groups who will not accept other groups. Inevitably, this attitude sparks conflict
among different groups, either between migrants and local people1 or among
migrants itself.

Regarding the different migration processes, it is possible that the cause of conflicts may
derive from them. Conflicts in destination areas chosen by the government are different from
conflicts in areas chosen by spontaneous migrants. This paper aims to discuss existing and
potential conflicts in migrant destination areas. The discussion is based on several case studies on
two migrant destination areas, i.e. the Bolaang Mangondow district and the city of Bitung, both in
the North Sulawesi Province. Since the characteristics of migrants in the two areas are different,
existing and potential conflicts are also different.

A portrait of migrant destination areas

Since several decades ago, North Sulawesi is one of the provinces that
attract migrants from other regions in Indonesia. Of all districts in this province, the
city of Bitung is the most popular destination area. Migrant population in this city is
the highest, as compared to that in other districts. The 1995 Indonesia Intercensal
Survey found that migrant population was 15.5 percent of Bitung population and
that they came from various places (Romdiati, et.al., 2000). The second highest
destination area is Manado, the capital city of the province, with 9.1 percent
migrant population.

Besides the two cities, where its urban development plays an important role
in attracting migrants, there is another popular migrant destination area, i.e. the
Bolaang Mangondow district. Migrants’ resettlement into this district is stimulated
by government decision to promote this district, especially its rural areas, as a
transmigration destination area. The different migration process is the cause of
some different migrant’s characteristics in Bitung and Bolaang Mangondow. This
difference also caused by the different stages of development. In the following
section, descriptions of the two areas are given.

Destination area of government organized migrants

Bolaang Mangondow district has become migrant receiving area since early
1900-s. The district is located about 200 kilometers from Manado. It could be
reached in about three to four hours by land transportation. The history of
migration to Bolaang Mangondow is quite long. It was started in the Dutch colonial
era, when the Dutch government moved people from Java to work in coffee and
coconut plantations.

1 Local people refers to people of indigenous ethnic groups in any areas, for example local people
of Bolaang Mangondow are those of Mangondow ethnic and local people of Bitung are
Minahasanese.
After Indonesian independence, there were many phases of migrants’ arrival at the district. The first phase was the arrival of migrants from Minahasa, a neighboring district, and consists of soldiers who had fought the Dutch for Indonesian independence. Their migrations were organized by the government through a program called BRN (Biro Rekonstruksi Nasional – National Reconstruction Bureau). The second phase was the arrival of migrants from Bali who moved there because their hometown suffered from natural disaster, i.e. Mount Agung eruption in 1963. It was an organized transmigration program. This arrival of Balinese people was followed by the arrival of Javanese people who also came under a transmigration program. These migrants were resettled in Dumoga, Mopuya and Mopugat. The third phase was the arrival of spontaneous migrants from other areas, among others, from South Sulawesi. This group of migrants came without government supports and intended to make a living in agricultural activities because the land price here was cheaper than the land price in their district origins (Aditjondro, 1988). The fourth phase was the arrival of migrants who came to develop agriculture related economic activities in various sectors, such as trade and services.

The majority of spontaneous migrants who came from other places outside the island of Sulawesi had previously lived in Manado. These migrants wanted to expand their economic activities and considered Bolaang Mangondow as a prospective and promising area. They wanted to run businesses there. In fact, because there were less competitors in Bolaang Mangondow, the number of successful migrants here was higher as compared to that in Manado. Their success attracted others to come to this area.

Although the rate of in-migration in Bolaang Mangondow is not as high as in other areas, e.g. in Manado and in Bitung, the arrival of migrants from various places of origin and various ethnic groups has made Bolaang Mangondow an area of heterogeneous ethnic groups. This phenomenon was not occurring in urban areas only, but also in rural areas, because some migrants moved to the areas to make a living in agriculture activities and household goods trading. Since the district’s population consists of people from various ethnic groups, conflicts were inevitable.

**Bitung: port land city that attracts spontaneous migrants**

Unlike those who lived in the district of Bolaang Mangondow, migrants living in Bitung were mostly spontaneous migrants, whose migration was pulled by economic factors. Bitung was an industrial area in North Sulawesi with many

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2 Spontaneous migrants refer to those whose migration is encouraged by their own initiative. No government supports are involved in this kind of migration. Since the movement in initiated by the migrants, all the costs required for the movement are paid by themselves.
factories that provided job opportunities in industrial sector. Following the growth of industrial sector, other sectors such as housing, transportation and services also grew in this city. Wide range of job opportunities were available in this area and migrants were attracted to come and run various economic activities to gain a living.

Migrants residing in Bitung came from various places of origin. Some migrants came from other provinces in the island of Sulawesi, such as South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi and Gorontalo, and some came from other islands such as Java and Sumatera. Interview with a key person in Bitung found that some Javanese pioneers arrived in Bitung in mid 1960-s. They were mostly migrants who joined a transmigration program and moved to Bolaang Mangondow. Since they could not survive by making a living through agricultural activities, they left the resettlement area and moved to Bitung. Here they run some economic activities such as selling food in the city. The success of these Javanese migrants has stimulated other people from Java to migrate to Bitung to gain a better living.

The existence of Bitung harbor facilitated migrants from other islands to reach this city. It is understandable that the flow of in-migration from outer Sulawesi increased after the development and commencement of the utilization of the harbor in 1952 (Ointue, 2000). Relatively good transportation means combined with the willingness of local people to welcome migrants played an important role in the population composition in the city. Some local people proudly declared the city as a miniature of Indonesia.

**Land acquisition for transmigration settlement: hidden conflicts for more than three decades in Bolaang Mangondow**

Migration has both positive and negative impacts on migrant destination areas. In the positive side, it has paced development process and stimulated economic growth in the areas. In the case of Bolaang Mangondow, migrants have significant contribution to the growth of the district agricultural sector. Attempts undertaken by migrants in agriculture had caused them to produce considerable amount of agriculture products, mainly rice, which made the district a main source of the commodity for North Sulawesi Province. In the negative side, the existence of migrants in the areas is inevitably sparked conflicts among various ethnic groups. Migrants’ existence has stimulated conflicts between local people and local government, particularly those related with land acquisition prepared for transmigration resettlement.

Conflicts among various (ethnic) groups in area were caused by many factors. One of the factors was the competing demand of income gain (Koentjaraningrat, 1987). As a typical rural society, control over land resources was a significant factor that influences income. Therefore, it was not surprising to find that competition to control agricultural land became the prominent conflict in Bolaang Mangondow. Land ownership was a serious conflict among many parties,
involving local people, migrants, and local government. The inconsistence land acquisition process for transmigration resettlement seemed to be the root of problems relating to land ownership.

This is a typical conflict on transmigration resettlement (Raharjo, 1984) because the central government who was responsible for preparing the areas tended to ignore the traditional land ownership system. In most places outside Java, land tenure is based on communal ownership, in the sense that land belongs to groups of people (clan). In South Sumatera and Lampung land utilization and ownership are controlled by a *marga* (Heeren, 1979). This rule applied not only for agriculture land, but also for forest and uncultivated land (Kustadi, 1984). Those who wanted to work the land should get permission from the clan member through clan leaders. The permit was restricted only for utilizing land, not for owning them. As a consequence, nobody outside local people could be given the right to own the land. A study conducted in Lampung confirmed the argument. The head of a *marga* gave migrants permission for clearing and cultivating forest within their area. However, a *marga* could take the land back any time and migrants should leave the land immediately (Utomo, 1967 cited in Heeren, 1979).

Land acquisition to meet transmigration programs, particularly for the resettlement of Balinese and Javanese migrants, was done by the government through “buying” them from the clan members. The government paid some money to local people and by accepting the money, according to government’s rule, these people lost their right to utilize the land. This policy caused local people displacement because they had to move to other places and search for new land (Aditjondro, 1988). Conflicts emerged if these people were disappointed of being displaced and it was worsen by the unreasonable land price paid by the government. In other transmigration areas, there were cases where the government only paid for the crops not for the land in areas that would be used for settlement (Davis & Garrison, 1988). Indeed, in many other areas, the government was reluctant to pay for land that had been cultivated by those who have prior right to the land (Hardjono, 1977).

For more than 30 years no conflict related to the land right shift from local people to the government that then been given to migrants emerged publicly. It is understandable because the political situation discouraged people to publicly express their objections and rejections of government policies and programs. The New Order government regime had effectively suppressed all attempts to oppose government policies (Castles, 2000). Therefore, probably local people were forced to avoid any conflicts, particularly those related to their disappointment of the land obtaining process for transmigration resettlement, from appearing publicly.

However, such situations are no longer existed since the last five years. Changing in socio-political situation as the onset of ‘reformation era’ had enabled people to freely express their needs
and demands. This leads Bolaang Mangondow local people to declare their disappointment and dissatisfaction on land acquisition process for transmigration settlement. According to them, the process had disadvantaged local people because of lesser land price policy determined by the government. Interview with a formal leader in Dumoga found that some people even declared that the government never paid them any money for their land that was relinquished for transmigration settlement. They claimed that they still have the right of some land occupied and utilized by migrants.

In 1999 some local people who claimed themselves as the prior landowners of Kembang Mertha (a village for Balinese migrant settlement) expressed their complaints to local parliament members. They demanded the government to pay for their land under current and reasonable prices or migrants should leave the areas. Some others, especially the younger ones, came to migrant homes and forced them not to work their land. Confronted by such situation the local government of Bolaang Mangondow decided to fulfill local people claims by paying them Rp. 15.000.000 per hectare (source: interview with a government officer).

Conflicts related to land right claim seemed to persist because there were many local people who demanded the same policy in other transmigration settlements, for example in Werdhi Agung village. Unfortunately there was a tendency that local people increase the land price and add the number of total land claimed to get more benefit. A government officer interviewed in the study confirmed this trend. In the case of Werdhi Agung, local people requested a land price of Rp. 20.000.000 to Rp. 25.000.000 per hectare, which was higher than the previous claim. Moreover, they claimed payment for 1500 hectares of land, while in fact the land procured for transmigration settlement was only 900 hectares.

Although the claim for land payment was directed to the government, there was always a possibility that it may annoy migrants. If the local government could not fulfill this demand, local people might attack migrants whom they assumed had taken over their land. Therefore it was understandable that the local people express their resentment to migrants. As a consequence, conflict between local people and migrants would appear publicly.

**Local people social jealousy towards migrants**

Social jealousy of local people towards migrants might become a source of conflict between the two groups. This happened because of various reasons. Interview with key persons in Bolaang Mangondow found two prominent reasons that induced local people social jealousy towards migrants, i.e. a gap in socio-economic conditions between the two groups and the existing government programs on supporting population resettlement. In the following section the two reasons will be discussed.

*Gap in socio-economic conditions*

It is a common phenomenon to find migrants who enjoyed a better social and economic condition as compared to local people. The desire to improve their lives had encouraged migrants to devote themselves to hard working. They had no choice. They must work industriously in order to survive. This resilient generated success in their economic live, which in turn led to a better
social status than that of local people. Previous study on transmigration settlement in Dumoga confirmed the argument through its finding about the superiority of migrants in economic activities which led to a broader socio-economic gap between the two groups (Tuerah, 1998). Actually, the gap appeared not only between migrants and non-migrants, but also between transmigration villages and local people villages (Bidja, 2001).

One prominent indicator of economic gap between migrants and local people was the difference in landowning and controlling by the two groups, especially that of agriculture land. The land owned and controlled by the majority of migrants was much wider than those of their counterparts. In his study Tuerah found that wetland belongs to migrants were more than three times wider than the similar type of land owned by local people. On average migrants owned 2.3 hectares of wetland, while their counterparts only owned 0.7 hectares. The condition was even worse in the possession of dry land. On average migrants have 1.1 hectares of dry land, while their counterparts only owned 0.3 hectares.

Part of the land belongs to migrants was given by government at the time of their arrivals (each family head got 2 hectares of land in the form of agriculture land and house yard). The rest was the land they bought from the local people. A study conducted on migrant destination areas in Dumoga found that some local people considered land as a source for earning money, especially when they needed it disparately. They sold their land whenever they need money, for example for their children marriage celebration or religious celebration such as Idul Fitri (among moslems) (Romdiati, et.al., 2001). The success of the majority of migrants in cultivating their land, which led them to have bigger amount of money, accompanied by the tendency of local people to sell their land when they disparately need money, facilitated migrants to own a wider range of agricultural land.

Owning a wider agricultural land has enabled migrants to produce a larger amount of agricultural products. This in turn provided them with a higher income as compared to local people who have smaller and worse quality of agricultural land. In the long run, this situation created social welfare differences between the two groups.

The majority of migrants who earned a big amount of money spent them for their children education. Therefore, it is not surprising to find second generation of migrants attained high educational level. Actually, some of them had graduated from tertiary education level. The educated migrants’ children did not want to carry out agriculture work and to cultivate their land. They employed local people. Interviews with key persons in the transmigration areas in Dumoga supported this argument. There was a common phenomenon among local people to work as agriculture laborer in the land that used to be owned by them or their ancestors. Some of local people perceived this as an ironic condition and this caused an uncomfortable feeling, which in turn stimulated jealousy towards migrants. Those who had such feeling, unfortunately, ignore efforts that had been undertaken by migrants in gaining all their possession. Some local people tended not to consider
all migrants’ possession as the result of hard work done previously, as expressed by two migrants interviewed below,

Local people only saw our success today. They forgot our difficulties and our very hard life when we arrived here. They also ignored our hard work to cultivate our land just to have a sufficient earning. Life was very hard when we set our foot here, but we worked very hard to survive (source: a man who arrived among the first groups of Balinese migrants in 1963).

When we arrived here the housing condition was not as good as today. The said houses prepared for us had actually not been available at all. Some of us got no house and we lived at a barrack near the location. We suffered and worked very hard all the time until we got what we have today. Local people are jealous when they saw that our lives are better than theirs. They do not appreciate that we had to work hard previously (source: a women who arrived in 1965 when she was 10 years old).
Government program on supporting population resettlement

A package of infrastructure and services such as roads, schools, health centers, marketplaces and rural institutions were developed and improved in response to transmigration (Charras, et.al., 1993; Davis & Garrison, 1988). The government has expanded the road to reach resettlement locations to break the isolation of remote areas prepared for the new settlement.

As a consequence of being a destination area for government-organized migration, many development projects had been conducted in Bolaang Mangondow before the arrival of migrants. The government has developed and improved roads to areas prepared for new settlement. Irrigation infrastructure was built in response to transmigration program (Charras, 2000) since the prospective migrants were mostly paddy rice farmers. Other facilities such as schools and health centers were also provided in order to fulfill the needs of the new dwellers.

All program carried out in transmigration settlement were unfortunately perceived negatively by local people. They perceived the program as unequal government services for migrants and non-migrants. In some cases construction of road and building of educational and health facilities in transmigration settlement which have spent a big amount of government budget only benefit migrants (Charras, 2000). This sparked local people jealousy towards migrants. In some cases, local people resented migrants (Tirtosudarmo, 1996). This was worsened by the involvement of central government in project planning and funding for transmigration areas. In contrast, programs on non-transmigration settlement areas were mostly planned and funded by local government. Interview with key persons in the transmigration areas found that this policy made some local people assumed that the government has given more attention to migrants than to local people. They also assumed that almost all government programs, particularly in agriculture, were designed to benefit migrants. Irrigation infrastructure was built for paddy rice cultivation on migrants’ land while paddy rice cultivation is not the main agricultural activity of local people. Although local people can use the infrastructure freely to irrigate their land, they still perceived that the infrastructure was built especially for migrants because it was constructed before migrants’ arrival.

Other government supporting program on agricultural sector, e.g. the introduction of more advanced technology and trainings to increase the farmers’ capability were also more likely to be perceived as favoring migrants. This was because the majority of the programs were focused on wetland cultivation and most migrants worked on wetland cultivation. On the contrary, programs for dry land agriculture, in which the main agricultural activity of local people, were very rare. Therefore, it is understandable if local people assumed more attention were given to migrants by the government. Local people also argued that migrants’ success was due to and facilitated by the government strong supports. They thought that they were left behind – in term of their socio-economic condition – because they did not get sufficient support from government to improve their capability in conducting agriculture activity.

Feelings of being treated unequally were expressed not only by ordinary local people but also by government officials. They knew, the fact was: local people were not fully served by government programs because these programs were specifically designed to suit migrants’ needs. Interview with government officials found that there was an ironic condition, where they frequently implemented many programs for migrants and where the implementation of special programs for local people was not as intensive as those for migrants.

Attempts should be taken to reduce social jealousy as a dangerous source of conflicts or local people resentment towards local government or migrants. Local government should invite local people and ask them to explain their needs. Then the local government should seek a way to accommodate the needs in any development policies and programs. Due to the shift of government
system from centralization to decentralization now the local government has the authority to plan and implement programs suitable for their areas. In this case, the government of Bolaang Mangondow should design special programs that enable local people to catch up with successful migrants.

**The impression of negative ethnic stereotypes**

Apart from conflicts between local people and local government and conflicts between local people and Balinese migrants, there was another conflict that recently had surfaced publicly, i.e. conflict between local people and migrants from Minahasa. Interview with key persons in Bolaang Mangondow found that local people, especially the elite, was unhappy due to the arrival of government-organized migrants from Minahasa, especially those, whose migration was forced after a volcano eruption in the last five years. Local people thought the eruption was not such a big thing that should jeopardize people lives and forced them to move to other areas. Some even assumed that the movement was secretly organized by Minahasanese elites who wanted a dominant role for their ethnic group in North Sulawesi. This ideal was realized by spreading Minahasanese people throughout the province. This could break out conflict between the two ethnic groups, as Koentjaraningrat (1987) argued that conflict between ethnic groups could be triggered by the willingness of any particular ethnic group to politically dominate other ethnic groups.

Sentiment of being dominated by Minahasanese made local people reluctant – or even resent – to totally accepting Minahasanese migrants. A key person interviewed in a study in Bolaang Mangondow mentioned that Minahasanese migrants were different from other ethnic groups of migrants. Some local people believed that the last groups migrated purely by economic motives. On the contrary, according to them, the underlying reason of Minahasanese migration was not only economic motives but also a desire to maintain their domination over local people. Furthermore local people, especially the elite, assumed that the organized-movement of Minahasanese was to widespread this ethnic group all over North Sulawesi. Their existence in many areas enables them to control economic resources, which in turn will strengthen the superiority of Minahasanese over Bolaang Mangondownese.

In some cases, local people had expressed their objection to Minahasanese migrants in Bolaang Mangondow, especially those who migrated under a government-organized program. They demanded the provincial government to review program for relocating Minahasanese migrants at many villages in Bolaang Mangondow. The provincial government should put a special attention to this demand because it may cause social unrest if local people aspirations will not be accommodated in a proper way. Delegation of local people and those of Minahasanese migrants would be involved in a dialogue to search for mutual compromises that could satisfy both parties.

**Job segregation among Bitung population: the potency for harmonious relationship**

As mentioned previously, migrants residing in Bitung had moved to the city on their own initiatives. They migrated to Bitung because of the availability of a wider range of economic activities in the growing city. Majority of them had families or friends in Bitung who had already run some economic activities and who have sufficient information on any prospective economic activities.
A study conducted in 2000 by the Research Center for Population at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences found that there was job segregation among migrants residing in Bitung. The segregation was more likely based on ethnic groups. Therefore, it was not surprising to find migrants from any particular ethnic group who dominated certain kind of jobs. However, job segregation was not strictly applied in the sense that migrants from any particular group are prohibited to do jobs that are already dominated by other groups.

The majority of migrants living in Bitung worked in industrial, trading and service sectors. There were also some migrants who worked in agriculture sector, although the number was not as big as those who worked in the three sectors. Migrants from Gorontalo, South Sulawesi, Central Java and East Java mainly worked in the trading sector with the majority run some petty trading. They trade many kinds of goods, for example, Javanese migrants sell foods and migrants from Gorontalo sell vegetables and food spices at traditional markets. Migrants from South Sulawesi mostly sell clothes, household goods and jewelry. Some of them undertook trading in permanent stores at shopping areas.

Migrants from other ethnic groups did various kinds of jobs. Those of Bolaang Mangondow ethnic group, for example, worked as laborers at factories in Bitung who processed fishes for canned food. Migrants from Sangir Talaud ethnic group were mostly fishermen and the majority of them worked in fishing boats owned by foreign companies from Taiwan and the Philippines. Some Sangir Talaud migrants also worked in agricultural sector. They were employed by local people to cultivate land or work in coconut plantation. Beside migrants from Sangir Talaud there were also some migrants from Gorontalo employed by local people to work in rice fields or vegetable plantation. Currently, the young local people tend to reject agricultural works and this tendency causes the lack of manpower for such works. Therefore, landowners are forced to employ migrants to cultivate their land.

Local people tend to refuse doing jobs that they consider as non-prestigious occupations such as laborer for fish processing and canned food factories. There is a tendency among local people, especially among the young age group from wealthy families, to favor being jobless rather than doing non-prestigious jobs. They prefer to work in formal sector like government and private company offices. Since job opportunities in formal sector are limited, they favor to migrate to other areas to search for suitable jobs. Apart from formal sector, transportation sector is also favorable. A quite significant number of local people are doing jobs in this sector, particularly as drivers of small minibus that operates in the city.

In this case, local people do not think that migrants are threatening them in terms of income earnings because they work in jobs that are considered as non-prestigious by them. Some local people appreciated the industriousness and resiliency of the migrants and encouraged their young generations to work as
industriously as migrants in order to achieve a successful live, as mentioned by an old man in an interview,

I asked my children and grandchildren to imitate migrants in working. I use their success as an example of how hard working brings about a better living condition. I told my children and grandchildren that migrants brought nothing when they arrived, but now they are wealthy because they had worked very hard.

Segregation of job among people from different ethnic groups may be the cause that prevented them from competing demand on income earning. It can be said, therefore, that job segregation has positive impacts on social interaction in the population. This is because job segregation has made people aware of their own needs and the need of people from other ethnic groups. Local people, particularly, perceived that migrants have contributed to the growth of the city because they carried out various kinds of economic activities that in turn stimulated economic growth. A head of a sub-district in Bitung mentioned the significant contribution of migrants to the economic growth of the city in the following paragraph:

We welcome migrants because they have paced economic growth in the city. Migrants have vitalized economic activities. Arrival of migrants in a considerable number has created economic opportunities for local people for example some of them built houses rented by migrants that in turn provide them with additional income. Migrants also initiated the trading sector because local people did not used to trade. Without migrant existence I am sure trading sector would not grow.

Job segregation has promoted harmonious relationship among people from various ethnic groups. This would encourage mutual collaboration among those groups, as mentioned by Koentjaraningrat (1987): there will be socio-economic collaboration among various ethnic groups if they have different sources of income and their economic activities are complement to each other. However, there is a need to anticipate that potential conflicts may break out in the future. By this time, the gap in socio-economic conditions between migrants and local people has not yet openly discussed as potential conflict cause in Bolaang Mangondow. If such gap is felt then a conflict between the groups would emerge, as Pelly (1999) argued: socio-economic gap is a factor that stimulates conflict among different ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Migration has caused people from different ethnic groups to live together in migrants’ receiving areas. The mixture of these people has both positive and negative impacts on their socio-economic life. In the positive side, it might acquire
a harmonious relationship as indicated by the existence of mutual collaboration among various groups. On the other hand, conflict among the various groups would emerge, particularly when the groups compete in controlling economic resources.

Many factors contribute to the emerging of conflicts. Conflicts between migrants and local population are more likely triggered by social jealousy of the local people towards migrants. This is mainly induced by existing gap in the social and economic conditions between the two groups. It is a common phenomenon that migrants are more successful in terms of economic life. Since most migrants came to gain a better living condition, they worked very hard in order to survive. This brings about better social and economic conditions for migrants as compared to those of the local people who are mostly not as zealous in working as the migrants. Conflict between local people and local government was usually related to process of land obtaining for transmigration areas. Local people considered that the government has taken over their land, including agriculture land, by forcing them to sell the land under the normal price and prepare it for the migrants. Indeed, some claimed that the government had not paid their land relinquished for transmigration program. Therefore, it is not surprising to find local people who claim that the land still belong to them and request the government to pay it in the current price.

A case study on two migrant receiving areas inhabited by different characteristics of migrants shows differences in the nature and causes of conflict among the groups. The study found that in the area of government-organized migrant conflicts were more pronounced. They are mainly stimulated by programs and services provided by the government that were assumed by local people as favoring migrants. This leads local people to believe that the government has put more attention to migrants as compared to them. It might be possible that this would provoke their resentment towards the government and it also might be possible for them to retaliate against migrants whom they perceived enjoy the main priority of government projects. Moreover, appearance of conflict tends to be more frequent in areas in which job opportunities are limited, for example in rural areas. Limited job opportunities in the areas caused high reliance of people on agriculture activities, which in turn brought about high demand on agricultural land. This induced also high competition to control the resources and it is not rare to find this emerged conflict among competing parties.

Fair competition in conducting economic activities in the sense that there is no group who enjoy more benefit of development projects is a possible rule to prevent conflict. Conflicts also tend not to appear in areas in which there is no competition over income sources. In the case of Bitung, conflict might be prevented because each group of people engaged in different occupations, which possibly will hinder them from competition in income gaining. Furthermore, since there was no development project specifically implemented to advantage certain groups, all the groups living in the area enjoy equal priority of development programs. This would not cause jealousy among the groups and this in turn may prevent conflicts.


