



EXPLORING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND AGRIBUSINESS SYSTEMS OF TRANSMIGRANTS IN THE EARLY SETTLEMENT PHASE: A CASE STUDY IN WASILE DISTRICT

Natal Basuki¹⁾; Suwandi S. Sangadji^{2)*}; Suhardi³⁾; Haris Mahmud⁴⁾

^{1),3),4)}Department of Agribusiness, Faculty of Agriculture, Universitas Khairun, North Maluku, Indonesia

²⁾Department of Management, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Airlangga, East Java, Indonesia

* Corresponding Author: suwandi.s.sangadji-2022@feb.unair.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This research was conducted in a transmigrant settlement in Wasile District, East Halmahera Regency, North Maluku Province, where the initial placement included ethnic groups from Banyuwangi and Banyumas. The study aims to analyze the support of social capital for the adaptability of transmigrants. A post-positivist paradigm was employed in this research. Data were collected through observation, participatory observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and document reviews. The informants consisted of 6 key informants and 14 supporting informants. The key informants included two representatives each from the Banyuwangi and Banyumas transmigrant groups placed in 1983, a Field Extension Officer (PPL), the Wasile District Head, the Village Head of Bumi Restu, and the Village Head of Mekar Sari. The supporting informants were those recommended by the key informants. The informants were selected purposively, followed by a snowball sampling technique. The data were analyzed qualitatively and descriptively manner. The findings indicate that the social capital support possessed by these two transmigrant groups significantly enhanced their adaptability, enabling them to survive and thrive. Furthermore, the implications of these findings are substantial. Strong social capital among the transmigrants can facilitate knowledge exchange, resource sharing, and collective action, essential for establishing

* Submitted: May 29, 2024

Accepted : September 7, 2024

and maintaining effective agribusiness practices. This robust support network enables transmigrants to overcome agricultural production, market access, and economic integration challenges. Consequently, the enhanced adaptability fostered by social capital improves their resilience and contributes to the overall success and sustainability of their agribusiness ventures, promoting community development and economic growth in the region.

Keywords: *Adaptation, Community Resilience, Resource Sharing, Social Capital, Transmigrants*

Cite as:

Basuki, N., Sangadji, S. S., Suhardi, & Mahmud, H. (2024). Exploring Social Capital And Agribusiness Systems of Transmigrants In The Early Settlement Phase: A Case Study In Wasile District. *Jurnal AGRISEP: Kajian Masalah Sosial Ekonomi Pertanian Dan Agribisnis*, 23(02), 529–560. <https://doi.org/10.31186/jagrisep.23.02.529-560>

INTRODUCTION

The transmigration process, involving the relocation of individuals within a country to different regions, has long been a strategic tool for regional development and population redistribution across several nations. In Indonesia, transmigration programs have played a pivotal role since the 1950s, aiming to address population density in overpopulated areas while promoting the development of underpopulated regions (Arif et al., 2023; Murniati et al., 2022; Tirtosudarmo, 2022a). The overarching goal of these initiatives is not only to alleviate pressure in densely populated urban areas but also to unlock the economic potential of sparsely inhabited regions (Pratiwi et al., 2022; Rustiadi et al., 2023; Tirtosudarmo, 2022b). However, the effectiveness of these programs extends beyond the provision of physical infrastructure and economic opportunities – it is fundamentally tied to the successful social integration and support systems available to transmigrants.

In this context, the importance of social capital becomes evident. Social capital, a concept deeply explored by sociologists like Pierre Bourdieu, refers to the intangible resources embedded in social relationships and networks that individuals can utilize to achieve personal and collective goals (Jæger et al., 2023; Lizardo & Jilbert, 2023). These resources, which include trust, norms, and social networks, are critical for transmigrants as they adapt to new environments. Without social capital, the process of settling into unfamiliar territories can be fraught with challenges, including isolation, limited access to resources, and difficulties in establishing a sustainable livelihood. This is particularly true for rural areas, where strong community ties and local knowledge are essential for successful integration (Colfer & Prabhu, 2023; Mukrimin & Acciaioli, 2023; Sinta et al., 2022).

This study examines transmigrants' social capital and agribusiness systems during the early stages of their settlement in the Wasile District, located in the Subaim Valley of East Halmahera Regency. Wasile District serves as a unique case study due to its geographic isolation, socio-cultural diversity, and agricultural potential. As a rural district, its socio-economic fabric is woven tightly around agricultural production, making agribusiness systems crucial for both locals and newly arrived transmigrants. The successful integration of transmigrants into the local agribusiness ecosystem is often contingent upon their ability to leverage social capital, which enables them to navigate both social and economic challenges in their new environment.

Social capital, in this context, is not a monolithic entity but rather a multifaceted resource that encompasses various elements, including trust, norms, networks, and shared values. Trust serves as the foundation for building robust relationships between transmigrants and local community members, which in turn facilitates greater social engagement and cooperation (Curran, 2002; Glorius, 2019; Sha, 2021). Furthermore, the presence of established norms within the receiving community guides the behavior of newcomers, enabling them to align more effectively with local practices and expectations (Negi et al., 2018; Talleraas, 2020). These norms often govern important aspects of daily life, including farming rituals, social interactions, and resource-sharing mechanisms. Social networks, which often include extended family, fellow transmigrants, and local residents, provide crucial access to information, employment opportunities, and support mechanisms that are indispensable during the settlement process (Borkert et al., 2018; Koser Akcapar, 2010). These networks also offer emotional and social support, which can mitigate the stress and uncertainty associated with relocation.

The socio-economic conditions in Indonesia's densely populated regions have made transmigration an essential intervention for promoting equitable development and population redistribution. Notable examples of successful transmigration initiatives, such as those in Central Kalimantan and Lampung, underscore the potential of these programs to stimulate economic growth in rural areas while simultaneously addressing population pressures (Kebschull, 2020; Simpson, 2021). These successful cases highlight the importance of continuously evaluating and adapting transmigration policies to meet the evolving needs of both transmigrants and host communities. In regions like Wasile District, where the agricultural landscape holds considerable potential for economic development, understanding the role of social capital in shaping agribusiness systems is crucial. This research seeks to address two primary questions:

RQ1: How does social capital influence the adaptation of Bayuwangi and Banyumas ethnic transmigrant farmers during the early phase of settlement in the Wasile District?

RQ2: How do social and cultural practices, such as farming rituals and social networks, contribute to the sustainability of their agribusiness systems?

Additionally, this study examines the role of core social capital elements, such as trust, reciprocity, and collective action, in helping these farmers overcome environmental and economic challenges. By focusing on these dimensions, this research aims to offer a deeper understanding of how social capital supports the success of transmigration initiatives, especially in remote and agriculturally rich areas like Wasile District. The findings of this study are expected to inform local and national policymakers about the importance of fostering social capital when designing and implementing strategies for regional development.

The implications of this research extend beyond the Wasile District, offering valuable insights into the broader dynamics of transmigration in Indonesia. Understanding how social capital and agribusiness systems interact can not only enhance the livelihoods of transmigrants but also contribute to the sustainable development of regional economies. Policymakers must recognize that building and nurturing social capital is essential for the long-term success of transmigration programs. By prioritizing community-building initiatives, strengthening local networks, and fostering inclusive development practices, transmigration programs can achieve their full potential in contributing to socio-economic growth and equitable development across the country.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

This study utilizes a qualitative and exploratory approach to investigate the dynamics of social capital among migrants during their initial settlement phase in the Wasile District. The qualitative approach is ideal for this research as it allows for an in-depth exploration of the complex and evolving social networks and resources that transmigrants rely on, best understood through their lived experiences and subjective perceptions. Adopting the post-positivism paradigm, the research acknowledges an objective reality influenced by natural laws while recognizing that human understanding of this reality is limited and shaped by individual perspectives (Kumatongo & Muzata, 2021; Lauzier-Jobin et al., 2022). Efforts to mitigate potential biases include reflexive practices such as peer debriefing and reflective journaling, alongside an awareness of how the researcher's background and field experience may influence data collection and interpretation.

Data Collection Methods

Guided by post-positivism, the study emphasizes the importance of direct involvement with participants to uncover authentic insights (Guba, 1990; Hasan & Sangadji, 2024). Participants are viewed as informants and actors rather than mere respondents. To achieve a comprehensive understanding of social capital dynamics, the study employs a combination of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and documentation. These methods facilitate the collection of rich, context-specific data through interactive engagement. Preliminary analysis has identified themes such as communal support networks and trust-building mechanisms as central to the social capital of transmigrants.

Sampling Technique

In the dynamic data collection process, researchers immerse themselves in the field to navigate unpredictable situations (Carter et al., 2021; Pyo et al., 2023). A combination of participatory observation, in-depth interviews, FGDs, and document reviews is employed to gather diverse perspectives and enhance validity. Initial informants are selected based on specific criteria, such as their involvement in key community activities or roles in local organizations. The informants consisted of 6 key informants and 14 supporting informants. The key informants included two representatives each from the Banyuwangi and Banyumas transmigrant groups placed in 1983, a Field Extension Officer (PPL), the Wasile District Head, the Village Head of Bumi Restu, and the Village Head of Mekar Sari. The supporting informants were those recommended by the key informants. Snowball sampling is then used to expand the sample until data saturation is achieved iteratively. While this method can introduce biases, strategies to cross-check information and ensure diverse representation are employed to minimize potential biases in snowball sampling.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process is designed to systematically and comprehensively examine the collected data. It begins with organizing data into manageable units and breaking it into meaningful segments to identify patterns and key themes relevant to the research questions (Supriatin et al., 2022). Coding, thematic, and narrative analysis are used to categorize data, uncover recurrent patterns, and construct coherent stories from informants' experiences. Various triangulation methods, including data source and method triangulation, are used to enhance the robustness of the conclusions by comparing different data sources and analytical techniques. Measures such as member checking and peer debriefing further ensure the reliability and credibility of the research. Member checking involves soliciting participant feedback to confirm the accuracy of findings, while peer debriefing provides an external review to

challenge and refine the analysis. This rigorous approach aims to distill actionable insights and draw well-substantiated conclusions about the social capital and agribusiness systems of transmigrants in the Wasile District.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study focus on the description of transmigrant social capital, which includes three elements of social capital, namely: mutual trust, social networking and reciprocity relationship. Still, Bourdieu & Coleman (1991) analysis of why certain ethnicities are more vulnerable than others in the same area and also how transmigrants' vulnerability conditions are influenced by their social capital are used. Thus, this analysis discusses how transmigrants adapt and explain how better social capital will increase adaptability to vulnerability in transmigration destination areas.

Eko et al. (2014) stated that villages in Indonesia are very rich in social capital but also socially vulnerable. Rural communities have long had various social ties and social solid solidarity. Swadaya and gotong-royong have proven to be the main pillars of village autonomy. When state capacity cannot reach the village level, self-help and gotong-royong are permanent alternatives that allow various village infrastructure development projects to be fulfilled. Beyond self-help and gotong-royong, villagers have a tradition of they help each other, work together, and help each other, especially when they see a disaster up close.

Overview, Historical Context, and Impact of Transmigration in Wasile District

Subaim, presents significant agricultural potential in the Wasile subdistrict of East Halmahera Regency, North Maluku Province. The area boasts a substantial land area blessed with fertile soil and a tropical climate conducive to the growth of various crops. The agricultural potential of Subaim includes staple commodities such as rice, corn, and tubers, as well as cash crops like coconut and cocoa. Additionally, the presence of rivers and abundant water sources supports agricultural development in the region. However, to fully harness this potential, adequate infrastructure, agricultural technology development, and the enhancement of human resources in agriculture is essential, including implementing transmigration programs in the area.

The first migrants were settled in the Wasile Valley in 1982. In preparation for transmigration in the 1980s, the government cleared much of the sago palm forest and dismantled historical socio-ecological structures in the North Maluku archipelago. According to Saluang (2014), the North Maluku archipelago had long been a site of intact symbiosis between humans and nature. The sago palm deforestation carried out by the Indonesian government within a span of two years led to prolonged impacts. The deforestation faced strong opposition from

the indigenous *Tugutil* people, who felt outsiders were disrupting their primary territory. Despite repeated resistance, the government largely ignored these protests, and media coverage was minimal then. To mitigate potential resistance and social unrest, the government took preventive measures by deploying military personnel (*Babinsa*) to oversee deforestation. This ensured the smooth continuation of sago palm logging in the Wasile subdistrict (Subaim Valley), and the *Tugutil* people could not resist the intimidation from the authorities (Buamona, 2014). Consequently, the *Tugutil* people were forced to relocate and build new homes along riverbanks near the transmigration areas.

During the early waves of transmigration, conflicts over land occurred, and disputes still persist. These conflicts typically arise from overlapping land claims between rice fields, gardens, and lands used by the *Tugutil* or the remaining Subaim residents at the edges of the transmigration areas. Several residents have experienced such disputes in farming fields and gardens bordering the territories of the Subaim community. From 1983 to 1986, transmigration waves were initiated from SP1 to SP6 in the Wasile subdistrict. Since then, the original inhabitants of the Subaim Valley (the *Tugutil*) have increasingly been marginalized. They had to venture deeper into the forest to obtain sago, tubers, or other staple foods. Their knowledge of forest locations was extensive, with different forest areas occupied by distinct groups.

The success of transmigrants from Java, who engaged in paddy rice farming, became evident by 1986. Rice became a key commodity driving the socio-economic growth and spatial expansion in the Subaim Valley. The fertile land in Subaim contributed to the success of many Javanese migrants. Between 1986 and 1997, rice harvests met the needs across Wasile, with rice distribution from the Wasile subdistrict (Subaim Valley) expanding and creating an extensive economic chain. Contrary to the typical behavior of seeking lower lands, rice from Subaim flowed to areas with higher prices. Cities like Tobelo, Ternate, Tidore, Buli, and Labuha (Bacan Island) became destinations for rice from the Subaim Valley.

Social Capital in the Community of Transmigrant Farmers from Banyuwangi

1. *Mutual-Trust*

Mutual trust among Banyuwangi ethnic transmigrant farmers, both among fellow community members and between community members and their leaders, can be seen in the various forms of joint activities and decision-making that are organized. These activities and joint decision-making occur from the time of arrival at the transmigration location, when transmigrants live as a community, until now.

The first thing to do is to build mutual trust between individuals in the transmigration community from Banyuwangi into trust between groups and

trust in larger groups. With the establishment of mutual trust, it eventually becomes a set of values of togetherness and hope in the community. Mutual trust encourages togetherness in transmigrants. This togetherness is manifested in the form of cooperation, "*gugur gunung*", in the construction of dams. *Gugur gunung* in the dam-making activity, which requires a lot of energy, time and money, was able to be realized.

This proves that Javanese people are accustomed to working together to complete heavy and labor-intensive jobs. This mutual cooperation has different terms in each region. The people of East Java usually call it *bakti*, *gera'an* or *gugur gunung*. For rural communities it is more often called *gugur gunung*. To do *gera'an* or *gugur gunung*, of course, requires a sense of mutual trust between the initiator and those who will be invited to work together. The initiator of the idea must be able to get others to participate in the collaboration. The existence of mutual trust between parents/community leaders of the Banyuwangi community was able to encourage the emergence of a spirit of togetherness. Mutual trust between leaders and transmigrants creates collective action. With the capital of mutual trust, they finally cooperate with each other, willing to spare their energy, thoughts and property.

Mutual trust between community leaders in the form of cooperation carried out by the community in the construction of dams independently, which are used to provide irrigation water for rice fields, has an effect on changes in welfare. In accordance with this principle of social capital, which shows strong interaction and mutual trust between fellow communities in transmigration. The mutual trust between them is not only evidenced by a collective action in the construction of the dam, the mutual trust is also maintained in the maintenance of the dam, so that it is still functioning today. Meanwhile, the management of irrigation water distribution is entrusted to one of the community members, Mr. SMRD (59). As compensation for his hard work, the irrigation water users give one sack of grain after each rice harvest. The success of building mutual trust between transmigrants has led them to better welfare. Even the transmigration location began to be recognized by other Maluku and North Maluku regions.

2. *Social networking*

The social networks adopted by Banyuwangi transmigrants in farming and non-farming activities, from the initial phase of their arrival until now. Some of these social networks are between themselves internally and some are social networks outside the community.

a. *Social Networking at the Rice Field Processing Stage*

Field processing work includes making *tamping*, *ngisi banyu*, *mbrujul*, *mopok*, *nglawet*, *nggaru* and *ndhadhag*. Only in the work of *ngisi banyu*, *mbrujul* and *nglawet* farmers relate to several parties. In the work of *ngisi banyu*,

farmers have to deal with fellow farmers and *jaga tirta*, to regulate the flow of irrigation water. Meanwhile, in the *mbrujul* and *nglawet* work, farmers are in contact with fellow farmers or tractor owners.

At the beginning of the placement, *mbrujul* and *nglawet* work was carried out using cattle power. The timing of *mbrujul* used to be adjusted to the behavior of the cattle which was believed to be influenced by the appearance of the constellation orion (*lintang wluku*). When the *wluku* latitude is visible at Maghrib or at dawn, it is believed that the plow (*brujul*) is ready to be used and the cattle are ready to work. Based on this natural sign, *mbrujul* work is also carried out simultaneously and some take turns. At the beginning of their wet-rice farming, almost all farmers owned traditional plows (*brujul/singkal*), and harrows. Some farmers made these tools themselves to obtain these tools, as SMRD and WGT did. In fact, both farmers sometimes receive orders from other farmers. At that time, the price was IDR 325,000/each, and payment was usually made in installments or after harvest.

Although almost all farmers have *singkal* and harrow tools, they usually take turns in doing the work. They do it in shifts (*gentenan*), because many of them still do not have cows as pulling power, or they are not proficient in using the *singkal*. This is why the work is done in shifts with the help of fellow farmers, without having to pay for rent, tools or labor, either human or cattle. Furthermore, a horizontal social network is formed.

b. Network with Production Facility Providers

Production methods such as seeds, fertilizers, and medicines (herbicides and insecticides) are usually self-provided. These materials are generally purchased by the farmers themselves. The government provides fertilizers in the form of subsidized fertilizers, which can only be purchased through farmer group associations (*gapoktan*). Most farmers provide their own seeds. At the beginning of transmigration placement, seed provision was never a problem because at that time almost all farmers prepared their own seeds from the previous harvest. Meanwhile, for farmers who do not have time to prepare seeds, they can usually ask fellow farmers. Mutual assistance in seed preparation between farmers is common and has continued until now. As is done by SMRD. KTJN, 65 years old, PMN, TPN and Wgt.

For the rice seeds to be planted, we obtain them in several ways, for example from the government, sent from Java, and fellow farmers:

“We have also received seeds from the government that are produced in Subaim itself, namely from BBU. It's just that the seeds from the government are very limited, at most only getting 10 kg, while the need for seeds per hectare

is between 25 - 30 kg. Another thing is that the government does not provide seeds for every planting season. For this reason, most farmers here plant rice from the seeds of the previous planting."

As stated above, the government once made a program related to the provision of seeds, namely the construction of the Main Seed Center (BBU). The construction of BBU facilities aims to meet the needs of transmigrant rice seeds. In actual mathematics with an area of 40 Ha, and seed production weighing 3,000 kg/ha/MT, then BBU can produce seeds weighing 120,000 kg/MT. With this production, BBU has been able to meet the needs of seeds and even surplus. Because the entire rice field area of East Halmahera Regency is 4,310 ha. If each hectare requires 25 kg of seeds, 107,750 kg of seeds are needed per planting season.

c. Networking in Nursery, Planting, Care, Harvest and Postharvest Activities.

There are three patterns of relationships that can occur at the nursery and planting stages of transmigration farmers. Patterns of relationships between families (children-fathers), friendships among farmers or relationships with farm laborers. At the beginning of the placement there are only two patterns of relationships, namely family relationships (diagonal) and friendships among farmers to help each other. As was done by WGT. PMN, TPN and SMRD, are explained as follows:

"In the past, when it came to seeding, we usually did it individually, and if there was a shortage, we used to give to each other. Likewise, when planting, we usually invited our children or sons-in-law and neighbors to help with the planting. If we only had a small area to cultivate, we would ask our children or sons-in-law to help us, but if we had a large area to cultivate, we would usually ask our neighbors to help us. But now it is a bit difficult to ask for help from neighbors, it is now a bit difficult to find labor to plant. That's why now we usually plant on a piece-rate basis, with labor coming from other SPs, for example from SP 3, because in SP 3 there are many people who don't work on their rice fields. Many work in the mines."

The relationship pattern with farm laborers occurs during planting work. In this pattern, farmers have to pay farm laborers eight hundred thousand rupiah per ha. Payment for planting work is usually in cash. The amount of the planting fee is determined by the farm laborers, who are usually women. The next stage is maintenance and harvesting. There are several jobs at this stage that require farmers to deal with external parties. The jobs that must be done in the maintenance stage are: *lep, kokrok, ngemes,*

and *matun*. *Ngemes* is the most critical job and must be done on time and in the right amount. In this work, farmers are in contact with the government. Farmers receive assistance from the government to purchase subsidized fertilizer.

To obtain subsidized fertilizer, farmers must be members of a farmer group. So inevitably, farmers become members of farmer groups to get the subsidized fertilizer ration. Distribution of subsidized fertilizer used to be done by KUD, after KUD disbanded around 1999, fertilizer was distributed through Gapoktan (Farmer Group Association). It turns out that the distribution of subsidized fertilizer by Gapoktan is usually delayed, and sometimes does not meet the needs of farmers. This condition was expressed by MUS (51 years old), SMRD, Mr. TPN, and KTJN, 65 years old, as follows:

“Here now there is a problem regarding fertilizer, because fertilizer is not sold freely, but must go through Gapoktan. According to the extension worker, the funds are already available with the head of Gapoktan. Still the problem is that the fertilizer is not available in the shop, because you have to buy it from an agent that has been determined by the government.”

“During the Suharto era, there was never a problem with fertilizer, unlike now, fertilizer is difficult, even if there is sometimes assistance only half of the needs.”

The scarcity of subsidized fertilizer that happened in the research location has often occurred. However, farmers cannot do anything because the government has regulated the procurement of subsidized fertilizers. The scarcity of fertilizers like this actually does not only occur in the research location, but the scarcity of subsidized fertilizers also often occurs in Java and Sumatra. As in the study of Asnawi et al. (2009) the cause of fertilizer scarcity in Lampung is partly due to the low realization of fertilizer compared to the proposed amount of fertilizer needed by farmers, which is an average of 40.94%. With the scarcity of fertilizer, there is a decrease in rice productivity, while the increase in production is generally influenced by the rise in the area of cultivated land.

No less important work in the maintenance stage of paddy rice is weeding (*matun*). *Matun* work was originally also done with *gentenan*. Now almost all farmers do this work with a hired or piece-rate system. The next job is harvesting. Some farmers still start with the *pethik pari* ceremony. *Pethik pari* is likened to a request for permission from the farmer before taking the crop and moving it to the house or granary. At the beginning of the rice harvesting stage, farmers did it in mutual cooperation, using the *bawon* system. Transmigram farmers from Banyuwangi no longer use the *bawon* system. They left the *bawon* system, and after the introduction of the rice thresher machine, the harvesting work switched to a piece-rate system. In the

piece-rate system, farmers have to spend one million one hundred thousand rupiah. Seven hundred thousand for cutting the rice stalks and four hundred thousand for the cost of threshing. The laborer determines the cost of the cutting labor. Likewise, the cost of threshing rice is also determined by the owner of the threshing machine.

This condition is in accordance with the research of Hayami, Y. dan Kikuchi (1981) in his study conducted in rural areas of Indonesia and the Philippines explaining the position of agricultural modernization which brings the expansion of the market economy and population growth on limited agricultural land resources. Agricultural modernization led to the replacement of human and animal labour by farming machinery. This process was accompanied by changes in rural institutions, land property rights and contractual ties between farmers, farm laborers and other actors in villages and cities (Salim, 2002).

The social network in the marketing system is the sales system of paddy rice farming products. There are two post-harvest management systems. (a) Farmers sell rice in a state of dry grain harvest. This pattern is carried out by farmers who are in debt to traders/middlemen in paddy field management. Farmers who are short of money usually go into debt to traders/middlemen with the *barnen* system. *Barnen* (*bayar sa bubare panen*/pay after the harvest is complete) is a custom among smallholders. (b) Farmers sell unhusked rice in a milled dry grain state. Table 1. shows the network pattern in the management of transmigrant farms from Banyuwangi.

The results show a mixed relationship of the three forms of social relationships, namely vertical or hierarchical relationships, diagonal relationships and horizontal relationships. This depends on the context and situation in which the interaction occurs, for example, what happens in the relationship between farmers and traders, moving from horizontal relationships to hierarchical relationships, father-son relationships. Vertical, horizontal and diagonal relationships between owner farmers and farm laborers or tractor owners. The relationship between owner farmers and farm laborers and tractor owners, it is dominated by farm laborers and tractor owners.

Table 1. Social Network Patterns in Rice Farm Management

No	Stages and work	Relationship patterns
1	Stages of rice field processing	Horizontal and Diagonal
2	Provision of means of production	Vertical, horizontal and diagonal
3	Breeding and planting	Horizontal and Diagonal
4	Care and harvesting	Horizontal and Diagonal
5	Postharvest	Horizontal and Diagonal

Source: Research Data, 2023

In marketing activities, some parties with an important position are traders/middlemen and owners of grain milling machines. Social relations in this activity are generally diagonal and vertical. Under these conditions, farmers are in a position of dependence on the traders/middlemen. Under these conditions, there is a division of profits that is not in favor of the farmers. This condition is in accordance with Sunoto (2012), opinion that the ideality of Javanese social relations has vertical, horizontal and diagonal dimensions.

Reciprocity Relationship

The results of the research found several forms or forms of reciprocity of transmigrants from Banyuwangi, in the fields of farming and non-farming.

a. Alternate Cultivation of Rice Fields (Gentenan)

Transmigrants from the Banyuwangi area use the term gentenan. Gentenan, derived from the word ganti, means to do a job in turn, for the benefit of a particular person. Usually this "gentenan" group consists of between 5 and 15 members. Gentenan in farm management includes agricultural land cultivation, planting and maintenance in the form of an outpouring of labor during shifts. There is no compensation for this arrangement, and each participant who takes a turn returns the favor. Activities are carried out in turns among members. At the beginning of the placement of almost all transmigrants who manage rice paddy farming is done with mutual cooperation. Management by working together becomes lighter. The work done in mutual cooperation includes processing (*mbrujul*), planting maintenance (*matun*) and harvesting. Processing (*mbrujul*) is done using cow labor and is done in turns (*gentenan*). As expressed by Mr. TPN, KTJN, 65 years old and SMRD, a transmigrant from Banyuwangi..

"In the past, when it was time to plow the fields, the rice fields were very crowded. The problem was that almost all farmers went down to the fields at the same time. Then they would take turns plowing with other friends in the same group..."

"Likewise, in maintenance and harvesting work, at the beginning of transmigrants cultivating paddy rice almost everything was done together, helping each other farmers. Now there are almost no transmigration farmers from Banyuwangi who work on rice fields in shifts. Especially after the existence of tractors for plowing, grass poison (herbicide) and rice threshers. Now everything has to be paid for, "Jer basuki mowo beo" (success requires money).."

Cooperation based on mutuality, which is a substitution of labor between one farmer and another, is commonly practiced by farmers from Java. In research (Hefner, 1985), conducted in the Tengger area, Gentenan (literally, "exchange" of

labor) is primarily cooperation in the form of labor reciprocity. In gentenan rules are reciprocity and work. To maintain the principles of gentenan, its members are limited to small groups, three to six farmers who have the same status, proximity, the same needs and tasks. Likewise in research conducted by (Irmayani et al., 2015) in Bone-bone village, Enrekang Regency, South Sulawesi Province. In this study, cooperation the outpouring labor on agricultural land management was called '*kombong*'. The work done by *kombong* is agricultural land management work that is completed quickly, for example, transplanting plant seeds, planting, weeding and harvesting. There are two types of *kombong*: small *kombong*, which consists of about 9 to 12 people, and large *kombong*, which usually involves many people.

b. Mutual Aid in the Construction of Residents' Houses

The real form of reciprocity of transmigrants from Banyuwangi is in cooperation/collaboration related to house building. The mutual cooperation activity owned by the community in the past was mutual cooperation in building houses, which was commonly called *sayan* (*soyo*). In some places the term *sayan* applies to every mutual cooperation activity in house-building. The communal nature of the village community is fertile ground for the growth of strong helping behavior among its residents. Helping and working together in many ways is a habit of transmigrants from Banyuwangi. They practiced this habit when they were still living in their original area. This mutual cooperation was certainly influenced by the customs of Javanese society at that time in general. The activity of helping and working together is called *sayan*.

The term *sayan* comes from the word *soyo* (Javanese) which means to help, of course selflessly. *Sayan* activities are generally carried out in the construction of community houses, places of worship, cattle pens and the like, especially those that help others. *Sayan* is done as an effort to help neighbors in doing work that is difficult to do with a few people. Work that requires *sayan*, for example, erecting house poles, installing roofs, erecting livestock pens, casting roofs, and so on. In general, *sayan* is done during house construction. People who do *sayan* do not receive any monetary reward. Everything is done solely because of the attachment between neighbors and strong brotherhood.

The *sayan* tradition of the transmigration community from Banyuwangi in Wasile Sub-district is still maintained, although not completely. For example, in the construction of a house, only some work is done in the *sayan* tradition, such as digging the foundation and installing the roof. Meanwhile, builders carry out other work, such as installing foundations, installing bricks (making walls), making frames, doors, and making roof trusses. The work is done on a daily or piece-rate basis.

c. *Reciprocal Relationships in Celebration Preparation*

Javanese society is a society that holds traditions and lives in a thick circle of traditions. Almost every event in their lives is given a special meaning and is realized in certain rituals. In these rituals, citizens have the right and obligation to assist, for example at circumcisions, weddings, deaths and births by contributing in the form of food, money or labor. This is where the reciprocity process occurs between residents.

The interchange that occurs between individuals in Javanese society illustrates that family relationships are still strong. When someone in the community holds a ritual or event, there is a feeling of wanting to help. Conversely, family members who have helped do not expect anything in return. This is what is called the *rewang* tradition. The *rewang* tradition in a celebration creates a sense of obligation to reciprocate. In community life, this is called reciprocity. The *rewang* tradition is a form of mutual cooperation towards families who have a celebration. The form of assistance in the *rewang* tradition can be labor, for example, circumcision ceremonies, marriages, births, and deaths.

Reciprocity enters into social life in general. They are based on the simple idea that people should help those who have helped or at least not harm them. More specifically, that a gift or service received becomes a reciprocal obligation to repay with a gift or service of at least comparable value at a later date. At weddings, the *rewang* tradition is carried out by close family (relatives) or neighbors to help from the beginning of the wedding to its completion. People who have received *rewang* have an obligation to reciprocate. The *rewang* tradition is a group of people who voluntarily involve themselves to help someone to complete their work and without being paid. *Rewang* also means assisting, which is usually dominated by mothers. They donate their labor for cooking and preparing traditional feasts or wedding banquets.

The *rewang* tradition is a tradition where the family relationship between them can be maintained strongly. Moreover, *rewang* is also a communicative and inspiring socialization platform for the people who carry it out. It is a place to learn how to cook in a fun way. *Rewang* is a form of harmony in kinship between communities. The *rewang* tradition is social awareness in the form of assistance to people so that their burden becomes lighter. In addition, it also aims to socialize and maintain relationships in the community. The tradition is carried out by emphasizing awareness.

Empirical data shows that transmigrants from Banyuwangi still carry out the *rewang* tradition until now. The *rewang* tradition is carried out in almost all celebrations. Wedding celebrations are the arena where the *rewang* tradition is most widely practiced, and involves the most people. This tradition is a tradition that they have carried out since they were still living in their area of origin. Theoretically, the *rewang* tradition eases the burden and improves social relations

among community members. Besides having economic and social value, mutual help also has symbolic value, as a form of social solidarity in rural communities. This condition is by the opinion of Bourdieu & Coleman (1991), that social capital is (1) a source of social control (2) a source that benefits the family and (3) the source can also come from outside the family.

Social Capital in the Transmigrant Farmer Community from Banyumas

Like transmigrants from Banyuwangi, transmigration farmers from Banyumas engage in various forms of activities based on the actualization of social capital. This activity of social capital has been institutionalized in the community, and some are still visible today.

1. Mutual Trust of Transmigrants from Banyumas

Transmigrants from Banyumas have institutions that encourage mutual trust. This social capital can be seen in the realization of their lives. This togetherness can be seen in the togetherness that promotes collective action. Collective action in transmigrants can be seen in constructing public facilities, namely a simple dam. The mutual trust between the village head from Banyuwangi and transmigrants from Banyumas is reflected in the work of making public facilities. This kind of activity has been habitually carried out by the Banyumas community, and they call it *kerigan*. *Kerigan* is a form of cooperation that helps complete a job that is difficult to do alone. Some of the jobs that are usually done with *kerigan* include constructing village roads, building mosques, fields, village halls and other public facilities. Usually, *kerigan* is spearheaded by the head of the RT, RW, village head, and possibly community leaders.

After seeing the experience of several people from Banyuwangi who began to produce rice from their rice fields. So transmigrants from Banyumas who settled in Blocks H, I and Y, who owned land east of the Muria river, tried to follow suit to make rice fields. In 1987, with a powerful sense of togetherness, the determination to be able to cultivate rice fields, they worked together in what is commonly called "*kerigan*". They tried to build a dam (reservoir), as expressed by STRM (Head of Mekar Sari Village). By imitating what Mr. Samiran said. (Coconut of the second village in the transmigration location) as follows:

"Anyway, if you want to live happily overseas, everyone must help each other together by sacrificing energy and time to create a dam, to be used to irrigate rice fields"

So only with very simple tools (hoes, crowbars, machetes and other agricultural tools) did the SP 1 transmigration community from Banyumas manage to dam one of the small rivers. With all the limitations that existed, the

work of making the dam could be completed in about seven months. After the dam was completed, it was not immediately able to be utilized, even before it was utilized the dam had broken down. As told by SNTR.

“After the dam is finished, then we make a thanksgiving. When it's Friday, after Friday prayers we make thanksgiving. Complete thanksgiving equipment, tumpeng rice, golong rice, ingkung jago and various rural specialties. When we finished thanksgiving it rained heavily, and at around 4pm the dam broke. Seeing the dam break down, we felt sad, how could it break down, even though the gabions filled with soil in sacks were considered strong.”

“After the dam broke, we discussed again, the preparation of sacks had run out. But thank God, the head of Samiran village donated sacks that could be used to fill the gabions. The large donation of sacks from the village head made us even more confident that, God willing, the dam could be repaired.”

After the dam was used, the transmigrants' spirit from Banyumas dropped. However, with the encouragement and spirit conveyed by the village head (Mr. Samiran), who provided or donated materials in the form of sacks that would be used to make the dam, they were finally re-energized. With the establishment of mutual trust, they finally succeeded in rebuilding the broken dam.

2. Social Networking

The research results show that the transmigrant social network shares many similarities with that of Banyuwangi's. Paddy rice farming activities consist of several stages, namely the stages of paddy field processing, provision of production facilities, seeding and planting, maintenance and harvesting and post-harvest.

a. Social Network of Rice Field Processing Stages

The method of rice field management carried out by Banyumas ethnic transmigrants is almost the same as Banyuwangi farmers. They are starting from land preparation, seeding, planting, maintenance to harvesting. There are some differences in the way they do it. This difference in method causes differences in the pattern of relationships that occur. At the rice field management stage, some transmigration farmers from Banyumas still use a cooperation system between farmers. Cooperation between farmers is carried out in the work of *mbrujul*, *nglawet*, and *ndhadhag*. In this work some work with the turn work system (liuran system). In this work there is a relationship or network between fellow farmers (friendship) and the family system (children help without being given direct wages / in the form of cash). Thus, at this stage of land cultivation, horizontal and diagonal

networks are formed. As expressed by MUS, SNTR and SNRS, transmigrants from Banyumas.

“There are still many people from Banyumas who work the rice fields by taking turns, such as in Block J. People from Cilacap, Sokaraja, Kebumen, Banyumas are mixed together to work the rice fields by taking turns....”

Most transmigration farmers from Banyumas use tractors to plow their fields. There is a transactional/business relationship for farmers who use tractors. Meanwhile, farmers who still use cattle to plow their fields have a friendship relationship.

b. Networking with Production Facilities Providers

Most transmigration farmers from Banyumas provide their own means of production. There are several ways farmers obtain rice seeds, namely: First, providing their seeds, i.e. using seeds from the harvest of the previous planting season, second, obtaining seeds from fellow farmers, third, receiving deliveries from their home region and fourth, obtaining seeds from the government. Providing their own seeds from the harvest of the previous planting season is the most widely used method by farmers. They are used to providing their own seeds. This is done to avoid delays in planting the next planting season. For farmers who use this method, seeds are never a problem, and there are no delays in planting.

At the beginning of transmigration, almost all farmers prepare their own seeds, from the previous harvest. For farmers who did not have time to prepare seeds, they could usually ask fellow farmers. Mutual assistance in seed preparation between farmers is common and has continued until now. As done by SNTR, SNTS and SNRS. They always provide their own seeds, as expressed as follows:

“When it comes to seeds, we all prepare our own, by separating the previous harvest. The problem is that if we wait for seeds from the government, we are often disappointed; they are often late and insufficient.”

The necessary medicines transmigration farmers use from Banyumas are usually two types: herbicides and insecticides. In the beginning, they did not use herbicides (weed-killing poisons). Herbicides were used after they had difficulty finding labor (farm laborers) to weed (*matun*). So herbicides are only a backup, if they get labor to weed then they do not use herbicides.

Likewise, for insecticides, farmers do not make special preparations. They will buy them if needed. Farmers have no difficulty in obtaining these medicines. There are several agents who distribute medication in the form of

herbicides or medicines for pests and diseases. There is even one distributor of medicines produced in Malaysia. They usually cooperate with agricultural extension workers to obtain these medicines.

If there are visible symptoms of pests or diseases, farmers usually report them to the extension worker. Furthermore, the extension agent liaises with the drug dealer to introduce the appropriate drugs, by gathering farmers in locations where symptoms of pests and diseases are indicated. Usually this is done in a counseling session and is interspersed with the introduction of these medicines. As explained by MUS (PPL from Bulukumba, South Sulawesi).

“Farmers do not prepare herbicides and drugs for pests and diseases. They buy them if there are symptoms of pests and diseases. So if there are symptoms of pests or diseases, they only report it. After I check, I call the drug distributor to explain the benefits and how to use it. I usually go directly to the place where the symptoms of the pest or disease symptoms.”

The provision of fertilizer for transmigrants now depends entirely on the government. According to Mr. Mus, to obtain fertilizer, the community must be members of a farmer group, while fertilizer can only be purchased in groups, through distributors that have been determined by the government.

c. Networking at Every Stage of Farming

In the process of seeding and planting, it begins with the establishment of a nursery (known as "kowen"), followed by seed sowing, extracting the seedlings from the nursery ("ndaut"), and finally, the actual planting ("tandhur"). Before spreading the seeds for sowing, the farmers diligently prepare the nursery (kowen). Once the kowen is fully prepared and the rice seeds have been soaked for twenty-four hours, they are then ready to be sown. For a more comprehensive understanding, please refer to the accompanying illustration in Figure 1.

There are three patterns of relationships that can occur during the nursery and planting stages carried out by transmigrant farmers. The relationship patterns include familial connections (parent-child), friendships among fellow farmers, and relationships with agricultural laborers. Initially, upon their settlement, there are only two relationship patterns: familial connections (diagonal) and friendships among fellow farmers to support each other. The relationship pattern with agricultural laborers arises during the planting work. In this pattern, farmers are required to pay agricultural laborers a sum of eight hundred thousand Indonesian Rupiah per hectare. Payments for the planting work are typically made in cash.



Kowen

Pre-soaked seeds

Figure 1.

Seedbeds (*Kowen*) And Seeds That Have Been Soaked, And Ready For Stocking

The next stage is maintenance and harvesting. There are several jobs at this stage that require farmers to deal with external parties. The jobs that must be done in the maintenance stage are; *lep*, *kokrok*, *ngemes*, and *matun*. *Ngemes* is the most important job to do and must be done on time and in the right amount. In this work, farmers are in contact with the government. Farmers receive assistance from the government to purchase subsidized fertilizer.

To obtain subsidized fertilizer, farmers must be members of a farmer group. So inevitably, farmers become members of farmer groups to get the subsidized fertilizer ration. Distribution of subsidized fertilizer used to be done by KUD, after KUD disbanded around 1999, fertilizer was distributed through Gapoktan (Farmer Group Association). It turns out that the distribution of subsidized fertilizer by Gapoktan is usually delayed, and sometimes does not meet the needs of farmers. This condition was expressed by MUS (51 years old), SMRD, Mr. TPN, and Mr. SNTR KTJN, 65 years old, as follows:

“Here now there is a problem regarding fertilizer, because fertilizer is not sold freely, but must go through Gapoktan. According to the extension worker, the funds are already available with the head of Gapoktan. Still, the problem is that the fertilizer is not available in the shop, because you have to buy it from an agent that has been determined by the government.”

“During the Suharto era, there was never a problem with fertilizer, unlike now, fertilizer is difficult, even if there is sometimes assistance only for half of the needs.”

No less important work in the maintenance stage of paddy rice is weeding (*matun*). *Matun* work was originally also done by *liuran*. Now it is done with a hired or piece-rate system. The next job is harvesting. Some farmers still start with the *pethik pari* ceremony. *Pethik pari* is likened to a request for permission from the farmer before taking the produce and moving it to the house or granary.

At first, the work at the rice harvest stage was done in cooperation, using the *bawon* system. Transmigram farmers from Banyuwangi no longer use the *bawon* system. After the introduction of the rice thresher machine, the harvesting work has switched to a piece-rate system. Farmers have to spend one million one hundred thousand rupiah in the piece-rate system. Seven hundred thousand for the cost of cutting rice stalks, and four hundred thousand for the cost of threshing. The laborer determines the amount of the cost of cutting labor. Likewise, the cost of threshing rice is also determined by the owner of the threshing machine.

The social network in the marketing system is the sales system of paddy rice farming products. There are three patterns of post-harvest management, which form a network, namely: (first), Farmers directly sold in a state of dry grain harvest. This pattern is carried out by farmers who establish relationships with traders/middlemen at the stage of rice field management. Farmers who are short of money owe the trader/middleman with the *barnen* system. *Barnen* (pay *sa bubare panen*/pay after the harvest) is a custom among smallholders. (second): farmers sell their unhusked rice in the milled dry state. And (third): Grain is stored and sold waiting for a better price or as needed.

The third pattern was carried out by several transmigration farmers from Banyumas who did not have debt dependents at the time of managing their rice fields. As practiced by SNTR (64 years old) and SNRS. Every harvest SNTR and SNRS always divide the harvest into 4 parts as follows: (a) part for expenses, (b) preparation of seeds for the next planting season, (c) stock until the next harvest is stored in *gledek*, (d) the rest is for other urgent needs and sold when the price of grain improves. Furthermore, it is explained why SNTR divides the harvest into 4 parts, that if they want to live safely and prosperously, it must be like this. As expressed by her:

"Wong tani ya uripe kaya wong tani, kudu pinter-pinter igah iguh, aja kaya wong dagang, Kudu paham karo kahanan lan kebutuhane dhewek"

"As a farmer, you have to live like a farmer, you have to be good at managing, not like a trader,.... you have to understand your own situation and needs....."

The pattern practiced by SNTR and SNRS is a subsistence farming pattern, that aims to fulfill their needs. Farmers like this are able to survive in living their lives as a wet-rice farmer. Thus, it can be seen that various network patterns are formed in the management of farming in transmigrants from Banyumas. Network patterns in the farming management of transmigrants from Banyumas can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Social Networks in Transmigrant Rice Farming from Banyumas

No	Stages and work	Relationship pattern
1	Stages of paddy field cultivation	Horizontal and diagonal
2	Provision of production facilities	Vertical, horizontal and diagonal
3	Seeding and planting	Horizontal and diagonal
4	Care and Harvest	Horizontal and diagonal
5	Postharvest	Horizontal and diagonal

Source: Research Data, 2023

The results show a mixed relationship between the three forms of social relationships, namely vertical or hierarchical relationships, diagonal relationships and horizontal relationships. This depends on the context and place where the interaction occurs. For example, the relationship between farmers and traders moves from horizontal relationships to hierarchical, father-son relationships.

Vertical, horizontal, and diagonal relationships exist between owner farmers and farm laborers or tractor owners. Farm laborers and tractor owners dominate the relationship between owner farmers and farm laborers and tractor owners. In marketing activities, some parties that have an important position are traders/middlemen and owners of grain milling machines. Social relations in this activity are generally diagonal and vertical. In such a relationship, the farmer is in a position of dependence on the trader/middleman. Under these conditions, a division of profits is not in favor of the farmers.

In marketing activities, some parties with an important position are traders/middlemen and owners of grain milling machines. Social relations in this activity are generally diagonal and vertical. Under these conditions, farmers are in a position of dependence on other parties and consequently, profit sharing is not in favor of farmers.

3. *Reciprocity relationship*

Reciprocity is a form of exchange between individuals or groups, which is common in rural/traditional communities. This is also the case for migrants from Banyumas, both in general community life and in farming life. The results of the research obtained various concrete forms of reciprocity. This study discusses three concrete forms of reciprocity, in farm management and house construction.

a. *Reciprocal Relationship in Rice Fieldwork*

Reciprocity in Banyumas ethnic transmigrants can be seen in farm management, in the form of group work. This group work is organized in such a way that members benefit equally, in the form of taking turns working on the land. This rotating work is called *liuran* work. According to several informants, *Liuran* comes from the word *liur*, which means rotating water. So in *liuran* work, work is done in shifts from one farmer to the next, and finally back to the first farmer. This work continues until all the work is completed.

The activities undertaken in association with the cultivation of agricultural land, planting and maintenance (weeding) take the form of an outpouring of labor in shifts. The terms are mutually agreed upon and there is no compensation and each participant who gets a turn pays back with services. This is done in shifts among the participants. The planting and maintenance activities usually involve more women, namely wives. As is done by this group of farmers from Banyumas, until now some people are still doing it using the *liuran* system. Mr. SNTR is one of the farmers who still uses the *liuran* system in managing his rice fields. On Friday December 12, 2014 several farmers and their wives were helping SNTR plant rice. According to information from SNTR, planting had started on Thursday *Wage*, December 11, 2014 yesterday, and this Friday was continued by the wives of 9 people from the *liuran* group, all of whom came from the ex-Karesidenan Banyumas area, but from different districts. For more details, please see Table 3.

Table 3. Banyumas Ethnicity *Liuran* System Working Group

No	Farmer Name	Region of Origin
1	Rusmidi	Ajibarang, Banyumas
2	Ratas	Jatilawang, Kroya
3	Rajmeja	Tatilawang, Kroya
4	Sukir	Binangun, Cilacap
5	Rasikun	Banjarnegara
6	Santari	Somagede, Banyumas
7	Wasiman	Renggong, Cilacap
8	Kamsidi	Kalisalak, Banyumas
9	Dakirun	Karangjati, Cilacap

Source: Research Results, 2023

Table 3. shows that all participants in the *liuran* work come from the Banyumas area, and are included in the Banyumas ex-presidency. The *liuran* work activity in *tandur* can be seen in Figure 2.



Figure 2.

The Wives of The *Liuran* Group Planting Rice (*Tandur*)

Liuran is a social institution, which starts from a system of using family labor, namely the head of the family (husband), wife, and adult children. The labor of children in the family is then reduced along with changes in their status, such as getting married and then building their own households, so replacement labor is needed. The labor of farm laborers as a substitute for children causes an increase in production costs, so that the lower middle class farmers or smallholders prefer friendship. The consideration is efficiency and savings in production costs, especially labor. The formation of this institution is a motivation in realizing an idea among them through a form of friendship in agricultural land management.

Formally, there are no binding provisions regarding the obligation to carry out these *liuran* activities. The thoughts of a few farmers drive the idea of togetherness. The realization of this activity also occurs when talking in groups, visiting neighbors at night (*ngendong*) which is their habit. This *liuran* agreement then continues into the technical implementation, for example in determining the order of cultivation. This agreement has implications for the ease or speed of completing the work. This work, of course, requires the provision of food by farmers who can turn the work around. Although the provision of food is not a necessity. A sense of moral responsibility and appreciation for services in maintaining relationships and togetherness. Specifically in rice farming management, some of the work that is usually done with the *liuran* system is plowing, planting and weeding.

b. Reciprocal Relationship in Harvest (Bawon)

The *bawon* system is a tradition practiced by some transmigration farmers from Banyumas in wet-rice farming. Rice paddy farming is still relied upon by the community in the research location. They accept the introduction of technology as an agricultural reform, but the nature of the

farmer's consciousness brings them to share in their social life. *Bawon* is a farming system that serves to increase the social sense in the community and has become a tradition. *Bawon* is a term, transmigrants from Banyumas call it "*bawoni*." This *bawon* tradition is still practiced by some transmigration farmers from Banyumas, Central Java, and has been practiced for generations. The agricultural system is carried out by helping, assisting and sharing. The *bawon* tradition is a collaboration between farmers and non-farmers. One of the objectives is to establish farming cooperation based on harmony, justice and reciprocity. The *bawon* tradition is carried out after the harvester finishes harvesting the rice and collects the results of his *derep* into a sack and then transports it to the rice field owner's house. Furthermore, the grain is divided in half with a ratio of 5/1. This means that if the farm laborer gets six sacks, the farmer will obtain five sacks and one sack for he *penderep*.

There are various meanings in the *bawon* system in transmigrant communities, such as: (a) The meaning of sharing; according to a tenant farmer, the reason for inviting a community to participate in planting rice is based on a sense of sharing and helping, a sense of sharing so that his neighbors can get *bawonan*, side jobs and additional income from other than his main job. (b) The second meaning of the *bawon* system is *gotong-royong* and helping each other, at the time of harvesting or *derep*, usually *penderep* mutual *gotong-royong* and helping each other if one of their neighbors has not finished threshing the rice. (c) The third meaning of the *bawon* system is togetherness, namely: The principle of togetherness in the village community is also reflected in farming. Transmigration farmers from Banyumas are accustomed to practicing the principle of togetherness, for example, when working together to clean up the river, open gardens/farmland, plant rice, *derep*, *bawon*, and others. A farm laborer said that *bawon* is an activity of harvesting rice and distributing wages with a sense of togetherness because the *penderep*, who are neighbors of the rice field owner, carry out activities from *nandur*, *derep* and *bawon* together without preceding each other, being selfish or cheating each other. According to him this sense of togetherness, makes work in the fields becomes light and quickly completed. As stated by one of the informants who still maintains the *bawon* system, SNTR (64 years old), a transmigrant from Banyumas.

"Biasane penderep padha nggawa sedulure, angger ora nggawa sedulure ya nggawa kanca batire, sing biasane klompok liuran."

"Usually, the penderep brings his relatives/family, if not with relatives/family, he brings his friends, who are usually in the same work group."

Collier et al. (1982), Wahyuni (2016), And Novitasari (2021) state that in the traditional *bawon* system, *bawon* is an in-kind payment given by the landowner to farm laborers, especially for harvesting activities, which is a particular share of the harvest. Rice harvesting is a community activity in which all or most community members can participate and receive a particular share of the proceeds. According to the results in some places farmers cannot limit the number of people who participate in harvesting. The system is genuinely open *bawon* because everyone is allowed to harvest (Hayami & Kikuchi, 1981).

c. *Reciprocal Relationships in House Building (Sambatan) and Celebration Preparation (Rewang)*

In addition to farming, migrants from Banyumas also have a tradition of cooperation based on reciprocity. Human life includes anything that becomes a habit carried out by the community, whether it is individual or communal and it is hereditary. This consists of the tradition of cooperation in the form of *sambatan*. Following a close definition of *Sambatan* by Hamid et al. (2021), *Sambatan* is defined as a system of mutual cooperation typical of the Banyumas community, in the form of mobilizing labor en masse to help people who have a celebration.

Sambatan comes from the word *sambat*, which means asking for help, asking others for assistance. Because someone has an interest or need that cannot be done alone. So he will *sambat*/invite others to help him. In transmigrants from Banyumas, the most common *sambatan* activities are those related to the house, for example moving house or building a house. In transmigrants from Banyumas, the tradition of *sambatan* is a concrete manifestation of their characteristics. Every time someone wants to build a house, he will invite his neighbors and relatives to help. The work starts with leveling the land, digging the foundation, laying bricks and installing the roof. Men do the work, while the women usually help in preparing '*nyamikan*' and food. *Sambatan* is carried out by the community voluntarily without expecting a reward for the work because it is based on the principle of reciprocal relations, namely whoever helps his neighbor in need then one day he will undoubtedly be helped when he is in need. In addition, *sambatan* is also based on their philosophy of life, namely "*sapa sing gawe nganggo, sapa sing nandur ngunduh*" (whoever makes is the one who uses and whoever plants is the one who will harvest).

Gotong-royong is generally based on awareness and willingness to sacrifice some of their energy for the public interest. Gotong-royong for the public interest is driven by a sense of solidarity that the activities carried out will be of mutual benefit. There is something interesting that this activity is not selfless. Gotong-royong which is carried out between families is based on

the principle of reciprocity. Giving help to someone then in turn, he will receive help from the person in the future, is what is called the principle of reciprocal relationships. *Sambatan* is the realization of gotong-royong, which involves many people working together and voluntarily. Mutual cooperation for the common good is driven by the spirit of mechanical solidarity, which, according to Durkheim, is carried out because of a sense of togetherness and fate, is traditional in nature where the division of labor in society is still low, norms tend to be repressive where those who violate them will be subject to social sanctions, and there is still high social unity and integration.

In Bintari & Darmawan (2016) research, they concluded that the tradition of *sambatan* can train and shape the character of youth who care about their environment. The existence of this tradition can prove that in this modern life there are habits of citizens who are very concerned about the interests of others. To maintain the tradition and build a better character, the youth plays a very important role in this. Youth must be able to learn and keep this tradition for a better future life. In addition to preserving *sambatan* tradition, youth's economic life must also be considered. It is all of us' responsibility to maintain their economic welfare and economic conditions. Strong reciprocity creates high social capital in the communities and social groups that are formed. This is reflected in a high level of social care, mutual assistance and mutual concern. In such societies, social problems are more easily overcome or minimized. As a result, these societies can more easily build themselves, their groups, and an excellent social and physical environment.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

The social capital exhibited by Bayuwangi and Banyumas, ethnic transmigrant farmers, demonstrates remarkable adaptability. Bayuwangi transmigrant farmers rely on mutual trust formed through genuine collective actions such as gugur gunung, determining planting times based on the omens of the waluku and pleiades stars, and performing farming rituals like *labuh tandur*, *nylameti pari*, and *pethik pari*. Conversely, Banyumas farmers exhibit mutual trust through as kerigan, collective road cleaning, simple bridge construction, traditional dam construction, and mosque building. They determine planting times using the pranata mangsa system and incorporate rituals like *sedekah bumi*, *mimiti tandur*, and *mimiti panen* into their farming practices. Both ethnic groups form social capital through social networking. Horizontal and diagonal networks play a crucial role in the rice field processing stages, involving family and close associates without expecting anything in

return. They also support each other in providing production facilities, seeding, planting, maintenance, harvesting, and post-harvesting. Bayuwangi farmers display reciprocity in working on rice fields (*gentenan*), assisting in community house construction (*sayan*), and contributing labor for celebrations (*rewang*). Banyumas farmers demonstrate reciprocity in rice field work (*liuran*), harvesting with large groups (*bawon*), providing wages for bawon workers based on an agreed ratio of harvest results, mutual assistance in house building (*sambatan*), and contributing labor for celebrations (*rewang*). This diverse social capital enables farmers from both ethnic groups to overcome challenges and adapt to their farming environments.

Suggestion

Based on the research findings, it is recommended that a deep understanding of the social capital within Bayuwangi and Banyumas ethnic transmigrant farmer groups be leveraged to develop effective adaptation strategies in the agricultural sector. By harnessing mutual trust, collective action, traditional knowledge, and reciprocal relationships, we can lay the groundwork for building robust and resilient communities that are well-equipped to handle environmental challenges and changes. Strengthening social networks and enhancing reciprocal relationships among farmers will improve production efficiency and provide mutual support in addressing emerging issues. A solid social capital framework enables effective knowledge exchange, resource sharing, and collaborative action, crucial for establishing and sustaining successful agribusiness practices. This support network helps transmigrants navigate challenges related to agricultural production, market access, and economic integration. It also boosts their adaptability, ultimately contributing to the success and sustainability of their agribusiness ventures and fostering community development and regional economic growth.

REFERENCES

- Arif, L., Donoriyanto, D. S., & Aziz, M. H. (2023). Family Program Policy Projection Planning And Transmigration Against Population Of Sukolilo District With A Dynamic Simulation Approach Based On Vensim Software. *Central European Management Journal*, 31(2), 604-614. doi: 10.57030/23364890.cemj.31.2.63
- Borkert, M., Fisher, K. E., & Yafi, E. (2018). The Best, The Worst, And The Hardest To Find: How People, Mobiles, And Social Media Connect Migrants In(To) Europe. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1), 1-11. doi: 10.1177/2056305118764428

- Bourdieu, P., & Coleman, J. S. (1991). *Social Theory For A Changing Society*. USA: Routledge
- Buamona, R. (2014). *Catatan Belajar Kampung Lolobata Halmahera Timur (No. 3)*. Retrieved from <https://sajogyo-institute.org/catatan-belajar-kampung-lolobata-halmahera-timur/>
- Carter, S. M., et al. (2021). Conducting Qualitative Research Online: Challenges And Solutions. *The Patient - Patient-Centered Outcomes Research*, 14(6), 711–718. doi: 10.1007/s40271-021-00528-w
- Colfer, C., & Prabhu, R. (2023). *Responding To Environmental Issues Through Adaptive Collaborative Management: From Forest Communities To Global Actors*. USA: Routledge
- Collier, W. L., et al. (1982). *Labour Absorption In Rice-Based Agriculture: Case Studies From South-East Asia*. Bangkok: ILO Asian Employment Programme
- Curran, S. (2002). Migration, Social Capital, And The Environment: Considering Migrant Selectivity And Networks In Relation To Coastal Ecosystems. *Population And Development Review*, 28(1), 89–125. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3115269.pdf>
- Eko, S., et al. (2014). *Desa Membangun Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Forum Pengembangan Pembaharuan Desa (FPPD)
- Glorius, B. (2019). Transnational Social Capital In Migration: The Example Of Educational Migration Between Bulgaria And Germany. *Social Inclusion*, 7(4), 232–242. doi: 10.17645/si.v7i4.2390
- Guba, E. G. (1990). *The Alternative Paradigm Dialog, In The Paradigm Dialogue*. USA: Sage Publications, Inc
- Hamid, N., et al. (2021). “Sambatan”: A Form Of Community’s Local Wisdom In Facing The Threat Of Abrasion In Kragan, Rembang, Indonesia. *In 6th International Conference On Science, Education And Technology (ISET 2020) (pp. 613-617), Atlantis Press*. Retrieved from <https://www.atlantispress.com/proceedings/iset-20/125964366>
- Hasan, D. S., & Sangadji, S. S. (2024). Fundamentals In Crafting Research And Community Service Articles. *SCIENTIA: Journal Of Multi Disciplinary Science*, 3(1), 31–39. doi: 10.62394/scientia.v3i1.102
- Hayami, Y., & Kikuchi, M. (1981). *Asian Village Economy At The Crossroads: An Economic Approach To Institutional Change*. Japan: University Of Tokyo Press
- Hefner, R. (1985). *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition And Islam*. USA: Princeton University Press

- Irmayani, et al. (2015). Existence Of Society Rural Community Based Local Resource In Enrekang District, Indonesia. *Man In India*, 96(11), 4503–4509. Retrieved from https://serialsjournals.com/abstract/24645_ch_28_-_nfct-imb-000043_irmayani.pdf
- Jæger, M. M., Rasmussen, R. H., & Holm, A. (2023). What Cultural Hierarchy? Cultural Tastes, Status And Inequality. *The British Journal Of Sociology*, 74(3), 402–418. doi: 10.1111/1468-4446.13012
- Kautsar, M. R., Sofyan, S., & Makmur, T. (2020). Analisis Kelangkaan Pupuk Bersubsidi Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Produktivitas Padi (*Oryza sativa*) Di Kecamatan Montasik Kabupaten Aceh Besar. *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa (JIM)*, 5(1), 97–107. Retrieved from <https://jim.usk.ac.id/JFP/article/view/13316/6266>
- Kebschull, D. (2020). *Transmigration In Indonesia*. USA: Routledge
- Koser A. S. (2010). Re-Thinking Migrants' Networks And Social Capital: A Case Study Of Iranians In Turkey. *International Migration*, 48(2), 161–196. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00557.x
- Kumatongo, B., & Muzata, K. K. (2021). Research Paradigms And Designs With Their Application In Education. *Journal Of Lexicography And Terminology*, 5(1), 16–32. Retrieved from <https://medicine.unza.zm/index.php/jlt/article/view/551>
- Lauzier-Jobin, F., Brunson, L., & Olson, B. (2022). Introduction To The Special Issue On Critical Realism. *Journal Of Community Psychology*, 11(2), 89–96. doi: 10.1002/jcop.22981
- Lizardo, O., & Jilbert, I. (2023). Organizations And The Structure Of Culture. *Sociology Compass*, 17(4), 39–53. doi: 10.1111/soc4.13063
- Mukrimin, M., & Acciaioli, G. (2023). Frontier Formation In An Indonesian Resource Site. *Journal Of Political Ecology*, 30(1), 274–295. doi: 10.2458/jpe.5673
- Murniati, et al. (2022). What Makes Agroforestry A Potential Restoration Measure In A Degraded Conservation Forest?. *Forests*, 13(2), 1–17. doi: 10.3390/f13020267
- Negi, N. J., et al. (2018). Providing Social Services In A New Immigrant Settlement City: A Qualitative Inquiry. *American Journal Of Orthopsychiatry*, 88(1), 16–25. doi: 10.1037/ort0000276
- Novitasari, N. (2021). Pola Sistem Pengupahan Bawon Buruh Tani Pada Masa Musim Panen: Tinjauan Analisis Kualitatif. *JSEP (Journal Of Social And Agricultural Economics)*, 14(3), 269–280. doi: 10.19184/jsep.v14i3.24486
- Nur B., P., & Darmawan, C. (2016). Peran Pemuda Sebagai Penerus Tradisi Sambatan Dalam Rangka Pembentukan Karakter Gotong Royong. *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial*, 25(1), 57–65. doi: 10.17509/jpis.v25i1.3670

- Pratiwi, A., Matous, P., & Martinus, K. (2022). Transmigration Programs And Migrant Positions In Rural Community Knowledge Networks. *Journal Of Rural Studies*, 95(1), 391–401. doi: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.09.019
- Pyo, J., et al. (2023). Qualitative Research In Healthcare: Necessity And Characteristics. *Journal Of Preventive Medicine And Public Health*, 56(1), 12–20. doi: 10.3961/jpmph.22.451
- Rustiadi, E., et al. (2023). Regional Development, Rural Transformation, And Land Use/Cover Changes In A Fast-Growing Oil Palm Region: The Case Of Jambi Province, Indonesia. *Land*, 12(5), 1–21. doi: 10.3390/land12051059
- Salim, A. (2002). *Perubahan Sosial; Sketsa Teori Dan Refleksi Metodologi Kasus Di Indoneisa*. PT Tiara Wacana. Retrieved from <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=432199>
- Saluang, S. (2014). *Perampasan Ruang Hidup melalui Pendekatan Tubuh* (No. 7). Retrieved from <https://sajogyo-institute.org/perampasan-ruang-hidup-melalui-pendekatan-tubuh/>
- Sha, H. (2021). *Migrant Networks As Social Capital: The Social Infrastructure Of Migration*. Retrieved from <https://www.mideq.org/en/resources-index-page/migrant-networks-social-capital-social-infrastructure-migration>
- Simpson, B. (2021). Indonesian Transmigration And The Crisis Of Development, 1968–1985. *Diplomatic History*, 45(2), 268–284. doi: 10.1093/dh/dhaa087
- Sinta, D., Iskandar, J., & Gunawan, B. (2022). Cultural Strategies Of The Local And Transmigrant Communities In Dealing With Land And Forest Fire Disasters In West Kotawaringin District, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Biodiversitas Journal Of Biological Diversity*, 23(9), 4705–4715. doi: 10.13057/biodiv/d230937
- Sunoto. (2012). *Masyarakat Jawa Dalam Terawangan Serat Babad Kediri*. (Unpublished Disertation, Universitas Negeri Malang, East Java, Indonesia)
- Supriatin, F. E., Marlina, I., Sangadji, S. S., Paerah, A. M. K., & Dharta, F. Y. Afkar, & Eroliza.(2022). *Buku Ajar Metodologi Penelitian*
- Talleraas, C. (2020). Who Are The Transnationals? Institutional Categories Beyond “Migrants.” *Ethnic And Racial Studies*, 43(4), 652–671. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2019.1599133
- Tirtosudarmo, R. (2022a). *Migration Patterns And Development*. In *From Colonization To Nation-State: The Political Demography Of Indonesia*. USA: Springer
- Tirtosudarmo, R. (2022b). *Transmigration And New Order’s Development Plan*. In *From Colonization To Nation-State: The Political Demography Of Indonesia*. USA: Springer

Wahyuni, D. (2016). Analisis Sistem Pengupahan “Bawon” Pada Pertanian Padi (Studi Kasus Pada Petani Di Desa Gambar Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar). *JBMP (Jurnal Bisnis, Manajemen Dan Perbankan)*, 2(2), 121–140. doi: 10.21070/jbmp.v2i2.1097