PART 2

East Kalimantan
Between 1997 and 2007, hundreds of men and women departed from the village of Krajan alone. To today, there is no end to the exodus. On October 5, 2009, a small article appeared in the Surabaya Morning (Surabaya Pagi) entitled: *Seribu warga eksodus ke Kalimantan* (Thousand residents in exodus to Kalimantan). It describes the migration wave after Ramadan 2009 from Krajan and three adjacent villages (Andungsari, Sumber Dumpyong and Ardisaeng) through Surabaya: ‘A wave of more than 1000 inhabitants of [the villages] leave for Kalimantan. They leave the island with the hope of gaining a better life [literally: a life with more dignity]. In a single day, around 100 people from these villages charter a truck to board one of the ships in Surabaya’s harbour Tanjung Perak with destination Kalimantan. The travellers consist of people who have visited their home village and now leave and take along new family members and neighbours’.

‘In the villages where they come from they are farmers or landless labourers who leave for various places in Kalimantan. Some go as far as Sulawesi and even to the Moluccas’, the article continues. The final decision to go was taken after they felt they could no longer survive in their village because of the lack of economic opportunities. After *Lebaran*, [the festive period following Ramadan] every visiting person, who had migrated earlier, took at least five relatives and neighbours along. [...] According to the village head of Krajan and the former village head Bagenda, now member of the DPRD in Bondowoso, the government should do something about the poverty in the villages’.

This article summarizes the nature of Madurese migration from East Java: the migrants come from poor rural areas, they go to islands where large land development and crop booms are taking place, they use the cheapest possible transportation and they use networks of relatives and neighbours to find a job. In the following chapters, I provide an overview of how these Madurese migrants live and settle, and how they constitute a secure livelihood. The key questions are: how do they make a living, what role do social relationships play, and how and in what ways do they cope with insecurities in the migration areas.

The story of the people from Krajan is not unique. The migrants from Krajan are but a tiny part of the enormous diaspora of Madurese who have moved to Kalimantan, to other islands in Indonesia, to cities, to populate frontier areas, who flock to construction sites and occupy sidewalks and market places in search of income and a better life. They have left communities in which they

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are embedded in unequal relationships of clientage, closely-knit webs of social obligations, religious affiliations and wider networks of leadership and government control. Migration offers new opportunities but also insecurities. It offers a life in which they are partially freed from the social obligations of village social-security networks, but also creates a need to engage in new relationships of support and subsistence. As a result, the old networks of community-based support are becoming increasingly weak and exclusionist, while the new networks of support are no longer community- but rather kinship- based and built on personal relationships with bosses, land owners, credit suppliers and even policemen (see Chapter 7).
This brings us back to the observations on the changing nature of local forms of social security in Indonesia as described by Hüsken and Koning (2006). They conclude:

...indeed the role and scope of networks and institutions that were considered to supply social security at the local level have changed during Indonesia's 'Great Transformation'. Access to such communal institutions is increasingly exclusionary and limited because, on the one hand, there are simply less people eligible or entitled and they cover less specific social needs. The primary foundation for any social security is based on direct balanced reciprocity and has therefore acquired a more transactional or calculating character. Ties between members of the networks have weakened because people's lives no longer take place in mainly one social setting, whether the hamlet, the village or the urban neighbourhood, since the huge growth of urban migration, of education, transport facilities and communication lines (2006:25).

People are often creative in finding new ways to cope with risks and adversity, and the Madurese are no exception. They deploy a wide variety of strategies and build new networks or find new forms of protection. Now, in this second part of the book, the whereabouts and livelihoods of Madurese migrants in Kalimantan are analysed in more detail. Some of the villagers from Java could be traced to East Kalimantan’s brickmaking and plantation industries, but the story deals mostly with other Madurese from similar backgrounds who struggle to make a living in a hostile and insecure environment.

In East Kalimantan, I have been able to study the livelihoods of East Javanese villagers who came in the earlier waves prior to 2009. A few of them actually came from Krajan, others from nearby villages and from Besuki, Probolinggo, Bondowoso, Jember, Lumayang or Malang. I also interviewed many migrants who came from rural and poor areas on the island of Madura itself and I took part in their daily activities whenever possible. They told me about their backgrounds and reasons for migration, the importance of social relationships, relationships with other ethnic groups and about the maintenance or disruption of ties with their area of origin.

In the last decade, the large majority of these migrants have ended up in Kalimantan’s oil palm plantations, in the mining and construction sector or in the informal economy. Few have been able to buy land. Some have gone back to their home villages as successful migrants, and presented another rosy example for yet another wave of migrants to follow. The majority however simply vanish and never send back any remittances or news. Although the
widespread availability of modern means of communication is changing this situation, still many areas in Kalimantan lack a phone signal and phone coverage in Krajan is low. Many Madurese migrants eventually hope for a prosperous return, but very few actually achieve this, and most slowly settle down in East Kalimantan (see Chapter 6).

The reasons for migration also vary. Some were forced to migrate as a result of debts, or as a result of gambling or risky behaviour. Some of them were spurred on by death threats. Others were simply lured into what turned out to be disadvantageous labour arrangements by middlemen and recruiters who promised work and a good income. Many of these had almost completely lost their ties with their area of origin, or had cut these ties on purpose. Other migrants I spoke to just hoped for a better life, just to be free from regular food shortages and debts, and to be able to make a decent living and give their children a better future.

For practical reasons, the following chapters focus on three sectors of economic activity, the construction sector, the brickmaking sector and the agricultural sector. All the studies take place in one area, the city of Samarinda and its vicinity in East Kalimantan. Within these sectors, the livelihood activities of Madurese, embedded as they are in larger contexts of political change and economic insecurity, are described and analysed. Risk-taking practices such as speculation, gambling and engaging in criminal activities, as well as threats and interpretations of violence, will be discussed in detail.

In Chapter 6, the livelihoods of Madurese migrants in and around Samarinda are described with a focus on the three sectors. The chapter is situated in a period of turmoil, the aftermath of the economic crisis and reforms at the turn of the millennium. Chapter 7 deals with ethnic violence and its threat to migrants in relation to livelihood strategies, and the final chapter, Chapter 8, returns to the issue of risk-taking, this time focussing on one aspect, the engagement in criminal activities and relationships with police officers in Samarinda. Although sketchy at times, these three chapters offer an image of how Madurese from East Java eventually fare in migration areas and how they deal with the vicissitudes of their new lives in an often alien environment.
CHAPTER 6

Badlands

Madurese Livelihoods in East Kalimantan

A Short History of Madurese Migration to Kalimantan

It is difficult to find exact figures for Madurese migration to Kalimantan since details of ethnic descent have not been provided by Indonesian statistics during most of the twentieth century. It is clear however that considerable numbers of migrants from Madura first started to migrate shortly before World War II when work opportunities Kalimantan’s oil industry, plantation sector and logging industry started to grow in importance (Harjono 1988). Earlier, between 1867 and 1920, the population density of Madura had more than tripled, a faster growth rate than in other areas of Java (Cribb 2000:69). Madurese were the most popular cheap and reliable labourers and they were also part of the first Dutch transmigration projects (at that time known as colonization) in 1921 in Kalimantan. In 1938, the settlers in the Madurejo dry land transmigration area of South Kalimantan were all Madurese (Harjono 1977).

Contrary to what has generally been said,1 Madurese were seldom part of the large-scale transmigration programmes of the post-war era. The majority of Madurese migrants came spontaneously to Kalimantan. The first major wave of Madurese migrants, including migrants from the Besuki – Bondowoso area, came after the oil boom in the mid-1970s. They chased the new labour opportunities and their migration was only indirectly stimulated by the transmigration programmes. Madurese from East Java and Madura migrated in the slipstream of the opening up of the area and they settled in the niches of opportunity created by the large programmes. According to informants at the bureau of transmigration in East Kalimantan, it was official policy not to include Madurese in transmigration projects because they were perceived as risky and problematic groups that might cause turmoil or ethnic tensions. Madurese from mainland East Java were included if they happened to live in source areas for transmigrants, such as Malang, Pasuruan and Lumajang. In several of the blocks, established since the 1970s, of East Javanese migrants in East Kalimantan, we came across Madurese speakers.2 During fieldwork,

1 The wikipedia page ‘Madurese people’ also repeats the common misunderstanding that transmigration programmes brought the Madurese to Kalimantan (accessed 14 Feb 2012).
whenever I was able to trace the first generation of settlers, they were always born in Madurese-speaking areas of Java (such as Malang, Pasuruan, Besuki, Bondowoso and Jember) – we did not encounter a single Madurese-speaking person born on Madura itself.

The transmigration programmes have been indirectly important for Madurese. The transmigration programmes opened new areas, provided infrastructure and opened the way for spontaneous migration, not only for Javanese and Madurese, but also for Bugis, Banjar and Toraja. In these early years, most migrants did not experience much resistance from other ethnic groups and often peacefully lived and worked together with other ethnicities.

From the early 1970s, when the numbers of immigrants in Kalimantan increased dramatically, friction has regularly occurred with the local population and with other migrant groups. Due to the strong military repression under Suharto’s New Order, these frictions could never develop into large conflicts and, further, migrants, especially from Java and Madura, were generally well protected in contrast to the ethnic Chinese in West Kalimantan (Hendro 2001). In the early 1990s, the New Order developmental model started to show cracks. Local groups in the outer islands started to contest the Jakarta and Javanese based domination, and more openly expressed their resentments. The often corrupt and internally divided police and military forces were no longer able to stop ethnic and religious inspired clashes against migrants and ethnic Chinese. Widespread and repeated looting and ethnic violence in Java (against Chinese), the Moluccas, Central Sulawesi (Poso) and in the outer islands (against Madurese and Chinese) was an early indication of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Indonesian New Order political system which suppressed tensions rather than resolving them (Antlöv 1999, Breman 2000, Hill 1999, Lont and White 2003).

In 1999 and 2001, when government legitimacy had severely declined due to the crisis, large ethnic conflicts occurred in Sambas and Sampit (West and Central Kalimantan). Most of the Madurese in these provinces originate from Sampang and Pamekasan at Madura Island and from the eastern districts of East Java. After the conflict had peaked, over 300,000 Madurese were expelled from Kalimantan and sent ‘back’ to Madura or East Java (Brusset et al. 2004). In Krajan, at least 300 people were resettled in a refugee camp in the lower area of the village (dusun Sayuran). It was not clear to me if all these people were originally from Krajan, or if some came from the three adjacent villages.

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3 For an overview of the conflicts in West and Central Kalimantan see: Davidson and Kammen 2002; Peluso and Harwell 2001; Schiller and Garang 2002.

4 Information based on interviews with Krajan residents on a Pelni ship (regular interisland shipping line) from Surabaya to Samarinda in 2003 and with Krajan people working in Samarinda’s brick industry (interviewed in 2004 and 2005).
For East Kalimantan, the situation is slightly different. Most Madurese from Madura who migrated to East Kalimantan originate from Bangkalan, with some from Sampang and mainland East Java. Generally, they do not own land and work as unskilled labourers for logging companies, in road construction, for contractors and in the plantation sector. Nowadays, some have been able to start small- or medium-sized businesses, but the majority remain poor. The migration patterns of Madurese in East Kalimantan differ from those in West and Central Kalimantan as, in the latter, large proportions of the Madurese settled in rural areas and obtained land (Peluso and Harwell 2001:95).

**Madurese Migration to Samarinda**

It is difficult to say exactly when the first Madurese came to Samarinda. Of the Madurese currently living in Samarinda, those living there the longest came to the town in the early 1960s. They worked as unskilled labourers and, at least since the mid-1960s, a few Madurese have been active as brickmakers. Before that period, all the houses were made of wood and occasionally Madurese were reported to be working as carpenters or traders. Until the late 1960s, living conditions in Samarinda were difficult due to poor roads and facilities. When, at the end of the 1960s, large transmigration schemes were established in Samarinda, Madurese found work in road and house construction, in logging and in the construction of irrigation dikes, canals and ditches.

After 1970, things started to change. Employment opportunities grew, large transmigration areas around the city brought larger populations and Samarinda started to develop as a provincial city. In this period, logging activities in the vicinities of Samarinda also increased, a large number of sawmills were opened along the Mahakam river, government buildings were established and the demand for unskilled labourers for road construction and building activities increased sharply. Moreover, the demand for gravel, stone, bricks and building materials rocketed and many newcomers seized the opportunities to start a trade or business. Nowadays, Madurese make up an estimated 5% of the population of Samarinda and 3.6% of East Kalimantan. This makes them the sixth largest ethnic group in East Kalimantan – after Javanese with nearly 30%,

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5 This is a rough estimation. The secretary of the KKKM (Madurese cultural association) estimated the number of Madurese household heads in the areas of Balikpapan and Samarinda in East Kalimantan in 2002 as at least 35,000 (compared with 30,181 individuals listed in the 2000 census for East Kalimantan as a whole). Given that most Madurese live in or near these two cities, and that about half of these Madurese immigrants bring their families (with an average of two children) with them, suggests at least 87,500 Madurese would be living in East Kalimantan. This makes up 3.6% of the population (three times the official 2000 census figures).
Bugis with 18%, Banjar with 14%, Kutai with 9% and Dayak with an estimated 5% (BPS 2001, Suryadinata et al. 2003).

The ethnic division in terms of economic activities is as follows: Javanese dominate farming in the transmigration areas as well as the middle and higher ranks of the services sector, in government bureaucracy and in education. Buginese immigrants from Sulawesi dominate petty trade and transport, as well as large trade in wood, vegetables and fruit, they own restaurants and some large production enterprises. Banjarese are farmers, factory workers and owners of many small shops and restaurants. Kutai, the original population, can be found in agriculture and business and in the higher ranks of government personnel. Chinese dominate the retail and supply sectors, own most of the larger shops in town, many sawmills and they dominate the capital-intensive branches of the economy. Most of the Dayak people in East Kalimantan are to found in the faraway forests of the upper Mahakam and in the Berau and Nunukan districts.

Some of the Madurese settlers who came in the early 1970s are now well-off and own houses, cars, transport businesses, recycling firms, construction companies, gambling dens and brothels. A quick count in 2005 showed that about 25 Madurese families own medium or large companies with over 25 workers and more than 10 vehicles. These successful Madurese in Samarinda can all be traced back to 7 families from either Bangkalan district (4) or mainland East Java (3), but none of them came from Krajan or its vicinity. Some of them have developed into real tycoons dominating road construction, recycling and contracting. They made their fortunes during the late 1980s and 1990s when the economy of Samarinda was booming as a result of the increased logging and mining activities. All the migrants I spoke to started without virtually any capital and a number of them told me that had migrated to escape troubles in Madura such as poverty, but several also mentioned accusations of crime, theft, murder, gambling debts and adultery.

The majority of the Madurese in Samarinda have, however, not been very successful and remain poor. They have limited education (with illiteracy rates of over 40% to 50% for men and over 70% for women) but are known for being hard workers. This makes them desirable in sectors where hard labour is required such as in transport and construction work. Many porters in the harbour and on the markets are Madurese, as well as road workers, construction workers, garbage collectors, stonecutters and brickmakers. Some have become security guards, policemen, carpenters, owners of repair shops and hairdressers. The banana trade and the sate sector are dominated by Madurese as well as the majority of the canteens on the university campus. Nevertheless, in general, Madurese migrants remain in the lower strata of society.
This chapter and those that follow are based on material gathered during a larger study on livelihood and social security styles of Madurese migrants in East Kalimantan in the context of crisis and decentralization in Indonesia. In Kalimantan, I studied Madurese settlers in three clearly demarcated clusters of economic activity: brickmaking, stonecutting and vegetable production. The first two sectors are dominated by Madurese from Bangkalan (West Madura) and Sampang (Central Madura) respectively, whereas, in the vegetable production area of Lempake (northeast of Samarinda), Madurese-speaking migrants from Malang (East Java) dominate economic activities.

Most brickmakers work on the outskirts of Samarinda and stonecutters can be found in the hills of Batu Putih and Batu Besaung west and north of the city (see Map 4). Within these relatively homogeneous clusters of economic activity (in terms of place, descent, social class and ethnic identity), I observed a wide range of different ways in which people try to make a living, interpret crisis, maintain contacts with other ethnic groups and strive for ‘success’.

The research consisted of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and comprised three phases with increasingly narrowing scopes. In the first phase, the different economic activities, locations and backgrounds of Madurese migrants were mapped. After this phase, three sectors that were dominated by Madurese were identified. In the second phase, a large-scale survey was conducted on livelihood constitution, livelihood patterns, incomes,
remittances, social security, perceptions of crisis and interethnic relationships. In the final phase, a dozen families from the first and second phases were again approached for lengthy interviews and life histories. These families were visited on a weekly basis and studied more intensively as case studies.

Some members of these families were traced back to the island of Madura and family members were visited in Bangkalan, Madura. In practice, the second and third phases overlapped as the case studies started while the survey was still running. In total, 79 brickmaking families and individual workers were surveyed, as well as 45 stonecutters, 20 farmers and 10 contractors. In addition, Dayak, Bugis and Javanese key informants were interviewed, as well as members of the police and the administration.

In summarizing, one can say that the majority of Madurese migrants came spontaneously to Kalimantan, with major waves after the oil boom of the mid-1970s. They followed the new labour opportunities, and their migration was only indirectly stimulated by the transmigration programmes. They took the opportunities provided by infrastructural development and newly opened areas, and were attracted by economic growth in other parts of the archipelago.

Since the early 1970s, when the numbers of immigrants in Kalimantan started to increase dramatically, friction with the local population and with other migrant groups regularly occurred. Due to the strong military repression under Suharto’s New Order, these tensions could not develop into larger conflicts. Migrants, especially from Java and Madura, were generally well protected. However, in 1999 and 2001, when government legitimacy as well as police and military forces had severely declined due to the crisis and regime changes, large ethnic conflicts occurred in Sambas and Sampit (West and Central Kalimantan).6 Most of the Madurese in these districts originate from the remote Sampang and Pamekasan districts of Madura Island and from the eastern districts of East Java. A significant proportion of the migrants from the island of Madura managed to obtain land and had lived for two or three generations in the area. Among them were people from Krajan, but the majority from Krajan remained rural labourers or had established a small trade in town.

In East Kalimantan, one of the richest provinces in Indonesia due to its large reserves of oil, gas, minerals and timber, the situation is slightly different. Most Madurese who migrated to East Kalimantan originate from Bangkalan, with smaller numbers from Sampang and the eastern districts of Java including Krajan. Generally, in East Kalimantan, the Madurese migrants live in and around the main cities of Balikpapan, Samarinda and Tarakan, and work as

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6 For a good overview of the conflicts in West and Central Kalimantan see: Davidson and Kammen 2002; Peluso and Harwell 2001; Schiller and Garang 2002.
unskilled labourers for logging companies, in road construction, for contractors and in the plantation sector. Some have been able to start small or medium-sized businesses, but the majority remain poor. The migration patterns of Madurese in East Kalimantan differ in this respect from those in West and Central Kalimantan as, in the latter, a large proportion of the Madurese settled in rural areas and a significant number managed to obtain land.

Madurese Livelihoods in Samarinda

Of the migrants studied, the stonecutters (quarrymen) are the most marginalized. They work in the hills around Samarinda (10–20 kilometres from the city) and live in small barracks or sheds. Labourers earn on an average Rp 15,000–20,000 (€2) per day. Male workers carve rocks and stones from rocky mountain ridges, while women cut larger stones into smaller chippings. Most of the employers have Bugis, Chinese, Banjar or Javanese origins. Wages for labourers in the brickmaking industry are only slightly higher (an average of Rp 17,500 per day, ranging from Rp 15,000–25,000) but living conditions are better, labour conditions are more stable and in some cases transport and some basic social security is provided by the employer. The wages in both these sectors are somewhat lower than the Rp 25,000 paid to unskilled labourers from Java.

7 Sometimes, social security benefits are provided to the labourers such as payments for visits to a doctor or hospital, for medication, by giving loans (without interest and to be paid back in bricks) or free transport to return to the area of origin. These benefits are mostly given to labourers who are from the same area as their employer.
working on large construction projects in Samarinda. Nevertheless, they are well above the Rp 6,000–7,500 which could be earned on Madura or in rural East Java if work was available.

During the last decade, the brickmaking industry in Samarinda has been booming. In the survey, we found 350 brickyards (usually only a simple barn where stones could be parched and burned) which had been operational for an average of five years. One-third of these brickyards were family enterprises without labourers, the others employed an average of six labourers, mostly couples working together. Ninety-two per cent of the brickmaking entrepreneurs as well as 58% of their workers come from Madura. In fact, 80% of the entrepreneurs and 39% of the workers came from one village, Geger, in Bangkalan district, West Madura. Another 19% of the workers came from other areas in Madura, and the other 40% of the workers come from Madurese-speaking areas in East Java with the largest proportion from Bondowoso (32%) including some from Kralan. Most labourers return home before the festivities the follow the Islamic month of fasting (Idhul Fitri), but those tied through debt and those who had established a trade, bought land, married locally or established a business never or only seldom went back. On average, savings after ten months of working amounted Rp 1.2 million (€120).

Average incomes for the owners of brickmaking enterprises range between Rp 1 million and 4 million a month (€100–400). The brickyards are usually situated just outside the city and are rented or leased for the purpose of producing bricks. Only 15% own the land they are working on. With the growth in negative sentiments against Madurese in the last couple of years, landowners are increasingly reluctant to rent or lease land and demand higher prices. A local Banjar leader commented: ‘We, as the original inhabitants here, have decided and say to all: “Don’t give any land to Madurese to make bricks. Why should we help them to make money out of our land? Let them buy it honestly”. To gain a clearer image of how Madurese make a living, and how they perceive the situation in East Kalimantan, we now zoom in on the practice of brickmaking and its key event, the firing of the bricks.

Brick firing

One Friday night in November 2004, Pak Dapi, originally from Geger, Bangkalan, Madura, put a bench in front of his brickyard and held a small ritual (selamatan). He said a prayer with his two sons and attached a tiny piece of wood with some flowers, a leaf, a red pepper and an onion at the

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8 Lease prices doubled between 2001 and 2003.
corners of the carefully constructed stack of unbaked hand-formed bricks. Following this, they took a simple meal and went to bed. Early next morning, Dapi lit the fire and, a few hours later, his sons and some of their friends came to help. Dapi organized the firing and the younger workers followed his orders. It takes knowledge and experience to get a good firing, and a fire that is too hot would crack the bricks, while slow baking would be inefficient. During the day, they sit on the bench, watch the fire and play cards. Every now and then, the game is interrupted and new wood is added to the fire. At regular intervals, Dapi’s wife serves a meal.
After two days, the fire is really hot and then needs to be fuelled almost continuously. Dapi’s two sons, two relatives and a neighbour help with the work. Large flames pour through holes in the stack of bricks and illuminate the sweat-covered bodies. Dark silhouettes fuel the hungry oven. One hand throws in the firewood, the other protects the face. A young daredevil even climbs on top of the pile to show his vigour and rearrange some of the bricks. In front of the barracks, a man pours water over his face and in his mouth. Even at night, the work is deadly hot.

During the five days it takes to fire the bricks, relatives, friends and maybe neighbours – all Madurese - come by for a short visit every now and then. Some of these visitors had provided credit, firewood or rice to Dapi; others just sat down, chatted and smoked. Some of these visitors offered Dapi a pack of cigarettes. They discussed Madura affairs, or the difficulties they had in obtaining land, firewood, loans and reliable deals. ‘Since the violence in Sampit [2001], people don't want us here anymore. They are making our lives hard and insecure. We Madurese have to look after ourselves.’

The firing of bricks is the most important event for a Madurese brickmaker in East Kalimantan. Through studying this event, all the major ingredients of successful migrant entrepreneurship become visible. Important elements to be achieved include the successful mobilization of labour and capital through ethnic and kinship networks, the maintenance of close links with Madura, sending remittances regularly, helping each other out, keeping on good terms with police officers and local power holders and avoiding problems with other ethnic groups.

Brickmaking involves a number of tasks that cannot be organized alone. Land needs to be ‘borrowed’, leased or purchased, and the clay must be mixed well and manually moulded into bricks. These bricks are then dried in long rows outside the brickyard after which, a few weeks before the firing, they must be carefully piled up into the shape of a kiln. The construction of the barn, barracks, drying lanes and moulding tables, as well as the payments for leasing land and wages involves a lot of money. At the same time, truckloads of firewood need to be purchased, as well as sawdust, food for the workers, coffee, sugar and cigarettes. Most entrepreneurs do not have sufficient money to finance all this so they borrow from relatives, friends or fellow brickmakers. Besides this need

9 Required investments prior to production range between Rp 15–25 million (€1500–2500), and each cycle of firing the bricks involves another Rp 7–20 million (€700–2000) depending on the size of the enterprise.

10 Borrowing and lending is a complex matter. Nearly all entrepreneurs need cash before the firing of the bricks and not everybody burns at the same time (they take turns in firing).
of cash, many helping hands are required to build a barn, to construct an access road, to get the land ready for clearing and to periodically fire the bricks. Moreover, relationships with landowners, usually non-Madurese, need to be maintained and fees or rents need to be paid to them after each firing. Further, as land titles are far from clear in East Kalimantan and many brickmakers occupy land previously idle, good relationships with policemen and government officers need to be maintained to obtain licences and protect against land claims (see Chapter 8).

All those who have a stake in the enterprise will show up during the firing of the bricks; either to provide a helping hand or just to show their presence (and to ensure that premiums are paid and loans will be repaid after the bricks are sold). Entrepreneurs who are, for whatever reason, unable to manage all these relationships will not be able to stay in business.

Regular access to cash and credit is necessary to recruit a sufficient number of labourers since entrepreneurs who are not able to provide loans and cash advances to their workers will not be able to mobilise sufficient labour. Young single male workers especially need regular money for smoking, entertainment and drinking parties at the roadside or market at night. Regularly, these parties end up in fighting with other youths. When such fights break out, the entrepreneur needs to go and settle the conflict. Besides these internal managerial tasks, outside influences are also important for the success of these enterprises. Brickmaking enterprises are sensitive to external changes (such as a crisis) that influence market prices, interpersonal trust or inter-ethnic relationships.

Four Types of Migrants

In East Kalimantan, four categories of Madurese migrants can be distinguished: seasonal migrants, semi-permanent migrants, semi-permanent settlers and settlers.

(1) Seasonal migrants seasonally travel to and from Madura or eastern Java. They are most often males travelling alone but sometimes couples who leave dependent children with relatives in Madura where life is cheaper...
and perceived safer. As soon as some money is earned they send it to family members or return home (savings of Rp 1–2 million (€100–200) are considered adequate to return). Most of these seasonal migrants work as waged labourers in construction, agriculture, brickmaking or stonecutting and are organized by Madurese middlemen. They come from East Java or from Sampang and Pamekasan (including refugees from West and Central Kalimantan) and usually travel to Kalimantan by boat although, nowadays, the plane option is becoming popular. Lengths of stay range between three months and two years. These workers have the lowest incomes (gross individual and family wages average between Rp 15,000–20,000 (€1.5–2) per day) in the region, but these are still double what can
be earned on Madura or on mainland East Java. It should be noted, however, that prices for basic goods in East Kalimantan are also about 50% higher than elsewhere.

(2) Semi-permanent migrants. Among the brickmakers and stonecutters in Samarinda, people can regularly be found who have worked for over 20 years in Kalimantan but who still return home nearly every year at *Idhul Fitri*. These peoples can hardly be called seasonal migrants since they have lived most of their lives in Kalimantan and only travel to Madura for short periods each year. Every year, as soon as their savings are used up on Madura, they return to Kalimantan. Nevertheless, they still regard themselves as living on Madura and as only temporary dwellers in Kalimantan. Some of these people own houses and sometimes cattle ‘at home’ in Madura, but the majority have never been able to accumulate any substantial property in either Madura or Kalimantan.

The average incomes of semi-permanent migrants are higher and more stable than those of the seasonal migrants. They work as waged labourers, traders and sometimes as subcontractors (*barongan*). They tend to invest their savings mainly in Madura by buying land, cattle, a motorbike or to improve their houses. Every year, they try to go home for *Idhul Fitri* and visit relatives and children who have stayed on Madura (girls usually stay on Madura to care for...
parents and, if sufficient money is available, boys are sent to an Islamic boarding school (pesantren). If possible, they send regular remittances to family members, parents and relatives in need of support or a loan. The difference between them and the (semi-permanent) settlers lies in their self-definition as being a migrant (perantau) and their orientation towards their place of descent. This is for instance expressed in their wish to invest in their home villages on Madura or in eastern Java rather than in Kalimantan.

(3) Semi-permanent settlers. This group can be rather successful, some own good businesses or trades, and among them are many entrepreneurs, owners of brickmaking sites and transport companies. Among the semi-permanent settlers are also people who are unable to return to their place of origin for a variety of reasons such as indebtedness, low wages or ‘trouble’. The successful semi-permanent settlers send regular money home to support parents or relatives and to accumulate assets, but they tend also to invest in Kalimantan (in enterprises, trucks and land). As the years go by, ties with Madura get weaker and children, if they decide to live in East Kalimantan, tend never to return. Nevertheless, they all claim to yearn to go back to Madura and tend to maintain a home there. These houses are often used by relatives but some fall down due to neglect. Semi-permanent settlers aim to make money in Kalimantan, where ‘money is cheap’, but often dream of retirement ‘at home’. After the 2001 violence, this dream acquired another dimension. Most Madurese migrants expressed it as that their attitude towards Kalimantan had changed. They no longer feel safe and doubt if they will ever live safely there.

(4) Settlers. The final group have simply chosen to stay in Kalimantan and do not wish to return ‘home’. Many try to assimilate themselves, or hide their Madurese descent, as a result of the violence against Madurese in neighbouring provinces. Among the permanent settlers are many second and third generation Madurese. They feel little affection for their homeland. They are living with their family, and children go to schools in Kalimantan. Sometimes they are even unable to speak Madurese. They have no wish to return and generally no longer own anything on Madura. If they do send any remittances back, these are for family emergencies or bear a more ritualistic function such as contributing to the building of a mosque or religious school.

These migrant categories do not necessarily reflect social class, and especially in the last two categories both rich and poor people are to be found. Over 90% of the Madurese from the island of Madura in East Kalimantan keep close ties
with their area of origin, whereas this percentage is much lower, less than 50%, for the poor migrants from mainland East Java. For those who maintain contacts, news about family members and events on Madura are constantly exchanged. This connectedness to Madura is one of the reasons why Madurese from Madura tend to maintain their distinct ethnic identity. The cultural notion of travelling (merantau) in search of money, rather than ‘settling’, is an important driver for Madurese to move from Madura. Initially they all hoped to return and this idea of merantau does not motivate them to invest in Kalimantan or to buy land there. This mechanism strengthened after the violence in West and Central Kalimantan, which spread fear of further ethnic violence, and more Madurese tried to accumulate assets on Madura.

Those who still aim to settle in East Kalimantan, initially tend to only invest in productive property. Only if children are born in the diaspora grow up and wish to stay, does permanent settlement become an option. Now, as lease contracts for land and business opportunities have become difficult for Madurese due to the growing prejudices, many regret not having bought land earlier.

The Madurese-speaking migrants from the island of Java originate from the Situbondo, Bondowoso, Jember, Lumajang, Banyuwangi and Malang areas. In the eyes of other ethnic groups, these people are Madurese and treated as such but, according to Madurese originating from Madura itself, they are neither Madurese nor Javanese. Generally, they are classified as of lower status by both Madurese from Madura and other ethnic groups. They occupy the lowest echelons of Madurese migrant society and often work as labourers.

**Stereotypes of Madurese in Samarinda**

‘Madurese are always causing problems, you know. If you lend them land, they will stick to it and never give it back. They simply pushed us too far...’ (Dayak commentator, Samarinda 2005).

Since colonial times, Madurese have been described as touchy, temperamental, hot-tempered, fierce, vengeful and violent (De Jonge 1995:13). Further, outsiders often mention them in relation to crime and theft. Such stereotypes are still regularly mentioned and maintained up to the present day. The best-known feature of Madurese violence is carok – a murder committed when a man’s honour is insulted. Among the main reasons for carok are (rumours of) someone having had a sexual affair with a wife, daughter or relative. Until recently, carok has been regularly committed in Sampang and Bangkalan.

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11 Although most remarks in this chapter about stereotypes refer to Madurese men, women are usually included in these images as the male attitudes are perceived as clear symbols representing the whole group.
districts on Madura, and cases have also been regularly reported in the Bondowoso, Situbondo and Jember areas in East Java (Latief Wiyata 2002).

During interviews and casual talks in Samarinda with non-Madurese residents, such as with Javanese, Bugis, Banjar and Chinese, the above-mentioned negative stereotypes about Madurese were often raised. Informants used them to explain ‘the Madurese problem’. In general, people of Banjar and Bugis descent were the most negative about Madurese and almost always produced negative stereotypes when talking about Madurese. Other people also mentioned these negative stereotypes, but would sometimes add more positive images of Madurese such as being hardworking, clever, trustworthy and loyal (once engaged closely). Some of the Chinese strongmen and businessmen preferred Madurese workers because of these qualities:

If you get to know them and entrust them with a position, they will be reliable and loyal. Once loyal, they would rather die for you then walk away. I like them, they are good workers and able to save and accumulate, even under harsh conditions. They are a bit like us.

CHINESE BUSINESSMAN

In most other situations, anything positive about Madurese was hardly ever mentioned. Stereotypes about Madurese remain extremely negative and widespread in Kalimantan.

One of my neighbours (a Bugis) told me seriously: ‘I know many of those brickmaking Madurese by name, 90% are thieves. At night, they sneak around the houses in richer neighbourhoods and if they don't find money, they steal your daughters’. Someone else commented: ‘Don't ever make them angry. They stab you right away’. About taxi drivers in Samarinda: ‘Beware of those Madurese. They always rip you off’ and about minibus drivers and porters in Samarinda: ‘Beware of those Madurese at the docks, afterwards they will charge you a higher price than agreed upon and if you protest, they call upon their friends to beat you up’. ‘Those Madurese always back each other’, another commented. ‘If the police arrest a criminal, one of their leaders will pay the police to free him. When we search for the criminal for revenge, he has escaped to Madura where we cannot hunt him down’.

These negative images do not only prevail among lower social classes, they are also reproduced among the upper classes. At one of the university campuses for instance, staff of the demographic department told me in a group discussion that:

They only come here [to East Kalimantan] to work and earn money. They do not really settle here. You can observe a pattern in their settlement:
first they lived in the quarters on the edges of the town centre then, when these areas developed into residential areas, they moved to the edge of town. Then they moved again, and the pattern repeats itself. They do not settle down, accumulate, invest and rise in social status.

Another staff member opposed this speaker. ‘No, I know a lot of [Madurese] who bought cars, built a house and do good business’. The other shrugs his shoulders ‘maybe’, and turning to me:

They are causing problems, especially when it is close to Hari Raya [Idhul Fitri - the end of the Islamic month of fasting]. They only work temporarily here and earn little. As soon as they have money, they go back. If they don’t have money for Hari Raya, then they try to get it in any possible ways’ ‘You mean they steal?’ I asked. ‘Yes, many of them do steal, others ask for loans but never repay them, or they take items away. Moreover, there are many small riots at this period of the year. They [here including other immigrants: perantau] ask for money at houses, demonstrate against rising prices, or stop cars and ask for money’.

Somewhat later:

The Madurese cause problems with land. If you lend them a piece of land, they will stick on it and never let it go. Nowadays, we know that you should never lend land to Madurese people. Either they should buy it or not have it. Two other staff members agreed with the speaker. ‘We do not want migrants like them. Our government [regional government of East Kalimantan] tries to stop them. Only skilled and desirable migrants should be allowed to come. Not those vagabonds who hamper our development’.

While ethnicity and Madurese are often mentioned in personal encounters, they are never mentioned in regional media, such as newspapers (Kaltim Pos, Tribun), television and radio. Regional newspapers report extensively on traffic accidents, crimes, fights, lynchings and police round-ups, but the ethnicity of victims or criminals is never mentioned, even if conflicts are of an explicitly ethnic nature. The collective silence on ethnicity was imposed by the regional government in an attempt to suppress the spread of the ethnic sentiments seen during the Kalimantan riots in 2001 and 2003. This stance is still maintained. However, in both lower and higher echelons of society, problems of poverty, insecurity and criminality are explicitly linked to ethnicity. In these discourses, negative images of Madurese are constantly reproduced. As few
people mix with Madurese or maintain good relationships with them, and given that Madurese lack representation at the higher levels, these stereotypes seem to persist, and maintaining them would seem to benefit the ethnic elites.

**Madurese Livelihoods in Crisis: Brickmakers, Stonecutters and Vegetable Farmers**

In this chapter, I focus on three economic sectors: brickmaking, stonemasonry and vegetable farming. I have focused on the first two as they are highly visible and known for their strong Madurese presence, the last sector has been studied for comparison purposes. Livelihoods in these sectors are not only difficult and at risk due to the stereotyping and negative impressions of other ethnic groups, they are also prone to economic risks and insecurities. In the next section, I will outline how livelihoods during the period 2000–2005 experienced various economic shocks and stresses and how people coped with them.

Labourers in the brick sector live a squatter-like existence in simple bamboo houses built on unused pieces of land and can be found clustered along most of the roads outside Samarinda. The Madurese stonemasons can be found in Batu Putih and Batu Besaung, a range of rocky hills to the west and north of Samarinda. The third group, the vegetable farmers, are not strongly identified as being Madurese, and can be found to the north and northeast of Lempake (see Map 5). They invest in land, fruit trees, cattle and brick houses.

**The ‘Rough’ Sector: Brickmaking**

In the 2003–2004 survey, my assistant and I found 350 brickyards (*serobong*) providing a livelihood for an estimated 1,400 families. A *serobong* usually consists of a simple barn where stones can be parched and baked. Around the *serobong*, excavations, moulding tables, stacks of firewood and simple barracks can be found. The land to produce bricks is usually rented or leased. Only 15% of the entrepreneurs own the land they are working on.

The surveyed brickyards were on average 4.7 years old. *Serobong* are regularly transferred to other locations when the adjacent clay is used up, when conflicts occur, lease contracts are terminated or house or road construction competes for the land. Only if the land is owned by the brickyard owner will an

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12 A GPS was used to locate the exact locations. The locations were then plotted on a map of Samarinda (Map 4 produced by Puslitbangwil-Unmul, the research centre for regional development, Mulawarman University, Samarinda.) Of these 350 *serobong*, 79 have been surveyed in detail and 15 have been visited more than once.
LAND USE AND BRICKMAKERS IN SAMARINDA, EAST KALIMANTAN (FEBRUARY 2004)

MAP SAMARINDA: MADE FOR THIS STUDY BY PUSLITBANGWIL UNMUL 2004, MULAWARMAN UNIVERSITY, SAMARINDA, EAST KALIMANTAN
enterprise remain in one place for much longer. Over the last two decades, brickyard locations have slowly moved from the outskirts of the older city to outer areas as a result of Samarinda's ongoing urbanisation.

About 40% of the brickyards studied were family-owned enterprises that did not employ labourers, while the other 60% employed an average of six labourers. Most of the enterprises are small and consist of one wooden shelter (serobong) for drying and baking bricks, a few basic barracks for the workers, and some simple production tools such as shovels and moulds. On average, each serobong has three teams of workers. A team, or kongsi, includes a husband and wife or perhaps two male workers. Many of these workers are heavily indebted to the brickyard owner and can only return to Madura once their debts are repaid. These forms of bonded, debt-incurred labour were found in about half of the brickyards. Sometimes couples bring their children along, but more often they stay on Madura (and in half of the cases wives also). Notwithstanding the simple production techniques, an estimated 50 million bricks were produced in the Samarinda district in 2003 and about 3,500 people are dependent on brickmaking as their main source of livelihood.13

Although there are significant differences in both speech and culture between people from Madura and from Eastern Java,14 other ethnic groups in East Kalimantan view all brickmakers as simply Madurese. It is called the ‘rough’ sector, ‘only suitable for strong, hardworking people who are able to endure’ and for people who are not ‘refined’ enough to work in other sectors. Madurese are supposedly unrefined, especially according to Javanese people.

The economic activities and the ethnicity of the workers in the brick enterprises are highly visible. Brickmakers are widely known to be Madurese and their activities involve excavating, smoke and regular heavy transportation,

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13 In Samarinda alone, an estimated 3,000 people from Geger are living and working, while another 2,000 can be found in Balikpapan, Bontang and Melak (the majority involved in brickmaking). More Geger people now live in East Kalimantan than in Geger, Madura. Besides working in the brickmaking sector in East Kalimantan, Geger men are also working (often illegally) in construction in Malaysia, and some are sailors or porters. A few Geger women are working in Saudi Arabia as domestic workers.

14 The Madurese language consists of two language groups: the Eastern Sumenep type, and the Western Bangkalan, Pamekasan and Sampang type, which differ in intonation and vocabulary. Madurese-speaking migrants from the eastern part of Java speak the Sumenep type. In both speech and manner, Sumenep-speaking Madurese are regarded as more refined, while Sampang are seen as almost ‘rough’. Madurese from Bangkalan are regarded as not very refined. Nevertheless, they still look down on Madurese from Eastern Java who speak the refined Sumenep version of Madurese.
none of which can be hidden. Entrepreneurs in this sector face uncertainty due to fluctuating market prices and possible conflicts with landowners and local people over land and firewood. When recalling these conflicts, references are often made by both Madurese and non-Madurese people to ethnic issues. As negative sentiments against Madurese have increased in the last couple of years, landowners are increasingly unwilling to rent or to lease land to Madurese, or they demand higher prices.

It is not uncommon for Madurese entrepreneurs and workers to be accused of land grabbing, violence and criminal activities. Although some Madurese are, or have been, involved in illegal and illicit activities ranging from land occupation and gambling to illegal logging, theft and gang fighting, there are no indications that Madurese migrants are any more violent or criminal than other immigrant groups such as Buginese, Banjarese or Butonese (Acciaioli 1999:242, Nooteboom 2005:168).

Compared to other income sources in Kalimantan, the wages and profits in brickmaking are low and the wages are among the lowest in the area. They are comparable to those paid in the stone quarries. The gross earnings of teams of workers range between Rp 15,000 and 35,000 (€1.5–5) per day depending on the number of bricks produced. Net earnings range from less than zero to Rp 30,000 per team per day. Many workers, as soon as they have saved Rp 1–2 million, return to Madura or East Java. Sometimes workers chose to send their profits home and continue working. On average, workers stay in Kalimantan for 8 to 10 months, but working for periods up to two years is not exceptional. In general, their wages are saved for them by the owner of the brickyard who also provides barracks to live in and food, cigarettes and drinks on credit. For others who help with the firing (3–4 times a year) no wages are paid but food, drinks and cigarettes are provided. Net profits of serobong owners range from Rp 500,000 to Rp 2 million (€50–200) per month depending on the number of workers involved and the prices of wood and bricks. About 15% of serobong owners have additional sources of income such as trucks and trades.

Brickmaking is a dynamic sector. At the end of 2003, about 10% of the serobong active at the start of that year had gone bankrupt or ceased activities. Reasons given for these bankruptcies were mismanagement, heavy gambling, increased production costs, a lack of reliable labourers or credit facilities and conflicts with landowners and suppliers. The number of non-Madurese buyers who defaulted on payments had greatly increased since the 2001 violence. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the number of serobong rose by 5% in the same period, and the total number of workers by more than 10%. ‘We have no other option’, a second generation migrant sighed, ‘even if I wanted to return to Madura, I couldn’t. There is nothing over there’.
Brick firing is the culmination of a production process which occupies a period of some three to five months, during which brickmakers need to marshal the necessary resources of land, labour and fuelwood, and mould and dry a sufficient numbers of bricks, so that the work of stacking the bricks and wood for firing can begin. If the firing is successful and the bricks find an immediate market, debts can be repaid, remittances can be sent home to Madura, new labourers sought and relationships with neighbours, buyers and suppliers renewed. This cycle of economic activity, involving a large number of social relationships, is highly sensitive to external shocks and influences such as a crisis.

A Financial Rollercoaster
Initially, after the 1997 crisis, incomes plummeted. For a couple of months, there was hardly any demand for bricks as investors were wary of constructing houses and many labourers returned to Madura. Most brickmakers received food and cheap rice from government officials as part of the national Sembako programmes. ‘Other ethnic groups pitied us and called us fellow countrymen’. Soon, however, higher export prices stimulated East Kalimantan’s export economy, building activities skyrocketed and brick prices tripled in real terms. For the brickmakers, a period of good profits started. As few labourers were available, production could not meet demand and prices increased. ‘In those days, I was able to pay all the expenses for my three remaining children and their families in Madura and even buy a motorcycle myself’, Dapi, a small entrepreneur, said. ‘Many of the workers who had dared to stay opened brickyards themselves’. Initially, new labourers were reluctant to come to Kalimantan seeing this as full of risk. However, after repeated phone calls from successful relatives and encouraged by a total lack of income-earning opportunities in Madura, many migrated to East Kalimantan. Due to this influx of labourers and the subsequent increase and competition in production, the price of bricks started to slowly decline in the period leading up to 2000.

This pattern repeated itself after the ethnic violence against Madurese in 2001 in Sampit, Central Kalimantan. At first, once the stories of large-scale violence against Madurese became widely known, about 15% of all Madurese labourers in Samarinda panicked and fled. Others sold their assets and sent their savings to Madura. Moreover, it became very difficult to recruit new labourers as many did not dare to take the risk of migrating to an area under threat of violence. Madurese labourers refrained from coming, while other ethnic groups refused to work for a Madurese employer. As a result, most brickmakers had to rely on family labour and individual savings to keep their production going. A brickmaker who stayed commented: ‘We had neither capital, nor labourers. I tried to persuade close relatives on Madura to come, but most
of them refused repeatedly. Finally, I ordered my two sons here to help me. I
did not want to abandon my brickyard here, as it was the only property and
means of livelihood I had’. ‘We had to wait and see what happened’, another
reacts. ‘If we had left, they would have taken over all our property’.

In fact, the violence in Sampit never spread to East Kalimantan, although a
few cases of provocation were reported. However, as a result of the lack of
labourers, real brick prices doubled to Rp 425 per brick (5 eurocents) offering
entrepreneurs a profit of over 100%. This windfall period lasted for nearly two
years, but only those brickmakers who had stayed in Kalimantan profited.
They were able to buy land in Madura, a house, motorbikes or cattle. About
10% of the entrepreneurs also bought a truck in Samarinda in order to further
benefit from the boom in construction activities and become less dependent
on other ethnic enterprises. The majority of Madurese seasonal migrants how-
ever ceased coming and did not benefit.

In this period, an increasing number of Madurese tried to migrate illegally to
Malaysia. With the declining opportunities in Kalimantan, Madurese migrants
tried to enter Malaysia – many of them illegally – where real wages were much
higher due to the strength of the Ringgit relative to the Rupiah. Due to
the weak Rupiah, larger amounts of money could be sent from Malaysia than from
Kalimantan. Except for those who were able to migrate to Malaysia, Madurese
faced severe falls in income. However, by early 2003, Malaysia decided to close
its borders and send all illegal workers home. It has been estimated that hun-
dreds of thousands of East Javanese – including Madurese – had been working

The ‘Hidden’ Sector: Stonecutting

There are two locations in the vicinities of Samarinda where stonecutters
work: Batu Putih and Batu Besaung. In these rocky and hilly areas outside the
city, large pits can be found where labourers cut and grind rocks to sell them
for use in road building and construction work. Most of the work is done with
simple tools such as hammers, chisels, levers and shovels. Fire is used to make
cracking the rocks easier. Sometimes middlemen will hire a mechanical exca-
vator to remove sand and rocks and to make access roads for trucks. Some
people working in these stone quarries earn reasonable incomes, but most of
the workers are living barely above subsistence level although workers in Batu
Putih are slightly better off than those in Batu Besaung.

Both areas are part of a low, but large, mountain ridge that runs from south-
west to northeast in the area north of Samarinda. In Batu Putih, the oldest pit
and closest to the city, about a hundred people work. Most of these people are
from Sampang, Madura and a large proportion of the population have already
been living on the mountain for one to two decades. These workers brought their families with them and some, all originally from one village in Sampang, have worked there for more than twenty years. Most of these I class as semi-permanent migrants since they return to Madura once a year and all express the hope of returning permanently to buy some land or cattle or start a trade on Madura.

The working conditions are harsh and sometimes earnings, depending on one's position in the pit, are very low. The most favourable places are allocated to those who have been there the longest. They can earn up to Rp 100,000 (€10) a day provided it is not raining. Newcomers get much less favourable locations and sometimes earn less than Rp 15,000 a day (€1.5) which is not enough to meet daily expenditures however simply they live. About one-third of the temporary labourers are heavily indebted and cannot return to Madura until their debts are repaid. Usually they pay off their debt with stones while taking credit to cover their daily expenditures. Things get worse if labourers gamble away large sums of money or if they fall ill for a long period. Some of these labourers have been indebted for over four years without any real hope of ever repaying the loan. This form of debt bondage is quite common between Madurese, but is seldom found with labourers from other ethnic groups. Madurese cannot easily walk away from their debts as their village of origin and relatives are known and will be held responsible for the debt.

A few of the quarrymen have worked their way up to become transporters, middlemen or moneylenders. These usually state that they are aiming for a future in Kalimantan. Two former labourers from Batu Putih now own a small company to transport stones and a few others have become middlemen who collect fees from trucks for the pit owner, hire labourers and give loans to workers in trouble. These middlemen rarely go back to Madura.

The situation at Batu Besaung is little different to that at Batu Putih except that there are many more labourers and more ethnic groups at Batu Besaung, although Madurese still make up the majority. Batu Besaung could be called the dustbin of Samarinda's informal migrant economy. If newly arriving migrants are unsuccessful in finding a job in construction or a trade in the city, they end up in the mountains of Batu Besaung. As soon as they find a job in the city or have earned enough to return to Madura, they disappear. I did not find any permanent dwellers, although some people have worked intermittently for over five years in the area.

The mountains are divided into about twenty blocks that are owned by investors of different ethnic backgrounds such as Bugis, Banjar and Chinese. These entrust one of the workers with collecting fees from contractors' trucks and await the money coming in. Every truck pays Rp 10,000 (€1) to the owner or keeper of the pit, while labourers receive Rp 35,000 for a load. The more
remote, the lower the prices are. Labourers are left in poor conditions, sometimes without proper sanitation, shelter and tools. If payments are late, or middlemen are unreliable, workers come close to starvation. Usually, all the risks are for the worker. Every year, a few people die at the pits due to accidents. If no savings or friends are available, they may be buried on the spot. In some instances where there was a Chinese boss, the owner of the land paid for the repatriation of the victim to Madura.

In 1997, just after the economic crisis hit the country, all construction activities came to a virtual standstill as did the possibility of earning money in the quarries. Most workers from the Batu Besaung area went back to Madura. In the older Batu Putih area, the local government supplied some food aid (*sembako*). This help was clearly catalysed by one of the local hamlet heads being of Madurese decent. As a consequence, the semi-permanent labourers decided to stay and wait for better times, as did many of the seasonal migrants. They just continued to work and stockpiled stones. Labourers who had savings used some of their savings to stay alive and also helped out other Madurese.

Soon after 1997, construction activities in East Kalimantan picked up as export prices rose. Contrary to the situation in the brick sector, the labourers, middlemen and transporters, most of whom where Madurese, did not compete with one another but worked together to raise the prices of stones as soon as the costs of living increased. As a consequence, stone prices have remained good and real wages have not fallen. As demand remains strong and production is relatively stable (people cannot cut more stone than they used to do), this policy can be maintained.

The pits are a favourable hiding place for all sorts of people who have run in trouble elsewhere. In some of the most remote pits at Batu Putih, and especially at Batu Besaung, refugees from the violence in West and Central Kalimantan are working. Most of the victims of this violence were from Sampang district who were then thrown out of West and Central Kalimantan. Some fled directly to East Kalimantan while others came through IDP camps on Madura where they heard about the stonecutting work from relatives and friends. The situation in the refugee camps was difficult as not much work was available in Madura, let alone work for newcomers. An estimated 10% of the stone workers, and more in remote parts of Batu Besaung, were refugees. Since 2002, the numbers have fallen as workers have found their way into other sectors of the Kalimantan economy.

Most of the people with previous troubles work in remote Batu Besaung. Debts are often mentioned as one of the reasons given for working there. These debts may be caused by excessive gambling, but often by speculation or trade. In many cases, the tobacco trade was mentioned. During 2004 and 2005, tobacco prices had plummeted on Madura, causing many small farmers and
traders who had borrowed large sums of money to go bankrupt. One worker told me that he had lost Rp 100 million (€10,000) in 2003. After selling his house and land, he still had debts of Rp 35 million (€3,500). Running to East Kalimantan was his only option. ‘I will work until I can pay them back, otherwise I will never be able to return to Madura’, he explained. Other reasons for finding a hiding place at the quarries are troubles due to involvement in extra marital relationships, theft and crime.

The violence in West and Central Kalimantan had shocked the stonecutting community. Many of the seasonal labourers decided to go home to Madura. Most of the semi-permanent migrants decided to stay in fear of losing their favourable spots. Contractors increasingly opted to use large excavators to get sufficient stones for their building activities, and large numbers of Madurese refugees from West and Central Kalimantan soon made it possible to satisfy market demands. Many of the refugees enjoyed the pits and the company of fellow Madurese and saw them as safe havens, protecting them from violence and far away from the urban crowds, bureaucracies and police officers in which they had lost all confidence.

**The ‘Safe’ Sector: Vegetable Farming**

Northeast of Samarinda, in Muang Dalam, a remote part of Lempake, Madurese immigrants from the South of Malang (Java) have settled over the last two decades. Originally, two brothers came as rural labourers in search of land. They had gambled away their father’s property in Malang and were very eager to start a new life and to regain land. Initially, they worked as rural labourers in an area which was cleared for transmigration purposes. After a year, they returned to Malang to bring their wives to Kalimantan. They built a simple shed from leftovers from logging companies which had just cleared the area and were allowed to borrow some land to plant vegetables. The brothers planted chili peppers which they transported to the town of Samarinda by boat. These made very good prices and were able to buy a hectare of land. Slowly, they improved their property and bought more land whenever something came available. Each time they returned to Malang, they would bring back some relatives or Madurese labourers with them. After ten years, a road was opened and the brothers started to plant papaya. With the papaya, they earned a stable, steady income which enabled them to also grow more risky crops such as tomato, chilli and rambutan.

In 2009, they each own four hectares and employ four or five labourers. Relatives and fellow villagers have also established farms and now there are forty Madurese-speaking families living in the area. Not all are as successful as the first two brothers, but all of them have good stable incomes and are able to
Badlands

send children to school. Further, they have established good relationships with other ethnic groups in the area. Average incomes range from Rp 5 million (€500) per month for the most successful producers and traders down to Rp 1 million (€100) for those who are still dependent on waged labour on their relatives' farms. As farmers and traders, they have been very keen on maintaining good relationships in the area as these are the prime prerequisite for economic success. Moreover, they view themselves as settlers, not migrants.

During the economic crisis at the turn of the millennium, the vegetable farmers were not affected at all since they only produced for the market of Samarinda, where there was no real crisis because of the benefits accruing from East Kalimantan's export economy. Nevertheless, for the vegetable farmers, the violence in West and Central Kalimantan came as a great shock. They had burnt their bridges on Java and now saw no opportunities to return there. Further, they were very determined to hold on to their lands. As a response to the violence, and the negative perceived image of Madurese, they tried to engage in better social relationships with neighbours. Regularly they explained to me the importance of living in peace with neighbours and told me about their activities to establish good relationships.

Pak Giman, a horticulturalist and informal leader of the Madurese vegetable and fruit nurseries in rural Muang Dalam organized, as head of the Madurese neighbourhood, several peace ceremonies with Dayak neighbours from nearby forests and their regional leaders. ‘We ate together, exchanged gifts, made music and agreed not to start any hostilities. I even gave them money’. They agreed to report any problem with one of their people directly so that it could be resolved. Remarkably, Bugis, with whom relationships in this area are tense due to fierce competition over land and vegetable trading, were not invited to similar events.

Although the majority of the farmers, and some of the semi-permanent migrants and settlers in the other sectors, adhere to these accommodating strategies, not all invest in friendly relationships. Especially among the farmers who live in relatively isolated communities, and this was also true of brickmakers and stonecutters, many can be found who refrain from contacts with other ethnic groups. In addition, buying land has become increasingly difficult for vegetable farmers, and they are increasingly forced to lease or rent it. As a result, they often search for cheap land further from the city that they can buy.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has focused on those Madurese who were able to migrate during the difficult years of crisis, reformation and ethnic violence to carve a livelihood...
out of the soil of East Kalimantan, one of the richest provinces of Indonesia. In this province, the reshuffling of social positions is clearly visible as new regional ethnic elites have benefitted most from the decentralization process in East Kalimantan (Casson and Obidzinski 2002, Van Klinken 2002), while other ethnic groups, including the Madurese, tend to be increasingly excluded.¹⁵

¹⁵ An example of such attempts to exclude immigrant groups is visible in the actions in Balikpapan against the influx of poor migrants from eastern Indonesia (East Nusa Tenggara) NTT, East Java and Madura. Local authorities try to limit this by organising raids to check residence permits (razia KTP).
The livelihood activities of Madurese in Samarinda, the provincial capital of East Kalimantan, have been expanding since the Asian crisis hit the country as a consequence of the growing investments and business opportunities. Notwithstanding this expansion, the entrepreneurial climate for Madurese migrants has been deteriorating ever since 1997 due to economic instability, political change and violent conflicts in West and Central Kalimantan. This violence left a deep wound and indirectly traumatized hundreds of thousands of Madurese. It was this crisis that had the largest impact on Madurese migrants.

Studying the Madurese migrants in East Kalimantan helps to uncover the dynamic processes of economic change, migration and ethnic tensions that occur between local populations and outsiders during such periods of turbulence. For migrants, such periods are largely marked by the creation of new anxieties and insecurities that cause tensions on the local level with local populations who tend to retrench into conservative ideologies and ‘our people first’ strategies. This process has clearly had negative impacts on Madurese livelihoods.

The Indonesian crisis, a combination of a monetary crisis, reforms, decentralization and subsequent violence, had positive short-term financial effects for Madurese brickmakers in Kalimantan but weakened their livelihood base in the longer term. After the monetary crisis, the value of remittances from Malaysia initially increased sharply and more people migrated to Malaysia. However, after the ban on illegal labourers in 2003, remittances from Malaysia declined and East Kalimantan again became important as a sole supplier of remittances. However, since 2003, the value of remittances has fallen as brick prices have declined due to overproduction. The brickmaking sector is a clear example of an economic sector that is dominated by a single ethnic group of migrants, which has then been challenged by opposing local populations. In response, the ethnic brickmakers increasingly mobilize labour, capital and resources from within their own group.

The stonecutters have been less affected in both positive and negative senses. They did not experience sizeable windfalls, but also not such deep depressions. Nowadays, when migration opportunities became scarce, that some stonecutters have to accept less favourable pits and greater impoverishment due to poor working conditions. Seasonal labourers were more mobile in this sector and, provided they are not tied by a favourable locations or debts, they can leave their tools and go back to Madura. Moreover, the system of agreed prices protected their livelihoods from the worst consequences of the crisis.

The vegetable farmers’ situation turned out to be the best. They continued to make money as economic conditions in Samarinda did not worsen.
Moreover, of the three groups studied, they were the most successful in establishing peaceful relationships with other ethnic groups and in gaining prestige and a slightly better image as Madurese. As a result of these good relations, and the focus on cash crops such as vegetables and fruit, their incomes grew considerably. However, today, it is difficult to enter this sector as land access for Madurese, at least in East Kalimantan, is not easy and much of the land is unsuited to vegetable production.

The impact of the crisis and the difficulties in making a living should not only be expressed in economic terms. The violence in West and Central Kalimantan has opened up a deep wound and indirectly traumatized hundreds of thousands of Madurese living in other areas. It is this aspect of the crisis which has had the largest impact on Madurese migrants. It changed their lives, their business opportunities and their attitude towards Kalimantan. For poor immigrants, since the decentralisation policies were introduced, Kalimantan has ceased to be the promised land of virtually unlimited opportunities.

This case study of Madurese migrants in East Kalimantan illuminates the differentiated impact of a crisis, mediated through dynamic processes such as economic change, migration and ethnic tensions during such a period of turbulence. In many instances, disruption to the old patterns and practices produced new opportunities and a momentum for change but, for Madurese brickmakers and for some of the stonecutters, the turbulence has mainly been marked by the creation of new anxieties and insecurities caused by local-level tensions with local populations who tend to retreat into conservative ideologies and ‘our people first’ strategies. The brickmaking sector is a clear example of an economic sector dominated by a single ethnic group of migrants which has been challenged by local populations. The crisis seems to have catalysed this opposition.

Following the crisis, the composite of political, economic and social change, of elites and ethnic positions in Indonesia has been reshuffled. It seems that poor, stigmatized and poorly represented groups, such as Madurese, face a declining situation at the expense of regional elites (putra daerah), re-emerging elites and new religious elites. They have lost an opportunity for improvement. In Kalimantan, the ‘hidden’ and ‘rough’ sectors remain the only niches for young Madurese in search of a better livelihood.