Research Article

A Culture of Chain Mobility Among Small Islanders: A Case Study of Lease Islanders' Mobility to Ambon City

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Abstract.
People who live in the archipelago have a high mobility culture. The life of the people makes the island not a separator from the mainland, but the island is believed to be an inseparable part. Land and sea become one unit of life for people living on small islands. Therefore, mobility is also part of their lives, so the sea is not a barrier to their mobility. This research aims to explain the cultural process of chain mobility of Lease Islands residents to Ambon City. The research method used is the case study method because this research aims to reveal the behavior and cultural process of chain mobility of island communities. This research uses a single case study method. The number of case units in this study was 7 case units. The results showed that the migrant network in the destination area is one of the critical factors and is very influential in the migrant's decision to migrate or stay in origin. The network of previous migrants who have formed in the city is one of the factors that determine the continuity of migrants to stay in the destination area. This lengthy process of mobility creates intergenerational mobility. It is shown by the existence of clans from the Lease Islands found also in Ambon City. The clans have developed and come from generations whose sequence is no longer known, only known from the name of the clan that follows it. The facts on the field show that mobility is a way of life for islanders. Observations in origin also show that almost every family has family members who live outside the island, especially in Ambon City.

Keywords: hain mobility, culture, small Island, lease

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1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of population mobility has been widely studied in various disciplines. Studies on the culture of chain mobility, especially the migrant chains that are formed, have also been studied. However, the culture of chain mobility in small island communities is an exciting issue to study. It is because people living on islands have interesting and unique lives. This study attempts to examine the cultural process of chain mobility from small island communities to Ambon City. Ambon City is one of the urban areas

with archipelagic geographical conditions that is one of the destinations of migrants, especially from the surrounding small islands and even the destination of migrants from outside the region. It is indicated by the accumulation of migrants from small islands that almost dominate the population in Ambon City. This condition has been going on for a long time because historically, Ambon City was also known as the entrance for spice traders from outside. One of the spice regions that was used as a destination for traders from outside was the Lease Islands, namely Haruku Island, Saparua Island, and Nusalaut Island. It is interesting to study because, on the one hand, Ambon City is a migrant destination for economic reasons, mainly migrants from outside the region. However, it is also a migrant destination for residents from the Lease Islands. Lease Island is one of the islands closest to Ambon City. This paper examines how the migrant mobility process shapes the culture of chain mobility in Ambon City.

Several studies have shown that mobility chains are formed due to networks that have been established in the destination area. The migrant network is social capital that determines the mobility process in origin. The term social capital is quite popular in the study of social sciences, such as sociology. The study of social capital varies depending on the discipline of study. In the sociology literature, social capital is defined as a network of social relationships with certain characteristics such as norms and trust. Social capital is the ability of people to work together to achieve common goals in various groups and organizations [1]. The study of social capital in population mobility studies emphasizes the networks created by migrants in the destination area [2]. The networks formed are based on the similarities of migrants, such as one region, one tribe, or one family [3]. The strength of the network in the destination area then creates positive information. It is accepted by the population in the area of origin, so it becomes one of the factors driving migrants from the area of origin to mobilize to the destination area [4] Social capital is a set of values or informal norms shared among members of a group that enables cooperation [5].

There are three parameters of social capital: trust, norms, and networks. Trust has a vital role in people's lives. Trust is an expectation that grows in people's lives [6]. When a community has a good enough trust, community life will be harmonious, and vice versa. Norms are values and expectations that are formed based on history and are believed by the community as an attitude that can support cooperation [7]. The following parameter is networking. A strong network will foster trust and strengthen feelings between its members [8]. Social capital in migration is linked in the form of networks owned by migrants. Household networks, family networks, and social networks relate to social structures to determine individual decisions [9]. Migration networks can be

defined as a composite network of personal interactions, such as the interaction of migrants with family or friends of migrants. The sociological approach formulates a new formulation of mobility, which is based on mobility networks. This theory explains that social and family relations influence population mobility. Migrant networks, as groups of interpersonal relationships, connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in both origin and destination areas through kinship, friendship, and various community ties [10].

These migrant networks create migrant chains. This migrant chain forms a strong bond between migrants and non-migrants in origin and the destination area so that the process of migration can be known. These migrant chains also form a separate identity in the destination area, so these migrant chains are often maintained to exist so that they can attract non-migrants to move because of the strong bonds between migrant members (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018). As social beings, humans cannot stand alone and live interdependently with other humans. Human dependence on one another creates a relationship. This relationship between humans can be based on blood ties, hereditary ties, friendship ties, friendship ties, and neighborly ties [12].

Interaction in this social network is essential because a person, in migrating, will reduce the cost and risk of moving, when arriving at the destination area. Migrants, when they arrive at the destination area, will be accommodated by predecessor migrants, be provided for while in the destination area, and will find a relationship that can accommodate them to get a job [13]. Migration research has found that a migrant's social network is an essential determinant for a person in planning his or her move and choosing a destination. Social networks have a significant relationship with migration decisions. Social and cultural influences and economic factors, whether directly or indirectly influenced by a life cycle or education, are influenced by migration decisions [14]. Social and cultural factors will determine the choice of place to migrate; secondly, it determines the form of migration, either permanent or circular; thirdly, the choice of destination; and fourthly, the experience in the new environment. Demographic structures such as family size, age, gender, life cycle stages, and other aspects of family structure, such as kinship patterns, expectations, motives, and incentives regarding migration, are four components that influence migration decisions. The family is a crucial determinant of migration. Mainly when the motive for migration is due to the individual's role in the family, socialization with the family about the destination area, the availability of social networks by the family, and the family's willingness to support the migrants [15].

The network formed by migrants is social capital that plays a role in determining the area to go to. Social capital can bridge the gap between the macro and micro levels. On the one hand, everyone has specific social capital or networks. Social capital also shapes individual behaviour. Individuals are brought together in the exchange of resources, and in this process, people always take social relationships and existing cultural norms and standards. The existence of social capital will attract migrants from the area of origin, thus creating new migrants. This condition will continue, thus creating a chain of migrants. Therefore, this study aims to explain the cultural process of chain mobility of Lease Islands residents to Ambon City.

2. METHODS

This research uses a case study method with 7 case units. A case study is a question related to how and why [16]. Therefore, the research method is to find out the process of chain mobility with case studies. The informants of this research are migrant actors who are in Ambon City and come from the Lease Islands. Furthermore, data were collected by conducting in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. A case study protocol was used in this research to guide the researcher in conducting the case study and is a common tactic in increasing the reliability of case study research [17]. In this case, there are 4 stages, namely research design and preparation, data collection and analysis, reporting and synthesis. Furthermore, the 7 case units in this study are those aged 15 years and over. It is with consideration that case units with an age category of 15 years and over have been able to explain and provide information to answer this research question.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The migration of the population from the Lease Islands to the city of Ambon has been occurring for a long time since ancient times. The Lease Islands were even once an icon of the global clove trade. Therefore, the process of mobility in and out of these islands has been ongoing for quite some time. The concept of "Orang Dagang" (Trading People) also indicates that the presence of migrants within the traditional realm of the islands has been recognized. This long-standing mobility process has created intergenerational mobility. It is evidenced by the presence of clans from the Lease Islands, also found in the city of Ambon. These clans have developed and originated from generations whose sequences are no longer known, only identified by the family names that follow them.

Initially, the mobility process was due to trade. History shows that the people living in the city of Ambon and the Lease Islands were traders because the area was known for cloves and nutmeg, which were quite famous worldwide. Therefore, many traders from all over the world made these two areas a gateway for trade, and the local people also utilized mobility for trading purposes. History indicates that some wealthy individuals from the Lease Islands engaged in mobility to market their goods beyond their islands. Further investigation reveals that the first generation to move from the Lease Islands to the city of Ambon were wealthy merchants aiming to trade in the city of Ambon.

Many pioneer migrants from the Lease Islands then had a place to live in Ambon City as a second home in addition to having a home in origin then the mobility process continued, especially the construction of the first university in Maluku, Pattimura University, in 1956. People who came from the rich, descendants of kings, descendants of priests, and descendants of priests were migrants who studied at this university. It is reinforced by information provided by several people who explained that at the beginning of Pattimura University, only certain people were able to study at the university. Among them were people who had a high socio-economic status. After school was finished, the next step was to work in the formal sectors of Ambon City. This fact can be shown by the fact that several clans have strategic positions in Ambon City and are the pioneers of the Lease Islands population.

The success of migrants in the destination area is one of the positive information for prospective migrants. Positive information supported by invitations from previous migrants is one of the encouragements for prospective migrants who are interested in mobility to Ambon City. Observations show that initially, those who followed in the footsteps of the second generation were limited to their immediate family members because, at that time, not everyone could afford to send their family to Ambon City. However, after the 1980s, migrants who came to Kota Ambon to study were not limited to families with a high socio-economic status. However, everyone could continue their education in Kota Ambon. Moreover, at that time, many migrants from the Lease Islands were successful and occupied strategic sectors in Ambon City. Therefore, many migrants attracted their relatives to Ambon City. It is a form of increasing social status in the community when a migrant succeeds in Ambon City and invites relatives or fellow "*Anak Negeri*" to follow his success in Ambon City.

The facts on the field show that mobility is a way of life for residents of the islands. Observations in origin also show that almost every family has family members who live outside the island, especially in Ambon City. Some people even live in the Netherlands and have done so for generations. Another fact is that almost every clan/fam/mataruma

has family members living in Kota Ambon. It has created a chain of migrants from the Lease Islands to Ambon City. The current generation of migrants includes the generation of parents who, in their time, had an obligation to maintain their land ownership in their area of origin.

The role of previous migrants in the city is huge as pioneers who will help new migrants who come from the same village. In the early stages, pioneer migrants will assist new migrants in the adjustment mechanism in the destination area. The migrant's job search process will also be assisted by the relationships that have been formed by previous migrants [18]. The facts in the field show the dominance of migrants who come from the same village or region in Ambon City. The role of pioneers in the destination area is very important, especially at the beginning of migrant life in the destination area. The adaptation process of new migrants to their new environment requires the role of pioneers [19].

The mobility process of the Lease Islands population was not carried out suddenly. However, the role of pioneer migrants in the mobility process is very large. Positive information sent by previous migrants to the area of origin determines the migrant's decision to mobilize to Ambon City or stay in origin. This condition is related to information about the destination area. If migrants in origin receive positive information, the decision to migrate continues. Conversely, if the information received is negative, the migrant will not continue to mobilize to Ambon City. The form of information that the original population has received from previous migrants is in the form of successes shown by previous migrants in Ambon City. This condition further encourages new migrants to come to Kota Ambon.

The role of previous migrants, apart from providing information about the destination area, also has a role in accommodating new migrants. This is related to the need for housing and the necessities of life in Ambon City. The following was stated by case unit 1 who explained that:

" When I decided to go to Ambon City for my studies, I stayed with my uncle and aunt. My uncle was a soldier and was assigned to Ambon City. I lived in the dormitory following him, along with several other nephews of my uncle. My relationship with my aunt was that she was my mom's sister. Our culture teaches that when someone is successful in Ambon City, they must accommodate their family members who come to the city. Therefore, it is an obligation for my Uncle and Aunt to accommodate family members who come from the village. "

The description of the analysis unit 1 explains that the role of the immediate family as pioneers of mobility is very large, especially in ensuring survival in Ambon City. Case unit 1 further explains that:

"Uncle and Aunty not only accommodate us who come from the village, they also fulfill our living needs in Ambon City. When we had financial difficulties due to late deliveries from the village, they took care of our living expenses, although it was adjusted to the ability of Uncle and Aunty."

The position as a pioneer of mobility is not only about accommodating life while in the city but also fulfilling the needs of new migrants is an obligation of previous migrants. Life in Ambon City is the responsibility of previous migrants. Therefore, previous migrants also have the same rights and authority as their biological parents back home. These pioneers usually come from the migrant's immediate family. Observations show that the concept of siblings or the mention of uncle and aunty is not always a family that has a blood relationship. However, the concept of siblings can occur due to marriage or because they come from the same negeri.

Another mobility pattern that is similar to case unit 1 and case unit 2 is case unit 3. The following is an explanation of case unit 3 regarding its mobility process to Ambon City:

""After graduating from elementary school, I followed my uncle and aunt who were in Saparua, where I worked as a public informer. In Saparua, I attended junior high and high school. During my high school years, my uncle was transferred to Ambon City, so after I graduated from high school, I moved with them to Ambon City. There, I continued my studies at the university level. I lived again with my uncle and aunt, along with several relatives from the same village. My uncle and aunt were considered successful people. In Lease Islands culture, when a family has successful members, those members are expected to help support other family members. This was also the case in our family, as I could be considered successful in Ambon City since both my wife and I worked and were materially quite successful. We had a duty to support family members who came to Ambon City. Therefore, when a nephew of mine wanted to continue his education in Ambon City, he stayed with us. Some of my wife's family members also lived with us. Our siblings also stayed with us while they were in school, and now that they are married and working, they live on their own. The presence of my uncle and aunt was a great help to me, especially when we needed funds while our shipments (funds sent from the village) were delayed due to weather because back in my day, shipments were entrusted to ships heading to Ambon City, so when the weather was bad, the shipments were also delayed."

The descriptions of case unit 1 and case unit 3 explain that the role of the family is very strong as a pioneer of mobility. The success of family members in Ambon City is one of the attractions for subsequent migrants. This is because, in addition to the family's role in sustaining life in the city, the success of the pioneer migrants themselves is also one of the motivations for further migrants. This condition results in the ongoing process of population mobility. An exciting culture is the responsibility of successful migrants in Ambon City to take care of family members in the village. This culture applies not only to the nuclear family but also to the family of one family. Families by marriage or families from the same negeri also apply.

An overview of the chain mobility process of case unit 1 and case unit 3 will be depicted in the following diagram:
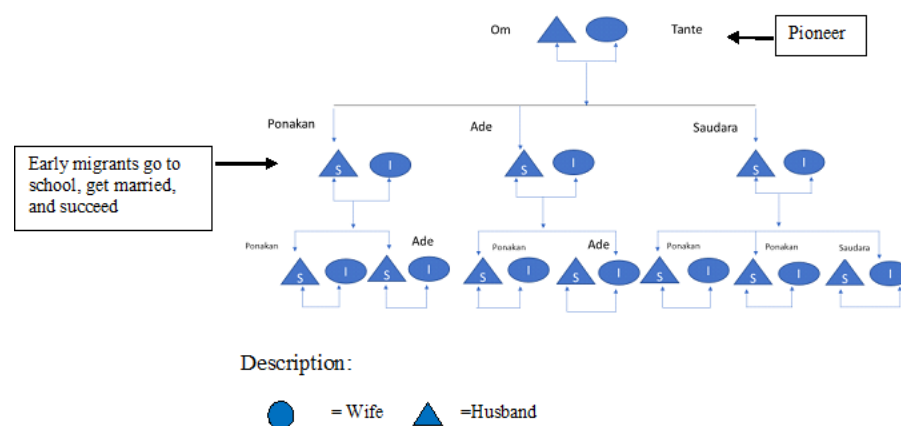

Figure 1: The Continuous Mobility Process.

The figure above explains that the Lease Islands population mobility process is carried out by family members who act as pioneers in Ambon City. It is then followed by family members from both the husband and wife's side. Both husband and wife have the same burden in carrying family members who mobilize to Ambon City. Usually, the pioneer accommodates all family members from the region of origin. The picture above also shows that in one household, a pioneer takes in and lives with several nephews and nieces as well as several people from the same negeri. Family relationships in island societies are not limited to blood relations but rather kinship due to a common origin (usually the same *country*). Siblings, in this sense, are relatives in the broadest sense. Siblings can be related to their grandparents or siblings in the sense of brothers and sisters from one mataruma, one soa, or one negeri.

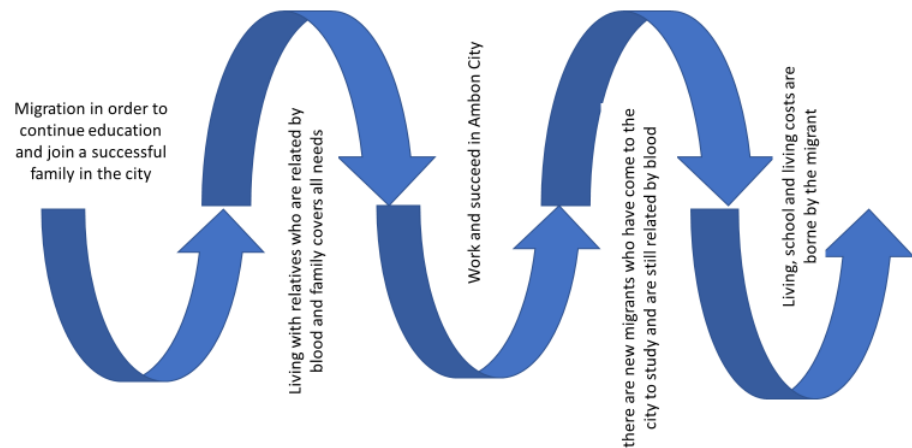The following describes the mobility process carried out by the case unit.

Figure 2: Population Mobility Chain based on close relatives.

Figure 2 explains the migrant chain that occurs in case 1 and case 3. The migration chain begins when a person goes to Ambon City for school reasons. Migrants come to Ambon City and are accommodated by families in Ambon City. The family, in this case, is related to the migrant's mother. The younger brother of the migrant's mother has migrated to Ambon City and is considered successful. Therefore, the previous migrant acts as a pioneer and accommodates his nephew as a new migrant in Ambon City. The position of the pioneer is as a substitute for the parents in origin. The role of the pioneer covers all the needs of the migrants in Ambon City. If the new migrant lives with the pioneer migrant, the needs of life are borne by him, not limited to living but the need for food and drink while living in the pioneer's house. It is done until the migrant can be independent and live separately from the previous migrant.

The role of the family in this mobility process is also demonstrated by case unit 2 and case unit 4:

"I came to Ambon City to live with my brother in Urimesing. During my stay in Urimesing, all living expenses were borne by my brother. This was because shipments from my village were usually late because transportation at that time was not as adequate as it is now. I lived with him for two years, and then I lived in a boarding house in Rumah Tiga. I did this because the campus was far away from where my brother lived, so to save on transportation costs, I boarded at House Three, at that time, transportation was also quite difficult, not like now ." (case unit 2)

In case 2, the concept of brother is different from case units 1 and 3. The concept of brother is not based on blood relations but on the concept of brother in the sense of distant relatives. As explained above, the concept of brother in this island society is

not limited to blood relations but in a broader sense. Territorial genealogical ties also constitute the concept of one brother. The fraternal relationship between case unit 2 and the pioneers is that of brothers because of a grandfather. A brotherly relationship of several generations is a close relationship. The role of the previous migrant also has the same position even though the kinship relationship is not a close relative, which is to bear all the needs of life while the migrant lives with him. Furthermore, case unit 4 explains that:

" I came to Ambon City delivered by my papa (father). When I first arrived, I stayed with my grandmother, who had lived in Ambon as a papalele. Because the campus was far from my grandmat's house, I then stayed with my aunt in Wayame. Our family relationship is because of marriage. My aunt is Papa's sister-in-law. During my stay with my aunt, all living expenses while in Ambon City were covered by my aunt, although my papa occasionally sent food to Ambon City. For us Orang Nusalauts, the relationship based on marriage is quite close. Now that I have finished my master's degree and am working, I live in a boarding house in Poka with my younger siblings. I take care of their living expenses while they are in Ambon City." (case unit 4)

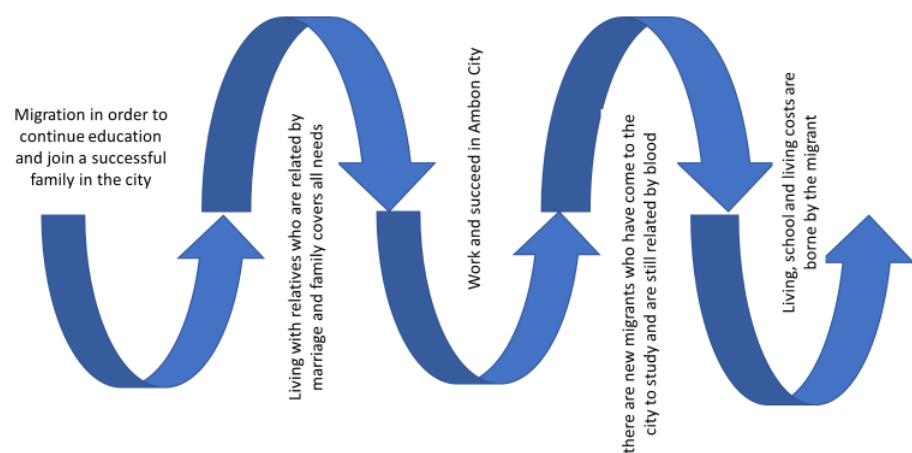An overview of the migration chain of case units 2 and 4 is as follows:

Figure 3: Chain of Population Mobility Based on Marital Relationship.

The picture of the migrant chain above shows that in cases 2 and 4, the relationship between the migrant and the pioneer is a fraternal relationship due to the similarity of the lineage of one grandfather and due to marital relations. In case 4, the pioneer who accommodates is the marital relationship of the migrant's older sibling, not a fraternal relationship because of the same blood. This shows that the concept of "*basudara*" (brotherhood) for islanders can have a wide range of meanings. The fraternal

relationship is quite strong. This fact shows the difference between continental societies. The concept of family in continental societies is not the same as the concept of family in small island communities. The family relationships formed in small island communities are very extensive. The strength of this kinship is what distinguishes small island communities from continental communities. Observations in the field show that the family ties of case unit 1 are pretty strong. This relationship is not only in social relations but in every aspect of their lives. They have a very solid relationship. When looking for work, family ties are one of the entrances to work, especially in the formal sector. For example, on Haruku Island, there are areas where people occupy vital sectors in Ambon City. Therefore, when these community members seek work in Ambon City, especially in the formal sector, they will find it easy because their relatives have strategic positions. The role of pioneers in Ambon City is not limited to accommodating new migrants for housing purposes. However, also the network of pioneers is essential in finding jobs, especially in the formal sector.

The pattern was slightly different in case unit 4. Case unit 4 came from Nusalaut Island and had strong family ties. This is shown by the fact that the case unit lives with a family related to marriage. The smaller the land mass in island communities, the stronger the kinship relationships. The description above explains that the mobility process of the Lease Islands population is chain mobility. It is not much different from previous mobility patterns. However, in the pattern of population mobility in the Lease Islands, family relations are a form that distinguishes it from mobility that occurs in other studies. The family has a significant role in mobility, both from providing housing, to all living expenses while living in the city. Observations also show that the role of the family in the city towards new migrants is very large. In the formal sectors, the power of the pioneer network plays a big role for new migrants to get a job. This ease of access to formal sector employment is not only due to blood ties. However, the bond as "*Anak Negeri*" is one of the family ties in island communities. The concept of being an *anak negeri* is only found in island communities. So far, the concept of chain mobility has been based on family ties, friendship, and neighborliness. Meanwhile, in small island communities the concept of "*anak negeri*" is a very strong form of bond based on the similarity of ethnicity, religion, culture, and language.

4. CONCLUSION

Migrant networks created by pioneer migrants have the power to create migrant networks in Ambon City. Pioneer migrants provide opportunities for further migration in

determining chain mobility in Ambon City. The culture of chain mobility is formed due to family ties, friendships, and neighborhood ties from the area of origin. The power of the anak negeri is also one of the most powerful networks in creating migrant chains. The bonds of the *anak negeri* are based more on tribal, religious, cultural, and linguistic ties. The concept of *anak negeri* is a new concept found in the cultural process of chain mobility in small island communities to Ambon City.

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