

The ‘Cultural Core’ in Multi Ethnic Communities and its Impact on Agrarian Resource Management

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The ‘Cultural Core’ in Multi Ethnic Communities **and its Impact on Agrarian Resource Management**

The Case of Two Villages in the Palolo Valley, Central Sulawesi

*Endriatmo Soetarto*¹

Abstract

This paper deals with the application of James Steward’s cultural core theory on multy ethnic communities in a rain forest margin area in Central Sulawesi. The results presented in the paper are based on empirical case studies at two villages in the Palolo valley. An exclusive distinction of residential areas along ethnic lines I both villages leads to the formation of strong cultural cores with exclusive character. Thus a common cultural core does not exist and therefore the implementation of a sustainable land use system is blocked. However, it the individual degree of cultural exclusion is based on the dependence of one ethnic group to the other one. Cultivation methods as applied for wet rice farming e.g. forces the two groups to cooperate and thus gives the opportunity to combine the two different cultural cores to a stable collective one.

Keywords: cultural core, ethnic groups, resource management, case study, Central Sulawesi

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The Lore Lindu region of Central Sulawesi is both, home of different local ethnic groups and destination for migrants from various, ethnically diverse regions of the Indonesian archipelago. This leads to the structure of multi ethnic village communities. As the region under investigation also represents a rain forest margin area with the Lore Lindu National Park at its center, an analysis of the action of those groups becomes an interesting field of research for the investigation of stability and destabilisation of rain forest margins. The complex population composition raises the question of how these different ethnic groups differ in terms of land use and agrarian resource management.

1.2 Conceptual Framework

This paper refers to the concept of ‘cultural ecology’. This term, coined by J. Steward (1955), describes the study of the relationship between nature and culture in human societies. According to the holistic view, all aspects of culture are functionally interdependent upon one another. The degree and kind of interdependency, however, are not the same with all features. Steward therefore recommends to isolate a so called ‘cultural core’. There are only a certain number of socio cultural elements which can be categorized as the elements to form the ‘cultural core’. This is due to the very obvious and explicit relationship in a cultural way between the methods of economic life guaranties which are practiced by the community members and the environment. The other socio cultural elements, which relations with economic life and the utilization of environment are not so tight, can be defined as the remainder cultural elements (‘the rest of culture’, Geertz 1974, p.7).

Following Steward’s concept, this analysis concentrates on the characteristics of a system’s infiltration into other systems (system structure, system balance, and system change) rather than on the point-to-point relationships between paired variables the of ‘culture’ and ‘environment’ (Geertz 1974, p. 10). If an ecosystem is limited by parallel separation between a relevant ‘culture core’ and ‘environment’, then the main questions in this case are what kind of mechanism regulates such an ecosystem, what degree and type of stability works in that ecosystem and how can we understand the development or declining characteristics occurring in an ecosystem?

In reference to this concept it will be illustrated how far the communities which stay in the two research villages in the vicinity of the Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP) in Central Sulawesi form a ‘stable’ or ‘unstable’ (destructive) ‘cultural core’. The aim is to analyze whether the ‘cultural core’ makes the degree of stability of the environment stronger or weaker seen from the way the community members get the agrarian resources under their control. It is noted that in the Palolo Valley there are villages inhabited by various ethnic groups, either by the original people from Palolo or by migrants coming from out of Palolo Valley. The latter are presumed to have the potencies to stimulate instability of the environment around the Lore Lindu National Park.

This study is leaded by the assumption that in respect to a collective scale every social life always has an 'optimum momentum' in its existence to start a productive development. In other words there are certain relatively short and rare moments for the actors of economy, politics and culture on the local level to join together and to prepare a conducive atmosphere in creating a desire and collective actions which will give more welfare to them. If this optimum moment passes without being used, it might needs several generations to come to the same condition. Moreover it is not impossible that before the next optimum moment is reached the community doesn't exist any more due to their inability to maintain their life (compare to Higgins in Geertz, 1974).

The question is whether the local ethnic groups have or have not developed the institutionalized interaction processes among the ethnic groups that they need to create the atmosphere for the formation of a collective sentiment on the village level. Because of its relevancy for the cultural ecology approach this factor becomes a crucial point for the forming of the 'cultural core' which specifies whether it is correct or not for the relation among the human activities (they themselves) and the environment under their control. If the specification of the relation is 'compatible', then this is the type of a 'stable' 'cultural core'. The opposite is the case if the relation is directed to 'incompatible' specification, then this is the type of an 'instable' 'cultural core'.

In other words, 'compatible' or 'incompatible' indicates whether a mutual and reciprocal relation is existent or not between the methods of economic guarantees of the community members and the continuity aspect of the environment under their control.

1.3 Location of Study and Methodology

This study took place in two villages, Sintuwu and Berdikari, in the sub-district of Palolo, regency Donggala, Central Sulawesi Province (see map).² These villages were chosen although they are relatively new, however, they can be categorized due to certain criteria: The Sintuwu village is stated as the 'original' village because the ethnic group of the Kaili (sometimes called 'orang kampung'), which build the majority in this village, came from the surrounding areas, i.e. from the inner part of Palolo Valley. In contrast the Berdikari village represents the stereotype of a 'migrant village' because the composition of the inhabitants according to the origin of the ethnic groups is dominated by groups from outside the Palolo sub district.

The objective of this case study is to observe the 'cultural core' in a more detailed way for each of the ethnic group existing in the two villages in relation with their methods of environmental management, which contain agrarian resources, such as *ladang* (un-irrigated agricultural field) and *kebun* (small holder dry plantation field), *sawah* (wet agricultural field) and forest (Kirk, 1999). Later it will be analyzed in how far each ethnic group uses reciprocal interactions or synergistic actions for selecting the proper environment handling or if they

² This Paper is written based on field data that was collected from April to July 2001 by two post graduate students of the Rural Sociology Program. Joula Sondakh and Syahyuti were conducting their field work in the two villages for their master theses. The research topic of Joula is "*Pattern of Agrarian Resource Management: Palolo Valley Case*", whereas the topic of Syahyuti is "*The Formation of Agrarian Structure: Palolo Valley Case*." The writer is one of their supervisors.

continue their exclusive life which is secluded following their own cultural patterns respectively. If the first social process is the prevailed one then it is possible that the stable collective 'cultural core' is established to a greater extent. If the second social process prevails then the 'cultural core' that has the chance to emerge is the instable one.

In relation with the data collection a number of life cycle rites were placed at the most important observation point because they are valued to explain the consumption rate with all its implications in the economics on the household level. The next observation was directed to collect information on how far the organization of life cycle rites is whether functioned or not as a bridge for reciprocal interaction among the ethnic groups that is important to form the collective sentiment in the village (hereinafter referred to as 'collective sentiment'). In turn it is worth knowing if the growing/not growing of collective sentiment will implicate the forming process of whether a 'stable cultural core' or in the opposite an 'instable cultural core'.

2. Typology of the Social Communities of Sintuwu and Berdikari

2.1 Setting and Demography of the two village

The villages of Sintuwu and Berdikari are situated in a height of 500 to 700 meters above sea level. They belong to 21 villages located in the Palolo sub-district. Both villages are directly bordering forest areas, Sintuwu has a direct border with the LLNP forest area and Berdikari is neighbouring the limited production forest area and the preservation forest area.

It can be noted that in both villages the community type forms a mixture of different ethnic groups, either the ones coming from resettlement projects organized by the government or the ones coming by way of spontaneous migration. Besides that in both villages are pieces of land distributed to various government institutions such as University of Tadulako, Military Resort Command, State Treasury Office, District Court Offices etc.

The number of inhabitants in the village of Sintuwu, based on the record of each head of village in the year 2001, totals 1205, while Berdikari's total number of population is 1782. It is very interesting to observe the village populations in respect to the sub ethnic composition. In Sintuwu Kaili Taa and Kaili Tara form 53%, Buginese 29% and other sub ethnic groups 9% of the population. In Berdikari the Kulawis constitute the biggest ethnic group with 55% followed by the Buginese with 25% and others which account for 20% of the total population.

2.2 Background of the In-Migration of Various Ethnic Groups

It is interesting to reveal the first migration process of the ethnic groups and the foundation of Sintuwu and Berdikari. Both villages have almost the same history because both have been established through spontaneous in-migration processes from surrounding villages or sub-

districts or even from outside the province and other islands (as there are the Sundanese, Javanese and Balinese).

In the beginning Sintuwu was founded by people who were forced by the regional government in 1961 to emigrate from a region in the mountain range of Biromaru which is relatively close to the village of Sintuwu. The movement occurred because the mountain range area was in a critical condition due to the farming practice of shifting cultivation, which caused the area to become barren (denuded). The second group came four months later in the same year. The year 1963 was the peak of the migration period due to the actions by the government apparatus, such as the burning of people's houses who were still living in the original villages in the mountain range.

The Buginese came in 1968 followed by the arrival of the *Zending* mission in 1969. The Zending mission directly bought land to build a church and from this moment their religious activity practically started to spread evenly over the village community of Sintuwu. The most important period of demographic development started in the 1970s when a lot of people were following their predecessors. Sintuwu started to become heterogeneous when the Buginese and the Kulawis arrived. The previous reason for the Buginese to come to this region was to see their relatives who had become members of the village. Later they also decided to stay and started to work as farmers or traders. The Buginese are very well known for their mobile nature. They did not remain in the village but moved again to the city of Palu and other places that are considered as potential areas to develop their economic interests. Since then the Buginese and the Kulawis are known to the original or local people as the 'migrants' because they originated from outside the Palolo region, or even the province of Central Sulawesi.

It can be noted that the Kaili, who are estimated to reach 60 percent among the other 12 original ethnic groups existing in Central Sulawesi, include a lot of ethnic variants such as Kaili Ledo, Kaili Ija, Kaili Rai, Kaili Unde etc. The number of these mentioned here are relatively low. Only Kaili Tara and Kaili Taa (hereinafter referred to as Kaili only) total a relatively high number and their members are the ones living in Sintuwu and Berdikari.

The background of the migration to Berdikari is much easier to understand. The land in this village is relatively fertile therefore it attracts people to come and stay. Starting in 1960 a Kulawi man who was also an apparatus of the government of the village of Ampera (neighbouring village) was interested in opening plantations in the forested and uninhabited land, an action which was later followed by his relatives, etc. This spontaneous migration flow was then forming a new village which was called Karawa Maluo. On the initiative of the pioneers the name then changed to Berdikari. This name means 'the village whose members are able to take care of themselves without the aid of the government'. It is therefore a symbol of proudness to the village inhabitants.

The most important period for the development of this village was in 1965 when the central government relocated Javanese through military institutions. The members of the pioneer village gave them a piece of land to accommodate 85 migrated households. In this area a small village was founded that then grew and was called Bahagia village in 1977.

The year 1973 was the beginning of the Buginese in-migration to this area. The migrants' intention was to find a better place to live. They were followed by their relatives who had been living and working around Palu and Palolo. At the beginning of the 1980s the number of Buginese people grew and they started to settle along the road from Palu to Palolo.

Before the 1970s several families from Tana Toraja (South Sulawesi), which have family relations to each other, lived in the village of Berdikari. In general, they were farmers who worked on the land of a military institution (Military Resort Command). To take their relatives along is the main reason for the migrants, especially for the Buginese. To work on the paddy fields and plantations of their relatives often becomes the reason to migrate from Tana Toraja. Other smaller ethnic groups such as Manado, Mori Poso, and Kaili generally came after the village had become easier accessible. The end of the 1980s e.g. was the most important period of in-migration concerning the ethnic group Kaili Daa coming from the neighboring village Kakamora. The Korah hill which is located in Berdikari is the main location of settlement for the Kaili and simultaneously became part of the limited production forest area under state control. Counting around 100 households they settled down there appealing to the 'right of use'.

2.3 Education and Employment Characteristics

In Berdikari elementary school represents the education standard of most of the people (50%). Thirty percent are not graduated from elementary school, 10% graduated from high school and the remaining graduated from secondary school. In Sintuwu similar data are not available, but the assumption of the researcher - based on the information given by the community leaders - is that the educational condition there is worse. This is due to the domination of Kaili people in Sintuwu who in general are not graduated from elementary school. The education facilities available in Berdikari start from elementary school up to senior high school, while in Sintuwu they are available only up to junior high school (Sintuwu Monography, 2000 and Berdikari Monography, 2000).

According to the record more than 90% of the population is working as farmers. The farmers' category is divided into farmers who own land and farmers who work on the land of others. Based on the monograph's record of the year 2000 in Sintuwu the amount of farmers who own land are only 5%, while the rest are farmers working on others' land. Only very few of them have other occupations beside, such as keepers of a small shop in their house. These are mostly Javanese, Buginese or other non-Kaili groups. Moreover in Berdikari the Javanese have introduced free-range of chicken. Some of them have opened a shop for dressmaking in their home. These are some examples of the variety of economic activities which in general are carried out by the migrant households.

3. The 'Cultural Core' of a Multi Ethnic Community and its Influence on Environmental Management

The most important thing that can be immediately stated for the type of the original village (Sintuwu) is the dominant 'cultural core' which influences the way of environmental management in the local village, especially referring to the original ethnic group of the Kaili which founded the village and constitutes the majority today. In contrast to the migrant village type (Berdikari) a dominant 'cultural core' is nonexistent because every member of the community practices the traditions belonging to one's ethnic group and these are relatively

balanced in number. Every ethnic group came to live in the new village practically one after the other in a relatively short period.

3.1 The Ethnic Groups

Although in Donggala regency there are about twelve big ethnic groups only three of them are well-known due to their quantity – the Kaili, the Tominis and the Kulawis. The settlement of the Kaili is centered in Palolo sub-district and as mentioned before during the last two decades this region became an important destination for migration. Still it is not too difficult for us to observe who belongs to the original or local ethnic groups and who to the migrants.

One life aspect which serves as a distinguishing feature for the different ethnic groups is the source of livelihood they use. The original ethnic groups, in general, have developed a stable agricultural subsistence by planting main crops as there are rice on dry field, corn and tubers. Most of their crops are used to fulfill the consumption requirements of their own households. The migrants such as the Buginese for instance tend to run cocoa plantations which have a higher sale value on the markets, while the Javanese and the Sundanese are more active in planting rice in wet rice fields. For almost everybody, irrespective individual ethnic affiliation, the main way to obtain cash requirements is going into the forest to collect different kinds of forest products such as rattan, woods etc.

3.2 Traditional Celebrations and their Relation to the Management of Environment

The households of the Kaili and of most of the original ethnic groups require a lot of expenses, especially when they are still deeply connected with the traditions which oblige them to conduct a lot of traditional celebrations. The celebrations are related to ceremonies for pleading their gods for safety and to ceremonies for indicating the change in an individual's life cycle phase that starts at its day of birth and lasts until its day of death.

Moreover the remembrance for the death is celebrated with a feast successively starting from the first up to the seventh day. Also the fortieth and another day are considered sacred. In these celebrations the family of the dead receives a lot of visitors including heads of families from either relatives or fellow neighbors in the village. To slaughter cattle for every remembrance ceremony is highly recommended by the tradition, particularly if the celebration is related to a death ceremony. In the past, especially around the 1960s, there was a custom rule that a death body was prohibited to be buried if no cattle was ready to be slaughtered.

Various expenses for a traditional celebration have to be spent during the preparation phase several days before the ceremony. In this phase the host has to serve food to the visitors who come to help, especially to those who assist in constructing the stage and the feast huts. At the same time, the host will usually do his best to slaughter at least one pig every day to serve his guests. The number of guests may reach tens of people per day. The preparation phase takes place three to four days before the celebration.

The above procedure is mostly carried out by middle to high class families. For the middle to lower class families the scale of obligated traditional customs is smaller which is in accordance to their capability. There is a certain economic burden for every family among the original ethnic group to fulfill their traditional obligation in conducting the mentioned celebrations.

All Kaili and other original ethnic groups will do their best to put assets aside to be capable of paying all costs for the rituals. In general they accumulate savings in form of land, pigs or cattle which can be sold at any time. Savings in form of livestock are less popular while savings in form of cash have never crossed their mind. The cash they receive by selling their crops will be spent to cover the daily needs. Often it is also spent to seek for pleasure. For example after receiving cash they just buy alcoholic drinks or visit for some days friends or relatives in other villages so they spend almost all the money.

In fact the crops produced by the Kaili and the other original ethnic groups on plantations or fields are commodities with low market value. As a result their land is the first to be sold to other ethnic groups, particularly to the Buginese, in order to get cash. It is very interesting to observe that, if the rest of their land is only as big as the size of their house yard, they will borrow money by pawning this land. If it is too difficult to pawn it then they will immediately sell their land. Afterwards they will enter the forest area around their village, either into the production forest area (in Berdikari) or to LLNP (in Sintuwu), to look for replacement. This shows that particularly for the Kaili land the aspect of inheritance is not so important. When somebody died the land is not divided among the children but it rotates among them within a system of number per harvests.

A negative development that can be stated here is the arrival of the Protestant missionary, in this case the Salvation Army. The Kaili and the other ethnic groups have been guided to form work groups called Belo Singgani (mutual benefit). The core of these groups is constituted by the church community (parish) and the main activity is the collaboration in rotational work on their respective land. Those who have finished their job will receive cash as payment from the owner of the land as well as foods and beverage. All the money they receive have to be saved in the groups' savings and can be withdrawn when it is needed, e.g. to pay parts of the requirements for the performance of a traditional celebration.

The establishment of these work groups was not able to lighten the burden of holding traditional celebrations because the feasts' costs are much higher than the cash the group have at its disposal. Moreover there is a tradition that the family's honor increases with the number of cattle or pig which are slaughtered.

3.3 Kin Group and its Role

The close collaboration among the members of a kin group is recorded as a form of social union with the aim to lighten the family's burden. Included in this matter is the role of the kin group in supporting the budget and the manpower of a household with respect to the organization of the traditional celebrations. They are helping each other with whatever is needed in a mutual benefit relation.

In Sintuwu an invitation of the so called ‘custom cigarettes’ means that the host puts a pack of cigarettes on a little plate and brings this around the houses of the kin group members. This is a usual thing for the arrangement of a celebration (e.g. wedding party). The cigarette here symbolizes that a ‘friend’ gives comfort to the others when they need to talk. It reveals the closeness of the relationship. It is a symbol to remind the kin group not to forget their obligations as for example bringing along a gift such as two liters of rice which is usually donated by guests when they come to a party.

In addition to this, they have also developed a tradition that is called ‘the heart’s sweetness’, an expression for the close kin members to involve them in supporting the host in the costs and as well in helping him to start the preparation phase of the celebration. What is meant by close kin here is a certain kinship relation such as blood - brothers/sisters, uncles and grandfathers/grandmothers from both parts, either the husband’s or the wife’s part, as well as other kinship affiliations in general.

The second invitation is given in a written way to indicate the importance of attending the feast. In connection with this invitation the kin group members are expected to bring a certain amount of money to help lightening the burden of the host. In contrast there is no obligation to bring money for those who are orally invited (either fellow neighbors or far kin members), except if they want to give something. This custom can be found especially among the Kaili, particularly in connection with the preparation of a wedding party or a death ceremony. In social anthropology literature the term “corporate kin group” is often mentioned. Based on the role that kin groups play in this case, especially among the Kaili, this term can be used here as well. It means that this kind of kin group has (a) a separate norm system which regulates the attitude of the members of the group, (b) a group personality feeling that is shared by all members, (c) an availability of gathering activities repeatedly, and (d) an availability of a legal and obligation system which regulates interaction between the members of the kin group (Koentjaraningrat, 1974).

3.4 Migrant Ethnic Groups

Bugis are the main ethnic group among the migrants in Sintuwu and Berdikari. In Berdikari the second biggest ethnic group is Toraja followed by Manado, Poso, Java and Sunda. The intention of the migrants for coming to the two villages was to look for a better life. The Buginese for instance are very prominent because of their role in the local economic activities, especially since 1980s when they started to plant cocoa in a more extensive way (Tania Murray Li, 1999 and 2002). The sale value of cocoa is very high in the market which is the reason why the Buginese look much more prosperous compared to other original ethnic groups. They are also active in non-farming work such as running warungs (traditional small shop) or kiosks which sell various merchandises in the village.

In the Buginese ethnic group the relationship between parents and children is primarily based on the efforts of the parents to collect high value inheritance to support their adult children. Moreover every Buginese is in fact responsible for the prosperity of other close relatives such as elder brothers/sisters, younger brothers/sisters or cousins. In this respect it can be presumed that the Buginese have a tight calculation of their household consumption.

It is also worth to note that the work ethic of the Buginese and the other migrants is much higher compared to the original ethnic groups. The Buginese in particular are often involved in transactions to purchase agrarian resources from the original ethnic groups, which increases the push-factors for the original ethnic groups to enter into the surrounding forest area.

Another matter that is worth to be noted is that the migrants and especially the Buginese tend to define their destination village only as base for their economic activities while their original place is still considered as the base for their various life activities, in particular in respect to the elite class. Therefore it is very often the case that the houses of rich Buginese are empty in both of the villages because the owners went back to their places of origin for quite a long time. Only their old relatives or the incapable ones stay and look after the warungs or the kiosks. At the same time they contract such relatives or paid people of the Kaili or other original ethnic group to look after their land.

In this context a kind of socio-agrarian relation structure is formed which places the migrants as employers and the original ethnic groups as employees. This fact has caused reaction from the elite prominent figures of the ethnic groups who consider this matter as a problem of structural imbalance. They start to feel that their position and their role in the center of the village community life has been shoved aside, moreover when the original ethnic groups no longer have land to be sold. They also start to speak from 'we' and 'them' pointing to the primordial conditions.

3.5 The Collective Sentiment and the Establishment of a Stable 'Cultural Core'

As it is in the cultural character of each ethnic group to tend to be exclusive, it is easy to understand that the effort of the Kaili and the other original ethnic groups to develop social relationships with people of different ethnic affiliation is not very intensive, except in the form of exchanging certain cultural symbols. At the same time the migrants are not very active in developing social relations either.

This is due to the incapacity of their traditional celebrations to increase the requirements for the development of social relations in a multi ethnic community. Therefore the cultural symbol exchange among the members of the community through traditional celebrations or other social events organized by the village administration have not strengthened the collective sentiment yet. As a result the formation of a solid village community tie with a stable 'cultural core' cannot be found so far.

Moreover each ethnic group, especially in Sintuwu, tends to intensify their primordial tie by fortifying their residential area as an exclusive territorial area on the base of ethnic affiliation. In Sintuwu, the Buginese residential area is located in the center of the village, while the Kaili's one is situated along the river of Gumbasa. After the big floods that occurred in the last years and damaged the Kaili's residences they slowly enter the village. But still their kampong is not mixed up with the residential area of the other ethnic groups. The Kulawis and the Buginese in general settle along the border with the forest area while they remain in separate residential patterns. The exclusive pattern of their settlement is strongly confirmed by the typical marks of their houses which illustrate the originality of their ethnic group.

In Berdikari the Kulawis and the Buginese represent the relative biggest ethnic group. Although their residential areas are located in separate places, as well as in Sintuwu, they are located in the same dusun (hamlet), for instance in dusun three in the case of Berdikari. Because every ethnic group, either the original ethnic group or the migrants, are still firm with their own ethnic normative system, it is natural that the collective sentiment in Berdikari has never been established quite meaningful.

The implication is that the village regulations, including those for the borders of LLNP in Sintuwu and the limited production forest area in Berdikari, are difficult to be carried out because of the unavailability of the 'cultural core' whose aim should be to provide a place for the collective interests of the ethnic groups. Each group, either the original ethnic groups or the migrants, works on its land with its own ethnic environment norm systems. As the original ethnic groups work either on the field or in the yard they still rely on basic plants with low selling value in the market. That has indirectly brought the owners to sell their land very easily.

On the contrary, the Buginese and some other migrants plant crops on their land which have a relative high sale value, so they are encouraged to expand and keep on buying the land of the original ethnic groups. At this point, neither the original ethnic groups nor the migrants indicate obviously whether their emotional tie to the land is strong or not. Indirectly it means that they see the local village as a frontier or an open access area only. It means that everybody can make profit out of it without the obligation to care about its sustainability.

Rather different from the above described behavior, the Javanese and the Sundanese coming from the island of Java, have more emotional ties with the village as well as with the local environment. Moreover the rice fields which are managed mainly by them need relatively more attention compared to the other farming products managed by other ethnic groups. This leads them slowly but surely to a deeper emotional tie with the village (Berdikari) they live in, as they had admitted themselves. But they also admitted that since there are a lot of new influences in their society such as deriving a relative easy income the Javanese and the Sundanese have also been tempted to collect forest products and to sell them for cash. In short, the influence of the Buginese 'cultural core' in Sintuwu is becoming stronger, so they dominate the control and the management of agrarian resources. The land under their control gets wider and wider and through the cocoa plantations they make more profits that make their prosperity much higher than that of the original ethnic groups. In the last five years the expansion of the Buginese by buying land of the original ethnic groups was evident. This has pushed the original ethnic groups aside so that a lot of them cultivate new land in the area of the LLNP.

In connection with the above description, the tradition and the life practice of the Kaili and the other original ethnic groups tend to be consumptive. They have almost no tradition to give inheritance in form of land. The pattern of their management of the agrarian resources, either in the field, yard or forest area, form a transitional tradition between the characters of the hunting band groups and the shifting cultivation communities.

This means that although the individual property rights have been known and have obtained a social acknowledgment land is known only as a source of livelihood. Thus the land is considered as an instrumental media only. Therefore when there is a chance to sell the land they will do it immediately without any difficulties.

4. The Collective Sentiment and Its Implication for the Establishment of a Stable ‘Cultural Core’

4.1 The Establishment of a Collective Sentiment as the Basis for Social Ties in the Village

As described previously, each ethnic group looks like it has its respective way of life with its own normative system. This fact is naturally less conducive to the effort of establishing a collective sentiment among the ethnic groups as a basis for the establishment of social ties in the village. There is no social adhesiveness which can play the role of a bridge for the interests of all ethnic groups synergistically. As the social groups with their agrarian marks and the unavailability of a ‘cultural core’ as the collective norm reference, have made the position of the surrounding village a *frontier* or *open access area*. Its implication for the ethnic groups with strong capital is that there is a big chance to make more acquisition of agrarian resources. On the contrary, in other ethnic groups with weak capital, they are pushed aside from the village center to the more remote places. This matter will then encourage the latter to go deeper into the forest to open new land.

Based on the above description it is clear that every ethnic group regardless of the basic farming crop they have, will remain extensive or even more expansive to their environments. But if seen from their cultural roots, these ethnic groups, either the originals or the newcomers, have environmental norm systems which contain local wisdom. As an example the Kaili group living in the sub-district of Marawola, Central Sulawesi, have developed the environment rule pattern that is reflected in their farming work, as follows (Ruwiati, et al, 1998):

1. *Petoo*: is an area under the control of the members of the ethnic group which covers yard, residential, ex-yard forest, and primary forest.
2. *Vana*: is a forest for hunting purposes and collecting products for the members of the ethnic group only.
3. *Pengale*: is a dense forest owned by the ethnic group members collectively. This area remains a forest based on the ecological considerations such as availability of water resources or slope topography. This forest is a sacred one for the whole members of the ethnic group.
4. *Kaore, Oma, and Ova*: is an ex-yard forest which is being ‘reserved’ by the owner for quite a long time.

Moreover we also find in general, that all ethnic groups are aware about the idiom ‘do not push somebody’s land’, which means that every individual considers it as a taboo to take somebody’s land which is the explicit right of somebody. Somebody’s right also means the state’s right, a right which may not be disturbed. But in reality what we find in both villages, Sintuwu and Berdikari, is that the environment norm system of each ethnic group tends to be directed to the economic functions only with less consideration on its ecological aspects.

The local wisdom values are not experienced in reality and do not obtain repeated contextual interpretations in relation with the requirements to maintain agrarian resources continuously. The life traditions of the original ethnic groups for instance are still referring to the old

patterns, while the socio-cultural context in the new villages (Sintuwu and Berdikari) are different. It means, they develop life practices which remain the same, such as relying on sources of means of livelihood which fulfill only their own consumption. The same counts for the cash requirements for various life requirements, including organizing the custom feasts which are expensive. This causes the land to become the easiest thing to be sold, and the land will fall to the members of the ethnic groups having considerable amount of capital. This situation is shifting more and more the position of the original ethnic groups out of the socio-cultural life constellation in the new village, in this case Sintuwu.

Here is where we can find that the values of local wisdom of the original ethnic groups as well as those of the newcomers until a certain degree, have been pushed aside. The 'cultural core' of each ethnic group faces each other in establishing their own interests. Moreover in line with the above, they also do not succeed in developing the social relations among the ethnic groups which encourage the establishment of a collective sentiment and furthermore a social tie. In fact here is the crucial stage for the establishment of a stable 'cultural core' which has not been achieved yet, although in fact the optimum moment occurred when they arrived in the village. At that moment either the regional government or especially the migrant community have together consolidated themselves as the pioneer in establishing village institutions on hamlet and village level. Together they discussed among the ethnic groups to solve the problems which had to be settled in their new village.

But now with the unavailability of a social institution and social organization in the village, in both villages especially in Sintuwu it is difficult to expect the growth of a stable collective 'cultural core'. This means that social control is also not running well. The customary feasts in the respective ethnic group do in fact not develop to an extent to be able to break through the *wall* separating the ethnic groups. The customary feasts remain exclusive social events for each ethnic group. As a result they remain living based on their respective environment norm systems, which in fact have formed the position of the new villages, i.e. in Sintuwu and up to a certain level in Berdikari, as a frontier or open access area only.

4.2 The 'Cultural Core' of Rice Field Ecology

It is very interesting to observe rather different indications from those of the above illustration, the ones found within the Kulawis living in Berdikari. As what has been described before, this ethnic group has made the work as their means of livelihood by working on wet farming field. This kind of farming activities is clearly demanding a lot of attention and is to be diligently handled by each farmer in almost every stage of activity, starting from the planting up to the harvest time. In addition, they also have to be very active collectively to build and to maintain the physical infrastructure, e.g. to guarantee the availability of irrigation water or to working together to eliminate mice infestation. In this respect it is important to note the implication for the development of social ties in the village. Although parts of the collaboration activities are still within the ethnic group only, it is clear that a number of intensive interactions with other ethnic groups are required. This is due to the fact that the works to build wet rice field with permanent irrigation facilities for example requires regulations on the village level.

Based on the above descriptions, we can see that in Berdikari the collective tie which is the basis for the social tie in the village becomes felt more deeply. This environment norm system developed by the Kulawis in fact has contributed to the important encouragement of the establishment of a 'cultural core'. But we have to admit that the practices of land opening within the forest area around the village are still going on. Although this symptom has in fact

occurred due to the existing opinion that the forest area around the village of Berdikari is still considered by many people as an open access area which can be used for the benefit of all. In short the Kulawis have been more or less promoting the condition for the development of the social ties between the different ethnic groups. This kind of social tie is expected to encourage the establishment of an important 'cultural core' to manage the agrarian resources continuously in the future.

5. Conclusions

1. The development of Berdikari, moreover Sintuwu still indicates a categorized life within the ethnic group exclusiveness. This can be shown by the fact, among others, that from the very beginning the residential areas have been categorized according to the different ethnic groups. While in the context of this study, the exclusivity indication is shown by the unavailability of a stable and collective 'cultural core' which combines the 'cultural core' of the ethnic groups. This is important in order to make the methods for fulfilling economic requirements and environment handling always considering continuity aspects.
2. In Sintuwu the practice of environmental management in every ethnic group can be seen from their selection of different main crops. The original ethnic groups select corn and coffee which is part of the household as well local market orientation with a relatively low selling value. While the migrant ethnic groups especially the Buginese with cocoa as their main crop, is export oriented. So the selling value is relatively high. The difference of environmental management is in turn caused by the migrant ethnic groups' domination of the local economic activities, such as opening small shops, acting as suppliers of the markets with daily needs etc. This creates an obvious social imbalance among the original ethnic group and the migrants.
3. In line with the above mentioned, it can be seen that the original ethnic groups feel that they are not fully tied with their land. The reason is that the land is functioning only as survival matter while the nature of their farming work does not demand intensive management. Moreover very often they treat their land as a commodity, which is easily sold in case cash is needed to organize customary feasts in relation with life cycle. It can be observed that the social prestige value will be directly attached to the big or small scale of customary feasts, therefore every member of the community or their relatives will do their best to make the feasts in a relatively big scale.
4. While the migrant groups, especially the Buginese, are more and more expansively encouraged which is shown by the fact that they keep on buying new land for the basic crop cocoa which has a high selling value on the market. This condition makes the potential land in Sintuwu particularly concentrated in the hands of the Bugis ethnic group members. As a further result, the original ethnic groups are going deeper into the forest to open new land as replacement for the old one that has been sold already. In short, what happened in Sintuwu is the establishment of a strong 'cultural core' of each ethnic group. But it has an exclusive nature that makes it instable. It means that their method to fulfill their economic requirements has ignored the important value of environmental continuity.
5. In Berdikari the case is a different one to what happened in Sintuwu. The Kulawis have developed wet rice field work which physical prerequisites demand intensive

management. Naturally, in order to support this farming work they need the support of collective activity. The physical infrastructure construction of irrigation waterworks and their maintenance, whether they like it or not, will require comprehensive interaction among the ethnic groups up to the village level and the surrounding communities. This process develops either directly or indirectly the tie value to the land and strengthens the social ties in the village.

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7. Appendix

Map: Research area

