

Cultural Resistance in The Implementation of Resettlement Programs

Ferdinand Kerebungu¹, Theodorus Pangalila¹

¹Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Manado,
North Sulawesi, Indonesia

Corresponding email: ferdinankerebungu@unima.ac.id

Abstract—The problem in this research is why there is resistance given by the isolated tribe in the implementation of the resettlement program implemented by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The purposes of this study are to describe and to analyze the process of cultural resistance in the implementation of resettlement program for the isolated tribe. Research was conducted in the isolated tribe at Ulubongka sub district of Tojo Una-Una district of Central Sulawesi, and the research focuses on the implementation of resettlement program. The method used in this research is qualitative research method by using ethnography approach. The result of the study showed that the implementation of the resettlement program for the isolated community in Ulubongka sub district does not pay attention to the cultural value system which is applicable to the remote village. By the program implementer, the isolated populations are treated equally with other rural communities who have understood the modern housing system. A consequence of all that, the isolated communities cannot adapt in new environments, while culturally, they are still very devout and loyal to the chief. Thus, the whole of his group follows what the instructions and the actions of the head. This paper concludes that the implementation of resettlement program for isolated tribes in Ulubongka sub district was not successful because the application did not pay attention to the culture of the community.

Keywords—Cultural Resistance, Resettlement Program and Isolated Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION

Isolated Tribe (*To Wana*) in Ulubongka District Tojo Una-Una Regency Central Sulawesi Province is one of the ethnic groups in the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Their existence is currently uncertain because they are in hilly inland areas that are difficult to reach, and they live wandering around, relying on their livelihoods from nature. As a result of their immovable settlements, such conditions caused their lives to be isolated from public relations which caused them to be very backward compared to other ethnic groups in the country.

To Wana is one of the isolated groups in Central Sulawesi Province, which lives in the interior of Tojo Una-Una Regency, which has received a resettlement program. One of the objectives of the resettlement program for *To Wana* is to facilitate the empowerment process. The empowerment program for isolated communities is one of the government's plans that empower disadvantaged communities. One of the efforts to empower isolated communities is carried out through resettlement programs. However, the housing construction

location made by the Government for *To Wana* is far from its original settlement location which is approximately 8 hours walking along the bush and Ulubongka forests. However, the new settlement location has been abandoned by *To Wana* because it is not by the cultural concept and their settlements.

With regard to this resettlement program if carried out conscientiously and thoughtfully, certain items will pay attention to the existence of the people who become objects. Things that need to be considered include their cultural background, so this needs to be understood in depth and mature. Therefore, the implemented program can be achieved and accepted by the target community and can be taken by the target community in full. The existence of culturally alienated communities will influence the acceptance or refusal of a new culture offered.

The implementation of the resettlement program carried out by the government in *To Wana* is based on the achievement of the project and not based on the needs by taking into account the psychological and cultural needs. Isolated communities in their daily life always maintain the balance and harmony between their physical environment and their socio-cultural environment. The occurrence of resistance from isolated communities is primarily influenced by the implementation of a resettlement program based on the project without paying attention to the ability of the community to adapt with the new environment.

To be able to understand and explain the acceptance or rejection of a program for a community group, especially if the program attempts to move the community to a new location, it needs to be aligned with the concept of environmental adaptation. According to reference, the idea of adaptation originates in an environmental condition which is a problem for the organism that is the settlement of the question [1]. The issue of adaptability is what causes many doubts among social and ecological scientists about the ability of human adaptation, the problem of cultural analysis and social relations. According to reference, in discussing environmental issues, it is not necessary to raise the ecology of human life to the status of theory. Moran argued that to be able to know the problem, it is necessary to identify the study of human ability to adapt, which emphasizes the flexibility of human response to the environment. Furthermore, Moran also argued that the strength of human adaptation is determined by flexibility, which Moran meant about flexibility can be seen in the social and cultural fields or physiology. Socio-cultural responses, such as dress, shelter, and forms of social organization can help accelerate the adjustment of species to the environment. While the

physiological response takes a long time compared to socio-cultural responses. [2],[3].

The resistance of the *To Wana* tribe to the resettlement program was caused by the government measures as a dominant group and considered the *To Wana* tribe as a subordinated community group; this led to the assumption that the *To Wana* tribe needed to be organized by not paying attention to their aspirations, especially their culture. The conditions experienced by *To Wana* have similarities as stated by reference [4], about the life of the peasants as a subordinate community group without paying attention to their aspirations by the state apparatus. According to Scott, forms of domination based on premise or claim on inherent superiority by the ruling elite will seem very dependent on the appearance of luxury, law, signs of greatness, acts of public respect or appreciation by subordinate groups. [4] The desire to instill compliance and hierarchy, as in military organizations, can produce the same patterns. Practices such as those put forward by Scott make a lot of fluctuations in the feelings of the marginalized to fight, but they are powerless because they are also subordinated under the pressure of power. Thus, they are more resistance in a closed manner. Based on the background of the previously stated problem, the problems in this study can be formulated as follows: why isolated communities resisting resettlement programs carried out by the Government are.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

Based on the problems mentioned above, this study used qualitative research methods because with qualitative methods the examine issues can be disclosed in detail and detail. Data were collected using data collection techniques by observations and interviews, and then existing data are analyzed qualitatively using interactive analysis techniques model by Milles and Huberman.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The resettlement program is an effort carried out by the government to prosper the people. However, the socio-cultural conditions of each community group are not the same, as urban communities will be different from rural communities, as well as people who have adapted to the modern housing environment (City and Village) will be different from the people who are still living in life let alone even in the lifestyle move around. Based on the data from the research, the *To Wana* estranged people were unable to adapt to the new environment prepared by the government in the form of housing complexes. According to the culture of modern society, this not based on the perception of isolated communities whose forms of settlement were not separated in lines like in rural areas. Therefore, the process of environmental adaptation cannot be separated from human knowledge of its natural environment, and its ability to make cultural adjustments. In connection with this, Moran argued that aesthetic modifications include knowledge of house construction, clothing styles, sub-tension technology, and rituals. Additionally, social adjustment mainly contains forms of social and economic organization [2]. These two forms of adjustment together produce flexible and varied adjustments to habitat changes and changes related to human groups.

Based on the data obtained, the *To Wana* estranged people have difficulty in the process of cultural adjustment to climatic conditions occurred, mainly through knowledge of housing, clothing, and technology. In addition, the area can affect the shape of the house, layout, and location of the house. The height of the house, the size of the room, and the meaning of the parts of the house are associated with the world of the cosmos. The settlement pattern of the human population ensures an adjustment to the distribution of resources and social and cultural factors. *To Wana's* estranged community to provide a covert resistance to the resettlement program was caused by their inability to adapt to environmental conditions that were far from their socio-cultural conditions in the initial settlement area. For example, regarding dressing, the *To Wana* estranged people only use loincloths, and their original houses are built among shady trees, not in the open like rural communities in general. Environmental conditions form a traditional behavior pattern and will produce a patterned adaptation system and are a part of more extensive network, namely culture. Furthermore, culture is closely related to community members in adapting to any environmental situations.

Therefore, *To Wana* as one of the resettlement objects has knowledge about how the process of adapting in any situations. But in most resettlements programs have failure. This is mostly because most resettlement people leave the resettlement location to their original place. The estranged community *To Wana* who returned to their previous settlement location was not because they could not adapt to the resettlement location, but were much influenced by the socio-cultural factors they had. They are the behavior patterns of those who had been institutionalized in their lives at their origin, and the social organization system and living livelihood systems that have been formed for generations, do not want to be replaced with other systems.

From the explanation of the understanding of field farmers, it cannot be ignored that the ability of human adaptation both culturally and socially plays an essential role in helping the community to improve their standard of living. Cultural adaptation plays a critical role in shifting cultivation communities (traditional farmers such as *To Wana*) in managing agricultural land because this ability is an inherited ability derived from their ancestors. With the strength of cultural adaptation, traditional farmers can sustain their lives with what is provided by nature and agricultural products that are processed merely. Although in the view of outsiders (government), they are a group of people who are left behind and unable. For this reason, they in the concept of governance need to be empowered in the terms of economy, education, skills in farming, social organization systems (government systems) and so on.

With this concept of empowerment, a government policy is issued to implement a resettlement program for estranged communities (*To Wana*). However, the question here is whether it is true that these estranged communities are powerless? *To Wana* is one of the isolated community groups that carry out their livelihood systems using traditional farming systems (shifting agriculture). Even so, they can consciously carry out their daily activities never feel any lack in fulfilling their needs.

The *To Wana* life pattern above is one of the six basic types of subtype techniques. The six basic types of subsistence techniques, according to reference [3], are (1) collecting plant species, (2) collecting animal species and products, (3) fishing, (4) hunting, (5) raising livestock (including fish/ponds) and (6) farming. Ellen, grouping the six basic types in two techniques, namely technique non-domestic (non-domesticated resources) and technique domestic (domesticated resources). Intensive adjustments from non-domestic are partially adjusted to the ecosystem (for example shifting cultivators) while great alteration is associated with artificial ecosystems. According to Ellen, the life of mobile farmers, in general, has in common. [3]. This is often related to the changes in food sources, for example; hunting, fishing, farming and collecting food radically alternates according to seasonal changes.

As stated earlier, the resettlement program is a program from the government for the people that is powerless by the government. Therefore, the resettlement program is a form of empowerment program for people who are unable and residing not to settle or settle but their farming systems with mobile systems and people living in protected forests. This resettlement program run by the government is inseparable from its extensive program of rural development which also relates to the economic problems of small (simple) communities. This program by some European people and financial institutions (World Bank) is done as an expression of disappointment over the failure of the previous development because what happened was injustice and oppression. Therefore, according to Harris, it is the focus on these issues that mark "rural development," aimed at poor people in developing countries in Africa and Asia who live in rural areas as "a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a particular group of rural poor people [5].

However, behind the term "rural development," some governments in developing countries include it in Indonesia. The implementation of rural development during the New Order always uses the approach of state intervention in the economy of rural communities. The response was carried out by the state apparatus (project leaders) in the form of coercion and emphasis without negotiation and a humanist approach. In addition, they are also paying attention to the existence and inspiration that developed in the community. This can happen because the state apparatus carries out its tasks based on the achievement of the program, where the measure of whether or not a program is achieved is measured by physical achievement without seeing socio-cultural results, where the public can consciously participate in development. The implementation of each development program does not pay attention to the aspirations that develop in society. Not to pay attention to the expectations of the community because the farmer community has been subordinated by every state apparatus, and this subordination occurs because the peasant community is considered helpless. Thus, it needs to be empowered through programs designed from above and applied equally to each community group with different interests and aspirations, especially the different levels of soil fertility and the suitability of each plant that is uniformly tried throughout the area. According to Scoot, forms of domination based on premise or claim on inherent superiority by the ruling elite will seem very dependent on luxurious appearance, law, signs of greatness,

acts of public respect or appreciation by subordinate groups [4]. The desire to instill compliance and hierarchy, as in military organizations, can produce the same patterns.

The implementation of rural development programs, especially the resettlement program is the occurrence of state domination that is too large compared to community participation, therefore, the hegemony of the state becomes dominant, so the term "empowerment" and the improvement of "prosperity" of the people is merely mere rhetoric or just a slogan. This slogan can be roughly categorized as a government tool to get funds and assistance from world banks and donor countries to disburse aid funds to the developing countries (in this case the development of isolated communities in Indonesia, one of them is the estranged community of *To Wana*).

Coercion and emphasis made by state apparatuses that caused a strong state hegemony against the community led to several intrigues of community resistance. However, due to the substantial domination of the state, people cannot or do not dare to take direct opposition (during the New Order) because if the community does not implement the program, they will be confronted by armed forces. According to Scott, the higher the power difference between dominant and subordinate groups the more arbitrary the power exercised and the more general auxiliary group records that will be obtained by stereotyped ritualistic castes. In other words, the more threatening the ability, the thicker the mask is. Therefore, the community in carrying out resistance to the state is usually carried out indirectly, where they follow the government program seriously. This kind of strength was written by Siahaan, he called it as "covert resistance" [6]. Whereas Scott, in a different language form, argued that because one of the primary skills of the subordinate group in sustaining life is the management of the impression of a situation loaded with power. The appearance aspect of its behavior does not avoid members of the dominant group who are more obedient.

This kind of resistance occurs because the peasant community (*To Wana*) is in a subordinate position in a large-scale power structure (state), even so, they have a full social existence outside the direct control of the dominant group (government or state). Because the peasant society has a social life outside the control of the country, conditions like this led to a process of developing criticism of power. Even though the community often conducts criticism/resistance indirectly, but they in their daily appearance show apparent obedience to the authorities (pretending). According to Scott, pretending (acting) politely or making a public appearance requires them to be subject to detailed and systematic forms of social subordination. With rare but significant exceptions, the subordinate group's general presence, beyond politeness, fear, and the desire to lick, will be shaped to appeal to those in power. Scott uses the term free transcript as a quick way to describe open interactions between subordinate groups and the ruling group. In the context of this pretense, the auxiliary group shows respect and agreement to try understanding and reading the intent and state of the soul of a potentially threatening power holder.

The fact found in the research was that the form of resistance given by the estranged community of *To Wana* was not stated in a real (overt) manner, but they did it indirectly in

the process of rejecting the resettlement program that was given by the government. The form of refusal was given in the way of following the customary leader to see their gardens and plants here for harvest. They did this pattern until finally, they settled back in their initial settlements before the resettlement was carried out. This form of refusal they do so that their resistance is not too clearly manifested because they are afraid or gripped by various intimidations from the authorities. Therefore the impact of such power can be seen in the form of pretenses such as acts of disrespect, subordination, and lick.

In connection with the acts of pretense and the lack of public response to government programs, Harris, argued that; . . . Why small farmers do not always respond to new ideas, especially ideas that are proposed to them in government development programs. The idea is that they are inherently conservative or "tradition bound" and thus usually resist change. The problem of "resistance to change" is perhaps considered as the most important in its relationship with farmers. [5]. Doyle has reviewed the evidence of a large number of studies, which concludes that economic factors far outweigh social and cultural factors in explaining planned change[5]. Where farmers have failed to respond to new opportunities, it can generally be shown as a result of an inadequate level of incentives, or insufficient incentives about *To Wana's* perception of existing risks.

To Wana's estranged people in dealing with the problems that they face are always in giving appearance in the form of pretense. This appearance consists not only of actions but also the suitability of facial expressions and sound cues and adherence to commands that may not be liked or embarrassing. In public life, the subordinate group is more intended for the appearance of "mastery" than the dominant group. About the impression given by *To Wana*, Scoot suggested that being an actor in front of a subordinate group had a strong influence on the behavior and speech of the dominant group.

To Wana's strange community, in the customary law map of Van Vollen Hoven was included in the Toraja indigenous group. Scoot was giving an example of the result of stamping the Dutch in Eastern Indonesia, and the Dutch saw that the clans of the Toraja who had slaves behaved very differently from tribes who did not have slaves; "To Lage and To Onda'e, who are always aware of keeping their high prestige in front of their slaves, in this way have achieved self-control, with what they do is a more civilized impression of foreigners. *To Wana* is a part of the Onda'e tribe, who does not want to get oppression, therefore *To Wana* broke away from To Onda'e and fled to Mount Pakambia and settled there to this day. Therefore, *To Wana* does not want to be moved from its habitat because it does not want to be influenced by other groups, and they are more existent with the results of their crops namely candlenut plants and looking for rattan. This condition is carried out by *To Wana* to maintain its cultural existence from the ruling group.

The strong influence of the ruling group on subordinate groups does not mean that there are no worries and vigilance of the ruling group against the auxiliary group. Such anxieties and attention can be seen from the pressures given by the authorities to each subordinate grouping or organization which is not legitimized by the authorities. The taken actions are usually in the form of dissolution or intimidation to group

leaders who organize the power of subordinate groups. In connection with this, Scott stated that; because there are no informal public associations from subordinate groups that are imagined or legitimized by official reports, it means that any such activities are not approved. More than that, it is generally considered an implicit threat to domination.

The formation of associations by community members is one form of resistance given by subordinate groups to the dominant group in disguise. Because as long as the dominant group's power over society is still active, and the military is behind the authorities. The subordinate group will not dare to openly fight, for example the reign of the new order. But if government power is no longer supported by the military in real terms, and the government is no longer rules authoritarian, then the public can boldly carry out open opposition. For example, during the current reform government in Indonesia. Hence, in real terms, it can be said that in society there are two forms of resistance, namely open resistance and covert resistance.

For more details, Table 1 below gives an overview of the forms of domination and resistance, as stated by Scott.

TABLE 1. DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE

| | Material Domination | Status Domination | Ideological domination |
|---|---|---|--|
| Domination practices | Deprivation / expropriation of rice, taxes, labor, etc. | Humiliation, ridicule of attacks on self-esteem, harassment | Justification by ruling groups against slavery, caste, and privileges. |
| Explicit forms of public resistance | Petitions, demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, land invasions and open revolts | Public affirmation of self-esteem with attitudes, language attire, and control of symbols of dominant group status openly | Public counter-ideology that spreads the equality of the revolution, or, which denies the ruling ideology. |
| Forms of closed resistance, low profiles, hidden infra-politics | Forms of daily resistance, such as deflection/desertion theft, avoidance of delay in direct opposition with hidden strength, for example, impersonation, threats, unknown threats | Hidden records of anger, aggression, and hidden discourses about self-esteem, e.g., ritual aggression, tales of revenge, use of symbolism, gossip, rumors, creation of autonomous social places to assert self-esteem | The emergence/development of disagree / opposing subcultures such as the Millennium Religion, hidden meeting places, folk religion, myths about "good" kings or the period before "Norman oppression." |

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of research results, this has been stated that the rejection of the *To Wana* alienated community against the resettlement program carried out by the government can be summarized as follows: (1). in the implementation of the resettlement program, the government does not pay attention to the socio-cultural aspects of the target community and does not carry out socialization on the benefits of the resettlement program. (2). the government does not pay attention to the adaptive capacity of the target community, especially the ability to adapt to the socio-cultural environment in the new location. Therefore, every program carried out by the government towards the community always experiences

rejection as done by the alienated *To Wana* people in the implementation of the resettlement program they only follow until a particular time and then return to the original residential area. This is called rejection. In other words, it is closed by pretending to be obedient, but they do not take the program seriously in order to maintain their culture or cultural testing.

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