Development, proselytism and indigenous people.

BOEDHIHARTONO, DEPT. OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA, JAKARTA.

Introduction

If we discuss about indigenous people, it looks as if we are discussing the same subject which is concerned with the minority group . that lives under the pressure of the majority of the citizen who are migrants and living in a materially better condition.

But for the Indonesian, the word or the term indigenous or native people, might also concern with a greater part of the society members who are neither necessarily backward , living in isolation nor small in term of number. Most of the Indonesian who are considered to be the politically pressure group are mostly themselves indigenous. Because there are at least 8 ethnic groups in Indonesia which are indigenous, have each a total number of their members more than 1 million : the Javanese, Sundanesse, Madurese, Bataks, Buginese (and the Makasans), Minangkabau, Balinese and the south to north eastern Sumatranese and part of the people living in Kalimantan which are grouped together as the Melayu people. Indonesia, is probably the largest archipelagic or insular country in the world, with so many indigenous people living in isolated areas or islands speaking a particular language which differs from those spoken by other indigenous people living in different areas or islands. A particular ethnic group which practice a sea nomadic way of life is recognized as the "orang laut" or gypsy of the sea are also roaming the islands of Indonesia.

Eventhough the majority of indigenous people do not dominate the economy of the country. The minority group which is only about 5% of the citizens holds 80% of the circulating money or the invested capital in Indonesia. Only 17 % of the circulating money is in the possesion of the native or the indigenous Indonesian.

The rest 3% is probably widely distributed among the common people, and some among this people rarely can earn more than 40 000 rupiah (less than 20 dollars) per week. Some of the small isolated indigenous people are even unfamiliar with the practice of moneytization.

So it might be better for me to refer the word indigenous in this context probably with the people which are still living in isolation, economically backward, untouched by the present civilization or modernization and still living in a state of illiteracy. In my past paper (Boedhihartono, 1997) I addressed this people as MANS or the more attached to nature society, because they live according to the rhythm of their environment rather than to technology. The word MANS is contradictory to the word MATS : the more attached to technology society, in which people are living in a routine way of life without regard neither to season nor the environmental rhythm. Latest data reported by the Dept. of Social Affairs, there are at least about 215 789 families or a total of 1 033 107 individuals belonging to this group(Min. of Soc. Aff. 1995).

The Dept. of Social Affairs has identified 360 known or recognized tribal societies or MANS which are considered as still living in backwardness , living in 90 districts dispersed in 18 provinces in Indonesia.

> According to Kuntjaraningrat (Melatoa, 1995:v), there are at least more than 400 ethnic groups in Indonesia. According a recent report from the Summer Institute of linguistic, there are more than 600 different languages in Indonesia. In the Mollucas, which is composed of thousands large and small islands for intance there are about 117 languages and dialects (Jacob Awayla, head of the Molluca dept. of Molluca studies, Univ. of Patimura ,1997 pers. comm.), which belong to different families of languages, such as Melanesian, Austronesian, Polynesian etc. In west Irian, it is now supposed that there are more than 226 different languages.

Many of this MANS's members range from 100 persons in each group or cluster (Cindako in South Sulawesi, or the Anak Dalam in Musi Rawas for instance) to more than 200 000 persons in one cluster (the Dani in Irian jaya). Some of them are living as hunters, gatherers or collectors, fishing societies or practicing rotational traditional farming , shifting cultivation, slash and burn or swidden cultivation. Many of the people practicing swidden cultivation are blamed as the source of deforestation. Many of them are considered as living in unhealthy environment and behavior according to our present standard.

The idea of progress which is held by many of the Indonesian such as that developed or civilized people are characterized by proper dressing, adequate food, shelter and health , proper knowledge and technology , adopting the legal religions (Christian, Islam, Budhism, Hinduism), employement or decent means of living etc., (see Min. Of soc. Affairs, 1995: 10) which are interpreted by many parties or governmental authorities reinforced by governmental decreets to replace those traditions with something else according to their idea which fits to the above standards.

The problems arise when the transformations programs also initiate various unpredictable costs: social, ecological and cultural costs.

The development and resettlement

The National development program is not only aimed to establish industries in urban areas and to rely the national income on the assets of industrial products. But it also comprises the effort of the government to equally distribute the national wealth and opportunities to all members of the society. Resettlement effort of the *isolated community* or MANs in my term had been conducted by the government (reports by Ministry of Social Affairs, 1995). Some budget figures are mentioned to be distributed to support the effort of supporting the resettlement programs in various places in Indonesia.

> Irian Jaya forinstance had been awarded approximately Rp 10 474 530 000.- from the first Pelita (five years program) to the Vth Pelita. Those figures do not seem to be enough to cover the effort of resettling all MANs in different parts of Irian which is 3.5 times the size of Java. Therefore mobilization of local capital is needed, in this regard the Freeport seems to be one of the operating enterprises in Irian obliged to subsidize the effort.

There are efforts of the government to mobilize all possible resources which can back the national economic development, particularly through the enhancement of the agriculture, mining and tourism sectors. Beside the industrialisation program, the transfer of technology is also becoming government principal effort to enable Indonesia to catch up the backwardness from the Northern countries. Eventhough industrialisation and the transfer of technology do not seem to be possible without the effort of mobilization of all possible national resources available in the country. Facts indicate that in many developing countries such as in Africa, 274 out of 343 complexes of industry established are not functioning quite well and 79 industries are even totally abandoned (Couriet, 1986). Industrialisation alone does not seem to be relevant and realizable for all regions , and it does not seem to be realistic for achieving the idea of equal progress for all people. Therefore the national development program should follow a well prepared program suited to each region and to different people .

A large number of alternative capital mobilisation is activated, by forinstance the enhancement of tourisme and the natural resources exploitation. Timber mining, gold and copper mining, petrol and gas exploitation, or other fossil fuel mining and marine product exploitation etc. are among those efforts which are now being promoted by the government in different parts of the country. There are certainly conflicting reality on the possible efficient exploitation of the country's natural resources, either the mineral or mining resources and the exploitation of the forest, because a large part of the country housed so many small tribal societies still living in a manner or living style which is quite attached to the environment. Most of them are defined as socio culturally alienated and backward compared to other Indonesian communities. There are people, who are considered as still living in a state of stone age and those which are considered as culturally more advanced (see Donner, 1987:35).

The national development program is interpreted as an effort to equally distribute the wealth and the opportunity of the nation to all members of the society without regard to differences in terms of ethnic, religion and socio-cultural groups.

And therefore the government urges the necessity to resettle the supposedly backward societies and to educate , to enhance their life to a level of living similar to other Indonesian. The resettlement program does not concern only with the people living in the interior of the forest, but as well with those who are living in the coastal areas as nomadic fishing societies such as the Bajau in the southeastern Sulawesi (see Dirman, 1997) who are still living in MANs status.

Out of approximately 1.2 million MANs dispersed in 18 provinces's remote area and are considered to be living in poverty, and only 31 896 families are already resettled in 438 locations or about 11 % of the total target population (Dept. of Soc. Affairs, 1994: 1).

To forcely resettle the MANs does not always mean likely to be a wise effort. Particularly if the resettlement effort is based on the assumption that they are apriori backward and considered to be living in a maladapted manner to their environment or in a way which is unsound according to the modern view.

MANs development program.

The program of resettlement_ is considered by the government as a step toward an integrated effort to modernize the MANs. The Minister of Social Affairs , mentioned that at least 7 goals should be achieved in regard to the MANs:

1. To establish healthful, orderly and developing settlements
2. Target population is supposed to live permanently in permanent settlements and carry out their daily activities in an orderly manner.
3. Increasing fulfilment of basic needs in terms of clothing, food, housing, health and nutrition, education and employment or decent means of living.
4. To make use of public utilities and social facilities such as education, health services, religious services (!), etc.
5. Increased social interactions through assimilation with communities outside their surroundings.
6. To understand and make use of the village administration system and establish institutions in their communities.
7. Growing awareness as a part of Indonesian citizenship and condut , and to conduct activities as an Indonesian society, national and state affairs.

It is true that with the flow of information, the better means of transportation and communication at present, it does not seem possible to leave all the MANs in a state of backwardness. But the world *modern* is by many interpreted differently by different authority members according to their own taste. Some put stress on the importance of education, which is universally accepted as proper. Many of the Indonesian are still on the idea, that what is traditional is wrong and what is imported is better, such an idea is certainly misleading, particularly if we argue about religion in particular.

> Some consider that the local religions are more primitive than the imported ones, they believe that the monotheism (the religions introduced by the Mediteranian) is the end result of the evolving dynamism and animism or other Asian religions.

We should differentiate two different MANs, one is those who do not really care what is happening or what is imposed to them by the outsiders. They will readily accept what the outsiders promote for them. They will easily adopt a new religion , change their names with the new names related to the new religion they adopt, they will unselectively buy and use industrial products. While the other group of MANs are those who I consider as aware of their own cultural identity, such as the Baduy, the Kajang or the Amma toa people (in south Sulawesi) and many of the Dayak in Kalimantan. These above people resist quite strongly to the appeal of changes proposed by the outsiders, including the government. The Baduy , they are reluctant to be classified as people living in poverty and they even refused the financial aid provided by the government (Poskota 8 July, 1997). The Baduy people are among so many tribal societies refusing the presence of the industrial products in their residence.

The relation between MANs with the HPH (timber mining), the HTI (industrial plantation) and the transmigrants (later island resettled migrants community).

Indonesia is one out of three tropical countries which own a large area of rain forest with marketable wood, now a greater part of them are sacrificed for the timber mining (HPH) and some are sacrificed to be transformed into plantations which support the industries (HTI).

> The industrial plantations (HTI) which comprise the pulp , palm, coffee, rubber, clove etc., are now being encouraged by the government. Indonesia, which is supposed to be one of the 10 largest pulp producing countries within the undergoing five year program, now covers about 685,5 thousands hectares and it will be enlarged to totally 6.5 million hectares by the end of the VIth five years development program (Republica 4th July 1997).

Many of the islands , such as Kalimantan, Iran Jaya and even Sumatra are in need of trained and skilled labourers who are routinely accustomed to work in a daily rhythm.

A great number of small tribes or ethnic groups which I mentioned as MANs are living in a state of harmonious interrelation with the forest . There are questions as to whether the presence of the timber mining industries and the industrial plantation in many forested area has disrupted the harmonious living of the MANs or it enhances the level of living of the MANs. There are issues that blames the MANs to be responsable for the deforestation processes in the tropics. But let us cautiously observe the facts I saw or the facts I recorded during my visits to the tropical forests in either Sumatra, Java and Kalimantan. The forest dwellers who practice the swidden cultivation are supposed to ravage more than 14 413 400 hectares in the beginning of the 21st century as predicted by the FAO (Zakaria & Soehendra, 1997).

> It should be noted though, that the practice of swidden cultivation in fact does not exceed 1 hectare per year per individual. If there are 7.5 million swidden cultivators in the beginning of the 21st century, with 4 individuals forming a family, then there will be less than 2 million hectares of forest sacrificed as "ladang" or "huma".
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> The MANs usually will open the forest, they cut all existing trees ,scrubs and bushes, they burn all those stuff, and begin to cultivate either rice (the Baduy in west Java and the Dayak in Kalimantan) or vegeculture (root and tubers by the Anak dalam people in Sumatra , which is culturally untouched by modern civilization). They will abandon the field after one or two years, and the surrounding vegetation will soon penetrate the field and a secondary forest will cover the field. In later time this secondary forest will be almost similar in it's vegetational composition to those of the primary rain forest, it differs only probably in it's vegetational density, size and in age. If we compare this practice to the practice of forest transformation into industrial plantation, then the industrial plantation particularly will disrupt the existing environment. The HTI owners practice the monoculture cropping which is totally differ from the vegetational composition of the tropical rain forest.

The industrial plantation starts with the total hundreds of hectares cutting of all existing trees and scrubs, all those original trees are then replaced by totally new and unfamiliar trees to the environment: the monoculture oil producing palm trees, the acacia for the pulp industries, the rubber, the coffee or the tea, the clove etc (see also Musi Rawas district report, 1997, forinstance). The

industrial plant usually prevent the co existing growth of other vegetation in the surrounding, which means that each year the plantation compagny pay people for the weeding of scrubs or other unwanted growth in the formerly rain forest. The need of the HTI for labourers to clear the forest and for different other purposes such as planting industrial crops and weeding activities is regarded by the government to facilitate the effort of resettling the local swidden cultivators (MANs) as well as the interisland migrants (transmigrant).

> The establishment of different exploitative activities outside Java has a consequence that the construction of infrastructure is also becoming quite important. A large number of people from densely populated areas such as Java, Bali and Madura are encouraged to move to other islands to fill the government's demand of labour to materialize all the plans either to exploit the resources, to construct all the infrastructures and other facilities needed for the development. At the same time the transmigrants (inter-island migrants) from Java, Bali and Madura are supposed to function as a bridge between the supposedly " backward" community and the modern world.

Both the HTI (industrial plantation) as well as the HPH (Timber mining) cause a total disruption of the existing rain forest. The transformation of rain forest into monoculture plantation is a total disruption to the life of the traditionally swiddden cultivators or the hunter gatherers (MANs). The surrounding environment of the MANs has been totally ravaged by the plantation, there is no more wood for cooking, there is no more additional income from the former forest nearby: no more honey, no more ratan, no more wood for fuel, no more animals etc. At the same time some of the MANs cannot resist the temptation for becoming consumers of the flowing industrial goods . Intense contacts with the outsiders as well as the excessive flow of informations through the television had really a big impact to the way of life of some of the MANs.

The merchants (both Chinese and native) from nearby cities offer bonus for MANs who are able to support their need for forest products : wood, ratan, bird's nest and protected animals in particular. The native collaboratively with the persons from the HTI cut the trees from the nearby conservation forest or even from the preserved forest. The persons from the HTI will lend the motorized chin saw and even the buldozer to displace the logs from the forest to the nearby river.

> The local Sumatranese natives in the transmigration area at the Lubuk Linggau district whom I consider as members of the MANs for instance, are living nearby Singapore from where industrial products flow quite extensively.
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> The temptation is such that the local people could not resist to sacrifice what they can earn to get cigarettes , electronics or motor cycle and even television with parabole, although they are still living in old deteriorated huts. To fulfill the demand, the cutting of large trees from the virgin forest in the surrounding is unavoidable.

The total transformation of the rain forest has caused the lost of the rain forest vegetational germ plasm. Some other formerly existing living being in the rain forest are fading away quite fast: no more food resources for the presbytis, for the cervids or bovids, and no more preys for the tiger or other predators. Durian (*Durio zibethanus*) and the pete (*Parkia speciosa*) which were marketable fruit for the MANs do not exist any more, there is no ratan, no honey and no more jack fruit or bread fruit could be found in the forest. MANs are facing difficulties without being aware what is happening.

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The aim of the Javanese migrants placed nearby or side by side with the local people in different parts of the country , is in fact to function the Javanese as an intermediate which bridge the MANs status of the local people and their future expected MATs status . In Jaya pura , West Irian for instance many of the native has learned from the Javanese migrants how to live with a sedentary way of agriculture and practice how to merchanidize their harvest. Eventhough not all local people from different parts of Indonesia easily adopt a sedentary way of agriculture the way of the Javanese. At the southern part of Sumatra, in the Lubuk Linggau, Klingi district for instance, the local people hardly adopt routine way of activities in their *ladang* (supposedly sedentary field), because they are already accustomed to labour extensive practice of swidden agriculture.

It seems hard for the local people to totally change their life from an extensive agricultural practice (swidden agriculture) to an intensive sedentary agriculture, the way the migrants (mostly the Javanese) do. Many of the local people could not afford to work intensively on a piece of land more than two hours daily, which is certainly not enough to prepare cultivable land to support the life of the whole family for one year. If the migrants from Java are able to economize their rice, corn and cassava provision they obtained from the government or after the harvest of the first year for the whole family for one year, it does not seem likely with the case of the local population or particularly the MANS. Ravaging the surrounding forest is unavoidable.

Proselytism and cultural transformation.

The Decision of the Minister of Social Affairs nb 5/HUK/1994 which mentioned that the isolated communities (MANs) are alienated and backward because they are characterized by among others

".....their system of belief is generally animism and dynamism, they believe in many taboos and violating them will create disequilibrium in their communities...." has been interpreted by many of the Indonesian or new comers as an opportunity to convert the indigenous people into their imported religions: Islam or Christian, which are quite proselytic or expansive.

Development program in a state such as Indonesia in which the basic state ideology " Pancasila" mentions the idea that the people obliged to worship one God " *Ketuhanan yang mahaesa"* and that the God is attached to 5 legal religions only. This idea of expanding the religion which is quite oriented toward the Judeo christianism or Mediteranian religion is in fact imposing a problem for many of the MANs..

Many of the MANs have developed their own religion, in which the number of God and the teaching of their religion reflects more as a product of their interactive relation with their environment. Each MANs has their own vocabulary of nouns which indicates their cognitive dictionary on their surrounding, and they have also different kinds of gods related to different kind of forces behind the recognized surrounding.

The Baduy have their own concept on what they worship. But different from the Mediteranian God, the God(s) of the Baduy do not punish people after their death. No Baduy will be able to tell what will happen after the death. They will simply mention, to ask such a question to the "*puun"* or the politico religious leader of the Baduy.

MANS conversion into a new religion will certainly interupt the conservation of the MANS knowledge (see Boedhihartono, 1997) or the Indiogenous knowledge (IK) in Schneider term .

> Problems arise when the followers of the formal religion or the imported religion consider that the local religions are " primitive" or ancestral religion which are less evolved from the imported ones. It is true that the imported religions are the evolutionary product of the primitive religion. But it does not mean that the local " primitive" religions do not evolve, they evolve and the product does not nevcessarily be the imported religion. The Baduy religion, has many similarity to the past Christianity, in which conflicts with others should be avoid. The Baduy, particularly the inner circle Baduy rarely engage in disputes or mal behavior with others. Let these people live the way they like and grant them with independency, if modernity is interpreted as change from dependent to independent state. I 'm sure that the Baduy will always respect the sovereignity of Indonesia and they will not violate the law of the state.

The introduced *conceptual environment* *) planted by the coming imported religion will in many cases do not really be in harmony with the environment condition which support the adaptibility of the MANS. I will give an example with the case of a MANS like the Kubu and the Talang Mamak in Sumatra, in the past the conceptual environment do not prohibit the eating of pork meat. I consider that the practice of hunting wild pig is an alternative of fullfilling their animal protein need. But the adoption of Islam will reduce their protein resources , because Islam prohibits the eating of pork meat. It is true that the government introduces the domestic chicken, but it does not seem adequate.

The Baduy of west Java (see Boedhihartono, Boedhisantosa and Hawkins, 1995) is recognized historically as a group of the Sundanese which fled from the coastal Islamic Sundanese in the past. They refused to be moslemized and they preserved their cultural identity and their own religion. Up to the present this group refuses the using of industrial products from outside. They avoid intense contact with the outsiders by not allowing the outsiders to stay overnight within their territory more than one or two nights. Eventhough they are quite pacific, they avoid possible conflicts with the outsiders, therefore in the past they resettled themselves in the remote lime stone formation covered with dense forest in the southern part of Banten : the south-western tip of Java.

Now there are efforts from the outside to take advantage of the government regulation on the nationally accepted religions, to push them to accept the considered legal religions.

> The Baduy local religion is in fact neither racist or segregationist, they simply refuse the contamination of their culture by other cultures, therefore they refuse the presence of the outsiders without regard to religion, race or social class, more than 2 nights in their settlement. All Baduy people are living in similar houses, and they wear identical uniform clothes: white for the interior and black for the exterior Baduy.
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> But there are efforts from some members of the local authority to teach the Baduy people to behave discriminatively by ordering all people who visit the Baduy to read a piece of paper in which it is mentioned that only those who adopt a particular formal religion can enter the region !

Such a transformation will certainly have consequences. What we are worrying about is among others, the lost of the institutionalized traditional collective ownership of land. The conversion to an imported religion will certainly change the custom and tradition of the Baduy on the principle of equal sharing and communal ownership. Competition will color the life of the Baduy and fragmentation of the community wealth to individual ownership will disrupt the harmony of the Baduy. The fragmentation of the Baduy land into individual land ownership will likely deterioriate the Baduy life in the future. An effort of

resettling the outer Baduy by the government should certainly be more cautious, because the Baduy is a particular cultural group which has an identity and they are aware of the value of their culture. A conflict of interest between the formal religious group , which tries to convert the Baduy and the non government organisation seems to take place. A generous crooner " Ully Sigar Rusadhy" is awarding the Baduy with bought land to support the Baduy life, but it seems that the effort is confronted with the interest of the religious group. Banten attract many Javanese because of the existence of the Baduy which still preserve their traditional heritage.

The Kajang of South Sulawesi have mentioned that they are Islam, although probably many of them do not really practice Islam in the strictest sense. The Kajang , as I consider is also one among so many tribal societies or MANs which are aware of their particular identity. But now, there efforts from a particular faction to send students to really urge the Kajang or the Amma toa to strictly practice the teaching of Islam, and it will certainly change their daily life rhythm . It should be noted that the Kajang are among so many MANs which is successfull in guarding their virgin forest surrounding their habitation. They have already their own proper religion which are seemingly to be the product of man environment interactive relationship for generations.

The Kajang people live in almost similar houses in terms of size and form , in the region of Bulukumba in South Sulawesi. Houses are constructed on piles and made of bamboo. Traditionally they wear almost similar clothes or garments which are black and they live on relatively sedentary simple transplant rice cultivation.

The politico religious leader of the Kajang, lives in the smallest and most simple house among those of the other members of the community. According to the phylosophy of the Kajang politico religious leader : "if the world were becoming richer, let me be the last, but if the world were becoming poorer, then let me be the first". That's why he is living in the simplest house among his people.

Conceptual environment and the effort of conservation.

The attachment of the MANS to the environment has partly contributed to the shaping of the MANS's culture, it is not surprising that different languages are coloring each MANS forming an isolate living in a particular area or an island. Their language will represent the vocabulary list and grammar (syntax) of each MANS , which reflects their means of communication perpetuated and adapted to their environment. The replacement of their old conceptual environment based on their experience with a new one, is in fact an harrasment to the life of the MANs.

The local religion is usually a translation of all norms, values, and regulations used as a reference by the society members to interact one with each other or it is becoming their reference in treating the surrounding or the way of behaving in their life.

Many of the MANs do not have the word for breakfast, lunch and dinner. They do not eat according to the position of the earth vis a vis the sun, or according to the time determined by the mechanical clock, they eat according to the individual feeling of hunger and the availability of the food. In dry season, water is scarce and hunting catch is quite limited, in traditional hunting gethering society of Sumatra , they might eat once a day (according to the Anak dalam community, the author met).

According to the facts as indicated from our interview and observation of many hunter gatherers such as the case of the Anak dalam in south Sumatra, it seems that they do not easily make a catch. Before they learned to cultivate rice, their life was based merely on roots, tubers, fruit and vegetable beside their catch. But this food resources are not always easy to be collected in all seasons.

With the resettlement effort of the government, they are taught to eat three times daily, but many of the MANs can not easily be transformed to a routine working society. They can appreciate the government effort to change their way of eating, but they cannot easily adopt the government idea of routine daily activities. They earn less than what the government has expected, and their wants can only be fulfilled if they ravage the forest in collaboration with the persons from either the HTI, the merchant that provide capitals or the bureaucrats.

The religion is becoming the source of the ideological systemof life within the MANs . Based on all MANs's interactive experience with the environment from generation to generation they conceptualized their real environment within their mind as a *conceptual environment* to which they refer all their action and behavior.

Converting a MANs to a different religion means to replace the conceptual environment of the MANs to a new one, in many cases it does not really fit to the real world in the surrounding. The conceptual environment of each of the MANs shapes their cultural behavior , they will perform their religious ritual or feast according to the rhythm of their life, which is usually related to the yearly planting and harvest cycles, which means that the conceptual environment modeled according to the real world in the surrounding. But with the adoption of a new religion, they are obliged totally to modify all the ritual or feast sequences according to a new model, which in many cases does not synchron to the real world in their surrounding. The Christian X'mas will fall always in the rainy season, which is not the harvest time. The Moslem's ramadhan is not fixed to a particular season of the year, because it is based on a different yearly calendar. The incompatibility of the imported religion to the local life cycle, is to my opinion a *cultural cost* of the development. The massacre of the wild pig without being eaten because of the religious prohibition is another cost, which might be more of *ecological cost.*

The modernisation which based the conceptual environment of each on the efficiency of obtaining energy from the outside, had changed people to a *Homo economicus* who did not really take care of the relation of activities with the environment or the environmental rythm. Many of the MANs are in fact still unfamiliar with the routine daily activities referred to the time clock. The modernisation has totally changed the traditional life to a way of life with different conceptual environment. They oriented their daily activities to the effort of obtaining more money, no idea what in fact should be preserved and what should be sacrificed for money. Some of them even disobey the fact that people are diurnal animals, they sacrifice their sleeping time for money.

The Irianese or the native of the interior of Sumatra, for instance are still living in tribal customs, and unfamiliar with a routine way of life performed in modern society. It will be difficult for them to practice daily three time eating times the way we do. The modern way of life urges people to eat according to the time clock, because they need the energy to be able to regularly perform their daily activities.

One of what the author has observed in the field is the difficulties for the Medical doctors to ask the indigenous people to take tablets or medicine three times daily. Many of the indigenous do not practice the three times meal a day. They eat when they feel hunger. Many of the MANs living in the interior of the large islands, still hesitate to accept the routine way of life , but the intense flow of information and contact have stimulated to be more consumtive, their wants for industrial products are increasing quite fast. Some of them are even familiar with antibiotics, which support the number of the population. All those factors seem to underly the disharmony of the MANs with the environment. Forest ravaging is undergoing: an ecological disruption or an ecological cost should be paid for the development. Collusion practices in the marketing of forest products involve usually the owner of the

chinsaw, the owner of the tractors or buldozers, the local authority and others, which to my opinion is another cost: the *social cost*, an effort to introduce the deviant behavior to the MANs.

Conclusion

It seems necessary that the development program of the MANs should really be handled seriously and cautiously, particularly if we still consider that the traditional knowledge, wisdom and belief have something to do with the effort of conserving something of our interests. The government has succeeded in bringing life betterment to different isolated communitie as it is reported in the data and information of isolated community development (Dept. of Soc. Affairs, 1995), many isolated communities are even able to creatively take the advantage of the Indonesia economic and tourism development. The Asmat are selling their metamorphic art to visitors, the Amungmey are now obtaining financial benefit from the presence of the Copper Mining enterprise "Freeport". The author does not really agree with the accusation of Penz (1993) that the third world countries are replacing the white against the MANs. And the author does not also agree with what Deihl and Gordon (1987) noted that the transmigration programs were having a tragic impact on the local people (MANs). Based on what the author observed on the Aborigines and the Inuit, it seems that the gap between the white civilization and the MANs is such, that it is almost impossible for the MANs to make a leap in civilization. Contrary to the presence of the Javanese, which function as a bridge between one level of civilization to another, it prevents the possible culture shock.

The vested interest of different parties involved in the development programs, however, are causing different troubles for some of the MANs. It should be noted that the MANS knowledge undoubtfully has adaptive significance (see Schneider, 1995).

The importance of the local religion or the local belief conservation is to my opinion identical with the universal appeal for conserving germ plasm or the genetic resource. Local religion is similar with the *cultural germ* which deserves to be preserved. I consider that the effort of conserving the Baduy culture forinstance is almost similar to the conservation of genetic resources and at the same time also we preserve the existing germ plasm in the surrounding forest. If the supposition of the annual decrease of and other wooded lands, worldwide, is at the order of approximately 9.9 million hectares per year (estiimated between 1981-1990, Singh and Janz, 1995), then the effort of supporting the life and the cultural identity of MANs should be internationally reinforced.

It is certain that the Baduy belief or religion contributes a lot to the effort of conserving the remaining forest on the top of each cone shape hill in the surrounding. Such similar belief of the Kajang or the Amma toa people reinforced the conservation of the 317 hectares virgin forest, which is still intact. The conversion of their belief into a more individualistic religious teaching will likely to disrupt their environment.

The conservation of each local belief gives birth to so many cultural manifestations which is by many considered as "*traditional wisdom*" or " *traditional man -environment harmony*" and it will certainly contribute a great deal to the world wide forest conservation. The conservation of *cultural germs* (incl. the local religion) will support the development of various potential cultural manifestations beneficial to the people or even to world wide effort of conserving the germ plasms (plant and animal varieties conservation, include not only the edible but as well the medicinal plants for instance). Many of the traditional cultural manifestations now are salable to tourism, the metamorphic sculptural art of the Asmat is an example.

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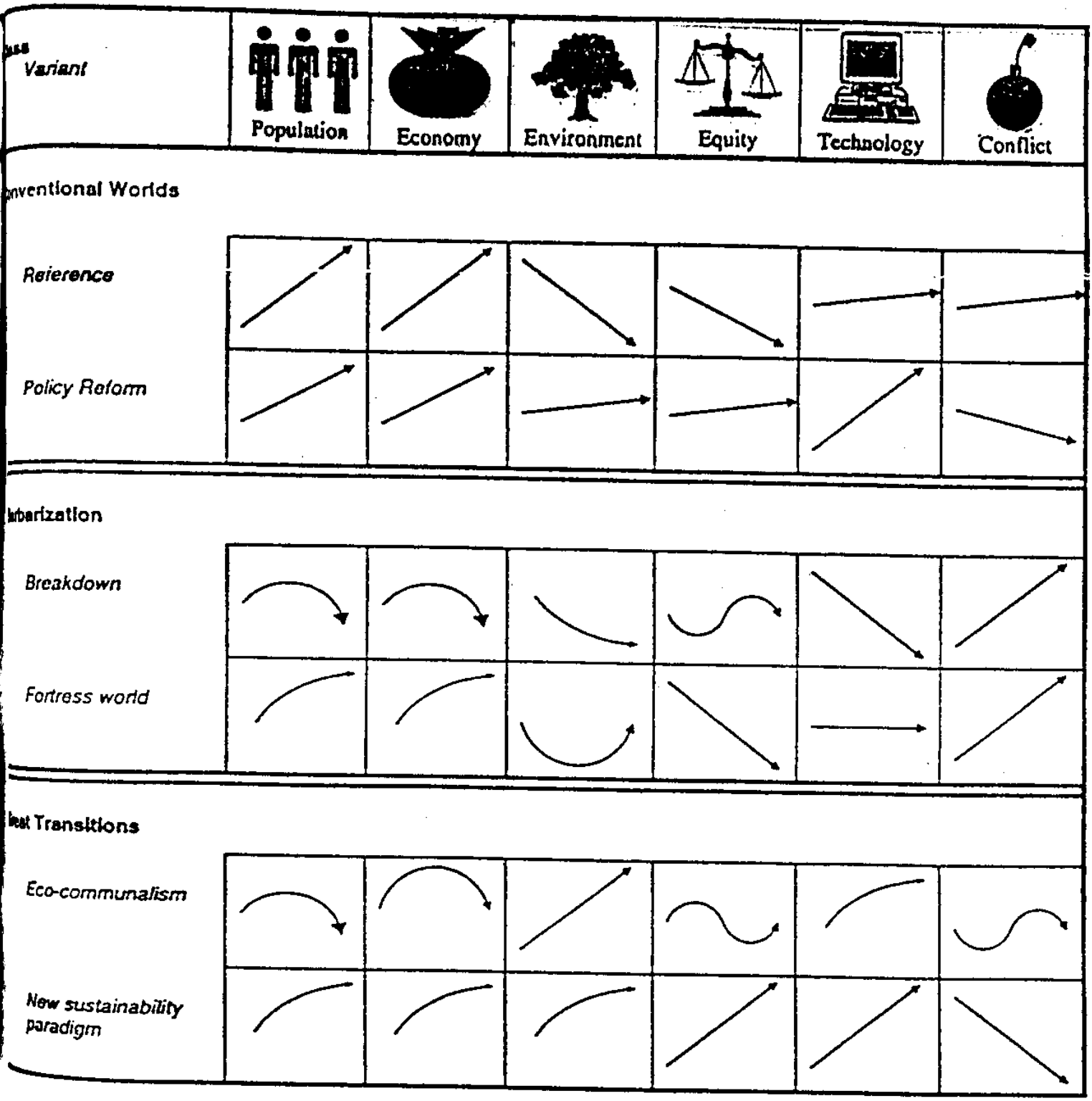
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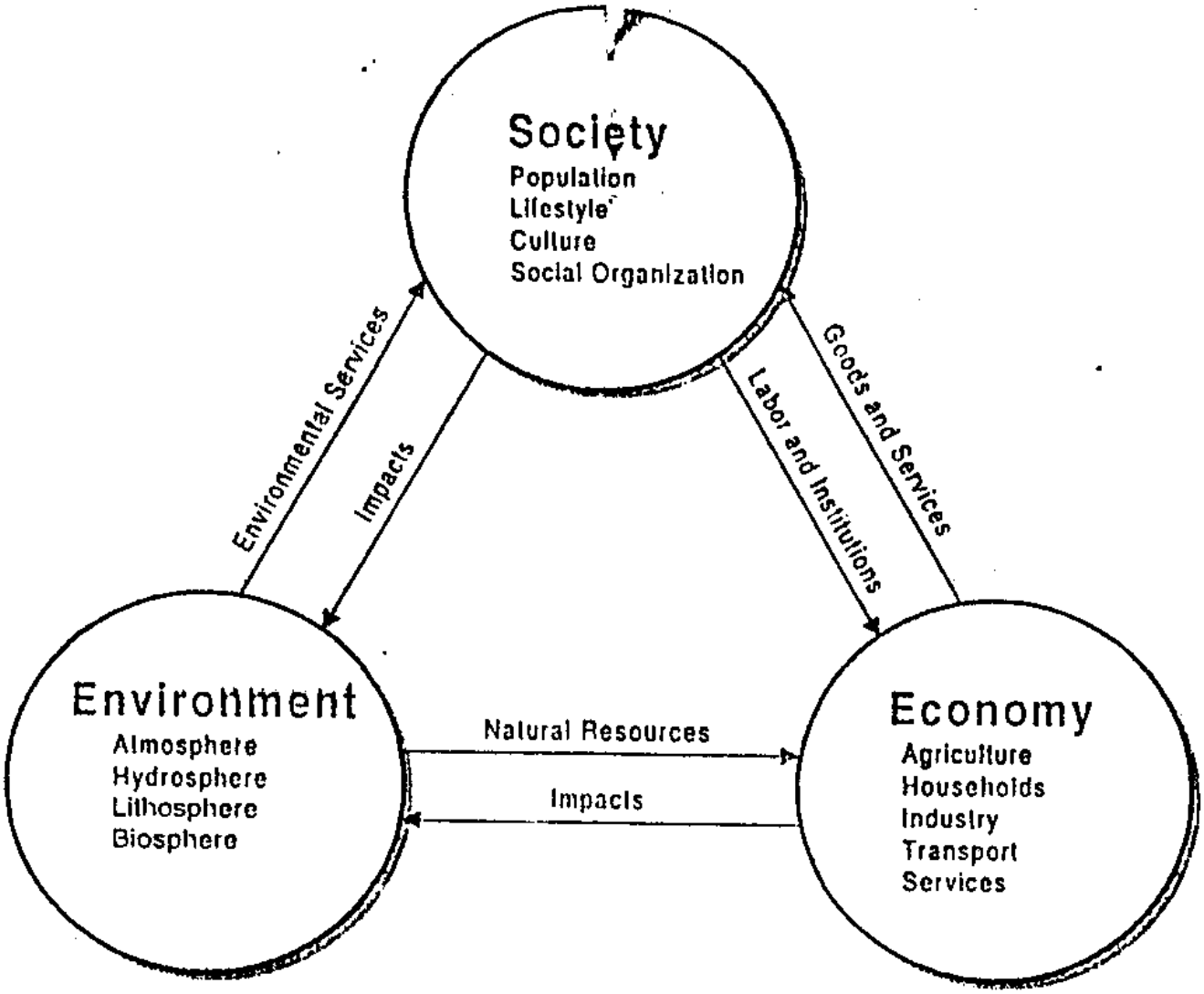
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ure 3. Scenarios Structure with Illustrative Patterns of Change



Source: Raskin et al. (1996a)

Figure 1. The Socio-Ecological System

With the socio-ecological systems framework in mind, design criteria for policy-oriented scenario analyses may be identified (Swart et al., 1996). Ideally, scenarios would be:

- *global* with regional and, ultimately, subregional disaggregation
- *comprehensive* with integrated treatment of major environmental, social and economic issues and interactions
- *analytically sound* with regard to use of data and scientific theory
- *diverse* with representation of a range of future visions, values and world-views