

**ETHNOGRAPHY OF TRADITIONAL FARMER IN BALIEM
VALLEY: (STRUGGLE OF LOCAL CULTURE IN FACING
GLOBAL MARKET FLOW)**

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to understand the struggle of the Dani people in the Baliem Valley Wamena with the local wisdom in facing the infiltration the insertion of global world of consumerism, lifestyle, materialism, and related issues of humanitarian tragedy of hunger, poverty, squalor, inequality, conflict, disintegration, genocide that have undermined sovereignty of the country This study is focused on the ability humanity science in revealing the excellences within the community (native point view) in addressing social and cultural problem of community. However, the influence of modernization that simultaneously carried in national development of Indonesia, it has begun to be enjoyed by local people such as the People Dani. At least the influence of the economy market has hit the every village, even though in the most remote corners of the village. The economy market has introduced a new staple foods that are not their own and displacing planting and farming tubers. As a result, consumption patterns have affected displaced of food production system to generate cash required to buy consumer products that are not their own product. Methodologically, this paper has employed ethnographic approach, which is aimed to see detail life of local communities and at the same time linking their lives holistically to the social processes in broader context, which focused on the ability of the

reveals the excellence power in communities in realization of the identity of the Nation in the facing of globalization. Socio-cultural studies of local wisdom and environment wisdom have become main theory used in analyzing the infiltration and insertion of the global world in life of local communities of Dani in the Baliem Valley Wamena.

Keywords: People Dani, Local Culture, and Global Market Flow

INTRODUCTION

For those who want to come to Papua to see the primitive life of the Stone Age, they must be disappointed. Such periods have already passed indeed said Boelaars (1986: 3). Social and cultural changes have occurred in Papua, although not as radical as happen outside Papua. Historical and ethnographic records have shown the downward since earlier 20th century, in which the people in the highlands of Papua have conducted barter transactions, with those in the southern coastal region of Papua.

The initial contact with Europeans taken place around 1910 and 1912, indicated by various expeditions undertaken by the Dutch colony. Dutch explorers are venturing from the south coast to the highlands of Papua until they reach the area called Pesegem, to find Mt. Wilhelmina or Mount Trikora, although the Dani in the Baliem Valley Wamena prefer to use the name Irimuli (Muller, 2009: 25). Interaction with the outside world since those times has provided the basic building of diversity and cosmopolitanisms life. The most noticeable change occurred in 1963, when Papua officially became a part of Indonesia. Although in the early days of integration, the political turmoil and economic slump have

pushed the Indonesian government to take various economic recovery policies in Papua.

The policy which include the elimination of controls on trade and inter-islands shipping; lower duty tariffs to the province of Papua; free release of commodities from the prevailing price controls, and prices remain high, and minimum wages and salaries increased since 1967-1968 (Garnaut and Manning, 1979: 45). As a result, surge of migrants from outside Papua such as Bugis-Makassar, Toraja, Java, Madura, Kalimantan, Timor, Maluku came to Papua to look for job.

Greater improvement occurred after the abolition of quarantine regulations, which restrict migrants to come to Papua in 1969 (Aditjondro, 1986; Affandi, 1992: 7). Since then, cultural contacts between indigenous Papuans and migrants continue. As community who inhabited Melanesian archipelago, the Dani people have crossed a long intricacies history of their encounter with the outside world.

Therefore, to see the Papuan culture today, such as Dani people in Baliem Valley Wamena, it has been positioned as the result of dialectics in encounters of Dani toward cultural heterogeneity imposed from outside. Stuart Hall (1963) argues that all cultural are the process of construction which occurred continuously through a dialectical process, by looking at the past and the present. Therefore, the cultures of Papua is a liquid, changes follow the historical development, and not isolated from the outside world.

Thus, cultural narratives of local communities in Papua today, are that people can no longer simplify the Dani as people who did not have continuity. The modernization and globalization have occurred in almost every corner of Papua, which allow the emergence of new creativities to gain access, space and expression in modifying its identity. They became the new Papuans with all the socio-cultural complexity. But that does not mean they are modern people who had discarded the value of their customs and traditions. They are Papuans who newer to the stuttering whistles at once sputtered by the new world order as a result of current modernity of the world market.

They are a group of people who undergo extreme changes, when their lives and livelihoods are always related to the spirituality of everyday day life which reduced by new world order (globalization) which unavoidable. This social phenomenon is an opportunity and also a challenge that must be addressed, including the Dani people today, which are oriented to develop spirit and inflame the minds and work ethics to understand a community which is still live in techno- subsystem economy, but their lifestyle and tastes have followed the market tastes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretically, the process of the social structure is occurred simultaneously with the formation of a community. The social structure serves as a means of sharing the task of organizing life together in a certain group. This initial process is constantly undergoing development, so that the community becomes tribes in large numbers and even becomes a great nation. In the initial

stage, the social structure has been formed as a means to manage and set the relationships between individuals in a community.

Society is continuously changing internal and external impacts. These changes can lead to enculturation (familiarization) to accommodate a condition that arises, which could lead to destruction as a result of social upheaval or revolution. In context of encountered between migrant groups and the natives Papua, in which the Papuans have experienced the domination of immigrants, in politic, economic and cultural aspects. Papuans like Dani has entered into global network of commercial, politics, social interaction, cultural interaction, and the emergence of complexity of hybrid as it found today.

Hybrid culture, not just a cultural acculturation process, but further, as revealed by Bhabha cited in Setiawan and Subaharianto (2016: 76) that is a productive sign of hybrid society which experienced domination when they set strategy for imitation but not entirely. They did though harboured appropriation to be different in the field of power, but continued to show their existence. According to Lakosono (2009), Heriyanto (2015), that such a phenomenon is implicit in the form of subjugation and domination of new communities toward the old community. This process occurs because the dominance of immigrants in the capital power, and supported by political power.

The processes of globalization have exposed local cultures into a hybrid culture. On the other hand, Brubaker and Cooper as quoted in Meijl (2008: 170) noted that globalization couldn't be understood as an expression of social homogeneity or as representations of eternal realities. It is quite often that they

highlight aspects, which considered unique as local identity, which is always intertwined with the rapid changes in the social organization and culture of the people, resulting from their inter-relationships in the global community.

The condition which changes for disclosure of local identities in itself involves a new cultural significance. However, globalization is not just a matter of economics, but also related to cultural issues. Lewellen in (Laksono, 2009) defines globalization today as the increasing trade, finance flow, culture, ideas, and humans as a result of advanced technology in communications, travel and spread of neoliberal capitalism throughout the world, as well as local and regional adaptation and resistance. Therefore, according to Featherston in (Barker, 2004: 188), globalization and modernization should be seen not only in temporal terms, but as a massive social transformation, spatial and relational.

Spatial zones in the world, according to Featherstone, have become modern in many ways, so it requires us to talk about global modernity in a diverse context. One of the media which could integrate human beings in the world, in which the concept of hyperspace developed. Hyperspace is a physical place or imagination without local references, but can enter and penetrate the local boundaries (Hertaty, 2014: 9:14).

Now we can see that the reaction of the Papuans who live in both rural and urban areas is not merely passive, they are not impervious from civilization exchanges, such as migration, lifestyle, consumption, and economic change. Jaap Timmer (2007: 623), show that throughout history, the local communities in Papua have been subjected to various forms of instability as a

result of interaction with other people and they continuously develop new strategies with local inventive spirit. Under these conditions, according to Usman (2015), the public responses to such social changes could be varying. Some people work hard to shift lag, and always trying to improve capabilities in order to remain relevant to the demands and developments, while other still not moving from their place as a result of limited access to various forms of organization and financial. Furthermore, most people were doing resistance toward social change that occurred simultaneously in accordance with the expansion and intervention of outside forces (foreign) in the form of capitalism which created dependency.

No matter how the Dani people being exposed to a variety of marginalization, underdeveloped, socio-economic issues, economic, political and cultural domination of the outsider, their local traditions still survive and still dominant. Colour of their culture still highlighted in almost all aspects of life. In such a process, Laksono (2009: 38-39) asserted that the "colour" to be strong to survive because of the local community, especially the elites succeeded in identifying them in the process. They were able to appropriate or taken over foreign gentility precisely in order to preserve the social inequalities rather than participate and get influenced by a new lifestyle. As a result, social change is always delayed.

The phenomena described above, will be the starting point of this paper which aimed to reveal how local knowledge is used, produced by the host community when dealing with a predominance of immigrants. According to Abdullah, (2015: 260) various forms of local institutions have grown by people day-to-

day which is adaptive to various problems of ecological, social, political, and economic. Local institutions can be either institutional which flourishing social functioning and contribute to social change directly or indirectly.

METHODOLOGY

This paper has employs ethnographic approach which aimed to see details life of local communities and at the same time looking at how they linked their lives holistically in broader social processes, which specifically focused on the ability of humanity science to reveal within the communities (native point of view) toward realization of the identity of the Nation in facing the domination of outside culture as in Dani people. From theoretical perspectives, studies of socio-cultural, local wisdom, environmental wisdom become very important to see infiltration and insertion of global issues in local communities live such as in Dani Communities at Baliem Valley, Wamena. The Dani communities' social structure which is developed from subsystem economy is possible to be revealed under ethnographical approach. Theory of social organization is based on community power, and system of managing natural resources still be based on communal sharing.

However, this study would not treat the subject (Dani people) as an exotic tribe as found in most conventional ethnographical studies which is more or less in development and formulate modernity narrations. It is because Dani communities today being more actively in developing strategies, negotiation, and resistance movements which look so dynamic in encountering new world systems. This paper will diachronically explore encountering of

Dani People with dominant power come from outside the Dani, such as political power, migration, market penetration, openness of information which is more concrete in ethnographical context is looking at local cultural heterogeneity of Dani people at Baliem Valley Wamena.

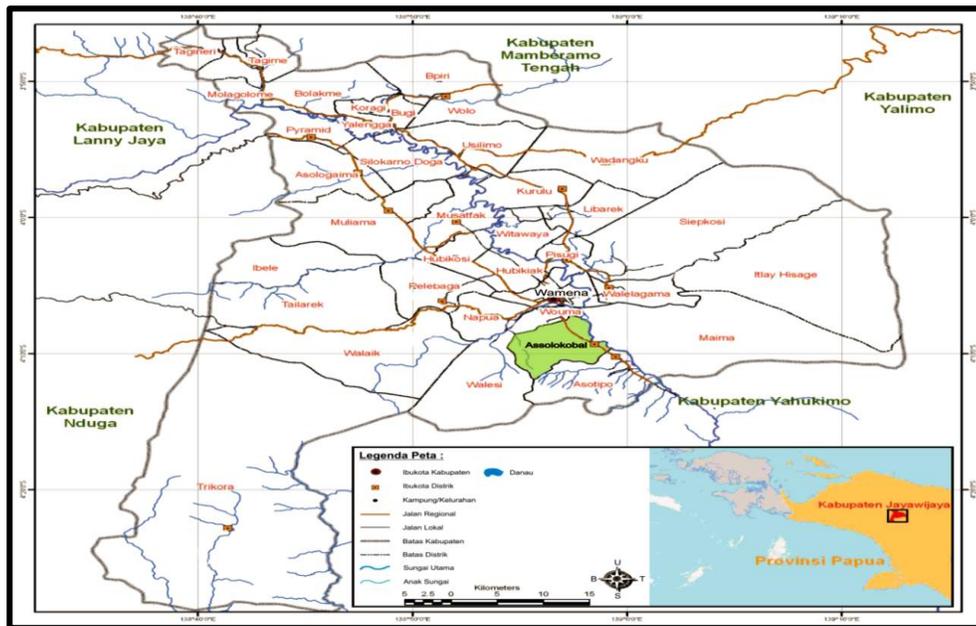
Dani People in Force of Modernity

Dani people of the Baliem People are also called as Hubula tribes. Dani people are actually a term used by people from West Baliem Valley to call those communities who inhabited Baliem Valley. While those people who live in Baliem Valley called them as “Nit Akhuni Balim make” or we are Baliem people (Heriyanto, 2015: 29). They inhabited a stretch of savannah in a very big valley in the highlands of Central Mountains of Papua.

Baliem valley is named after it, according Veldkamp, covers approximately 60 x 25 km² (Schoorl, 2001: 61). Baliem valley is the most fertile area in the high mountain areas of the island of West New-Guinea. It is surrounded by high of mountains. Some even reach 4500 meters. Even though, the width of the Valley area now exceeds 70 x 20 kilometers.

The land in the valley for a long time has been used for agriculture. Base on Dani people tradition, the men has a duty to work or cultivate the farms, while women planted and harvest the farms. The first harvest is always being offered to the ancestral spirits of their ancestors. Agricultural activities have been running there for centuries.

Based on archeological research done in eastern regions of the mountains, proved that agriculture has taken place in this region since 9000 years ago. It is estimated that the island of New Guinea is one of the pioneers of the agricultural area (<http://www.papuaerfgoed.org>).



Map Source: Heriyanto, 2015

So, what has been interesting discussion about Dani? From a variety of ethnographical literatures mentioned that Dani is an extreme example of traditional farming communities that still survive in the onslaught of modernity.

People of Dani have done intervention to the environmental system under the main goal of improving productivity, so that they are able to meet the needs of their family. Sutton and Anderson (1992) has shown patterns of adaptation from Dani people to their natural environment. Dani peoples have their local knowledge about the characteristics of the various tubers and also maintain the balance between the human, pig feast ceremonies, and inter-confederation wars. Similar themes are also dissected in works of Heider (1970), and Assolokobal (2007) on the Dani in Jayawijaya Mountains, which indicate that the subsistence economy (hunting, gathering, traditional agriculture) became a pillar of the family economy. However, the cultivation model of local traditional communities such as Dani people tends to ignore this for several reasons, such as require extensive and vast land. The harvest is not for surplus but only to fulfil their family needs and often become a problem when coping with the expansion of aggro industrial business.

A report, on "Food Agricultural Revitalization of Traditional Society Towards National Food Security", issued by Kemenristek in 2007, revealed that the land issues have mostly caused low attention on policy-making in the development of agricultural farming systems. Their land tenure systems which are community property, often considered difficult in efforts of agricultural revitalization, which have tended toward liberalization. Just as hunter-gatherers, farming communities require ecosystem - in this case is a wide forest, where forest and land is governed by a communal tenure system, which is commonly known as "customary rights".

On the other hand, the subsistence society is the social structure which is very communal (living in unity and uniformity, there is nothing more special than others) strongly inhibits the emergence of innovation in all fields. The concept of private property almost not exists, even if exist; it must be not far different from common property.

Implementation of various national development programs has led to a big changing on their social life environment, let say the subsistence activities and their eating habits in particular. Social change occurred partly as a result of increased population number in which the influence of money or economic market system, the implementation of village administration system and lifestyle in the settlement settled.

The changing of subsistence activities in fulfilment of their live, among others due to the transition from farming to cash crops plantation or forest products which dictated by market demand. While, the changes in their environment are made by the narrowing of their natural forest area, mainly as a result of forest clearing by modern economic corporations. For example, due to the clearing of thousands of hectares of oil palm plantations which have destroyed the natural forest which the richness of biodiversity. Followed by the impact of deforestation of logs companies, which logging "wildly" as well as the local community. All these have reduced the capacity of nature to meet the needs of food supply. From here, social problems faced by Dani nowadays as the narration about Dani culture today which is not just placing the local Dani communities as passive victims. But they are local communities who actively, creatively and so

dynamically facing cultural changes. They are dealing with modernity world today.

As revealed by Budhisantoso (2008), what a small influence of modernization carried in national development today, it has begun to affect local people. At least the influence of the economy market has hit the corners of villages, even though they are the most remote villages. In line with that Abdullah (2015: 250) states that the market has created a separate system to change the orientation of society into new values and a new compliances (Abdullah, 2015: 250). The economy market has introduced new staple foods that are not their own and displacing plantation of tubers.

According to Akhmad (2005), there are at least three factors behind the changes. First, market penetration within the life of Papuans is due to the presence of migrants from outside Papua. Second, meeting modes of domestic production and modern production. Third, not all subsistence products can be entirely consumed; some are for sale in the market. Although it has created economic integration into Dani people live, the value culture and social institutions are not fully developed and able to adapt to the economic market.

As a result, according to Budhisantoso (2008), consumption patterns have affected food production system to generate cash needed to consumable goods, which they could not produce. The most visible challenge occurred in the economic life as well as studies conducted by Heriyanto (2015) in an economic market that the presence of Dani in the Baliem Valley Wamena has been marginalized. Most people with Dani in the Baliem Valley with

limited abilities struggled hard in the arena of “small money” circulation while immigrants with capital skills and greater financial support have led the arena of “big money. Consequently, economic inequality has led to wider social gap between locals and immigrants. Segmentation in the economic arena has made the process of integration between local people and migrants did not easily take place.

The extreme differences between minority immigrants who gain great access to the major economic industries while the majority of local settlers who still live in the constraints of traditional techno-economic have become the most frequently issues in public discussion. And nowadays, the socio-economic inequality, ethnical issues have been highlighted in most local community talks, as their environment and resources have been exploited, but they are not enjoying the great benefits of their land.

The social injustice matter, we ought to reflect and should receive serious attention from all parties to find a way to overcome it. Theo van den Broek (1998: 60) suggests that the adverse effects of unemployment will enliven the people of Papua in the future. And the unemployment here will lead to social ethnical. In relation to the opportunity to compete, we often heard complaints from indigenous communities that the young man from the indigenous Papuan has set aside from available employment positions. According to Theo van den Broek, this situation can bring resignation "because I'm Papuan or people of Papua, thus they cannot be accepted. Therefore, we should not downplay the significance of social inequality discourse from daily talks about the place, which we called a frontier region. It is because at this frontier place, the issues of social inequality, access and

employments opportunities being discussing by young Papuan, which resulted, on systematic social movements and resistance.

Pig Rising and Social Status

Since Post World War II, the economy of Papua has relies on what Boelaars (1983) called as enklav-enklav, from modern capitalism in Papua, such as oil and gold mining companies. However, traditional barter trading still exists and underlying social system of Papuans economy. The indications of the existence of traditional barter trading can be tracked through ethnographical work of Malinowksi of kula trading in Trobiand islands in Southeast Papua. For those Papuan communities who inhabiting Central Mountains of Papua, the traditional barter trading often intersects with pig feasts. Trade transactions between individuals or between groups could take place during the pig feast. For Me people, wealthy people are defined as those people who individually able to collect or save much money or 'merge' in forms of snails skin, big oil, have many wives, and have many debtors. (Mansoben, 1995: 120). Similar to what happened in traditional leadership style of the Dani people at Baliem Valley Wamena. The Dani people have political leadership system called 'kain' (Mansoben 2005). In kain political system, the key condition required of a leader, from smallest units (uma) to greater units is bravery. The nature of bravery is must be expressed in publicly, eloquent, brave in the war, kill the enemy, besides having many wives and lots of pig (Mansoben 2005). Meanwhile, Heider (1970) noted that movement of goods within social networks in Dani peoples are based on four factors, namely the provision to close friends and neighbours; traditional ceremonies; trading; and the payment of fines. The Dani people are familiar with the trading

system between the confederations, which are commonly carried out through pig feasts using shells as a medium of exchange (Mansoben 1995; 161).

The ethnographical arguments, above, at least can be said that Dani peoples have excellent competitiveness in external and internal challenges, especially in coping with the current global market force. At least they have the advantages in terms of environmental management, which is not exploitative by farming sweet potato and raising pigs. Haviland (1985) explains that this adaptation process could generate dynamic balance between needs of the population and environment potential. Besides farming sweet potatoes and raising pigs, these traditions are also important as it has many functions, among the Dani people;

"... ..pork is eaten, the blood being used in magic, bones and tail being curved into ornaments , and the ribs being used as knife for peeling potatoes, genitals tied with kelang hand to reject the evil spirits, and the most important function is the use of pigs as a means of exchange (economic functions in trade). Additionally, pigs also used as a means for peace and instrument of unity between groups or between different kinship confederations in large pig feasts "(Mansoben 2005: 142-143).

Pigs in the life of the Dani people are not only related to needs of biological practices such as in supporting needs of meat their life, but closely related to "recognition", as a fundamental dimension affords by a person to reach a certain position.

Pigs are also one of important medium in conflict resolution, either as a means of compensation as well as sacrificing in peace

ceremonial, namely; (1) Pig as which are offered to the ancestors (wam-iluguneke), (2) Pigs which paid as a statement of completion of for guilty party toward the injured party in tribal war, and (3) pigs are eaten together as a symbol of reconciliation (Heriyanto, 2015: 153). Pigs are reality of Dani socio cultural life. The cultural symbols which are reduced by the key person to achieve position of big man, which is sound similar what Bourdieu argued (Akkas, 2005: 23), that the social relations "confession" became one of the most important capital to improve social position of a person in certain groups as well as a group of individuals who confirmed prestigious status and authority from other groups, to legitimize self-identity as a representation of "being the best" or being into what it should be ".

Based on reciprocity relations in society, the idea of focusing more on power relations formed in a communal society, thus, Sahlins (1963), shows that the leadership system of Melanesian people is refers to the system of 'big man', which all looks more bourgeois. The differences of local culture have made them to modify their expression of power, but in quality, have in common. The personal power and ability are achieved through development of inter-personal relation in society. Therefore, the political dynamic of communities in the Melanesian archipelago such as Dani people in Baliem Waema which constructed as a result of competition with others, seems more influence on social achievement in reaching a status of authoritative man. In the shortly, that leadership there is about image. The most important characteristics of a man who became an authoritative person is the capacity to manipulate the people and resources to achieve the intent and purpose. This concept is characterized by the authority

based on one's personal ability to allocate and reallocate important resources for public purpose.

Although they raise pigs, but pigs have only been eaten at certain times such as traditional feast. During celebration or traditional feast, pigs are sacrificed to the ancestors, and the meat will be eaten by those people who participating in the traditional ceremony. Events like this not only could guarantee the availability of good quality of animal protein for the participants, but also full of symbolic motifs. Sacrificing pigs are medium of political communication. Sacrificing many pigs has conveyed a political message that the person who does the pig sacrificing is a rich man, a big man, who has the resources to that have been distributed to many people.

This concept is characterized by authority of a person on the basis of personal ability to allocate and reallocate important resources for public purposes (Mansoben1995). Arjun Appadurai asserts that economic exchange manifested in the form of commodities will produce a value, and connectivity that occur goods exchange is more politically intense (Riswan, 2010, 83-84). For Dani people, this connectivity is an appropriate movement that moves from the big man and distributed to the followers. This phenomenon shows that the economy of Papua, especially for those who live in the central mountain of Jayawijaya, does not stand alone but linked (embedded) with other social institutions such as kinship, religion, leadership or prestige. Such economic phenomena are vulnerable when facing economic market force which is free of values. In addition, the utilization of social economy networks like this has no substantial solutions to overcome the household's socio-economic matters.

The challenge facing by Dani people today is when massive migration expanded into villages inhabited by Dani people, and the expansion of global interconnection. The case of pigs raising, for example, every family keeps pigs, but only few of them who maintain the pigs raising in large quantity. Limited number of pigs has opened an opportunity for immigrants to take role as pig farmers, or become pig's traders. From the standpoint of immigrants that there is economic opportunity, namely the circulation of "big money" that can be used, because the pig is not only a pet, but pigs is also a "social commodity" for Dani. When they need pigs for traditional rituals or customs fiesta, the Dani people have to buy pigs, which the price is relatively expensive. A pig can cost them between Rp. 20,000,000.00 to 25,000,000.00. It is depending on the age of the pig, and also through a bargaining process between the seller and the buyer. Unfortunately, according to Heriyanto, 2015: 72) not many native people merchants who engaged in the circulation of money in this arena. The Torajan people who are skilled in raising pigs and dare to sell the meat at lower prices, have becomes a very formidable competitors.

Infiltration of Lifestyle

Dani people and tribal communities who live in the highlands of Papua, at least has received various images and stereotypes associated with the term 'primitive'. They have been perceived as the people who are very "exotic", the people of penis gourd, and have tribal war habits among them. Such constructed term related to Dani as 'primitive' is obviously should be handled seriously by the state in the context of development and equality. In the early decades of the 70's, the Indonesian government has made efforts

to persuade the Dani tribe to abandon their traditional dress, such as the penis gourd and straw skirts through "Operasi Koteka project (koteka operation project).

During that time, the State treats the Dani people as savages human that need to be taken seriously and exclusively. Since Papua is being integrated as part of Indonesia in 1963, the Dani people and tribal communities around there have been washed down through various development programs in order to make the Dani tribe as modern people. The arrival of religions, opening of government offices, schools, churches, roads, markets, irrigations, modern ports, markets, shops, telephones, electricity, rights and responsibilities and so, have made the Dani people move further and further away from the past life that ever lived by previous generations. Land acquisition, land processing and the system of land and natural resources management have moved from trans-migrate system into settled domestic system, structured, with other modern buildings. A new world order that has made the Dani as a new people in their own land, namely those people who are increasingly fragmented over individual and group closed tenure which did not previously exist and imagined by the Dani people. The challenge today facing by the Dani people are the expansion of global market which has integrated local community into a global market, in which the local knowledge (local adaptation) getting erode as the impacts of new power coming from outside the community, which then force them to get into contractual relations.

According to Heriyanto (2015), rapid changes experienced by Dani have made a lot of people experience tension, stress, frustration, loss of direction in life, and loss of pride in their own

culture. It seems in the emergence of deviant behaviours or any acts of escaping from healthy life of the community". Many people have fallen into gambling. Drunken, free sex behaviour, which has serious threat social integration. These rapid and drastic social changes have made them experience anomie. Not many Dani people are able to positively respond to the changes that took place so quickly, that has led into the degradation of moral life and the social order, as saw in the phenomenon of drinking or spreading of HIV / AIDS. This situation has suggested major crisis of communities in Baliem Valley, Wamena

CONCLUSION

Nowadays, the Dani people can no longer be simplified as people who did not have contiguity. The modernization and globalization have occurred in almost every corner of Papua, which has allowed the emergence of new creativities to gain access, space and expression in modifying identity.

They now became the new Dani of all socio-cultural complexity. But that does not mean they are modern people who had reckless discarded the value of their customs and traditions. They are Papuans who are newer sputtered by a new world order as a result of world market force led by modernity. They are a group of people who undergo extreme changes, when their lives and livelihoods are always related to spirituality of the everyday people of Papua, reduced, rubble by the new world order (globalization) which unavoidable. Such Social phenomenon is an opportunity and a challenge that must be answered, to build and foster a spirit of mind and work ethic in understanding a community which is still living in techno -economisubsiten, but

the lifestyle and tastes they follow market tastes. Interconnection with the global community on the one hand has made people's lives easier, but on the other hand, has made the model and standard of living changed very quickly which caused a cultural crisis. The most visible challenge occurred in the economy market. Most of the Dani people with limited abilities, must fight turnaround in the arena of "small money", while skilled immigrants with greater capital finance have mastered the circulation of money on a medium scale and "big money circulation". The economic inequality lead to social gap between locals and immigrants getting wider and segmentation in economic life have made the process of integration between local people and migrants did not take place easily.

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