

Functions of Cross-Border Economic Activities in Skouw Sae Community, Jayapura City

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Abstract. Cross-border economic activities are often done by people of Skouw Sae Village, Muara Tami District, Jayapura City to Wutung Village, Vanimu, Papua New Guinea. This study attempts to analyze the functions of economic activity in this community. Data were processed using qualitative analysis. The results of this study found seven functions of cross-border economic activities. First, to meet nutritional needs of the family. Second, to meet reproductive needs for family continuity. Third, to meet the needs for comfort and welfare of wife's family. Fourth, to meet safety needs. Fifth, to meet the needs for relaxation. Sixth, to meet mobility needs. Seventh, to meet the needs for growth. It also meets the needs for activities and systems of ideas related to the fulfillment of seven needs. In conclusion, the functions of cross-border economic activities of Skouw Sae Village are to meet basic, institutional and symbolical needs of local people.

Keywords: cross-border, Skouw Sae community, functions of economic activities

Introduction

Activities of crossing traditional boundaries between countries for economic, social, political and cultural purposes are often found on the borders between African countries, US-Mexico, Indonesia-Philippines, Indonesia-Malaysia, Indonesia-Timor Leste and Papua (Indonesia)-PNG (New Guinea). On the border of Papua, such activities are often done by 7 sub-ethnic groups of Papua such as Skouw and Moso sub-ethnic groups in Muara Tami District, Jayapura City, Manem sub-ethnic group in Arso Timur District, Walsa in Waris District, Humbuluk in Senggi District, Emem in Web District, and Ndra sub-ethnic groups in Web District and Towe in Kerom Regency, Ngalum sub-ethnic group in Bintang Regency Highlands, Muyu sub-ethnic group in Boven Digul Regency and Marind-anim sub-ethnic group in Merauke Regency (Mansoben, 2008: 7). The mobility of people from Skouw Sae village to Wutung village of PNG is commuting and circular concerning economic, cultural and social activities.

Accordingly, this study attempts to identify internal factors consisting of driving

and inhibiting factors in the process of crossing the border done by these people based on the fulfillment of basic, and institutional and symbolical needs for the life of this community. Second, it is to identify push and pull factors to cross borders including inhibiting factors for mobility in place of origin, destination, intermediate obstacles affecting mobility to cross the border. Thirdly, it is to identify the functions of cross-border economic activities of the people from Skouw Sae village to Wutung Village of PNG and the implications of these research findings on local community development.

Based on Malinowski's functionalism (1944: 44), every custom functions to meet basic needs in order to survive. According to Malinowski in Bohannan (1988: 277), there are seven human needs, namely nutrition, reproduction, residence, comfort and wellbeing, safety, relaxation, movement, and growth. These seven needs are necessary to maintain physical and psychological balance, which aims at maintaining life and health. The aforementioned aspects encourage cross-border activities in an organized manner that involves people, reasons, and

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objectives, specific targets for participation of its members, norms, activities, facilities and certain functions. It also encourages the use of a system of ideas based on culture, belief and religion, and art, the ceremony of the village community to legitimize, regulate and guide their behavior. According to Lee (1966), the migration process is influenced by four factors, namely, push factor in the area of origin, pull factor in the destination area, inhibiting factor and a personal factor which includes very broad aspects.

Research Methods

This research was conducted from September 2012 to June 2013 in Skouw Sae Village, Jayapura City and Wutung of PNG by using the qualitative method with research design aimed at identifying the functions of cross-border economic activities of this village. Data were obtained using participant observation and interviews with individuals from both villages. Seven procedures were adopted in this research, namely making an interview guide by emphasizing the life history of informants, reviewing all data from various sources, reducing data, abstracting data arranged in units and simply modifying data based on problems and research, checking the validity of data, arranging the data obtained based on the themes of activities and described descriptively. Therefore, it was expected that accurate research results could be obtained.

Proximity of Residents of Both Communities

Geographically, both villages are located on the border of two countries separated by a traditional boundary in the form of Tami River and political boundary in the form of border gate of both countries. The mobility of citizens is motivated by the closeness of the kinship between two communities, which started from the marriage of a Wutung woman and a Skouw Sae man in order to resolve a conflict over the murder of a Skouw Sae woman. The descendants of the marriage of both villagers are called *jo pa lala*. The presence of Wutung residents due to diseases and marriage between people of both communities in later stage also strengthened the relationship that had existed previously. In addition to having land in their place of origin, they also have proximity to their customary leaders, so that they are frequently invited to cultural

and social activities. Both villagers also have economic relations, similar dance and similar cultural values that according to Held in Suparlan (1995: 37-39) are characterized by easily accepting and taking over elements from other more advanced culture and uniting them with the local culture.

In addition, people's mobility activities are encouraged to meet basic needs that cannot be met in the place of origin. For example, demand for food for long-term family's nutritional needs; demand for the availability of funds for dowry payment activities for reproduction needs for family, clan and community continuity; demand for the needs of family comfort and prosperity through the provision of individual equipment and families for the benefit of both families and also for the payment of the head (fine) of the husband's family to his wife's family to remove the seed of hostility between both families as well as between both communities; demand for the fulfillment of safety needs through the procurement of beverages on Christmas celebrations as well as for ritual activities in the customary house of *tangfa* which aims at bringing them closer to their fellow villagers and to the spirit of their ancestors; demand for the fulfillment of relaxation needs through school vacation picnic, customary dance, gift exchange between women in both villages, as well as sports activities which aims at bringing their kinship closer and also for the needs of the movement to bring two village leaders closer in order to reduce conflict between both communities; and demand for growth needs through learning activities in the customary house of *tangfa*.

In addition, there is also demand for income from such economic activities for repairing religious buildings, holding weekly religious activities in the churches and religious activities for men, women, youths, and teenagers and children, and also for treatment at Skouw's community health center, village and customary government, sport activities, and customary dance activities every year-end.

Push and pull factors of cross-border

Factors that drive mobility in the place of origin include the effect of government policy on the integration of this region with the Republic of Indonesia until before the implementation of special autonomy that did not emphasize on the economic empowerment

of border communities, so that they still have socio-economic problems until now; reduced forest area due to transmigration program in East Koya drove people to do gathering and hunting activities in more distant places; unsuccessful economic empowerment activity due to the ineffectiveness of the process of mentoring and assistance of technical field staff; lack of support from banking and economic institutions significantly give impact to the production and distribution activities; weakness of market management making local residents replaced by outsider traders in the border market activity and return them to the dry-farming activities; strong kinship relations between people which obstructs small-scale business activities funded by the village empowerment program.; and a large number of family members in a household which burden the family expenditure for various purposes. All of the aforementioned factors affect high dependence of some people on economic activity in Wutung area. In addition, the sales of canned drinks which are popular during Christmas celebrations are limited from PNG and there are a few cultural and social activities that involve people with customary leaders from their place of origin.

The pull factors of mobility in terms of economic aspects are high demand for betel nut production from costumers in Jayapura, Mimika, and Wamena; the availability of customary land in Wutung region for gardening, hunting, and gathering in order to meet the needs of family food; the existence of potential marine resources in both areas of waters that can be utilized by both villagers freely. The previous three economic activities influence the fulfillment of other needs. Another pull factor is the purchase of canned drinks freely for Christmas celebrations. In terms of culture, the pull factors are an invitation from customary leaders to attend the ceremony for cemetery building, the ceremony for customary house renovation, the inauguration of customary leader, payment of dowry, as well as payment of head (fine) for a wife who has passed away. In terms of social aspect, the pull factors are an invitation from a local committee to attend a friendly match to celebrate the independence anniversary of PNG and invitation to exchange gifts among fellow women from both villages. At the family level, the pull factors are places for family recreation activities during school holidays and the desire to bring the relationship between two village leaders closer.

There are three inhibiting factors of

mobility in the place of origin. First, at the family level, it is difficult to leave a family member who is happened to be sick at home; there is no family member who can takes care of a child in school while his/her mother does economic activities outside the home; husband and wife are busy clearing dry-farming land. Second, at the community level, there is someone in the village who passed away; on Saturday and Sunday, people are suggested to stay in the vilage and use their days off for breaks and church activities. Third, at the level of the state, the inhibiting factors are situation prior to the election, the celebration of independence day of Indonesia, military contacts with the Free Papua Movement (OPM), and situation prior to the celebration of OPM anniversary every December 2, for which the border gate is often closing for a month.

There are three inhibiting factors of crossing the border in the destination area. First, at the family level, they are asick family member, family are busy taking care of the garden, and guests of relatives who stay over. At the community level, there are Wutung people who passed away and cultural activities led by customary leaders requiring all villagers to be involved. Third, at the state level, there are criminal cases to be handled around Vanimo City, situation prior to the election and the celebration of the independence day of PNG. The inhibiting factors in the destination area at the family level will last from one to two weeks. At the community level, they will last for a week. At the country level, they will last between two weeks to a month. There are also obstacles such as an obligation to use a cross-border card approved by Indonesian and PNG immigration staff.

Functions of Cross-Border Economic Activities by People from Skouw Sae Village

The first function is to meet the needs for family food through selling betel nut, gardening, and going to sea for catching fish. This condition is different from previous economic activities which are concentrated on the activities of going to sea. Such increased economic activity is in line with the accessible transportation from Jayapura City to the Vanimo City of PNG. Buying and selling betel nuts among women from both villages who have a kinship relation served to provide income for the families. Gardening

activities in Wutung customary area have provided income for the fulfillment of family needs. As a result, the collection of betel nuts in production centers is expanded, the intensive gardening pattern is applied and more than one garden is made to maintain the sustainability of production. Betel nut is marketed through social network and marketing network with middlemen from Abepura City, which are then marketed to Mimika City and Wamena City. Meanwhile, dry-farming products are marketed through middlemen of Koya Barat and Koya Timur, which are then sold to Abepura market as well as to markets around Jayapura City. The family needs for animal protein are filled with fishing, animal hunting and utilizing products from Tami River, swamps, and lakes existing around this village. The activities of going-to-sea to Wutung area are usually done when the utilization of natural resource (*hoo, sasi*) on sea, river, lake and forest area is prohibited for 1 to 2 months by the customary leader prior to customary or church activities involving a large number of people. According to Poespowardojo (1989: 113), this attitude is intended to prevent excessive exploitation of natural resources that may threaten the survival of this community. Along with the opening of this region, now every family also consumes rice, meat, and eggs purchased in Abepura market. The foods are partly purchased by women from the market or taken from the garden, then processed in the kitchen and served for family consumption in the morning, afternoon and evening. Economic activities are based on a system of ideas to work to meet the family's long-term supply of food, to manage natural resources in a controlled way for family, clan, and community survival. The three economic activities above also support the fulfillment of other needs in the form of provision of transportation funds, foods, as well as funds for cultural and social activities. Therefore, economic activities integrate basic needs, institutional and system of idea altogether.

The second function is to support the payment of dowry from groom's to bride's family for reproductive needs in order to maintain group continuity. This condition is different from previous activities that are centered on close relatives. There is a pattern of recording donors which make every beneficiary family should do the same thing almost every two months. This activity is useful in maintaining relationships in marriage as a basis for establishing families, which

Malinowski in Kuper (1996: 28) sees as a place for making personality and forming the emotional basis of human beings. It is also to keep the family which according to Herskovits (2006: 85) serves as the highest court in disciplining children and a place to pass down basic and advanced knowledge about the culture of the local community. Meanwhile, for the bride's family, this social obligation is regarded as a symbol of respect for their self-esteem, as well as creating an extended family that sustains community activities. And for the prospective husband, it is to improve his family's economy through the distribution of work on the dry-farming activity. It is also expected that they can have a son so as to strengthen his position through the use of the clan's name as his identity, which according to Claessen in Soekardjo (1987: 30) is the basis for demanding the social status of the clan as well as the right of inheritance in the form of land and family property in order to support his parents who can not work and his unmarried sister. This activity is useful as a binding of the groom's family with his bride's family, as well as other families in the local community. It can also renew social relationships and maintain solidarity among them. Finally, this activity is useful to maintain the dowry payment as the basis for building a family. Therefore, this activity integrates basic needs, institutional and system of the idea simultaneously.

The third function is to support the payment of the head (fines) to a husband whose wife has passed away. This assistance is given to the wife's family to meet the needs of comfort and welfare of the family concerned. Initially, this activity focused on close family. The easy access to transportation and the expansion of kinship relation of villagers cause similar activities more frequently done in some villages around Vanimo of PNG. This gift is regarded as a tribute to their children who have played a role in domestic affairs, reproduction, and economy, clan's environment, as well as inside and outside of his community. It is also as a social sanction for a husband who cannot take care of their children well. This gift is also expected to eliminate hostility, maintain good relations between the family of husband and wife, between the clan of husband and wife and between both communities. In addition, this activity preserves the payment of fines due to the death of a wife. Conceptually, this activity combines the fulfillment of basic needs, institutional and system idea.

It also supports the activities of ceremony for constructing cemetery and customary house and inaugurating *ondoafi* in Wutung region to meet the comfort and welfare needs for individuals and families of traditional leaders (*ondoafi*, inside errand men, outside errand men and clan leaders) for which Georges Balandier in Budisanto (1986: 51) refers to it as a social authority in the form of protecting, guarding, resolving misunderstandings among clan members, regulating land use for clan members and supporting the family of deceased clan members by providing land for economic activity. In addition, this activity is also to preserve the existence of traditional leaders in maintaining the existence of different groups, institutions, and interests in the community by using power and sanctions in both material and moral forms, and keep the peaceful of living together for years to come. Originally, these activities did not burden the villagers and they just simply have to attend it. Now, the presence of villagers in these activities is accompanied by the submission of rice, sugar, coffee, and kitchen spices. Finally, this activity serves to maintain traditional leaders in both communities and integrates the fulfillment of basic needs, institutional and system of idea.

The fourth function is to support the purchase of canned drinks at Christmas celebrations to meet safety needs through religious protection and defense. Intensively, this kind of activity is done by citizens since the presence of transportation access to shops in the Vanimo City of PNG and the increased presence of relatives of villagers from PNG. All local people have embraced Protestantism. The religious content embodied in the form of sacred texts which interpreted and obeyed in everyday life. The reference to such interpretation is their ethnic culture. Therefore, through such celebration religion is preserved as a source of life value in their social and cultural actions. Religion according to Kluckhohn in Keesing (1998: 94) has three functions. First, it gives an explanation, answers questions about the existence of the origin of the world, the relationship between humans with other species, why humans can succeed and fail. Second, it gives authorization, which is to accept the forces in the universe that control and sustain social order by giving a situation that cannot be opposed. Third, it adds human ability to face weaknesses of life, death, disease, hunger, flood, failure, and psychological

support during tragedy, anxiety, and crisis. Therefore, the religion gives certainty and meaning to human beings in the world. In the perspective of sociology, the function of religion through the celebration of Christmas is to maintain and cultivate solidarity among fellow individuals and groups. Solidarity is a part of religious social life or an expression of religious behavior. According to Durkheim in Ghazali (2011: 33), religion functions to support and preserve the local community because it functions to support unity and social solidarity among the people of both communities and to maintain religious beliefs of the local community. Finally, it combines the fulfillment of basic needs, institutional and system of idea.

It also supports customary house renovation activity for the purpose of meeting safety needs from all the dangers. Initially, such activity was often represented by one of the immediate family. However, now such activities involve villagers Skouw Sae, especially the descendants of Wutung Village. It is expected this celebration can maintain a relationship with their customary house which is believed to be the spiritual residence of their ancestors. Such action expresses their recognition of the presence and power of the ancestral spirits or establishes a good relationship with the ancestral spirits. According to Hermann Strauss in Strelan (1989: 111), good ancestral spirits and supernatural powers from traditional religion promote the realization of safety and peace and a life filled with long-awaited happiness. According to Rappaport (1971: 226-235), such action is also found in Maring Tsembaga. All participation in the above rituals is seen as a sacralization of social status changes. The rituals held collectively serve as the arena of the congregation. This will increase the bond of group sentiment and social solidarity (Suhardi, 2009: 2). Meanwhile, according to Merton in Kaplan et al. (2002: 80), the ceremony serves to strengthen the identity of the group. The above explanation is also in line with Malinowski's opinion in Kuper, 1996: 29) that ritual acts serve to preserve collective survival the community strives for. The desired collective aim is living together within a social community as a clan or tribe. This, according to Fugman in Alua (2006: 50), is in line with the concept of safety in the community of Papua or Melanesia in general. The system of relation forms a network that supports their life and growth. Therefore, everything in the form of individual affairs is

organized together with the group, such as marriage, death, certain cases, and others. Thus, the relation with others, including with the people of this village who are now settled in some areas in PNG due to marriage should be maintained as well. In addition, the relation with the ancestral spirits and with the surrounding environment should be maintained together. Neglecting one aspect of the relation will interfere with the ideals of safety that they fight for. Finally, this activity is useful to preserve the belief of customary house as a place where the ancestral spirits live. It can be concluded that this activity integrates basic needs, institutional and system of the idea simultaneously.

The fifth function is to support family picnic activities during school holiday to meet individual relaxation needs. Originally, this activity was done by a family with a canoe when the sea condition was shady. However, now it is done with four-wheeled vehicles during school holidays and other holidays. On one hand, this activity omits the pressure due to the sadness of life or work pressure. It also brings closer the relationships between family members, relatives and customary leaders in the region. The function of meeting in this activity is to bring people in contact and renew social relationships in order to maintain solidarity among them. Finally, this activity serves to pass down the relaxation behavior in this community and also integrates the fulfillment of basic, institutional and system of idea needs.

It also supports the activities of the construction of cemetery, renovation of customary houses and inauguration of *ondoafi* with the purpose of meeting the needs of relaxation through customary dance together. Initially, this kind of activity involved only close family and now it involves both villagers. Dance is a symbol system created to legitimize, organize and guide their behavior that is in line with the cultural values of the local community. Dance activity can integrate all villagers through the same movement of dance and sing songs together. The history of their ancestors from Wutung to Skouw Sae is also recounted. Lastly, it serves as a means of strengthening kinship relation between the people of both communities, so that they remind each other that they belong to the same origin. It means that they can help each other and prevent the marriage between the first with/to the third generation. This activity serves as a medium of communication and expression of life media of both communities

that live collectively. According Sedyawati (1980: 6), other educational functions are to distribute creative power, the need for security, excessive energy, feeling of distress, and also offer means of socialization, worshiping the occult, conveying ideas, recreation facilities, and forming group sense. It preserves the symbol of dance art concerning the origin of some people of this village. Therefore, this activity integrates the fulfillment of basic needs, institutional and system of idea.

Gift exchange activities between women in both villages is done to meet the needs of relaxation and maintain relationships among them. Originally, this activity was conducted between women in a family who lived apart because of getting married to men from Wutung. Now, this activity involves all mothers and unmarried women because after marriage and following their husbands, each woman will be busy with domestic affairs, reproduction, and economics, so that they will rarely meet. It also passes down the concept of brotherhood in the form of frequent visits and controls the lives of their separate siblings, in order to demand payment of fines from the husband's family in case of undesirable events. In addition, this activity can renew social relation and can maintain solidarity among them. Finally, this activity serves to maintain the close relationship between women from both communities. Therefore, this activity integrates the fulfillment of basic needs, institutions and system of the idea simultaneously.

Football and volleyball games in a friendly match are doing to celebrate the anniversary of PNG in order to meet the needs of relaxation. Originally, this activity was done in the village. Along with the easy access of transportation, now this activity involves youths from both villages. Its educational function is to maintain a relationship in both types of sports that are often played on Sunday afternoon. It also serves as a friendly match to know the progress in order to improve team achievement in facing the match among villages within Muara Tami District. According to Boelaars (1987: 77), the need for freedom makes them fond of every crowd, including such friendly matches and enjoying the fun together. It increases the prestige of someone who plays a role in winning the team. Thus, this activity can renew the social relationship and maintain solidarity among them and pass down sports activities as a means of building togetherness. Therefore, this activity

integrates the fulfillment of the basic needs, institutions and system of idea for local people simultaneously.

The sixth function is to meet the needs of the movement to bring relationship closer between the heads of the villages in order to maintain their role in improving the social welfare of the people. Intensively, such activities are carried out by both formal leaders due to good access to transportation and frequent conflict between both villagers. Their closeness can solve the conflicts and build a culture of participation through the involvement of all people in cultural and social activities in both villages. Internally, it contributes in supporting the elections of the village head, planning activities, implementation, and supervision of village development programs. It also promotes the need for higher education to fill the formal structure of village administration. Thus, this activity renews social relation and maintains solidarity among them. Finally, this activity serves to maintain village government system which consists of several clans that have a close residence in the same region. Therefore, his activity integrates the fulfillment of basic, institutional and system of idea needs for local people.

In terms of social cohesion, the mobility of people is aimed at meeting the needs of the movement in order to bring kinship relations closer between both communities through the use of the term of calling in the communities in this region. The community of Skouw Sae village will call the community of Skouw Mabo, Skouw Yambe, Wutung, and the villages around Vanimo as *kitorang* (we), and will call other people outside them as *dorang* (them). It aims to strengthen the sense of in-group and to widen a gap to the group outside their community. However, through proper proximity and approach, they often take the out-group as an in-group in order to establish a harmonious and pleasant relationship among them. Therefore, this activity can renew social relations and kinship, and maintain solidarity among them. It also integrates the fulfillment of basic, institutional and system of the idea needs simultaneously.

The seventh function is to meet the needs for individual growth by passing down basic and advanced knowledge for men in the family because a man plays a considerable role in the life of family, clan, and community. Meanwhile, the inheritance of knowledge for women includes domestic

activities, reproduction, and economy because after marriage they will live in the family of the husband. Originally, the activities above centered in the customary house of *tangfa*, and now it is concentrated in the family environment. This activity is a form of people's awareness of the importance of provision for a man and a woman to maintain the continuity of family, clan, and community together. According to Poespowardojo (1989: 121), this effort will make the life of the community better. Lastly, it can renew social relations and maintain solidarity among them. Therefore, this activity integrates the fulfillment of basic, institutional and system of idea needs for people.

The implication of the phenomenon of the functions of cross-border economic activities for the economic activities of local people is that it is necessary to strengthen economic empowerment program in the village empowerment plan, which is oriented to the utilization of local natural resources and supported by intensive guidance and assistance from staff of relevant technical institutions. It also needs to be supported by banking institutions and cooperative through a minimum and easy requirement both at production and marketing stage. It includes supports for market price information that is easily accessible to local people. It is also necessary to strengthen communal ownership of land in accordance with a natural boundary as agreed by villagers to support economic activities and to reduce land conflicts that often occur in this region. It is also necessary to empower women's participation through training as proposed by Suraningsih (2016: 319-329) in order to support family food security. It is also necessary to empower community's economy as proposed by Muslim (2016: 321) through the development of tourist village in the border region, which also promotes cultural and social activities of the community in the region. Accordingly, it is necessary to adopt a special policy not to close the border gate for security reasons for local people who want to mobilize to Wutung region for economic, cultural and social purposes. It is because such purposes were often done by people before the presence of the state in the region. On the other hand, such efforts can help create and maintain the peace of life of people in the same region.

Conclusions

Based on the results of data analysis

and previous discussion, it can be concluded that the functions of cross-border economic activities done by people from Skouw Sae village of District Muara Tami, Jayapura to Wutung of PNG are to meet basic needs, institutional and system of idea for local people.

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