

The Cultural Differences and Intercultural Adaptation on Partnership Relation of Core-Plasma Plantation in Tea Estate of Indonesia

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Abstract

This research was a qualitative research aiming at understanding the cultural differences and intercultural adaptation on partnership relation of core-plasma plantation in Tea Estate of Pagilaran Ltd Co, Indonesia. Collecting data were done by depth interviewing the worker's core plantation and the plasma farmer concerning problems faced by both relationship. The results showed that culture of core plantation community tended to orientate to economical aspect with commercial basis, meanwhile culture of the farmers tended to orientate to group's interest and to keep on their relationship among them with traditional habit and ecological sound. In relation to adaptation process, the two communities seemed to develop similar culture with capital interest. In this regards the similar cultures can be seen in two sides: from the side of core plantation, people working in the core plantation are come from similar culture with the indigenous farmers and the factory is also located in the farmer's area. Meanwhile from the point of view of farmers, the similar culture as the result of cultural adaptation. Furthermore, the cultural differences shown by the core plantation and plasma farmer communities were due to the normative rules maintained by the company and also due to the different educational level and knowledge of both. To that respect, in core plantation community, the culture orientated to capital achievement implies the communication attitude on the business interest, where as the communication attitude of farmer community is more orientated to local interest using informal and interpersonal channel. Finally the communication differences in the two communities impede the process of organizational objective. And the communication attitude of the core plantation community is changed and unified with the communication attitude of plasma farmer.

Keywords: Cultural differences, Intercultural adaptation, partnership, Core- Plasma Plantation, Communication attitude

Introduction

A communication represents a function of culture and communication attitude of person to reflect their own culture. In addition, communication wants also to transfer an idea to other people and/or community directly and/or indirectly using media and/or audio visual. Since communication is symbolic, thus an individual using symbols also often assumes other individuals using similar symbolic too. These phenomena can be emerging a big problem when the communication is performed by person having different symbolic system. The problem mostly

occurred is the difference in perception upon messages sent by the communicants in which the communication can not reach its target. In this regards, problem can be solved by specific competence, such as using intercultural adaptation.

Referring to available analysis of adaptation, most of the analyses are within the context of social acculturation of immigrants. Then, there is a question emerged, how will the adaptation occur if the communication members

are involved in the sociological group, not among nations? The analysis of adaptation in the context of inter-sociological groups is very relevant with the development process of current communication, especially when considering its beneficial for developing the information system.

The process of information development often becomes unsuccessful due to the obstacles of cultural differences among the sociological groups. One of the examples on the unsuccessfulness is what happens in the relationship between large plantation (as core = first group) and farmer (as plasma = second group). Large plantation and farmer represent two sociological groups having different characteristics. The difference is the reality in dualistic economy life in Indonesian plantation system. The first group is orientated to modernized capitalism with strongly economic basis, where as the latter is to pre- traditional capitalism with subsistence life.

To anticipate the two difference characteristics of large company and farmer is by developing plantation using a pattern of *Perkebunan Inti Rakyat* abbreviated by *PIR* (Community Core Plantation) established in 1978/1979. The PIR program represented the effort of combining large plantation and indigenous farmer within one production process with the calling core-plasma relationship. In its development, form of the relationship of both was partnership relation between the core plantation and plasma farmer. The partnership was formulated as collaborating relationship between one sides or more conducted in a unified system to attain share benefit upon the agreement of both and following the government regulation. In addition, the core plantation should transfer the knowledge and technology to the plasma farmers as the partnership for doing the agricultural business. It is also the core plantation should contribute to the society needs lived in the vicinity using corporate social responsibility to close gap of both. According to Martodireso & Widodo (2002), the partnership relation in a agricultural business sector should be based on trust, need mutual, beneficial, and strengthen each other. In the partnership relation, there should

be a process of assistance and continuous development by the large company to its partner which belong to a minor one (Sumardjo, 2004).

Martodireso & Widodo (2002) revealed the necessity of the partnership to build good social relation are interactive communication, empowerment, and not pressing others. According to Suroso (1994), there are some constraints hindering the harmony of the relationship such as difference in mind set, attitude and behavior. This showed that communication as symbolic activity is not followed by perceptual accuracy upon both sides' messages. The inaccuracy perceptual is due to the core plantation and plasma farmer are two communities having different cultures.

Main Issue

The main issue of partnership in developing plantation system in Indonesia may be viewed as a communication phenomenon. In communication perspective, various problems in terms of partnership between the core plantation and plasma farmer is shown by cultural difference between the two sides. The empirical reality showing attitude improperness in partnership practice indicates that the effort to change the attitude through information becomes a serious problem. Based on the perceptive of inter-cultural communication, the problem requires a communication competence to attain the communication objective. Adaptation in such framework represents the communication competence to achieve the change in farmer's attitude. This research based on the problems formulated as follows (1) what is the culture between core plantation and plasma farmer communities? (2) is there any difference in communication attitude implying such cultural differences? The research objective is to comprehend the inter-cultural adaptation between the two communities.

Conceptual Framework

There are various analysis topics within the sector of inter-cultural communication studies. The topics cover some aspects of cultural identity, intercultural adaptation, intercultural conflicts, and

others. As one of the analysis topics in intercultural communication, adaptation becomes one problem which needs to be resolved when an individual or groups are communicating with other sides obtaining different culture.

Intercultural Adaptation Theory

Intercultural adaptation represents a long process of self-adjustment to gain comfort being in a new environment. Gudykunst (2002) elaborated that cultural adaptation theory belongs to the group of accommodation and adaptation theory. One theory explored is the theory of intercultural adaptation by Ellingsworth.

Ellingsworth (1988) stated that, the attitude of adapting in the intercultural is related with, among others, the adaptation elements in communication styles. Style refers to attitude of communication. According to Gudykunst and Kim (1997), adaptation may occur in the cognitive dimension that happens the adjustment of verbal and non-verbal languages. Thus adaptation may occur within the dimensions of perception, cognitive and attitude.

Another theory focusing on the accommodation and adaptation is presented by Gile. Gile's theory is called the theory of communication accommodation. This theory is originated from the theory of conversation accommodation. According to this theory, the speaker applies linguistic strategy to reach an agreement or to show the difference in his/her interaction with other speakers. The main strategy of communicator is based on the divergent and convergent motivation. The agreement is showed by convergence; while divergence is performed as the statement of disagreement (Gudykunst, 2002).

Cultural Diversity Dimension in Analyzing Cultural Differences

Cultural differences between the communities of core plantation and plasma farmer is explained by referring to the existence of struggle between the two principles named as dualistic economy. The struggle is rooted in the disagreement between modern (western) capitalism and pre- capitalism tradition. Western

capitalism which is modernized, young and aggressive built in large cities is confronted to pre- capitalism tradition which is conventional and existing in suburb areas (Boeke, 1983).

According to Boeke (1983), in the dualistic situation there are two different characteristics within the context of social economy. One side represents the society having original and organized social bond, traditional racial system, simple and limited needs, and also agricultural production principle which is subsistence as suburb characteristics. Another side is the society orientating to profit, organized competitive effort, professional, based on capitalized and mechanical industry and underestimating economy encouragement or motive which is related to the motive of social, ethic, custom, tradition, race, religion, and others as urban characteristics.

In this framework, peasant represents a society which (1) lives from agriculture land; (2) resides in suburb community; (3) uses agricultural technology such as hoe, plow, and harrow to process the agriculture product; (4) having relation with cities. Besides, the peasant processes the land for subsistence purpose.

Kroeber in Foster (1967) stated that a peasant is a part of society in a culture who lives in relation to market and city center. Such society is no longer isolated, but still holds traditional value. While Firth (Marzali, 1998) stated that a system of peasant economy is an economic system applying simple working skill and division, having limited access to market; and the production tool is controlled and organized non-capitalistically; the production scale is relatively low with personal production characteristic; also the consideration towards social and religious aspect is more prioritized then the material one. According to Wolf (1983) a peasant represents a suburb person who does agriculture and farming in suburban. Such agricultural business is not performed as a *farmer* or agricultural entrepreneur because it not performed as a business activity to gain economic profit, but it is done for the sake of domestic management.

In producing agriculture, the peasant should direct his activity to serve family and

society. This is in line with what is stated by Diaz (1967), that a peasant as a man economic should direct his activity to two scopes, which are family and society. Peasant's consideration towards his family and society is also elaborated by Popkins (1979), that those who become the main consideration of peasant are himself, family, neighbors, and his suburb community. In the scopes of family and society, the peasant provides support in form of agricultural production which is processed with his simple circumstance and non-industrial technology and household based; also the agricultural production is subsistence orientated (Elson, 1997). According to Scott (1981), the subsistence effort represents an agricultural effort which prioritizes safety. In an ordinary society, the peasant should always keep the relation among households and maintain balance between the family and society interest which is able to tie the peasant up with the more extended society. Wolf (1983) stated that within this framework, ceremony or ritual has a legitimating function towards the social unit and relation among suburb society. Besides, from the aspect of social communication, this may strengthen the peasant existence in his community. As a producer of small scale agriculture, the action and choice of a peasant are always connected with the natural resources such as land, water, climate, and sun. Therefore, the peasant has a powerful connection with the ecological system (Weitz, 1971). Such a strong connection between the peasant and ecological condition causes the peasant to always be careful in receiving new technology, because the smallest change in technology will bring forward anticipated consequence which may threat the system of agricultural production (Weitz, 1971).

Soekartawi (2003) stated that agribusiness consists of peasants who always do the effort to maximize revenue by controlling the limited resources. The characteristics are as follows: first, he adopts innovation quickly so that he is categorized into early adopter; second, he obtains high cosmopolitan degree; three, he has courage to take risk in agriculture business; and fourth, he has willingness and capacity to try new technology supported by adequate resource.

Slamet (2003) asserted that improving the production of agricultural development requires advance technology. Pambudy (2003) asserted that an agribusiness entrepreneur is a person capable to complete the process from the creative idea, innovation, and resulting in goods or service production to be sold to market with sufficient profit. Besides being an industrialized and commercial farmer, a farmer may also be categorized into modern farmer. According to Suriasumantri (2000), the modernized urban society obtains the following indicators: first, it is analytical. It is meant that most of his life aspect is based on efficient basis both technically and economically. Such indicator places the theoretical and economical values in important position. The theoretical value is related to aspects of logic, science and technology; where as the economic value is centralized to the usage of resource and economic goods effectively and efficiently based on responsible measure. Second, it is individual. The social and power values in such framework should be orientated to self confidence and courage to make his own decision. The human relation is individual, where as to survive an individual should be able to compete productively. Other cultural differences between the peasant and farmer may be related to cultural dichotomy which explains the concept of value orientation by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Hofstede's individualism – collectivism, and cultural variability, Parson's pattern and structural rigidity.

Value Orientation by Kluckhohn – Strodtbeck

Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck raised the dimension of value orientation. This dimension consisted of human character orientation, time orientation, activity, and relational orientation (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997). The first dimension is human character orientation which is inherited. According to the dimension, human is considered good or bad or both and this is inherited. The second dimension is the orientation of human and nature relation. There are three kinds of relation, namely surrender, harmonize, and control. The third dimension is time orientation. In this

dimension, human life may focus on the past, present or future. The fourth dimension is activity orientation. According to Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck, the activity orientation may be viewed as *doing*, *being*, and *being-in-becoming*. The orientation towards *doing* focuses on the kind of activity which has measurable external output. Therefore, such activity should be real. In this framework, there is also achievement orientation. The fifth dimension is relational orientation. Relational orientation is related to dimension of individualism-collectivism. Such relation is because the way people interact has different focus, i.e. leading to individualism or collectivism.

Individual-Collectivism

According to Hui and Triandis (Triandis, 1995), in the culture of collectivism, the members of cultural group are vulnerable towards social influence due to the idea of inter-dependence, giving attention to saving face and family integrity, and also using the result they attain together in their group.

Gudykunst and Lee (2002) stated that individualism tends to place the individual identity beyond the group identity. In such framework, the individual's right and purpose are placed beyond the group's right and purpose. Similarly, the individual needs are placed beyond the group's needs. Hofstede (1994) argued that in the collective society, the group's interest is beyond the individual's interest. In-group represents the source of a person's identity and the members of group consider themselves as "we". The group becomes shelter for the members when confronted to the difficulties in life. For that reason, the members will be loyal to their group. And so, disloyalty is considered as a bad attitude. In the other side, the individualistic society places the individual's interest beyond the group's interest. The members of group consider themselves as "I".

According to Triandis (1995), the influence of in-group to the individualistic culture is very specific, where as the space of effect of in-group within the collective culture is general, and therefore, the members of individualistic

culture tend to behave universalistic and apply similar value towards every person. On the other hand, the members of collective culture tends to be particularistic and apply different value standard towards the in-group and out-group members (Gudykunst and Lee, 2002).

Hofstede Culture Variability

According to Hofstede (1994), uncertainty is experienced and learnt by a cultural member from the inherited culture moved through primary institutions, such as family and school. Such feeling is reflected in the value which is maintained collectively by the society members, and then it guides the pattern of collective attitude of a society which is not easily understood by other society.

The dimension of masculine-feminism (Hofstede in Ting-Toomey, 1999) is related with the society which clearly determines the characteristic of genders. Within the context of organization, Hofstede (1994) asserted that masculine has chance to gain high revenue, adequate recognition in relation to achievement, development towards higher position and occupational challenge. Where as feminine has better occupational relation, good cooperation, and security in accomplishing jobs.

Methodology

The research applied constructivist paradigm was using the perspective of phenomenology theory. The research type and methodology were qualitative, because data collected and analysed were non-quantitative, i.e. applying in-depth interview and qualitative data analysis. Meanwhile, the research objective aimed at exploring the social relationship building the intercultural communication. The research subjects were individuals derived from the communities of core plantation and plasma farmer. The location of research was in Kaliboja Tea Factory, Pekalongan, Central Java of Indonesia which is one of the three production units of Pagilaran Tea Company Ltd. The reason to take this company was that this unit tea production represented the first unit applying Community Core Plantation (called PIR in

Indonesian) pattern, and there were many problems to be solved requiring communication competence.

The collecting data technique was in-depth interview. The instrument used was the main researcher assisted by interview guide and schedule. Several informants joined in the in-depth interview. The information explored was done on the basis of answering the research problems about relationship between core plantation and plasma farmer. The technique of data analysis was by developing coding system referring to the respondents' story, researcher's questions, and theoretical framework. The analysis was done in three stages. First stage was the researcher's explanation stage towards the phenomenon based on her knowledge (ethic); the second stage was synchronizing the viewpoints of emik and ethic; and the third stage was data rationalities and abstraction.

Result and Discussion

The occupational structure in Pagilaran Ltd Co was standardized on sufficiently high education; and the higher the position of a person, the higher the education will be. In the level of tea production and plantation workers, the educational level of foreman was generally high technical education and elementary education. The community of core plantation implanted the values of occupational order, discipline, and efficient to all workers. In the production level, the quality standards accepted were considered through two things, namely: demand for quality standard of raw material and annual target standard. The standards of tea aimed at making profit to company economically. The understanding on target is applied in production department, especially for foremen. The foremen occupied important position because they are as agents bridging the company and farmer, especially in selling tea young leaves.

Economical value became the achievement indicator of core plantation member, both as worker or as society member. The company member seemed to be future orientated; meaning that they prepared the future life for example saving money. In the cultural

dimension by Hofstede, relationship power became masculine symbol of the core plantation. The systemic structural relation caused the emergence of relationship power in the company community which became a kind of controlling system in organizational relation.

Although the foremen were recruited from vicinity areas, the company required adequate education for them. However, in term of communication technique, the core plantation did not train the foremen. The important thing in the relationship between the core plantation and plasma farmer was to maintain sustainability of business. Based on the organizational structure, the foremen were directly related and communicated with the plasma farmer; where as the core plantation occupying the managerial position rarely contacts the plasma farmer.

The foremen occupy different position from the society member. The foremen relation with the society is important because the relationship determines the quantity of tea young leaves. Poor relationship between the foremen and farmer resulted in decreasing stored commodity of tea young leaves, and the company suffered from loss of product. By placing the foremen as "key person" of farmer will always be loyal to the core plantation. The core plantation considers that communicating with farmer requires specific strategy. The core plantation trusts the foremen to perform such communication strategy. The foremen position is appropriate to bridge the communication between of both, because the foremen were also come from the local farmers. The foremen knew the farmer habit, custom and tradition, and thus it is easy for them to blend in the social life of community.

The Communication Attitude of Core Plantation

The community of core plantation tended to apply communication orientated to organization in delivering the information message. The information communicator required foreman or field staff who is educated, has the ability to assist farmers and to manage staff; so it emphasizes the occupational

competence rather than the socio-cultural aspect of the foreman.

The community of core plantation tended to deliver messages orientated to organization, i.e. partnership business. It was emphasized to the foreman to reach the production target by keeping understanding toward the reality of limited land the farmer has. As the one who has partner with farmer, the foreman realizes that although he does business, but in partnership condition the target should be prepared more realistic. This was because the concept of partnership business does not merely aim at attaining profit, but it also orientates to assist farmers in order to have good life and also the core plantation should contribute the society through corporate social responsibility to eliminate the gap between core plantation and plasma farmer and society as well. Therefore, the foreman needs to have empathy towards the farmer's limitation in term of funding aspect for the production and the needs of farmers for cash. The core plantation has also to deliver their benefit to the plasma farmer upon the agreement in advance.

In delivering the message, the core plantation tended to communicate using low context having explicit information. Low context message delivers information related with work. The communication attitude shows verbal orientation, i.e. message is delivered in verbal symbol, in forms of words with clear messages and it is easy to be understood. Such verbal language is not relatively complicated, so it is in line with the principle of effectiveness-efficacy in delivering messages. The core plantation retained direct communication style when speaking to farmers in the context of work.

Culture Description of Plasma Farmer

The main culture of farmers was subsistence culture. The farmers generally cultivated food crop to fulfill their own needs, family and community daily. The farmer applied simple and non-industrialized technology, they are living in traditional system without thinking about economic basis and they are very familiar. They are very happy if they can eat every day without

thinking about saving money for the future life. Actually they also had strong bond with the ecological condition and they know how to protect environment traditionally. Firstly, their planting was not conducted on the basis of agricultural business. But, with the existence of community core company program, the farmers started to learn business activity to get economical profit, besides managing the household.

The farmer also retained collective culture in solid condition. Such culture was still firmly held among the community where the plasma farmer lived. The feeling of being one unified faith, one locality, and social relation built for years due to the close distance of housing result in friendship bond, and even in firm brotherhood.

Feminism became the symbol of plasma farmer community. The plasma farmer community is the community of Javanese farmer retaining morality basis as a Javanese having the main character to create harmonized life, and so the harmony in society will always be maintained. Such well-maintained harmony of life guarantees is a better life for every farmer, because such harmony brings mind serenity and balance. Those who have bad characters are those who have problems in life, i.e. less harmonized life, consequently, they do not live in peace.

Security and harmony were also placed in the relation among individuals in the society. Most of the society members should help each other, talk together, are in peace and humble in relationship. Besides the human relation, how the farmers built balance in their relation with nature, as the farmer's custom of offering tradition on certain days, called as *slametan legenan* (Javanese language). The character of plasma farmer community is the symbol of keeping the nature or it is also called as feminism, i.e. as it is always confronted to *culture* or *masculine* which tends to explore and destroy nature.

The plasma farmer also had low mobility. In general, the farmer rarely goes to the city or other areas outside his village. Such low mobility affects the life orientation of the plasma farmer unlike the workers and staff of Pagilaran Ltd Co

who are orientated to future; the farmer generally thinks for only today or for short term only.

Communication Attitude of Plasma Farmer

Basically, the community of plasma farmer prefers the local-orientated communicator when delivering the education message. The foremen who worked in the area were not those from the local community. Based on such condition, it is concluded that, farmers tended to prefer local person as the message source. Because the message resource was the foreman, then, the foreman coming from the local community was considered as the most appropriate one by the farmer. This is due to the foreman understands what the farmer wants. In addition, the local foreman is considered to understand the farmer's habit in treating others by the usage of local custom; for example: the custom in addressing older people.

The community of plasma farmer tended to deliver the message orientated to group or their relation. Based on some information gathered, it is concluded that content of the orientation is about the farmer's interest for his community. The interest may be asking for vehicles to improve the road and joining prayer (*pengajian*) activity. Additionally, the interest may cover that to fulfill the farmer's duty as the community member, such as giving some fund for activities in relation to his community's tradition.

In delivering the message, community of plasma farmer tended to communicate in low context as well as high context. An informant simply stated that what matters to him is he receives some money from his tea young leave production. Where as, he did not understand the terms of the work contract. Meanwhile, another informant stated in low context message with clear meaning that he needed workers. From the informant, it was obvious that he asked the foreman serving his village to visit the farmers. Because the informant also worked as worker in the factory, he needed to maintain his relation with the foreman. Therefore, high context message "*tilik*" which means "visit", actually has other meaning requiring the foreman to fulfill his

job in assisting the farmers in the informant's village.

The two information showed the non-verbal orientation of farmer when he disagrees with the reality occurring in partnership relation. When he disagrees, he tends to use non-verbal symbol, such as cutting the tea plant or replacing it with other plants, showing his attitude towards the price of tea young leaves which does not get higher. In the style of delivering the message the community of plasma farmer has indirect style of communication. It is concluded that farmers in the context of "*srawung*" or getting along with others, may talk about anything without any purpose; but from the conversation, there may be some benefit. The example is getting benefit of finding job. So, they usually talk about many topics before they find more important topic such as finding job. The community of plasma farmer tended to choose the informal interpersonal communication channel and has the capacity to develop the relation; thus it is concluded that such tendency is the result of the character of expressive relation. The channel is clearly showed in "*srawung*".

Adaptation of Core Company Community towards Plasma Farmer

The medium of communication adaptation of core plantation towards the plasma farmer was by taking the benefit of Javanese culture which is "*serba riku*" or not easy to out speak the feeling or opinion, as an attempt to build power relation which finally gave profit to company. Giving the position in the company to local community member through plasma farmer group was indirectly believed by the company as one attempt to minimize conflict.

The culture of "*ngaruhke*" is known as a form of social relation generally happen in Javanese society. "*Ngaruhke*" means to visit others in order to show one's feeling. Here, the communication which often happens is expressive because the communicators only ask how the other are, or show empathy towards certain circumstance, both in happy and sad contexts. Being present and giving some money in a village ceremony are also the forms of "*ngaruhke*".

Likewise, it is also what happens during funeral. The actors in the company community, especially those in plantation department, are really aware of such matters.

On the other side, the core plantation also realized that the foremen played major role in the culture of “*ngaruhke*”, because they were from the local community. The foremen are often invited in many occasions. This is somewhat different from the managerial department who are not always invited in every village occasion.

Basically, the core plantation understands that there is major difference between the core plantation and plasma farmer. The foremen, as the company front guard in building relation with the farmers, realize the importance of communication in solving problems. Even, the foremen allocate special schedule to meet the farmers in their own working plantation. The core company also realizes that building relation with local community becomes an important thing to keep the continuity of the company and farmers. This is showed by permitting the foremen to visit the village often and interact with the local community informally. The most frequent term used is “*wedangan*” or drinking together such as tea or coffee while talking. Such step seems to make other workers in the factory envy with the foremen because the foremen are considered not working.

In its social relation with the plasma farmer community, the core company tends to adapt itself for the purpose of its tea industry. Besides, the core plantation thinks the necessity to develop a communication suitable with the culture of plasma farmer community for the sake of the industry’s interest. The adaptation approach through proper communication development with the culture of plasma farmer seems to give result, i.e. the creation of core plantation’s relation with the plasma farmer community which finally fulfills the tea business purpose of Pagilaran Ltd Co.

Meanwhile, the adaptation in the convergence strategy is done by recruiting local foremen. This is based on the experience that local foremen is successful in approaching the indigenous farmers. Although it is, there is an

informant’s record stating that there is local foreman who has problem with the farmers, especially when the foremen can not understand what the farmer wants. Therefore, it is important to understand what the farmer wants. However, the local people are seemed to be prioritized in foreman recruitment. Convergence strategy is also done by the community of core plantation when facing the farmer’s complaint. The agreement on the difficulty faced by the farmers show that the company has empathy towards the farmers. From the record of the informant’s experience, it seems that the adaptation done by the community of core plantation in the style of delivering is by “going around the bushes” to deliver sensitive message which may distract the relation between the foreman and farmer. Besides, the company also applies delivering style using high context to change the attitude of the farmer. Meanwhile, in the channel elements, convergence adaptation done by the core plantation is by using more informal interpersonal channel. From the informant’s record, it is revealed that interpersonal channel is considered more effective in assisting the farmer. In the divergence strategy, adaptation is done when the farmer shows attitude improper with the company’s rules. Generally, the foremen immediately show their identity by reminding the farmers to complete their work as demanded by the company.

Conclusion

From the result and discussion it is concluded that there are differences in culture of the core plantation and plasma farmer communities. The culture of core plantation community tended to orientate to economical interest or commercial basis, where as the culture of the farmers tended to orientate to group’s interest and relation maintenance. In relation to the adaptation process, the two communities tended to develop similar culture. Both orientate are to capital interest. Adaptation is done by the core plantation community through divergence strategy, i.e. adaptation by keeping its own culture and showing its culture to the farmer’s culture. Similar cultures can be seen in two sides. From

the side of core plantation, there is similar culture because people working in the core plantation are come from similar culture with the local farmers; and the factory is located in the farmer's area. From the side of farmers, there is similar culture as the result of cultural adaptation. Different cultures among the core plantation and plasma farmer communities are due to normative rules which should be maintained by the company and due to different educational level and knowledge. Culture implies the communication attitude. In core plantation community, culture orientated to capital achievement implies the communication attitude in which messages are focused on business interest; the information source should meet certain competence standards: low context, verbal, to the point, and relying on formal groups. Where as the communication attitude of farmer community is more orientated to local interest, relation and group maintenance, high context, using non-verbal symbol and "going around the bushes", not straight to the point of talking, also using informal and interpersonal channel. The communication differences in the two communities impede the process of organizational objective; therefore, the company initiates adaptation using convergence strategy. The communication attitude of the core company community is changed and unified with the communication attitude of farmer community. Communication initiative of the core company to carry out communication attitude adaptation is based on the community dependence to the farmer community as the land owner. The convergence attempt in the level of communication attitude is merely to change the culture of farmer community to become similar with that of the company community which in the end, may lead to partnership relation with the plasma farmers who are the key factor of company success.

It is also concluded that the theoretical coverage of inter-culture theory needs to be extended by considering the strategy aspect to achieve the adaptation objective. The type of strategy, convergence or divergence is realized. This is very significant to the contribution context in practice level which is in form of

communication competence. Communication competence is required in a development attempt involving parties with different cultures.

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