

COMPARATIVE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE
ON PROCESSES OF INTEGRATION IN RURAL BOLIVIA, IVORY COAST
AND INDONESIA

With 4 figures

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Zusammenfassung: Vergleichende Kulturgeographie: Empirische Befunde zu regionalen Integrationsprozessen in ländlichen Räumen Boliviens, der Elfenbeinküste und Indonesiens

In vielen tropischen Staaten werden Naturwaldgebiete gerodet und kultiviert, um einer wachsenden Bevölkerung Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten zu geben. Migranten bilden neue Gemeinschaften und es entwickeln sich Mechanismen des Zusammenlebens, die sich in gesellschaftlicher Organisation und Stratifikationen äußern. Diese Prozesse werden im vorliegenden Beitrag für verschiedene tropische Kulturräume analysiert. Der Vergleich der jüngeren Entwicklungen in ähnlich strukturierten Agrarkolonisationen Boliviens, der Elfenbeinküste und Indonesiens lässt Rückschlüsse auf Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede im Integrationsprozess der Regionalkulturen und in den Auswirkungen auf die Landnutzung zu. Die vergleichende Studie basiert auf einer empirischen Erhebung, die sich an der sozialwissenschaftlichen Theorie der Integration und ethnischen Schichtung nach ESSER (2001) orientiert. Die Analyse findet anhand der Aspekte der Systemintegration (Ökonomie, Politik, Gesellschaftliche Gemeinschaft, Treuhandsystem) und der Sozialen Integration (Kulturation, Platzierung, Interaktion, Identifikation) statt. So kann gezeigt werden, dass die Prozesse von Migration in den ausgewählten Regionen ähnlich verlaufen und die kulturellen nationalen und regionalen Rahmenbedingungen nur geringe Verschiedenheiten bewirken. Die Erwartung, dass die Prozesse der Integration aufgrund der nationalen und regionalen kulturräumlichen Rahmenbedingungen in Bolivien, der Elfenbeinküste und Indonesien unterschiedlich sind, kann nicht bestätigt werden. Des Weiteren zeigt sich deutlich, dass Desintegration negative Folgen für die Ressourcennutzung hat, wobei sich die allgemeine Annahme, dass ethnische Homogenität integriert und Heterogenität desintegrierende Tendenzen initiiert, bestätigen lässt. Es wird deutlich, dass die Untersuchungsdörfer nach ihrer demographischen Struktur, nach dem Prozess der Integration und ihrer ethnischen Schichtung typisiert werden können, weitestgehend unabhängig von ihrer Lage im Kulturräum.

Summary: In many tropical countries, areas of natural forest are currently being further cleared and cultivated in order to offer opportunities for development to a growing population. The question arises as to how the migrants affect local structures within the context of their cultural, social and economic activities and hence influence the use of land. In order to examine this question, it is necessary to consider how socio-cultural co-existence and economic relations in the settlements between migrants of differing origins and ethnic groups manifest themselves. Therefore this article compares processes of integration in selected settlement areas in Bolivia, Ivory Coast and Indonesia. The comparative study is based on an empirical survey, which is geared to the sociological theory on integration. The approach follows ESSER's concept of Integration (2001) which formulates clear criteria for the analysis. According to these criteria, aspects of systems integration (economy, politics, societal community, fiduciary system) are considered on the one hand, whilst on the other hand, integration within the social structure is analysed on the basis of four categories (cultural adaptation, positioning, interaction, identification). It can be shown that the processes of migration in the selected areas are similar and the general cultural, national and regional conditions essentially reveal few differences. The expectation that the processes of integration would differ due to the general conditions of the national and regional cultural areas in Bolivia, Ivory Coast and Indonesia, has not been confirmed. Furthermore, it has been clearly demonstrated that non-integration has negative consequences for the use of resources. The general assumption that ethnic homogeneity tends to have an integrating effect, while heterogeneity initiates non-integration is underlined by this study. It is explained that the research villages can be classified on the basis of their demographic structure, the processes of integration and ethnic stratification, largely independently of their location in a cultural area.

1 Introduction

Aspects of "New Cultural Geography" have a special status in Cultural Geography's current discourse on questions of research (BLOTEVOGEL 2003; EHLERS 2005; KLÜTER 2005). During the first conference on New Cultural Geography in Germany (Leipzig, January 2004) BLOTEVOGEL and WEICHHARDT drew attention to the significance of empirical methods in Re-

gional and Cultural Geography: "Wenn die Neue Kulturgeographie nicht nur ein hübscher Blumenstrauß unterhaltsamer Themen feuilletonistischer Art, sondern eine ernst zu nehmende Wissenschaft sein wolle, müsse das Anspruchsniveau sowohl auf der Ebene der Theoriebildung als auch hinsichtlich der empirischen Methoden deutlich angehoben werden [...]" (REDEPENNING a. WARDENGA 2004). Accordingly, New Cultural Geography's strongest potential for development

lies in interdisciplinary regional studies, especially all those including intercultural and transcultural questions. WIRTH (1998, 63) already made “[...] deshalb die nachdrückliche Forderung, sich mit empirisch gehaltenen Theorien wieder stärker der realen Welt und dem Hier und Heute zuzuwenden.”

The intention of this paper is to show how empirical regional studies can make a contribution to answer current questions regarding Cultural Geography. By using Regional Geography's and Sociology's scientific approach, this study presents a concept which outlines the comparability and evaluation of cultural aspects for the actions of individuals and groups and makes an empirically underpinned contribution to the “culture and space” debate. The paper figures out whether processes of integration differ due to cultural areas. It summarizes a comparative study on villages in tropical frontier zones of Bolivia, Ivory Coast and Indonesia.

2 Outline of study

The transformation of a natural landscape into a cultivated landscape by individuals and groups is an ongoing process. In many tropical countries areas of natural forests are currently being further logged and cultivated to offer opportunities for development to an ever-growing population (WUNDER 2004; ACHARD et al. 2002; LAURANCE a. BIERREGAARD 1996). These processes have been going on for decades in South America (NEPSTAD et al. 1999; ELBERS 2002; GEROLD 2003), Africa (WOHLFAHRT-BOTTERMANN 1994; FAIRHEAD a. LEACH 1998) and Asia (LEE a. BARRETT 2000; GEROLD et al. 2004). They were initially viewed as a solution to the problem of scarcity of resources in the migrants' home areas and were planned and administrated at state level with settlement and (trans-)migration programmes. Most of these programmes were less successful than anticipated; only a small number of them are still being carried out today. But simultaneously to this planned and supported migration, in recent years there is also a growing spontaneous migratory movement to the forest margins. These migrations usually take place over shorter distances from nearby regions and in between the regions due to population growth (FAUST et al. 2003).

In order to answer the question how the migrants affect local structures by their cultural, social and economic activities and hence influence the use of land and access to natural resources in particular, it is necessary to consider how socio-cultural coexistence and economic relations between migrants of different origins and ethnicities become manifest. Therefore this ar-

ticle focuses on processes of integration in selected migrant villages of different cultural areas. It compares recent developments in settlement villages with analogous physical and anthropogenetic structures in Bolivia, Ivory Coast and Indonesia. In contrast to the complexity of urban structures, the socio-cultural basis in the everyday world is still recognizable in rural areas, and a comprehensive collection of data is possible at household level.

3 Scientific approach

Making the social processes visible, which manifest themselves in the use of natural resources and access to them requires close examination of the level of integration of individuals and groups. It has to be taken into consideration that determining factors at macro level (national) and on micro level (village) influence the individuals' actions (MEYER 2000; HAUSER-SCHÄUBLIN a. DICKHARDT 2003). The selection of aspects on the macro (region) and the micro level (village) follows ESSER's concept of Social Integration (2003, 7). ESSER's integration concept (Fig. 1) seems to be the most suitable, as it combines both levels and formulates useful criteria for the determination of the level of integration (ESSER 2000, 272ff; 2001, 8ff):

1) *Cultural Adaptation* is the process of acquiring important rules for typical situations and a containment of the (cultural) skills especially of a linguistic nature, necessary for the process of acculturation.

2) *Positioning* is the occupation of a particular social position by an individual determining its social status.

3) *Interaction* is mutual orientation towards each other through knowledge and symbols realized through communication, intellectual orientation towards the other person (co-orientation) as well as symbolic interaction, i.e. gestures or mimic expressions.

4) *Identification* denotes an intellectual and emotional relationship between the individual and the social system as a “whole” or “collective” providing orientation for the individual. This can be patriotism or a sense of common identity among the members of a society.

4 Methods and study areas

Cognitions relating to the four categories of social integration and socio-demographic factors, like ethnicity, age, gender and dependency ratio of the households, have been ascertained on the basis of standardized surveys as well as of interviews in randomly selected households, with key informants and focus groups. On the one hand a quantitative approach has been used by

implementation of a village census. Demographic data and land use data were collected for every household in six villages. The surveys were carried out in 2002 in 672 households. This data give a large amount of information, especially for the household level.

But the standardised information of these sample studies cannot compare local groups and migrant groups with respect to their cultural attitudes to land use systems and to potential conflicts. Therefore on the other hand, the processes of tradition and cultural change were exemplified in detail by in-depth qualitative research. Mainly semi-structured interviews were conducted in randomly selected households. About 20 interviews were done per village, including a questioning with formal and informal leaders and further key persons concerning the research questions.

The villages were selected during numerous extended field trips following preliminary studies. For the study comparable data were needed. Therefore only regions and villages were chosen, which fulfil the following criteria equally: tropical agrarian settlement area, founded over the last 25 years, continuing spontaneous migration, ethnic stratification, access of the researchers to social groups and households as well as acceptance of the survey by local authorities. All areas chosen for the study are similar in terms of their natural geography.

1. The agrarian settlement area selected in Bolivia is located south of the equator in the lowland Bolivian

rain forest (Fig. 2). Two villages were chosen. The first, San Martín, because of its central geographic location, the second, El Progreso, because of its peripheral location. The conditions for growing crops such as corn, rice, yucca and peanuts are favourable. Soya, however, is hardly grown in contrast to the neighbouring Menonite settlements.

2. In Ivory Coast the two neighbouring villages Azoumanakro and Soubré 3 were chosen. They are located directly at the eastern border of the Tai National Park in the districts of Méaguie and Buyo in the southwest of Ivory Coast (Fig. 3). The settlements were founded in the 1970s, each of them forming a unit whose political organization is independent of the core village. The settlements are located north of the equator and belong to the constantly humid inner-tropical lowlands. Crops cultivated in this area are the perennials cocoa, coffee, rubber and, to a lesser extent, oil palms and the annuals rice and manioc.

3. The area examined in Indonesia is located on the island of Sulawesi in the Lore Lindu region directly south of the equator (Fig. 4). The transmigrant settlements of Siliwanga and Mekarsari were planned in the 1980s and constructed at the beginning of the 1990s in Napu valley in the province of Central Sulawesi, in the district of Poso. Pristine tropical forests exist on the lowlands as well as in the mountains. The annuals corn and rice and the agroforest systems of coffee and cocoa dominate.

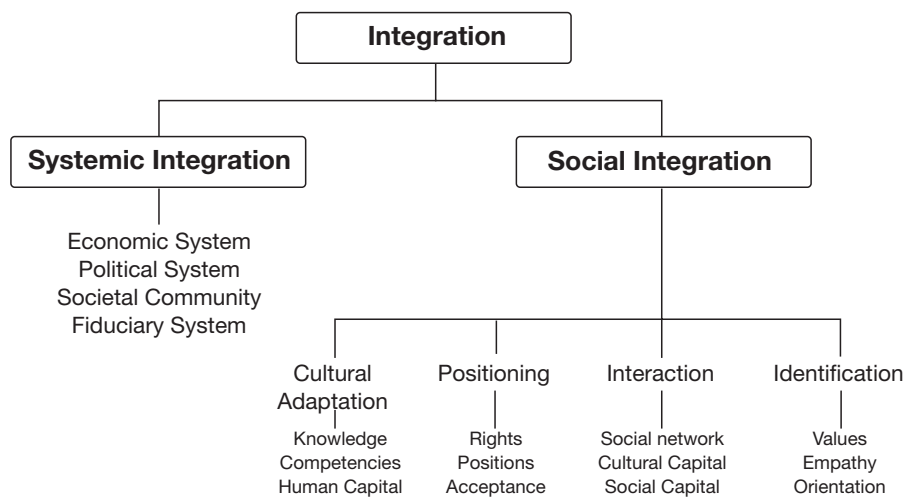


Fig. 1: The four dimensions of social integration and the separation from systemic integration, modified according to ESSER (2001, 16) and PARSONS (1976, 20)

Die vier Dimensionen der sozialen Integration und ihre Abgrenzung zur Systemintegration, verändert nach ESSER (2001, 16) und PARSONS (1976, 20)

5 Results and discussion – macro level

5.1 General regional conditions

All examined regions have previously been scarcely populated but have experienced migration during the last three decades. Whereas the distances between the new settlements and existing ones are relatively long in Bolivia, they are short in Ivory Coast and in Indonesia – in some cases the migrant groups have even been affiliated to existing settlements.

1. The land reform of 1953 in Bolivia was the precursor to the settlement projects in the eastern lowlands

(SUCHANEK 2001). The development in the San Julián region was initiated by the government of Hugo Banzer in the 1970s. By opening up previously uncultivated areas the government provided an incentive to grow cash crops such as cotton and soya and encouraged the migratory process (WINTER 2005).

2. In Ivory Coast the government promoted the cultivation of land, but unlike such measures in Bolivia and Indonesia the settlement process took place in an unplanned manner. The government's policy of economic development was based on opening up those regions of the country which had hardly been populated up to that point. The Houphouët-Boigny government

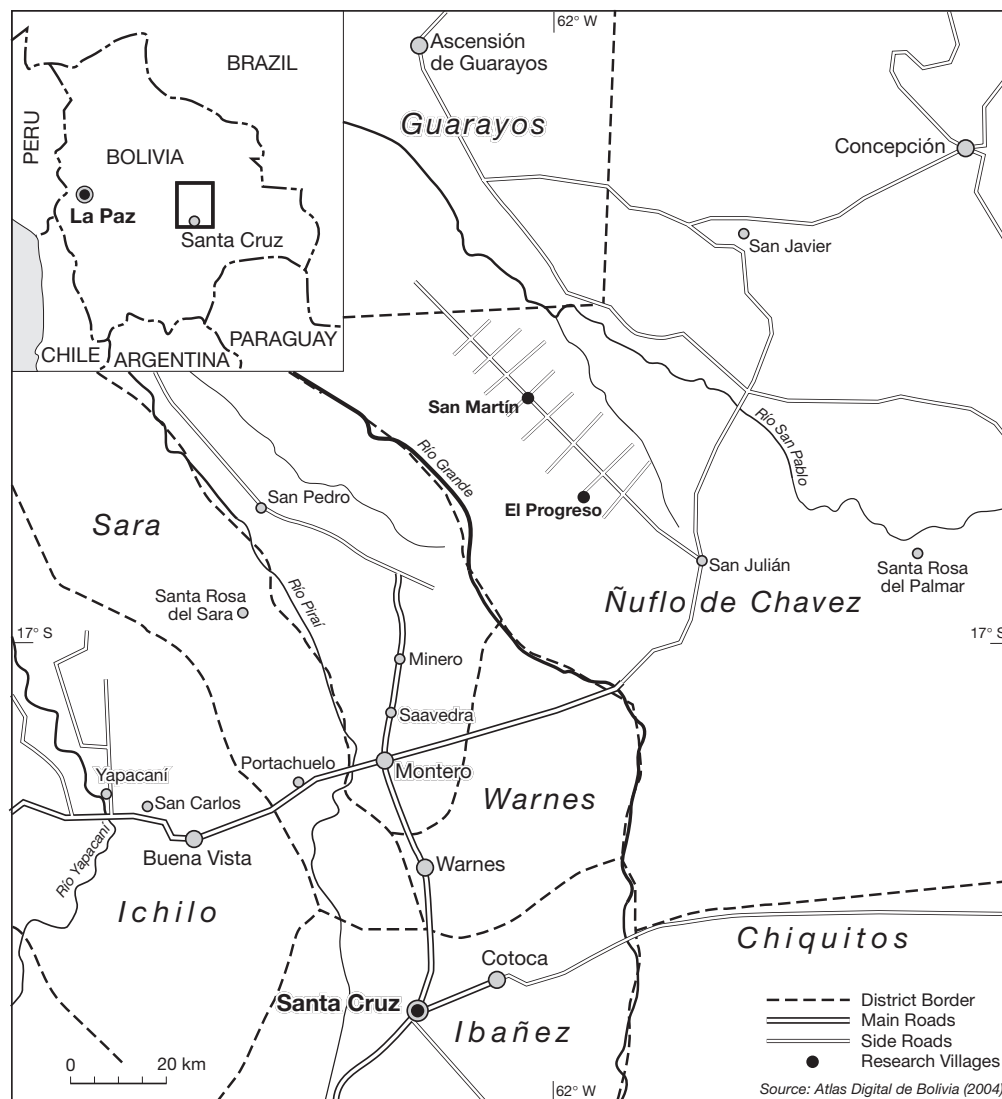


Fig. 2: Location of the research villages in the lowlands of Bolivia
Die Lage der Untersuchungsdörfer im Tiefland Boliviens

carried out a range of infrastructural measures and promoted a high level of migration from other regions of Ivory Coast and from neighbouring countries, especially from the Sahel zone (LIADÉ 1997). With the help of these migrants the development of the country's agrarian economy was successful. This resulted in an economic upswing based on the export of cocoa. About 80% of the population in the examined region is non-native and about half of these people come from abroad and are, according to the latest property laws, excluded from owning land. Concerning the access to land as early as in the 1970s and 1980s the south of Ivory Coast has been favoured in terms of economic

development and distribution of political posts (FIEGE 1991).

3. It was not until the end of Sukarno's presidency and the beginning of the Suharto era in 1969 that the phase of the most intense resettlement in Indonesian history began. National unity was the primary objective, along with economic development. With the "new order" under president Suharto, Indonesia has experienced an extremely centralist regime for a long time. All relevant decisions in Jakarta were made by a small élite. The aim of the agrarian settlements was to "civilize" the underdeveloped regions, to take pressure off the overpopulated islands and to make all regions eco-

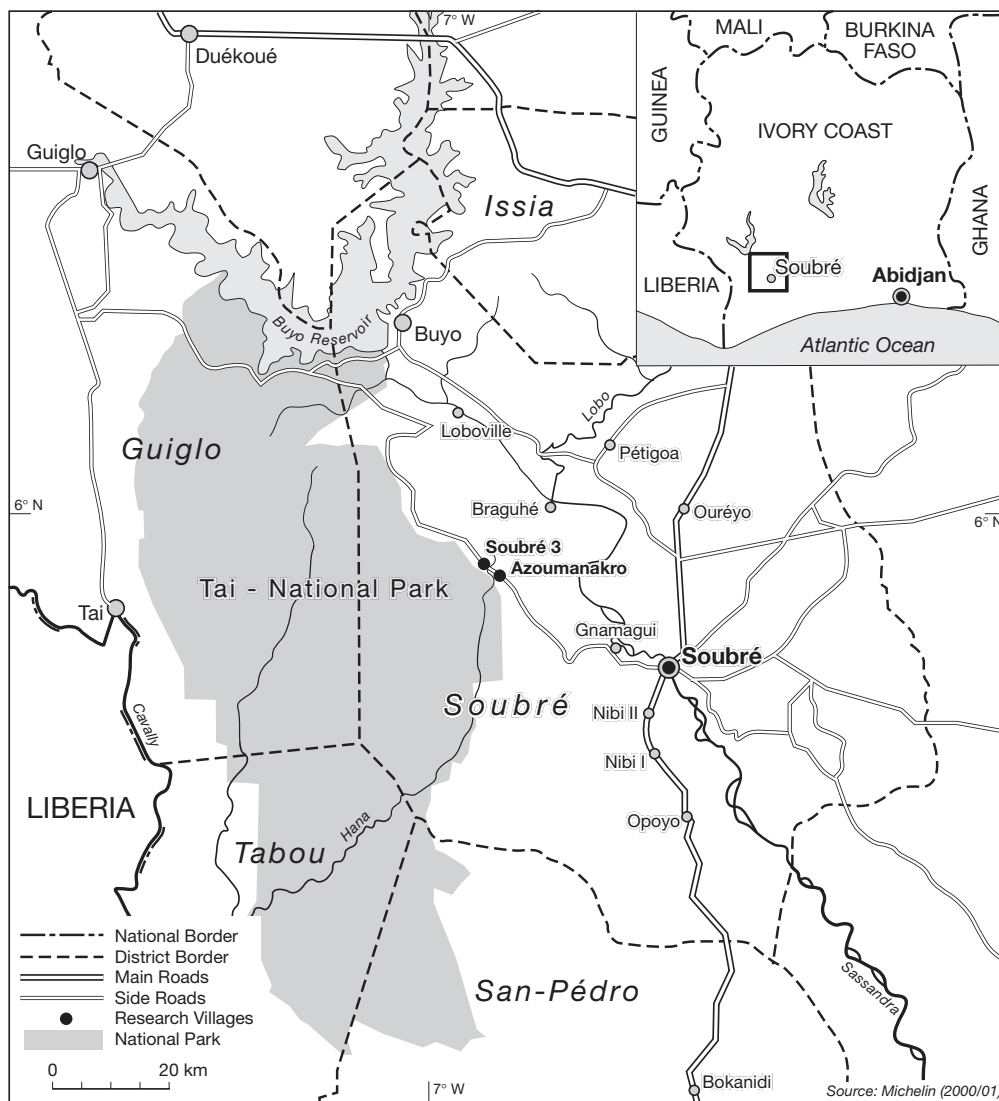


Fig. 3: Location of the research villages in the southwest of Ivory Coast
Die Lage der Untersuchungsdörfer im Südwesten der Elfenbeinküste

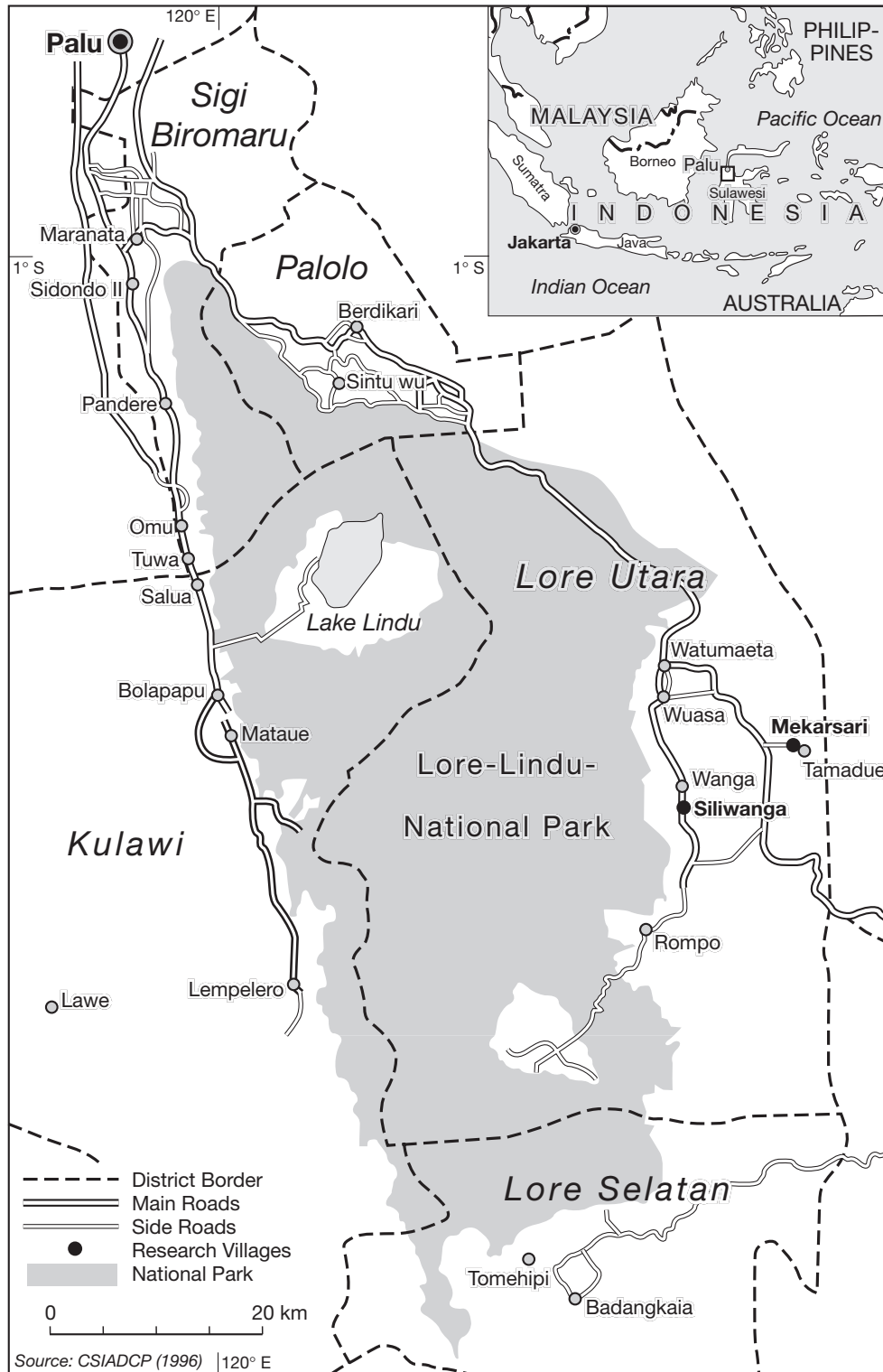


Fig. 4: Location of the research villages in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia
 Die Lage der Untersuchungsdörfer in Zentralsulawesi, Indonesien

nomically productive (LEVANG 1997; KREISEL et al. 2004).

5.2 Comparison of the regions with regard to system integration

The mere fact that the migration incentives were put in place by the states in the form of programmes is a clear indication of the strong link between the settlement areas and the overall state systems. All resettlement projects, whether planned or unplanned, were at least an integrative part of political, economic, social and cultural objectives at national level over a long period. The most important aims included the balanced distribution of the population within the national states, regional economic development, the improvement of living standards among the rural population, the use and development of natural resources, and national unification.

Even if the migrants were barely aware of this, they were still part of the implementation of these political objectives. They adopted a role in which they as settlers had been vertically integrated into the system as part of the whole. Their participation in resettlement programmes, such as those in Bolivia or Indonesia, illustrated this particularly clear. The migrants found themselves within a process which followed concrete guidelines, at least as far as the planned resettlement was concerned. Their transport to the destination areas was taken care of, they were given land and a house and hence directly a status, i.e. that of the (trans-)migrant. Accordingly they were bound into a structure and therefore simultaneously adopted its pre-determined institutional regulations.

In Bolivia there was strong integration into the country's political system. This took place at regional level since the middle of the 1990s through what was known as territorial basis organisations. These groups, which came into function in 1994 as a result of the "participation of the people" law, stated that it was their aim to increase the political participation of the rural population by creating forums of exchange and institutions for articulating and asserting various socio-political interests. Monitoring committees have since then made it possible for citizens governed by a local administration to control the activities of the district government. In the agrarian settlement area of San Julián, neighbourhood organisations were active alongside the monitoring committees in the majority of villages. These were open to all inhabitants of the village area in question and at local political level strive to improve the living conditions of the local population. But the most significant territorial basis organisation in the area studied was the settlers' union FECSJ (Federación Especial de

Colonizadores de San Julián), which represented the interests of the landowners and leaseholders. The large number of organisations and the variety of issues they deal with were evidence of well-developed socio-political organisation in the agrarian settlement area. This was brought from the Andes to lowland Bolivia by migration (WINTER 2005).

In Ivory Coast, the government-planned economic development of the area would not have been possible without the corresponding policy to integrate migrants into the system, a policy which, however, simply consisted of a land-leasing policy and an unlimited influx of migrants, including those from other countries. The migrants were to become integrated into the local system economically, but not necessarily socially, and to bring the export economy, originally introduced by French colonists, to the region and expand it. The introduction of coffee and cocoa products was controlled by a state price policy. While the guaranteed minimum price for these cash crops was set at a relatively high level, the prices for food were deliberately kept low by the government. The guaranteed purchasing of the products has had a consequential effect on the economic system until today: cocoa and coffee products are grown in monocultures throughout the region. The migrants' integration into the system via the market and the integration of the settlement area into the national economy of Ivory Coast could be regarded as achieved (SACHAU 2003).

For Indonesia with regard to the strengthening of national unity, it could be said that the intercultural co-existence, as it was the case in the settlement areas, constituted a precondition for an economic success. Closer social and cultural ties were indeed supported, but differences between the ethnic groups were hardly reduced. The peripheral geographic and social location of the transmigration areas also contributed to a situation whereby possible positive experiences on an intercultural level were not transported to other regions. The settlements were in active contact with the outside world politically and economically. The professed objective of national social unity had hence not been realized (HOPPE a. FAUST 2004).

The fact that the areas of agrarian settlement arose due to state programmes and subsidies demonstrates clearly that there is a strong link to the general conditions of the region. This influence forms the fundamental economic, historical and political background to the emergence of the areas of agrarian settlement. Horizontal system integration into the districts is also primarily accomplished politically and economically. Cultural and social integration into the system is achieved much less successfully.

6 Results and discussion – micro level

6.1 Local conditions in *El Progreso* and *San Martín* (Bolivia)

The ethnocultural composition of the population of a village has a particular influence on the social integration of the village inhabitants. The homogeneity of a village such as *El Progreso* contributes to the internal unity and to solidarity amongst the inhabitants. This state is attained to a decisive extent by social control, which takes on the function of a connecting bond and above all a latent exertion of pressure. The migrants' strong attachment to their home region and language has the effect of hindering integration outside the homogenous structure, as it impedes both their identification with the host society and intercultural exchange. Against this, the heterogeneity of a village such as *San Martín* fosters interculturality but has the simultaneous effect of creating greater individualisation amongst the population, which is in turn linked to a loss of solidarity and inner unity.

Ethnic membership influences the social integration of individuals with regard to their interaction. The traditionally high regard in which the family is held and the important role of the organisation of civil society in Andean culture are two central elements which explain the Collas' (ethnic groups from the highlands) high degree of interaction. Amongst the Cambas (ethnic groups from the lowlands) by contrast, the process of individualisation is further developed and is accompanied by a loosening of ties to the immediate family unit, which simultaneously reduces the intensity of interaction (STEARMAN 1985; BERGHOLDT 1999). The increasingly important circle of friends and acquaintances only partly replaces the family, problems often being solved individually. The different social positioning of the Collas as landowners and the Cambas as those without land is only apparently a consequence of ethnic membership. The determining factor here was the earlier immigration of the Collas who, in this way, came to own land and hence took up a higher position, while the Cambas, who immigrated spontaneously, entered a dependent relationship as day-workers, due to the lack of common land available. In the villages studied, ethnic membership has no demonstrable influence on the degree of (ac)culturation of its citizens or on identification with the host society (WINTER 2005).

6.2 Local conditions in *Azoumanakro* and *Soubré 3* (Ivory Coast)

The social and natural environment has hardly changed for the regional migrants (Baoulé) in

Azoumanakro. The immigrants from Burkina Faso (Burkinabé), by contrast, have to adjust to a new language, a new economic structure, a new legal system and social environment. With the help of the legal situation of the 1970s, the Baoulé were able to establish the socio-economic and political balance in their favour. The Burkinabé were included into the newly-created system, above all as waged workers and foreigners and are hence socially and economically directly dependent on the Baoulé, who have been resident for longer. This dependence on the Baoulé greatly impedes mobility: only a small number of the Burkinabé have managed to move socially from their role as workers to become independent planters. Economically, they take up the lower positions in the vertical hierarchy as they can only acquire small areas of land, if at all, or they have only a small share of the profits as waged workers. Despite ethnic discrimination, the Burkinabé of *Azoumanakro* do not appear to be dissatisfied, as they do not perceive the aim of their migration as being endangered: the hope of financial prosperity and a speedy return to their home area. In the Burkinabé's subjective judgement, their economic and food situation has improved in comparison to their home region.

Notwithstanding the relatively minor economic, political, vertical and social inequalities of both main ethnic groups in *Soubré 3*, the Bété and Burkinabé, there is noticeable evidence of social and political tension. The greater political participation, interaction and inclusion into village life of one group do not automatically result in peaceful co-existence. *Soubré 3* is in a precariously-balanced state of conflict-free co-existence, which is controlled by economic interests and the social supremacy of the Bété as landowners. But over the last ten years the work and payment situation of the Burkinabé has improved, while that of the Bété has worsened. The resulting fears for the future give rise to endeavours on the part of the Bété to dissociate themselves from the Burkinabé. Both the Bété's nationality and their role as native landowners are used for this. With the new land law, the economic participation of the Burkinabé will be severely restricted or even eliminated. The "power of the mass" will legally cease to be in force and co-existence will become conflictive, at least in a transitional phase (SACHAU 2003; FISCHER 2004).

6.3 Local conditions in *Mekarsari* and *Siliwanga* (Indonesia)

Through transmigration, the farmers were linked into an administrative set of regulations, a situation determined by the allocation of land amongst other things. With their status as transmigrants, the farmers

received state land. This has resulted in a basic discrepancy between the state planning perspective and the local conditions. When it comes to access to the resource of land, the transmigrants find themselves caught in the middle of a tug-of-war between local structures and state planning. They cite the status of the settlement as a transmigration settlement whose inhabitants had land made available to them by the government. The local population, by contrast, only recognises this status to a limited extent and cites common law regulations which regulate access to land. In Mekarsari, the migrants are often denied access to the land allocated to them. They are forced to switch to other areas while the areas earmarked for them lie fallow or are already used by other farmers. While the settlers in Siliwanga actually received state support, the lack of an irrigation system and the poor quality of the soil, which could only be improved by the intensive use of fertilisers, meant that they too were left with virtually no other possibility than to look for alternative agrarian land. Their activities were not confined to areas within the settlement in such cases. They also intruded on a considerable scale on the peripheral zones of the Lore Lindu National Park (HOPPE a. FAUST 2004).

Many spontaneous migrants settled in Mekarsari and Siliwanga. This migration was founded on existing networks (Balinese) or relationships (East-Javanese) with already settled (trans-)migrants. As a result of this, from the beginning the new arrivals were socially integrated to a large extent. The migrants were given the possibility to access the resource of land. By applying the knowledge they had brought with them to agricultural practices, the spontaneous migrants themselves effected a change in agriculture in the area to which they had migrated. At the same time, the local population in the region accepted and even adopted their methods for using the land. Such an adaptation occurs within the context of interaction between individuals and assumes a certain level of social integration, as opportunities for exchanging information and ideas obviously have to exist for it to occur (HOPPE a. FAUST 2004).

6.4 Comparison of the villages with regard to social integration

If one considers the fundamental aspects of *cultural adaptation* in the process of social integration, it can be seen that, although the language competence of the individuals e.g. in El Progreso and San Martín in Bolivia varies in its level of development, the integration level concerning cultururation can generally be described as of a good standard. It thus does not impede the process of social integration in any significant way. This is also

true of the Indonesian villages of Mekarsari and Siliwanga. Although the migrants bring different languages from their home areas, the Indonesian national language, which nearly all the migrants speak, is an integrating element. In Ivory Coast there is also more than one obligatory lingua franca. These languages are spoken by a large proportion of the migrants, but understanding is often laborious due to the need for translators, and some groups are clearly disadvantaged as a result of their lack of language competence. This is above all true of the women in Azoumanakro and Soubré 3.

The demands in terms of adaptation to local rules in Bolivia are minimal, by contrast, as the forms of organisation are well developed and are very similar to those of the migrants' home areas. In Ivory Coast, there are problems with regard to land law and to the access of land. It is nearly impossible for migrants from Burkina Faso to possess land. In Indonesia too, the question of land law has not been clearly resolved between formal law and common law. Beyond this there are traditional rules which play a role in all the villages studied. While the situation is also strongly influenced by the religions in Indonesia, it can also be seen there that religion is not the cause of the conflicts. Indeed, it is the representatives of the religious communities (Muslims, Christians and Hindus) who advocate a peaceful solution to the disputes and who defend themselves against the growing misappropriation of religious membership.

Ethnic membership also plays an important role in the *positioning* process in all the villages studied. In Bolivia, the differences between Collas and Cambas affect positioning; in Ivory Coast it is the positions and networks of the Bété, Baoulé and Burkinabé; in Indonesia it is the status of the Javanese, Balinese and local ethnic groups from Napu. Membership of a group determines the legal, political, social and economic position of the individual decisively and thus the status overall, which is in turn reflected in ethnic stratification in all the villages studied. Positioning depends additionally on land ownership in all the villages studied and this in turn depends on access to land. But this is again often dependent on membership of an ethnic group. It can be seen that there is clear differentiation between the positioning of individuals on the basis of ethnicity and land ownership. This differentiation is particularly clear in Ivory Coast. In Indonesia it occurs to a certain extent, and in Bolivia it is only one up to a point for the younger spontaneous migrants. In all, the point in time and/or the order in which settlement took place are of major significance for ethnic stratification in relation to land ownership in all the areas studied.

The processes of positioning are also influenced by ethnic membership and much less by the capabilities or training and education of the individuals. It is only in Mekarsari and Siliwanga (Indonesia) that it is possible to ascertain an improvement in status on the part of the Javanese and Balinese, because of their knowledge in working the land.

Interaction is intensive in the villages studied, above all for economic reasons. This applies to all markets within and outside the villages. There is a particularly high level of economic interaction where community tasks and co-operation are involved, e.g. in the organised work groups in Indonesia, in wage-labour in Ivory Coast and in the co-operatives and syndicates in Bolivia. There is little social interaction between the ethnic groups – this is true of the Bété, Baoulé and Burkinabé in Azoumanakro and Soubré 3 just as much as it is of the Javanese, Balinese and the Napu group in Mekarsari and Siliwanga or the various groups of the Collas and Cambas in El Progreso and San Martín. In each case strong cohesion exists within the individual groups and their networks and these are demarcated from the outside world. This is particularly evident in the case of the Collas and the Balinese (Hindus). By contrast, there is more evidence of individualisation or splintering among the Cambas. Interaction is, moreover, characterised by great differences between the sexes – it occurs much more frequently between men than between women. This is not, however, the case in all the villages studied, because interaction between women at markets as well as in political and social organisations is much greater in El Progreso and San Martín (Bolivia) than in Mekarsari and Siliwanga (Indonesia) and this is in turn more frequent than in Azoumanakro and Soubré 3 (Ivory Coast). The relatively low level of social and cultural interaction between the different migrant groups is, moreover, expressed in all the villages studied in the segregation regarding social space and in the clear spatial segmentation of the groups.

Identification in the process of the migrants' social integration can be ascertained as relatively low in all the villages. While it is true that the settlers identify in certain respects with their new area and their new villages, their origins and their links to their home regions remain the characterising elements of identification. This can be viewed as due to the dominance to date of the first generation of settlers. But identification among spontaneous migrants is even lower than that among the settlers of the first generation. The relatively high fluctuation in the areas of agrarian settlement, with many migrants returning to their home areas, is proof of the way in which economic motives characterise

migration. Identification with and an attachment to the settlement villages depend to a large extent on the successful course of agrarian settlement. The high level of migrants returning to their home areas from Siliwanga (Indonesia) verifies this argument.

7 Conclusions

The processes of social integration are determined to a much lesser extent by the context of the region and the location of the village than by its size and population structure, particularly in relation to the proportions of the various ethnic groups and their cultural origins. This can be clearly seen with regard to the processes of segmentation and the ethnic stratification of the migration groups in the villages, as well as with regard to access to land and accordingly to its use.

The processes of migration and their effects on the use of land in the selected regions of Bolivia, Ivory Coast and Indonesia are similar. Differences concerning cultural areas play hardly any role here but, rather, material incentives, economic prospects and the chance of an improvement in the individual's living situation. Beyond this, the empirical analyses reveal the central insight that the processes of social integration do not fundamentally differ in the villages of El Progreso and San Martín in Bolivia, Azoumanakro and Soubré 3 in Ivory Coast and Mekarsari and Siliwanga in Indonesia. There are, rather, common features and differences between the villages studied due to their adjacency to existing settlements or to the heterogeneity or homogeneity of their population structures.

Ethnic stratification is pronounced in all the areas studied due to cultural membership and the joint origin of the migrants and also due to the time when migration took place. In Ivory Coast, this stratification can be regarded as particularly pronounced while it can also be viewed as considerably marked in Bolivia and Indonesia. Beyond this, there is social and spatial segmentation of individual ethnic groups in all the villages studied and there is no evidence of merging or assimilation. Ethnic stratification plays a significant role in all the villages for access to land and for decisions regarding the use of land. Social integration has direct or indirect effects on the cultural landscape in various areas. In almost all the villages studied, there are concrete conflicts over access to land – in Bolivia between people from the lowlands and the Andes, in Ivory Coast between the natives and migrants from Burkina Faso and in Indonesia between the migrants from Bali and the native population of the Napu valley. Basically, above all the material interdependence between the individ-

uals and institutional regulations in everyday life, affect land use, with the cultural orientation of the individuals merely playing a secondary role. Accordingly, those actions (of the individuals) which have a direct effect on the cultural landscape tend to be for pragmatic, practical and economic reasons rather than due to non-pragmatic motives (e.g. ethnocentrism).

The historical contexts and political decisions in Bolivia, Ivory Coast and Indonesia have similar effects on the areas where the research has been conducted. The processes of migration and their effects on land use are similar and the general cultural, national and regional conditions essentially reveal few differences. The significance of integration is related to the use of resources not directly, but indirectly. Assumptions regarding area-related culturalism have been refuted as it was possible to show that the processes are not bound to cultural areas. The processes of integration occurred similarly due to the influences of the macro level and this is also true of the processes of social integration on the micro level. It is the individuals' own scope for action on the micro level which determines the different extents to which the effects manifest themselves in the forms of co-existence and land use. On the micro level it therefore becomes clear that villages can be classified on the basis of their structure, integration process and ethnic stratification (e.g. integrated or non-integrated, homogeneous or heterogeneous, a high or low potential for conflict) largely independently of their location in a "cultural area".

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