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Social Dominance Orientation in Agrarian Resources Accumulation in Coastal Area Indonesia

Orientasi Dominasi Sosial dalam Penguasaan Sumberdaya Agraria di Kawasan Pesisir

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ABSTRACT

Intergroup contact influenced the adaptation capacity of Bugis ethnic in the economic system in the destination site. When they become the highest of social-rank than other ethnicities in livelihood strategies by land-accumulation, it becomes important to analyze the working of power from the ethnic-Social Domination Orientation (SDO) theoretical. The role of ethnic-SDO is studied with assessment determination in a sociocultural context in intergroup ethnic inequality. Moreover, decision making in framing becomes challenged to be assessed at the individual level because it is assumed would influence the individual to enhance the hierarchy in the middle of uncertainty outcomes. This study aims: (1) elucidate the structure of ethnic inequality in livelihood strategies by ethnic-SDO in Bugis ethnic; and (2) recognize the role of framing in decision making as influencing factors of ethnic-SDO. This study approach is qualitative, which involves 25 informants. Data showed that ethnic-SDO in Bugis's economic activities comprised of power that enhancing-hierarchy evolved ethnic inequality by high between-ethnic group inequality (BGI) and within- ethnic group inequality (WGI) in land-accumulation. It is found that the framing of Bugis people regarding skills and attitudes owned by other ethnicities in the decision-making tends to risk-avoid that enhancing-hierarchy in economic activities at an individual level.

ABSTRAK

Kontak antar-kelompok mempengaruhi kemampuan adaptasi etnis Bugis dalam sistem ekonomi lokal di lokasi tempatan. Ketika mereka menempati posisi tertinggi dibandingkan etnis lainnya dalam strategi nafkah dalam yang berupa penguasaan lahan, maka analisis bekerjanya kekuatan mengeacu pada teoritisasi Etnis-Orientasi Dominasi Sosial (ODS) menjadi penting untuk dikaji. Peran etnik-ODS dipelajari dengan pengukuran yang mempertimbangkan pada konteks sosial budaya yang memperhatikan hubungan antar-kelompok etnik yang tidak sama. Meskipun begitu, pengambilan keputusan yang membentuk frame pada orang Bugis menjadi menarik untuk dikaji pada tingkat individu karena ini diprediksi dapat mempengaruhi individu dalam menguatkan hirarki di tengah ketidakpastian hasil. Oleh karena itu, tujuan penelitian ini adalah: (1) menjelaskan ketidaksamaan dalam hubungan antar-etnik dengan menggunakan konsep etnik-ODS pada orang Bugis; dan (2) Mengenal peran pengambilan keputusan yang mempengaruhi etnik-ODS. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan melibatkan 25 informan. Hasil menunjukkan bahwa orientasi dominasi sosial etnis Bugis dalam perilaku ekonomi yang tersusun dari kekuatan yang meningkatkan hirarki telah mempengaruhi munculnya ketidaksamaan etnik dengan tingginya Ketidaksamaan Dalam Kelompok Etnik (KDK) dan cukup tingginya Ketidaksamaan dengan Kelompok Etnik Lain (KDKL). Frame pada orang Bugis berdasarkan kemampuan dan sikap etnis lain dalam pengambilan keputusan untuk menjauhi resiko menguatkan hirarki dalam hubungan ekonomi pada tingkat individu.

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1. Introduction

Bugis ethnic was already known as nomads ethnic from the migration of Bugis ethnic from their homeland in South Sulawesi to other periphery regions such as Sumatera, Jambi, Kalimantan, Banten, Java, Bali, West Papua, or Malaysia (Wekke, 2017; Andaya, 1995). The diaspora of Bugis is well-documented that their mobility to spread throughout the archipelago as economic actors as traders, fisherfolk, and farmers is related to the notion of looking for good fortune and political reasons. Moreover, several studies show that by their eagerness and motivation as migrants, Bugis ethnic adapted and cooperated with other ethnicities in developing the regional development economy with assimilation by transforming and managing agrarian resources at destination sites. Buginese involves in customary law and informal rules regarding natural resources management in other areas such as Mahakam Delta and Lake Lindu (Simarmata, 2013; Acciaioli, 2010). They also and contribute to the imposition of resources through local customary institutions and have allies extensively with local nobilities, elite, and political parties (Acciaioli, 2010). From intergroup relations, this intergroup cooperation should be constructed to be under equal-status conditions even though it needs a differentiated role (Brewer, 1996).

Bugis is a successful actor building a choice of livelihood strategies such as possessing new agricultural land, developing fisheries, and establishing a small business (Ammarell, 2002). Regarding their existence as cultural agents in the destination site, their social status is not judged by on purity or whiteness of their blood like in their homeland but based on the work they perform (Acciaioli, 2004). It implies their tendency to maintain their status in destination sites similar to their status in their homeland that could be different from local inhabitants. Their successful efforts to build an economic cleavage and conceived a social hierarchy among other social groups by dominating local economics and social order in the community. The categorical distinction that is placing an individual as their member of the social category within ingroup-outgroups is explained by the social categorization approach (Turner et al., 1987). The preexisting hierarchy in status relationships would certainly constraint the feasibility of cross-cutting role structures in achieving superordinate goals (Brewer, 1996). Applying these categorizations in the intergroup ethnic relations for certain life dimensions may affect the differentiation in ethnic-rank in society. This stratification upon three bases: resource in the economic spheres, power in political spheres, and prestige, esteem, and worth creating inequality in social spheres (Weber, 1978). Different positions within the community and symbolizes the existence of inequality

as the dominance of other groups reflect the presence of ethnic inequality.

Ethnic inequality itself was interchangeable with other related concepts, such as horizontal inequality and group-based inequality (Mcdoom, 2018). Bugis, Melayu, Javanese, and Minang are an example of ethnics diversity live in the destination site of Bugis at the coastal community in Jambi. Ethnicity is a nominal parameter, but when coincidence with rank or graduated parameter (such as socio-economic) construct a social structural constraint on macrosocial integration of groups (Blau, 1977). Bugis migration in their destination sites is recognized to build domination at existing communities (Ammarell, 2002), so it consequently creates an ethnic inequality. Ethnic inequality produced the formation of interethnic ties in an unequal social order as an ethnic-inequality society (Kteily & Mcclanahan, 2020; Mcdoom, 2018). In contrast, an inverse correlation is found between ethnic inequality with contemporary development (Alesina et al., 2016). Nevertheless, the focus of intergroup ethnic studies is still common to uncover the impacts adversely of inequality on the political and economic aspects than on how it operates in the social sphere (Mcdoom, 2018).

Indonesia itself comprised 1300 ethnicities, with 40% are Javanese as the largest proportion of populations, while Bugis is 2.69% in the rank number of 8 (Indonesia Statistics Bureau, 2011). Therefore, the studies of ethnic diversity and inequality would be enhancing the achievement of Sustainability Development Goals (SDG), primarily to reduce inequality. The previous study of ethnic inequality based on well-being in Indonesia revealed that there is no discrimination against the ethnic background (Suryadharma et al., 2006). They highlight the persisting inequality is between rural and urban areas. Ethnic income inequality influenced by the spatial distribution of natural resources across different ethnic groups within countries (Lessmann & Steinkraus, 2019). Moreover, ethnic segregation in Indonesia has a higher level of public goods, such as schools, infrastructures (Tajima et al., 2018). In the middle of natural resources inequality, the land becomes vital properties for community members and constructs a stratification or class. Wherein Java, Indonesia, at 19 centuries, comprised here are two class in stratification in Java society is found in landowners and landlessness (Wahyono, 2017). Moreover, in 2018 there is a structure that 89% of agriculture households who held land less than 2-hectare while 0.3% who have more than 10-hectares (Indonesia Statistics Bureau, 2018). In addition, the importance of land accumulation as our object study is because of land tenure is considered a perplexing factor in contestation (Acciaioli, 2010) and conflict (Rugadya, 2020). Consequently, it becomes crucial to examine the causing factors of hierarchy

based on ethnic or ethnic-rank in Indonesia. This finding would initiate the investigation in intergroup ethnic inequality in Indonesia related to livelihood aspects.

In ethnically-rank society, it is identified that the high-rank groups or advantage group would preserve their superiority (Mcdoom, 2018). To run their business, in several sites, Bugis incorporate local people into patron-client (Ammarell, 2002; Timmer, 2011) and continued their Bugis values in their families (Silvey, 2000). Based on social categorization, each ethnic as group could have a strong connection to their group as ingroup than outgroup (Brewer, 1996). The role of what matters make the Bugis as the superordinate group maintains their domination in the community needs to be studied with analysis of Social Domination Orientation (SDO). It is because the intergroup/ethnic contact could be threatening for the ethnic member who involved that consequently reducing the rate of intergroup cooperation (Gonsalkorale et al., 2007) and activate an intergroup anxiety (Paolini et al., 2016).

SDO is the ideology which describes the mechanism of a social intergroup relationship when one group may have a different position hierarchically in the structure from the other groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). Some scholars differently viewed SDO either as a product or cause of prejudice and political behavior. Then Sibley & Liu (2010) identified SDO as cognitive-motivational ideological attitudes that are influenced by the linear combination of sociocultural interactions, self-categorization processes, and personality traits. They found that SDO differences in arbitrary-set of social construction such as ethnicity and social class sensitive to cultural, contextual, and situational factors (Sidanius et al., 2000). This intersection to capture inequality based on ethnic intergroup as an arbitrary group through assessment of ethnic-SDO would be supported in this study.

There are little research examines intergroup ethnic inequality in Indonesia, such as Banjar and Madura ethnics (Hidayat, 2013); Java and Chinese-ethnic group (Habib, 2002); and Bugis sub ethnics (Sjaf, 2014). These studies are not sufficient to capture intergroup ethnic inequality in the economic sectors. Social and commercial activities in the multi-ethnic country, such as Indonesia, might be underpinned on a hierarchical basis of social domination of group over the other groups. The related concept to explain why Bugis, who is intranational migrants (Silvey, 2000), leads in the intergroup ethnic inequality to controlling agrarian resources is SDO. In addition, studies of ethnic inequality have embedded several areas, such as politics, education, social, economic, and health care by reviewing the structure and impact by measuring well-being, psychological distress, ethnic income inequality, and ethnic voting in the social sphere (Alesina et al., 2016; Bosqui et al., 2019; Houle et al., 2019); and

process, such as intermarriage (Mcdoom, 2018) and labor market entry (Kalter & Kogan, 2002).

The full structure of ethnic inequality in ethnic voting is between-ethnic group inequality (BGI) increases ethnic voting, but its effect conditional on within-ethnic group inequality (WGI) (Houle et al., 2019). Relating economic sectors, investment in livelihood strategy held by ethnically homogenous-social groups could produce an ethnic inequality as an exclusionary investment where some groups undertake economic incentives by segregate themselves in less communication with other groups (Baird, 2000). Ethnicity has a strong influence on the choices of livelihood strategies (Torres et al., 2018). Furthermore, we argue how SDO influence ethnic inequality structure in livelihood?

SDO uncovers the social hierarchy based on the power that enhances or attenuating the intergroup hierarchy construction in a three-level analysis. The three levels of analysis of SDO are individual, intergroup, and society (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). Earlier studies have assessed SDO as a construct with the review in its the level of correlated it to behavior, such policy legacy (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2013), immigration policies (Craig & Richeson, 2013); dialogue behavior (Cargile, 2017); and intergroup interactions (Wang et al., 2018). Moreover, several concepts identified from other studies SDO in society and intergroup level, such as moral judgment (Bostyn, Roets, & Hiel, 2016); utilitarian judgments (Takamatsu, 2019); moral exclusion (Passini & Morselli, 2016); system justification (Vargas-salfate et al., 2018); Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Sibley & Liu, 2010); and social power (Tesi et al., 2019). The legitimizing ideologies also correlated stronger with system justification in high-status people (Vargas-salfate et al., 2018). The primary entities influencing SDO in these levels are legitimizing ideologies and asymmetrical behavior. On the other hand, the examination of these power dynamics at the individual level regarding scarcity resources is in limited numbers.

The considerable debate regarding SDO is coming from who revealed that race-SDO is more closely related to General-SDO that age-SDO and gender-SDO (Kteily et al., 2012). 'Race,' 'cultural group,' 'nation,' and 'minority group' in social psychology are used interchangeably with ethnicity (Zagefka, 2009). The advancement of information technology and infrastructure recently would be opening a more increasing degree of intergroup/interethnic assimilation on the economic behavior in general and Indonesia in particular. Consequently, the construction of a comprehensive framework about anti-egalitarianism in a country with collectivist values becomes essential. This because decision making in economic behavior inter-ethnicity may occur with uncertainty outcomes. This importance can be seen that SDO could predict

utilitarian judgments and choices of action in the job termination dilemma (Takamatsu, 2019) and affect the inter-ethnic cooperation (Waring & Bell, 2013). We argue that SDO would interfere with an intergroup ethnic inequality for livelihood.

Furthermore, economic behavior approaches (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986) would enhance the theoretical framework for this ethnic-SDO study. As a cognition framework, people's decision making could tend to avoid any risk (risk aversion) when considering the advantage to obtain at individual compared to risk-seeker (Kahneman & Tversky, 1986). Refer to framing theory; the individual would make framing the situation based on their reference point inferences (Leong et al., 2016). This approach was complementary with Bostyn et al. (2016) that individuals with SDO made moral judgment with utilitarian (outcome-based). The ethnic-SDO would be extended observed by applying the decision-making approach.

In this study, the outcome of economic activities between ethnic would result in uncertainty outcomes in the middle of global issues, i.e., industrial disruption, technological advancement, globalization, digital divide, climate changes, or even vulnerability of disasters. The propensity of the economic behavior of the superordinate group is assumed to generate an orientation toward a group-based hierarchy. As a result, the contribution to building harmonization in the multicultural country by finding a solution to reduce inequality becomes essential. Intergroup cooperation is expected between ethnics and class in a society where the risk of ethnocentrism cooperation preferences held is limited within groups (Waring & Bell, 2013). For the future, intergroup contact among ethnic should be more applied to reduce prejudice and promote positive intergroup outcomes (Pettigrew, 2008).

Using the qualitative method in social psychology research to identify the constructed nature of ethnic phenomena would need reflection on the quality of social identity and well-being of participants (Zagefka, 2009). Furthermore, the general objective of this article is to elucidate the presence of ethnic-SDO practices in Bugis ethnics as a personal disposition to encompass a structure of intergroup ethnic inequality in livelihood strategy in the destination sites. Moreover, the specific goals are to identify the role of framing in decision making as influencing factors that build an ethnic-SDO.

2. Methods

Study Approach and Determination of Informants

The study was conducted by a qualitative approach to study economic behavior in the coastal area of which was occupied by multicultural ethnics in Kelurahan Kampung Laut and Tanjung Solok, Tanjung Jabung

Timur Regency, Jambi Province in May 2018. This location becomes primarily as destination site held by Bugis migrants since 1950. Moreover, to provide accurate data about this issue, this study was undertaken by explanatory research. This approach is different approaches with earlier studies where a quantitative approach becomes primary to data collection with the Scale of SDO (Craig & Richeson, 2003; Licciardello, 2014). The aggregation locus of intergroup ethnic inequality is the rank of land accumulation between ethnicities in those communities. Moreover, by referring to the explanatory research (Kumar, 2011), the objectives of the study to develop a conceptual understanding of land accumulation in a multicultural context could be achieved.

Informants in this study were obtained by the case studies method (Kumar, 2011) in the snowball technique. Informants in case studies are assumed to provide information a thorough, holistic, and in-depth exploration to find out the answer research questions. Informants consisted of Bugis ethnic as Generation One who moved to this settled area in 1950-1970. Overall, the number of informants in this study was 25 people comprised of 22 males and three females. The number of informants from Bugis ethnic was 19 persons comprising of Wajo (9 persons), Bone (8 persons), and Selayar (2 persons). Besides, the other informants have consisted of 3 leading local figures (of Melayu ethnic) and three non-Bugis settlers (of Javanese, Madurese, and Banjar ethnics) in this territory.

The structured interview method has taken as dominant methods for gathering data about an intergroup relationship with providing several extended questions regarding inequalities in their economic activities in the village. The interview matters refer to SDO6 Scale (Sidanius et al., 2000), for example, some groups of people are just more worthy than others; To get ahead in life, It is sometimes necessary to step on other groups; and It would be good if all groups could be equal. In addition, for a reference point in framing a risk-averse (Leong et al., 2016), such as a baseline for other ethnic groups' capacities and how it supports their business.

Moreover, the interview guidance also contained an open question concerning the history of informants' migration, the agrarian accumulation, the social relationship with local inhabitants or the other settlers' groups, livelihood strategies, social status, and narratives relating to the social organization in their business. The unstructured interviews and observations also were taken to collect data about informant daily life activities and social interactions.

Data Analysis Techniques

The content analysis used to analyze data from interviews. A particular phase of this technique involved

in this data analysis, such as identify the main themes, assign the main issues, categorized responses under main ideas, and integrate the main questions and answers (Kumar, 2011). Several primary issues are identified in this stage, such as inequality in livelihood strategies, preferences for involvement in business operations, view about good people who suitable culturally, and social institutions supporting or inhibit them.

After analyze, validate and evaluate become two-stage in data analysis. Two researchers are employed to validate data from interviews and observations. This stage could be consumed much time with intensive communication between researcher and assistant. The leader evaluates data thoroughly by checking the raw data (verbatim) and reports.

3. Results and Discussion

Structure of Ethnic Inequality in Livelihood Strategies

The full structure of ethnic inequality would be analyzed from between-ethnic group inequality (BGI) and within-ethnic group inequality (WGI). Regarding BGI, ethnic-SDO describes the intergroup relationships between Bugis and other ethnicities in livelihood strategy based on ethnic-SDO. In contrast, WGI will be explained based on intra-Bugis relationships.

The Ethnic-Social Domination Orientation in Between-Ethnic Group Inequality (BGI) Structure

The social organization of intergroup at the river ecosystem with multiculturalism is critical as an effort to generate economic development. Presence of individuals and groups, both formal and informal, which may have an influence and tendency to dominate the other groups in society. Data show that Bugis-Wajo is widely recognized as the owners of plantation lands by the people in Kampung Laut and Tanjung Solok, then followed by Javanese, Melayu, and Chinese. The practices of ethnic-SDO to enhancing or attenuating the hierarchy in Bugis ethnic in the agricultural sector are visible in the individual, intergroup, and society levels. It affects the accumulation of resources as an ethnic inequality based on economic activities with other ethnicities (between ethnic-inequality).

Society Level

The interaction of people in the village level comprised of Melayu, Bugis, Javanese, Minang (referred to in local language as orang Padang), and Chinese (related to in local language as orang Cina), is compiled in Malay culture. Many Bugis people can speak Melayu language well to make more accessible communication between ethnic groups. There is work segregation between ethnics, such as (1) owner of coconut/areca nut plantation held by Bugis- Wajo ethnic; (2) fishers by Bugis-Bone and Bugis-Selayar ethnic; (3) processing

the sea catching and driver for public transportation by Melayu; and (4) worker in the fish catching by Duano ethnics.

At this societal level, ethnic-SDO practices can be seen based on interactions between social institutions and the legitimizing myth involved in enhancing or attenuating the hierarchy. There are several social institutions in the community that can impact differently to Bugis, Malay, Java, and other ethnicities. Specifically, social institutions are (1) land tenure system; (2) value chain of agriculture-fisheries commodities; (3) farmers group and cooperative; and (4) local (village) organization in the political sphere; whereas the legitimizing myth are a meritocracy, ethnic prejudice, elite culture, patriarchy, and multicultural ideology.

Social Institutions

Land Tenure System. Land tenure pattern involves a land-sharing, profit sharing, and rent continue being reproduced in these sites enhances Bugis ownership in land accumulation for coconut/areca nut plantation compared to the other ethnics. At the initial phase of migration, Bugis immigrants find situations than there was a wide area of land not yet worked on at all. The territory in this village, especially the one close to the Batanghari river, was not fully developed. Even though local people such as Duano and Melayu ethnics had settled in the area close to the river before the arrival of Bugis, but step by step, Bugis gradually transform since the land ownership through the social organization of worker, types of commodity, and commodity's price. The land ownership and control pattern in Bugis ethnic might come from two phases related to Bugis's generation.

The first generation of Bugis having the lands by opening lands the forest or bushes; or buying from local leaders (*pesirah*) by equipped the purchase with certificates as legalization. The supradik letter (land certificate) from *pesirah* would symbolize the ownership of the land and then accepted by local land affairs agencies or local government. Bugis might change the forest or bushes opening system became a plantation land. The opening ceremony was known as the term of *pancung alas*, which was defined as the activity of felling down big trees standing on the areas to build for shelter or agriculture. In this activity, the worker is coming from their own family and relatives; also Javanese ethnic. Their family and elative support to their business also occurred in Bugis frontiers in shrimp (Timmer, 2011). As local people, they were also clearing lands in this territory to be built a business place on a traditional market area and residences. For Bugis bone people who relied on the fishery sector to become the source of their livelihood, they accumulated more lands to be used as residences close to the Batanghari river and grouped at one of the ditches. This

kind of residential location facilitated them to anchor boats or fishing gears at the river bank.

Then, in Phase two, land accumulation in Generation Two by Bugis and Melayu people could be acquired from the inheritance from parents in Generation One by using the Bugis custom system, but rarely using Islamic rules. This allocation is made when the parents are still alive to avoid any conflict if it is allocated when the parents have passed away. The custom assumption of “*Mikul dan Jinjing*” (carry) caused the inheritance for the female child is half of the male child. However, other families also apply the inheritance pattern in which female child inheritance provides an equal portion to that of a male child. A larger area for a male child who has assisted in land management can be added (other than the inheritance portion) by parents by selling it at a cheap price. This attempt is taken to generate an impression that its purchase is not merely inherited to their male child to avoid any social envy between the male child and female child. Moreover, Bugis even can own the lands by bought from Melayu people the business profit and inherited lands belonging to their wife, which have become a shared property in a household. Inter-marriage phenomena become common in these areas where Bugis women may find marriage men from Malay than Bugis men. Inter-marriages represent status mobility for the subordinate group status threat for the dominant group (Mcdoom, 2018). The high-rank would in-marry while low-rank would have out-married. This implied in-group preferences from high-rank to preserve the distinctiveness of group boundaries and group superiority.

In summary, these two paths of land accumulation for Bugis is hierarchy-enhancing. It is a pride for Bugis people to have an agricultural land or plantation even though, in a small size, then do have nothing. Opinion from one community member is stated here:

“Sea has no future. Let our house is not pretty, but we have a land” (DMrkt, Men, Kampung Laut).

In addition, ownership patterns in non-Bugis people, i.e., Javanese and Chinese is by buying lands sold by Malay people or other Bugis people. Malay people sold their properties for a particular need. In contrast, Bugis people sold because they want to return to their native village in Sulawesi because of the lower prices of coconut. Particularly, Javanese people who frequently involve in the land distribution system when assisting in managing of Bugis people might also have the possibility to buy plantation lands belonging to Bugis people. This situation opening another ethnic, Chinese, enters and starts to become the owner of many assets in this community since they can accumulate plantations with such undertakings as the swallow, saloon, and service station already held by them in this area.

Value-chain of agriculture and fisheries commodities and trading activities. Some of Bugis-Wajo people accumulate their lands, whether inside and outside the area of their villages. They plant two primary agriculture commodities in their farms supported by the excellent quality of natural resources such as fertile lands and the availability of water from the river. Beside generate a primary income for Bugis-Wajo households, the agriculture and fisheries sector involves other groups such as Javanese and Tionghoa. Historically, Bugis ethnic lands were initially growing with paddy in the time they arrive at the destination site. After paddy suffered harvest failure due to boar pest, they decide to change their paddy with coconut and areca nut on the lands belonging to them.

As an owner for many acres lands, Bugis people are producers in the agriculture value chain of coconut and areca nut. The community ecosystem surrounding the economic activities by Bugis provides the local buyer (broker) at the village level to buying their crops. When the harvest of these plants, farmers provide workers to involving in their land. The areca nut harvest plantation of Bugis plantation needs to be processed, such as *pengecekan* (opening the shells) and dried the areca nut that treated in their houses. At the same time, the coconut could be directly collected and sent to a local buyer. This activity is easily identified in households where the large plate of areca nut is compiled and ready to sell. Usually, Bugis will sell their coconut and areca nut crops to the local buyer in their village. A local buyer who could be a Bugis people would be supplied to the factories.

Moreover, the value-chain was also settling people in several ethnicities in the community with their accessibility in fisheries economic activities. Bugis Bone, who become small-scale fishers have a worker from Bugis-Bone or Duano. To acquiring income, Bugis Bone will purchase their catches to a broker who was coming from Bugis Bone and Tionghoa. But some of them decide to process the catch into prawn crackers. Moreover, Malay people also take part in this value-chain of fisheries commodities by processing the catch to become salted fish.

Bugis-Wajo people who have plantations usually also have stores in a strategic location in the local market. They could have big stores with sophisticated attributes, such as clothes, electronic devices, staple foods, and jewelry. In everyday life, they work awaited the customers in their stores with two until three workers from Javanese people. Overall, value-chain in the agriculture, fisheries, and trading sectors provide as hierarchy-enhancing for Bugis-Wajo and Bugis-Bone in community.

Fisher's group and cooperative. Fishers' groups and cooperative for Bugis people become the formal social institutions to enhance interethnic domination at the society level. This cooperative is accessed by fisherwomen of Bugis-Bone in Tanjung Solok, who are capable of developing salted fish or prawn crackers business. Even though the institution is accessible to many people, but it observed that the members who participate in these organizations are Bugis-Bone. Finally, this organization tends to enhance the hierarchy (hierarchy-enhancing) for Bugis-Bone because only the member of this organization who becomes accompanied by the government.

Local (Village) Government. In the local government sector at the village level, their top management accommodates more Malay ethnic in its elements, such as Community Empowerment Agency, Village Consultative Body, and Custom Institutions. The reason behind this is that previously this territory belonged to Malay's. As formal institutions, these institutions are openly accessible for all ethnicities (hierarchy-attenuating).

But, as a leader in economic sectors, Bugis ethnic also has a motivation to becoming a local leader. Moreover, there was a political competition between Bugis and Malay that occurred in the previous Local leader election in Kampung Laut village, where there is a non-significant difference of votes. It became the trigger of split into two communities in this area, i.e., Tanjung Solok. In the end, the relatives of Malay people continued to rule as the village head in Tanjung Solok. As being the second most populated ethnic after Malay, Bugis ethnic people currently have once served as a Local leader when the administrative status is as the village for Kampung Laut. The Bugis local leader comes from a government assignment that military apparatus. In one of the elections, a Bugis ethnic had once contested to become a village head, but his total votes deprive of the candidate of Javanese ethnic. In contrast, Bugis people still have power in the governmental unit system, such as becoming of village consultative body members. Bugis actors were settling close to the center of the polity and eventually insinuating themselves into the ruling elite (Ammarell, 2002).

In the middle of the local government managed by local people, other ethnics experience dissatisfaction about infrastructure development. They verified lousy road conditions as a wood bridge (*jerambah* in local language) that affect difficulties in transportation to carry their crops and fishing products. Hence, some people rebuild the local street in front of their house by themselves to make it easier for them to the selling of their plantation products because it is not responded immediately. It implied that ethnic segregation might affect the provision of public goods (Tajima et al.,

2018). In contrast, Lebedeva et al. (2016) stated that intercultural contact between migrants and local people enhance the adaptation strength of migrant groups both in terms of social culture and living satisfaction.

To sum up, the political attitude and behavior indicate that within the local organization in the village level also works to enhance intergroup hierarchy (hierarchy-enhancing) in this territory. The local political practices in the village-level show that the social and ideological institution legitimated, i.e., Local People that is enacted by Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional government works. But in fact, the institutions might still generate an enhancement of the hierarchy (hierarchy-enhancing) among ethnic groups living in this territory. This example is supported data from Simarmata (2013) that Buginese of Kalimantan as residents and Buginese from Sulawesi as recent migrants involve in customary law and informal rules regarding natural resources management in Mahakam Delta.

Legitimizing Myth

The Bugis-Wajo people believe that coconut plantation is in line with their inheritance attracts them to perform an eagerness to achieve positions in the highest-rank in land ownership in the community. The arrival of Bugis ethnic in Jambi territory in Sumatera, as disclosed by informants, was begun in around 1950 to 1970 through several times of arrival. Several reasons for Bugis's migration to the periphery are to avoid the worst political situation and find a better opportunity for their family. Here is one reflective thought from an informant about their intention because the political situation to migrate move from their homeland:

When the robber had come to our house and took gold, we moved to the place for the horse and buffalos. How is the current situation we would like to be, so we decide to move to Sumatera. There is my family in Pangkal Dori (BR, Woman, Kampung Laut)

Besides social organization, there are believe that influenced Bugis-Wajo people to attempt to achieve their fortune in the destination site. Bugis people will cultivate the land properly while they're run another business, such as stores in the market. For the money they earn, they step by step accumulate property with buying the Malay's lands where the owner is urgent for cash. But for Bugis-Bone, they provide capacity in fishing and processing the fish catches. The ideology constructed is a meritocracy in the Bugis version. One informant stated his feeling about the importance of hard work in their life.

*"lebbi mui mate maddara dari pada matte temmandre"
Lebih baik mati berdarah daripada mati tak makan
(Mslm, Men, Kampung Solok)*

This belief held by Bugis people supports that integration by intercultural strategy in multicultural context enables settlers/migrants/non-dominant groups to keep using their cultural background at the settled area and keep opening interactive contact with out of group members (Lebedeva et al., 2016). Interethnic interaction in this multicultural area is also followed by a negative attitude on the other ethnicities, which is inherent but not necessarily real (as prejudice). Interethnic prejudice is based on previous experiences in economic activities, e.g., planting, fishing, and managing shops at traditional markets. Ethnic prejudice makes each ethnic having a behavior predisposition of the other ethnics, even those potential to become a discriminative issue in job allocation decisions (Pratto et al., 1994). A particular example is a tendency to employ one ethnic only in the economic activity, e.g., Javanese ethnic and not any other ethnic. There is quite a belief in Bugis that the work of the Malay ethnic is not good enough. This ideology also seems to work in maintaining inequality by generating an asymmetric behavior at the intergroup level.

The other legitimizing becoming affect Bugis-Wajo domination in these sites is elite culture. They are immigrants (*perantau* in local) who have power and white-blood inherited from their homeland. Bugis-Wajo, who have an inheritance as aristocrats, would have an identity by adding their first name with “Daeng or Besek” as an indicator that people are coming from high social status. The Bugis people from Generation One become a local leader (*Kepala Parit* in local). As cultural agents, Bugis people show to bring their culture to destination sites, especially for those who were coming from the upper social rank that provides their norms in the homeland in destination sites (Acciaoli, 2004).

Bugis-Wajo also performs its cultural values in community events where custom ceremony held. Their highest rank in the motherland is still constructed and praised by other members of the destination site. They could yet have a position in ceremonial events, such as marriage, with specialty chairs than other members in the community. The title of a local road (*parit* in local) in their village also embraces a name for Bugis people from Generation One, such as H. Depatopo. Nevertheless, they were less engagement in local organizations at the village level. Their children who have a higher education degree becoming a candidate in a political election in another district. One informant state about his role as a leader at the regional organization for Bugis people at the province level. Moreover, their network becomes wider than other ethnic members. They also afford their children with an educational background outside of their district. In an economic system, they were buying a lot of business staff to supply their stores from other regions. Another

elite culture is that they also could access financial support from the bank with their relatives in the capital city.

In the meantime, sexism/patriarchal ideology works to become a power that enhances hierarchy (hierarchy-enhancing) in Bugis-Wajo at the social institution of the land tenure system and participates in weakening hierarchy (hierarchy-attenuating) in Bugis-Bone at the cooperative institution. Bugis-Wajo places women as the party involved in coconut/areca nut plantation management as agrarian resources and assigns them at the land opening and post-harvest processing, such as *pengocekan* (opening the shells) of areca nut and the selling. Meanwhile, the involvement of Bugis-Bone women is visible in fishery resources (marine), is through the preparation of fishing gear (net) to acquire fishing products at sea and the processing of fishing products at the cooperative. The men of Bugis-Bone still dominate the fishing activity itself. These women from both generations of migration, still have responsibilities to their domestic and productive. It is related to Bugis-Bone women cases. The low-income migrant women as a diasporic subject have gender meaning based on interethnic relation in the zone (Silvey, 2000). In addition, Bugis-Wajo women who have white-blood becoming less implied their Bugis values, so they participate in a productive and reproductive domain.

Multicultural ideology (Lebedeva et al., 2016) also found from the field that working to weaken the hierarchy at society level but not enough to be able to influence the economic behavior of Bugis ethnic in agrarian control. The finding can enhance the development of the Social Domination Theory from Sidanius and Pratto (2012) as an ideology that works influence SDO by weakening social hierarchy. Identity development of Bugis people has assumed themselves as Jambi people. Here is the reflection of regarding this from one informant:

“We are Jambi people lah, not Bugis anymore; we have been lived here for a long time” (YL, Men, Kampung Laut)

Refer to the definition of ethnic, the identity of migrants of Bugis develops to be part of the destination site with cultural assimilation, such as they can speak Jambi languages and become a part of Jambi people. This ideology is useful to prevent conflict inter-ethnic because of many social and political events that separate groups in the community.

Intergroup Level

At the intergroup level, there is an asymmetric behavior principle that people in the subordinate group are having no conduct of serving themselves as it is by people in

the dominant group. Though the economic activities provide a possibility for each member of the community to undertake and compete with others. The relationship between Bugis people and other non-Bugis, such as Malay and Javanese, confirms that Bugis people are dominant in the agriculture, fisheries, and trading sectors.

The land tenure pattern in the plantation by Bugis people regarding the implementation of a land distribution system, profit-sharing system (*mabage* in local), or rent has given an advantage for Javanese ethnic. They have more opportunity to be a worker compared to Malay. In this sense, Javanese, as a worker, plays too much to serve Bugis people's needs. For example, Bugis-Wajo members more believe in their families to be a manager (*mandor* in local), while the workers are coming from Javanese people. This relationship symbolizes the leader-follower network. The economic activities between Bugis and Javanese ethnic also pertain to the trading of agriculture crops.

The discrimination to Malay is as a result of dissatisfaction earlier experienced by Bugis member related to plantation and trading sectors. They suppose that their coconut plantations are more productive when cultivated by Javanese people than Malay ethnic's. Javanese ethnic work was considered better in practices and outcomes. They not only applying pesticides for weeds but also cleaning up or digging ditches in Bugis-Wajo's people plantation. As a result, Javanese worker might continue their job as field managers of Bugis farm for more than ten years. Unfortunately, Bugis people tend not to employ Malay ethnic in the plantation.

Moreover, the dynamic in commodity price impact an economic opportunity, i.e., decreasing job allocation, which can only be filled in by Javanese ethnic. It makes the behavior of Javanese ethnic as the workers differing from that of Bugis people as landowners having a higher position (asymmetric behavior). Dissatisfaction experiences also hold by Bugis-Wajo people. They reckoned that they do not help too much by Malay people when fire frequently occurred in their communities but make undermined situations by grabbing the kinds of stuff.

Meanwhile, asymmetric behavior also occurred in the fisheries domain. Bugis-Bone fishers who have *ketinting* only employ workers coming from their own families. But, those having a bigger boat like traditional or modern purse seine type in general employ workers open for many people for many ethnicities. In fact, Bugis Bone people tend to employ Bugis-Bone ethnic to become their counterparts even though they have a good experience in working with other people of Javanese ethnic. Data show that in fishers, Bugis-Bone doesn't

explain the large discrepancy between them (less asymmetric behavior). They perform a more collective spirit to work together as an ingroup to catch the fish. It is in line with a situation in Bugis-Bone fishers in poor communities have a sense of solidarity and trust among neighbors (Wekke & Cahaya, 2015).

Individual Level

The next level underpinning for maintaining the interethnic inequality (domination) is an individual level. SDO is an ideological orientation with roots when adult socialization into social roles than traditional personality with roots in childhood socialization (Huang & Liu, 2005). Bugis need to start their new live-in destination sites to achieve their fortune with attributed to accept everything that happens in their life (Acciaioli, 2004).

At the individual level, Bugis people who have a value orientation to become successful compared to those of other ethnics in term of economy. The agrarian resources in the land resources bought by Bugis-Wajo people and fishing gear already owned by Bugis-Bone have managed to give an optimum profit. This value also drives Bugis ethnic to choose a position beyond the governmental sector/being a village head. It assigns it to Malay ethnic people as inhabitants in this area.

Individual disposition plays an enhancing the hierarchy, i.e., stereotype to Malay. Malay ethnic is considered to have different attitudinal with what Bugis need to develop their economic opportunity. Malay is assumed as a lack of work, very relaxing, not discipline, fond of bragging, and hard to be trusted in terms of finance. They are described as having a behavior that is not consistent with their financial conditions, e.g., they are classified as a family with a weak economic situation but having an appearance like a rich person. On the other side, Malay people also have a general view that Bugis acts very economically, even tends to be stingy. They also consider that Bugis people frequently work as if they are of low-class people or poor, whereas they have a spacious land or plantation. It would be more presence of stereotypes among the people based on their economic status concerning the limited resources (Krosch & Amodio, 2014).

This Bugis ethnic's stereotype might cause discrimination over the other groups/ethnicities, i.e., work allocation in the community by the opening of labor opportunity in agrarian undertaking (coconut plantation and sea fishing) to ingroup of Bugis (Bugis Wajo or Bugis Bone). They view the better qualities of Malay ethnic compared to Javanese. The belief accompanying this is a separation of public space for Bugis people who tend to be strong in the economy, while other sectors can be controlled by Malay ethnic. This support with that the existence of a social

domination orientation was visible in the discrimination in work allocation (Pratto et al., 2006). Reflection of one informant of this issue:

“We are Buginese only as a migrant here. The land is enough to satisfy us so we can live safely here. If Malay wants to be a local leader, it is alright because this is their land. So it has become their rights to manage each of the government's aspects here. As long as it would not have negative impacts and inhibit our business, so we support them. But if it would make everyone suffers so, it should be changed with our member” (DMSyr, Men, Kampung Laut)

There is Duano ethnic who previously worked as fishers, now also begin to become workers at fishery business units belonging to Bugis-Bone. It shows that there is no stereotype for them as Duano ethnic, so it gives them a chance for them to be involved in their business. Besides stereotype, our data showed that there is a presence of moral cognition such as moral reasoning that builds social dominance practices. Bugis ethnic have utilitarian judgment than deontology when managing their business with other ethnicities. They have more considerable attention for what they would receive as results besides for what principles they used something. It is in line with the conclusion that moral judgment correlates with increasing of SDO (Bostyn et al., 2016). This issue influence in ethnic-SDO construction would be challenged by a reference point of inferences in framing analyses.

By seeing the illustration of ethnic-SDO in the multilevel analysis could improve the theoretical understanding of how production, maintenance, and reproduction of group hierarchy. Social domination as a theory on intergroup inequality seems clear to be understood and found its fact in Indonesia in agrarian accumulation matters. The assessment found that legitimizing-myth, such as meritocracy, ethnic prejudice, elite culture, and patriarchy, worked in enhancing the hierarchy in society. These results are empirically support the previous studies based on the SDO theoretical framework (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012). The power which works in three-level analysis, individual, intergroup, and society (Figure 1.) by attenuating or enhancing hierarchy.

Within-Ethnic Group Inequality (WGI) Structure

Based on WGI, data show that Bugis dominantly decide the worker is coming from their own family and relatives; besides Javanese ethnic. Based on their relatives' involvement in livelihood in agriculture, fisheries, and trading sectors, the income shared widespread in their ethnicity. As Bugis ethnics, there are unique strategies between them. For instance, Bugis-Wajo is leading in plantation while Bugis-Bone in

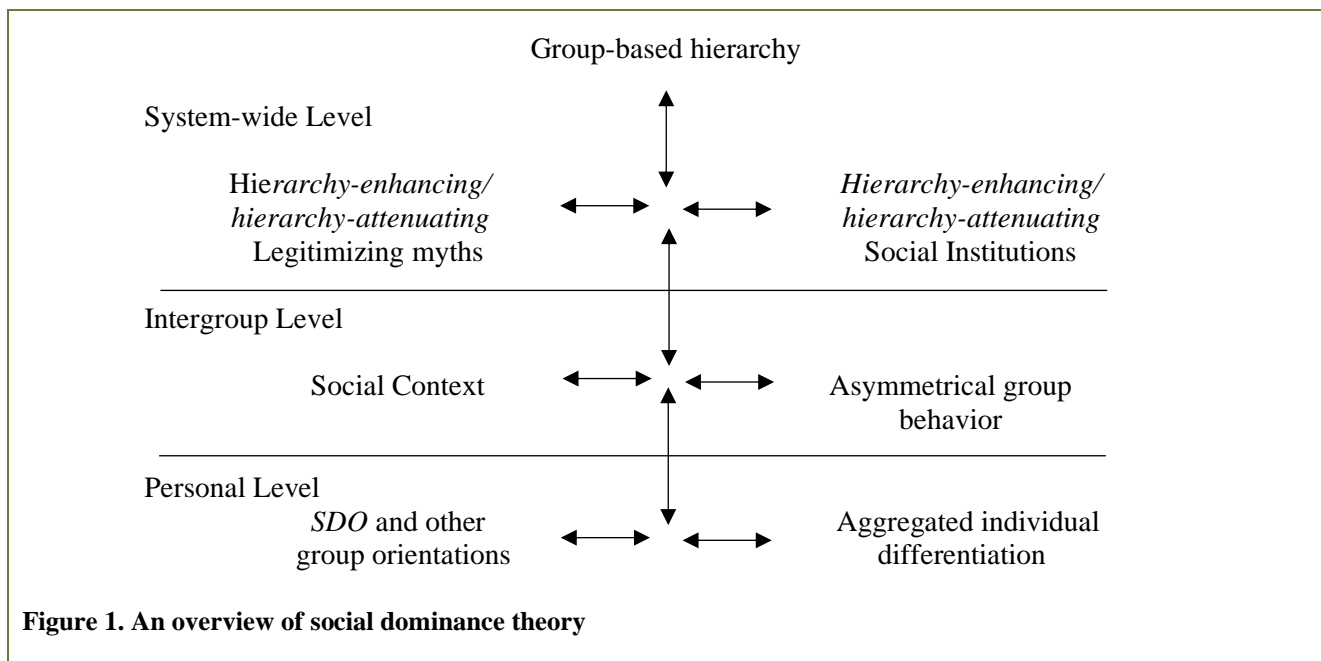
fisheries. These livelihood strategies are related to their inheritance in their homeland.

To sum up, WGI is high, where BGI is as not high as segregation among ethnicities in their work. They still provide an opportunity for other ethnics to become part of their worker, such as in Javanese people in their plantation. It is different from findings by Houle et al. (2019), where ethnic politics is coming from low WGI and high BGI. Livelihood strategies had chosen by Bugis people evolved them into the highest-rank of income between ethnics. The power in the individual, intergroup, and society has played to enhancing the hierarchy between ethnic-groups in economic activity. Nevertheless, Bugis people in their ingroup supported each other member in the communities to achieve productivities in each livelihood strategies they choose. For instance, we can find that Bugis from Wajo have respected their coethnics from Bugis-Bone to run their business in fisheries. Even though Bugis-Wajo people can expand their livelihood strategies to fisheries, but they believe that fisheries' livelihood is for Bugis-Bone to gain income. Otherwise, Bugis-Bone people protect themselves not to have lively hood strategies like Bugis-Wajo.

This result also confirms with Suryadharma et al. (2006) whose identified that there is no significant inequality between ethnicities in Indonesia referred to well-being even though we observe that there is less representative of ethnicities in Indonesia by only involve four ethnics in Indonesia. They claimed that people in rural Indonesia is less access to public health and education than people in urban. Moreover, by studies ethnic inequality in the village level in the rural areas, this study contributes to within-ethnic inequality (WGI) in a group as one community. Rather than analyzed the type of ethnic to be compared in one behavior, such as wellbeing or labor market, this study with the full structure of ethnic inequality explains the mechanism of ethnic inequality is present in society.

Framing Analyzes in Ethnic-SDO framework in Individual Level

Upon being aware of a social domination orientation that can harm the superordinate goals of the community's objective, it needs to approach analysis to the three levels where the theory of social domination works. At the individual level, the Bugis value about hard-working also can be analyzed with a risk-avoiding behavior (risk-aversion) than risk-seeking when the situation was facing with the profit to obtain (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986). Therefore, the economic activity that avoids risk in Bugis people is visible when they have a preference to employee the worker from their group. It is one example of adaptation forms as migrants in the settled area. Their tendency to reduce inequality by job



allocation sharing with Javanese ethnic compared to Malay implied of initially working of the reference point in Bugis-Wajo in attribute framing (Leong et al, 2017) in the context of an intergroup relationship in Indonesia.

Regarding Javanese have a good skill and attitude, Bugis people choose them to become their counterparts in business. Moreover, they can predict their coconut productivity would enhance if Javanese worker cultivates their land. It also occurs in fishers' domain that Bugis-Bone that welcome for their counterpart from their ingroup because they have an earlier experience together in fishers. This result would refine the factor of decision making that influences an ethnic-SDO from the individual level. Several studies have identified a particular framework to measure decision-making, such as economic framework and signals framework both under outcome value uncertainty (Lynn et al., 2015) and under stress (Kelley et al., 2019). Conceptual of framing also used in particular studies of economic exchanges (Lynn et al., 2015) with the zero-sum game (Chang et al., 2016) by money allocation decision (Krosch & Amodio, 2014) as money as scarcity resources (Krosch & Amodio, 2019). Identification of Bugis's reference point of inference to inter-ethnic cooperation contributes to the theoretical of ethnic- SDO that decision-making factors affect enhancing-hierarchy in economic activities. With stereotypes and eagerness to succeed, this powerful impact asymmetric-behavior in intergroup behavior. The hierarchy between ethnic in the community also strengthens when there are social institutions and legitimizing myth that enhancing the hierarchy. Finally, by these three level of power, the inequality between ethnics in coastal community stable

from Bugis migration coming to this sites in first generation.

Data showed that ethnic-SDO works in intergroup relationships in Indonesia are without activating a blatant prejudice. It could be because of a moral inclusion of Bugis member that inhibits the tendency to generate a harmful behavior to other groups. It differs from Passini and Morselli (2016), who found that moral exclusion becomes a mediator the effect of SDO on subtle prejudice. Other studies conclude that high SDO tends in aggressive behavior.

Moreover, decision-making provides an individual's framing in economic activity. It convinces that as a human, decision making also eligible to uncover the inequality or social hierarchy issue in humankind's behavior. The result showed that the framing of Bugis people has a point of reference for other ethnics to be their counterparts in economic activities, such as having skills and can be trusted (good attitudes). Indirectly, they implied that only Javanese who can fulfill their point of reference. This result may become essentials for many scholars that assessment SDO in the inter-ethnic relation is suitable for ethnic-SDO. Besides sociocultural factors, decision making also becomes one variable needs to review in further research as long as its contribution to enhancing the hierarchy at the individual level. The earlier studies are common to identify related constructs with SDO in society and interpersonal level.

The result informs that intergroup relations conceptual among ethnic groups occurred in a hierarchy based on the income-based on their livelihood strategies. In

contrast, the intergroup behavior is ideally be supported in equal status conditions of member groups involved (Brewer, 1996), especially in economic activities. It is an array that each ethnic member group could make attempts to create an economic opportunity to maintain their position in the social hierarchy or mobile to a higher rank. We identified that this behavior is influenced by her/his memberships based on ingroup or outgroup feeling with referred to Social Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987). We use this approach to cover the relationship between the social identity of the superior group triggered by SDO to act dominantly to other ethnic groups. Moreover, SDO builds ethnic inequality through its' role in causing a Between-ethnic group inequality (BGI) structure (Houle et al., 2019) with a mechanism to use power as to attenuating or enhancing the hierarchy or ethnic inequality in three-level in their economic behavior. Another structure that comprised of ethnic inequality is Within-ethnic group inequality (WGI).

Scholars use this concept of ethnic–inequality (Houle et al., 2019) in many areas. Our study did not measure a thing based on ethnic diversities but explore it by the whole structure of the group from outgroup and ingroup. Our results identification that high both for WGI and BGI is a unique characteristic of intergroup ethnic inequality in Indonesia's SDO play as an indigenous. We found that their values and cultures to motivate them to preserve a high- rank of the hierarchy. The intergroup relation is affected by social identity and perception, where the motivation for maintaining or challenging the social system would influence a perception (Kteily & Richeson, 2016). Nevertheless, the superordinate goals as Jambi people also play important too.

Regarding the SDO construct, ethnic-SDO in practices also more accessible to identified by informants because they just recall their values and beliefs about inter-ethnics relations in their economic activities. It will be different if the SDO is not operationalized in ethnic-SDO (Sibley & Liu, 2010). If there is no limitation of groups they assess, informants can imagine other social groups that important for them. Unfortunately, if the assessment only based on general SDO, the results could be unjustified with the purpose of the study. In the future, the ethnic-SDO studies are feasible in intergroup or interethnic relationships, both qualitative or quantitative approaches. On one side, the ethnic- ODS underpinned by the quantitative approach could be analyzed by correlating it with other ideologies or legitimizing myth, such as religiosity. The similarity of religion become one of the supporting element to enabling communication from majority to minority (Bikmen & Sunar, 2013). The legitimizing myths also could arise from cultural values, such as harmony and collectivity, from a qualitative approach involving an identity from insiders.

Economic activity as one domain for Bugis ethnic's assimilation into local people's culture in the settled area so that it will open a better psychological and socio-cultural adaptation for all ethnicities. This strategy could bring them to achieve the psychological and socio-cultural adaptation in the migration destined area (Lebedeva et al., 2016). Therefore, the assimilation and multicultural existing in the settled area into Jambi culture was something deemed capable of reducing social inequality. Furthermore, this is also essential for other associated stakeholders who have mainstream for equality and diversity for a citizen to access resources and networks. They must design a social program that enhances the subordinate group to be more suitable to challenge the threats and uncertainty situations.

This effort in the future, at last, can be able to reduce the discrepancy in Indonesia (the reduction of Gini index) and encourages the enhancement of broader identity such as Bugis Jambi, Jambi or Indonesian citizens. In addition, a more operational view on the effort to reduce discrepancy with secure communication and cooperation among the ethnics to achieve a broader objective for a multicultural community (Waring & Bell, 2013). National development programs such as the Village fund also can become one of the social institutions at the community level to weaken social domination. Nevertheless, SDO has a negative correlation with affirmative action (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2013). It is visible from Arifiani and Sjaf (2017), who started the policy from the village government in the form of Village Fund, whose program in the infrastructure development sector is deemed as capable of distributing the development evenly in villages viewed from Gini index that is less than 0.4.

4. Conclusion

The planned and systematic integration and assimilation strategy done by Bugis ethnic in local culture and economic system in the multicultural settled area to play its role in the arena is identified in the adaptation of Bugis ethnic in the Jambi coastal area. In clearing contact with the other ethnicities in this territory, Bugis ethnic displays as an ethnic who has achieved the socio-cultural adaptation phase, which takes them to the highest rank form of social- economic establishment through exploitation on agrarian resources. This position, through the construction of SDO in the level of society, intergroup, and individual.

Moreover, the structure of ethnic inequality in livelihood strategies of Bugis's economic activities builds a high of Between-ethnic inequality (BGI) and within-ethnic inequality (WGI) where the consequences are as land- accumulation. SDO work in intergroup relationships does not involve a blatant prejudice in

three levels. The cause of ethnic inequality due to the work of SDO to enhancing-hierarchy in society level is comprised: (1) social institution (land tenure system, value-chain of agriculture and fisheries commodity and trading sector, fisher's group and cooperative, and local government) and (2) legitimate ideology (meritocracy, ethnic prejudice, elite cultural, and patriarchy) (society level). In contrast, the multicultural ideology becomes a legitimizing myth with a role as attenuating-hierarchy. In the intergroup level, efforts by Javanese people as the worker of Bugis plantation as landowners become as a signal for asymmetry behavior (intergroup level). Furthermore, Bugis' ethnics cultural values have more power in economic and stereotypes, enhancing the hierarchy (individual level).

In addition, Bugis's framing to build an economic cooperation with other ethnicities refers to the capabilities and attitudes of different ethnicities. They assumed these parameters are essential for them to when deciding to assure their productivity is maximum to bring the profit. It is behavior that they need to perform to avoid the risk of loss. This practice supports the enhancement of ethnic inequality at the individual level.

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