

# Symbolic Reproduction Space Silimo People in Cultural Structure Dani in Baliem Jayawijaya Valley

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*Abstract : Dani Cultural shifts in society have an impact on the re-interpretation of cultural symbols in silimo space. The purpose of this study was to discover new cultural symbols in the silimo space and reproduce the symbols in cultural structures. The research was conducted on Dani people in Kurulu Jayawijaya District. The type of research is the type of qualitative research. The informants were selected on the basis of the capacity of those involved in Dani's silimo cultural space. The data presented are obtained through in-depth interviews and participant observation. Completeness of the data is also reinforced through some references from early research reports on Dani people. Furthermore, through the symbolic and post structural interpretive approach of Pierre Bourdieu, the author attempts to conjure up the conceptual culture of Dani's silimo space . the existence of cultural movement in the society of Dani encourages them to reconstruct the new cultural symbols in silimo space. Through the process of cultural negotiation, new cultural symbols constructed by the community, among others, such as honai guest are interpreted as a symbol of the power of the Dani man; modern pilamo (healthy house), modern silimo (stone house) functioned by men for 'development' activities as a symbol of male relation in public space; is a form of male strategy to master resources in order to maintain its existence. Pondok Cendramata, a symbol of the identity of women to remain able to show its existence in society. The community's response and strategy in constructing the cultural cultural symbols reproduction in Dani's cultural structure.*

*Keywords: Symbolic Reproduction, Silimo Room, Cultural Negotiation .,*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Dani is one of the ethnic groups in Papua who live and thrive in his cultural circle. Since their contact with the outside world (Missionary Institute, the Dutch Government and the Government of Indonesia) as well as through a variety of policies and government programs indirectly influence the culture of the Dani (Alua A, 2003: 3-19; Koentjaraningrat 2003: 289 -292; Susanto-Sunario (penyt) 1996). The opening of the transport and information, the current mobilization and also reasons to migrate further encouraging changes in people's lives Dani natural. Silimo as a model of a traditional settlement smallest basis his formation comes from mythology "naruekul" (Mulait & Alua A, 2003: 55-74), knowledge of cosmology, and the belief system of the Dani (Heider K, 1970: 209-211; Melalatoa, 19, 97 : 17-23) is now also experiencing changes. The author observed no new forms in space *silimo* ones I will show in the results of this study.

There b ome previous research on the culture of the Dani in the Baliem such as: *The Dugum Dani* (1970) by Karl Heider; Peoples and Dani in the Central Highlands (1993) by Koentjaraningrat; describes in detail the silimo building units and their functions. In the public health Ethnography Dani in the Baliem Valley (1993) by researchers Anthropology UI; study *Silimo: Old Civilization in Irian Products* (1993) by Melalatoa, J; and *Spatial Silimo Dani Based Culture* (1996) by: Hartati, TC; Cultural phenomenon *silim o* in the study of Numbery G (2007) which is examined through the analysis of Levi-Strauss structuralism. According to the authors, studies assessing the b elumlah *silimo* in the context of changes in an effort to redefine the elements of *silimo* as culture and community identity. Works above study, see the "culture" as a system of inherited conceptions in symbolic form that this way people can communicate, preserve, and develop their knowledge and attitude toward life. Such cultural understanding in the terminology Abdullah (2006: 9) called the *generic culture*. culture is a derived or inherited guideline.

This study was conducted to read reality o rang Dani now faced with the choice to negotiate or maintain their culture in the new social and cultural environment. By Raymond William, in his book entitled "*Culture*" that attempts to maintain the necessary existence of what is called "*reproduction*". Reproduction is understood as a form of change in the effort of existence (William R, 1981: 185). Understanding refers to a process of transmitting norms and cultural values that still exist from generation to generation. Cultural reproduction refers to the mechanism for sustainability and existence of previous cultural experiences. This means that on the one hand the form of tradition is still maintained, but on the other hand other needs are also accommodated.

Through the concept of cultural reproduction, the writers felt the need to review the structure of meaning *silimo* Dani culture. This is done by taking into account people's living conditions and culture of the Dani people today who have experienced a shift in culture to an. Therefore, the theory of "praxis" is the author's choice of constructing new cultural symbols da lam

structure Dani culture. Bourdieu that there is a reciprocal relationship between the objective structure ERUs reproduced continue downloading in the praxis of the actors who occupy positions the structure. In this process, the perpetrators articulate appropriations and cultural symbols contained in the objective structure as a strategic action in a particular social context (Bourdieu 1977: 83). In the interpretive approach of Geertz the concept of "culture" is usually expressed as a symbol system. Therefore, in this context appropriate term used in an attempt to reproduce these cultures was the author uses the term *symbolic reproduction*. For that study was conducted to find the symbols of cultures and reproduce these symbols in *silimo* cultural space.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

### Research sites

The experiment was conducted in Baliem Jayawijaya, precisely on the scope of the Dani people in Kurulu District.

### Design and Type of Research

This type of research is qualitative research. This type of research is considered suitable to find and understand the dynamics process of Dani society who are experiencing a cultural shift and researchers trying to interpret the new symbols that arise due to the shift of the culture. To capture data up to the process of data analysis, the researcher uses an interpretive (interpretative symbolic) approach to the theory of practice from Pierre Bourdieu.

### Research Subject

The determination of research subjects was conducted with a comprehensive selection model, ie. the research subjects are representative of the cultural theme, namely traditional figures / family members / residents of silimo that are still traditional or have undergone changes and functional of custom silimo either male or female adult.

### Data collection

Library studies are conducted to search and collect: 1) data related to Dani culture and cultural shifts in the life of the Dani community; 2) collecting literature related to symbolic interpretation research models and cultural constructivism studies (symbolic reproduction). Observation involved focused cultural themes ie silimo environment as a place of residence of the community. How the circumstances in terms of shape, position and community life in the silimo. In-depth interviews were conducted on key informants understood about Dani's culture.

### Data analysis

The process of analyzing the data has been done since the first came to the research location. Any data obtained through observations, interviews and literature studies are analyzed. This analysis is associated with symbols and meanings conveyed by informants. Researchers should mark password cultural symbols as well as to identify it. Through the data the researchers make a conclusion based on the theme of the research problem.

## 3. RESULTS

### *Symbols New Culture Indoor People Silimo Dani.*

The new cultural elements in the dwelling are as follows: **First**, father YM On *silimo* occupancy in Sompaima village, Kurulu. Visible residential building *silimo* are still very traditional, each consisting of one unit *Pilamo* (male house), three (3) dwelling units *ebe-ai* or her house, a long kitchen (*hunila*) with three cooking stoves and in side kitchen against pig pens. It is surrounded by a deep fence and an outside fence. *Pilamo* directly opposite the entrance there is an arch shape (*mokarai*). It appears that the power cord is about 10-20 meters tall the occupancy of silimo. There are 3 point light (illumination apparatus) of electricity that connects the kitchen, house men and women home. According to Mr. AM, *silimo* lamp mounted in such a government assistance program through PNPM Mandiri in 2013. In addition, there is one new building units shaped *honai* but slightly modified form. Dani community called it, "honai guest". *Honai guests* is located on the left of the entrance. In *hona* i guest there is placed a few chairs and tables for guests, floor *honai* given a plastic carpet and household appliances which are commonly used when entertaining guests such as a couple of glasses and plastic cups, containers of drinking water cookers electronics and radio tape. Through the results of the interview Mr. YM said that:

*"... This guest guest was built by the tourism office, we did not ask but they said honai we make it so that if there are guests who come see mummy, they can rest at this honai. Ordinary also if there are guests who want to drink coffee that I cook myself, we usually direct Make a. (Sompaima, November 20, 2014).*

In this dwelling as well, there is a *small cottage* which held a number of crafts Dani society. They sell to the tourists who come to visit his *silimo*. In the cottage see some mothers who organize and offer wares to visitors. **Secondly**, a new culture Forms also looked at the father *silimo* Kumima LD village, Kurulu. In residential traditionally there is one building healthy homes (permanent home with health standards) which functioned as a male house (*Pilamo new*), 1 kitchen traditional, one housing unit of women and lined 3 pigsty is located behind the house healthy and well dealing with women's homes. According to Mr. LD:

*Although, I live in a healthy home but I still have family silimo, which is located next to his house. I use this house to receive guests, or meetings with groups of farmers or groups of cattle in this village. I coordinate all the groups here. If the city or the information from my government s collect them in this, or also in the village office. If it's in Pilamo, it's common for old people to gather. (Kumima, November 25, 2014)*

**Third**, Shape changes seen in traditional housing is also seen in *silimo* by Mr. L O in Pisugi District (one of the district division of the District Kurulu). Residential house shaped healthy house / modern house. But they also have *silimo* as a form of traditional settlements. Within the complex there are two houses *silimo* women (*ebe-ai*) and a *silimo*. According to the mother LO, *silimo* occupied by both his wife and his in-laws. The new kitchen (new *hunila*) that serves not only to cook but also as a place to store utensils, foodstuffs (other than sweet potatoes, there is also rice harvest from their fields). Kitchen leaved doors and roofed have been selected, the inhabitants of this *silimo*, often leaving him and going *silimo* remained in his old hometown. Therefore, the kitchen was built for reasons of safety of kitchen appliances as well as foodstuffs. Changes to the shape of the kitchen was built with a grant Respect 2013. Additionally LO father and his wife live in a *healthy house* on the outskirts of the Pike River Bridge. Mr. L O never followed Automotive Mechanic Training Program in 2009 in Malang, East Java. So in addition to working as a paddy field farmer in his village he also develops the skills that were acquired when the apprentices went through when he returned to his area.

**The four**, *Modern* contained in Kurulu owned by Dani status of Civil Servants neighboring districts Jayawija yes. members of the legislature in Jayawijaya district and province of Papua. There is Kurulu residents also settled in the city of Wamena who work as teachers, nurses, members of the military, the police and legislators s and serial entrepreneurs choosing in a modern home. Some residents built their own homes but there also occupy the official houses. Several informants gave an explanation that, in general, the people here also wanted the new model house but the funding issue, the desire could not be realized. The reason people choose to live in modern homes, as revealed by the father of DM in Jiwika, that:

*"Before the father marries, the father lives with the parents in the village of Jiwika. We live in silimo owned by parents in one big family. After marriage, mama (wife) with our children live in a board house built in front of Jiwika village district road. The first wife of Serui, and now the father is married again, the wife of Java. Father woke up another board house for the 2nd wife (lies not far from the first house, about 50 meters from the first house). This house is also used for selling (kiosks). I work in Koramil civilian in Kurulu. I chose this house because, second wife is not accustomed to live in silimo (Jiwika, 25 April 2015).*

Work these houses are not equipped by traditional fence, do not have a yard / grounds were used as a garden, as well as the pigpen.

Besides Mrs. HL Yiwika a village head also live in the house built by his family board .. As said by Mrs. HL that:

*"If living in silimo, we women have a house (ebe-ai) it is only used for sleeping alone. The room is small, can not store the things we always need everyday in our work. If in this board house, there can be cabinets, chairs and tables and can be used to receive guests or a place to discuss "(Jiwika, April 20, 2015).*

The house is equipped with a fence planks of wood at the top was covered in grass. As HL's mother's house in front *silimo* family restricted by fences but he continued to interact with their cousins who live in the *silimo*. Mrs. HL besides acting as headmen Yiwika replace her deceased husband, she also has a garden around the house (*okutlu*) Likewise he has pigs but the animals often cared for by members of her relatives.

**The fifth**, a new form of culture in the Dani occupancy is a modern house commonly called a stone house. Seen in the life of Mr. LM. Together with his family from polygynous marriage, they settled on a stone house he built in 2007. LM is a scholar, working as a civil servant in Yalimo district. Previously, had been a member of legislative kabupaten Jayawijya for one period. The first and second wife is Dani perempt from Baliem valley who also holds bachelor degree. Together with his 7 children, Mr. LM and his 2nd wife live in the stone house. The construction of the house consists of 3 parts, the first part is the men's house. This part belongs to the husband as the head of the family, its function is almost the same as the building pilamo in a traditional settlement of the Dani (*silimo*). This building functioned Mr. LM to work and discuss or meetings with relatives or colleagues and also as a place to receive his guests. In addition it also functions as a foundation office that is engaged in Economic Empowerment of the community and the secretariat of the new district Regions expansion of the district "Okika" based in Kurulu. Fused with the man's house there are two houses / rooms on the left and right side is the house belonging to the second wife. The form of a man's house (head of the family) is greater than that of a woman's house (wife). This is the same as the concept of building pilamo and ebe-ai on a *silimo*. In this building there is also a traditional kitchen (*hunila*) which is long and located at the rear of the stone house. There is also a kitchen that is part of the construction of stone houses that are utilized to process food in a modern way. Instead the traditional kitchen (*hunila*) which is located separately from the stone house building. *Hunila* is divided into two spaces that are given a wall board. There is a building that serves as a gathering place is located on the left front of this stone house and there is also a garden (*okutlu*) in front of a house planted with sweet potatoes and corn. According to Mr. LM that this house is the process of embodiment of his dream in collecting all members of his *batih* family. As one of his wives told Ms. RM that:

"... we Dani Valley people have been taught by our ancestors to live and live together. If in the tradition we live in one *silimo*. All wives put together do not stay separated in the other *silimo*. A husband is responsible for gathering wives and children and living together. The husband is responsible for maintaining and protecting the family members, therefore, as a form of responsibility is the protection and security in the house where he lived, or around gardens workplace of his wife and children. Therefore, the father built this house for us to live together." (RM, Wamena, April 23, 2015)

Ms. MM (2<sup>nd</sup> wife) was a scholar has a brick print businesses that are usually sold to the public or is required by some CV which runs development projects in the city of Wamena. Ms. MM also have a business entity categorized yai greet tu CV 2, named "Wiolani" this foundation in 2005.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

This study shows that there are new cultural symbols in *silimo* culture space. The process of acceptance or negotiation of cultural symbols formed from the interaction of society with its environment can be external or internal. The external process shows that in today's society Dani puts the government and its development programs as a new "force" in the formation of values and social order. Development programs or government development interventions in the social realm of "silimo" are seen in some social practices that bring new symbols back to life, both material symbols such as honai guest, healthy pilamo are cultural symbols as government products. On the contrary seen in behavioral symbols can be seen through the emergence of new activities for women in *silimo* such as demonstrations of traditional clothing when tourists visit or men practice processing coffee to serve guests. In contrast new internal cultural symbols originate from "individual power" in expressing the cultural symbols.

In this context, we describe some process of forming new cultural symbols in the social realm "silimo". The Dani (male and female) habitus of society that appears in the social realm of "silimo" today, is not a habitus formed from a single and linear source but a habitus that is born in the dynamic realities of Dani society. That is, the habitus of the agent (male and female) is not only derived from cultural values but also comes from information or sources of mass media / electronic knowledge even through association with non-ethnic communities. The existence of men symbolized by Pilamo is currently less show the role or activities of social and cultural in everyday life. Traditionally the role of men as agents in cultural structures is to carry out the functions of security and religious functions. This function is related to the history of the Dani people who were active in the "culture of war" and engaged in religious rites to create harmony in life in society (1970: 105-133; 134-139; 211; 252-163).

Different conditions when governments and religious institutions prohibit the existence of "culture of war", men seem to lose their duties and responsibilities. The presence of government institutions (police / TNI) and also religious "minimize" even prohibits the role of Dan men (such as adat warfare). The religious (catholic and Christian) influences that society receives also diminish their fear of "mogat" (evil spirits). Understanding the teachings of these new religions into a new "power" against the magical practices that have been bothering them. Nevertheless Dani culture that adheres to the principle of patrilineal, always put the position of male (husband) as the leader of the family or head of the family that must be respected.

Reduced or missing men's duties then men are unconsciously as agents who occupy pilamo as social sphere "silimo" began to organize his life back in order to survive or survive in the community. Through Jayawijaya Tourism Office implement tourism promotion programs one of them is to restore *silimo* space as a "market" which by the agent involved in the realm keep struggling to seize the existing resources in order to survive.

Through the program, there is interaction and negotiation between traditional values and government programs as new cultural symbols that enter and adapt the program in the life order of Dani society. *Silimo* spaces are arranged according to religious values, beliefs, worldviews that bring back new cultural symbols through the addition of new space within the *Silimo* complex. This new space is called Honai guest, pilamo modern, healthy house, From the name or term given to the new building unit gives meaning to the ownership or symbol of the presence of men. The terms honai and pilamo have the same meaning, ie men's house.

The presence of honai guest as a form of community interaction with the new culture, then the society negotiate new symbols in the framework of his (male) interests. The presence of the *guest honai*, as a form of male strategy to fill the "void" male roles do not appear again as dilarangan "culture of war". Honai guest is also a form of male strategy to seize the "power" in order to remain able to show its existence in the reality of social life Dani society. Here it is seen that Dani (male) society is able to cultivate a cultural value order or cultural symbol for its sake. If *Pilamo* traditionally have sacred values, then the guest honai as *Pilamo* representation in the new cultural values and the profane.

Honai a function to receive the guests who came to visit the traditional *silimo*. Traditionally, the Danis charted the duties of men and women on different sides. Men play a role with all *public* activity and that are *external*, while women on the contrary, play a role in *domestic* activities and *internal*. The nature and extent of labor of men and women as agents in this objective structure is the symbolic capital possessed by agents to struggle with the habitus in the social realm of "silimo". That is, Habitus does not work alone, but always works in its relationship with the social domain (*field*) and social capital (*capital*).

By understanding the process of formation of *the habitus* of male and female Dani as an agent in the social sphere "silimo" is, then we can understand the symbolic *reproduction* process "Pilamo" in the cultural structure Dani people. Through the symbolic reproduction process of "pilamo", the Dani man refreshes the cultural values or cultural symbols of the "lost" Dani people are reproduced in the everyday context. The daily activity of this is that in the *pre k tik* pengertin artikulsi *habitus* Bourdieu is a circuit that forms and simultaneously turn on a *male* identity symbolized by *Pilamo* in the structure of the Dani culture. The creation of a *practice* encouraged by certain *habitus* by agents (male) is a symbolic reproduction process in an objective structure. This reproduction takes place in everyday life so that the process takes place outside the agency (male)

consciousness. That is, in this context the agent does not reflect and evaluate the whole tradition before taking action. *Pratik* lasts as habits of everyday life agent (male).

The description of the above-mentioned reproduction process is a symbolic reproduction form at the level of material symbols that is a physical symbol and can be caught sensitively like the example on the guest honai described above. The form of material symbols reproduced in the context of the other "silimo" social domains can be explained by case examples from Mr. LD (another explanation can be read in chapter IV).

Also visible *silimo* occupancy patterns, which puts a healthy home as a form of development interventions in a complex environment *silimo*. As explained above, the community habitus is not only derived from the cultural value system but in the course of history individuals or communities can accept and adopt other sources of habitus such as through the development information received through ongoing interaction process of interaction.

In connection with the public interaction with new activity in the government or the private sector, the community put a healthy home as *Pilamo* representation in the new culture. Healthy home functioned as a modern *Pilamo*, is a form of traditional culture of negotiation with other forms of activity are entered as a new cultural products. According to Mr LD as described in Chapter VI of that, he chose to change the traditional *Pilamo* into modern *Pilamo* hereinafter called the "healthy home *Pilamo*" because according to the tasks *diebannya Pilamo* was effectively implemented in a healthy home. New activities as coordinators in farm work groups and farming groups form and encourage them to always build relationships or networks with outsiders either government, church or private institutions.

Activities and habits reflect itself as the position of the subject (agent) in the community can be translated as *habitus*. *Habitus* gives individuals a framework of action in dealing with individuals others in the community. This *habitus* is a product of interactions between individuals in the dimension of time and space and essentially this *habitus* grows without awareness.

*Pilamo* healthy home, is a symbol of the existence of men. Symbols that reinforce new activities emerge in place of the traditional role of "fond" men of war, a new activity that replaces religious roles through rituals of ancestors usually done in *pilamo*. Along with changes in the role without realizing it, people (men) reproducing the symbols of his *to-male-in* the form of a new culture. With the symbolic capital, the role of men in public space and social capital building networks *sosail* with government, religious and NGO then the agent (male) were able to seize the resources to create a presence in order to *survive* in society. *Pilamo* as a male symbol possessing sacred values is now reproduced as a profane modern *pilamo* but it is unconsciously a form of male strategy to maintain "yes-power" in a new social space. *Pilamo* symbol are reproduced in the form *Pilamo* healthy home is a process that takes place outside of awareness agent (male) as agent (men) do not first evaluate the whole tradition before acting. The new meaning implicitly behind the symbolic reproduction is to create symbols of male "power" in its social realm.

The same thing can also be seen in one of the forms of modern houses owned by Dani Kurulu living in cities Wamen a. *Silimo* ber- modern *style* derived from *habitus* owners who for so long had been *terinteraksi* continuously in social life. *Silimo* Air-modern style, hereinafter referred to as "*silimo* stone house" is a form of cultural complexity that are internal. That is, the complexity in a culture that is reflected in this board *silimo* house is built on the ability of the economy and the existence *silimo* owner by the owner actually did not bring the values of tradition entirely. This *Silimo* emerged as a form of negotiating the values of tradition with the lifestyle of urban society as a new accepted cultural form (an explanation of this can be read in chapter VI).

*Silimo* stone house is a symbolic reproduction process of traditional *silimo* symbols. Building construction that presents "inom" symbols in a people's cultural structure is a form of homeowners' strategy to stay adaptable to change in a new cultural environment without abandoning cultural values. *Pilamo* layout and *ebe-ai* shows the value of togetherness *dann* relation value that woke up in the social domain. In those realms, seen the position of agents who occupy these structures move continuously with *berdasarkan* habitus and its equity. Social sphere composed of individuals who are positioned in an objective in a set of social relationships, each of which has a capital (resources) as a means of struggle for prestige, wealth and power.

*Pilamo* modern in this context is the position occupied by the agent (male / husband) while *ebe-ai* modern occupied by an agent (women / wives). Each agency has the resources or capital. Husband had the cultural capital (academic), as a scholar he gain access as a civil servant, previously, as a member of the legislative ; in addition to the cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital also encouraged him to fight in his social sphere. Social capital is fully networked with the government, the church, political party, civic organizations *sehingga* flow of information easily accessible; symbolic capital he has is as a "functionary indigenous" people Dani Kurulu, a direct descendant of chiefs Mabel in Kurulu and clear economic capital it has on the world of work (PNS) and economic resources from the 2nd wife, who worked *sbagai* civil servants and the another businessman brick, or manage their own CV. Likewise, the 2nd wife also has a quality that is almost equal to the husband (male).

*Silimo* reproduction process which appears in the life of the father of LM is the process of activity or *practice* that is driven by dispositions (*habitus*) specified by the agent (male and female). Activities that take place by each agency and supported by the above-mentioned capital is a form of struggle for the agent to keep a presence in these positions.

The implications of the model *silimo* the stone house is the melting of traditional values and replaced with new forms in an attempt to maintain the existence of life. Changes in this building, is a function *Pilamo* modern replace *tradisional Pilamo* function. As described in chapter VI that, *Pilamo* modern of LM father serves as a secretariat of the regencies Okika, as the foundation's office and also as a place to discuss co-workers is a symbol of "the struggle" to keep *survive* in the social sphere. So also the agent placed female symbol, with the quality of the (capital) which they had fought to keep a presence in the social sphere .

The findings of a new cultural symbols more to reinforce the identity of women in the social sphere "silimo" is the presence of "cottage / handicraft selling point *teletak* at the position between traditional *Pilamo* with kitchen (*hunila*) at the house of Mr. YM. Reality shows that habitus women Dani not only serves to form social life as traditionally, women are symbolized as the sun, the women who have to work in the garden or taking care of livestock in order to improve the status / prestige of her husband are now faced with a new social life "sell in *silimo* ". *Habitus* here is a reaction or response from the outside. Their

visitors or tourists as well as government programs create new elements in silimo. Traditional values negotiated with the outside world changes that bring the values of traditional culture into the differential.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This study shows that there are new cultural symbols in Dani's silimo space. The Dani society habitus is not a rigid but loose interpretative scheme that allows individuals to strategically accommodate new situations and innovative practices. It is seen that the presence of new cultural symbols in the social sphere of "silimo", among others honai guest, pilamo modern, healthy pilamo give new meaning in the life of Dani society that traditional values, traditional ties that become the reference of generic culture must be negotiable - the new applicable values that can make choices in determining the attitude of his life. Understanding the culture of the Danis must begin by redefining the culture itself, merely as a generic culture but as a differential culture, negotiated in the whole of social interaction. From the various changes that affect people's lives, respondents and strategies are needed to adapt to outside influences. The process of the emergence of the response of this strategy that shows the existence of symbolic reproduction in silimo space.

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