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Livelihoods Pattern and Territorial Claims In the Ecology Change from Agriculture to Mining (a Case Study of Gold Mining at Gunung Botak)

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A B S T R A C T

This study aims to analyze livelihood pattern and dynamics of territorial claims from indigenous community and indigenous institution on the area of gold mining as the source of income for their family. The research used the constructivism paradigm with the qualitative method approach using one single case. The results reveal that before the existence of the gold mining, agricultural the dominant pattern of livelihood developed by the indigenous community. After the discovery of mining gold (2012 until now), non-agricultural sector dominant the pattern. This period can be considered a revival period for indigenous community as they can get out of poverty. The community experiences basic change in every aspect of the life compared to the situation before the existence of gold mining. The families are now able to own houses, save money, and send their children to higher level of education. Territorial claim of mining area by the indigenous community of Buru regency is caused by very bad historical experience. It was the expropriation of thousands of fertile agricultural land for the detention place of 14.000 people involved in G.30.S/PKI from 1969 to 1979. This period was also marked with the plunder of forest product (*Shorea platyclados*) and the placement of 5.891 families from Java who joined the transmigration program from 1979 to 2006.

Introduction

Research on patterns of livelihood and claims of mining territorial, especially in communities around the mining area is not a new issue in scientific research. Among the research Akiwumi FA (2011) in Sierra Leone, concluded that the public do the

double living strategy husband worked as farmers, fishermen and miners, while his wife opened a shop and vegetable traders. While Wetzlmaier (2012) in South Philippines, found that the presence of mines in the surrounding indigenous

community resulted in the degradation of traditional values of society, affecting indigenous ancestral domain and change the source of livelihood for the power relations in society has changed. However, studies with the same theme of the study on indigenous community have not been there. The management of mining in Indonesia is very bad. This is illustrated by the lapse of time in 2011 and 2012 there has been a conflict in the mining area of 203 cases (Anonymous, 2013). Even Mining Advocacy Network (2005), states that the mining industry is closely linked to poverty, especially in areas directly related to the exploitation activities. From a social and community aspect, to the presence of the miners mostly immigrants have a negative influence the surrounding communities, such as alcoholism, prostitution, and gang feuds (Pudjiastuti, 2005). For the indigenous community of the island of Buru there was a concept of division boundaries of natural environment. They have certain characteristics that only understood by them such as: (1) protected area as a sacred value (Mount Date, Lake Rana, and shrines in primary forest, (2) the area cultivated, covering residential, gardens, woods hunting or gathering, eucalyptus forests and fishing spots, and (3) the area is not cultivated, includes the former orchard (a'ong) and grassland. The essence of the conception and understanding of the environment with a variety of custom rules are intended to benefit and at the same time maintaining the value of the existence of a unit area that has an identity that must be preserved. However, the current developments in the presence of loggers who obtain the right to cut down trees on state license, there has been a change in deterioration environmental quality, also impact on changes in the social and economic aspects of society. Buru people have customary norms to protect primary forest which they consider sacred.

During the Soeharto regime and other, they captivated the leading figures among the very famous is the author Pramoerdya (1995). From his pen scratches, many stories about both melancholy and tragic story tells about the lives and stories of political prisoners in Buru Island and its people. Information about the people in Buru island he reported was very tendentious due to lack of close social relationship linked at that time due to tight security.

It must be recognized that indigenous society in Buru still keep the story of a very inhumane experience to treated to political prisoners. Containment region for the first time they called *Tefaaf* (The Utilization) and eventually called *Inrehab* (Installation Rehabilitation). Very ironic that indigenous community also captured as a result of the implementation of the layered security system. New Order government decided that the of plains Waeapo as a prison of political prisoners is not an empty area, arid and no owner. The area was later claimed by the regime as a state owned. Though it is a storehouse of food for autokton in Buru, because there is a habitat of sago palm (*Metroxylon sago*, *Arecaceae*). Sago is the staple food of Buru. The ecology of the area drastically transformed into rice fields for wetland rice crops up to now.

From this activity, the New Order finally set in idea for forest exploitation on a large scale by giving official permission from the state in the form of forest concession to entrepreneurs. The presence of modern economic concessions in the middle of the jungle in island of Buru have a major impact on autokton who are still nomadic. Alienated characteristics and isolated life in the mountains, immediately confronted with a choice between waiting or guarding the sacred area of the dwelling place of their ancestors. Because the state has officially

granted the right of the forest clearing to the concessionaires. All of these happenings was a reality that must be faced by the Buru people which will give a new impact in the internal relations between them. That is going to affect the control of natural resources due to its holdings controlled by customary law by kinship groups. Besides that there is a kinship group encountered customary rights become narrow or reduced.

This study aims to analyze the dynamics of territorial claims made by indigenous community and indigenous institutions of the gold mining region as a source of family income.

Methods

The research was conducted in the gold mining region of Buru island of Gunung Botak, district Waeapo, Village Dafa, Indonesia. The main reasons for the determination of the location of research managed in that region gold mining area is done traditionally as a source of family income of indigenous community, there is a later it became conflict with local government of Buru and the immigrant communities. Paradigm is used to solve the problem of power relations and actors contestation underlying patterns of domination, the use and ownership of natural resources. To identification how the indigenous community constructing nature and the environment so that they can identify themselves and take advantages in the middle of the vortex of access contestation of natural resources in the district of Buru. To gain credibility of research results, the researcher took some suggested by Guba and Lincoln (1990), which is repeated observations, triangulation, and researcher input. The informants to be interviewed in this study are: (a) the indigenous communities (tribal

councils, traditional leaders, and indigenous community). The process of data analysis refers to the access theory of Ribot and Peluso (2003), the theory of ownership rights (property rights) Ostrom (1990) and Schlager (2002), actor theory (Bryant and Bailey, 2001).

Results and Discussion

Pattern of indigenous livelihoods

Before Mining

Livelihoods of indigenous community prior to the gold mining comes from the agricultural sector. Strategies undertaken to meet the needs of the household include: (1) The strategy of patronage, made especially for households that lack of venture capital. Strategy is done through lending capital from farmers or members of the public who have capital. The process of venture capital returns include capital and interest amounting to 20-30% at harvest. (2) Vertical solidarity strategy, built on the collective social moral ethics based on social capital. Farmers who lack capital to lend capital to middlemen. The process of return on capital at the time of harvest, with 40-50% interest. Farmers must sell their crops to middlemen at a cheaper price than the market price. (3) Strategy solidarity horizontal, built of social capital at the level of social bounding existing and developing indigenous community of the island of Buru. This strategy, by the local people called "Masohi". This practice is done during land clearing and harvesting. (4) Strategy owed, occurs when the seasons change and the weather that causes the risk of crop failure. Faced with this problem the local farmers lend money to other members of the community who have the money. The return process is highly dependent on the time of harvest by not including interest. (5)

Strategy odd, farmers fortify himself by not having a single living activities but through diversification of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992, Ellis 2000, Scoones 1998). Livelihood diversification encountered among others as farmers, workers unloading, a builder, a motorcycle and a pedicab driver. (6) Temporary migration strategy, carried out to obtain other financial sources of the major sources of livelihood that is temporary. In this strategy the Local of this strategy study generally or mostly done by make who work in traditional market as pedicab drivers and construction workers in the city of Ambon.

Post-Mining

The main source of livelihood of indigenous community after the gold mining sourced from non-agricultural sectors. Strategies undertaken to meet the needs of the family household includes: (1) Strategy patronage, made especially for members of the public who lack capital. This strategy is done by lending capital from investors who are in the community as well as from outside the area. In the process of returning the venture capital community can replace it with a whole, as well as the investor would receive a portion of profits in accordance with the amount of gold obtained. (2) Vertical solidarity strategy, showing how the kinship system which is built on a different social structure. This strategy looks at the study site, when members of the public to access the capital shortage in the mining area. They will be looking for community members who have the capital to lend. In the process of return of capital are generally the same as the strategy patronage but sharing venture capitalists usually get a larger share of the fellow members of the group, after the capital returned in full. (3) Horizontal solidarity strategy, emphasizing how social capital is built on a social level bounding.

This strategy is reflected mainly on fellow members of the indigenous community of the same age or contemporary school. Venture capital usually borne jointly. The process of sharing the results of operations that usually contribute more will get a greater share.

Territorial Mining Claims

Before Mining

Prior to the gold mining in this region, the majority of the indigenous community of the island of Buru household subsistence farmers. It is motivated by the availability of natural resources (land) are highly available and promising. As farmers, they seek more annual crops such as cloves and nutmeg which is one of the characteristics of the people of Maluku. Businesses that are settled this stems from the garden planted with crops. After the land felt no arable crops, only then planted with annual crops (cloves, cocoa, nutmeg and sago). This garden, then to the Moluccas called *Dusung* (traditional agroforestry). By Oszaer (1996) stated *Dusung* is an indigenous form of traditional mixed farming in the Moluccas in a pattern combination longevity and short plants cultivated in a particular area, where the results were not taken at once, but in accordance with the production cycle of crops grown. To benefit from this *Dusung*, allowing people to not productive in improving the business in agriculture, especially annual plants. For they have all been available in *Dusung*.

This fact also occur in indigenous communities in the district of Buru. They are classified as extremely poor, as a result of its natural indulgence. His life just to meet the primary needs, with only consume cassava, sago and other types of crops. Other evidence drawn from, almost all have

that covered with sago leaf roof, walls and dirt floors. Even if there are roofed Zenk, generally obtained from government assistance. This lag effect also on the level of education. According to data from Buru district education offices nationwide in 2011, the level of education of indigenous community in this region: (a) had not completed primary school (50%), (b) graduated from primary school (25%), (c) graduated from Junior High School (15%), (d) graduated from High School (8%), and (e) graduation diploma (2%).

It is recognized that the low level of education of indigenous community, not because of lack of interest to get education, but more due to the limited availability of educational facilities. Factor is the low level of education has resulted in them only rely on agriculture as a livelihood. Even now, they want to step up efforts towards commercial agriculture, also constrained by the availability of soil/land. This problem began to be felt since placed transmigrants in the region by the government. Where since the year 1979 to 2006 has been placed transmigrants from Java as much as 5.891 households. With this program has spent thousands of hectares of arable land which is customary rights.

Post-Mining

This period can be regarded as a period of revival or the triumph of indigenous community in this region. Said that because there has been a fundamental and comprehensive change in every aspect of the lives of indigenous community than before the mining of gold. Almost all indigenous community now have all the people who are not classified as poor again. Everything has been fulfilled, both the needs of primary, secondary and tertiary. Examples almost all indigenous community have had a very decent home, have some luxury goods

(motorcycles and cars) and other valuables as well as educate their children at a higher level.

Overall financing of the above requirements derived from its natural resources the Bald Mountain gold mine. Since it was found they jointly make a claim against this mining area. According to them perhaps it is time to be able to improve the welfare of the life of poverty that had been perceived. Proof of this effort mining claims against the guard at every entrance to the mining area to the migrant communities in the area. For those who want to enter in the mining area charge.

There are two periods of territorial claims forms mining area, which is done by the local indigenous community as a source of household income: (1) the first period when mining was found, the form of a bill for 100.000/person for one entry in one day, (2) the second period, for those who wish to enter the mining area shall have a deer cards and card mine. Deer card is intended for those who work as bearers of mine material (from the excavation to the processing site). While mine cards for those who work as diggers and miners mining pit. Deer card sells for Rp.1.000.000/person, while mine card Rp.750.000/person, with a validity period for both for 3 months.

By some local traditional leaders are expected with the implementation of these billing models are expected to contribute to the improvement of household welfare of indigenous community. This is in line with the opinion of Ellis (2000), that one of the capital of livelihood society says is the natural capital that is composed of soil, water, and biological resources used by humans as a means of survival.

To potential or existing gold reserves in the region, according to the results of geological

research resource center Maluku province in 2009 concluded that the gold reserves identified in Buru district, located in 31 locations, with a total area of 6.300 hectares.

It was also realized by the local indigenous community that this resource is one of the non-renewable resource, so should be well managed so as to be sustainable as a source of household income. Based on their understanding of this that one of the ways is the restrictions imposed for newcomers who want to make a living in this mining area.

The real form of the results of gold mining in particular territorial claims embodied one of the main sources of income are made by the local indigenous community is to re-invest capital in businesses more productive. For example, opening a kiosk, buy a car to public transport, build houses, and send their children to a higher level.

Conclusion

Prior to the gold mining, pattern of living that was developed by the local indigenous community are more dominant in the agricultural sector. Post discovery of gold mining (2012 to now) is the dominant livelihood pattern derived their living in the non-agricultural sector.

Attempts to claim territorial mining as a source of new income by household indigenous community caused by the historical events of the past two very tragic. Both political events that serve as memory for indigenous community, with the deprivation of the rights of his customary namely: (1) the appropriation and plunder of thousands of hectares of forest products (*Shorea platyclados*), in the year 1969 to 1979 when the area was used as a place of detention (concentration camp Tefaat-Buru) for 14.000 people involved G.30 S/PKI by the Soeharto regim. And when the

dissolution of this detention camp in 1979, with the permission of the central government of this region subsequently used as a place for dozens of private entrepreneurs for the development of industrial timber estates and Tenure Forest until today, (2) authorization by the central government to put as many as 5.891 head of transmigrants from Java, who performed a total of 6 times placement since 1979 to 2006. Against these events resulted in indigenous community have lost tens of thousands of hectares of fertile agricultural land.

Recommendation

1. Changing the paradigm of natural resource management systems (mining) is now only purely economic oriented paradigm (pursuit of profit). But it must be oriented to the recognition that the normative against public ownership over natural resources with various forms of legislation, which recognizes and regulates the customary rights. In addition, the approach taken now the compensation approach (land and crops) belong to the community does not provide a solution to conflicts mining. This approach is closely related to the level and state recognition of ownership of people. Whereas further examination using compensation approach cannot provide a guarantee for the sustainability of life in the society.
2. In order to manage the mining runs well, good regulation are needed to control or managing natural resource with using the principle of equitable and sustainable management. One of them that need to be examined and adopted is the principle of Free, Prior, Informed

Consent (FPIC). The FPIC principles associated with the four basic elements of the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent applicable cumulatively, namely:

- a. Free relates to the free state without coercion. This means that an agreement may only be done on a wide selection of free will of the society,
- b. Prior means before the project or specific activities permitted the government must first obtain permission from the society,
- c. Informed means information about the cause and consequence about the project must be opened as wide as possible, and
- d. Consent means agreement given by the community itself.

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