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## PROCEEDINGS

The 8th International Symposium of Journal Antropologi Indonesia  
Universitas Sam Ratulangi, 2-5 August 2022

# What are the roles for anthropology in this time of multiple crisis?

Department of Anthropology  
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences  
Universitas Indonesia



The 8<sup>th</sup> International Symposium of Journal Antropologi Indonesia

Proceeding

*What are the roles for anthropology  
in this time of multiple crisis?*

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Sam Ratulangi  
2-5 August 2022

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## Foreword

### **What are the roles for anthropology in this time of multiple crisis?**

We hereby present the proceeding of The 8th International Symposium of Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia (ISJAI), which has been successfully held at Universitas Sam Ratulangi, Manado, North Sulawesi, from August 2 to 5, 2022. This symposium carries a theme that is very relevant to the global situation, namely "What is the Role for Anthropology in this Time of Multiple Crises?". This theme not only invites anthropologists to reflect on their role in times of crisis, but also provokes a critical discussion about how anthropology can make a real contribution in understanding and dealing with the challenges arising from multidimensional crises.

The crises we are facing today, ranging from climate change, social injustice, to pandemics, have profoundly changed the order of social life. In this context, anthropology plays a unique and important role, due to its ability to integrate scientific knowledge with local knowledge. In this symposium, the discussion on the production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge became one of the salient issues. The speakers and discussant explored the relationship between scientific and local knowledge, as well as the challenges faced in learning and integrating the two types of knowledge in a fair manner. Anthropology is a bridge in filling the epistemological gap between knowledge generated from scientific studies and knowledge built locally through community cultural practices.

One of the important dimensions discussed is the uncertainty that arises from various crises. The panels in the symposium highlighted how people face uncertainty in a variety of contexts, from natural disasters to government regulations that are often considered ambiguous. In this case, anthropology offers a different perspective through contextual analysis of how societies respond to policies and how uncertainty affects their attitudes towards regulation. This discussion also examines the phenomenon of public ambivalence towards government policies, as well as the contradiction between what is stated and what is done.

In addition, this symposium expands the category of analysis in understanding crisis in a multidimensional way. The participants discussed a range of phenomena that can be considered crisis, not only on an individual and community scale, but also on a regional, national, and global scale. These include examples such as gender-based violence, marginalization of vulnerable groups, and shifting social roles due to neoliberalization and globalization. The discussion emphasized that crisis must be understood in a broader context, involving different levels and diverse perspectives.



Not only limited to theoretical analysis, this symposium also explored various new methods used by anthropologists, especially in the midst of the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. In contexts where direct participatory observation becomes difficult or even impossible, anthropologists are adapting to using digital and virtual methods. Discussions about the use of virtual ethnography and local participation in research opened up new insights into how anthropology can continue to be relevant in times of crisis. The use of local participants as in-situ researchers, as well as the shift in focus on new study objects, such as online gender-based violence, demonstrate methodological flexibility in dealing with the reality of the global health crisis.

One of the main strengths of anthropology is its relevance to policy making. Through perspectives based on field experience, anthropology provides insights into how government policies and regulations are implemented, dealt with, and even changed by society. The symposium highlighted how policies often do not work according to their original goals and how communities, especially the marginalized, are often victims of the policy process. However, on the other hand, the discussion also looked at how local agencies can leverage policies to their advantage and counter the negative impacts that arise.

With all the dynamics that occurred during this symposium, we see a convergence between anthropological theory and practice, involving various actors, including activists. Themes such as agrarian reform, infrastructure, and resistance to power took center stage in the discussion, with the foundation on political economy theory linking social values and materiality. This shows how anthropology remains relevant in answering crucial questions in the time of crisis.

Through the various panels and discussions that took place during this symposium, we believe that this proceeding can be a valuable source of reference, for both academics and practitioners, in understanding the role of anthropology in the time of crisis. We hope that, with the publication of this proceeding, the contributions of authors and speakers can continue to spark a broader and deeper discussion on how anthropology can play a role in responding to an increasingly complex global crisis. Thank you to all participants for their active participation and contribution to the success of this symposium. We look forward to seeing you again at the 9th symposium of the Journal Antropologi Indonesia.

**Dave Lumenta, Ph.D**

Editor in chief

Journal Antropologi Indonesia

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## **PANEL 1. EPISTEMOLOGY, ADAPTATION, AND DISASTER MITIGATION OF MASYARAKAT ADAT NUSANTARA**

### **The Adaptation of Children's Disaster Education Methods in Japan for Children in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra**

*Mukhlis Arifin*

Disaster preparedness has been discussed amid the frequency of multiple disasters globally that have occurred in the last decade. The triple disaster in Fukushima that occurred in March 2011 already shows us how severe the damage when disaster came consecutively. Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction marks the awareness that there is the possibility that disaster can cooperate and increase the destructive power to the society's livelihood. Scholar has given a warning about the threat that potentially occur because of human action and the global condition of the earth. This warning needs an immediate response, especially in giving the children proper knowledge about the disaster. As a vulnerable group, children need a model of understanding to survive during a disaster. Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, Indonesia, is a small town with multiple disaster probabilities: flood, landslide, earthquake, and volcano eruption. This paper will analyze how Japan, as a country prone to disasters, provides education to children from an early age to prepare themselves for disasters. This method later will be recomposed to match children's behavior in Bukittinggi. This paper will be using the qualitative method. The data will be collected by interviewing the children in Bukittinggi and literature studies to understand disaster preparedness education in Japan. Seeing the condition of Indonesia, which is experiencing a demographic bonus, disaster preparedness education is a crucial thing that needs to be built and developed in Indonesia, especially in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra.

### **"Kleinhoviahospital" Sebagai Solusi Pengobatan Penyakit Scabies di Pengungsian Hunian Sementara (Huntara) Lere Pasca Bencana Gempa Bumi, Likuifaksi, dan Tsunami Kota Palu, Sulawesi Tengah**

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Post-Natural Disasters (Earthquake, Liquefaction, and Tsunami) that hit Palu City, has caused problems for victims of natural disasters. This is because it not only causes death and injury and damage to infrastructure, but also has an impact on health problems, such as the emergence of various skin diseases. One of the most common skin diseases found in refugee camps is scabies. This research was carried out from May 2021 to September 2021. This study aims to identify and understand patterns of belief and treatment for scabies disease suffered

by victims of natural disasters in temporary shelters (huntara) Lere. This research method is a case study with an individual experience approach (life history approach). There were 6 informants in this study, namely, 2 patients who had suffered from scabies disease, 2 patients' families and 1 sando/shaman, and 1 assistant for Sando. Data collection was carried out by semi-structured in-depth interviews with informants. The results showed that residents with the help of Sando or traditional healers were able to overcome and treat scabies disease by utilizing the local Balaroa plant "Kleinhoviahospital" that grew around the refugee camps as a treatment solution. In line with that, this paper suggests the need for institutional involvement to revitalize local wisdom which is currently being threatened with extinction, as a solution in health that is often experienced by the community, as experienced by residents in the Lere refugee camp.



## PANEL 2. MOBILITY CHALLENGES OF A BORDER POPULATION IN THE CELEBES SEA

### Women Priest in the Celebes Sea: An Exploration into Christian Ministry in the Archipelago Area

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#### **Introduction**

The existence of women in Christian ministry today is increasingly active with the opening of opportunities for women in church duties. In quantity, many church denominations have involved women as pastors, both as Church Leaders and Ministry Pastors. Academically, research related to women who are women in the profession is widely discussed about leadership in the church with its relation to patriarchal culture in the church, where the existence of women as leaders still has many obstacles because of gender positions that are considered inferior. This shows that church service is more associated with structural matters. The women's movement in Christian ministry was highlighted because of their coming to the mission area to follow their husbands who became evangelists. Their position depended on their husbands' great fame in missionary service. For example, the gospel movement in Minahasa is famous as an area that upholds equality, including the opening of opportunities for women to become pastors. On the other hand, Christian services are carried out in archipelagic areas, especially in the expanse of islands in the Sulawesi Sea. Within the scope of service of the Evangelical Church, namely the Sangihe-Talaud Evangelical Church (GMIST), the Evangelical Church in Talaud (GERMITA), and the General Protestant Church (GMPU). In particular, the ministry activities carried out by women pastors in the islands are interesting to study. Moreover, framing a natural situation that has diverse narratives related to the experiences they feel in service activities. Visits to homes and supporting aspects of the ministry such as services from the congregation. The formulation of the problem from this study intends to discuss the experience of women pastors in carrying out services in congregations in islands in the Sulawesi Sea area.

This study used qualitative research methods. Thus, the data obtained in the form of descriptive data is based on the experiences of women pastors who perform ministry in the island area. The research approach is exploratory so it intends to explore data in the field which is rarely seen as the main data of research. The selection of informants is carried out by snowball sampling technique, where the initial informant starts only 2 (two) people and develops until the data obtained reaches the saturation point. Primary data sources were

obtained from interviews with women priests and vicars, meaning that they were preparing to be confirmed as pastors. In-depth interviews are conducted in 2 (two) stages, the initial stage is an introduction to service conditions, the second stage is more specific questions related to experience during service in the island area. The informants had different general ranges, from their 20s to their 50s. The service period carried out is also different from a minimum of 1 year 2 months of service to have served for 30 years. The location of ministry of informants varies, including the church denominations they serve, namely Sangihe-Talaud Evangelical Church (GMIST), Evangelical Church in Talaud (GERMITA), and General Protestant Church (GMPU).

### **Gender Equality, Is It a Problem?**

This research found narratives with positive meanings, such as service must be based on a pure need to serve. The acceptance of the congregation does not look at the gender that women pastors have, but how they carry themselves into the congregation. The narrative conveyed as showing their position as women does not affect in service activities.

### **Hiking, Joining Cold Lava and Boating: Women Pastors and Spatial Issues**

In doing service, it has been helped by the service schedule. So pastors serve where they will serve. Some women pastors who are stationed on large islands (meaning large mainland islands not small islands) access to the location of ministry visits is easy. The location of the visit can be accessed by motorized vehicle, such as by motorbike or car although rarely. However, some pastors have to serve on small islands by boat because the location cannot be reached by vehicle. There is also experience in the ministry where they have to go through cold lava paths because it is in an active mountainous area. Also walk from noon to the location of the visit in the afternoon. Spatial conditions are a challenge in performing services. However, congregations often accompany women pastors so that they can carry out services smoothly. The communal strength of the congregation (in addition to special ministries) encourages them to accompany pastors in visits. The boats they use to serve belong to members of the congregation who give voluntarily,

### **Willing to serve, but still young: The Challenge of Young Pastors in the Middle of Old Congregations**

Doing service must be faced with a culture of elders who still glorify the authority of gerontocracy where the policy and authority in managing the congregation are the elders. Meanwhile, pastors who serve are considered young and considered unfit to manage congregational services.

## Conclusion

In collecting research data, no complaints were found from informants related to differences in treatment because of their position as women who work as pastors. Gender equality is part of the daily culture of the congregations they serve. The conditions they experience such as power outages and networks that are often lost become commonplace, not something that hinders service. However, the problem of those who have to serve in visiting locations that are difficult to reach and have to take a boat when serving on small islands. Socio-culturally, segregation between young and old is a research finding that needs to be explored more deeply.

## Bordersea: Population Dynamics and Cultural Networks

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The aim of this study is to describe and analyze the dynamics of the population and cultural networks formed in the border area. Border issues are often marginalized because they are far from the center of government. In fact, if you want to investigate further, the border is the front porch for a country to maintain the sovereignty of its nation. The dynamics of the population in the Sulawesi Sea area became a central point after Indonesia and the Philippines were formed as independent countries. The Sulu Strait, Sulawesi Sea, Maluku Strait, Makassar Strait are the commercial routes that connect European and local merchant sailors. The Sulawesi Sea area became the main hub connecting the mainland of Maluku, Sulawesi, and the Philippines in the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The dynamics of the population in the past and cultural networks have shaped and built communities in border areas which resulted in groups being 'marginalized' and 'marginalized'. Various historical documents record the dynamics and relations of people in the Sulawesi Sea Area, hereinafter known as border communities between countries. The sea boundary between Indonesia and the Philippines is a space for interaction for people who are still surviving. For them, the relationship in the past, the closeness of culture and culture is the main glue to maintain the dynamics and networks in the Sulawesi Sea area, especially the border area. Community activities in border areas were initially formed through networks and community dynamics in the past. The traditions of the people in the border areas are able to survive in the midst of the influence of colonization and even the fishing activity shows the process of adapting traditions and knowledge in the Sulawesi Sea area. Communities in border areas take advantage of traditional knowledge in sailing and not infrequently among them also become guides, navigators, to certain areas, especially around the Sulawesi Sea area. For people in border areas, there are no specific territorial boundaries when talking



about maritime traditions that have become ancestral heritage. Territorial restrictions, in their understanding, only apply de jure, but de facto territorial separation does not always follow the concept of modern national boundaries because of the similarities and unity of culture, tradition, and unifying language.

This study attempts to describe and analyze the bordersea area in a historical perspective that intersects with dynamics and networks to community relations as an entity and identity. The historical method is used in this study with a social science approach, especially those dealing with dynamics, networks, and relationships that are formed in the community. Kartodirjo (1995) concludes that historiography with historical inheritance from within, history from within, will produce a critical study in historical writing. The historical method as Kuntowijoyo (2007) writes that the choice of topic in writing is considered important because it will present a historical study not only with a periodization background, but will also show the causal relationship of an event that occurred. On the other hand, Kuntowijoyo (2007) also said that historical writing requires 'auxiliary science' as an analytical tool in order to show factual credible historical writing. In the process of writing this study, the historical method becomes a reference in obtaining data and sources that are considered credible and accurate.

In this process, dynamics and networks are part of the process of forming community groups with personal, group, and institutional expressions. The results of this study indicate that a historical process has implications for the dynamics and networks carried out by border communities to form ethnic identities. The Sulawesi Sea acts as a connecting area between countries, nations, in the scope of history and culture, so this study is expected to contribute to the study of the border area of two countries and nations. In the Indonesia-Philippines border area, this can be seen when the community is directly involved in cross-border trade. For them, the kinship relations they maintain will have an effect when carrying out cross-border activities in the perspective of social and economic relations. Some of them actually married and later became a couple from two countries with one tradition.

### The Information of Historical Trade of The Talaud Island Indonesia in International Trade Routes in the Context of the ASEAN Economic Community

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The construction of an economic center in the border region is very important because it is directly adjacent to other countries. Talaud Island Regency is a cluster of archipelagic groups which since the time of BC have experienced a period of glory. At that time even though the trading system was still barter and other traditional trade models. Qualitative methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from people and observable behaviors. This arrangement is reflected in the traditional structure of the Talaud archipelago, traditional figures as the pattern of the citizens, being

exemplary and highly respected by all citizens of the community, once regulating the social control system in the daily lives of their citizens. This is manifested in various values, attitudes and behavior, among others, in the livelihoods system both as fishermen and farmers in the international trade with traditional models to the context Asean Economic Community (AEC). As a border area, Talaud Island in the North Sulawesi Indonesia can function as: Barriers to separation, seat belts and defenders of state sovereignty, Portrait of identity or image of honor and dignity of the nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia in the interaction of the international community.

The enactment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 has the effect of creating a free market in the fields of capital, goods and services, and labor. The aim is to increase economic stability in the ASEAN region. Facing the free market of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) the Indonesian government is required to create a variety of strategies in order to build new economic growth centers in the border areas. Within the framework of the AEC, Indonesia has the opportunity to take advantage of domestic economies of scale as a basis for gaining profits. In addition, neat collaboration between state authorities and business actors is needed, among others: Infrastructure both physically, socially, culturally, law and policy needs to be addressed, increasing the ability and competitiveness of workers and companies in Indonesia, Do not let Indonesia only become a spectator in their own country the implementation of the AEC by exploiting the facilities and infrastructure owned.

The construction of an economic center in the border region is very important because it is directly adjacent to other countries. The phenomenon that generally occurs in border areas in Indonesia is seen far from economic growth and even minimal with infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and other secondary needs. This makes the tendency of people to prefer to neighboring countries that have better economic conditions. Until now, it seems that the government is busy dealing with boundaries, stakes and defense security, merely showing the prestige of the state in the eyes of the international community but ignoring the welfare of its people. Even though one thing is very important and needs to be made into a reflection material, when the economy is controlled by other countries, the state will lose its sovereignty, on the contrary, nationalism will emerge and will jointly maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia when people feel prosperous because their welfare is noticed. Judging from the historical cultural aspect, the people in the border area of the Talaud Islands have long engaged in intense economic transactions with other countries, namely the Philippines. If the Indonesian government is unaware and unprepared, other countries will easily enter to dominate economic transactions, because the border region is the entrance to the community from and to Indonesia and vice versa. Talaud Island Regency is located between two islands, there are Sulawesi Island and Mindanao Island (Republic of Philippines), so Talaud Island Regency has different characteristics from other regencies / cities in Indonesia, namely as a border area and an archipelago as well as naturally become one of the "Terrace" Republic of Indonesia in the Asia and Pacific region. These characteristics have been and are reinforced in the Presidential Regulation Number 7 of

2005 concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan, which states that the Talaud Islands Regency is an Inter-State Border District in North Sulawesi Province, with the capital Melonguane. As for the distance from the provincial capital North Sulawesi is about 271 nautical miles. The islands in their old designation are Maleon (Karakelang), Sinduane (Salibabu), Tamarongge (Kabaruan), Batunampato (Nanusa) and Tinonda are Miangas. Since the colonial era there has been a pattern of population mobility traditionally between Indonesia and Philippines because of the economic aspects and not a problem for the colonial government. Problems arise after the independence of Indonesia and the Philippines, because each country wants to uphold the sovereignty of its territory so that population mobility between the two countries in the border region is regulated in the Border Crossing Agreement (BCA) in 1956, which regulates population mobility for the purpose of visiting family, excursions and trading

As an archipelago, Talaud Islands Regency is a maritime area with a sea area of around 37,800 Km<sup>2</sup> (95.24%) and land area of 1,251.02. As reported (D. Brillman; 1938) Almost no month has passed without a time when a great earthquake occurred ". The surrounding sea area is quite complex characterized by the presence of deep basins, for example in the north there is Mindanao island with a maximum depth of 10,830 M which is the deepest sea basin in the world.

This research is a descriptive research, aimed at describing in detail about certain social phenomena in people's lives. Bogdan and Taylor (1982: 81) qualitative methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from people and observable behaviors. This approach is directed at the individual background in a holistic manner. Qualitative research is research that uses natural backgrounds with the intention of interpreting phenomena that occur and are carried out by involving various methods that exist. (2018) In qualitative research the methods commonly used are interviews, observations and utilization of documents. According to Bungin in qualitative research the researcher did not quantify the data obtained. The data obtained will be analyzed and described based on the findings of the facts of the research in the field (2018: 18). It can be synthesized that qualitative research intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the subject of research such as behavior, perception, motivation, actions etc. holistically and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, on a special natural context .

Talaud is historically cultural as a world paradise for the people of Europe because of its natural wealth and a very strategic location on the lips of the Pacific, very easy to reach. Paradise was lost because of the greed of the colonizing nations / colonies or rulers of the time. Greed in mastering the spice trade has contributed to the elimination of the value of human survival which is a picture or symbol of a group of people who inhabit islands on the Pacific lip with Paradise or Heaven

Paradise is a beautiful name that has been embedded in the values of life in every person or individual who is noble as a human being who believes in the Almighty as the creator of the heavens and the earth, the sea and everything in it. So He is the Reversible of the Universe that preserves, protects and maintains human life that is pleasing to Him, has been inherited from generation to generation in the structure of religious indigenous communities, ties the ties of brotherhood with love for each other. also the maintenance of harmony in the natural environment that is good for human life. This arrangement is reflected in the traditional structure of the Talaud archipelago, traditional figures as the pattern of the citizens, being exemplary and highly respected by all citizens of the community, once regulating the social control system in the daily lives of their citizens. This is manifested in various values, attitudes and behavior, among others, in the livelihoods system both as fishermen and farmers.

In the growing season the traditional leaders play a role in determining the planting season (*jamba matitim*) as well as for the fishermen at sea, the traditional leaders play a role in advising and holding traditional ceremonies, in making fishing gear such as canoes and nets. The role of traditional leaders is always at the forefront in revealing their religious values and in it the clergy are an integral part of the lives of their citizens, even though they have been passed down for generations, both in the golden age and then Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch as invaders but behind all that religious life in indigenous communities has opened itself in spiritual life from time to time, aspects of spiritual life have been integrated with the socio-cultural aspects of its citizens, so it is very difficult to distinguish even almost impossible to discriminate. The daily life of citizens living in this area in the struggle of life with the European nations above, the faith and customs of Talaud island did not fade and falter, until it entered the era of Indonesian independence, in the Pancasila democratic state system, a small area became a district.

Culture is all the results of creation, intention and human taste. According to Linton, (1936) in his book *The Cultural Background of Personality*, culture is the constituent of the configuration of behavior learned and the results of behavior that the constituent elements are supported and passed on by certain community members. Culture cannot be separated from people's lives because all aspects of people's lives can be said to be manifestations of culture, such as human ideas or thoughts, human activities or human-produced works.

The movement of the world economy that has been predicted long ago by Dr. Sam Ratulangi that initially the world economic power oriented in Europe, in the future, new economic power will emerge in the eastern world. Geopolitics of the world from the Atlantic Ocean region is the location of western countries towards the power of the Pacific Ocean region where Asian countries are located. Some world experts propose this thesis as well, countries with new economic powers such as Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore as the Asian Tigers and Indonesia are again following the Asian Tigers because they have capital namely strategic positions in the Pacific region. This condition is a potential as well as a

threat to the integration of the Indonesiannation in terms of social, cultural aspects.

Intense geographical facts of interaction between the border communities of Indonesia and the Philippines, in the form of border crossers, trafficking / smuggling, fish theft, and mutual influence on cultural patterns. Moreover, people in the islands that are directly adjacent to the Philippines sometimes depend on their economic conditions with the Filipino people. These facts can be a threat to integration. On several occasions the Philippines showed its signs to return to the Indonesian island at the border.

Talud Island is a cluster of archipelagic groups which since the time of BC have experienced a period of glory. At that time even though the trading system was still barter and other traditional trade models. the life of the people in the blood has prospered. The history of the long journey of the people who inhabit this archipelago is not much found in the inscriptions, but many things can be seen from the historical heritages of artifacts and fossils, namely: among other things Chinese ceramics in the cemetery old graves or in caves or as revealed by a Swiss researcher from the UK who lives in Australia, namely Prof. Bellwood. He was a flying lecturer from the Chambera University, in 1974 he had researched this area including the Duanne Musi Hill Cave, also in Salurang, Sangihe. His research results have been recorded in one archived article in the center of national archeology. Prof. Bellwood in his research found objects estimated to be 6000 BC, namely ceramic items, stone axes and other relics. Barter trade and the spice monopoly trading system by European countries had formed trade colonies. which aims to monopolize the spice trade in Indonesia, including in the region of the archipelago. From the aspect of geographical location is very strategic, amid the trajectory of world traffic, between the eastern and western parts of the world, and the northern and southern parts of the world. Internal resource capital provides a contested wealth of crops, history records the "Spices" produced by the archipelago as the main trigger for the emergence of the history of imperialism. Today Indonesia is one of the countries that have the greatest natural wealth in the world that cannot escape from foreign powers.

The nation from the European continent that first arrived in this region was the Portuguese. The Portuguese had made this archipelago region into its territory so that the control of the spice trade was not disturbed by traders from China, Persia and Gujarat from India, so the plants as spices such as cloves, nutmeg and others were transferred from this region to Ternate. The Portuguese intend to destroy (discharged) spice plants from this region. The journey of Ferdinand Magelhaens expedition arrived in 1511-1521 and arrived in the region with a head of a sailboat fleet, Santos. Santos was killed in Philippine Mindanau, then the Spaniards continued (Ferdinand Magelhaens expedition)

In the context of the AEC, all parties are pushing themselves to face these conditions, including the border region in Indonesia such as Talud which should be a strategic point to be developed as a potential area in ASEAN free market conditions. Now we must think that the strategic potential of the Talud archipelago with potential marine resources, the

location on the Pacific and between several countries, as well as the borders as the frontline of the archipelago and the cultural history of the Talaud people are the capital that needs to be developed in facing the ASEAN free market.

### **AEC and Opportunities in Talaud Islands Regency Become New Economic Growth Areas**

In the context of AEC Indonesia has the opportunity to utilize the advantages of domestic economies of scale as a basis for obtaining profits. In addition, good collaboration between state authorities and business actors is needed among others: Infrastructure both physically, socially, law and policy) needs to be addressed, increased capacity and competitiveness of workers and companies in Indonesia, do not let Indonesia only become a spectator in the country itself after the implementation of the AEC by exploiting the facilities and infrastructure owned.

The development of an economic center in the border region is very important because it is directly adjacent to other countries. As for the phenomena that occur in general the border areas in Indonesia are seen as far from economic growth and even minimal with infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and other secondary needs. This makes the tendency of people to be more happy with neighboring countries that have better economic conditions. Until now, the government is busy with the affairs of country's resources as outlined in policies and national strategies driven by the geographic national aspirations of a country, if done and will succeed will have a direct or indirect impact on a country's political system. (Suradinata, in Sarundajang, 2011). Geostrategy is a combination of economics, geography and strategy approaches. Mainstream economics tends to ignore spatial or spatial dimensions. (Kuncoro, in Sarundayang, 2011).

The previous research by Pratiknjo, et al (2014), said the condition of the Talaud archipelago and traditional trade that occurred until now, that most of the Talaud people on the border were fishermen and farmers. Frequent trips to the South Philippines, economic life is very dependent on the Philippines, sometimes they feel as Filipinos. If you travel to the Philippines for family matters or sell proceeds, it is only provided with a travel letter issued by the BCA Marore District apparatus. The people of Marore and Miangas mostly live in Saranggani Island, General Santos, or Davao. They are known as tough, hardworking workers. If they make transactions using Peso money, Rupiah is rarely used. Even though it is part of Indonesia, the economic interaction of the people is closer to the southern Philippines. The distance between Marore and Balut is only about 40 miles. The geographical condition forced the Miangas and Marore people to interact economically naturally with the Philippines. Prices of rice and sugar are relatively cheaper to buy in the Philippines than buying in Tahuna or Manado because they also consider the risks and costs of travel.

The Gaps / inequality in various aspects of people's lives compared to other regions in the area of the legal community of North Sulawesi and the western regions of Jakarta in general, is very likely to give rise to emotional jealousy and the potential to develop into public



disappointment presenting community dissatisfaction (ethnic ) Regional social conditions and conditions that are likely to grow values that can destabilize the integrity, nationalism and patriotism of the nation's children who live in this border region.

As a border area, Talaud Island in the province of North Sulawesi can function as: Barriersto separation, seat belts and defenders of state sovereignty, Portrait of identity or image of honor and dignity of the nation and state of the Republic of Jakarta in the interaction of the international community. In this context the image is considered good if it shows progress and excellence, on the contrary it is badly portrayed if it is still struggling with various afflictions and remains in the backward position as experienced so far. In addition, it is the gateway in the northern part of the archipelago for human, goods and capital traffic in the future if this region is successfully empowered, especially in order to enter the implementation of interregional cooperation in the Asia and Pacific region (BIMG-EAGA, ASEAN, and APEC).

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## Border Policies and the Sangir's Translocality

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Cross-border journeys have become a common phenomenon for many Sangir people in the south of the Philippines for decades. Most of them have family members on the Indonesian side, including Sangihe and surrounding islands, Maluku, and some areas in mainland Sulawesi. The Sangir visit each other and maintain family connections through regular presence. The border management from both states, Indonesia and the Philippines, has disrupted and ignored their mobile tradition, creating negative sentiments about Sangir's everyday practices. This study offers the analysis of cross-border activities from the actor's point of view, particularly related to their sense of belonging and ethnic-based networking.

This paper employs the idea of translocality to understand such mobility among these Sangir. This concept was introduced by Appadurai (1996) to demonstrate the global circulation of people beyond the nation-state boundaries without omitting personal ties, including family relationships. Moreover, this study is motivated by Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013), who addressed the notion of translocality as a process and practice in producing local-to-local relations, enunciating the simultaneity of mobility, and situatedness in the specific places of habitation.

This research employs qualitative methodology using the inductive analysis of grounded theory. The analysis in this study is based on the community level in the southern Philippines, including the communities in Davao City, General Santos City, Sarangani Province and Balut Island. This study argues that cross-border movement among Sangir is not simply a form of resistance to state laws. Rather, it is one of their ways to create and recreate their sense of locality.

## From Medaseng to Diaspora in Indonesia – Filipina Borders

*Pristiwanto*

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Shipping community activities in the past era bringing up local term of Sangihe ethnic community in the Indonesia-Philippines border area, known as medaseng. Medaseng is defined as fishermen activities on searching for temporary shelter by setting up a hut for fishing in the open sea area close to the 'empty' land. This activity usually happened for a long time, days to months during the fishing season. The Medaseng activity had an impact for the Sangihe ethnic's fishermen community on present time, which is they had the 'kin relationship' until 'blood relationship' from that shipping lane. This paper describes the findings in the field using an ethnographic approach. The findings from this data indicate there



are a group of people from the Sangihe ethnicity (Indonesian) living on the small islands at the Indonesian and Philippine borders. Furthermore, medaseng also formed a "diaspora community", peoples who support maritime traditions until the mainland of the Southern Philippines. The Medaseng also involves crossing "border" activity between Indonesia-Philippines countries. This reality makes the "cross-border" issues mobilities so important because they carry out activities in the territory between two nation-states included fishing, trading, family and political visits, even the activities that are indicated by transnational crimes.



### **PANEL 3. INTERPRETING THE ETIOLOGY AND EFFECTS OF DISASTERS IN INDONESIA: ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSES AND INTERVENTIONS**

#### **The Bahodopi Community's Strategy On Potential Disaster In The Bahodopi Mining Area, Morowali District Of Central Sulawesi**

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The transformation of the Bahodopi area from an agricultural region to a nickel mining industrial zone has profoundly altered its societal and cultural fabric. The shift has triggered significant ecological changes, notably evidenced by the increased risk of natural disasters such as floods in villages like Dampala, Lele, Siumbatu, and Bahomakmur since the commencement of mining operations. Alongside flooding, the community faces potential threats to food security, stemming from damage to agricultural lands used for gardening and rice farming, resulting in decreased productivity due to soil erosion caused by flooding and sediment deposition.

Moreover, coastal fishermen in Bahodopi have experienced dwindling catches due to pollution from mining activities contaminating the coastal waters. Despite these challenges, the Bahodopi community has not succumbed to passivity; instead, they have collectively and individually devised strategies to mitigate the impacts of these disasters and threats. For instance, they have leveraged their status as "territory owners" to negotiate with mining companies, asserting their collective rights and interests in the face of industrial expansion.

To address the looming threat of food insecurity, some community members have adapted by altering their production methods and land use, focusing on commodities with higher resilience to environmental changes. Meanwhile, fishermen unable to navigate the polluted sea have sought economic opportunities in the burgeoning industrial landscape of Bahodopi, where many have found employment as migrant workers in mining companies. These individual tactics underscore the community's resilience, drawing on economic, social, and cultural capital to navigate and survive in the face of adversity. This study illuminates the resilience of the Bahodopi community, demonstrating their ability to coexist with mining operations while actively strategizing to mitigate the associated risks and vulnerabilities.

#### **Ecological Change and Flood Disaster in Bahodopi**

The flood incident in Bahodopi sub-district, Morowali regency, was recorded in the memories of residents in Dampala village and Lele village in the 1960s. At that time, they settled in a

place called Pariwasi on the coast of Bahodopi. The area is the estuary of the Dampala river which separates Dampala Village from Siumbatu Village. The flood at that time was one of the reasons they moved to higher ground to build settlements along the trans Sulawesi road. However, in the last period of time often experienced floods along with ecological changes in the area which was originally an agricultural / plantation area into a mining area. Mining activities that carry out massive forest clearing and land use cause flood intensity to increase in the Bahodopi area.

Floods are disasters that often hit residential areas because humans build settlements in areas that have the potential to be affected by disasters such as on the coast and rivers. This is understandable because humans need water to meet their needs. The problem is how to minimize the risk and avoid flooding in areas where human habitation is lived. Floods occur almost every rainy season in Indonesia. Flooding can occur in a fast time and a fast inundation time. However, according to the conditions of the region, flooding can occur for a long time and a long inundation time. Floods can occur due to high rainfall, overflow from rivers, broken river embankments, overflowing tides, blocked drainage or dams that collapse (Roger and Franziska 2006).

There are two causes of flooding, namely natural factors and human activity factors. The flood disaster is strongly influenced by natural factors in the form of above-normal rainfall as one of the impacts of climate change. In addition, human factors also play an important role such as improper land use (settlements on riverbanks, in catchment areas, deforestation, and so on), waste disposal into rivers, construction of settlements in floodplain areas. The amount of flooding depends on several factors, including soil conditions such as soil moisture, vegetation, changes in temperature / season, the condition of the ground surface that is tightly covered by buildings / bricks, cement blocks, concrete, settlements/housing and loss of catchment areas/land use change (Asdak, 2004).

Ecological changes that occur in Bahodopi into a mining area cause changes in land functions, especially agricultural land and plantations, including forests and mountains that are places for water catchment and disposal. Mining activities -- which peel mountains to mine ore' (nickel) mixed with soil -- turn forest areas that have been water retaining into open areas causing water in the rainy season to exceed the volume (capacity) before the existence of mining activities.. On the other hand, land conversion that occurs due to the need to build factories (smelters) and other mining support facilities such as offices, employee messes, and also population growth due to migrants causes the need for land for settlements (occupancy) to be very high. Residential land that was previously sleeping land became a place of settlement and place of business. This massive land use change and change contributed to the flooding that followed mining activities in Bahodopi.

Flood events that occurred in the Bahodopi mining area in the July 2010 period in the form of flash floods in Bahomakmur village, Keurea village, and Fatufia village as high as 1.5 meters caused rice fields, gardens, cattle and goats, and houses to be submerged so that crops failed. In July 2011 there was a flood because the Bahongkolangu river overflowed due to the Houling bridge or mining road collapse causing houses in Bahodopi village, Keurea village, Fatufia village, trans Makarti (now Makarti Jaya village) and Bahomakmur to be submerged. In June 2015, heavy rainfall caused flooding and infrastructure damage in Bahomakmur village, Keurea village, Fatufia village and Bahodopi village. According to a report by Walhi (2015) that the Bahodopi flood was caused by massive forest clearing so that the area that became a water catchment was reduced. The series of flash floods reinforces the suspicion that the forest area where PT. Bintang Eight Minerals (BDM) is no longer able to absorb water properly due to deforested forests, part of the tributary that flows into the Bahodopi River is missing which serves to divide water into the large river Bahodopi. The amount of water entering Bahodopi makes the dam no longer able to accommodate and withstand the torrent of water coming from PT. BDM.

In 2019 flooding events occurred in Dampala village, Lele village and Siumbatu village which washed away the bridge between Dampala and Siumbatu villages so that the national road trans Sulawesi route was cut off. Water submerged settlements as high as 1 meter and the number of affected residents was 52 families or 175 people evacuated. In Dampala village there are 70 houses, 1 house of worship, 1 school and village office. In Lele Village, there are 20 submerged houses. In the June 2020 period, the two villages were flooded again, as many as 744 people were affected, as many as 110 housing units were submerged and public facilities affected by flooding were 3 units of bridges severely damaged, 2 units of worship facilities, 2 units of health facilities, 2 units of government facilities and one unit of educational facilities were all slightly damaged. In addition, 2 irrigation units in the form of trenches and pipes along 5 kilometers were damaged.

In 2021, a flood event occurred in Lalampu. The mining activities of PT Cetara Bangun Persada (CBP) above Lalampu village caused flooding that carried material making the trans Sulawesi axis road passed by mud floods along the road for about 200 meters. The last flood event in the April 2022 period was in hamlet IV and hamlet V of Bahomakmur village. The flood occurred due to the overflow of river water in Bahomakmur village with a water level of 60 cm which affected 100 heads of families (KK) and Bahomakmur village offices and 1 mosque.

From the description of flood events that occurred in Bahodopi, changes in the ecological environment with the entry of the mining industry caused the frequency of floods to occur more often due to changes in forest functions and land use. On the other hand, mining activities are still ongoing and are even being intensively carried out and until now mining investors are competing to invest.

## **Bahodopi Region and Social Dynamics**

The area of Bahodopi District consists of mountainous areas, valleys (plains) and coastal areas. The center of settlement is generally along the coast following the trans sulawesi route that connects the Morowali regency of Central Sulawesi and the Konawe regency of Southeast Sulawesi. Residential areas have the potential to experience flooding because they are the lowest areas and discharges (waterways) when rainfall is high every rainy season, even in certain areas are swampy areas overgrown with sago palms. Bahodopi was previously an agricultural area with various farming practices such as rice farming, rice fields, plantation commodity crops such as cashew and cocoa. In addition, they also concoct forest products in the form of wood, resin and rattan and use sago land for food needs.

In socio-cultural dynamics, the Bahodopi area was the territory of the Bungku kingdom inhabited by Bungku people, Bajo people, Tolaki people and immigrants, namely Toraja people (Islam), Bugis people, Tolaki people who sought protection from the Palondongan, Lere'ea and Batupali areas (border areas of Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi and South Sulawesi) in 1962. They moved from their original settlements to isolate Kahar Muzakkar's DI/TII movement which was hiding from TNI pursuit. By King Bungku, they were given a place to settle in Parawasi, a location on the coast in the Bahomotefe region. This displaced area and settlers became the forerunner of Dampala and Lele villages which definitively became villages in 1965.

During the New Order period in 1995, the Bahodopi area also became a placement area for transmigrants from Bali, Lombok and Java such as in Bahodopi village (now Bahomakmur village), in Lele village as many as 100 families from Java and UPT Bahomotefe which was the forerunner of Onepute Jaya village was a placement area for transmigrants from Central Java, Lombok, Bali, East Java and local transmigrants totaling 512 families.

Along with the development of the nickel mining industry in the Bahodopi area, there has been a huge increase in population with the influx of new migrants. In Bahodopi District in 2018 Figures, the total population in Bahodopi District is 7,517 people with 1,738 households in 2017. If referring to the conditions in 2018, the number of employees of PT. Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP) registered as of August 2018 is more than 24,000 employees, it is certain that the population of Bahodopi sub-district can double. This assumption is obtained from the statements of employees, village heads, sub-district and district officials who state that most of the employees accepted at PT. IMIP has taken care of the transfer of domicile and status of residence as villagers in Bahodopi District. This number does not include migrants working in the informal sector who are trying to make their fortunes from the large number of workers who will spend their money. It can be said that in the period of the development of the mining industry and the increasingly intense mining investment in Morowali, especially in Bahodopi, triggered the increasingly complex community occupying

the area and the current condition is estimated that the Bahodopi area has around 50,000 people inhabiting it.

### Nickel Mining Activities: Potential Disaster or Welfare

Nickel mining activities in Bahodopi began with the New Order government's policy of issuing management permits in the form of contracts of work (KK). There are two companies that have a contract of work (KK), namely PT. INCO (now PT. Vale) and PT. Rio Tinto since 1968. Large concession areas such as in the provinces of South Sulawesi (Sorowako), Southeast Sulawesi (Konawe) and Central Sulawesi (Morowali). In its development, PT. Inco operates until now while PT. Rio Tinto did not obtain a CoW renewal permit and came into conflict with a number of companies that had IUP issued by the local government during the regional autonomy period in 2003. At that time, there were national companies that cooperated with investors from China such as PT. BDM. Investment from China under the banner of Shanghai Decent Investment (Group) Co.Ltd. In collaboration with PT Bintang Delapan Investama established PT Sulawesi Mining Investment (SMI) in Indonesia in 2009, it began development of a nickel mine covering an area of nearly 47,000 hectares in Morowali Regency. PT. BDM is the forerunner of PT. Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP). PT. This IMIP then became the operator of the entry of a number of foreign investor companies in the Bahodopi area.

In the dynamics of mining in Indonesia, in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 4 of 2009 concerning Mineral and Coal Mining which was then amended through Law Number 3 of 2020 concerning Amendments to Law Number 4 of 2009. This law brings changes in mining governance in Indonesia such as nickel, especially in the area controlled by IUP and KK owners. Companies that do nickel mining such as PT. Vale Indonesia (formerly PT. INCO) shrinks locations within the contract of work (KK) area, including in the Bahodopi area.

A study conducted by the Research Center for Peace and Conflict Management (P4K) of Tadulako University, 2018 a number of companies operating in the Bahodopi area are as follows:

Table 1. Company Name in IMIP Area, Fatufia Village

No	Companies	Sector	Land property
1	PT. Eight Minerals Star	Mining	21,659 ha
2	PT. Sulawesi Mining Investment	Nickel Pig Iron Plant (65x2 MW steam power plant)	66 ha
3	PT. Indonesia Guan Ching Nickel & Stainless Stell Industry (GCNC)	NPI Plant (PLTU 150x2 MW)	66.5 ha

4	PT Decent Stainless Stell	Stainless bar factory
5	PT Indonesia Tsingsang Stainless Steel	Final production of Stainless Stell (Steam power 2x150 MW) 58 ha
6	PT Broly Nickel Industry	Nickel management with renewable technology
7	PT Bintang Sarana Selaras	Companies in the area are concentrated on the development, and management of rental flats
8	PT Bintang Eight Terminal	Industrial Estate Port
9	PT Saka Dirgantara Energy	Regional Airport Management
10	PT Morowali Mitra Perkasa	stevedoring sector companies
11	PT. Dexin Steel Indonesia	Iron and Steel Plant
12	PT. Hengjaya Nickel Industry	Pig Iron Factory
13	PT. Light Smelter Indonesia	
14	PT. Ranger Nickel Industry	Nickel Pig Iron
15	PT Indonesia Tsingsang Stainless Steel	Manganese Silicon Plant

Source: PT. IMIP, 2018

Mining regulations and policies become opportunities for new investors, both local private companies and foreign capital companies or local and foreign cooperation that enter mining activities. However, many companies engaged in nickel mining only take and export raw materials / nickel ore (*ore*). National and local private companies that carry out mining activities with IUP and KP capital issued by local governments by mining *ore'* (nickel ore) in the former area. PT. Vale or land owned or controlled by local residents. Community land is mined after obtaining permits and fulfilling all requirements including negotiating with communities (landowners and village governments) for release and operation. In addition to large-scale companies such as those incorporated in PT. IMIP, this small-scale mining activity also contributes to the opening of forest land which is a place to absorb water which leads to flooding events experienced by communities in residential environments.

Mining activities also make rice farming activities not produce because material in the form of sand and red soil brought by floods causes agricultural land to be infertile so that residents prefer not to farm. In coastal areas, for those who make a living as fishermen, the results obtained are reduced because their habitat is polluted by waste. It can be said that mining activities caused the loss of some of the main livelihoods of the people living in the Bahodopi mining area. This situation is a threat to their existence and is in a vulnerable situation because their main source of livelihood cannot be maximized to meet their needs.



On the other hand, the existence of mining companies that lure residents to work with various existing jobs. However, residents are not fully able to work because of the requirements to work in companies such as the level of ability and skills and the maximum working age limit of 50 years. The fact is that residents who fall into the working age category can be accepted by both men and women with various levels as field crews, operators, or higher positions such as foremen, public relations and HRD staff, and various other support jobs such as chefs. They work divided into two or three shifts alternately working for 24 hours with an income of 5-7 million per month (not counting overtime) for ordinary crew, 8-10 million for those who have expertise such as heavy equipment operators. So indeed the results obtained from working in the company are more than enough to replace the income from farming, but not all families have family members who work in mining companies. Those who work are on average high school graduates, high school graduates, and relatively young family groups.

In the Law No. 24 of 2007 states that disasters are events or series of events that threaten and disrupt the lives and livelihoods of the community caused, both by natural and / or non-natural factors and human factors resulting in human casualties, environmental damage, property losses, and psychological impacts. Oliver-Smith (1996:303) defines disasters as processes or events involving a combination of potentially damaging agents of the natural and/or technological environment and populations in socially and technologically generated conditions of vulnerability. This suggests a view to understanding disasters as processes that combine source agents on the one hand and human populations with their social and technological vulnerabilities on the other (Bankoff, 2007).

Disaster is a meeting of three elements, namely disaster threat, vulnerability / vulnerability, and ability / capacity triggered by an event. In mining activities in Bahodopi, the potential threat of disaster (*hazard*) that occurs because the community and mining activities are in the same space; vulnerability in the community due to policies that favor the mining sector which then kills the main livelihood of the community in Bahodopi, on the other hand with the existence of mining companies, not all Bahodopi people are accommodated to work in the company because of the ability / competence of expertise and age limits that are the rules of the company. It can be said that the economic vulnerability in the case of certain families is experienced after their main livelihood as fishermen or farmers, especially in old settlers, is lost; The capacity of the old community or settlers, although it tends to be heterogeneous, but individually still has the potential to survive the pressure of the situation with cultural capital, social capital, economic capital, and political capital both individually and collectively.

Directly the potential threat (*hazard*) to life in the community related to mining activities such as the threat of respiratory infectious diseases (ARI) and traffic accidents. Data on diseases that stand out in 10 types of diseases are ARI, gastritis and diarrhea. ARI disease as much as 36% in the survey results suffered is possible due to the high dust particles in the air sourced from coal dust (factory fuel) and vehicle pollution which increases in number both two-



wheeled vehicles owned by employees, and factory vehicles that transport materials. As much as 18% of diarrheal diseases caused by infection with microorganisms such as bacteria, parasitic viruses, protozoa and faecal-oral transmission. Although this disease is not relatively new, its prevalence increases along with changes in population and the environment that has been polluted (Puskesmas Bahodopi, 2021). The potential for traffic accidents is huge because of the number of vehicles operating at any time within 24 hours. The number of workers divided into 2-3 shifts with tens of thousands of workers using two-wheeled vehicles (motorcycles) that use the same road access (trans Sulawesi road) by public transportation users and company employees, is also the company's vehicle access road from the factory to the port.

Regarding welfare, although the Bahodopi area always experiences flooding due to environmental damage caused by the operation of mining companies, the Bahodopi people always compare with the situation before the entry of mining companies. That the previous condition was very limited because it only relied on the livelihood of farming, gardening, gathering and fishermen as its source of livelihood. The simple condition of the house and facilities such as limited vehicles now they have a permanent house and two-wheeled vehicles obtained from the results of land compensation by the company both for factories and company road access which is considered very expensive. Including land for settlements due to the large number of migrant workers with housing / housing needs and businesses in the non-formal sector in the form of buying and selling and leasing business land. For residents who have large areas of land, they even invest by building tenements to rent to mine workers. A number of business opportunities outside the mining sector such as food and cake stalls, kiosks / grocery stores and groceries, laundry services that can be done without having to be far from home. For the people of Bahodopi, there is no resistance to every mining company that enters because they expect many economically beneficial opportunities in the form of compensation, employment opportunities, opportunities to sell services to mining workers.

### **Strategizing against Disaster Risk as a cultural practice**

In the Bahodopi community, acceptance of mining companies is absolute. They realize that the capital power of mining companies that make investments both from national private and foreign capital and the state protects it through laws. For mining activities and their dynamics, the community can take advantage of opportunities opened by companies that can be accessed collectively and individually. In certain cases, groups, communities, or villages and even individuals negotiate to reach agreements with incoming companies regarding land compensation, crop compensation, rights obtained collectively through villages, including even in disaster events. In practice, individuals who represent groups or several people who represent groups or villagers collectively. This applies to all villages in the Bahodopi mining ring area.

During the 2019 flood disaster, residents of Lele village, Dampala village, and Siumbatu village blocked the trans Sulawesi road to sue the company PT. BDM to be responsible for losses suffered by residents due to flooding. Asrar (a youth leader/member of BPD Desa Lele) organized residents to close road access to force the government to intervene to pressure the company to accept a number of demands for the benefit of residents such as normalization of the Dampala river, compensation for damage due to floods and empowering BumDes as access to village recovery. The realization of these demands was then implemented by compensating for damage losses, providing free electricity facilities from the company to residents, normalizing the Dampala river in the form of dikes and gabions, and PT. IMIP for BumDes from 12 (twelve) villages in Bahodopi became suppliers of basic food needs to the company on a rotating basis. Efforts to normalize the Dampala river by Hartono in his capacity as Dampala cadet in 2020 lobbied a number of local companies mining in the Dampala area such as PT. Oti Eya and a number of his partners used heavy equipment to dig the river and raise the river embankment to hold water along 3 km with operational costs from the company. Mr. Sarfan, the head of Bahomotefe village and Mr. Muhtar, the head of Onepute Jaya village in 2021 negotiated with PT. Oti Eya is related to the obligation to transport ore materials that pass through road facilities in the two villages and are distributed to each family equally.

It is very clear how the role of actors is to bargain with companies by using political capital (power) and social capital to minimize the threat of flooding and its collective interests. Risk must be interpreted as the possibility of disasters and mass casualties related to various hazard phenomena such as earthquakes, tsunamis, floods, or conflicts (Posponegoro & Sujudi, 2016). The level of disaster risk in an area is influenced by three factors, namely threat, vulnerability and capacity. In efforts to reduce disaster risk (DRR), these three factors are the basis of reference to be studied to determine steps in disaster management so that to reduce disaster risk, efforts are needed to reduce threats, reduce vulnerability and increase capacity.

Related to individual or group interests, for example in the burning of PT. Vale in 2011. Residents spearheaded by several figures in Bahomotefe and political figures, Mr. I.A,) tried to access mining sites / land owned by residents on a small scale through PT. Main Rezki. PT. Reski Utama holds an IUP covering an area of 200 Ha in the area of Lele village which is estimated to be located from Km. 3 to KM 7. The Lele village government facilitated this investment including recruiting several local figures to be part of the company, including Asrar youth leaders (Lele village) who had organized youth demanding responsibility for PT. BDM which according to him as a forest destroyer that causes flooding.

Conscious and active behavior related to their main livelihood due to mining, by some villagers began to get around by replacing commodities and intensive management such as short-term farming. Rice farming activities in the mining ring village are only found in Onepute Jaya village and Ululere village but in limited quantities in areas that have not been touched

by mining activities. Land in Onepute Jaya village, where the majority of the population is transmigration residents from Java, Bali and Lombok, cultivates crops and vegetables such as water spinach, chilly, and some residents have also started raising freshwater fish such as tilapia, gold fish and catfish. The same thing is done in Lalampu village and Siumbatu village using land on the sidelines of cocoa plants whose production has decreased with vegetables such as beans and chilly.

In other parts, especially in the APL (Other Use Area) area, especially in the mountains which incidentally are in the contract of work (KK) area owned by PT. Vale, including the land of PT. Vale who has already been released. The plantation area is a mountainous area so it is safe from flooding, but it is also a potential area because the soil contains nickel. In mapping land ownership, only land owned by Mr. Guru Bolong covering an area of 1 stretch has a right base (certificate) and is recognized by PT. Vale its ownership.

Residents in groups divided the land and controlled it by planting pepper (pepper). Villagers from Dampala village, Lele village, Bahomotefe village, Siumbatu village, Ululere village and Bahomuahi village do gardening activities. Generally, those who take advantage are old settlers, including transmigrants in Lele village. According to Pak Sentono (a Javanese transmigrant community leader in Lele village) that the APL area is part of the rights they should receive because the Transmigration Office has not handed over 1 hectare of land to 100 transmigrants since its placement. Pepper plants (pepper) are already producing and the results are promising for their well-being. In productive land covering an area of 2 (two) hectares per person, you can get crops of tens to hundreds of millions of rupiah to billions of rupiah, especially when pepper prices rise. Mr. Guru Bolong a resident of Dampala village, Mr. Han (Ilham) a resident of Lele village is a figure who is considered successful and has a large pepper (pepper) garden (several places) and produces.

Land tenure and use in the APL area is a violation of the control of the contract of work owned by PT. Vale. Residents massively cultivate the land on the grounds that people need land to grow crops because their production land has been damaged, infertile due to material waste from mining activities. On the other hand, PT. Vale (formerly PT. INCO) since obtaining a contract of work permit in 1968 has not carried out production activities and still concentrates its production activities in Sorowako (South Sulawesi). During the tenure of the regent, Anwar Hafid (now a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia) gave a signal to residents by not prohibiting villagers from opening gardens in the KK area of PT. Vale. Even in the control and use of land, villagers carry out tactics because they are fully aware of the legal owners or who control their garden land. The compensation mechanism for plants that grow on it, both those that have not produced and those that are producing, will be replaced according to estimates and negotiations with plant owners. The term "tide" also applies to certain people who do not have capital or are lazy to work and only hope to get compensation, which is different for residents who do use the land for gardening so that they

have obtained maximum results. In field findings, some local residents who work in mining companies make wages / salaries from the company as working capital to grow pepper (pepper) because it has a high selling value.

Pepper gardens not only provide abundant results for their owners, but also for residents who do not own land or no longer work in mining companies by becoming wage labor. Wage labor is needed to fertilize, spray and harvest pepper especially for those who have large areas of land or have other main jobs. This pattern of labor relationships becomes the glue in their social relationships because work relationships are repetitive and generate trust so that workers can take wages before the work is completed. Although working as wage labor, the work is continuous from one land to another with the same crop owner.

The knowledge capital of farming (culture) owned does not completely stop when rice field activities stop and cocoa commodities are the result, but by changing the commodities planted based on the knowledge they have or learn from processes carried out by others. Pak Guru Bolong as a pioneer in Bahodopi who manages pepper gardens (pepper) intensively builds relationships with all pepper farmers, especially in providing plant seeds that they get for free from their pepper stem cuttings, employing a number of people with a daily wage system and with a contract system. These economic and social practices and relations have made some residents in Bahodopi relatively resilient to the cessation of their main economic activities due to floods that damaged the land and fertility of the residents' agricultural land.

### **The Nickel Mining Industry: An Endless Narrative**

To conclude, a picture of people in the nickel mining industrial area in Bahodopi, Morowali Regency living in sharing space with mining activities with the situation and potential disasters faced. This is still an early picture of future life because of Indonesia's important position as the owner of mineral resources such as nickel and other derivatives. Human efforts are converting the use of fossil fuels to electric fuels which are the main source of battery raw materials from nickel to store energy.

Mining policy by Indonesia as a resource owner has regulated from upstream to downstream the nickel industry in the hope of providing more value and protecting from the process of massive exploitation of natural resources by extending the production chain. This also means the process of using space/land along with increasing investment in the nickel mining sector. The flood event experienced by people in Bahodopi is only one side of the impact of mining activities. If you look at the frequency of floods that occur almost every year in Bahodopi with the number of mining companies operating today, it can be predicted that the threat of flooding if investment increases.

On the other hand, Bahodopi grew into an industrial area that already resembled a city. The population that increases along with the pace of investment causes the society to become more heterogeneous which has the potential to trigger social problems such as primordial issues. Increasingly complex settlement spaces that are not accompanied by regional spatial planning so that overlapping residential areas with industrial areas become slums and chaotic. The potential threat of disaster is not only due to the direct activities of mining activities, but also the social and cultural potential that accompanies the change.

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## Resilience and Resistance: An Anthropological Critique of the Governmental Response to the 2018 Disaster (Earthquake, Tsunami and Liquefaction) in the Palu Region

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Our paper presents an anthropological critique of the governmental response to the triple disaster – earthquake, tsunami and liquefaction—of September 2018 in the region centred on Palu, Central Sulawesi. Our approach in this case study derives from more general critiques in disaster studies that situate how scientific evaluations and the policy frameworks for post-disaster intervention deriving from them depend upon systemic notions such as risk that often neglect the phenomenological dimensions of uncertainty that characterise survivors’ anxieties and the aspirations that they have to overcome those anxieties and the straitened life circumstances that have provoked them (Button 2010). One aspect of such scientific assessments and the policies of reconstruction they underpin is often the reliance on the notion of resilience, which in its functional and socio-ecological systems approach tends to depoliticise the dynamics of interventions, obscuring the relations of inequality that structure these policies and practices of disaster responses and rehabilitation, as well as downplaying or ignoring the capacities of victims such as displaced persons for local agency and for constructive participation in the process of infrastructural and social reconstruction (Bollig 2014)

The provincial government’s master plan or *rencana induk* (Pemerintah Provinsi Sulawesi Tengah 2018) for the response to the Palu disaster was based on the United Nations Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 (United Nations 2015; Pearson and Pelling 2015), with its underlying principle of ‘build back better’. Although this framework does call for an inclusive approach to disaster management, its reliance on such notions as risk and vulnerability (Bankoff & Hilhorst 2022), as well as its call for ‘the building of resilience into policies, plans, programmes and budgets at all levels’ (United Nations 2015: Annex II, I.2) can lead to the sorts of systematic neglect of local agency and participation exemplified in the governmental actions undertaken in Palu.

The presentation continues by analysing the deficiencies in the staged realisation of this local master plan, including the disparity of its pronounced targets and the actual achievements in such contexts as provision of housing infrastructure, both temporary housing (*hunian sementara* or *huntara*) and permanent housing (*hunian tetap* or *huntap*), schemes for economic recovery in the agriculture and fishery sectors, and trauma healing. Although the vision of the plan specifically emphasises ‘realising a social life that is participatory’ (Pemerintah Provinsi Sulawesi Tengah 2018), its actual realisation, though ostensibly invoking



the participation of multiple parties, has tended to run counter to the expressed wishes of many displaced inhabitants. The presentation provides examples of resistance to these programs, such as the refusal of the former inhabitants of Balaroa, an outer suburb in west Palu that was subjected to liquefaction, to be relocated to temporary shelters. Such examples demonstrate how in realisation such a systems-oriented resilience approach to risk reduction and reconstruction overlooks the dynamics of power relations and can lead in policy-led post-disaster interventions to neglect and overriding of local aspirations and local agency (Bollig 2014). The presentation traces how these processes have operated through the emergency response stage and the rehabilitation stage in post-disaster management in Palu and the surrounding region affected by the triple disaster. In the latter stage, it focuses upon the infrastructural interventions made, particularly the construction of temporary housing which in some cases have become places of habitation that have been used for far longer than a temporary basis. We also discuss the process of arranging for permanent housing, focusing on the barriers to qualifying for such housing and thus the reproduction of inequalities. For example, we concentrate on how the system of public-private partnerships involving governmental cooperation with NGOs and foundations (e.g. Yayasan Buddha Tzu Chi Indonesia, a humanitarian organisation founded in Taiwan and now encompassing a nationwide network of largely Chinese entrepreneurs) has led to some systematic oversights and exclusions, leading to such outcomes as the continuing residence of some of the affected urban poor in temporary housing (*huntara*) years after the actual disaster.

Based upon our analysis of the deficiencies of the governmental responses, the disparities between announced procedures and actual realisations, and some of the aspirations that our ethnographic research uncovered from marginal constituencies stuck in temporary housing with little prospect of qualifying for permanent housing, we highlight alternative approaches to reconstruction that stem from a more participatory perspective informed by principles of applied anthropology. In doing so, we pay particular attention to: land problems, such as the issues regarding people's claims to land being targeted (grabbed) for permanent housing; infrastructure problems affecting these new developments; social problems, such as trauma healing, health service provision, and revitalisation of the environmental security system; economic problems, including livelihood transfer and programs for livelihood diversification; and housing design problems relating to the appropriateness of structures for local household structures and activities. With regard to the latter, we show how the Huntap Arkom initiative has provided a more participatory alternative, where the local community has been involved in planning, implementation, construction and maintenance processes for post-disaster housing. Based on the presentation of these alternatives, the paper ends with a number of specific policy recommendations that highlight a more participatory, community-oriented approach to disaster relief and reconstruction, which draws upon such methods as community data gathering, welfare classification, social mapping, focus group discussions, community plenaries, work plans and mobilisation of related parties.

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## Interdisciplinary Collaborations to Document Local Knowledge on Disasters in Central Sulawesi

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### Introduction

This joint presentation will feature selected passages from the recently published book *Collective Memory and Local Knowledge About Disaster in Central Sulawesi* (April 2022) to showcase examples of naming traditions that encode knowledge about the environment. Names in local languages that loosely translate as “hit by the sea” or “stuck in the mud” are instances of disaster risk reduction encoded in language. This knowledge, we sustain, has not been sufficiently valued nor incorporated into national or local disaster risk reduction interventions. Disaster studies have long established that disasters are not natural. The ways populations interact with the environment, how they understand and create knowledge about it are at the core of how we build for or to prevent disasters. These are also fundamental questions of epistemology and ontology. Whose knowledge counts as knowledge and is worthy of being called science, and whose knowledge isn’t worthy of that label? And in the end what does this say about how we value the people that carry this knowledge?

While it has been several decades that social sciences are well-recognized members of the disaster studies communities, we cannot help but notice that the tenor in disaster management in Indonesia –and elsewhere for that matter too– continues to be played by the natural sciences and increasingly by smart technology and sensors that promise to reveal the not-yet-known. From our anthropological lineage we can trace the work of Anthony Oliver-Smith and Susanna Hoffman, for instance as strong voices in de-naturalizing disasters and instead pointing to the social and historical construction of risk (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman). Likewise, incorporating local knowledge (*pengetahuan lokal*) and local wisdom (*kearifan lokal*) to disaster management is not an entirely new trend. In fact, global legal instruments such as the Sendai Framework for Disaster Reduction call for increased participation of local actors, and explicitly recognize the importance of indigenous knowledge across all priorities, starting with the first and most fundamental one: understanding risk. In fact, this year’s Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction (GPDRR 2022) a multi-stakeholder and international initiative convened by the United Nations Disaster Risk Reduction Office which took place in Bali, Indonesia featured an astounding number of events where indigenous knowledge and indigenous people were given a prominent role. Civil society in general was represented by large international organizations, but also by grassroots community leaders. Other

international fora and legal instruments that gather the humanitarian and development communities also commit to more localization. So, the trend is clear: at global stages there is increasing recognition and seats at the table for local and indigenous knowledge on and for disaster management. In Indonesia too this trend –arguably not new at all in the spirit of *desentralisasi*– takes foot at the different administrative levels.

Indigenous and local communities, often organized in formal associations, take part in socialization programs. It is not entirely uncommon that representatives of government and civil society in this case take part in meetings. But this was not always the case and is by no means always the case across the archipelago. Today we will focus on the central area of Sulawesi, the island that hosts us now. Before the September 2018 earthquake in Central Sulawesi, the Skala Indonesia Foundation together with the IAGI (Indonesian Geological Experts Association) conducted the Palu-Koro expedition. This expedition held a series of trips along the Palu-Koro geographic fault by uncovering stories and historical evidence of earthquakes along it. After the disaster, Skala Indonesia continued their research on local knowledge and collective memories of the community regarding disasters in this region. This study was conducted by using an ethnographic field research approach. Among them colleagues present today employed ethnographic methods such as participant-observation, participant-listening, note-taking, oral histories and the daily ritual of interpreting what had been lived or formulating questions. Gatherings with individuals and collectives in situ were the avenues to come closer to the histories of this territory.

### **What's in a Name?**

A recurring theme in daily interactions for this set of external researchers were the names of localities, the stories that surround them and the knowledge they embody. Here are some examples of toponyms as hazard markers. Tompe Village is close to the epicenter of the 2018 earthquake. Today some interpret that the word Tompe means hit by the sea, and as floating away. During the earthquake almost all residents fled towards the hills, because they know, when an earthquake occurs, there is a possibility that a tsunami will follow. So, people from Tompe would head towards Sibado Village to save themselves, because it is on a hill. This is exactly what they did in 2018 and what they preserve in collective memory. This gets told time and time again, especially from the ancestors who lived in Tompe Village.

Another example is naming places around Balaroa Village. Balaroa is one of the areas crossed by the Palu-Koro fault. Before it was named Balaroa, this area used to be called '*Tagari Lonjo*'. '*lonjo*' can also be interpreted as embedded in mud. In the past, '*Lonjo*' was an area that the residents of Mount Marawola Barat avoided because of their fear that this area would sink. The vocabulary of the Kaili people in ancient times referred to events or events that caused misfortune to a person or object that drowned, or fell into deep water, or into the mud called '*nalonjo*'. The word '*nalonjo*' comes from the word '*lonjo*'.

### Collective Memory About Disasters

Sulawesi lies at the interphase of 3 tectonic plates—earthquakes are not the exception. Instead, collective memory is full of instances that narrate how the earth shook in the past, and what actions were taken. For instance the Kayumaluein in Palu City was one of the areas that withstood the tsunami in 1938. This story was immortalized in the form of oral literature called *kayori*.

<i>Goya-goya gontiro,</i>	The swaying in Ganti (Banawa, Donggala)
<i>toka bunga loli'o.</i>	was seen by the people of Kabonga and Loli Oge.
<i>Palu, Tondo, Mamboro, matoyomo</i>	Palu, Tondo and Mamboro sank.
<i>Kayumalue melantomo.</i>	The only thing left is Kayumalue, floating.

Kayori is a form of oral literature of the Kaili ethnicity in Central Sulawesi, which contains poems about the past that are full of meaning, including about disasters. Kayori are known to store important knowledge. After listening to someone recite a kayori it is common that people will nod, acknowledging the relevance and value of this knowledge. This particular kayori describes how the earthquake (rocking and swaying) and tsunami covered the Mamboro area with water. Kayumalue, an elevated area, is described as floating. What we have then, is an accurate topographic description of tsunami risk. Kayumalue, as the most elevated place in the vicinity, would be the logical place to evacuate to. Embedded in the social and cultural system of oral literature, its continuation and preservation, this disaster risk reduction information is transmitted within certain circles. But why then is it not being valued as key information and forms to manage disaster risk?

To understand why indigenous and local knowledge, often based on knowledge systems that are several thousands years of age, are relegated to an anecdotal and folcloric reference we need to understand the larger social, political and cultural structures in which they are embedded. This exercise would also require a deep historical analysis of the transformations this particular region, we now call Indonesia and Sulawesi, has experienced. For reasons of space we cannot address this analysis here in depth. However, we do want to signal that the colonial encounter in Southeast Asia, as is true elsewhere, signified a turning point from which clear hierarchical lines were drawn. This is not to say that prior to European imperial efforts a non-hierarchical social organization was the norm across the archipelago. Clearly, history shows us otherwise. Instead, the colonial encounter and the age of colonialism did mark a world order of what was to be called science, art, and progress--namely European forms; everything else, "on the other side of the line" (de Sousa Santos), was, put simply, not quite as good, worthy or even correct. It was labeled mere belief, folklore, and backwardness. This, not only Eurocentric but Euro-centered vision of the world marked and continues to shape many of our social structures, perpetuating inequality and dispossession.

The independent Indonesia as well, inherited and made colonial things their own: plantations, transmigration, bureaucracy and regional administration to mention only a few. While a strong sense of pride in all things Indonesian was certainly present in the spirit of the young republic, this loud rhetoric did not always leave room for all the diversity the archipelago hosts, especially the further east you moved. Difference and dissidence were not always welcome as some of the most grim chapter's of the republic show us. The transition from the Old Order to the New Order pushed a quick development of the economy and favored highly technical approaches to improving the modes of production, not always in consideration of what the environmental --and consequently social-- impacts may be. It is against this backdrop that systems of disaster risk management were institutionalized.

Fast-forwarding to our days, it is clear that local and global factors influence how disaster and risk are understood (or misunderstood) and managed (or mismanaged). The contemporary spirit of localization and decentralization are potentially some fertile soil for contributions from interdisciplinary teams to channel the knowledge of diverse peoples about the environment, disaster risk, prevention and response.

### **Collaborations Across and Among Us**

In broad terms, this presentation shared how anthropological methods can be employed in an interdisciplinary context to examine, to explore and to learn more about the complex relationships among populations and environments. With them we hope to have showcased that disaster risk knowledge is available in certain cultural forms and needs, first and foremost, to be acknowledged, to be taken seriously as knowledge, knowledge with the potential to save lives. This is an exploratory work and certainly needs more efforts not only for collection of data but also for interpretation and co-interpretation of what this information means for us. Centering plural kinds of knowledges helps us not only to understand the past but also has implications for our present and future. As we move into an era of increased environmental changes we ask, are we ready to value traditional knowledge to prepare for the next disasters? Are we ready to collaborate, across disciplines, across different knowledge systems, across islands and silos?

### **The Concept of Living Space as Local Knowledge in Disaster Mitigation Efforts To Kaili in the Palu Valley**

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Human survival patterns today are very closely related to the concept of space and settlement. Humans rely on both their environment and humankind fundamentally. As human activities unfold within specific spaces, individuals naturally create environments, establishing a process of settlement in particular locations. Culture emerges from human

endeavors and creations, shaped by behaviors and the surrounding environment. The spatial arrangements within the house are passed down through generations and reflect deeply rooted traditions. Currently, the To Kaili settlement embodies modern spatial concepts, yet the Kaili community has long-established spatial concepts related to settlement, often using place names associated with disasters. To Kaili's knowledge construction concerning safe and unsafe living areas has been a significant aspect of community life.

According to the BNPB Report, the Palu City Area is a disaster-prone area, underscoring the importance of understanding safe and unsafe space living spaces. However, the local knowledge regarding residential places is diminishing due to the passage of time and immigration flows throughout Palu. Awareness of this issue resurfaced after the devastating Earthquake, Tsunami, and liquefaction events in 2018, prompting renewed interest in toponymy for mitigation purposes. Toponymy, which was previously overlooked, has now become an interest for Palu residents following the disaster. This paper explores the interconnectedness between local community knowledge regarding living spaces and disaster events, as well as the ensuing impacts leading to continued habitation in areas classified as disaster-prone.

In Indonesia, earthquakes and tsunamis pose significant threats as recurring natural disasters. Experts have studied the cyclical nature of these phenomena, indicating past occurrences, recent events, and future inevitabilities. Indonesia's maritime nature and the concentration of its population along coastal regions, it is imperative for the public to understand the looming threat posed by these disasters. Oral traditions, such as *Tutura Totua* (folk story), have long conveyed warnings about unsafe spaces related to disasters. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from *Kayori's* verse:

*Goya-goya Gantiro* (earthquake in Ganti)

*To Kabonga Lolio* (felt also in Kabonga and Loli)

*Palu, Tondo, Mamboro, notayomo* (Palu, Tondo, Mamboro have submerged)

*Kayumalue melantomo* (Kayumalue floats)

The excerpt from Kayumalue's version of the poem predates the 1938 earthquake, serving as a warning to the Lembana ri (Valley residents, i.e. Palu, Tondo, and Mamboro) that the valley would eventually return to the sea, as it once was. This occult aspect of Kayori's poetry gained firm belief among some Kayumalue inhabitants and even beyond the Kayumalue area itself, suggesting that the Palu Valley originated from the sea and would revert to it.

In addition to oral traditions, the region's toponyms closely reflect spatial concepts, as shown in the following table:

Place Name	Word Origin	Meaning
Watutela	Vatutela	The stone that raises sparks
Langaleso	Langa	Highland and faded communities/settlements
Bolapapu	Bola dan Papu	Burned kampong's (village)
Beka	Beka	Splits or cracks
Layana	Layana	Flood
Rogo	Rogo	Crumble
Jono Oge	Jono Oge	Muddy

Globalization's influence in Indonesia has led to shifts in cultural values, with most development efforts emphasizing modernization, which can erode local community knowledge. The influence of modernization today seems to be increasingly pressing the existence of traditional buildings in Central Sulawesi.

The To Kaili community holds various philosophical values, one being To Po Unde, which encapsulates the notion "Dunia Indou, Langi Umaku" which means "Earth is my Mother, and the Sky is my Father". Here, the earth symbolizes life-giving maternal energy, while the sky represents paternal responsibility through rain. This ideology permeates farming practices, where the earth is for planting and the sky for providing water. Similarly, Salena's indigenous people and Taluhi Katuvua in Ngata Toro farming traditions adhere to the principle "Indoku Dunia Umaku Langi", which means "Earth as Mother, Sky as Father", as reflected in their agricultural processes.

This philosophy extends beyond agriculture which views the earth as a nurturing force bestowing life's blessing upon its birthplace. In South Kulawi, the Uma people regard Koro and Wana as integral to life and livelihood. Conversely, Lere fishermen perceive the sea as their life source, with their existence intricately tied to its rhythms. Their distinct life philosophies dictate their occupations, making it challenging for them to abandon spaces deemed auspicious, despite their classification as disaster-prone areas.

Recognizing the wealth of local knowledge, especially regarding spatial planning and community relocation, should be one of the considerations for governmental policies, particularly local administration.

The To Kaili has developed a robust understanding related to safe and unsafe living areas, yet globalization-induced migration has led to new settlements in previously unsafe regions. Despite this, the erosion of traditional values and spatial concepts is evident. Alongside their

disaster-related spatial knowledge, the To Kaili hold philosophical beliefs regarding the land as a nurturing force, compelling them to remain in disaster-prone areas. Incorporating this local wisdom into city development and spatial planning in Palu, Sigi, and Donggala can foster more informed and sustainable approaches.

### Gampiri and Toponymy of Space: Cultural Practices of Disaster Preparedness in To Kaili Space and Building in Central Sulawesi

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Spaces and buildings in every society in general have a function to support survival. However, not a few spaces and buildings have unique functions for one ethnic group, thus this study shows that spaces and buildings for To Kaili have unique functions that are formed as a response to life experiences. Based on the results of the study, it is shown that the spatial construction and building conception have a function as a reminder in supporting preparedness in the event of a disaster. The life experiences of To Kaili's ancestors who live around areas that often experience natural disasters are the basis for the formation of cultural awareness in preparedness practices to be able to penetrate when earthquakes, liquefaction and tsunamis, floods occur. Preparedness in the form of space such as the toponym of space/place which is adapted to the character of disasters that have occurred in one location, as well as preparedness in the form of buildings through the Gampiri building, which is a small house on stilts as a place for storing food ingredients that can be accessed by a number of people who live nearby on the building. This study uses interviews, observations, and document studies.

### Selection of Settlement Locations: Knowledge and Local Wisdom of the To Kaili Community in dealing with disasters

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Knowledge and understanding of the community about the threat of disasters that can come at any time will raise public awareness so that they are ready to face disasters. Therefore, local knowledge about disaster hazards, especially in disaster-prone areas, is an important thing to have. The local knowledge of sweet potato is obtained from the experience of human interaction with the environment. This knowledge relates to disaster mitigation such as signs of impending disaster in Palu Bay. Some natural disaster events that occur are usually marked by natural signs before the disaster strikes. Like the disaster that occurred on September 28, 2018, especially in Sibalaya village, Sigi Regency. Natural signs that occur include the selection



of residential locations. The selection of residential locations is one of the important factors in the efforts made by local communities in Central Sulawesi in dealing with disasters. Long before; there was a big earthquake, from generation to generation the ancestors of the people in Central Sulawesi have given information that is told orally to their children and grandchildren that it is said that there are several locations that should not be used as residential land for residents. Based on the characteristics of the To Kaili settlement pattern (Kaili people / sub-ethnic of Central Sulawesi) in Teluk Palu developed a segregative settlement pattern based on the dialect of the language as well as showing the interaction pattern of To Kaili with the environment. This segregative pattern is also followed by settlers migrating to the Palu valley who generally inhabit lowland areas.

### Religious Modelling of a Natural Disaster: a Cultural Semiotic Analysis of the Post-Disaster Emergency and Recovery Processes of the 2004 Earthquake and Tsunami in Aceh, Indonesia

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This study investigates the interrelations between natural disasters and religion through three major questions: how religion shapes disaster interpretations and the post-disaster emergency and recovery processes, how a disaster transforms religious practices, understandings, and institutions, and how religious interpretations may be contingent with scientific explanations of the same disaster event. Taking the case of the Aceh society after the 2004 Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami, this study applies the Lotmanian cultural semiotic approach, especially his ideas on the semiosphere and explosive changes. This paper argues that, on the one hand, Islam is the central modelling system of the Aceh culture that provides two interrelated post-tsunami functions: explaining the inexplicable disaster and guiding the subsequent actions. On the other hand, the tsunami has changed the form and structure of the religious Aceh society, indicating an explosive change within Aceh culture. The post-tsunami explosive moments in Aceh were characterized by the cultural self-reflection concerning three fundamental questions: what is the meaning of the tsunami, why did it happen, and how to continue living after such a catastrophe. Several alternative trajectories of development were available in post-tsunami Aceh, but only some of them were selected for the sake of the integrity and stability of the society. Such cultural decisions were grounded on two major choices: selecting the dominant interpretation of the tsunami as a trial from Allah and choosing the Sharia system to attain a better Islamic Aceh society in the future. This paper also finds the contingency of religious and scientific interpretations of the tsunami among the Acehnese, showing that those two interpretations have different social functions. Moreover, preserving this contingency in tsunami memorials indicates that Aceh culture has highly valued such compound understanding.





## PANEL 4. ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN A MULTIDIMENSIONAL CRISES

The rising online discrimination against the LGBTIQ+ and its dilemma of being visible

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Amid technological developments and increasing public interaction in online platforms have made online discrimination against LGBTIQ+ undoubtedly avoided. Various kinds of hate comments, threats, and even block/report social media accounts to target specific LGBTIQ+ figures, such as cases occurring Ragil and Fred, Oscar Lawalata, Dena Rachman, and Amar Alfikar.

Unfortunately, online discrimination against LGBTIQ+ is not only reproduced by the state but also by the Indonesian society itself. The weakening of democratic values and the lack of understanding of online gender violence (*Kekerasan Gender Berbasis Online*, KGBO) thus support this discrimination perpetuated and normalized. Therefore, this study will notably highlight the online gender violence targeting sexual minority groups since the LGBTIQ+ victims also have the right to be protected and given equal access to the freedom of speech according to their online visibilities. This paper will also show the consequences most LGBTIQ+ have experienced and the dilemma in performing their true selves, unlike heteronormative people.

The massive hatred narratives against the LGBTIQ+ started to emerge with the collapse of the New Order regime and the birth of democracy (Wijaya, 2018). The state intervention is essential in spreading narratives and discrimination toward the LGBTIQ+ as it has been elaborated in various policy regulations by multiple ministries (Knight, 2016). Thus, the development of technology and globalization has influenced Indonesia's democracy, with *Islamic populism* dominated by moral values regarding religious teachings (Mietzner, 2018). Since morality consists of care and sanctity values, it has influenced people to perceive the LGBTIQ+ as less human and engaging in prejudicial behaviour to the significant heteronormative constructions (Monroe and Plant, 2019). In other words, the LGBTIQ+ is deemed in the 'wrong direction', needs to be converted, and discrimination is thus normalized. Therefore, the internalization of morality among Indonesian sexual minority groups is a weakening process of democratic values and puts Indonesia in a vulnerable position to prevent an Islamist challenge (Mietzner, 2018), also generating negative sentiments by any religious fundamentalist groups (Oetomo in Knight, 2016). Here is the reason why the high number of offline persecutions against the LGBTIQ+ during 2006-2018 reached 1.850 people (Amnesty, 2021).

Interestingly, the state's involvement has regulated the screen display by limiting the LGBTIQ+ movement. Most authorities often use Law No. 44 of 2008 concerning Pornography to justify the persecution of LGBTIQ+. Even the Ministry of Communication and Information (*Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika Republik Indonesia*, Kominfo) once blocked *CONQ* as it contains education about HIV/AIDS and perceives promoting the LGBTIQ+ (Yulius, 2015). In 2019, Kominfo also shut down an Instagram account named *Alpantuni* as it actively voiced its disagreement with discrimination against LGBTIQ+ in Indonesia (Evn, 2019). Thus, this current situation is different compared to the 1990s when the existence of LGBTIQ+ was commonly welcomed in public spaces—for instance, in comedy shows on television featuring transgender women (Boellstroff, 2005). Long before this period occurred, the LGBTIQ+ had shown their involvement in some religious traditions and performing art on a community basis, illustrating a high tolerance of gender and sexual diversity that Indonesian society used to have by involving them in our native culture (Hidayana, 2018).

Nevertheless, the discrimination against LGBTIQ+ in the online platform has evolved into censorship, not only monitored by the state but also by internet users (*netizens*). This reminds us of Joeckel and Wilhelm's (2018) findings that the moral foundation brought online has influenced the evaluation of gender-related topics, separating internet users into two major groups; conservative and liberal. While liberals exclusively focus on harm/care and fairness/reciprocity dimensions, conservatives emphasize the three dimensions of in-group/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity (Graham, 2009; Joekel and Wilhelm, 2018). These dimensions in the conservatives thus made people not consider discrimination dangerous for victims. In fact, the online gender violence against LGBTIQ+, which vary from access restrictions, media judgments, threats, and reputational damage, to online harassment, is reportedly rising (SafeNet, 2021). This fact shows us that most people are still unaware of the context and the legal implication of the Sexual Violent Act (*Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual*, UUTPKS).

Still, the poor digital literacy has also caused most Indonesians to be irresponsible on social media, which creates new daily cases of online gender violence (Daruwati, 2022). Indeed, the Sexual Violent Act, which aims to protect women, men, and even non-binary gender groups from the prevention to provide the recovery treatment for victims (Faqih, Tiyas, Antika, 2022) has its difficulty in dealing with KGBO cases legally, also has not protected the victim and those who are willing to help victims comprehensively (Daruwati, 2022). According to Rahadian, Benedicta, and Zahro's (2021) findings, the lack of policies securing LGBTIQ+ has left them suffering alone by establishing individual resilience or gaining peer support from their communities. The calculation of how many KGBO cases targeted LGBTIQ+ hasn't been known yet. Suppose the discrimination is still perpetuated without any assistance; one of the impacts will suffer them from mental health problems (Into The Light, 2021).

Further, this massive online discrimination against the LGBTIQ+ has reminded us of the concept of *village biopower* by Stein (2007). This notion reveals how people think that they have the authority to regulate and supervise other people's bodies through various

intermediaries, including social media. The implication of its surveillance thus makes targeted individuals (also the LGBTIQ+) powerless over their bodies as *a non-individual subjects*. Interestingly, this surveillance establishes *the kinship of shame* or the 'shame culture', so that the LGBTIQ+ no longer argue about *netizens'* actions against them. Sadly, this system thus pushes them to be invisible and hide their visibilities publicly.

Nevertheless, the visibility of the LGBTIQ+ in some contexts is essential in establishing their position as subjects among normative gender relations (Hegarty, 2017), breaking down social boundaries (Triastuti, 2021), and claiming their political status as part of the LGBTIQ+ community. Many implications that are happening with online visibility have put them in a predicament situation. In other words, any kind of discrimination must be taken wholeheartedly as it aligns with protecting the LGBTIQ+ victims, also giving them equal access and safe space on any online platform.

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## Significance The Role Of Women In The Economic System Of The Farming Community In Dampal Selatan District, Toli-Toli Regency, Indonesia.

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The position of women in general is often only associated with domestic activities. Therefore, from a gender perspective, women are often seen as experiencing inequality in power relations in the household sector. However, in agricultural life, of course, it cannot be seen only in gender-based power relations which place women as if they do not have a significant position and role. This study sees the role of women in the agricultural phenomenon as important from the point of view of a collaborative relationship, to avoid marginalizing the role of women in the domestic sector. This means that this study assumes that the position of women and the slightest role has significance in supporting the smooth production process and economic improvement and also supports the creation of harmonization in the families of farmers. This study applies a qualitative method to reveal the quality of the role and position of women in the lives of farmers. This study reveals: 1. The cultural position of women in an agrarian society in Toli-Toli based on ethnicity; 2. Explain the role of the economy that supports the production system in the family life of the peasants; 3. Describe the changing roles of women in domestic life and in the agricultural production process in Toli-Toli.

Women in a gender perspective see the position and role of women always experiencing inequality, especially in the household sector which does not seem to give space for women to take part in the public sector, because ideologically the space is only for men (Abdullah, 2006, 10). Therefore, according to this theory, women must be made aware of the status and relationships that are patriarchal, not something absolute or given (given), but a local socio-cultural construction. This understanding is certainly true if you only look at the dimensions of power relations, but for the context of women in agricultural life, this study will develop a different perspective by assuming that it is not enough to only look at the dimensions of power relations based on inequality.

For this reason, this research will instead look at the significance of the role of women in the economic system of a farming community that can support economic processes in their families. Therefore, the main question of this research is how significant the role of women in the economic system of the farming community is, whether the relationships that are fully developed are power relations or are there other forms of relations and basically support/synergize each other in living their lives as farming communities.

The offer of a perspective like the one above in this study will provide its own position in the mainstream state of the art regarding gender which has always seen inequality. In several

studies, not a few who see women from a gender perspective argue that women's position and body are being subordinated. Women are always understood to be in a losing position. In family life (domestic) women are "as if" restricted to move in the public sector. Women's work in the domestic sector is interpreted as having no significance in family and community life (Budiman, 2006; Yuarsi, 2006; Harsono, 2006 and Abdullah, 2006).

Preliminary results show that theoretical understanding as above is certainly not always relevant to the phenomena that exist in society. In fact a number of the community actually shows that women have a role in the public sector by working not only in the office world, such as vegetable sellers, farmers or other activities but often this is still labeled as inequality. A study conducted by Kutaneegara (2006: pp. 196-197) shows an interesting illustration in a village whose name is not mentioned, showing women at 01.30 already busy filling public spaces in this case the village market by bringing their merchandise. However, this study also continues to see that what is experienced by women is also a form of inequality, because these women still do not have awareness about gender inequality.

The gender perspective as above again always finds reality in society where women always experience inequality. The weakness of such a perspective ultimately ignores the significance of every detail that is carried out jointly between men and women, this perspective also ignores the socio-cultural context of society which basically has internal logic in their respective cultural systems.

By understanding the significance of the role of women in farming communities, this study not only provides a different perspective but also reveals the importance of each role played by women in supporting the smooth economic processes that occur in the farming community, no matter how small the role. This means that every detail of the status and role played by women forms the totality of the series of life in the family and society. Without it, the socio-economic life of the farming community will be difficult to establish social order.

Women in the farming community in Dampal Selatan Subdistrict, Toli-Toli Regency are actually understood as an important part of the complexity of the agricultural process carried out by the farming community. However, in several studies, the role and position of women is more neglected, and even considered to have no significance, on the contrary, men are considered more important. This kind of understanding is certainly built from a patriarchal point of view, therefore the gender perspective tries to criticize the relationship by looking at the aspect of gender inequality. Just a perspective gender also finally does not see the small roles played by women which actually have meaning in the totality of the life of the peasants.

This means that the agricultural economic system applied by the farming community cannot be seen partially. The agricultural economic system that applies to agricultural communities and/or agrarian societies which are more "many" is also assumed to be basically supported by the roles performed by women. To understand this phenomenon, this study develops the following problem formulation:



1. How is the relationship between women and men in the farming community in the district. South Impact of Toli-Toli Regency?
2. How significant is the role of women in the economic system of a farming community?

Functional structure theory understands social life in the organism model of the human body. The body organism model shows that all phenomena are a strung together system, and each part has its own function and role. however, each of these parts supports each other and is connected to one another. When one part or component in a society is disturbed, it is believed that the system will experience disorder, or disorder. This means that each part that is strung together forms an integrated whole of life (Redcliffe, 1952).

The functional structure perspective above is quite operational in understanding the significance of the phenomenon of the role and position of women in agricultural society, because women's roles will be more legible, no matter how small, as part of an integrated system in the process of the agricultural economic system. This approach prioritizes understanding continuity in the process of life, namely activities and interactions between units in a society, in such a way that these units remain united. The existence of a life process is a sign of the functioning of the organismal structure of a society. (Marzali, 1997). So the function of the unit cell is the role that the unit cell plays, or the contribution that it makes to life as a whole.

While other studies that apply the Gender approach, Gender analysis sees phenomena as partial or unrelated parts. Irwan Abdullah also admitted that women's studies so far have mostly looked at the aspects of the dichotomy of women and men, which then brought the discussion to the distinction/dichotomy of public space and domestic space. In fact, according to him, this domestic and public debate is not

more than an "entrance" to look back at the formation of women's social, economic and political realities (2006: pp. 3-4).

A number of other studies that are more specific in looking at the phenomenon of women in the agricultural economy, such as in the study of Nila Ratna Juita, et al., show that the role of women has a good contribution, but the study also sees that women are still left behind, because it still needs to be given capacity building (Juita A, et al., 2009: p. 46). Meanwhile, the study of Agatha Ayiek Sih Sayekti, et al., shows the pattern of decision making in agriculture-based household businesses. The study shows that men and women have the same role in decision-making, however, the study does not clearly show what these equal roles are.

The use of technology and high yielding varieties released in several writings causes changes (or damage) to ecological and biotechnological systems. Changes in high-yielding varieties, for example, have destroyed various local varieties belonging to farmers who are considered low-yielding varieties of rice. The ban on planting local varieties of rice by the government bureaucracy, such as the actions of the security forces uprooting local varieties of rice planted

by farmers, has resulted in the extinction of various types of local varieties (Hardiyoko in Wahono, 2001). Meanwhile, rice varieties which are said to be superior varieties with high production are varieties that require high input, care and protection from pests and diseases. Varieties that require high doses of nitrogen fertilizers and chemical pesticides to eradicate pests and diseases. In fact, it is very important to understand technology in relation to the social system, including the position and role of women.

Basically, farmers always make comparisons between what they experience today and before the introduction of “government rice”, “short rice” which they recognize as VUTW rice, superior seeds. A major change was experienced by farmers in terms of freedom of cultivation as expressed by those who experienced both eras: before and after BIMAS. One of the most important indicators of farmer freedom, which is often used as an example of depriving freedom today, is the choice of rice varieties (Winarto, 1999). And ironically because this then attracts changes in agricultural technology which are also new.

Basically, the theme in this study is in line with what was suggested and proposed by Gardner and Lewis (1996) in their book *Anthropology Development and the Post-Modern Challenge*. This work inspires anthropologists to play a more significant role in studying discourse, development paradigms, their relation to knowledge and power, as well as efforts to involve local residents in the entire development process. Gardner and Lewis' argument that underlies their discussion starts from the assumption that development is central to how the world is represented and controlled by those in power, and anthropologists have a lot to say about it (Winarto, 1999).

Through ethnographic studies and analysis, both within and outside the context of development institutions, anthropologists can do this based on the assumption that development discourse is flexible and can be changed. Now, the problems are, what is the best alternative to do that. Development in agriculture is one example of how discourse, knowledge, and reproduction of power take place with the implementation of development from the top (top down) without involving local residents in the planning process, by not prioritizing the importance and potential of local knowledge, and most fundamentally, not presenting the possibility area for the development of farmer culture.

Once a farmer decides to try something new in his farming process, for example trying to plant a new type of rice, a series of learning processes begin during one growing season. Sometimes the learning process continues until the next season when it turns out that the same type of rice planted shows a different appearance or if the person concerned decides to adopt a different seed. This means that not only is there cultural impoverishment that occurs but their ability to manage their own farming business without having to deal with the government is also lost. Now they are government-managed actors; what to plant, when to start planting and how to plant it (Winarto, 1999).

Farmers only know about the benefits of pesticides in killing pests and protecting their crops



from pests or diseases. Likewise with the application of the duality of technology, they only know that by using this technology, time efficiency will be achieved. But it never occurred to them that it would then lead to the social dimension in the kinship system among farmers being loosened, and the mutual cooperation system gradually disappearing.

The development paradigm that was promoted by the previous government in principle became one of the causes of the crisis in the agricultural sector. For example, the paradigm of the New Order government which emphasized the transfer of technology rather than the transfer of knowledge, and the achievement of the goals of the development program itself rather than increasing the knowledge and culture of farmers. Murray Li (2002) reveals that farmers' ignorance occurs because there is no comprehensive transfer of knowledge about pesticides, and the use of an understanding scheme about the function of pesticides as 'medicine' with a function as a healer in two different domains: the domain of the human body and the domain of the plant body. Therefore, farmers will strive for the growth of their plants to be smooth, free from all kinds of diseases, medicine is a cure or prevention of disease in rice and not merely a pest killer. As stated by Petrie and Oshlag (1993), what happens is a misunderstanding or misuse of metaphors that affects the further development of the transferred knowledge.

This research is focused on the South Dampal, Toli-Toli Regency, Central Sulawesi, with the following considerations: 1). The South Dampal area of Toli-Toli Regency, Central Sulawesi is one of the areas with agricultural dynamics that is quite dynamic and developing in terms of agricultural technology and the role of women in the agricultural sector, in addition; 2). Community in the district. South Dampal Toli-Toli Regency, Central Sulawesi, is very open to existing changes, including the adoption of agricultural technology. Furthermore, from the initial observations, the phenomenon of the use of modern technology seems to have changed the life of farming among farmers, including the participation of women.

The method of collecting research data was carried out by free interviews and in-depth interviews. The selection of informants was carried out by means of a snowball. This means that those who are selected as informants are not determined explicitly but through rolling information. provided that those who are used as informants are of course categorized as farmers and community leaders and have the ability to explain about the study of the significance of the role and position of women in the economic system of farmers that they experience. It should also be noted whether they are willing to be interviewed during the duration of the study. In addition to the interview technique, observations were also made to record socio-cultural and environmental data, especially data on the physical environment; facilities and infrastructure; and the daily behavior of farmers in relation to the duality of the agricultural technology system. The form of technology, farming methods, and conditions of agricultural land, as well as the practice of involving women. Not only that, the observation technique is also intended to record farmer behavior and model interactions between male

and female farmers. In the observation, a camera is used to take pictures and describe the observation situation.

This study also uses literature review to increase the collection of knowledge to the focus studied in this study. The selection of literature that was written as the initial idea is a passion in this study, but it must be admitted that access to the latest literature is relatively limited for the focus of this study, especially regarding agricultural journals related to the phenomenon of women.

In the final stage, the data sets collected during the research at the level of data reduction, presentation/explanation, and generalization or inference/verification of data---many follow the instructions for explanation and generalization with Vayda's progressive contextualization method (in Lampe, 2006) meaning Empirical contextual causal explanations provide guidelines for researchers to seriously collect data selectively, that only data that has a place in the context of specific real cases, makes reasonable explanations necessary. Furthermore, according to the focus of the study on the significance of the role and position of women in the economic system of farmers in the district.

We need to point out that this study site is generally located in the South Dampal sub-district, ToliToli Regency. However, in practice, this study focuses more on observing areas where the community develops agriculture as their livelihood. The point is that the area being studied in this research is an area that contains agricultural land. However, in the data collection process, such as interviews, it can be done in villages that do not have agricultural areas if there are potential informants who are in other areas where there is no agricultural land, for example there are land owners or working farmers.

### **Overview of the South Dampal Research Site**

Historically, Tolitoli Regency or Toli-Toli, which became the parent area of the South Dampal Subdistrict, was previously known as Buol Toli-Toli Regency, and at the same time became the oldest district in Central Sulawesi Province before the reform era occurred in Indonesia. The district capital at that time was Tolitoli City. After the Reformation, the Toli-Toli Buol Regency underwent division, precisely in 2000 based on Law Number 51 of 1999. The Toli-Toli Regency of Buol was divided into two regencies, namely Tolitoli Regency as the main regency and the other region became Buol Regency, which became the expansion district.

The name Toli-toli according to verbal explanations from a number of people explained that the word ToliToli comes from the word totolu which means Three. That is, the Toli-toli tribe comes from three heavenly humans who change their form when they inhabit the earth. In the mythology of the Toli-toli people, the three are known as Olisan Bulan (Golden Spice), Bumbung Lanjat (Top of Langsat Tree), and Ue Saka (A type of Rattan). The incarnation of Olisan Bulan is known as Tau Dei Baolan or Tamadika Baolan who incarnates through Ue Saka

known as Tau Dei Galang or Tamadika Dei Galang while a princess who incarnates as Bumbung Lanjat is known as Tau Dei Bumbung Lanjat or Boki Bulan.

Then the word totolu continued to experience changes in diction and writing, including tontoli as written in the Langge-Contract of 1858 which was signed by the Dutch between Dirk Francois and King Bantilan Safiuddin. Then in 1918 it changed again to Tolitoli as in the writing of Korte Verklaring which was signed by King Mohammad Ali with the Dutch government based in Nalu, Baolan District, Tolitoli Regency.<sup>1</sup>This means that the current use of the word Tolitoli refers to the final writing of the agreement between King Mohammad Ali and the Dutch government.

Based on the location map, Tolitoli Regency is one of the regencies in Central Sulawesi Province. In the map above, it is clear that the location of Tolitoli Regency appears to extend from east to west, located north of the equator in coordinates 0.35° - 1.20° North Latitude (LU) and 120° - 122.09° East Longitude (BT). ). The total area of Tolitoli Regency is 4,079.77 Km<sup>2</sup> (5.99 percent of the total area of Central Sulawesi Province).<sup>2</sup>

The administrative boundaries of the Tolitoli Regency are:

- North : Bordering the Sulawesi Sea
- South side : Borders with Parigi Moutong Regency
- East : Bordering Buol . Regency
- West Side : Bordering the Makassar Strait

The Tolitoli district consists of several sub-districts, one of which is the South Dampal sub-district which is the research area/site. The capital of South Dampal District is Bangkir. The South Dampal sub-district area itself has a number of villages/kelurahan, namely: Abbajareng Village, Bangkir Village, Dongko Village, Kombo Village, Lemba Harapan Village, Lempe Village, Mimbala Village, Paddumpu Village, Pallakawe Village, Puse Village, Simuntu Village, Soni Village, Tampiala Village.

The area of South Dampal District based on South Dampal data in Figures is ± 392.67 km<sup>2</sup> which is spread unevenly into 13 (thirteen) districts. The most extensive sub-districts are Kombo 58 km<sup>2</sup>, Dongko 48.07 km<sup>2</sup> and Lempe 40.29 km<sup>2</sup>. When compared with the total area of the South Dampal District, only these 3 areas account for 10% of the total area of the South Dampal sub-district. Meanwhile, the other 10 (ten) sub-districts are less than 10% of the total area of the main sub-district.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://beranda.tolitolikab.go.id/page/detail/sejarah>

<sup>2</sup> [http://sippa.ciptakarya.pu.go.id/sippa\\_online/ws\\_file/document/rpi2jm/DOCRPIJM\\_64a6459203\\_BAB%20IV\\_Bab%204%20-%20Profil%20Kabupaten,Kota.pdf](http://sippa.ciptakarya.pu.go.id/sippa_online/ws_file/document/rpi2jm/DOCRPIJM_64a6459203_BAB%20IV_Bab%204%20-%20Profil%20Kabupaten,Kota.pdf)

<sup>3</sup>South Dampal District in 2019 Figures.

Areas with extensive agricultural land are only found in the villages of Kombo, Tampila, Soni, Bangkir, Dongko. Some other areas also have agricultural land but not large enough. Most of the existing agricultural land is newly cleared land. Unlike the case with the 5 areas mentioned above, agricultural land has been formed for a long time and is integrated with the main irrigation route. The planting period does not follow the rainy season, or commonly known as rain-fed agriculture. Agricultural land that is integrated with an irrigation system carries out the planting process more often than land that is not well connected to an irrigation system, or relies more on the rainy season.

Furthermore, regarding the population, the population living in the South Dampal area is growing due to several things, including the increasing birth rate, besides that it is also influenced by the occurrence of waves of migration into the area. The increase in the number of residents from outside, both from the area around the Toli-Toli Regency or from outside the Toli-Toli Regency, entered and became residents due to several pulling factors, such as the area of land that was still available and prices were still cheap, various potential commodities (cloves, pepper, rice, coconut etc.) which have very high economic value.

Residents who come from outside are also influenced by kinship ties from other regions, such as many Bugis people who come or migrate from various areas in South Sulawesi Province (namely the districts of Barru, Bone, Soppeng, Sengkang/Wajo, Pinrang) because they are called by his family who had previously and long lived in the South Dampal sub-district and other areas in Tolitoli District. Their successful family history (commonly called success history) became the driving force for them to leave the Bugis land to migrate to Tolitoli, specifically in South Dampal, because they built their dream of following their family's success. This presence process becomes another dimension of population growth in this research area.

Based on statistical data, the number of people inhabiting the South Dampal District is ± 22,425 people in 5,428 RT. The largest population is in the Soni Village/Kelurahan area with details of 1753 male and 1733 female, with a total population of 3,486 people. Then followed by the Bangkir Village/Kelurahan area with details of 1652 male and 1694 female, with a total of ± 3,346 inhabitants. Meanwhile, Kombo Village and Lempe Village have a population in the 2000s range. The other five regions, Tampiala, Dongko, Padampi, Pallakewe and Passe each have a population of around 1000. Finally, the population of other regions does not reach the 1000s. According to information, most of the population living today are oriented towards agriculture, plantations,

### **Mythology and Socio-Cultural and Ethnic Life**

The Tolitoli tribe inhabits an area that stretches from the south of Sojool Seo Lenjuu, Taring Island to the north of Kuala Lakuan, Mount Raeta and Mount Tabadak. Tamadika Dei Galang disappeared on Mount Galang in Galang District riding a red horse. Tamadika Baolan

disappeared in Dadakitan Village on a yellow horse. Meanwhile, Boki Bulan disappeared on Mount Tatanglo on a white horse. The three heavenly humans lowered Tolitoli tribe. According to the beliefs of the indigenous people who live there, in Tando Kanau there is a supernatural power. This island is believed to be the center of supernatural powers originating from Mount Tatangalo and also the center of the meeting of the supernatural world of the three ancestors Tolitoli tribe, namely Tamadika Baolan, Tamadika Dei Galang and Boki Bulan.

In addition, Tando Kanau is also a branch of the supernatural world from the center of the supernatural world around the world which is centered in Uwentira in the Tanah Kaili area, Palu. On Lutungan Island or Tando Kanau there is the Tomb of the King of the Tolitoli kingdom, Syaifuddin Bantilan, who ruled from 1859 to 1867. Syaifuddin Bantilan is a powerful king. He is a descendant of King Mohammad Yusuf Syaiful Muluk Muidjuddin alias Malatuang who brought down the kings who ruled in the Tolitoli Kingdom.

### **Community Economic/Livelihood System**

Villages that are within the administrative area of the South Dampal sub-district can be said to be rural areas/regions. The rural character is very much felt from the livelihoods of the people, most of whom are still active in the agricultural and plantation sectors. For the agricultural sector, the community carries out activities as lowland rice farmers. While the service sector, like most of the urban characteristics, is still very rare, it does not mean that it does not exist. The service sector itself has basically started to grow, but supports the activities of those engaged in agriculture, plantations, fisheries and fishing.

The natural environment is very fertile, making the people in South Dampal District depend a lot for their lives on natural management. Community livelihoods such as agriculture, plantations and exploration of forest resources are the livelihoods of the community. Other livelihoods that are cultivated by the community are not only in the agricultural and forestry sectors but also those that lead to the sea and the sea, namely being fishermen, fish farmers and or fisheries. The government's attention to the various dimensions of livelihoods has received guidance through an institution/institution which they call the "Agricultural, Fisheries and Forestry Extension Center".

The existence of the aforementioned Balai has a significant role in providing an understanding of the importance of preserving the environment in the dimensions of their respective livelihoods, and also equipping the community with knowledge in maintaining and increasing the quality and production volume of each livelihood sector. However, we were unable to obtain information when we visited the office because the office was closed, due to the covid-19 pandemic.

The natural environment that has many dimensions, namely mountains, lowlands, sea is a factor that allows people in this region to develop many activities/livelihoods for various sectors. In addition to the agricultural and plantation sectors, there is also a fishery sector, namely pond processing and fishing.

Communities in the South Dampal sub-district generally have more than one source of livelihood. Therefore, the community is required to have more than one knowledge of land and natural resource management. People who only run one sector of livelihood will affect the level of income. The combination of livelihoods for the community is commonplace for them. Because it is the combination of livelihoods that requires the community to develop various technologies to support their activities for one livelihood sector, besides that, women's support is needed to develop this combination of livelihoods so that they can support the family economy (discussion on the significance of women's roles will be discussed in greater depth in point 4.6).

### ***Sibali Reso* as the basis for partnership**

In Bugis society, as in other societies in the world, men and women have their own areas of activity. But in essence the Bugis do not think that men and women are more dominant over each other. The criteria for differentiating gender roles are based on social tendencies in individual behavior in general. The Bugis people apply the principle of gender equality in their bilateral kinship system. Where the mother and father have an equal role in determining the line of kinship so that they consider men and women to be equal (although different) in social life. This difference is the basis of their partnership in carrying out their respective roles. (Pelras, 2006:185)

The partnership that was built between men and women is reflected in the daily reality of farming families in the South Dampal sub-district. Women in farming families, apart from being housewives, who are usually attached to the job of taking care of the household also have another role, namely helping their husbands to meet the economic needs of the family. This role is a form of cooperation between the wife and the husband or vice versa. This collaboration does not only fulfill the function of the role but contains the value of complementing each other, helping each other, respecting each other and so on. The presence of women in this cooperation can be regarded as a voluntary desire to participate in activities that are considered to be able to improve the dignity of the family. Even so, This does not mean that all work done by men can be done by women or vice versa because these differences persist and are recognized, especially differences in attitude, for example men sitting cross-legged while women sit with their legs folded to the side, or men lifting burdens by shouldering (*lempa*) while women uphold (*jujjung*). Women take care of the house and take care of children, men go to the fields or gardens. However, community members recognize that this difference is a place to complement each other (complementary). Therefore, this role under certain conditions or at any time can be exchanged.

In agriculture, for example, what women can do is plant and maintain gardens. At the research location, many residents use the vacant land next to their house by planting pepper. Pepper gardening is done close to where you live because this plant is seen as finicky and requires intensive care, therefore, tending to pepper is mostly done by women. So the role of women in this sector is very significant. Another example, in jobs that require a lot of people, for example during the planting season, women who have a big role in making the planting process can be carried out. The system of gotong royong in planting activities carried out by farmers will not be successful if women are not involved in it. They prepare the food, while the male farmers go down to the fields during the growing season. Besides that, The role of women will be very obvious, especially in activities that are considered not too heavy, such as drying rice or in the harvesting process called *madros*, which is an activity to separate rice from the stalk using a rice thresher machine. As revealed in the following interview excerpt

*"If we are women working in the fields, usually Madross, the members depend on the person who wants to come, then I am a member of 15 women all, there are also men but only help lift the machine, it's a machine, it is moved around so that the male lifts it. . But the madros are women. If there is a result, all of the members are divided equally, usually 3 sacks of rice in one harvest, usually for one month, I leave from 7 am to 6 pm, sometimes until 6 pm. So one day he was left at home, sometimes his father took care of the housework. Each member brings their own lunch. (results of interview 2 July 2002)*

This form of cooperation in the local community is called *sibali reso*. *Sibali reso* is done, in fact it is a form of commitment and responsibility for the interests of the family. Cooperation is carried out with the concept of helping each other get things done. A comprehensive system that cannot be separated or separated between the roles played by men or women. In certain situations these roles may be interchanged with one another. For the *Sibali reso* farming family, this will be very obvious in the processes to run the family economy. Therefore, the concept of *sibali reso* cannot be equated with the concept of modern cooperation where each party has rights and responsibilities and to complement each other.

In real life, division looks like work in the kitchen and the well, but these jobs are not something that is permanent but when it is not finished it can be exchanged. The division is very fluid because the nature of mutual cooperation in the concept of *sibali reso* is not a role or division of tasks for each person but as stated by Pelras (2006: 187) that the work of women and men is not about dividing who does the heavy lifting who does the light work. that these differences underlie the husband and wife partnership in supporting each other's interests (*sibali perri*) and troublesome each other (*siporepo*).

The development, role and position of women in farming families, especially in South Dampal for a long time has placed women as equal partners with men, especially because these



farmers are Bugis migrants who culturally have believed and practiced the concepts of mutually supportive work, complement and complement each other between men and women. Sibalireso's metaphor gives an important position to women in the household. In addition, the metaphor also builds the principle of a flexible collective work commitment, not within a very strict division of labor. Other things that can be seen from this sibalireso principle include:

- Through the *sibali reso* principle, women find a space that enables them to live life according to their abilities. This principle also becomes functional in maintaining harmony in family life.
- This principle also builds awareness to complement each other when one experiences problems, such as illness.
- The potential for conflict can be reduced by the awareness of Sibalireso.
- *Sibali reso* is equal to two sides of a coin which does not mean one side if the other side does not exist.

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## “Are you Interested?”: Sexting Through Instagram in Time of Covid-19 Pandemic

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The Covid-19 pandemic has changed many aspects of human life into an almost all online life to restrict human movement in order to prevent the spread of virus. During the Covid-19 pandemic, it was not only selling online which was increasingly mushrooming, virtual or online meetings were also more often carried out, even the use of social media, such as Instagram, Tiktok, Twitter, and Facebook, was also increasing. This indirectly has an impact on the increasing number of online gender based violence (KBOG), especially violence against women.

The SAFEnet 2021 Press Release document shows that during the Covid-19 pandemic the number of OBGV increased by three times. This is intertwined with Komnas Perempuan's annual record released on March 5, 2021, that in 2019 there were 241 KBOG cases. This number increased to 940 cases in 2020.<sup>4</sup>

According to the Head of Komnas Perempuan, Andy Yentriyani, women are often the main target of KBGO actors because gender construction in society often places women in a position that is easily deceived and pressured.<sup>5</sup> The forms of online gender-based violence are varied from gender-based harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, coerced sexual offenses, scamming, body shaming, and sex texting (sexting). Rey et al. (2019) define sexting as “the exchange of sexual content material via technological devices”, and classify it into primary and secondary secondary sexting.

Instagram is currently one of the social media with the highest number of users after Whatsapp.<sup>6</sup> The most common form of sexting is direct messages on Instagram or video calls. This is because from a privacy perspective, Instagram is more accessible to other people than Whatsapp, so that in the context of sexting, it is easier for people to do it through Instagram than through Whatsapp.

While some existing literature discusses sexting between those who are in a relationship or close relationships (Madigan 2022:328; Huntington 2021:8; Oriza 2020:31; Jufri 2019:4), this article focuses on sexting between those who are not at all in a relationship, both between

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<sup>4</sup> <https://ykp.or.id/meningkatnya-kekerasan-basis-gender-online-setelah-satu-tahun-pandemi-di-indonesia/>, diakses tanggal 7 July 2022.

<sup>5</sup> <https://katadata.co.id/anshar/berita/61777b0659e57/mengenal-kekerasan-berbasis-gender-online-dan-upaya-pencegahannya>, diakses tanggal 19 June 2022.

<sup>6</sup> <https://dataindonesia.id/digital/detail/pengguna-media-sosial-di-indonesia-capai-191-juta-pada-2022>, diakses tanggal 23 June 2022.

two people who are completely strangers to each other, or between those who know each other, but the perpetrator pretends to be someone else by using a fake account.

The impact experienced by victims of sexting is that they feel afraid of further terror and fear of being stigmatized that the victim is the one who "stimulates" the perpetrator through her posts on Instagram. There are also those who are traumatized to accept new friends on Instagram, and lost self confident to post her pictures like they used to be. There are even those who prefer to temporarily close their account or permanently close their account, or no longer use social media, especially Instagram for an uncertain period of time.

Using qualitative approach, this research was conducted virtually on Instagram social media. We use interviews directly or through several communication media, such as Whatsapp video calls, Google Meet, and Zoom, as well as online observations as a combined data collection method. Although sexting can be done by men against women and vice versa, all sexting actors in this study were men. Those involved in this study were ten women who considered themselves as the victim of sexting. They vary by age (between 17 and 30 years) and occupation (high school and university students, civil servants, to private employees).

The results show that sexting is carried out by people who are completely stranger to the recipient and by people who are known, even though they are not close to each other, some are followers on Instagram, others are not. Sexting is generally done by several people on the basis of mutual liking between the sender and the recipient, but there is also texting that causes the party to be sent to become a victim of texting.

Sexting in Instagram occurred in two ways, namely: first, sending a text message containing a direct invitation to have sex after the sender sends a photo of his genitals (penis); ask the recipient to send photos of their body parts as a whole, as well as certain sensual body parts, such as breasts, genitals; invites to do video call sex (VCS), either by inviting them to do it together or by simply inviting the recipient to "enjoy" online masturbation by the perpetrator; second, sending a picture or photo message that shows the perpetrator's genitals and invites the recipient to "enjoy it" with "fishing" questions, such as "Are you interested?" or "Do you like it?", and the sender expects a positive response from the recipient.

The response of the recipient, who felt as a victim of sexting, varied from feeling shocked, crying, embarrassed, confused, blaming himself. There are also those who respond silently for fear of being stigmatized. When the recipient does not respond or is slow in responding to text messages or picture messages sent by the perpetrator, the perpetrator will be increasingly challenged and eager to continue the text or action, such as sending spam chats or even contacting the victim continuously via voice call or videocall on Instagram. Therefore,

there were victims who turned off their cellphones, deactivated their Instagram accounts, or blocked the perpetrators.

There were also those who tried to find out about sexting actors through social media, or asked for help from technological experts to find the data used to create Instagram. However, the result is quite shocked because the perpetrator was a person who was known in real life even though he was not familiar and his appearance is quite religious, as a symbol to cover his behind-the-scenes activities.

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## Swimming in the Endless Sea: The Battle Against Sexual Violence on Campus

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In the study of legal pluralism with a global perspective in Legal Anthropology, it is believed that what happens in one region or part of the world has an impact on other parts of the world. This happened in the context of the rise of resistance to sexual violence. The #MeToo movement has encouraged victims to report, concerned communities seek to be involved in providing support, and the State has begun to intervene in various legal processes. The movement also happened in the Indonesian context. As reported by National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan)'s Annual Records in 2020, there are 962 reported cases of sexual violence.

Some of those cases happened in the university environment, which is supposed to be as a safe area like other educational institutions. The investigation of the Campus Good Name Consortium (Tirto, Vice, and The Jakarta Post) in 2019 found that 179 members of the academic community from 79 universities in 29 cities in Indonesia had experienced sexual violence. Then a survey of 76 universities (public and private) in Indonesia in 2020-2021 conducted by a special team from the Ministry of Education and Culture found that 75% of respondents stated that there were cases of sexual violence on campus. Several previous studies have also been conducted related to the issue of sexual violence that occurs on campus. For examples Hirsch and Khan (2020) had research sexual violence on campus in the United States.

Other research conducted by Has and Apsari (in Nurtjahyo and Wicaksono-ed, 2022) also found similar problems in the Indonesian campuses context. Although Indonesia has two regulations that can be used in an effort to protect victims, Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Higher Education (Permendikbudrisetdikti) No. 30 of 2021 about the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education and the Act of Sexual Violence No 12 of 2022, the implementation of these two regulations is not easy. This paper described a brief narrative about the experiences of the actors in fighting for justice for the victims, including conflicts that occur within networks and/or communities. Then also the story about the various challenges faced when victims, survivors, bystanders, or the service providers report the case to the campus authorities.

The author also tried to explain how then the victims or survivors, and service providers or third parties, carried out various strategies in their efforts to access justice for themselves. The methods used in this research are content analysis, focus group discussions with service providers, and interviews. In some cases investigated by researcher, victims and/or survivors choose to do 'avoidance' as option, even though they are also trying to get counselling. There

were also cases handled by the campus where the perpetrators were punished, but the burden of financing counselling for victims have given to the victims and survivors themselves. In other cases, the case investigation process was not even completed because the perpetrator died. In two other cases the victims was brave enough and reported the case to the campus authorities. However, the process of imposing sanctions did not go as expected. It was also found in other cases that victims dared to report their cases to law enforcement and cases were processed through legal channels. Unfortunately, the law enforcement officers do not have a gender perspective and sensitivity regarding cases of sexual violence.

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## Applying Anthropology to the Challenge of Engaging Men and Boys in Gender Justice

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This presentation draws upon the author's experience as a founder and director of an European organisation that provides gender transformative education to men and boys, primarily as a primary prevention interventions towards gender justice, the elimination of gender based violence and creation of more inclusive, supportive communities. Engaging men and challenging patriarchal gendered norms will be crucial parts of dismantling the varied structures and social attitudes that perpetuate sexism and violence against women, girls and marginalised genders. This presentation will reflect on the successes, challenges and failures over eight years of trying to apply the perspectives gained as an anthropological researcher, including while adapting materials to different cultural groups, transposing frameworks of intersectionality, privilege and power to new contexts, and balancing the need to understand the emic perspective while challenging its harmful elements. It discusses research methods, group facilitation, judgement free listening, and theoretical vs practical orientations.

## Revisiting State Ibuism: Social Reproduction among Modern Indonesian Family

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The Family Welfare Development Organization/Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) has a long history in Indonesian families. This government program places women, family, and domestic affairs as the targets of government programs since the New Order regime until now, which was then conceptualized in the concept of State Ibuism. This paper will examine how this concept works in Indonesian family culture in today's democratic era. I argue that women and their families are no longer just targets of government development programs, but instruments of the State itself in carrying out development. In this case, women are the spearhead who must struggle in modernity in the fields of health and public welfare. The small wages that women receive in government programs through the PKK are in fact abstract wages from their real work.





## PANEL 5. NEW DEVELOPMENTALISM IN INDONESIA: WHERE IS THE MARGINAL?

### Social Accountability in New Developmental State: The Role of Marginals in Village Governance

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Accountability has been an established principle of democratic governance: every authority must be held accountable. There have been many efforts to institutionalise accountability in politics and governance, such as direct election and decentralization. In 2014, Indonesian government issued Law No 06 on village that to some expert is viewed as the next wave of democratisation in Indonesia. With this law, decentralisation is deepened, and village is given more autonomy. This law also reintroduced principles of participation into village governance, allowing villagers from different walk of life to be involved in village governance, including in holding the village government accountable. The aims of this research are to scrutinise how villagers, especially the marginals, can participate in holding village government accountable, and how their participation has changed the landscape of village politics.

The research was conducted using mix method where the survey was implemented in 40 villages in five different provinces, and the qualitative fieldwork was carried out in 13 villages. The survey was aimed to collect information from Village Officials, BPD members, and household member on issues related to their knowledge and experience in aspects of village governance, including participation in various governance activities, transparency of information and decision making, and accountability of village governance and service delivery. The qualitative approach uses interviews, Focused Group Discussion, and observation to collect information. Interviews were conducted informants at the national, district, subdistricts, and village levels. FGDs were organized with participants from village only that involve the poor and non-poor, male and female, villagers in two separate FGDs in each village. While observation was implemented to observe the general condition of village, and, if any, activities related to village governance while the researchers are in the location.

The result showed that normative accountability measures (as they are regulated by the supra village institutions) have been in place in villages. The participation of villagers in village governance-related activities has been pretty good. The village meetings are normally attended by significant numbers of villagers, ranging from 50 to 120 villagers in village samples. In some villages, the attendance rate was 100% of the total participants invited by the village government, while the rest was 70-80%. The rules of transparency have been also practiced where many types of village governance information have been disclosed to

villagers through different types of mechanism, such as village information boards, banners, flyers, villager website, direct dissemination in meetings, etc. Based on the survey, about 90% of village government has performed one or more information dissemination mechanism.

The formal accountability practices have been in place as well. In almost all of village samples, the village governments have made the village accountability reports and sent them to the BPD. And BPD as an institution to ensure accountability in the village to some extent has done the job. In some villages the BPD has held meeting to discuss various report from the village executive, an indication that the BPD has done the job well.

However, the institutional innovation of the village governance made by the Village Law is not yet adequate to boost the role of the marginals in village governance. This can be seen from the fact that villagers who attend the village meetings are normally village elites, such village staff, BPD members, religious leaders, customary leaders, teachers, health staff who based in the village etc. The marginals (women, people with disability and elderly) are rarely showed up in the meeting.

The information disseminated by the village government is also not tailored to meet the interests of the villagers, and the ways they are disseminated do not take the marginals condition into account. Hence, it is not a surprise to see that limited number of citizens can access or understand the disseminated information. For example, only 25.81% of the people from the marginalized group (women, people with disability, elderly) have the information about village governance. And more specifically, only 32.18% females have information related to village governance compared to male respondents that have bigger proportion, 48.16%.

And the accountability practices are limited to activities that are requested by the supra village institutions, rather than projected to respect the villagers and make them as the main stakeholder of the village governance. For example, the village accountability reports are not meant to be presented to the villager. It is mainly a requirement for district reporting. And the data showed that limited number of village government that present the report to the villagers or involve them in discussing the report. Not only does the BPD have weak performance, the villagers also don't have eagerness to be involved in village governance or have concerns on the village condition. The data showed that only about 12% of respondents that ever made complaints, gave suggestions, or voiced their aspirations about village development to the village officials.

The data showed that good village governance (GVG) mechanisms have been in place as they are required by the supra village governments. However, they are not yet responsive to the need of the villagers in general and marginal in particular. This paper argues that the fact that GVG mechanisms have failed to serve the need of the villagers, especially the marginals, is

because it is designed to facilitate the interests of the supra village institutions, especially the national government, rather than to expediate democratic governance in villages. The development of local institutions to facilitate the achievement of “the national interests” has been one of the characteristics of the New Developmental regime.

### Defining the Progress from Within the Forest

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*Sokola Institute*

Indigenous peoples are distinguished, among other things, by their cultural identity. When used in the context of development, culture has often been qualified with the adjective traditional, a pejorative connotation implying that it is a constraint to change of any sort (Rao and Walton 2004 in Gow 2008).

Meanwhile, development in Indonesia is heavily influenced by evolutionary theories that states that development is a linear process from primitive or traditional societies to advanced (modern) societies with western countries as the reference (Suwarsono and So, 1994). From this point of view, Indigenous Peoples are often placed as disadvantaged communities, and therefore receive many interventions in the name of development.

If development is considered as progress, is that really how the Orang Rimba who inhabit the Bukit Duabelas forest area in Jambi feel? Since the New Order era, the Orang Rimba have relinquished patches of forest in the name of development. Today, there are no more than 60,000 hectares of forest area surrounded by oil palm plantations, rubber plantations, Malay villages, and transmigrant villages, complete with markets and roads that support the distribution of goods. The remaining forest areas have also been designated as National Park. Some Orang Rimba have been relocated through settlement projects.

Narrowing forests and increasingly open access, increase the intensity of interaction with the outside world. From this point, new problems emerged: the changes in habitat that have led to changes in their way of life, and the collapse of customary institutions.

The writer's long and intensive experience in working with the Orang Rimba has produced notes from a native's point of view, about their romantic memories of their ancestral forest and the changes that occurred which they had no control over. Changes that feel contradictory to progress that is a unilaterally designed development goal.

### Migration and Farmer Household Livelihood Strategies: Factors Influencing the Decision To Migrate

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West Java is one of the provinces with a high percentage of poor farmer's households. Furthermore, migration is often associated with economic conditions and is carried out by farmer's households as a form of livelihood strategy to cope with poverty and vulnerability. This research aims to describe the migration carried out by farmers and to analyze the factors influencing the decision of members to migrate. The data from the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS) in 2007 and 2014 was used for the analysis. The respondents are members of farmer's households in West Java Province, a total of 615 individuals, including 89 migrants and 526 non-migrants. Descriptive analysis and logistic regression were used to answer the research objectives. The results showed that most of the migrants are of productive age, married, and with a low level of education. The decision to migrate is strongly influenced by age and perceived vulnerability, which is seen as the ability to meet current needs and the needs of children.

### The "Project Affected People": New Minority among New Developmentalism in Indonesia

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After going through the New Order regime, Indonesia has repeated the time of massive and significant infrastructure and economic development. This era is marked by various projects such as roads, railways, airports, energy, and economic infrastructure in remote areas of Indonesia. At this point, the friction between the development projects with the locals is inevitable positively and negatively. A certain groups that are negatively impacted by a development project are known as project-affected people. This paper will argue that the project affected people as a new marginal identity through the process of a new developmentalism era in Indonesia. The construction of a new identity occurs through the narration, regulation, and direct interaction of operational project activity. Project-affected people in Indonesia are currently understood as people who have lost their source of livelihood, lost income, lost land and asset, lost their ancestral lands, and their life rites practices. They are people who are directly and indirectly marginalized by development. The impact of the loss of these sources of livelihood is the emergence of new vulnerabilities such as the loss of attachment between the community and their ancestral land and cultural heritage, the threat of local community values, and changes in the way of life of the community. This can be seen from the cases of indigenous peoples affected by development projects. They are a community that has occupied their ancestral lands for a long time. However, after a development project surrounding their homeland, their lives are in danger of being lost or displaced. Although according to regulations, the affected communities of this project will receive compensation as a result of resettlement, but these threats are the main problem in new development at this time.

## Health Challenges and Threats for Hunter and Gatherer

*Kristiawan*

Orang Rimba are one of the hunting and gathering community groups that still exist in Jambi Province. According to the government, Orang Rimba are among the target recipients of the resettlement program under the command of the Ministry of Social Affairs. This settlement program is one of the stages of a scheme to improve the quality of life of the community, including in the health sector. As a community group whose lives are connected and dependent on the forest, the Orang Rimba have a variety of knowledge to manage the health of their group members. Some of the knowledge that can still be found and is still being practiced by Orang Rimba today include: besesandion, which is to isolate sick group members; melangun, which is life moving from a place that causes disease to another; Besale, which is to carry out a treatment ritual using traditional ingredients to ask for healing for their illness

Referring to the settlement scheme implemented by the government, the Orang Rimba are placed in a settlement location together based on the number of group members and the area for the settlement. Under these conditions, most Orang Rimba are unable to apply their knowledge in managing their health. In this paper, I want to convey what are the challenges, threats and how the concept of disease in Orang Rimba is currently after participating in the settlement program from the government.



## **PANEL 6. THE DYNAMICS AND CHALLENGES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN RECOGNIZING CUSTOMARY FOREST**

### **The Significance and Limit of Adat Territory Recognition in Addressing the Problem of Rural Agrarian Crises: Insights from Kasepuhan Karang in Banten, Indonesia**

*Mohamad Shohibuddin, Eko Cahyono, Habibur Rachman, Fajar Ahsani, dan Sakinah Tunufus Sajogyo Institute*

The intimate, piecemeal, land dispossession is a mundane process taking place even in the countryside; and the customary (adat) community is not an exception in this regard. The recent government policy to partially recognize adat territory poses a critical challenge whether the customary tenure system can significantly address such exclusionary process or not. This paper provides some preliminary results from on-going research in Kasepuhan Karang, Banten who just recently got the formal recognition over their customary forest from the government. Legally speaking, the state recognition covers only forest area, while non-forest area falls under jurisdiction of land administration regime and is not recognized yet by the government. The factual tenure system for agricultural land both located in the recognized forest area and in the unrecognized non-forest area is characterized by individual landholding. In this community, as in many places in rural Indonesia, indebtedness which led to distress land sales also take place especially on paddy fields outside the forest area. Following the recognition of customary forest, local version of land certificates were introduced to administer agricultural land inside the recognized customary forest. The certificates can be used as a mortgage to access credit from new cooperative established and managed by women group. While the cooperative has successfully provided financial access for small farmers to solve their problem of indebtedness, at the same time it also opens land market inside the customary forest area. This paper will examine such dynamics by discussing it in the context of on-going agrarian transition in the community.

### **Dynamics of Indigenous Identity Claims: a Political Ecology Perspective**

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Land is the production base of rural communities that rely on the livelihood system in the agricultural sector. Structural agrarian conflicts caused by state political policies, in practice not only make agrarian conflicts vertical but also horizontal. Thus, land is an arena of contestation of power from diverse actors (villagers, governments, corporations, and civil

society organizations) intertwined with historical narratives and knowledge related to territories over the land or territory. Indigenous peoples became amorphous subject entities that echoed since the reform era resonated with the demands for agrarian justice and recognition of their customary territories. On the other hand, the new order era has systematically eroded the customary order system throughout the archipelago. Therefore, the momentum of reform is the opening door for the squirming of adat jargon, indigenous peoples, indigenous identities, customary territories, and customary forests. The Customary Territory Registration Agency (BRWA) until March 2022 have made maps of indigenous territories as many as 1,091 fields with a total area of 17.7 million hectares spread across 29 provinces (141 regencies/cities). Meanwhile, until January 2022, the recognition of customary forests by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry has only covered 15 provinces (32 districts) with a total of 89 customary forests covering an area of 76,156 hectares. So that the opportunity to own land through customary forests has been widely used by various communities. The fluid boundaries of indigenous communities make claims to these customary forests very dynamic: who is an indigenous people? This paper uses the perspective of political ecology in tracing how the "construction" of community formation to make customary forest claims. The study area includes Jambi Province (Suku Anak Dalam community) and North Sumatra (Batak Toba community). In the Batak Toba community, the community is based on the genealogical ties of the clan, so that the "sipungka huta" clan (which opened the settlement) "ruled" over their territory. Clan identity becomes a strong binder in customary forest claims. Uniquely, in some villages customary forest claims in this area are widely submitted by boru. In the Suku Anak Dalam community, the role of semendo is important, because the "indigenous" community advances a lot of this "semendo" to make indigenous territory claims.

### Lesson Learn from the Verification Process of The Customary Forest in Central Sulawesi and North Sumatra Province, Indonesia

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In 2021, three proposals for the recognition of customary forest in Central Sulawesi (CS) verified by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MEF). One year later, 18 customary forest proposals from North Sumatra (NS) Province entered the verification process. The proposal contained two subject matters, the existence of the customary community, and the presence of the customary forest. The Alliance for The Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (or AMAN) and local NGO actively assisted the customary community to record the history, the traditions, values, norms and structure of the *adat* community, as well as the customary areas and its proposed boundaries of customary forest. In CS Province, around 25 to 40 percent of each proposed customary forest overlapped with the protected forest (the Lore Lindu National Park, LLNP). Meanwhile, in NS, around 60 to 70 percent of each proposed customary forest overlapped with the timber estate concession of the private company (PT



TPL). The area and the boundaries of the customary forest become a contested arena and politicized environment between and among the interested parties. In Central Sulawesi three actors are struggle over the access to customary forest i.e. the AMAN and the three customary communities, the Directorate General of Nature Conservation and the Ecosystem, and the Directorate General for Social Forestry of the MEF. In North Sumatra, the situation is more complex as four interested actors are struggle over access to the customary forest i.e. the NGOs (AMAN, and the KSPPM) and 18 customary communities, the private company of PT TPL, and the Directorate General for Social Forestry. The initiative to propose the customary forest are intertwined and cannot separated with the civil society movement surround the Toba Lake to stop the operation of PT TPL.

### Learning on the Process of Recognition of Customary Forest in 2016-2021

*Bambang Supriyanto, Muhammad Said, Yuli Prasetyo Nugroho, Soeryo Adiwibowo, Rina Mardiana, dan Rytha Tambunan*

The existence of indigenous peoples in Indonesia who have been marginalized for a long time in the state process, finally find away after the issuance of the Constitutional Court Decision No. 35/PPU-X/2012 concerning customary forests, which simply emphasizes that indigenous peoples are legal subjects and holders of rights to their customary areas located in forest areas (customary forests). This decision changes the provisions of the Forestry Law by separating customary forests as part of state forests. However, this decision has not resolved all the problems of recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples in managing their customary forests. Recognition of customary forests must go through administrative procedures in the form of the formation of local legal products. The problem faced is the variety of types of regional legal products which sometimes do not clearly define indigenous peoples and their customary territories. Issues surrounding customary forests, customary territories and their indigenous peoples still need to be explored to be able to provide the best benefits for the community and environmental sustainability so that the available recognition instruments can be targeted at customary forests which are their rights and needs, not just a desire to control. The complexity of the subject and object of customary rights that must be protected has become a lively debate to this day. This paper dissects the trap of complex recognition of indigenous peoples made possible by three things. First, the parties are trapped in a debate about the concept of indigenous peoples which is indeed general in nature; secondly, this problem is exacerbated by parties who barely have a proven instrument in the process of recognizing customary communities and customary forests; and third, conflicts of interest between the parties by carrying out their perspective agendas. This paper was compiled in order to lessons, evaluate and self-criticize the recognition of Indonesia's customary forests in the period 2016 to 2021.

## Incommensurability of Community Based Ecosystem Revitalization: Continuity and Change of Social and Justice Values in Orang Petalangan at Gondai Village in Pelalawan Riau

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This paper will explore about ethnography of the dynamic and consequences of social values of community based Teso Nilo Ecosystem Revitalization (RETN) which are not considered commensurate based on dominant exchange value created by monoculture of palm oil of Orang Petalangan at Gondai Village Pelalawan Riau in the past two decades. The application of (in)commensurability in the study of community based ecosystem revitalization reflect the challenge of value creation that require building the social value schemes that have an 'immediate return' from community's point of view.



## **PANEL 7. BERKAH DAN KUTUKAN: RETELLING ENVIRONMENTAL NARRATIVES IN INDONESIA**

Negotiating environmental crisis? Rural-urban interface perspective on the forest ecosystem restoration project in West Java and Lombok, Indonesia

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Forest ecosystem restoration (FER) projects have been encouraged as part of mitigating the environmental crisis. Applying rural-urban interface perspective, this paper views ecosystem restoration as a process of transferring the environmental burden from urban areas to the farmers who live in the upstream of watersheds. Ecosystem restoration is a techno-science effort to change the degraded landscape to overcome environmental problems. To some extent, the implementation of restoration has changed land use practices that influence the livelihoods of farmers at the upstream areas. Changes in land use created by FER project are the crisis which the farmers should deal with.

Our qualitative research in West Java and Lombok shows how discourse on the relation between degraded upstream watershed ecosystems and the environmental crisis in the downstream area is powerful in mobilizing fundings, scientific research, technology, and practices to change the landscape of upstream rural areas which are dominated by agricultural activities. FER is also an arena for negotiating differences in interpreting the natural crisis defined by urban communities in the downstream and the farmers in the upstream rural. In the case of West Java and Lombok, the potential natural disasters or the scarcity of clean water to urban residents, and the limitations of farmers to access their lands are two narratives of the crisis that must be overcome through FER. The agroforestry promoted by restoration experts, governments, donors, project implementers and farmers, is an assemblage considered capable in mitigating the environmental crisis in downstream urban while advancing the economic interests of farmers in the upstream rural area.

Since its emergence in the 70s, 'ecosystem restoration' or 'ecological restoration' has expanded as the scientific concept referring to the use of ecological knowledge to rehabilitate a degraded ecosystem (Martin, 2017). The social aspect of ecosystem restoration appeared in the 80s which brings ecosystem restoration become a pivotal topic in social-environmental studies. Higgs (2003) considers ecosystem restoration as a project that builds imagination about future natural conditions and landscapes, or a 'nature by design'. This notion invites for the assessment of cultural issues on the ecosystem restoration project.

In Indonesia ecosystem restoration has been adopted into some nature conservation initiatives. In some locations, forest ecosystem restoration (FER) in specific takes complicated socio-economic and political problem, especially related to the interests and values of the local community. FER has been emerged not only in the domain of scientists, but also environmental activists and business entities. Indonesian government has issued permits for ecosystem restoration through forest concession schemes, such as those held by PT. REKI in Jambi (Buergin, 2016).

FER is a set of practices associated with reproduction of space, landscape or environment that is not only physical but also social. The study of social aspects in FER would be relevant to the recent global issues to mitigate climate change, one of which is due to the forest degradation. Studies on ecosystem restoration show that there is a trade-off between creating a technical landscape and the interests of the communities surrounding the restoration site.

Negotiating 'environmental crisis' is a narrative describing the process of linkage and contradiction between the meaning of 'crisis' from the farmer's point of view and the ecosystem restoration experts. By restoration experts, crises are defined through ecological measurements indicating the degradation of forest values and functions which create potential factors toward environmental crises. Meanwhile, for farmers, restoration means reforestation of their agricultural land that has contributed to their livelihood.

This paper reviews ecosystem restoration project as an effort to restore degraded ecosystem conditions by coalescing the science and technology-based practices with social-economy approach. Projects in West Java and Lombok of West Nusa Tenggara were implemented in the upstream catchment areas which aimed to avoid environmental crisis and risks faced by urban areas downstream, such as floods, landslides, and scarcity of water. Using the rural-urban interface perspective, we view the rehabilitated ecosystem as a unified natural, socio-economic, and political process of creating new landscape. Combining the rural-urban interface perspective with political ecology demonstrates the environmental crises in urban areas also determine the relationship between farmers in upstream villages and forests or agricultural land.

The discussion in this paper is based on ethnographic data conducted in two locations, the Puncak area in West Java and Central Lombok in West Nusa Tenggara province. These two locations are State Forest that are biophysically defined functioning as water-catchment area and buffer zone for residents of Jakarta and its surroundings, as well as the city of Mataram in Lombok.

The study conducted at the project site of Gaia Eko Daya Buana (Gaia), an environmental consulting company based in Jakarta. The data collected is not limited on the social economy aspects of local farmers, but also how Gaia and other actors outside the community create

discourses about environmental crisis and the approach they used to support the restoration goals. Considering the ecosystem restoration as the creation process of imagined new landscape, we take into account the historical relationship between farmers and their forest land is critical point in negotiating the 'crisis'.

### ***Defining environmental crisis***

The location of the FER project by Gaia is a state forest located in the upstream area of the watershed. In Puncak, FER was carried out in forest under concession of PT. Perhutani (state-owned corporate), which is next to the privately-owned tea plantation and national nature reserves. This location is the 'zero' point of the Ciliwung river stream, located at the altitude of 1250 – 1650 masl. Perhutani has managed production forest and planted pine trees for some decades. Meanwhile, the tea plantations and Telaga Warna Nature Reserve has established since the Dutch colonial era. Local farmers have legal access to cultivate land within the state forest through the Social Forestry program in partnership with Perhutani. Some studies indicate the changes in land use in upstream of Ciliwung contribute to the floods that frequently hit Jakarta megacity. Puncak area also has been rapidly developed as a tourism destination visited by residents of Jakarta and its surrounding cities. The FER project in Central Lombok is about 35 Km from Mataram city, capital of NTB Province, at downstream with good condition of access road. South from the FER site is the Mandalika Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which is recently famous with the MotoGP international event.

In 2001 some international agencies (USAID, UNDP, Ford Foundation) allocated financial and technical support to develop Payments for Environmental Services (PES) aimed at 'reforesting' the Mount Rinjani hills and adapting local practices at upstream of Lombok (FAO, 2013). KOICA, development funding agency from South Korea, promoted REDD+ scheme as strategy of FER. In 2016-2017, Gaia and some local NGOs supported by MCA-I donor initiate FER project using the narrative of watercatchment protection and mitigation of climate change.

### ***The restoration farmers and experts***

We use 'restoration farmers' as a group of local farmers engaged by Gaia and other agencies in ecosystem restoration project. They manage land within state forest which have been appointed as the forest restoration site. In Puncak, West Java, there were around 64 farmers involved in FER project, while in Lombok there were about 400 farmers coming from five villages. They, both in Puncak and Lombok, are also the members of farmers group who hold legal permit of forest use under the Social Forestry Program (Perhutsos).

FER by Gaia has not solely changing the forest landscape in the upstream areas, but also to the land and forest use by farmers as well. The effectiveness of restoration activities in reducing flood cases and sustaining the water springs for downstream areas might need to be evaluated based on various environmental parameters. However, the facts of changes in

the economic activities of the population that are correlated with the forest are a situation that is currently happening.

Restoration farmers in Puncak and Lombok are those who before ecosystem restoration had controlled and cultivated land in forest areas with short-term crops. Farmers in Puncak have grown various types of vegetables and coffee, while others illegally plant sengon (*Albizia chinensis*). In Lombok, restoration farmers are members of HKm farmer groups who hold permit to use protected forests since 2000. Since the 90s they have cultivated these lands for staple and cash crops, such as paddy, vegetables, beans, maize, and bananas. Cultivation of such plant species is criticized by forest experts as not support the ecological function of the forest.

As a business entity, Gaia provides environmental social studies services related to the sustainable management of the environment and natural resources. In FER projects, Gaia applies the 'participatory ecosystem restoration', a concept of restoration that combines scientific approach and the local communities's needs. Gaia usually run FER by a team of ecologists, biologists and anthropologists who assess the bio-physical and socioeconomic features of the targetted restoration sites. Their studies are the for the designing the restoration plans as well as strategies for community engagement. It is through the work of experts the existing landscape is visualized, problems are identified, and a new landscape is envisaged. Knowledge produced by exerts further implemented by a field team who closely work with local communities, particularly restoration farmers.

### ***Negotiating the environmantal crisis***

FER project by Gaia aims on translating the ecological technical knowledge into the social-economy values. Agreement obtained by Gaia, local government, and farmers on multi-purpose trees species (MPTS), incl. forest trees and fruits, derived from series of negotiations during project planning and implementation. Further, our study identifies the agreement on MPTS represents the nexus of differentiate perceptions of the crisis and risks subsequent from landscape change by FER project.

Gaia's experts, local government, and environmental organizations foster agroforestry which is considered as appropriate strategy from the scientific and technical perspective. Planting the MPTS might restore forest function in providing ecosystem services for community, especially people in the downstream area. However, from farmers' standpoint, planting MPTS risks to the economic loss. In Lombok, agroforestry means throwing off collective memory of farmers to the earlier period of struggling to gain access to forest. From 90's they encroached primary state forest to be the subsistance agriculture lands by growing paddy, vegetables, or other cash crops. In 2000 they were finally granted legal permits to controlled lands in state forest.

Restoration farmers have a different image of the new landscape. Agroforestry on their productive land does not mean merely to restore the forest like before they cultivated. Moreover, there are risks they have to deal with during the transitional phase between the loss of crops for quick cash, and the MPTS harvest period in the next 5-10 years. Their ecological knowledge and agronomy taking role in imagining what the crisis is. To manage the meaning of 'crisis' calculated by farmers, Gaia run supporting project to add values of existing commodities, such as coffee and brown sugar production. In one village, Gaia incorporated agroforestry with carbon trading scheme to stimulate farmers to increase forest cover.

FER is mainly triggered by environmental crisis due to ecosystem degradation. However, in the context of FER sites that have been managed by the community, scientific and social approaches would not ensure the restoration goals achieved. The negotiation process is pivotal to bring together ecological and social values within various contexts. Agroforestry might be effective to restore ecological value while still create benefits to farmers. However, the planted tree species could further be understood as the result of the negotiated meaning of 'crisis' among actors. In our case, the negotiation process enables the transfer of environmental risks, which supposed to be the burden for urban people in downstream area, to the farmers in upstream who have to transform their relationship with forest land, to switch their livelihood from staple and cash crops to agroforestry.

### **“Good for whom?” Understanding of forest management and local people's struggles to gain access to land in conservation areas. Case: Mount Halimun Salak National Park Corridor, West Java**

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The state, through the ruling regime, has been used the forest jargon for the 'common good' to manage forests for direct economic interests as well as conservation interests. Since the Dutch colonial period to the post-colonial period, the Halimun-Salak mountain has been managed by the state in the name of the 'common good'. This paper explains how forest land used management has removed local people living space as well as changed their way of life. Those issue has experienced by the local people in the corridor area of the Mount Halimun-Salak National Park, West Java. Researchers used secondary and primary data to understand forest management trajectories and its impact on local people. Researchers also collected qualitative data through life story and indepth interview. This study found that forest land used management has created uncertainty in the local people's livelihoods. They experience multiple displacements and loss of land access to the forest areas. This study found that the struggle of local people to gain access to the forest areas has reduced the uncertainty over their livelihoods.



The global phenomenon of land grabbing is clearly illustrated in the historical trajectory of land use change and access rights (Carthy et al 2011, 2016). Transnational companies have played a major role in forest destruction and deteriorating socio-economic conditions of local people (Wolvekamp 1999). Efforts to address the impacts of forest degradation through various conservation programs have neglected local people (Deininger and Castagnini 2004, Ifekhtar et al. 2005, Quang et al. 2013, Chilongo 2014, Derkyi et al. 2014, Gatiso and Wossen 2015). Existing conservation practices have shown the occurrence of 'green grabbing', that is grabbing of land and resources for environmental purposes (Fairhaed et al. 2012).

The legacy doctrine of the 'eminent domain' (the state has full power over land rights) has become a historically important driving force for the continued expansion of large plantations in Indonesia (Jiwan 2013, Sampat 2013, Davidson 2016). Since 2000 Indonesia has lost more than 24 million hectares of forest (Butler et al 2011). The impact of deforestation encourages conservationists to pursue various environmental programs, which is the Indonesian government's promoted REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation) program (Galudra 2000, 2014) and ratified the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 2016 (UNFCCC Sites and Platform 2021).

The conservation corridor area was developed specifically to preserve the biodiversity of the Halimun mountain and Salak mountain ecosystems, in addition to protecting water catchment areas (Galudra 2003, Galudra et al. 2005, Yumarni et al. 2011). This study discusses the impact of the policy of expanding the Mount Halimun Salak National Park on the livelihoods of people living around the forest. Since then residents have not been allowed to access the national park area which was previously their livelihood. The question arises when conservation is carried out for the 'common good', but it has excluded people from their previous sources of livelihood. In many cases, participatory sustainable forest management efforts have not been successful (Kellert et al. 2000, Blaikie 2006, Li 2000, Maryudi and Krott 2012). In this case, conservation as a discourse to achieve the "common good" has at the same time excluded smallholders (Hall et al. 2011). The policy of expanding the GHSNP area has not only changed people's livelihoods but has also changed their way of life.

Rural residents have experienced livelihood sources uncertainties due to the scarcity of business and job opportunities. On the other hand, rural livelihoods are in ecological fragility when there is a dynamic interaction with global political-capital forces that also destroy natural resources (Dharmawan 2007). However, villagers are individuals who act rationally, utilizing various means and resources to survive and to accumulate wealth (Meertz et al. 2005, Scott 1972, Ellis 1998, Dharmawan 2001).

This study has used qualitative methods complemented by secondary data and literature review. Researchers have analyzed the results of interviews with farmers and key informants

to explain how farmers face the uncertainty of their livelihood sources as a result of the GHSNP expansion policy.

### **History of Land Tenure in GHSNP**

The areas of Mount Halimun and Mount Salak exploited for plantation resources during the cultuurstelsel in the colonial period. The forestry agency (Bosswezen) has limited access and use of forests for the benefit of the community. The demarcation of boundaries in West Java and Banten has led to overlapping management of state forests with community lands, resulting in conflict (Firdaus et al. 2014). In 1905, 40% of the Javanese was classified as landless. Meanwhile, the adoption of “scientific” forestry in Java has also excluded smallholders and sparked a century of resistance that is still ongoing (Hall et al. 2011). Exploitation of forests for plantations has actually been carried out only for the benefit of the authorities in the name of the prosperity of the country for its people.

The history of conservation in Indonesia dates back to the Dutch colonial period in the 1880s (Galudra 2014). At that juncture, forestry regimes emerged along with colonial industry and the establishment of state control over forests, including in the determination of conservation forest areas (Peluso and Vandergeest 2001). This was preceded by several processes of gazettelement and demarcation of boundaries to define forest boundaries between state and non-state forest areas (Galudra et al 2014, Peluso 1992, Peluso and Vandergeest 2001). The Dutch colonial government established Mount Halimun-Salak as a nature reserve in early 1940. Since then the government has assigned forest police (polhut) to monitor the forest area from population disturbance. Access to state forests for local people has become a major issue in the management of forest resources which are the state monopoly (Peluso 1992).

After independence, conservation policies in Indonesia were influenced by environmental movements at the global level aimed at reducing the impact of climate change. Thus, international conservation interests also legitimize developing countries to exercise their power in managing natural resources (Peluso 1993). Indonesia ratified several conventions including the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES) of Wild Fauna and Flora through Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 43 of 1978 (Santosa et al. 2008). The government issued Law no. 5 of 1990 concerning Conservation of Forest Resources and Ecosystems and then in 1992 the Halimun nature reserve was converted into a national park (Galudra 2000). Subsequently, in 1994, Indonesia ratified the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) through Law no. 5 of 1994.

GHSNP corridor conservation area has been developed by government in regard with the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES) of Wild Fauna and Flora. This project was supported by JICA as GHSNP project management (JICA 2007). This decision is strongly legitimized through the Decree of the Minister of Forestry No. 175/Kpts-II/2003

which connecting the forests of Mount Halimun and Mount Salak. This policy included the Perum Perhutani concession area into national park which has been the source of livelihood for the people living around the forest.

### **Changes in people's livelihoods**

As in other areas of Java, the history of plantation expansion in the GHSNP area has followed the dynamics of capital power. Since the Dutch East Indies era, corporations have been exploiting the Mount Halimun-Salak area when the colonial government gave business rights to the private sector. The plantation workers were brought in from other areas of West Java, such as Bogor, Garut and Tasikmalaya. Resettlement was experienced over again by residents after independence when there were several companies exposed new plantation in the area. Residents forced to move with minimal compensation. Only some of residents that endured not to sell their land. Other residents eventually moved to find a new place to live and became plantation workers, looked for work in cities or combined agricultural and non-agricultural work. People who do not have capital and private land are forced to clear forest land or continue agricultural activities in the national park area.

During the colonial period, the trajectory of conservation policies in the areas of Mount Halimun and Mount Salak was followed by the activities of residents who used forest areas (GHNSP 2008, Fridayanti and Dharmawan 2015). The GHSNP expansion policy has not only changed the livelihoods of the people living around the forest area, but also forced them to change their lifestyle in their interactions with the forest. National park authorities put up a notice board that prohibits entering and taking produce from the national park area. Residents have to change the fuel from wood to gas. Residents have also been introduced to cooking rice using electric cookers and are not allowed to take wood in forest areas to build houses. They feel alienated by regulations that suddenly appear in the village where they live and earn their daily living. They also have experienced mixed feelings of confusion, fear, anger and resignation. Some of the residents continue to use land in the forest for agriculture to find animal feed, take wood and other forest products because they do not have substitute resources. Residents around the forest area try to earn a living by encroaching on a clandestine basis and looking for work in the city.

The development of national parks has been driven by international agreements to protect endangered species for conservation purposes for educational purposes with the strong dominance of the ethics of biocentrism (Supriyatna 2018). Whereas in many cases, conservation of certain species is difficult due to many influencing factors. In fact, passive protection of species in closed areas such as in national parks has not shown success for the development of these species (Volis 2019). In practice, conservation policies have been challenged by communities and parties who have been benefiting from forest areas (Siscawati 2012, Afiff 2016). Forest dependent communities have resisted the policy of expanding

national parks because it has adversely affected their livelihoods and other aspects of life (Galudra 2014, Rahmawati et al. 2008, Fridayanti and Dharmawan 2015, Siscawati 2012, Afiff 2016).

During the reform period, farmers were able to take advantage of sources of power to occupy land. The TNGHS Center noted that there were 380 smallholders from Cipeuteuy Village. Farmers stated that currently they feel more comfortable carrying out agricultural activities in the national park area because they have received 'access rights recognition' from the GHSNP authority. On this basis, farmers have dared to open a farming business with capital support from middlemen and investors from outside the village. Household income from agriculture appears to have increased and has encouraged family members who have migrated as well as newcomers from outside the village to develop agricultural businesses as well as in the growing service and trade sector. Some of the successful farmers are finally able to accumulate land and hope that the land they cultivate will be passed on to their descendants.

Land occupation in GHSNP was performed as a collective action that supported by a democratic space, sources of economic power and networks with other parties (Haugaard 2021). Farmers used their power and networks to carry out resistance to national park policies. This includes taking advantage of collaboration or collaboration with national park management officers. This shows the importance of "bundle of power" and "web of power" in the struggle to gain access to (forest) resources (Ribot & Peluso 2003, Peluso and Ribot 2020). The collective memory of farmers about their struggle for life also encourages collective claims and movements against the state. Culturally, shared suffering is interpreted as injustice, exploitation gaps and the like and encourages efforts to reduce suffering in various ways (Kurzman 2008). The collective action to claim the land in the GHSNP was characterized by growing solidarity, the construction of a shared identity, a sense of grievance, and a collective agreement (Tilly 1998).

This study found a link between the historical context of forest tenure in Indonesia. Restrictions on access to forests have limited the livelihoods of people living around forest areas. The agrarian history in the GHSNP area has shown that local residents have experienced livelihood uncertainty due to changes in land use for commercial and conservation purposes. The legal legitimacy of land tenure by the state and the private sector has made local residents experience multiple exclusions from access to land as well as multiple displacements because they have to move repeatedly.

By doing daily resistance, farmers have succeeded in gaining access to land in conservation areas. The impetus for the need for land and the changing political situation has prompted them to take 'collective action' to secure livelihoods for farmers and the future of their families. Farmers have succeeded in taking over their living space again the state by

'reclaiming' their cultivated land which has been converted into a national park area. This situation poses a challenge for the GHSNP authorities who originally issued a policy to expand the national park for conservation purposes. National park authorities need to take into account the past history of land tenure that has excluded local people repeatedly. The national park authority must also take into account people who were creating business without paying attention to the national park sustainability in the future.

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Reflecting on "New Rural Agenda", Rural Areas as Objects and Entities on a High-Level Conference in Documenta15, Kassel 2022

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New Rural Agenda is a high-level planetary conference, international policy makers, institutions, artists, representatives of villages and other-than-human stakeholders as the inhabitants of Earth are invited to strive for an agenda for the common future. The envision of this New Rural Agenda Conference as an alternative to similar conferences which are usually initiated by large global countries or institutions. Thus, what it offers is an emphasis on bottom-up concepts and their performativity. Those who speak out and show their agency at the conference are the grassroots community and its human and non-human ecosystem.

The question that New Rural Agenda discusses is how we understand the rural as a concept to talk about the future using two perspectives: firstly, cultural activists working at grassroots level are important figures in contextualizing cultural resources in their respective areas and in generating collective power in dealing with social and ecological issues. Secondly, rural is no longer a 'fixed' territory but a locus that needs to be realized, understood, and created.

The conference will culminate in declaring a charter and delivering the mandate of the New Rural Agenda. This charter and the agenda are built on the work of the New Rural School with 300 villages throughout Indonesia, the decades of work of members of Jatiwangi art Factory on knowledge exchange about environmental narratives in Indonesia between members of the *Lumbung* that has been built in the frame of documenta fifteen, in Kassel, Germany in June 2022, including artists, activists, ecologists, entrepreneurs and communities ranging from Colombia, to Argentina, to Mali, South-Africa, China and Spain.

The locals' critical ability to work with their surrounding resources as well as the agency of other-than-human has been successful in generating cultural capital that could solve various problems in their environment. This rural-based practice does not only work with resources in terms of 'using', but the practice also maintains and protects the sustainability of resources and the lives of its inhabitants. This effort has made the rural to be more flexible, and more resilient than some cities in dealing with for example the pandemic. As we look into our survival and future of living with the several challenges that we face today, amongst which climate justice, pandemic, and exclusion, then the rural area as a locus is something significant to be looked into and learned from.

However, another reality shows the opposite. The lack of global discussion on rural life by the elite policymakers shows a sign of looking at rural life as an object or a powerless entity, as merely a support for the city life. This way of thinking can be seen in the New Urban Agenda—initiated by the United Nations—that anticipates the increase of metropolitans in the world. Meanwhile, documenta fifteen—an important art world event—invites the Jatiwangi art Factory community and we see documenta as a stage for the local people to state that the center is rural.

Rurality and its resources, the natural and cultural assets, along with its inhabitants who have actively worked with culture as a way to intervene with their local problems—integrating it with the ecological, social and economic aspects, could be the access to act collectively in proposing livable ways of being in this current and future life.

The New Rural Agenda give a mandate through the Charter of Martabat Penghuni Bumi, which is to be agreed and implemented through actions, movements, and policies

"Charter of Martabat Penghuni Bumi"

- the rural as a space where the human and the non-human are close to each other and live a balanced life
- the rural as a space where integrated approaches to life are developed, where cultural, social, economic, and ecological aspects are treated together, instead of more boxed approaches in hegemonic development models
- the rural as a space where circular and regenerative ways of development are experimented with in contrast to the linear thinking in classic development that has proven to be too extractive to earth and its communities

Objective

- The New Rural Agenda provides guidelines and principles for development plans, policy, and spatial planning that are implemented by communities, civil society organization, private parties, governments and other stakeholders.

Standing Points

- 1). Positioning rural as the front line and working with culture as a way of living sustainably in the world. The rural as a wise lumbung where communities govern resources collectively, which is inclusive to varieties of human and non-human stakeholders—where the cultural, social, ecological, economic and the spiritual aspects are organically intertwined—and with this proposing balanced solutions for ‘development’.
- 2). Becoming a member of inter-local networks where we protect, respect, and exchange conversations with each other on the topic of diversity in working with resources and culture—as a reference for collective sustainability.

3). Acting as a platform for earth inhabitants to speak up and declare their agency—as a concrete contribution to dealing with the world crisis.

#### Mandate

It is crucial that the agenda issued at the conference is supported by all actors of an ecosystem. That is why both the presence of human and non-human actors to the conference is crucial, as well as that of agrarians, artists, ecologists, indigenous leaders and policy makers. Presence of policy makers is required to receive the mandate of the New Rural Agenda and take an active part in this network to adopt, reference, adapt, the agendas for better ecosystems in the future.

The ceremony for handing over this mandate will be carried out in the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter of the Summit. The mandate is formed by the points in the New Rural Agenda that we have formulated and is read out with several representatives of the summit participants. The mandate also builds on the various dialogues and pre-summit processes that were done previously, including Village Heads Conference, Youth Conference, Women's Conference and Soil Congress in Indonesia.

#### Conference Form

This conference is an artistic and performative statement. It is important to experiment other existing high-level conference models, which usually focus on exclusive elite logic-based arguments. The artistic approach is an inclusive medium for various parties, all inhabitants of the earth, including non-humans. The summit not only involves arguments based on verbal communication, but also other senses as a way of communicating with all participants.

The conference envisages three chapters:

#### Chapter I

This chapter focusses on creating the atmosphere and on the actual condition of the earth's ecosystem, which continues to transform. In this section, the emphasis on the sensory aspects plays a major role.

#### Chapter II

This chapter delves on the roles of the community with their respective agencies in managing resources equitably emerge—the knowledge, ethics, and experimentation that has been carried out by various initiatives in various places around the world.

#### Chapter III

This chapter functions as the culmination of the conference, which representatives of various delegations declare the Charter of Martabat Penghuni Bumi as the statement of the New Rural Agenda and deliver it to the mandate receivers.

Each recipient of the mandate received a clay puzzle piece of the New Rural Agenda charter, as a symbol that the mandate has been submitted, accompanied by documents of new rural agendas.

This process will be sealed with the Rampak Genteng—a soil ritual of ringing roof tile instruments participated by over a hundred people.

### Juncture and Problem of Translation: A Politic of Imagination in *Koroway*, Papua, Indonesia

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The "preserving nature, developing local" allegory has been widely used in recent governments in attempts to reconfigure cultural-nature formation and its impact on locals. Communities' environmental narratives, according to Fairhead and Leach (1995), can be used as an alternative to environmental governance strategies. They associate environmental management with the erasure of local narratives. These circumstances then resulted in the presence of specific 'narratives' or biased narratives that came to define development problems and justify interventions. Based on my research in *Koroway's*, located in southern Papua, this paper aims to demonstrate how the state's indirection of local knowledge and realities was an extension of the power operation that defended their imagination about the arrangement of environmental governance.

Fairhead and Leach (2000) recognize that the contrast and disjunction between the formulation of problems in development policy and the perspectives of villagers can lead to false beliefs about environmental change. As Fairhead and Leach refer to Foucault, the disjunction illustrates how development problems and policies are constituted within diverse, seemingly disparate relations that demonstrate the operation of power. In this sense, the gap between locally lived reality and the degradation discourse must be regarded as both political and methodological. A methodological approach that focuses on taking a more participatory approach to research and development while paying close attention to changing the intellectual, institutional, and financial structures that are involved in the production of knowledge.

My research, part of the "tradition and preservation" baseline study with one of the ministry's "multi-discipline" researchers and the *Koroway's* people in 2017-2018, revealed the juncture

of narrations. The research team initially perceived Koroway as people who maintain their unique way of life by building their houses up in trees, earning them the surname "tree people" (van Enk and Vries, 1997), but our worldview based on that prior perception and interpretation crumbled. Our field site's temporalities were not only to embrace the stalled state project but also to potentially compose arbitrary stories related to their experience of state intervention. Even though state intervention was absent, the Koroway, similar Stasch (2016) see, actively apply their ideas about social life to the new institutions, people, and hierarchies, ironically, the state also actively produced knowledge and developmental allegories. "The drama of otherness" was constantly performed in the early days of research. What van Enk, Vries, and the media describe as men of bows and arrows come to life, but happen in a neglected village that conveys the stories about the Koroway's encounter with the state.

The story began with the term "Korowai" being corrected. The correct pronunciation of the treehouse people, according to The Koroway, is "y." The "I" word was seen as an Indonesian translation for people who made contact with strangers in the 1970s. The plot then shifts to Koroway's interaction with Christianity. The Koroway realms were described as hostile, chaotic, and full of intrigue between kin before becoming Christian. One of the elders speculated that it could be related to their mystical ancestor, who is not fully human and is a descendant of Ham, Noah's darker-skinned son. The chaotic realm became peaceful after missionaries succeeded in ending the never-ending war between kin. Jesus Christ appeared in the form of a lighting crusade, leading the Koroway to believe that there was another spiritual entity attesting to the local god's unproven prophecy of the Koroway community's destruction. River Ndeiram Kabur was then used to baptize Koroway people and to facilitate kin reconciliation.

The initial phase of reconciliation led Koroway and Kombay to live together as a neighborhood in one spatial space: the village. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the church and social ministry conceptualized the village. However, the village as an institution failed to meet the needs of daily life. The people returned to their ancestral land (boluf) in the middle of the forest to preserve their traditional practices. The village and forest transform into a contrasting landscape while retaining the integration of Koroway territory, which people say is growing larger as one prophecy heard about Koroway's fate after an encounter with the outside world.

In response to that variant story, the ministry researchers were perplexed as to how to translate it. Similar Stasch (2015) observes, primitivism migrates and is reinvented in the channels of culturally distinct Korowai sensibilities about what social inequality is and how to respond to or live with it, cannot compile with the apparatus's knowledge discourse. "the Koroway that appears to have learned to confirm what they know the researchers expect but not to hear," one of the ministry researchers said. The intersection of the stories and the



allegories of the state felt difficult to translate into their discursive tool. They were aware that the intention to "develop" or make "big" Koroway in the future requires a rationalization that their recent discursive processes cannot provide at this time.

In retrospect, witnessing the confusion of translating by ministry researchers, I saw power not only operating in the form of domination through biased narration, overruled national agendas, and the impossibility of local consultation, as Fairhead and Leach see. The complex and dynamic series of encounters with social inequality in one situation could challenge the regulation and authority of the translation process. In parallel, the communities' environmental narratives risk that particular people or institutions pursue interests in using information for political or economic ends.

For me, the problems with the process undermined the possibility of altering the production of knowledge and of confidence (Fairhead and Leach, 1996) based on the imperativeness of state imagination itself. As in the case of reinvented primitivism as a response to social inequality that produces peculiar stories that in some situations justify repression, I suggest the need to develop adequate images that will define the future of local society itself can be another alternative to the problem in translating local environmental narration. Rather than extracting more "local knowledge, local response" narration about the imaginative future impact that can contribute to supportive development knowledge that can obliterate or manipulate the rights of local people, finding counter stories of development allegories can be an alternative to debunking the intention of the image. For example, the state is obliged to tell the consequence, risk, loss, and destruction and the demand for participatory-based data should focus more on how the local itself defines, how they govern, and what their image of the future environment is.

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## Labour migration and land use in agricultural Indramayu, West Java, Indonesia<sup>7</sup>

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This paper analyses the narrative break from dominant understandings of global labour reconfiguration (Azis et al., 2020). It emphasises locally specific accounts of migration anchored on the reorganisation of agricultural production in Indramayu, West Java, Indonesia. While it is the largest rice producer on the most industrialised island of Java, Indonesia, Indramayu sends 1,726 migrant workers worldwide. At least since 2017, this regency—located on the eastern end of the coast of West Java—has been recorded as the district sending the most Indonesian migrant workers abroad. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of Indonesian migrant workers dispatched abroad decreased, but the number of migrant workers from Indramayu remained higher than in other regions. This condition shows how agricultural centres have become and remained suppliers for migrant workers.

This paper examines how ecological vulnerability and economic uncertainty affect tendencies for population movement. Despite being a strategic food commodity producer, economic uncertainty from farming activities due to structural inequalities and extreme climate-related events (i.e. prolonged droughts and pest outbreaks that occurred in 2015, 2017, and 2019 also increased the risk of losses due to crop failure) make farming less desirable as a source of livelihood. This article argues that ecological vulnerabilities, shaped by the long history of colonialism, the green revolution, and unanticipated ecological change, exacerbate employment precarity for the people of Indramayu. This situation makes it impossible for rural workers, as in the case of Indramayu, to make a living from the agricultural sector, pushing them to migrate into domestic and informal sectors abroad (e.g., household assistants, and housekeepers). The paper intimately discusses how labour migration alters land use and vice versa, providing a space for mainstreaming local accounts that suspend neoliberal optimism about migration and rural development.

Reflecting on the author's previous ethnographic research experience on the issues of agricultural ecology and climate change, scratch notes data from the conversation with the

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<sup>7</sup> The initial version of this paper was presented during Summer Camp on 'South Asian Labour Migration & Maritime Migrants' organized by Calcutta Research Group, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, Nepal Institute of Peace, and Alliance for Social Dialogue from 21-24 May 2022 at Kathmandu, Nepal. The Calcutta Research Group and Asia Research Centre, Universitas Indonesia supported my participation in the events. However, this version of the extended abstract was prepared for the 8<sup>th</sup> International Symposium of Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia under panel of "Berkah dan Kutukan: Retelling Environmental Narratives in Indonesia" chaired by Sofyan Ansori. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Inaya Rakhmani, Phd and Diatyka Widya Permata Yasih (ARC UI) for their support, comments, and insights on the first version of the short abstract, and Dr. Robertus Robet for the discussion during the companion in Nepal events.

farmers, and readings from previous literature, this paper seeks to elaborate on the intertwining between the issue of migration and the issue of socio-ecological vulnerability. This paper focuses on one area on the coast of West Java, namely Indramayu Regency (Kabupaten Indramayu) as one of the important agricultural areas as well as the largest sending of migrant workers in Indonesia.

The paper aims to elaborate on the question of why agricultural activities are unable to provide certainty of livelihood so that working abroad becomes one realistic and rational option from the ecological context. The argument of this paper is that despite the various optimistic narratives about the enhancement of agricultural production and the economic progress stimulated by labour migration, there are structural and ecological problems that are latent and rooted in the inequalities of land distribution and commercialization of agricultural products during colonial times (Andreas et al., 2019; Fernando, 2010b, 2010a). Thus, such optimism may only eclipse the structural problems that situate small-scale farming communities—such as those who are the majority in Indramayu—who are indeed vulnerable and precarious in their livelihoods. Specifically, the situation drives the process of the feminization of migrant workers which not only situates women migrant workers in a more vulnerable situation but also creates burdens for families and children who are left behind (Agustina, 2021; International Labour Organization, 2021; Setiawan et al., 2018)

The Indramayu population are characterized as an agricultural society. The activities of its population are centred on the agricultural production cycle with the main product of rice. Kasim (Kasim, 2012, p. 126) argues that rice fields (*sawah*) for the Indramayu people are representations of space and the productive expression of creativity [that] not only objects to be cultivated but also nurtured and loved. Furthermore, Kasim said that rice farming activities for Indramayu people are not only business activities but also involve social and transcendental aspects that play a role in maintaining social order and hierarchy. The latest data from 2020 shows that Indramayu Regency produced 1.363.312 tons of dry unhusked rice (*Gabah Kering Giling - GKG*) processed into ready-to-consume rice as much as 782.132 tons. This number makes Indramayu as largest rice producer in Indonesia compared to 415 other regencies (*Kabupaten*) across the archipelago (Amanda, 2021). However, besides narratives on how agriculture and its products are important for the region and its people, small-scale rice farming—cultivating land less than 2.1 hectares—has no economic value, it's not regarded as a business nor as an income-generating activity. Rice farming of that such tiny scale can only fulfil the needs of family everyday meals (*cukup buat makan sehari-hari*). Meanwhile, other economic needs and cultural obligations (rituals and social-exchange cost) must be obtained through diversification of jobs as has been going on in the context of Indramayu society since a few hundred years ago.

On the other hand, Indramayu migrant workers' economic contribution through remittances is significant for the regional economy with the average remittance sends through Western

Union reaching 40 Milyar Rupiah (\$2,695,417.79) per day or no less than 500 Milyar Rupiah per year (\$33,692,722.37)—data from Indramayu Post Office 2022 (Indramyujeh, 2022). Compared to the Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) in 2019 which reached 80.9 Milyar Rupiah, meaning remittances from migrant workers amounted up to 6 times of the total contribution from other economic sectors that include manufacturing, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, services, mining, etc. From this data, it shows how significant the role of remittances is in supporting the economy.

In contradiction from optimistic narratives about Indramayu as a “national rice basket” and the largest sending of migrant labour with a high number of remittances, nevertheless, The Indramayu Regency is also known as one of the poorest areas in the province of West Java. The statistics shows that Indramayu has the third largest percentage of the poorest population out of 25 other city/regency in West Java. More than 13 percent of Indramayu's population falls into the category of poor people. Badan Pusat Statistik (National Statistical Bureau), ranks Indramayu in the yellow zone in the measurement of Human Development index (ranks 353 from 514 regencies). It placed among the lowest regency Java in term of measurement of average achievement in key dimensions of human development indicators that include health, education and standard of living.

Scholars in the agrarian field in Indonesia agree that the continuity of agrarian injustice in Indonesia cannot be separated from past agrarian policies from the colonial era up until present (e.g. Andreas et al., 2019). This is resonance with other agrarian scholar who argued that despite the various policies for the acquisition of lands (which were formerly owned by landlords), nationalized foreign plantations, and sugar plantation fields distributed to cultivators, smallholders and farm labourers, agrarian justice is still considered unattainable even today. Ambarwati explained that the structure of land ownership in rural areas in Indonesia still centered on a small group that inherited the legacy of the rulers and elites in the past. In such context, agrarian reform policies will rely heavily on highly contextual lower-level initiatives (Ambarwati, 2019). However, in context where these local initiatives are not possible, problems of the inequality between smallholders and wealthy farmers are difficult to overcome. In that situation, many farming families are constantly in a precarious state, and they must rely on moonlighting between several job opportunity as well as monetizing their social capital, one of which is to work abroad in informal sector with all the risks they face.

The challenge faced by of small farmers in Indramayu is not only related to the inevitability that they are unlikely to benefit from small-scale agricultural activities. In fact, they are also dealing with the unintended consequences from long term efforts to maximize crop yields that expose their agro-ecological into vulnerable state. Since the adoption of the green revolution in the 1970s, rice farming in Java has relied heavily on high chemical inputs (mainly synthetic chemical pesticides) that makes Indonesia is generally regarded as a prime example of excessive chemical use in the agricultural sector which triggers man-made pest outbreaks

(Prihandiani et al., 2021; Sogawa, 2015). Various studies later showed that the outbreaks of pest populations occurred repeatedly from the mid-1980s until today that causing harvest failure and economic loss for farmers (Ariefiansyah, 2011, 2018).

Despite optimism about working as a migrant worker, there are structural problems in the labour-sending regions such as Indramayu. Uneven distribution of land ownership, high cost of rents and ritual cost entangled with ecosystem vulnerabilities and knowledge gaps to anticipate the effects of environmental change must be addressed. We might start to consider that some migrant workers are in fact ecological refugees that are forced to seek a livelihood by working abroad—with all the risks and limitations of choice and support. Remittance is most likely used to subsidize unprofitable agricultural activities (Risnawati & Triadikusumah, 2020) when they are prone to crop failure causing more economic loss. In addition, the process of working abroad requires capital that plunges migrant workers into debt bondage situation. For those who in local terms are called “*gagal*” or “failed” working abroad may exposing to a new form of vulnerabilities that make their condition even worst. Thus, in this article, I stretch the argument that the vulnerabilities and uncertainties faced by migrant workers and their families are rooted in the most fundamental structural problems experienced by rural smallholder farming families that have been going on for hundreds of years. If the situation does not change, then precarity and uncertainty seems will still be haunting small holder farmers in the future.

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## The Narrative of the Contemporary Hunter-Gatherer Society as the Last Frontier of Austronesian Speakers in Indonesia

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The hunting-gathering society in Indonesia is currently minimal. From several literature studies, there are several hunter-gatherer community groups left in Indonesia, namely the Orang Rimba (Prasetyo, 2015) (Seager, 2008) (Sandbukt, 1997) (Ekoningtyas, 2022), the Punan (Sellato, 2007) (Dounias, 2011), and Forest Tobelo (Christopher Duncan, 1972), where these groups are speakers of the Austronesian society. Their existence as a hunting-gathering community is based on several characteristics. Jana Frontier (2014) states that the characteristics of hunter-gatherer societies emphasize their egalitarian ways, constant fidelity to their lineage, use of forests as the primary subsistence basis, use of forests for natural resources as a source of food and cultural identity, and simple social organization following their life patterns. It is also known that their existence is now a marginal situation. Their culture is robust based on the forest functioning as their economic base and as the basis of their cultural identity. Lye Tuck Po (2005) said they are a hunter-gatherer community that makes the forest their landscape of life and culture. Forests have an essential role as a cultural trait in their culture. In this paper, we will discuss the narrative discourse of the existence of this hunter-gatherer group in Indonesia in the face of massive changes in the forest landscape. Due to the rapid changes in nature around hunter-gatherer areas, they are inevitably forced to adopt adaptation strategies that focus on environmental adaptation and require adaptation strategies of hunter-gatherer groups in different and different directions. How are they, then how do they survive as a hunter-gatherer group, and do they have the same survival strategy in the face of drastic changes in the natural environment landscape were question want to address in this paper.

## Mudflow Disaster and Colonized Sediments: Fractal Memory, Colonial Mutation, and the Making of the Londo Blangkon State

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In May 2006, an underground blowout triggered by Lapindo Corporation's drilling activity generated mudflow that destroyed surrounding villages in Porong subdistrict, Sidoarjo, East Java, Indonesia. Ten years ago, while researching post-disaster land politics, I met Cak Untung, one of the survivors with an unusual experience. From Cak Untung, I learned a local concept of intermediary called *londo blangkon*, describing the role of local villagers who work as *kaki tangan* (henchmen) for the corporation and the state in mediating land transactions. In the colonial past, *londo blangkon* refers to villagers working as brokers and collaborators of Dutch colonizers. This chapter will elaborate on villagers' sense-making in the mudflow disaster and its connection to *fractal memory*. It will develop the concept of *colonial sediments* (Stoler 2016, ix, 339) and ask, despite Indonesia's independence in 1945, why did Porong villagers continue to experience a new form of colonial relations? *Colonial sediments* are layers of historical experience between colonizers and colonized people in asymmetric social relations. At the same time, *colonized sediments* are layers of colonized people experiencing dispossession through power relations and inequality in the frontier. The first section will explore Cak Untung's past experiences as a son of *ludruk* traditional performance artist that enabled him to recognize *londo blangkon* as a vocabulary from the colonial past in encountering power relations in post-disaster situations. *Ludruk*, as a local form of art performance, contains storage of Porong people's collective memory of their *nenek moyang* (ancestors) views of the colonial past. One of the memories in the performance is about *londo blangkon* and local anti-colonial heroes' characters like Untung Surapati. From his story, I found Cak Untung's sense-making reflects a *fractal memory* of the colonial past by associating his experience encountering power in mudflow post-disaster. *Fractal memory* is a fragment of remembering and recollection of the past that is connected to *fractal resistance*. Fractal, in this sense, is partial or fragments where every memory of the past cannot be entirely stored and appear partially in remembering the past. The specific form of *fractal resistance* that will be examined in this chapter is anti-colonial resistance. The following section will discuss Frantz Fanon's anti-colonial ideas with Pramoedya Ananta Toer's historical novel and bring us to anti-colonial imagination in fiction but connected to the history of peasants in colonial sugar plantations at Porong, Sidoarjo. Both Cak Untung and Pramoedya's stories connected to *fractal memories* of anti-colonial resistance through Untung Suropati, a legend of anti-colonial hero for villagers across East Java. The third and fourth sections will examine the limit of decolonial imagination and the process of Indonesian elites' colonial mutation in making what I call *the londo blangkon state*. Cak Untung and Pramoedya's experiences with state repression illustrate the state's recursive colonial character in post-colonial Indonesia. Independence and decolonization do not break the state's colonial

practice. Instead, Indonesian post-independence political elites and state officials undergo *colonial mutation* by becoming rulers who follow the former colonialists' footsteps governing Indonesia.

### The Booming Commodity and the Fate of Smallholders: Varying Ways of Appropriating Cheap Labor and Cheap Land in the Indonesian Oil Palm Industry (1977-present)

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In 2007, Indonesia took over Malaysia as the world's largest producer of palm oil where its products (palm oil and kernel oil) are mostly exported to India, China and Europe.

The strategic role of oil palm in achieving economic growth is due to the Indonesian comparative advantage in terms of labor and land costs. The expansion of the industry was justified under the principle of the "right to development" and as the world's largest producer of palm oil, Indonesia's national policies are aimed at maintaining the country's competitive advantage.

The palm oil plantations in Southeast Asia have been in operation since the colonial period. The rapid growth of oil palm plantations in Indonesia began around the 1990s, from roughly only 100 hectares in 1967 to approx. 10.5 million hectares in 2013 and reached 14.03 million hectares in 2017. The contemporary Indonesian oil palm production is concentrated in Sumatra and, since 1998 has been characterized by a large number of smallholder plantations. The percentage of smallholders grew from 32 percent of approximately 2 million hectares of Indonesian oil palm plantation in 1995 to 41.6 percent of 10.5 million hectares in 2013 and declined slightly to 40 percent of 14.03 million hectares of Indonesian oil palm plantation area in 2017. While the smallholding sector (*perkebunan rakyat*) is defined as individual-owned plantation on area less than 25 hectares, a comprehensive study of 1069 smallholders in various locations by IFC (2013), which covers both plasma and independent smallholders, shows that the average holding of oil palm smallholders is between 2 and 3 hectares.

With reference to Moore's (2017) argument that capitalism is a system in which islands of commodification are surrounded by oceans of Cheap Nature, this paper identifies and analyses different mechanisms which allow Indonesian oil palm industry to endlessly appropriate smallholders—scheme/contract/tied/assisted /plasma and independent—who supply the booming industry with cheap land, labour and raw materials. Particular attention is given to the changing schemes between the core plantation and plasma-smallholders which have evolved since 1977 as well as evolving terms of engagement with the industry which have been experienced by independent-smallholders since 1995.



## PANEL 8. EXPERIENCING CRISES AND LIFE ITSELF: KNOWLEDGE, METAPHORS, AND ACTIONS IN THE MULTIPLICITY OF CRISES

### When the Delta Covid-19 Tsunami Swept My Family: Reflections on the Anthropology of Caregiving using Islamic and Buddhist Values

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In the midst of the peak of multiple crisis, the Delta Covid-19 tsunami wave swept across Indonesia in July 2022, I was one of millions of millennials who suddenly became self-taught caregivers for our parents as self-isolated patients who were critical of fighting the virus with low oxygen stocks. We suddenly nurtured immunity in dealing with grief. With a slice of culture and religion, this article reflectively tells my story as myself, as well as an anthropologist, who observed two full months of crisis in my extended family who live communally in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. At that time, there were more than 150 people from my extended family who were exposed to Delta, including my entire nuclear family. I, as an individual, had experienced intergenerational conflicts to realize the 'concept of illness'.

I also had to dramaturgically keeping the sad news a secret when my pregnant cousin and my grandmother died, so that my father whose a low-saturation with heart comorbid, would have motivation to live. Using the Reflexive Ethnography method, this is an in-depth dialogue with oneself and others about the meaning of the experience of illness and the experience of -almost- dying. The main finding in this paper is that the current crisis has forced all people to adapt as self-taught caregivers at the expense of their mental health. Intergenerational interaction of Javanese family in understanding the concept of crisis clashed with my Buddhist spiritual values on *Abhidhamma*, while my parents were guided by Islamic values. The clash of these two religious values causes different attitudes towards suffering and mental conditions in the concept of death. These two dialectics are very much in line with the Anthropology of Caregiving perspective framework which emphasizes interpersonal and intrapersonal dialogue between patients and caregivers responding to the surrounding health ecosystem. *Abhidhamma* helped me to be ready at any time to die in a meditative state, while my father forced his mind strong to pray to God for healing in a state of resignation.

"Mom, all the oxygen is running out, I'm worried about our father's life," I cried in the corner of my house in the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. It was July 2, 2021, when the Delta wave swept across my city. All the oxygen stores were collapsing and the hospital was full too, a very tense situation to receive sad news every day. I cried, remembering my parents lying stiff on the bed, and needing oxygen. All the savings I had seemed to be wasted, because money

was of no use now. At the same time, my grandmother and pregnant cousin died -with her prospective baby in her womb. All of us were self-taught caregivers in coping with depression. Since pre-historic times, there has been a lot of archaeological evidence that caregivers are a common behavior to care for the elderly and sick (Brown and Barrett, 2009). Until the modern era, caregiving is considered a role that the majority of people would voluntarily accept as their social obligation. However, according to Barg et.al (1998) most caregivers are not ready to face a crisis, so they must adapt themselves to an uncertain crisis situation. As with the situation that my family and I are in, none of us -perhaps all humans on earth- are prepared to face Covid19 pandemic.

Reflecting on this, using a reflective ethnographic method by Davies (1999), this paper attempts to reflectively dissect the Anthropology of caregiving based on my personal experience. This dialogue represents the main principles of caregivers and the patient, i.e. intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogue about disease progression, and its essence about healing and death. Dialogue about death becomes a natural thing, considering that Delta-Covid19 is very easy to cause people to die through viral attacks in the lungs. These views on healing and death clash between me, who has been a Buddhist since I was 18 years old, and my father, who is a Sunni Sufistic devotee. During caring for him for a month, this dialogue between Buddhist and Muslim colored the situation for both of us.

### **Dialogue in Deadlock: Clashing Perspective between Understanding Healing and Death in Buddhism and Islam**

"I have to recover, God will help me," said my father stammering  
"Good intentions, but don't be forced, dad," I answered.

From the conversation above, for my father who is a Sunni Muslim, the Covid19 pandemic is a trial that God has given to His people -some others consider it a punishment. But for me who is a Theravada Buddhist, a pandemic is a real representation of living in the suffering realm of *Samsara* (Masel, 2012; Shakya and Bajracharya, 2021). Although we are different, we have a common ground, namely "kebatinan" as in line with Javanese *Kejawen* belief, the deepest realm of the human soul.

### **The climax of the conflict: Facing the Fear of Death because of the Shadow of life after death for Islam and rebirth for Buddha**

My father had several panic attacks which disturbed my sleep. I also have arrhythmia which causes my oxygen saturation to suddenly drop drastically. At the same time, my father and I both had a dialogue about death -but different perspectives. In my view, maintaining awareness (*Citta*) and mental state with calm mental factors (*Cetasika*) is the most important goal in dealing with a crisis situation at the time of death, because our last awareness will determine our next life. Whereas in Islam, like Abrahamics in general, life is a trial that must

be judged in the eternal world after death. Reflecting these two views, actually my father and I both experience structural vulnerability as stated by Stajduhar et.al (2020) because religion and culture have a dominant influence on our mental health. This ethnography study shows that palliative care creates a dominant vulnerability about death.

### **Middle Way Reconciliation: Practicing Meditation according to Mahasi Sayadaw (Buddhism) and Al Ghazali (Sufi Islam)**

We both do meditation as our common ground. In this sub-chapter, the views of meditation in Islam and Buddhism are met with two figures, namely Al-Ghazali (Sunni Sufi born in the 10th century in the Middle East) and Mahasi Sayadaw (Theravada Buddha born in the 19th century in Myanmar). In Islam, meditative discipline is found in the Sufism tradition or in other terms Islamic Mysticism with the aim of always remembering God and witnessing God directly, so called *Ma'rifatullah*. In the category of Islamic meditation: *Muraqqabah*, *Muhasabah*, *Wirid*, *Tafakur*, *Dzikir*, *Do'a*, *Uzlah* and *I'tikaf*. The meditation technique recommended by Al-Ghazali was carried out by my father with a set of moral series or *tariqat* namely

1. *Uzlah* is a technique of seclusion to staying away from other people, while *Uzlah* leaves all bad behavior and demands of lust, and keeps busy in reciting with God's name.
2. *Dhikr* remembering the greatness of Allah.
3. *Riyadah* is a serious practice of being Sufi.

Meanwhile, in the Buddhist view that I use in the Abhidhamma perspective about the ultimate reality of suffering in the realm of *Samsara* and *Samadhi*, namely Vipassana Meditation, which is in line with the concepts of *Uzlah* and *Riyadhah* in Islam. The most different thing is the object of meditation, if my father is objected to God, I am objected to the breath in and out of my body with the aim of releasing and preparing for death, while my father is still optimistic about recovering.

In the study of medical anthropology, illness is seen as socially and culturally constructed, rather than merely being considered a medical symptom. The reality of pain is constructed differently by each individual, depending on the life experiences experienced (Brown and Barrett 2009). In this case, even though my father and I grew up in a nuclear family with the same Javanese culture, our attitudes towards illness and death are different because of different spiritual views.

In line with the anthropological principle of caregiving, the dialogue between the patient and the caregiver must receive full attention because both of them can actually be considered as sick people (Berg, et.al, 2014). This is because the caregiver will experience depression and anxiety due to the crisis situation he or she faces (Carretero et al. 2009), so that caregiver is a patient in mental health (Cheung and Hocking 2004).

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*Towards mapalus ecology: A non-hierarchical collaboration (of human and non-human) in an effort to overcome the existential threat crisis*

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This paper focuses on a model that works with mapalus ethos and combines it with ecological awareness through the integration of the old Minahasan cosmology. In it, I propose the term "mapalus ecology" as a concept for highlighting the possibility of cooperative action between humans and non-humans in addressing the challenges of ecological and social crises.

By incorporating the sacred myths found in the antiquated Minahasa cosmology into the idea of collective work, mapalus ecology can be seen as a form of social creativity in the face of multiple crises that have the potential to endanger both humans and their environment.



Because Minahasa's old cosmology is non dualistic in its ontology, the collaboration created is beyond humans as the sole agency for the creative process. This collaboration arises, firstly through the awareness of the unbroken relationship between humans and nature, and secondly through respect for each other's territories. In addition, as the nature of *mapalus* itself is a form of solidarity without any domination over one another, therefore *mapalus* ecology is a non-hierarchical form of voluntary cooperation between humans and their environment.

## Introduction

Environmental crises that affect habitat destruction are inseparable from the exploitative use of natural resources. The liberal economic model that prioritizes the maximum benefit of individual is the basis of today's natural resource management. In pursuing the economic growth, massive exploitation of natural resources is not taken into account in the GDP model. Consequently, pursuing perpetual growth contributes to global inequality between the north and south and global environmental breakdown (Hickel, 2021).

During the environmental crisis, Hadrin (1968) suggested that people will be increasingly self-centred in utilizing the remaining resources. This will then lead to the "tragedy of the commons". However, field studies show different things. Vollan and Ostrom (2010) for example, argue that during critical times, communities can work together to help each other in utilizing the scarcity of resources. The concept of individualism, which stresses the character of people as independent and pragmatic, is related to Hardin's way of thinking. Similar to this, capitalist economy's premise promotes an individual's ability to profit to the fullest extent possible. In this essay, I suggest an alternative social arrangement model inspired by the *mapalus* collaborative work method for productivity and preservation of natural resources.

## Minahasa and schismogenesis

Minahasa is a federation of many ethnicities (Tonsea, Tombulu, Tondano, Tontemboan, Tonsawang, Pasan, Ponosokan, Bantik) rather than a single ethnic identity. Each of these sub-ethnic groups acknowledges the diversity and unity among themselves. The verb *maesa*, which means "unified," is the root of the word "Minahasa." In the historical setting, a coalition against a common foe (kingdom of Bolaang Mongondow in the south) gave rise to Minahasa (Jacobsen, 2002). This resistance is a political action that goes beyond the context of war or defending land. It is also to contrast and reject the cultural norms of their neighbors. This is consistent with the concept of *schismogenesis*, which Graeber and Wengrow (2021) define as the political consciousness of forming an identity that is opposed to its counterpart.

The legend of Watu Pinawetengan (stone of division) emphasizes this collective consciousness. Minahasan ancestors gathered together at the site of Watu Pinawetengan where the 'sacred stone' is placed. There, they decide to divide (*weteng*) their territory peacefully. The decision was then marked on a large stone to be remembered. In the legend of the *Mahawetik* War, one group attempted to impose the royal system. This caused a civil war between them. In response to this, the ancestors ultimately gathered again at Watu Pinawetengan to make the covenant (*tiwa*). They agreed that in the land of Minahasa there should not be monarchs to rule and no one should rule over another. A Tontemboan's phrase that is still held today described it well: "*Esa cita waya, tou peleng masu'at. Cawana si parukuan cawana si pakuruan, pute waya tou maesa cita*" (We all are the same, No one should worship or be worshiped. All of us are equal). This explained how the feeling of unity (*maesa*) of Minahasan people can simultaneously exist with the awareness of their division (*maweteng*).

It is challenging for western writers like Jacobsen (2002), and Henley (1993) to see Minahasa as a unified ethnic identity. Jacobsen (2002) even concluded that Minahasa identity was a colonial construction. It seems hard for them to imagine a society at the same time aware that they are divided from one another yet united to one another. The idea of a *maesa* is distinct from the idea of a social contract between each of the subsequent sub-ethnic groups. This union is closer to what Matindas, a Minahasan philosopher calls *rumampen*, which is a term for an interdependent, egalitarian communal union. He explained, *rumampen* is like a leaf in that if it is disconnected from a branch, it will wither and die.<sup>8</sup>

### **Relation between *tou*, *tana'* and *se menou nou* and *mapalus***

In the old Minahasa cosmology, the relationship between *tou* (human), *tana'* (soil), and *se menou nou* (other beings) are inseparable and not hierarchical. Everything is mutually dependent. In the mythology of Minahasa genealogy, Lumimuut, the first ancestor emerged from a rock that emits foam or sweat. The westerly wind later caused her to conceive, and she gave birth to a son named Toar. In the creation story, Lumimuut received assistance from a crow who led her to a location known as a *toure*. There she began to construct the land of Minahasa from the soil she held. According to my interview with Wowor, a Minahasa philosopher, the land, and other creatures are the old siblings of *tou* Minahasa. Therefore, the relationship between *tou*, *tana'* and *se menou nou* can be said as a sibling relationship.

When the ancestors cleared the land for new settlements, the *tonaas*, or people who have the esoteric knowledge, would first perform *tumelinga* (listening to the Manguni bird (Otus

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<sup>8</sup> Matindas explained this during the meeting of Kerukunan Keluarga Kawanua (KKK). Full explanation of *rumampen* by Matindas can be read in here: <https://manado.tribunnews.com/2022/04/04/quo-vadis-rumampen-nilai-juang-egaliter-nan-seimbang-warisan-leluhur-minahasa?page=3>

Manadensis) sound) to confirm whether the area is hostile for living or not. Manguni birds, other animals, and particular plants are used in connection with communicating with humans through signs. The *tawaang* plant, which is used as a land boundary marker, is one example of what has been used up until now. Kohn (2013) describe this type of interspecies communication as a non-symbolic communication.

The Minahasa people's work ethic, known as *mapalus*, was born out of their awareness of that unbroken relationship between their ancestors, the environment, and humans. From the origin of the word *palus* (pour) which is added with the affix of the verb *ma*, it means to devote or share all the power and effort in communal work to cultivate the land. The concept of *mapalus* is different from *gotong royong* (a common term in Indonesia for working together). The communal work in *mapalus* involves obligations. The assisted family is required to assist in any work done on the other family's. Thus the work will become a collaborative work cycle.

In the ancient Minahasa tradition, communal work in cultivating the land cannot be separated from the *foso* ritual. From land clearing, planting, and harvesting to post-harvest celebration, it is inseparable from *foso*. This is done as a sign of respect for the ancestors who are thought to have originated and interrelate with nature. As a result, at the time, *mapalus* work was a cross-agency communal endeavour that was thought to involve nature, people, and transcendent beings. Unfortunately, the Minahasa cosmology underwent significant changes when Christianity was introduced during the colonial era. (Tielung & Rudyansjah, 2020), and as a result, the ritual practices of the ancient beliefs are no longer incorporated into the *mapalus* practice.

## Conclusion

The emphasis on individual superiority is thought to be a natural cause of the linear progress of evolution. It is not surprising that the idea of social evolution departs from Darwinian evolution. Graeber, through his introduction to the latest edition of Kropotkin's book *The Mutual Aid* (2021), explains how at that time, anthropologists such as Herbert Spencer adopted the concept of Darwinian evolution and made it a basis analysis in explaining social progress. Interestingly, biologist Sheldrake (2020) challenges the notion of individuality in any given organism. He gave the extreme example of lichens, which cannot be described as a single species. Several species that are different from one another merged together and make up lichens. If that merged organisms are split apart, they will not be able to survive. The *wood-wide web* system operates similarly. Down under the ground mycorrhizal fungi play a critical networking role in the exchange of nutrients and even information between plants and fungi through the connection of the root and mycelium (Simard, 2021).

In the social setting, to counter the idea of individualism I propose *mapalus* ecology as an alternative for social arrangement. *Mapalus* ecology is based on the understanding of the interdependence of those who share a living space. Separation from the network, referring to the idea of *rumampen*, can lead to extinction. Thus, this collaborative model places a strong emphasis on the attachment to the network in preserving life to deal with a potentially existential threat.

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Looking like a crisis? How conservationist regimes of visibility reproduce and destabilise authoritative crisis imaginaries in a *Hutan Desa* (Village Forest) in West Kalimantan, Indonesia.

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Anthropologists have noted that, in the context of cultural politics, “people perceive that they need to render their culture visible in order to show that they are good, that is, deserving, people” (Hirsch, 2007, p. 233), and that this is used as a “productive mechanism for accruing political, financial, and other benefits” (Chua, 2012, p. 10). Similarly, I argue, in the context of global politics of planetary crisis, it is beneficial for people to “look like a crisis”; that is, to render themselves visible in accordance with authoritative narratives of planetary crisis, as a strategy for eliciting outside support and protection.

Global narratives of planetary crisis routinely position rural human communities as the most sustainable and legitimate environmental managers. Consequently, financial and political support for community-based natural resource management is one of the most popular forms of response to planetary crisis. Although community-led in theory, the implementation of such programmes is often coordinated by conservation NGOs, who mediate between global concerns and local realities. Through an ethnography of mediation in a Social Forestry project in West Kalimantan, this paper reveals the multiplicity of planetary crisis.

NGOs tried to represent local people and places in a way that rendered them amenable to the kinds of intervention that higher-level actors could support. Specifically, the NGOs aimed to use Indonesia’s national Social Forestry policy, combined with REDD+ funding, a global climate change mitigation programme which incentivises sustainable tropical forestry. To draw in these programmes, the NGOs set up what I call a regime of visibility, which involved participatory exercises, community meetings, forest patrols, analysis of satellite imagery, and the production of maps, charts, and other project documents. Although designed to create representations that align with authoritative narratives about planetary crisis, some of what was revealed by this regime of visibility destabilised those narratives. Moving into the fissures between narrative and vision, I report on the multiple, contested ways in which villagers see, understand, and respond to planetary crisis.

Ideas for Community Forestry have been developing in international discourse since the 1970s, as an alternative to large-scale, state-led, industrial forest exploitation. In Indonesia, Community Forestry schemes only really took off after the national political reforms

(*Reformasi*) of 1998 and the growth of national as well as global social justice movements created a renewed political urgency for Indonesia's so-called Social Forestry policy. One of the Community Forestry schemes that emerged was the Village Forest. Applying for Village Forest permits, which are valid for 35 years, and successfully completing government reviews of the permit every 5 years, is a complex, costly, and time-consuming affair for village governments, even though they are increasingly educated professionals. Usually the support from NGOs is required to lead these processes, and to apply for international funders.

The Village Forest scheme turned out to be highly compatible with REDD+, a global climate change mitigation programme which incentivises sustainable tropical forestry as a way to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in the global South. However, to be eligible for such carbon finance, forest carbon stocks need to be made visible and countable to potential suppliers of carbon finance, and projects also need to ensure that local communities are benefiting. Carbon forestry projects that want to apply for international climate finance must therefore be certified in accordance with internationally recognised methodologies, such as the Clean Development Mechanism, the Verified Carbon Standard scheme, the Climate, Community and Biodiversity standards, and Plan Vivo (Leach and Scoones, 2013, p. 959).

Whereas local management of the forest had long remained outside the vision of the state and outside the law, Social Forestry aimed to draw practices of community forestry into the sphere of legality and visibility. This would provide villagers with the legal right to manage the forest, protect the forest from being claimed by extractive industries, and make it eligible for REDD+ funding. However, it also required the forest to become highly visible to various groups of actors, including Indonesian government actors and international funding bodies. The village forest needed to be thoroughly inventoried and monitored by what I call a regime of visibility.

What was made visible, moreover, needed to be something that outside actors could support. The regime of visibility needed to demonstrate the environmental benefits of the Village Forest, creating a view of the landscape as a bounded, legally protected container of biodiversity, forest carbon, and environmental services. To tap into international and national discourses of community-based forestry, people were represented as forming a homogenous, integrated community that depended on and highly valued the forest, strongly supported and benefited from the Village Forest project, and was involved or represented in Village Forest management.

An image of active community support and involvement was created through techniques of representation, participation, and social scientific research. One strategy of community representation was by setting up and involving village institutions. A Village Forest Management Body (*Lembaga Pengelolaan Hutan Desa – LPHD*) was set up, consisting of community members. Village regulations were issued, confirming the status and rules of the

village forest. Agreement of the customary leadership was represented by a written customary village forest regulation prohibiting forest destruction. Customary leaders were also tasked with enforcing Village Forest rules.

Practices of monitoring the forest through satellite imagery and forest patrols were set up to produce evidence of forest protection. However, these also documented instances that challenged the image of conservation success. In the Village Forest regime of visibility, arguably the hardest lines were drawn around issues of forest protection. Forest destruction was the main indicator of problems. While local people were supposed to be central, they became visible as a problem first and foremost when they engaged in activities classed as forest destruction. This was, at the time of my research, one of the main problems that the LPHD was trying to tackle.

That year, the patrol had encountered a large land clearing of more than 10 hectares. With the backing of a Chinese investor, Frenkie had bought 68ha of land from several different people in the village, for a total of more than 300 million IDR. But it turned out that some of the land was located within the boundaries of the Village Forest. Frenkie said that he had not known that something was amiss until his application for a land certificate (*SKT*) was rejected. Then, in the middle of the process of clearing the land with expensive heavy machinery, people from the district government showed up, and said that it was wrong to destroy the forest. Frenkie complained about the lack of “consultation” (*konsultasi*) with which the new rules had been introduced. Had he known, he would not have bought that land. Frenkie’s investor had lost a lot of money on this transaction, not just on buying the land, but also on the heavy machinery employed to clear it. Frenkie had asked for money back, but did not get it. “Who would have to pay for it?”, Frenkie asked rhetorically. It was a “big problem”.

The case of Frenkie’s cassava plantation thus problematises the representation of a homogenous community united around the common aim of protecting the Village Forest. Frenkie’s personal history of migration and shifting livelihoods is just one of many different possible illustrations of the rich diversity among local residents. The case moreover starkly shows the ways in which the Village Forest remained opaque to the community.

Frenkie seemed to suspect the person who had sold him the land, saying that he had been “tricked” (*tertipu*), and that the person at not been “open” (*terbuka*) with him. However, the seller claimed also not to have known about the Village Forest. This was not an easy claim to dismiss. Professions of confusion and ignorance about the Village Forest were widespread, so that the seller of land had plausible deniability. Even as the Village Forest created a new regime of visibility, representing the community and the environment to outside actors, for the many villagers the Village Forest appeared to be shrouded in opacity.



In conclusion, I want to suggest that this case might be a useful starting point for opening up authoritative crisis imaginaries. To apply for the resources freed up to manage planetary crises such as climate change, remote places are subjected to elaborate regimes of visibility. However, paradoxically, such regimes of visibility can make the landscape more opaque for local residents. Authoritative crisis imaginaries thus on the one hand make certain places highly visible, as pivotal sites for crisis management, but such making visible is inherently tied to the making invisible of local forms of order and meaning. The unsettling implication is that this might also hide local experience of injustice related to global efforts at crisis management.

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## Value and Vulnerability in Vernacular Discourses of Livelihoods in Crisis

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This paper discusses the need to rethink the notion of economy in the ethnographic analysis of everyday practices to earn a living, build a future, and negotiate the boundaries between different regimes of value. Drawing from fieldwork among groups affected by estate agriculture and nature conservation in West Kalimantan, I ask how such tropes as “nature”, “price”, “debt”, and “gathering” contribute to local, bottom-up understandings of what economy means. Such words translate people’s bottom-up understanding of the systemic conditions that contribute to the stability of social life and their capacity for producing value. I argue that an ethnographic analysis of this kind of discourse is crucial for what constitutes “crisis” as a lived experience. I suggest that crisis involves multiple elements of social life and reflect on two anthropological discussions about crisis: one in which the crisis facing humanity is fundamentally about social and economic interdependence, and another that stresses the interdependence of different kinds of living beings.

## Living in the Ruins of the Capitalocene: Lapindo Mudflow Disaster, Climate Change from Below, and Systemic Denialism

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The paper explores an era called the Capitalocene, a geohistorical period in which the corporate-state-science formed a nexus of geological forces. A nexus of geological forces can conquer nature and the population with the capacities and abilities necessary to manage the natural and human elements to recover from an accumulation crisis generated by a disaster. The Lapindo Mudflow Disaster occurred on May 29, 2006, in Porong Subdistrict, Sidoarjo District, East Java Province, Indonesia. Lapindo Brantas Incorporation's negligence caused the Mudflow Disaster during its gas drilling extraction. Villagers from Porong and other Subdistricts suffered from this disaster because their villages were submerged. As a geological event, the disaster affected broad political-economic interests between the Bakrie family, as the owners of Lapindo, the Indonesian State, and affected villagers. This paper aims to understand two interconnected processes. *First, the structural operation of corporation-state-science as the nexus of geological forces in countering accumulation and environmental crises. Second, at the same time, this structural operation generates conditions for humans to live in the Capitalocene. It will explore the impact of the structural operation of capitalism on human conditions living in the Capitalocene:* What sort of living conditions were produced by the Mudflow Disaster, and how did those conditions affect the villagers? The methane gas produced by the mudflow hole (Mazzini et al., 2021) is one of the significant contributors to climate change. The structural operation of capital produced this climate change. It was experienced by the rural population living in "climate change areas" and "zone of Capitalocene's ruin. I argue in the case of mudflow disaster, sciences alone cannot determine whether the phenomenon is natural or human-made. Natural scientists cannot escape the political-economy dimension of "disaster," and the concept of "climate change" cannot be separated from this tendency and dimension. I suggest an alternative narrative from the perspective of *climate change from below*. It does not mean all the indicators of climate change that earth scientists found do not exist. In fact, it is something that indigenous peoples and villagers in rural areas encounter in everyday life situations in the wake of deforestation, fossil fuel production, mining industries, and mass extinction. Climate change is not an externality, but it is lived within and through the human body and environmental surroundings. Therefore, we need to rethink the Anthropocene concept because mainstream science assigns environmental degradation and ecological crisis to all humanity, the "Anthropos." The same strategy of smokescreen and disguise applied and appeared in scientific discourse on "climate change," "natural disaster," and "sustainability." Many scientists closed their eyes and accepted this disguise by refusing to name the system while recognize that capitalism's structural operation is the prime driver of environmental destruction. In this context, it is not a matter of "climate denialism" or "environmental

denialism" but "systemic denialism." This syndrome of systemic denialism pointed out that "It is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism" (Fisher 2009). Beyond the Anthropocene as a concept, "it is easier to imagine the end of the world and environmental or climate apocalypse than the end of capitalism" for the corporation, State, and mainstream scientists. It is easier to think this way for capital, State, and mainstream scientists because their whole structural operation is the cause of these destructions and ruination.

### Coping with Crisis of the Local Coastal Community in West Sumatra: A Narrative Approach

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Covid-19 has resulted multiple crises among societies in Indonesia and throughout the world. The crisis is also faced by coastal communities in West Sumatra, especially the community in the Pesisir Selatan Regency. Their economic life is significantly slowing, social activities are obviously limited, and environmental use is declining so that a collective benefit is almost nothing. For about two years the community has been living in a very limited life pattern. Finally, the community makes a breakthrough by means of conserving the environment. A group, namely the Youth Cares for the Environment (Laskar Pemuda Peduli Lingkungan), in the village (nagari) of Ampiang Parak, Sutera Pesisir Selatan District, West Sumatra, has carried out a movement to save the environment which later developed it into a tourism activity and build a new culture in maintaining the ecosystem, namely an educational-based tourism. This effort presents a socio-cultural atmosphere in saving the environment so that a condition of environmental sustainability is clearly formed. All of these became a series of events that built the vitality of the local community in the area recently. This article was written based on qualitative research on environmental sustainability issue conducted in 2022. The purpose of this article is to find out how a series of environmental sustainability events becomes a narratively constructed body of knowledge by local communities. Through this, the author will give an understanding the meaning of stories about the journey of local communities in facing crises until they are able to maintain life in environmental, tourism and cultural in one connectivity.

### Dwelling in the Uninhabitable: Notes from the Field

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Coastal communities in cities around the world are reorganising their livelihood with anthropogenic climate change and pollution. Jakarta provides key insights: the megalopolis is

subsiding at a dramatic rate while large amounts of chemical pollutants and plastic waste flow daily into its bay from multiple water sources. On the north coast, rampant urban development is creating new land and dispossessing residents to make space for high-end real estate and luxury gated neighbourhoods. As fish, fishers and fisheries are increasingly being pushed away into an uninhabitable space, their present as well as their future are deemed averse to modernisation. In contrast, emerging ecologies and fish economies suggest that fishing communities play an active role in Jakarta's fast-changing urbanscape. Based on ongoing fieldwork among fishers in North Jakarta, this paper questions the experience of dwelling in what may be considered an uninhabitable space by conceptualising precarity and poverty in a way that draws attention to their non-inevitability, without being paternalistic, and whilst also doing justice to those violations that matter most to the people involved.

### Grieving Alone: Mutuality of Being and Death in the Coronavirus Disease Pandemic

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As of September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 139 thousand people have died due to Covid-19, and has risen to 157,000 when this abstract was written. That statistical display is relatively effective in showing how dangerous the virus is and how important it is for everyone to follow the health protocols that have been formulated by medics. However, each number in that statistical display refers to the father, husband, mother, wife, children, nephews, grandchildren, grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, parents-in-law, lovers, or friends (or maybe enemies) of those preceded it. Each of them in that number occupies a certain social position in the kinship, work, and social environment. Death befalls the dead, but also events for those who preceded it. There is always another human being involved in a death: medics, a mortician, a friend, or a relative; no matter how alone the death is. Like life, death is social. There is a sense of loss for those who are left behind, maybe temporarily or maybe for a long time. At the same time, the sense of loss may in ranks because those who are left behind have fewer opportunities to mourn: the burial procession was carried out with a certain protocol, there was no *takziah*, and there was no testimony at the funeral. Those left behind could not accompany him/her who was sick or died. Through this subject of death, I want to reflect on life, specifically on the mutuality in the social life. How does the *mutuality of being* (Sahlins 2013) appear and take shape in the crisis moments of death during the Covid-19 pandemic, when physical-social interaction is restricted? If '...experience is more than individual' (Sahlins 2013), what kind of experiences do people have when a death is so massive? Is there anything to reflect on about life from death? The scope of discussion offered through this abstract will be focused on contemplating about humans as social beings. Through an anthropological perspective, I hope this discussion can take a lesson from the Covid-19 pandemic regarding contemporary life.

## From Eruption to Pandemic: Case Study Tourism and Social Security in Kaliurang Tourist Areas Yogyakarta

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Kaliurang is one of the oldest tourist places in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Located on the slopes of the Merapi Mountain, one of the most active volcanoes in Java Island for the past decades, it had transformed into one of the busiest touristic areas in Yogyakarta that many of its communities depended on to support their livelihood. Making a living just from the tourism sector does not mean having zero risk. In the past, only the eruption of Merapi occasionally stopped the touristic activities in Kaliurang. Until the beginning of 2020, when Kaliurang and the rest of the world face the outbreak caused by coronavirus or COVID-19 (Gossling, Scott and Hall, 2020; Semedi, 2020). This outbreak is the most challenging crisis that has strongly hit the tourism industry in Kaliurang since the Merapi eruption in 2010.

Built in the context of the COVID-19 epidemic, this paper is developed to understand how the COVID-19 hit local people engaged in tourism activity in Kaliurang? And how do they deal with this crisis? As Ingold (2000) argued that nature and humans are strongly connected. Every act of humans will impact the environment, and so does shifting conditions in the environments that will affect the human world's stability.

Using an ethnographic approach, we attempt to understand the condition of tourism actors in Kaliurang during COVID-19 and explore the strategy and form of social security that helps the tourism actors survive. From the research, we concluded that the touristic activities in Kaliurang had stopped not only by COVID-19 but also by the situation caused by Merapi Eruption. The social security shown in the tourism in Kaliurang is not coming from the government as the centre of power and resources. Still, it comes from the social solidarity that appears as the response to the gap of government role. The Pandemic crisis has returned the importance of Javanese moral values of sharing and caring through the idea of harmony and *rukun*.

## Surviving the Crisis: the Life of Manggarai Students in Makassar during the Covid-19 Pandemic

*Ans Prawati Yuliantari*

*Unika Santo Paulus Ruteng*

This article aims to analyze the causal factors and efforts of Manggarai students to survive during the Covid-19 pandemic in Makassar. This study is important because student migration from Manggarai to Makassar has occurred for more than a decade and this city is one of the main destinations for migration of Manggarai people. Research problems discussed were what factors caused Manggarai students in Makassar to survive in the pandemic era? And how do the students try to overcome the crisis they are experiencing? This research is descriptive qualitative research using sociological and anthropological approaches. Primary data collection used the interview method with ten respondents, all of whom were Manggarai students in Makassar. While secondary sources come from various newspaper articles, journals, and books following the research objectives. Based on the analysis of the research problems, it can be seen that the students chose to stay in Makassar because of educational and economic factors, social networks, and cultural solidarity among the students themselves and the Manggarai diaspora in Makassar.

## Perempuan Kompnis: Forum & Lab; New Network and Self-Actualization

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Contemporary music in Indonesia is generally characterized by its emergence since Slamet Abdul Sjukur (1935-2015) composed music in 1958. Musical activities in Indonesia which later developed rarely brought up the names of women composers, even though the reproduction of music composers continued through formal and non-formal educational institutions. Only Trisutji Kamal (1936-2021) – who composed music since 1969, is the only female canon composer in discourse, and several records of musical knowledge production circulate in Indonesia. The death of the pioneering woman composer of contemporary music urged, ignited, and prompted several young women composers to question the position, existence, and role of women composers in the underrepresented Indonesian music landscape after Trisutji Kamal. This article describes the process of women composers redefining themselves, through efforts to move together and form a new online network, formulate values, and visioning new self-actualization spaces for women composers in the middle of the crisis of COVID-19 pandemic and the large-scale social restrictions (Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar or PSBB) that took place in Indonesia.

## 'Coronial' Investors, Pandemics Crisis, and Islam: Negotiating Moral Anxiety in the Indonesian Stock Market

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During Covid-19 pandemic crises, while global economics unprecedentedly slowed down, Indonesia's stock market was flooded with the so-called "*coronial investors*", referring to millennials and inexperienced young people who incidentally plunged themselves into the stock market during the Coronavirus crisis. Within this new situation, Muslims stock traders and investors were trying to engage with the market while struggling to overcome their unfamiliarity with the moral logics of the market. While the conventional market ideology sees price volatility and market uncertainty as a normal consequence of supply and demands dynamics, Islam consider them as a moral problem that in many ways fall into the category of gambling strictly forbidden in Islam.

Grounding on the recent literature on the anthropology of finance (Ortiz and Keith 2014, Maurer 2006), the growing ethnographic studies on stock markets (Ho 2009, Souleles 2019, Leins 2018, Preda 2017) and renewed anthropological reflection on morality of the market (Rudnyckyj and Osella 2017), this paper will chart a localized response to the global financial market dynamics in a time of the pandemics. Drawing specifically upon participatory observation and digital involvement with Muslim trading and investing communities, this presentation will focus on how Muslim traders and investors encounter and respond the moral logics of the stock market and renegotiate their religious moral frame to incorporate paradoxes, instability and unknown territories into more reconizable world. In some way, for instances, Muslim traders and investors views their involvement in the stock market as unresolved moral position which could be balanced by a socially virtuous action such as *sadaqah* (donation). In other ways, they treat 'ilm (knowledge) as a critical criteria to differentiate gambling and trading in the stock market, which would drive them to learn "technical analysis" and "fundamental analysis" popularly known in the finance and investing communities.

## "Tado di Rumah" – The Strategic Role of Protestant Moluccan Church (Gereja Protestan Maluku or GPM) in Response to the Covid-19

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Indonesia, as a multi ethnic-religious country, has been one of the numerous countries to have religious institutions engaging in handling the pandemic. This includes the city of Ambon in Maluku, which makes the church a reliable institution that plays an important role in controlling the Covid-19 crisis in Maluku society. This research highlights the roles of the



Gereja Protestan Maluku (GPM) through the strategy known as *Tado di rumah* (stay at home) in 2020, capable of transforming social conditions and coordinating spatial behaviour of the community related to the management of Covid-19. Through a descriptive-qualitative approach focusing on the case study of the GPM Rehoboth congregation (jemaat), this study tries to examine the strategy and approach which have been conducted, such as megaphone installation as a connector for worship as well as the success of renewing the principles of the church's values to return household theological beliefs by re-actualisation traditional values (*adat*) such as *piring natsar* to reduce activities in managing the "social distancing". Furthermore, this study will also observe the positive impacts of Covid-19 in regards to the unification of the dialectic between the church's and *adat* values which has usually been seen as "contradictory".

### Seeing Intersecting and Divergent Crises in Everyday Life through Photo-dialogues and Visual Metaphors

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In the United States, the COVID pandemic quickly transformed from a shared crisis to one that allowed some individuals to avoid the risks that for others were disproportionately increased. By early 2021 when research for this paper was conducted, the "portal" Arhundati Roy described to capture the possibility of collective realization that the system must be totally remade (2020) had receded from view as repeated evidence of the crises of structural inequality and the undeniable recognition of the pandemic's disproportionate toll on individuals minoritized by race, class, citizenship/nationality, gender or intersectional combinations of those factors was overwhelmingly obvious to many people who could see it. This project draws on visual methods to capture the everyday small scenes and details in a moment of isolation to create a multiplicity of images of the moments of crises as differentially experienced: a future archive of the ordinary in an extraordinary time. Examining images of the experience of multiple crises in individual lives through what I call photo-dialogues, this project explores the role of ambiguity, aesthetics, metaphor and visual evidence in representing, creating knowledge, and responding to crisis.

## Who is the Storyteller? Auteur Theory's Visual Narrative Among Digital Audience in New Normal Regarding Palm Oil Industry

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The true validation of each issue carried by media texts lead to confusion in the process of interpreting the message. There lies confusion between the director as the storyteller and the audience as the evaluator of a story. This article discusses the audience's interpretation of an experimental documentary 'Can Palm Oil Help Jungle?' which implemented the Auteur Theory approach by Wesley Chan as the auteur. The relevancy between the indicators of Auteur Theory and the audience interpretation are analysed specifically based on the diction indicator. A focus group discussion was conducted via three groups (twenty-seven Net Generation informants) at the Institute of Higher Learning on the experimental documentary 'Can Palm Oil Help Jungle?'. The discussion focuses on how the Auteur Theory is applied throughout the experimental documentary in identifying the characteristics (style and theme) of the director based on four aspects; emotion, psychology, sequences and moments. Findings revealed that the implementation of Auteur Theory throughout the experimental documentary is highly relevant in providing comprehensive understanding of the plot. This justifies how the transformation of social technologies and the impact of extensive and open information have influenced the interpretation of the net generation to view Auteur theory as a relevance tool between audience as the evaluator of the story and the director as the storyteller in new normal. Keywords: visual narrative, experimental documentary, interpretation, focus group, audience analysis, Auther theory, new normal, 'Can Palm Oil Help Jungle?'

## How did Rumors Transform Into Knowledge and Action? Anthropological Study on Covid-19 in Maluku

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There have not been a lot of anthropological studies conducted on rumors circulating in Indonesian Communities in response to Covid-19. This is despite the fact that rumor has played a very important and problematic role across the globe as a response to Covid-19. This article attempts to unravel the complexities behind the process of transforming rumors into knowledge and action. By taking the research location in Maluku, this article will show how rumors work on the people of Maluku and make their response to covid-19. Following Rudyansjah's view of "Cultural Landscapes" and the concept of "collective memory" from Feldman-Savelsberg, Ndonko, & Song Yang, the author wants to show the cultural frame of the complexity of the rumor transformation process. Does this article start with why people

in Maluku easily accept rumors and influence their actions in responding to COVID-19? The findings of this article show that the acceptance of rumors or the process of transforming rumors into knowledge has many backgrounds. Starting from the cultural, social, economic, and even political. Rumors are accepted as encouraging the emergence of various actions or what the author calls 'transformation from knowledge into action', including spreading rumors; do not believe in the existence of covid-19; do not want to vaccinate against covid-19, and do not believe in the authority of power. With the concept of the cultural landscape and collective memory, this article also explores the historicity of rumors in order to explain the complexity of the rumor transformation process. In the process of transforming rumors, there is continuity with what was in the past.

### Dealing with Multiple Hazards: Disaster-Prone Communities on the Slopes of Mt. Merapi During the Pandemic

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This paper explores how communities in disaster-prone areas simultaneously dealt with the Covid-19 outbreak and other natural hazards. It argues that they will socially calculate risks to decide what kind of hazard is more reasonable to deal with and which others should be avoided. This social calculation will involve not only objective hazards assessments, but also other socio-cultural features within and surrounding the given communities. Taking the case of local communities on the slopes of Mt. Merapi, which encountered the pandemic and eruption hazards simultaneously due to increasing volcanic activities, this study finds that the cultural perceptions of the certainty-uncertainty of risks have led to social decision-making on whether to evacuate or stay in their hamlets during the eruptions. Some essential factors, i.e., adaptations, social capital, collective memory, and social trust, have constituted cultural perceptions that volcanic hazards were much more predictable when compared to the pandemic. Further, having no existing adaptation patterns, collective memory, and structural social capital, the locals perceived the Covid-19 outbreak as full of uncertainty. This was exacerbated by a lack of social trust in the government in handling and communicating the pandemic. Dealing with such uncertainty, people relied on culturally-embedded social capital, especially the *sambatan*, a tradition of voluntarily helping each other based on the reciprocity principle. People have also developed a hybrid understanding to make sense of the pandemic: combining and negotiating several explanations and coping strategies that at first sight seem to be contradictory, i.e., medical-scientific explanations and religious interpretations of the outbreak.

## Is Vaccination the Answer? The Perception of Students from the Island of Makean on the Risk of Covid-19 Pandemic and Its Prevention

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Many studies on health crisis, including the recent outbreak of COVID-19, have explored various socio-cultural aspects related to this pandemic. This article focuses on the perceptions of students from the island of Makean studying in Ternate on the covid-19 pandemic. This COVID-19 risk perception includes both the risk to the students themselves and the risk to their community living in the island of Makean, as well as how to deal with the perceived risk. By using an adjusted combination of quantitative survey and qualitative interview, this study reveals not only figures of the students' responses in the form of perceptions about the dangers of COVID-19 and the risks they face and what their plans to address these risks through, but also reveals their more qualitative reasons behind the percentage figures. One of the interesting findings was that although many of the respondents considered COVID-19 to be dangerous, and they could be at risk of contracting the outbreak, few of them viewed vaccination as the best way of prevention. This paper implies that the nexus among health crisis, public policy in responding the crisis, and the local perceptions of the crisis and its related policies is a fertile land as well as a challenging arena for anthropological intervention. Keywords: health crisis, Covid-19, pandemic, Students, Makean Island, risk perception.



## PANEL 9. PLASTICS PRODUCTION, USE AND WASTE: BURNING ISSUES FOR ANTHROPOLOGY

### “Turned the Problem into Not a Problem”: Local Politics and Self-sufficient Waste Management in Majannang Village, Maros Regency

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The Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) reported that the national waste production reached 175,000 tons per day. On average, one Indonesian citizen contributes 0.7 kg of waste per day. On an annual basis, Indonesia produces 64 million tons of waste. This waste is mostly dumped into landfill.<sup>9</sup> A total of 3.2 million tons are plastic waste that is dumped into the sea. This puts Indonesia as the second biggest contributor to plastic waste in the ocean, and is in a state of emergency with regard to waste problems.<sup>10</sup> In 2020, Indonesia produced 67.8 million tons of waste, and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) reported that 37.3% out of it is household waste, despite household waste and household waste-like management was issued ten years ago through Government Regulation (PP) No. 81/2012.<sup>11</sup> Every year, its decaying trash disposal sites are struggling to cope with tens of millions of tons of waste.

According to Law No. 18 of 2008 on Waste Management, waste management is a systematic, comprehensive, and sustainable activity that includes waste reduction and management. Temporary shelter is a place before waste is transported to a recycling, processing, and/or integrated waste processing site. In practice, this concept of waste management is known as “*kumpul-angkut-buang*” (KAB, “collecting-transporting-dumping”), as 69% of our waste goes to landfill. However, such concept of waste management is no longer relevant since it does not solve the source of the problem (Pradita 2018; Ika 2000). This is because relying on landfills would only exacerbate waste problems, the government has tried to introduce the public to the concept of “3R” (reuse, reduce and recycle) through the country's first solid waste management law in 2008. Yet, this concept has failed to catch on in the country. This

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/10/09/indonesia-state-waste-emergency.html>, accessed on 15 March 2022.

<sup>10</sup> <https://voi.id/bernas/137477/mengerikan-indonesia-sudah-darurat-sampah-plastik-sehari-mencapai-64-juta-ton-nomor-dua-terbesar-di-dunia>, accessed 21 March 2022.

<sup>11</sup> <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2021/07/29/mayoritas-sampah-nasional-dari-aktivitas-rumah-tangga-pada-2020>, accessed 21 March 2022.

may be because this waste management concept relies more on the government and less participation of the community. In fact, in dealing with waste management, community participation as well as cooperation between regions are needed, as mandated in Law No. 18/2008.

Most existing literatures on waste management is associated with either government program, Non-governmental Organisation (NGO), or Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Some is focused on turning plastic waste into goods for economic values (Mahlil et al. 2021; Fathihani and Abdullah 2021), other deals with waste sorting by applying integrated waste management (Andina 2019); Paradita 2018; Yudhistirani et al. 2015), others deal with zero waste (Riali 2020; Fermin et al. 2020; Handayana et al. 2019; Widiarti 2012; Ika 2000) in order to reduce waste volume. Less attention is paid to local waste management without any intervention. This article fills this gap.

This study was conducted in Desa Majannang, Maros Regency, where village community takes over their own garbage without any intervention. Those who participated in this study are village head, community leaders, PKK cadres, and village community. We triangulated in-depth interview, observation, and two focus group discussion (FGD) with family empowerment and welfare (PKK) cadre and youth, as our data collection methods.

Garbage has become a big problem in Majannang Village. We see garbage in almost every corner of the village, and it seems that they see the garbage like blooming flowers in spring. The village doesn't have garbage dump, we rarely found trash bin in the house, but we could easily find plastic-wrapped garbage at home and outside their homes. This illustrates how people don't care about garbage that has polluted their environment. This is in consistent with the findings of the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2018 which showed that 72% of people did not care about waste.<sup>12</sup> From the emic point of view, we found an ambivalent perspective on garbage dump. In one side, they blame the local government for not providing garbage dump for the community, so they can relay on the concept "collect-transport-dump" (*kumpul-angkut-buang*, KAB). On the other side, they refuse to have it to avoid bad smell since the garbage pick-up is often late due to limited number of garbage trucks and limited number of garbage collectors. In this level, community participation is needed.

Local politics, however, cannot be separated from the various programs and activities launched by the village government. There is a tendency that village government programs will be supported by people who support him in the election of village head (Pilkades), while non-supporters don't, and this has become a typical and classic "syndrome" after Pilkades or other kind of election in various regions in Indonesia. Therefore, the village government is

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<sup>12</sup> <https://www.liputan6.com/lifestyle/read/4896739/sampah-plastik-karena-belanja-online-meningkat-di-masa-pandemi>, accessed on 30 May 2022.

difficult to carry out its programs without community support, including in the waste management program because the community is divided into supporters and non-supporters. While the former tends to support the local government program, the latter don't.

For example, when the village head initiated and called for community participation in dealing with the problem of waste management, by paying monthly fee for waste transportation (in case the garbage is not picked up) as well as for garbage collectors, the response is split. Despite the fact that they are aware that waste management doesn't work without integrated system from the village to the district level (by referring to the application of the concept of "collect-transport-dump"), community participation to pay monthly fee to facilitate the transportation waste doesn't work. Some agreed to pay, while others don't, assuming that village fund (*dana desa*) can be used for such purpose. In fact, while village fund can be used to provide rubbish bin, such fund cannot be used to pay for waste transportation and garbage collectors, as this is expected to come from community self-help funds. Using village fund for such purpose may become "the finding" (*temuan*) of the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK) and Inspectorate. Accordingly, one or the other waiting for each other. Time goes by, the problem was unsolved, while village head have no power to compel them to do so.

Because the government is deemed to have failed to unite the community in waste management problem, the community takes over. They treat their own waste in various ways in order to eliminate the waste generated by every household on the basis of their own will and understanding, such as throwing garbage in vacant land, throwing garbage in rivers/waterways, and burning trash. In this village, there is still a lot of vacant, unproductive, and low-base land. It is socially assumed that vacant land requires stockpiling, so that disposing of waste (both organic and inorganic waste) in the vacant land may elevate the ground. In response, there are land owners who let their land to be piled up with garbage in the hope that the land will rise, other land owners don't, the don't like their land is used by other for any purpose. Another common way to dispose of garbage is throwing organic waste wrap with plastic into the river/waterways because they believe that lizard will eat them, assuming the garbage is gone, neglecting that the organic garbage is wrapped with plastic. As a result, rivers/waterways full of plastic that flow into the sea. Still another way to dispose of inorganic waste is by burning the garbage to reduce the volume. Thus, we can easily find traces of burning in various corner of the house or the village. Through these ways, the community assumed that they turned the problem into "not a problem" in dealing with their waste.



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## Plastic Addiction: The Beginning, the Business, and the Effort

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In Indonesia, plastic consumption per capita reaches 17 kilograms per year with an average consumption growth of 6-7 percent per year,<sup>13</sup> and therefore plastic waste has become a very serious problem in Indonesia. Indonesian Plastic Industry Association (INAPLAS) and the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) reported that plastic waste in Indonesia reaches 64 million tons/year. It is not surprising that Indonesia is ranked second in the world after China and is considered a plastic waste emergency country.<sup>14</sup>

We cannot deny that plastic is very useful for everyday life. But plastic materials are not environmentally friendly and is difficult to decompose. as Eric Solheim (2018), the Head of UN Environment, argues that “The problem isn’t plastic, it’s what we do with it”. This is because we’ve become over reliant on and become addictive to single-use or disposable plastic. Addictive behavior is the result of habituation behavior, as Hafid (1997:51) claims. It has become a habituation behavior because we let single-use plastics infiltrate our everyday lives and we now consider them a normality and a convenience. It is our addiction to these plastics that has driven a demand for production and in turn, global environmental problem, and we are suffering from a global plastic addiction. Whereas as psychological and social disease, addictive behavior as a learning outcome behavior can be changed into effective behavior by learning as well. Ironically, people are increasingly addicted to plastic, which can be seen in their everyday life as if without plastic, life is too complicated.

In Makassar, it is more common to see people use disposable plastic bottle than tumbler, use plastic or paper food containers than bring their own food stacked containers to buy food, use plastic straw than stainless steel straw, pay for plastic bag than bring their own reusable bag for shopping, etc.

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<sup>13</sup> <http://lipi.go.id/lipimedia/lipi-temukan-teknologi-plastik-ramah-lingkungan/15175>, accessed on 20 April 2022.

<sup>14</sup> <https://voi.id/bernas/137477/mengerikan-indonesia-sudah-darurat-sampah-plastik-sehari-mencapai-64-juta-ton-nomor-dua-terbesar-di-dunia>, accessed on 15 Juni 2022.

Practising the opposite is considered as a complicated life style (*gaya hidup rempong*). The policy of paid plastic bag is also confusing because some minimarket/supermarket charge for plastic bag, others don't, despite the existence Makassar City Mayor Regulation (Perwali) No. 70/2019. On the contrary, paying for plastic bags does not discourage consumers from using it, except for those who have strong commitment to limit the use of plastic products. Some even ask for more because they want to use them as garbage wrappers, or other purposes.

We can also easily find small food and beverage container made of aluminium—on the side of the street. This kind of stall is mushrooming without control of the Makassar city mayor and uses plastic packaging for their food and beverage which can be purchased online and offline. In the traditional market, sellers provide plastic bags for free, from small to large sizes, depending on the amount of their purchases. To compare with, traditional market more generous to use plastic bag than supermarket or minimarket. The latter commonly asks buyers whether or not they want to use plastic bags and informs that the plastic bags are paid for, whereas the former doesn't, they just wrap them with plastic bags for free.

In his book "The Paradox of Choice: Why More Is Less", Barry Schwartz (2005) reveals that eliminating choices can actually reduce consumer anxiety when shopping. In the context of paid plastic bags, instead of thinking of the not free plastic bag they just buy and use them and neglect that they are not free, not to mention thinking of the environmental effect. Vasara (2019) concerns about plastic substitution to decrease the use of fossil and biodegradable plastics. But, people face the paradox of choice. Glass bottles, for example, are much heavier than plastic, so the pollution impact of the transport process will be even worse. Paper bags tend to have higher carbon emissions than plastic bags and are more difficult to reuse. Those who try to apply a limit single-use plastics life style sometimes in doubt whether to continue or to stop because the integrated system of waste management is lacking, as if their effort becomes meaningless.

The demand for plastic products is relatively high because these kind of products are made of various shapes, light, colorful, durable, easy, cheap, and practical. The advantages and the diversity of plastic bag products were advertised in the mass media in the early 60s, such as weekly newspaper, such as Star Weekly, Djaja weekly. The use of plastic was increasingly unstoppable in the early 1970s. Around this time, the drinking water company Aqua has begun to introduce new packaging for its products made of plastic. Thirty years since the beginning of Indonesia intimate contact with plastic (1980s), a new awareness about the use of plastic goods is marked. This cannot be separated from the lively seminars and discussions on waste management in a number of big cities in Indonesia. Often the management of plastic waste is included as a sub-theme of the discussion. The issues revolved around how to recycle plastic, burn plastic, and make alternative plastic materials to make it more biodegradable. But during the seminar and discussion, plastic waste already filled the streets, rivers, sewers,

and landfills. Millions of tons of plastic are buried underground and floating in the oceans for decades.

Although "plastic diet" campaign has been carried out by various elements of society, the use of plastic is difficult to separate from people's daily lives, its use starts from people wake up until they go back to sleep. At home, bread is wrapped with plastic, trash can lined with plastic bag; clothes from laundry and wedding invitations are wrapped in plastic; take away food and beverage using plastic packaging; groceries from minimarket/supermarket/traditional market wrapped in plastic bags; in various events plastic is used for various purposes at a party (interior decoration, cake slices, not to mention water cup/bottle, etc.). In office living room, the guest table provided with plastic or box drink. At school, students buy food and drink in plastic packages. Even though some hotels have their own policy regarding single-use plastic, most hotels don't. They even claimed that using plastic bottled is precisely at the request of the guests, especially in the event like seminar, workshop, wedding, etc.

During pandemic Covid-19, there was a significant increase in the use of single-use plastic. In order to minimise human contact during pandemic Covid-19 with the hashtag just stay at home (*#dirumahaja*), people tend to order food and goods online and delivered with plastic packaging. In franchise cafeteria, we observed take away food is packed in three-in-one package (wrapped with aluminium foil, packed with box, and wrapped in plastic bag). Drink is packed according to the type of drink (hot and cold drink). While hot drink is packed in paper cup, cold drink is packed in plastic cup, both are then wrapped with plastic bag. In the Eid al-Adha, massive use of plastic at slaughtering spots of sacrificial animals has become a very common sight because sacrificial meat wrapped in plastic bag (replacing banana leaves) and were collected using plastic buckets. Plastic stores are crowded with plastic bags customers before Eid al-Adha. Plastic addiction makes our living space is dominated by plastic.

The very high demand for plastic becomes a promising business opportunity. In the past, we can buy plastic in a grocery store. Nowadays, shops that specialize selling plastic emerges. In Makassar we can easily find plastic shop in different part of the city. These shops sell various kinds of plastics, such as plastic bags in different size, plastic plate, cup, spoon, fork, straw, mica food wrapper, styrofoam lunch box, plastic ropes, duck tape, etc. which can be purchased retail or wholesale. These stores vary from standard-sized to large-sized stores and are bustling with shoppers every day buying both retail and wholesale.

Addiction to plastic makes the plastic industry grow like mushrooms in the rainy season. Offers to open a plastic shop are circulating on the internet that promote how plastic business is a promising business to run because plastic is a required product, plastic does not expire easily, it is not a type of fast product, business plastic shops is not too competitive, plastic business is not a seasonal business, plastic shop design does not have to be modern and

luxurious, and business capital is very flexible. What is more that even though it is called a plastic shop, in practice it still sells other relevant products. This business is quite tempting.

There are a number of efforts in dealing with plastic waste, but the concept of plastic management comes later than the use of plastic itself. In Makassar, there are a number of significant campaign from different group, institution, environmental activist, and individual who are aware of the massive use of plastics and the effect resulted from such addiction to plastic. These campaigns are effort to raise awareness and invite the public and business people to be a part of minimizing single-use plastic. The ban of single-use plastics is said by some parties to be a strategy for local governments to fulfill the mandate of Presidential Regulation No. 97/2017 (PP No. 97/2017) concerning National Policies and Strategies for the Management of Household Waste and Types of Household Waste.<sup>15</sup>

Among the efforts made by the central government to reduce plastic waste is the issuance of Ministerial Decree LKH No.75/2019 regarding Waste Reduction Roadmap. In response to this, Makassar city government issued Mayor Regulation No. 70/2019 concerning Control of the Use of Plastic Bags under the supervision of the Makassar City Environment Service. However, according to Nurhayati (2022), the supervision did not work because there was no technical team formed by the city government based on the Mayor's Decree concerning the Technical Team for Supervision of Plastic Bag Control. In addition, administrative sanctions by the Makassar City Environment Service have not yet been implemented, none has been given sanctions in accordance with this regulation. But, how come the city government call for attention to eliminate the use of single-use plastic, while single-use plastic has become every day scene in the government office.

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### "Let the Rain to Sweep Away the Garbage": Local Waste Disposing Initiative in the Coastal Area of Maros Regency

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Indonesia is the second country out of 192 coastal countries that contributes the most plastic waste to the ocean, as much as 83% of plastic waste thrown into the sea is waste that has not been processed on land. If you refer to the data reported by the Indonesian Plastic Industry Association (INAPLAS) and the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), Indonesia produces 64 million tons of plastic waste per year, 3.2 million tons of which is plastic waste that is thrown into the sea (Wahyuddin:530). -531). The impact caused by polluting the sea with plastic waste causes damage to marine biota that destroys the lives of all living things in it.

The government through PP No. 83/2018 concerning Plastic Waste is committed to reducing plastic waste in the ocean by 70% by 2025. At the 2017 G20 summit, G20 countries united to tackle the problem of plastic waste in the ocean. In order to implement Indonesia's commitment in the 2017 G20 Summit, Indonesia implemented the National Action Plan (RAN). In the NAP, the Indonesian government encourages these companies to produce more environmentally friendly plastics or plastics that are easily recycled naturally and use recycled plastics. This article is different from previous research where in this study dealing with waste with an approach to strengthening the role of RT and RW village officials, especially in people's daily activities, while the research conducted by Wahyuddin (2020:530-550) looked at the legal aspects. international force that is used as a force in carrying out waste control in all countries. Likewise, the results of research conducted by Mutmainnah (2010: 21-31) saw that handling waste with an approach to strengthening community skills in managing waste became materials of economic value in the form of handicraft products that encouraged the growth of the community's creative economy.



The habit of people throwing garbage in rivers and at sea causes waste to enter the river, the substance will be carried into the sea by ocean currents. Rivers are considered a major contributor to plastics and microplastics in the ocean (Moore, Lattin, & Zellers, 2011). And when the plastic waste is disposed of and accumulates in the ocean, it will pollute the ocean and damage marine life (Ivar do Sul, & Costa, 2014). Nanoparticles in plastics can cause brain damage and behavioral disorders if ingested in marine creatures (Mattsson et al., 2017). As more and more trash pollutes the oceans every year, it is predicted that by 2050 there will be more plastic in the ocean than fish (Rhodes, 2018).

Thus further worsening the quality of the environment and health. Likewise, people in Borikamase Village and Borimasunggu Village in Maros Regency have a habit of burning waste, especially plastic waste. Plastic waste is flammable, so it has the potential to cause a fire. The smoke from burning plastic materials is also very dangerous because it contains toxic gases such as hydrogen cyanide (HCN) and carbon monoxide (CO). Hydrogen cyanide comes from acrylonitrile-based polymers, while carbon monoxide as a combustion product is very threatening to air health. If plastic waste is burned openly it will emit emissions of Polychlorinated Dibenzo-p-dioxins which is a toxic substance (Lemieux, et.al, 2000). global warming of the earth's atmosphere.

This researched was conducted in 2 villages, namely Borimasunggu Village and Borikamase Village which are part of the Maros Baru District, Maros Regency. Borikamase Village and Borimasunggu Village are coastal areas in Maros Regency which are directly adjacent to the sea which have the potential to produce waste in the sea. The informants in this study for each village were a village head, a community leader (Tomas), a youth leader, a female figure, and 4 other community members. Other informants are the Head of the Maros Regency Environmental Service, the Head of the Facilities and Infrastructure Division of the Maros Regency Environmental Service and 2 employees of the Environmental Service of the Garbage Transport Section.

Observation and interviews are data collection techniques used in this study. The interview topics were related to people's perceptions of waste and environmental hygiene, people's habits in treating waste, the role of RT and RW village officials in handling waste, waste disposal sites, waste transportation schedules, waste transporters, local policies related to waste, obstacles that faced, and how solutions are taken in handling the waste problem.

The analysis process was carried out since the research took place. However, after the data collection process was completed, all data obtained from the interviews were transcribed and combined with observation notes. This was then carefully examined so that valid and complete information related to waste management at the research site was obtained.

Research permits were obtained from the Maros Regency Government, and then at the sub-district level, down to the village level to conduct research in the administrative areas of



Borikamase Village and Borimasunggu Village. The recruitment of informants begins with discussing it with the Village Government. Through Pak Desa, potential names were obtained to be interviewed. Before the interview was conducted, prospective informants were explained about the topic, objectives, benefits of the research conducted. The informants gave their consent to participate in the research, interviews were conducted with the informants after obtaining their permission/approval and they agreed that all the names of the informants in this article are their real names.

Borikamase and Borimasunggu villages are areas of Maros Regency which are directly adjacent to river and sea estuaries with a low-lying area structure so that they are regularly flooded every year, however, floods that regularly come every year are sometimes considered a blessing because of the garbage scattered in irrigation canals and in Residents' homes can be cleaned after the flood arrives because it will drift into the sea via the river, so the assumption is "let the rain clean the garbage."

To overcome this, there is a pattern shown by the community based on the distance they live from irrigation canals or rivers even though they live in the same village. Villagers who live some distance from irrigation canals or rivers handle their waste by burning around their houses. Meanwhile, the villagers who live close to the irrigation canal handle waste by throwing their garbage into the irrigation canal until the waste is washed away following the flow of water to the river and finally to the sea.

When talking about waste, the community accuses the district government of not having any concern for waste. They think that there is no point in managing waste in the village if the district government does not have a related policy because in the end this too will be hampered. This is what causes the handling of special waste problems in coastal areas such as in Borimasunggu Village and Borikamase Village can never be completed.

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## Plastic Waste in Rice Fields: Problems and Their Management Strategy Plan in East Luwu Regency, South Sulawesi

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Agricultural productivity narratives, especially lowland rice, has so far not been accompanied by linear facts of plastic waste production. Agriculture is one of economic sectors that contributes to plastic waste (Delbert and Hemphill, 1993). Agricultural plastic waste does not end up in landfills. In a long time it becomes a contaminant that affects soil fertility and plant growth. Furthermore, weathering and fragmentation of agricultural plastics form microplastics that pollute waters, especially rivers and eventually threaten human life

Currently, intensive agricultural practices use materials with plastic packaging. The use of plastic packaging materials such as soil mulch, irrigation pipes, silage plastic, harvest packaging, ropes and other binders continues to be used massively. From year to year, plastic waste production reaches millions of tons, 2% of total volume generated from agricultural sector (Briassoulis et al., 2013; Picuno, 2014). Unlike agricultural waste that produces biomass, plastic has a very long decomposition cycle (Vox et al., 2016:584). Post-use high plastic waste is important to be managed properly (Delbert and Hemphill, 1993). 'Ordinary plastic' waste treatment is different from 'certainly agricultural materials'. Most of plastic waste is packaging made of hazardous materials (such as insecticides), so treatment for use should be buried or burned.

A study conducted by Suryono (2019) shows that plastic particles have searched ecosystem which he thinks comes from; (1) natural destruction by wave mechanical action and photo-oxidation; (2) direct disposal of industrial products (pre-production nurdles); (3) fibers from synthetic fabrics (fleece fabrics); (4) worn car and motorcycle tires; and (5) decay of materials used in cleaning/cosmetic products. These materials through Utami's research (2022) have been proven to contaminate rivers and waters as main meeting point. He showed that there were microplastic content in all river sediment samples. Furthermore, Fernanda's (2021) research is a synthesis of other evidences of microplastic dangers for ecosystem. In rivers and

other waters he proves that there is an abundance of microplastic particles with various types and colors, all of which have interfered with the proliferation of biota in these waters. Specifically in agricultural sector, Briassoulis et al. (2013) explained that improper disposal of agricultural plastic waste can cause soil and water pollution, release of harmful substances and air pollutants, food pollution, soil quality degradation, aesthetic and landscape pollution, and agro-ecosystem degradation.

This research is an ethnographic research. It was carried out partially in East Luwu Regency, as the sixth rice granary in South Sulawesi with total production reaching 282,098 tons per year (BPS, 2021). Using data collection techniques consisting of participation observation, interview, and focus group discussion. Participation observations were carried out on all agricultural activities that took place during the field data collection process to see how farmers treated agricultural plastic waste. Interviews were conducted in two forms, the first was instrumentation/measurement interviews with purposive determination of informants, collecting detailed (quantitative) data on the need for agricultural materials and waste produced in one production cycle per one hectare of land. Instrumentation data was carried out through in-depth interviews to understand further farmers' perceptions and responses to plastic waste. Meanwhile, focus group discussions were held with farmers and local government to re-discuss the findings of agricultural plastic waste and agriculture future in East Luwu Regency. Informants and participants of this research are farmers and stakeholders (government and other agricultural institutions) with total 25 people with a vulnerable age of 20 and 62 years. Farmer informants in this study are those who have a minimum land area of one hectare, to make it easier to measure the amount of waste produced in one harvest cycle.

The next key in ethnographic research according to Murchison (2010) is data analysis. This research is writing from data, not writing with data. These data go through a gradual process of interpretation. From the data on agricultural land managed by each informant, it is calculated per one hectare to produce plastic waste. Continued with new themes that emerged, such as distraction from plastic waste, garbage collection, to waste accumulation and projections for the future of agriculture.

Before starting interview, researcher explained about aims and objectives of this research and asked his willingness to be interviewed and recorded. The names used in this article are pseudonyms to maintain the confidentiality of informant identity and the information provided.

This study shows that high production of agricultural plastic waste is based on the presence of a variety of agricultural materials, such as fertilizers and medicines in plastic packaging. The lack of accuracy of agricultural plastic waste production data has led researchers to formulate measurement instruments containing data on land location, land area, distance from home, land status, land irrigation system, cottage ownership, and distance to the nearest village. The

instrumentation also records in detail the names of agricultural products (brands) used from the stage of soil management, planting, care, to the place of obtaining, the weight of plastic packaging (in grams and kilograms), post-use treatment, and information on other waste problems for one ha of land.

Instrumentation proves that for every one hectare of land, from land cultivation to harvesting, farmers need a minimum of 10 to 15 types of products. These products such as fertilizers, pesticides, insecticides, which produce an average of 3.2 to 4.6 kg of plastic waste in one harvest cycle. Most of this plastic waste is simply dumped on farm roads and irrigation canals.

This happens because waste becomes something that is embedded with other agricultural materials. Farmers do not strictly separate each packaging of agricultural products made from plastic. "Plastic is not a problem, so far it is considered the same as other waste," said Arta (31 years), one of the farmers. Similar but not the same, Agus (48 years old), another farmer emphasized:

"...because plastic has never had a direct impact, so farmers still don't care or are indifferent". It seems that farmers are trapped in 'maximizing production' framing. Ufuria from competition to achieve the highest production distracts the production of plastic waste. The attitude of exclusion or neglect of plastic waste is the reality of an incomplete understanding of the concept of 'plastic' and its dangers.

The inefficiency of agricultural plastic waste management is also influenced by the lack of local government regulations in regulating this problem. Of course, this is motivated by a strong tendency to maximize production, rather than focusing on other issues that do not directly disrupt production stability. The government often considers problems as barriers to productivity such as problems with nutrient inputs (fertilizers and medicines). Instead of a solution to the problem, this leads to an increase in the production of agricultural plastic waste which is getting higher.

Perspective needs to be improved. In sustainable agriculture concept, we still perceive that what is meant by "sustainability" is something that is only related to the economy. Meanwhile, sustainable agriculture should also be understood as an ecological goal. The anthropocentric perspective is indeed difficult to get out of human interests as 'homo economicus'. Economic orientations profit alone continues to position agricultural activities as a 'production machine' for plastic waste which continues to threaten vital source of life sustainability, namely 'food'.

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## “Turning Plastic Waste Into Eco-Paving Blocks: Plastic Waste Management in the Tata-Tala Pine Forest Tourism Area Maros Regency.

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The Tala-Tala Pine Forest, which covers an area of about 50 hectares, is located in a protected forest area in Maros Regency. This pine forest is one of the tourist areas in Maros Regency with promising tourism potential. With natural conditions that are beautiful, cold and cool, the Pinus Tala-Tala forest is similar to the Pine forest in Malino, Gowa Regency. In various tourist areas, plastic waste is a major problem, if the plastic waste is not managed or processed properly it will have an impact on the environment and become a sustainable problem. Hadi Prasetyo et al. (2020), that the handling of plastic waste in pine forest areas can be done by generating waste through waste separation at Pine forest tourist sites. The plastic waste is then taken to a plastic shelter managed by the village youth organization, which is then managed into various types of plastic pots and flowers, pen holders, and bookshelves.

If you refer to data from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (2020), 72% of the Indonesian population does not care about waste, including plastic waste. The beauty of the pine forest is polluted by waste left by visitors, especially plastic waste. The phenomenon of visitors throwing away plastic waste is caused by a lack of knowledge and understanding of visitors and managers on the impact of plastic waste on the forest and the surrounding environment, including a lack of understanding of the use of plastic waste that can have economic value. Meliana Riniarti, et al (2022), that from the results of counseling that has been carried out by extension workers and universities, the community has good knowledge and skills in processing plastic waste in the mangrove forest area in Margasari Village, East Lampung Regency, where the plastic waste is can be processed into Paving Block. From the results of plastic waste management into Paving Blocks, plastic waste in the coastal area of Margasari Village has decreased.

The handling of plastic waste in the tuning pine forest has been carried out by the manager and the local community, although the handling of plastic waste still has an impact on the surrounding environment. The handling of plastic waste is carried out such as collecting plastic waste and burning it, throwing rivers and making holes around the pine forest and then piling it in the ground. However, all these methods have had an impact on the environment around the tuning pine forest, and do not provide economic value for the surrounding community. Forestry instructors as the government have provided counseling and training to managers and the surrounding community on how to manage plastic waste by processing it into Paving Blocks. Berliana Anggun Septiani, et al, (2019) that the results of the management of plastic waste produced in the mangrove forest area into paving blocks

have been used by the community in their yards, and some are sold as income from processing plastic waste into Paving Blocks. Reducing plastic waste by turning it into paving blocks has improved the Mangrove ecosystem in Salatiga Regency, and has provided additional income for the surrounding community. This article focuses on how managers and local communities deal with plastic waste left by visitors in the Pinus Tala-Tala forest tourism area.

This research was conducted in the Pinus Tala-Tala forest tourism area, Bonto Manai Village, Tompobulu District, Maros Regency, South Sulawesi Province, which is the target area of Maros Muslim University. Data were collected using interview and observation techniques. The results of these interviews and observations will be analyzed descriptively qualitatively. The informants in this study consisted of forestry extension workers (1 person), managers (3 people), 12 visitors, and the community around the forest (10 people).

The existence of the Tala-tala pine forest is quite a dilemma and raises concerns about environmental degradation in the Tala-tala Pine Forest tourist area. The plastic waste that is produced is scattered everywhere and left alone in the pine forest area so that it will pollute the forest and the surrounding environment. The plastic waste scattered around the Tala-tala pine forest is handled in three ways. First, plastic waste is thrown into the river so that it can pollute the river. If enough plastic waste is produced, the manager throws some of the waste into the river so that the river becomes polluted. With the contamination of the river, the community's need for water taken from the river for bathing, washing and drinking water consumption needs will be able to interfere with the health of the surrounding community.

Second, the waste generated by visitors is burned by managers around the pine forest. The burned waste is not sorted by type of waste, but collects and then burns it around the pine forest. The collected waste, both plastic waste and paper waste, was burned around the pine stands. The burning of this waste has caused problems with the level of fertility of the soil around the Pine Forest. and will be at risk of forest fires. Third, burn and then throw the combustion products into the river. The rest of the process of burning plastic waste is also dumped into the river. Disposal of waste disposed of in the river is carried out on the remaining types of plastic waste that have been burned so that the incinerator becomes clean. However, as a result of the rest of the burning, the plastic waste dumped in the river has caused the river water to become polluted. Of the three plastic waste handling carried out above, what is often done by the manager is the first and second treatment because the handling carried out by the manager is easier, simpler, does not require a lot of time and costs almost nothing.

Plastic waste management in the Tala-tala pine forest is managed by Pokdarwis and has been carried out for 2 years. The formation of Pokdarwis was initiated by the forestry instructor together with the village government. Forestry instructors have conducted counseling and



training to managers and local communities on the management of plastic waste into Eco Paving Blocks. From the results of interviews with managers and the surrounding community, the results of counseling and training on the management of plastic waste into paving blocks have provided their own inspiration and knowledge for managers and the community to manage plastic waste in the Pinus Tala-tala forest into Paving Blocks. According to the Manager, the plastic waste that is processed into paving blocks has provided additional income for the manager, which is around Rp. 500,000/month. The results of plastic waste can reduce the quantity of plastic waste by about 20-30 kg/week. The village government has made the legality of the tourism awareness group (Pokdarwis) to be able to manage plastic waste which is a productive business unit in Bonto Manai village. This tourism awareness group (Pokdarwis) will manage plastic waste from the Tala-tala Pine Forest into Paving Blocks. The Village Government has planned to upgrade the status of the plastic waste manager to a Village-owned Enterprise (BUMDES) that can be budgeted. through the village allocation fund (DAD). The allocated funds are used for the procurement of equipment for making paving blocks (such as printing equipment and coolers), assistance for trash can facilities, and training for Pokdarwis Managers. This is the commitment of the village government in dealing with the problem of plastic waste generated from visitors visiting the Pinus Tala-tala forest tourism area. With the management of plastic waste into Eco Paving Blocks, the problem of plastic waste around the Pine Tala-tala forest will be handled properly so that the quality of the forest and the environment in the Pinus Tala-tala Forest area will be better in the future. Keywords: Pine Forest, Plastic Waste, and Eco Paving Block

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## Paid Plastic Bag and Plastic Waste: Case Studies of Mini Market and Supermarket in Makassar

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Earth is still the only planet that is known to support human life to carry out all its activities. Therefore, the Earth needs to be protected from the threat of climate change. Based on data released by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), it is stated that climate change has been going on until now and is predicted to reach a more severe level if it is not immediately addressed. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) 2021 report states that 2020 will be the year with the hottest temperatures on Earth.

The emergence of the threat of climate change cannot be separated from the problem of increasing the amount of plastic waste produced. Single-use plastic is one of the main factors causing climate change, because plastic constantly produces emissions from the production process until it becomes waste. Based on the records of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) in 2020, admitting that the challenges of the waste problem in Indonesia are still very large. According to him, the amount of waste generated in a year is around 67.8 million tons. Furthermore, KLHK reports that the total national waste in 2021 will reach 68.5 million tons. Of that amount, as much as 17% (11.6 million tons) was contributed by plastic waste. This indicates that Indonesia has a serious problem with waste, including plastic waste.

Hijauku.com (2011), plastic bags are a “symbol of a consumptive society” because plastic is only used once or twice, then discarded and pollutes the environment for decades. The use of plastic bags in Indonesia reaches 700 bags/person/year. KLHK data (2018) shows that Indonesia produces 10.95 million pieces of plastic bag waste/year/100 outlets, including those from minimarkets and supermarkets.

Andi Imam (2021) the use of plastic bags is getting higher from year to year. In 2020, for example, plastic waste in Makassar City has increased by 294 tons/day compared to 2019 as much as 258 tons/day. The commitment of the city government is shown by the issuance of Mayoral Regulation No. 70 of 2019 concerning Control of the Use of Plastic Bags. In contrast to the central government's policy which only targets the modern market, the Makassar mayor's policy includes shopping centers, modern shops, traditional markets, and the community. It's a shame that this mayoral regulation is not grounded because in the offices of the city government itself, the use of plastic beverage packaging and single-use food packaging is still a daily scene, so implementing it in the community becomes very difficult.

The topic of paid plastic bags and plastic waste is a topic that is often discussed about the application of paid plastic bags (ariyanti, 2016; yayuk, et al 2017; rusmadi, et al 2017; yayuk, et al 2021) in addition to the topic of paid plastic bags usually associated with public and housewives' perceptions of paid plastic bags (anih sri, 2016; Oki, 2017), as well as the implementation of paid plastic bag policies (Happy, et al 2019; Natalia 2019). since plastic bags began to pay in mini markets and supermarkets. Research on plastic bags is often associated with the impact of plastic on environmental damage, even though there have been paid plastic rules that have been applied, but these rules are considered not yet effective in reducing plastic waste, therefore this study will examine the effectiveness of the paid plastic program in reducing plastic waste.

One of the ways the government has taken to reduce the accumulation of plastic waste and encourage the use of bags made from recycled materials in the retail industry is to apply paid plastic bags in supermarkets/minimarkets since March 1, 2019. This policy is in line with the mandate of Law no. 18 of 2008. However, this policy answers the wrong question, because it is only intended for retail and modern markets. This article will discuss how consumer behavior responds to the paid plastic bag policy in minimarkets and supermarkets in Makassar City.

This study uses a qualitative approach with interview data collection techniques with managers and cashiers of mini markets and supermarkets, as well as consumers who often shop at supermarkets and mini markets. The interview topics included sources of information about the use of plastic bags, reasons and why consumers still want to use paid plastic bags. Participants in this study were women aged 25 years and over who predominantly shop at supermarkets and minimarkets, and cashier employees or managers who saw firsthand the behavior of consumers in shopping using paid plastic bags. The object of this research is a mini market which consists of Indomaret and Alfa. As well as supermarkets consisting of Lotte Mart, Hypermart, Hero and Transmart. And which is located in the city of Makassar.

The results of this study indicate that each mini market often informs consumers of the cost of plastic bags that are no longer free and supermarkets inform the tariffs of plastic bags that have been paid for and offer shopping boxes if they serve consumers shopping in large quantities. But the reality is that the paid plastic bag policy has not been effective. This is because the price of plastic bags is still very cheap, which is between Rp. 200, - and Rp. 300, - per plastic bag. Thus, even though consumers shop for 5 to 10 plastic bags when shopping, consumers only pay Rp. 1,000 to Rp. 2,000, which is considered a small amount.

In a day, one supermarket can issue 1,000-1,500 plastic bags on weekdays, while on weekends the number is higher, ie between 1,500-2,000 plastic bags that come out. Meanwhile, a mini market with a strategic location can spend 500-700 per day, and a mini market in a housing

complex usually spends 300-500 per day. There are still many other supermarkets in Makassar and minimarkets scattered in Makassar which of course the use of plastic bags is more or less relatively the same as 1,000-1,500 pc for supermarket and 300-700 pc mini market per day. the price offered to consumers for paid plastic bags is relatively very cheap, so that awareness of the importance of Rp. 200., - Rp. 300., is nothing if they have to bring their own shopping bags or use the boxes provided. It's like being bothered, it's better to spend a little money to buy a plastic bag. Consumers in Makassar have behaviors that do not want to be difficult, do not want to be bothered and always look for the easy way, without realizing the effects or dangers of the plastic bag itself. Not to mention that there are still some supermarkets and minimarkets that provide free hidden plastic bags to consumers who are loyal to shop at their place.

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## "Merdeka Plastik": Using Social Media to Encourage Small Pro-Environment Acts

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The abundance of plastic waste has increasingly become a problem of our time. The use of plastic has drastically increased 7 times in 2 years since the Covid-19 pandemic. Prior to 2021, 47% of 179 existing landfills in Indonesia were closed and replaced with new landfills which contribute to environmental problems such as greenhouse gas emissions, pollution of surface and groundwater, and air pollution (KLH, 2008 in Meidiana & Gamse, 2010). Plastics has emerged as an important and urgent area of study in Anthropology. The anthropology of plastic has a possible role in designing, intervening, and monitoring as a contribution to solve the problem of plastic waste (Pathak & Nichter, 2019). This paper is based on an experimental research from a voluntary action that I call '30 hari merdeka plastik'. This study aims to understand why educated young people consume plastic even though they know the consequences of plastic pollution as well as to intervene through a collective pro-environmental behavior.

Between August 2021 and April 2022, I conducted an online survey and in-depth interviews with young people aged 20-35 years with university education from any major. I then invited my research participants to get involved in the #30harimerdekaplastik social media challenge using Instagram and WhatsApp group. At the end of session, they were invited to reflect on the challenge they have participated in. During the 30 days challenges, participants were engaged in discussing what it means to consume plastic ethically with the awareness of what plastics do to the environment. Interestingly, the influence of this movement is proven by the small pro-environmental actions taken by some participants during the 30 days challenge. The result is these small acts which have been consistent even 7 months after the challenge ended are influenced by social support and growing trust from participants.

According to data from the Indonesian Plastic Industry Association and the Central Statistics Agency in 2018, Indonesia has produced around 64 million tons of plastic waste, of which

3.2 million tons were plastic waste dumped into the sea (Hidayat et al., 2019; Puspita, 2018). Anthropologists should go beyond just deciphering the complex plastic pollution chain, but also provide intervention as a solution (Pathak & Nichter, 2019). SUP is a material that is used ingrained, and almost everyone in any class, any age, and any social status uses plastic in their daily lives.

For educated young Indonesians, the serious impact of plastic waste scattered in the natural environment is not a new issue. The destruction of nature caused by non-biodegradable plastic is common knowledge for those who have completed their education in college. One thing that intrigues us is if educated young people know the dangers of SUP pollution, why do they still use PSP in their daily life? A study conducted by Chuvieoco et al (2018) found that young people with university level education have the potential to become leaders in taking sustainable environmental action. In this paper, we will explore how young university-level educated youth could be invited to participate in everyday pro-environmental behaviours. This paper also looks at what encourage them to take up the #30harimerdekaplastic challenge while some were reluctant to do so.

This study was part of the first author master's thesis research which aimed to to understand, explore and examine environmental pollution caused by the use of SUP in Indonesia and to conduct a pro-environmental action intervention. Data was collected through online surveys and online in-depth interviews. In addition, in August 2021, we conducted a small social media challenge (#30harimerdekaplastik) during which we both facilitated and participated in taking pro-environmental challenge. In the beginning, the research was mainly conducted online due to government-imposed social restriction in the middle of 2021. Nonetheless, in doing online research, the first author was able to both use maximize photos, transcript of interview's recording and social media interaction's screenshot as my data source.

Instagram is used by some people not only to keep in touch with their colleagues, or to sell something, but also to raise awareness of certain issues. Recently, environmental awareness content have become one of the important part of Instagram. This was confirmed when an online survey was distributed to respondents as part of this study. The majority of respondents knew that SUP had an environmental impact from social media. Not only being informative, social media indirectly encourages people to do something in responding to environmental issue by their campaign. Respondents who have filled out the online questionnaire were invited to take part in the #30harimerdekaplastik (#30daysfreeofplastics) challenge. Participants are invited to take small actions in response to SUP pollution by uploading photos and captions via WhatsApp Group (WAG) or Instagram for 30 full days.



**WhatsApp Group and Instagram: More Than An Interaction Space of #30harimerdekaplasti**

As many as 66.67% of participants<sup>16</sup> chose to share their stories through WAG, while the remaining chose to upload to Instagram either through feeds or in the form of Instagram stories. Achievement goals, features and space of the two platforms have different characteristics. Unexpectedly, WAG emerged as an appropriate and effective forum to promote pro-environmental action due to its public yet private nature rather than Instagram. These six components were formed because of the WAG that accommodated the participants

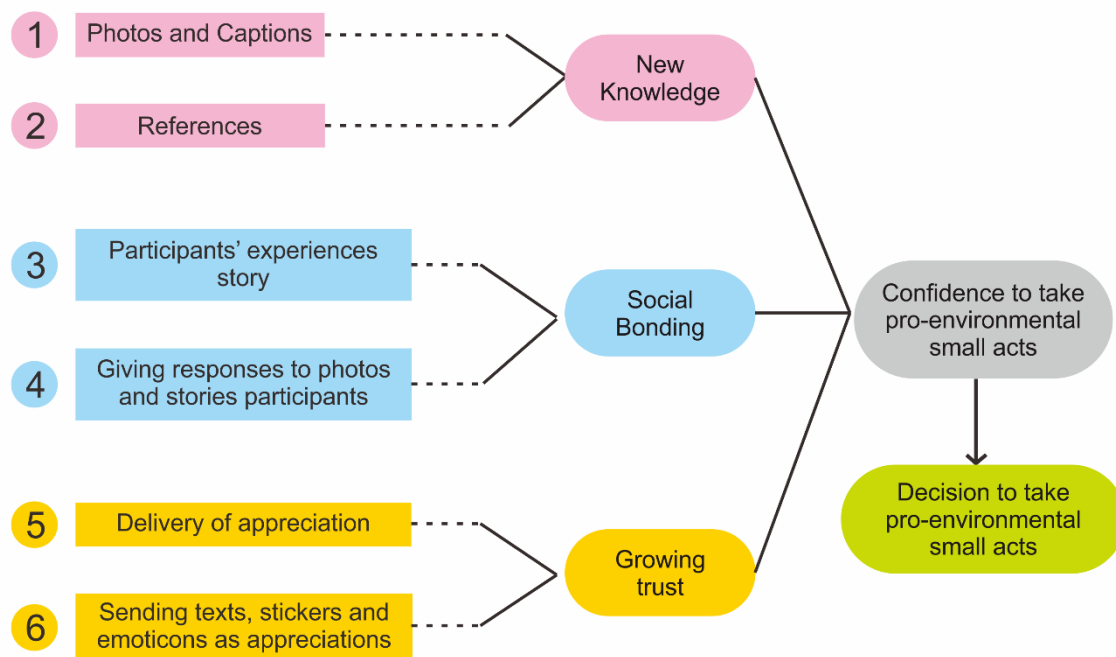


Chart 1. The Process of Participants in Taking Pro-environmental Small Acts

in their interactions and participation. In WAG, the participating participants share their actions in the form of uploaded photos along with stories written in text (1), as well as references shared by participants (2). The two components which are the participation of the participants are then absorbed as new knowledge, such as what tools are used and what methods are used to carry out other pro-environmental actions. Every uploaded photo that keeps popping up on WAG contains stories of participants' experiences that are submitted voluntarily (3). The third point is a form of interaction where the challenge participants do not know each other, but they respond to photos and stories's participants (4). If third and fourth points are carried out continuously, the interaction of participants will be stronger and indirectly build social connections that are increasingly related to each other. Interestingly, the conversation in WAG triggers participants to reward the struggle in carrying out their small actions by giving words of appreciation (5). Through support conveyed by words, stickers and character images (6) available on WhatsApp, participant interaction grows into a

<sup>16</sup> The online survey was conducted through Google Forms. The challenge was followed by 24 participants from 52 participants who filled the form.



belief that there are other people who are walking towards the same goal. From new knowledge, social bonding and trust between participants influenced their belief in pro-environmental behavior that brought goodness to the environment without any intimidation from any party. Photos and stories uploaded on WAG have a visible power to influence participants' decisions to believe, to decide and to conduct pro-environmental small acts.

### “Merdeka Plastik”: An Ethical Consumption Practice

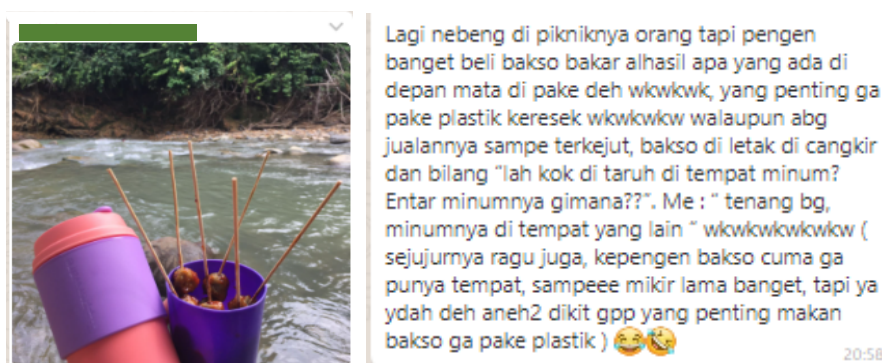


Figure 1. How to avoid plastic packaging when bought snack by Dinda.  
Source: WAG of #30harimerdekaplastik

The challenge of #30harimerdekaplastik triggers a sense of concern among participants for nature, living things and fellow human beings. Their care is shown in actions outside of everyday habits which shows a sense of environmental concern that goes beyond just feelings. Figure 1<sup>17</sup> represents an accurate picture of how ethical consumers do not only take moral consumption actions, but Dinda, as a participant, fights for her values in a way that she thinks is strange, astonishing the grilled meatball seller. Snacks placed in cups that should be used for drinks are a form of participant concern that breaks through Dinda's comfort. Dinda's thoughts on the potential of the SUP waste that she produced before buying the grilled meatballs were much considered compared to the practicality of the SUP which made it easier for Dinda. What the participants do is a form of prioritizing the interests of others; or called altruism, which is also the personal motive of their every small action. The pro-environmental behaviors in the challenges in this study are a form of ethical consumption that tends to side with the environment (Carrier & Luetchford, 2012).

### “Merdeka Plastik”: Expression of Consciousness of Choice

The meaning of ‘merdeka’ is emphasized on liberation from invisible chain. In this way, participants interpreted plastic lifestyle to be wise in using plastic. The words of ‘wise’ and ‘independent’ are referred to the intention of being free to choose with their respective consequences. In other words, the emphasis of the challenge is not limited to the issue of

<sup>17</sup> Translation: “I’m on a picnic. But I want to buy grilled meatball, then whatever in front of my eyes I use. Although the seller was surprised because the meatball is in my cup. And he said “Why do you use cup for the meatball?”. Me: “Calm down, I can drink in other cup”. Honestly, I am hesitant when I want to buy that snacks but I don’t have proper container. I think so long to consider it. Even it is quite strange, but the important is eating meatball without plastic.”

whether it is permissible or not; but to what consequences are borne when using or reducing the SUP. The uploaded photos were categorised into two behavioral patterns. First, participants attempted to reduce plastic use drastically with the intention of reducing the potential for SUP waste. This practice was evident in how some participants carry containers when shopping, refuse to use SUP, and reconsider to achieve their mission while shopping. The purpose of the first pattern is to emphasize the rate of 'reducing' the potential for SUP waste. In the second pattern, participants took action slowly by making prioritization that suits their situation. They tend to try a new habit which made them comfortable and reachable from their activity.

Finding for plastic waste solutions is important for today's plastic anthropology. "Merdeka plastik" challenge is one of the experimental studies in the form of a small-scale act as a way to contribute to plastic problem. The success of this challenge is not only in the practice of reducing plastic use and how to interpret 'freedom' for their choice to consume plastic, but also is in the interactions of participants in the WAG who collectively considered what it means to be an ethical consumer. In addition, #30harimerdekaplastic challenge was significant in the way it was carried out in an appreciative and non-threatening manner; so that the participants feel confident to take pro-environmental action.

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## The Antecedents of Zero Waste Behavior

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The growing behavior of consumerism is a contributor to piles of waste that damage the ecosystem. Long before the Covid-19 pandemic, the problem of waste had become one of the most complicated problems to solve, piles of waste were increasingly having a negative impact on the environment. People's activities are increasingly diverse and under the pretext of time efficiency, there are more single-use products that contribute to the accumulation of waste. The emergence of fast fashion producers that trigger the desire to continue to buy new clothes, so that in the end it will accumulate and become waste, exploration of natural resources that continues to be carried out to meet human needs, felling of trees to make room for infrastructure development results in climate change that threatens human life.

However, recently there has been a zero waste movement. Zero waste was originally a waste management concept which later became a solution to the waste problems that occurred (Zaman 2022). This behavior emphasizes the balance in the relationship between humans and nature and that humans must have an ecological awareness. This zero waste behavior was originally a concept applied by a number of large companies and several cities in the world such as Adelaide, San Francisco, and Vancouver. Zero waste concept is applied in their waste management system so as not to pollute the environment, and this is a form of awareness of the bad impacts caused by waste. -waste originating from the company's production process so that the zero waste concept is applied as a form of their responsibility to the environment. Zero waste behavior is also often associated with the concept of circular economy, which is a concept that applies waste processing by reducing, reusing, recycling, recovering energy and final disposal (Pires and Martino 2019). Zero waste behavior is considered appropriate in supporting the concept of circulation economy.

The topic of zero waste is a topic that is developing along with the development of human awareness of its relationship with the environment. Many studies on zero waste are associated with green behavior (Mainieri et al. 1997; Norton et al. 2017; Zhao et al. 2014) and green economics (Chin et al. 2018; Rex and Baumann 2007; Sutikno et al. ,2018). In addition, the topic of zero waste is also widely studied in relation to waste management strategies at the industrial and community scale (Zaman 2022; Lin dan Lin 2005; Lehmann 2011; Whitlock et al. 2007). Other studies deal with zero waste in relation to chemical waste treatment (Zucheti 2005; Zucheti dan Sugiyama 2006). However, attention to zero waste behavior with local wisdom and ecological awareness at the individual and household level is still limited. In addition, research on zero waste has never been studied using social learning theory

approached as proposed by Bandura (1978) which emphasizes acceptance of positive behavior and rejection of negative. This article fills this gap.

This study uses a qualitative approach with interview and observation as data collection techniques. The interview topics included source of information about zero waste, reasons and motivations for adopting zero waste behavior, significant change after adopting zero waste behavior and obstacles they experienced in adopting zero waste behavior. Observations were made virtually through participants' social media, to see how far they had adopted zero waste in their daily lives. The participants in this study were millennial generation, who were born between 1980 and 2000, who worked and lived in big cities (urban millennials), and who started to implement zero waste behavior. They were chosen because zero waste behavior is currently developing and popular among millennial urbanites and a number of zero waste influencers are mostly from the millennial generation.

Research findings indicate that zero waste behavior is a behavior that developed from the concept of waste management carried out by large companies. However, when adopted at the individual and household levels, this concept then turns into a behavior that is starting to be widely applied today by the millennial generation even though this behavior has been practiced by our ancestors since in the past.

The process of adopting zero waste behavior for early adopters (early adopter) pass through three stages of the social learning process, namely introduction, searching for information, and implementation. The majority of introduction phase occurs through social media (such as Instagram and Youtube). The stage of information search is carried out by finding out about waste and its impact on the environment as well as about zero waste itself. At this stage, ecological awareness is increasing. At the implementation stage, they begin to apply zero waste behavior in their daily lives and knowledge and understanding of local wisdom play a role in this stage because they follow the hereditary teachings that applied in their culture. This process shows the occurrence of a learning process in a social environment that is intertwined with the stages of social learning proposed by Bandura (1978). However, with the development and changing times, these behaviors have been eroded because they are considered inefficient and tend not to be modern, so these habits begin to shift, be abandoned, and forgotten.

Now they are back to basics by implementing zero waste behavior, starting from bringing shopping baskets to traditional or modern markets, using cloth sanitary napkins for menstruating women, using baby cloth diapers instead of disposable diapers, drying wet faces with towels instead of tissue, minimizing single-use plastics (such as bringing a tumbler for drinking water, using a tumbler when buying coffee and bringing a container when buying food). They also began to reduce purchases of fast fashion and prefer to buy clothes, shoes, and bags that they can wear in the long term. In this context, women are more adaptable in

implementing this behavior than men. This is because women tend to be accustomed to various kinds of activities that are quite time-consuming than men. In addition, women consider that although zero waste behavior is not efficient, implementing this behavior will have a good long-term impact on their lives and their families. Meanwhile, men prefer simplicity in carrying out their daily activities.

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### Plastic waste burning: Politics of responsibility and the moral economy of plastic waste in peri-urban Jakarta

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Anthropological studies have shown that the management of plastic waste at the local level is much more complicated and varied than the environmentalist framework of global and national plastic governance. However, more research is needed to understand how plastic waste is managed and how open burning practices are carried out by communities. This is particularly important in the context of decentralized Indonesia, where the responsibility for waste management has largely been transferred to the local level. The management of plastic waste and open burning practices are embedded in local social, political, and economic relations. Drawing on the concepts of the politics of responsibility and the moral economy of plastic waste, this article seeks to capture the different ways communities manage plastic waste. I argue that community responses to managing plastic waste are driven by the moral notion of being good responsible citizens and the economic value of plastic waste within the context of decentralized responsibility. This article is based on an ethnographic study conducted in three communities in the peri-urban areas of Jakarta.

### Interrogating Blame in the Plastic Discourse in the Philippines

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The Philippines rank as the third country in the world that generates the most plastic waste and contributes the largest amount of global plastic waste to the world's oceans (Jambeck et al. 2015). Plastic has become the ubiquitous material that marks contemporary modern convenience. It has to some extent become "incorporated into the commonsense way we interpret, live in, and understand the world" (Harvey 2007)—informing how we understand the materiality of hygiene, durability, and convenience. Drawing from exploratory fieldwork in the Philippines and engaging debates about plastic control, this presentation attempts to make sense of plastic practices and blaming among Filipinos. The presentation calls attention to the local that is increasingly entrenched in a global system of production and consumption characterized by increasing desire and reliance on things that is often captured in the trope of the tragedy of the commons, obfuscating systemic drivers and inequalities in waste plastic production.



## Capitalocene: Dependence on Plastics in Fast-Moving Consumer Goods as Adaptation, Rational Choice, and the Power of Capitalism

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This study discusses the cheapening that occurs in the capitalocene through infrastructure, structures, and superstructures, especially regarding FMCG plastic waste in the BSI Blok H Housing. The method used uses participant observation and in-depth interviews involving the head of the RT, housewives, first residents in the neighborhood. In this case, employees of UPS Duren Seribu, employees of plastic recycling factories, plastic shops, scavengers, collectors, and several FMCG companies as actors who play a role in organizing community plastic at the Bumi Sawangan Indah Housing 2. Cheapening that destroys nature and continues to be supported by capitalism and the bourgeoisie creates entanglement between many stakeholders, between the many atoms that make up plastic itself, thoughts about waste and plastic waste, and the value of plastic as an object that often changes psychologically to support the process of production, consumption, disposal, retrieval, and destruction. The conclusion is that the present era where there is a lot of damage to nature, including the threat of plastic pollution and its misuse, is not called the Anthropocene where humans are considered to have great power and abuse nature. Here the fault lies not in the species (humans), but in the system (capitalism). So that the misuse of plastic as a cheap and durable material is caused by capitalism.

## Plastic Governance in the Age of the Plasticene: An Anthropological Critique of New Waste Management Policy in Indonesia

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Given the heterogeneity, tonnage and toxicity of modern waste, 'a strong case can be made for waste as the signature of the Anthropocene' (Hird 2017: 243). Even though it is both organic and inorganic waste that contribute to the transition to this new planetary epoch, it is the chemical composition, durability and omnipresence of plastics that make some scholars designate our age as the Plasticene. This paper expands the meaning of this coinage to include not only our plastic footprint and its impact on both people and the environment, but also the pliability of the world and our understanding of it, as is evident in the semiotic suppleness, crucial to contemporary waste management regimes, where waste can be seen as both a problem and an opportunity. This ambiguity shows that our modern waste is not only difficult to handle, but also difficult to define. Like other material expressions of the Anthropocene, our modern waste exceeds the scale of any technopolitical discourse. This is especially so in



Indonesia – the world’s second-biggest contributor to marine plastic pollution (Jambeck *et al.* 2015) – where the majority of people have no access to basic waste collection services (The World Bank 2019). To tackle the dual crisis of waste and reputation, in 2017 the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has introduced a new waste management policy on household and household-like waste. The aim of this policy is to reduce by 30 per cent the total annual production of waste by 2025 and to handle the remaining 70 per cent (*PerPres* No. 97/2017). Relying on the construction of crisis and on the economic value of waste, the policy defines waste as both a problem and an opportunity. Drawing on ethnographic data derived from a fieldwork conducted on the island of Sumbawa in 2019-2020, this paper examines how different policy actors negotiate and make sense of this ambiguity. In particular, the paper highlights the unintended consequences, rebound effects and inequalities that arise from the alchemic-like ambition to turn plastic waste into a resource.

### Concepts, Perceptions, and Daily Activities for Handling Plastic Waste on the Jakarta Bay Coast (Case Study of Jakarta Bay Coastal Communities in Kamal Muara, North Jakarta, DKI Jakarta)

*Widya Safitri*

The problem of plastic waste is an important focus of study because plastic waste contributes 15% to the total national waste production and is the second largest contributor after organic waste. National waste production shows an increasing trend in line with economic growth and an increase in population. Indonesia is the second country that produces plastic waste dumped into the sea, after China with 0.52 kg of waste/person/day or the equivalent of 3.22 MMT/year. This paper aims to provide an overview of the concepts, perceptions and daily activities of coastal communities related to plastic waste. The case study taken is the Jakarta Bay coastal community in Kamal Muara, North Jakarta, DKI Jakarta. The coast of Jakarta Bay is downstream of 13 rivers originating not only from Jakarta, but also from Bogor, Puncak and Cianjur (Bopunjur), so that plastic waste that flows through 13 rivers can end up on the coast of Jakarta Bay which is a living space for coastal communities and becomes attractive for people to live in. study it. Research in Kamal Muara has been carried out from 2009 to 2022 (currently). The research method used is the ethnographic method which aims to provide a comprehensive picture of waste management and problems on the coast with the aim of contributing to the completion of the current handling of plastic waste. The results showed that the Jakarta Bay coast is one of the settlements where there are piles of plastic waste along the settlement. The concept of waste, which is waste that can interfere with the aesthetics of settlements, is in fact a daily scene in settlements where people are very dependent on the marine and fishery economy. For coastal communities, the concept of plastic waste can be divided into two, firstly plastic waste in the form of bottles and other containers, secondly plastic waste in the form of non-bottles and containers. Public

perception about plastic waste is that plastic waste is waste that can be used as material to earn money by reselling it. The daily handling of plastic waste can be seen from the availability of shelters in the form of sacks or blanks in front of the house. The sacks or blanks are separated between organic waste and plastic waste in the form of bottles and other plastic containers. The organic and non-plastic waste is usually picked up by the cleaners every two days. Plastic waste in bottles and other containers is managed in two ways, the first is taken by direct buyers and the second is delivered to the shelter where the plastic waste is purchased. The method of purchasing the plastic waste is by weighing it at a price of Rp. 2000.00 per kilogram. In reality, not everyone in the coastal community in Kamal Muara treats plastic waste the same way. This is a challenge in the management of plastic waste on the coast of Jakarta Bay because plastic waste causes problems not for humans but also for ecosystems and disturbances only for living things in the sea.

### 5 R (Ratulangi, Rakurangi, Rapake Panjili, Raolah Panjili, Ratukara, Ratolak): Plastic Waste Reduction Movement in Central Sulawesi (Challenges Faced by Residents and Mobility Planners)

*Yulianti Bakari, Hasrinando Saputra L.*

*Universitas Tadulako*

This paper analyzes the obstacles and challenges faced by residents and mobility planners in campaigning for plastic waste reduction behavior through the 5 R (*Ratulangi, Rakurangi, Rapake Panjili, Raolah Panjili, Ratukara, Ratolak*). Reducing plastic waste is a new thing for people in Central Sulawesi because it is still influenced by old habits in waste management, namely the behavior of littering, burning or stockpiling. This study used the following key methods: observation, field notes, in-depth interviews and FGDs. The results show that the problem of handling plastic waste through 5R is conditional, meaning that it is very dependent on the socio-cultural conditions of the region. In conclusion, based on the phenomena obtained, waste management interventions are actually carried out contextually by paying attention to the unique character of each region



## PANEL 10. PURSUIT OF LEISURE: REFLECTIONS, ACTIVITIES, AND MEANING OF LEISURE DURING PANDEMIC COVID-19

### Love is in the app: Frustration over Online Dating during Pandemic Covid-19

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Pandemic Covid-19 had taken physical social spaces for people to interact. As March 2020, Indonesia imposed social restriction to contain the spread of virus by limiting physical activity on public spaces (BBC Indonesia, 2020). As workplaces, schools, and entertainment venues closed, home became a place for both work and leisure. In Jakarta, school and workplace were implementing distance learning/working through various digital medium through Jakarta Governor Regulation. Video conference apps and chat-based apps became the main medium for communication as many synchronous and asynchronous activity happened inside those apps.

People has experienced online fatigueness or popular as Zoom fatigue from continuous online communication (Shoshan et al., 2022). The abrupt, forced, and continuous shift from physical, face-to-face communication to computer-mediated communication caused frustration in adapting to peculiar medium (Psychology Today, 2020). This happened as online media has become the only way to communicate to virtually everyone. During days, formal and routine activities including working and studying happened online. At night, informal activity such as leisure also happened online through various online medium, including video conference and digital apps.

While online work/school has suffered people during day time, people also felt frustrated over their past times. As every public places were restricted and entertainment venues were closed, people had to leisuring themselves through another peculiar digital medium. Dating is one the signature leisure for youth, especially on their coming-of-age. Dating gives youth opportunity to explore their personal identity, meet and connect with new people, and experience romantic connection and relationship. Many venues is a possible dating sites, however dating is an in-person, face-to-face activity.

Luckily, online dating is one of the well-known type of leisure young adult enjoy. Before pandemic, online dating has been a popular matchmaking media. Popular online dating platform such as Tinder and Bumble connect its user to their approximate geolocation through 'swiping' people's profile. As 2020, online dating has gained significant increase of user. Estimated over 57% Indonesian use Tinder as of September 2020 (Rakuten Insight, 2020). In February 2021 through *The Future of Dating is Fluid* report, Tinder considered 2020

as their busiest year as Tinder's engagement and activity grew significantly throughout the year with 11% more Swipes and 42% more matches per Tinder member worldwide.

This paper will explore the dynamic of dating for Jakarta youth during pandemic Covid-19 between 2020 until 2021. We will focus on dating as social leisure and part of coming-of-age signature to young adolescent in Jakarta Capital Region during pandemic. For long, dating is considered in-person activity, done in public venue. While online dating complement the experience of searching for dates, dating has never been considered as fully online activity. We will look over how ambivalence dating has become when online dating apps mediate dating during 2020-2021 Covid-19 pandemic. There are several online dating apps will be discussed in this paper, Tinder and Bumble as the main dating apps. Additional online dating apps exclusively for gay and lesbian such as Grindr and Her will also be discussed.

To understand this dating dynamic during pandemic, this paper will compare experience from youth ranging from age 19-25 who participate in dating scene during pandemic. This paper is based on writer's reflection on looking for a date in mentioned time and dating apps. Reflected experience is compared with other 5 people from spectrum of sexuality and gender identity.

The leisure of dating for youth are faced by abrupt and forced shift to the reliance of online dating creates ambivalence of dating as leisure. Pandemic has taken many public venues for youths dating, such as entertainment venues, public places, and college campus. Young adults left with online dating apps as an abrupt and forced medium shift to computer-mediated media. We will discuss this ambivalence exploring how dating happened before pandemic. Then, we continue to how it's done during pandemic. We explore each of their experience; difference, expectation, and strategy to keep on looking for dates during lockdown and online media shift. Next, we will talk about the online dating apps. Tinder and Bumble are two main dating apps used in Jakarta. Additionally, Grindr and Her are also discussed as two of exclusive dating apps for gay and lesbian, respectively. We discuss how do they find out the app, their experience using the app for the first time and their experience using during pandemic, how hard it is to find potential match in each apps, and their perception of each apps. To find out whether love *is* in the app, we reflect on their experience of dating during pandemic; was it worth it and what did they learn from the overall dating journey.

Pandemic *does* shift how young adults in Jakarta perceive dating as leisure. Abrupt and force shift to online media changed the built pattern of dating. Comparing to dating before and during pandemic, dating is an online-offline interaction. Looking for matches and building mutual relation generally happens online through messenger apps, social media, and dating apps. When the relation is mutual, the next step of dating are meet-ups on public spaces and entertainment venues. The first meet-ups is an important step whether the relationship is continued to build more mutual and intimate. The pattern continue as communication

through online media intensify and meet-ups are turned into date nights. Pandemic abrupt this general pattern of dating by shifting the in-person interaction to virtual interaction. This change of pattern cause another online fatigue as dating activity stuck on swiping on profiles and endless chatting. Eventually, new video call feature and mini games were added on Tinder and Bumble to add another excitement during chatting and increase conversation engagement. However, these are not quite helpful as the conversation to begin with were too dull to develop into engaging interaction. All dating apps mentioned cannot replace spontaneous and physical character in-person interaction such as meet-ups and hangouts.

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## "We Will Always Find A Way": Supporting Persebaya And Strengthening Solidarity In Pandemic Time

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The Covid-19 pandemic has changed many habits and rules made by humans. These changes occur in almost every element of everyday life, one of which is recreational activities. Football is known as the most popular sport in the world, as well as in Indonesia. After the temporary suspension of the uncontrolled pandemic, Liga 1 2021/2022 was officially permitted to run from 27 August 2021 to 31 March 2022. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this most popular sport was also affected, especially concerning the new temporary rules involving supporters not allowed to attend the stadium. In pre-pandemic conditions, matches held at stadiums were never separated from the presence of solid supporters. In addition, football matches are also an attempt by supporters to meet each other. Bonek is the name for the supporters of a football club located in Surabaya, namely Persebaya Surabaya and known as one of the most prominent supporters in Indonesia because it is not only spread in the Surabaya Raya area. The activities of football supporters are certainly not limited to inside the stadium when supporting a proud club, but also when gathering with only fellow community members. However, these habits have changed due to the crowd restrictions by the Indonesian government. This study aimed to identify a new way that Bonek did in supporting the Persebaya even though they were not allowed to be present in the stadium. This study used ethnographic approaches, such as participatory observation on selected events and in-depth interviews. The data taken came from the Bonek community domiciled outside the city of Surabaya, namely the Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen. This research shows that although Bonek were not allowed to attend the stadium due to crowd restrictions, efforts to support Persebaya were made through *nonton bareng*, which was held at the base camp or culinary centre that can accommodate many people. The statement that was always said is that even though it was limited, gathering with fellow Bonek must always be done because only face-to-face meetings can strengthen the solidarity of a group.

Sport has become one of the most popular activities among people today. In sports, there are two important elements that deserve attention, namely athletes and spectators. Athletes make sporting activities a profession that can sustain their lives, while spectators are not directly involved with sports games but have different roles. The presence of sports in human life also affects the social life of a society involved. Football supporters go through a variety of individual and group emotions in relation to their teams (Shakina et al., 2020). As leisure activities, sports are unique with all their own characteristics that involve many aspects of socio-cultural life. According to Sheard et al (1996) sport has a function to see or reflect certain cultural values. The Covid-19 pandemic has changed many habits and rules made by humans. These changes occur in almost every element of everyday life, one of which is recreational activities. Football is known as the most popular sport in the world, as well as in Indonesia. After the temporary suspension of the uncontrolled pandemic, Liga 1 2021/2022 was officially permitted to run from 27 August 2021 to 31 March 2022. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this most popular sport was also affected, especially concerning the new temporary rules involving supporters not allowed to attend the stadium. In pre-pandemic conditions, matches held at stadiums were never separated from the presence of solid supporters. In addition, football matches are also an attempt by supporters to meet each other. Bonek is the name for the supporters of a football club located in Surabaya, namely Persebaya Surabaya and known as one of the most prominent supporters in Indonesia because it is not only spread in the Surabaya Raya area. The activities of football supporters are certainly not limited to inside the stadium when supporting a proud club, but also when gathering with only fellow community members. However, these habits have changed due to the crowd restrictions by the Indonesian government. The presence of sports in human life also affects the social life of a society involved.

This study aimed to identify a new way that Bonek did in supporting the Persebaya even though they were not allowed to be present in the stadium. This study used ethnographic approaches, such as participatory observation on selected days when the communities selected held *nonton bareng* during Liga 2021/2022 that was started from 27 August 2021 to 31 March and in-depth interviews in. The data taken came from the Bonek community domiciled outside the city of Surabaya, namely the Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen.

Football supporters are often named the 12th player whose role must also be considered. As supporters, of course, supporters can provide support and control the pressure on the club. This can happen inside or outside the stadium. However, such things could not happen during the Covid-19 pandemic, which requires people's movement to be restricted. This limitation was felt by almost all supporters of football clubs whose countries implemented crowd-restriction policies so that a new policy emerged regarding the prohibition of coming to stadiums. The football competition (Liga 1) for the 2021/2022 season was held with a new regulation: one season behind close doors. Of course, this new policy changed the way club



supporters relate to their habits, role, and function as supporters. If previously the competition format was home-away, the 2021/2022 Liga 1 competition was held with a bubble system, concentrating the competition in stadiums that the federation had selected. During the competition, numerous areas were designated to hold matches, namely Jabodetabek, D.I.Y-Central Java, and Bali. This format was entirely new and profoundly changed the way supporters support and maximize efforts to maintain a bond with the club they support.

The new regulations applied in the League competition during the pandemic also had an impact on supporters of football clubs in Indonesia. *Bonek* is known as supporters of a football club from Surabaya, namely Persebaya, which is known to have a large support base in Indonesia, was also affected by this new policy. Habits such as coming to the stadium and traveling away days also must be abandoned temporarily. The intensity of the meetings between players and supporters was also reduced very massively, and this became one of the new problems related to the bond between supporters and clubs. One of the new ways to support supported clubs is to *nonton bareng* with community members as done by the *Bonek* communities such as Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen. Despite experiencing limitations to support directly in the stadium, *nonton bareng* was the best choice during the Covid-19 pandemic.

*"Before the Covid-19 pandemic, we did a lot of away day trips to support Persebaya, but at this time, this is not possible because of the new policy. Nonton bareng is one of the best efforts to maintain emotional bonds with the club, especially nonton bareng is completed with another Bonek who also expect the same feedback."*

(The coordinator of Bonek Klaten, 2022)

Bonek Boyolali community also experienced similar limitations. Bonek Boyolali community members thought this new policy was unusual for supporters who usually supported the club directly inside the stadium. However, *nonton bareng* was considered to be a moment to strengthen relationship relations with members of the Boyolali Bonek community even with Bonek who come from outside Boyolali.

*"It is quite different from usual; we cannot follow Persebaya and support directly in the stadium. It is strange to be suddenly forced not to get together, but Persebaya had united us for a long time, and this relationship must be maintained. Nonton bareng might be a temporary solution because we are all in the same situation, and asking each other about current condition also feels necessary; maybe some friends are having difficulties during the pandemic and need help."*

(The coordinator of Bonek Boyolali, 2022)

The Covid-19 pandemic provides many new perspectives on social life, one of which is daily conversations. Of course, football fans are not limited to just meeting in the stadium. However, the new regulation on pandemic conditions that does not allow people to come to the stadium have created a new problem. Bonek Sragen community, who also felt this change, then made *nonton bareng* into a moment to strengthen community solidarity and talk about past experiences related to football and Persebaya.

*"The pandemic has forced everyone to get used to new things, including resisting the urge to support Persebaya directly in the stadium. We are here as a community that Persebaya unites. Like a community in general, solidarity must be maintained because this does not only concern Persebaya and us but can be a real action to help others in need. For now, like it or not, nonton bareng is the best solution; even though we cannot support Persebaya directly, we can all get together so we can stay sane during this horrible pandemic."*

(The coordinator of Bonek Sragen, 2022)

The Covid-19 pandemic has led to changes to football's general rules, including restrictions on supporting clubs inside stadiums. These restrictions did not make the community of supporters of Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen stop or abandon their habit of supporting Persebaya; it was just that a new way must be done to maintain the feelings and emotions that existed between supporters and the club. Giulianotti (2002) in his research on football spectators, created a taxonomy based on two binary oppositions, namely hot-cool and traditional-consumer. Based on these two binary oppositions, there are four quadrants of spectator classification: traditional/hot, traditional/cool, consumer/hot, and consumer/cool. Traditional spectators will have a longer-term cultural identification with the club, while consumer fans will have a more market-centered relationship to the club, based on their focus on consuming club products. Hot forms of loyalty emphasize passionate dedication to the club; cool forms denote a more detached attitude.

In the context of a new way to support and feel close to the club during the Covid-19 pandemic situation, the idea of holding *nonton bareng* arose because of a strong emotional bond which, according to Giulianotti (2002), is part of the way to demonstrate support for the club in its various forms and it is considered obligatory, because the individual has a relationship with the club. It is similar to those who have close relatives and friends.

In addition to a meeting when held *nonton bareng* to maintain feelings and emotions between the groups and the club they support, the meeting was also used to strengthen good relations between community members. As a community based on the same passion, (Persebaya and living in the same area), Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen communities are aware that the Covid-19 pandemic should not be a barrier to strengthening relationships within the community. While the hot forms of loyalty emphasize intense

identification and solidarity with the club, the cool forms show the opposite (Giulianotti, 2002). Research on the application of quarantine by Brooks et al. (2020) reveals that quarantine is unsuitable for human psychological health. The meeting held by Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen in the form of *nonton bareng* is one of the efforts to save their mental health during the pandemic. So, the sense of solidarity between members can be felt more because they are both in a similar situation.

This research shows that although Bonek were not allowed to attend the stadium due to crowd restrictions, efforts to support Persebaya were made through *nonton bareng*, which was held at the base camp or culinary centre that can accommodate many people. The statement that was always said is that even though it was limited, gathering with fellow Bonek must always be done because only face-to-face meetings can strengthen the solidarity of a group.

The meeting is not only to maintain emotional bonds with supported clubs, but in a pandemic situation, it can also be beneficial for the psychological health who is disturbed due to sudden changes such as quarantine, salary cuts, to job losses. So, the moment of *nonton bareng* in a pandemic situation is one of the most awaited moments for members who experience these changes. It is from gathering and sharing stories that the sense of solidarity becomes more potent and longer lasting.

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## Culture Transformation in Information Technology Industry during Pandemic

Bambang Suprijanto

This paper discusses the need to rethink the notion of work and leisure, analysis of everyday practices to earn a living, build a future, and adaptation work and leisure. We do our job not in the office, but in everywhere, every time, no different are we doing our jobs or make it time to leisure. During pandemic work from home and going somewhere it's leisure, but the other side, some worker done their job while going somewhere, mostly in outdoor café or anywhere, place with good internet connection or tethering. We argue there is some transformation during the pandemic era, doing the job while social relation with other, no routine and no leisure, on surface we all see it's work together, but deep insight we consider there is transformation in many area, how the modern human define they leisure and work, cause some people define work and leisure working together.

### Economic Subjectivity and Symmetrical of Economy in Badminton Bubble System, The Pursuit of Leisure

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Pursuit the leisure time is the words that motivated the Indonesian Badminton Festival held by World Badminton Federation (BWF) and Indonesian Badminton (PBSI) Unity in Nusa Dua Bali on 16 November to 5 Desember 2021 was the three consecutive tournaments to substitute the two delayed, Indonesia Master and Indonesia Open that should be run on June 2020 for Indonesia Open, and January 2020 for Indonesia Master 2021. Because the tournament was scheduled at the end of the year 2021, BWF choosed to do the World Tour FInal 2021 also in Nusa Dua Bali, Indonesia. The consecutive international tournament held in a country with the bubble system aimed to still implement the event as leisure activity while to prevent the contagion of Covid19, the pandemic virus Covid Sars that have affected all of life. The bubble system was a success in Thailand, and BWF thought it was the best way to remain organizing the badminton tournament in the forced major condition, because the cancellation in 2020 has been unbeneficial to many parties including the athletes. Bali was a considerable alternative due to the impact of the ruins of tourism business. Uniquely, although there was no spectators participation in the Indonesian Badminton Festival, there was an unexpected occurrence from Indonesia's badminton fans. They sent many gifts to almost all the players they loved bought from many shops in Bali and using package deliverer. Just a while, the committee with the sponsors affirmed that the gifts should be a certain gift bought from several shops from the sponsor. To see this phenomena of economics, the shifting from mode of gift to the mode of capitalism from the spontaneous actions was part of the operation of the market that reached the interests. However, the next unexpected event that was unseen and uncontrollable from the eye of capitalism from the sport domain, when the athletes gave each other gifts showed how the economics of gift and economy of capital is the kind of economic subjectivity. This paper will discuss the hybridity of the two economic modes in the case of the bubble system in the Indonesian Badminton Festival.

Based on my observation through social media, through which I did corresponding relationships from the digital world when I as a researcher was being participant observer myself everyday in the online platform with several social medias. I collected many photos of athletes and the gifts, read the news from fansbase accounts , as well as noticed the news from the committee, public relation release to know the phenomena of take and give. I joined in the discussion and many comments of the occurrences and I wrote some notes. I will explain the data with the concept of subjectivity economy and the symmetrical economy. The result shows that although the sport is dominated by capitalism, it is possible to shift the mode of calculation to the mode of gift and conversely. Discovering the terra incognita in the relation of triadic in the sport can absolve the confinement of the views that sport always glorify capitalism.

### Exploring the Choice of Identity during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Social Media

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The massive outbreak of Covid-19 has forced people to keep their distance from each other. In Indonesia, #dirumahaja became a social campaign that encourages all Indonesians to stay at home and be productive from home. Home which had only been perceived as a space for shelter and rest has become a place of production as well as leisure for its residents. Working activities, school, hobbies, and even leisure, had to be done at home during the pandemic. As a result, new phenomena have emerged in the home, such as how a living room became a classroom for kids, the dining table turn into a work desk occasionally, to the increasing variety of cooking activities at home (Lidwina, 2020). In this research, we look into the cooking activities carried out by several informants in their houses during the Covid-19 pandemic. For instance, how several informants have explored the creativity of food making, experimenting various cooking techniques through multiple technological applications, as well as the emergence of new interactions between social media users in discussing multiple activities and the meaning of cooking. This research examines the everyday life of eight informants in conducting cooking activities at home and explores their efforts to express their efforts on social media channels. We argue that cooking at home is not only an activity to fulfill daily primary needs in the pandemic era, but also a medium to have and make various choices, such as determining and constructing the identity of each informant, to building small groups in the community through social media.

### Ora Obah Ora Mamah: The Phenomenon of Professional Migration During the New Normal

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The existence of social restrictions at the time of the new normal has changed many lines of people's way of life. The suggestion to keep working from home caused some conventional workers to panic. Many factory workers were forced to be laid off early because factories had closed production and many entrepreneurs were unwilling to lose. The term Ora Obah, Ora Mamah is a Javanese proverb that means if you don't move, you don't eat. Ora Obah, Ora Mamah is an adage that reflects the community's adaptation strategy in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. Workers who migrate and return to their hometowns can then survive by migrating professions. This study aims to identify the phenomenon of professional migration in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic crisis and emphasize that Javanese proverbs are still very relevant. This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method, with library research techniques. The approach used in this research is anthropolinguistics by linking it to local knowledge (local or indigenous knowledge) and cultural norms and values that can be used to overcome the problems faced by the community.



## PANEL 11. RELIGION AND GLOBAL ISSUES

### Forgotten Sri: Ritual Model Of Fertility Of Sundanese Local Community At Kasepuhan Banten Kidul

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Fertility rituals through the worship of *Dewi Sri* show aspects of local culture that different in every place. The worship tradition in South Banten is known as the Seren Taun ritual, namely the tribute to Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri. The conceptions, symbols, and meanings of these ritual practices have not changed, respect for the earth through symbols in traditional ceremonies related to agricultural activities. In the study to examine the meaning of the ritual symbols of Seren Taun using a qualitative method approach with a descriptive-ethnographic approach. The Model of Symbol Ritual (MSR) was used to analyze more deeply the meaning of the symbols contained in the Seren Taun ritual's of the Kasepuhan community which is the focus of this research study, especially in Kasepuhan Cisungsang, Cibeber District, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. The Seren Taun ritual's carried out by the community of Kasepuhan Cisungsang in South Banten is basically conducted repeatedly to develop social life with symbols in a ritual. Through these ritual, crises and problems can be resolved in order to ensure the harmony of life by supported community. Based on Turner's theory of social drama (1957) and the Model of Symbol Ritual Fertility (MSRF), it can be observed that there is guide that binds the entire Kasepuhan indigenous community so that they are united in solving crises and problems in the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul indigenous community by preserving the teachings (pikukuh) of the Sunda Wiwitan.

For the community where based on agrarian culture, particularly in Java and Bali, in order to maintain soil fertility and get abundantly harvests, rituals or ceremonies are carried out to tribute to Dewi Sri. The performance of rituals after harvest, both post-harvesting in the fields and huma in Sundanese local community in West Java, there is the usual called Seren Taun ritual's. The ritual starts from tilling the land starting from preparing the land for planting until putting rice into the barn. In general, the community comes to the customary leader while bringing agricultural or livestock products the day before the ritual was held (Nastiti, 2017: 7-8). The tradition of worshiping ancestral spirits in South Banten is carried out once a year in



that community, the community holds the Seren Taun ritual, to tribute to Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri or known as Dewi Sri.

This study aims to examine the meaning of the symbols of the Sedekah Bumi rituals, especially the Seren Taun ritual's in the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community in Kasepuhan Cisungsang, Cibeber District, Lebak Regency, West Java Province. The formation of the identity of the Kasepuhan Cisungsang local community can be seen from the ritual procession which is still carried out by the Kasepuhan local community. Cosmologically, the local community of Kasepuhan obey to the teachings of their ancestors (*karuhun*). The basic essence of the *karuhun* teachings is actually part of the Sunda Wiwitan belief. These contains values are of customary unity, respect, tolerance, and gratitude.

Kasepuhan Banten Kidul community in Kasepuhan Cisungsang, although they encounter the process of assimilation and modernization, they still maintain traditional values that have been passed down from generation to generation through their cultural practices. By the Ritual Symbol Model (MSR) approach can be expected to be able to thoroughly explain the role of rituals and symbols in the Sedekah Bumi or Seren Taun ritual's especially in the community life of the Kasepuhan Cisungsang in South Banten.

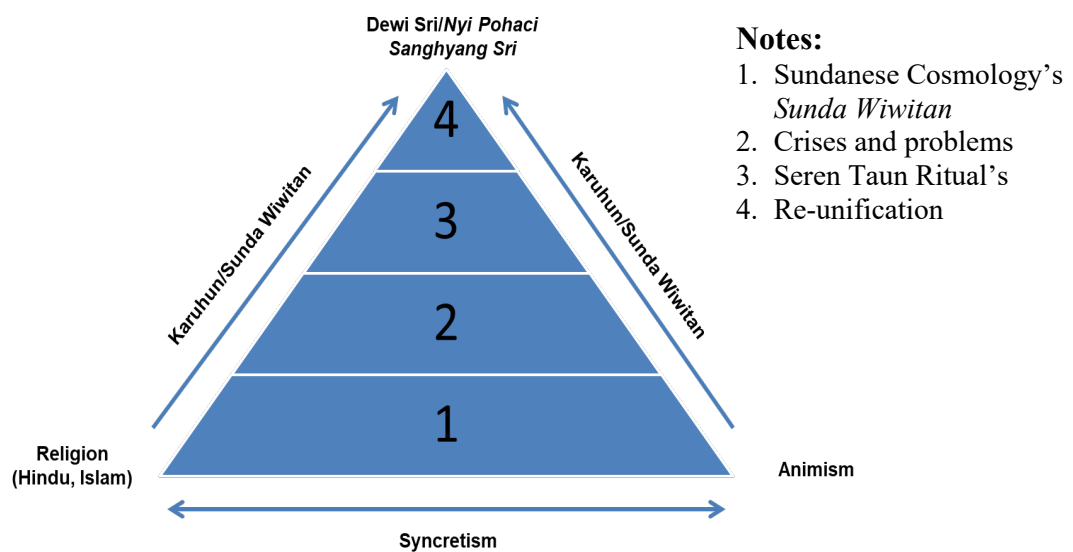
In the study to examine the meaning of the ritual symbols of Seren Taun, this research uses a qualitative method approach with a descriptive-ethnographic approach. Qualitative data are texts, writings, phrases, or symbols that describe or represent people, activities, or events in social life (Neuman, 1997: 418). Qualitative research was conducted to determine public perception. Descriptive is intended for careful measurement of a certain social phenomenon (Singarimbun and Effendi, 1989: 4).

Kasepuhan Banten Kidul is an indigenous community in West Java who still practice the Sunda Wiwitan belief. Kasepuhan community spread from Bogor, Sukabumi, and Banten. One of the Kasepuhan who carried out the Seren Taun ritual's was Kasepuhan Cisungsang in Lebak Regency, Banten Province. In the performance of the Seren Taun ritual's there are types of symbols used by the Kasepuhan local community throughout the ritual implementation. The Seren Taun ritual processes involve various elements of the Kasepuhan local community, which is the final part of the agricultural cycle rituals. The provision of offerings and foods was offered to *Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri*. This study discusses the types of symbols in the Seren Taun ritual's of the Kasepuhan local community such as *Rerujakan*, in addition to rice and side dishes there are several things that must be present, *rerujakan* are seven kinds of water prepared as one of the ritual tools containing *Kopi Pahit*, *Kopi Manis*, *Rujak Kelapa*, *Rujak Cau Emas*, *Cai Herang*, *Air Putih*, and *Rujak Kue*. In addition to *rerujakan*, there are *bubur bereum* dan *bubur bodas*, *lempah bereum*, *lempah bodas*, which is porridge rice. *Beureum* or red means being brave to choose the right choice, *bodas* or white means we must be sincere.

The analysis of symbols and its meaning in the Seren Taun ritual's of the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul local community using the Fertility Symbol Ritual Model (MRSK) used to analyze more deeply meaning of the symbols that contained in the Seren Taun ritual's of the Kasepuhan local community which is the focus of this research study, especially in Kasepuhan Cisungsang, Cibeber District, Lebak Regency, Banten Province. Rituals are often interpreted broadly in their scope through the study of social and cultural anthropology. Rituals in a cultural context are often associated with their function in realizing balance, social values of the community and explaining the cosmology of the supporting community.

Rituals in the anthropological research view tend to be interpreted as religious behavior in the context of understanding the context of belief systems and religion for simple people. The context of this research on religion and ritual was then developed in Sundanese culture, especially the Seren Taun ritual's of the Kasepuhan of Banten Kidul local community. Based on studies of the Kasepuhan community, especially the Seren Taun traditional ceremony, Seren Taun is an expression of emotions, feelings, and moral values wrapped in tradition and religion.

This study uses the ritual theory pioneered by Turner (1957). This theory is used as the basis for research on the Seren Taun ritual's carried out by Kasepuhan Cisungsang local community in South Banten. Since symbols are the main instrument for solidarity, they are regulated, instruments or tools used by community to achieve certain goals, i.e. the reproduction of social order. The use of symbols is considered important for a ritual event and the study of ritual symbols does not have to focus on which symbols are used, but it is equally important to examine the reciprocal relations of these symbols and their meanings. A symbol is something that is considered, by mutual agreement, as something that gives nature or represents or recalls by having the same quality or by imagining it in reality or thought.



Ritual Symbol Model of Fertility (MSRF) of *Seren Taun* Ritual's at Kasepuhan Cisungsang, Banten Kidul (Source: adapted from Turner, 1957 and Magiman, 2012)

Thus, there are four main concepts in the rituals contained in the seren taun ritual's, that are: (1) tension or conflict within the community, family, work group, village, community, and state. The concern of the Kasepuhan Cisungsang community about the scarcity of food, as well as respect for nature, especially with regard to fertility or Dewi Sri who is considered to have power that animates and kills; (2) crises are unavoidable and must be resolved. The community assumes that disharmony is due to the scarcity of natural resources or due to human activities, (3) immediate responses are taken to resolve crises that occur as a result of tension or conflict. Rituals and ceremonies present are intended to overcome these problems. In a form of gratitude they held various ruwat earth ceremonies, the culmination of which was seren taun; (4) unification or reunification is the elimination of conflicts that cause crises. Unification can occur in two situations, namely through a peaceful process of crisis and community unification in dealing with problems. All concerns and problems that arise, both caused by natural and non-natural factors, can be resolved by continuing to carry out the ancestral mandate (karuhun) based on the Sunda Wiwitan belief.



*Seren Taun* Ritual at Kasepuhan Cisungsang, Banten Province in 2017  
(Photo taken before pandemic Covid-19)

Rituals tend to be interpreted as religious behavior in the context of understanding the context of belief systems and religion for simple people. The Seren Taun ritual's carried out by the local community of Kasepuhan Cisungsang in South Banten is basically done repeatedly to develop social life with symbols in a ritual. Through these rituals, crises and problems can be resolved in order to ensure the harmonious life of the supporting community. Based on Turner's theory of social drama (1957) and the Model of the Ritual of the Sacred Symbol (MRSK), it can be observed that there is a guideline that binds the entire Kasepuhan local community so that they unite in solving crises and problems inside the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul local community, by preserving the teachings (pikukuh) of Sunda Wiwitan belief. The seren taun ritual is an effort by the Kasepuhan Cisungsang local community to respond, as well as resolve conflicts or crises, as well as the unification of the traditional Kasepuhan community.

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## She, and Her Baby, Died Too Young: Understanding the Anthropology of Death and Mourning from Religious and Cultural Perspectives during Covid-19 Pandemic

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My pregnant cousin, with her second prospective son, died at the age of 27 due to lack of oxygen during the peak of the Covid-19 Delta wave in Yogyakarta-Indonesia in July 2021. Previously, all ambulances and hospitals were paralyzed by the Delta waves, so that she was delayed in medical treatment. At the same time, more than 150 members of my extended family who live communally in Yogyakarta were exposed to Delta-Covid19, living in isolation, so they couldn't attend the funeral ceremony for my cousin with very strict protocols at night. This then caused me and my extended family to experience a very deep and prolonged process of grief due to the sudden loss. Reflecting on this experience, this article captures on how they do a mental coping-mechanism with grief and loss, and how the values of Islam and Javanese culture influence their thoughts and actions in understanding the concept of death and grief during the plague disaster. Using a reflexive ethnography approach, this study tells the dialogue of culture and faith by conducting in-depth interviews with nuclear family, extended family, and community close to the deceased. As this study has urgency in medical anthropology and religious studies, the findings show that the emotional closeness factor strongly drives the grieving process, with long traumatic symptoms that change the concept of the purpose of life and death afterward. The factor of not being present at the burial process as well as the presence of her first daughter caused the whole family to still



remember this grief. Meanwhile, the doctrine of life after death in Islam which promises heaven for pregnant women and those who died during the plague, as well as the concept of "*Nrima*" in Javanese culture are two values that help the psychological recovery of the deceased's family (299 words).

"We must be grateful, Eka died peacefully, remember Allah's promise, who died in pregnancy during the plague will be placed in heaven as the reward", said the mother of my pregnant cousin while trying to brace herself in isolation at home in July 2021 when the Delta wave swept through the family. Since, we grew up communally in Yogyakarta-Indonesia, I lost several family members, including my grandfather, grandmother, and pregnant cousin. An unimaginable situation in life will happen in our extended family at that time.

My cousin was buried in a very simple ceremony in the middle of the night. This also exacerbated our grieving process for not being able to properly prepare the funeral service. In a number of studies, the anthropology of death is closely related to mourning rites related to the cultural and religious values of a society (Huntington and Metcalf, 1979; Robben, 2018; Zoe, 2020). In this context, thousands of families who have lost their family members due to the COVID-19 pandemic will certainly experience prolonged feelings of grief. This study then attempts to capture the narrative of the grief through the perception and behavioral response of the death of my pregnant cousin.

### **Understanding Abnormal Situations: Anthropology of Death in a pandemic**

During the Covid-19 pandemic that occurred in this modern century, death rites were transformed into abnormal situations due to the crisis situation and adaptation of the handling of corpses according to medical measures. This clearly makes a very big social change in the social and cultural elements of society around the world. This abnormal situation becomes different when viewed from various religious and cultural perspectives which narrate death and the promise of an afterlife. The variety of narratives then encourages the growth of transformation of people's ways of thinking that change the social and cultural structure of people around the world.

### **Weakening: Prolonged mourning phase due to the absence of funeral rites, as well as the presence of the deceased's first child who is still a toddler.**

All family members interviewed in this study such as the mother, father, and sister of the late said that the thing that caused the feeling of prolonged grief was not being able to let go of the death of Eka, who died at the Sardjito Hospital during the peak of the pandemic wave. The nuclear family imagined how horrific the process of Eka's death had been in the isolation room at the hospital, after a long process of searching for an available ambulance and hospital. The presence of Eka's first child in the midst of a large family also helped make this mourning process very prolonged.

### **The Strengthening: Promise of Heaven in Islam**

In the psychology of religion, the function of religion has a central role as a coping mechanism for the deceased's family in releasing the death of their family members. During the pandemic, Islamic religious values that promise heaven for the deceased have strengthened the family to help reconstruct feelings of gratitude and happiness in line with their feelings of grief.

### **Coping Mechanism: Through Religion and Culture**

In addition to religion, culture is also a reinforcement for the family of the deceased in the face of prolonged grief. In Javanese tradition, Eka's death becomes a burden of communal responsibility which becomes moral together in strengthening the family of the deceased, and guaranteeing the lives of the children left behind by the deceased. Since Eka's death, Eka's first child has been loved by members of the society.

During times of disaster, religion has the power to influence people's way of thinking, and to encourage social change in the structure of society. More specifically, Islam, for example, promises life after death for those who die from the plague is the core of the teachings. This strengthens the coping-mechanism for family members who lost their families during the Covid-19 pandemic. The narrative about Eka's death above, is one example of millions of stories about how the power of religion plays a very large role in disciplining the thoughts and actions of family members in responding to death. Apart from religion, culture also provides communal strength for the community to face disaster situations together. This communal power encourages the emergence of a transformation of collective action that helps shape social changes in society in response to disaster situations. The story about Eka's death is a concrete example of the Javanese Islamic community in Yogyakarta facing death during the Covid-19 pandemic. In the anthropology of death, stories of deaths of people due to epidemics during the COVID-19 Pandemic, need to be documented ethnographically as academic texts that will enrich the understanding of the anthropology of death from the perspective of the deceased's family which is influenced by the religion and culture of each society. This collection of stories will enrich the current anthropological study of death, especially on how resilience and adaptation occur globally.

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## Understanding Violence Against Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia and Ways to Resolve It

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Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) often becomes the victim of violence, intolerance, and discrimination in Indonesia. The destruction of the mosque in Sintang, the expulsion in East Lombok, and even the murder in Cikeusik are just the tip of the iceberg of JAI's violent experiences. According to research conducted by the SETARA Institute in 2007-2020, JAI was a minority group that experienced the most frequent violations of religious freedom, with 570 cases.<sup>18</sup> As a result, the government has issued several regulations at all levels that aimed to maintain the public orders, from the national to the local scope. Unfortunately, these attempts were ineffective in preventing violence against JAI, as in many situations, the various regulations have triggered violence against JAI. This article intends to discuss the causes of violence against JAI from the religious-anthropology perspective, their relationship to the existing regulations, and the ways to resolve this problem.

### The Causes of Violence

#### The Indoctrination that JAI is Misguided and Misleading

The misleading indoctrination about JAI by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)<sup>19</sup> and the government<sup>20</sup> has created a misperception that triggers violence against JAI.<sup>21</sup> The indoctrination has created a mindset that JAI desecrates Islam,<sup>22</sup> as a result the perpetrators interpret violence against JAI as an attempt to defend Islam (*jihad*), the counter-resistance,<sup>23</sup> and noble deed.<sup>24</sup> They also believe that the blood of JAI's members are *halal* or allowed to

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<sup>18</sup> Ikhsan Yosarie, *et al.*, *Inklusi Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia Dalam Keindonesiaan* (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2021), pg. 11.

<sup>19</sup> MUI through its fatwas in 1980 and 2005 stated that the Ahmadiyya sect is outside of Islam, misguided and misleading, and that Muslims who follow it are apostates (out of Islam). MUI's Fatwas have been used as a justification for violent attacks (Abuza, Z. 2007). See Torhild Breidlid, "The Legitimization of Violence Against The Ahmadiyya Community In Indonesia," *KAWISTARA* 3 (August 2031), pg. 173.

<sup>20</sup> In 2008, the government enacted a Joint Ministerial Decree on Ahmadiyah, which stated that the Ahmadiyya teachings, recognized the existence of a prophet and all his teachings after the Prophet Muhammad deviated from the essential teachings of Islam, which was then referred to in 43 regional regulations.

<sup>21</sup> Indoctrination into a thought system that rationalizes or legitimizes violence is one of six effective factors in making good people do bad things (Philip Zimbardo, 2000). See Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), pg. 222.

<sup>22</sup> Torhild Breidlid, "The Legitimization of Violence Against The Ahmadiyya Community In Indonesia," pg. 173.

<sup>23</sup> This counter-resistance is caused by the perception that their communities are under attack—are being violated—and that their acts are, therefore, simply responses to the violence they have experienced. This perception is one of four elements that create a vital link between religion and violence according to Mark Juergensmeyer (2000). See Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*, pg. 227.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmad Najib Burhani, "'It's a Jihad': Justifying Violence towards the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia," *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 9 (2021), pg. 109.

be shed,<sup>25</sup> JAI's mosques are permitted to be burned,<sup>26</sup> and by attacking JAI, they will be promised a place in heaven by God, thus they do not fear of imprisonment or even death.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the indoctrination prolongs and broadens resistance to JAI because it has deeply infiltrated to certain people e.g. government, law enforcement officers, and even moderate Islamic groups.<sup>28</sup>

### The Existence of Political Interests

Political interests of certain people or groups drive the violence against JAI, which is in line with Jack David Eller's argument that religion is not alone in fulfilling the constituents of cultural violence, as politics has been shown to drive people to violence.<sup>29</sup> This political interest can take many forms, including the support for the regional head election,<sup>30</sup> the image of being a religious leader,<sup>31</sup> the adoration for superiors,<sup>32</sup> and power-and/or money-promising incentives.<sup>33</sup> The attacks have occurred coincidentally with the political momentums, such as presidential and regional head elections.<sup>34</sup> The JAI attackers were found to have been paid 50 thousand rupiah in the 2011 attack in Cianjur, and according to the attackers' confession after being released from prison, they were informed that if they joined the attack on JAI, their lives would be guaranteed.<sup>35</sup> However, not all of the attackers were paid because few of them were motivated by the religious indoctrinations,<sup>36</sup> but regardless of the attacker's motives, the political interests have a significant part in promoting violence against JAI since the religious indoctrinations are contained in numerous discriminatory regulations, which were also influenced by political interests.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> The burning of the JAI's mosque is justified because it is aligned with the concept of burning the Al-Dirar Mosque, which the Prophet Muhammad ordered to be burnt since the mosque's establishment intends to create disunity among Muslims. See Ahmad Najib Burhani, "'It's a Jihad': Justifying Violence towards the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia," pg. 107.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 109.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pg. 100.

<sup>29</sup> Eller argues, "The claim we are making is not that religion is alone in fulfilling these conditions (constituents of cultural violence). Quite the opposite: Political, racial, linguistic, gender, even "special interest" (e.g., radical ecological) groups, institutions, and ideologies can meet all of the conditions and have been observed to drive people to violence." See Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*, pg. 225.

<sup>30</sup> Torhild Bredlid, "The Legitimazation of Violence Against The Ahmadiyya Community In Indonesia," pg. 173.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Yendra Budiana, JAI's Press Secretary on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2022.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with an informant from religious harmony forum Depok (FKUB Depok) who had participated in sealing the JAI's mosque in Depok and was familiar with JAI's opponents in Depok on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022. The informant explained that the subdistrict head (camat) in Depok was the behind-the-scenes actor in the demonstration and rejection of JAI in Depok and the motive was to curry favor with the mayor.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Yendra Budiana, JAI's Press Secretary on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2022.

<sup>34</sup> Haris Prabowo and Dieqy Hasbi Widhana, "Pola Penyerangan ke Muslim Ahmadiyah Selalu Sama," <https://tirto.id/pola-penyerangan-ke-muslim-ahmadiyah-selalu-sama-gjAD>, accessed on July 13<sup>th</sup> 2022.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Yendra Budiana, JAI's Press Secretary on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2022.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> In Sintang, SKB Sintang itu memicu terjadinya kekerasan terhadap JAI menurut Komisioner Komnas HAM, Beka Ulung Hapsara. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1502910/komnas-ham-sebut-surat-bersama-pemda-picu-pembakaran-masjid-ahmadiyah-sintang>.

### The Failure to Prevent a Gradual Escalation of Violence

Violence against JAI did not arise spontaneously because several escalation phases, such as naming, blaming, and claiming<sup>38</sup> had happened before the dispute. A dispute was initiated by a perceived injurious experience (PIE), which then escalated with blaming a party and/or complaining to a third party, and then a dispute occurred.<sup>39</sup> This escalation is also accelerated by the integration into groups.<sup>40</sup> In the context of a JAI attack in Sintang, the naming, blaming, and claiming phases,<sup>41</sup> as well as integration into groups have occurred since 2020, with some intolerant groups that initially had fewer than 14 members in 2020<sup>42</sup> and turned to be 200 people acting on behalf of The Sintang District Islamic Alliance (Aliansi Umat Islam Kabupaten Sintang) in 2021.<sup>43</sup> This escalation happened because instead of resolving the blaming and claiming stage, the government was accelerating the escalation by providing support to anti-JAI groups,<sup>44</sup> enacting discriminatory regulations, closing the Miftahul Huda Mosque, and never conducting a dispute resolution forum between JAI and alliance.<sup>45</sup> The failure in avoiding this gradual escalation of dispute and violence is one of the causes of recurrence of violence against JAI because, regardless of the attackers' purpose, if this gradual escalation can be stopped, violence against JAI will not occur. However, it is undeniable that this failure is interrelated to the previous two causes, namely indoctrination and politics, which trigger the government and law enforcement officers to restrict JAI rather than intolerant groups' acts.

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<sup>38</sup> Catherine Albiston, Lauren Edelman and Joy Milligan, "The Dispute Tree and The Legal Forest" *Annu. Rev. Law Soc. Sci.* (2014), pg. 106-107.

<sup>39</sup> William, Felstiner, Richard Abel, and Austin Sarat, "The Emergence and Transformation of Disputes: Naming, Blaming, Claiming," *Vol. 15 No. 3-4 Law & Society Review* (1980), pg. 631.

<sup>40</sup> Integration into groups is one of the constituents of cultural violence. See Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*, pg. 222.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Fitria Sumarni, Head of Ahmadiyya Muslim Lawyers Association Indonesia on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2022. Fitria revealed that some people had already rejected the construction of the Miftahul Huda mosque in 2020, which had been reported to the village head, but instead of defending JAI and preventing the violence and dispute escalation from the intolerant groups, the village head aided this opposition. One of the motivations was supposedly to gain support for becoming a village head in the village head election. The rejection grew in size until complaints and interventions at the provincial level were made. However, the pattern remained the same, with the government facilitating this rejection, resulting in an increasingly escalating dispute until the Miftahul Huda Mosque was attacked on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2022. The naming and blaming phases are apparent in this phenomenon when there are groups that accuse and deny the construction of Miftahul Huda mosque. Meanwhile, the group entered the claiming phase when it filed a complaint with the government.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* The number is derived from the number of villagers who signed a petition opposing the construction of the Miftahul Huda mosque in 2020, some of whom were forced to decline because they were threatened with administrative complications if they did not sign. The rejection was initiated by numerous persons from the Al-Mujahidin Mosque, which is located close to the Miftahul Huda Mosque.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* The village head actually facilitated and supported the rejection of the Miftahul Huda mosque.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, The government has never involved JAI in the dispute resolution discussion forum.

## The Abuse of Public Order in Existing Regulations: The Plot Twist

The government always restricts JAI to protect public order, which is an abuse of public order because JAI never disrupts public order.<sup>46</sup> This abuse indirectly triggered the violence against JAI since it served as the ground<sup>47</sup> for the issuance of at least 87 discriminatory rules against JAI from 1976 to 2022<sup>48</sup> which contained indoctrination that JAI was misguided. Furthermore, this abuse is used as a political tool by some government officers in Depok, where government officials deliberately coordinated protests and rejections against JAI<sup>49</sup> so that the government could later restrict activities and close the JAI mosque to maintain public order, which is a plot twist because in general, the abuse of public order indicates a misunderstanding or a lenient and indecisive government attitude toward intolerant organizations,<sup>50</sup> but in this case, the government turns out to be one of the *auctor intellectualis*. This abuse also contributed to the failure to prevent the escalation of dispute and violence because, rather than focusing on the escalation of violence committed by intolerant groups, the government and law enforcement officials focused on limiting JAI, which they consider to be a nuisance to public order.

### Ways to Resolve It

#### Elimination of All Forms of Indoctrination that JAI is Misguided and Misleading

The government must eliminate all forms of indoctrination that JAI is misguided and misleading, whether issued by the government or any other party such as MUI, to prevent the formation of a thought system that legitimizes and rationalizes. Without this revocation, the prohibition of the anarchic actions against JAI will be ineffective because assailants will attack JAI on the grounds in the name of religious law which they believe is superior to state law.<sup>51</sup>

#### Legislate The Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act in Indonesia

The Indonesian government should legislate a religious harmony act that is similar to The Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act (MRHA), which is enacted in 1990 to provide powers to the government to maintain religious harmony in Singapore. To address the issue of

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<sup>46</sup> Public order shall be used in a limited manner against parties who directly disturb public order and should not be used in a discriminatory manner according to CCPR General Comment No. 22. In Depok, based on an interview with Imam, Head of Neighborhood (Ketua RT) of the location where the Al-Hidayah Mosque (JAI's mosque in Depok) is located on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022, there has never been any disturbance caused by the presence of JAI and the use of the Al-Hidayah Mosque.

<sup>47</sup> According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, one of the permissible reasons for the government to limit the right to freedom of religion is public order. See Article 18 Paragraph 3.

<sup>48</sup> Komite Hukum Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Daftar Kebijakan Diskriminatif Terhadap Ahmadiyah*, (Jakarta: Komite Hukum Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, 2022).

<sup>49</sup> Interview with an informant from religious harmony forum Depok (FKUB Depok) who had participated in sealing the JAI's mosque in Depok and was familiar with JAI's opponents in Depok on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022.

<sup>50</sup> Rio Tuasikal, "Anak-Anak Ahmadiyah Mengenang Masjid yang Disegel 11 Tahun," <https://projectmultatuli.org/anak-anak-ahmadiyah-mengenang-masjid-yang-disegel-11-tahun/>, accessed on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Ahmad Najib Burhani, "'It's a Jihad': Justifying Violence towards the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia," pg. 105.



violence against JAI, this regulation must include at least two critical provisions: a restriction order for anyone who attempts or takes actions that cause feelings of enmity between different religious groups and restrictions on the meaning of public order, which must be interpreted in a limited and non-discriminatory manner. First, a restraining order may refer to MRHA which gives the minister the power to make restraining orders to anyone, including the person who is in a position of authority in any religious group or institution, that has committed or is attempting actions that cause feelings of enmity, hatred, ill will, or hostility between different religious groups.<sup>52</sup> This is critical to be implemented in Indonesia because the government has the ability to maintain religious harmony in Indonesia and to avoid any intolerant activities against certain religious groups which are mostly generated by certain religious leaders or institution such as the MUI.

Second, restrictions on the meaning of public order which can refer to CCPR General Comment No. 22:

Limitations may be applied only for those purposes for which they were prescribed and must be directly related and proportionate to the specific need on which they are predicated. Restrictions may not be imposed for discriminatory purposes or applied in a discriminatory manner.<sup>53</sup>

This restriction is intended to prevent the term public order from being abused for political interests/purposes. Furthermore, this restriction is intended to prevent the escalation of dispute and violence to intolerant groups, so that violence against JAI will not occur anymore.

## Conclusion

There are at least three causes of violence against JAI, the indoctrination by the MUI and the government that JAI is misguided and misleading, the existence of political interests, and the government and law enforcement officials' failure to prevent a gradual escalation of violence. Furthermore, these three causes are closely related to the abuse of the public order term in the existing regulations that indirectly trigger the violence against JAI. Therefore, there are at least two ways to resolve the problem, first, the government should eliminate any kinds of indoctrination from any institutions that JAI is misguided and misleading, the second, the Indonesian government should legislate a religious harmony act that is similar to The Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act which was enacted in 1990 to provide powers to the government to maintain religious harmony in Singapore.

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<sup>52</sup> See Article 8 and 9 of The Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act 1990.

<sup>53</sup> Office Of The High Commissioner For Human Rights, *CCPR General Comment No. 22: Article 18 (Freedom of Thought, Conscience or Religion)*, Par. 8.

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## Reconstructing Human-Nature Relations: A Response of Muslim *Dayango* of Gorontalo to Covid-19

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Despite being marginalized and lacking access to information during the Covid-19 pandemic, indigenous people around the world, including in Indonesia, still need to recontextualize their own knowledge and strategies in order to survive in a time of crisis. Indigenous Muslims of Gorontalo are part of them who argue that Covid-19 is an ecological catastrophe and is a crime against humanity and the human-nature relationship. Data on their related idea to the pandemic was conducted by ethnography from 2020 to 2021 in the Hutada'a Village by involving the ritual specialist and representatives of Muslim *Dayango* as the main speakers. Based on their responses, Covid-19 emerges due to the irresponsibility of the human-nature relationship. In response to that, they took responsibility to perform eco-centric rituals called *Dayango*. Muslim *Dayango* argues that the ritual is possessing substantial understanding in reconstructing the human-nature relationship based on indigenous ecocentrism. However, the ritual is perceived as heathen toward Islamic teaching through the lenses of the majority of Muslims of Gorontalo.

This paper presents how indigenous Muslims of Gorontalo who live in the Hutada'a Village contextualize their knowledge to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic in the middle of overlapping policy implementations and regulations by the government. Compared to the popular opinion, Muslim *Dayango* accounted the pandemic occurs due to the cosmic imbalance caused by human misconduct against the humanity and human-nature relationship. However, Muslim *Dayango* is also vulnerable and marginalized during a time of crisis. Despite having a lack of necessary information on Covid-19, by the state, performing the *Dayango* ritual potentially creates a crowd in the middle of restrictions on a whole activity during the Covid-19 handling in 2021 (Undu, 2021). On the other hand, the majority of Muslims view the ritual as a violation of Islamic teachings since it involves *lati*, or "demon" in the literal sense. Consequently, anyone who practices the ritual is accounted as a heathen, *shirk*, and anti-science though those who practice the *Dayango* are also Muslims. Though this idea is often interchangeable, banning the *Dayango* ritual during a time of crisis is a must. This condition, thus, proves that Covid-19 is also political, especially for indigenous people.

Built on the scholarship of indigenous religion, this paper offers an alternative understanding to examine the *Dayango* ritual as, not only religious and ecological practices but also helpful

and representative to employ. It is religious because of the way Muslim *Dayango* understand their “Islam” as a way of relating: not only to humans but also to non-human persons—including Covid-19. This idea starts from the recognition of the cosmos that is occupied by humans and nature (all entities within it) are subjects, at least potentially (Maarif, 2017). These subjects are related to each other based on intersubjective engagement (Hallowell 1960; Bird-David 1999; Morrison 2000; Harvey 2000; Maarif 2012). While it is also ecological because these subjects carried out responsibilities to guarantee the cosmic balance for both (human and non-human persons) well-being. Human irresponsible conduct toward this intersubjectivity consequently would lead to a catastrophic event, like Covid-19, and the way to restore it is by calling for the re-establishment of the human-nature relationship by performing the ritual that is worth learning.

This is qualitative research based on one-year ethnographic fieldwork from 2020 to 2021 in Hutada’a Village, Gorontalo District. I follow Davies’ suggestion (1999) for being reflexive during the research to see *Dayango* as a discourse that should be understood in the broader context of social, political, and cultural conditions from the informants in the field. Thus, as a researcher, this paper will provide the relationship between ethnographer and the community I research. The data collected during the fieldwork were divided in two forms where the research will take place, who are the actors, the events undertaken within the settings. Firstly, the primary data was collected from the ritual specialist (*Wombuwa*), name Ka Pu’u Musa and representatives of Muslim *Dayango*, as the main speaker to explain why *Dayango* matters to conduct during the Covid-19 pandemic. While on the other hand, the secondary data sources are documents, literature, records, and news. This data was collected through in-depth interviews.

To begin with, this paper will provide a sketch of Covid-19 healthcare protocol implementation in Gorontalo. It shows that the policy regulations during the time of crisis were political which could put indigenous people at the margins based on two findings. The first one was the centralization of the Covid-19 policy that was implemented in the city since a number of positive cases are presupposed mostly in urban communities. Consequently, indigenous people are mostly marginalized in regard to the necessary information and healthcare protocols. Things were not considered by the state, the indigenous people of Gorontalo have a strong sense of communality that requires them to interact with others in everyday situations. The second one is related to how the way the state intervenes in the *Dayango* practices is a violation of Covid-19 healthcare protocols. Yet at the same time, it is the government that consistently shows violations against the regulation they obliged.

This paper will also provide an alternative understanding of Covid-19 based on the *Dayango* cosmology. Muslim *Dayango* in Hutada’a Village believe that pandemics might be new but it was nothing. Indeed, it is a kind of disease but it can be understood since it has precedence in their past experiences. Muslims *Dayango* can even explain Covid-19 with their own terms,

namely, *ngongoto*; what ought and should do during the pandemic, and more importantly, they never guarantee themselves to be 100% free from the threat. All in all, they also obey the state's orders to implement the healthcare protocols. Interestingly, while the ritual has been mainly stigmatized, the community contrasted it by arguing it is a part of Islam and *adat* Gorontalo. It is Islamic because Muslim *Dayango* argues their interpretation of "Islam" requires them to relate with other beings. It is also part of *adat* Gorontalo because while have been recognized in the *adat* law of Gorontalo, it is also compulsory to strengthen social resilience and re-establish the human-nature relationship.

The *Dayango* ritual in the time of pandemic, after all, urges the indigenous people of Hutada'a Village as well as humankind to call for being ethical, responsible, and reciprocal to humanity and nature in order to restore the cosmic balance. In praxis, these principles are implemented by offerings (*mopo'a huta*), preserving the environments, such as rivers, forests, mountains, etc., and adjusting their behavior in the context of protecting every person's well-being. Covid-19 as the ritual specialist told, is also a moment of reflecting that worth learning, especially, to the contemporary situation of the earth and how far we have related to our fellow non-human beings.

In a nutshell, although Covid-19 is understandable, the *Dayango* ritual is compulsory for the indigenous people of Hutada'a Village as a call for a re-establishment of human-nature relations. Their experiences in dealing with a pandemic are worth learning about because they emphasize humans establishing cosmic harmony by being ethical, responsible, and reciprocal to nature and their non-human fellows. More importantly, they bound this belief as "Islamic" and part of *adat* Gorontalo due to the ecological values the ritual has.

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## Coronavirus and Religious Crisis Management: A Brief Religious Interpretation of the Protestant Church of Maluku (GPM)

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This article is a sort of initial religious reflection that attempts to detect some transformative religious rituals and strategies in facing the pandemic of coronavirus since the early months of 2020 until today in Maluku. Based on early observation, it aims to map theological disputes, church policies concerning to the uncertainty pandemic, and in facing social changes around urban congregations of the Protestant Church of Maluku (Gereja Protestan Maluku – GPM). The church is facing a new challenge that cannot be handled alone by its theological perspective and trivial ecclesial programs, while at the same time it should be followed strictly health protocols launched by the national government of Indonesia. As a brief observation, this article functions as an entry point to explore more and more the socio-cultural and religious impacts of the pandemic toward the GPM, its crisis management system and the life of church members in Maluku responding the dialectics of context between the real condition of the pandemic and the reinterpretation of theological basis entering new socio-cultural context both locally and globally.



## The Global Non-Natural Disasters

The global community order has suddenly changed drastically since the discovery and identification of the coronavirus outbreak began in Wuhan, China. Just in several months (from December 2019 to March 2020), a panic euphoria engulfed many countries and urged all national governments to issue emergency policies both to anticipate and overcome the outbreak, as well as searching for ways to prevent the disease caused by the virus, which by the WHO labeled as Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19). Slavoj Žižek (Zizek, 2020) interestingly says,

We should of course analyze in detail the social conditions which made the coronavirus epidemic possible. Just think about the way, in today's interconnected world, a British person meets someone in Singapore, returns to England, and then goes skiing to France, infecting there four others... The usual suspects are waiting in line to be questioned: globalization, the capitalist market, the transience of the rich.

At a certain critical point, several national authorities have taken lockdown policies. The Indonesian government and society were not spared from the panic attacks. President Joko Widodo immediately formed a Covid-19 task force to anticipate the spread of corona, which was then followed by the issuance of main protocols for handling Covid-19.<sup>54</sup> Provincial governments in Indonesia have also responded differently to emergency policies by the central government. Some remain calm and seem sluggish. Some others demonstrated rapid reactions even though seemingly frustrated since they are not supported by adequate medical systems and infrastructure. Some more others seem confused to cope with the situation due to a lack of valid information and supporting human resources. The Governor of Maluku responded by constituting the Task Force of Covid-19 chaired by the Maluku Disaster Management Agency or *Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah* (BPBD) Maluku involving several elements such as health department, military, police department, port health office, immigration, customs and excises (*beacukai*) and *Angkasa Pura*.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, the Mayor of Ambon City formed a similar task force of Covid-19 in the municipality administration.

Responsive actions were also taken by religious and educational institutions (schools and universities). Some well-known universities, such as Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta and

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<sup>54</sup> Jokowi Bentuk Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan Covid-19.

<https://katadata.co.id/agustiyanti/berita/5e9a4214bc69e/jokowi-bentuk-gugus-tugas-percepatan-penanganan-covid-19>, accessed on 10 October 2020; also Presiden Jokowi Bentuk Satu Tim Terpadu untuk tangani Covid-19 dan Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional. <https://covid19.go.id/p/berita/presiden-jokowi-bentuk-satu-tim-terpadu-untuk-tangani-covid-19-dan-pemulihan-ekonomi-nasional>, accessed on 10 October 2020.

<sup>55</sup> Maluku Waspada Virus Corona. <https://siwalimanews.com/maluku-waspada-virus-corona/>, accessed on 12 October 2020; Maklumat Gubernur Maluku Nomor 443.1-18 Tahun 2020 tentang Pencegahan, Penanggulangan dan Pengendalian Penyebaran Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) pada Pintu Keluar dan Masuk Wilayah Provinsi Maluku.



Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta, immediately made the decision to lockdown physical learning activities in classrooms and public meetings and simultaneously replaced them with online lectures or meetings.<sup>56</sup> The Ministry of Education and Culture then issued a public recommendation that teachers and students should be off all physical learning processes at schools and using alternative distance learning methods or online learning (Khasanah, Pramudibyanto, & Widuroyeki, 2020; Purwanto et al., 2020).<sup>57</sup> Religious institutions such as the *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (Communion of Churches in Indonesia) and the church synods of its member were immediately distributing pastoral letters and appeals to urge their congregations to reduce the frequency of group worship activities at church buildings. Moreover, some church synods have canceled and replaced all physical worships with online worship models.<sup>58</sup>

All sorts of public meetings and seminars with more than 30 participants were canceled or rescheduled. Tourism spots were closed and official prohibition for getting crowd in public places was spread massively in many cities in Indonesia. Those who were detected as “reactive” by the rapid test and then classified as “positive” infected by the virus were immediately isolated with several strict medical procedures. Many office buildings managed for checking body thermal and providing liquid hand sanitizers, as well as spraying disinfectants in all corners of the building or rooms (Liang, Tingbo; Cai Hongliu, Chen Yu, 2020). In such a changing situation, telecommunication technology becomes a medium with dual role: spreading both valid information and hoax information. As a result, there was tremendous panic euphoria among the communities which encouraged panic buying up stocks at main marketplaces (Sampurno, Kusumandyoko, & Islam, 2020).

The policies of the Indonesian national government and local governments have also been followed up by two religious institutions at the provincial levels, namely the Maluku Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI Maluku) and the Synod Board of GPM. The MUI Maluku issued MUI Declaration No. 03/2020 which was later confirmed by the Appeal Letter of the Maluku Provincial Government No. 443-1196/2020 signed by the Provincial Secretary Kasrul

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<sup>56</sup> 10 Instruksi UI Terkait Virus Corona: Dari Belajar Online hingga Minta Mahasiswa Kosongkan Indekos <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/03/13/222411065/10-instruksi-ui-terkait-virus-corona-dari-belajar-online-hingga-minta>; UGM Resmi “Lockdown” Perkuliahan Mulai Minggu Depan <https://www.krjogja.com/berita-lokal/diy/sleman/ugm-resmi-lockdown-perkuliahan-mulai-minggu-depan/>, accessed on 10 October 2020.

<sup>57</sup> Sikapi COVID-19, Kemendikbud Terbitkan Dua Surat Edaran <https://www.kemdikbud.go.id/main/blog/2020/03/sikapi-covid19-kemdikbud-terbitkan-dua-surat-edaran>, accessed on 15 October 2020.

<sup>58</sup> Antisipasi Covid-19, PGI: Kebaktian di Gereja Bisa Secara Online <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/296798-antisipasi-covid-19-pgi-kebaktian-di-gereja-bisa-secara-online>; see also KWI Minta Umat Katolik Buat Gerakan Solidaritas Hadapi Pandemi Covid-19 <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/03/28/15052351/kwi-minta-umat-katolik-buat-gerakan-solidaritas-hadapi-pandemi-covid-19>, accessed on 14 October 2020.

Selang on 3 April 2020.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, the Synod Board of GPM immediately issued the Pastoral Letter on March 22, 2020.<sup>60</sup> The publication of this pastoral letter has received various responses from the Christian communities under the GPM administration. The different responses from each Christian community have resulted in the formation of misunderstandings that do not support various religious understandings. There were pros-cons to the contents of the letter so that the handling of the Covid-19 impact was not managed systematically and synergistically. The different living contexts of each Christian community also affect the social-cultural views and attitudes towards health recommendations and protocols, thus open the possibility of escalating the spread of Covid-19 and its derivative effects. As Merrill Singer (Singer, 2015: 14) states,

In other words, infectious diseases are *never only biological in their nature, course, or impact*. What they are and what they do are deeply entwined with human sociocultural systems, including the ways humans understand, organize, and treat each other. Infectious diseases are at once biological realities and social constructions that reflect both biological and social relationships and interactions.

### **Religious Panic**

A group of FISIPOL UGM researchers (Mas'udi & Winanti, 2020) conducted cutting-edge research to map several impacts of the spread of coronavirus. Their research demonstrates that the Covid-19 phenomenon is not solely a health issue, such as the structure of the virus, the mechanism of its spread, how to treat it, how to prevent its spread, and so on, but there are many non-medical dimensions need to be studied (Mufida, 2020; Setyawan & Lestari, 2020). Covid-19 has caused governance crises and radical pandemic management policies in many countries. A global standard of the crisis management system has lost its relevance, prompting all governments in many countries to adopt a trial-and-error emergency policy (Valerisha & Putra, 2020). The Covid-19 creates challenges in pandemic crisis management that cannot be predicted in a global context (Burhan, 2020).

The fast widespread of the coronavirus, through humans as the medium, has been creating a tremendous amount of panic. National governments in many countries (Zizek, 2020), including Indonesia (Setiati & Azwar, 2020), were confused and getting global panic, especially since the unavailability of valid information about the characteristics of this virus, methods of preventing its spread, handling of infected people, health infrastructure and its deadly effects. Based on their research, Agus Joharudin et al (Joharudin, Septiadi, Maharani,

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<sup>59</sup> Darurat Covid-19, Pemprov Maluku Imbau Umat Islam Ikuti Maklumat MUI <https://kabarterkini.news/darurat-covid-19-pemprov-maluku-imbau-umat-islam-ikuti-maklumat-mui/>, accessed on 12 October 2020.

<sup>60</sup> Seruan Gembala Covid-19 oleh GPM <https://www.sinodegpm.org/2020-03-22>, accessed on 10 October 2020.

Aisi, & Nurwahyuningsih, 2020) stated that what was originally a personal panic continued to bring about major changes in social life, such as in the phenomenon of panic buying when in economic life there is a very high level of demand compared to the level of supply (Nasution, Erlina, & Muda, 2020). This symptom is seen as a strengthening of the panic syndrome, which occurs when something happens across the thinking limit of the human body and causes symptoms of excessive shock. The result is tremendous fear and anxiety of individual.

In the context of Maluku Province and Ambon City, social panic also occurred at the level of people's social activity and pandemic Covid-19 crisis management by the provincial and city governments. The main indicators that show this social panic are the increasing number of infected groups and the growing of clusters spread. Maluku Provincial Government data shows the accumulation of cases exposed to Covid-19 as follows (10 October 2020): 3353 infected, 2034 recovered, 42 died.<sup>61</sup> Meanwhile, Ambon city data indicates 2708 infected, 1094 treated, 1584 recovered, 30 died.<sup>62</sup>

Apart from the panic caused by medical factors, the decisions of the provincial and city governments to conduct emergency acts also generated economic panic and pros-cons deal with most public and religious activities that in general were carried out communally. As previously stated, MUI Maluku and the Synod Board of GPM took this pandemic situation seriously by issuing the religious appeal and pastoral letter. These steps were taken to, first thing first, calm down the upheaval of religious anxiety of the believers regarding the Covid-19 impacts on religious rituals that are increasingly restricted to perform in public spaces.

## **The GPM's Struggles against Coronavirus**

### ***Theological disputes***

Equally boisterous were theological debates around the cessation of regular religious activities and rituals. Some argued that if the end of Covid-19 is eventually about death, it is something that will occur for all humans, isn't it? Thus, unnecessary to overreact and let face it as a mediocre phenomenon. Others are more realistic in responding to anticipatory actions as human wisdom concerning to this global pandemic so that they take prompt preventive and curative steps. The essence of these sorts of preparation is to anticipate no more victims just due to ignorance of the virus attack.

Theological debates in Christian circles were fierce. Although the *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (PGI), after conducting a quick assessment of the emergency, issued a pastoral letter and appealed to its church synods but it was not immediately followed up. There are differing perspectives on this obscurity (Yewangoe, 2020). One perspective views the situation needs to be responded hurriedly by following the medical protocols published by

<sup>61</sup> <https://corona.malukuprov.go.id/>, accessed on 10 October 2020.

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.ambon.go.id/>, accessed on 10 October 2020

the national government and PGI. The only consideration is religious communal activities that dominate religious life, in this case, Christianity, are temporarily stopped as an anticipatory measure against the spread of the coronavirus. These parties are using “universal life salvation” as a theological axiom for their respective congregation members. After all, this rapid, silent, and sudden outbreak of the coronavirus cannot be the subject of protracted theological debate since it becomes a pandemic.

Meanwhile, the other perspective is more comfortable to argue with theological arguments that tend to underestimate this pandemic. These parties propagated a concept of faith that reflects a fatalistic attitude under the pretext that “God’s power is greater than the coronavirus” and “the power of this virus can be broken only through the power of prayer and conventional worship”. Consequently, instead of reducing the frequency of communal worships, the activities were getting more increased. In fact, the government has asserted the prohibition for communal events involving large crowds and social distancing in public spaces.

Some church synods issued the pastoral letters that strictly pointing to concrete steps anticipating the outbreak of the virus in their congregation circumstances. Others, supported by adequate technological equipment, ceased their regular religious activities, such as Sunday Worship, and replaced them with radio streaming or live streaming by which church members can still worship from their homes.<sup>63</sup>

Since the official emergency statement launched by the Indonesian government, the Synod Board of GPM subsequently issued the Pastoral Letter in this manner (22 March 2020).<sup>64</sup> However, the response apparently was a bit late. It seems there were several prudent considerations since having direct implications for changing liturgical customs that, at certain extent, require theological basis and technical guidance. For example, questions like “what alternative liturgical models can be applied in the religious activities by the congregations across the Maluku islands, especially in Confirmation and Communion services, which commonly using a shared cup?” The Synod Board of GPM distributed its pastoral letter on 21 March 2020 when the amount of positively infected people reached 369 patients. Although some practical recommendations were clearly stated but still apparently there was a reluctance to strictly ban congregational services with large crowds (points 5 and 7).

Regularly, GPM members attend worship services almost every day of the week. The service for groups of men, women, children, youths, and families is divided each day of the week with congregational worship of Sunday Service at the main church buildings. Thus, gatherings and crowds of more than 10 people occur almost every day for only such religious activities. Based

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<sup>63</sup> Imbauan Majelis Sinode GPIB Soal Wabah Corona Virus, Tidak Perlu Panik <https://gpiib.or.id/imbauan-majelis-sinode-gpiib-soal-wabah-corona-virus-tidak-perlu-panik/>, accessed 13 October 2020.

<sup>64</sup> Seruan Gembala COVID-19 oleh GPM <https://www.sinodegpm.org/2020-03-22>, accessed 12 October 2020.

on the fact, it can be ascertained there is the potential spread of the virus between groups. If generally the worship activities are carried out in the evening (in case some have returned from their workplaces) they usually direct go for attending services at the family houses who are scheduled as the hosts. They rarely have enough time to go home first for cleaning themselves. During the worship, they sit close to each other, shake hands, and talks to each other. That is the reason congregational meetings or worships have a potential possibility to spread the virus, primarily if there are no medical protocols applied.

Many people whose different life backgrounds are attending the Sunday Services at churches. Has the church building been sprayed with disinfectant before and after the service? Are hand washing facilities adequate for all congregants? Does the arrangement of the prayer room meet the social distancing requirements? Has every congregant who participates in the worship passed the body thermal inspection? Are congregants who are having flu aware of their troubled health condition so they are willing to wear masks or understand how to sneeze without the risk of transmitting the virus which can survive for 3 hours in the air? These questions are just a few concerns about the potential spread of the virus through human-to-human media in religious activities, such as communal worship at churches.

Under the threat of a pandemic, the issue of worship must be placed as a social problem that has the potential to expand the impact of spreading the virus. It is not a purely theological-liturgical issue simply based on ecclesiastical dogmas. The promulgation of arguments by referring to some biblical verses that are considered reinforcing faith about God's power can conquer the threat of a virus only has escapism effect from psychological panic. At the same time, however, it paralyzes reason to observe the threat of virus as a relational humanitarian problem. A person can be a biological medium who transmits this virus to others, without him or the infected person knowing it. Thus, the rejection of health protocol based on narrow-minded theological arguments is a serious threat to common life as human society. Instead of being a solution, such theological arguments are emerging new problems during the pandemic since they ignore the life of universal humanity.

Through the perspective of religions, the threat of coronavirus does not only drive some theological issues, such as "why did God let this virus live" and "faith is able to conquer the virus," but more fundamentally is emerging issue like "if we are asked by our religious tenets to protect our life, then why do we turn around to destroy it?" Moreover, the threat of a virus is also destroying selfishness in fighting for common human life. The encouragement for physical-social distancing meaning to how we worth our life together. Faith is not solidly formed only through personal prayers but through social actions that respect all creatures, which is called as a relational faith. What is the meaning of communal worship if then the threat of death is targeting oneself and many others? What is the essential meaning of religious worship?

The story of Jesus rummaging through the merchants' stalls in the Temple courtyard, from a certain viewpoint, delivers a message that the Temple has dwelled by for "viruses" of egoism, transactional interests and economic greed (Matthew 21:12-16). For that reason, the Temple must be locked down thereby the religious rituals should not be a faith camouflage to cloak political interests and economic desires. The Temple must be sterilized and thus return to be a sacred space for the encounter between God and human beings in meditative isolation far from all clatter. In that narrative, Jesus deconstructs the concept of Temple as a central sacred place for ritual activities as well as offering a model of solitude meditation by praying alone in the Gethsemane garden. The Gospels' narratives often describe that after teaching his disciples and followers, Jesus withdraws himself from the crowd and goes to a quiet place to pray alone.

Deconstructing meaning of the narrative is the Temple was no longer understood merely as "place" but "space", a universal arena that open to interaction and communication between God-Human-Nature in a clear and quiet relationship. Therefore, the narrative refers to the dynamic concept of worship which is no longer understood as a specific ritual activity in a sacred place but has been extended as the creatively inserted worship as the daily activities in families, jobs, studies, and careers. "Solitude to pray" is a symbol of sharpening the sensitivity to be alert to the situation around. The greatest challenge is "falling asleep" as experienced by Jesus' disciples so that he rebuked them: "Why can't you be on the watch?" Preparedness is a prerequisite for Jesus' discipleship.

In Latin, *corona* means crown. This virus is called *corona* because of its crown-like shape. It can destroy the human antibody system which then makes the human body vulnerable to disease attacks. However, *corona* (crown) might further be understood metaphorically as a description of absolute power and wealth, such as the power of a king/queen in a kingdom, or authoritarian leadership. Sociologically, the threat of this *corona* has increasingly eroded the antibody of human relations and the momentary interests that jostle around human reason and conscience. Then, moments to "lockdown" and isolate oneself in silence are needed to escape from the hubbub of voices that encourage people to do anything for their interests. In the silence of reason and conscience, the human mind undergoes a detoxification process so that it becomes clearer to look at the possibilities of life amid the storm of threats that nullify human life and the universe.

### ***The GPM's Crisis Management of Covid-19***

The Pastoral Letter, issued by the Synod Board of GPM on 16 March 2020, is the starting point for GPM to adapt all ministries during the pandemic Covid-19. Through the pastoral letter, GPM tries initially to form an understanding of its congregations on how to prevent the spread of coronavirus by applying a clean and healthy lifestyle (PHBS) and encourages congregants to check-up regularly to hospitals if they have certain health problems. From the pathology and viral behavior, the church appeals to congregants to prevent physical contacts that



generally occurs during congregational worship (shaking hands), and that GPM will carefully examine this situation to take further steps, especially those related to worships.

As the reality of the coronavirus outbreak in Maluku and North Maluku, primarily when there was a confirmed case on 22 March 2020, the Synod Board of GPM published the subsequent Pastoral Letter on 23 March 2020, which marked certain changes in the GPM stewardship system today. In his work paper presented in the Kanjoli Online Lecture Series, Rev. Elifas Maspaitella (Maspaitella, 2020), as the General Secretary of Synod Board of GPM, delivered some challenges and opportunities facing by the church during the pandemic, and the church's resilience in the face of adversity.

### **1. Strengthening Hope**

For GPM, these anxiety situations must be dealt with calls for pastoral and fostering hope. In the introduction of its Pastoral Letter, the church tries to guide all congregations to comprehend the pandemic within the space of God's love and inclusion by increasing spiritual activities, cultivating hope and wisdom to face the situation. Likewise, the church reminds its congregations that even in a pandemic, Christian's call to present signs of peace as acts of faith must be carried out, including through efforts to reduce and break the chain of the coronavirus spreading.

### **2. Prayer as the religiously inner healing spirit**

In this crisis, the church promotes "religious prayer" as a sort of spiritual therapy for all believers. Meaning to say that the individual or communal prayer addresses all people who are struggling in this difficult situation as well as to doctors and medical crews who are working hard to help infected patients in some hospitals with insufficient medical equipment throughout the Maluku islands. With the insufficient carrying capacity of health facilities, coupled with the government policy to restrict public travels around the islands, this archipelago province poses a threat to the ongoing treatment for many hospitals. In that condition, the church should invoke God's love for those who are exposed and infected by the virus.

### **3. Re-ordering Worship**

Church services are carried out by church members in the form of ritual and social worship. The pandemic has brought changes in the pattern of church worships, which are usually concentrated in the official church buildings, now they are conducted in the congregation's houses as a kind of home or family worship. There are two fundamental rituals in the GPM religious tradition, namely the Holy Communion (on Good Friday) and the Confirmation (Sidi) which are transferred to the congregation's houses. Although initially many church members were reluctant to carry out the worships in their homes, but gradually they accepted such a situation as evidence that the church rites could be executed in the physical distancing forms. The shift of worship from church buildings to the congregation's houses is a critical



note to revise Christian teachings and liturgy as well as compiling the formation plans of church members, which require more relevant applied methods in the context of “physical distance” to break the chain of coronavirus spreading. The house worship model which communally takes place should also be implemented while promoting new methods and strict health protocols.

#### **4. The implementation of health protocols as a new sustainable pattern of behavior**

The official health protocols, such as washing hands with soap and running water, wearing masks, spraying houses and church buildings with disinfectant liquid, are new compulsory activities in the religious community of GPM. The establishment of the GPM Disaster Management Agency, supported by the Angkatan Muda GPM (GPM Youth Organization) resources, demonstrates the church is attempting to develop its institutional capacity to manage available and potential resources during a pandemic or any disaster situation.

#### **5. Diaconia as the contextual humanitarian mission of the church**

This pandemic challenges the church to support the government in its efforts to deal with the socio-economic impacts. The church’s diaconia, from Greek word means “caring for each other”, at the levels of local congregation, districts and synod have succeeded in reducing partly the economic impacts caused by this pandemic. When people no longer work effectively or lose their jobs, then the caritative church diaconia can help to meet some primary needs. The diaconia model of transformative economic in some GPM congregations is carried out through the clearing of new gardens, marketing of family economic products through offline and online church networks, and so on. The Synod Board has begun initial steps to map the sources of production and marketing of products (market networks) by procuring trucks for distributing the congregation’s plantation products from surrounding islands (Seram, Buru, Saparua) to Ambon markets. Thus, on the one hand, GPM has started transformative diaconia efforts by mobilizing economic potential or natural resources in its congregations to improve the welfare standard of church members. On the other hand, this transformative diaconia model can form a new pattern of life in the economic field to bring people out of poverty.

#### **6. The Pastoral Care as a manifestation of humanitarian empathy**

The Pastoral Letter (March 23, 2020) points to pastoral care as the main task of the church that must be improved. In the context of a pandemic, conventional pastoral as a face-to-face encounter needs to be reconsidered. Online pastoral care is needed, for sure, but it must be understood as a method not a substitute for direct pastoral care. As a method, a counselor’s skills are needed in using available IT facilities, while maintaining pastoral ethics so that the process does not get distortion. The Synod Board, through Media Center Department, is preparing an online pastoral platform, which will be released soon. In another part, the church also provides pastoral assistance to people exposed to Covid-19 in the “healing house” established by the Ambon City government. Through this process, GPM

endeavors to build a method of pastoral care during a pandemic so that hopefully it becomes a contextual method or model of church pastoral care in the future.

### **7. Online services**

An online service approach is not a substitute for face-to-face church ministry, but one way that must be used during a pandemic. The development of information-communication technology must be affirmed as part of its ecclesiological mission in the contemporary world society. The church is not necessary to take an absolute dependence on technology but should make technology as innovative spaces to improve the quality of Christian services. According to the pastoral letter (March 23, 2020), the virtual worships, pastoral cares, congregational meetings, kid services, and so on, are taken to keep the church's worship exists.

### **8. The emergency condition of church ministries during the pandemic time**

During this pandemic, the GPM congregations (actually since 2019) are struggling to compile the strategic plan document 2021-2025. This process, then, is interrupted by the pandemic. In order to run the 2020 programs, GPM changes the way to implement some programs by using the risk planning method. The Synod Board issued two decrees concerning the Emergency Condition of Church Services during the Covid-19 and the Management of Church Finances during the Covid-19. Based on these two decrees, all church service programs and funds are focused on overcoming the impacts of Covid-19 in each congregation. In this way, the GPM is indirectly trying to compile a form of planning, organizing church services during the pandemic.

### **Pastoral Care as a Cultural Strategy during the Pandemic**

Several challenges for the church's pastoral ministry during the pandemic might be described as (1) the economic shock suffered by families of church members; (2) friction in relations between family members due to psychological pressure by the official restriction on public activities, especially for children; (3) adjustment of the division of labor in the family, especially for spouses; (4) pastoral care for the congregation's members who are infected by Covid-19. These four issues of church's pastoral ministry were found in each family of the most observed congregations by which an inference can be drawn that this is a common fact in most congregations of GPM. Along with the emerging issue of pastoral care, the church is urged to review the pastoral care methods and substances comprehensively, as well as redesign the its planning and strategy of pastoral care to be more contextual in responding to the pandemic situation (Muskita & Gaspersz, 2021).

First. The economic shock suffered by the most families of church members has stimulated internal tensions within the family's life. Most of the families who rely their income on informal job's sectors have been affected because they had layoffs either temporarily or permanently. Their workplaces suffered financial difficulties to continue their business.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, there were new needs to be met, such as providing gadgets and internet facilities for their children's online learning at home. This shock was felt as more problematic by families who rely their economic source merely on a single income. In such situation, they opted to disobey the official restriction by the government and still did activities outside the home. For them, "no working, no eating" and working means getting out of the house. The "work from home" slogan could not be applied to them. This kind of pandemic slogan was only relevant to others who work in the formal sector, such as civil servants who receive a monthly salary regularly. In order to overcome the family's economic crisis, many parents also insisted their children to involve in doing some works to help them, such as selling local foods (fried bananas, fried breadfruit) around the village or settlement. These parents thought that it is better for children to help with their work than just spending time playing outside the house because there are no school activities as they did before the pandemic.

Second. Psychological pressure due to the public restrictions for outside activities affected the relationship of family members of the congregation. The public restriction disrupted daily life which in turn bring about social anxiety. People were not willing to leave their houses unless by the demands for working. But over time, when the pandemic occurred more than a year, the saturation level reaches a climax. They felt no longer at home by just doing domestic activities around their house circumstances. Some outside social gatherings have been conducted gradually though still under the surveillance by the municipal government. The usage of health equipment, such as face mask, was still required but its functional meaning has been getting slack. The mask is only a complement for not to be sanctioned by the Covid-19 official task-force. Psychological pressure is getting stronger on families where the father/husband or mother/wife were ceased temporarily or permanently from their jobs; a crucial situation that stimulated internal conflicts due to emotional instability for the psychological pressures about daily needs. Many senior church members had health issues because no longer having time to participate in congregational services and ministries. Congregational gatherings or worships are the only time they have for socializing with colleagues during their retirement days. Likewise, the prohibition of children to playing outside has deprived them from the habitat of their physical and psychological growth by which they can interact and play with their peers. Children are increasingly addicted by the online games on their smartphones. Anti-social tendencies are getting stronger among middle-aged children and teenagers. They are increasingly feeling alienated from social interactions. Teenagers whose parents are unable to provide a device for studying are spending time for hanging out in the streets around their residential alleys. Cases of fights between groups of teenager in a congregation indicated the psychological pressure they suffered that in turn was expressed through destructive activities.

Third. Physical restrictions during the pandemic have shifted the meaning and role of to be husband/wife both inside and outside the household. They must adjust a new model of

husband/wife division of labor to maintain daily family life. However, the adjustment process does not always end with a consensus among them. The ideal common sense that husbands should work outside and wives work at domestic space, is drastically deconstruct. If previously the husband left the house routinely to work in the office or other workplace, during the pandemic he had to work from home. Though he can work from home, but he experiences different circumstance than at his workplace outside his household. This situation creates a sense of psychological alienation. In addition, husbands who work at/from home cannot ignore other household responsibilities that were previously handled by their wives. Various stories from the informants stated how husbands/fathers are learning more and more not only to think about working from home but having an awareness to participate with their wives and children doing work at home. At the same time, the wives realize that their roles during the pandemic has increased by being “teachers” for the kids at home. While maintaining the stability of family economic, the wives are looking for various opportunities to create online work as virtual entrepreneurs. If so, then, their husbands should take over to look after their children. Another fact shows that the disruption of routine work outside has led to an increasing tendency to play lottery which can be accessed virtually.

Fourth. The crucial issue since the outbreak of the pandemic is how to handle people who are positively infected by the virus. Since the beginning, general pictures of Coronavirus and its effects on social media has poisoned the most public minds. Eventually it forms a sort of stigmatization toward the infected persons as people who must be shunned, ostracized and considered as an impure. Medical treatment procedures with special protective clothes have increased a weird impression of the virus. Especially when some videos on social media provides information regarding procedures for taking care corpses and burial of corpses as suspected patients of Covid-19 in the isolated location and should not be placed in public cemetery. Based on our observations, some informants conveyed various expressions of confusion about the medical procedures. Even for the first year of the pandemic period, it was still unclear how to treat a suspected person and therefore must got special treatment according to medical procedures at the hospital. An informant in one congregation expressed his frustration and skepticism towards Covid-19 when he shared how his son had a broken leg due to an accident. However, when he brought him to the hospital he must passed medical test and resulted as “positive” infected. Then, he decided to get her son out of the hospital and seek an alternative medicine. Complicated problems were also faced by special services related to the procedures for pastoral care of the congregation members who are undergoing isolation in hospitals due to Covid-19; or how the pastoral empowerment is carried out for people whose traumatic experience when they buried their family member(s) with the Covid-19 procedure. Worship and funeral services were prohibited, but fully controlled by the Covid-19 task-force. Another problem from religious circumstance is about how the pastor conducts pastoral conversations during this pandemic.

## Conclusion

This article aims to show the resilience strategy of a religious institution in eastern Indonesia that has also experienced the impact of the Covid-19 outbreak and various crisis management policies in dealing with the Covid-19 carried out by the Indonesian national government and provincial/city governments in Maluku. As a religious institution that manages 761 congregations under 34 district administrations, who live in hundred islands of Maluku and North Maluku Provinces, GPM faces severe challenges in socializing health protocols and crisis management caused mainly by sudden virus attacks and panic, which driving the government to take emergency policies.

Based on preliminary observations and some informal conversations with members of the GPM congregation, this article intends to map tensions at the congregational level that arise in the forms of theological interpretation to respond to the facts of the pandemic Covid-19. It also describes the various efforts of the GPM in adjusting the church's stewardship system that has been carried out for decades with the reality of pandemic Covid-19, which demands fundamental changes in church management, liturgy, theological principles of Christian worship, and the construction of theological interpretations in living the reality of the pandemic.

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## Science, Nationalism, and Piety; Contested Ideas in Modern Indonesia Islamic School

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Sekolah Islam Terpadu (SIT) or integrated islamic school was first established in 1993 throughout an association of five elementary schools, which were SDIT Nurul Fikri Depok, Al Hikmah Jakarta Selatan, Iqro Bekasi, Ummul Quro Bogor and Al Khayrot Jakarta Timur. These five schools became the founding model of the establishment of integrated islamic schools which later nourished in many places in Indonesia.

In 2017, it was shown by the data in the official website of *Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu* that the number of registered schools are up to 2.418 schools, from kindergarten to high school. The number of teachers amounted to 80.000 people, while the students were up to one million.

This phenomenon, according to research, shows that the Muslim society also does have a new ideal image of the school that they trust their children to nurture their education to. The common method of culturalization is repeated parenting. However, by looking from the context of choosing a place for education, there is an alteration in the Muslim society in Indonesia. Researchers observe that the word alteration refers to the key indicator that is yet to be observed, which also means the change of ideal school image.

The political situation between 1980 to early 1990, according to Azra (1999), was a crucial period to determine the future of Islam and the muslims in Indonesia. Starting from the campus extracurricular activities trends that formed further islamic movements in higher public institutions. The alumni of those institutions were *dakwah* activists who resided in both urban and suburban areas in Indonesia.

They later work to provide for their families and are thought to find schools that follow their ideologies for their children. During this period, schools that provided a comprehensive curriculum that included the teachings of Tarbiyah were not content to be found yet, or could be said were still unrecognized in the society. Moreover, schools that are academically prominent were dominated by non-religious schools, this included both prestigious public schools and non-Islamic based private schools. The alternative was to send their children to boarding schools that focused on Islamic infused curriculum, which was not their most favored choice. I sensed that the worries from *Dakwah* activists that faced the academic environment for their next generation is a distinct part of their *Dakwah* journey.

The existence of SIT that developed rapidly is a huge phenomenon of *Dakwah*, whose aim is to create an ideal generation. The islamic school that developed in the past before the SIT



concept was introduced did not fulfill the criteria of ideal schools to promote the aimed generation. Those existing schools did not strengthen the intellectuality of students because it was infused by the understanding and tradition of secularism.

The tradition of being knowledgeable is what was considered as the ideality of the knowledge based on Islam, which foundation was the al-Qur'an and as-Sunnah. This dissertation stands on the case where there is a group of society that promotes an alternative teaching model in the country. The enticement was a curriculum that aligns both the weightiness of academic teachings and the knowledge regarding the relationship between one and their God. This offer was submitted in the form of an institution that integrates both curriculums.

This reseatch also discusses the culture of pursuing knowledge in a perspective of cultural resistance. The existence of Sekolah Islam Terpadu brought a new sight of curriculum among the education system in Indonesia. Implementation of SIT infuses curricula such as *Tarbiyah*, veiled into the common curriculum that later influences the life of all elements of the education system, who are the teachers, students, and their parents or guardians.

The research employed some methods as participant observation, literature study, and in-depth interview. I observed the relations between schooling activities and events that occurred in Indonesia social political life that give the broad context of how SITs were designed and executed. During the covid-19 pandemic period, I had the opportunity to join online classes and took a deep look on how the classes were conducted. I participated in casual parents' activities that helped a lot in gather some important data.

This research revealed that the values of tarbiyah movement internalized in SIT NF hidden curriculum. The load of tarbiyah curriculum does not exist as written in school formal curriculum hence proposed as a learning vibes and schooling ambience, and how it carried to children home environments. Subjects of learning delivered to students in school activities not only in classroom, but adopted thru many different experience in schooling activities. Curriculum is positioned as a vehicle of *dakwah* chain work and assured its capability to transmit their ideology. The establishment of SITs is a way that the Tarbiyah movement use to prove their resistance.

In terms of parents-teacher relationship in teaching-learning mechanism and role distribution, it works on the basis of trust model. School and learning model option from parents for their children are the needs to embodied value of trust that is called with *tsiqoh*. *Tsiqoh* derived from Arabic language that means being the best to be trusted. This value of *tsiqoh* creating relation missed from prior explanations about resistance and power that only see external pressure factor.

This also becoming the new thesis to offer. A new explanation about ideas contestation in the arena of hidden curriculum. Changing paradigm that the SIT NF has to offer not frontally done

thru protest or movement against the government. But thru the lane of education that not only directing to their own students, but also to channel their first circle, the family whom sent their children to SITs. From schools, SITs present and affecting their life. This research also demonstrates that contestation in curriculum is a form of cultural resistance. A school as a unit never could be separated from a socio-cultural system that surround. It goes both ways in potentially affecting each other. Curriculum, hidden and written, protecting values that they hold, and also actively offering new ideas and concepts of ideal Islamic lifestyle. This made the mode of resistance become actively played. Hidden curriculum plays important role as conveyer of Islamic values. This research also found that hidden curriculum is something that desired, targeted to achieve, by parents and school actors that determined to create certain new way of Islamic livelihood.



## PANEL 12. CONTESTED VALUES, SOCIO-NATURAL REARRANGEMENT, AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE TIME OF CRISIS

Questioning kemajuan: Local-global Values in Development Discourse Trajectories in North Kendeng, Central Java

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### Introduction

Since its raising, Orde Baru has buzzed pembangunan (development) as a broad concept. This concept has remained attached to the overall goal of a linear and social economy called 'progress' (Venkatesan and Yarrow 2006). In neo-liberalism, policy-making by the state, various institutions, and multinational corporations often exclude the citizens who inhabit a particular place (deterritorialization) (Chester and Welsh: 2006). Therefore, the development approach that separates humans from their ecological context has given rise to collective political expression in the form of social movements with reterritorialization, either in terms of knowledge or physical sphere, as the main agenda.

Social movements are meeting spaces between various identities, knowledge systems, and social groups at this stage. Some devoted literature discusses the implications of the growing literature on social movements as knowledge producers and practitioners (see Casas Cortés 2009; Escobar 2008; Escobar 1992; S. Alvarez 1999). Furthermore, this paper seeks to demonstrate a critical dialogue between different knowledge of knowledge producers, in this case, academics and members of the movement (Lozano 2013). In addition, regarding the movement agendas, this dialogue has produced two kinds of knowledge distribution: *in-situ* (circuited knowledge) and *ex-situ* (networked knowledge) (Allen, 2013). These knowledge distribution mechanisms mainly disseminate the alternative concept of *kemajuan* (progress) that the Kendeng Movement proposed.

### Mining the mind: Extractive industry as a development symbol

The concept of development in the decentralized era in Indonesia is inseparable from the model development practiced during the New Order era. Since the 1980s, New Order began to push the agenda of industrialization and modernization with the concept of *era tinggal landas* (the era of taking off). After New Order collapsed, multiple local governments imitated this concept as a development model in the age of decentralization. Large industries focused on exploiting natural resources, especially mining, replaced the agricultural development model.

Even though it passed by the Juwana River, the largest river in Pati Regency, Southern Pati was described as an unfertile area, so it needs to improve by building an irrigation system. Head of Residence Muhammad Joesoef (1996–2001) popularized the term *Basahi Pati Selatan* (let us wet Southern Pati) to rush up the construction of irrigation projects in the late 1980s and reduce the resistance of landowners affected by the project. Since that, the government agency and other actors have used this slogan to support their interests, such as a massive plan to industrialize this area by building a cement factory. The concept of "watering" then symbolizes the expanding development by placing industrial issues in the North Kendeng Hills area instead. This violence on physical and cultural imagination is a crucial stage in the development process by the state. Thus, development is not only concerned with physical development but also with knowledge systems (Escobar 2008).

However, in the context of the idea of "watering Southern Pati," the Kendeng Mountains Care Community Network (JM-PPK) argues that Southern Pati is not a dry area as stated by the cement factory and the Pati Regency government. They look at the concept of development from ways other than government bureaucracy (Yarrow and Venkatesan 2006). Furthermore, they stated that this industry would distinguish their social and cultural identity as farmers. The idea of progress gradually shifted from economic welfare to generational prosperity among small landowners in the hills of North Kendeng.

#### ***Golek Sedulur: Co-producing alternative knowledge***

Talking directly as an ordinary person in the knowledge-bureaucratization regime is challenging. JM-PPK, supported by Acuntyasunyata Speleological Club (ASC), have to complete a survey on the cave and underground river system in North Kendeng to prove what they believe in more academic language (Cadu 2015; Marks 2009). The result spread through many media, for instance, scientific journals, public discussions, movies, and posters (Paripurno, Wacana, Mesa, Rodhialfallah, dan Raimon 2010). Afterward, the findings of this independent study developed a solid argument for why Mount Kendeng should be protected from destructive activities, such as cement factory mining.

JM-PPK organized some campaigns creatively to challenge the local government's development policy. One of the main events was visiting some villages in the plant site areas to convey information about the dangers of a cement factory mine. For this purpose, several locals have been trained to become orators who will be ready to attend various community meetings. They crafted materials for villagers, such as information about the environmental damage from mining that would occur, the Environmental Analysis process, and others. Explaining the relatively complex materials using the local language, which is relaxed and communicative, drives more people from various groups to understand their problems and evolve curious in joining this movement.

Agrarian issues were sensitive in the past, especially after the 1980s, so the agrarian movement activist did not have space to make it a common problem. This agrarian issue then is wrapped in more acceptable environmental matters to the New Order regime. To some extent, the peasant movement in post-New Order Indonesia combines agrarian and ecological movements (Peluso, Afiff and Rahman 2008). As also occurred in the North Kendeng case, which tells of the process of marginalizing the small farmer's existence through the karst mining plan. The discourse of environmental saving camouflaged the agrarian issues there.

### Heal the earth

The Samin community divides all the creatures into two broad categories: humans and food and clothing (livelihood). According to this view, every living thing is created in pairs. If some cause damage, they are still searching for the other side, including the Covid-19 virus. Whether it had a partner or the partner was diminished by human activities, healthy earth will be the best protection from such a pandemic. So this post-pandemic momentum becomes a space for JM-PPK to continue pressuring a sustainable development agenda to the government. Unfortunately, on the other hand, the government is also pushing the logic of economic development, that is, pro-big infrastructure, as part of efforts to recover the economy.

### Conclusion

The contestation of the idea of progress breeds action in various spaces. At the level of knowledge about the Southern Pati area, the local government describes it as a dry area that will not progress if it does not carry out industrialization efforts. At the same time, JM-PPK sees that the industrialization agenda, especially mining, will cause environmental deterioration, eradicate agricultural potential, and diminish the farmers in Southern Pati. These concepts mark a mediation space regarding the meaning of *kemajuan* (progress).

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## Neoliberalism and the ambiguity of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)

*Iwan Pirous, Syarifuddin (Gaia Eko Daya Buana)*

This paper aim to discuss ambiguity of values, questioning ethical, power relations, moral issues which sit uncomfortably for anthropologists who take position as environmental consultant in neoliberalism economy era. A situation that requires her/him to twist the meaning of “putting the people first”, while at the same time continuously self-questioning: who has the right to translate their money into what sorts of meaning? (Graeber, 2012).

The neoliberal economic system has created a market-driven world in which states and corporations both promote the commercialization of nature, and consultants serve as multidisciplinary scientists. An Environmental Consultant provides assessment and advisory services for their clients on matters regarding the management of environmental issues. They are generally hired by consultancy firms, which are hired by the public sector or commercial organizations.

Every environmentalist worked in consultancy firms are seemingly pushed to provide successful stories by promoting simplistic narratives to efficiently generates funds using productive terms such as ecotourism, bioprospecting, payments for environmental services. offers a spectrum of positive values as promises including aiding cash poor communities to protect their biodiversity, promise increased participation, inclusion, development, empowerment of rural populations, eradication of poverty, encouraging environmentally friendly industries, and educating people to love and steward nature. However, recent studies suggest that Neoliberal driven governance and conservation initiatives often have negative social or ecological outcomes. Büscher and Dressler (2007) use the term 'layer of discursive blur' to describe how a series of rhetorical concepts such as participation, sustainable development, and win-win solutions are repeatedly used throughout conservation agency networks to conceal complex reality of unequal power relations between companies, communities and ignorant state. It is doubtful that Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) really acts as instrument to gain people’s consent.

Data was collected from various cases while working as an environmental consultant in Central Kalimantan and Riau from 2018 to 2021 related to palm oil companies (company names will be mentioned in persentation). The term "FPIC" is used by the corporations to refer to an administrative procedure that includes an FPIC letter, an attendance list of attendees, and pictures of meeting activities in the village. But we believe that the FPIC general principle should be taken into account in social impact assessment studies. However, businesses that hire us as consultants typically disregard findings that have a detrimental effect on the community. Tenure disagreements are one of the things that the company



detests the most. The company's resistance demonstrates that good corporate ethics haven't been properly put into practice, on the one hand. However, the researcher may feel that, despite the sophistication of the scientific approach they employs, the researcher is an unreliable source since they consistently offers unfavorable facts. This situation raises troubling ethical issues. First, if knowledge must be concealed, how can researchers facilitate FPIC-based negotiation effectively? Second, communities are constantly vulnerable and at a disadvantage. Third, the researcher cannot guarantee that the report's findings will be truly used as a guide to strengthen ties between the community and the company. We hope that this presentation will provide an opportunity for us to share and reflect on field experiences in discuss the moral ambiguity or values that we confront as researchers working in a neoliberal business environment.

### Delivering Broad Community Support or Consent in the Context of the International Safeguard on Indigenous Peoples: Lessons from West Manggarai District, East Nusa Tenggara.

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#### Introduction

International financial institutions have long imposed a safeguard on indigenous peoples. The safeguards stipulate that all projects dealing with indigenous peoples must carry out meaningful consultation and/or apply the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), so that it will have broad community support and/or consent.<sup>65</sup>

In fact, this policy does not guarantee that the project will run without obstacles. Various cases of rejection from indigenous peoples continue to emerge. However, instead of cancelling it, in the case of the World Bank, the results of the investigation and mediation carried out by The Inspection Panel emphasised the importance of better implementation of this safeguard. "Indigenous Peoples' policy is one of the most complex protections. It has *specific* and *sensitive* criteria. ... (therefore) must be carried out properly. ... requires qualified expertise to capture the uniqueness of indigenous peoples" (the Inspection Panel, 2016).

Based on my experience assisting a project, it is not easy to implement the Safeguards for Indigenous Peoples. There are at least 2 difficulties to implement it. First is related to so-called term 'specific criteria'; second, related to 'sensitive criteria'. The various guidelines only state that consultations can be meaningful if public consultations have been carried out throughout

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<sup>65</sup> See several safeguard from the World Bank, Asian Development Bank; and the International Finance Corporation. Before 2018 FPIC stands for free, prior, informed consultation.

the project and must be inclusive, transparent, legitimate, and indigenous peoples cultural sensitives.<sup>66</sup>

That guideline is not sufficient. It requires methodological innovation from its users. The first step that could be done is interpret what is meant by the 'specific criteria'. From the perspective of anthropology, we can affirm that it is related to 4 (four) elements of the universal culture. Each of them are (1) values; (2) social institutions; (3) cultural objects; and (4) language (Koentjaraningrat, 19..; Ahimsa Putra, 19..).

The interpretation above is still general and need a more operational definition, i.e how these four elements work in carrying out meaningful consultations to achieve broad support and/or consent. We can say that it relates to social institutions that regulate the decision-making process for the interests of the people. In this institution there are at least three sub-elements that need to be identified. They are (a) the actors involved; (b) the mechanism for its implementation (including elements of time and place); (c) the values and rules that apply in the decision-making mechanism itself (F. von Benda-Beckman, 2000; K. von Benda-Beckmann, 2000).

Therefore, a consultation is meaningful if the decision-making process has been carried out according to the relevant social institutions. Thus, if during the consultation the decision was to accept the project and documented in the minutes signed by the parties, we can say that the project has received broad community support or consent even though there were some objections (smaller in numbers).

### **Waesano Experience**

- The existence of indigenous peoples in Waesano

The planning of the project started in 2016. The environmental and social impact assessment was completed in mid-2019. One conclusion is that in Waesano Village there are no indigenous peoples. Later, some groups of the community rejected the project. A consultation that was held to resolve the objections ended in a walk out from them. Letters of rejection were sent to various parties, including the World Bank and the President of the Republic of Indonesia (June 2020). In supporting their arguments, in contrast to the ESIA conclusion, the opponents also claim to be indigenous peoples.

Further studies that were conducted later showed that the claim is valid. The people in Waesano Village are mostly from a Manggarai ethnic group. They gathered into a number of genealogical-based social units (*batu*) and three customary village called *golo* (currently more

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<sup>66</sup> Inclusive means involving every party, including those who have the potential to reject the project; Transparent means that the public is given thorough information. No confidential information, except regulated as a secret by law; and legal means that it can be accepted according to existing rules. Both formal and customary rules.

popular as *kampung*). Each *golo/kampung* is led by a *tu'a golo*. Lawang (1999) said that *golo* refers to a traditional Manggarai ethnic settlement unit that directly link to the existence of *wa'u* (descent groups based on patrilineal lineages which are often called *gendang*) and *lingko* (agricultural land with a land division model that resembles a spider's web). It is revealed in a traditional local view as *gendang one lingkon pe'ang*. It literally means 'A village will be formed if *gendang* and *lingko* exist.'

In the context of Manggarai People, in order to make decisions for the interests of the people, there is a mechanism called *Lonto Leo*. It literally means 'to sit in a circle'. Usually held in a traditional house (*mbaru gendang*). *Lonto leo* is facilitated by traditional leaders.

The term *Lonto Leo* used by the project as a substitute for term public consultation as mentioned in the guidelines refers to the meaning proposed by Netting (1974) and Ahimsa Putra, (1994 & 1997). According to them, the knowledge of the community about the surrounding environment (effective environment) is cultural. With this basic meaning, the participants of *Lonto Leo* will immediately understand their rights and obligations during the process and also the results.

Traditionally, *lonto leo* will be valid if it starts with *kepok adat*. The *kepok adat* signified 1) the community accepted the project for a dialogue; 2), the dialogue was expected to result in a fruitful decision; and 3) activities were not disturbed (supernatural or social forces).

- Seeking broad community support and/or consent

Responding to the letter of rejection the Government cq. Project (1) established a social team; (2) conducted a gap analysis of the previous studies and plans; (3) built cooperative relationship with the Diocese of Ruteng and other parties at the West Manggarai District level (incorporated into a *Memorandum of Understanding* which was followed up with the preparation/approval of a Follow-Up Work Plan or RKTL).

There were at least dozen of reasons given by the opponents. Starting from the distance of the location of the wellpad from people's houses to the potential of water shortage in the area. In the process of developing the Work Plan, all of these objections were clarified technically and academically. The final conclusion is that all these issues have technical and social solutions. For example, changing the priority of drilling from wellpad B (that is close to people's houses) to wellpad A (which is relatively far). In the first quarter of 2022 the project carried out a series of *Lonto Leo*, which aimed to agree the Indigenous Peoples Plan (IPP) document and the plan for alternative access roads around Lake Sano Nggoang. All activities involved all parties, led by *tu'a golo*, and executed according to the tradition. Even though the opponents were invited, they did not attend the meeting.

In early April 2022, a senior social safeguard specialist as a representative from the World Bank office in Washington conducted a field visit. During the visit the World Bank met various

parties. In the post field visit notes, the World Bank concluded that, although 80% of the population as well as the local government and religious institutions supported the project, broad community support had not yet been achieved. Complaints that the project will disturb the 'community living space' are well-founded and acceptable.<sup>67</sup>

If we refer to the recognized social structure in which the decision-making process for the common interest was done according to traditional values and rules as adopted by the Government and the Project, it is clear that the decision to reject this project does not meet the inclusive (involving all parties), transparent, and legitimate (according to the existing tradition) principles.

### Conclusion

From the description above, it is clear that the presence or absence of support and/or consent from the wider community is not solely determined by 'specific criteria' which can be measured through an ethnographic approach. Waesano's experience shows that 'sensitive criteria' plays a greater role.

The problem is how that the sensitive criteria was not elaborated clearly when making a decision whether a project can go or not. Referring to Waesano's case, the factors used in assessing are in the dark room. It comes from the perspective of the funder who owns the standard.

This paper suggests that to be able to decide fairly and can be verified, the implementation of the safeguard related to indigenous peoples must consider reputational risk. Both the risks from the perspective of lenders and borrowers.

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<sup>67</sup> The Bank's view contradicts the view of the social safeguard specialist from the project side. Please note that the reason for 'destroying living space' only appeared recently and it was unclear to what extent. In fact, technically, none of the elements of the traditional living space of the traditional villages in Waesano will be disturbed.

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## Lako ko toe? (Does it work?)

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The demise of Indonesia's authoritarian New Order regime in 1998 marked a new era of democratisation and decentralised governance. This process was generously supported by international development/aid agencies such as the World Bank which introduced a new development framework known as community-driven development (CDD). Villages in Indonesia became awash with development/aid programmes that allocated resources directly to them and mobilised civil society involvement in development processes. In 2014, after a decade of experience with World Bank CDD interventions, the Indonesian government enacted a new law on village governance, namely Law No. 6/2014, which granted all 74,960 villages in Indonesia relative autonomy and greater resources to design and manage their own development projects. Further, since the enactment of the New Village Law (2015-2021), the government has disbursed 20.67 trillion Rupiah to fund development projects in the villages under a development program called Village Community Development and Empowerment Program (*Program Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa* or P3MD). Although the government brands the project as 'community empowerment', the main products of P3MD are overwhelmingly infrastructures such as village roads (261,877 km), bridges (1,494,804 m), an irrigation system (76,453 units), *et cetera*.

Within the current arrangement, the role of political actors such as the elected village heads is central in implementation of development projects in the villages. In addition, the Indonesian government has also recruited technical facilitators to assist village governments in the execution of development projects on the ground and to ensure that the mechanism of 'good' governance is followed. In a six months period of fieldwork observing village facilitators and village government officials' activities in Manggarai District, East Nusa Tenggara Province, I witness how the implementation of village development is overwhelmingly centred around technical practices related to the production of inscription/documentation. Inscription based practice is inevitable within the rise of audit culture following the introduction of 'good' governance in post-authoritarian Indonesia. Although it is overwhelmingly technical in practice, portraying the implementation of the village development program as merely technocratic is a cruel simplification and, more importantly, leave unnoticed elements beyond the technical that suffuse development practices. *Lako ko toe?* is a methodological manoeuvre in my attempt to 'capture' elements beyond technicality in the 'performance of good governance' in Manggarai. In the film, I present two important events that I recorded in early October 2019: a village facilitators' evaluation meeting and a community meeting regarding the provision of a water reservoir. In both settings, a moral atmosphere envelope and permeate the practice of rendering

technical. Through the vantage point of [paid] development workers such as village facilitators, the film unfolds development practices as both rendering technical and a site of moral experience and ethical action.

## Disastrous Environment-Making: Lapindo Mudflow Disaster, Disaster Mega Projects and Corporation-State-Science as Nexus of Geological Forces

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In 2006 Lapindo Brantas Inc. had conducted a successful operation in the Wunut gas field, Porong Subdistrict, Sidoarjo, for ten years. It expanded its gas wells to Renokenongo village in Porong, East Java, Indonesia. On March 8, 2006, the drilling activity started in the Banjar Panji-1 (the BJP-1) gas field in Renokenongo. The drilling well operations in the BJP-1 went on for eighty days, and suddenly underground blowout occurred. On May 29, 2006, it triggered a mud spill. The gas field turned into a disaster that produced mudflow to the surface. The mud from the drilling well spread fast and became a tragedy for villagers living around the area. The state and capital faced the potential frontier disassembling from two different agents. The first agent was the force of nature in the form of the continuous mudflow production and movements from beneath the earth. The other was the resistance of villagers surrounding the natural gas production site and Sidoarjo's local population. The central questions are: (1) what is at stake concerning accumulation? (2) How do the state and capital reassemble the disastrous environment? Parenti recognizes the state as an environmental entity, ensuring capital's access to nature as the provider of raw material (2016, 167). The environmental-making state for Parenti has *geopower* a "statecraft and technologies of power that make territory and the biosphere accessible, legible, knowable, and utilizable" (2016, 171). The first part of this article will examine how the Mudflow Disaster challenged the establishment of the Indonesian gas assemblage and generated an accumulation crisis for state and capital. The second part will focus on how the disastrous environment-making generated by capital activities intertwined with extra-human nature and co-produced the mudflow. The mudflow resulted from corporate drilling activities and the movement of the earth within the local Porong geological formation. The third part will explore corporate-state-science relations in maintaining, preventing and managing the disassembling Porong gas frontier. The state, capital and science reassemble the disastrous environment by developing disaster mega-projects through environment-making activities such as mud embankments, mudflow drainage, and relocating the toll roads. Disaster mega-projects are projects developed by the state, and the corporation is part of disaster management solutions. Disaster mega-projects can also be a way to fix and overcome the failure of the previous mega-project development or the destructive effect that occurs in the operation of an existing mega project. Finally, it will conclude by engaging with Anthropocene (Crutzen



and Stoermer 2000; Crutzen 2002) discourse suggests that the case study of the Lapindo Mudflow exemplifies that not all humans are responsible for the destruction of the earth. It will set the Capitalocene (Moore 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Parenti 2016) argument that the corporation-state-science is the nexus of geological forces compared to other humans, i.e., the affected villagers.

### The Broken Dream of Neoliberal Projects: Stalled Infrastructure Development and Its Translation in Central Maluku

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This paper examines stalled mega infrastructure projects in Central Maluku and considers the centrality of translation in the dynamics of neoliberal developments. In Indonesia, the development of strategic state infrastructures is driven by the interest in promoting neoliberal economic growth, namely to further the extractions of natural resources. While such a description is illustrative of the projects of New Ambon Port and National Fish Reserve in Central Maluku, which are developed to allow more efficient exploitation of regional ocean resources and criticized for potentially endangering them as well as small-scale fisheries, both are also more than that. The projects become a matter of Malukan pride and people only start to pay attention to them when they evoke the uneasy relationship between the Indonesian central government and Maluku, especially after their development is constrained by limited resources and bureaucratic mess. Discourses concerning the uncertainty of the projects or why they stall are charged with jealousy of other provinces, resentment toward the central government, and reminiscent of the persistent representation of Maluku as the disregarded province. What I aim to argue through this paper is neoliberal infrastructure discourses work by being translated. In this case, the aforementioned projects are being rendered into a broken dream of being a notable and developed Indonesian province.

### Safeguard Policy in The Infrastructure Development: Safeguarding Culture Heritage in Indonesia

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This study aims to understand individual characteristics, organizational culture and organizational commitment of the managers and management of cooperatives. Cooperatives, as a pillar of economics in Indonesia, are getting less conducive compared to other economic actors, such as State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and private companies. One of the missions of the cooperatives in Indonesia is to strengthen the national economy in

which most of the actors are economically weak. This research tries to understand how human resources manage a cooperative and to find suitable solutions based on aspects of organizational culture fit to local situations and conditions. The data was collected by using questionnaire and analyzed by using SEM-PLS. The results show that individual characteristics significantly influenced organizational culture and organizational commitment. However, organizational culture did not significantly influence organizational commitment. This study suggests that it is necessary to increase the organizational culture by focusing on mutual cooperation values to make the organizational commitment stronger. For individual characteristics, the cooperative managers and management with positive personalities, values and attitude to cooperatives are required to commit for the cooperative's success. It is highly important to maintain the existence of cooperatives in the midst of aggressive market penetration of private business actors

### Planning and Constructing Future of Indonesia's Capital City

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Indonesia's Nusantara National Capital (NNC) design was created to present a futuristic city as a model and example of a modern city. This plan begins with the presentation of President Jokowi on Indonesia's birthday in front of the DPR until the announcement of East Kalimantan as the location of the capital. The development of Indonesia's NCC, called "Nusantara", has entered a new phase after the New State Capital Law was promulgated by Parliament. Planning is a crucial and complex stage to realize future ideas (Abram & Weszkalnys, 2013) for the nation's capital. This political context makes the design and execution stages obtain valid legal legitimacy. Starting with the detailed and integrated master plan, supporting infrastructure such as dams, toll roads, electricity will be carried out as soon as possible. The future of the "Nusantara" will gradually show its form in the plans made by the state. I used the terms assemblage of infrastructure (Hetherington, 2016) and built environment (Laszczkowski, 2016; Pellow & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2014) loosely interchangeably to describe a city planning. It refers to the idea that a (not yet) capital city can be seen as a design assemblage of infrastructure to ensure the "flow" of the state, which describes the future style of urban planning and applies the latest modern technology. Therefore, this research wants to reveal how the narrative or discourse of moving the capital city is produced and reproduced by the government. To see the legitimacy of the relocation, the researcher will further investigate how these narratives were constructed, what policies were drawn up, what plans and mechanisms were in place to make the relocation of the capital as a right choice for the state.

## Negotiating the Burning Future: Indigenous Responses, Infrastructures, and Fire Governance in Indonesia

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Responding to the massive forest and land fires in 2015, the Indonesian state established the Peat Restoration Agency that aimed at mitigating impacts of such environmental catastrophes. This agency has been constructing extensive fire infrastructure to mediate and regulate future interactions between people and nature. It has also been promoting bottom-up participation through which villagers are expected to maintain and operate these new facilities. Findings from ethnographic experience in the dry season of 2019 show that instead of preventing fires, these infrastructures have "facilitated" the occurrence of fire events. Such a paradox signals the disjuncture between Indigenous responses and the current state intervention. This paper calls attention to infrastructure and the ways it facilitates not only the exchange of environmental ideas but also manifests imagination and desire. By focusing on the way fire infrastructures are perceived, embraced, and/or contested, this paper seeks to explain how the Indigenous peoples orient themselves toward the environmental/economic intervention and to the future imagined by the state and its experts. Considering Indigenous positionalities is a crucial step towards understanding the multiple possibilities of fire governance and the other contemporary environmental projects that demand people's participation and local engagement.

## Lambo-Mbay Dam: Discourses and Site Value

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Since 2014, Indonesia under Joko Widodo's administration has been focusing on the infrastructure development. One of the priorities included here the government target for dam construction, as one of kind of water infrastructure, for 69 units until 2024. Seven dams have been planned to be built in East Nusa Tenggara Province. One of them is Lambo-Mbay Dam. It was historically planned in the early 2000s but in short-years failed, and reemerged in 2015 at Nagekeo Regency. Long process of this dam development due contestation of the dam site, Lowo Se, between government and indigenous groups. Literatures focusing on dam development mostly elaborates productivity, nature-social destructions, resistance and violence in military or non-military regime, political actors-contestation, public participation in the development, and the transformation of the local articulation into national and global articulation. Those literatures missed to see the significance of the dam site and the value of dam site related to development and dam discourse which was created the state's

persistence to build Lambo-Mbay Dam. This abstract will delve deeper to the way value and discourse is influential to dam development in Indonesia.



## PANEL 13. SOCIO-CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF PEACEFUL DIALOGUE IN PAPUA

### Mang Culture of Dialogue and Peace, Mam-Mam Ethnic Sentani Based on Local Wisdom

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Indonesia with its cultural diversity has 1,128 ethnic groups, spread across 17 thousand islands. The cultural plurality of Indonesian society is like two sides of a coin, on the one hand it is a national wealth and on the other hand has the potential to cause socio-cultural misharmony because there are communication and relations that are not harmonious between diverse cultures. Creating harmonious socio-cultural harmony in a pluralistic society requires a process of dialogue and peace between plural societies.

In research using this qualitative methodology, data were collected through observation techniques, interviews, and literature studies. The results of the study found that the Sentani ethnicity who live in the eastern region (*Ralibhu*), in the central part (*Nolobhu*), and in the western part (*Waibu*) along Lake Sentani, in realizing harmonious socio-cultural harmony in a plural life still uses the process of dialogue and peace characterized by *Mang*, *Mam-Mam* in a structured manner. For Sentani people who live in the Lake Sentani area and its surroundings, the dialogue process is carried out starting from the lowest social group, namely the household / nuclear family (*Oro Mabho*). The head of the family becomes the main key in the process of dialogue, resolution, and decision making. In addition, the continuity of dialogue is also based on the *Mang* value of the nuclear family.

Further dialogue takes place within a wider social group or extended family (*lymea*). This social group is a physical building of residential houses for a small social group of nuclear families (Nuclear Family) and a combination of clans that are descendants of one ancestor. This kinship group is led by a *Khoselo* who comes from the oldest ancestor as the base of descent and they are related by blood. The dialogue process was coordinated by *Khoselo* by listening to the opinions of each clan. Settlement and decision-making, as well as the continuity of dialogue are based on the *Mang* values of the extended family. The results of the dialogue are usually presented by *Khoselo* in a wider meeting of the village community social group (*Yo*).

Kampung, or in Sentani language called "*Yo*", is the highest social group in Sentani culture. A *Yo* is a special place that has been determined by ancestors as a place of eternal residence. By any pressure and under any circumstances, *Yo* cannot be abandoned. Exceptions can occur only when a community becomes extinct by a catastrophe, war, or plague. *Yo* cannot and

must not be established in a place that is the source of people's livelihood. The occurrence of a *Yo community* goes through many risks that show the sacrifice of life and property. In the beginning, *Yo* was strengthened through the *Yo Howa* ceremony, which means opening *Yo* with a magical power, it was after the community succeeded in subduing and cleaning up the crisis situation at the location designated as *Yo*. The next procession is to stick the pole of the house from iron wood, as a sign that the place in question is owned and ready to be used as a place of settlement. The legal place of settlement is called *Yo hukhulu-yangsukhulu*.

The forms of the villages are mostly clustered densely autonomously. It is always located and must be separated from other villages so that an *Ondofolo*, the head has a village with clear boundaries. The boundaries between one clan and another are marked with specific houses. Usually, the clan chief's house is an indicator to distinguish one clan chief's house from another clan chief. Kampung (*Yo*) is the embodiment of the highest social group is autonomous. Traditionally, there has always been a community consensus in achieving goals and ideals. The objectives referred to here include: defending the honor and reputation of *Ondofolo* village and protecting waters and other natural resources. Structurally, *Yo* is headed by an *Ondofolo*. One village social group (*Yo*) consists of at least 5 extended families (*Imea*). The dialogue process carried out in this social group involves all leaders of the extended family (*Khoselo*), and village functionaries. Settlement, and decision making, as well as the sustainability of dialogue based on the value of mang Kampung (*Yo*).

### Gig Politics in West Papua, Indonesia

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West Papua, Indonesia, has long been plagued by conflict about sovereignty since the act of free choice in 1969. The act of free choice is considered a shame, and the destiny of West Papua is sealed by 1059 representatives that chose to be integrated with Indonesia. Unfortunately, the quest for the sovereignty of West Papuans can not be completely wiped out by the strong military oppression under New Order (1969-1998) and even power-sharing (special autonomy) under reformation since 2001. The pillar of sovereignty conflict remains polarised into the idea of West Papua as the legitimate integral part of Indonesia and the idea of West Papua as a sovereign independent state. The West Papuans are fragmented into two groups. The first group pursued the idea of sovereignty through the idea of referendum and independence. In contrast, the second group preferred the Papuanisation of the power in the social-economic and political sphere from the district, regency and provincial levels. The interest of the groups is then manifested in coping strategy to secure group interest, seize power and benefits and subdue the rival group.

The research aims at investigating 1) how the West Papuans have historically coped with conflict and state policy since the early 1960s; 2) how special autonomy (2001 to present) has intensified fear, disrupted the lives of Papuans, and changed their coping strategies. The research is carried out in Manokwari, the capital city of Papua Barat Province, West Papua, Indonesia. The data are collected with interviews, diarists, and secondary resources from the government, non-government organisations, and local news. The interview is done with the key informant leaders in Manokwari. The diary entry is used to describe the phenomenon in the two selected villages in District Manokwari Timur and District Manokwari Selatan. The diarist is a West Papuan who lives in the local village and is trained to be a diarist. The diary entry is collected daily, weekly and monthly from January to December 2021. It is a source of meaningful information as travel is prohibited due to the surge of Covid 19 in Manokwari.

The research reveals that West Papuan experience a shrinking of sovereignty. They are marginalised due to the domination of migrants in the economy and political sphere as well as the bolstering of military power associated with the establishment of the new autonomous region in West Papua. The implementation of special autonomy for about 21 years is not able to transform the West Papuan into "the lord over their own land, people, and resource" (Tuan atas negeri sendiri). Accordingly, retaking back the control over the land, the resource, and power in a social, political, and economic sphere (Papuanisation) is considered sovereignty for West Papuans.

The research also reveals that the West Papuan coping strategy to sovereignty, conflict and state policy is evolving with a sense of flexibility and creativity. Historically, from the Dutch Decolonisation Period (1945-1962), UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executive Administration) period (1962-1963), Indonesian administration (1963-1969), the act of free choice 1969, to the New Order Period (1969-1998), the coping strategy of West Papuan is a cycle of to resisting, voicing, neglecting, exiting, submitting, pretending (chameleonism), and loyalty. The cycle is related to the creativity and flexibility of the West Papuan to switch between the Indonesian and Independent poles. It then evolved into an umbrella strategy that I called "gig politics". Gig politics is a contract based commitment to fulfilling short term tasks to secure interest, benefit and deflect the danger of shrinking sovereignty and annihilation. Even if the tasks require a long term commitment, it does not necessarily prevent the elites and the West Papuans from engaging publicly or secretly with the idea of Indonesia and independence. These kinds of dualism of becoming Indonesian and, at the same time, the Papuan with independence sentiment, which is less expressed during the New Order, are strongly present under Special Autonomy. In performing the gig politics, the West Papuan elites become time servers. They use information, power and mass support to be flexible and creative to move beyond the boundary of the Indonesia camp and pro-independence camp by capitalising on the idea of NKRI harga mati (The United Republic of Indonesia is immutable) and the idea of Papua Merdeka Harga mati (The independence of Papua is immutable).



In contrast, the community at the village level performs the gig politic by maintaining floating yet reactive neutrality. The community maintain floating neutrality to access the support and development package from the Indonesian government, even though there is still independence sentiment, but it is covert. While maintaining neutrality, the community is also reactive to elite manoeuvre and landscape change at local, national, and international levels to position themselves in a better position to deflect danger and access benefits offered by Indonesian and independent camps.

The research reveals the enabling condition that supports gig politics. First, the pillar of conflict exists in West Papua. The Indonesian and independence camps tried to control by convincing the West Papuans through 1) development programs, cooptation, and intelligence operation, 2) memory of suffering, oppression, deprivation, and the historical flaw of integration related to the 1969 act of free choice and the dream of independence. It caused West Papuans to continuously juggle the idea of NKRI harga mati (The United Republic of Indonesia is immutable) and the idea of Papua Merdeka harga mati (The independence of Papua is immutable). The special autonomy provides power-sharing yet creates extreme deprivation for West Papuans due to migrants' domination, poverty and intense military oppression. The condition caused West Papuans to secure safety and welfare by taking shelter under powerful elites, Indonesian affiliated groups, or even the independent affiliates. Third, the fear and desire felt by West Papuans are shaped by the past memories of suffering and present opportunity from formulating a coping strategy to secure interest in the present and the future. The fear and desire become the balance between engaging and benefiting from either Indonesia or the Independent camp. Finally, the interconnection and entanglement between the West Papuan under Indonesia and the Independent banner are strong, so disentanglement and transfer between banners are liquid and possible. West Papua as habitus is capitalised by both the Indonesian entrepreneur, independent entrepreneur and other profit-oriented entrepreneurs to secure interest in a better position.

It is proposed that a balanced push and pull-driven development be utilised to develop West Papua better.

## Ethnicity and Democracy in the Land of Papua: The Politics of Baku Atur

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This study reveals the politics of ethnicity in the Land of Papua with a democratic perspective that other researchers rarely do, for three reasons. *First*, theoretically, recent studies have developed that show a not necessarily negative relationship between ethnicity and democracy in African, South Asian, Southeast Asian, and Melanesian countries – including Indonesia and Papua. *Second*, methodologically, the study of Papua tends to separate

ethnicity studies led by local and international anthropologists to understand the lives and values of indigenous Papuans, and political studies of Papuan democracy such as regional elections, *self-determination*, and expansion by academics and political activists. At this point, I analyze the relationship between ethnicity and democracy in Papua with a constructivist approach that assumes that ethnic identity can change and is multi-identity as the setting changes that occur, especially after the fall of the New Order. *Third*, practically speaking, there are election results in regencies/cities showing the election of non-Papuans as regents or mayors, including the election of non-Papuan regents in South Sorong over the past two terms (2005-2015) in districts where the majority of the population is indigenous Papuans. In contrast, Keerom, with a majority of the population of non-Papuans (Migrants) chose indigenous Papuans as regents and defeated its non-Papuan competitors in 2020.

With *comparative case studies*: comparing South Sorong (West Papua) and Keerom (Papua Province), I conclude that ethnicity is closely related and can work with democratic values in the Land of Papua. This is based on 4 logics that can connect the two, namely: *Madisonian logic*, *ethnic party logic*, *separatist logic*, and *brokerage logic* (Selway, 2015). *Madisonian logic* is a necessity to cooperate because of the diversity shown in the setting of the South Sorong and Keerom communities with ethnic identities based on language, dialect, and territory such as villages and districts. The logic of *ethnic parties* is the role of ethnic groups that replace political parties in mobilizing support to have their political representation both as regional heads and legislators. Meanwhile, separatist logic is that the demand to secede becomes a way for accommodation both from the state and from local governments. Then, the brokerage logic that I encountered with the local term as *Baku Atur* because the participation that is present in groups (not individuals) still requires a *linkage* between elite interests and grassroots interests. In other words, all opinions of group members have equal weight in clientelistic relationships in Papua.

The implication of the study is that so far the Indonesian government seems to have benefited from the assumption of solving the number of ethnic identities driven by expansion in the Land of Papua. But the changing ethnic identity actually benefits Papua in the face of a constantly changing setting. The diversity of ethnic groups requires them to co-operate, accommodate each other while representing themselves and participating for the common good – whatever it may be. There is no other way, the work of the state to untie the shackles of darkness (e.g., weak education, health, and human resources) and the alienation of Papuans on their own land as a true form of peaceful dialogue. Papuan democracy is one of the main keys to bring peace closer in everyday life.

## Cultural Foundations and Political Challenges for a Peaceful Dialogue Between Papua and Jakarta

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The protracted political conflict in Papua has occurred since 1969 and taken a death toll and property. The security approach of the Indonesian government and the sporadic resistance of the Free Papuan Movement have not brought Papua to achieve the Land of Peace (*Papua Tanah Damai*). This paper argues that a complete settlement of Papua can only be reached by means of a peaceful dialogue between Papua and Indonesia. Indeed, since the reform era 1998 there has been an attempt to resolve Papua by means of dialogue, which became the policy of each Indonesian president whose embodiment was different from each other during their leadership. This study explains four matters. First, revisiting the declaration of Papua's Land of Peace. Second, examining Indonesian President's policies towards Papua and the path of peaceful dialogue after the reform era. Third, exploring the cultural foundations and meanings of "independence" that can contribute to the realization of a peaceful dialogue. Fourth, Explicating the challenges of political aspects that become obstacles of the Papua-Jakarta peace dialogue. To conclude, this paper is based on the author's long observation and desk review to produce a broader perspective on the Papua settlement.

## Future History for Papuan Conflict Resolution

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One of the main problems in the settlement of Papuan conflict is when history gives unfair implication. The history of Papua—a former Dutch colony that was once disputed, regarding its status as a part of the newly independent nation, after the results of the 1949 Round Table Conference— has been considered as evading the interest of the Papuans, after the territory was claimed belonged to Indonesia in 1963. *Memoria passionis* for most Papuans should not be reduced if current history is meant to deliver justice for all. Therefore, future history could be presented as the capital in resolving the Papuan problems. Future history should not be seen as *contradictio in terminis*, because history as a past occurrence could repeat itself in the present. The past is used as a critically-reflective material, aiming for not repeating the 'tableau of stupidity' as Voltaire said about history. Theoretically, the human future could be redesigned, starting from discovering the lessons of the past so that the future could manifest better. In the process of resolving the Papuan problem, there has to be a mutual honesty in the framework of interpreting the past. This paper uses the collective memory approach by examining archives that can help create 'a share of identity' for both Papua and Indonesia.

Collective memory is based on the archives. As a record of events in the past in various forms of media, archives ignite memories that contribute to the evolution of 'a sense of identity'. Through a collective memory, which is aligned for the future of Papua, redefinition becomes a necessity. Collective memory is "a contingent process one that is rooted in the present". Hence, collective memory could be arranged upon, while in this context, history is interpreted as a strategy to build the future.



## PANEL 14. ORAL TRADITION RESPONDING TO MULTICRISES

### The Role of Macapat Song in Strengthening the Younger Generation's Character to Face Multiple Crisis in Indonesia

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There are several crises that Indonesia is currently facing, such as social, political, legal, economic crises, and so forth. This can be seen from the news circulating in the community as well as the results of previous researches. This multidimensional crisis is usually accompanied by a decline in moral values and character, so character education is needed to strengthen these values. As a form of oral tradition, macapat song is a literary work that contains noble values or teachings. Until now, the macapat song is still used as one of the Javanese language learning materials from elementary school to high school level and can be proven by looking at the local learning syllabus based on the Regulation of the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta no. 64 of 2013. This study aims to figure out the role of macapat songs in strengthening the character of the younger generation to face multiple crises. This research is a qualitative descriptive research carried out using pragmatic approach. The samples used were macapat songs in the Javanese book published by the Education, Youth, and Sports Office of Special Region of Yogyakarta. There were 7 macapat songs which can be categorized into 4 types: Sinom, Asmaradhana, Durma, and Megatruh. Each has a noble meaning in guiding humans according to the stages of their lives. These noble values can be divided into two categories: a) The form of moral values based on human relations with one another; and b) the form of moral values based on human relations with oneself. Several characters taught by those values were: peace-loving, social care, patriotism, national spirit, discipline, hard work, curiosity, and honesty. These moral values and characters are relevant for preparing the younger generation in facing a multidimensional crisis where moral values are starting to erode.

Currently, Indonesia is facing various crises such as economic, political, social, cultural, health, and humanitarian (Wibawa 2010) which can be seen from the news circulating in the community, both through print and electronic media. Furthermore, this multidimensional crisis was also accompanied by a shift in moral values (Muslifah 2009) (Wibawa 2010) (Adinugraha 2013) (Wahyudi 2017).

Moral can be defined as things which people considered as good or bad related to attitudes, behaviors, characters, and ethics (the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language 2012). Likewise, Suyatmi (2009) argues that moral encourages people to do good deeds. Moral teachings are usually conveyed in the form of literary works (Wibawa 2010), including

Macapat. It is one type of folklore (Wahyudi 2017) in the form of Javanese poetry commonly presented as a song (Novianti 2018). The macapat songs, being included in the learning syllabus of the mandatory local content subject of Special Region of Yogyakarta, can be employed as a mean to strengthen the character of the nation's generation. This is because it contains teachings on moral values (Adinugraha 2013).

This study aims to find out: 1) the types of macapat songs taught to the high school students in Yogyakarta; 2) the moral values contained in the macapat songs; and 3) the characters taught in the macapat songs.

The macapat songs contained in the class X-XII of senior high school learning books entitled *Wibawa* (Wiyata Basa Jawa) were used as samples. These books were developed based on the 2013 curriculum by Triwik Damarjati and Sinar Indra, and were published in 2017 by the Department of Youth, Education, and Sports of Special Region of Yogyakarta.

First, the macapat songs were collected from the learning books. The songs were then translated into Indonesian with the help of those from the Javanese Literature educational background. After that, the songs were analyzed by employing Pragmatic approach which focuses on the reader's role (Abrams 1953) to figure out the moral values and character that the songs want to convey. The moral values were classified based on the types of moral teaching proposed by Nurgiyantoro (1998), while the types of characters were analyzed based on the theory proposed by the Ministry of National Education (in Putry 2018) concerning the 18 values of character education.

There were 7 macapat songs found in the *Wibawa* books: *Megatruh Ngaras Pada*, *Megatruh Bakti Asih*, *Asmaradana Andon Tresna*, and *Asmaradana Padha Tresna* (X grade); *Sinom Logondhang* and *Durma Kawin* (XI grade); and *Sinom Logondhang* (XII grade).

### **Moral Values in Macapat Songs**

Each song contains moral values that play pivotal role in strengthening young generation's character to face the current multi-crisis. The followings were manifestation of the moral values found in this research:

#### a) Moral values based on human relations with one another

Values concerning the relationship between one person to another can be found in *Megatruh*, *Asmaradana*, and *Durma*. *Megatruh* describes the stage of life when the spirit has been separated from the body (Damardjati 2017). Therefore, the messages conveyed in this song are usually related to the teaching that suggest people to perform good deeds. It aims to prepare human for their death by accumulating virtue. In the lyrics of *Megatruh Ngaras Pada*, there is a lyric saying *tansah tumindak kang becik tumraping bebrayan agung, tan suka adamel awon* which tell us that we must spread kindness to the society. Bad deeds that can

be harmful to others also need to be avoided at all cost. Likewise, the same teaching was also found in *Megatruh Bekti Asih*. In this song, there is a lyric stating *tresna mring nagarinipun, bekti mring ibu pertiwi* which means that we must love and serve our country. Of course, our love for the country can be manifested in various ways, including maintaining peace in society. Meanwhile, *Asmaradhana* usually describes values related to love for others and for partners predestined by God (Damarjati 2017). In *Asmaradhana Andon Tresna*, the lyric explains that a relationship based on love and bound by marriage will give birth to happiness and glory (*Lamun teka titi mangsa, padha andon asmara, tumuju bebrayan agung, murih gesang bagya mulya*). Then, *Asmaradhana Padha Tresna* taught that men and women should always comply to the rules (*Lamun arsa palakrami Tumraping jalu wanita, Aywa ninggal ugerane*). Marriage carried out in hastiness should also be avoided in order to bring good outcome (*wewarahe para lebda, Jangka olah bebrayan, Nora becik grusa grusu, Pakolehe bisa prenatal*).

Apart from *Maskumambang* and *Asmaradhana*, the *Durma* song also contains values based on human relationships with one another. *Durma* comes from the word *dharma*. When one reaches old age, one should withdraw from all kinds of worldly pleasures and show compassion to others (Damarjati 2017). The *Wiyata Basa Jawa* book includes several sentences or lyrics taken from of *Serat Nitisuri: Dene kongsi wikan wigatining karsa, Saking puntoning kapti, Temah kawistara, Saking liringing netya, Kang piningit samya keksi, Terang tan samar, Pamore ing ngaremit*. Those sentences convey that the heart's desire is initiated from the will, and a person's will can be reflected through his face. Therefore, any bad intention can be seen no matter how meticulous one wants to cover it up. It's better for someone who is reaching old age to accumulate merit by living an honest life and spread kindness to others.

#### b) Moral values based on human relation with oneself

The values that govern issues concerning the relationship between a person and oneself can be found in *Sinom*. This song relates to the human stage, particularly at the young age in which the time should be used to explore and learn many things (Damarjati 2017). According to the results of this study, when we interact with other people, it's necessary to build an attitude of humility (*samangsane pasamuhan, memangun marta martini*). In solitude, we should use this opportunity to reach our dream, drift in the silence of the heart, and carry out self-restrain (*kala kalaning asepi, lelana teki-teki, nggayuh geyonganing kayun, kayungyun enginging tyas, sanityasa prihatin*).

Meanwhile, *Sinom* song taken from *Serat Katiladha* describes the 'crazy era' which lead to many dilemmas in taking every decision: unable to stand taking part in conducting bad deeds, but on the other hand, one will be unable to enjoy any benefit and end up starving or suffering if he do not participate (*amenangi jaman edan, ewuhaya ing pambudi, melu ngedan nora tahan, melu ngedan nora tahan, boya kaduman melik*). This song also teaches people that they need to always remind themselves and be vigilant (*begja begjane wong kang lali, luwih begja kang eling lan waspada*), especially in the midst of an era that is completely unclear which one is right and which one is wrong.



The moral values contained in the seven Macapat songs will strengthen the following characters: peace-loving, social care, love for the homeland, national spirit, discipline, hard work, curiosity, and honesty.

The 7 macapat songs taught to the senior high school students contain two types of moral value: based on human relations with each other and based on human relation with oneself. Those moral values are able to strengthen the young generation's character by teaching them to be peace-loving, caring, loving their nation, having national spirit, being discipline, hard-working, possessing curious mind, and having an honest heart.

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## Meme and Pandemic Covid 19 On Streotypes Perspective

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There is a discussion related to memes on social media, regarding the policy of limited dinner-in time by online news portals as an implication of the policy of PPKM in 2020-2022, by the government of Indonesia. One of them was published by Kuyou.com in July 2021, giving rise to stereotypical assumptions and mixed views on restrictions. In other words, that meme related to the COVID-19 policy gives the impression that people's activities have become very limited. Also, those memes contained the netizens paradigm of PPKM policies, resulting in over-expressed responses from a lack of socio-cultural mobility and bad economic effects, which is relevant to the non-oral folklore definition. The author uses the method of analyzing the content of memes and the content of articles from Kuyou.com in the period of April-July 2022, by looking at the structured context of the memes and processing results created by the online news portal. The final significance of the author's study gave rise to the function of memes as a new way to express non-oral folklore, in the form of memes and responses provided by online news portals.

The COVID-19 pandemic is a worldwide pandemic. This pandemic has occurred in Indonesia and began in 2019 in Wuhan, China. The pandemic in Indonesia has occurred in Indonesia in March 2020, until the writing was made, there are still quite a lot of cases that have occurred related to the COVID-19 pandemic. Policies to deal with the problem of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia have been carried out, in various ways and differences in effectiveness with each other. One of the policies in question is PPKM (Restriction of Community Activity Behavior) (money.kompas.com, July 2021) is a policy taken after the PSBB or large-scale social restrictions. PPKM was taken because it was considered more relevant to the social situation of the Indonesian people.

The PPKM policy, which has a mixed response, was then welcomed by the public which was referred to as a meme. This meme is a term popularized by Richard Dawkins (in Alifiansyah, 2016) in an effort to replicate the relationship between biological elements that exist in living things. However, when discussing memes today, then we will discuss the response that shifts to socio-cultural. This socio-cultural response is related to memes that are used as a means to convey a social critique. The social criticism in question is related to the policies taken regarding memes.

In other words, the author tries to relate what happened in PPKM in Indonesia with memes, due to the socio-cultural response that occurred, by making meme facilities as criticisms made regarding PPKM policies. The policy that the author will discuss this time, is related to the 20-minute eating-in policy, by relating this to memes contained on the Kuyou.com site.

The author tries to use an approach that has been carried out in several similar studies related to the relationship between memes and ideologies, using a literature review approach. This is intended to assist the author in responding to the position of memes that generally convey the right to free speech, as a learning tool in a critical position of something phenomenon, and become a new form of conveying folklore in Indonesia.

The research was carried out using the literature review method and analysis content by taking photo samples and responses that appeared in response to the meme, then the author tried to examine what was in the article and the meme, using semiotic theory. Data collection was carried out using article sources from Kuyou.com in April-July 2022, and the title of the article was "Kumpulan Meme Lucu dan Unik Pasca Perpajakan PPKM Level 4, Bisa Bikin Kamu Mules" The meme is then associated with what happened in the process of semiotics studies, according to what was done by Peirce.

The approach to Semiotics by Charles Peirce is different from that of the Father of Semiology, Ferdinand De Saussure (in Chandler, 20:29). Saussure offers a dyadic approach in understanding the meaning of semiotics, which is different from Charles Peirce who offers a triadic concept. The discussion of this meme will continue on the discussion of stereotypes and folklore. This stereotype and folklore refer to the meaning of memes. The meaning of this meme occurs in writings related to stereotypes that refer to the opinion of Walter Lipmann. Walter Lipmann (1922) said that stereotypes are a way that is able to explain the dynamics and cognitive development of processes that occur in socio-culture.

And regarding folklore, the author will discuss related to this meme related to ownership and copyright. Whether someone in discussing this meme can be related to one of the characteristics of folklore according to James Danandjaja (1984) which is anonymous, oral, and born by word of mouth. This is because folklore is done with original sources that are unknown, oral, and the process is carried out in descending order.

## **Discussions**



In the Pictures 1 PPKM depicted in 8 chronologies throughout PPKM in Indonesia. By looking at the relationship with semiotics, the representative process is described by the presence of different phases, with the difference in style between writings that are objects in the various phases of writing "PPKM", and this has the interpretation that the PPKM process that lasts for a long time, basically does not have a significant difference in the final effect. In other words, the overreaction was born and became a negative stereotype of the PPKM policy, and made the function of folklore anonymously in expressing these opinions, successfully conveyed well.

temen ane: beli makan  
dulu ah mumpung ppkm  
selesai bisa makan  
tempat nih

wild police men :



Pictures 2 contains the context of the SpongeBob SquarePants cartoon which talks about the panic of a Patrick Star in seeing writing that we don't know what it means. However, the author of meme interprets a meme which is related to PPKM level 4. The article entitled "Kota ini PPKM level 4" shows the panic of a Patrick which is illustrated by how the community responds to the so-called PPKM Level 4 policy. This can then be related to how the anonymous

representative, trying to describe the PPKM level 4 process as an unknown object and cause panic, thus giving rise to excessive assumptions, and this is then related to the process of anonymity in the delivery of folklore in Indonesia.



Pictures 3 depicts PPKM level 4 causing various controversies over the rules related to PPKM level 4, namely eating on the spot for 20 minutes. In this context there is a deep quarrel between the gorilla and the monster which is described as "add rice" and "add side dishes." Satpol PP is considered to have the stereotype of coming and dispersing the masses, in other words that PPKM level 4 is considered a disaster that causes inexhaustible quarrels between people.



PPKM Level 4, which is depicted in the Pictures 4 was later linked to a YouTuber named Tanboy Kun who was given 20 minutes to complete the Nasi Padang challenge. As we know, Tanboy Kun is a popular YouTube because of the "mukbang" content that is commonly given challenges. In general, like the author, we will laugh if we understand the context of PPKM.



It is also depicted in Pictures 5, depicting feeding in the Warteg asking about the 20-minute time containing about "Pake Kuah Bang?", then answered, "Buset nanya bae, sisa 18 menit ini?" The two memes, which are still related to each other, then gave rise to a debate about the effectiveness of the 20-minute eating restriction policy.

In understanding memes, various ways are needed, one of which is semiotics. Semiotics is related to meaning. The meaning contained in this representation is related to the elements of Representant, Object, and Interpretant. These three things are contained in the image conveyed in the meme. This meme has the meaning that there is social criticism that is conveyed by the community excessively. Understanding the memes in this paper is also related to the stereotype aspect. The stereotype in this example of this paper, namely how to understand black from a white view, produces a difference in meaning, which is related to how we understand memes. Understanding memes requires stereotype elements because in this meme it is faced with different perspectives.

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## The Impact of Covid 19 on Religious Rituals among Native Communities

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Religious rituals typically involve social interaction, intimacy and ritual structure. However, the Covid-19 pandemic has had an impact on religious ritual rites that include sacred rites, substantive or constitutive religious rituals and factitive rituals. This is because Covid-19 has caused native communities to have to reorganize their religious rituals with new norms based on the concept of physical distancing despite the fact that these acts are considered religious deviant. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to examine the new norms implemented in religious rituals and the impact of the new norms on the structure of religious rituals. A total of 30 Penans were interviewed in depth and through focused discussions. The majority of them still practice the traditional religion inherited from their ancestors. This study was conducted in Belaga District, Sarawak. The results of the study found that the new norms that had to be done consisted of physical imprisonment, reduction of ritual activities, shortening of mantra recitation, restrictions on the use of space and limitations in the communion of sacred ceremonies. Next, the impact of the new norm on the structure of religious rituals encompasses a sequence of activities involving gestures, words, actions or objects based on a pre-determined sequence by the religion and culture of the native community itself. The conclusion of the study is that Covid 19 has had an impact on the religious rituals of the native community but has not been able to reduce the bond of trust between community members.



## The Response of the TQN Suryalaya-Sirnarasa Manaqib Tradition to Covid 19 Pandemic

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Covid 19 pandemic had changed various activities of human life, including traditional rituals. This paper presents an analysis of the responses of TQN (Tariqat Qadiriyyah-Naqsabandiyah) of Suryalaya-Sirnarasa, Tasikmalaya, West Java, in carrying out their monthly tradition of reading the manaqib of Syekh Abul Qadir Jaelani, to the measures to slow down the spread of the virus. To continue the manaqib tradition –called manaqiban- usually attended by tens or hundreds of people of TQN-SS members from various communities, the Syekh Mursyid of the TQN-SS -Pangersa Abah Aos- asked some members of the TQN to adopt a new way of conducting the manaqiban, that is through online. This strategy had allowed the ritual to be attended virtually by many more people from various places, inside and outside Indonesia, and thus the wider spread and the internationalization of manaqib tradition. It is argued that the pandemic was a blessing in disguise for the manaqib tradition, in terms of its frequency, scope, contents as well as its audience. The data was collected through library research, participant observation of weekly online manaqib, and in depth interview with those participated in manaqiban in 2021-2022.

## The Function Of Local Cultrural Resilience In Facing Multicrisis(Study On The Tountemboan Tribe In Minahasa Regancy District)

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The development of the era that requires everyone to accept openness both in terms of politics, social and economy has resulted in various kinds of crises (multicrisis), crises cause serious consequences for the survival of a person or group. Changes that occur so quickly and even without realizing it have changed the way of a person's or group's views. This study aims to analyze the function of the local cultural resilience that exists in the Tountemboan Tribe in the face of the ongoing multicrisis. The research method used in this study is a qualitative research method with a descriptive type of research. In collecting primary data, it was done by observation, in-depth interviews with community informants, community leaders and the government and to obtain secondary data, it was done by taking documentation and literature related to cultural resilience in the face of multiple crises.

Minahasa Regency has a variety of tribes and cultures, but the largest is the Tountemboan tribe, the Tountemboan tribe itself has various customs and cultures, some of which are still held today, the existence of this culture has begun to be eroded by various changes such as

technology, information, especially with the COVID-19 pandemic erodes culture even more. Cultural preservation by the government has not shown positive results and awareness of the function of culture is not a priority for the community and government. The function of local culture in dealing with crises should be a good strategy to deal with crises, Minahasa culture such as *mapalus*, social activities in various events as well as regional languages and local arts should be able to ward off negative changes caused by various kinds of crises. the message it contains. Synergy between the elements of society and the government is the key in developing and utilizing the local culture of the Tountemboan tribe. This study recommends to the local government, especially the Minahasa regency, a policy model to strengthen culture and use this culture to deal with various kinds of current crises or that may occur.

### Oral Tradition of Mixing and Drinking Herbal Medicine: Efforts to Maintain Madurese Community Health and Conserve Spice Plants during the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Modernization is included in all aspects of human life, including health and medicine. During the Pandemic Covid-19 in 2020 until now, not all people can reach medical treatment due to limited facilities and finances. This is because they choose local wisdom for health and treatment. Madura people choose the tradition of concocting and drinking herbs. In addition to health conservation, disease recurrence as well as the conservation of spice plants. This article follows the oral tradition of people choosing herbal medicine over medical treatment. Research uses qualitative ethnographic methods with data collection techniques: observation and interviewing. The results of the study are documentation of the characteristics of the culture of concocting and drinking Madura Herbal Medicine which is growing rapidly in the community. The analysis uses the perspective of James C. Young's health anthropology, namely data collection, data reduction, and descriptive presentation of data. This research shows that more people are choosing to concoct and drink herbs as a method of maintaining health and healing. It has a variety of reasons, such as cheap prices, easy to get, not ready for the risk of medical treatment, disappointed medical treatment, believe the disease is personal and preservation of spice plants.

### An Effort to Interpret Ngalembar in Sacred Rituals to the Kanekes Indigenous People

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This study aims to reveal the function and meaning behind the *ngalembar* structure which is always practiced by the Kanekes indigenous people in various sacred rituals. *Ngalembar* is the the practice of chewing betel leaf, gambier, lime and young areca nut, which the Kanekes people do together before, during, and after undergoing various sacred rituals. These sacred

rituals include agricultural rituals (from planting rice to harvesting) and life cycle rituals (from birth to death). Several ancient Sundanese manuscripts and *carita pantun* have mentioned the practice of *ngalemar* in ancient Sundanese society, either as an offering to the queen or as an offering to propose. Using literature study methods, ethnographic studies, and oral tradition studies, this study aims to answer the question: What is the structure of *ngalemar* in ancient Sundanese manuscripts, *carita pantun*, and various sacred rituals in the Kanekes indigenous people? What is the function and meaning behind these structures? By doing a search on ancient Sundanese manuscripts, especially *Bujangga Manikand Sri Ajnyana* which Noorduy and Teeuw (2009) have worked on, pay attention to the *carita pantun Langga Sari Matang Wangi* which I recorded in October-November 2021 and the *carita pantun Paksi Keuling Limar Ading* which was recorded Wim van Zanten in 1977, also conducted a study of the oral tradition of *ngalemar* activity itself in several Kanekes customary community rituals, this research shows that: (1) *ngalemar* is an ancient Sundanese custom that is still practiced by urang Kanekes (Kaneke People) to this day; (2) *ngalemar* is a sacred and profane practice, (3) *ngalemar* is not just an ordinary activity but has a structure that is constructed and constructed by the community that supports it and is permanent; and (4) *ngalemar* has various social, cultural, political functions, such as ensuring the continuity of a ritual, and establishing kinship and harmony between human beings, humans with nature, humans with ancestors and the Unseen.

### Spells and Sow Rice : How the Ngaju People Ward off Evil Spirits

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Humans during their lifetime must have been in contact with disaster (*bala*). Troubles caused by individual or collective actions. *Bala* is caused by mistakes independently or collectively. *Bala* are in the form of fires (houses, forests), driving accidents, the Covid-19 pandemic, environmental damage, and so on. The Ngaju people have a way, a way of warding off evil spirits that is passed down from generation to generation and socialized through oral tradition. Warding off evil spirits is done through the ritual of chanting incantations and sowing rice. The research has been conducted since 2016 offline in Sei Hanyo Village, Kapuas Hulu District, Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan. Further data collection will be conducted online by telephone in 2020-2022. The Ngaju Dayak people in Sei Hanyo will perform the ritual of rejecting reinforcements in December 2021 as an effort to clean the environment and ward off the Covid-19 pandemic. The chanting of incantations and rice sowing carried out around the ritual site is believed to be able to ward off the transmission of Covid-19 among the residents of Sei Hanyo village.

## Oral Tradition Rites amid the Tourism Industry and the Covid-19 Pandemic: Study of Cultural Ceremonies in Dieng, Lombok, and Sumba

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*Universitas Brawijaya*

This paper examines three rites of oral tradition in Indonesia, namely *Ruwatan Rambut Gimbalin* in Dieng East Java, *Bau Nyale* in Lombok, and *Pasola Ceremony* in Sumba. The three rites are performative expressions of local folklore about human relations with the natural environment; the myth of the descendants of Kyai Kolodete in Dieng, the sacrifice of Princess Mandalika in Lombok, and reciprocity to the gods of Marapu in Sumba. This paper further wants to compare the three rites above in two crisis contexts, namely (1) the penetration of the tourism industry, which encourages massive cultural commodification, and (2) the challenges of holding traditional sacred rites during the Covid-19 pandemic era. In the context of tourism, each community in Dieng, Lombok, and Sumba has faced a dilemma: whether to choose to hold a traditionally considered authentic rite or adjust it to the tourism market's needs. Each community have different gradations of response in interpreting the two interests. In the context of a pandemic, we can see why one community considered that rites should still be carried out as usual. In contrast, another community has held rites by adjusting various restrictions and health protocols. Thus, this paper wants to contribute to the issue of preserving oral traditions, especially in latent crises (the penetration of the global tourism industry), as well as disastrous but temporary crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic.



## PANEL 15. COASTAL AND MARINE GRABBING IN INDONESIA AND BEYOND

### Principles of Recognition and Subsidiarity: Opportunities for Village Government in Protecting Small-Scale Fisheries

*Beby Pane, Rayhan Dudayev, R. Yando Zakaria*

*Pesisir Lestari*

60% of the total national fishery production comes from small-scale fisheries. However, small-scale fishing practices that have been occurring for generations in several coastal villages have been marginalized by national-scale projects through national strategic project schemes or even the establishment of conservation areas. The village government as the government unit closest to small-scale fishermen does not have clear authority to optimize the potential of small-scale fisheries. In de facto, small-scale fisheries management efforts have been carried out in various coastal villages; Akoon Village in Maluku, Darawa Village in Wakatobi, Bulutui Village in North Minahasa, Arubara Village in NTT, Labuhan Lombok Village in NTB. Village autonomy that exists in the self-governance community, as is done in various villages, is dealing with the rights of higher government units (state lead governance). Starting from the Provincial Government as provided by Law No. 23/2014 concerning Regional Government and Central Government as provided by Law No. 11/2020 concerning Job Creation. This is a form of tension between the community and the state (Zakaria, 2004). Through Law No 6/2014 concerning Villages, there are opportunities for peace over this tension as the right of origin which is the principle of recognition and the principle of subsidiarity is normatively recognized. The challenge that then arises from the recognition of these principles is that the recognition principle and the principle of subsidiarity of village government are considered subordinate when juxtaposed with the principle of decentralization. This study will look at the important role of village government in managing small-scale fisheries and coastal community living spaces de facto and de jure, based on the authority of village government based on the principles of recognition and subsidiarity.

Small-scale fisheries have great potential with the potential of existing resources. More than 90% of Indonesian fishermen are small fishermen who fish in coastal areas (KKP, 2020). Indonesian fisheries statistics report that in 2014, more than 2 million people were involved in small-scale fisheries, five times more than the combined 360,000 people reported to be involved in medium and large-scale fisheries (Halim, *et. al*, 2020). Especially for capture fisheries, the number of small fishing boats with a size of less than 10 GT reaches 96% of the total fishing fleet in the country (Courtney, *et. al.*, 2017). Small fishermen with a total fleet contributed significantly reaching 14.8 million tons in 2019 to national fisheries production.

These data show that coastal communities and small islands are the main actors driving the fisheries economic sector. Communities that practice small-scale fisheries not only contribute to economic contributions, but also in order to preserve marine and coastal ecosystems. The real condition of small-scale fisheries practices that have occurred from generation to generation in some coastal villages is then marginalized by national-scale projects through national strategic project schemes or the establishment of conservation areas. Small forms of fishermen's contribution to the economy and ecosystem sustainability are often negated and not a priority.

De facto, small-scale fisheries management efforts have been carried out in various coastal villages; Akoon Country in Maluku, Darawa Village in Wakatobi, Bulutui Village in North Minahasa, and Uwedikan Village in Central Sulawesi. These coastal villages are divided into two: traditional villages and administrative villages. Traditional villages are located in Negeri (village nomenclature refers to Maluku Regional Regulation No. 1 2006) Akoon. The administrative village consists of Bulutui Village, Arubara Hamlet, and Darawa Village. Customary law communities in Akoon Country have carried out customary practices to manage their marine space by conducting *sasi* in April 2022. This *sasi* is carried out with the aim of maintaining the sustainability of coastal ecosystems on Nusa Laut Island and as a form of implementation of customary authority to manage marine space. In Darawa Village, Labuhan Village, Lombok, and Uwedikan Village, management is carried out by temporarily closing and guarding the marine space area of the fishing community.

Each region that carries out this management needs legitimacy of management so that livelihood space to avoid conflicts in the space of various government programs or uses in the area. In Wakatobi, indigenous peoples' management areas intersect with national park management areas. In Labuhan Lombok Village, the community management area intersects with the fishery public use area which intersects with fishery activities from various places. Fishermen in Uwedikan Village have a living space that intersects with the Marine Protected Area stipulated in Kepmen KP 53 of 2019. Communities in these villages that have practiced small-scale fisheries management have living spaces that intersect with state projects that trigger tensions between communities and the state (Zakaria, 2004).

Village government as the closest unit of government to small-scale fishermen does not have clear authority to optimize the potential of small-scale fisheries. Village autonomy that exists in *self-governance communities* as carried out in various villages, is faced with the rights of higher government units (*state lead governance*). Starting from the Provincial Government as given by Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government and the central government as given by Law No. 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation. Through Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages, opportunities for peace over this tension are opened as the right of origin which is the principle of recognition and the principle of subsidiarity is normatively recognized.

The principle of recognition is basically a recognition of the right of origin of Indigenous Villages. The right of origin is an innate right of the political entity concerned. This right has

been developed and exercised even before the existence of the state. This principle is a form of appreciation for the existence of a long-established Customary village with all its customs and customary laws long before the state. According to Ndraha (1999), innate rights are existential, fundamental, which must be recognized and protected by the government.

The principle of subsidiarity has an opposite understanding to the principle of residuality that has been applied in Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government. The principle of subsidiarity in the explanation of the Village Law has the understanding of establishing local-scale authority and local decision-making for the benefit of the village community. In this context, the principle of subsidiarity is intended for people in administrative villages.

The challenge that then arises from the recognition of these principles is that the principle of recognition and the principle of subsidiarity of village government are considered subordinate when juxtaposed with the principle of decentralization. Legally, the nomenclature used in the Village Government Law no longer uses the term "formed" and uses the term "divided" to indicate respect for village autonomy. The consequence of recognizing village autonomy is that it has the right to regulate and manage its own household based on local origins and customs (self-governing *community*), and is not an authority handed over by the superior government to the village (Pakaya, 2016).

This recognition only runs conceptually and is inconsistent with other regulations. One example is the regulation of sea areas that are only owned by the provincial government as much as 0-12 miles as stipulated in Article 27 paragraph (3) of Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government. Village Government in this case has no legitimacy of the inner sea area. In fact, Village Government is the closest government unit to the sea area and de facto manages marine space. Through this logic, the legal scheme carried out so that villages have the authority to manage sea areas is by delegation, which is not in line with the recognition of village autonomy.

The middle way that can be taken in the situation of the relatively overlapping legal framework is to seek recognition of village authority based on the right of origin and village-scale local authority through village authority assigned by the Provincial Government as mandated in Law 23/2014 on Regional Government and Law 6/2014 Article 19 letter (c). Determination of authority of the Center cq. Provinces over coastal and marine areas must recognize village authority based on origin rights and village-scale local authority, in line with the spirit of the Village Law based on the principle of recognition and the principle of subsidiarity.

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## Reclamation A La Kamal Muara: Political Recognition Between State and Non-State Actors

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This paper examines political discussions in the planning and development process in the Jakarta Bay region based on extensive ethnographic research for a dissertation. This study demonstrates that reclamation is not just the purview of government agencies and commercial corporations, but has also been practiced by the residents of Kamal Muara prior to the state's development of the reclamation islands project in Jakarta Bay. The dynamics of interaction between state and non-state actors, answers to information about the Jakarta coastal environment, and actor images all have an impact on how the space above Kamal Muara's reclamation area is formed. This explanation in many languages demonstrates how development initiatives take on their own forms by grouping diverse actors.

Settlement is more than just populated areas. We can observe how people attempt to create and arrange a secure and comfortable place to live from a settlement. We may also discern from a settlement that the settlers created a social structure and a unique culture. People in Jakarta are competing for land since the population increases every year while residential property is limited.

Studies on settlements in Jakarta are mostly conducted on the city's mainland and only consider settlements as the end consequence of house construction by city residents. Jakarta's society and culture cannot be fully understood since coastal areas have been ignored in studies of settlement patterns in Jakarta. One aspect that receives less attention is the dynamics and how the process of establishing settlements works. This study is my attempt to fill that gap.

This study is the outcome of anthropological research that aims to comprehend how the residents of Jakarta's North Coast construct urban space for habitation. Every culture has a unique way to produce space, ensuring that the building constructed is one that is deemed appropriate for the community's circumstances (Lefebvre, 1991). In this study, the spatial viewpoint and actor-oriented approach serve as a framework for understanding the social structure and capacity of each actor in the development and management of space along Jakarta's North Coast. In order to gain a general understanding of land use in Kamal Muara, a *kampung* located in Kamal Muara Sub District, Penjaringan District, North Jakarta, this study integrates ethnographic data with Landsat data.

In order to depict the social structure and the relationships between the coastal residents of *Kampung* Kamal Muara, this paper opens with a description of their characteristics. The study goes on to description and analysis the history of development in *Kampung* Kamal Muara in order to understand the interaction between state and non-state actors and how state actors perceive and include communities and coastal regions in development initiatives. In particular, this study also discusses how the Bugis in *Kampung* Kamal Muara created settlement by exploiting the local resources.

State and non-state actors are involved in the creation and planning of *Kampung* Kamal Muara. The seaside region of Jakarta is of importance to each performer in a distinct way. The way that each actor perceives, comprehends, and responds to the Jakarta North Coast neighbourhood as a space and location in the city of Jakarta also varies. In this paper, I argue that the planning and development along Jakarta's northern coast constitutes a non-singular kind of space production. The occurrences and analysis in this study also offer a novelty in observing urban sprawling in Jakarta, which occupy on water regions in Jakarta Bay.

The findings of this study reveal the capacity of non-state actors in spatial planning, which in non-anthropological studies is exclusively considered as the domain of the State. The reclamation *a la* Kamal presented in this dissertation also shows the capabilities of people who in relation to the state and society are considered as the marginalized and powerless. The reclamation phenomenon *a la* Kamal at the same time breaks claiming which generally sees reclamation as an action that can only be carried out by corporations with large capital

and which have received management permits for certain areas from the State, and are carried out using modern technology as is found in many countries.

The local expression, “*uang darat jangan dibawa ke laut*” which means do not mixed the income gained on the land to the sea, not only describes the cognitive map of fishermen in *Kampong* Kamal Muara regarding the economic system of Jakarta's fishermen and the spatial landscape but also shows their dominance over the coastal areas of Jakarta.

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ForBALL: Understanding the actors, strategies, and the dynamics of a resistance movement against coastal grabbing in Bali

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ForBali is a resistance movement against coastal grabbing in Benoa Bay, Bali. This movement is coordinated by local actors but mobilizes a network of people and institutions from various localities and levels (local, national and international). After six years (2013-2019) of resistance, the movement succeeded in stopping a reclamation project that has the potential to threaten the integrity of coastal ecosystems, socio-cultural life and the livelihoods of local communities. Success stories of civil society resistance movements are rare in the Indonesian context. Therefore, this case is worth exploring. As such, this paper will discuss the actors, strategies, and power plays involved in the movement.

First of all, it is important to understand that ForBALI's action was a reaction to the Benoa Bay reclamation plan which was legitimized by Presidential Regulation no. 51 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Presidential Regulation Number 45 of 2011 concerning Spatial Planning for Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar, and Tabanan urban areas. Benoa Bay reclamation aims for tourism infrastructure facilities related to national strategic projects in the context of accelerating economic development in eastern Indonesia. The development of tourism through the commodification of culture and nature has been the main source of Bali's regional revenue. However, the rapid development of tourism in Bali although produces economic benefits for capital owners, it also creates social inequality in marginalized communities and causes serious environmental problems.

In this regard, environmental problem has become the main issue that stimulated various actors with various background to fight against the reclamation of Benoa Bay. These actors form a social movement called ForBALI (Bali People's Forum Reject Reclamation). Thus, ForBALI is an alliance of Balinese people, consisting of organizations and individuals including village institutions, academics, students, NGOs, artists, youth communities and those who care about preserving the Balinese environment and believe that the Benoa Bay Reclamation is a step towards the destruction of Bali. The arguments underlying the rejection of the Benoa Bay reclamation because the consequences of the reclamation are: (1) loss of conservation function; (2) flood; (3) disaster prone; (4) damaged coral reefs; (5) threatens the mangrove ecosystem; (6) abrasion; (7) widespread ecological disaster; (8) cheap land for investors; (9) pro-greed investor policy; (10) unbalanced development; (11) swayed by investors' promises; and (12) renege on coral reef conservation commitments; and (13) tourism bankruptcy.

We believe that one of the important strategies that led to the success of this movement was the mobilization of support from 39 traditional villages that used their Balinese identity politics. These villagers played an important role in expressing their acts of resistance in the form of demonstrations and performing arts that lasted for six years. We will also highlight the role of national and international NGOs in supporting and strengthening the voice and power of this movement. We would argue that their network and mobilization of resources and strategies are the factors that led to the success of this movement.

The anti-reclamation movement constructs reclamation as a threat to Balinese identity. The project was not considered in that sense during the first phase of the opposition, but parochial objections in the early stages failed to mobilize a clear majority against the project. Opposition leaders articulated a threat to identity only after pro-reclamation groups managed to organize a counter movement. It took the operations leaders about 18 months to build their new case by enumerating the sacred sites of Benoa Bay, mobilizing traditional villages, and declaring the *puputan*.

The movement's self-description reflects its altered understanding of its causes. In 2014, for example, ForBALI issued an open letter to the president on behalf of the "South Bali and Benoa Bay Coastal Community". Just 2 years later, the movement was described in much broader terms, when he warned the government that adat villages and everyone else were ready to act. So, don't blame the Balinese people who want to maintain and preserve sacred places. Such is the possibility of the *puputan* while emphasizing the commitment of all Balinese people, not only southerners, to defend sacred places.

In the interests of the opposition, it is very important to politicize Balinese identity in relation to reclamation. The embrace of regional identity and parochial interests during the first stage makes the opposition vulnerable to insinuations that they put their own interests ahead of the common good. On the other hand, the wounding of Balinese identity changes the opposition critically. First, the list of sacred sites details a series of symbolic fees that appeal to all Balinese. Second, the Balinese identity includes capitalists, traditional workers, and middle class professionals, enabling opposition movements to overcome internal class divisions. Third, Balinese identity attracts support from traditional villages around Benoa Bay. The support of adat villages strengthened the movement's claim to represent the Balinese majority, and facilitated large-scale demonstrations that persuaded the Ministry of Environment and Forestry to freeze the reclamation project.

By embracing identity, opposition leaders both imitated and surpassed previous Balinese political movements. Two movements in particular highlight the innovation of Bali Against Reclamation. First, a coalition that is very similar in composition to the Bali Against Reclamation opposed the development of the Padanggalak Beach in 1997. However, the Padanggalak movement was very local, and only included support from one traditional village. Second, a cultural renewal campaign called Ajeg Bali was launched in 2003 to preserve Balinese culture from external threats such as terrorism, globalization, and immigration. However, Ajeg Bali is a project of "urban intellectuals and middle class officials", and does not have broad popular support. Aided by these predecessors, the success of Bali Against Reclamation was evident: it combined the cross-class diversity of the Padanggalak movement with the pan-Bali ambitions of Steady Bali.

Finally, Bali's opposition to reclamation follows a trajectory unlike any other opposition reclamation movement in Indonesia. What started as a close alliance between coastal communities and environmental advocates turned into a mass movement focused on Balinese identity and capable of mobilizing tens of thousands of protesters. As a result, reclamation became less politically supportive in Bali than elsewhere in Indonesia, and project proposals were postponed indefinitely.

### Marine, Coastal and Small Islands Agrarian Reform Movement as Policy Innovation for Conflict Resolution in Coastal Areas and Small Islands

*Ari Wibowo, Pande Made Kutanegara, Agustinus Subarsono*

This study aims to look at the various initiatives to resolve land tenure conflicts based on coastal and archipelagic agrarian conflicts between the Pari Island Community and the Company. This research was conducted using qualitative research methods with a case study approach. Data was collected by collecting documents, archive records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and FGD. The development agenda mindset that tends to favor large-scale investment has ignored the diversity of local development practices, resulting in coastal and marine grabbing; discrimination as well; the exclusion of coastal communities. Pari Island is part of the Thousand Islands which has a long history of structural conflicts (ownership, control, distribution, and access) based on maritime, coastal and archipelagic tenure that have occurred since the 1990s and have not been resolved until now. Various initiatives have been carried out both at the level of policy, regulation, mediation, to the offer of agrarian reform in marine, coastal and small islands. These efforts involve multiple parties; communities, civil society organizations, the private sector, local governments to the central government. However, until now, efforts to resolve tenure conflicts have not been comprehensively resolved. Although social movements have not been able to achieve full political achievements, a further meaning is that they have obtained cultural achievements that are fundamental to the political victory of the next movement in the long term.

### Planned ocean Grabbing in Indonesia: Study on Reclamation and Sea Sand Mining Projects in 26 Provincial Regulations for Zoning Coastal Areas and Small Islands

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The term ocean grabbing is used to highlight important processes and dynamics that negatively impact people and communities whose way of life, cultural identity, and livelihoods depend on their involvement in small-scale fishing. Deprivation of marine space occurs through policies, laws, and practices that define and allocate access, use, and control of fisheries resources away from small-scale fishers and their communities. This paper aims

to explain the planned ocean grabbing in 26 documents of the Provincial Zoning Regulations for Coastal Zone and Small Islands, in particular for reclamation projects and sea sand mining. Both of these projects have proven to have destroyed the aquatic ecosystems that serve as fishing grounds for fisherfolks, as well as destroying their socio-economic life. All of this happens because, in the zoning regulation, fishing catch areas are allocated in public use areas along with other allocations, such as reclamation, sea sand mining, oil and gas mining, tourism, ports, underwater pipelines/cables, and other allocations.





## **PANEL 16. ADDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITIES AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION PROBLEMS THROUGH APPROACHES OF GEDSI**

### **Moving the House into the Forest: Gender Relations in Agroforestry Management in Cijambu Village, Sumedang, East Side of the Manglayang Mountains**

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Agroforestry is an integrated land management system that combines various types of plants on a single land unit that was adopted by the Indonesian government for Social Forestry through the PHBM program managed by Perhutani. Besides, agroforestry cannot be separated from gender relations which tasked with distributing the roles of men and women socially and culturally in the community. Best of all, agroforestry can be a chance for women to negotiate their role in land management activities and new crop commodities. Despite, the biggest challenge for agroforestry adoption is “landscape domestication”, one of which is driven by the lack of knowledge acquisition. This study aims to identify gender relations in the management of coffee-based agroforestry (*Coffea arabica L*) carried out in forest areas in Cijambu Village, Sumedang. This research was conducted on 4 planters family representing the four coffee planters group selected by purposive sampling and snowballing using qualitative methods. The results showed, coffee agroforestry managed by the family could not be separated from the thick characteristics of domestication. The role of women in the household is also manifested in agroforestry. However, by understanding gender relations, agroforestry can open up opportunities for empowering women who were originally vegetable plantation workers to become coffee plant managers. In the future, this study suggests optimizing the role of women in post-harvest empowerment of coffee.

Agroforestry is a global name for land management systems that combine production of agricultural products (fodder, wood, fruits, vegetables) at the same time or rotating on one land unit, so that farmers can perform subsistence ethics and economics needs. (Jerneck & Olsson, 2013) Agroforestry is popular, because it offers the idea of intensive, productive land management and has the capacity to maintain ecological sustainability that is needed by various countries. Agroforestry been widely adopted as the basics of forest management in the regulation of Social Forestry in Indonesia. Since 2001, the agroforestry model has been developed in the PHBM program package by Perum Perhutani with adjustments to socio-cultural and environmental conditions. (Supriadi & Pranowo, 2016)

Agroforestry coffee (generally *Coffea arabica L*) is the most popular agroforestry adoption model featured of PHBM programs in the highlands of West Java such as Kertasari, Palintang, Rancakalong, and Sumedang. (Iskandar et al., 2018; Kinasih & Wulandari, 2021) Election of coffee plant is suspected by coffee which considered to have a historical history related to the success of the "*preanger stelseel*" and able to balance economic and environmental needs. Coffee can be planted simultaneously and/or alternately with other crops, such as seasonal crops (generally secondary crops, such as vegetables and fruits), woody plants (generally pine, tarum, rasamala, and other woody plants), MPTS (*Multi-Purpose Tree System*) plant species. Such as avocados and/or bananas, to fodder crops. (Iskandar et al., 2018) As a result now, coffee cultivation as a plant alternating in the area forest become massive and must be carried out by all smallholders controlled by Perhutani through LMDH even the military. (Safitri et al., 2020)

Various adoption models agroforestry could not separate with the gender centrality that differentiates interest among man and woman in forest conservation. (Agarwal, 2010; Elias et al., 2017) Gender known as social constructed that distributed nature femininity and masculinity in men and women. Gender differentiate roles and experience, is constructed and can be negotiated by different from one community to community other. (Haverhals et al., 2016) So, it's important for see gender locality through checking gender intersection with variable others, such as class social economic, ethnic and geopolitical location determine characteristics adoption agroforestry.

This research aims to explain gender relations in agroforestry coffee management based in Cijambu Village which is located on the east side of the Manglayang mountain range, West Java. Study this conducted use perspective anthropology-ecology to understand agroforestry as land management is a portrait of the process of human adaptation and selection with an unfavorable environment could miss from gender centrality as construction social. Use method qualitative, easy get description descriptive related pattern, process, and context gender relations with its uniqueness and intersection with political economy factors, as well as difference location study give recommendation different for each adoption agroforestry that makes study this still relevant for studied until now.

This research carried out in the area forest in village Cijambu. Based on yearly report of Cijambu village, from 1,365.75 hectares 75% of it is dominated by forestry area. The forestry area, covering "*rawa*" or conservation forest managed by BKSDA. And, "*leuwung*" or HTI managed by Perhutani that covered bith pine, rasamala, and kalitus that currently also intercrop with bamboo, coffee, avocado, and banana. Governance set "*leuwung*" as social forestry accorthing the statute No. 136/KPTS/DIR/2001 and confirmed in Kepmenhut No. 195/ Kpts -III/2003 as Management area Community Forests (PHBM). Which mean, enable local communities to managed.

Local communities in Cijambu have dynamics relation among the forest. Before 1960, many household plants nut for subsistence, hunting and gathering. Their activities was stopped until “operasi pagar betis” which made forest as forbidden area. Only few armed men could enter to forest areas.

Post 1960s, industry extractive forestry become massive, marked with appearance Right Business Forest Plants (HPHT) or Right Business Forest Plant Industry (HPHTI). (Bachriadi, 2020) In Cijambu, based on Interview with pine’s mandor, since 1977 to 2007 there were various company occupy forestry area, they were selective logging, then pine’s nurser and pine rubber tapping for export. The occupy of company make area forest be a limited area only for Perhutani workers.

Once in a four-year, rubber tapping man had chance to invite his family for planting vegetable for 3-4 seasons forward, while wait pine adult. Besides that, not many activities that can done, a group of grazing, seeker wood burn, and intercropping planter who plant plant vegetables at that time middle of vegetable boom in Priangan prohibited assertive use area forest because worried damage pine quality. Eventually, rise many resistances.

Early 2000s, before there was LMDH initiated and socialization, the opportunity for PHBM was heard by the men. Pioneered by Maman, the men by individual occupy the forestry area that near with their house to planting coffee from the seeds he bought from Pangalengan. This occupation then by grazers, smallholders who own excess capital, and traders. Thus, women not involved in occupation, because still work as labor in the agriculture farming owned by individual or “carik”. Revealing many resisted, the pros and cons, in 2010 Perhutani adopt the coffee agroforestry model and offering seed supplement.

Guided by the Harvard model of gender analyst (Kinasih & Wulandari, 2021; Ludgate, 2016), this research identifies differentiate activity, access and control between the sharecroppers and the workers. The sharecroppers mostly controlling 1 *hectare* of coffee plantation. The workers casually have not owned coffee plantation (but in case have inheritance agriculture lands 14 – 28 *square meters*) that now sufficient for daily reproduction.

Results of interviews and observations finds, beginning the opening lands and most production activity of agroforestry dominated by man. Meanwhile, women in activities reproductive like weeding (limited) and picking harvest result. Woman sharecroppers, as a wife, prioritized as unpaid labor rather paying workers to do seeding.

Access and control are also centered on men sharecropper. Access to land, water, seeds, technology, workers, socialization was easiest to get by man. However, very limited to woman. As well, the benefits of agroforestry (which mentioned still in early stage), didn’t engaging household cause the lack of coffee market access. Thus, lack of access occurs on

education and politics that only owned by man in family, and few numbers of man who is circle chairman “kelompok tani” who can control.

Explored with interview, fusion among women who experience “landscape domestication” and the construction of masculine forest becomes basic reason why women less participation in agroforestry. (Elias et al., 2017; Whatmore, 1991) Women are considered as “farmer’s wife”, they were not muscular, didn’t suitable to forestry management, and suitable working in domestic area only. As a result, their labor process didn’t count and they unrooted with their connection with the forestry management.

As the result finds, coffee agroforestry experiences problem quaint for community that is not yet capable give benefit by economic and social. According to calculation from fifteen years share croppers, if successful, young coffee productivity could reach 1 – 1.5 *kilograms* per tree for valued the grain is Rp. 7,000 – 9,000 *per kilogram*. Unfortunately, only few cultivators who have tasting profit. The problem is, rooted with the access and control and the minimum involvement women, who in the study other could become manager, controller post-harvest, and market.

Based on research above, we concluded it is important to promote democratic gender roles, which will give women the opportunity to be empowered. First, it is important for mainstreaming gender in order to strengthen women roles. ( Arwida et al., 2016) Second, participatory exclusion need overcome with raising available space involvement for women managing forestry, that simultaneous will affected to the success agroforestry. (Agarwal, 2001) Third, to be effective, the available space need filled in accordance with understanding on the interests of men and women from each different class. Furthermore, required strengthening the whole environment through formation of women working group. At the end, important for see regulation as well as programs that place woman as embodied subject in coffee agroforestry's household. (Agarwal, 2010)

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## Elder Women in Gender Equality and Social Inclusion

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Data from many regions in Indonesia shows the women ability in many areas of activity, including the role of elder women group (“EWG”) in society. The EWG plays vital role in social activities ranging from social community management to economic development. Many elder

women are having public role and social influence as educator, politician and in many other social and cultural activities. One EWG even capable in coordinating a movement in building social participation such as Sekolah Eyang Segar (sekolah means school, eyang means grandmother, segar means exuberant) in Jember, East Java. Despite the fact that the EWG has strong existence in society, however, in several regions we still can find EWG in vulnerable situation and social inequality. Improving life expectancy is not along with their quality of life. Neglected situation occurs in social, economic and cultural rights. Such as access to the rights of social welfare, among others. Granting all this with Presidential Decree number 88/2021 of National Strategy for Elderly People, the EWG still in struggle for having the friendly social climate. In one side the Elderly Group remains productive and having social influence, on the other hand the community (or even family) seeing them as liability. This paper explores cultural aspect of friendly climate for the EWG and learn that the EWG remains struggling and having long way to achieve sustainable development goals, specially in gender equality and social inclusion.

### A Cup of Bitter-Sweet Relationship: Female Tea Pickers and the Tea Industry

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Women have been the main labor in the global tea industry, as tea pickers. However, they have been the most vulnerable group in the global the global tea industry. Tea picking generate low wages, but it attracts females in the plantation area because it is easy to access. It does not require any skills but willingness to work hard. As the least preferable job, however, it has helped many households in the plantation area to survive. Similar to other countries, female tea pickers in Indonesia, have been the backbone of their household. In West Java tea plantation, the number of female tea pickers is decreasing. Young females prefer to work in the manufacturer industry in the nearby town rather than tea picking. Female tea pickers who are stay in the tea industry are mostly middle to old age. Responding to this labor shortage, the tea plantation industry decided to apply mechanization in tea harvesting. In the beginning, scissor picking was introduced to replace handpicking. Later on, machine picking introduced to speed up harvest time and volume. The tools shifting has led female tea pickers to mechanization era, and exposed them to a new job risk (work-machine related accident). They have no option but to adjust to the situation. This study investigates the harvest mechanization in the tea industry in West Java and how it affects the life of female tea pickers. This study present stories of female tea pickers in West Java tea plantation, as the most vulnerable and marginalized group in the tea industry; how they view their bitter-sweet relationship with tea industry, as well as their aspiration about women empowerment.





## PANEL 17. ANTHROPOLOGY DEALING WITH MULTIPLE CRISIS: THE USE OF (TRADITIONAL) ALCOHOL BEVERAGES

Facing Pandemic Crisis: *Cap Tikus* and its Usefulness During Covid-19 in North Sulawesi and Gorontalo (Local Perspectives and Mass Media Reports)

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March 2020 until the end of the year was the earliest attack of panic period to Indonesian in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. Almost all basic needs in preventing virus purposes were overpriced and scarce to find publicly, especially masks and hand-sanitizer. With special attention to local alcohol beverages, several regions used local drinks with relatively high alcohol content as mediums of prevention, either by changing its forms into hand-sanitizer or simply consume it as healthy-drinks that are arguably believed to prevent subjects from virus transmission. A product with most significant usage to locals, adopted to (regional) health policy, then took media publicity were *cap tikus*. Originally from North Sulawesi and practically spreads over administrative region to Gorontalo. As mentioned, in this 'panic' period of time, *cap tikus* were using with two basic models; converts into hand-sanitizer and then locally distributed, or; simply consume as healthy-drink. This article aims to capture and compare applicative models of *cap tikus* by locals and local government when they were facing early period of Covid-19 pandemic, in short as adaptive-strategy during difficulties and its intertwined social-dynamics in North Sulawesi and Gorontalo. Methodologically; views, values, beliefs and practices of local people in using this product are the basis of description and analysis. On the other hand, perspectives from mass media reports are also uses to show how this beverage utilized by two largest ethnic-groups in two different provinces with basically has two religious backgrounds; North Sulawesi with predominantly Christian society with less prohibition of consuming alcohol but in opposite Gorontalo, a predominantly Muslim province with more strict alcohol prohibition. These background leads to generate the utilization and configuration models of *cap tikus* on these two communities, then also particularly affected to each social units or entities by their own approach in using local alcohol in facing early period of pandemic crisis.

It may lack connection, but *the Cap Tikus* is a legend. I remember very well, as soon as contact with friends exposed to the disaster in Palu in 2018 was first opened, precisely from the Joint Humanitarian Post of the Celebes Institute-YTM-Ininnawa-Anthropology Untad on Jalan Kijang, of course it was immediately known what various basic material assistance would be brought through the discussion of frothy scenarios, their special requests were; as much gasoline and diesel as possible, generators, as many cigarettes as possible, and, guess what, *stamp as many rats* as possible. When it functions simply, the recreative media after life and



objects are taken away almost completely. Of course, it is necessary. But the similarity with it now may be in this: *the Cap Tikus* is the 'cure' against disaster. Just like when Covid struck.

### Introduction: Conditions in the Early Pandemic



Presiden Joko Widodo bersama Menteri Kesehatan Terawan Agus Purandaro mengumumkan kasus pertama positif Corona di Indonesia, di Istana Kepresidenan, Jakarta, Senin (22/3/2020). (KOMPASS.com/ivanwidan)

March 2, 2020, the official announcement of the presence of Covid-19 in Indonesia was delivered by president Jokowi, the first two patients came from Jakarta after their trips from abroad. Generally, residents of the capital and the island of Java immediately became panicked. At that time a general protocol to avoid this outbreak did not exist. Photos of announcements from the president and health minister did not show any indication of the presence of health protocols, at a press conference at the Presidential Palace, both of them did not wear masks. Until the 18th of the same month, there was no announcement or indication of the presence of official health protocols nationwide.

After the announcement spread, the 'social panic' immediately spread, calls from family and relatives immediately rang asking for health news. Shops selling basic necessities soon ran out of stock, resulting in, especially in big cities, residents planning to go into isolation. An adaptation of models facing the pandemic that is widespread on various social media, especially from abroad, is immediately adapted socially, including news about the efficacy of traditional medicines. Various vitamins, eucalyptus oil, medicines, *bear-brand* milk and even eggs are directly rare on the market. And worse yet, the prices of these goods immediately soared, but at the same time still had a lot of buyers. This is mainly for two necessities to deal with the pandemic; Masks and hand sanitizers are of course alcohol-based. Lost in the market as soon as the pandemic 'terror news' spread, if it is found that the price is at a high number.

March 15, 2020, the first news of the entry of Covid-19 in North Sulawesi, of course, in the provincial capital, Manado, the center of provincial activity, the area with the highest population density compared to 14 other regencies/cities. In the days following the announcement, panic immediately set in. Shops were immediately hunted by residents to provide stock of basic necessities. After that, the streets were immediately quiet because many residents stayed at home. While in Gorontalo, through the policy of closing or controlling border areas and regional entrances, this area was recorded relatively recently to

have Covid-19 cases. Later, about a month after the first report in North Sulawesi, the first report appeared in Gorontalo, precisely April 10, 2020.

Medical masks immediately became expensive and difficult to find in the market, the price at the consumer level was between 10-20 thousand rupiah per sheet, compared to today in Manado and Gorontalo, for a box containing 50 pieces of medical masks is easy to find at a price of Rp. 12,500 / box, meaning the price per sheet is approximately 250 rupiah. But residents were quite alert to the mask business in the early days of the pandemic. They started making masks out of patchwork at a more affordable price and longer wear time. Approximately 15 thousand per sewing unit, can be washed and used many times. Cloth masks were even immediately used as campaign media by politicians by distributing them for free, putting party logos or the initials of regional head candidates.

However, it's different with hand-sanitizers. There is almost no suitable and easy to use substitution in one Indonesia for this product. All items related to medical alcohol, including hand washing liquid, immediately soared high in the market. It's really hard to find. Residents easily get hand-sanitizer today for tens of thousands. At that time, 30-50 thousand was a price that was considered reasonable. Handwashing with clean-running water was possible and much easier, but infrastructure in many places was not yet widely developed at that time. Since citizens, of course, have to move, need mobility to keep the stomach filled. The most likely product to be substituted is medical alcohol, mainly containing 70% and 90%. The reason for the difficulty of this product being found on the market is simple, by dispensaries it is often said: the stock does not yet exist, or it has been taken over all by hospitals or health installations. However, just the same, it is already difficult to find, when found, the price becomes extraordinarily expensive. This product is usually not up to 10 thousand / 100 ml bottle, but it becomes 30 thousand for the same size in the early days of Covid. Volume is difficult to make stock for family members who still have to do activities outside the home or just to wash their hands.

Fortunately, a suitable substitution in North Sulawesi and Gorontalo can be found. Alcoholic beverages with a high enough consumption alcohol content are found openly among citizens, the name: *Cap Tikus*. Considered a legendary drink, and has become an important identity marker for Minahasa or Manadoese people, then its consumption spread, especially throughout the northern region of eastern Indonesia, hence including Gorontalo. It is in this context that *the Cap Tikus* is seated, becoming one of the local capitals facing the pandemic situation. At least in local experience and not always medical justification should be followed.

#### **Utilization of *Cap Tikus*: overlapping regional, social and cultural settings**

The alcohol content of *non-brand rats* is around 40% and is consumed in general. It can be found in stalls in almost all alleys and settlements in North Sulawesi. But there are also those

whose alcohol content is higher, given the local acronym Disc (cap rat hard and sweet), for residents often categorized in the 50s to 60s % alcohol content. Then there is also the so-called *white iron*. White refers to the extrinsic characteristic because the color of this drink is indeed like water, and iron refers to its intrinsic properties which are high alcohol and considered hard like iron. The levels of this category, locally are often considered to be between 60s and 70s. It smells sharp like ethanol. If drunk, the body immediately feels hot, the throat immediately dry and indeed more often deposited with various local spices, often called *pinaraci*, so that the taste becomes smoother, easier to consume. The last two categories, the price, of course, is more expensive. In its alcohol content, for local people, especially *white iron* is enough to serve as a disinfectant. Long since we were children, we, local people were taught to gargle with *Cap Tikus* to cure canker sores. Or wash the wound with this drink if it is difficult to find medical alcohol. A practice that has been maintained to this day, especially in rural areas.

If you go to school and even a fauna researcher in North Sulawesi, it is common to be taught the condition of finding unique, rare and accidental specimens, if no alcohol is found then to preserve specimens can be used *Cap Tikus*. Precisely to avoid rotting of the specimen by bacteria. It is said that the first specimens of Coelacanth (*Latimeria Menadoensis*) which are famous as ancient fish and became the logo of North Sulawesi at various events, when they were first found in Manado bay by local fishermen and became wet preserves in the second half of the 1990s to 2000s, were not preserved using medical alcohol as specimens, but *Cap Tikus*. In these two contexts, it is easy to see that *Cap Tikus* is considered to function as a local disinfectant in the way local people think.

In colonial archives, the phrase *cap tikus* (tjap tikoës) was only recorded in the first half of the 20th century, but the informational roots of this drink date back to the previous century under various names and even had certain ritual functions. In short, until now, this drink has then been affixed to its identity as belonging to the Minahasa or Manadonese people in North Sulawesi. Something that is commonly understood in Indonesia. Applies as general knowledge. You can easily find *Cap Tikus* in small stalls in North Sulawesi, especially in the Minahasa area. Prices in Manado are generally worth Rp. 25,000/600ml bottle. Medium size bottled mineral water drink. And this, of course, for the general consumption category, neither *discs* nor *white iron*, nor calculating prices at the level of producer or distributor farmers. Nor does it include *branded cap tikus* drinks, either with the brand *Cap Tikus 1978* or in the form of whisky with the label *Wangae*.

This kind of general consumption spread to Gorontalo, a neighboring province of North Sulawesi. Until 2000, when this area was self-governing, it was very common for Gorontalo people to identify themselves as Manadonese. In its colonial logic and cognitive legacy until now, this is only natural. At that time, Gorontalo and even Central Sulawesi were still part of

the Manado Residency. Therefore, the citizens of these three areas identified and identified themselves as *Het Menadoneese* or Manado People.

Even so, unlike North Sulawesi, where the majority population and identity are attached to Christians who are more permissive, easy and open to alcohol consumption, Gorontalo residents as a community seem shy to show their habit of consuming *Cap Tikus*. This is related to the identity of Gorontalo residents who view Islam as the basis of their norms. Gorontalo residents, just like Minang people have a philosophy of life; *Adat Bersendikan Syarah, Syarah Bersendikan Kitabullah*, and even see themselves by establishing a regional identity as *Serambi Medina*, something that is seen as an adjustment to the identity of *Serambi Mecca* in Aceh. Therefore, alcohol consumption is seen as taboo and forbidden.

However, even though it is not as common as in Sulut, people quite easily find *Cap Tikus* in Gorontalo. You just need to mingle a little with the locals in the coffee shops. The sellers, most of them are Manadonese, but often also Gorontalo people themselves. The reason is simple; employment land. Therefore, in terms of inter-ethnic relations regarding alcohol consumption in the northern peninsula of Sulawesi, we easily find a local adagium; *the Cap Tikus, the Minahasa people who bekeng, the Gorontalo people who sell, the Sanger people who are mabo* [the *Cap Tikus* is made by Minahasa people, sold by Gorontalo people and Sangihe people who are drunk].

If we type the keyword '*Gorontalo Cap Tikus*' in an internet search engine, it is quite easy to find news entries about *Cap Tikus* farmers in Gorontalo, as well as *Cap Tikus stocks* sent from North Sulawesi and then confiscated by Gorontalo Regional Police. This indicates a simple condition from a market aspect, the demand *for Cap Tikus* for the Gorontalo region is always there, therefore consumers of this drink are still found. Therefore, although often clandestinely, it can be known that the consumption of this drink is always sustainable in provinces with a majority Muslim population. For this reason, Gorontalo locals often make local pameos to describe this condition; *lo, here kwa 'Serambi Medina maar Dapur Manado'* [He, here is the porch of Medina, but the kitchen of Manado].

### **Media Reports and Citizen Testimonies: Utilization Patterns during the Pandemic Crisis**

If we give the initial period of panic from the pandemic crisis faced by the people of Sulut, then March to the end of 2020 can be said to be in this category. At that time, many needs and infrastructure to deal with Covid were not yet available, health protocols were still being developed and were just starting to be implemented. Medical masks are still expensive and hard to find, as is the case with *hand-sanitizers*. People are just learning to get used to dealing with a pandemic. Not used to it yet. Still just looking for patterns of adaptation.

As mentioned in the previous section, as soon as news about the function of alcohol through *hand-sanitizers* was widely publicized as one of the mandatory equipment to control the spread of Covid-19, a layered social condition related to its availability in the market immediately appeared in the community. *Hand-sanitizers* can hardly be found widely, if found to be expensive and very limited in volume. A social adaptation and substitution product to outsmart this need was immediately remembered by the people of Sulut; *Cap Tikus*. Seen as a product and local wisdom, it is found everywhere. In this condition, the use of *Cap Tikus* immediately occurs widely and is used for two things: being a *hand-spray* used by the community and as a health drink that is considered to increase immunity and can kill Covid viruses or germs.

Unlike *hand-sanitizers*, their availability became scarce in the community and the price became higher in the early days of Covid. *Cap Tikus* does not experience a price increase, only its demand has increased. Local residents began to look for it everywhere. Ilin Runtuwene, a *Cap Tikus* seller at a small shop, tells this condition freely:

lo Nox, nda nae *cap rat* time Corona, fixed 25 thousand one bottle. Kasiang, people need to be in difficult oras. We only usually sell about 10 bottles a day, at that time bole 20 to 30 bottles a day. People at home le ba stock voor drink every day, so that they die said tu germs Corona

[He No, the price of *Cap Tikus* did not increase during the (initial) Corona period, it remained 25 thousand per bottle. Pity, citizens need and are now in trouble. But, usually I (before Covid) could only sell about 10 bottles per day, now it can be 20 to 30 bottles per day. My family also provides a stock of *Cap Tikus* to drink every day, he said to be clean from Corona germs]

In the above testimony of sellers, we can see at least two conditions that are adaptive, but also contrary to the logic of the market in general. First, the condition of prices that did not increase showed that citizens gave a sense of solidarity in economic activities in the early days of the pandemic, in contrast to the market law that demanded price increases when demand rose, but *the Cap Tikus* did not increase, and stocks were maintained. In contrast to the case of difficulty finding *hand-sanitizers* and alcohol, which if found prices become higher. Second, responsively-adaptively, *Cap Tikus* request discussions between sellers and residents in need are more likely to go both ways than the provision of infrastructure or health protocols carried out only by the government to the community. Sellers understand very well that there is public demand in difficult conditions, so they respond by increasing stocks, but still calculate economic capabilities in difficult times that are relatively squeezed.

Immediately after widespread public panic due to a shortage of medical alcohol stocks, an official statement emerged from the government, precisely on April 17, 2020 through Home

Minister Tito Karnavian that the government asked Miras producers to help fight Corona by producing antiseptics and hand sanitizers<sup>68</sup>.

However, rumors of local alcohol use in this case *Cap Tikus* are also rolling nationally, because indeed in many parts of Indonesia, there has been a growing belief that alcohol can kill the Corona virus<sup>69</sup>. This prompted Home Minister Tito Karnavian on behalf of the government to respond to its widespread use:

Some ask what about drinking alcoholic beverages? [.....] In Sulawesi there is a 40% [Rat Cap brand](#) that is not lethal either (September 23, 2020)<sup>70</sup>

Even in terms of the widespread use of local alcohol, the word *cap tikus* is used as a *headline* on at least three national news channels, the first is CNN<sup>71</sup> with the title: Tito Calls Beer and Cap Tikus Can't Kill Corona; and by Galamedia<sup>72</sup> entitled: Beer Drink and Cap Tikus Believed to Kill Covid-19, next, by GridHealth<sup>73</sup> with headlines: Thought to be the Same as Hand Sanitizers Containing Alcohol, Some Drink Cap Tikus to Get Rid of the Corona Virus!.

Furthermore, Tito himself stated that, the Corona virus can die at 70% alcohol, but also emphasized that local alcohol drinks cannot be used because they have a risk of death:

[Corona] fat is not strong with alcohol above 70 percent. Then there is hand sanitizer, just make hands [.....] If 70 percent alcohol is drunk, how about it? Yes, the virus is dead, but the person is also dead. Because humans can't drink [alcohol] 70 percent. That Spirit (September 23, 2020).

But it seems that Tito only paid attention to *the Cap Tikus* labeled or consumed more generally, rather than the two categories of *Disc* and *white iron*. For local residents themselves, especially in North Sulawesi, *discs* and *white iron* and even *Cap Tikus* in the general category (non-label) are often used as antiseptics and, therefore used directly as antiseptics, does not mean that their use is only drunk. In the context of adaptation, North Sulawesi residents are quite accustomed to drinking *white iron*, so far there have been no reports of deaths due to drinking *Cap Tikus to'*, but such reports only occur in North Sulawesi in the case of losan products or manufactured drinks. *White iron* itself is rarely drunk directly

<sup>68</sup> <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/tech/20200417151212-37-152736/tito-karnavian-minta-produsen-miras-bantu-lawan-corona>, News 17 April 2020

<sup>69</sup> <https://galamedia.pikiran-rakyat.com/news/pr-35766198/minuman-bir-dan-cap-tikus-dipercaya-bisa-bunuh-covid-19-ini-kata-mendagri-tito-karnavian>, Rau news 23 September 2020

<sup>70</sup> <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200923145136-20-549948/tito-sebut-bir-dan-cap-tikus-tak-bisa-bunuh-corona>, news Wednesday, 23 September 2020

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> <https://galamedia.pikiran-rakyat.com/news/pr-35766198/minuman-bir-dan-cap-tikus-dipercaya-bisa-bunuh-covid-19-ini-kata-mendagri-tito-karnavian>

<sup>73</sup> <https://health.grid.id/read/352351325/dikiranya-sama-dengan-hand-sanitizer-yang-mengandung-alkohol-ada-yang-minum-cap-tikus-untuk-enyahkan-virus-corona?page=all,berita> Thursday, 24 September 2020



and is commonly precipitated with herbs, which are believed not only to improve health quality by drinking not excessively, but also easier to consume. In this context, a standard set by the government, ultimately gives less room for substitution based on local knowledge.



On the other hand, the provincial government's own response to abundant local knowledge and products adapted to the conditions of alcohol scarcity was a month earlier than the central government. If we look at the first statement of the Minister of Home Affairs regarding the use of alcohol in April asking for support from the Miras factory in April, then on March 27, 2020, the North Sulawesi Provincial Government has been seen empowering this local knowledge, where the process of redistillation / purification of *Cap Tikus* into *hand sanitizer* is managed at the Health Office Laboratory, controlled directly by BPOM Sulut, and has first been distributed around 3 thousand liters for free in the second and third weeks of March 2020<sup>74</sup>. This is in accordance with the news that preceded the previous information, 4 days after the first news of Covid entered Sulut, precisely on March 19, 2020<sup>75</sup>, the Deputy Governor of Sulut, Steven Kandouw stated:

The provincial government will optimize local wisdom in an effort to overcome the spread of Covid-19. Currently, there is a scarcity of *hand sanitizers* in places that usually provide these liquids. Therefore, local governments use local raw materials, a type of traditional drink with

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<sup>74</sup> <https://manadoline.com/upaya-pemprov-perangi-covid-19-pemanfaatan-cap-tikus-jadikan-hand-sanitizer-terus-berlangsung/>, news 27 March 2020

<sup>75</sup> <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/q7eytu459/cap-tikus-bisa-diubah-jadi-hand-sanitizer>, news 19 March 2020



a certain alcohol content as a substitute. Besides being able to be used as a *hand sanitizer*, it can also be used to kill germs or disinfectant liquids.



KANWIL DJBC SULAWESI  
BAGIAN UTARA  
DIREKTORAT JENDERAL  
BEA DAN CUKAI



SIARAN PERS

PERS-02/WBC.18/2020

**BEA CUKAI HIBAHKAN 3.168 LITER MINUMAN KERAS "CAP TIKUS"  
KEPADA PEMERINTAH DAERAH PROVINSI SULUT**

Manado, 8 April 2020 – Dalam situasi merebaknya wabah *Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)* khususnya di Provinsi Sulawesi Utara (Sulut), Kanwil Bea Cukai Sulawesi Bagian Utara (Subbaglata) hadir dalam rangka mencegah dan menanggulangi penyebaran wabah virus COVID-19. Hal ini dibuktikan dalam bentuk pemberian hibah kepada Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Sulawesi Utara.

Kepala Kantor Wilayah Bea Cukai Sulawesi Bagian Utara, Cerah Bangun mengungkapkan bahwa jenis barang yang dihibahkan berupa Minuman Mengandung Etil Alkohol (MMEA) golongan C tanpa merk jenis Cap Tikus mengandung alkohol ±32,58%, isi bersih 600 ml tanpa dilekati pita cukai, sebanyak 220 karton (5.280 Botol) atau sejumlah 3.168 liter dengan perkiraan nilai barang sebesar Rp. 253.440.000,00 (dua ratus lima puluh tiga juta empat ratus empat puluh ribu rupiah).

"Barang Hibah ini merupakan hasil penindakan yang dilakukan oleh Kantor Wilayah Bea Cukai Sulawesi Bagian Utara pada Jumat, 15 November 2019 di Pelabuhan penyeberangan Ferry, Kota Bitung," ujar Cerah.

Dalam persiapan hibah, Kanwil Bea Cukai Subbaglata telah berkoordinasi dengan Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Sulawesi Utara sebagai penerima hibah dan Kepala Kantor Wilayah Direktorat Jenderal Kekayaan Negara (DJKN) Sulawesi Utara, Tengah, Gorontalo dan Maluku Utara dengan hasil bahwa Barang Milik Negara (BMN) berupa Minuman Mengandung Etil Alkohol (MMEA) golongan C tanpa merk jenis Cap Tikus mengandung alkohol ±32,58%, isi bersih 600 ml tanpa dilekati pita cukai, sebanyak 220 karton (5.280 Botol) atau sejumlah 3.168 liter setuju dihibahkan kepada Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Sulawesi Utara sesuai Surat Nomor S-01/MK.6/WKN.16/2020 tanggal 06 April 2020.

Dalam pelaksanaan hibah bahwa Barang Milik Negara (BMN) berupa Minuman Mengandung Etil Alkohol (MMEA) golongan C tanpa merk jenis Cap Tikus mengandung alkohol ±32,58%, isi bersih 600 ml tanpa dilekati pita cukai, sebanyak 220 karton (5.280 Botol) atau sejumlah 3.168 liter dihibahkan kepada Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Sulawesi Utara untuk digunakan sebagai bahan baku pembuatan *hand sanitizer* melalui proses pengolahan lebih lanjut sehingga bermanfaat bagi kepentingan masyarakat.

Pihak penerima hibah dalam hal ini Gubernur Provinsi Sulawesi Utara melalui Surat Nomor 440/20.2331/Sekr tanggal 06 April 2020 yang ditandatangani langsung oleh Gubernur Sulawesi Utara, Oly Dondokambey, telah menyatakan kesediaannya untuk menerima hibah berupa Cap Tikus sebanyak 5.280 Botol (kemasan 600 ml) untuk diolah menjadi *hand sanitizer* guna mencegah perkembangan COVID-19 di Sulawesi.

Hal ini merupakan komitmen Bea dan Cukai untuk berkontribusi dan berperan aktif dalam membantu kepentingan masyarakat.

Synergy between the provincial government, *Cap Tikus producers* and vertical agencies also seems to be going well in overcoming alcohol scarcity. In several news channels, it is known that the Deputy Governor of North Sulawesi stated that the first Cap Tikus stock they got to be processed into *hand-sanitizers* was purchased from MSMEs in Tareran, South Minahasa and after the redistillation process produced as many as 30 gallons of *hand-sanitizers*, each gallon containing 30 liters<sup>76</sup>. Similarly, the official news from the vertical agency of the North Sulawesi Customs and Excise office<sup>77</sup> on April 13, 2020 – a few days earlier than the Home Minister's statement regarding the utilization of the Miras factory – which donated 3,168 liters of confiscated Cap Tikus to the North Sulawesi Provincial Government to be processed into hand washing liquid. In addition, the production process and clinical trials of this product were supervised by one of the vertical agencies, namely BPOM Sulut, which then the central BPOM nationally finally received the Kemenpan-RB award related to Innovation<sup>78</sup>. In North Sulawesi itself, the provincial government representing the local government cannot be considered as the only government institution that innovates from local alcohol, at about the same time, Sam Ratulangi University, the main campus in North Sulawesi also made a similar innovation by producing it internally in the FMIPA laboratory which was known through news first appeared on March 18, 2020<sup>79</sup>, which was then followed by similar news on April 3,

<sup>76</sup> [https://www.republika.co.id/berita/q7eytu459/cap-tikus-bisa-diubah-jadi-hand-sanitizer\\_news](https://www.republika.co.id/berita/q7eytu459/cap-tikus-bisa-diubah-jadi-hand-sanitizer_news) 19 March 2020

<sup>77</sup> <http://kwbcsubagtara.beacukai.go.id/2020/04/siaran-pers-bea-cukai-hibahkan-3-168-liter-minuman-keras-cap-tikus-kepada-pemerintah-daerah-provinsi-sulut/>, news 13 April 2020

<sup>78</sup> <https://www.pom.go.id/new/view/more/berita/18267/Penyesuaian-Kembali-Waktu-Pelaksanaan-Pelayanan-Publik-di-Balai-Besar-POM-di-Manado.html>, news 22 April 2020; <https://www.pom.go.id/new/view/more/berita/19324/Badan-POM-Raih-Top-21-Inovasi-Pelayanan-Publik-dalam-Penanganan-COVID-19-dari-Kementerian-PAN-RB.html>, news 26 August 2020

<sup>79</sup> <https://www.sulutreview.com/2020/03/18/unsrat-produksi-hand-sanitizer-berbahan-cap-tikus/>

2020<sup>80</sup>. An effort to maintain the continuity of local stocks of alcohol as handwashing liquid before its availability on the market becomes more normal, think of it as a model of 'market operation'. We can also find similar news, where in the news on June 8, 2020, where the North Sulawesi Provincial Government will again buy 20,000 liters of *Cap Tikus* from farmers to be processed into *hand-sanitizers* and distributed free of charge delivered by the North Sulawesi Plantation Kadis Refly Ngantung<sup>81</sup>.

On the other hand, Gorontalo, it seems, in general, at the citizen level, the use of local alcohol as consumption is 'constrained' by its identity status as an area with a Muslim identity that prohibits alcohol consumption. In addition, of course, the 'delay' in utilization also occurs because this area has been relatively late facing a Covid wave compared to many other provinces in Indonesia, precisely later in April, one month after its neighboring province, Sulut.

But it seems, if we look at the time of the appearance of this news in the Internet media, an initial initiative did not emerge from the Provincial Government first, but from BPOM



Gorontalo in collaboration with the Gorontalo Regional Police. A news that states this by making hand washing liquid from 400 liters of *Cap Tikus* from the confiscated results of the Gorontalo Regional Police can be seen for the first time on March 27, 2020<sup>82</sup> which can be considered an effort or innovation two weeks before the first news of the entry of Covid in Gorontalo on the 10th of the following month. Then, on April 3, 2020,<sup>83</sup> a press conference directly carried out by the Governor of Gorontalo as the head of the Covid mitigation task force in this province<sup>84</sup> officially released the use of this product to the wider community. Such news alone gives publicity credit to the Gorontalo Provincial Government and Rusli Habibie as governors who are considered responsive in responding to panic and community needs.

<sup>80</sup> <https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/4218384/ketika-cap-tikus-jadi-hand-sanitizer-di-masa-wabah-corona-covid-19>, news 3 April 2020

<sup>81</sup> <https://sindomanado.com/2020/06/08/kembali-produksi-hand-sanitizer-pemprov-sulut-akan-beli-20-000-liter-cap-tikus-dari-petani/?amp=1>, news 8 June 2020

<sup>82</sup> <https://www.pom.go.id/new/view/more/berita/18170/INOVASI-BPOM-DI-GORONTALO---UBAH-CAP-TIKUS-MENJADI-ALKOHOL-SEBAGAI-BAHAN-BAKU-HAND-SANITIZER.html>, news 27 March 2020

<sup>83</sup> <https://gorontaloprov.go.id/bpom-gorontalo-sulap-400-liter-ct-jadi-hand-sanitizer/>

<sup>84</sup> <http://republiktpos.com/2020/04/03/atasi-kelangkaan-bpom-gorontalo-ubah-cap-tikus-jadi-hand-sanitizer/>

This step was also carried out on April 12 by the Gorontalo Regency Government with regent Nelson Pomalinggo who released the use of *hand-sanitizers* from *Cap Tikuss*. Where this hand wash is produced from 11 tons of *Cap Tikus* grants from confiscated proceeds from the Gorontalo Regional Police<sup>85</sup>.

A continuity in maintaining the stock of *hand-sanitizers* in Gorontalo by the provincial government and its network can also be seen in a June 2020 report<sup>86</sup>, conducted by the Gorontalo provincial government, after governor Rusli Habibie saw 40 tons of *Cap Tikuss* confiscated by the Gorontalo Regional Police destroyed and felt at a loss if this was done in pandemic conditions. Then an idea of using *Cap Tikus* emerged by asking for confiscated *Cap Tikus* in North Sulawesi by calling and making a request directly to the governor Olly Dondokambey<sup>87</sup>, where the manufacture was coordinated by HIPMI (Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association) Gorontalo, then shared with the wider community.

We can also see similar efforts successively carried out by the Gorontalo Regional Police by producing 10 thousand bottles of *hand-sanitizer* from confiscated *Cap Tikuss* in July 2020, then just like the previous patterns, this hand washing liquid was then distributed through a 'market operation' in public<sup>88</sup> places and facilities, until at least between the end of 2020 and early 2021 an adequate availability and in normal prices has spread widely.

### **Closing: Simple patterns that can be seen**

It seems too early to see this paper as a fairly in-depth study in looking at the use of *Cap Tikus* or local alcohol in facing the pandemic period in North Sulawesi and Gorontalo. The first thing that needs to be seated is that the response to the use of local alcohol products in dealing with the pandemic is carried out more responsively and first by the local government and local residents than the central government. Furthermore, through this case we can see a pattern of *Cap Tikus utilization* in an ecosystem between: government networks (Provincial Government, Polda, BPOM & Private) with the wider community. Generally, in North Sulawesi, the use of *Cap Tikus* in dealing with a pandemic is more dialogical between government and community networks than in Gorontalo which tends to be one-way only from the government to the community.

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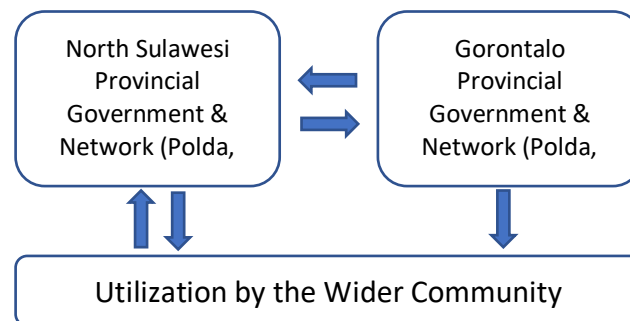
<sup>85</sup> <https://gorontalo.antaranews.com/berita/109562/pemkab-gorontalo-ubah-minuman-alkohol-captikus-jadi-hand-sanitizer>, news 3 April 2020

<sup>86</sup> <https://voi.id/en/news/7740/gorontalo-produces-hand-sanitizer-made-from-cap-tikus-alcohol>, news 24 June 2020

<sup>87</sup> <https://voi.id/en/news/7740/gorontalo-produces-hand-sanitizer-made-from-cap-tikus-alcohol>, news June 24, 2020; <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5066327/gubernur-gorontalo-pamer-sofi-hand-sanitizer-dari-miras-cap-tikus-sitaan>, news 24 June 2020; <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/06/24/13502131/cerita-gubernur-gorontalo-ubah-miras-cap-tikus-jadi-hand-sanitizer?page=all>, news June 24, 2020; <https://www.suara.com/news/2020/06/24/140656/kreatif-gubernur-gorontalo-sulap-miras-cap-tikus-jadi-hand-sanitizerberita> 24 June 2020

<sup>88</sup> <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200723084457-12-527961/polda-gorontalo-buat-hand-sanitizer-dari-miras-cap-tikus>, news 23 July 2020; <https://www.kompas.tv/article/96585/miras-jenis-cap-tikus-sitaan-polda-gorontalo-dirubah-menjadi-hand-sanitizer?page=all>, news 24 July 2020

In North Sulawesi, from various testimonies we can know that *Cap Tikus*, apart from being a *hand-sanitizer*, is also used as a health drink with a belief that this drink can dispel Covid, in a model without redistillation. At relatively the same time, a network of local governments and vertical agencies (BPOM and Unsrat), as well as the police and Customs supported each other, but also by 'buying' *Cap Tikus products* from farmers rather than just using confiscated raw materials, before being distributed to residents. While in Gorontalo, the utilization ecosystem is limited only from the government and its network, utilizing confiscated raw materials and coordinating with the Sulut Provincial Government, then widely disseminated in the community. In short, the ecosystem pattern in North Sulawesi between the government and residents in using *Cap Tikus* during the pandemic is more dialogical, compared to Gorontalo which tends to be one-way from government to citizen. In simple terms, this pattern is depicted illustratively in the picture beside this.



## Cap Tikus Pinaraci Health Drinks Among Minahasan Women After Giving Birth

*Maria Heny Pratiknjo, Stefanus Sampe, Grace Waleleng*  
*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*

Cap Tikus has been known for a long time in the Land of Minahasa, from various sources that the author traced, there is no definite record of when Cap Tikus began to be present in Minahasa cultural treasures. However, every Minahasa citizen when talking about Cap Tikus they certainly know and will point out that the drink began to be known since the time of their ancestors. The mention of the name of the Cap Tikus drink in several different regions, such as Tonsea calls **Lepen**, Tombulu' calls **pehe** and for the Tontemboan, Tondano, Bantik and Bentenan regions call it **tipas**. While the Tonsawang and Ponosakan areas call it **tuwak**. Although different designations, they mean the same (Pratiknjo 2019)

Cap Tikus is a type of high-alcohol liquid with an average of 40 to 70 percent produced through the distillation of **saguer** (white liquid that comes out of the mayang tree enau or **seho** in the Minahasa regional language). As for the land area in Sulut, the area of palm oil plantations that are the material for making [Cap Tikus](#) reaches 5,907 hectares (BPS in 2019).

The concept of healthy for Minahasa people is the principle of balance between hot and cold elements in the human body. If these two elements are missing in the human body, they must be replaced with hot or cold elements that can be taken from the surrounding nature. With the interaction between these two, nature and its contents were born. They complement each other, but their relationship is tiered.

Although *Yin* and *Yang* are two aspects that are always opposites, if they come together, they become harmonious who need or depend on each other. Culturally, people consider Cap Tikus as a health drink, which is why community interaction with Cap Tikus is more about knowledge to take preventive and curative actions. Preventive measures are more emphasized on drinking Cap Tikus with the right size (one sloki) and at the right time, namely in the morning before leaving for the garden and in the evening before dinner. They believe this behavior can warm the body and not quickly develop disease (immune function).

As a health drink, Cap Tikus is considered to play a role in blood circulation, kill viruses and bacteria, warm the body, reduce bad cholesterol, and prevent diabetes. In addition, people in rural Minahasa have knowledge that Cap Tikus can facilitate the release of dirty blood clots after giving birth. That's why the basic ingredients of Cap Tikus drinks are processed into various health drinks, one of which is **pinaraci**. As a public health drink identifies Pinaraci drinks in 2 categories, namely: Pinaraci to increase the strength of men and Pinaraci for mothers after childbirth.

### Pinaraci Cap Tikus For Adult Men's Drink

Pinaraci is a drink whose basic ingredient is cap tikus, is one variant of cap tikus concoction that is quite popular among people in rural Minahasa. This drink is made from cap tikus with an alcohol content of 40-60 percent which is accommodated in a glass container (usually a large white bottle). Inside the bottle will be filled a number of spice ingredients that contain elements of heat, the spice plants in question are cloves, ginger, vanilla, and other spice plants. In addition, the marinade will also be added with poisonous animals, among others; a baby cobra, a baby deer, crocodile genitals, scorpions. These plants and animals are soaked at least 2 weeks before consumption. They believe the effect caused is to increase the feeling of warmth in the body, and give a harsher effect than drinking pure Cap Tikus.

In rural areas in Minahasa it is very common in each house to store pinaraci drinks, at least 2 bottles. The consideration is that if it runs out, there are still reserves that can be drunk. There are also those who only have one bottle of pinaraci concoction but always add Cap Tikus liquid or spice plants as needed. This drink consumed alone is also given to friends or relatives who visit as a symbol of togetherness and hospitality, while telling the story that the host serves pinaraci and consumed with a certain dose, namely a small glass called *seloki* maximum 2 eloki.

### Pinaraci Cap Tikus for mother's drink after childbirth.

Pinaraci A drink made from Cap Tikus with a maximum alcohol content of 20 percent as a group B drink. The spice plants in question are cloves, ginger, pepper granules, vanilla or other spice plants. These plants when consumed culturally can boost the immune system, sedative (reduce pain and create calm), antiseptic (germ-killing substances) and antiphlogistic (comfort)

The concept of healthy for Minahasa people after giving birth is the principle of balance between hot and cold elements in the human body. If these two elements are missing in the human body, they must be replaced with hot or cold elements that can be taken from the surrounding nature. Postpartum women are in cold conditions because the heat element has disappeared along with the birth of children from the womb. This healthy concept is also in line with the principle of balance adopted by the Chinese medical system, namely the concept of *Yin* and *Yang*. *Yin* and *yang* are two opposing aspects and they both influence and dominate all aspects of life. *Yin* is dark, passive, female, shady, wet, and negative. While *those that* are bright, active, male, hot, dry, and positive (Tanggok, 2006).

With the interaction between these two, nature and its contents were born. They complement each other, but their relationship is tiered. Although *Yin* and *Yang* are two aspects that are always opposites, if they come together, they become harmonious who need and complement each other. Drinking Laming disorders sold in drug stores is very rarely



done by postpartum women, this is said since ancient times they more closely interact with pinaraci Cap Tikus. This drink can be made by the nuclear family (parents or husband), but can also be purchased through the village culprit. This means that the message before giving birth and the village culprit will mix with plants as mentioned above, at least 1 month. The price varies between 25-50 thousand rupiah

"Minahasa people believe that a woman's body after giving birth is weak and cold, therefore it needs treatment by introducing heat into the body through Pinaraci drinks and equipped with a steam process called **Bakera** evaporation process (*steaming*). As an effort to maintain balance in the body, and prevent the body from getting fit known as Bantahang (Pratijnjo 2016 and 2021) For postpartum women, for 40 days they must drink *pinaraci*, the basic ingredient is a Cap Tikus drink that has been mixed with hot plants including cloves, garlic, ginger, cinnamon, granules. Its function to heat the body also stimulates the release of dirty blood from the reproductive organs. Postpartum women who drink pinaraci Cap Tikus liquid will look reddish and not pale, stronger in caring for babies and not easy to catch colds. When the Covid-19 pandemic captikus was consumed by many people to the city of Manado, because of its high alcohol content (up to 80 percent), this drink was considered to have virus-killing properties, and was also used as a disinfectant.

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## "To Make Our Body Fit": The Use of Traditional Alcohol Beverages on Football Supporters in Pandemic Time

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The COVID-19 pandemic has changed society's perception of the definition of illness and health. The definition of health and illness currently spreading in society cannot be separated from personal experience in dealing with the difficulties and challenges faced when the pandemic affects daily life. In line with the perception that many have changed, the ways of handling or efforts to avoid Covid-19 have diversity in every society. Long before the COVID-19 pandemic spread globally, traditional alcohol beverages existed as alternative medicine and recreationally. However, it is interesting to review the use of traditional alcohol beverages during this pandemic, especially about how subcultural communities who usually consume recreational alcohol beverages see and perceive traditional alcoholic beverages scattered in their respective regions. The subculture community in question is football fans who live in the Solo Raya area, namely Klaten, Boyolali, and Sragen. This study aims to identify how traditional alcohol beverages are perceived and used as an alternative to staying in a "healthy" state. The data were taken from the community of football supporters living in the Solo Raya area, namely Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen. The results of this study are that in the Solo Raya area, traditional alcohol drinks are *ciu*, *gedhang kluthuk*, and *sari buah*. These traditional alcohol drinks have been consumed regularly when gathering with the community, even before the COVID-19 pandemic spread. However, when people experience a severe health crisis during the pandemic, traditional alcohol drinks are consumed more personally. The experience and influence of traditional types of alcohol beverages into the body that were felt when consumed long before the covid-19 pandemic, such as making the body fitter and strengthening stamina the next day turned out to be a reference that was ultimately consumed personally, especially since most of them are workers.

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unity or solidarity and, in fact, can actually loosen up emotions which make for social ease and goodwill. The subculture community in question is football supporters who live in the Solo Raya area, namely Klaten, Boyolali, and Sragen.

This study aims to identify how traditional alcohol beverages are perceived and used as an alternative to staying in a "healthy" state among football supporters. This study used ethnographic approaches, such as participatory observation the communities and in-depth interviews. The data taken came from the Bonek community domiciled outside the city of Surabaya, namely the Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen.

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For the football fan community, drinking alcohol in groups is a common thing that is often done, especially when gathering for *kopdar* or small meetings to when in the stadium when supporting a favorite club. The alcoholic beverage drink also depends on what is easier to get. Usually, these types of alcoholic drinks lead to traditional alcoholic drinks that are popular in an area. Likewise, with Bonek community in the Solo Raya area, when they gather, they choose to consume traditional alcoholic drinks spread throughout their areas, such as *ciu*, and *gedhang kluthuk*. The difference is that in the Covid-19 pandemic situation, there is a change in behavior toward consuming traditional alcoholic beverages individually.

*"Usually, when we gather with community members, it is almost always interspersed with drinking *ciu* or *kluthuk*. Yes, so that we can be closer and chat is not limited. We prefer these because these drinks are popular here and easy to find. In addition, the prices are affordable too suitable for us, who are mostly working class. However, this pandemic has changed that habit a bit because the intensity of gathering will decrease, and the activity of drinking *ciu* or *kluthuk* is finally done alone, for the sake of physical fitness when working the next day."*

(The coordinator of Bonek Klaten, 2022)

There have been many changes, especially on the economic side. Some people who previously worked in industrial sectors such as factories were forced to have their salaries cut

or were laid off because of the new policy that allowed companies to do this. Gathering with community members is one solution to sharing and knowing each other's circumstances.

*"This Covid-19 pandemic is indeed difficult for some of us because some of us have had our salaries reduced and lost our jobs. The habit of gathering with community members, which is often done in the end, must be carried out despite social restrictions, it is not a matter of believing or not believing in Covid-19, but We are the ones who figure out how to keep ourselves sane in this difficult situation. There is almost always a kluthuk drink to keep the conversation going."*

(The coordinator of Bonek Boyolali, 2022)

A community does not mean just gathering people who have one thing in common, but there is one thing more than that, namely a sense of solidarity. Regular small gatherings are custom-made by a community, whether planning something or just getting together to spend time together. This habit continues during the pandemic when the government makes new rules regarding social restrictions. The habit of gathering and drinking together that had been carried out long before the Covid-19 pandemic hit was finally maintained in the current situation to maintain a sense of solidarity and prevent depression.

*"The world of supporters cannot be away from alcoholic drinks, and it does not have to be at the stadium. Small gatherings like this, if not accompanied by drinks, are lacking. That makes it addictive; when drinking together, the chat will be more fluid, especially in difficult situations where everyone has their own difficulties. Chatting while drinking ciu does not help economic problems, but from the chat, at least it can calm us and feel that we are not alone."*

(The coordinator of Bonek Sragen, 2022)

In everyday life, members of the supporters' community still take time to gather and do several things that have benefits for everyone who gathers, one of which is drinking together, which according to Bacon (1963), functions as a "social jollification" in the midst of the complexities of modern society which tends to more individualistic and competitive. Therefore, the function of drinking alcohol is to answer the unconscious human need to gather and relax. This need was felt and experienced by members of the Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen communities even before the Covid-19 pandemic emerged. Since alcohol unites people, individual souls can become together souls.

The Covid-19 pandemic that has hit the world has made modern life that is already complex even more complicated and turned into a new, more complicated problem. The complexity of modern life and the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic have made the burden of life even more and more complex, which according to Glebova et al. (2002), harms health and psychological problems caused by quarantine and social restrictions. The change in drinking behavior from drinking together to drinking alone is also caused by pressure from quarantine

and social restrictions. Despite these changes, gathering and drinking together remains among the leading choices.

In the end, the Covid-19 pandemic could not separate people who had the habit of gathering. Although behavioral changes are associated with drinking alcohol, from being together as individuals, drinking together is still being carried out because the Covid-19 pandemic, which has drained the emotional aspect, has pushed people to seek more intimate emotional support. Ciu and klutuk remain the choice of the Bonek Klaten, Bonek Boyolali, and Bonek Sragen communities when they gather and drink together. Not only that, even when taken alone, both types of drinks are consumed because their bodies have felt the relaxing effect before.

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## Cap Tikus Drinking Circles as Enabling Spaces of Wellbeing and Practices of Collective Care in North Sulawesi

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Cap Tikus's health benefits—especially in contrast to other alcoholic drinks—were commonly cited during my extended ethnographic fieldwork in and around Manado, between 2014 and

2016. Although the drink's alcohol content and botanical concoctions were believed to have important effects on individual physical bodies and experiences, often more emphasized in the everyday was Cap Tikus's role in co-producing atmospheres (*suasana*) or a "chemosociality" (Shapiro & Kirksey 2017) in which a sense of togetherness (*kebersamaan*), shared pleasure, and practices such as collectively coming up with solutions or talking through issues (*curhat*) emerges. By broadening the lens to include this collective harmonization of alcohol effects and affects in and around drinking circles, this study highlights the important work Cap Tikus can do for people's social and physical and mental wellbeing. This provides a different perspective from the focus of alcohol studies on alcohol abuse and addiction, and the sociopolitical problematization of alcohol more broadly. What emerged was the crucial role that Cap Tikus drinking circles played for young people and marginalized communities dealing with multiple crises: environmental degradation, loss of access to land and sea, and growing inequalities associated with rapid modernization and urbanization.

### Tuwak as Wellness Drink in the Dynamics of Tubanese People

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For the people of Tuban (Tubanese) in the Province of East Java, Indonesia, Tuwak is part of their cultural identity. Related to this, Tubanese practices to consume Tuwak become important subject in Anthropology. Such practices is part of, and related to, Tubanese custom in balancing ecosystem and their traditional knowledge of flora and other herbs. Tuwak is traditional drink made from Siwalan plant (Asian Palmyra Palm), the plant is easily find anywhere in Tuban. This paper discuss the use of traditional drink for health as part of drinking culture of the Tubanese. The study finds its significance in the situation when pandemic, such as Covid-19, occurs. When the need of good health condition become very important, the traditional drink can be used to improve body fitness and health condition of human body in general. And Tuwak as part of traditional knowledge and medical naturalistic system can support the health of Tubanese with their drinking culture. This effort also can be synergized with developing cultural-based creative industry. Strategic issue on this is "partiality and honouring locality" Discourse on Tuwak from the perspective of anthropology can improve our understanding to the variety of local knowledge of drinking culture and development of Indonesian cultural diversity.

### *Metuakan*: Culinary Tradition of the Bali People in Puri Agung Karangasem Environment

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Tuak is a traditional beverage of the Nusantara people which is fermented from sap juice from a coconut, palm and sugar palm plants, with an alcohol ingredient of around 4%. Subsequently, Tuak in the perspective of the Balinese people is not only a beverage but also a complement to tribute or offerings. Metuakan as a tuak's method of serving and enjoying is part of the society's culinary tradition which existed due to the custom of drinking tuak, as so conducted communally or collectively. Per the Law for the Advancement of Culture No. 5 of 2017 and the Regulation of the Governor of Bali No. 1 of 2020, the existence of tuak is legal and is part of the cultural diversity resources in Bali. This condition requires wisdom in developing palm wine as a cultural resource for society.

Metuakan is the daily life part of most Karangasem people, irrespectively those who live in and around Puri Agung Karangasem. The Metuakan tradition was introduced to Puri Agung Karangasem around the 70s; during puri's opening for tourism. In the sight of some people, the metuakan tradition is classified as a means of health and entertainment. In terms of health; it would be a way to maintain stamina and reshape body fitness. In the subsequent term; it was utilized by royal relatives (Puri Agung) as a method to interact and integrate among relatives, thereby between the royal relatives and parekan. Puri is one of the traditional institutions that still own traditional legitimacy (patron-client) and plays an important role in traditional and religious activities. Society still does recognize the existence of today's puri. Puri acts as a fortress and guard in preserving the culture of the society. The puri's existence has a major influence to preserve and flourish the metuakan tradition as part of the society's culinary traditions and cultural resources. At the ultimate, by that means, could do prosper the community.

### Environmental Change, Economic and Health Crisis, and the National Roles of Anthropologists in Increasing Communities' Living Sustainability: the Case of Nira Traditional Beverage

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In this paper, we will discuss the situation in early 20's where approximately 17 hectares of land in a West Java district that belonged to the villagers, was transformed into a palm oil plantation owned by a private company with the approval of the provincial government. The land was previously owned by the villagers in several villages, as rubber plantation inherited from their parents or previous ascendants. Some of the smaller portions of the land were also used by the villagers to grow rice and vegetables for their own consumption and modes of production. The process of adjustment to the environmental rights and new livelihood had given a complex problem to the people and put the sustainable living change into uncertainty. It mostly concerned with their old profession or types of work, involving not only for the

people removed from their old villages, who have to develop their adjustment, innovation and creativity to increase their capabilities to move forward in their life, but also for the leaders of the villages who bear their responsibility to create a strong community bond to find solution in the process of moving to the neighboring villages which became their new dwelling places.

The data explains that the land crisis has a circulation problem on other aspects of people's lives, not only in economy but also in medical health conditions, since access to health care is difficult, expensive and far away from their new villages. Among so many efforts to overcome the crisis due to the environmental change, we would like to focus on the role of nira, as one of a herbal plant which produces alcoholic beverages which has since a long time considered as a useful healthy drink derived from the teaching of their ancestors concerning traditional healthy beverages. Under the developing process of nira production, people can also have new income from its side products for utensils as well as its fruits called kolang- kaling as healthy snacks, usually for breaking the fasting during the Ramadhan holy month. Further, it will provide new efforts to produce more gula aren popularly called as brown sugar.

People's belief that producing nira must be guided by mantras and prayers is a cultural knowledge in the use of nira as a local product. It also has a wider opportunity to be introduced as modern drinks, such as boba drinks, processed coffee, and other cultural beverage products. What needs to be considered is how to prepare the resources in the land for their living sustainability which can also provide better income from the nira tree. In this situation, cultural knowledge has its functions and provide increasing productivity for the communities. This study contributes to the emerging interest in anthropology of development and medical anthropology by tracing the objects to build a connection in the process of meaning production between land transformation and medical condition and healthy food development. This paper is also a reflection of the opportunity that Indonesian anthropologists can create through new ideas and/or assistance for the people and their village leaders to increase people's capabilities by finding solution for combating low productivity, producing new creativity and innovation derived from their traditional resources as socio-cultural assets, such as processing the nira as herbal healthy drinks snacks and aren sugar in better qualities and varieties in the post-crisis period.





## **PANEL 18. AGRARIAN ASPECTS OF THE PEATLAND, A CHALLENGE TO THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN INDONESIA**

### **Streak of Dispossession: Peatland Restoration, Carbon Trading, and Metabolic Rifts in Central Kalimantan**

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This article will analyze an ecological change and agrarian transformation in peatland area in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. Conceptions of dispossession of local people and a Marxist ecologist's metabolic rift will be modified to observe these phenomena of socio-ecological changes. Historically, different capital circuits ranging from coconut, rubber, staple, wood, palm oil have been expanded into the peatland area and each circuit creates a rift in social metabolism. The recent commodity in peatland is carbon by which the only concession for credits market resides in Central Kalimantan as both using Verified Carbon Standard and Climate, Community and Biodiversity Standard. As the concession creates several scenarios of forest deforestation in calculating carbon offset, it encloses lands from local people in the prevention of peatland encroachment. Simultaneously, the concession commodifies the social reproduction of the community through calculating the welfare scenario and its intervention. The carbon trading project then becomes the penultimate process of farmer dispossession that describes at once the occurrence of a deepening of metabolic rift.

### **Peat Areas, Aquaculture, and Transmigrant in Pasangkayu Regency, West Sulawesi**

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This article observes historical evidence of how peatlands in West Sulawesi have been no longer maintained as its function. The two Peatland Hydrological Unit or KHGs in Sulawesi are not the main target of Board of Peatlands and Mangrove Restoration (BRGM) works. The KHG with the dynamic of agrarian relation over the peatlands involves trans-migrant groups, the commuter people from Pinrang, and the dynamic between them might be explained through a case in Tikke sub-district that those are linked each other. Currently, the KHG areas are still there with various and different utility. On the areas, which are given concession to estate companies, the area has been succeeded to be managed as productive oil palm plantation, while the rest that controlled by local people has been used for fishponds. The origin idea, the land in entire KHG in Tikke sub-district was dedicated to people included in 1980s transmigration program and it was assumed could be change into a huge paddy field area. It would be a source of foods sources for all over West Sulawesi province. Nevertheless, the

transmigration program and participants had been only a tool to open the peatlands and others use it due to they could not handle a flood experienced that caused by oil palm estate development over the peatlands in uplands. The competition between the economic needs of the community, which is supported by the very high economic value of peatlands, accelerates changes in the condition of peatlands in West Sulawesi.

### Tilling the Peatland: The Transition of Coastal Community Towards Land-based Accumulation in Bakongan, South Aceh

*Muhammad Syafiq, Quadi Azam*

The peatlands frontier in Bakongan of South Aceh was once considered an unexploited 'wasteland', a potential area for two conflicting development schemes: conservation and oil palm plantation. The latter has been much greater along with interest in the palm oil economy since the post-civil war in Aceh, which was characterized by the opportunity to create the peatlands frontier as a new kind of environmental subject. It began with local authorities prompting the release of a part of the national park areas, allocating and distributing the land to the coastal communities of Bakongan who were the victims of the 2014 tsunami. This study provides an account of small-scale fishers who have been encouraged to leave their previous livelihoods by turning and tilling the peatlands to engage in palm oil production. It shows that the formal land distribution includes weak measures to protect the beneficiaries transitioning towards land-based accumulation, leaving them vulnerable to dispossession or loss of land.

### Socio-economic Dynamics of Transmigrants and Dayak Communities on the Peatland Areas in Malinau, North Kalimantan

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*IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon*

This study aims to examine how the management of peatlands by the Dayak and Transmigrants as well as to unravel the socio-economic dynamics of the Dayak and transmigrant communities. This study uses a qualitative approach. The data collection model used in this study was in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation studies, namely collecting related secondary sources of information, in the form of photos, videos, and other written documents. The method of obtaining data in the study was carried out by researchers involving themselves in community activities and in-depth interviews. Triangulation was used in this study to find the level of data validation. The results of this study indicate that peat swamp land in Malinau Kota is not only not managed through the Desa Cares Peat program, furthermore, peat swamp land in Malinau Kota is not being considered for its management based on the function and importance of peat for climate balance. Furthermore, the peat swamp land in the city of Malinau has been converted into infrastructure to support the coal

extractive industry business, namely in the form of hauling roads and coal unloading sites. In line with the current transfer of functions, there are also plans for the development of the land-hungry Malinau Regency, such as the construction of a food and rice estate, which is connected to the Kota Baru Mandiri (KBM) development plan, supported by plans for infrastructure projects such as Industrial Estates and International Ports. (KIPI) Tanah Kuning-Mangkupadi and the construction of the Mentarang Hydroelectric Power Plant (PLTA). The opposite situation is actually shown by the Dayak and transmigrant communities in managing peatlands. The Dayak people tend to use peatlands only to grow rice using a shifting cultivation pattern. Meanwhile, transmigrants do not only use peatlands to grow rice, but also to grow various vegetables, medicinal plants, fruits and livestock. The management pattern carried out by the transmigrant community tends to be permanent. The pattern of using peatland from these two communities has received enormous benefits for the community's economy. Considering that peatlands have a high fertility rate, the community's agricultural products are able to meet all their needs, from food, clothing to even shelter.

### Agrarian Source of Peatland Degradation: Origin, Condition and Solution- The Case at Riau. Sumatra, Indonesia

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Peatland in Indonesia is seriously degraded especially since 1980's. Peatland has been largely explored for oil palm, and timber plantation. Many factors have contributed to the degradation. One of the most important, but usually neglected is agrarian factor. Majority of peatlands are located at *Kawasan Hutan* (State designated forest area), because peatlands are characteristically not suited for agriculture, and has been scarcely settled historically. But along with the large scale exploration of peatland since 1980's, many people in-flew the area, and settled at the borders between peatland and non-peatland while many people intruded the peatland dome area, and cleared lands.

This study followed the agrarian changes of peatland area since the colonial era at a village of peatland area in Bengkalis District, Riau Province, especially the formation of property rights on peatland. According to the Forestry Law in 1998, all people who make use of the land at *Kawasan Hutan* should get permit from the Government. Most of the area of the village is located at the *Kawasan Hutan*, on the other hand nobody have gotten the permit from the Government except the Company that explored the vast area for Industrial Timber Plantation (HTI). Peatland there has experienced repeated fire since the end of 1990's, and seriously degraded since then. Since 2016 when the Government set up the Peatland Restoration Agency, many efforts have been done to restore the peatland. This study analyzed the process of degradation and rehabilitation from the viewpoint of agrarian changes and property rights on the *Kawasan Hutan* peatland area based on author's anthropological field works since 2010 until now, especially on recent changes taken place for 2017-2022. How are these

changes of agrarian and property right related to the recent degradation and rehabilitation of peatlands?

### Agrarian Structure Change and Rural Communities Resilience Around the Peatland Conservation Area in Central Mahakam, East Kalimantan, Indonesia

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*IPB University*

Prior to the establishment of the Badan Restorasi Gambut (Peatland Restoration Agency) Republic of Indonesia, in 2016 the Government of Kutai Kartanegara Regency had an initiative to protect the peatland ecosystem area. The initiative from the Government of Kutai Kartanegara to protect peatland ecosystems as a conservation area in the Central Mahakam region, became a debate between ecological and socio-economic of the rural community perspective. It also created a debate about authority of the government at the national and district level related to protecting peatland in Indonesia. This research was conducted in two villages around the Central Mahakam peatland area in the period October until December 2021 using a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. The results of this study indicate the change in the status of the area in the peat ecosystem affects the agrarian structure from the common pool resources that was previously controlled and utilized by the rural community to the state property right. Agrarian structure change has consequences for the living space of people who depend on peat ecosystems, such as fishermen and farmers. There is a potential problem with the rural livelihood vulnerability, because they are excluded from their living space. However, rural communities around peatland conservation areas have various social, economic, and political resilience strategies in dealing with changes in agrarian structure. There is a "negotiation room" hybrid institution, between customary property rights and state property rights in peatland conservation areas.

### Social Resilience and Agrarian Relation in Peatlands Rural

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*Universitas Pancasila*

*Myrna A. Safitri*  
*Badan Restorasi Gambut*

*Desa Mandiri Peduli Gambut (DMPG, Independent Village Cares for Peat)* is a concept to regulate fairer agrarian relations based on village-based restoration and management of peatlands and the *Kawasan Hidrologi Gambut (KHG, Peat Hydrological Unit)*. Mekarsari village in Kubu Raya regency is one of models targeted by *Badan Restorasi Gambut dan*

*Mangrove*(BRGM, Peats and Mangrove Restoration Agency) to support peatlands restoration in entire KHG Sungai Terentang-Sungai Kapuas. This article will describe how DMPG concept with Social-Ecological System, Sustainable Rural Livelihood, and Social Resilience approaches can see simultaneously the efforts of economic, social, and environmental sustainability. The DMPG concept shows that peatland restoration must always coexist with saving the community's economy, environmental sustainability, and supporting social and cultural advancement of the surrounding community, which requires non-exploitative agrarian relations.

### The Future of Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Tanjung Api Api in Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra and the Impact on Communities and Sembilang National Park

*Dewi Dwi Puspitasari Sutejo*

*Right Resources*

Provincial Regulation (Perda) No. 14/2006 on South Sumatra Spatial Planning stated emphasized the development of the Tanjung Api-api Port and Industrial Area. This project is part of the *Kawasan Perhatian Investasi* (KPI, Area of Investment Attention) and Special Economic Zone (SEZ) which is the flagship of Jokowi's program in boosting investment. In the planning of development of SEZ Tanjung Api- api and Tanjung Carat involve a massive beach reclamation. Tanjung Carat port ensure and support export-import coal, oil, and natural gas trading. These will impact to environmental disaster, in coastal area, peatlands area, and mangrove, including Sembilang National Park. At least, there are two districts consisted 12 villages covered 263 thousand hectares that will be impacted, which are Banyuasin II and Sumber Marga Telang. One of the villages is Sungsang IV village, Banyuasin II district, in Banyuasin regency, the hugest village in the district and also part of the area is claimed as part of Sembilang National Park area. This study will explore on how far the implementation of project planning of Tanjung Api-api and Carat Port And how the communities vulnerable, and the environment impact particularly on peatland forest, mangrove forest and Sembilang National Park and how the communities dealing with this situation, while they are also face the climate change impact.

### Big Promise, Small Impact: Tenurial Claims and Community Development in Targeted Peatland Restoration Area in South Sumatera

*Dianto Bachriadi*

*Agrarian Resources Center*

Development of intensive agriculture demonstration plots (*demplot*) in peatland areas in order to improve local economies and peatland restoration at once are one of the Badan

Restorasi Gambut (BRG)'s crown programs. The *demplo*t assumes that people living in peatland areas can develop their agricultural activities better and in line with efforts to protect the peat areas. In reality it is not so. The agricultural economic development program designed and initiated by the state institution, which is the BRG, has not only resulted in no significant changes, but instead became a new burden on the community groups receiving the program if they want to continue this state-initiated program, and this effort will aggravate an already widespread peatland degradation. The failure of this program reflects and repeats many of the failures of development programs initiated by the State (Scott 1998; Li 2007), which ignore a number of important factors related to land tenure including those declared as peatlands by the government, social segregation within the community, and the tendency of local communities to imitate the change of peatland structure as carried out by the large-scale agroindustry activities. This paper will examine and analyse an agriculture-based economic development program in peatland areas in Bumi Agung Village of MUBA District in South Sumatra, which began with the development of an agricultural *demplo*t, where this program was promoted as one of the models of the BRG community development program.

### Peatland Sustainability: Analysis of Ecological, Agrarian, and Socio- Economic Aspects of Agriculture in Tanjung Jabung Barat, Jambi

*Rina Mardiana*  
*IPB University*

Through a long process of co-adaptation and evolution, people who live on peatlands develop agricultural commodities that are suitable for the peat ecosystem, which is called *paludiculture*. Recently, paludiculture is seen as the best technique for restoring peat ecosystems. This is because the paludiculture system is a form of peatland management that is ecologically, productively and socio-economically sustainable. One of the plantation commodities suitable for peatland is liberica coffee (*Coffea liberica*). The people of Tanjung Jabung Barat District had practiced liberika coffee plantations in an agroforestry way. Generally, people plant areca nut and coconut trees on the edge of peat ditches which function as soil protectors so they don't slide off the water. Meanwhile, liberica coffee grows well under the shade of areca and coconut. However, recently, the expansion of palm oil plantation has begun to enter and gradually replace the liberica coffee tree. Thus, plantation commodities developed by the community on peatlands are agroforestry for oil palm, areca nut, coconut, coffee, and horticulture crops such as bananas, cassava, papaya, and vegetables. This study aims to examine three aspects, namely ecology, agrarian, and socio-economic agriculture on peatlands. The research conducted in Tanjung Jabung Barat as the largest district of liberika coffee producers. The community's peatlands analyzed by the aspect of ecological conditions (depth/shallowness of peatlands, ditches/canals, topography, and peat agroecosystems), socio-economic conditions of agriculture (paludiculture), and

agrarian conditions (land status, identification of tenure/ownership, management and utilization of peatlands).





## **PANEL 19. SOCIAL FORESTRY CRISIS IN THE REALM OF KHDPK (FOREST AREA WITH SPECIAL MANAGEMENT) IN JAVA**

### **Critical Ethnographic Study in The Management of Social Forestry Business Groups (KUPS) in Tuban Regency of East Java Province**

*Mohammad Adib, Rustinsyah, Prasetyo Ratna Azis  
Universitas Airlangga*

Strengthening the social forestry (PS) policy that lasted more than three decades, increasingly felt concrete after the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (LHK) 2014 allocated 12.7 million hectares of forest area (14.06 million ha in 2021) to people living in and around the forest. This policy as part of agrarian reform is intended primarily to provide fairer access to the citizens of the community generally compared to the access of forest areas to an elite group of businessmen in the past. National achievements in accessing forest areas in this PS, until the beginning of 2022 have reached 4,929,380.02 ha; 1,080,476 KK; and 7,494 units of PS licenses.

In Java, whose forest area is mandated to be managed by Perum Perhutani (PP 72/2010), PS achievements in four provinces in Java (Banten, West Java, Central Java, and East Java), this social forestry permit reaches a land area of 324,402.78 ha (hectares), 602 (SK units), and 172,971 households (heads of families). East Java Province is the largest of the four provinces on the island with land use permits reaching 176,149.68 ha (54.29%) 347 units SK (57.64%), in 120,990 households (69.94%). KUPS (PS Business Group) has formed a total of 68 units. In the Tuban region itself, 9 KUPS Units (goKUPS ) have been formed – SOCIAL FORESTRY & ENVIRONMENTAL PARTNERSHIP (usahahutan.id). KUPS management is part of the second issue, namely the utilization and preservation of forests in the PS program.

The critical ethnographic study in this paper was chosen because it can involve itself in social factors such as injustice, inequality of power, and examine common-sense assumptions such as gender. Critical ethnography (Creswell, 2007: 93) can help in enlightenment and empowerment of marginalized community groups.



## **PANEL 20. COLLABORATION TO BRIDGE GAPS BETWEEN ACADEMIC AND APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY: WHERE ARE WE NOW? AND, WHERE ARE WE HEADING TO?**

The Anthropology of Tomorrow: A Perspective on How Anthropologist Can Contribute to Business World.

*Nastiti Dewanti Basudewa*

*Kantar*

Anthropology was born as a tool and knowledge to define the indigenous community. Then it developed into an understanding of actors in the urban community. It is a study of the past and present. Meanwhile, business has the urge to project the future, what to build, and what to expect. Anthropologists, with their ability to grasp the understanding of human beings and their community, found business as an uncertain world with so many challenges.

The challenge for anthropology today is how to communicate our value to the business world. Gaps between common knowledge about anthropology and the effort of translating the thick description into a business framework have been a forceful motivation for Anthropologists to adapt, build a network, and take multidisciplinary methods to survive. This paper wanted to give perspective on how impactful anthropology knowledge is in the business world and how the Anthropologist can contribute to that.

In universal, Anthropology often known as a knowledge to understand primitive culture, and living in with the traditional community, we called it as cultural anthropology approach. Throughout the history of anthropology, we often fascinated by the ethnography from the past and present. Consequently, imagining the future is ethically problematic within most anthropologists. I will set aside the debate whether which approach is ethically acceptable, and focusing on how anthropology as an institution could navigate its member through career opportunities in business industry.

Business Anthropology came to be one of applied anthropology approach that aim for answer in the future of a brand or organization. Organization, marketing and consumer behaviour, and design anthropology are currently the subfield core for this approach. The demands for this job is significantly increase today. However, business anthropologist in this sense is not limited to work for a profit business, they also work with non-profit ones, government organizations and with supranational regulatory bodies. In addition, business anthropology is no longer be seen as an executive job compare to anthropology academics who spend most of their time in a remote field.

In most cases in Indonesia, anthropologist finding it hard to land a job. Many Anthropology graduate (will then be mention as Anthropologist) having difficulties on putting themselves in a suitable job. The options are indicatively limited. It's between either academic or government jobs, as business industry turned to be something unfamiliar in this approach. To those who able to make their way through business industry, they should put their creative mind set regarding to fit with the expectations. Some who still on their run with chasing opportunity in the industry would deal with questions such as; how to standardize the approach? Would a person be called as an Anthropologist if they can learn the how-to through google? What's important in going college then? There are several job applications that is using ethnography as a tool, but unfortunately most anthropologists are not exposed to this opportunity.

This article builds the case that several challenges has been pushing anthropologist in business industry. The purpose is to introduce an alternate perspective on how Anthropologist can do besides its traditional and academic approaches, and how to overcome the challenges. This article contains questions, introduction and points of discussion. First, this article introduces some of the challenges on anthropology in business today. Second, this article discusses network and several key points of improvement to seize current challenges.

### **Navigating Business Anthropology Challenges Today**

Anthropologists are keenly aware about their position, especially in describing culture or community. Thereof, holistic approach offers a broad overview that allows anthropologist to understand phenomena, it is the essence of ethnography. Most anthropologists saw this approach as a neutral claim that eludes the partiality from certain perspective. Pointing out a significant analysis or recommendation was seen as a risky step. Hence, this approach tends to point out the problems instead of searching for the option of solutions. This mind set was inherited by the early anthropologist until today:

*“To develop an understanding of this process of translating scientific knowledge in a value-neutral framework into specific action implications is, therefore, a crucial challenge arising in applied anthropology courses” (Rapoport 1963:340–41).*

Consequently, this perspective leads to a vague data points. Especially in business industry that require an action plan for the problem rather than how the problem arise. What becomes obvious here is by deepening the findings, anthropologist often deliver report with quite a long time spend. While there's a high demand for getting projects done with a rapid method yet agile. Anthropologist who work as a UX researcher has the need to launch a product in a tight schedule and lack of resources.

Second, business languages and its terms are becoming the second challenge for anthropologist especially in writing report. It often uses terms that is unfamiliar with most anthropologist that used to say in thick-description. There's a gap between the way business practitioners describe problem in certain terms, that most anthropologists struggle to reach. This has been a problem for anthropologist who works in market and media research, where most terms are difficult to simplify.

Last, though the applied anthropology community is wider now, it's still hard for business anthropologist to find a proper mentorship. Beside the fact that this field is no longer new, business industry is indicatively unfamiliar. Luckily, there are several global conference and international symposium that alternatively can be a safe space for anthropologist to define their position in business industry. Yet there's a big demand of necessary support from institution to build this connection.

### **Narrating The Future of "Exotic Society"**

Let me put out several points of conclusion in a time frame. In the past, classical anthropologists were sent to describing exotic communities. Anthropology began as a field of study to directly inspect, explore, and record the lives of the cultural "Other". Early anthropologist used to analyse the intangible, the uncertainty, even myth and mysteries. Anthropologist nowadays is facing an inevitably changes amongst the society. Pandemic and the surge of digital consumption creates an interesting space with many possibilities. The phenomena are yet uncertain, and somehow "exotic" in some way. Despite the fact that current anthropology approach is no longer passing its 'colonial legacy', there's certainly a liminality condition.

*"It is thus an ambiguous phase; liminal personae are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial"* (Turner 1969: 95).

This could lead to a future applied anthropology in business industry, an opportunity. We have a resourceful skill to re-define what works in this "exotic society", and fully immerse through the liminality. Today, anthropology as an institution should adapt to a more flexible method in regards to support its member career needs. Its successful adaptation is merely possible by obtaining skills through the open access of digital world today. Yet the long hours of study and fieldwork from our past in the college should enrich the capability of being adaptable in current situation. Especially in a vast amount of digitalization demands. Professionals who practice anthropology may have the ability to combine their skill and start the innovation. However, they're surely lacking the ability of analyses than most anthropologist who learned from a deep and thorough observations. This is an important understanding that anthropologist should aware in regards to contribute in business world.

There's a significant reason for Indonesian anthropologist to build its network within business anthropology. Small initiatives and research firms should be supported regarding to nurture the sustainability. In some extend, business anthropology currently couldn't stand only with its classical approach. We need to be flexible by collaborating with multidiscipline practitioners. Networking becoming a core value for business anthropologist in order to strengthen its position and expanding the opportunity.

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## Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka (MBKM): Connecting Academics and the Outside World

*Erna Herawati*

*Universitas Padjadjaran*

Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka (MBKM) is a new program launched by the ministry of education in 2020. This program allows undergraduate and vocational students to experience studying and join activities outside their department and campus for three semesters. They can choose any activities which are closely related or not related to their major. The objective of this program is to equipped students not only with knowledge and skill related to their major but also life skills and resilience. Anthropology students at Universitas Padjadjaran join internship program at well-establish business companies and start-up companies; research centres, and many other organisations. Their activities ranging from doing social research, business ethnographic research, marketing research, business plan, project management, and so on. In these activities, students practice knowledge and skill they learn at class from their teacher, as well learn and practice new knowledge and skill from their mentors. This program require teachers to work together with mentors to supervise the students during the internship. An intensive communication between mentors and teachers, and between mentors and students has been established. Gaps between theory learned by students at class and how to practice it during the internship are identified. Critics to Anthropology curriculum began to surface. Teachers started to reflect and review their teaching material and method. Some decided to revise it in order to match the need of the outside world. At the same time, Anthropology students and teachers also have chance to introduce and promote Anthropology to the outside world, which generally has little knowledge about it. Drawing on the experiences of MBKM program at the Department of Anthropology,

Universitas Padjadjaran, this paper will discuss how MBKM program has connected the academic and the outside world, and how it has become a potential media to burn the gap between theory and practice. This will in turn change the history in the Anthropology education in Indonesia.

### Change without Ideology, the Stereotyping of the Social Science

*Widjajanti M. Santoso*

*BRIN*

Theory and practice become significant elements in contemporary social sciences, the Jokowi presidency's logan "work..work" is identic with applied and real context. Within the development discourse, solution is viewed as better, in this process the theory is being marginalized as 'not contribute enough to solve societal problem'. For social sciences this paradigm is archaic as it has a flexible, fluid borders between theory and practice. Contemporary social sciences have both as inseparable elements. Having these as perspectives, this article uses the case LIPI institutionally changed into BRIN which is gigantic and bureaucratic in manner, especially viewed from the history of PRMB or Pusat Riset Masyarakat dan Budaya, formerly it was Pusat Penelitian Kemasyarakatan dan Kebudayaan-LIPI. The method is case study, what had the institution reached and what is happening now. It is a complex social changed in organization as well as in academic culture. By using intersectionality, this article argue that separating theory and practices only stereotyping social sciences as its inability to solve social problem. There are three items would discussed; history is important, the making of researcher and the issues and theme about identity. The possible discussions are the history about social science is left behind, challenging the making of the social sciences researcher and identity issues such as gender, minority group, and disability would face difficulty to show their significant contribution. To some extent, recent organizational change forget the past with romanticizing the future, probably a dream in itself.

### Community-based Research/Activism/Advocacy for Social-Ecological Rehabilitation in the Aftermath an Industrial Hazard

*Anton Novenanto*

*Universitas Brawijaya*

In facing and handling multidimensional impacts of an industrial hazard, maintaining multistakeholder collaboration is required. This paper reflects a longitudinal engagement with local communities surrounding the Lapindo mudflow hazard in Porong, East Java. The engagement begins with a community-based research approach in identifying multidimensional impacts of the mudflow from which findings further activism and advocacy

agendas for social-ecological rehabilitation are designed. Based on that experience, multistakeholder collaboration is needed and the most difficult part in the whole process is to orchestrate various resources to sustain interests and needs of each actor. In this presentation I will be sharing some of our experiences and looking forward to gain insights from other places and cases.





## PANEL 21. CULTURAL RESILIENCE AND KE-INDONESIAAN IN THE BORDER COMMUNITIES

### Eha, the Persistent Tradition of Natural Resource Management in the Talaud Islands in the Indonesia-Philippines Border Area

*Steven Sumolang*

*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*

Eha tradition has been arisen from a long historical journey of the Indonesian people in the outer islands of the Talaud Archipelago Regency, who often experience disasters threatening their natural resources for their livelihoods. Thus, the Eha tradition was maintained, as a rule to control the use of natural resources both in sea and land, to prohibit people from taking agricultural products outside of their time. At the time determined according to natural conditions and the calculation of the best harvest period, a joint harvest is held out together with a thanksgiving party, namely *mane'e*, *manam'mi*, *maniu*. This custom is revived because, only a few village maintain it. Changes in society in all its economic needs have caused the loss of this tradition. Some villages still maintain it, such as Kakorotan village, Miangas village, and Ambia village. They consider this tradition as a legacy of their ancestors to survive or adapt in the Talaud archipelago environment in which disasters often occur so that its natural resources must be protected. This paper is a preliminary study to explore the unique eha tradition on the Indonesia-Philippines border especially in the Talaud archipelago. This research uses a qualitative approach through interviews, focused discussions, observations and document studies.

### Strengthening the Cultural Resilience of Border Crossing Communities in Talaud Regency

*Heny Pratiknjo, Rully Mambo, J.E.T. Mawara*

*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*

The phenomenon of the Indonesian-Philippine border community who often travels across borders in order to meet their economic needs and family visits with the kinship and economic motives has been going on for a long time so that the Indonesian and Philippine state regulations accommodate them in the policies of border crossing area (BCA) and of border trade area (BTA). This community interaction has caused inter-ethnic acculturation in which the strong influence of Filipino culture has affected significantly the culture of Sangihe and Talaud people in the border area. The cultural resilience of cross-border communities especially in Sangihe and Talaud islands is very vulnerable because the cultural influence of

the Filipino people is quite strong. It can be seen from various forms of fishing traditions by Sangihe Talaud fishermen adopting Filipino culture in the use of pumpboats by all fishermen in Bowongbaru village who often travel across borders. So in order to maintain their nationalism and Indonesian identity, the elites in society, namely formal figures, traditional leaders/community leaders and religious leaders participate in strengthening cultural resilience in which the Bowongbaru village community still preserves their customs and traditions as the Sangihe Talaud ethnic groups. They still maintain their customs and traditions such as the Eha custom as a model for utilizing natural resources typical of the Talaud people; organizing Tulude or Mandulu'gu Tonna routinely at the beginning of every year; performing Bara'a and Dobil Line dance arts, and so on. These cultural forms make Talaud ethnic group different from the Philippines people. The cultural resilience of these border-crossing communities strengthens the Indonesian identity of border residents.

### Ratumbanua Customary Institution, Encouraging Community Participation in Village Development in the Indonesian Border Region, Study in Bulude Village, Kabaruan Island, Talaud Regency

*Stefanus Sampe, Neni Kumayas*

*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*

Talaud Regency has the Ratumbanua customary institution still existing today in the Indonesia-Philippines border area. This customary institution is led by a Ratumbanua or regional head assisted by his deputy Inanguwanua and several other apparatuses. Ratumbanua used to have a position as a leader in all aspects of the life of the Talaud community before the current government system established, then after the rules of the Indonesian government on the existence of a Village Head, Ratumbanua's position became a traditional institution and a partner of the village government in running the government. This study attempt to explore the role of the Ratumbanua customary institution in encouraging participatory village development in the Indonesian border region, case study on Bulude Village, Talaud Regency. The existence of the Ratumbanua traditional institution in Bulude village, Kabaruan sub-district, Talaud, has a significant influence on people's daily lives. It can be seen from the ability of the Ratumbanua traditional institution to encourage community participation to take part in various government programs, such as in involving people to participate in village development planning, and community participation in the implementation of village development. In addition, they also carry out customs such as traditional ceremonies and as a mediator in solving social problems that arise in people's lives. so the reason why the role of Ratumbanua is very dominant in the life of the Talaud community is because Ratumbanua has been rooted in the Talaud community for a long time.

## Tebe Dance Strengthens Local Identity in Sustainable Cultural Development Efforts

*I Gusti Ngurah Jayanti*

*BRIN*

The purpose of this study is to find out the values contained in Tebe dance, in addition to wanting to reveal the sustainability of Tebe dance as a form of art that is able to raise local identity in the area perbsuperiors, especially on the island of Timor. This writing describes the form and function and meaning of Tebe dance and also captures the value contained in the Tebe dance. Tebe dance can strengthen cultural resilience in border areas. This research uses qualitative methods with triangulation data collection techniques, namely: observation, interviews and documents and uses hermeneutic theory for data analysis. Some traditional people consider Tebe dance to be a Sacred dance that is danced at the time of important events such as welcoming guests of honor, traditional ceremonies or celebrations of victories in history or past events in the traditional community on the island of Timor. Tebe dance also strengthens the sense of nationality in the border areas. They felt their attachment and solidarity with their fellow tribesmen. Tebe dance describes a very dynamic social relationship because it can open up interconnected relationships with other communities.

## Tondanese Food

*Rina Palisuan Pamantung*

*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*

Food is a part of culture in North Sulawesi Province. Tondanese food consist of the label linulut and non-linulut. There are two questions being asked: 1). How is the naming system of Tondanese food? 2). What is the lingual form related to the meaning of Tondanese food?. This study is conducted in the context of language and cultural preservation, especially in the intangible cultural heritage provision. The research uses descriptive qualitative method through ethnographic approaches and synchronic linguistic method, as well as the initial introduction of the gastronomic linguistic approach. The basic linguistic theory (Katamba [1993], Givon [1984]), the theory of naming (Palmer, 1976), and theory of the meaning theory (Lehrer, 1971), the supporting theory namely the gastronomic linguistic theory (Gillespie and Cousins, 2001) are used in the data analysis. The result found that Tondanese food naming system is based on food ingredients, cooking methods, cooking utensils, food manufacturing locations, human names, and the creation of the food maker. The forms of Tondanese food names consist of the following words: tinu'tuan, woku, ambal and gofu. Meanwhile, the phrase consists of tinu'tuan ampas ba, payangka woku blanga, woku blanga, woku daong, sate wates, woku woka, and babi woku. The compound words are rica rodo, bob engka, and

rintek wu'uk. Reduplications are *rica-rica* and *lampu-lampu*. The clause includes the names *ikang woku isi di bulu*, *ayang woku isi di bulu*, and *sayor pait isi di bulu*. The meaning of traditional Minahasan food contains denotative and connotative meaning. Furthermore, the cultural meaning of traditional Minahasan food, on the one hand, is horizontally as a "blessing or gratitude" to *Opo Ni Empung* or God, who is the owner of the universe.

### Ratumbanua as a Strategic Institution in Cultural Resilience and Indonesian Identity in the Talaud order Area

*Stefanus Sampe, Neni Kumayas, Grace Waleleng*  
*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*

Talaud Regency has the Ratumbanua traditional institution which still exists today in the Indonesia-Philippines border area. This traditional institution is led by a Ratumbanua or regional head assisted by his deputy *Inanguwanua* and several other officials. Ratumbanua used to have a position as a leader in all aspects of the life of the Talaud community before the current government system was formed, then after the Indonesian government regulation regarding the existence of a Village Head, Ratumbanua's position became a traditional institution and partner of the village government in running the government.

Ratumbanua as a strategic institution in strengthening the cultural resilience of border communities, and as the Indonesian identity of the Talaud people who historically have strengthened the ownership of the Miangas island to remain within the Talaud customary territory of Indonesia. then discuss Ratumbanua as part of Indonesian cultural identity in the Indonesia-Philippines border area. This study looks at the role and existence of Ratumbanua in relation to cultural resilience and Indonesian identity, a study in *Bulude Village*, Talaud Regency. The existence of the Ratumbanua traditional institution in *Bulude Village*, *Kabaruan District*, Talaud, has a significant influence on people's daily lives. This can be seen from the ability of the Ratumbanua traditional institution in upholding Talaud customs and culture such as carrying out traditional ceremonies and as a mediator in solving social problems that arise in people's lives. So the reason why Ratumbanua's role is so dominant in the life of the Talaud community is because Ratumbanua has been rooted in the Talaud community for a long time.



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