

# FACTORS THAT DRIVE CHANGES IN THE AIM, ORIENTATION, AND PRIORITY OF SHIFTING CULTIVATION IN ROUTA FROM UPLAND RICE PRODUCTION TO LAND TENURE

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## ABSTRACT

In the past, the main aim, orientation, and priority of shifting cultivation were how to produce food, especially upland rice and other foodstuffs to meet daily needs. In addition, shifting cultivation was still applying rotary and fallow systems, where the cultivators abandoned their areas to open up others for the following farming period. In contrast to the above, our research in Routa showed the opposite results. The main aim, orientation and priority of shifting cultivation in Routa are now to acquire farmland. In addition, shifting cultivators in Routa are not familiar with both rotary and fallow systems. Changes in the aim, orientation, and priority of shifting cultivation from producing upland rice to land tenure are driven by the presence of investors, migrants from the South, and the increasing number of new wealthy people in Routa who practice land tenure, which then encourages shifting cultivators to get involved and involve themselves in land tenure contestation. This research used descriptive-qualitative approach.

**Keywords:** Shifting cultivation, land tenure, and adaptation and change in aim, orientation, and major priorities.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the past, the aim, orientation, and main priority of shifting cultivators were to produce a number of foods, especially rice, to meet their daily needs [1]. They applied a rotary system, where they abandoned a cultivation area to open up another one for the following farming period [2-5].

Rambo (1983:8) stated that “swidden agriculture is a system in which farmer cuts a plot of land in the forest, allows the vegetation to dry and then burns it before planting a crop”. Seavoy (1973:22) provided a definition, namely “Shifting cultivation is commonly defined as clearing trees and then cultivating this land for one or more years before abandoning it in favor of others patches”[3]. If Rambo emphasised one of them on the practice of planting a crop of shifting cultivation [2], then Seavoy did that on the presence of the fallow system (before abandoning it in favour of others patches) of shifting cultivation [3], different from the phenomenon developing in Routa today.

Based on empirical observations, it appears that there is a shift in the aim, orientation, and priority of shifting cultivation, which is no longer merely an effort to product upland rice, but also, and above all, as an effort to obtain agricultural land. In this case, arable land, which in the past was only optional, is now the main aim, orientation, and priority of the practice of shifting cultivation in Routa [6]. This phenomenon of shifting cultivation began to occur

since the late 1980s or early 1990s, where the former areas became no longer completely abandoned, unlike those in the past when the fallow and rotary systems were implemented. These two systems were very principles in the practice of shifting cultivation in the past. In the 2000s until now, in Routa, it is more likely then to become a practice of land tenure rather than as an attempt to produce upland rice.

This change in the aim, orientation, and priority is thought to be inseparable from the phenomenon of land tenure in Routa, especially in the past four decades. The presence of wood processing companies, oil palm plantations, nickel mining, and migrants from the South, accompanied by the step of the new village division, is essentially a land tenure practice. Likewise, the emergence of newly wealthy people, whose accumulation of wealth has become faster as Routa opens with the outside world, ultimately leads to more intense land acquisition. All of these facts are thought to have encouraged shifting cultivators to get involved and involve themselves in the competition for land in Routa through the practice of shifting cultivation. In this case, farming for Routa people is more like an attempt to involve themselves in the competition for competition over land.

Changes in the aim, orientation and priority of shifting cultivators and the involvement of shifting cultivators in the competition for lands in Routa can thus be seen as an adaptation mechanism to the phenomenon of land tenure by the parties in the wilderness. Adaptation, in this case, is seen as the capacity of people to innovate, find solutions to change, look for new things as never before, maintain old practices that have become a habit or proclaim new things into something natural [7-10]. Individuals or groups can adapt by finding new solutions to new or old problems; or by learning to live with the situation without worrying about it; or by adjusting behavior to reality [11-14].

Therefore, with regard to the things mentioned above, this study intended to reveal the phenomenon of changes in the aim, orientation, and major priority of shifting cultivation from upland rice production to land tenure, as a mechanism of adaptation to changes in the ecological environment due to the presence of entrepreneurs, migrants from the South, and the growth of newly wealthy people in Routa, as the main question of research.

## **2. Problems**

Before the 1980s, shifting cultivation in Routa was proceeding properly – as was it in general, whose main aim, orientation, and priority were to produce upland rice. In the 1980s, those changed to be land tenure. This situation is thought to be driven by the presence of companies, migrants from the South, and the growth of the number of wealthy people who practised land tenure. Concerning this matter, the research problem was formulated as “What factors are driving the change in aim, orientation, and priority of shifting cultivation in Routa from upland rice production to land tenure?”

## **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **The presence of companies that control lands in Routa on a large scale**

Until 2018, there were four efforts to manage and utilise natural resources in Routa, namely the exploitation of mixed jungle wood by UD. Indah Permatasari owned by Haji Kaddas from Timampu, oil palm plantation company, namely PT. Damai Jaya Lestari (PT. DJL) through its subsidiary, PT. Mulya Tani, that was owned by Sutan Raja Darius Lunggak Sitorus from Medan, and a nickel mining company by PT. Sulawesi Cahaya Mineral (PT. SCM) owned by Johan Lens from China.

Mixed jungle wood processing in Routa began in 1982. At that time, Kaddas Haji, who previously only carried out the business of rattan frying in Timampu by taking natural rattan from the area around Lake Towuti, including in Routa, began to expand his business in the field of mixed jungle wood processing. This business did not have any permit both IPK (Wood Utilisation Permit), IPKTM (Timber Utilisation Permit from Private Land), and others from the local government. The location of Routa that was remote and isolated allowed Haji Kaddas to develop his business without being disturbed by forestry officials or police officers.

Starting his business, Haji Kaddas relied solely on a handsaw and human labour by recruiting unskilled workers from Routa and its surroundings. The main location for the processing was in the Watulawu area between Parudongka and Lengkobale villages, on the east side of Lake Towuti. The woods processed were only certain types of high-quality species such as komea and komea alu, in the form of logs, which were then pulled with buffaloes to Lengkobale, which at that time functioned as a public dock, including for wood loading activities. After arriving at Lengkobale, the logs were transported using rafts, and some were assembled to resemble rafts and then washed away and pulled by motorboats through Lake Towuti to Timampu. The woods were then taken to Haji Kaddas's sawmill on the edge of Lake Towuti to be processed into blocks and boards and then transported to be sold in Ujung Pandang using large trucks. This wood processing business ran until 1990.

Around 1990, Haji Kaddas began using chainsaws as the main equipment in his business in Watulawu and found that his log production increased significantly, compared to that in previous years when still using handsaws. It was from two or three to be five or six dumps of trucks of processed wood. Also, in that year, he got neither IPK nor IPKTM for his business, but a certificate from the local village government, stating that the processed woods originated from village land.

Haji Kadas's wood-processing business in Routa, as described above, continued until the 2000s, with the area of management that was increasingly expanding to forest areas that had the potential for abundant timber stands. He did that often with the increased business capital gained from the sale of processed wood to Ujung Pandang. The increase in venture capital allowed him to buy some heavy equipment such as excavators and bulldozers — the two main heavy equipment he used to open new access to the forest area with abundant timber. It has not been known exactly how wide the forest area is Haji Kaddas's wood processing area in Routa. However, according to the information of those closest to him, it is estimated that no less than 5,000 hectares of the forest area he has managed until now.

PT. Mulya Tani is the only company that is seriously developing oil palm plantations in Routa, after obtaining a location permit from the Regent of Konawe through Decree Number: 745 of 2007 dated 9 July 2007 and Decree Number: 421 of 2007 on 30 July 2007, and extension of permits through SK. Number 250 Year 2011 April 18, 2011. With these permits, PT. Mulya Tani built oil palm plantations in two locations, namely in the Village of Lalomerui covering an area of 6,200 hectares covering 4,400 hectares of nucleus estates and 1,600 plasma estates, and in Walandawe Village totalling 3,734 hectares, all of which were plasma estates. Overall, PT. Mulya Tani controls 9,914 hectares of land in Routa.

Oil palm plantations in the village of Lalomerui were pioneered in 2005, and the planting started in 2007. Currently, these plantations are already in production. Whereas, those in the village of Walandawe were pioneered in 2010 while the planting began in 2012. But, to date,

these plantations have not been producing well. Palm seeds produced in Lalomerui are transported using trucks to the palm oil processing factory owned by PT DJL in Lamonae Village, Konawe Utara Regency.

PT. Mulya Tani is located on APL (Area for Other Land Uses), which is owned by the community of the villages of Lalomerui and Walandawe, part of which is located in a forest area. The process of land acquisition was through a partnership agreement between the two parties, namely PT. Mulya Tani with the landowners, for 35 years. The presence of PT. Mulya Tani in Rوتا did not completely run smoothly due to allegations of manipulation on the partnership agreement, as stated in objections raised by the community to the Konawe District DPRD in 2017. Through the Palm Oil Owners Association (GPPLS), they sent a letter to the Konawe Regional Representative Council (DPRD) related to the injustice of PT. Mulya Tani in Rوتا District. Letter numbered 004/GPPLS/VI/2017 concerning the aspiration to stop the activities of PT. Mulya Tani was responded directly by the Chair of Commission II Konawe DPRD, explaining that a subsidiary of PT. The Jaya Lestari Damai has made a fool of the landowners.

In 2003, PT Rio Tinto Exploration (PT RTE) began to explore nickel ore mining in the Lasampala Mountains, which included Rوتا District, Konawe Regency, and Bahodop District, Bungku Selatan Regency. In 2008, it applied for a contract of work for nickel ore mining to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources of the Republic of Indonesia, covering 45,000 hectares consisting of 25,000 hectares in Rوتا District, Konawe Regency, and 20,000 hectares in Bahodopi District, Bungku Selatan Regency.

In 2010, PT RTE established a subsidiary, PT SCM (a member of Rio Tinto), and again submitted an application to obtain an exploration mining permit to the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources of the Republic of Indonesia. At the same time, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia issued Regulation (Permendagri) Number 45 of 2010 concerning Revision of Territorial Boundaries between Sulawesi Tengah and Sulawesi Tenggara Provinces. This provision no longer allowed PT SCM to obtain nickel mining business licenses in two provinces at the same time. With various considerations, the company finally decided to only manage nickel mining reserves in the area of Sulawesi Tenggara Province.

Furthermore, in 2010, PT SCM obtained an Exploration Mining Business License (IUP) Number: 318.K/30/DJB/2010 covering an area of 21,000 hectares in Rوتا District of Konawe Regency and obtained the Borrow-to-Use Forest Permit (IPPKH) for exploration from Ministry of Forestry on December 17, 2012, through Decree Number: SK.741/Menhut-II/2012 with an area of 19,696 hectares located in Rوتا District, Konawe Regency, Sulawesi Tenggara Province. In 2019, PT SCM has obtained IUP for Production Operation Number: 03/DPM-PTSP/I/2019 covering an area of 19,969 hectares. PT SCM is currently conducting further exploration to complete the exploration process in the entire exploration area to ensure the measurable economic value of nickel reserves. As planned, PT. SCM will start production in 2020.

Even though all of the areas stated in the Production Operation IUP are in the forest area and have obtained IPPKH, Mopute people claim that around 4000 hectares out of the areas are the former farming areas of their parents in the past. Therefore, Mopute people have often also raised protests with companies asking to exclude the ex-farming areas. Long before they plotted lands in Mopute Baru, their leader, Yen Latorumo, on November 4, 2013, had made a

statement to the management and staff of PT SCM in Lalomerui, namely: 1) we are not in the framework of obstructing SCM's plans; 2) but, PT SCM should respect us as the owners of inheritance rights. I am somewhat disappointed in Stephan who refused to meet us to discuss the problem concerning the existence of kodes, which in our opinion are not representatives of the Walandawe indigenous community, and; 3) the conflict will become bigger if we don't discuss it as soon as possible. We don't expect casualties like in Mesuji, Ketapang, or like in other regions. After all, all parties will experience losses, both the people themselves and companies that have spent a lot of funds, and even the government will lose its tax sources.

### **The presence of migrants from the South**

The story of migrants from the South in Routa has been going on for quite a long time and in a long span of time. Taufik (2015: 31-47) divided the arrival of migrants from the South to Routa in three stages. *First*, the Dutch Colonial period of 1906-1945, namely when the Dutch concentrated their government in Luwu by applying high tax regulations burdening people and implementing a resettlement policy for residents in the mountains, many residents came out of Luwu to look for new sources of income to meet the government's demand for tax payments. In addition, some residents rejected the tax and resettlement policies and then chose to leave their hometown and to settle in Routa permanently. *Secondly*, the Darul Islam Period of 1950-1965. Kahar Muzakkar established DI / TII as a form of resistance to the Republic of Indonesia. He and his followers, who were mostly Bugis, Toraja and Tolaki, then made Routa as a base to build strength and, at the same time, avoid the TNI. Routa, which was far from the centre of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and did not have access to the road, was considered an ideal location for DI/TII. *Thirdly*, the New Order Period of 1966-1998. In the early days of the New Order Government, Routa was left isolated and practically ignored by the government at that time because it was considered as the basis of DI/TII. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia, both Central and Regional, deliberately applied this policy as sanctions for Routa and its inhabitants who were the basis and support of the DI/TII movement. A further consequence of this policy was the difficulty in accessing this area due to the lack of transportation facilities and infrastructure. For decades, Routa could only be reached on foot as far as 150 kilometres from Asera. This was done by residents who were evacuated during DI/TII if they wanted to return to their hometowns in Routa [15].

In addition to the three stages proposed by Taufik (2015) above, there is the last stage that has been taking place since the decade of the 2000s to the present, namely the presence of migrants from the South driven by the desire to possess lands for pepper plants. Not all migrants who came later had anything to do with Buginese people who came to Routa in the Dutch Age, nor being part of the DI/TII, nor being unsuccessful enough in their home villages and seek new fortune in Routa. Some of them came to Routa with one definite purpose, namely to acquire the lands of Routa with some money to grow pepper.

Buginese people who came since the Dutch Era did not stay in Routa for a long time, as said by Taufik (2015:36), "In the Dutch colonial era, there were only a few temporary settlements set up by forest dwellers in the area that is now Routa sub-district." Migrants at this time only built temporary houses in Routa during the collection of forest products. They chose to settle in Lambatu and Bantilang around Lake Towuti because it made it easier to sell forest products obtained and closer to the hometown in Luwu.

Some of Buginese people who came during DI/TII remained staying in Routa and had children there, like Ladong and Gani. They live from farming and collecting forest products such as resin and rattan. As Taufik said (2015:42):

*They cut trees from the forest close to their settlement to rebuild houses using hand axes and machetes and they used cleared land to re-establish food gardens (subsistence farming). To meet other daily needs, most people relied on sales of forest products, particularly resin and rattan. There were no vehicles so many people used buffalo as the main form of transportation (patekke or pajekka) for carrying products from the forest as well as carrying daily needs from Lengkobale or climbing through the mountains, which stand as a rampart around Routa. They needed all of their pioneering spirit to survive [15]*

The descendants of the Bugis and Toraja people who came during DI/TII are now residents of Tirawonua and Parudongka Villages, and, partly, in Routa Village. Unlike their parents who used to live from farming and collecting resin and rattan resin, they prefer permanent farming such as planting cacao and pepper and planting lowland rice.

The Toraja and Bugis people who came during the New Order, namely because they were less successful in their native land and then tried their luck in Routa, are now residents of Tanggola and Puuwiwirano Villages. On the new land in Routa they not only could obtain large tracts of land but also succeeded in forming an autonomous village where residents and the village government were from and by themselves. At that time, when they first arrived at Routa, they lived in a close family home that had already been dwelling in Routa. After that, they met with the Head of Routa Village, Taksir, who then gave them lands for free in the Tanggola and Puuwiwirano areas, provided they wanted to be serious about settling in Routa.

The granting of land carried out by Taksir to Ustadz Muchtar in 1994 was originally intended for the construction of a 400-hectare pesantren. In its development, the pesantren was not built and Ustadz Muchtar returned to his hometown in Palopo and never returned to Routa. Subsequently, under the permission of the elders of the villages of Routa, Sukman Unggahi, and Taksir, as the Head of the Routa Village at that time, the Enrekang people worked the lands in Puuwiwirano. Thus, Puuwiwirano became a preparatory village in 1997, led by the then village chief executive, Rasahi Latorumo, continued by Asbar Latorumo. When it became an autonomous village, in 2000, Abdul Rahman was appointed as the first head of it. Previously, the Tanggola and Puuwiwirano areas were the old areas for inhabitants of Routa and were former shifting cultivation areas in the past. However, because the areas have been left for too long and there have never been any more activities to open fields there, and residents in Routa now also cannot identify with certainty the lands and their ancestors who had lived and cultivated there, the areas then become collective property and can no longer be claimed individually.

The success of pepper plantations in Routa that peaked in 2015, 2016 and 2017 has changed the perspective of migrants from the South about Routa. They then saw that it is not only an area that provides vast land and timber abundantly but can also be relied upon to gain money by planting pepper, as had been achieved by people in Lambatu and Bantilang. The migrants who arrived later had the main goal of growing pepper. Of course, acquiring large tracts of land is naturally the goal of migrants, because only with large tracts of land can they grow large amounts of pepper and obtain abundant yields. In addition to the similarity with their

predecessor migrants, in terms of areas of origin, namely Bugis and Toraja, their kinship ties, especially in the Parudongka, Tanggola, and Puuwiwirano villages, also play a role in smoothing the goals of migrants who came later.

In terms of the area of land that has been successfully controlled by migrants, no definitive information has been available, both from the local government and companies in Routa. However, based on people's estimation, on average, migrants control land between five to ten hectares per household. Based on these estimates, if using BPS data for 2018, with 200 households, each of which controls 10 hectares of land (maximum estimate), then the total area of land controlled by migrants is 2,000 hectares. If residents in Routa say that the number of migrants is double the 2018 BPS data, then it means that the area of land controlled by migrants is 4,000 hectares.

### **The increasing number of rich people who control the land in Routa**

The rich people of Routa are those who are considered and seen by the population to have more economic capacity than the ordinary people there. They can be just ordinary people in the eyes of outsiders, especially in terms of their physical appearance and property, such as houses, private vehicles, and all other modern ornaments. Considered and seen to have more economic capacity than most residents, then, in the point of view of Routa people, they occupy a higher social position compared to the population of Routa in general. They are Tio, Taksir, Iskandar, Haji Sadda, and Nusa.

Tio, 55 years old, is registered as a resident of Parudongka Village who has worked in Haji Kaddas's wood processing company. After resigning, he then worked on Taksir's. After a long time as a subordinate of Taksir, he then left and started to build his own wood processing business by buying a set of sawmill that was placed in Polihe, Routa. He bought logs from local processors such as Rasak, Dolken, Sanggili, and others. After several years working with one sawmill, he then bought another unit and placed in Watulawu, Parudongka Village.

His business continued to grow until it could compete with that of Haji Kaddas. In 2015, Tio already had four excavators, three dump trucks, and a bulldozer. With the increasing numbers of sawmills and heavy equipment, the production of processed wood also continued to increase. He is currently one of the biggest suppliers in Routa for processed wood, besides Haji Kaddas. He also sells his wood to Makassar.

Some of the locations of Tio's wood processing spread in the villages of Routa, Parudongka, and Tirawonua, were subsequently cleared to become a pepper plantation area. He also built roads such as farm roads as access to reach his pepper plantation area. At present, it is estimated that he has a land area of approximately 500 hectares, which he obtained by buying from local residents, in addition to former wood processing land which he himself opened.

Taksir, as a 55-year-old Lalomerui Village resident, is the first son of Sukman Unggahi, which was a highly respected figure by residents in Routa and had served as the Head of Routa Village in 1994-1999 and of Lalomerui Village in 2005-2015. A number of businesses that he was involved in were buying and selling rattan, processing mixed jungle wood, and cattle and buffalo ranches.

After leaving Haji Kaddas's company, Taksir built his own business, namely collecting rattan and processing mixed jungle wood. Rattan collected from producers in Routa and processed

wood were then sold to Haji Kaddas in Timampu. He had run the rattan collection business since being a subordinate of Haji Kaddas. His wood processing business in a large party was only initiated in 1994, when he began serving as village head, and has been operating until now. From this business, he has been collecting the coffers of his wealth, one of which was used to buy land.

Taksir owns 400 hectares of land, all of which were bought from shifting cultivators with prices ranging from IDR500.000,00 to 10.000.000,00 per hectare. These lands are scattered in various places namely in Routa, Walandawe, and Lalomerui Villages. Apart from planting pepper, cocoa, and oil palm, some of them are used as cattle and buffalo grazing areas, and the rest are still in the form of fields.

Iskandar, aged 57, who is actually an ustadz and imam of a mosque in Routa, is a grocer with a large turnover in his area. He is an independent person, never being a subordinate of Haji Kaddas. In fact, on a certain scale, he is a business rival of Hajj Kaddas in Routa. All of his wealth comes from his own ability in the business of buying and selling groceries, agricultural products, and wood processing.

He has been buying and selling groceries since he first arrived in Routa around 1985. Long before he arrived in Routa, the residents of Routa fulfil their basic needs by shopping directly to Timampu and Wawondula. Iskandar's business increased quite quickly because he was the only food seller in Routa at the time. Even today, practically, he doesn't experience any significant competition. In addition to food, he also sells other ingredients such as gasoline, diesel, kerosene, LPG, pesticides, and various fertilisers. He also sells home appliances such as nails, paint, and cement. All merchandise is obtained from large traders in Wawondula. He has to go there to shop when his merchandise is running low.

He also involves himself in the wood processing business by providing capital for wood processors, most of whom were local residents, with an agreement that their processed wood should be sold to him. In addition to money, he also provides food and diesel necessities to wood processors. The value of loans for money, basic needs, and various other needs is then used as a deductor of the value of logs selling.

He also pursues the business of buying and selling agricultural products, in the form of cocoa and pepper. He buys cacao and pepper in Routa and then sells them back to Timampu. He only started this business around 2005. He gained quite a lot of profits from this business, especially when the pepper production boom in 2015, 2016 and 2017.

It was from these efforts that he collected money, which he later used, one of which was to buy land from shifting cultivators in Routa. At present, he owns no less than 300 hectares of land, all of which was purchased in cash and in debt. Those purchased in cash ranged from IDR 500.000,00 to 10.000.000,00 per hectare while those through debt was usually determined by the amount of money, groceries, or other necessities borrowed by the former owners.

Haji Satta — the older brother of Haji Kaddas — was born in Routa in 1945 and died in Tirawonua Village in 2015 at the age of 70. During his life, he was one of the rich people of Routa. His wealth was obtained from his business as a rice farmer, cocoa farmer, resin collector, and wood businessman. From these businesses, he could collect money, one of



which was used to buy land from local residents. When he died, he already had lands of approximately 100 hectares. Some of the lands were used to plant pepper successfully.

Like Tio and Taksir, Nusa, who is registered as resident of Routa Village, aged 55, a son-in-law of Sukman Unggahi, is a former subordinate of Haji Kaddas. He, therefore, also understands very well how to run a good wood-business. In addition to being familiar in this business, he is also known as a hard-working farmer with a large pepper plantation and has succeeded in it. He also served as the Head of Routa Village in the 1999-2004 period, replacing Taksir.

As a wood entrepreneur, he buys logs from local residents in Routa, and then stores them in Tio or Dullah's sawmills in Polihe. After the sawing process is completed, the woods are transported to Lengkobale and then sold to Haji Kaddas in Timampu. In addition to buying logs from local residents, he also plunges directly into the field doing his own processing in the forest. He also employs several local residents of Rasak, Dolken, Sanggili, and Bantong. From this business, he could buy a land area of approximately 50 hectares, which was entirely purchased from shifting cultivators in Routa, Bininti, and Walandawe, with prices ranging from IDR 500.000,00 to 10.000.000,00 per hectare.

From the description above, it can be seen that the main basic materials of rich people in Routa are wood, land, and pepper. They collect their capital from wood business, then with that capital they buy land, and on that land, they grow pepper. The three basic materials are used simultaneously so that it becomes easier for them to do capital accumulation.

### **The increasing land value**

Until the 1980s, lands in Routa were never traded and the people at that time did not consider land as a valuable asset but began to see it valuable when there were growing plants such as sago, durian, mango, coconut, langsung, and others fruitful plants. So, actually, in this case, the value was not of the land, but of the plants that grew on it. Such a phenomenon was commonly found in various community groups in the past and continued to last until the 1980s. In a number of areas, it was always found that a person had mango trees, durian trees, langsung trees, or sago groves on other's land. When the plants bore fruits, or when sago could be harvested, the owner comes to harvest them without asking permission from the landowner. This kind of process continued and naturally ended when the plants no longer productive.

With regard to the above, Ismail has a number of old coconut trees on Basrin's land, Salenggo has mango trees on Ladong land, Puana has langsung trees on Sukman's land, and Lega has sago groves on land, which is now owned by Gona. In Routa, up to the 1980s, the most valuable thing among the population was precisely damar/resin (ohulo). At that time, besides rattan, it was one of the economic supports of the population in Routa before the era of cocoa and pepper plants. By residents, resin trees which actually grew wild in the wilderness were claimed and owned by each resident like they when claiming and owning a piece of land now.

Some specific forest areas, including in the areas of Mopute Larondoko, Bininti, Parubada, Teo, Epe, Kakia, Solonsa, Dasawuta, Bungguosu, Tadosolo, Wawombolio, Asowuku, Lamese, and Wana-Wana, which were overgrown by resin tree clusters had been claimed as belonging to certain residents of Routa. No specific markers were made to affirm and explain the ownership of a certain set of resin trees by certain family groups. With no specific

marker, however, there has never been a dispute over ownership of resin trees in Routa. Each family already knows where their own trees are and where the boundaries are.

With regard to the above - where land had no value, and resin trees were valuable for the residents of Routa - there was also never heard of any land sale and purchase transactions as in the present situation. The lands, especially in the villages, were only granted by village elders as Sukman Unggahi did to other residents or those from the South who came to Routa. Besides, there had never been any land disputes between residents in Routa, both the lands in the settlements and the lands of the former shifting cultivation areas. Without certain boundaries such as fences or trenches, however, each resident, especially local residents, was quite familiar with their land boundaries. There was also no possibility to claim any area of others' shifting cultivations.

In contrast to the above, since the late 1980s or into the 1990s, when massive waves of migrants from the South began to arrive, lands in Routa began to be valued by the population. In this decade too, land transactions and land disputes — two things that had never happened in previous decades in Routa - began to be known. Empty lands, grasslands, or lands that were far from villages, were still left abandoned. Such lands by Sukman Unggahi, as village elders in Routa, were granted for free to both local residents and migrants from the South, provided that they agreed to settle in Routa. Conversely, if a person left Routa without processing the land to be agricultural land, it could no longer be claimed as his own, even if someday he would return to Routa. Tanggola and Puuwiwirano were two villages that originated from lands granted by Sukman Unggahi and Taksir to the Toraja people who arrived in Routa under the leadership of Rahman Sigele and the Enrekang people under Abdul Rahman. Whereas the lands located around the villages or on which there were growing plants had been claimed as ownership rights. So, those who are interested in owning some of them must buy from the owners.

Although the residents of Routa were already familiar with the sale and purchase of land, land prices, at that time, were considered to be very low when compared to those elsewhere in the same decade period. In many cases, land sale and purchase transactions did not use cash money but were often exchanged for goods, including basic food, bicycle, and motorcycle. Arman, Puana's son, from Lalomerui Village, in the 1990s, exchanged his parents' land of four hectares with a Thunder motorbike. He conducted a trading transaction with a migrant from the South, without the knowledge of his parents. Likewise, another case of land exchanged for a motorbike also occurred in Walandawe Village, namely by Lewa (deceased), who at that time exchanged an area of approximately 20 hectares for a motorcycle.

In addition to buying and selling land for motorbikes, there were also transactions that occurred because the landowners borrowed cash or bought daily necessities. Some local residents in Routa often borrowed money from Iskandar. If at any time they were unable to pay, then the debt was paid with lands they had. In addition to borrowing money, there were also residents who took daily necessities such as rice, cigarettes, or sugar from Iskandar in the hope that after harvest or yields, then the debt would be returned. But when they were unable to pay it in cash, then the debt could also be redeemed with lands. There were also other similar cases, where residents ended up losing their lands as a ransom because they borrowed a lot of money from Taksir.

From the four examples above, the cases experienced by Puana with his son - Arman -, Lewa, Arsin with their father --smail -, and Bantong with their father - Bio -, showed that the lands in Routa already had a sale value even though was not high. The point to be emphasised here is that lands in Routa had a value or price. Of course, this was a quite important development in Routa, considering that such a thing had never happened before.

Over time, land prices in Routa have risen from year to year. The current land price in Routa is around IDR 10.000.000,00 for vacant land and IDR 40.000.000,00 for maintained garden land, and this price will increase if the location of the lands is close to a settlement or has good road access. In addition to the value that continues to rise, lands also have advantages that can be sold quickly. Land buyers are not only of the residents of Routa but also those from the South. Owning land is like having a deposit in a bank whose value is increasing day by day. Farmers also do not need to panic if they do not have money or upland rice, as long as they still own land. By owning land, in a state of urgency, they can just sell it to finance all necessities such as daily necessities, school fees, marriage costs, and so forth.

#### **4. Conclusions and Recommendations**

The results of this study indicate that the change in the aim, orientation, and major priority from producing upland rice to land tenure is a strategy of adaptation of shifting cultivators to the ongoing phenomenon in Routa, namely the land tenure, which is carried out by wood processing companies, oil palm plantation companies, nickel mining companies, migrants from the South, and wealthy Routa people. The land tenure practices carried out by these parties does not only limit the movement of shifting cultivators in developing the practice of shifting cultivation but also makes them lose their rights and access to their parents shifting cultivation area in the past.

The opening of Routa to the outside world, the growth of new wealthy people who love buying land, and the booming pepper plantations have conjured up the lands in Routa from being used merely for shifting cultivation to being valuable commodities. This situation also helps encourage shifting cultivators or their descendants to get involved and involve themselves in the contestation of land tenure in Routa.

The strategies adopted by shifting cultivators in Routa are quite successful, which are seen in several ways: 1) by shifting cultivation in new forest areas, they could obtain new farmlands; 2) by reopening their parents' cultivation areas in the past, they could affirm their claim to the areas of shifting cultivation to further control them; 3) with new fields, they could develop agricultural activities including planting pepper and/or other crops, and; 4) with new fields, they could easily overcome financial difficulties that they often faced.

Based on the above research conclusions, the following recommendations were formulated: 1) The government needs to selectively privilege certain communities of local people who are still developing shifting cultivation and recognise and protect it as a cultural heritage; 2) The government needs to provide recognition of land rights in the former ex-shifting cultivation area and acknowledge the ownership rights to the former shifting cultivation areas as long as the owners can prove their claims. In this regard, the government needs to prioritise the main target of the TORA policy to the former shifting cultivation areas of local residents, like in Routa; 3) The government needs to carry out empowerment programs for the shifting cultivation community, as an integrated and simultaneous part with the recognition of the rights to doing shifting cultivation activities and the lands used for it, and; 4) The government

needs to restructure the forest area, stop illegal loggings for commercial purposes, and stop granting permits for extractive businesses in the forest area..

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