
**DAMPAK PERUBAHAN FUNGSI KAWASAN
DAN POLA ADAPTASI MASYARAKATNYA
DI KOTAWARINGIN TIMUR**

*THE IMPACT OF CHANGES IN AREA FUNCTION AND
PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY ADAPTATION
IN KOTAWARINGIN TIMUR*

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ABSTRACT

Since the early 1980s, investments in oil palm plantations have been introduced and promoted by the government. Even before that, i.e. since the 1970s. But its significant development effort has only begun since the end of forest exploitation. It is legal or illegal. Especially after the prohibition and control of forest exploitation activities. This paper is aimed to determine the impact of area function and patterns of community adaptation at Kotawaringin Timur district. At a time when the rights of forest concessions are still rife, until the presence of expansion of oil palm plantations. The approach is done in two ways, namely the macro and micro approach. The macro approach emphasizes more on the study of the structure and social institutions that exist in society. While the micro approach emphasizes more on the theoretical orientation of the adaptation process, that is historical and evolution of culture. In general, this approach is aimed at understanding the past conditions when forest exploitation is still occurring, the socio-economic and cultural a change functions as a result of effect plantation development and adaptation patterns of society.

Keywords: forest exploitation, plantation expansion, and patterns of adaptation.

A. PREFACE

Pro and con about the presence of biggest oil palm estate look like never stop. Especially concerning the reason for its existence economy on the one side, and ecologically on the other side. Between the government the actor and

policymaker which is supported by capital owners, and observers or activist groups environment.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the investments in subsector oil palm estate actually has been introduced and

also encouraged by the government. Maybe even long before. However, the efforts will only begin to be felt in the next decade or ten years later. One of the indicators is the rate of development area oil palm estate in Indonesia by the early 1990s has been reached more than 1.006.667 hectare, or equivalent to four times the number from the early 1980s which only reached 294.560 hectares (PDBI 1998, dalam Abdul Hakim Basyar, 2001;3).

As in Sumatra, oil palm commodities also began to be introduced and developed in Kalimantan since Pelita III, or around the beginning of the 1980s. However, the significant efforts have begun since the end of forest exploitation era, and as commodities of people who became famous in that time. Particularly when the cases of illegal logging and illegal timber trade which is prevalent in the early 1990s until in the middle 2000s which began fade, along with the prohibition and control of activities exploitation forest. Especially after the two main problems of the Indonesian forestry sector at that time, namely illegal logging and trading woods which make the profit potential of the country from tax sector lose (Asia Pulse and Media Indonesia in Obidzinski, Krystof et al., 2016:1). So, since at that time the efforts to development and expansion of investment in the farm subsector, especially oil palm have begun to show the significant developments. This thing started to appear at the beginning of the plan from the development and

expansion processes in Kalimantan, especially Central Kalimantan. Where the total realization of the provision of land areas for biggest plantations until the beginning of Pelita VI or in 1998 has reached 2,213,804 hectares (statistics from the Directorate General of Forest Use Utilization Inventory And Gardens in 1997/1998, in Abdul Hakim Basyar, 2001: 2). Interestingly, this figure turned out to be the highest, or more than 25% of the total realization of the provision land areas for biggest plantations in Indonesia, where at that time the area only reached 8,204,524.09 hectares.

So far, the total area of the largest oil palm plantations in Central Kalimantan actually shows a number that is not much different until today. Only in the middle of 2014-2016, the total area of oil palm plantations in Central Kalimantan reached 1,115,933 hectares with the total number production reached around 3,158,239 tons (Subiyantoro et al., 2015: 9). Although it is no longer the highest number, the existence obvious can represent a picture of the various polemics caused by changes in regional spatial patterns.

The polemics of the issues such as the ecological impact of the release of the area, changes in patterns of space for the use and access of the community to natural resources, to the rise of cases of tenurial conflict between the community and the company is a real sign of changes in space patterns and regional functions that happened. This

paper itself will examine the description of changes and patterns of community adaptation as a result of switching regional functions. Especially those aimed at developing and expanding efforts in East Kotawaringin after the prohibition and control of the activities forest exploitation. The study in this paper aims to identify and explain as macro 1) the changes that happened because the transformation of region functions and 2) adaptation activities carried out by the community as a result of the shifting of space functions of the area. Although this study is part of the research conducted at the end of 2012, the focus of the goal is still relevant written in this time.

The discussion space of this paper is limited to the conditions of losing and changing social and cultural objects in society. Especially concerning 1) the traditions of the utilization and management system formed, and 2) the impact on the socio-economic and cultural sustainability of the communities around the area.

Change and adaptation are two things that interrelated, especially concerning changes that occur in society. In general, there are two forms of change that we have known in society, namely are engineered or intentional and which occur naturally. Changes are also divided into two categories, which are gradually and drastically or quickly (Soekanto, 2000: 333–352). In this same definition, we can recognize the terms of evolution and revolution. In sociological,

evolution is the meaning of increasing differentiation as well as specialization. Meanwhile, the revolution is the process of changing that happened quickly until the basics of a (system) society (Soekanto, 1993: 151. 384).

In the context of the development and expansion of plantations, not all transformation happened gradually or planned. But there are also happened quickly, fundamentally and unplanned. Because this problem concerning with investments that are realized through the opening areas of the plantation and supporting infrastructure facilities in a region. This condition is certainly no longer an impact on territory, namely the structure and pattern of space in the region. It also impacts on social, economic and cultural conditions in the community. It concerns access to natural resources and areas or traditions in its management effort. Until in turn, the community will be faced with a change that requires an adaptation or adjustment.

Literary, adaptation is the process of adjustment². Because adaptation here concerns to the community, then the meaning involves many aspects of the elements that exist in a community or society. Therefore, adaptation here is related to the way that is done by the community or society in cultural ecology in an effort to adjust to the changes that occur.

Cultural ecology here is a discussion that focuses on two main concepts, namely, environment and (activity) adaptation. This is because the

environment and cultural activities are part of an interconnected system with each other (Kaplan and Maners, 2002: 104). The environment in the context of the ecological culture here is no longer merely understood as a natural object, and in fact also cannot be described objectively. Because it more about perception. The environment here is more about a set of understanding the cultural products of a community or society. The relationship between community and environment will only be understood if we listen and know how to organize the environment in the verbal categories of those who use it (Kaplan and Maners, 2002: 104–105).

Humans basically will always interact in simultaneously with their environment. The process of this interaction, according to Berger and Luckman, is carried out in two types of consciousness; objective and subjective (Berger and Thomas Luckman, 1990: 1) Objective awareness is an awareness that places reality or existing social reality in its own existence, not dependent on human will. Meanwhile, subjective awareness places more than reality or social reality will have more real or specific meanings or values in accordance with what has been interpreted or internalized by the community itself. Therefore, the interaction according to him will always do in three ways which are also always dialectical between each other, namely externalization, objectivities and also internalization. Externalization is the process of adaptation (interaction) to

social and cultural conditions that have become a social reference for the community before. Objectivities are the process of interaction or adaptation that is built on the basis of awareness that every culture has positive values. Meanwhile, internalization is more concerned with a process of self-identification in order to be part of the socio-cultural reality (Berger and Thomas Luckman, 1990: 1 and 28-65). This writing is part of the research carried out in East Kotawaringin, Central Kalimantan at the end of 2012. The selection of location is more based on the consideration that East Kotawaringin is the area with the largest number of oil palm plantations in Central Kalimantan in 2012, which reached 520.000 hectares (Indonesian Bank Bulletin, 2012). Even until 2016, the estimated total numbers area is about 1.075.295 hectares (Subiyantoro, et al, (ed), 2015).

The writing approach is done in two ways, namely macro and micro. Macro approaches emphasize the review of existing social structures and institutions in the community. Especially to learn and understand the structures of community widely, either without or paying attention to the functions of other structures. While the micro approaches emphasize the theoretical orientation of the adaptation process, namely historically and cultural evolution. This approach in anthropology also called cultural ecology. One of the characteristic cultural ecology approaches is attention

to the adaptation process in two levels, that is the way of system cultural adaptation to the environment, and the ways of the institution in that culture adaptation (Kaplan and Maners, 2002:102). Therefore, the forms of the question asked often more functional and historical.

Secondary research data was obtained through the review of documents related to the news of the settlement cases of conflict areas around oil palm plantations and regional statistics. While primary data was obtained through the interviews with communities around the plantations area, former worker at the opening of the area (blocking area), police officer, the village headman and also the person who involved in the cases are disputes between the community and the company. Particularly to find out and understand the conditions in the past when forest timber products were still the prime economic source in the community, the impact of the prohibition or control of forest timber concession activities, as well as the impact of the transfer of functions or release of forest areas into plantation areas, mainly towards the surrounding community.

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

East Kotawaringin is one of 14 districts and cities that are in the administration of the Central Kalimantan region. Geographically, the location of East Kotawaringin is directly neighbouring to the Java Sea in the South, Katingan

Regency in the East and North as well as Seruyan District in the West. With the area around of 16,796 km², half of East Kotawaringin is lowland, which is about 200 meters above sea level. While in part of the area is an inland characteristic.

The population of East Kotawaringin itself reached around 397,057 people in 2011 or equivalent to 27 people per square kilometre in population density. From the number of the population, 47% of them or 187.706 people's aged are over 15 years old, who work in specific types of main business fields, whereas 50% or around 98,634 people are absorbed in agricultural business sectors, especially in plantation subsectors. Meanwhile, the aged population over 15 years old who were not working or unemployed has been reached 7.476 people or about 1.9% of the population in East Kotawaringin at that time. (BPS Central Kalimantan 2012; 1-4)

The number of the population who work in agricultural business sectors, especially in the plantation subsector is a description of the community structures in East Kotawaringin that was formed in that time. Especially after the prohibition of forest exploitation activities had been making, or after the entry of expansion largest oil palm plantations. Because before it, most of the people in East Kotawaringin, especially for those in rural areas, and also many people who can still access natural resources surrounding them. It also includes exploiting forest products

as part of the main economic business activities.

1. Forest Timber Commodity Era

Before the expansion era of the largest oil palm where most of the social and economic life of the East Kotawaringin community was more influenced by access to natural resources and surrounding areas. Included in their way is to obtain income cash through forest product exploitation activities, both timber and non-timber products. In this era, the community is still so thick with shifting or rotating farming traditions. The form of local tradition in the implementation, usually led by a head of the field as a regulator. It is different with the status of Demang or village headman, head of the field is a person because of his experience, knowledge and his ability, and then has an authority to manage the processes of cultivation community in the specific area. The area usually seems like a residential area or village. For example in terms of determining, the process and time of day of implementation, the location and also the boundaries of the cultivation area of each other members. It is also includes decided the transformation of rights areas from former cultivation member to another member if it has been abandoned by the owner. The definition of abandoned generally was valid for a certain period of time that has been agreed between them. Even though it was done in a simple way, namely shifting cultivation patterns, but local traditions like this actually became

part of the subsistence patterns of their food agriculture at that time. Because these patterns of moving cultivation is not an implementation of community traditions. It is also part of their efforts to maintain the relationship between the social and economic system of a community and its environment. Obviously, it will be very difficult to be replaced because it also concerns the social and economic sustainability of a community. Therefore, many of them were involved in forest exploitation activities, these shifting cultivation traditions continued or were not abandoned by them at that time. Besides the workers who come from outside the region, the proliferation of timber exploitation activities in the forest also involved many surrounding communities. Although in their different roles each other. As the effect on shifting fields of tradition, the pattern of circulation of money from the exploitation of timber in the forest is also not significant in its contribution to the local revenue in East Kotawaringin. This is because some of the forest exploitation activities are indeed carried out illegally.

One thing that might be most interesting to be able to describe the conditions at that time, or the moment before being replaced by the presence of large oil palm plantations is the impact

to stretching market life activities in the centre of Sampit City, the Capital City of East Kotawaringin Regency. Aside from being a port city, the

activities of the shopping centres and traditional markets in the Sampit City at that time turned out to be alive. Especially because of its activities at night, when forest woodworkers from outside the area, or also from surrounding areas start spending time from half the night to replace fatigue in the work atmosphere, enjoy culinary offerings or shop for necessities while in the forests. Gradually, not only the workers from the forest, the people who were not directly involved in activities in the forest also began to participate in enlivening the market life at night. So the market activities develop. Not only providing food but also providing other necessities, such as clothing and entertainment facilities. It is quite complete if the market atmosphere is then called the night market, or which is popular and often referred to by them, immigrants from Java Island as a *baruan*.

One of the stretches lives of the most prominent night market at that time was the presence of tent stalls which provided culinary offerings for the visitors. So many tent stalls lined up along the road in the middle of the market, almost none of his servants had a break to rest on the sidelines of his activities at that time. Alternating visitors to the tent stalls are part of the routine they face every night. According to a lot of information, some of them turned out that there were also willing to accompany customers after the night market stopped its activities. A phenomenon of social conditions that

are sociologically common in certain regions that receive the impact of the widespread circulation of money from the results of the exploitation of forest timber at that time. Especially, those customers in the working class who came from outside the region. Even though not also a little bit customers came from surrounding areas.

This stretch of the market economy is not only discussed by the informal sector at night but also in sectors economic formal. One of them is shown by a large number of banking facilities, both government and private, which have helped develop service offices to the Sampit City areas, especially through the establishment of sub-offices and unit offices. Because before the District Government began to aggressively expand investments in the plantation subsector, especially oil palm, banking facilities like this had indeed been around for a long time. It means, long before Kotawaringin Timur Regency had the highest economic growth rate in Central Kalimantan in 2011, especially through efforts to expand its investment in the oil palm plantation sub-sector, a number of facilities from these banks had indeed been established in Sampit City. More about this economic growth will be discussed in the next sub-discussion. Seems like the stretching activities from the lives of local people in many rural and inland areas. Besides that, it is still possible to access and manage the surrounding areas; some of the adult men are also involved in cutting down

wood in the forest. Whether it's official or legal, that is by working on land clearing projects of companies that have obtained permission to use timber for plantation businesses, or are involved in small groups that carry out illegal logging. All activities related to the processing of wood in the forest at that time had a relatively large effect on the socio-economic life of the community. There is even a form of expression in the community that is quite popular to mark the current condition, "making money is as easy as cutting down trees in the forest". So it is the description of socio-economic and cultural conditions in the era of forest commodities. Until that change then emerged along with the end of forest concessions, the prohibition and control of illegal logging activities in the forest, and the presence of plantation expansions big palm.

2. The Expansion of Palm plantations

The presence of large plantation patterns in oil palm in Kalimantan, both private and state, has indeed been started since the decade of the 1990s. Even far before that, since the early 1980s, when oil palm began to be widely introduced as one of the main commodities of plants plantation. But the number and the large of the area is certainly not significant compared to the area of concessions existing forest. This includes the area of forest that has been damaged by illegal logging which has occurred for more than a decade, that is, from the early 1990s

until mid-2000. Along with the ecological problems of the damage to the forest damage that occurred at that time, oil palm then emerged as a substitute commodity with a face that seemed humanist. Because later it was known those plantations and their expansion efforts also often carry almost the same ecological problems. Plantation concessions often raise problems that are no less complicated than forest concessions. Not only about the function of the area has indeed changed. But it also concerns the shifting pattern of traditional community management systems towards modern management systems or large plantations. So that some people who are actually familiar with tradition and simple land management culture, then stutter to follow the forms of change that occurs.

Not only that, the most fundamental thing about the transfer of regional functions is the elimination of community rights to space around management. The community certainly no longer has an economic subsistence pattern that comes from natural resources and surrounding land. They were forced to become a separate part of the surrounding areas they had ever had. So that which is often appearing as always part of the development of large oil palm plantation areas in East Kotawaringin are tenurial conflict issues between the company and surrounding communities plantation.

Almost every development in the area of oil palm plantations is often

surrounded by problems between the community and the company. Especially concerning the area used. But not all cases always involved the community at large. Some apparently only involve individuals and/or individuals. However, the problem becomes complicated and protracted because it is always triggered by threats to economic subsistence, and is related to existing tenure systems and applies to a community. So the problem becomes complicated and protracted. Like the protracted issue of compensation for the value of arable land, the presumption land acquisition by the company, the opening of plantation areas which are considered to eliminate the primary area of the community and so on. After the prohibition on logging activities in the forest and the termination of concessions of forest concessions by the government, it indirectly has an impact on the socio-economic life of the community. However, the conditions created at that time still allowed them to be able to access and utilize forest products. Both timber and non-timber products, even if only limited to meeting daily needs. Meanwhile, with the entry of large oil palm plantations, it is felt that it has eliminated almost all community access to the surrounding management spaces. Be it natural forest areas, fruit forest areas, rivers or water resources, areas of cultivation areas, traditional use areas, gardens and so on. So it is not surprising if the compensation demands for the loss of

access to community management spaces become a problem that often protracts around the presence of large oil palm plantations in eastern Kotawaringin. Although more background from this case is covered by many interesting elements, both individuals and groups always try to take advantage of opportunities. Both during the process of issuing principle permits and locations involved many local government officials, when obtaining evidence of land acquisition or the release of land management rights that also involved many elements of the village, adat and other community leaders, to the land park blocking area and so on. Including several cases, either individually or as a group that filed claims for land compensation precisely after planting the plantation area was carried out. For example, cases that were carried out by PT AB and AWL were carried out during the research process.

Such the cases are not entirely wrong with the community, because the existence of persons who always try to take advantage of each opportunity is indeed relatively more due to policies that never take sides with the surrounding community. Let alone to get initial approval from the community. To get information related to the entry of oil palm plantation companies, only some of the people around were only obtained when the land pioneering process was underway or carried out. Especially when pioneering or blocking areas from lands that will become

plantation areas it must be in direct contact with the existence of community-owned lands. This condition certainly implies the fact that the issuance of business permits from plantations that require the existence of principle permits, location, amdal, and proof of acquisition of land at that time is no longer operating as it should.

Nevertheless, it remains to be admitted that not all the expansion of large oil palm plantations only produces ecological problems and regional management functions. As mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, one of the impacts of development and also the expansion of the area of large oil palm plantations is the influx of investment capital flows, factors of production and absorption of regional labour. So that the macro impact is that there is a significant number of economic growths in East Kotawaringin.

3. The Economy Impact

During the five-year period until 2011, except in 2009, East Kotawaringin's economic growth rate has increased quite rapidly, namely from 6.27% in 2007 to 7.7% in 2011. This economic growth figure in 2011 it was also the highest of the average economic growth in Central Kalimantan Province at the time (Bank Indonesia Bulletin, 2012).

The high rate of economic growth in East Kotawaringin is in a row supported by growth figures in the main subsector, namely plantations, industry and trade services. The growth of the

three sub-sectors has contributed to the largest contribution in the formation of the GDP (Gross Regional Domestic Product) figure, which in turn also affects the increase in the rate of economic growth in East Kotawaringin. Therefore, in the past five years, the value of the East Kotawaringin GDP has doubled from 2007. While the average per capita income has increased one-and-a-half times from the beginning of the same year, i.e. 2007.

As a measure of productivity of all goods and services produced, the value of GDP on the basis of Current Prices East Kotawaringin is the highest number in the districts of Central Kalimantan. Likewise, the GDP per capita figure reflects the productivity value of each resident in a region. The value at that time also showed a number above the Central Kalimantan average. The amount of East Kotawaringin GDP in 2011 reached around 9.25 trillion rupiahs, or equivalent to 20.71% of the total GDP value of all city districts in Central Kalimantan (Central Statistics Indonesia Central Kalimantan, 2012: 406). The following is a comparison of the numbers of East Kotawaringin GDP with the main four districts and Palangkaraya.

The Impact of Changes in Area (Moch. Andri WP)

Uraian	2009	2010	2011
PDRB ADHB (juta Rp)			
Kbr	4.063.148,6	4.509.799,5	5.129.158,0
Ktm	6.839.982,6	7.957.595,5	9.248.558,6
Kps	4.345.188,9	4.936.311,0	5.588.994,5
Brsl	1.946.239,4	2.221.436,9	2.535.924,0
Brt	2.089.456,3	2.354.223,1	2.697.983,9
Pky	3.107.861,5	3.614.155,0	4.140.535,7
PDRB AD HB/Kapita (Rp)			
Kbr	17.763.485,6	19.072.710,1	21.393.509,0
Ktm	18.595.651,1	21.234.069,8	24.309.971,8
Kps	13.189.181,1	14.973.854,9	16.675.203,1
Brsl	15.864.357,6	17.877.472,4	20.093.370,0
Brt	17.345.932,4	19.348.612,6	21.896.582,2
Pky	14.492.107,7	16.312.161,0	18.429.985,0

Description: Kbr stands for Kotawaringin Barat, Ktm stands for East Kotawaringin, Kps stands for Kapuas, Brsl stands for Barito Selatan, Brt stands for Barito Utara, and Pky stands for Palangkaraya (Bulletin Bank Indonesia, 2012).

Table 1. The Comparison of the Main Five City Districts GDP and City Regencies Palangkaraya

The relationship between the presence of large oil palm plantation patterns and the value of GDP as a measure of productivity of all goods and services is indicated by the existence of banking support in the leading business sectors in Central Kalimantan. One of them is the distribution of investment loans in the agricultural business sector, especially the plantation subsector in East Kotawaringin.

During the period of 2011 the Central Kalimantan Regional Development Bank investment lending rate towards superior business, particularly the oil palm plantation subsector, was the highest. From all of the oil palm sub-sector business loans channeled right, 86.6% are investment

loans, and 87.3% of them are disbursed in East Waringin City (Bank Indonesia Bulletin, 2012: 27 and Central Kalimantan Regional Statistics Agency, 2012). The value of investment credit in the plantation subsector channeled by the Central Kalimantan BPD certainly indicates that the Central Kalimantan Regional Development Bank value or the pace of economic growth in East Kotawaringin at that time was in line with the stretching efforts to develop and expand the large oil palm plantation sector that has been carried out.

However, the phenomenon which is precisely the opposite of stretching economic growth in East Kotawaringin at that time was its contribution to the number of poor people in Central Kalimantan Province. The contribution of the number of poor people in East Kotawaringin to the total number of poor people in Central Kalimantan in 2010 was around 18.9% (Bank Indonesia Bulletin, 2012: 27 and the Agency Central Kalimantan Regional Statistics Center, 2012: 20). The poverty rate of Kotawaringin communities is certainly quite large and ironic if it is seen from 14 city districts in Central Kalimantan. This means that this stretching of the expansion of oil palm plantations in East Kotawaringin in 2010 also turned out to be followed by two conflicting or paradoxical impacts. First, there is a high rate of economic growth and, both contributions from the number of poverty rates are also high (Bank Indonesia Bulletin, 2012: 20).

The rapid growth of the economy and the high contribution of the poverty rate is another illustration of the change due to the presence of large oil palm plantation patterns in East Kotawaringin. These same patterns of change also occur in communities around the plantation area. Both involve positive impacts, and also negative impacts. The adaptation processes in the context of this change are certainly part of the way society has been responding to the changes that have taken place.

4. The Pattern of Community Adaptation

As explained, there are two forms of change felt by the community related to the development of large oil palm plantation patterns in East Kotawaringin. The first is a change of the function of the area, and second is the regional structure and the management spaces of the community.

In connection with this, it must be admitted that the presence of these large plantation patterns did not provide many options for the surrounding community since the beginning. Especially for some of those who are familiar with subsistence patterns through the management also the use of natural and land resources. While at the same time some of them have not been able to adapt to the conditions of change that have occurred. So that they often expand the plantation area owned by the company, submit claims for land compensation, and even make attempts to steal oil palm from the company's

plantation lands. In these cases, the impression that arises is the assumption that what they are doing is a part of pragmatism to gain the advantages from the plantation activities that occur.

But the reality is different because the company often did not pay attention to the existence of the surrounding community. Not only as a social and economic entity. But also as a cultural entity that actually has a tradition and a relatively different land management culture because they have to follow the existing change patterns, the same problems will appear cumulatively when the change does not provide the same space for the process of adaptation by society.

As for the patterns of adaptation carried out by the community, in general, it is divided into three categories. Especially through organizing the surrounding environment and its activities independently in accordance with the resources they have.

The categories of adaptation patterns include, first, being a worker in a company in a field that does not have to compete with workers from outside the region, especially Java, secondly being a provider of transportation services in activities in the company and the last is to develop the potential of opportunities that arise because of activities around the company such as developing the potential of surrounding land that they still have.

In cultural ecology, one of the limitations of the indigenous population or the community around the forest is the work ethic culture formed by the availability of abundant natural resources. Nature is the main source of livelihood, except when cases of exploitation of forest wood tend to be used by them, and they manage are limited to fulfilling their daily needs. So they almost feel no pressure arises because of the survival competition. This condition certainly makes some of them become unfamiliar with the types of work that do not only require expertise, but also a high discipline of time and work. Therefore, almost all forms of work that are directly related to the cultivation of oil palm plants will always be dominated by workers from outside the region, especially Java. While those who choose to work for companies, the work was chosen is relatively not demanding of high work discipline and time. The types of work that are relatively not demanding a form of competition, especially with migrants who are known to have an ethos of work culture, are resilient. The types of work intended include; security guards, foremen, administrative helpers, garden guards, drivers, janitors, and so on. It is in a contrast to those workers from outside the region, especially the island of Java which almost dominates every type of work that requires a level of discipline of time, perseverance and high tenacity. Such as blocking an area or clearing land, during the process of planting, fertilizing, maintaining, until

at harvest or transporting the fruits of the harvest and so on.

Besides choosing certain types of jobs, there are also people who adjust or adapt how to be involved in plantation activities in the company, but by not becoming a worker. They are involved in the activities of a company with the right to be a transportation service provider. The main thing is transportation services such as fertilizers, fruit harvests, material needs, both office and employee needs and so forth. The opportunities such as this are indeed quite open because not all companies own or provide transportation facilities in full, except specifically for transportation of employees, either from the lodging room to garden areas or. A number of plantation companies have indeed been using more third parties to fulfil the transportation facilities needed to mobilize company needs.

In general, they join as a provider of corporate transportation services are those who have had transport vehicles from the start, especially when timber exploitation activities in the forest are still rampant. Although not all who are providers of transportation services for this company are people who come from locations around the plantation. Some of them also come from outside the region. Because of their status and position in government, customary institutions, youth or social institutions, etc., they then have a relatively strong bargaining position and influence on the company. Although not all, some of

those who have a bargaining position then use it by joining or becoming a provider of transportation services in the company.

In addition, there are also groups of people who adapt to their relatively different ways. They adapt by using and developing opportunities from all the potential that exists around residential and plantation locations. Especially in strategic locations that provide access to all activities on the plantation.

The largest of a number of people who are able to adapt to the presence of large oil palm plantations today. Because of the ways they do are very diverse. Here are some of the dominant adaptation methods they do. The first is to take on its role as the provider or seller of goods for the needs of workers who are relatively not provided by the company. Even though some types of needs may be available or provided by the company cooperatives, the number and type are considered to be inadequate or incomplete in accordance with the needs of the growing workers. So that they then take on the role of providing the necessary goods through stalls or grocery stores that have been established or they have been established themselves in strategic locations and are easy to reach. Usually at the location of certain crossroads that are accessible to all activities, or just peddling in simple houses around the plantation site. The second is by utilizing yardlands, namely by developing short-term cultivation of crops, such as vegetables, pulses and

also short-lived fruits. The results of their cultivation are then supplied or sold to grocery stores or stalls which have indeed been established or built near the vicinity of the plantation area. In other words, in addition to selling certain types of secondary goods, many of the surrounding shops and stalls also provide daily staples or food commodities that are cultivated by the community around the plantation.

While the third is those who participate in cultivating the same planting commodities or similar plants developed by the company, namely oil palm. In addition to being done in a simple way, the amount and area of the land are also often very small and separated between each other. Because this is only an individual. Not a group as plasma in the pattern of PIR (Nucleus Estate Plantation) and KKPA. Because most of the land area per oil palm plantation in East Kotawaringin itself, both private and state was indeed built and developed at the time of the application of the KKPA pattern, namely Credit to Primary Cooperatives for members who also according to any information at the time were said to be full of problem.

In addition to the influx of investment capital, factors of production and employment, one consequence of the presence of large oil palm plantation patterns is the existence of road infrastructure in or around the plantation area. The infrastructure of the plantation roads built in turn has actually helped open access to

residential areas around the plantation area. Even though these roads are built in different purposes and interests, their existence is certainly part of the beneficial impact of the community around the plantation area. Not only accessibility issues, but also the increasing socio-economic activities that occur around the plantation area. In turn, this condition certainly has provided opportunities and opportunities for the economic participation of the surrounding community to develop through their activities. For example, areas such as Simpang Bakal, Simpang Sebabi, Munduk and so on are actually starting to develop after the rise of oil palm plantation activities in East Kotawaringin.

Interestingly, almost all traders in locations that have now developed into centres of market activity are local residents from around the plantation area. That is, in a context that is different from the conditions of ecological impacts, the loss of access to management rights over traditional area space, and the extinction of the traditions of managing natural resources and land, some of them are actually able to carry out adaptation processes to changes as a result of switching the function of the area that has been made so far.

C. CONCLUSION

Conversion or transfer of regional functions always has a very significant impact on society. Because it concerns

changes in natural resources and land that have been accessed and managed by the community. But not all impacts will stop at black or white, negative or positive. Sometimes the impact is detrimental especially in a certain period of time. But there are times when it is also beneficial in a different period of time. This is also the case with the impact of change as a result of the transfer of regional functions in East Kotawaringin, Central Kalimantan.

At a time when the exploitation of forest timber is still often occurring, for example, not a few of the impacts that have been generated actually foster a stretch of the market economy in the community. Even though it occurs more in the informal sector. From the activities of the markets in the city of Sampit as the capital city of East Kotawaringin to the inland areas. Not only that, the stretch of the economy that was formed was also shown by the many banking facilities that had grown and developed in Sampit City at that time. But what turns out to be quite ironic is that in addition to the ecological impact of the forest damages caused, these forest timber exploitation activities do not have a significant effect on PAD or East Kotawaringin regional income. Because some of these forest exploitation does occur illegally.

Along with the prohibition and control of forest exploitation, the presence of oil palm plantations then marks new changes. From the era of forest exploitation to the era of oil palm plantations. But the existing plantation

land concessions also bring up relatively similar forms of problems, even more, complicated than the previous era of forest exploitation. Especially concerning regional functions, loss of access to community living space and traditions of managing and utilizing natural resources and surrounding land. This makes the beginning of its presence, oil palm plantations often make conflicts with surrounding communities.

Even so, due to the influx of investment capital, factors of production as well as employment, the presence of oil palm plantations actually makes the value of GDP at current prices East Kotawaringin the highest in Central Kalimantan. The amount of East Kotawaringin GRDP in 2011, for example, turned out to reach 9.25 trillion rupiahs, equivalent to 20.71% of the total GRDP value of all city districts in Central Kalimantan. Although in 2010, the contribution of the poverty rate in East Kotawaringin was also the highest, which was around 18.9% of the 15 Central Kalimantan city districts at that time.

The high level of GRDP or economic growth on the one hand and poverty on the other side certainly has illustrated the existence of an uneven distribution of income. This is because the existing pattern of change does not provide equal access to the process of adaptation in the community.

However, this condition certainly does not apply to some of them who, in cultural ecology, are able to adapt to the

changes that occur. The intended cultural ecology is the ontological ability to understand and organize environmental conditions and their activities that occur.

There are three groupings of activity patterns as a way of adapting the community around the plantation. The first is to become workers in companies in certain fields that do not have to compete with workers from outside the region, especially from Java.

Nature with its abundant resources often creates a management culture that is limited to meeting daily or subsistence needs. So that almost no pressure arises because of competition for survival. In turn, some of them later became unfamiliar with the types of work that relatively not only required expertise, but also the discipline of time and a high work ethic.

Second is by becoming a transport service provider in the activities that occur in the company. Such as transportation of fertilizers, crops, palm oil waste, transportation of goods needs, both office needs and workers and so on. Opportunities such as this are obtained because not all companies own or provide complete transportation facilities. While some of them actually have transportation facilities as well as experience since the still rampant timber exploitation in the forest.

The last or third adaptive pattern is to develop the potential of the opportunities that arise because of company activities. The intended adaptive pattern is, among others, by

way of 1) taking on the role and function as a provider or seller of goods needed by company workers, 2) developing cultivation of short-age plants; such as vegetables, secondary crops or fruits of shortage that will be supplied or sold to the provider, and 3) cultivating similar crops cultivated by the company, namely oil palm.

The latest patterns of adaptation turned out to be an activity that was most often carried out by the surrounding community. Because what they do comes from what they still have relatively today, namely local knowledge, empirical experience, and also the ability to manage the environment along with the activities that occur. That is, the impact of changes in the transfer of functions in this area will not always stop at black and white, or negative and positive. It will always change with time and the way people understand and organize the environment as a way for them to adapt to the changes that occur.

Referring to the discussion and node, it is deemed necessary to tie in as one of the implementation efforts for the preservation, development and protection of traditional and historical aspects related to the ownership and ownership of land by the community around the plantation area. First, there needs to be a more in-depth study of the impact of the transfer of regional functions on the accessibility of land and the adaptation processes carried out by the community. Second, there is a need for strategic studies in efforts to

formulate specific policies that pay more attention to the impact of the loss of accessibility to living management spaces in the communities surrounding the plantation area. So that the problems of land disputes, claims and compensation claims that have been entered into formal and informal arbitration will be faster and easier to complete, and beneficial for both parties, the surrounding community and the company. While the last or third is the need for an in-depth study of the socio-economic and socio-cultural potential that arises because of opportunities due to the presence of current patterns of expansion of oil palm plantations. So that the presence of its expansion is no longer a scourge for people around the plantation area. Especially through patterns of knowledge and local wisdom of the people.

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