Desa, Penghidupan & Perubahan Iklim

ABDUL SALMAN, ABDURRAHMAN ABDULLAH, AGUS MAWAN W,
ANSAR, MUHAMMAD HARISAH, MUSLIADI, NURDIN, SAENAL.

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Desa, Penghidupan, dan Perubahan Iklim
Buku ini hasil dari catatan lapangan selama menjalankan program Adaptasi Perubahan Iklim Melalui Pengelolaan DAS (Daerah Aliran Sungai) Terpadu di Wilayah Masyarakat Adat Ammatoa Kajang oleh Konsorsium Sekolah Rakyat Petani Payopayo (SRP Payopayo) dan Organisasi Aksi Sosial Ekologi (OASE). Program ini didanai oleh Adaptation Fund melalui Kemitraan Bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan di Indonesia.

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Forty Seven

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PENGANTAR: DILEMA DESA DI TENGAH DAMPAK PERUBAHAN IKLIM

Karno B. Batiran & Mulyani Hasan

Sebagai negara kepulauan yang terletak di antara Samudra Pasifik dan Hindia, dengan ribuan pulau, Indonesia sangat rentan terhadap dampak perubahan iklim. Menurut sejumlah penelitian, perubahan iklim menyebabkan kerusakan ekologi dan penghidupan masyarakat miskin. Penelitian saat ini menunjukkan, suhu permukaan cenderung meningkat 1 derajat Celsius pada abad ke-20. Organisasi Meteorologi Dunia bahkan menyebut ada potensi suhu global permukaan bumi tahun 2023 hingga 2027 naik 1,5 derajat Celsius lebih hangat dari masa praindustri 1850.[1]

Dalam sebuah laporan, Sofian (2011)[2] menjelaskan, laju kenaikan muka air laut sejak pertengahan abad ke-19 lebih besar

1 Shukman, David, "*Perubahan iklim: Bumi makin panas, makin besar kemungkinan suhu bisa naik 1,5 derajat celcius dalam setahun*", (https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-57264356).

2 Sofian, Ibnu, (2011), Rekonstruksi Klimat Laut Perairan Indonesia dengan Menggunakan Regional Ocean Modeling Systems (ROMS), *Badan Informasi Geospasial in Partnership with MAPIN,* Vol 17, No 2 (2011). http://jurnal.big.go.id/index.php/GM/article/view/23

dibandingkan dengan laju kenaikan permukaan air laut dua milenium sebelumnya. Sejak kurun waktu 1901-2010, laju kenaikan permukaan air laut mencapai 0,19 meter. Berdasarkan skenario tersebut, kenaikan muka air laut tertinggi terjadi di wilayah Indonesia bagian timur, termasuk Sulawesi dengan laju 5-8 mm per tahun.

Perubahan iklim global diperkirakan akan berdampak pada masyarakat pesisir di berbagai belahan dunia. Percepatan kenaikan muka air laut dapat mengakibatkan tenggelamnya pulau-pulau kecil, banjir, erosi pantai, intrusi air laut, dan perubahan proses ekologi di wilayah pesisir. Perubahan aspek biofisik tersebut juga akan berdampak pada aspek sosial ekonomi masyarakat pesisir seperti hilangnya infrastruktur, penurunan nilai ekologi, dan nilai ekonomi sumber daya pesisir (Klein & Nicholls, 1999).[3]

Perkembangan sosial ekonomi juga memengaruhi kapasitas adaptasi. Masyarakat miskin di pemukiman perkotaan dan pedesaan, yang berjumlah lebih satu miliar jiwa di seluruh dunia, sangat rentan terhadap dampak cuaca dan iklim. Lima negara teratas yang diklasifikasikan sangat rentan berdasarkan jumlah penduduk di wilayah dataran rendah pesisir adalah negara berkembang dan negara industri baru; Bangladesh, Cina, Vietnam, India, dan Indonesia (McGranahan et al., 2007[4]; Jongman et al.,

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3 Richard J. T. Klein, & Nicholls, R. J. (1999). Assessment of Coastal Vulnerability to Climate Change. *Ambio*, 28(2), 182–187. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4314873

4 McGranahan, G., Balk, D., & Anderson, B. (2007). The rising tide: assessing the risks of climate change and human settlements in low elevation coastal zones. Environment and Urbanization, 19(1), 17-37. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247807076960

2012[5]).

Berbagai hasil penelitian juga menunjukkan, perubahan iklim akan menyebabkan semakin seringnya anomali cuaca terjadi. Awal musim hujan mundur dan berakhir lebih cepat, yang berarti durasi musim hujan akan semakin pendek. Sebaliknya, curah hujan pada musim hujan cenderung meningkat sedangkan curah hujan pada musim kemarau cenderung menurun. Perubahan sebaran curah hujan menimbulkan berbagai potensi bencana alam yang dipicu oleh tingginya curah hujan, seperti banjir, tanah longsor, luapan sungai, dan penyebaran vektor penyakit. Sedangkan pada kondisi curah hujan berkurang, potensi bencana dapat terjadi seperti kekeringan, gagal panen, kekurangan air bersih, dan berbagai permasalahan sosial yang mungkin timbul. Dampak-dampak tersebut jauh lebih terasa bagi kawasan perdesaan yang sebagian besar penghidupannya berbasis pertanian yang sangat tergantung pada air dan cuaca.

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Pendapatan utama Produk Domestik Regional Bruto (PDRB) Kabupaten Bulukumba mengandalkan sektor pertanian dan perkebunan, selain sektor kelautan dan perikanan. Data Badan Pusat Statistik Bulukumba menunjukkan jumlah penduduk kabupaten ini pada tahun 2023 sebanyak 442.292 jiwa[6]; termasuk 217.123 laki-laki, dan 226.169 perempuan. Meningkatnya jumlah penduduk perempuan dipengaruhi oleh banyaknya laki-

5 Brenden Jongman, Philip J. Ward, Jeroen C.J.H. Aerts, Global exposure to river and coastal flooding: Long term trends and changes, Global Environmental Change, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2012, Pages 823-835.

6 Kabupaten Bulukumba Dalam Angka 2023, Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bulukumba.

laki yang bekerja di luar daerah. Salah satu sebabnya ditengarai karena kecenderungan masyarakat meninggalkan pertanian dan desa, akibat sektor pertanian semakin tidak menjanjikan. Sementara menurut Basis Data Terpadu Program Perlindungan Sosial" (TNP2K-Bappeda Bulukumba, 2015), Bulukumba memiliki 35.545 rumah tangga miskin atau sekitar 127.516 jiwa miskin, sebagian besar berada di perdesaan.

Dampak Perubahan Iklim terhadap Masyarakat Adat Ammatoa Kajang

Wilayah yang diidentifikasi sebagai wilayah Masyarakat Adat Ammatoa Kajang luasnya berkisar 22.592,87 hektare terletak di 4 (empat) kecamatan, meliputi 36 desa. Kawasan tersebut terdiri dari tiga bentang alam Daerah Aliran Sungai (DAS), yaitu: DAS Baonto, Apparang, dan DAS Raowa. Akibat perubahan iklim, daerah tersebut mengalami banjir, krisis air, kekeringan, intrusi air laut, tanah longsor.

Di bagian hilir mulai terjadi intrusi air laut, kekurangan air/kekeringan, dan banjir, sedangkan di bagian hulu mulai terjadi longsor di beberapa tempat. Ketiga DAS berperan sentral sebagai penyangga ekosistem di wilayah adat Ammatoa Kajang terutama jika dikaitkan dengan ketahanan masyarakat menghadapi dampak perubahan iklim.

Secara umum wilayah adat didominasi oleh sawah seluas 5.144,31 hektare dan 4.034,88 hektare merupakan kompleks kebun campur: cengkeh, kakao, lada, karet, kelapa, dan lain-lain. Sedangkan sisanya merupakan perkebunan jagung dan pemu-

kiman.

Namun, dalam pengelolaan bentang alamnya masih terdapat berbagai kendala. *Pertama*, peran hutan adat Ammatoa Kajang untuk menunjang ekosistem di tiga DAS tidak berfungsi efektif untuk mendukung di 3 (tiga) DAS (DAS Baonto, DAS Apparang, dan DAS Raowa) karena luasnya hanya 313,99 hektare.

Kedua, daya dukung lingkungan menurun akibat aktivitas destruktif seperti konversi lahan di hulu wilayah adat, praktik pertanian lahan kering di lereng, dan degradasi lahan yang meluas mengakibatkan menurunnya fungsi hidrologi daerah aliran sungai di bagian hilir ke hulu. Di bagian hulu, mata pencaharian yang berhubungan dengan pertanian terancam, dan di bagian hilir, krisis air atau kekeringan dan intrusi air laut menjadi masalah yang serius.

Ketiga, belum ada rencana pengelolaan bentang alam secara terpadu, dalam konteks ini Daerah Aliran Sungai (DAS). Sejumlah pihak yang terkait dengan pengelolaan bentang alam (lembaga-lembaga sektoral pemerintah, masyarakat, dan yang lainnya) masih bekerja terfragmentasi berdasarkan bidangnya masing-masing.

Dari hasil penelitian Balang Institute dan Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) tahun 2015 hingga 2018, ada penurunan kualitas ekologis di DAS Raowa. Akibatnya, banyak permasalahan lingkungan terutama yang erat kaitannya dengan siklus hidrologi seperti banjir, kekurangan air/kekeringan, tanah longsor, dan intrusi air laut di wilayah masyarakat adat Ammatoa Kajang. Hal tersebut pada akhirnya berpengaruh besar

terhadap penghidupan warga, ekonomi, sosial budaya, dan pangan masyarakat adat Ammatoa Kajang.

Musim hujan yang berlangsung di Kajang antara Desember hingga Mei selalu menyebabkan banjir di beberapa lokasi tertentu. Sungai Raowa belakangan ini sering meluap ke jalan raya, pemukiman, dan persawahan. Air sungai yang meluap membanjiri area persawahan. Tanaman padi rusak. Masyarakat rugi besar, sebab mata pencaharian utama masyarakat di bagian hilir, sebagian besar hidup dari bertani. Pada musim kemarau, desa-desa di bagian tengah dan hilir DAS Raowa kesulitan air. Akibatnya pemenuhan kebutuhan air untuk rumah tangga dan irigasi sawah terganggu.

Sejak tahun 2012, masyarakat di Desa Possi Tanah dan Desa Lembanna, misalnya, telah merasakan dampak krisis air. Beberapa sumber air bersih seperti anak sungai dan mata air kering. Di bagian hilir hutan adat Ammatoa Kajang air laut mengalir ke dalam sungai Raowa. Desakan air laut ke sungai Raowa sepanjang tiga kilometer mengakibatkan intrusi air laut di sepanjang jalur tersebut. Sementara longsor terjadi di lereng-lereng di lahan sekitar hutan adat Ammatoa Kajang. Longsor ini biasanya terjadi di bantaran sungai saat intensitas curah hujan meningkat pada bulan Januari atau Februari. Longsoran ini disebabkan erosi air hujan pada tanah yang menjadi jenuh setelah musim kemarau. Erosi air hujan terjadi di lahan-lahan lereng yang digunakan untuk tanaman jagung.

Tentang Proyek

Proyek ini dikerjakan oleh konsorsium Sekolah Rakyat Petani Payopayo dan Organisasi Aksi Sosial dan Ekologi (OASE) dengan judul Adaptasi Perubahan Iklim Melalui Pengelolaan DAS (Daerah Aliran Sungai) Terpadu di Wilayah Masyarakat Adat Ammatoa Kajang.

Proyek ini didanai oleh Adaptation Fund[7] melalui Kemitraan (Kemitraan bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan)[8]. Berangkat dari persoalan-persoalan yang diuraikan di atas, yang sangat banyak terkait dengan persoalan air, tanah, pertanian dan perdesaan, isu pengelolaan DAS menjadi isu pokok dalam proyek ini. Dalam khazanah teori adaptasi perubahan iklim setidaknya ada sejumlah hal yang bisa dilakukan dalam upaya adaptasi terhadap dampak perubahan iklim, di antaranya: konservasi dan restorasi ekosistem, membangun ketahanan pangan, sistem ketahanan masyarakat, pendidikan dan kesadaran masyarakat, manajemen air yang lebih baik, kebijakan publik tentang adaptasi, pengembangan teknologi dan inovasi, kemitraan dan kerjasama dengan berbagai pihak. Proyek ini dirancang untuk melakukan hal-hal tersebut.

Secara umum proyek AF (Adaptation Fund) di Bulukumba[9]

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7 adalah dana internasional yang mendanai proyek dan program yang bertujuan membantu negara-negara berkembang beradaptasi terhadap dampak berbahaya perubahan iklim. Hal ini diatur berdasarkan Protokol Kyoto dari Konvensi Kerangka Kerja PBB tentang Perubahan Iklim (UNFCCC).

8 https://kemitraan.or.id/

9 Program ini dilaksanakan di 14 desa di Kabupaten Bulukumba, yaitu: Kambuno, Jawi-Jawi, Jojjolo, Tugondeng, Dwi Tiro, Bonto Baji, Tambangan, Tanah Towa, Possi Tanah, Pantama, Malleleng, Lolisang, Batu Nilamung, Pattiroang, dimulai April 2021 sampai Maret 2024.

ini terdiri dari empat komponen: *pertama*, mengembangkan model pengelolaan DAS (Daerah Aliran Sungai) terpadu di wilayah adat Ammatoa Kajang; *kedua*, mengembangkan model penghidupan berkelanjutan; *ketiga*, pengintegrasian pengelolaan DAS terpadu dan adaptasi perubahan iklim ke dalam kebijakan pemerintah lokal (kabupaten dan desa); dan *keempat*, penyadaran masyarakat tentang pentingnya DAS dan adaptasi perubahan iklim.

Komponen-komponen tersebut diterjemahkan ke dalam berbagai kegiatan seperti pembentukan forum DAS dan Pokja API (Kelompok Kerja Adaptasi Perubahan Iklim) Kabupaten Bulukumba. Forum DAS dan Pokja API bertugas menyusun dokumen pengelolaan DAS terpadu dan dokumen Rencana Aksi Daerah Adaptasi Perubahan Iklim. Untuk yang terkait dengan penghidupan terdapat kegiatan-kegiatan seperti agroforestri, pertanian terintegrasi, tanaman pekarangan yang dilakukan oleh kelompok perempuan tangguh iklim, percontohan ternak kambing, percontohan kebun pisang, dan promosi *system of rice intensification* (SRI). Lalu usaha pengintegrasian pengelolaan DAS terpadu dan adaptasi perubahan iklim ke dalam kebijakan daerah (kabupaten dan desa) dilakukan melalui advokasi pengintegrasian dokumen pengelolaan DAS terpadu dan adaptasi perubahan iklim ke dalam program-program kegiatan pembangunan kabupaten. Sementara di level desa dimasukkan dalam RPJMDes (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Desa). Komponen terakhir, penyadaran masyarakat tentang DAS dan perubahan iklim dilakukan melalui kegiatan-kegiatan

kampanye, penulisan artikel ilmiah, dan penulisan buku ini.

Proses Penulisan Buku

Buku ini ditulis oleh para fasilitator lapangan yang bekerja selama hampir tiga tahun, sejak April 2021 hingga Desember 2023 di wilayah Kajang, Bulukumba. Sambil bekerja untuk program ini, mereka mengikuti kelas-kelas menulis dan penelitian secara daring.

Proses menulis terdiri dari beberapa tahapan. *Pertama*, menghimpun data dan catatan lapangan, serta analisa awal dalam lokakarya yang diselenggarakan pada Mei 2023 di Bulukumba. Dalam lokakarya ini, para penulis didampingi pelatih dan peneliti dari Forest and Society Research Group (FSRG) bersama editor mendiskusikan tema-tema yang mencuat dari himpunan data tersebut. Lalu, menyeleksi dan menggabungkan tema-tema yang berdekatan untuk dijadikan satu tulisan. Sambil mengidentifikasi data-data yang masih diperlukan, para penulis mendapat materi-materi penulisan yang difasilitasi oleh tim pelatih penulisan dan penelitian.

Tahap *kedua*, menulis *outline* dari setiap tema yang telah ditentukan. Lalu masing-masing penulis mulai menulis dengan melimpahkan data ke dalam tulisan. Di tahap ini para penulis mempunyai kesempatan ke lapangan untuk melengkapi data. Di sini juga mereka punya waktu menulis sekitar satu bulan untuk menyelesaikannya.

Ketiga, para editor dan pelatih melakukan tinjauan atas tulisan-tulisan yang sudah masuk, lalu memberi koreksi dan sa-

ran-saran revisi (perbaikan kalimat, alinea, penambahan data, dll).

Keempat, para editor menyunting langsung semua tulisan. Lalu, bersama pelatih melihat kembali naskah yang telah disunting untuk memeriksa ulang isi tulisan.

Semua tahapan-tahapan tersebut berlangsung dalam delapan bulan. Selama proses ini, kami, Sekolah Rakyat Petani Payopayo dan OASE bekerja sama dengan Forest and Society Research Group (FSRG)[10] dalam menyelenggarakan lokakarya penulisan dan penelitian serta diskusi berkala. Harapan kami, proses yang panjang ini bukan hanya menghasilkan karya tulis yang baik, tetapi juga menjadi proses belajar bagi semua fasilitator yang bisa berguna di masa yang akan datang.

Isi Buku

Buku ini memuat 8 karya tulis ilmiah populer. Keseluruhan artikel ini bertema tentang bagaimana masyarakat Kajang menyiasati dampak perubahan iklim yang dalam beberapa tahun terakhir mempengaruhi penghidupan mereka. Meluasnya kerusakan ekologi dan bencana alam juga memperburuk kualitas hidup masyarakat Kajang. Berikut ini adalah tema-tema yang menjadi sorotan dalam buku ini.

Minat Bertani Semakin Berkurang

Dampak perubahan iklim paling nyata dirasakan salah satu-

10 FSRG adalah sebuah lembaga penelitian yang berada di bawah Fakultas Kehutanan, Universitas Hasanuddin.

nya oleh para petani. Hasil panen semakin menurun dari waktu ke waktu, sementara biaya yang diperlukan untuk menanam semakin tinggi. Ini yang membuat mereka terpaksa beralih ke profesi lain dan meninggalkan desa, seperti kisah dalam artikel yang berjudul *"Bukan Milik Kita" :Kisah Para petani Penggarap Menghadapi Tuntutan Hidup dan Passolo*. Sedangkan dalam artikel yang berjudul *Pakkampas: Pekerjaan yang Mengantarkan Anak Muda Pergi dari Pertanian* mendalami proses bagaimana anak-anak muda desa menggandrungi pekerjaan *pakkampas*, meninggalkan desa dan seluruh usaha pertanian.

Perubahan Komoditi

Para petani di wilayah Kajang mengerahkan segala pengetahuannya untuk mencoba beberapa tanaman pengganti komoditi yang terdampak perubahan iklim, seperti padi, kakao, dan kopi. Selain produksinya menurun, serangan hama menjadi momok bagi para petani. Usaha mengganti komoditi ini sebagian gagal, tapi banyak pula yang berhasil. Mari kita simak artikel yang berjudul *Merekayasa Kelamin Pala*, ada juga artikel *Siasat Bertahan dari Anomali Cuaca*, dan *Kisah Sawit dari Desa Dwi Tiro*.

Kerusakan Ekologi

Perubahan iklim tidak hanya memicu bencana alam, seperti banjir, kekeringan, intrusi air laut, dan longsor, tetapi juga mengganggu habitat dan keseimbangan ekologi. Berbagai jenis hama merajalela dan gagal diatasi, seperti yang ditulis dalam ar-

tikel *Gara-Gara Babi* dan *Siasat Bertahan dari Anomali Cuaca*.

Dilema Tradisi dan Aturan Adat

Akibat kebutuhan mendesak, seringkali masyarakat adat Kajang berada di antara dua pilihan rumit. Seperti kisah warga Desa Malleleng dan Bonto Baji yang mendesak untuk keluar dari wilayah adat Kajang Dalam. Silakan simak artikel yang berjudul *Dilema Hukum Adat di Tengah Dampak Perubahan Iklim*. Ada juga artikel yang mengulas persoalan tradisi *passolo*, yang semakin hari menjadi beban tersendiri, di artikel *"Bukan Milik Kita" :Kisah Para petani Penggarap Menghadapi Tuntutan Hidup dan Passolo*.

Kumpulan tulisan dalam buku ini adalah sketsa-sketsa yang menggambarkan bagaimana desa-desa di wilayah adat Ammatoa Kajang menghadapi berbagai dilema di tengah berbagai dampak perubahan iklim yang mendera mereka. []

Profil Penulis

Karno B. Batiran, memiliki pengalaman 20 tahun dalam pengorganisasian masyarakat di pedesaan di Sulawesi Selatan dan Barat. Dia juga memiliki pengalaman jangka panjang dalam penelitian, serta isu-isu *critical thinking* kaum muda. Bekerja dengan petani dan kaum muda desa untuk masalah-masalah pertanian berkelanjutan, energi alternatif, teknologi tepat guna, pengelolaan sumber daya desa berkelanjutan dan masalah mata pencaharian berkelanjutan. Saat ini di Payopayo dia mengorganisir pendidikan bagi kaum muda untuk menjadi pengorganisir masyarakat dan mengirim mereka ke desa-desa untuk secara sukarela bekerja dengan penduduk desa. Bisa dihubungi di *karnobatiran@payopayo.or.id*

Mulyani Hasan, penulis lepas, lahir di Bandung. Pernah bekerja sebagai jurnalis di media cetak dan elektronik. Menjadi editor untuk sejumlah buku dan majalah dan menulis untuk beberapa buku antologi. Antara lain; Kebenaran akan Terus Hidup, Kisah Perjalanan Widji Thukul (Yappika), Negara adalah Kita (Perkumpulan Praxis), Oposisi Maya (Insist Press). Saat ini ia tinggal di Makassar, dan bergabung dengan Sekolah Rakyat Petani Payopayo.

DAFTAR ISI

Gara-Gara Babi

Musliadi

Warga Desa Possi Tanah kewalahan menghadapi serangan babi. Berbagai cara telah mereka tempuh. Dari mulai memburu babi hingga mengganti komoditi.

Para petani di desa ini terjaga setiap malam, demi menjaga tanamannya dari gerombolan babi. Mereka berkeliling kebun, mengerahkan tenaga untuk mengusirnya. Babi-babi itu menyerbu kebun saat para petani lengah.

Tapi para petani tak mau menyerah. Sejak malam-malam yang melelahkan itu, mereka berpikir keras menemukan cara untuk menghalau kawanan 'pencuri' itu.

Di kawasan ini, babi-babi telah kehilangan sumber makanannya. Hutan telah paceklik dari musim ke musim sejak ia berubah menjadi pemukiman.

Kawasan ini bernama Possi Tanah, masuk wilayah adat Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan. Hingga dekade 1940-an, wilayah ini masih termasuk Kawasan Kajang Dalam, kawasan yang menjalankan aturan adat[1]. Tapi, semakin hari mereka terdesak kebutuhan kayu untuk pembangunan rumah panggung, yang sulit didapatkan apabila kawasan ini masih dalam Kawasan Kajang Dalam, karena aturan adat melarangnya. Tahun 1990-an, Possi Tanah secara resmi keluar dari Kawasan Kajang Dalam atas kesepakatan masyarakat dan pemangku adat.

Satu dekade kemudian, masyarakat mulai membabat hutan untuk lahan pertanian. Mereka menanam jagung dan kacang-kacangan. Mereka juga membangun rumah di kebun untuk bermukim. Babi-babi yang tinggal di hutan sesekali masuk ke kebun, merusak tanaman warga. Satu kali rombongan datang, jumlahnya bisa belasan hingga puluhan ekor.

Sebelum beralih fungsi, Possi Tanah menurut tetua desa tertutupi hamparan hutan lebat. *Possi* dalam bahasa Indonesia pusat. Sedangkan *tana* berarti bumi. Jadi wilayah ini disebut Pusat Bumi oleh masyarakat adat Kajang sejak masih hutan belantara. Saat ini ada 467 kepala keluarga dengan 1.585 jiwa menghuni desa ini. Salah satu versi tradisi lisan masyarakat setempat menyebut yang pertama kali bermukim di kawasan ini berasal dari

1 Berpakaian serba hitam, tidak tersentuh pembangunan infrastruktur jalan aspal, tidak menggunakan listrik. Rumah-rumah terbuat dari kayu dengan atap daun rumbia.

Tana Toa, wilayah Kajang yang bernama Galla Sikki.

Pada 1925, Possi Tanah masuk bagian administrasi *District* (kecamatan) Kajang, di bawah *Onder afdeeling Boeloekoemba* (Kabupaten Bulukumba). Sebelum mekar pada 1925, Possi Tanah bernama Galla Pantama, mencakup *Onder district* (desa) Mattoanging, Lolisang, dan Pantama. Kontur alam berupa dataran rendah pada bagian selatan dan perbukitan di sisi utara, yang saat ini menjadi batas antara Desa Lolisang dan Desa Pantama.

Di wilayah dataran rendah, warga mencetak sawah, sementara di wilayah perbukitan, mereka membangun pemukiman. Perkebunan dibangun di lereng-lereng. Total luas desa ini 353 hektare. Pembukaan lahan pertanian secara besar-besaran berlangsung sekitar satu dekade dimulai pada awal 1970-an. Hutan telah berubah jadi lahan pertanian. Hingga empat dekade kemudian, habitat babi pun menyempit, wilayah jelajah berkurang sehingga menyulitkan mereka mencari makanan. Mereka kehilangan tempat berburu tikus, menggali cacing, umbi-umbian, akar-akaran, serangga, dan kulit kayu. Mereka tak punya pilihan selain melahap tanaman-tanaman warga yang mudah mereka jangkau.

Kamaluddin, warga Desa Lembanna rugi besar. Kebun dan sawahnya habis diserang babi. Kebun berisi tanaman jagung dan singkong seluas 30 are (0.3 hektare) raib dalam tiga malam.

Mereka juga melahap padi yang hampir panen di sawah seluas 10 are (0.1 hektare). Hasil panen hilang, pematang-pematang sawah porak-poranda.

Usaha Menghalau Babi

Upaya para warga menghalau serangan babi gagal. Babi-babi tak menyerah, pasukannya malah bertambah banyak. Para petani kewalahan. Mereka mengerahkan berbagai cara, termasuk meminta bantuan kepada desa tetangga, Desa Mattoanging dan Lembanna. Percobaan pertama, menggunakan perangkap dari tali kopling berbahan baja. Lalu, mereka menggunakan racun babi. Cara paling mutakhir menggunakan aliran listrik. Cara terakhir ini menjadi malapetaka bagi warga desa.

Seorang warga desa bernama Untung punya ide membuat perangkap babi dari bambu muda yang diserut dan dipintal. Ide ini muncul sekitar tahun 1980-an. Warga desa menyebutnya *sikko* (jerat). Alat ini dipasang di pinggir kebun pada permukaan tanah, tempat para babi melintas. Tapi, jerat itu tidak berguna. Babi-babi terlalu kuat. Mereka memberontak saat terperangkap. Jerat itu putus. Dan mereka lolos.

Ada juga alat yang disebut *lari'*. Cara kerja alat ini sama dengan *sikko*. Bedanya terletak pada bahan pembuatnya. *Lari'* terbuat dari kulit kerbau atau kulit sapi yang dibelah seukur-

an jari telunjuk, lalu dikeringkan. Alat ini cukup kuat menahan amukan babi saat terjerat, tapi cepat lentur jika terkena air hujan, sehingga pola lingkaran untuk menjerat leher babi mudah berubah bentuk dan mudah putus.

Cara lain, para petani juga menggunakan pakaian bekas untuk membuat orang-orangan di kebun untuk menakuti kawanan babi agar tidak masuk kebun. Semua cara itu gagal. Sekitar tahun 1990, masyarakat menggunakan tali kopling untuk menjerat babi. Jerat ini dianggap ampuh, karena tidak berubah saat terkena air hujan, dan kuat menahan amukan babi.

"Jerat dari tali baja membuat insting babi juga berkembang, sebab babi cukup cerdik menghindari jerat-jerat yang dipasang oleh petani," kata Untung, seorang warga desa.

Sekitar tahun 2000-an petani kembali menemukan cara baru menangani serangan babi. Kali ini, racun *langnga*. Bentuknya serupa biji wijen berwarna cokelat dan tidak berbau dengan merek *Temix*. Produk ini dibuat untuk meracuni tikus, babi, dan monyet. Biasanya, racun ini dimasukkan ke dalam buah nangka atau kelapa lalu ditebar di kebun. Cara ini ampuh membunuh babi, bahkan setiap hari petani menemukan dua hingga lima ekor babi tergeletak di sekitar kebun. Babi yang mati akibat keracunan dibuang ke parit-parit kebun, sering juga dibiarkan tergeletak begitu saja hingga menjadi bangkai.

Namun masalah lain muncul. Ternak-ternak milik masyara-

kat juga ikut mati keracunan karena memakan umpan beracun itu. Cara ini pun ditinggalkan, karena ternak yang mati sudah terbilang banyak dan merugikan.

Tahun 2018 muncul lagi cara baru menghalau serangan babi dengan menggunakan kawat yang dibentang di atas pematang kebun lalu dialiri listrik. Kawat baja dibentang sebanyak dua sampai tiga susun mengelilingi kebun.

Tapi, sebelum mendapat hasil, cara terakhir ini menjadi bumerang. Saat kawat listrik itu terpasang untuk menjerat babi, tak sengaja beberapa warga tersengat listrik lalu meninggal. Salah satu korbannya bernama Caco, warga Desa Mattoanging. Tragedi ini terjadi pada Maret 2021.

Siang itu, matahari sangat terik. Caco menyusuri kebun mencari ternak sapinya yang digembalakan sejak pagi. Sampai di kebun, Caco berjalan seraya melempar pandangannya ke segala arah. Dia tidak melihat kawat yang terbentang di pematang kebun yang masih teraliri listrik. Kaki Caco menyentuh kawat itu. Dia tewas, tak seorang pun melihatnya.

Orang-orang desa tidak tahu keberadaan Caco. Mereka baru menyadari ada kejanggalan saat Caco tidak tampak di Masjid saat salat Jumat, ibadah yang tidak pernah ia lewatkan. Sepulang salat, keluarga dan tetangga Caco mulai berpencar mencarinya ke sekeliling kebun. Mereka menelusuri tempat-tempat yang biasa Caco datangi untuk menggembala sapi. Caco dite-

mukan satu kilometer dari pemukiman dalam kondisi terbakar pada kakinya. Ia tewas. Tubuhnya tersungkur ke tanah.

Nasib serupa dialami Arifuddin berusia 47 tahun, salah satu warga Desa Tambangan. Ia tewas tersengat listrik saat dalam perjalanan mencari ternak sapi.

Di Desa Possi Tanah juga terjadi hal serupa, pada tahun 2021 tepatnya di Dusun Kanari. Korbannya seorang perempuan berusia 50 tahun. Ia tersengat listrik saat hendak mengambil bahan sayuran di pagi hari. Selain itu, korban ternak tak terhitung jumlahnya.

Berbagai upaya masyarakat tidak membuahkan hasil. Babi-babi masih mencuri tanaman. Setiap waktu, jumlahnya semakin banyak.

Memburu Babi

Hama babi telah meresahkan dan merugikan bagi warga, bukan hanya di desa ini, tapi juga di desa-desa tetangga. Pada tahun 2020, pemerintah desa mendatangkan kelompok pemburu dari Kabupaten Sinjai. Ada 8 orang bersama 8 anjing pemburu. Mereka dibantu masyarakat desa dan perburuan pertama berhasil mendapat 20 ekor babi. Jauh sebelumnya pernah ada kelompok pemburu di desa ini, sekitar tahun 70-an. Namun, seiring usia yang menua, mereka berhenti berburu, dan tak ada yang berminat melanjutkan pekerjaan itu. Kemampuan

mereka punah dengan sendirinya.

Pertengahan Agustus 2023, masyarakat dan pemerintah dua desa; Desa Tambangan dan Desa Bonto Rannu Kecamatan Kajang berburu bersama. Mereka mendatangkan 5 kelompok pemburu dari dua Kecamatan Kindang dan Gantarang. Masing-masing kelompok terdiri dari 5 pemburu, di mana setiap orang dalam satu kelompok membawa 7 hingga 10 ekor anjing terlatih.

Satu kelompok pemburu mendapat bayaran Rp3 juta. Pemerintah desa menganggarkan dana untuk ini. Masyarakat patungan bersama warga menyediakan konsumsi bagi para pemburu. Mereka berhasil menangkap 52 ekor babi. Hasil buruan dibagi ke semua kelompok untuk dibawa pulang sebagai makanan anjing. Ada juga yang menjualnya ke pengepul untuk dijual ke pasar di Manado dengan harga berkisar Rp500 ribu hingga Rp1 juta per ekor, tergantung besar kecilnya ukuran babi.

Kelapa, si Penyelamat

Pada tahun 1960, kelapa sudah mulai ditanam masyarakat Possi Tanah, namun belum menjadi tanaman utama. Kelapa ditanam hanya sebatas untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sendiri. Jenis kelapa yang ditanam pada waktu itu, kelapa dalam. Serangan babi yang semakin brutal membuat masyarakat menanam kelapa untuk menghindari serangan hama babi.

Salah satu warga bernama Pareha mengganti tanamannya dengan kelapa. Kala itu ia sudah kewalahan menghadapi serangan hama babi yang kerap kali merusak jagungnya.

"Dulu kalau menanam jagung, ubi, dan kacang setiap malam dimakan dan dirusak babi. Kalau tidak dijaga ketat dihabisi. Dijaga pun masih bisa lolos masuk, sehingga tidak banyak hasil yang didapat saat panen. Karena itu saya mulai perlahan-lahan mengganti dengan tanaman kelapa," kata Pareha.

"Saya ambil buah kelapa tua yang saya tanam di pematang kebun untuk dibibit. Jadi saya tanam dengan cara tumpang sari, jagung dengan kelapa, sambil dijaga sampai tingginya tidak bisa dijangkau babi. Kelapa yang baru ditanam masih suka dirusak babi," kata Canu, seorang petani lainnya.

Kelapa pernah menyelamatkan warga desa ini dari ancaman kelaparan yang terjadi puluhan tahun lalu. Kala itu, tahun 1971, kemarau tak kunjung pergi hingga 7 bulan. Padahal biasanya hanya berlangsung empat bulan. Tanaman-tanaman pertanian kekeringan. Jagung, padi, umbi-umbian, gagal panen. Masyarakat terpaksa membeli singkong mentah dan singkong kering dari Kabupaten Sinjai sebagai sumber makanan pokok. Karena tidak mendapat hasil dari bertani, banyak warga desa merantau ke daerah lain untuk mencari nafkah. Ada yang ke Pulau Singkep, Riau Kepulauan untuk menambang bijih timah, sebagian lain ke Makassar menjadi buruh bangunan, dan ke Malaysia un-

tuk bekerja di perkebunan.

Bencana kekeringan itu membuat para petani lebih waspada dan lebih teliti dalam memilih jenis tanaman. Dari sekian tanaman pangan yang gagal panen itu, kelapa salah satu yang bertahan. Beberapa petani yang menanam kelapa saat itu selamat dari paceklik. Walaupun mereka menanamnya bukan dalam bentuk hamparan, tapi mereka bisa memanennya sepanjang tahun, lalu menjualnya untuk membeli kebutuhan pangan. Pengalaman mereka itu telah mengilhami petani lain untuk menanam kelapa setelah kemarau berlalu.

Sejak bencana itu, masyarakat ramai-ramai menanam kelapa. Menurut pengalaman mereka, kelapa sudah teruji cukup tangguh terhadap kemarau panjang. Kelapa juga tahan dari serangan hama babi. Pada tahun 1972, selama satu tahun, masyarakat Possi Tanah mendapat bantuan dari pemerintah Kabupaten Bulukumba berupa bibit kelapa varietas hibrida. Varietas ini lebih cepat berproduksi. Lima tahun setelah tanam, sudah berbuah. Masyarakat menanam secara besar-besaran dengan metode tumpang sari dengan jagung.

Ketangguhan kelapa sudah terbukti dari tahun ke tahun. Misalnya, pada tahun 1996, Possi Tanah kembali dilanda kemarau panjang selama 6 bulan. Petani kembali mengalami gagal panen. Jagung dan padi gagal, namun kelapa kembali terbukti tangguh menghadapi musim kemarau.

Perkebunan kelapa saat itu sudah mendominasi sebagian besar wilayah Possi Tanah. Kelapa sudah menjadi komoditas yang mendukung perekonomian masyarakat hingga saat ini. Kelapa menjadi sumber mata pencaharian utama. Buah kelapa diolah menjadi kopra. Dari pohonnya mengalir nira untuk bahan gula. Para petani memproduksi gula, lalu dijual ke pengepul dengan harga Rp10 ribu per kilogram.

Kelapa bebas dari serangan babi, tapi diincar oleh kumbang pemakan pucuk (*Oryctes rhinoceros*). Hama ini memakan pucuk-pucuk kelapa yang sudah berbuah. Kelapa yang baru berumur satu atau dua tahun bisa mati jika diserang hama kumbang.

Selain hama kumbang, ada hama lain, *Lampasa*, sejenis tikus yang memiliki badan lebih besar dan berekor panjang. Mereka memakan buah kelapa yang masih muda. Serangan hama tersebut mengakibatkan buah kelapa gugur. Para petani biasanya menggunakan racun tikus yang ditebar di atas pohon kelapa untuk mengusirnya.

Kelapa memang bisa menjadi pilihan masyarakat untuk menghindari babi, tapi tidak bisa menggantikan tanaman pokok seperti jagung, padi, dan umbi-umbian. Para petani tetap menanam tanaman pokok, sambil terus mencari cara mengusir babi. []

Profil Penulis

Musliadi, lahir tahun 1994 di Bantaeng, Sulawesi Selatan. Alumni Universitas Indonesia Timur. Sejak 2017 bergabung dengan Perkumpulan Aksi Sosial dan Ekologi (OASE) sebagai *Volunteer* dan belajar mengorganisir, riset, dan pendampingan dengan isu sumber energi terbarukan dan energi alternatif bersama masyarakat Borong Rappoa, Bulukumba. 2018, Musliadi bergabung di Sekolah Rakyat Petani Payopayo (SRP Payopayo) dan belajar isu-isu pedesaan secara aktif sebagai relawan di Desa Bonto Masunggu, Kabupaten Bone. Selama satu tahun di Desa, bekerja mengorganisir untuk melakukan pemetaan batas desa secara partisipatif, melalukan survei dan riset untuk membuat Sistem Informasi Desa, yang salah satu hasilnya adalah "SID Bonto Masunggu" dan buku "Desa Bonto Masunggu 2018". 2019 berkesempatan menjadi peserta magang dalam tim Assesment Conflict Resolution Unit (CRU) Indonesia di Kabupaten Wajo. Tahun 2021-2024 bekerja sebagai fasilitator di Desa Tambangan dan Possi Tanah, Kecamatan Kajang, Bulukumba dalam program adaptasi perubahan iklim.

Musliadi juga seorang praktisi GIS, *programer web development,* dan konten digital. Beberapa situs web yang pernah dia bangun: *perkumpulanoase.org, bontojai.desa.id, kanrung.id, smkdarululumpanaikang.sch, sukaria.net, kareso.org.* Bisa dihubungi melalui *www.mullalgibrhani.com dan musliadimagassing@gmail.com*

Siasat Bertahan dari Anomali Cuaca

Abdul Salman

Karena hasil panen padi menurun setiap tahun, para petani di Desa Jojjolo, Kabupaten Bulukumba beralih dari satu komoditi ke komoditas lain, menyesuaikan dengan perubahan cuaca yang tak menentu.

Di wilayah ini, biasanya kemarau tidak berlangsung lama setiap tahunnya, paling lama satu bulan. Dua anak sungai di sisi utara dan selatan desa mengalir sepanjang tahun mengairi persawahan dan perkebunan warga. Lereng-lereng dipenuhi berbagai macam tanaman. Surga bagi para penggembala.

Tetapi, tahun 2023 ini berbeda. Sejak pertengahan Juli hingga saat ini, penghujung Oktober, hujan tak kunjung datang. Pohon-pohon di perbukitan meranggas. Sebagian tanaman padi gagal panen. Sementara karet, cengkih, dan kakao tidak bisa di-

harapkan. Jika keadaan ini masih belum berubah hingga bulan depan, para petani akan mengganti padi dengan jagung.

Desa Jojjolo berada di bagian selatan Kecamatan Bulukumpa, Kabupaten Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan. Desa ini terdiri dari 8 dusun, dan berjarak 10 kilometer dari Kecamatan Bulukumpa. Kontur alamnya perbukitan dengan ketinggian 250 meter di atas permukaan laut. Luas Desa Jojjolo, 2.135 hektare, terdiri dari jalan, pemukiman, kebun campur, sawah dan perusahaan perkebunan karet milik PT London Sumatra. Desa ini dilalui dua anak sungai di sisi utara dan selatan.

Warga desa menggantungkan hidupnya pada hasil sawah, kebun, dan ternak. Kakao dan cengkih pernah menjadi komoditas unggulan desa ini, selain padi. Tapi, masa-masa emas itu telah berlalu. Kakao semakin hari semakin memburuk. Demikian juga dengan cengkih. Tanaman lain yang diusahakan oleh warga desa ini, antara lain, kayu jati, kelapa, dan rumput odot (*Pennisetum purpureum*).

Bagi warga desa yang sumber penghidupannya bertumpu pada hasil pertanian, kemarau bisa jadi bencana. Kemarau panjang terakhir di Desa Jojjolo terjadi pada 2005. Hujan tidak turun selama empat bulan, dari Juni hingga Oktober. Tapi itu belum seberapa, dibanding kemarau pada 1971 yang berlangsung tujuh bulan. Tanaman mati. Para gembala kesulitan memberi makan ternaknya. Warga mengais air dari sungai berjarak satu

kilometer dari pemukiman yang berjejer di atas bukit. Menuju sungai, hanya bisa menuruni jalan setapak yang menukik dan berbatu. Sejak tahun 1960, pemukiman warga dipindahkan ke perbukitan, dari yang sebelumnya berjajar di pinggir sungai.

Bencana kekeringan pada 1971 itu mengakibatkan krisis pangan di desa itu. Kemarau terjadi satu bulan setelah panen padi pada bulan Juni. Padi hanya cukup sampai 4 bulan.

"Ada yang meminjam beras dekat rumahnya. Kalau mau dibayar dan tidak mampu, tanah sebagai gantinya," kata seorang warga, Hammadin dalam sebuah obrolan malam. Raut wajah kecewa tampak, setiap kali mengingat tanah-tanah tetangganya yang lepas satu persatu.

Menurut dia, tragedi kekeringan menjadi kenangan buruk. Bukan cuma krisis padi, tanaman pangan yang lain pun mati kekeringan. Banyak warga saat itu makan batang pisang, karena tidak ada apapun yang bisa dimakan.

"Selama saya hidup, itulah kemarau paling panjang," kata Taju, mantan kepala kampung, sebelum dimekarkan menjadi Desa Jojjolo.

"Sampai tercabut kuku sapi sama kerbau kalau dipakai membajak kebun untuk persiapan menanam jagung. Saking panasnya."

Warga menanam jagung sebagai makanan sehari-hari. Mengolah beras hanya ketika ada perayaan. Makan nasi merupakan

kemewahan saat itu. Gabah yang tersusun rapi di sebuah rumah pertanda pemiliknya memiliki sawah luas. Apalagi kalau ada kerbau yang diikat di bawah kolong rumah, lebih memperkuat posisi sosial keluarga tersebut. Karena mustahil orang memiliki persediaan gabah, kalau hanya mengandalkan masa panen satu kali dalam satu tahun.

Sebelum ada program revolusi hijau pada masa pemerintahan orde baru, para petani mengolah sawah satu kali dalam satu tahun dengan jenis padi ranggong (*Oryza sativa L.*). Menurut Hammadin, mengolah sawah sekali setahun dengan durasi lima bulan dan mendiamkan selama tujuh bulan akan membuat tanah subur kembali. Itu kebiasaan turun-temurun dari nenek moyang di kampung itu. Padi ranggong dan 'jagung putih' sumber pangan bagi warga desa sebelum ada program percetakan sawah.

"Tidak ku tahu kapan itu ada padi ranggong, sejak lahirku sudah ada," kata Hammadin.

Padi ranggong dipanen 150 hari setelah tanam. 'Jagung putih' dipanen tiga bulan setelah tanam. Karena rentang waktu lama untuk ketersediaan pangan, warga menjadi sangat berhati-hati mengonsumsi beras. Delapan bulan waktu untuk menanam, bagi mereka ini semacam taruhan. Setiap panen hasilnya belum tentu bagus, sementara risiko serangan hama selalu mengintai.

Jagung menjadi makanan sehari-hari warga. Mereka me-

manfaatkan lahan kering milik mereka untuk menanam jagung. "Sawah berada di bawah, kalau jagung ditanam di kebun, setelah menanam padi masuk lagi waktu menanam jagung," kata Hammadin.

Dalam mengolah lahan, warga menggunakan cara *dibela*'[1]. Rumput dan kayu-kayu kering dibakar untuk menghasilkan arang. Hasil pembakaran kebun jagung yang berada di lereng bukit akan tersapu oleh air hujan, lalu mengalir ke lahan sawah yang berada di pinggir-pinggir sungai. Material tersebut akan menjadi nutrisi di dalam tanah untuk menyuburkan sawah pada musim tanam padi berikutnya.

Karena padi hanya panen satu kali dalam satu tahun, warga sangat berhemat mengonsumsi beras sampai panen berikutnya. Pada masa kemarau, mereka mencampur beras dengan jagung, atau jagung dengan pisang muda yang direbus.

Saat pemerintahan orde baru, warga wajib mengikuti program percetakan sawah. Benih padi mulai beragam dengan masa panen yang singkat. Dalam satu tahun bisa menanam dua kali, bahkan sejak 1980 hingga sekarang menjadi tiga kali dalam satu tahun. Beberapa jenis padi seperti padi ranggong mulai ditinggalkan, karena masa tanamnya sepanjang tahun.

Sejak menanam padi bibit unggul pembagian pemerintah, masyarakat desa menjadi sering berbagi beras saat merayakan

1 *Bela'* cara membersihkan lahan menggunakan parang atau arit untuk memangkas rumput liar sebelum lahan ditanami jagung atau kacang.

hari-hari penting, seperti pernikahan, khitanan[2], dan akikah[3].

Padi sangat membutuhkan air sepanjang hidupnya. Sehingga saat musim kemarau tiba, petani menggantinya dengan tanaman lain, seperti jagung. Serangan hama juga membuat kerugian bagi para petani. Antara lain, hama wereng (*Siphanta acuta*), penyakit blas karena serangan jamur *Pyricularia oryzae*, penggerek batang, daun bintik kuning, dan busuk batang. Selain itu, hama seperti burung pipit, tikus, dan babi juga sering mengganggu padi. Di sisi lain, biaya produksi yang tinggi untuk menanam padi, tidak sebanding dengan harga jual gabah yang rendah.

Para pengepul biasanya datang ke rumah petani untuk menjemput gabah. Harganya Rp380 per kilogram atau Rp380 ribu per karung. Jual beli gabah ini baru terjadi pada tahun 2015, sebelumnya para petani hanya menjual beras, jika ada kelebihan hasil panen. Gabah dijual hanya oleh petani yang memiliki sawah luas. Pada musim hujan produksi padi meningkat, namun gabah menjadi lembab, hitam, dan banyak yang kopong, sehingga harganya turun. Sedangkan saat kemarau, produksi turun, harga naik.

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2 Ritual menghilangkan sebagian kulit penutup bagian depan pada penis.

3 Ritual orang muslim sebagai rasa syukur atas kelahiran bayi. Biasanya upacara ini disertai dengan menyembelih hewan ternak pada hari ke tujuh setelah kelahiran.

Cetak Sawah, Sebuah Harapan

Program percetakan sawah oleh pemerintah tahun 1982 menyasar Kecamatan Bulukumpa. Desa Jojjolo salah satunya. Dua sungai besar yang mengalir di sisi utara dan selatan Desa Jojjolo menjadi sumber air persawahan warga. Sungai Balombessie di utara mengairi sawah Dusun Bontokamase, sebagian Bippajeng, Lembang, dan Dusun Batunilamung. Sungai Apparang di selatan mengairi sawah-sawah Dusun Malebbang, Balumbung, dan Kalakae.

Seorang warga bernama Ruddin yang saat ini berusia 62 tahun melihat langsung perubahan tutupan lahan belakang rumahnya di Dusun Balumbung. Saat itu dia kelas 5 Sekolah Dasar. Kata dia, lahan-lahan yang dijadikan lokasi percetakan sawah merupakan lahan yang ditumbuhi semak belukar, pohon beringin, petai, dan kelapa. Sudah ada kepemilikan tanah saat itu, dan warga menyambutnya dengan suka cita.

Saat itu beras masih langka. Walau banyak gabah yang terkumpul, warga lebih sering memakan jagung, karena beras menjadi cadangan makanan dan hanya dikonsumsi saat jagung habis.

"Tapi kalau ada acara kawinan, di situ makan nasi sepuasnya," ujar Ruddin.

Demikian juga dengan Taju yang kini berusia 71 tahun. Ia salah satu pemilik lahan yang diikutsertakan dalam program

cetak sawah. Luas lahannya, 6 hektare, dipenuhi kelapa hibrida, sebelum jadi sawah. Namun, masa keemasan padi hanya 5 tahun.

"Hanya lima tahun sawah ditanami setelah itu tidak ada lagi sawah produktif, karena kekurangan air. Debit air menurun," katanya, mengeluh.

Saat cetak sawah berlangsung, Liggo, warga desa berusia 66 tahun sangat takjub. Lahan yang dipenuhi semak belukar bisa rata dengan tanah seketika, tanpa mengeluarkan keringat. Sembilan hektare lahan miliknya disulap menjadi sawah.

Sambil duduk berpangku tangan, kadang jari telunjuknya diarahkan ke belakang rumah, Liggo bercerita tentang masa-masa itu.

"Dilihat itu alat dorong tanah, jadinya kami juga minta sekalian diratakan juga kebun yang seperti hutan." Menurutnya tidak semua orang yang tanahnya diratakan ingin menanam padi.

"Saya sempat menanam padi empat kali baru berhenti, saat itu tanam padi masih satu tahun satu kali," ujar Liggo. Air tidak sampai di lahan persawahan. Karena itu para petani mengganti tanamannya.

Irigasi Balambassie dibangun tahun 1984, dua tahun setelah sawah dicetak. Irigasi yang dibangun mengairi persawahan mulai Dusun Ballapale, Bontokamase, Lajae hingga Balumbung.

Menurut Liggo, irigasi yang dibangun sebenarnya tidak berdampak pada produktivitas sawah. "Kurang *mi* memang air waktu dibuat itu irigasi, air susah sampai."

Dari Padi ke Tanaman Lain

Para petani di desa ini mulai kesusahan mengurus padi. Cuaca yang tidak menentu dan ongkos tanam yang semakin hari semakin tinggi membuat mereka melirik tanaman lain. Apalagi sarana irigasi tidak memadai saat kemarau melanda. Beberapa komoditas yang diusahakan warga antara lain, kakao, cengkih, kayu jati (*Gmelina arborea*), dan karet yang dalam satu dekade ini sedang digandrungi.

Sebelum karet, para petani mencoba peruntungan di tanaman kakao. Tapi itu tidak berlangsung lama. Seperti yang dialami Alimuddin, warga Dusun Bippajeng. Saat saya menemui di kebunnya, dia sedang menggali lubang untuk menanam pala. Ada delapan lubang galian untuk menyulam tanaman pala yang mati. Napasnya terengah-engah saat memanggil saya untuk masuk ke lahannya. Alimuddin, pemilik lahan yang dijadikan demplot agroforestri kegiatan adaptasi perubahan iklim. Lahannya yang seluas 2 hektare itu, sebelumnya ditanami padi. Tapi dia terpaksa menggantinya karena air tidak lagi sampai ke sawahnya akibat saluran irigasi yang rusak di hulu. Dia mengubah lahannya menjadi perkebunan. Selain pala, ia pernah menanam

kakao dan kayu jati. Namun dia tidak menyangka, perawatan kakao jauh lebih sulit daripada padi. Meski demikian, sekitar tahun 1996 hingga 2002, harga kakao pernah berada di puncak.

"Banyak sekali pekerjaan kalau tanam kakao," kata dia, sorot matanya menerawang jauh.

Perawatan kakao mulai dari memangkas tunas, penyemprotan pestisida, dan pemupukan rutin untuk mendapatkan hasil maksimal. Setelah panen, buah kakao harus dibelah, lalu difermentasi selama dua hari untuk mengurangi lendir, memisahkan kotoran dengan biji kakao, menjemur sekitar 3 hari jika matahari terik. Tahapan tersebut bagi Alimuddin sangat rumit dan menguras tenaga. Lalu, ia menggantinya dengan kayu jati, yang tidak memerlukan biaya tinggi dan perawatannya tidak rumit.

Karet bukan tanaman baru di desa ini. Tanaman itu sudah masuk sejak 1995. Saat itu hanya 9 orang yang melirik karet melalui program perkebunan plasma PT London Sumatra., salah satu perusahaan perkebunan karet di Bulukumba. Sedangkan alih fungsi lahan menjadi perkebunan karet banyak terjadi sejak 2010, terutama di Dusun Lembang, Bontokamase, dan Bippajeng.

Saat ini, ada sekitar 976,2 hektare kebun karet tersebar di delapan dusun. Yang terluas ada di Dusun Kalakae dan Dusun Batunilamung. Kondisi desa yang berbukit dan lahan dengan kemiringan 30-40 derajat menjadi salah satu alasan warga me-

nanam karet. Pohon-pohon karet ditanam berjejer dengan jarak tanam empat meter ke belakang dan enam meter ke samping.

Sebelum dimekarkan, Desa Jojjolo masih berada dalam wilayah administrasi Desa Bonto Minasa dengan pemerintahan Kampung Lembang. Taju menjabat sebagai kepala kampung pada masa-masa persiapan pemekaran. Pada tahun 1986 saat Makki menjabat sebagai Kepala Desa di Bonto Minasa, mulai mempersiapkan pemekaran Desa Bonto Minasa dan melebur wilayahnya menjadi Desa Tibona, Desa Batu Lohe, dan Desa Jojjolo tahun 1989. Setelah pemekaran, Makki menempatkan mertuanya menjadi kepala desa Jojjolo, istrinya sebagai Kepala Desa Tibona, dan sepupunya menjadi Kepala Desa Batu Lohe.

Kebun plasma karet bermula pada tahun 1995. Tiga orang yang pertama menanam karet di Desa Jojjolo; Cokeng, Taju, dan Condeng. Lahan milik mereka terdaftar dalam kebun plasma atau program pengembangan kebun swasta karena kedekatan mereka dengan Makki.

Perusahaan perkebunan yang pertama kali beroperasi di desa ini, PT London Sumatra (Lonsum)[4], milik Salim Group. Lokasinya di sisi utara desa. Masyarakat kebanyakan tidak tertarik

4 PT. London Sumatra awalnya bernama NV. Celebes Landbouw Maaschappijh, masuk ke Bulukumba melalui keputusan Jenderal Hindia Belanda No. 43 dan 44 tanggal 10 Juli 1919 dan 18 Mei 1921 dengan status hak erfpacht. Pada tanggal 17 April 1961, NV. Celebes Landbouw Maaschappijh mengajukan permohonan ke Pemerintah R.I. agar hak erfpacht yang dimilikinya dikonversi menjadi Hak Guna Usaha (HGU); Lonsum mengelola kebun kelapa sawit, karet, kakao, dan teh dengan total luas 116.053 hektare yang tersebar di Sumatera Utara, Sumatera Selatan, Kalimantan Timur, Sulawesi, dan Jawa.

mengelola kebun plasma yang bekerjasama dengan perusahaan itu, karena tidak mengetahui rantai pasar dan harga karet.

"Saat itu harga karet sangat tertutup dan hanya perusahaan yang tahu, pemilik lahan yang dijadikan plasma saja tidak mengetahui harga karet," ujar Kamiluddin, kepala Dusun Bontokamase.

Taju mengatakan, penawaran kebun plasma oleh PT Lonsum. di Kecamatan Bulukumba hanya melibatkan kepala desa, kepala kampung, dan tokoh masyarakat. Namun, masyarakat luas menolaknya. Penawaran ini berlangsung empat tahun sebelum perusahaan perkebunan beroperasi, pada tahun 1991. Masyarakat takut perusahaan tidak mengembalikan tanah warga yang dijadikan plasma saat berakhir kontrak. "Mereka takut tanahnya diambil Belanda," ujar Taju bergurau.

Kecurigaan itu semakin meluas dan menimbulkan perlawanan sekelompok warga terhadap pihak perusahaan, ketika perusahaan mengerahkan alat berat jenis *bulldozer* ke lahan warga tanpa persetujuan pemiliknya. Lahan itu akan dijadikan tempat untuk pembibitan karet.

Seorang warga bernama Sainuddin yang akrab dipanggil Tatto menampar Kepala Desa Bulo-Bulo saat itu yang menjadi salah satu pendukung perusahaan perkebunan. Dia dilaporkan ke polisi, tapi karena dukungan masyarakat, polisi kesulitan menangkapnya.

Ruddin bercerita, “Ratusan orang berada di sana, dan melindungi Tatto agar tidak ditangkap polisi,” ujar Ruddin, seorang warga desa yang ketika itu berada di tempat kejadian. “Perempuan dan laki-laki membawa parang,” kata dia.

Pihak perkebunan berhasil mengajak tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki lahan luas untuk ikut dalam program plasma. Mereka di antaranya, Makki, Haeba, Alimuddin, dan Jamaluddin. Perjanjian pihak perkebunan dan warga menyepakati kebun plasma berlangsung selama dua belas tahun. Perusahaan menanggung semua biaya pengolahan lahan, pembuatan teraseering, biaya pemupukan, biaya bibit, ongkos buruh, dan biaya perawatan sampai pohon karet bisa diambil getahnya. Pemilik lahan tidak boleh mengambil lahannya hingga seluruh biaya pengolahan lahan tersebut tergantikan.

Para pemilik lahan sangat menikmati hasil dari perjanjian tersebut. Mereka tidak terlibat dalam proses produksi, tapi menerima hasil setiap bulan. Tahun 2007, warga mulai gelisah saat pengelola kebun plasma mulai melanggar perjanjian. Hasil kebun sering berkurang setiap bulan. Taju tidak tinggal diam. Pemilik plasma bersepakat ke kantor PT Lonsum.

“Saat ke kantornya, mereka perlihatkan bukti penjualan, tapi banyak yang mereka potong, mau membangun fasilitas umum, seperti permandian, begini-begini, tapi tidak terbukti,” kata dia. Sejak itu masyarakat meminta pengembalian uang.

"Kacau di pengelolanya, di kantor perkebunan, banyak yang protes, banyak yang membelokkan harga karet. Salah satu pengelola menjual rumah dan lari ke Sulawesi Tenggara. Akhirnya koperasinya ikut bubar."

Sejak mulai dideres, setengah harga karet dipotong dan masuk ke PT Lonsum. sebagai ganti biaya produksi di awal. Setelah lunas biaya produksi, harga karet kebun plasma diserahkan penuh ke warga, sejak itulah pengelolaan plasma kacau. Tanaman karet tidak memerlukan perawatan intensif. Setelah ditanam, karet hanya perlu dijaga dari serangan babi atau hewan ternak sebelum tingginya mencapai 2 hingga 3 meter. Setelah itu, pemilik kebun harus memastikan kelembaban tanah agar karet tidak layu saat musim kemarau. Jika ingin hasil maksimal, bisa dipupuk dua kali dalam satu tahun.

Pohon karet yang produktif harus dideres dengan cara yang tepat. Satu garis deres lebarnya 1,5 milimeter, begitu juga kedalaman garis deres 1,5 milimeter. Pisau yang digunakan menderes harus tajam. Saat menderes hanya menggores kulit batang yang menjadi tempat karet keluar. Jika batang terkena irisan pisau, pohon rentan membusuk, lalu batangnya rusak, sebelum patah. Kulit batang yang terkelupas akibat goresan pisau, menjadi celah untuk rayap.

Pada tahun 2007, banyak pemilik kebun plasma yang mengakhiri kontrak karena mereka tahu pihak pengelola dari perusa-

haan telah menyelewengkan harga karet. Aksi itu telah mengurangi luasan kebun. Setelah pemilik lahan keluar dari plasma, tersisa 200 hektare yang masih dikelola perkebunan Lonsum. Perusahaan merasa rugi jika terus dilanjutkan. Tahun 2010 plasma resmi dihentikan oleh Lonsum.

Pada tahun 2010 barulah warga Desa Jojjolo beramai-ramai menanam karet, setelah melihat peningkatan taraf hidup warga yang menanam karet. Sejak saat itu, warga mencari tahu sendiri tentang harga getah karet, dan ternyata selama ini mereka mendapat harga yang rendah dari harga pasaran. Jadi, selama puluhan tahun itu warga tidak tahu bahwa karet bernilai tinggi, karena informasi mengenai harga jual karet sangat tertutup. Saat itu harga pasaran getah karet sekitar Rp9 ribu per kilogram.

Masalah lain, karet yang ditanam di kebun milik warga tidak bisa diidentifikasi jenisnya. Karena saat marak peralihan komoditas ke karet tahun 2010, warga hanya terpaku apakah karet tersebut telah okulasi atau masih indukan. Sehingga sulit untuk menentukan apakah karet yang tersebar adalah karet dengan penghasil lateks atau *lump* (gumpalan). Banyak warga yang menanam karet hanya tergiur soal harga dan perawatan yang terlihat mudah tanpa memiliki pengetahuan yang memadai tentang budidaya karet.

Saya menemui seseorang yang handal mengurus karet, Syarifuddin. Dia warga Dusun Lajae, pernah bekerja di perkebun-

an PT Lonsum, selama 25 tahun. Siang itu matahari sangat menyengat ketika saya tiba di rumahnya. Saya langsung menuju ke teras samping rumahnya, mengambil tikar rotan untuk alas berbaring. Saya terlelap, sekejap.

Syarifuddin, akrab dipanggil Colli. Dia masih mengingat jenis karet yang pernah dipelihara di perkebunan karet PT Lonsum. Dia berpengalaman mengenali jenis karet, pengolahan, perawatan dan memahami jenis penyakit yang biasa menerpa karet.

Pertemuan hanya satu jam, namun sangat banyak informasi tentang karet yang baru saya ketahui. Ia duduk di kursi. Saya duduk bersila di lantai memerhatikan geraknya yang berulang kali berdiri menjelaskan cara mengetahui diameter pohon karet yang tepat untuk disadap. Ia memperagakannya pada tiang rumahnya.

Ada tujuh jenis karet yang masing-masing memiliki keunggulan. Klon GT adalah jenis karet yang menghasilkan lateks yang konsisten sepanjang tahun dan lebih tepat jika ditanam di kebun warga. Jenis lainnya, klon RRIM yang saat panen puncak bisa menghasilkan lateks hingga 100 truk bermuatan 3.500 kg dan saat gugur daun hanya menghasilkan 4 hingga 5 truk.

Terdapat dua penyakit yang menyerang karet, penyakit kulit (*brown bark*) dan penyakit gugur daun (*leaf fall disease*) yang memengaruhi produktivitas.

Penyakit kulit *brown bark* biasa juga disebut penyakit kering alur sadap atau dikenal dengan istilah kulit dalam cokelat (*bruine binnenbast* atau *brown bark* atau *bark dryness* atau *brown bast*) yang sering disingkat menjadi BB merupakan penyakit yang sampai saat ini belum diketahui penyebab utamanya. Serangan berat BB sangat ditentukan oleh jenis klon yang ditanam, keadaan tanah, dan iklim, serta eksploitasi. Setiap klon memiliki tingkat sensitivitas yang berbeda terhadap penyakit BB.

Penyakit gugur daun mengakibatkan daun gugur secara terus menerus hingga hampir habis, kanopi menjadi tipis dan menurunkan produksi hingga 45 persen. Penyebaran penyakit ini sangat cepat, melalui udara.

Seperti bom waktu, serangan penyakit pada karet bisa saja menyerang pohon karet milik warga jika tidak diantisipasi dari sekarang.

Penjualan Karet di Desa Jojjolo

Untuk menjual karet, warga hanya menunggu pengepul datang ke rumah-rumah atau kebun mereka. Mereka mengumpul dan menyimpan karet di ember atau baskom. Bagi warga yang memiliki rata-rata 100 pohon karet, akan menjualnya setelah dua atau tiga kali deres dengan jarak satu hari. Setelah terkumpul 45 kilogram dari 3 kali deres, baru mereka jual.

Jika curah hujan dalam keadaan normal, setiap 100 pohon karet bisa menghasilkan 15 kilogram getah. Tapi, saat kemarau bisa menurun menjadi 5 kilogram dari 100 pohon. Daun-daun akan berguguran pada pohon-pohon yang getahnya semakin berkurang.

Harga jual karet selama tiga tahun terakhir berkisar Rp8500 hingga Rp9400 per kilogram. Petani akan menerima harga bersih setelah dikurangi satu kilogram dari setiap kali karet padat dinaikkan di timbangan. Menurut para pengepul, getah karet memiliki kadar air yang tinggi yang akan menyusut saat tiba di mobil pengangkut. Sehingga pengurangan satu kilogram menjadi wajar bagi mereka.

Para pengepul menentukan dua cara untuk membeli karet dari para petani. *Pertama*, petani mematok harga tertinggi, tapi timbangan tidak normal. *Kedua*, timbangan normal, tapi harga rendah. Praktik curang para pengepul dilakukan secara terang-terangan. Mereka menyetel jarum timbangan, menurunkan karet dari timbangan sebelum jarum timbangan lurus pada angka 0. Kebanyakan para petani memilih timbangan yang normal, meski harganya murah.

Tapi, kecurangan para pengepul dibalas oleh para petani. Karena semakin lama disimpan, getah karet semakin mahal, para petani biasa mengoleskan tanah pada getah karet agar warnanya berubah menjadi cokelat, seperti warna getah karet

yang sudah disimpan berhari-hari. Penampungan karet terdekat ada di Desa Tibona. Gudang penampungan ini menjadi tujuan akhir sebelum kontainer mengangkutnya ke pelabuhan di Makassar untuk dibawa ke Surabaya.

Pergantian Tanaman Pangan ke Komersil

Para petani menyiasati lahan kering dengan cara tumpang sari. Dalam satu lahan, mereka bisa menanam lebih dari satu jenis tanaman. Cara ini juga bisa membantu penghasilan petani yang berlahan sempit. Pengetahuan tersebut sudah ada sejak tahun 90-an, tapi saat itu mereka belum mengetahui tentang pengaturan jarak tanaman, pupuk, dan pemangkasan.

Jenis komoditi yang dijadikan tanaman tumpang sari antara lain, kopi, cengkih, merica, kakao, dan vanili (*Vanilla planifolia*). Tapi, tanaman mereka sedikit sekali yang tumbuh besar, sehingga para petani tidak terlalu fokus menerapkan kebun tumpang sari. Ini terjadi karena pengetahuan dalam merawat tanaman tumpang sari belum memadai.

Salah seorang petani yang berhasil menerapkan tumpang sari, Hammadin. Ia menanam merica dirambatkan ke pohon sengon (*Albizia chinensis*). Ia mendapatkan hasil puluhan kilogram merica kering.Tapi petani lain yang menanam kopi dengan sengon tidak membuahkan hasil maksimal.

Padi dan karet masih menjadi komoditas utama warga desa.

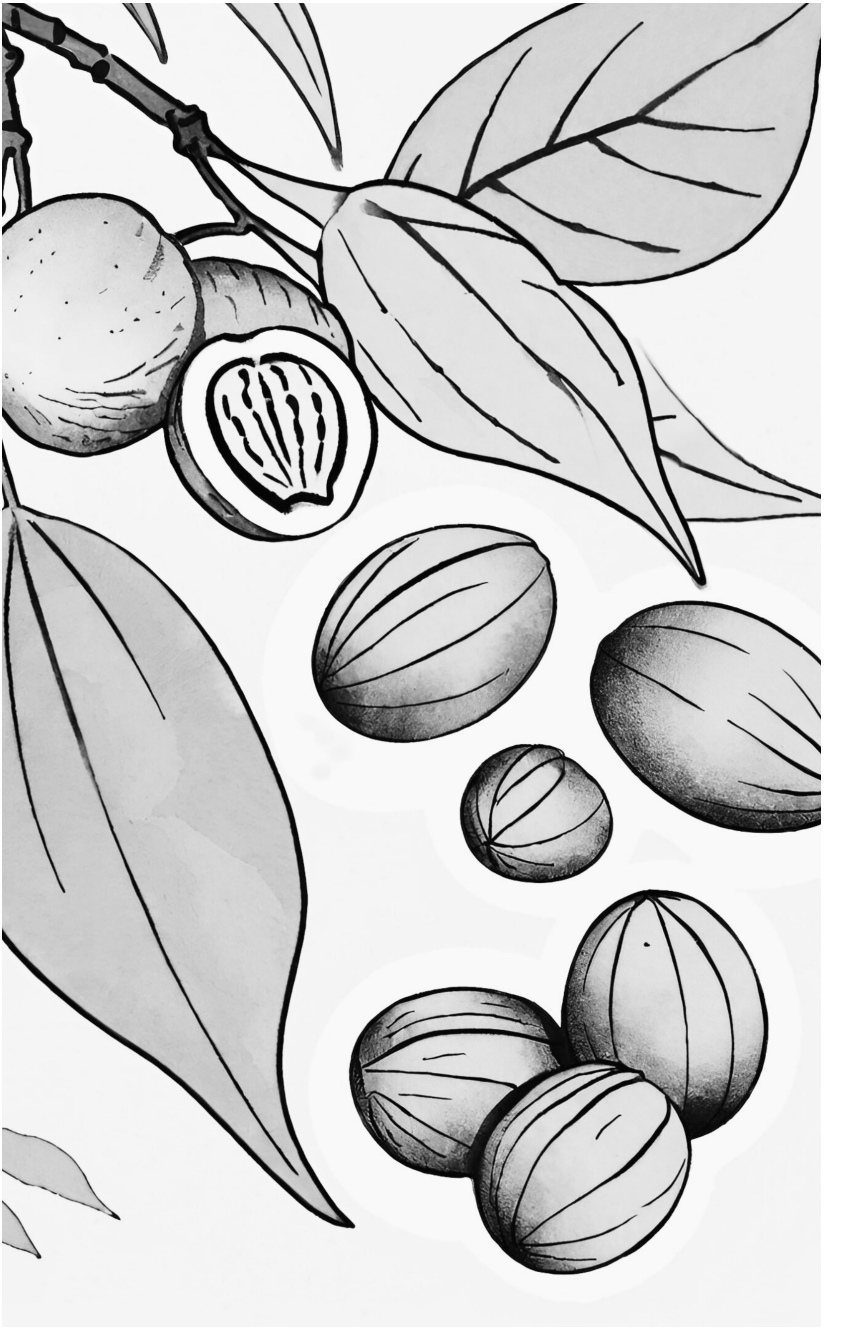
Tapi, para petani masih kekurangan pengetahuan tentang pengolahan karet. Bersamaan dengan itu mereka menghadapi tantangan akibat perubahan iklim, serangan hama, dan penyakit. Sementara itu akses jalan yang baik menuju ke pasar, dan aplikasi di media sosial bisa menjadi peluang untuk memasarkan hasil perkebunan milik warga.

Di tengah menurunnya hasil cengkih, kakao, dan merica, muncul pendatang baru sebagai tanaman yang bisa diandalkan: Pala. Warga desa mengira tanaman ini kebal dari hama dan penyakit. Dalam dua tahun terakhir, harga jualnya termasuk tinggi, berkisar antara Rp30 ribu sampai Rp50 ribu per kilogram untuk biji kering.

Seluruh bagian buah pala memiliki nilai jual, mulai dari biji, salut biji, dan daging buah. Selama ini warga hanya menjual biji. Belakangan, mereka baru tahu bahwa salut biji atau fuli justru lebih mahal. Harga fuli pada 10 Agustus 2023 berada pada kisaran Rp225 ribu dan Rp230 ribu per kilogram. Namun, saat ini warga belum bisa memastikan masa depan pala. Mereka hanya bisa menerka-nerka soal ketahanannya dari hama, penyakit, dan kondisi iklim. Warga berharap pala tidak mengalami nasib serupa dengan tanaman komoditas perkebunan seperti cengkih, kakao, vanili, dan merica yang akhirnya terpaksa mengalah pada kondisi iklim dan serangan hama penyakit yang semakin akut. []

Profil Penulis

Abdul Salman, lahir di Tawau, Sabah Malaysia 1991. Alumni Universitas Negeri Makassar, aktif dalam gerakan sosial yang fokus terhadap konflik petani dan perusahaan perkebunan karet, suku bangsa minoritas, masyarakat miskin kota. Saat ini menjabat sebagai Direktur LSM Kareso Bulukumba.



Merekayasa Kelamin Pala

Muhammad Harisah

Bagaimana petani pala di Kambuno menyambut metode sambung pucuk?

Sudirman semula menggantungkan hidupnya dari durian. Namun sepuluh tahun terakhir anomali cuaca bikin penghasilan Sudirman dari durian terjun bebas. "Sekarang itu tidak menentu cuaca," Sudirman mengeluh.

"Biasa kita gembira kalau lihat durian sudah berbunga lebat, tapi langsung turun hujan deras, inilah yang biasa kasih gagal berbuah. Rontok semua bunganya."

Saya menemui Sudirman baru-baru ini, saat dia menata letak ratusan *polybag* berisi bibit pala yang dia semai, di ambang rumahnya di Mannyaha, sebuah kampung dataran tinggi di

Kabupaten Bulukumba. Secara administrasi Mannyaha bagian Desa Kambuno.

Durian bagi Sudirman, kini hanya cerita emas di masa lalu dan pala kelak menjadi masa depan yang penuh kejayaan. Mengganti peran cengkih, manggis, dan durian yang kian tahun hasil panennya berkurang, karena gempuran cuaca yang tidak menentu.

Di Kambuno, orang-orang santer mengenal Sudirman tak hanya sebagai petani pala yang telaten, tetapi juga sebagai penjual bibit pala kesohor. Ketika orang-orang mengeluh betapa sulitnya menyemai biji pala, Sudirman justru tidak. Dia punya metode dan dengan penuh bangga menerangkannya kepada saya.

Pertama, kata Sudirman, gali lah sebuah lubang berukuran 1x1.5 meter, kira-kira sedalam lutut orang dewasa. *Kedua*, lanjut Sudirman, ambil rumput kering lalu tata menutupi dasar lubang. *Ketiga*, letakkan benih pala di atas permukaan rumput, lalu tutuplah dengan rumput kering. *Yang terakhir*, kata Sudirman, tutuplah lubang itu dengan cacahan batang pisang.

"Kalau pakai caraku yang ini," kata dia. "*Insyaallah* banyak yang tumbuh."

Di kebun seluas 40 are milik Sudirman, puluhan pohon pala tumbuh. Menjulang subur dan berbuah sepanjang tahun. Usia pala milik Sudirman macam-macam. Ada yang berusia sepuluh

tahun. Lima tahun. Dan satu tahun.

Di Kambuno, kata Sudirman, ada pala yang tumbuh di halaman rumah mantan kepala desa, berusia puluhan tahun, yang segera menjadi indukan pala di Kambuno. "Sudah 30 tahun saya di Kambuno, sudah besar memang itu pala. Pohonnya tidak terlalu tinggi, tapi batangnya besar sekali."

Buah dari pohon pala itulah yang kemudian disemai dan dijadikan bibit, dan segera menggantikan tanaman kopi Belanda (jenis *excelsa*) yang pada saat itu tak lagi punya harga. Seingat Sudirman, pala pertama kali ditanam di Kambuno pada tahun 80-an, ketika Sudirman masih duduk di bangku kelas 5 Sekolah Dasar.

Warga Kambuno mulai ramai-ramai menanam pala pada tahun 2013, seiring dengan meningkatnya harga pala di pasaran. "Tapi," kata Sudirman. "Dulu orang itu tidak serius menanam pala karena masih murah harganya, tapi ternyata cocok dengan kondisi tanah di sini, lebat sekali buah pala di sini."

Pada akhir tahun 2012 harga pala pun mulai merangsek naik, seiring melimpahnya hasil buah pala pada saat itu, hingga akhirnya memikat hati para petani Kambuno.

Kedatangan pala di Kambuno seperti keajaiban. Tak kenal musim panen dan tidak butuh perlakuan rumit selaiknya komoditi lain, sebagaimana cengkih dan vanili. "Biasa kalau puncak-puncaknya, sementara masak buah di kebun muncul lagi

calon buah seperti kelereng besarnya," kata Ismail, petani pala yang lain di Kambuno. "Jadi berbuahnya tidak putus."

"Bagaimana perawatannya?" saya bertanya.

"Saya cuman pakai pupuk kandang saja untuk pala saya di kebun, tapi tetap subur juga," kata Ismail. "Suka sekali justru pala sama pupuk kandang."

Sepanjang tahun, kata Ismail, ada saja buah-buah pala yang siap panen untuk dijual dan menghasilkan duit. "Bisa, *lah*, untuk tabungan hari tua," Ismail tersenyum.

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Pabottingi tak tahu apa itu pala. Niatnya sederhana. Dia hanya ingin menanam rempah itu di samping rumahnya yang sementara dibangun, di Barugae, salah satu dusun di Kambuno, untuk hiasan. Suatu hari pada 1982 silam, Pabottingi mendatangi rumah kerabatnya bernama Muhammadiyah untuk mengambil air dari sumur tua, buat kebutuhan pembangunan rumahnya.

Ketika Pabottingi mendekati sumur itu, dia takjub dengan sebuah pohon yang penuh dengan buah kuning. Bergelantungan seperti jeruk. Dia lantas menanyakan pada tuan rumah apa nama pohon itu.

"Pohon pala," jawab Muhammadiyah si tuan rumah itu ke Pabottingi.

Pabottingi lalu kembali ke sumur itu dan memungut lima biji

pala yang dia semai begitu pulang ke rumah. Ke lima benih pala itu pun tumbuh menjadi bibit. Pabottingi menanam dua pohon di samping rumah. Tiga pohon dibagi ke tukang bangunan, masing-masing mendapat satu.

Pala adalah rempah endemik Indonesia. Ditemukan tumbuh di bagian timur nusantara, di Kepulauan Maluku, tepatnya di Kepulauan Banda. Rata-rata pohon pala tumbuh antara 5 hingga 20 meter setelah dewasa. Tanaman pala termasuk tanaman berumah dua, bunga jantan dan bunga betina terdapat dalam dua pohon yang berbeda. Daun pala berwarna hijau sementara pola tulang daun berbentuk menyirip. Buah pala berbentuk bulat lonjong berwarna kekuning-kuningan, berukuran lebih kecil. Ketika pala telah matang, buah terbelah, biji berubah coklat, dan fuli memerah. Pala pun siap panen. Tanaman pala biasanya akan mulai belajar berbuah ketika usia 5 hingga 6 tahun, dan akan berbuah maksimal pada usia 25 tahun. Tanaman pala kuat dan tahan dalam segala cuaca sehingga pala mampu tumbuh hingga ratusan tahun. Itulah sebabnya kenapa pala banyak diberi gelar sebagai salah satu tanaman adaptif terhadap perubahan iklim. Pala akan tumbuh dengan baik di area perbukitan, terpapar banyak sinar matahari, serta memiliki curah hujan cukup tinggi. Salah satu kelebihan pala yang disukai petani yaitu bahwa tanaman pala mampu berbuah sepanjang tahun. Ketika puncak panen raya, pala bahkan berbuah lebat selama tiga bulan.

Namun, cerita pala tak selalu tentang kejayaan, kebanggaan, keharuman, dan kesuksesan. Pabottingi, Sudirman, atau Ismail mungkin tak tahu, di balik semua itu, pala punya sejarah kelam bahkan mengubah nasib nusantara bersama jutaan penduduknya.

Setidaknya sejak abad ke-6 Masehi, pala telah beredar ke belahan dunia di Benua Eropa, melalui perdagangan global yang dimonopoli para pedagang Tiongkok, India, dan Arab. Kala itu, kegunaan pala hanya sebagai rempah yang menambah cita rasa makanan, sebagai obat herbal, dan wewangian. Namun, harga pala saat itu sangat mahal. Karena itu pala hanya dikonsumsi oleh para bangsawan Eropa saja. Saat itu harga biji pala untuk setengah kilogram bahkan setara dengan tujuh ekor sapi jantan dewasa yang gemuk.

Ketika peradaban manusia memasuki abad ke-14 Masehi (1346 hingga 1353), PES mewabahi kawasan Benua Eropa, separuh benua Asia, hingga Amerika Utara. Wabah Pes lebih populer dikenal dengan *Black Death*, karena tubuh korban yang terjangkit berubah menjadi kehitaman akibat pembengkakan pembuluh darah. Wabah ini semula ditemukan di dataran tinggi Asia Tengah, di wilayah Kyrgyzstan, lalu segera menyebar ke wilayah Eropa melalui jalur sutra. Penyakit ini bersumber dari bakteri *Yersinia pestis* yang disebarluaskan oleh kutu yang hidup di tubuh sejumlah binatang macam tikus.

Black Death begitu mematikan pada saat itu. Orang yang terjangkit penyakit ini biasanya mengalami pembengkakan pada kelenjar getah bening di sekitar leher dan ketiak. Beberapa saat kemudian, bagian tubuh sekitar leher dan ketiak penderita mulai menghitam, disertai rasa sakit yang tak berperi. Jika dalam dua hari penderita *Black Death* tidak menerima penanganan medis, pasien akan meninggal dunia. Hanya dalam empat tahun, *Black Death* setidaknya telah membunuh sepertiga lebih populasi Eropa.

Di masa inilah, banyak orang meyakini bahwa buah pala dapat menyelamatkan mereka dari incaran maut *Black Death*. Apalagi sebelumnya berkembang mitos bahwa pala adalah buah yang menjauhkan manusia dari malaikat maut. Para biarawan dan keluarga bangsawan ramai-ramai memasukkan bubuk pala ke dalam kantong kain kecil dan menggantungkannya pada leher mereka. Tujuannya jelas: demi selamat dari serangan wabah mematikan. Tetapi, mitos itu tak sepenuhnya salah.

Buah yang mendapat julukan "*Jansi Ban*" atau "Kacang dari Banda" oleh ilmuwan medis terkenal Ibnu Sina, nyatanya mengandung molekul *Isoeugenol* yang tidak disukai oleh kutu pembawa wabah tersebut. Kandungan senyawa *Myristicin* dan *Elemicin* dalam biji dan fuli pala juga merupakan insektisida alami yang bersifat anti mikroba yang pada saat itu diyakini mampu menyelamatkan nyawa banyak orang.

Melonjaknya permintaan pala pada saat pandemi *Black Death* itu akhirnya bikin kerajaan-kerajaan besar di Eropa, seperti Portugis, Spanyol, Inggris, Prancis, dan Belanda—yang awalnya hanya membeli rempah dari pedagang Arab, India, dan Tiongkok—meluncurkan ekspedisi besar-besaran—secara skala maupun biaya—demi mencari letak Kepulauan Banda, gugusan pulau yang dikenal 'gudang rempah' tempat pala bertumbuh subur.

Ekspedisi itu bahkan melibatkan pelaut dan petualang kondang seperti Vasco Da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan, dan Marcopolo untuk memimpin ekspedisi mereka. Ekspedisi itu paling tidak punya dua tujuan utama: Mendapatkan rempah-rempah tersebut langsung dari tempat tumbuhnya dan sekaligus mengakhiri dominasi para pedagang dari Asia. Persaingan untuk memonopoli sumber dan jalur perdagangan rempah antara kongsi dagang milik kerajaan-kerajaan besar Eropa telah memicu terjadinya penjajahan atas rakyat Kepulauan Banda dan Maluku, yang bahkan kemudian menyebar ke nyaris seluruh Kepulauan Nusantara. Dalam buku berjudul *Nathaniel's Nutmeg* tercatat tentang pembantaian massal penduduk Kepulauan Banda. Dalam catatan itu pula, terekam bagaimana penduduk Kepulauan Banda dibawa ke tanah Jawa untuk dijual sebagai budak.

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Desa Kambuno punya kontur berbukit-bukit dan dianugerahi curah hujan tinggi, tempat ideal buat budidaya tanaman pala. Tata guna lahan Desa Kambuno yang didominasi oleh kebun tumpang sari menjadi penanda bahwa petani Kambuno sudah terbiasa memelihara tanaman pohon, sehingga membudidayakan pala bukan sesuatu yang sulit.

"Merawat pala itu gampang," kata Muhammad Basir, seorang petani pala sejak 1986. "Pala itu tidak mudah kena penyakit. Panen dan pascapanennya mudah, dan bisa cepat dijual. Setahu saya hama pala hanya babi yang biasa merusak batangnya, jadi harus dipagari pakai ranting kayu atau kelapa."

Permasalahan utama yang dihadapi petani pala di Kambuno justru soal jenis kelamin pala: jantan dan betina. Pala jantan tidak berbuah banyak selaiknya pala betina. Persoalannya, pala jantan malah mendominasi kebun petani Kambuno dan Basir maupun petani yang lain belum menemukan solusi jitu. Basir telah mencari informasi ke sana kemari tentang bagaimana supaya pala betina banyak tumbuh di kebunnya. Ketika menemukan cara, Basir lekas mencoba. Namun, gagal. Ketika menemukan cara lain, Basir kembali mencoba. Dan gagal. Berulang-ulang, Basir mencoba beberapa metode, tetapi hasilnya tetap saja nihil.

"Pernah ada insinyur berkunjung ke rumah," Basir mengenang. "Saya kasih lihat bibit pala satu pohon lalu saya tanya dia

'ini jantan atau betina, Pak Insinyur?' Dia jawab 'ini nanti perempuan.'"

"Pas besar," lanjut Basir. "Prediksinya salah."

Suatu waktu, ketika Basir menebang seluruh pohon pala miliknya yang berkelamin jantan, dia menemukan ada pala betina yang berubah menjadi pala jantan.

Pagi itu, 19 Oktober 2023, bertempat di aula kantor Desa Kambuno, pemerintah desa melalui dukungan anggaran dana desa menggelar kegiatan pelatihan sambung pucuk dan okulasi bibit tanaman. Sebanyak lima puluh warga Desa Kambuno yang terdiri dari 40 laki-laki dan 10 perempuan terlibat sebagai peserta. Rata-rata peserta adalah petani. Pelatihan itu adalah replikasi pelatihan Agroforestri oleh program Adaptasi Perubahan Iklim di Daerah Aliran Sungai (DAS) yang diselenggarakan Konsorsium Sekolah Rakyat Petani (SRP) Payopayo - Oase pada bulan April 2022 lalu.

Pada pelatihan Agroforestri Konsorsium SRP Payopayo dan Oase, teknik sambung pucuk yang diajarkan menjadi salah satu materi yang menyita banyak perhatian para peserta, termasuk Syahrullah, kepala desa yang saat itu berkunjung ke Sekolah Lapang. Dia bahkan telah mempraktikkan teknik sambung pucuk. Bagi Syahrullah, teknik ini mudah. Dimulai dari pemotongan cabang pohon, menyambung entris, mengikat sambungan pakai plastik *wrap*, hingga menyungkup tanaman hasil sambung-

an dengan plastik.

"Ini bisa jadi solusi banyaknya pala jantan dibandingkan pala betina di kebun," kata Syahrullah. "*Insyaallah* pemerintah desa akan melakukan pelatihan seperti ini dengan menggunakan dana desa supaya bisa dipelajari masyarakat lebih luas lagi."

Bagi Syahrullah, pelatihan ini menjadi jawaban dari kesulitan yang telah dialami petani selama ini: kesulitan untuk menentukan jenis kelamin pada tanaman pala. "Kalau masyarakat sudah menguasai bagaimana melakukan teknik sambung pucuk dan okulasi dengan baik maka pemerintah desa tidak perlu lagi mengalokasikan anggaran untuk pengadaan bibit berkualitas," kata Syahrullah. "Anggaran desa akan digunakan untuk hal-hal lain yang lebih mendesak. Justru ketika sudah banyak masyarakat yang pintar, kita yang akan menjual bibit berkualitas ke desa lain."

Pelatihan berlangsung di dalam ruangan maupun di luar ruangan, menghadirkan Sahabuddin dari Anoa Farm Bantaeng sebagai pemateri. Sahabuddin juga merupakan seorang ahli untuk kegiatan pelatihan agroforestri yang didukung oleh program adaptasi perubahan iklim. Sahabuddin dalam materinya menyampaikan beberapa hal tentang perbanyakan tanaman dengan cara vegetatif seperti okulasi, cangkok, dan sambung pucuk. Menurutnya, keunggulan tanaman yang dibiakkan secara vegetatif lebih unggul menghasilkan tanaman yang bersifat

sama dengan induknya, selain tanaman yang juga lebih cepat berbuah. Sebetulnya, kata Sahabuddin, tidak ada jantan di tanaman pala, yang ada adalah jenis interseksual karena pala yang selama ini dikira jantan oleh petani juga berbuah kendati jumlahnya lebih sedikit. Sahabuddin juga banyak memberikan informasi tentang tata cara memilih entres atau bakal cabang yang akan disambung. Pemilihan batang dan entres menjadi faktor penentu keberhasilan dalam melakukan teknik sambung pucuk dan okulasi pada tanaman pala.

"Entres yang terbaik menurut pengalaman saya adalah tunas air, yaitu tunas yang tumbuh di sekitar batang pala," kata Sahabuddin.

Di Kambuno, teknik sambung pucuk yang dipromosikan oleh program adaptasi perubahan iklim seperti angin segar. Sebelum pelatihan ini, mereka tidak memiliki pengetahuan atau praktik untuk menentukan apakah tanaman pala yang mereka tanam itu kelak berkelamin betina atau jantan. Mereka seperti sedang berjudi.

Sudah banyak kasus terjadi, pala yang mereka tanam ternyata lebih banyak tumbuh yang berjenis jantan. Sementara untuk mengetahui apakah pala tersebut jantan atau betina, petani mesti menanti 4 hingga 5 tahun ketika pala itu dewasa dan pala sudah mulai belajar berbuah.

Klasifikasi jantan dan betina pada tanaman pala terjadi ka-

rena pala merupakan tumbuhan berumah dua (*Dioecious*) sehingga memiliki kemungkinan berjenis kelamin jantan atau betina. Di Desa Kambuno acap kali ditemukan dalam satu kebun, jumlah jenis pala jantan mendominasi pala betina, bertolak dengan kehendak petani yang mendambakan banyak pohon pala betina. Sebetulnya, petani tetap membutuhkan pala jantan buat penyerbukan bunga pala betina, tetapi tentu saja dalam jumlah yang jauh lebih sedikit.

Sambung pucuk mampu merekayasa jenis kelamin pala. Teknik sambung pucuk entres atau cabang sambungan yang diambil dari pala betina, kemungkinan besar akan tumbuh berjenis kelamin betina, begitu pun sebaliknya. Teknik ini memudahkan petani dalam mendesain kebun sesuai dengan keinginan mereka: pala betina lebih banyak tumbuh dan kelak menghasilkan buah lebih banyak untuk dijual. Pada sisi lain, teknik sambung pucuk juga mampu mempercepat masa tumbuh. Pertumbuhan tanaman hasil sambung pucuk cenderung lebih cepat. Secara praktik, teknik sambung pucuk lebih mudah. Petani hanya perlu tahu cara memotong, kriteria entres sambungan yang berkualitas baik, cara menyambung entres, mengikat hingga menyungkup. Alat yang digunakan juga mudah dijangkau. Silet, plastik dan atau plastik *wrap* yang saat ini sudah mudah didapatkan di desa.

Di Kambuno, Hasir salah seorang yang berhasil mempraktikkan teknik sambung pucuk pada pala miliknya. Setelah

mengikuti pelatihan agroforestri, Hasir mencoba metode sambung pucuk pada 5 pohon bibit pala miliknya. "Berhasil, Pak," katanya dengan antusias.

Pohon pala yang telah sambung pucuk itu kini dia rawat penuh tekun. Pohon pala itu saat ini sudah setinggi lutut orang dewasa. Saat ini Hasir telah berhasil menyambung sekitar 20 bibit pala.

Sementara itu, Basir memiliki 38 pohon pala dewasa yang dia tanam di dua lokasi kebun miliknya, dan telah menghasilkan duit buat menopang keluarganya. Basir punya empat anak. Semua anaknya mengenyam bangku perkuliahan. Tiga anaknya telah meraih gelar sarjana. Anak bungsunya saat ini tengah menempuh kuliah semester tujuh, di jurusan seni Universitas Negeri Makassar. Berkat pala.

Ketika memanen, para petani di Kambuno, selalu menyisihkan hasil panen buat keperluan rumah tangga. Menurut Marhumi seorang perempuan petani pala, selain berguna sebagai rempah dan campuran aneka penganan, pala juga bermanfaat sebagai obat herbal. Marhumi seringkali menjadikan pala sebagai obat, ketika dia maupun anggota keluarganya sakit gigi, hingga perut kembung. Pala juga dapat menyembuhkan efek dari gigitan serangga dan dapat menurunkan demam. Marhumi juga acap kali membuat ramuan dari serbuk pala yang dicampur dengan minyak kelapa untuk obat oles. Untuk obat dalam,

Marhumi menghaluskan pala lalu menyeduhnya dengan air hangat untuk diminum.

Selain fungsi ekonomi, pala punya khasiat banyak buat mengobati penyakit. Kandungan minyak *Atsiri* pada pala mampu memberikan efek anti peradangan dan nyeri. Ekstrak pala juga mampu membunuh bakteri penyebab infeksi kulit, saluran kemih, dan pernapasan. Selain itu pala juga memiliki sifat anti jamur, depresi, hingga kanker.

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Ketika panen raya berlangsung, satu pohon dewasa dapat menghasilkan buah rata-rata 60 kilogram. Sebagian besar hasil panen pala dijual para petani kepada pengepul di desa. Harga jual buah pala tinggi. Pada Agustus 2023, harga jual pala mencapai Rp45 ribu hingga Rp50 ribu per kilogram. Sedang harga jual fuli menyentuh harga Rp230 ribu per kilogram. Seperti yang dia bilang, panen pala tidak begitu sulit. Untuk memetik buah, Sudirman hanya perlu memanjat dengan atau tanpa menapaki tangga dan tidak sesulit memanen cengkih. Bahkan, kata Sudirman, jika petani merasa malas untuk memanjat atau menjolok, mereka hanya menunggu buah pala yang matang copot dari pohon. Menurut Sudirman, buah yang lepas dari pohon itu baik untuk disemai dan dijadikan bibit.

Setelah memetik buah, Sudirman mengumpulkan tumpukan pala itu sebelum memisahkan kulit, daging, fuli (selaput biji

yang berwarna merah) dari biji. "Jadi sudah memang dipisah kulit merah dan bijinya baru dibawa pulang ke rumah."

Setelah proses pemanenan di kebun, Sudirman menjemur pala miliknya di ambang rumah, selama tiga hari di bawah panggangan terik matahari. Ketika mengering, pala lekas dipasok ke rumah pengepul untuk dijual. "Di sini, pengepul juga sudah banyak. Tidak perlu lagi jauh-jauh dibawa ke pasar Tanete."

Kini, dari hasil pala yang tumbuh dan metode semai yang dia banggakan, Sudirman bisa membiayai pendidikan anak semata wayangnya, Ebi, hingga lulus kuliah di salah satu Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, tahun 2020 lalu. **[]**

Profil Penulis

Muhammad Harisah, lahir di Bulukumba, 24 Desember 1985. Pernah berkecimpung di isu-isu agraria, lingkungan hidup, dan perubahan iklim. Sehari-hari bekerja sebagai tukang kebun di Kebun Bersama, Bulukumba.

Bukan Milik Kita

Saenal

Kisah para petani penggarap menghadapi tuntutan hidup dan Passolo.

Ketika lahan di kampung begitu sempit hanya untuk bertani dan lapangan kerja kian menyempit, sementara tuntutan hidup butuh duit banyak, maka pilihan yang tersisa hanya satu: menjual jasa ke orang yang lebih 'beruntung'.

Mahmuddin tak punya apa-apa selain sepetak kecil lahan yang ditumbuhi kelapa. Tetapi dia tahu cara bertani dan menggarap sebuah lahan. Mahmuddin, seorang ayah dua anak berusia 42 tahun. Hidup di Jojjolo, sebuah desa seluas 10 ribu hektare, bagian selatan Bulukumba. Secara administrasi Desa

Jojjolo masuk bagian Kecamatan Bulukumpa, bertetangga dengan industri perkebunan karet raksasa milik PT London Sumatra Tbk., anak usaha Salim Group.

Tahun 2000, Mahmuddin menikah dan memulai kehidupan barunya dengan nyaris tanpa simpanan. Seorang Tante yang tahu kondisinya, lalu meminta Mahmuddin buat menggarap sawah miliknya. Dan Mahmuddin, tentu saja setuju. Syaratnya: separuh hasil panen dibagi dua. Kemudian biaya produksi dari benih hingga pupuk jadi tanggungan pemilik sawah dan Mahmuddin hanya menanggung biaya untuk membeli racun, menyiapkan perkakas, dan tentu saja ketekunan.

Bertahun-tahun Mahmuddin hidup dari jatah pembagiannya: sebagian besar beras jadi simpanan untuk konsumsi keluarga selama empat bulan dan menjual sebagian kecil sisanya. Semula itu cukup, tetapi biaya hidup kian tinggi. Pada tahun 2008, anak pertamanya lahir. Jadi, Mahmuddin tak seharusnya lagi memangku kehidupannya hanya pada sawah itu saja.

Maka ketika Mahmuddin usai menanam padi, Mahmuddin harus berangkat ke Masamba, sebuah daerah di Luwu Utara, 400 kilometer dari Jojjolo. Di Masamba, Mahmuddin—untuk kesekian kali—menjual jasanya sebagai buruh panen kepada siapa pun yang membutuhkannya dan akan pulang beberapa bulan kemudian dengan segepok duit.

"Itu saja harus dicukup-cukupkan," kata Mahmuddin.

Di Jojjolo, Mahmuddin susah payah mencari sumber pendapatan lain. Dia tak punya modal untuk berdagang dan pengetahuannya hanya soal bertani. Pada tahun 2008, Mahmuddin membuat keputusan penting dalam hidupnya: berlabuh ke Pulau Kalimantan untuk bekerja sebagai buruh panen di sebuah perusahaan sawit.

Di negeri rantau, Mahmuddin banting tulang sepanjang hari. Pagi hingga suntuk sore, Mahmuddin akan menyelusuri petak-petak kebun sawit milik perusahaan dan membawa keluar buah sawit hasil panennya. Pada hari perusahaan mengupahnya, Mahmuddin mengirim sebagian besar upahnya ke kampung, agar kebutuhan istri dan seorang anaknya cukup. Selama delapan bulan, Mahmuddin menekuni kehidupan rantaunya.

Kembali ke kampung, Mahmuddin melanjutkan kehidupannya, tetapi biaya hidup terus naik dan seperti langit, Mahmuddin tak mampu menggapainya. Pada tahun 2015, Mahmuddin menggarap dua sawah milik sepupunya, di dua tempat berbeda dan kebun karet yang juga milik sepupunya. Syaratnya sama: bagi hasil.

Sejak itu, hari Mahmuddin terbelah menjadi dua jadwal untuk dua tempat: Pagi hingga siang Mahmuddin mengurus sawah dan pada Sore Mahmuddin ke kebun karet buat menyadap getah.

Namun lagi-lagi, pendapatannya tidak cukup. Dari bagi ha-

sil sadap karet, Mahmuddin hanya mengantongi pendapatan Rp300 ribu hingga Rp500 ribu dalam sebulan.

Tahun 2019, setahun setelah anak keduanya lahir, Mahmuddin kembali merantau ke ujung timur Indonesia: Papua. Di sana dia jadi buruh bangunan selama lima bulan, sebelum akhirnya kembali ke Jojjolo, dan menetap hingga hari ini. Hidup sebagai petani penggarap tulen.

Tiga puluh satu ribu penduduk Bulukumba hidup di bawah garis kemiskinan, menurut Badan Pusat Statistik Bulukumba pada 2022. Dengan wajah bentang alam pesisir dan dataran tinggi yang memukau, per satu keluarga yang hidup di bawah garis kemiskinan itu setidaknya membutuhkan tiga ratus ribu rupiah setiap bulan.

Di desa-desa, untuk mencapai pendapatan itu butuh kerja keras dan bekerja sebagai petani penggarap menjadi satu-satunya pilihan bagi orang-orang macam Mahmuddin. Yang punya lahan sempit. Yang tak punya lahan sama sekali.

Abdul Rahman, Kepala Dusun Parukku Desa Malleleng (Desa yang juga bagian wilayah adat Kajang), melihat penyebab utama Masyarakat Adat Kajang beralih menjadi petani penggarap, salah satunya—dan itulah alasan umum—adalah kurangnya mata pencaharian di desa, selain menurunnya produksi karena anomali cuaca.

"Sehingga mereka lebih memilih menjadi petani penggarap,"

kata Rahman.

Tak Sekadar Bertahan Hidup

Agus sebetulnya punya sebidang lahan, tapi itu sempit dan tidak menguntungkan. Pendapatannya hanya cukup untuk menutupi kebutuhan keluarganya, saban bulan.

Tetapi ada beban lain yang membayangi persoalan ekonomi Agus. Itu ketika keluarganya punya hajatan. Agus setidaknya punya simpanan duit untuk *passolo*: sumbangan harta kepada keluarga yang menggelar hajatan. Dan sumbangan itu bisa mencapai berjuta-juta rupiah.

Agus tahu apa yang dia miliki tak bakal cukup, karena itu dia bersiasat. Pada Tahun 2010, Agus membagi waktu. Ketika musim kemarau, Agus menyeberang ke Sulawesi Tenggara bekerja sebagai buruh tani di lahan kerabatnya. "Sebenarnya menjadi petani penggarap cukup kalau untuk kebutuhan sehari-hari," kata Agus kepada saya.

"Tetapi ada beberapa tuntutan, seperti biaya ritual adat yang harus dilaksanakan."

Agus seorang ayah satu anak berusia 49 tahun, bertempat tinggal di Desa Tanah Towa, salah satu wilayah adat Kajang. Bagi Masyarakat Adat Kajang, menunaikan *passolo* itu wajib, ketika mengikuti sebuah ritual untuk merayakan setiap siklus hidup: Kelahiran, pernikahan, kematian. Semula, *passolo* meri-

ngankan, tetapi beberapa warga yang saya temui mengaku bahwa itu justru semakin memberatkan.

Passolo berasal dari sumbangan keluarga, kerabat, dan tetangga, kepada si empu hajatan ritual. *Passolo* berupa uang atau beras. Jika itu uang, laki-laki yang akan menyampaikannya sedangkan beras jadi tugas perempuan.

Sebetulnya, tak ada acuan besaran *passolo*, kendati besarannya tergantung pada hubungan kedekatan. Katakanlah, jika saudara Anda menikah, maka *passolo* yang Anda sumbangkan pastilah juga tinggi.

Pada tahun 2013, Jumarlin seorang warga Pattiroang, pernah mendapatkan *passolo* mencapai Rp170 juta. Dengan duit sebanyak itu, Jumarlin membeli tanah di dua lokasi. "Kalau kita tidak beli tanah dan uang itu cuman disimpan saja maka kita akan rugi," kata Jumarlin.

"Kenapa beli tanah?" saya bertanya.

"Setiap tahun harga tanah semakin mahal, makanya saya beli tanah sebagai investasi. Tanah saya misalnya, dulu saya beli Rp85 juta, sekarang harganya itu Rp150 juta. Pernah ada yang tawar, tapi saya tolak."

Apa yang dilakukan Jumarlin, katanya adalah hal jamak. Mereka yang punya hajatan dan mendapat *passolo* uang yang banyak, akan membeli lahan di luar desa atau kecamatan. Pemilihan lokasi lahan ini bukan tanpa tujuan: Di desa, tak lagi ada

lahan yang tersisa.

Namun, ada beban melelahkan di balik *passolo* ini. Masyarakat setempat menganggap *passolo* sebuah utang, yang akan dibalas di kemudian hari ketika si pemberi menggelar hajatan. Tak banyak akhirnya, orang-orang yang baru saja melalui prosesi nikahan, akan meninggalkan kampung dan merantau sebagai buruh tani demi mengumpulkan tabungan. Semata-mata demi mengembalikan jumlah *passolo* yang diberikan padanya saat menikah. Ketika duit yang mereka kumpulkan sudah cukup, mereka kembali ke desa.

Tetapi, banyak orang-orang yang terpaksa menggadaikan sawahnya untuk membalas *passolo*. Musababnya, mereka tidak menginvestasikan *passolo* yang dia terima ke sebidang tanah, seperti Jumarlin, atau rumah.

"Orang yang membeli kendaraan dari hasil *passolo*-nya biasanya jadi bahan gosip sama orang yang ada di desanya," kata Jumarlin.

"Orang seperti itu, dianggap tidak memikirkan cara untuk mengembalikan *passolo*."

Di Kajang, *passolo* tertinggi adalah untuk hajatan pernikahan, sebab dipandang sebagai peristiwa penting dalam kehidupan manusia. Pernikahan tak hanya menyangkut antara mempelai laki-laki dan perempuan. Tetapi melibatkan saudara-saudara dan keluarga. Masyarakat setempat memandang pernikahan

sebagai suatu rangkaian sakral. Di Kajang, rangkaian ritual pernikahan begitu panjang dan itu membutuhkan biaya besar. Di situlah *passolo* berperan supaya rangkaian itu berjalan. Umumnya, *passolo* dari keluarga paling sedikit Rp1 juta. Paling banyak? Ratusan juta!

Amiruddin, warga lain yang saya temui, menganggap *passolo* tak ubahnya warisan atau tabungan yang membuat orang-orang meninggalkan kampung. Ritual yang memerlukan *passolo* besar selain pernikahan, kata Amiruddin adalah ritual kematian.

Anak Amiruddin, Arif kini telah berpindah tempat di luar desa. "Alasannya untuk menghindari *passolo* itu."

Amiruddin tahu fenomena ini dan dia sadar. Karena itulah, ketika menggelar hajatan, Amiruddin bersiasat: Mengimbau sanak keluarga dan kerabatnya agar tidak usah datang dengan membawa *passolo* terlalu banyak. Saat putranya, Arif menikah, Amiruddin membatasi jumlah uang *passolo* sampai Rp5 juta.

"Saya pikir bagaimana cara saya nanti kembalikan uang *passolo*," Amiruddin bercerita.

"Menurut saya, orang yang setelah melakukan acara adat biasanya pergi merantau, dan saya tidak mau keluarga saya harus pergi merantau karena hanya ingin mengembalikan uang *passolo*."

Istri Amiruddin menimpali pembicaraan Amiruddin. "Saya waktu nikahkan Arif, ada yang bertanya ke saya. 'Apakah persi-

apan nikahannya sudah cukup?'" kenangnya.

"Saya jawab iya sudah cukup. Cukup uang *panai'*-nya anakku. Jadi tidak usah terlalu banyak *passolo*, karena akan jadi beban. Siapa tahu nanti kamu nikahkan juga anakmu, sementara saya tidak ada uang, di mana nanti saya mau ambil uang."

Seingat Jumarlin, gelombang buruh tani di Kajang bermula pada Tahun 1980-an. Dari amatan Jumarlin, ada dua jenis buruh tani yang mendominasi di Kajang: Buruh panen tebu dan sawah.

"Penyebab utama orang Kajang merantau itu apa?" kata Jumarlin. "Alasannya hanya untuk mengembalikan uang *passolo*."

Tak Ada Pilihan Lain, Hidup Harus Berjalan

Di Desa Jojjolo, kehidupan petani penggarap seperti umumnya para petani penggarap di wilayah lain. Hari-hari mereka dimulai dengan berbagai persiapan. Menyiapkan alat kerja macam cangkul, pisau, *pacekung* (alat mengupas kulit pohon karet), hingga bekal makan. Tetapi, perempuan petani penggarap memulai harinya lebih pagi. Sebelum bertolak ke sawah, mereka mengurus semua kebutuhan keluarganya.

Pekerjaan harian para petani penggarap bergantung pada jenis tanaman yang mereka tanam pada satu musim tanam.

Pada suatu siang November 2023, saya mengunjungi rumah

Mahmuddin. Sebuah rumah batu beratap seng dengan tembok yang menjulang tanpa tutupan semen dan hanya menampakkan batu bata. Di ambang pintu saya mendongak masuk dan memanggil nama Mahmuddin berulang kali. Dari dalam istrinya menyahut. "Lagi salat bapak," katanya. Dia mempersilakan saya masuk. Saya duduk di ruang tamu dengan lantai polos yang dilapisi gelaran tikar hijau. Beberapa menit berselang, Mahmuddin muncul dengan senyuman.

Sekarang, hari-hari Mahmuddin hanya tentang kerja di sawah dan kebun—yang bukan miliknya. Pukul 06.00, Mahmuddin sudah siap dengan pakaian lengkap, membawa pisau dan *pacekung*. Satu jam berikutnya, Mahmuddin sudah berada di salah satu kebun karet. Dia segera memanen seluruh getah panen yang telah tertampung sebelum berpindah ke kebun satu lagi.

Pukul 09.00, Mahmuddin pulang ke rumah untuk menyimpan *pacekung* dan berkilo-kilo getah karet, lalu masuk ke ruangan lain untuk mengambil cangkul, sebelum berjalan menuju sawah. Di sawah, Mahmuddin mengurus penyemaian benih padi. Saat kami berjumpa, Mahmuddin menyemai 30 liter benih padi. Sebelum hari memanas, Mahmuddin mencangkul sawah hingga matahari panas memanggang kulitnya.

Pukul 11.00, Mahmuddin membuat lubang tempat air irigasi masuk ke sawahnya, mengairi benih-benih itu. Sejam ke-

mudian, matahari tegak di atas kepala Mahmuddin. Itu saatnya Mahmuddin pulang. Menyantap makan siang dan beristirahat seadanya.

Pukul 14.00 Mahmuddin kembali ke sawah, melanjutkan pekerjaan yang sempat tertunda dan kembali pulang pada pukul 17.00. "Itu untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sehari-hari. Pendidikan, kesehatan, dan membalas *passolo* (sumbangan)," kata Mahmuddin.

Di Jojjolo, Mahmuddin sadar. "Semua yang saya lakukan ternyata tidak cukup," kata Mahmuddin pada saya. "Sekarang saya punya dua anak. Butuh biaya. Barang-barang juga tambah mahal."

"Ternyata... Tidak cukup." []

Profil Penulis

Saenal, bekerja sebagai petani dan peternak, lahir di Bantaeng. Pada 2017, Saenal mulai kuliah di Institut Agama Islam Jenepento dan mengambil jurusan Pendidikan Agama Islam selama empat tahun. Di tahun yang sama, tepatnya pada tahun 2017 Saenal mulai bergabung di Perkumpulan Organisasi aksi Sosial dan Ekologi (OASE).

Saenal kemudian aktif mengikuti kegiatan-kegiatan yang dilaksanakan oleh OASE seperti belajar riset mengorganisir pemuda desa dan perkotaan. Pada tahun 2021 Saenal memutuskan untuk pindah kampus di Universitas Terbuka dan mengambil jurusan agribisnis bidang minat penyuluhan dan komunikasi peternakan hingga saat ini.

Pada tahun 2022 Saenal, terlibat aktif menjadi *volunteer* di Desa Rompegading Kabupaten Maros yang di Laksanakan oleh SRP Payopayo. Pada tahun 2023 bergabung di Project adaptasi perubahaan iklim melalu tata kelola daerah aliran sungai terpadu yang berkelanjutan pada masyarakat adat ammatoa kajang melalui pendanaan adaptation Fund (AF), yang dikerjakan oleh SRP Payopayo – Oase, yang didukung oleh Kemitraan. Saat ini mendampingi lima Kampung di Kabupaten Berau, Kalimantan Timur dalam penyusunan Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Kampung (RPJMK), Peraturan Kampung (Perkam) dan melakukan pemetaan.

Pakkampas: Pekerjaan yang Mengantar Anak Muda Pergi dari Pertanian

Nurdin

Ada karena gengsi, ada karena tak punya lahan, ada pula karena ingin bekerja sambil liburan. Pakkampas membawa anak muda ini pergi dari pertanian.

Ketika ayahnya wafat 5 tahun lalu, seluruh lahan keluarga berpindah ke Aspar, seorang pemuda Pantama, sebuah desa pesisir di Bulukumba. Dia bertanggung jawab penuh untuk seluruh tanaman yang tumbuh menjulang di kebun-kebun itu.

"Ada delapan kebun, kalau di sini ada tujuh kebun. Tanamannya kakao dan kelapa, kadang juga ditanami jagung di selasela kelapa," kata Aspar pada saya.

Dia melempar telunjuk ke arah belakang, dekat telinganya. "Satunya lagi di Sulawesi Tenggara ada kebun cengkih, diurus

sama orang di sana."

Saya menemui Aspar di kolong rumahnya, pada September 2023. Aspar kini tak lagi begitu mengurus kebun-kebun warisannya, seperti pada Maret lalu. Sekarang, Aspar menjadi sopir *kampas*, mengikuti ajakan pamannya.

Aspar sebenarnya orang yang tekun mengurus kebun. Ia mampu mengurus delapan kebun miliknya sejak 2015, tanpa sekalipun mengeluh. Tanpa pernah gagal.

Aspar seorang pemuda yang nyentrik. Jika pekebun lain mengenakan pakaian yang penuh bercak-bercak noda, Aspar justru berpakaian bersih dan rambutnya selalu mengkilap diolesi *pomade*, ketika masuk ke kebun. Di Pantama, tempatnya lahir, Aspar dikenal sebagai pembuat kopra.

Saat tanaman di kebun miliknya memasuki masa panen, Aspar menjadi orang tersibuk. Ia akan menghabiskan hari-harinya di dalam kebun bersama tenaga pembantu yang ia panggil. Orang-orang itu akan memanjat dan 'memetik' kelapa, sementara Aspar menunggu di bawah dan mengumpulkan kelapa-kelapa yang jatuh. Aktivitas panen kelapa ini akan berlangsung selama dua hari, sebelum memprosesnya jadi kopra

Untuk proses pembuatan kopra—dari membelah, mengasapi, dan mencungkil daging kelapa—Aspar mengutamakan memanggil kawan-kawannya untuk datang membantu. Pilihan Aspar bukan tanpa alasan. Setelah lulus dari Sekolah Menengah

Atas (SMA), Aspar tidak melanjutkan sekolah tinggi sementara kawan-kawannya meninggalkan kampung untuk berkuliah atau bekerja. Maka, memanggil kawan-kawannya adalah cara Aspar agar tetap dekat dengan kawannya, dan merawat pertemanan mereka selama ini.

"Biar kalau di *tongkrongan* juga," kata Aspar. "Obrolan kita tetap *nyambung*. Karena saya tahu cerita anak *kuliahan* dan cerita teman-teman yang sudah bekerja di luar kampung."

Aspar lahir di Desa Pantama, bagian administrasi Kecamatan Kajang. Pantama bertetangga dengan Desa Lolisang, berbatasan langsung dengan Kabupaten Sinjai.

Jika berdiri dari Mattoanging, desa terdekat yang berada di dataran lebih tinggi, dua desa itu akan menampakkan hamparan kebun dengan rumah-rumah yang berjajar mengikuti jalan. Tanaman yang tampak dominan adalah kelapa. Meski dekat dengan laut, warga di dua desa itu justru banyak menggantungkan hidup pada sektor pertanian. Saat ini, warga lagi gandrung menanam kelapa hibrida dan kakao, dua tanaman yang datang besar-besaran pada 1980-an, melalui salah satu program pemerintah.

"Kelapa paling banyak," kata Sembang, seorang petani di Lolisang berusia 50 tahun. "Saya ingat sekali waktu itu, Kepala Desa pertama Lolisang sama orang dari Bulukumba bagi-bagi bibit kelapa ke masyarakat. Banyak orang tanam karena kita di-

gaji kalau menanam. 500 rupiah per pohon."

Saya menemui Sembang di samping kandang ternak miliknya, ketika dia sedang mengisi palung makan ternaknya dengan rumput odot. "Orang Kajang itu hanya pertanian saja yang diandalkan untuk hidup," katanya.

"Begitu memang nenek moyang kita dari dulu."

Sebab tanah adalah kehidupan, sejak dulu Orang Kajang menggantung hidup pada apa yang dihasilkan tanahnya. Mereka menanam padi dan jagung untuk keperluan rumah tangganya dan keperluan untuk dibawa ke hajatan kerabat. Dalam setahun, padi dan jagung masing-masing panen sekali. Dan hasilnya cukup untuk menyekolahkan anak dan jadi simpanan di rumah hingga musim tanam berikutnya mulai.

Namun, belakangan pertanian tak lagi mampu memikat hati orang muda. Seperti Aspar, mereka beralih ke profesi yang lain.

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Dalam keluarga, kehadiran anak laki-laki memudahkan pekerjaan bertani. Ketika anak-anak itu menginjak usia belasan tahun, orang tua akan mengenalkan kepada mereka bagaimana bekerja di kebun hingga mengurus ternak. Dan ketika mereka mulai akrab, mereka membantu orang tua bekerja di kebun dan mengurus ternak ketika pulang sekolah, setidaknya hingga mereka lulus dari SMA.

Tetapi, setelah lulus sekolah, kebanyakan anak muda Ka-

jang meninggalkan kampung, demi berkuliah atau merantau ke Kalimantan, Morowali, hingga Malaysia, menjadi pekerja tambang, buruh sawit, dan buruh bangunan. Mereka yang memilih menetap, melanjutkan kerja mereka di kebun atau mengurus ternak, atau bahkan tak melakukan apa-apa.

Ketika saya berkunjung di Kajang, saya jarang menjumpai orang muda yang beraktivitas di lahan-lahan pertanian. Suparman, petani berusia 50 tahun di Desa Lolisang heran. "Tidak ku tahu itu anak-anak sekarang, tidak ada yang mau kerja kebun," keluhnya.

"Itu adikmu, Wawan, padahal banyak lahan yang bisa dia kerja. Ada lahan neneknya yang sekarang saya kerja juga. Ada juga tujuh ekor sapi, tapi tidak mau dia kerja."

Saat kami berjumpa, hari telah malam. Suparman membungkus separuh badannya dengan sarung. Pada saya, Suparman mengenang masa kecilnya dengan membandingkan usaha anaknya yang sekarang.

"Saya dulu itu terpaksa putus sekolah karena harus bantu orang tua mengurus kebun. Hanya saya yang tidak selesai sekolah dasarnya," kenang Suparman.

"Dari hasil bertani itulah saya bantu biaya sekolah adik-adik saya sampai SMA."

Wawan, anak yang Suparman maksud, enggan bekerja di kebun. Suparman kesal, tapi dia ingin putranya itu bisa mandiri.

Jadi, Suparman menjual dua sapi miliknya, menggabungkannya dengan tabungan keluarga dan membelikan Wawan sebuah mobil *MPV*. Harapannya, Wawan bisa punya pendapatan dari mobil itu.

Suparman mau Wawan menggunakan mobil itu untuk angkutan umum penumpang jalur Makassar-Bulukumba. Saat ini, tarif satu kali jalan mencapai Rp150 ribu per orang. Jadi menurut Suparman, niatnya masuk akal.

Niat Suparman disambut istrinya dengan persetujuan. "Iya belikan saja mobil supaya pergi jadi sopir," Suparman mengulang ungkapan istrinya. "Daripada tinggal saja di rumah main *HP*."

Saya menemui beberapa anak muda di Kajang. Dan tak sedikit yang mengaku tak ingin jadi petani. Ada banyak alasan. *Pertama*, mereka tak ingin bertani jika orang tua mereka masih mengatur perlakuan bertani. Mereka ingin punya kuasa atas jenis tanaman, perlakuan, hingga pada tahap memasarkan hasil panennya.

Kedua, anak muda tidak ingin bertani karena hasil pertanian tidak lagi menjanjikan. Seringnya gagal panen membuat mereka merasa rugi: Energi dan tenaga yang mereka curahkan sudah terlalu besar sementara hasilnya hanya sedikit atau bahkan tak ada sama sekali.

Ketiga, karena tidak mempunyai tanah. Anak muda yang

mempunyai alasan ini berasal dari orang tua yang tidak mempunyai tanah.

Keempat, karena tidak nyaman. Mereka merasa tidak nyaman bekerja di kebun. "Banyak nyamuk. Ini badan bentol-bentol terus gatal," kata seorang anak muda pada saya.

"Panas juga," kata pemuda yang lain. "Saya takut kulit saya bisa hitam. Saya malu ketemu perempuan."

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"Saya tidak pernah membantu orang tua bertani karena kami tidak mempunyai lahan untuk digarap atau dikelola," kata Rifaldi pada saya. "Tetapi waktu SMA saya sering membantu teman saya memanen kelapa di kebunnya."

Rifaldi seorang pemuda Lolisang, berusia 18 tahun. Rifaldi saat ini ikut dengan seorang kawannya bekerja sebagai *pakkampas*. Masyarakat setempat menyebut orang-orang macam Rifaldi sebagai *pakkampas*, sebuah pekerjaan yang menjajakan segala barang dagangan ke berbagai daerah menggunakan kendaraan roda empat: mobil bak terbuka ataupun tertutup.

Rifaldi bekerja untuk Aco, seorang pengusaha di Lolisang. Rifaldi kadang jadi sopir bergantian dengan kawannya. Rifaldi bertugas membawa barang dagangan ke tangan langganannya di Luwu Timur hingga Kendari, pusat kota Sulawesi Tenggara. Barang-barang yang jadi bawaan Rifaldi adalah kebutuhan dasar yang akan dijual kembali oleh warung milik langganannya.

"Saya lebih memilih bekerja ke luar desa karena tidak punya sesuatu untuk dikerjakan di sini," kata Rifaldi. "Lebih baik saya ikut teman kerja di luar yang pendapatannya lumayan untuk menghidupi dan memenuhi kebutuhan saya."

Bagi Rifaldi, bekerja di desa atau di luar desa tidak begitu berbeda. "Karena pasti setiap pekerjaan punya kesulitan masing-masing," katanya.

"Apa enaknya kerja *kampas*?"

"Enaknya kerja *kampas* ini tidak terlalu berat, tapi pendapatan yang didapat lumayan besar."

Sebetulnya, ada *niatan* besar dalam relung hati Rifaldi. Untuk sementara dia bekerja sambil menabung, hingga kelak cukup untuk memulai bertani. Beli sebidang tanah dan segala keperluan bertani. Ketika anak muda yang saya temui ragu dengan masa depan bertani, Rifaldi tidak.

"Menurut saya bertani jika ditekuni dan konsisten dalam mengerjakannya hasil yang didapat sangat bagus," katanya. "Dan menjamin masa depan saya."

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Pakkampas kini seperti kerjaan primadona bagi anak-anak muda di Kajang. Cerita ini bermula pada tahun 2021, setahun setelah pandemi Covid-19 merontokkan pendapatan usaha bisnis.

Di tahun itu, mobil *kampas* hanya ada sekitar 10 mobil. *Pak-*

kampas awalnya menggunakan mobil bak terbuka, memuat barang dagangan yang mereka jajakan keliling. Keberadaan pos jaga yang menagih retribusi di setiap daerah yang mereka lalui, mendorong mereka mengganti mobil bak tertutup.

Maring, kelahiran Lolisang 1970-an, *pakkampas* pertama di Kajang. Ia kini punya tiga mobil; dua bak tertutup dan satu mobil dengan bak terbuka, mobil pertamanya saat memulai jadi *pakkampas*.

"Waktu itu, saya jual kebunku Rp65 juta," kata Maring. "Kupakai beli mobilnya sepupu Rp35 juta. Sisanya ku pakai modal beli barang grosir di Makassar."

Pengalaman pertama Maring adalah perjalanan sejauh 350 kilometer dari kampungnya menuju Palopo, sebuah kota di utara Sulawesi Selatan, via Sinjai. Maring dapat pembeli pertama di Sinjai, kabupaten tetangga tak jauh dari kampungnya. Berikutnya, Maring mulai menyasar kios-kios yang menurutnya besar secara bangunan dan modal. Tiap daerah yang dia lalui, dia singgahi untuk menawarkan dagangannya. Dan hanya tiga hari dagangannya habis terjual.

Tiga kali *makkampas*[1] seorang diri, Maring lalu mengajak sepupunya untuk ikut. Di hadapan sepupunya, Maring merayu, bahwa *makkampas* bisa mendapat keuntungan hingga belasan juta rupiah. Dan itu baru tiga kali. Mendengar rayuan Rifaldi,

1 Kata kerja dari *Pakkampas*

sepupunya terpikat, setuju ikut usaha dagang *kampas*.

Cerita sukses Maring beredar ke telinga orang-orang. Hanya di tahun 2021 itu saja, di Lolisang mobil *kampas* bertambah banyak. Ada beberapa di Pantama, Mattoanging, dan Possi Tanah. Hingga kini sudah ada sekitar ratusan mobil *kampas* barang campuran di Kajang. Terbanyak di Lolisang, Pantama, Mattoanging, dan Possi Tanah. Dari penuturan warga setempat, di tiap desa sedikitnya ada sekitar 50 hingga 60-an mobil.

Dan dalam kurun dua tahun saja, *pakkampas* menjadi kerjaan yang dominan. Tetapi ledakan profesi ini didukung dengan akses kredit bank yang mudah. Mengantongi sertifikat tanah memudahkan orang buat mengakses kredit bank. Seseorang yang berani mengagunkan surat kepemilikan tanah miliknya kepada bank dapat memperoleh Kredit Usaha Rakyat BRI[2] Rp150 juta. Mereka mengangsur kredit itu Rp3.250.000 tiap bulannya, selama 60 bulan.

Pinjaman itu kemudian mereka gunakan buat membeli mobil bekas jenis *Sigra* atau *Avanza* yang harganya Rp75 juta hingga Rp100 juta. Sisa uang itu, mereka gunakan sebagai modal usaha awal, untuk beli barang campuran di Kota Makassar dan untuk menutupi biaya operasional perjalanan demi mencapai pelanggan.

Rerky Jaya, seorang pemuda di Kajang yang menjalani profesi

2 Bank Rakyat Indonesia, salah satu bank milik Negara

pakkampas. Dia baru memulai kerjaan ini sejak lima bulan lalu. Bagi Rerky, *makkampas* itu menyenangkan. Rerky bisa dapat kawan baru dan bergabung ke sebuah komunitas *pakkampas* bernama *Dompea*. Melalui komunitas ini, mereka berbagi informasi dan membangun kesetiaan dan solidaritas yang kuat.

"Kalau ada teman yang mobilnya mogok di jalan, maka teman paling dekat yang tahu di grup akan datang," kata Rerky kepada saya.

"Terus, bisa kita memilih tempat bermalam yang sama kalau ada yang rutenya sama. Dan informasi grosiran murah dan informasi kemudahan membeli mobil."

Selain bank, ada pembiayaan yang memberi kemudahan untuk membeli mobil. Bagi mereka yang ingin memulai jadi *pakkampas*, mereka banyak membeli mobil lewat pembiayaan. Pembiayaan menawarkan uang muka rendah kepada mereka. Dengan duit Rp2 jutaan mereka sudah bisa membawa pulang sebuah mobil.

Beberapa pembiayaan yang memiliki banyak pelanggan di Kajang antara lain: *ACC Finance, Adira Finance, MUT, MTF, Indo Mobil* dan *Wom Finance*. Trisura, seorang surveyor *ACC Finance* mengakui pembelian mobil untuk usaha *kampas* di Kajang sangat pesat dalam kurun tahun 2022 dan 2023. "Sejak pertengahan 2022, saya sering sekali survei pelanggan di Kajang. Setiap bulan itu bisa sampai tiga mobil yang keluar."

Lewat fasilitas pembiayaan secara kredit, orang tidak lagi perlu menunggu untuk segera mempunyai mobil untuk usaha *kampas*. Keberadaan pembiayaan ini pula jadi satu faktor meledaknya jumlah *pakkampas* di Kajang.

Berdasarkan informasi *surveyor ACC Finance* Makassar, di Bulukumba, permintaan dari Kecamatan Kajang sungguh banyak. "Saya hampir setiap bulan ke Kajang," kata Trisura. "Paling banyak itu permintaan mobil *pick up*, *Avanza*, sama *Sigra*."

Ketika saya berkendara melewati Desa Lolisang, Pantama, dan Possi Tanah, saya kadang melihat rumah dengan tiga atau empat mobil yang terparkir.

"Ada *mi* kayaknya 60 mobil *kampas* di sini, yang digunakan *makkampas*," kata Syahrir, Kepala Dusun di Lolisang.

***

Aspar senang *makkampas*. Mudah dan hanya duduk di atas mobil. Ketika sampai di tujuan, kerjaan Aspar hanya membongkar-susun barang. Seperti Aspar, anak muda *pakkampas* merasa senang, karena lewat kerjaan ini mereka bisa mendatangi daerah-daerah dengan pemandangan menawan di daerah lain. Mereka terhibur, sebab mereka tak pernah membayangkan menginjakkan kaki di kota selain Makassar, dan kini mereka melihat langsung kota-kota di bagian timur Sulawesi Selatan.

Bagi Aspar, *makkampas* tak ubahnya seperti *healing*[3], seperti yang sedang ramai digandrungi anak muda. Aspar juga merasa bangga dengan mobil *MPV* miliknya yang telah dia modifikasi. Aspar memamerkan mobilnya di *Instagram* atau status *WhatsApp*. Aspar yang cengar-cengir sambil menyisir rambutnya dengan tangan berkata; "enak pergi *makkampas*, Kak."

"Saya seperti sedang *healing* tapi bisa menghasilkan, terus tidak setengah mati kerjanya."

Aspar yang semula hanya kernet, kini telah jadi supir tetap dan memiliki kernet sendiri. Aspar paling senang ketika dia ke daerah yang banyak tempat-tempat wisata alam, seperti Toraja, Malili, dan Kendari. Bila melalui wisata itu, Aspar dan kawannya akan menyempatkan waktu berswafoto sebelum melanjutkan perjalanannya.

Saat kami berjumpa, kami berbincang tentang peternakan kambing dan usaha pertanian yang sedang dia lakoni. Dia juga kadang menyebut aktivitas berkebun yang kadang-kadang dia lakukan. Mengecek lahan, merawat tanaman, panen atau sekadar komunikasi dengan orang yang dia percaya mengurus kebun keluarganya di Sulawesi Tenggara.

Dari pengalaman hidup yang menempanya, dia dengan yakin menyampaikan pada saya bahwa dia akan tetap bertani, "karena itu jiwa saya."

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3 Istilah yang belakangan jamak digunakan untuk aktivitas liburan.

"Apalagi saya sekarang yang tulang punggung keluarga."

Saya dan Aspar cukup akrab. Dia kadang memberi kabar tentang panen di kebunnya atau aktivitas kelompok ternak kambing, atau hanya sekadar mengajak saya ke kebun untuk makan kelapa muda, bersama teman-temannya.

Baru-baru ini, saya melihat status *WhatsApp* milik Aspar. Dia sedang duduk di balik kemudi, menyetir mobil *MPV*-nya.

Karena penasaran, saya mengirimkan pesan singkat. "Kamu lagi di mana sekarang?"

Aspar membalasnya 4 jam kemudian. "Di Palopo, *Kak*."

Malam hari di awal September 2023 saya bersama dengan 13 anggota kelompok ternak kambing mendiskusikan rencana pembangunan kandang.

Pertemuan waktu itu berlangsung di teras belakang rumah Kepala Desa Pantama dan Aspar sebagai anggota kelompok juga hadir saat itu. Pada pertemuan itu orang-orang bersepakat, waktu pengerjaan kandang akan dimulai pada Senin pekan depannya.

Aspar sontak menyela. "Kalau saya tidak bisa ikut bekerja, karena pergi *makkampas* nanti saya kasih pembeli rokok saja sebagai gantinya."

Setelah pertemuan itu, Aspar pamit. Keesokan hari, dia mulai bersiap untuk melanjutkan perjalanan panjang. Menjajakan barang dagangan sebagai *pakkampas*. Mungkin, ia tak akan

kembali mengangkat cangkul. []

Profil Penulis

Nurdin, lahir di Karossa, Kabupaten Mamuju Tengah. Dia seorang Sarjana Ekonomi lulusan Universitas Negeri Makassar.

Nurdin pernah bekerja di sektor kelautan dan perikanan untuk pengembangan budidaya rumput laut. Pernah menjadi staf di KontraS Sulawesi pad 2018-2020. Saat ini, Nurdin aktif bekerja dalam gerakan sosial petani, nelayan, dan suku bangsa minoritas.

Kisah Sawit di Desa Dwi Tiro

Ansar

Warga Desa Dwi Tiro keranjingan menanam sawit sejak tersiar kabar bakal ada pabrik pengolahan sawit di Bulukumba. Tapi kabar itu hanya angin lalu.

Sepulang dari Malaysia, tahun 2010, seorang pengusaha sawit bernama Hasan, akrab dipanggil Haji Hasan, membawa benih sawit untuk ditanam di Desa Dwi Tiro, di wilayah Bulukumba. Dia membeli benih unggul, lalu dibagikan kepada para petani. Itulah sawit pertama di desa itu. Menurut Hasan, kondisi cuaca dan tanah desa itu mirip dengan kondisi perkebunan sawit tempat ia bekerja di Malaysia. Haji Hasan menyemai benihnya, sebelum dibagikan kepada para petani dalam bentuk kecambah.

Haji Hasan berasal dari Kecamatan Rilau Ale, Kabupaten

Bulukumba. Ia mempunyai seorang sahabat bernama Palingjai di Desa Dwi Tiro yang pernah sama-sama merantau ke Malaysia untuk bekerja di perkebunan sawit. Ia menganggap sahabatnya itu berpengalaman mengurus tanaman sawit.

Palingjai menyadari tanaman sawit tidak diminati di desanya. Bahkan, sebagian besar warga desa tidak pernah melihat langsung tanaman itu. Sebab itu, dia memulai pendekatan melalui keluarga dekatnya agar membentuk kelompok tani sawit. Kemudian informasi pembentukan kelompok tani sawit terus berkembang di desa, hingga ke dusun-dusun. Desa Dwi Tiro berada di Kecamatan Bontotiro, Kabupaten Bulukumba, Sulawesi Selatan.

Ada 20 orang warga desa ikut tergabung dalam kelompok tani sawit. Masing-masing anggota mempunyai lahan dengan luasan yang berbeda-beda. Beberapa orang pernah bekerja di perkebunan sawit di Malaysia dan Kalimantan. Mereka mendapat tugas berbeda-beda, sesuai dengan kemahirannya masing-masing, seperti buruh panen (*pattomba*), sopir truk, mandor, buruh angkut (*palloding*), dan sebagainya. Hasil kerja mereka itu dikirim ke kampung yang menurut mereka cukup untuk menopang kebutuhan hidup.

Setiap kelompok mengajukan lahan untuk ditanami sawit. Total luas lahan dari semua anggota kelompok hingga saat ini ada 40 hektare. Palingjai mengajukan 5 hektare lahannya, dan

menjadi lahan terluas di antara anggota lain yang mengajukan. Ia yakin sawit akan menjadi komoditi jangka panjang, setidaknya dilihat dari usia produktifnya yang bisa sampai 25 tahun.

"Bisa membantu penghasilan di masa tua nanti," katanya.

Petani lain juga beranggapan serupa. Kisah sukses para perantau yang bekerja di perkebunan sawit membuat mereka tergiur, apalagi menurut mereka perawatan sawit lebih mudah dibanding tanaman lain.

Langkah awal untuk memulai berkebun sawit, setiap anggota kelompok mendapat pelatihan budidaya sawit di desa tetangga, Desa Swatani, Kecamatan Rilau Ale, Kabupaten Bulukumba. Mereka belajar menyemai bibit, cara menanam, membersihkan gulma, memupuk, membersihkan pelepah dan cara memanen. Sebagian dari anggota kelompok, baru pertama kali melihat langsung tanaman sawit. Selama ini mereka hanya melihat dari tayangan televisi.

Setelah mendapat pelatihan, para petani sudah bisa membayangkan bagaimana merawat sawit. Mereka menyimpulkan, sawit lebih gampang diurus, ketimbang kakao misalnya. Kakao harus dirawat lebih intensif. Harus disemprot anti hama, dan dipangkas secara rutin. Keuntungan lain dari tanaman kelapa sawit, mereka bisa melakukan pekerjaan lain sambil menunggu waktu panen yang terbilang cukup lama.

Tidak lama berselang, pada tahun 2011 para petani mende-

ngar isu, pemerintah akan membangun pabrik pengolahan kelapa sawit di Kabupaten Bulukumba jika budidaya sawit di Desa Dwi Tiro sukses. Isu itu membuat para anggota kelompok tani sawit semakin tertarik untuk membudidayakannya.

Satu tahun kemudian, mereka mulai membibit sawit sesuai dengan luas lahan yang mereka miliki. Dalam 1 hektare membutuhkan 84 bibit. Mereka memperoleh bibit sawit secara gratis dalam bentuk biji yang sudah berkecambah yang didatangkan langsung dari Malaysia. Proses pembibitan memakan waktu antara 8 hingga 12 bulan sebelum siap pindah tanam di lahan yang telah disediakan.

Tanaman Pangan Hilang, Terbitlah Sawit

Menanam sawit mengharuskan para petani menggunakan sistem monokultur. Mereka terpaksa menebang tanaman yang sebelumnya dikembangkan di lahan yang menjadi lahan sawit. Namun kelompok tani sawit di Desa Dwi Tiro tidak langsung menghabiskan tanamannya.

"Kelapa sawit hingga usia 3 tahun masih membutuhkan tanaman penaung, sehingga tanaman yang berada di lahan masih bisa dirawat dengan baik sekaligus bisa menghasilkan sambil menunggu kelapa sawit berbuah," ujar Palingjai.

Memasuki usia 3 tahun tanaman penaung mulai ditebang karena kelapa sawit sudah mulai membutuhkan sinar matahari

langsung. Tanaman yang sudah turun-temurun dikembangkan di desa sebagai sumber pendapatan utama terpaksa ditebang. Tanaman itu antara lain, kakao, kelapa, pisang, jambu mete, dan merica. Tanaman-tanaman tersebut banyak ditanam di desa ini, sebelum tergantikan oleh sawit. Beberapa petani menggunakan lahan yang sebelumnya ditanami palawija, seperti jagung, umbi-umbian, dan kacang-kacangan. Ada pula yang menggunakan lahan tidur yang selama ini tidak pernah dikelola oleh pemiliknya.

Pada pola tanam monokultur, satu jenis tanaman ditanam berkali-kali pada lahan yang sama. Keanekaragaman hayati akan berkurang, sementara kondisi tanah makin lama semakin jenuh karena harus memenuhi nutrisi tertentu yang dibutuhkan oleh satu jenis tanaman. Jika monokultur diterapkan dalam jangka waktu bertahun-tahun akan menurunkan kesuburan tanah.

Para petani menganggap lebih mudah merawat sawit ketimbang tanaman lain yang selama ini mereka usahakan. Pada usia 0-3 tahun para petani hanya perlu membersihkan gulma dan rumput secara rutin di sekitaran pohon. Lalu, di atas usia 3 tahun, kelapa sawit sudah mulai berbuah, petani tidak lagi membersihkan gulma. Mereka memelihara kambing yang mereka lepas di kebun sawit untuk makan gulma dan rumput.

"Gulma itu sebagai pelindung akar, pendingin pada akar ke-

lapa sawit dan racun herbisida itu merusak akar-akar tanaman kelapa sawit, jadi hanya kambing yang racuni rumputnya," ujar Palingjai. Kambing-kambing itu menggantikan herbisida untuk membersihkan lahan dari rerumputan yang dianggap gulma oleh petani.

Sejak penanaman pertama hingga sekarang, para petani di desa itu tidak pernah menggunakan racun rumput atau herbisida untuk tanaman sawitnya. Alasannya, gulma-gulma itu memudahkan para petani dalam memelihara hewan ternaknya. Sehingga, selain mendapat untung dari sawit, mereka juga mendapat hasil dari beternak. Kotoran kambing juga bisa menjadi pupuk organik bagi tanaman sawit.

Memasuki usia 4 tahun kelapa sawit mulai berbuah (berbuah pasir), kebiasaan memberi pupuk kandang mulai diganti dengan pupuk kimia untuk merangsang tanaman kelapa sawit berbuah. Pemberian pupuk dilakukan 1 kali dalam 4 bulan.

Tanaman sawit akan terlihat rimbun setelah dipupuk, saat itulah perlu dipangkas pelepahnya. Pemangkasan pelepah atau *pruning* bisa bersamaan dengan panen.

Jika *pruning* tidak dilakukan, masa pertumbuhan vegetatif dan generatif tanaman kelapa sawit akan terganggu. Seringkali buah membusuk karena tidak terlihat saat panen.

Palingjai mempunyai teknik sendiri untuk menghindari kelapa sawit cepat tinggi; saat proses *pruning* harus menyisakan

dua atau tiga pelepah di bawah buah sawit. Tujuannya, agar kelapa sawit tumbuh ke samping dan menghambat pertumbuhan ke atas. Selain itu, buah tandan segar sawit juga akan menyerap lebih banyak air sehingga bobot buah kelapa sawit bertambah berat.

Serangan Hama

Sejauh ini, para petani sawit kewalahan melerai babi-babi yang sering mengganggu tanamannya. Warga Desa Dwi Tiro telah menghadapi hama babi jauh sebelum ada tanaman sawit. Hama babi sudah menjadi momok bagi para petani. Tanaman pisang, kelapa, dan palawija menjadi sumber makanan bagi babi. Warga desa telah melakukan berbagai cara untuk mengatasinya, dari mulai memagari kebun, pasang perangkap, hingga memburunya dengan bantuan kelompok pemburu dari desa tetangga. Namun sampai saat ini hama babi masih merajalela.

Babi-babi mengganggu tanaman sawit yang baru ditanam sampai usia 3 tahun. Mereka mencabut dan memakan pohon sawit muda. Pada saat kelapa sawit mulai berbuah babi-babi itu menyerobot buah sawit. Selain hama babi, petani juga menghadapi hama kumbang tanduk yang juga merusak tanaman kelapa sawit. Serangga ini memakan tajuk tanaman dengan menggerek melalui pangkal menuju ke dalam titik tumbuh tanaman kelapa

sawit sehingga memengaruhi pertumbuhan sawit.

Persoalan lain yang dihadapi petani kelapa sawit, serangan jamur yang membuat buah busuk sebelum gugur. Pada pola tanam monokultur, organisme pengganggu tanaman lebih cepat berkembang karena tidak ada hambatan dari tanaman lain, apalagi tanaman tersebut ditanam berulang-ulang.

Harga Sawit Mentah

Tidak sulit bagi para petani mendapatkan pembeli tandan buah segar kelapa sawit. Para pedagang sudah siap membelinya ketika mereka mengetahui waktu panen di Desa Dwi Tiro.

Panen kelapa sawit di desa ini satu kali dalam 20 hari. Dalam satu tahun petani memanen kelapa sawit 18 kali. Para pedagang biasanya datang langsung ke desa menjemput buah sawit. Tapi, saat pedagang mengangkut juga sawit dari kecamatan tetangga, para petani Desa Dwi Tiro akan membawa buah sawitnya ke jalan raya yang berjarak kurang lebih 7 km dari desa untuk menunggu pedagang.

Hingga September 2023, petani menjual hasil panen kelapa sawit kepada pedagang yang berasal dari Palopo, dengan harga Rp1.000 per kilogram. Buah tandan segar dibawa ke daerah Palopo yang berjarak sekitar 373 kilometer atau ke Mamuju yang berjarak hampir 500 kilometer untuk diolah menjadi minyak

mentah sawit (*Crude Palm Oil*), dan minyak inti sawit (*Kernel Palm Oil*). Menurut petani harga jual di Palopo atau Mamuju di atas Rp2.000 per kilogram karena memperhitungkan biaya transportasi yang tinggi untuk sampai ke Kota Palopo atau Mamuju.

Sulawesi Selatan memang menjadi provinsi dengan harga tandan buah sawit terendah di antara 22 provinsi lainnya pada 2023 menurut Asosiasi Petani Kelapa Sawit Indonesia. Pemerintah Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan menetapkan harga tandan buah sawit Rp1.800 di tahun 2023. Tapi, seringkali para petani mendapat harga yang jauh lebih rendah dari yang ditetapkan oleh Pemerintah provinsi.

Harga sawit naik turun dan tidak menentu, ketika harga anjlok petani di Desa Dwi Tiro pernah menjualnya seharga Rp500 per kilogram. Itu harga terendah sejauh ini. Sedangkan harga tertinggi Rp1500 per kilogram. Palingjai bisa mendapat 3 ton buah sawit setiap kali panen dari lahan seluas 5 hektare. Dengan harga Rp1000 per kilogram, ia meraup uang rata-rata Rp3 juta setiap kali panen. Dalam satu tahun ia menghasilkan Rp54 juta.

"Tidak merendahkan tanaman lain, tapi yang cepat mendapat hasil *ya* kelapa sawit. Kalau kelapa biasa kita panen 3 bulan sekali. Dalam satu tahun hanya 4 kali panen, sedangkan sawit setiap 20 hari panen *ki* lagi," ujar Palingjai.

Kisah Palingjai menarik minat petani lain untuk menanam

sawit. Mereka berharap ada lagi pembagian bibit sawit gratis, seperti yang pernah dilakukan Haji Hasan. Mereka kewalahan merawat komoditi yang selama ini mereka usahakan, karena anomali cuaca membuat produktivitas tanaman menurun. Para petani kakao, misalnya. Mereka banyak mengalami gagal panen, selain serangan hama yang susah dikendalikan.

"Saya tertarik menanam kelapa sawit, karena saya melihat prospek kelapa sawit sangat menjanjikan dan kelapa sawit memiliki umur yang panjang sehingga bisa menjadi penghasilan di usia tua nanti," ujar Syamsu Alam, Kepala Dusun Basokeng, Desa Dwi Tiro. Ia sendiri belum pernah menanam sawit.

"Mudah-mudahan ke depan ada lagi yang bisa menyediakan bibit kelapa sawitnya, kalau begini terus cuaca yang tidak menentu hanya kelapa sawit yang bisa bertahan di sini."

Tanaman sawit masih dianggap komoditi asing bagi masyarakat Bulukumba. Sebagian besar warga tidak mau menanam sawit karena masih khawatir tidak cocok dengan kondisi alam Bulukumba. Sebagian juga menganggap proses pemeliharaan kelapa sawit memerlukan biaya tinggi dan hanya cocok untuk perusahaan-perusahaan yang mempunyai modal besar. Mereka juga berpikir proses pemeliharaan sampai memanen sangat berat, butuh tenaga besar.

Warga yang belum pernah bekerja di perkebunan sawit tentu tidak mau mengambil risiko dengan komoditi yang asing bagi

mereka.

Perjalanan kelompok sawit di Desa Dwi Tiro tidak berjalan sesuai dengan rencana awal. Setelah berjalan beberapa kali panen, mereka mulai ragu tentang pemasaran kelapa sawit. Isu tentang pembangunan pabrik pengolahan kelapa sawit yang pernah mereka dengar sudah mulai hilang. Apalagi hasil panen sawit dari lahan yang sempit juga tidak seberapa jika dibandingkan dengan hasil komoditi lain sebelum sawit.

Lalu, para petani sengaja membiarkan kelapa sawitnya terlantar. Tidak diurus.

Keraguan semakin memuncak ketika salah satu petani mulai memusnahkan tanaman kelapa sawitnya. Sedikit demi sedikit, kelapa sawit yang mulai tumbuh kini ditebang kemudian dibakar. Satu persatu, anggota kelompok lain mulai ikut memusnahkan sawitnya. Sebagian lagi membiarkan kelapa sawitnya tumbuh tanpa merawatnya sama sekali.

Petani yang tidak melanjutkan perkebunan sawit kembali menanam komoditi yang sebelumnya dikembangkan seperti jagung dan kacang-kacangan. Sebagian juga beralih menjadi peternak ayam petelur. Sedangkan anggota kelompok yang belum sempat menebang semua tanamannya, seperti kakao dan jambu mete, mereka kembali merawat tanaman tersebut.

Seiring berjalannya waktu, saat ini hanya tersisa 2 orang petani yang mengusahakan sawit, dari sebelumnya 20 orang.

Perkebunan sawit di Desa Dwi Tiro yang tersisa kurang lebih 7 hektare. Mereka berhenti merawat sawit.

"Pasar sawit tidak jelas," kata seorang anggota kelompok tani sawit, dengan raut muka memelas. Tidak ada pabrik pengolahan buah kelapa sawit yang dekat dengan wilayah perkebunan mereka, membuat para pedagang membeli sawit dari petani dengan harga yang jauh lebih rendah dari yang ditetapkan oleh pemerintah daerah. []

Profil Penulis

Ansar, lahir di Bantaeng Sulawesi Selatan, pada tahun 2014 lulus sebagai sarjana kehutanan Universitas Indonesia Timur Makassar. dalam kurun waktu 7 tahun terakhir bekerja pada pada isu-isu perdesaan, 2018 tergabung di Sekolah Rakyat Petani Payo-payo. Langkah awal bekerja di isu perdesaan dimulai tahun 2018 terlibat aktif dalam relawan desa di Kabupaten Wajo selama satu tahun yang berfokus pada pembuatan sistem informasi dan menghasilkan buku desa 'Mattirowalie dalam angka' desa di Desa Mattirowalie Kecamatan Maniangpajo Kab Wajo, tahun 2020-2022 bekerja sebagai fasilitator di Desa Tangkulowi Kab Sigi Sulawesi Tengah dan menghasilkan buku "Desa Tangkulowi". 2023-2024 terlibat di program adaptasi perubahan iklim di Kabupaten Bulukumba. Saat ini tinggal di Bantaeng.

Dilema Hukum Adat di Tengah Dampak Perubahan Iklim

Abdurrahman Abdullah

Masyarakat adat Kajang berada dalam situasi sulit, antara keinginan mempertahankan aturan adat, dan kebutuhan untuk bertahan dari dampak perubahan iklim.

Orang-orang berpakaian serba hitam dengan penutup kepala berduyun-duyun menyusuri jalan setapak menuju rumah tamu di Desa Tanah Towa, Kajang. Siang itu, udara terasa lembab. Sisa sisa hujan masih terperangkap di sela-sela daun. Sementara pohon-pohon merana, buah-buahnya berguguran.

Rumah tamu sebutan untuk sebuah bangunan berbentuk rumah panggung yang digunakan untuk musyawarah adat masyarakat Kajang Dalam. Mereka, yang jumlahnya nyaris ratusan orang itu berdatangan dari berbagai desa yang masuk wi-

layah adat Kajang Dalam atau *Rambang Seppang* untuk acara *a'borong*, semacam musyawarah atau sidang adat. Mereka hendak menggugat aturan adat yang menghalangi mereka mendapatkan sarana air bersih dan aliran listrik. Saat itu pertengahan tahun 2018. Masyarakat telah bertahun-tahun kesulitan mendapat air bersih. Lahan-lahan pertanian kekeringan.

A'borong dipimpin oleh *ammatoa*[1] sebagai hakim. *Ammatoa* merupakan gelar untuk ketua adat suku Kajang. Ia dianggap utusan sang pencipta alam semesta, *Turiek A'ra'na*. Lebih dari itu, masyarakat Kajang percaya *ammatoa* lah manusia pertama di muka bumi yang membawa ajaran *Turiek A'ra'na*. Ajaran itu dinamai *pasang*, berupa kumpulan petuah dalam Bahasa Konjo yang dihafal oleh para tokoh adat dan masyarakat. *Pasang* mencakup ide dan praktik, termasuk sejarah, politik, lingkungan, sosial-budaya, ekonomi, dan agama, serta pengetahuan dan tuntunan perilaku kehidupan sehari-hari. Tidak ada bentuk tertulisnya. Petuah-petuah itu tersusun dalam bentuk metafora, mirip puisi, sehingga bisa ditafsirkan secara beragam oleh para tokoh adat. *Pasang* juga memuat larangan, perintah, sanksi, dan peringatan bagi para pejabat pemerintah maupun lembaga adat. *Pasang* berlaku bagi masyarakat yang tinggal di Kajang Dalam atau *Rambang Seppang*. Ketua adat dibantu oleh para pemimpin lembaga adat yang berjumlah 26 dalam menjalankan ajaran *pasang* dan memimpin ritual adat. Saat memimpin musyawarah

1 Kepala Adat Kajang

adat, ketua adat merujuk pada aturan adat yang tersirat dalam *pasang*. Musyawarah adat ini biasanya digelar apabila terjadi masalah-masalah, seperti perselisihan utang-piutang, sengketa tanah, atau warisan, hingga urusan rumah tangga.

Kali ini, peserta musyawarah lebih banyak, tidak seperti biasanya. Kira-kira empat kali lipat lebih banyak dari yang sebelumnya. *A'borong* biasanya hanya dihadiri paling banyak 20 orang.

"Dengan mengucap syukur kepada tuhan yang telah memberikan kesehatan dan kesempatan hari ini, saya membuka sidang," ujar *Galla' Puto* dalam bahasa Konjo saat membuka sidang, beberapa saat setelah mendapat perintah dari ketua adat. *Galla' Puto* adalah penasihat ketua adat.

Posisi duduk terbelah dua. Di sisi kiri, dididuduki oleh lembaga adat yang merangkap kepala pemerintahan desa. Sedangkan di sisi kanan, ditempati para anggota dan pemimpin lembaga adat yang tidak duduk di pemerintahan desa. Ini peristiwa aneh, di mana dua kelompok yang berselisih dalam musyawarah posisi duduknya dipisahkan.

Kelompok di sisi kiri ingin membangun penampungan air untuk masyarakat, sementara kelompok kanan keukeuh pada aturan adat yang melarang pembangunan modern. Kriteria benda modern bisa ditafsir secara berbeda-beda oleh para pemimpin lembaga adat. Dalam kasus penampungan air, penggu-

naan semen dan pipa dianggap benda modern yang melanggar aturan adat.

Penampungan air itu merupakan program penyediaan air minum dan sanitasi berbasis masyarakat (Pamsimas) dari pemerintah yang ketika itu masih dalam pembangunan. Seseorang telah mengadu kepada ketua adat tentang pembangunan itu. *Ammatoa* marah dan memerintahkan aparatnya untuk membongkar bangunan itu. Tapi, masyarakat bertahan, dan memilih kasus ini disidangkan di musyawarah adat.

"Baru kali ini ada dua pihak yang bertentangan sekeras ini," ujar seorang warga yang saat itu hadir. Para peserta yang tidak punya kedudukan dalam lembaga adat duduk di belakang kepala desa masing-masing. Sementara para perempuan berada di baris paling belakang.

Musyawarah adat terbuka bagi siapa pun, termasuk para *ata*. Tapi, para *ata*--sebutan untuk kelas budak, tidak pernah melibatkan dirinya dalam urusan musyawarah maupun sidang, karena mereka menyadari tidak punya hak untuk bersengketa. Jika ada konflik yang melibatkan mereka, para tuan lah yang mengurus dan menyelesaikan.

"Penampungan air ini sudah menjadi kebutuhan mendesak bagi banyak warga Desa Malleleng dan lokasi pembangunannya berada di luar wilayah Kajang Dalam," ujar Kepala Desa Malleleng yang juga menjabat di lembaga adat.

"Aliran listrik dan bangunan rumah modern di beberapa dusun di desa kami juga atas keinginan warga," Kepala Desa Bonto Baji menimpali. "Lagi pula," lanjut kepala desa itu, "Saya merasa tidak punya kewenangan untuk melarang keinginan warga, walau tidak menampik juga bahwa kami berada di wilayah Kajang Dalam."

Tanpa pertimbangan, ketua adat menolak dengan keras pembangunan penampungan air dan aliran listrik. Tapi segera mendapat perlawanan dari masyarakat yang menginginkan penampungan air.

"Segera bongkar itu penampungan air, rumah modern, dan aliran listrik," ujar ketua adat dengan emosional memerintahkan kepada dua kepala desa yang ditempati pembangunan. "Semua pembangunan itu melanggar aturan adat," kata dia dengan lantang.

Titah ketua adat tidak membuat kedua kepala desa itu gentar. Mereka balik menantangnya. Padahal kedudukan ketua adat dalam adat Kajang sangat tinggi. Dia bahkan dianggap manusia pertama yang diturunkan oleh Tuhan ke muka bumi. Dialah yang membawa tuntunan bagi manusia.

"Ini kebutuhan mendesak," timpal Kepala Desa Malleleng. Selama ini masyarakat kesulitan mendapat air. Mereka mengangkutnya dari sumber mata air di hutan dengan ember atau baskom.

"Penampungan air ini akan sangat berguna bagi masyarakat," ujarnya. Mereka bahkan nekat meminta dikeluarkan saja dari Kajang Dalam, asal bisa mendapat aliran air bersih.

Suasana menjadi tegang. Orang-orang tampak saling memberi isyarat, sambil sesekali memperbaiki *passapu* (pengikat kepala). Ketua adat tetap pada pendiriannya menolak permintaan kedua kepala desa itu.

"Jika ada yang bersedia menanggung risikonya, silakan saja wilayah-wilayah itu keluar dari *Rambang Seppang*," ujar ketua adat dengan nada mengancam. Penuh tekanan.

Hening sejenak. Orang-orang tertunduk. Barangkali mereka membayangkan hal-hal buruk akan terjadi jika dikeluarkan dari *Rambang Seppang.*

"Apa risikonya?" Kepala Desa Malleleng memecah keheningan, lalu disusul dengan isyarat setuju dari Kepala Desa Bonto Baji. Mereka tampak kompak.

"Kami minta keluar dari *rambang seppang*," kata Kepala desa Bonto Baji, tanpa pikir panjang. "Kita semua sudah tahu," lanjut dia. "Kami sudah lama melanggar adat dengan keberadaan sepeda motor."

"Hukuman paling berat," kata sang ketua adat menyela. Dia terdiam sejenak lalu matanya mengarah ke sekeliling ruangan yang sunyi. Para perempuan menundukkan kepalanya dalam-dalam, degup jantungnya tak keruan, menunggu ucapan

berikutnya dari junjungannya.

"Kuda tunggangan," ucap ketua adat tanpa ragu mengarahkan pandangannya kepada para penggugat. "*Ya*, kalian akan menjadi kuda tunggangan di kehidupan akhirat," katanya.

"*A'rai nipanjari jarang baiyyang riallo anjorengang*," *ammatoa* membacakan kalimat dalam *pasang* yang menunjukkan hukuman itu.

"Kami akan terima hukuman itu," timpal Kepala Desa Bonto Baji dan Malleleng, serentak. Hadirin terperangah.

"Kami siap berkorban demi kebutuhan warga desa," kata Kepala Desa Malleleng, disusul oleh Kepala Desa Bonto Baji, "Kami dipilih langsung oleh warga, maka dari itu harus mendengar aspirasi mereka."

Ketua adat menyerah. Ia merelakan wilayah-wilayah itu keluar dari wilayah adat. "Risiko akan ditanggung oleh kepala desa masing-masing," kata ketua adat, mengakhiri ucapannya.

Sidang ditutup. Mereka sepakat penampungan air di Desa Malleleng tetap dibangun. Sedangkan di Desa Bonto Baji, sekitar 50 rumah dikeluarkan dari adat Kajang Dalam karena sudah teraliri listrik.

Kasus ini tidak memuncak dalam waktu sekejap. Tiga tahun sebelumnya, tahun 2015 sudah ada riak-riak masalah di kedua desa tersebut sejak proses perumusan peraturan daerah tentang pengakuan masyarakat hukum adat Kajang. Proses itu mem-

buka jalan untuk menata kembali batas-batas wilayah Kajang dalam (*Rambang Seppang*) dan wilayah luar (*Rambang Luara*) yang selama ini memiliki banyak tafsir. Pemetaan ulang wilayah adat dikerjakan oleh gugus tugas yang terdiri dari perwakilan pemerintah kabupaten, masyarakat adat, dan beberapa Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat seperti Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN), Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), dan Balang Institute. Camat Kajang, Kepala Desa Malleleng dan Kepala Desa Bonto Baji mewakili lembaga adat Kajang karena wilayah desanya termasuk yang menjadi sasaran pemetaan ulang.

Kedua kepala desa bersama camat menggunakan kesempatan ini untuk memperluas dan memperkuat wewenang pemerintah desa, dan sebaliknya, mengurangi wewenang adat dengan memperkecil wilayah Kajang Dalam. Kepala Desa Malleleng telah mengatur ulang batas-batas wilayah adat sejak 2015 itu dan mengklaim 48 rumah tangga di Dusun Sapiri berada di luar wilayah adat. Begitu juga Kepala Desa Bonto Baji, dengan cara yang sama mengklaim 80 rumah tangga berada di luar area adat. Kemudian, pemerintah dua desa itu punya alasan untuk mengerjakan proyek-proyek infrastruktur seperti jalan beraspal, listrik, dan berbagai pembangunan yang sebelumnya bertentangan dengan *pasang*. Di situs-situs batas baru ini, pemerintah desa juga membangun gerbang masuk yang baru.

Wilayah masyarakat adat Kajang mencakup empat keca-

matan, yaitu Kecamatan Kajang, Bulukumpa, Ujung Loe, dan Herlang dengan total luas wilayah hukum adat mencapai 22.997 hektare. Wilayah ini terbagi menjadi dua, yaitu wilayah luar disebut *Rambang Luara* atau Kajang Luar yang mencakup empat kecamatan, dan wilayah dalam disebut *Rambang Seppang* atau Kajang Dalam. Yang kedua ini melingkupi beberapa desa di Kecamatan Kajang, seperti Desa Tanah Towa, Pattiroang, Bonto Baji, dan Malleleng. Tidak semua wilayah dari desa-desa itu masuk Kajang Dalam. Ada beberapa desa yang wilayahnya masuk ke dua kawasan, Kajang Luar dan Kajang Dalam.

Luas *Rambang Luara* 22.445 hektare, sementara *Rambang Seppang* hanya 552 hektare. Kecamatan Kajang menjadi pusat karena seluruh wilayah kecamatan ini termasuk dalam wilayah masyarakat adat, di sini juga terletak *Rambang Seppang*. Jumlah penduduk Kecamatan Kajang 48.571 jiwa, yang sebagian besar dari mereka menetapkan diri sebagai masyarakat adat dengan mengikuti ritual dan mematuhi aturan adat.

Rambang Seppang biasa disebut juga *Ilalang Embayya* atau wilayah adat inti. *Ammatoa* bermukim dan tidak boleh keluar dari wilayah ini. Di wilayah inilah *pasang* diterapkan secara ketat dalam seluruh perilaku sosial di masyarakat, mulai dari bangun tidur sampai tidur kembali. Dan dari urusan duniawi hingga urusan akhirat. Di wilayah ini pula terdapat situs adat, pemukiman dengan bangunan tradisional, sawah dan kebun pertanian terbatas, hutan adat seluas 313,99 hektare, dan lokasi

untuk ritual adat.

Di wilayah Kajang Dalam setiap orang harus menjalankan prinsip *kamase-mase* atau kesederhanaan sebagai prinsip utama dalam berperilaku dan menjalani kehidupan. Dalam praktik sehari-hari *kamase-mase* berarti hidup dalam kerendahan hati, kepuasan diri, kemandirian, dan kecukupan, tidak berharap lebih dari apa yang dimiliki.

Prinsip *kamase-mase* ini bertujuan untuk menjaga agar pengaruh modernisasi tidak masuk ke wilayah adat mereka. Di wilayah ini, tidak ada aliran listrik, tidak ada jalanan beraspal, tidak boleh menggunakan alas kaki. Tidak ada bangunan modern, seperti rumah batu, masjid, atau sekolah. Orang luar yang ingin memasuki wilayah ini juga wajib mematuhi aturan adat, termasuk mengenakan pakaian berwarna hitam dan berjalan tanpa menggunakan alas kaki.

Lepasnya sejumlah wilayah dari kawasan Kajang Dalam membuat risau para pemimpin lembaga adat. Mereka memperkirakan kasus serupa akan sering terjadi. Akibatnya, wilayah adat akan semakin menyusut. Bersamaan dengan itu, pedoman-pedoman kehidupan adat akan ditinggalkan, yang salah satunya mengatur tentang pelestarian lingkungan.

Kasus gugatan aturan adat seperti di atas akan lebih sering terjadi di masa mendatang, jika melihat dampak perubahan iklim yang dari waktu ke waktu semakin berat. Terutama, ke-

rusakan ruang hidup dan kelangkaan air bagi masyarakat adat Kajang. []

Profil Penulis

Abdurrahman Abdullah, lahir di Maros. Lulus sebagai sarjana kehutanan Universitas Hasanuddin pada tahun 2021. Pernah bekerja di beberapa Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat yang berfokus pada isu isu pembangunan perdesaan, petani, hutan dan masyarakat adat. Selama bekerja di LSM, ia berkeliling ke sejumlah desa di wilayah Sulawesi, Kalimantan dan Papua. Ia juga pernah tinggal dan mengkaji konflik konflik masyarakat adat dengan perusahaan perusahaa raksasa. Antara lain, masyarakat adat Kajang, Tehit, dan Mapnan.

Saat ini, ia sedang menyelesaikan studi master kehutanan di Universitas Hasanuddin dengan fokus kajian political ecology dan critical indigenous studies sambil bekerja di Forest and Society Research Group.

Orang-Orang Kajang di Makassar

Agus Mawan W

Kisah orang-orang Kajang memulai kehidupan di kota. Mereka mendiami petak-petak tanah di pinggiran penampungan sampah terbesar di Kota Makassar, hingga menjadi sebuah kampung.

Siam Sia berusia lima tahun ketika tiba di Kampung Kajang, di sebuah daerah pinggiran Kota Makassar bernama Antang. Kampung ini bagian Kelurahan Tamangapa, Kecamatan Manggala.

Selain sawah dan rawa-rawa yang menghampar jauh, hanya ada delapan rumah kayu panggung yang menjulang di antara pematang sawah. Di salah satu rumah itulah, Sia—begitu sapaannya, tinggal. Bersama saudara tertuanya bernama Sannai, si empunya rumah.

Sia seorang perempuan yang lugas, anak keempat dari enam

bersaudara, lahir di Batunilamung, sebuah desa dataran rendah di Kecamatan Kajang, Kabupaten Bulukumba.

"Saya dulu ke sini itu diajak sama kakak," kata Sia pada saya. "Di sini saya akhirnya bisa sekolah."

Kami berjumpa pada Januari 2024. Sia kini berusia 26 tahun dengan menyandang gelar sarjana ekonomi, lulusan Universitas Negeri Islam Alauddin Makassar. Sia sedang mengandung anak pertamanya.

Usai menikah, Sia pindah ke rumah Ramsi, salah satu kakaknya yang belakangan juga menyusul ke Kampung Kajang, bekerja sebagai sopir truk sampah. Tak lama setelah Sia menikah, Ramsi meninggalkan kampung itu, bekerja sebagai *pakkampas* dan Sia membeli rumah permanen miliknya, lengkap dengan perabot.

Sia dan saudaranya meninggalkan Batunilamung demi mengubah arah nasib. Di kampung, kata Sia, hasil kebun tak lagi mampu menopang hidup. "Cuaca tidak menentu, sering kekeringan. Apalagi seperti tahun lalu itu misalnya, kemarau panjang (*El Nino* 2023)."

"Daripada habis-habis uang saja," kata Sia. "Mending saya di sini, cari uang sambil sekolah."

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Kota Makassar seperti magnet. Pusaran ekonomi yang berusia ratusan tahun telah merayu orang-orang dari pelosok

Sulawesi Selatan, mengadu nasib di kota ini. Setidaknya Kota Makassar telah jadi muara gelombang perantauan sejak era kolonial Hindia Belanda.

Tahun-tahun kemudian, Makassar berubah jadi kota metropolitan. Penuh keriuhan dengan setiap sudut memunculkan kantong-kantong ekonomi. Menjadi tumpuan mimpi bagi perantau yang berniat mengadu nasib.

Jelang tahun 2000, banyak Orang Kajang merantau ke Kota Makassar, sebagai kuli bangunan dan bekerja sebagai awak truk sampah. Mereka yang di Makassar mengajak sanak keluarganya datang dan mencoba keberuntungan bersama. Di Makassar, mereka menjalin keakraban dan menempati satu wilayah dan membentuk semacam 'perkampungan'.

Perkampungan mereka tersebar di pinggiran kota, tempat di mana harga kontrakan rumah jauh lebih murah dan tak menguras separuh upah mereka. Di Makassar mereka membawa tradisi, budaya, dan beberapa butir aturan adat yang berlaku di Kajang. Seperti nikahan, kematian, hingga *maddinging-dinging*, ritual untuk memberkati rumah. Rumah-rumah di Kampung Kajang terdapat sebuah gambar garis-garis berbentuk anatomi tubuh manusia, atau *tau-tau*, menandakan rumah itu telah diberkati.

Tahun 1995, dua tahun setelah kompleks Tempat Pembuangan Akhir (TPA) Antang beroperasi, tiga orang Kajang,

Maro, Malang, dan Ambo, menemukan sebuah lokasi, di seberang titik penampungan terbuka TPA, tempat di mana sampah-sampah milik warga Makassar bermuara dan 'membentuk pegunungan'.

Tiga orang itu membeli masing-masing sebidang tanah dan segera mendirikan rumah panggung di atasnya. Di sini, mereka memulai hidup sebagai buruh tenaga angkut sampah. Menjadi awak bantu di setiap armada truk sampah. Mengikuti ke mana pun truk itu berlabuh dan mengangkut sampah dari halaman rumah warga ke dalam bak truk.

Tahun-tahun berikutnya, lusinan perantau Kajang mengikuti jejak tiga orang itu. Membeli sebidang tanah. Membangun rumah. Dan bekerja sebagai buruh tenaga angkut sampah. Perkampungan itu pun ramai dan berdenyut sepanjang hari.

Di kampung ini mereka bertutur memakai Bahasa Konjo, salah satu sub Bahasa Austronesia yang menyebar di bagian selatan Sulawesi. Kala itu mereka diupah Rp200 ribu untuk satu bulan dan terkadang upah itu tersendat. Jadi, para anggota keluarga perempuan harus bekerja sebagai pemulung. Memilah sampah yang bernilai uang, seperti plastik, elektronik, atau kardus. Hasil itu mereka pakai menutupi kebutuhan sehari-hari dan biaya sekolah anak mereka.

Kala itu, warga harus berdamai dengan keadaan. Rumah-rumah mereka masih berdiri di atas rawa dengan akses

keluar masuk kampung hanya melalui pematang sawah. Ketika banjir, mereka memakai rakit bambu atau gabus-gabus besar yang mereka dapat dari gunungan sampah di TPA. Tahun 1998 banjir menenggelamkan kampung itu, dengan kedalaman dua meter.

Tahun 2001, Sia tiba di kampung ini. Jalan keluar masuk kampung telah ada. Seorang warga bernama Usman bercerita pada saya, bagaimana mereka membuat jalan dan bersiasat agar kampung ini tidak lagi tenggelam ketika musim hujan.

"Mungkin kamu rasa, ini tanah goyang kalau truk lewat," kata Usman. "Kamu tahu kenapa?"

"Ini semua dataran di sini itu hasil timbunan. Dan timbunan paling pertama itu sampah. Kita ambil dari TPA kemudian diratakan. Habis sampah, baru kami taruh batu dan di atasnya lagi itu baru tanah timbunan."

Saya bertanya. "Berapa tingginya ini timbunan?"

"Dua meter!"

"Siapa yang menimbun? Pemerintah?" saya bertanya.

"Kami di sini yang patung-patungan. Dulu itu jalan hanya bisa dilewati becak. Sekarang sudah bisa dilalui truk. Karena kita perlebar jalan, berarti tanahnya orang harus kita beli. Jadi kita patungan lagi."

Di tahun 2002, kampung ini telah dihuni 50-an keluarga, ketika Pemerintah Kota Makassar mengakui status perkam-

pungan ini menjadi bagian Rukun Tetangga 4 di Kelurahan Tamangapa. Kampung ini semula tak bernama. Penduduk sekitar hanya menyebutnya sebagai Kampung Kajang, karena menjadi pemukiman bagi orang-orang yang berasal dari Kajang.

Tahun 2004, Pemerintah Kota Makassar meresmikan kampung itu dan menamainya "Kampung Kajang". Saat itu, Pemerintah Kota Makassar membangun sebuah gapura di ambang kampung, yang hingga hari ini masih berdiri.

Di gapura itu tertulis: "SELAMAT DATANG DI KAMPUNG KAJANG".

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Pandang tiba di Kampung Kajang pada tahun 2003, setelah bertahun-tahun jadi nelayan di Ambon. Pandang 'tobat' jadi nelayan, terutama karena dia bekerja di kapal pengebom ikan.

"Saya takut dipenjara," katanya.

Pandang adalah seorang ayah tiga anak berusia 42 tahun. Di dagu laki-laki berkepala plontos itu ada sebuah tato garis hitam, yang dia tato saat menjadi nelayan.

Pandang berasal dari Lolisang, tetangga desa kelahiran Sia yang menghampar hingga pesisir Bulukumba. Di Lolisang, Pandang punya lahan satu hektare, yang dia tanami jagung, sebelum akhirnya jadi awak kapal. "Minta maaf ini, bukannya mau menghina," kata Pandang mengangkat telunjuknya.

"Berkebun itu susah. Jagung, hasilnya tidak seberapa. Belum lagi banyak babi. Belum lagi kita beli pupuk. Racun rumput. Kadang cuaca tidak menentu. Susah!"

Di tahun 2003, Pandang sudah punya dua anak. Hasil kebun miliknya tak cukup untuk menjamin dapurnya terus mengepul dan membiayai pendidikan anak-anaknya. Dia tak mau anak-anaknya buta huruf seperti dia. Dia pun merantau ke Kota Makassar, bekerja serabutan.

Hingga akhirnya, saudaranya mengajak Pandang bekerja sebagai awak pengangkut sampah, dengan upah Rp600 ribu untuk satu bulan. "Saya langsung terima. Saya tahu suatu saat saya bisa jadi sopir," kata Pandang.

Pandang tertawa. "Ada kariernya toh?"

Jadi Pandang mulai bekerja dan pindah ke Kampung Kajang. Anak-anaknya pun bersekolah.

Bertahun-tahun Pandang jadi awak truk sampah dan sepuluh tahun terakhir, Pandang telah menjadi sopir, dengan upah Rp2,3 juta tiap bulan. Pandang menjadi sopir sejak truk sampah milik Pemerintah Kota Makassar tampak lusuh dan membosankan hingga sekarang. Truk-truk itu kini dominan bercat putih dan penuh jargon-jargon "*Makassar Tidak Rantasa*" hingga "*Lihat Sampah Ambil*."

Di Kampung Kajang, jenis pekerjaan tidak jauh dari: sopir truk sampah atau awak truk sampah, atau memulung sampah.

Yang sedikit berbeda jadi kuli bangunan.

Ketika berkunjung ke Kampung Kajang, saya menyaksikan lusinan truk sampah terparkir di ujung kampung, di depan rumah Pandang dan Sia. Truk-truk bermesin diesel dengan kapasitas mesin empat ribu *cc*.

Kampung Kajang dijejali perkampungan padat, blok demi blok. Sebetulnya kampung ini tak hanya dihuni Orang Kajang semata, tetapi juga rumah bagi perantau dari Malino, Sinjai, Bone, dan pelosok daerah lainnya.

Pemukiman Orang Kajang terpusat di satu blok terujung mendekati penampungan TPA. Dari sini saya harus mendongak untuk melihat pucuk dari gunungan sampah di TPA. Saking dekat dan tingginya. Di *Google Maps*, seseorang memberi titik pada tumpukan sampah itu dan memberikan sebuah nama; "Gunung Antang".

Di Kampung Kajang, air bersih berasal dari Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum (PDAM) Kota Makassar. Sebelum PDAM tiba sekitar Tahun 2005, warga bergantung pada sumur bor. Sepuluh tahun lalu, kampung ini mulai dialiri listrik dari Perusahaan Listrik Negara.

Separuh jalan di Kampung Kajang masih lah jalan tanah. Ketika musim hujan jalan itu berubah jadi berlumpur, lengket, dan penuh kubangan air. Satu tahun lalu, Pemerintah Kota Makassar memperbaiki jalan sepanjang lorong yang jadi hunian

Orang Kajang. Memasang *paving block*.

Saat saya di Kampung Kajang, rumah-rumah telah dominan permanen, menghimpit rumah panggung yang terbuat dari kayu. Rumah panggung Pandang berada di persimpangan lorong. Berdinding papan dan beratap seng.

Siang itu, Pandang beristirahat. Dia baru saja pulang dari berkeliling kota menjemput sampah-sampah warga Makassar. "Sekarang kehidupan saya sudah nyaman," katanya pada saya.

"Saya tidak perlu lagi pergi merantau. Anak-anak saya sudah saya sekolahkan. Saya sudah nyaman di sini."

***

Di Kampung Kajang, orang-orang saling mengenal. Dan pada blok hunian Orang Kajang, mereka berasal dari satu rumpun sama. "Di sini tidak ada orang lain," kata Usman. "Pandang itu sepupu satu kali saya. Sia itu keponakan saya."

Usman berasal dari Lolisang. Dia sebetulnya tak punya rencana untuk merantau ke Kota Makassar. Tahun 1998, Usman menikah dan segera dikaruniai seorang anak perempuan.

Di Lolisang, Usman punya kebun kecil yang dia tanami jagung, yang hasilnya tentu tak banyak. Usman ingin menambah lahan, tapi di Lolisang permukiman menyempitkan lahan-lahan yang tersedia. Jadi, Usman memutuskan merantau ke Malaysia, menjadi buruh panen kakao di salah satu perusahaan. Sepulang dari Malaysia, Usman kembali mengurus kebun miliknya sem-

bari memakai sisa tabungannya.

Suatu hari di akhir tahun 2003, Usman menerima undangan pernikahan dari adik Pandang, di Kampung Kajang. Dari Lolisang, Usman menuju Makassar buat menghadiri hajatan itu, bersama istri dan putrinya.

"Pas itu acara, Pandang ajak saya untuk kerja di sini," Usman menunjuk rumah Pandang.

"Saya terima. Dan sejak itu saya tinggal di sini."

Seperti Pandang, Usman mula-mula bekerja sebagai awak truk sampah, sebelum menjadi sopir dengan upah Rp2,3 juta, di bawah Upah Minimum Kota Makassar sebesar Rp 3.529.181.[1]

Saya menemui Usman di depan rumah sepupunya, di samping sebuah tanah lapang tempat truk-truk sampah terparkir. Usman kini berusia 43 tahun. Dia kini punya sepasang anak. Anak pertamanya baru saja tamat Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA).

"Dia mau kuliah. Tapi saya masih pikir-pikir," kata Usman pada saya.

"Saya tidak tahu apakah saya bisa sanggup biayai."

Ketika kami berbincang, Usman ditemani Sangkala, keponakannya. Sangkala berusia 44 tahun dan beranak tiga. Sangkala telah merantau di Makassar sejak 1995 dan menempati Kampung Kajang pada tahun 2004. Sebelum di Kampung Kajang,

1 Upah Minimum Kota Makassar Tahun 2024

Sangkala bekerja sebagai kuli bangunan, satu pekerjaan primadona perantau Kajang. "Orang Kajang itu senang jadi tukang bangunan," katanya pada saya.

"Karena itu keahlian kita."

Kini Sangkala bekerja sebagai sopir truk sampah. Tiga anaknya lahir di Kampung Kajang, menjadi generasi kedua pemukim kampung ini—sebagaimana anak-anak perantau Kajang yang lahir di Kampung Kajang. Bertahun-tahun hidup di Makassar, Orang Kajang di kampung ini bertutur dengan tiga bahasa: Konjo, Makassar, dan Indonesia. Secara administrasi mereka terdaftar sebagai penduduk Kota Makassar. Penduduk di Kampung Kajang telah mencapai seribuan jiwa dan akan meningkat di tahun-tahun kemudian. "Saya sebenarnya rindu juga dengan kampung," kata Usman. Sangkala menganggukkan kepala.

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Sia berkuliah pada tahun 2015 dan tamat enam tahun kemudian. Itu bukan karena malas. Sia tahu, berkuliah menuntut biaya banyak. Jadi dia bekerja serabutan sambil berkuliah. Pagi hingga sore berkuliah, dan malam untuk bekerja.

Tahun 2019, Sia bekerja di salah satu *departemen store* sebagai kasir, selama tiga tahun. Dan kemudian bekerja sebagai kasir di toko elektronik, sebelum akhirnya menikah pada Juli 2023.

"Sebelum saya hamil, saya sempat kerja di dekat sini. Jadi

kasir di toko campuran. Tapi saya berhenti," kata Sia.

Hari semakin terik, dengan angin sepoi-sepoi menyelinap masuk ke ruang tamu Sia. "Lihat ini sekarang cuaca," kata Sia.

"Tambah panas. Bagaimana mau bertani? Kadang kita sangka sudah mau hujan ternyata tidak. Jadi itu kenapa banyak anak muda pergi merantau. Mereka ragu bertani."

Bagi Sia, Kampung Kajang tempat para perantau menemukan kehidupan baru. Di sini, perantau Kajang membangun persaudaraan yang kuat sembari membantu keluarga mereka yang tidak beruntung, di kampung asal. Kampung-kampung Kajang di Makassar, kata Sia seperti suaka bagi mereka--anak-anak muda yang tak lagi ingin bertani dengan berbagai alasan.

"Dan di sini kita bisa saling membantu." []

Profil Penulis

Agus Mawan W, seorang jurnalis lepas di Kota Makassar. Pada 2019, dia meraih penghargaan dari Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria berkat liputannya tentang komunitas Bunggu yang terhimpit ekspansi perusahaan sawit raksasa di Pasangkayu, Sulawesi Barat. Pada 2023, dia kembali meraih penghargaan dari Unicef atas liputannya tentang dampak konflik agraria terhadap anak-anak, di sekitar kebun sawit PT Astra Agro Lestari, di Sulawesi Barat.

Agus Mawan W kini menjadi editor di Bollo.id, media independen di Kota Makassar. Sebagai jurnalis Agus Mawan W tertarik pada isu lingkungan, sosial, dan hak asasi manusia. Karyanya dapat dibaca di Mongabay, Konde.co, dan Bollo.id. Dapat dihubungi melalui: *agus.mwnwasir@gmail.com*

VILLAGE, LIVELIHOOD, AND CLIMATE CHANGE

2024

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Introduction: Village Dilemma amidst the Impact of Climate Change

Karno B. Batiran & Mulyani Hasan

As an archipelagic country situated between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, with thousands of islands, Indonesia is very vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Studies indicate climate change has harmed the ecology and the livelihoods of poor people. Current research shows that earth temperatures are likely to increase by 1 degree Celsius in the 20th century. The World Meteorological Organization even predicts that there is a potential for the global surface temperature of the earth from 2023 to 2027 to rise 1.5 degrees Celsius warmer than the pre-industrial period of 1850[1].

1 Shukman, David, "*Perubahan iklim: Bumi makin panas, makin besar kemungkinan suhu bisa naik 1,5 derajat celcius dalam setahun*", (https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-57264356).

In a report, Sofian (2011)[2] explained the rate of sea level rise since the mid-19th century was higher than the rate of sea level rise two millennia earlier. Since the period of 1901-2010, the rate of sea level rise has reached 0.19 meters. Based on this scenario, the highest sea level rise will occur in eastern Indonesia, including Sulawesi at a rate of 5-8 mm per year.

Global climate change is predicted to impact coastal communities in various parts of the world. Accelerated sea level rise can result the sinking of small islands, flooding, erosion, sea water intrusion, and changes in ecological processes in coastal areas. Changes in biophysical aspects will also have an impact on socio-economic aspects of coastal communities such as loss of infrastructure, decreased ecological and economic value of coastal resources (Klein & Nicholls, 1999)[3].

Socioeconomic development also influences adaptive capacity. Poor people in urban and rural settlements, (more than one billion people worldwide), are very vulnerable to the impacts of weather and climate. The top five countries classified as highly vulnerable based on population in coastal lowland areas are developing countries and new industry countries; Bangladesh,

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2 Sofian, Ibnu, (2011), Rekonstruksi Klimat Laut Perairan Indonesia dengan Menggunakan Regional Ocean Modeling Systems (ROMS), *Badan Informasi Geospasial in Partnership with MAPIN,* Vol 17, No 2 (2011). http://jurnal.big. go.id/index.php/GM/article/view/23

3 Richard J. T. Klein, & Nicholls, R. J. (1999). Assessment of Coastal Vulnerability to Climate Change. Ambio, 28(2), 182–187. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4314873

China, Vietnam, India and Indonesia (McGranahan et al[4]., 2007; Jongman et al., 2012[5]).

Various research results also show that climate change will cause weather anomalies to occur more frequently. The start of the rainy season is delayed and ends earlier, which means the duration of the rainy season will be shorter. On the other hand, rainfall in the rainy season tends to increase while rainfall in the dry season tends to decrease. Changes in the hydrological cycle trigger various potential natural disasters, such as floods, landslides, river overflows, and the spread of disease vectors. On the other hand, the decreasing rainfall, drives potential disasters, such as drought, crop failure, lack of clean water, and various social problems that may arise. These impacts are much more pronounced for rural areas where most of their livelihoods are based on agriculture which is highly dependent on water and weather.

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The GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of Bulukumba Regency relies on agricultural and plantation sectors, in addition to the maritime and fisheries sectors. Data from the Bulukumba Central Statistics Agency shows that the population of the region

4 McGranahan, G., Balk, D., & Anderson, B. (2007). The rising tide: assessing the risks of climate change and human settlements in low elevation coastal zones. Environment and Urbanization, 19(1), 17-37. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247807076960

5 Brenden Jongman, Philip J. Ward, Jeroen C.J.H. Aerts, Global exposure to river and coastal flooding: Long term trends and changes, Global Environmental Change, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2012, Pages 823-835.

in 2023 is 442,292 people; (217,123 men and 226,169 women)[6]. The increase in the women population is influenced by the large number of men who work outside the region. One of the reasons is thought to be the tendency of people to leave agriculture and villages, as a result of the agricultural sector becoming increasingly unpromising. Meanwhile, according to the Integrated Social Protection Program Database (TNP2K-Bappeda Bulukumba, 2015), Bulukumba has 35,545 poor households or around 127,516 poor people, most of whom are in rural areas.

The Impact of Climate Change on the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous Community

The area identified as the territory of the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous Community covers an area of around 22,592.87 hectares located in 4 (four) sub-districts, covering 36 villages. The area consists of three watersheds (*Daerah Aliran Sungai/DAS*) landscapes: the Baonto watershed, Apparang watershed, and the Raowa watershed. Related to climate change, the area frequently experiences floods, water crises, droughts, seawater intrusion, and landslides. In the downstream part, seawater intrusion, water shortage/drought, and flooding began to occur, while in the upstream part, landslides began to occur in several places. The three watersheds play a central role as ecosystem

6 Kabupaten Bulukumba Dalam Angka 2023, Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bulukumba.

buffers in the Ammatoa Kajang traditional territory, especially when linked to community resilience toward the impacts of climate change. Generally, the traditional area is dominated by rice fields covering an area of 5,144.31 hectares and 4,034.88 hectares is a mixed plantation complex: clove, cocoa, pepper, rubber, coconut, etc. Meanwhile, the rest are corn plantations and residential areas.

However, there have been challenges in managing the landscape. First, the Ammatoa Kajang traditional forest ecosystem in three watersheds does not function effectively to support 3 (three) watersheds (Baonto Watershed, Apparang Watershed, and Raowa Watershed) because the area is only 313.99 hectares. Second, the environmental carrying capacity decreases due to unsustainable activities such as land conversion, dry land farming practices on slopes, and widespread land degradation resulting in a decline in the hydrological function of watersheds from downstream to upstream. Upstream, livelihoods related to agriculture are threatened, and downstream, water crises or drought and seawater intrusion are serious problems. Third, there is no integrated landscape management plan. Many parties related to landscape management (government sectoral institutions, communities, and others) still work fragmentedly based on their respective fields.

From the results of research by the Balang Institute and the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) from 2015

to 2018, there was a decline in the ecological quality of the Raowa watershed. As a result, there are many environmental problems, especially those that are closely related to the hydrological cycle, such as floods, water shortages/droughts, landslides, and seawater intrusion in the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous community area. This ultimately had a big impact on the livelihoods of the people, the economy, socio-culture, and food system of the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous community.

The rainy season in Kajang between December and May always causes flooding in certain locations. The Raowa River has recently often overflowed into roads, residential areas, and rice fields. The overflowing river water flooded the rice fields. Rice plants damaged. The community suffers huge losses, because the main livelihood of the downstream community is mostly from farming. During the dry season, villages in the middle and lower streams of the Raowa watershed suffer from water shortages. Another example is since 2012, people in Possi Tanah Village and Lembanna Village have experienced water shortages. Several sources of clean water such as creeks and springs have been dried, downstream of the Ammatoa Kajang traditional forest the seawater intrusion into the Raowa River could be as far as three kilometers. Meanwhile, landslides occurred on the slopes of the land around the Ammatoa Kajang traditional forest. These landslides usually occur on river banks when the intensity of rainfall increases in January or February. This land-

slide was caused by rainwater erosion on soil that became saturated after the dry season. Rainwater erosion occurs on sloped land used for corn crops.

About the Project

The project of Climate Change Adaptation Through Integrated Watershed Management in the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous Community Area is implemented by Payopayo Foundation and the Organisasi Aksi Sosial dan Ekologi (OASE).

This project is funded by Adaptation Fund[7] through Partnership (Partnership for Governance Reform)[8]. Starting from the problems described above, which are very much related to water, land, agriculture, and rural issues, watershed management is the main issue in this project. In climate change adaptation there are at least several things that can be done in efforts to adapt to the impacts of climate change, including ecosystem conservation and restoration, building food security, community resilience systems, public education and awareness, better water management, public policy regarding adaptation, technological development and innovation, partnerships and cooperation with various parties. This project is designed to do those.

7 Adaptation Fund is an international fund that funds projects and programs aimed at helping developing countries adapt to the harmful effects of climate change. It is governed by the Kyoto Protocol of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

8 https://kemitraan.or.id/

In general, the Adaptation Fund project in Bulukumba[9] consists of four components: *first*, developing an integrated Watershed management model in the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous area; *second*, developing a sustainable livelihood model; *third*, integrating integrated watershed management and climate change adaptation into local (district and village) government policies; and *fourth*, public awareness about the importance of watersheds and climate change adaptation.

These components were translated into various activities such as the formation of the Forum DAS (Watershed Management Forum) and Pokja API (Climate Change Adaptation Working Group) Bulukumba Regency. The Forum DAS and Pokja API are tasked with preparing integrated watershed management documents and Regional Action Plan documents for Climate Change Adaptation. For those related to livelihoods, there are activities such as agroforestry, integrated farming, yard gardening carried out by climate-resilient women's groups, goat livestock demonstrations, banana plantation demonstrations, and system of rice intensification (SRI) promotion. Then, efforts to integrate integrated watershed management and climate change adaptation into regional (district and village) policies are carried out through advocacy for the integration the integrated

9 This program is carried out in 14 villages in Bulukumba Regency, namely: Kambuno, Jawi-Jawi, Jojjolo, Tugondeng, Dwi Tiro, Bonto Baji, Tambangan, Tanah Towa, Possi Tanah, Pantama, Malleleng, Lolisang, Batu Nilamung, Pattiroang, starting from April 2021 to March 2024.

watershed management and climate change adaptation into district development activity programs. Meanwhile, at the village level, it is included in the RPJMDes (Village Medium Term Development Plan). The final component, public awareness about watersheds and climate change is carried out through campaign activities, writing scientific articles, and writing this book.

Book Writing Process

This book was written by field facilitators who worked for almost three years, from April 2021 to December 2023 in the Kajang area, Bulukumba. While working on the program, they take online writing and research classes.

The writing process consists of several stages. *First*, collecting data and field notes, as well as initial analysis in a workshop held in May 2023 in Bulukumba. In this workshop, the authors were trained by trainers and researchers from Forest and Society Research Group (FSRG)[10] together with the editors discussed the themes that emerged from the data set. Then, select and combine adjacent themes to make one article. While identifying the data that was still needed, the writers received writing training facilitated by a team of writing and research trainers.

Second stage, write an outline of each predetermined theme. Then each writer started writing by pouring data into the writ-

10 FSRG is a research institute under the Faculty of Forestry, Hasanuddin University

ing. At this stage, the authors have the opportunity to go to the field to complete the data. Here too they have about a month of writing time to complete it.

Third, the editors and trainers review the articles that have been submitted, then provide corrections and suggestions for revision (improving sentences, paragraphs, adding data, etc.).

Fourth, the editors directly edit all articles. Then, together with the trainer, look back at the edited manuscript to double-check the content of the writing. All these stages took place in eight months. During this process, we, Payopayo and OASE worked together with Forest and Society Research Group (FSRG) in organizing writing and research workshops as well as periodic discussions. We hope that this long process will not only produce good work but also become a learning process for all facilitators that can be useful in the future.

Book Contents

This book contains 8 popular articles. The entire theme of this article is about how the people of Kajang deal with the impacts of climate change which in recent years has affected their livelihoods. Widespread ecological damage and natural disasters have also worsened the quality of life of the Kajang community. The following are the themes highlighted in this book.

Interest in farming is decreasing

The most real impacts of climate change are felt by farmers. Yields are decreasing over time, while the costs required to plant are increasing. This is what forced them to switch to other professions and leave the village, as is the story in the article entitled *"Not Ours": The Story of Tenant Farmers Facing the Demands of Life and Passolo*. Meanwhile, the article entitled *Pakkampas : Jobs that Take Young People Away from Agriculture* explores the process of how young village people become addicted to *pakkampas* work, leaving the village and the entire agricultural business.

Commodity Changes

Farmers in the Kajang area are using all their knowledge to try several replacement crops for commodities affected by climate change, such as rice, cocoa and coffee. Apart from decreasing production, pest attacks are a scourge for farmers. Some attempts to replace this commodity have failed, but many have succeeded. Let's look at the article entitled Engineering the Sex of Nutmeg , there is also an article on Strategies for Surviving Weather Anomalies, and the Story of Palm Oil from Dwi Tiro Village.

Ecological Damage

Climate change not only triggers natural disasters, such as

floods, droughts, seawater intrusion, and landslides, but also disrupts habitats and ecological balance. Various types of pests are rampant and have failed to be overcome, as written in the article Because of Pigs and Strategies for Surviving Weather Anomalies.

Dilemma of Traditions and Customary Rules

Due to urgent needs, the Kajang indigenous community is often caught between two complicated choices. Like the story of the residents of Malleleng and Bonto Baji villages who insisted on leaving the *Kajang Dalam* traditional area. Please see the article entitled *Dilemma of Customary Law amidst the Impact of Climate Change*. There is also an article that reviews the issue of the *passolo* tradition, which is increasingly becoming a burden in itself, in the article *"Not Ours": Stories of Tenant Farmers Facing the Demands of Life and Passolo*.

The collection of writings in this book are sketches that illustrate how villages in the Ammatoa Kajang traditional area face various dilemmas amidst the various impacts of climate change that are hitting them. []

About Author

Karno B. Batiran, who has 20 years of experience in organizing rural communities in South and West Sulawesi. He also has extensive experience in research, as well as critical thinking issues among young people. He works with farmers and rural youth on issues of sustainable agriculture, alternative energy, appropriate technology, sustainable village resource management, and sustainable livelihood issues. Currently, at Payopayo, he organizes education for young people to become community organizers and sends them to villages to volunteer and work with rural residents. He can be contacted at *karnobatiran@payopayo.or.id.*

Mulyani Hasan, a freelance writer, was born in Bandung. She has worked as a journalist in print and electronic media. She has also served as an editor for several books and magazines, and contributed to several anthology books, including "The Truth Will Continue to Live, the Journey of Widji Thukul" (Yappika), "The State is Us" (Praxis Association), and "Virtual Opposition" (Insist Press). Currently residing in Makassar, she has joined the Payopayo Peasant School.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Because of Wild Boar

Musliadi

Villagers of Possi Tanah Village are overwhelmed by wild boar attacks. They have taken all ways they know. From hunting them to changing their commodities.

Farmers in this village stay up every night to protect their crops from hordes of packs of wild boar. They went around the farm, exerting their strength to drive him away. The wild boars invaded the gardens when the farmers were off guard.

But farmers did not want to give up. Since those tiring nights, they have been thinking hard about finding a way to ward off that group of 'thieves'. In this area, wild boars have lost their food source. The forest has been famine from season to season since it was turned into a settlement.

This area is called Possi Tanah, part of the Kajang traditional territory, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. Until the 1940s, this area was still included in the *Kajang Dalam* area, an area that implemented customary rules[1]. But, by the day, they were distressed by the need for timber to build the stand wood houses, which is difficult to obtain if this area was still in the *Kajang Dalam* area because customary rules prohibit it. In the 1990s, Possi Tanah officially left the *Kajang Dalam* area with the agreement of the community and customary councils.

A decade later, people began clearing the forest for agricultural land. They grow corn and beans. They also built houses on the farm to live in. Wild boars that live in the forest occasionally enter the farms, destroying farmers' crops. Once a pack comes, they can be dozens to tens of individuals of wild boars.

Before changing its function, Possi Tanah, according to village elders, was covered by a dense expanse of forest. *Possi* means center. Meanwhile, *Tana* means earth. So this area has been called the *Center of the Earth* by the Kajang indigenous people since it was still a wilderness. Currently, there are 467 families with 1,585 people living in this village. One version of the oral tradition of the local community says that the first people to settle in this area came from Tana Toa, Kajang area, whose name was *Galla Sikki*. In 1925, the dutch time, Possi Tanah was

1 Dressed all in black, untouched by the construction of asphalt road infrastructure, not using electricity. The houses are made of wood with thatched roofs.

part of the District administration (sub-district) Kajang, under *Onder afdeeling Boeloekoemba* (Bulukumba Regency). Before it became Possi Tanah in 1925, it was called *Galla Pantama*, covers *Onder district* (villages) Mattoanging , Lolisang , and Pantama. The natural contours are lowlands in the south and hills in the north, which currently form the boundary between Lolisang Village and Pantama Village.

In lowland areas, villagers make the rice fields, while in hilly areas, they set the settlements. Plantations were built on slopes. The total area of this village is 353 hectares.

The large-scale clearing of agricultural land lasted for about a decade starting in the early 1970s. Forests have been turned into agricultural land. Four decades later, the wild boars' habitat has narrowed, and their home ranges have decreased, making it difficult for them to find food. They lose their hunting ground for mice, digging worms, tubers, roots, insects, and bark. They have no choice but to devour the villagers' crops that are easy to reach.

Kamaluddin, a villager of Lembanna, suffered huge losses. His farms and rice fields were completely attacked by wild boars. The farm of corn and cassava covering an area of 30 acres (0.3 hectares) disappeared in only three nights. They also gobbled up nearly harvested rice in a 10-acre (0.1 hectare) rice field. Crops were lost, and rice fields were ravaged.

Efforts to Keep Wild boar Away

The villagers' efforts to repel the wild boar attack failed. The packs did not give up, their troops only increased in number. Farmers are overwhelmed. They mobilized anything they could, including asking for help from neighboring villages, Mattoanging and Lembanna Villages. The first experiment used a trap made of steel clutch wire. Then, they used poison. The most advanced way to use electricity. This last method was a disaster for the village residents.

A villager named Untung had the idea of making a trap from sliced and spun young bamboo. This idea emerged around the 1980s. Villagers call it *sikko* (snare trap). This tool is installed at the edge of the farm at the ground surface, where the wild boars pass. But, the snare was useless. The wild boars are too strong. They rebelled when trapped. The noose broke. And they got away.

There is also a tool called *lari'*. The way this tool works is the same as the *sikko*. The difference lies in the material from which it is made. *Lari'* is made from buffalo or cow skin which is cut to the size of an index finger, and then dried. This tool is strong enough to withstand the fury of a wild boar when it gets entangled but quickly bends when exposed to rainwater so that the circle pattern used to trap the pig's neck easily changes shape and breaks easily.

Another way, farmers also use used clothes to make scarecrows in the garden to scare herds of wild boars from entering the farm. All of these methods failed. Around 1990, people used clutch wire to trap wild boars. This snare is considered effective, because it does not change when exposed to rainwater, and is strong enough to withstand the wrath of pigs.

"Steel snares make wild boar's instincts develop because they are clever enough to avoid the snares set by farmers," said Untung, a village resident.

Around the 2000s, farmers again found new ways to deal with wild boar attacks. This time, it is poison. The shape is similar to brown sesame seeds and is odorless, its brand is *Temix*. This product is designed to poison rats, wild boars, and monkeys. Usually, this poison is put into jack fruit or coconut and then spread on the farm. This method is effective in killing wild boar, in fact, every day farmers find two to five wild boar lying around the garden, death poisoned. The wild boars that die from poisoning are thrown into ditches and are often left lying around until they become carcasses.

But another problem arose. The community's livestock also died of poisoning because they ate the poisonous bait. This method was abandoned, because there were already a lot of dead livestock and it was detrimental.

In 2018, another new way to repel wild boar attacks emerged

by using a wire stretched over a farm edge and then electrified. Steel wire is stretched in two to three layers around the farm.

But, before getting results, this last method backfired. When the electric wire was installed to trap wild boar, several residents were accidentally electrocuted and died. One of the victims was named Caco, a resident of Mattoanging Village. This tragedy occurred in March 2021.

That mid day, the sun was very hot. Caco walks through the farm looking for his cattle which he has been grazing since morning. Arriving at the garden, Caco walked while throwing his gaze in all directions. He did not see the wire stretched across the farm embankment which was still electrified. Caco's feet touched the wire. Shocked, electrocuted. He was dead, no one saw him.

Villagers didn't know where Caco was. They only realized there was something odd when Caco was not seen at the mosque during Friday prayers, a service he never missed. After prayers, Caco's family and neighbors began to scatter looking for him around the garden. They explored the places where Caco usually went to graze cows. Caco was found one kilometer from the settlement with burns on his legs. He died. His body fell to the ground.

47-year-old Arifuddin, a resident of Tambangan Village, experienced a similar fate. He died of an electric shock while on

his way to look for cattle.

At Possi Tanah Village, something similar also happened, in 2021, at Kanari Hamlet. The victim was a 50-year-old woman. He was electrocuted when she was about to pick up vegetables in the morning. In addition, livestock casualties are countless.

Various community efforts have not yielded results. The wild boars still steal crops. Every time, the number increases.

Hunting wild boar

Wild boars have been disturbing and detrimental to residents, not only in this village but also in neighboring villages. In 2020, the village government brought in a group of hunters from Sinjai Regency. There were 8 people along with 8 hunting dogs. They were helped by the villagers and the first hunt succeeded in getting 20 wild boars. Long before that, there was a group of hunters in this village, around the 70s. However, as they got older, they stopped hunting, and no one was interested in continuing the work. Their abilities disappear by themselves.

In mid-August 2023, the community and government of two villages; Tambangan Village and Bonto Rannu Village, Kajang District hunt together. They brought in 5 groups of hunters from two sub-districts, Kindang and Gantarang. Each group consists of 5 hunters, and each person in one group brings 7 to

10 trained dogs.

One group of hunters received a fee of IDR 3 million. The village government budgets funds for this. The community works together to provide food for hunters. They managed to catch 52 wild boars. The results of the hunt are distributed among all groups to be taken home as dog food. Some sell them to collectors to sell to markets in Manado at prices ranging from IDR 500 thousand to IDR 1 million per individual, depending on the size of the wild boar.

Coconut, the Savior

In 1960, the Possi Tanah villagers began planting coconuts, but they had not yet become the main crop. Coconuts are planted only to meet their own needs. The type of coconut planted at that time was *kelapa dalam* (local variety). Increasingly brutal wild boar attacks have forced people to plant coconuts to avoid the pest attacks.

One villager named Pareha replaced his plants with coconuts. At that time he was overwhelmed by wild boar pest attacks which often destroyed his corn.

"In the past, if you planted corn, sweet potatoes, and beans every night they were eaten and destroyed by wild boar. If you don't guard it closely, it will be finished off. Even though it is guarded, it can still get in, so that there is not much yield at

harvest time. “Because of that, I started to slowly replace it with coconut plants,” said Pareha .

“I took old coconuts that I planted in the farm embankment for seedlings. So I planted it by intercropping, corn with coconut while keeping it at a height that pigs couldn’t reach. “Newly planted coconuts are still damaged by pigs,” said Canu, another farmer.

Coconuts once saved the residents of this village from the threat of famine that occurred decades ago. At that time, in 1971, the dry season did not go away for 7 months. Even though it usually only lasts four months. Drought crops. Corn, rice, and tubers, all failed. People were forced to buy raw cassava and dried cassava from Sinjai Regency as a staple food source. Because they did not get results from farming, many villagers migrated to other areas to earn a living. Some went to Singkep Island, Riau Islands to work at tin ore mining, others went to Makassar to become construction workers, and to Malaysia to work on plantations.

The drought disaster made farmers more alert and more careful in choosing plant types. Of all the food crops that failed to harvest, coconut is one that survived. Several farmers who planted coconuts at that time survived the famine. Even though they didn’t plant it on a wide farm, they could harvest it throughout the year and then sell it to buy food. That experience has in-

spired other farmers to plant coconuts after the drought passes.

Since the disaster, people have been busy planting coconuts. According to their experience, coconut has been proven to be quite resilient to long droughts. Coconut is also resistant to wild boar pest attacks. In 1972, for one year, the Possi Tanah community received assistance from the Bulukumba Regency government for hybrid coconut seedlings. This variety produces faster. Five years after planting, it starts to bear fruit. People plant on a large scale using the intercropping method with corn.

The toughness of coconut has been proven year after year. For example, in 1996, Possi Tanah was again hit by a long drought for 6 months. Farmers again experienced crop failure. Corn and rice failed, but coconuts again proved resilient in the dry season.

At that time, coconut plantations already dominated most of the Possi Tanah area. Coconut has become a commodity that supports the community's economy to this day. Coconut is the main source of livelihood. Coconuts are processed into copra. From the tree, sap flows for sugar. Farmers produce sugar and then sell it to collectors for IDR 10 thousand per kilogram.

Coconuts are free from wild boar attacks but are targeted by shoot-eating beetles (*Oryctes rhinoceros*). This pest eats coconut shoots that are already bearing fruit. Coconuts that are only one or two years old can die if attacked by beetles.

Apart from beetles, there are other pests, Lampasa, a type of rat that has a larger body and a long tail. They eat young coconuts. This pest attack causes the coconut fruit to fall. Farmers usually use rat poison spread on coconut trees to repel them.

Coconut can indeed be a choice for people to avoid wild boar, but it cannot replace staple crops such as corn, rice, and tubers. Farmers continue to plant staple crops while continuing to look for ways to keep the wild boar away. []

About Author

Musliadi, born in 1994 in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi. He is an alumnus of East Indonesia University. Since 2017, he has been involved with the Social and Ecological Action Association (OASE) as a Volunteer, learning about organizing, research, and mentoring on issues of renewable energy sources and alternative energy with the Borong Rappoa community in Bulukumba. In 2018, Musliadi joined the Payopayo Peasant School (SRP Payopayo) and actively learned about rural issues as a volunteer in Bonto Masunggu Village, Bone District. During one year in the village, he worked on organizing participatory village boundary mapping, conducted surveys and research to create a Village Information System, one of the results being the "SID Bonto Masunggu" and the book "Bonto Masunggu Village 2018". In 2019, he had the opportunity to intern with the Assessment Conflict Resolution Unit (CRU) Indonesia team in Wajo District. From 2021 to 2024, he worked as a facilitator in Tambangan and Possi Tanah Villages, Kajang Sub-District, Bulukumba, in a climate change adaptation program.

Musliadi is also a GIS practitioner, web development programmer, and digital content creator. Some websites he has built include *perkumpulanoase.org, bontojai.desa.id, kanrung.id, smkdarululumpanaikang.sch, sukaria.net, kareso.org*. He can be contacted through *www.mullalgibrhani.com* and *musliadimagassing@gmail.com*.

Surviving the Weather Anomalies

Abdul Salman

Because rice yields decrease every year, farmers in Jojjolo Village, Bulukumba Regency switch from one commodity to another, adapting to unpredictable weather changes.

In this region, the dry season usually does not last long each year, a maximum of one month. Two tributaries on the north and south sides of the village flow throughout the year to irrigate the rice fields and plantations. The slopes are filled with various kinds of plants. Paradise for herdsmen.

However, 2023 is quite different. Since mid-July and the end of October, the rain has never come. The trees on the hills are deciduous. Some rice plants failed to harvest. Meanwhile, rubber, cloves, and cocoa cannot be expected. If the situation has not changed soon enough, farmers will replace rice with corn.

Jojjolo Village is in the southern part of Bulukumpa District , Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. This village consists of 8 hamlets and is 10 kilometers from Bulukumpa District center. The natural contour is hills with a height of 250 meters above sea level.

Jojjolo Village, 2,135 hectares, consists of roads, residential areas, mixed crop plantations, rice fields, and a rubber plantation company owned by PT London Sumatra. This village is crossed by two tributaries on the north and south sides.

Villagers depend on the yield of rice fields, plantations and livestock for their livelihoods. Cocoa and cloves were once the village's main commodities, apart from rice. But, those golden times have passed. Cocoa is getting worse day by day. Likewise with cloves. Other plants cultivated by the residents of this village include teak wood, coconut, and *odot* grass (*Pennisetum purpureum*).

For villagers whose source of livelihood relies primarily on agricultural products, drought can be a disaster. The last long drought in Jojjolo Village occurred in 2005. Rain did not fall for four months, from June to October. But that's not much, compared to the drought in 1971 which lasted seven months. Plants died. Shepherds had difficulty feeding their livestock. Villagers fetched water from the river one kilometer from the settlements that line the hill. Towards the river, you can only go down a

swooping and rocky path. Since 1960, residential areas were moved to the hills, from previously lining the banks of the river.

The drought in 1971 resulted in a food crisis in the village. The drought occurred one month after the rice harvest in June. Rice was only enough for up to 4 months.

"Some borrowed rice from their neighbor who had quite enough. "Some people couldn't pay back then gave their land instead," said a resident, Hammadin in an evening chat. A look of disappointment appears on his face when remembers his neighbors' lands being lost one by one.

According to him, the drought tragedy is a bad memory. It's not just the rice crisis, other food crops are also dying from drought. Many residents at that time ate banana stems, because there was nothing else to eat.

"In my lifetime, that was the longest drought," said Taju, a former village head.

"It was extremely hot that the hooves of cows and buffaloes were torn off when they plowed the farm for planting corn. It's so hot."

Villagers grew corn as daily food. Only prepared rice when there was a special event, like a celebration. Eating rice was a luxury at that time. Grain neatly arranged in a house is a sign that the owner has a large rice field; because people couldn't have a stock of grain if they only relied on once-a-year harvest-

ing. Moreover, if there was a buffalo tied under the house, it further strengthened the family's social position.

Before a green revolution program during the New Order government, farmers cultivated their rice fields once a year with *ranggong* rice (a local variety). According to Hammadin, the rice fields cultivated once a year for five months and leaving the field for seven months will make the land fertile again. This is a custom passed down from the ancestors in the village. *Ranggong* rice and 'white corn' (local variety) were sources of food for village residents before there was a rice field extensification program.

"I don't know when was the *ranggong* rice started to be cultivated, it's been there since I was born," said Hammadin.

Ranggong rice is harvested 150 days after planting. 'White corn' is harvested three months after planting. Due to the long period of the rice planting time, villagers are very careful about consuming rice. Eight months of planting period, for them this had been a kind of bet. The results of each harvest were not necessarily good, and the risk of pest attacks was always lurking.

Corn is a daily food for villagers. They use their dry land to grow corn.

"The corn was more important than rice, corn was planted on the farm then after rice was harvested at the rice field we planted corn again there," said Hammadin.

In cultivating the land, villagers used the method of *dibela*"[1]. Weeds and dry wood were burned to produce charcoal. The ashes from burning corn plantations waste on the hillsides would be washed away by rainwater, and then flowed into the rice fields on the banks of the river. This material would become nutrients for the soil to fertilize the rice fields in the next rice planting season.

Because rice is only harvested once a year, villagers were very economical in consuming rice until the next harvest. In dry times, they mix rice with corn or corn with steamed young bananas.

During the New Order government, villagers were required to take part in the rice field extensification program. Rice seeds were starting to vary with a short harvest period. In one year you could plant twice, even from 1980 until now it has been planted three times in one year. Some types of rice, such as *ranggong* rice, are starting to be abandoned because the planting period is all year round.

Since planting supreme rice seeds distributed by the government, villagers have often shared rice for special events, when celebrating important days, such as weddings, male circumcisions and *akikah*[2], rice become more important.

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1 to clear land using a machete or sickle to cut weeds before the land is planted with corn or beans.

2 Muslim ritual for the birth of a baby. Usually this ceremony is accompanied by slaughtering livestock on the seventh day after birth.

Rice needs water throughout its life. So when the dry season arrives, farmers replace it with other crops, such as corn. Pest attacks also cause losses for farmers such as planthopper pests (*Siphanta acuta*), blast disease caused by the fungus *Pyricularia oryzae*, stem borers, yellow spot leaves, and stem rot. Apart from that, pests such as sparrows, rats, and wild boar also often disturb rice. On the other hand, the high production costs of growing rice are not commensurable with the low price of grain.

Middlemen came to farmers' houses to pick up grain. The price was IDR 380 per kilogram or IDR 380 thousand per sack. This buying and selling of grain only occurred in 2015, previously farmers only sold rice, when there was a surplus of harvest. Grain is sold only by farmers who have large rice fields. In the rainy season, rice production increases, but the grain becomes damp black, and empty, so the price drops. Meanwhile, during the dry season when production fell, prices rose.

Program of Making Rice Fields, A Hope

The government's rice field-making program in 1982 targeted Bulukumpa District. Jojjolo Village was one of them. Two large rivers that flow on the north and south sides of Jojjolo Village are a source of water for the rice fields. The Balombassie River in the north irrigates the rice fields of Bontokamase Hamlet, and parts of Bippajeng, Lembang, and Batunilamung

Hamlet. The Apparang River in the south irrigates the rice fields of Malebbang, Balumbung, and Kalakae hamlets.

Ruddin, who is currently 62 years old, saw firsthand the changes in land cover behind his house in Balumbung Hamlet. At that time he was in grade 5 of elementary school. He said the land used as a rice field making location was land covered with bushes, banyan trees, petai, and coconuts. Villagers welcomed the program with joy.

At that time rice was still scarce. Even though a lot of grain has been collected, residents eat corn more often, because rice is a food reserve and is only consumed when the corn runs out.

"But if there was a wedding ceremony event, there you could eat as much rice as you can," said Ruddin.

Likewise with Taju who is now 71 years old. He is one of the landowners included in the rice field-making program. The land area, 6 hectares, was filled with hybrid coconuts before it became rice fields. However, the golden period of rice is only 5 years.

"Only five years after the rice fields were planted, there were no more productive fields, due to lack of water. "The water flow is decreasing," he said, complaining.

When the rice field making program took place, Liggo, 66 year old, was very amazed. Land filled with bushes can be razed to the ground instantly, without breaking a sweat. Nine hectares

of his land were transformed into rice fields.

While sitting with his hand under the chins, once in a while pointing his index finger at the back of the house, Liggo talked about those times.

"Seeing there was a machine for pushing soil for leveraging, so we also asked for it, to do it with our forest-like land." According to him, not everyone whose land has been razed wants to plant rice.

"I planted rice four times before I stopped, at that time I only planted rice once a year," said Liggo. Water did not reach the rice fields. Because of this, farmers changed their crops.

Balambassie Irrigation was built in 1984, two years after the rice fields were made. The irrigation system that was built irrigates rice fields from Ballapale Hamlet, Bontokamase, Lajae to Balumbung.

According to Liggo, the irrigation that was built had no impact on rice field productivity.

"There was a lack of water when it was made for irrigation, it was difficult to get water."

From Rice to Other Crops

The farmers in this village are starting to have difficulty managing rice. The uncertain weather and planting costs that are getting higher day by day make them look at other plants.

Moreover, irrigation facilities are inadequate when drought strikes. Some commodities cultivated by villagers include cocoa, cloves, teak wood (*Gmelina arborea*), and rubber which has been popular this time.

Before rubber, farmers tried their luck on the cocoa crop. But it did not last long. As experienced by Alimuddin, a villager of Bippajeng Hamlet. When I met him on his plantation, he was digging a hole to plant nutmeg. There are eight holes dug to replace the dead nutmeg plants. He was out of breath as he beckoned me to enter his land. Alimuddin, owner of the land used as a demonstration plot for agroforestry climate change adaptation activities. The 2-hectare land was previously planted with rice. However, he was forced to replace it because water no longer reached his rice fields due to a damaged irrigation canal upstream. He turned his land into a plantation. Apart from nutmeg, he has planted cocoa and teak wood. But he didn't expect that cultivating cocoa was much more difficult than rice. However, around 1996 to 2002, cocoa prices were at their peak.

"There's a lot of work growing cocoa," he said while throwing his look to the far distance.

Taking care of cocoa starts with pruning shoots, spraying pesticides, and regular fertilization to get maximum results. After harvesting, the cocoa pods must be split open, then fermented for two days to reduce mucus, separate dirt from the co-

coa beans, and dry in the sun for about 3 days. For Alimuddin, this stage was very complicated and drained his energy. Then, he replaced it with teak wood, which does not require high costs and is not complicated to maintain.

Rubber is not a new crop in this village. This plant has been in existence since 1995. At that time only 9 people were interested in rubber through the PT London Sumatra plasma plantation program, the rubber plantation companies in Bulukumba. Meanwhile, many land conversions to rubber plantations have occurred since 2010, especially in Lembang, Bontokamase, and Bippajeng hamlets.

Currently, there are around 976.2 hectares of rubber plantations spread across eight hamlets. The largest are in Kalakae Hamlet and Batunilamung Hamlet. The village's hilly conditions and land with a slope of 30-40 degrees are one of the reasons villagers plant rubber. Rubber trees are planted in rows with a spacing of four meters to the back and six meters to the side. The rubber plasma plantation started in 1995. The first three people planted rubber in Jojjolo Village; Cokeng, Taju, and Condeng. Their land is registered in a plasma plantation or private plantation development program. The plantation company that is operating in this village, PT London Sumatra (Lonsum)[3], cur-

3 PT. London Sumatra was originally named NV. Celebes Landbouw Maaschappijh, entered Bulukumba through Dutch East Indies General Decree No. 43 and 44 dated 10 July 1919 and 18 May 1921 with the status of erfpacht rights . On April 17, 1961, NV. Celebes Landbouw Maaschappijh submitted an application to the Indonesian Government to convert the erfpacht rights it owns into Business Use Rights (HGU);

rently owned by the Salim Group. The location is on the north side of the village.

Most people were not interested in managing plasma plantations in collaboration with this company, because they did not know the market chain and rubber prices.

"At that time, rubber prices were very secretive and only companies knew, even the owners of the land used for plasma did not know the price of rubber," said Kamiluddin, head of Bontokamase Hamlet.

Taju said that the plasma plantation offer made by PT Lonsum in Bulukumba District only involved village heads, hamlet heads, and community leaders. However, the wider community rejected it. The community was afraid that the company would not return the villagers' land used as plasma when the contract ended.

"They are afraid that their land will be taken by the Dutch," said Taju jokingly.

This suspicion became more widespread and gave rise to resistance from a group of residents against the company when there was an incident where the company deployed a bulldozer onto villagers' land without the owner's consent. The land would be used as a place for rubber nurseries.

Lonsum manages oil palm, rubber, cocoa and tea plantations with a total area of 116,053 hectares spread across North Sumatra, South Sumatra, East Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Java.

The incident escalated, and a villager named Sainuddin, (aka Tatto), slapped the Head of Bulo-Bulo Village at that time, who was the main supporter of the plantation company. Tatto was sued and reported to the police, but due to community support, the police had difficulty arresting him.

Ruddin said, "Hundreds of people were there, and protected Tatto from being caught by the police," said Ruddin, a villager who was at the scene at the time.

"Women and men carry machetes," he said.

The plantation has succeeded in inviting community leaders who own large areas of land to take part in the plasma program. They include Makki, Haeba, Alimuddin, and Jamaluddin. The agreement between the plantation and the villagers agreed that the plasma plantation would last for twelve years. The company covers all land processing costs, terracing, fertilization costs, seed costs, labor costs, and maintenance costs until the sap can be extracted from the rubber trees. Landowners may not take their land until all the costs of processing the land are reimbursed.

The landowners enjoyed the results of the agreement. They are not involved in the production process but receive the results every month.

In 2007, villagers began to become anxious when the plasma plantation management began to violate the agreement. The

sharing yields often decrease every month. Taju did not remain silent. The plasma owner agreed to go to the PT Lonsum office.

"When they went to the office, they showed proof of sales, but they cut a lot, they wanted to build public facilities, such as recreation spot, this and that, but it wasn't proven," he said. Since then people have asked for refunds.

"There was chaos among the management, at the plantation office, many people protested, and many people played the price of rubber. One of the managers sold the house and fled to Southeast Sulawesi. Finally, the cooperative also disbanded."

Since it started being crushed, half the price of rubber has been cut and goes to PT Lonsum, in exchange for initial production costs. After the production costs were paid off, the price of the plasma plantation rubber was handed over in full to the villagers, since then the management of the plasma has been chaotic.

Rubber plants do not require intensive care. Once planted, the rubber only needs to be protected from wild boar or livestock before it reaches a height of 2 to 3 meters. After that, the farmers should ensure soil moisture so that the rubber does not wither during the dry season. If you want maximum results, you should fertilize twice a year.

In 2010, more villagers of Jojjolo started planting rubber, after seeing the household economic improvement of villagers who

planted rubber. Since then, villagers have been searching for themselves about the price of rubber latex, and it turns out that all this time they have been getting prices that are lower than the market price. So, for decades, villagers did not know that rubber had high value because information regarding the selling price of rubber was very enclosed. At that time, the market price for rubber latex was around IDR 9 thousand per kilogram.

Another problem is that most of the villagers do not have adequate knowledge of rubber cultivation. They don't even know what type of rubber tree they grow. I met someone who was quite an expert on rubber trees, Syarifuddin. He is a villager of Lajae Hamlet and once worked on the PT Lonsum plantation, for 25 years. That afternoon the sun was very hot when I arrived at his house. I went straight to the terrace next to his house, and took a rattan mat to lie down on. I fell asleep, in a flash.

Syarifuddin, familiarly called Colli. He still remembers the type of rubber that was raised at the PT Lonsum rubber plantation. He is experienced in recognizing types of rubber, processing, rubber tree maintenance, and understanding the types of diseases that commonly affect rubber. The meeting only lasted an hour, but there was a lot of knowledge about rubber that I just found out about. He sat on a chair. I sat cross-legged on the floor watching his movements as he stood up repeatedly explaining how to find the right diameter of a rubber tree to tap. He demonstrated it on the pillar of his house.

There are two diseases that attack rubber, skin disease (brown bark) and leaf fall disease, which affect productivity. Brown Bark disease is also known as dry tapping disease or known as brown skin (*Bruine binnenbast* or brown bark or bark dryness or brownness bast) which is often shortened to BB is a disease whose main cause is currently unknown. Heavy BB attacks are largely determined by the type of clone planted, soil conditions, and climate, as well as exploitation. Each clone has a different level of sensitivity to BB disease. Leaf fall disease causes leaves to fall continuously until they are almost gone, the canopy becomes thin and reduces production by up to 45 percent. The spread of this disease is very fast, through the air. Like a time bomb, rubber disease attacks could attack local people's rubber trees if they are not anticipated now.

Silently I am muttering, that climate change surely will worsen the situation.

Rubber Sales in Jojjolo Village

To sell rubber, villagers just wait for collectors to come to their houses or farms. They collect and store rubber in buckets or basins. For farmers who have an average of 100 rubber trees, they will sell them after two or three harvests. After collecting 45 kilograms from 3 tapping times, they sold it.

If rainfall is normal, every 100 rubber trees can produce 15

kilograms of latex. However, during the dry season, it can decrease to 5 kilograms from 100 trees. Leaves will fall on trees whose sap is running low.

The selling price of rubber over the last three years has been around IDR 8,500 to IDR 9,400 per kilogram. Farmers will receive a net price after deducting one kilogram each time the solid rubber is put on the scale. According to collectors, rubber latex has a high moisture which will shrink after being transported. So farmers just take the deduction practice for granted.

Changing Food Crops to Commercial Cash Crop

Farmers utilize their dry land with intercropping. In one land, they can plant more than one type of plant. This method can also help the income of farmers with limited land. This knowledge has existed since the 90s, but at that time they did not know about plant spacing, fertilizer, and pruning.

Types of commodities used as intercropping crops include coffee, cloves, pepper, cocoa, and vanilla (*Vanilla planifolia*). However, very few of their plants grow big, so farmers are not too focused on implementing intercropping farming. This happens because knowledge of maintenance for intercropping plants is inadequate.

One of the farmers who successfully implemented intercropping, Hammadin. He planted pepper plants creeping on *sengon*

trees (*Albizia chinensis*). He got tens of kilograms of dried pepper. However other farmers who planted coffee with *sengon* did not produce maximum results.

Rice and rubber are still the main commodities for villagers. However, farmers still lack knowledge about rubber processing. At the same time, they face challenges due to climate change, pest attacks, and disease. Meanwhile, good road access to the market and internet can be an opportunity to market products.

Amid declining yields of cloves, cocoa, and pepper, a newcomer has emerged as a reliable crop: Nutmeg. Villagers think this plant is immune from pests and disease. In the last two years, the selling price has been high, ranging from IDR 30 thousand to IDR 50 thousand per kilogram for dry beans.

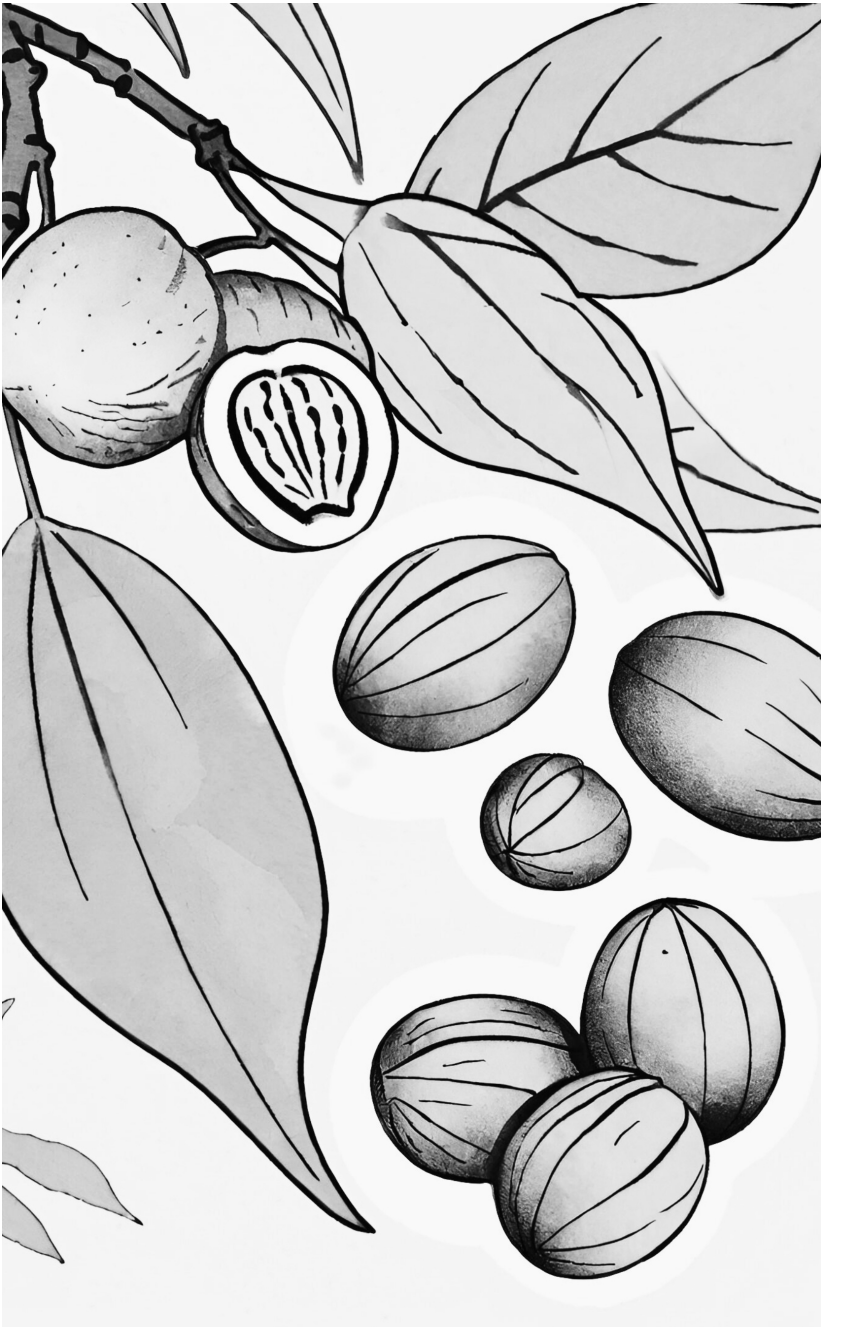
All parts of the nutmeg have sales value, the seeds, mace, and fruit flesh. So far, villager residents only sell seeds. Later, they found out that mace or mace shells were more expensive. The price of mace on August 10 2023 has been in the range of IDR 225 thousand and IDR 230 thousand per kilogram.

However, currently, farmers cannot be sure about the future of nutmeg. They can only guess about its resistance to pests, disease, and climatic conditions. Villagers hope that nutmeg will not suffer the same fate as other commodity crops such as cloves, cocoa, vanilla, and pepper which are ultimately forced to succumb to climatic conditions and increasingly acute attacks

by pests and diseases. []

About Author

Abdul Salman, born in Tawau, Sabah, Malaysia in 1991. He is an alumnus of Makassar State University and is actively involved in social movements focusing on conflicts between farmers and rubber plantation companies, minority ethnic groups, and urban poor communities. Currently, he serves as the Director of an NGO, Kareso Bulukumba.



Engineering Nutmeg's Sex

Muhammad Harisah

How Nutmeg Farmers in Kambuno Welcome the Shoot Grafting Technique Method.

Sudirman originally depended on durian for his living. However, in the last ten years, weather anomalies have caused Sudirman's income from durian to plummet. "Now the weather is unpredictable," Sudirman complained.

"Usually we are happy when we see that the durian is flowering profusely, but it immediately starts raining heavily, which is what usually causes it to fail to bear fruit. Knocked off all the flowers."

I met Sudirman recently, as he was arranging hundreds of poly bags containing the nutmeg seeds he had sown, in front of

his house in Mannyaha, an upland village in Bulukumba Regency. Mannyaha is part of Kambuno village.

For Sudirman, durian is now just a golden story in the past and nutmeg will become a future full of glory. Replacing the role of cloves, mangosteen, and durian, whose yields are decreasing every year, due to the onslaught of erratic weather.

In Kambuno, people widely know Sudirman not only as a painstaking nutmeg farmer but also as a famous seller of nutmeg seedlings. When people complain about how difficult it is to sow nutmeg seeds, Sudirman doesn't. He had a method and proudly explained it to me.

First, said Sudirman, dig a hole measuring 1x1.5 meters, about as deep as an adult's knee. *Second*, continued Sudirman, take dry grass and arrange it to cover the bottom of the hole. *Third*, place the nutmeg seeds on the surface of the grass, then cover it with dry grass. Lastly, said Sudirman, cover the hole with chopped banana stems.

"If I use this method, God willing, many will grow."

In Sudirman's 0.4-hectare plantation, dozens of nutmeg trees grow. It grows fertile and bears fruit all year round. The age of Sudirman's nutmeg varies. Some are ten years old. Five years. And one year.

In Kambuno, said Sudirman, there was nutmeg growing in the yard of the former village head's house, decades old, which

soon became the parent of nutmeg in Kambuno. "I've been in Kambuno for 30 years, that nutmeg tree has been there. The tree is not very tall, but the trunk is very big."

The fruit from the nutmeg tree was then sown and used as seeds and soon replaced the Dutch-time coffee plant (*Excelsa* type) which at that time no longer had a price. As Sudirman remembers, nutmeg was first planted in Kambuno in the 80s, when Sudirman was still in grade 5 of elementary school.

Kambuno villagers started busy planting nutmeg in 2013, in line with the increase in the price of nutmeg on the market. "But," said Sudirman. "In the past, people weren't serious about planting nutmeg because it was still cheap, but it turns out it suits the soil conditions here, nowadays there are a lot of nutmeg here."

At the end of 2012, the price of nutmeg began to rise, in line with the abundance of nutmeg at that time, until it finally captivated Kambuno farmers.

The arrival of nutmeg in Kambuno was like a miracle. It doesn't know the harvest season, harvests all the time, and doesn't need complicated processing like other commodities, such as cloves and vanilla. "At normal peak harvest season, while the fruit is ripening in the garden, small fruit like the size of marbles already appear," said Ismail, another nutmeg farmer in Kambuno. "So the fruiting doesn't stop."

"How is the treatment?" I ask.

"I only use manure for my nutmeg in the garden, but it remains fertile too," said Ismail. "Nutmeg really like manure."

Throughout the year, said Ismail, there are nutmeg fruits ready to be harvested to be sold and make money. "You can have savings, for retirement time," Ismail smiled.

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Pabottingi didn't know what nutmeg is. The intention is simple. He just wanted to plant the spices next to his house which he was building, in Barugae, one of the hamlets in Kambuno, for decoration.

One day in 1982, Pabottingi went to the house of a relative named Muhammadiyah to get water from an old well for the construction of his house.

When Pabottingi approached the well, he was amazed by a tree full of yellow fruit. Hanging like oranges. He then asked the host what was the name of the tree. "Nutmeg tree," answered Muhammadiyah.

Pabottingi then returned to the well and picked up five nutmeg seeds which he sowed when he returned home. The five nutmeg seeds grew into seedlings. Pabottingi planted two trees next to the house. Three trees were handed to the house builders, each of whom got one.

Nutmeg is a spice endemic to Indonesia. Found growing in

the eastern part of the archipelago, in the Maluku Islands, specifically in the Banda Islands. On average, nutmeg trees grow between 5 and 20 meters when mature. The nutmeg plant is a dioecious plant, male flowers and female flowers are found on two different trees. Nutmeg leaves are green while the vein pattern of the leaves is pinnate. Nutmeg fruit is oval-shaped, yellowish in colour, smaller in size. When the nutmeg is ripe, the fruit splits, the seeds turn brown, and the mace turns red. Nutmeg is ready to harvest.

Photo trees and fruit nutmeg

Nutmeg plants will usually start to bear fruit when they are 5 to 6 years old, and will bear maximum fruit at the age of 25 years. Nutmeg plants are strong and resistant in all weather so that nutmeg can grow for hundreds of years. That is why nutmeg is often identified as the adaptive plants to climate change. Nutmeg will grow well in hilly areas, exposed to lots of sunlight, and with fairly high rainfall. One of the advantages of nutmeg that farmers like is that nutmeg plants can bear fruit all year round. At the peak of the harvest, nutmeg even bears fruit for three months.

However, the story of nutmeg is not always about glory, pride, fragrance and success. Pabottingi, Sudirman, or Ismail may not know, behind all that, nutmeg has a dark history that

even changed the fate of the archipelago and its millions of inhabitants.

Since at least the 6th century AD, nutmeg has circulated throughout the world on the European continent, through global trade monopolized by Chinese, Indian and Arab traders. At that time, nutmeg was only used as a spice to add flavor to food, as a herbal medicine and as a fragrance. However, the price of nutmeg at that time was very expensive. Because of this, nutmeg was only consumed by European nobles. At that time, the price of half a kilogram of nutmeg was equivalent to seven fat adult bulls.

When human civilization entered the 14th century AD (1346 to 1353), bubonic plague spread the European continent, half of the Asian continent, and North America. The Bubonic Plague is more popularly known as the Black Death , because the bodies of infected victims turned black due to swollen blood vessels. This plague was originally discovered in the highlands of Central Asia, in the Kyrgyzstan region , then soon spread to Europe via the Silk Road. This disease originates from the *Yersinia* bacteria *pestis* spread by fleas that live on the bodies of a number of animals such as mice.

The Black Death was so deadly at that time. People who contract this disease usually experience swelling of the lymph nodes around the neck and armpits. A few moments later, the

body parts around the sufferer's neck and armpits began to turn black, accompanied by unbearable pain. If within two days the Black Death sufferer does not receive medical treatment, the patient will die. In just four years, the Black Death had killed at least a third of Europe's population.

During this time, many people believed that nutmeg could save them from the Black Death . Moreover, previously there was a myth that nutmeg was a fruit that kept humans away from the angel of death. Monks and noble families often put nutmeg powder into small cloth bags and hung them around their necks. The goal is clear: to survive the deadly plague. However, this myth is not completely wrong.

The fruit which was nicknamed "*Jansi Ban*" or "Beans from Banda" by the famous medical scientist Ibn Sina, actually contains the molecule *Isoeugenol*. Which the plague-carrying fleas don't like. *Myristicin* compound content and *Elemicin* Nutmeg seeds and mace are also a natural insecticide with anti-microbial properties which at that time was believed to be able to save the lives of many people.

The soaring demand for nutmeg during the Black Death pandemic finally made the big empires in Europe, such as Portugal, Spain, England, France and the Netherlands - which initially only bought spices from Arab, Indian and Chinese traders - launch large-scale expeditions - in terms of scale and cost—in

order to find the location of the Banda Islands, a group of islands known as 'home of spices' where nutmeg grows abundantly.

The expedition even involved famous sailors and adventurers such as Vasco Da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan , and Marcopolo to lead their expedition. The expedition had at least two main goals: Getting the spices directly from where they grow and at the same time ending the domination of traders from Asia.

Competition to monopolize the sources and trade routes for spices between trading companies belonging to large European empires has triggered colonization of the people of the Banda Islands and Maluku, which later spread to almost the entire archipelago. In a book called Nathaniel's Nutmeg recorded about the mass massacre of the population of the Banda Islands. In that note, it is recorded how the people of the Banda Islands were brought to Java to be sold as slaves.

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Kambuno Village has a hilly contour and is blessed with high rainfall, making it an ideal place for cultivating nutmeg. The land use of Kambuno Village, which is dominated by intercropping plantations, is a sign that Kambuno farmers are used to grow tree crops, so cultivating nutmeg is not something difficult.

"Caring for nutmeg is easy," said Muhammad Basir, a nutmeg farmer since 1986. "Nutmeg is not susceptible to disease.

Harvesting and post-harvest are easy, and can be sold quickly. "As far as I know, the only pests in nutmeg are wild boar which usually damage the stems, so it has to be fenced off using wood branches."

The main problem faced by nutmeg farmers in Kambuno is precisely the sex of the nutmeg: male and female. Male nutmeg does not produce as many fruits as female nutmeg. The problem is that male nutmeg dominates the plantations of Kambuno, Basir and other farmers have not yet found an effective solution. Basir has been looking for information here and there about how to make female nutmeg grow in abundance in his plantation. When he knew something, Basir quickly tried it. However, it failed. When he found another way, Basir tried again. And failed. Over and over again, Basir tried several methods, but the results were still nothing.

"Once an agriculture extension service visited the house," Basir recalled. "I gave him a look at the nutmeg seeds of one tree and then I asked him 'is this male or female, sir?' He answered 'it would be a female.'"

"When it grown," continued Basir. "The prediction was wrong."

One time, when Basir cut down all his male nutmeg trees, he discovered that there were female nutmegs that had turned into male nutmegs.

That morning, 19 October 2023, at the Kambuno Village hall, the village government, through using the village budget, held training on plant shoot grafting. A total of fifty Kambuno Villagers consisting of 40 men and 10 women were involved as participants. Most of the participants are farmers. The training is a replication of Agroforestry training by the Adaptation Fund project implemented by Payopayo - Oase in April 2022.

The shoot grafting technique was one of the training carried out by the Adaptation Fund project. It caught the attention of the villagers, including Syahrullah, the village head who was visiting the Field School at that time. He had even practiced the grafting technique. For Syahrullah, this technique is easy. Starting from cutting tree branches, connecting the entries , tying the joints with plastic wrap , to covering the connected plants with plastic.

"This could be a solution to the nutmegs sex problem where male trees always outnumbered the female trees in the plantation," said Syahrullah. "God willing, the village government will conduct training like this using village funds so that it can be learned by the wider community."

For Syahrullah, this training is the answer to the difficulties that farmers have experienced so far: the difficulty of determining the sex of nutmeg plants. "If the community has mastered how to carry out grafting techniques well, the village govern-

ment no longer needs to allocate a budget for procuring seeds," said Syahrullah. "The village budget will be used for other more urgent matters. "In fact, when there are many smart people, we will sell quality seeds to other villages."

Sahabuddin from Anoa Farm Bantaeng was the trainer. Sahabuddin trained them plant propagation using vegetative methods such as grafting. According to him. In fact, said Sahabuddin, actually the nutmeg plants are inter-sexual types because the nutmeg that farmers have thought to be male also bears fruit, although in fewer quantities. Sahabuddin also provided a lot of information about how to select the shoots. Selection of stems and shoots is a determining factor of shoot grafting techniques on nutmeg plants.

"In my experience, the best shoots are the shoots that grow around the nutmeg stem," said Sahabuddin.

In Kambuno, the grafting technique promoted by the adaptation fund project is like a breath of fresh air. Before this training, they did not have the knowledge or practice to determine whether the nutmeg plants they planted would be female or male. It's like they're gambling.

There have been many cases where the nutmeg they planted turned out to grow more of the male type. Meanwhile, to find out whether the nutmeg is male or female, farmers must wait 4 to 5 years when the nutmeg is mature and the nutmeg has start-

ed to bear fruit.

The classification of male and female in nutmeg plants occurs because nutmeg is a dioecious plant so it has the possibility of being male or female. In Kambuno Village, it is often found in one farm that the number of male nutmeg species dominates the female nutmeg, contrary to the wishes of farmers who want lots of female nutmeg trees. In fact, farmers still need male nutmeg to pollinate female nutmeg flowers, of course in much smaller quantities.

Shoot grafting can 'manipulate' the sex of the nutmeg trees. The technique of grafting shoots or connecting branches taken from female nutmeg will most likely grow female, and vice versa. This technique makes it easier for farmers to design farm according to their wishes: female nutmeg grows more and in the future produces more fruit for sale. On the other hand, the shoot grafting technique is also able to speed up the growth period. The growth of plants resulting from shoot grafting tends to be faster. In practice, the shoot grafting technique is easier. The tools used are also easy to find. Razors and plastic wrap are now easily available in villages.

In Kambuno, Hasir was one of the people who successfully practiced the shoot grafting technique on his nutmeg. After attending Agroforestry training, Hasir tried the shoot grafting method on his 5 nutmeg seedling trees. "It worked, sir ," he said

enthusiastically.

He is now caring for the nutmeg tree which has had its shoots reattached diligently. The nutmeg tree is currently to an adult-knee-high. Currently, Hasir has succeeded in connecting around 20 nutmeg seedlings.

Meanwhile, Basir has 38 mature nutmeg trees which he planted in two of his farms, and has earned money to support his family. Basir has four children. All of his children attended college. Three of his children have earned college degrees. His youngest child is currently taking his seventh semester of college, majoring in arts, Makassar State University. Thanks to nutmeg.

When harvesting, farmers in Kambuno always set aside their harvest for household needs. According to Marhumi, a woman nutmeg farmer, apart from being useful as a spice and a mixture of various snacks, nutmeg is also useful as a herbal medicine. Marhumi often uses nutmeg as a medicine when she or her family members have toothache or flatulence. Nutmeg can also cure the effects of insect bites and can reduce fever. Marhumi also often makes a concoction of nutmeg powder mixed with coconut oil as a topical medicine. For internal medication, Marhumi grinds the nutmeg and then brews it with warm water to drink.

Apart from its economic function, nutmeg has many benefits for treating disease. Essential oil content Nutmeg can provide

anti-inflammatory and pain effects. Nutmeg extract is also able to kill bacteria that cause skin, urinary tract and respiratory infections. Apart from that, nutmeg also has anti-fungal, depression and cancer properties.

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When the harvest takes place, one mature tree can produce an average of 60 kilograms of fruit. Farmers sell most of the nutmeg harvest to middlemen in the village. The selling price of nutmeg is high. In August 2023, the selling price of nutmeg will reach IDR 45 thousand to IDR 50 thousand per kilogram. Meanwhile, the selling price of mace reaches IDR 230 thousand per kilogram.

As he said, harvesting nutmeg is not that difficult. To pick fruit, Sudirman only needs to climb with or without a ladder and it is not as difficult as harvesting cloves. In fact, said Sudirman, if farmers feel lazy about climbing or sticking out, they just wait for the ripe nutmeg to fall off the tree. According to Sudirman, the fruit that falls from the tree is good for sowing and making seeds.

After picking the fruit, Sudirman collected the pile of nutmeg before separating the skin, flesh, mace (red seed membrane) from the seeds. "So the red skin was separated and the seeds were then taken home."

After the harvesting process in the farm, Sudirman dry his

nutmeg on his house yard, for three days under the hot sun. When it dries, the nutmeg is immediately transport to the house of the middlemen for sale. “There are also a lot of collectors here. You no longer need to take it all the way to Tanete market .”

Now, from the results of growing nutmeg and the seeding method that he is proud of, Sudirman can pay for the education of his only child, Ebi, until he graduates from college at the Alauddin Makassar State Islamic Universities, in 2020. []

About Author

Muhammad Harisah, was born in Bulukumba on December 24, 1985. He has been involved in agrarian issues, environmental issues, and climate change. He works as a gardener at Kebun Bersama, Bulukumba, on a daily basis.

"It's Not Ours"

Saenal

Stories of Peasants Facing Demands of Life and Passolo

When the land in the village is too small for farming and employment opportunities are shrinking, while the demands of life require a lot of money, then there is only one option left: selling services to people who are more 'fortunate'.

Mahmuddin has nothing but a small plot of land overgrown with coconuts. But he knows how to farm and work the land. Mahmuddin is a 42-year-old father of two. He lives in Jojjolo, a 10,000-hectare village in the southern part of Bulukumba. Administratively, Jojjolo village is part of Bulukumpa sub-district,

neighboring the giant rubber plantation industry owned by PT London Sumatra Tbk., a subsidiary of the Salim Group.

Mahmuddin married in 2000, starting his new life with completely no savings. His aunt, who was aware of his situation, invited Mahmuddin to labour on her rice field. Mahmuddin of course agreed. As long as halves of the crop is divided fairly. The rice field owner is thus responsible for all production costs, from seeds to fertiliser, whereas Mahmuddin simply has to pay for poison, tool preparation, and, of course, patience.

Mahmuddin lived off his share for years, saving most of the rice for the family's four-month consumption and selling the remaining small amount.

At first it's enough, but the living cost gets higher. In 2008, his first child was born. Mahmuddin should not be merely relied on the rice field.

Once he was done planting the rice, Mahmuddin had to go to Masamba, an area in North Luwu, 400 kilometers away from Jojjolo. In Masamba, Mahmuddin for the umpteenth time—promoted himself as a harvest worker to whoever needs it and will return home a few months with wad of money in hand.

"We strive to make it enough," said Mahmuddin.

In Jojjolo, Mahmudin tries so hard to look for other source of income. He is solely knowledgeable about farming and lacks the funds to establish a business.

In 2008, Mahmuddin made an important decision on his life: migrating to Kalimantan island to work as a farm laborer in one of oil palm industries.

In Kalimantan, Mahmuddin worked hard all day long. Early in the morning until late in the afternoon, Mahmuddin would explore the company's oil palm plantation plots and bring out the harvested palm fruit. On the day the company paid him, Mahmuddin remitted most of his wages to the village, so that his wife and children could meet their needs.

For eight months, Mahmuddin enjoyed his migration life. Returning to the village, Mahmuddin continued his life, but the expense of living kept increasing as a sky-high, Mahmuddin was unable keep up. In 2015, Mahmuddin worked two paddy fields owned by his cousins in two distinct locations, as well as his cousin's rubber plantation. They agree on profit sharing.

Since then, Mahmuddin's day has been divided into two schedules for two locations: from dawn to afternoon, he looks after the rice fields, and in the afternoon, he goes to the rubber plantation to tap latex.

But then again, the income is not enough. Mahmuddin receives between IDR 300 thousand and IDR 500 thousand per month from sharing the proceeds of rubber tapping. In 2019, a year after his second child was born, Mahmuddin gets back to migrating to the eastern part of Indonesia: Papua. He worked as

a construction worker for a period of five months, after which he returned to Jojjolo and has been living there ever since.

Thirty-one thousand Bulukumba residents live below the poverty line, according to the Bulukumba Central Statistics Agency in 2022. With its stunning coastal and highland landscapes, each family living below the poverty line needs at least three hundred thousand rupiah every month.

In villages, earning an income requires hard work and working as a share-cropper is the only option for people like Mahmuddin. Especially for those who have limited or no land at all.

Abdul Rahman, head of Parukku hamlet, Maleleng village (a village which is also part of the Kajang traditional territory), sees the main reason why the Kajang Indigenous Community has turned into share-croppers, one of which—and that is a common reason—is the lack of livelihoods in the village, apart from the decline in production due to weather anomalies.

"Therefore they prefer to be share-croppers," said Rahman.

More Than Just Survival

Agus actually owns a land, but it's small and unproductive. His earnings can only provide for the monthly expenses of his family.

However, Agus' financial woes are dwarfed by other concerns. His family had a celebration at that moment. *Passolo* is a

gift of assets to the family hosting the event, and Agus has saved enough money to cover it. Moreover, the sums donated can exceed one million rupiah.

Knowing that his current resources would not be sufficient, Agus devised a plan. During 2010, Agus had a split schedule. Across Southeast Sulawesi, Agus works as a farmhand during the dry season.

"Actually, being a share-cropper is enough for our daily needs," Said Agus to me

"But there are several demands, such as costs for traditional rituals that must be carried out."

One of the Kajang traditional areas is Tanah Towa Village, where 49-year-old Agus resides with his one child. The indigenous Kajang people have a ritual to commemorate the three main life cycles: birth, marriage, and death, and *passolo* is an integral part of this rite. Although *passolo* seemed to make things easier at first, I spoke with a few locals who said it actually made matters worse.

Passolo is a donation comes from families, colleagues, neighboors, to the host of the party. *Passolo* might come in a shape of money or rice. The lady is responsible for carrying the rice, while the male is responsible for delivering the money.

Actually, there is no set amount of *passolo*; rather, it is according to the degree of familial relationship. Let say, if your

siblings get married, then you should consider giving a large sum of money for *passolo*.

In 2013, Jumarlin, a resident of Pattiroang, has received *passolo* up to 170 million. Jumarlin purchased property in two different areas with the money. "If we do not buy land and just save the money, we will lose," he remarked.

"Why did you buy land?" I ask

"Every year, the price of land rises, which is why I buy it as an investment. My land, for example, I bought it for 85 million, now it's worth 150 million rupiah. One attempted to haggle with me, but I declined."

What Jumarlin has done was a common practice, he said. Those that throw a good party and amass a large sum of money will likely invest it in property outside of their local community. There was a rationale to the land's placement selection: the village had run out of land.

But this *passolo* isn't without its tedious baggage. *Passolo* is seen as a loan by the locals that will be paid back when the person who gave it holds a party. Even though they don't stay, newly-weds often leave the hamlet to work as farm labourers and save money for a larger purchase. For the sole purpose of repaying the *passolo* that was bestowed upon her upon her marriage.

They made it back to the village with the money they had collected. Many people were forced to pawn their rice field to

“pay back” *passolo*. The reason is, they do not invest *passolo* they received into a land, as Jumarlin did, or a house.

"People who buy vehicles from their *passolo* proceeds usually become the subject of gossip among people in their village," he said. "A person like that, is considered not to think of a way to return the *passolo*."

As a symbol of the significance of this life event, weddings in Kajang are celebrated with the highest *passolo*. The happy couple are not the only ones that matter in a marriage. Family members and siblings are involved, nevertheless. The locals regard matrimony as a sacred institution.

Traditional wedding ceremonies in Kajang takes a long time and costs a lot of money. Here is where *Passolo* comes into play, ensuring the series' continuation. *Passolo* from the family often amounts to at least 1 million Indonesian Rupiah. How much is the biggest amount? Hundred million rupiah

Amiruddin, another residents, think of *passolo* as a inheritance or a saving to get people leave the towns. Rituals that requires a huge amount of *passolo* other than marriage, said Amiruddin, are death rituals.

Amiruddin’s son, Arif has moved out from the village. “The reason is to avoid *passolo*."

Amiruddin realizes the phenomenon. Therefore, when he threw a party, Amiruddin instructed his family and friends not

to carry a huge amount of *passolo*. When his son, Arif got married, Amiruddin limited a total of *passolo* up to 5 million.

"I think about how to return this *passolo*," Amiruddin said.

"In my opinion, when people have organized traditional event, they migrated, and I do not want my family leaves the towns just because avoiding to return this *passolo*."

Amiruddin's wife added his husband's statement. "When Arif get married, one person asked me, "Is the wedding preparation enough?" She recalled.

"I answered yes, it is. My son's *panai* is enough. So, please do not give us too much *passolo*, because it will be just a burden someday. I am worried that I am in a posisition of having no money, where should I get the money, when your child gets married"

As far as Jumarlin can remember, the wave of farm laborer in Kajang began around 1980. According to Jumarlin's observation, there were two types of farm laborer dominated in Kajang. Harvest farmer for sugar-cane and rice fields.

"The main reason people from Kajang migrating is just to return *passolo,*" Jumarlin said.

NO OTHER CHOICES, LIFE MUST GO ON

In Jojjolo village, Share-croppers lead similar lives to those in other locations. Their days begin with numerous prepa-

rations. They prepare work equipment such hoes, knives, *pacekung* (a tool used to remove rubber tree bark), and food supplies. However, female share-croppers begin their days early. They take care of their family before heading out to the rice fields.

Share-croppers' daily job varies depending on the crops they plant during the planting season. One afternoon in November 2023, I went to Mahmuddin's house. A stone house with a tin roof, rising walls without cement covering, and exposed bricks.

In the doorway, I looked up inside and called Mahmuddin's name over and over again. From inside, his wife shouted. "He is still praying" she said. She let me in.

I sat down in the living room with a plain floor layered with green rug. A few minutes later, Mahmuddin showed up with smile. The days of Mahmuddin have been filled with toiling in the rice field and grove, neither of which really belong to him.

At 06.00, Mahmuddin has get ready with completed costume, bringing knive and *pacekung*. An hour later, He harvested all of the rubber latex that had been stored before going on to another grove

At 09.00, Mahmuddin goes home to drop *pacekung* and the rubber latex, then picks up hoe, before heading to the rice field.

At rice field, Mahmuddin works on sowing the seeds. When we meet, Mahmuddin sows 30 litres of rice seeds. Before days

get too hot, the scorching sun blistered Mahmuddin's skin as he laboured in the rice fields.

At 11.00, Mahmuddin digs a hole to allow irrigation water to permeate his rice field and irrigate the seeds.

An hour later, the sun rose over Mahmuddin's head. It is time for Mahmuddin to return home. Eating lunch and getting as much rest as possible.

At 14.00, Mahmuddin returns to the rice fields, resumes the previously postponed labour, and comes home at 17.00.

"All I did is to cover daily needs. "Education, health, and returning *passolo* (donations)," stated Mahmuddin.

Mahmuddin realized in Jojjolo. "Everything I did wasn't enough," Mahmuddin told me. "I have two children. They need money. Things are also becoming pricier."

"It turns out... not enough." []

About Author

Saenal, working as a farmer and livestock breeder, born in Bantaeng. In 2017, Saenal began studying at the Islamic Institute of Jenepento and pursued a major in Islamic religious education for four years but has yet to complete it. In the same year, precisely in 2017, Saenal joined the Association of Social and Ecological Action Organizations (OASE), actively participating in activities organized by OASE such as learning research and organizing youth in rural and urban areas.

In 2021, Saenal decided to transfer to an open university and pursue a major in agribusiness with a focus on livestock extension and communication, which he continues until now. In 2022, he actively engaged as a volunteer in Rompegading Village, Maros Regency, implemented by Payopayo.

In 2023, he joined the Climate Change Adaptation Project through sustainable integrated river basin management in the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous community through Adaptation Fund (AF) financing, carried out by Payopayo - OASE supported by partnership. Currently, he is assisting five villages in Berau Regency, East Kalimantan, in developing Village Medium-Term Development Plans (RPJMK), Village Regulations (Perkam), and conducting mapping.

Pakkampas: Driving Youth Off the Farm

Nurdin

Some because of prestige, some because they don't have land, some because they want to work while on holiday. Pakkampas took the young man away from the farm.

When his father passed away five years ago, the entire family farm passed to Aspar, a young man from Pantama, a village in coastal area in Bulukumba. He is fully responsible for all the overgrown weeds towering in the farm.

"Out of eight farms, seven are here, they are cacao and coconut, sometimes corn is also planted between the coconut," Aspar told me.

He casually tossed his index finger behind his ear. "The other one is in Southeast Sulawesi, clove plantation, it is managed by

someone there."

I met Aspar in a space under his stilt house in September 2023. Now, Aspar does not really take care of his inherited farm, like last March. Aspar works as *kampas* driver, following his uncle's path.

Aspar is actually a persistent man when it comes to taking care of farm. He has been successfully managed his eight farms since 2015, with no complain. Never failed.

Aspar is eccentric young man. When other workers wear shirts full of stains, Aspar appears clean with his shining hair smeared with pomade when in farm. In Pantama, where he was born, Aspar is famous as a copra maker.

When plantation it is harvest season, Aspar becomes the busiest person. He will be spending days in his farm with the hired supporting workers. These people will climb and "pick" coconut, while Aspar is waiting under the trees and collecting the falling coconuts. Coconut harvesting activity usually goes on for two days, before they are proceeded to be copra.

For the process of making copra—from splitting, smoking, and gouging the coconut flesh—Aspar prioritizes calling his friends to come help.

There is good reasoning behind Aspar's decision. After graduating from Senior High School (*SMA*), Aspar did not continue to college while his friends left the village to study or work. So,

inviting them is Aspar's way of staying close to his friends, and maintaining their friendship.

“Even when we are hanging out,” said Aspar. “We can still understand each other well. Because I know stories of college students and also my friends who have been working outside this town”

Aspar was born in Pantama village, it is administratively part of Kajang sub-district. Pantama is the neighbour of Lolisang village which shared border with Sinjai regency.

If you stand from Mattoanging, the nearest village on higher ground, the two villages will reveal an expanse of farm with houses lining the road. The dominant crop is coconut.

People in both villages rely on agriculture for their living, despite being close to the ocean. Residents are currently committed to growing hybrid coconut and cocoa, two boom crops of the 1980s, as part of a government initiative.

“Coconut is the most planted,” said Sembang, a 50 year-old farmer in Lolisang. “I vividly remember at the time, the head of Lolisang village and also someone from Bulukumba distributed coconut seeds to the community.

As Sambang was filling the feeding trough of his stock with *odot* grass, I found him standing next to the cage. "The main livelihood source for the people of Kajang is agriculture," he stated.

"That's what our ancestors had been doing since ages."

Land is life; people in Kajang have relied on what the land offers for them. They grow rice and corn for their own consumption and as something that they can bring to their friends' parties. Within a year, rice and corn will be harvested once. And the yield is enough to send their children school and to store them at home until the upcoming planting season begins.

But lately, agriculture is unable to attract young people's interest. Similar to Aspar, they shifted to other profession.

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In a family, the presence of boys makes farm work easier. When the boys reach their teens, their parents will introduce them to working in the fields and taking care of the livestock. And when they start to get along, they help their parents work in the garden and take care of the livestock when they come home from school, at least until they graduate from high school.

However, after graduating from school, the majority of Kajang's youth leave the village to study or travel to Kalimantan, Morowali, and Malaysia, where they work as miners, oil palm workers, or construction workers. Those who chose to stay, continue to labor in the farm or look after the livestock, or they do nothing at all.

When I visited Kajang, I rarely came across young people working on agricultural property. Suparman, a 50-year-old

farmer from Lolisang Village, was shocked. "I do not know that today's young people do not want to work in the farm," he said.

"That's your little brother, Wawan, even though he has plenty of land to work on. One of them belongs to his grandmother, which I am also working on. There are another seven cows, but they are not willing to work."

When we met, it was already evening. Suparman covered his body in a sarong. Suparman reminded me about his childhood by contrasting his son's current business with his.

"I was forced to drop out of school because I had to help my parents take care of the farm. "I was the only one who did not graduate primary school," Suparman said.

"From farming, I help my younger siblings with their school fees until high school."

Wawan, the son Suparman referred to, is reluctant to help in the farm. Suparman was irritated, but he wanted his son to be independent. So, he sold his two cows, pooled them with family money, and bought Wawan a MPV vehicle. The goal is that Wawan can make money out of it.

Suparman wants Wawan to use the car for round-trip public transportation Makassar and Bulukumba. Currently, the one-way fare is IDR 150 thousand per person. So Suparman's goals made sense.

Suparman's wife approved his intentions. "Yeah, just buy a

car so you can be a driver," Suparman reiterated his wife's comments. "Instead of just staying at home, playing on your cellphone."

I met a few young people in Kajang. Many say that they don't want to be farmers. There are numerous reasons.

First, they do not want to farm if their parents continue to set the rules on the farming practices. They want to control the sort of plant, how it is treated, and even how their crop is marketed.

Second, young people are unwilling to farm since agricultural products are no longer profitable. Crop failures on a regular basis makes people feel defeated: the energy and effort they expend is in vain, and the returns are minimal, if not non-existent.

Third, they do not own a land. Sometimes this condition applies to young people with parents who do not possess land as well.

Fourth, because it's uncomfortable. They are uncomfortable working in the farm."So many mosquitoes. "These bumps on my body keep itching," explained a young man to me.

"It's hot too," commented another young man. "I am frightened my skin may get darker. "I am embarrassed to meet women."

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"I have never helped my parents farming because we do not have land to work on or manage," said Rifaldi to me. "But

when I was in high school, I often helped out my friend's planting coconut in his farm."

Rifaldi works for Aco, an entrepreneur in Lolisang. Rifaldi sometimes becomes driver taking turn with his friends. He is responsible for transporting products from his consumers in East Luwu to Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi's capital city. Rifaldi's wares are fundamental requirements that his customers would resell at their shops.

"I prefer to work outside the village because I don't have anything to do here," Rifaldi added with a laugh. "It's better if I join a friend who works outside, the income is more than enough to support and meet my needs."

Working in or out of the community makes little difference to Rifaldi. "Because every job has its own difficulties," he went on to say.

"What's the pleasure of working on *kampas*?"

"The good thing is that the *kampas* work is not too hard, but the income you get is quite big."

Rifaldi actually has a strong intention. Temporarily he works while accumulating money until he collects enough to begin farming. He needs to purchase a plot of land and all of farming supplies. While the other young people I met were concerned about their future in farming, Rifaldi was not.

"In my opinion, if you persist in farming and are consistent in

doing it, you will get very good results," he went on to say. "And it guarantees my future."

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Pakkampass becomes a popular job among young people in Kajang. This begins in 2021, one year after the Covid-19 outbreak decimated company revenue.

That year, there were only approximately ten *kampas* cars. *Pakkampas* initially used a pickup truck to transport the products they sold. The presence of guard posts that levy fees in each location they pass through encourages them to replace closed-bed vehicles.

Maring, born in Lolisang in the 1970s, was Kajang's first *pakkampas*. He has three cars: two closed tubs and one with an open tub, which was his first car when he started as a *pakkampas*.

"At that time, I sold my land for IDR 65 million," Maring stated. "I used it to buy my cousin's car for IDR 35 million. "I utilized the rest of the funds to buy wholesale products in Makassar."

Maring's first encounter involved a 350-kilometer trek from her hometown to Palopo, a city in the north of South Sulawesi, via Sinjai.

Maring got her first costumer in Sinjai, a neighboring district close to her village. Maring then began targeting kiosks that he believed were substantial in terms of building and capital. Ev-

erywhere he went, he stopped to sell his stuff. In just three days, the stuff had sold out.

After going *Makkampas* three times by himself, Maring then invited his cousin to come along. Maring persuaded that *makkampas* could make profits of up to tens of millions of rupiah. That is merely three occurrences. His cousin was captivated by Rifaldi's advances and consented to join the *kampas* business.

Maring's success story quickly spread. *Kampas* cars abound in Lolisang in the year 2021. Some are located in Possi Tanah, Pantama, and Mattoanging.

To date, Kajang has been home to hundreds of *kampas* vehicles containing a variety of goods. Possi Tanah, Lolisang, Pantama, and Mattoanging comprise the majority. According to locals, there are between fifty and sixty cars in each village.

And within two years, *pakkampas* emerged as the dominated occupation. This significant growth, however, is facilitated by the availability of bank credit.

The bank loan they use to purchase a second hand car, *Sigra* or *Avanza*, it costs around 75 million up to 100 million rupiah. The rest of the money they allocate as their initial business capital, to purchase mix goods in Makassar and to cover the operational cost to approach the costumers.

Rerky Jaya, a young man in Kajang works as *pakkampas*. He has just started this job for five months.

For Rerky, *makkampas* is fun. Rerky can make new friends and join one of *makkampas* communities called *Dompea*. Through this community, they share information and build strong loyalty and solidarity.

"When one of our friend's car breaks down, our friends nearby will immediately come," said Rerky to me.

"Besides, we can freely choose where to stay over if we have the similar route. And we share information regarding low-cost wholesalers and the tips of purchasing a vehicle."

Aside from banks, financing makes it easier to purchase a car. Those who wish to become *pakkampas* frequently buy cars with credit. Financing allows for low down payments. With IDR 2 million, they can purchase a car.

ACC Finance, Adira Finance, MUT, MTF, Indo Mobil, and *Wom Finance* are some of the finance providers with a large customer base in Kajang. Trisura, an *ACC Finance* surveyor, admitted that car purchases for *kampas* company in Kajang was extremely rapid between 2022 and 2023. "Since mid-2022, I have conducted numerous customer surveys in Kajang. "Every month up to three cars sold."

People no longer need to wait for a car to start their *kampas* business because credit financing is available. The existence of this funding also contributes to the increase in the number of *pakkampas* in Kajang.

According to *ACC Finance* Makassar surveyors, Bulukumba's high demand is coming from the Kajang District.

"I go to Kajang almost every month," Trisura explained. "Most of the demand is for pick-up cars, *Avanza*, and *Sigra*."

When I drive through the villages of Lolisang, Pantama, and Possi Tanah, I occasionally notice residences with three or four cars parked.

"There are probably 60 *kampas* cars here, which are used for *makkampas*," stated Syahrir, Head of the Hamlet in Lolisang.

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Aspar enjoys *makkampas*. It's simple and all we have to do is just sitting on the car. When he arrives at his destination, Aspar's only responsibility is to unpack the things. Young *pakkampas*, like Aspar, are delighted since their work allows them to explore regions with beautiful scenery in other areas. They are entertained since they have never imagined visiting a city other than Makassar, and now they experience the cities in South Sulawesi's eastern region firsthand.

For Aspar, *makkampas* feels like healing, as most young people like to refer. Aspar also feels proud of with his modified MPV car. Aspar shows off his car on *Instagram* and *WhatsApp* status. Aspar grins while combs his hair with his hand and said, "*Makkampas* is so convenient."

"I feel like healing but at the same time I still can earn, and

it's an easy job."

Aspar, who was previously simply a "*kernet*", has now become a permanent driver with his own "*kernet*". Aspar's happiest moment from being *pakkampas* is when he visits regions with various natural tourism attractions, such as Toraja, Malili, and Kendari. Aspar and his friends will take selfies before continuing their tour.

When we met, we discussed goat husbandry and the agricultural business he ran. He also mentioned his occasional farming hobbies. Checking the land, tending to plants, harvesting, or simply communicating with the people he trusts to look after his family's farm in Southeast Sulawesi.

Based on his life experiences, he confidently told me that he will always farm, "because it's my soul."

"Especially because now, I am the backbone of the family."

Aspar and I are quite close. He sometimes updates me about the harvest season in his farm or shares the activities of the goat farming group, or just invites me to enjoy young coconut together with his friends.

Recently, I saw Aspar updated his status on *WhatsApp*. He sat down behind the steering wheel, driving his MPV car.

I was curious so I sent him message. "Where are you now?"

Aspar replied four hours later. "I am at Palopo"

On a night in early September 2023, I met with the other 13

members of the goat farming group to discuss cage construction plans.

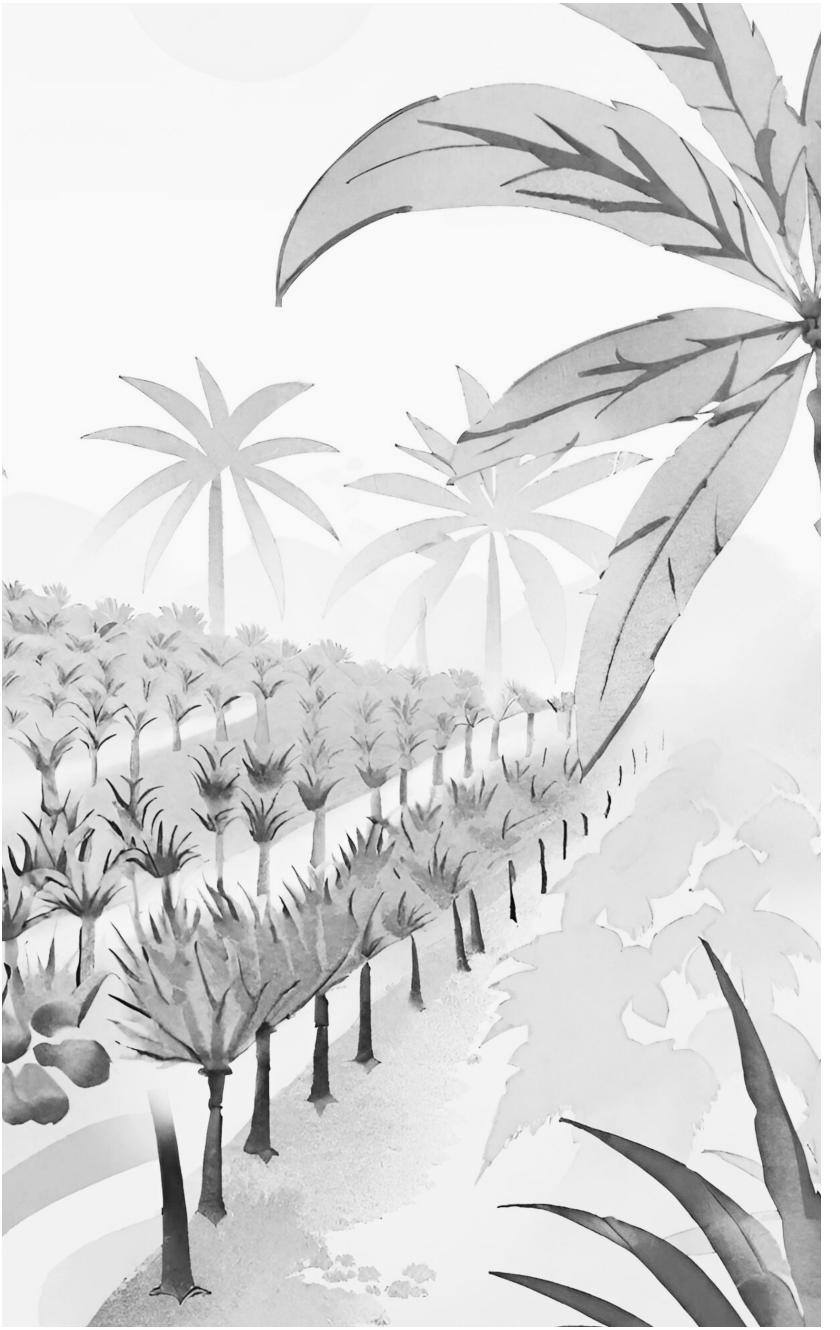
At the time, the meeting was held on the back terrace of the Pantama Village Head's home, and Aspar, a group member, was also there. At that discussion, everyone agreed that the cage construction should begin on Monday of following week.

Aspar abruptly interrupted. "If I am not coming, it's because I'm going to do *makkampas*, I'll just buy you cigarettes instead."

After the meeting, Aspar said goodbyes. The next day, he prepared to resume his lengthy trek. Selling products as *pakkampas*. Perhaps he will not pick up the hoe anymore. []

About Author

Nurdin, was Nurdin, born in Karossa, Central Mamuju. Graduated with a Bachelor of Economics from UNM in 2021. Previously worked in the maritime and fisheries sector for seaweed cultivation development. Served as staff at KontraS Sulawesi from 2018 to 2020. Currently actively involved in social movements for farmers, fishermen, and minority ethnic groups.



A story of Oil Palm in Dwi Tiro Village

Ansar

Upon hearing the news in Bulukumba about the launch of the oil palm business, the villagers of Dwi Tiro village became extremely enthusiastic about planting palm trees. That was merely hearsay.

Hasan, also known as Haji Hasan, is an oil palm entrepreneur who returned from Malaysia in 2010 with the seeds to plant in Dwi Tiro village, Bulukumba area. After purchasing a high yield seed, he shared it with the farmers. Oil palm has just made its village debut. Hasan claims that the climatic conditions and topography of the hamlet are very comparable to those of the Malaysian oil palm plantation where he was employed. Haji Hasan sowed the seeds, before distributing them to farmers in the form of sprouts.

Haji Hasan originally comes from Rilau sub-distrct, Bulu-

kumba regency. He has a best-friend called Palingjai in Dwi Tiro village, they have ever migrated together to Malaysia to work in oil palm plantation. He considers his best friend as a well-experienced person in taking care of oil palm.

Palingjai noticed that the oil palm plantation does not draw people to the village. Most of them have never seen the plantation. As a result, he began the process of forming an oil palm farmers group by approaching their closest family members. So, the data needed to establish an oil palm producers' organization expands from a single village to its surrounding hamlets. Dwi Tiro is located in Bontotiro sub-district of Bulukumba regency in South Sulawesi.

20 local residents are included on the oil palm farmers group. Each of the members have land with various width. Some people have experience working on oil palm plantations in Kalimantan and Malaysia. They are skilled in a variety of areas, including harvesting (*pattomba*), truck driver, foreman, lifter (*palloding*), and more. They remitted the money they earned from working to their villages, which they believe will be sufficient to meet their basic necessities.

Each member of the group provides their land for the planting of oil palms. The total land area of all members of the group is 40 hectares. Palingjai proposed 5 hectares of his land, which would become the greatest portion on the prospective member's

property. He believes oil palm will be a long-term commodity, at least according to age production up to 25 years old.

"It can help our income in our old age,"

Other farmers agree. The success story of migratory people who previously worked in oil palm plantations enticed them, particularly because they believe that oil palm maintenance is far easier than that of other plantations.

The initial stage in starting oil palm farming is for each member to receive oil palm cultivation training in neighboring village Swatani, Rilau Ale sub-district, Bulukumba regency. They learned how to sow seeds, plant, clean up weeds, fertilize, remove husks, and harvest. Some people have never seen an oil palm in person before. They only see it on television.

Training enables farmers to imagine how to maintain oil palm. They conclude that oil palm requires little maintenance when compared to cacao, for example. Cacao requires meticulous attention. We need to use pesticides and prune on a regular basis. Another advantage of oil palm plantations is that they can work on other tasks while waiting for a relatively extended harvest season.

Not long after, in 2011, the farmers heard rumours that the government would build an oil palm processing factory in Bulukumba regency if the oil palm cultivation in Dwi Tiro village was successful. The increasing concerns have prompted some

members of the oil palm farmers group to become more interested in cultivating it.

One year later, they started planting oil palms according to the area of land they owned. 1 hectare requires 84 seeds. They received free oil palm seeds in the form of germinated seeds imported directly from Malaysia. The seeding process takes between 8 to 12 months before it is ready to be planted on the land provided.

Food Crops Disappear, Oil Palm Rises

When planting oil palm, growers must utilize a monoculture method. They were obliged to take down vegetation that had previously grown on land converted into oil palm plantations. However, the oil palm farmer group in Dwi Tiro Village did not instantly complete their harvests.

"In the age of 3, an oil palm still needs shade plants, so that other plants on their property can still be nurtured and yield while they await the oil palm to produce fruit," Palangjai said.

Entering the third year, the shade plan will be cut because oil palm needs direct sunlight already. Plants that had been grown for generations as the village's primary source of earnings had to be cut down. The plants are cacao, coconut, banana, cashew, and pepper. They were the most planted commodities in the village, before they were replaced by the oil palm. Some farmers

re-purpose land that was formerly planted with secondary crops like corn, tubers, and beans. Some people use idle land that the owner has never handled.

A monoculture planting pattern involves planting one species of plant many times on the same plot of ground. Biodiversity will decline, while soil conditions will become more saturated as a result of the need to meet specific nutrient requirements of one type of plant. Monoculture, when practiced over an extended period of time, reduces soil fertility.

Farmers consider it easier to care for oil palms than other crops they have been cultivating. At the age of 0-3 years, farmers only need to regularly clean weeds and grass around the trees. Then, after the age of 3 years, the oil palm has started to bear fruit, farmers no longer clear the weeds. They release their goat in oil palm plantations to eat weeds and grass.

"The weeds act as root protectors, coolants for the oil palm roots and the herbicide poison damages the roots of the oil palm plants, so only goats poison the grass," Palangjai explained. Instead of using herbicides, farmers can use goats to graze their field and pull-out weeds.

Since the first plantation up until now, the farmers in the village have never used weed grass killer or herbicide for their oil palm. The reason is the weeds benefit the farmers' livestock. As a result, people gain not only from the oil palm but also from

farming. The goat manure can be used for organic fertilizer for oil palm.

When oil palms are 4 years old and begin to bear fruit (first borne fruit), the habit of giving manure begins to be replaced with chemical fertilizers to stimulate the oil palm plants to bear fruit. Fertilizer is applied once every 4 months.

Palm oil plants will look lush after being fertilized; this is when the fronds should be clipped. Trimming and pruning the fronds or trimming can occur simultaneously with harvest.

If trimming is not done, oil palm plants' vegetative and generative growth cycles would be disturbed. The fruit frequently rots since it is not apparent during harvest.

Palingjai has its own technique to avoid the over height of oil palm; on the pruning process we leave two or three midribs under the palm tree. The idea is for oil palms to grow sideways, preventing upward growth. Aside from that, new palm fruit bunches absorb more water, which raises the weight of the palm oil fruit. The idea is for oil palms to grow sideways, preventing upward growth. Aside from that, new palm fruit bunches absorb more water, which raises the weight of the palm oil fruit.

Pest Attack

So far, the oil palm farmers are struggling to get rid of the boars that often disturb their plantation. Residents of Dwi

Tiro village has been facing boar attack way before farmers cultivating oil palm. Boar becomes a frightening specter for the farmers. Banana, coconut, secondary crops are the main source of food for the boars. People have tried so many ways to solve it, they fenced off, installed a trap, and hunted them with the support from the hunter group of the neighboor village. However, they are still widespread.

The boars disrupt newly planted oil palm plants that are up to three years old. They uproot and consume young palm palms. When the oil palm begins to produce fruit, the boars consume it.

Apart from boars, farmers also face horn beetle pests which also damage oil palm plants. This insect eats the crown of the plant by boring through the base into the growing point of the oil palm plant, thus affecting the growth of the oil palm.

Oil palm farmers also have to deal with fungal attack, which make the fruit decay before it falls. Pest organisms in plants grow faster under a monoculture planting pattern due to the lack of competition from other plants and the frequent planting of the same species.

Crude Palm Oil Price

Farmers can easily find clients for fresh palm oil fruit bunches. When the harvest season in Dwi Tiro Village arrives, the

traders are ready to buy.

The oil palm harvests once within 20 days. Within a year, farmers harvest the oil palm for 18 times.

Traders often head immediately to the village to collect palm fruit. However, when traders carry palm oil from closest sub-districts, Dwi Tiro Village farmers will move their palm fruit to the main road, which is about 7 kilometers away, to await the traders.

Until September 2023, farmers will sell their oil palm harvest to Palopo traders for IDR 1,000 per kg. Fresh fruit bunches are transported to the Palopo area, which is around 373 kilometers away, or to Mamuju, which is nearly 500 kilometers distant, to be processed into crude palm oil and palm kernel oil. According to farmers, the selling price in Palopo or Mamuju is higher than IDR 2,000 per kilogram due to the high transportation costs to reach Palopo or Mamuju City.

According to the Indonesian Palm Oil Farmers Association, South Sulawesi has the lowest price for palm fruit bunches in 2023, out of 22 provinces. The South Sulawesi Provincial Government has set the price of palm fruit bunches at IDR 1,800 in 2023. However, farmers frequently receive a far lower price than that specified by the provincial government.

The oil palm's price is fluctuative and uncertain, when it dropped significantly, the farmers in Dwi Tiro village sold it for

500 rupiah per kilogram. That was the lowest so far. While, the highest was for 1500 per kilogram.

Palangjai collects up to 3 tons of palm fruit from a 5-hectare area. At a price of IDR 1,000 per kilogram, he earns an average of IDR 3 million each time he harvests. In one year he earned IDR 54 million.

"Without underestimating other plants, but the fastest to earn is oil palm. Coconut can only harvest once in three month. Within a year there will be only 4 harvest time, meanwhile we can harvest oil palm once in 20 days," said Palingjai

A story about Palingjai inspires other farmers to plant oil palm as well. They hope for free seed distribution, as Haji Hasan did. They are very concerned with their current commodities since weather anomalies are causing plant productivity to decline. Cacao farmers, for example. In addition to the uncontrollable pest invasion, they suffered crop failures.

"I am interested in growing oil palm, because I see the promising prospect of oil palm. Besides, it is perennial crop, we can depend on it as our future income when we get old," said Syamsu Alam, the head of Basokeng hamlet, Dwi Tiro village, he has never cultivated palm oil instead.

"Hopefully in the future, there will be someone providing the seeds of oil palm, oil palm survives with this unpredictable weather."

Oil palm are still considered as a foreign commodity for Bulukumba people. Majority are not willing to grow oil palm due to their concern on the climatic condition of Bulukumba. Some people still believe that maintaining oil palm is expensive and only appropriate for large corporations. They also believe that the process, from maintenance to harvest, requires a lot of energy.

People who have never worked on an oil palm plantation will certainly avoid taking risks with a foreign commodity. Then, the farmers intentionally let the oil palm abandoned. Neglected.

They became extremely concerned when one of the producers began to discard his oil palm. The oil palms that are starting to sprout are gradually being chopped down and burned. Members of other groups started destroying the oil palm one by one. Others allowed their oil palms to flourish without any care.

The farmers who discontinued their oil palm plantations and returned to their previous commodities, such as corn and nuts. Some also shifted to work as laying hen breeders. Meanwhile, the members of the group who have not cleared their previous plants, such as cocoa and cashew, are now beginning to tend to those plants.

As the time goes by, the number of oil palm farmers has decreased from 20 to just 2. The oil palm plantations that are still present in Dwi Tiro Village cover an area of around 7 hectares.

They stopped demonstrating interest in the production of palm oil.

"The oil palm market is unclear," said a member of the oil palm farmer group, with a sad expression. Due to the absence of nearby enterprises that engage in oil palm fruit processing, traders are compelled to provide farmers a significantly lower price for their oil palm compared to the government's established rate.[]

About Author

Ansar, was born in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi, graduated as a forestry bachelor from East Indonesia University in Makassar in 2014. Over the past 7 years, he has been working on rural issues. In 2018, he joined the Payopayo Peasant School. His initial steps into rural issues began in 2018 when he actively participated as a village volunteer in Wajo District for a year, focusing on creating an information system and producing the village book 'Mattirowalie in Figures' for Mattirowalie Village, Maniangpajo Sub-District, Wajo District. From 2020 to 2022, he worked as a facilitator in Tangkulowi Village, Sigi District, Central Sulawesi, and produced the book "Tangkulowi Village". In 2023-2024, he was involved in climate change adaptation programs in Bulukumba District. Currently, he resides in Bantaeng.

The Dilemma of Customary Law amidst Climate Change Impacts

Abdurrahman Abdullah

The Kajang indigenous community is in a difficult situation, between the desire to maintain customary rules, and the need to survive the impacts of climate change.

Peoples with all-black outfit with their heads covered flocked down the path to the *Rumah Tamu* in Tanah Towa Village, Kajang. That afternoon, the air was humid. Remnants of the rain were still trapped between the leaves. The trees languished, their fruits falling.

Rumah tamu the name for a building in the form of a house on stilts used for traditional deliberations of the *Kajang Dalam* community.

Nearly a hundred of them came from various villages in the *Kajang Dalam* or *Rambang Seppang* customary area for *a'bo-*

rong, a kind of deliberation or customary hearing. They wanted to challenge the customary rules that prevented them from getting clean water and electricity. It was mid-2018. The community had been struggling to get clean water for years. Agricultural lands had dried up.

A'borong is led by the *ammatoa* as the judge. *Ammatoa* is the title for the traditional chief of the Kajang tribe. He is considered the messenger of the creator of the universe, *Turiek A'ra'na*. More than that, the Kajang people believe *ammatoa* was the first human being on earth who brought the teachings of *Turiek A'ra'na*. The teachings are called *pasang*, a collection of advice in the *Konjo* language memorized by traditional leaders and the community. *Pasang* encompasses ideas and practices, including history, politics, environment, socio-culture, economics and religion, as well as knowledge and guidance for daily life. There is no written form. They are organized in metaphorical form, similar to poetry, so they can be interpreted variously by traditional leaders. *Pasang* also contains prohibitions, orders, sanctions and warnings for government officials and customary institutions.

Pasang applies to people living in *Kajang Dalam* or *Rambang Seppang*. The customary chief is assisted by the leaders of 26 customary institutions in carrying out the teachings of the *pasang* and leading customary rituals.

When he leads the traditional deliberation, the traditional

leader refers to the traditional rules which are implied in *pasang*. This traditional deliberation is usually held when there are problems such as debts, land or any inheritance dispute, or any household problem.

This time, the deliberation members are more than usual. Approximately four times more than before. *A'borong* usually attends only around 20 people.

"By saying our gratitude to God who has granted us our health and chance for today, I open this meeting," said *Galla' Puto* in *konjo* language when he opens the meeting, a short time after receiving orders from the traditional leader. The *Galla' Puto* is an advisor to the traditional leader.

The sitting position is split in half. The left side is occupied by the customary institution that doubles as the head of the village government. The right side is occupied by members and leaders of *adat* institutions who do not sit in the village government. This was a strange event, in which the two groups that disagreed in the deliberation were seated separately.

The group on the left wanted to build a water reservoir for the community, while the group on the right stuck to customary rules prohibiting modern development. The criteria for modern objects can be interpreted differently by the leaders of *adat* institutions. In the case of the water reservoir, the use of cement and pipes are considered modern objects that violate customary

rules.

The water reservoir was part of the government's community-based water supply and sanitation (*Pamsimas*) program, which was still under construction at the time. Someone had complained to the customary leader about the construction. The *Ammatoa* was angry and ordered his officers to demolish the building. But the community persisted, and chose to have the case heard in a customary meeting.

"This is the first time that two parties have confronted this strongly," said a resident who was present. The participants, who had no position in the *adat* institution, sat behind their respective village heads. The women were in the back row.

The deliberations were open to anyone, including the *ata*. However, the *ata* - the name for the slave class - never involved themselves in the deliberations or trials, because they realized they had no right to dispute. If there was a conflict involving them, it was the masters who took care of it and resolved it.

This water reservoir has been an urgent need for the villagers in Malleleng village and the construction site is located outside of the *Kajang Dalam* territory," said the Head of Malleleng Village who also serves in a traditional institution.

"The electricity and the modern house in several hamlets in our village are also based on the wishes of our villagers," said the Head of Bonto Baji Village. "Moreover, I do not think I have

the authority to forbid the wishes of our villagers, although we cannot deny that we are in the *Kajang Dalam* territory."

Without consideration, the traditional leader strongly opposed the construction of water reservoirs and electricity. But there was immediate resistance from the community who wanted the water reservoir.

"Immediately dismantle the water reservoir, modern house and electricity," the *ketua adat* emotionally ordered the two village heads occupied by the construction. "All of these developments violate customary rules," he said loudly.

The traditional leader's order did not deter the two village heads. They challenged him back. In fact, the position of the traditional leader in Kajang's tradition is very high. He is even considered the first human being sent down by God to earth. He is the one who brings guidance to humans.

"This is an urgent need," said the Head of Malleleng Village. So far, the community has had difficulty getting water. They haul it from springs in the forest with buckets or basins.

"This water reservoir will be very useful for the community," he said. They were even desperate to ask to be expelled from *Kajang Dalam*, as long as they could get clean water.

The atmosphere became tense. People seemed to be signalling to each other, while occasionally fixing their *passapu* (headband).

The customary chief remained firm in his stance of rejecting the request of the two village heads.

“If any of you are ready to bear the risk, I want every single one of those regions to leave from *Rambang Seppang*.” The traditional leader said in a threatening tone. Full of pressure.

It’s an immediate silence. Every single one of them bowed. Maybe they’re thinking bad things will happen if they are expelled from *Rambang Seppang*.

"What's the risk?" Village Chief Malleleng broke the silence, followed by a nod of agreement from Village Chief Bonto Baji. They looked united.

"We are ready to leave *Rambang Seppang*," said the village head of Bonto Baji, without thinking. "We all know," he continued. "We have long violated our tradition with the presence of motorcycles."

"The most severe punishment," the chief interjected. He paused for a moment and then his eyes darted around the silent room. The women bowed their heads deeply, their hearts racing, waiting for their lord's next words.

"Horses," the traditional leader said without hesitation, directing his gaze at the plaintiffs. "Yes, you will be a horse in the afterlife," he said.

“*A’rai nipanjari jarang baiyyang riallo anjorengang*,” *ammatoa* reads a word in *pasang* to show them their punishment.

"We will accept the punishment," said the village head of Bonto Baji and Malleleng, Simultaneously, the audience was flabbergasted.

"We're ready to sacrifice for our villagers' needs," said the Village head of Malleleng, followed by village head of Bonto Baji. "We are chosen by the villagers, so then we have to hear their aspiration."

The traditional leader surrendered. He allowed these areas to leave the customary area.

"The risk will be borne by the head of each village," said the traditional leader, ending his remarks.

The meetings are over. They have met the agreement that the water reservoir in Malleleng Village will be built. While in Bonto Baji Village, around 50 houses will be expelled from Kajang tradition because it has electricity.

This case did not come to a head in an instant. Three years earlier, in 2015, there had been ripples of problems in the two villages since the process of formulating a regional regulation on the recognition of the Kajang customary law community. The process paved the way for reorganizing the boundaries of the inner Kajang area (*Rambang Seppang*) and the outer area (*Rambang Luara*), which had many interpretations. The remapping of customary territories was carried out by a task force consisting of representatives of the district government, indigenous

communities, and several non-governmental organizations such as the Non-Governmental Organization such as Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN), the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), and Balang Institute. The Head of Kajang Sub-district, the Head of Malleleng Village and the Head of Bonto Baji Village represented Kajang's customary institutions as their villages were among those targeted for re-mapping.

The two village heads and the sub-district head used this opportunity to expand and strengthen the authority of the village government and, conversely, to reduce customary authority by shrinking the *Kajang Dalam* territory. The village head of Malleleng has redrawn the boundaries of the customary territory since 2015, claiming 48 households in Sapir Hamlet are outside the customary territory. Likewise, the village head of Bonto Baji similarly claimed that 80 households were outside the customary area. Then, the governments of the two villages have an excuse to undertake infrastructure projects such as paved roads, electricity, and various developments that were previously against the *pasang*. At these new boundary sites, the village governments also built new entrance gates.

The territory of the Kajang indigenous community covers four sub-districts, namely Kajang, Bulukumpa, Ujung Loe and Herlang sub-districts with a total customary law area of 22,997 hectares. This area is divided into two, the outer area is called

rambang luara or *Kajang Luar* which covers four sub-districts, and the inner area is called *Rambang Seppang* or *Kajang Dalam.* The latter covers several villages in Kajang sub-district, such as Tanah Towa, Pattiroang, Bonto Baji and Malleleng villages. Not all areas of these villages are included in *Kajang Dalam.* There are some villages whose areas fall into both areas, *Kajang Luar* and *Kajang Dalam*.

The size of *Rambang Luara* is around 22.445 hectares, while *Rambang Seppang* is only 552 hectares.

Kajang sub-district are becoming the center because the district's territories are counted as indigenous people's territory, *Rambang Seppang* is also located here. The population of Kajang sub-district is 48,571, most of whom define themselves as indigenous people by following rituals and abiding by customary rules.

Rambang Seppang is also known as *Ilalang Embayya* or the core customary area. The *Ammatoa* reside in and may not leave this area. It is in this area that *pasang* is strictly applied in all social behaviour in the community, from waking up to sleeping again. And from worldly affairs to the afterlife. In this area there are also customary sites, settlements with traditional buildings, rice fields and limited agricultural gardens, 313.99 hectares of customary forest, and locations for traditional rituals.

In the *Kajang Dalam* region, everyone must practice the

principle of *kamase-mase* or simplicity as the main principle of behaviour and life. In daily practice *kamase-mase* means living in humility, self-satisfaction, independence, and sufficiency, not expecting more than what one has.

The *Kamase-mase* principle aims to keep the influence of modernization from entering their traditional territory. In this area, there is no electricity, no paved roads, and no footwear. There are no modern buildings, such as stone houses, mosques, or schools. Outsiders who wish to enter the area must also abide by customary rules, including wearing black clothes and walking barefoot.

The detachment of a number of areas from the *Kajang Dalam* area worries the leaders of customary institutions. They predict that similar cases will occur frequently. As a result, customary territories will shrink further. At the same time, the guidelines for customary life will be abandoned, one of which regulates environmental conservation.

Cases of lawsuits over customary rules like the above will occur more often in the future, if you look at the impact of climate change which is getting heavier from time to time. Especially the destruction of living space and water scarcity for the Kajang indigenous people.[]

About Author

Abdurrahman Abdullah, was born in Maros. Graduated with a forestry degree from Hasanuddin University in 2021. He has worked in several Non-Governmental Organizations focusing on rural development, farmers, forests, and indigenous communities issues. During his time in NGOs, he visited numerous villages in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Papua. He has also lived among and studied conflicts between indigenous communities and large corporations. Examples include the Kajang, Tehit, and Mapnan indigenous communities.

Currently, he is completing his master's studies in forestry at Hasanuddin University with a focus on political ecology and critical indigenous studies while working at the Forest and Society Research Group.

The Kajang People in Makassar

Agus Mawan W

The story of the Kajang people starting life in the urban. They settled on plots of land on the outskirts of the largest garbage dump in Makassar City, until it became a village.

Siam Sia was five years old when she arrived in Kajang Village, in a suburb of Makassar called Antang. This village is part of Tamangapa Village, Manggala Subdistrict.

Apart from the rice fields and swamps that stretch far away, there are only eight wooden houses on stilts that rise between the rice fields. It is in one of these houses that Sia, as she is called, lives. She lives with her eldest brother, Sannai, the owner of the house.

Sia is a straightforward woman, the fourth of six children, born in Batunilamung, a lowland village in Kajang District, Bu-

lukumba Regency.

"My brother brought me here," Sia tells me. "Here I was finally able to go to school."

We met in January 2024. Sia now is 26 years old with bachelor's degree in economics, graduated from *Universitas Negeri Islam Alauddin Makassar*. Sia is expecting her first child.

After her marriage, Sia moved into the house of Ramsi, one of her older brothers who had later moved to Kampung Kajang, working as a garbage truck driver. Shortly after Sia got married, Ramsi left the village, working as a *pakkampas* and Sia bought her own permanent house, complete with furniture.

Sia and his siblings left Batunilamung to change their destiny. In the village, Sia said, garden produce was no longer able to sustain life. "The weather is erratic, often dry. Especially like last year, for example, when there was a long drought (*El Nino* 2023)."

"Instead of wasting money," said Sia. "I'd rather be here, earning money while going to school."

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The city of Makassar is like a magnet. The economic vortex that is hundreds of years old has seduced people from all corners of South Sulawesi, trying their luck in this city. At least Makassar City has been the mouth of the overseas wave since the colonial era.

There is a lot of activity, with economic enclaves popping up around every corner. It is a dream place for migrants looking to try their luck.

By the year 2000, many Kajang people migrated to Makassar, working as construction workers and garbage truck crews. Those in Makassar invited their relatives to come and try their luck together. In Makassar, they became close and settled in one area and formed a kind of 'village'.

Their settlements are scattered on the outskirts of the city, where house rent is much cheaper and does not cost half their wages. In Makassar, they bring their traditions, culture, and some of the customary rules that apply in Kajang.

Just like marriage, death, and *maddinging-dinging*, rituals to bless the house. Houses in Kampung Kajang have a drawing of lines in the shape of the human anatomy, or tau-tau, indicating that the house has been blessed.

In 1995, two years after the Antang landfill complex became operational, three Kajang men, Maro, Malang and Ambo, found a site, opposite the open dumping point of the landfill, where Makassar's garbage emptied out and 'formed mountains'.

The three men bought a piece of land each and immediately built a house on stilts on it. Here, they began their lives as garbage workers. They became the auxiliary crew of every garbage truck. Following the trucks wherever they docked and hauling

garbage from people's yards into the trucks.

In the following years, dozens of Kajang migrants followed in the footsteps of the three men. Buying a piece of land. Built a house. And worked as laborers hauling garbage. The village was bustling and throbbing all day long.

In this village they spoke *Konjo*, one of the Austronesian sub-languages that spread across southern Sulawesi.

At that time, they were paid Rp200,000 for one month and sometimes the wages were delayed. So, the female family members had to work as scavengers. Sorting out trash that had monetary value, such as plastic, electronics or cardboard. They use the money to cover their daily needs and their children's school fees.

At that time, residents had to make peace with the situation. Their houses still stood on the swamp with access in and out of the village only through the rice fields. During floods, they used bamboo rafts or large corks that they got from the mountains of garbage in the landfill. In 1998, a flood submerged the village, two meters deep.

In 2001, Sia arrived in this village. There was already a road in and out of the village. A villager named Usman told me how they had built the road and strategized so that the village would no longer sink during the rainy season.

"Maybe you feel that the ground shakes when a truck passes,"

Usman said. "Do you know why?"

"This is all the land here that was piled up. And the first pile is garbage. We took it from the landfill and levelled it. After the garbage is gone, we put stones and on top of that is the fill dirt."

I asked. "How high is this fill?"

"Two meters!"

"Who did the dumping? The government?" I asked.

"We paid it together. In the past, the road could only be passed by rickshaws. Now it can be used by trucks. Because we widened the road, we had to buy people's land. So we bought it together."

In 2002, the village was already inhabited by 50 families, when the Makassar City Government recognized its status as part of *Rukun Tetangga IV* in Tamangapa Village. The village originally had no name. Local residents simply referred to it as "*Kampung Kajang*", because it was home to people from Kajang

In 2004, the Makassar City Government inaugurated the village and renamed it "*Kampung Kajang*". At that time, the Makassar City Government built a gate at the threshold of the village, which still stands today.

The gate reads: "WELCOME TO KAJANG VILLAGE".

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Pandang arrived in Kampung Kajang in 2003, after many years working as a fisherman in Ambon. Pandang gave up

working as a fisherman, especially because he is working on a fish bombing ship.

“I’m afraid of going to prison,” he said.

Pandang is a 42-year-old father with three children. On the chin of the bald-headed man is a black line tattoo, which he got when he was a fisherman.

Pandang comes from Lolisang, a neighboring village of Sia's birth that stretches to the coast of Bulukumba.

In Lolisang, Pandang has one hectare of land, which he planted with corn before becoming a crew member. "I apologize, I don't want to insult you," said Pandang, raising his index finger.

"Gardening is difficult. Corn, the yield is not much. Not to mention the pigs. Not to mention we have to buy fertilizer. Grass poison. Sometimes the weather is unpredictable. It's hard!"

In 2003, Pandang already had two children. The produce from his garden was not enough to keep the kitchen going and to pay for his children's education. He did not want his children to be illiterate like him. He migrated to Makassar City, working odd jobs.

Eventually, his brother invited Pandang to work as a garbage crew member, earning Rp600,000 for one month. "I immediately accepted. I knew one day I could be a driver," said Pandang.

Pandang laughed. "There's a career, right?"

So, Pandang started working and moved to Kajang Village.

His children also went to school.

Pandang has been a garbage truck crew member for years, and for the last ten years he has been a driver, earning Rp2.3 million per month. Pandang has been a driver since the garbage trucks owned by the Makassar City Government looked shabby and boring until now. The trucks are now predominantly painted white and full of jargon from "*Makassar Tidak Rantasa*" to "See Trash, Pick Up."

In Kajang Village, the types of work are not far from: garbage truck driver or garbage truck crew, or scavenging garbage. What is a little different is being a construction worker.

When I visited Kajang Village, I saw dozens of garbage trucks parked at the end of the village, in front of Pandang and Sia's house. The trucks have diesel engines with an engine capacity of four thousand cc.

Kampung Kajang is crammed with dense neighborhoods, block by block. Actually, this village is not only inhabited by the Kajang people, but also home to migrants from Malino, Sinjai, Bone, and other remote areas.

The Kajang people's settlement is centered in one block at the end, near the landfill site. From here I had to look up to see the top of the mountain of garbage in the landfill. It is so close and high. On *Google Maps*, someone had pinpointed the pile of garbage and given it a name; "*Gunung Antang*".

In Kajang Village, clean water comes from the Makassar City Regional Drinking Water Company (PDAM). Before the PDAM arrived around 2005, residents depended on boreholes. Ten years ago, the village was electrified by the State Electricity Company.

Half of the roads in Kajang Village are still dirt roads. During the rainy season, the road turns muddy, sticky and full of puddles. One year ago, the Makassar City Government repaired the road along the alley where the Kajang people live. They installed paving blocks.

When I was in Kajang Village, the houses were predominantly permanent, crowding out the wooden stilt houses. Pandang's stilt house is at the intersection of the alley. It has plank walls and a tin roof.

That afternoon, Pandang was resting. He had just returned from traveling around the city picking up Makassar's garbage. "Now my life is comfortable," he tells me.

"I no longer need to migrate. I have sent my children to school. I'm comfortable here."

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In Kampung Kajang, people know each other. And in the residential blocks of Orang Kajang, they come from the same clan. "There are no other people here," says Usman. "Pandang is my first cousin. Sia is my nephew."

Usman is originally from Lolisang. He had no plans to migrate to Makassar City. In 1998, Usman got married and soon had a daughter.

In Lolisang, Usman had a small garden where he planted corn, which did not yield much. Usman wanted to add more land, but in Lolisang, settlements were constricting the available land. So, Usman decided to migrate to Malaysia, where he worked as a cocoa harvesting laborer for a company. After returning from Malaysia, Usman returned to take care of his farm, using the rest of his savings.

One day at the end of 2003, Usman received a wedding invitation from Pandang's sister, in Kajang Village. From Lolisang, Usman travelled to Makassar to attend the celebration, along with his wife and daughter.

"During the event, Pandang invited me to work here," he said. "I accepted. And I have been living here ever since."

Like Pandang, Usman first worked as a garbage truck crew member before becoming a driver, earning Rp2.3 million, below the Makassar City Minimum Wage of IDR 3,529,181.

I met Usman in front of his cousin's house, next to a field where garbage trucks are parked. Usman is now 43 years old. He now has a couple of children. His first child has just graduated from high school. "He wants to go to college. But I'm still thinking about it," Usman tells me.

"I do not know if I can afford it."

When we spoke, Usman was accompanied by Sangkala, his nephew. Sangkala is 44 years old and has three children. Sangkala has migrated to Makassar since 1995 and settled in Kampung Kajang in 2004.

Before living in Kampung Kajang, Sangkala worked as a construction worker, one of the favourite jobs of Kajang migrants. "Kajang people like to be builders," he told me.

"Because that's our skill."

Now Sangkala works as a garbage truck driver. His three children were born in Kampung Kajang, becoming the second generation of settlers in the village - just like the children of Kajang migrants who were born in Kampung Kajang.

Having lived in Makassar for many years, the Kajang people in this village speak three languages: *Konjo*, Makassar, and Indonesian. Administratively, they are registered as residents of Makassar City. The population in Kajang Village has reached a thousand people and will increase in the coming years.

"To be honest with you," Usman told me. "Actually I miss my village." Sangkala nod his head.

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Sia started college in 2015 and graduated six years later. It wasn't because she was lazy. Sia knew that going to university was expensive. So she worked odd jobs while studying. She

worked from morning to evening, and at night.

In 2019, Sia worked in a department store as a cashier, for three years. And then worked as a cashier at an electronics store, before finally getting married in July 2023.

"Before I got pregnant, I worked nearby. I was a cashier at a mixed store. But I quit," Sia says.

The day is getting hotter, with a breeze sneaking into Sia's living room. "Look at this weather now," Sia said.

"It's getting hotter. How do we want to farm? Sometimes we think it's going to rain, but it doesn't. That's why so many young people have gone overseas. They are hesitant about farming."

For Sia, Kajang village is the place where the nomads find a new life.

The Kajang People are building a strong bond while helping their unlucky family in their hometown. Kajang village in Makassar, Sia said, is like an asylum for the youngsters who do not want to be farmers.

"We are helping each other here." []

About Author

Agus Mawan W, an independent-award journalist in Makassar City. In 2019, he received an award from the Agrarian Reform Consortium for his coverage of the Bunggu community affected by the expansion of a giant palm oil company in Pasangkayu, West Sulawesi. In 2023, he received another award from UNICEF for his reporting on the impact of agrarian conflicts on children around the PT Astra Agro Lestari palm oil plantation in West Sulawesi.

Agus Mawan W is now an editor at Bollo.id, an independent media outlet in Makassar City. As a journalist, Agus Mawan W is interested in environmental, social, and human rights issues. His work can be read on Mongabay, Konde.co, and Bollo.id. He can be contacted at: *agus.mwnwasir@gmail.com.*