it is so important about status Youtefa Bay as a Tourism Park as well as Nature Reserve and Cultural Heritage to the surrounding community (customary owners) and also outside communities (investors), about logging illegal mangrove forests, because it will damage ecosystems and habitats, mangrove forest structures for the lives of indigenous people in Youtefa Bay The remaining area of mangrove forest needs to be rehabilitated with a plant enrichment system. Continuous counseling and training activities need to be carried out on the management of mangrove ecosystems by the government, the private sector, and academics to increase people's desire to protect the remaining mangrove ecosystems.

**FORTY YEARS OF SWIDDEN CULTIVATION IN SAHU, EASTERN INDONESIA**

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This paper focuses on four decades of social history of swidden cultivation of the Sahu, Halmahera. Although Sahu is the vastest swidden rice growing area of the North Moluccas, its story is hardly known. Swidden rice farming can be characterized as rotational, with fallows between 7 - 12 up to 50 years. During the 19th century Sahu served as the ‘granary’ for the sultanate of Ternate. At the turn of the 20th century rice had already replaced sago as the staple food, although other food crops remain widely available until today. Swidden rice cultivation and land use practices are closely interrelated with a patrilineal organization of access and rights to land. This historical organisation has ongoing relevance to sustain tenure security at the level of the family cluster and the Sahu domain as a whole. Also, the important role of women as linkages between affinal landholding groups, and the changes in the gendered organisation of agriculture will be discussed. The Sahu are pretty food secure and food sovereign. But the modern need for a constant, short-term flow of money and growing individualism result in a shift away from food production toward cash cropping, and related shifts in gender participation in agriculture.

*Keywords: Swidden cultivation, land rights, gender, government intervention, Eastern Indonesia*

**BACKGROUND**

Continuous anthropological field research was carried out during 20 months (1979-1981), monitored during the 1990s, and taken up again during several fieldwork visits since 2015.

**OBJECTIVE**

Anthropological research seldom provides extensive, longitudinal accounts of land use and agricultural practices. This paper focuses on four decades of agronomic and social development of swidden rice cultivation and copra production by the Sahu on the North Moluccan island of Halmahera. Results have recently been published in the first Indonesian language monograph on the North Moluccan island of Halmahera (Visser 2019a).

**DESCRIPTION AND FINDINGS**

Halmahera societies were subordinate to the Sultan of Ternate, and Sahu provided the Sultan’s court and his staff with rice. When the Dutch government replaced rice tribute with land taxation in 1876, rice became the staple food for the Sahu themselves. Marketing rice is tabooed. Until
today rice is grown on rotational swidden or ladang plots of about 0.8 ha, with fallows from 7 to 12 years.

Access to forested land and swidden rice cultivation are organized by large landholding groups (‘garana). These groups are vital to sustain tenure security of the family clusters (rera) and of the Sahu domain as a whole. Swidden land is regarded as ‘living’ or mobile, both in a physical and a social-cultural way. Land should ideally rotate through time and space between family clusters within landholding groups. These are the very same social units that also exchange brides and adoptive children. The annual harvest ceremony in the adat house or sasa’du of the Sahu villages testifies to the social organisation of these groups and the notion of fertility of land and humans bestowed upon them by the ancestors and the Christian God (Visser 1989; 2019a).

In the 1980s there were still as many as nine different types of land rights’ transfer between family clusters. Today, only four of these remain. The only time land can be ‘bought’, preferably from affines and for ‘pocket money’, is when it is transferred together with the coconut trees planted on it. Coconut palms and the production of copra have been a major source of cash income in Sahu from the 1950s onward. In 1983-84 and 1984-85 the Agricultural Land Use Service implemented a land clearing project via the sub-district government and village heads. The dwarfed hybrid palms produced quicker, and yield more and richer fruits than the existing tall palms. Interestingly, the hybrid coconut project appears to have had two important social effects: i) It acted as a land redistribution mechanism between different family clusters and, ii) Together with the ownership rights to economic trees, transfer of ownership rights to land is recognised, but exclusively between affines. Suddenly farmers’ incomes increased in Halmahera. Unfortunately, the joy was short-lived. Already after three years, harvests decreased considerably and after 10 years most of the hybrid palms were exhausted or dead. Sahu farmers returned to the tall coconut palms inherited from their forefathers. Unfortunately, copra prices have dropped to a non-sustainable income level.

In 1986-87 the government introduced hybrid cocoa seedlings together with an initial package of fertiliser and fungicide. In the early 1990s harvests were good, but cocoa was yet another crop to be attended, in addition to the time-consuming activities in the rice swiddens and copra plantations. Moreover, after the second year, farmers were expected to buy fertiliser and fungicide themselves, which often did not happen. Farmers complained that the quality of the seeds was low and that many seedlings grew into trees that did not bear fruits. Nevertheless, it is hard to tell which party is to blame. The provision of nutmeg seedlings in 2013 is the most recent intervention to raise farmers’ incomes and the export value of Halmahera.

Eastern Indonesia in general, and Halmahera in particular came in late to attract the political-economic attention of the central government. As a result of reformasi and pemakaran policies at the turn of the 21st century, financial resources became more widely available at provincial and district levels. Particularly after “religious” clashes in Halmahera between 1999 and 2002, rural development was seen as a road to peace. Anak daerah were elected Bupati and Camat, and district funds for infrastructure, education, health and agricultural services improved dramatically.

Unlike in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Aceh, and Papua food producing estates, industrial oil palm or cocoa plantations are not (yet) causing social and economic inequality and the risk of exclusion to the local farmers in Sahu. Sahu society today still largely depends on the rotation of cash in function of the rotation of land and crops and the exchange of women and labour. Monetization
through cash cropping still exists alongside subsistence agriculture, but the need for a continuous income is tilting the balance from swidden farming to tree cropping. The priority shift towards cash cropping implies that women become more involved in harvesting and post-harvest production of cocoa, nutmeg and mace. Women also take their share of the money that has become available. A positive side effect is the improved food security of children because their mothers are more at home. A negative effect is that the availability and consumption of home grown rice is reduced. Also, the move away from collective rice swiddening weakens the agricultural work teams based on kinship. However, this does not necessarily imply a weakening of social ties, but it does give space to individualist tendencies and tension within family clusters. Since the 1990s the relative income boom from better sales of copra from hybrid coconut palms and the first cocoa harvests stimulated the short-term demand for a regular cash flow. This trend drastically increased after 2004. Houses were improved or newly built. In addition to daily household needs, children’s secondary and sometimes tertiary education and the church demanded monthly payments. As copra and cocoa harvests did not cover the costs, families started to sell their chinaware and heirloom cloths (Visser 2019b).

CONCLUSION

Individualisasi has become a concept with a particular local content. Given Sahu social organisation of inheritance groups (rera) and a history of collective swidden rice farming, the primary meaning of individualism is the weakening of kinship-related work groups. Sahu was recognised by AMAN as an adat community in 2004. However, effective consolidation of their communal rights depends on positive action from the Sahu landholding and inheritance groups together with the sub-district and district governments.

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MINING DECENTRALIZATION AND RECENTRALIZATION: MUSING ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR AS A PROVINCE

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In September 2018, the newly elected governor of NTT province, fulfilling a campaign promise, announced a moratorium on all mining in the province, opening a review of all the mining contracts issued at the kabupaten level during the previous decade. From 2007 to 2013, hundreds of licenses to mine for manganese and gold in the province had been given out by bupatis, newly empowered by decentralization regulations and the 2009 Mining Law, giving them rights to allocate concessions (IUP). Many NGOs in the province had hoped that this moratorium would result in the closing of mining as an industry, given their belief that mining was an inappropriate and dangerous industry for the province, consisting of unstable small and relatively heavily populated islands. Before the new Mining Law was introduced in 2009, foreign mining companies hoped the new law would restore the “dependability” and “generosity” of the New Order resource management, however many powerful actors in Indonesia had pressurized the government to implement laws benefitting national interests. Although the new law made some provision for community mining, the rights of communities to reject mining, however, were by no means clear; the law could be and often was interpreted by government officials in NTT, as not only prohibiting rejection, but making it unthinkable. The implementation of Law no 23 of 2014, however, destabilized some of the certainty of regional and national actors towards the rights to exploitation of natural resources. In this paper I will examine the effect of this law in NTT province and how mining has contributed to shaping a particular idea of what NTT is as a particular place. With the governor newly re-empowered to control mining licenses, what has it meant for the mining licenses and contracts already held? What has the governor’s new role meant to the communities of NTT, their right to accept, reject, or even mine these resources themselves? The experience of mining for different actors in NTT is extremely varied, and with this exploration of