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Entrepreneurship in Conflict Area: Etic Study on Swamp Buffalo Breeder in South Kalimantan Province

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Abstract. Conflicts that occur in oil palm plantations do not always have a negative impact, but there are also positive sides as driving factors for change. The research aims to analyze the positive impact of conflict on the rise of local entrepreneurs and the supporting factors for building businesses in swamp buffalo farming communities in South Kalimantan Province. The rise of local entrepreneurs in swamp buffalo farmers not only contributed to the turning of the wheels of the rural economy but also contributed to the study of social sciences. The research was conducted by qualitative methods. The research sites are central villages of swamp buffalo farms in South Kalimantan Province, which have been entered by oil palm plantations. Interviews were conducted with farmers, formal and non-formal leaders, wholesaler, members of the police, members of NGOs, and other community members who had similar businesses. There were 84 people. Observations were made on the new business objects of the breeders. Document studies and audio-visual recordings are carried out related to the activities of breeders. Data analysis uses an ethical perspective so that an overview of entrepreneurship carried out by swamp buffalo breeders is obtained from the researcher's point of view. The results showed that there was a positive impact on conflict for swamp buffalo farmers, namely the development of the entrepreneurial spirit. This is shown by the development of natural sources of livelihood other than raising swamp buffalo, which are developed based on natural conditions so that sustainable businesses are formed. The development of entrepreneurial spirit is determined by internal factors, namely trade culture and the habit of managing a business independently; and external in the form of market certainty to accommodate farmers' products. The conclusion is that swamp buffalo breeders can become local entrepreneurs. The implication is that there is an economic turnover in rural areas.

Keywords. impact of conflict, swamp buffalo breeder, local entrepreneur

Introduction

The plantation sector is one of the sources of state income. Various plantation crops have been developed, including oil palm. Oil palm plantations can be found in various parts of Indonesia. Plantation managers are large-scale, medium-scale, and small-scale companies (Colchester et al., 2006). Large-scale companies consist of state companies (*Perusahaan Terbatas Perkebunan Nasional/PTPN*) and private companies. In private companies, there are two types, >50% of shares owned by Indonesians and >50% of shares owned by foreign investors. Medium-scale companies are usually in the form of cooperatives that are jointly

owned or individuals. The management of medium-scale plantations is the same as that of large-scale enterprises. Small-scale plantations are usually owned by one farmer or one family. Plantations are established by individual farmers, known as plasma. They cooperate with large-scale plantations, called cores.

The plantation business requires large tracts of land. This need for land often triggers conflicts, especially between large and medium-scale companies and local communities. Conflicts over land as one of the natural resources can be categorized as environmental disputes (Nicholson, 2010). Conflict does not only occur vertically between large-scale companies and local communities. Conflicts can occur horizontally between medium-scale enterprises and small plantations owned by local communities. Academically, the results of this research can contribute to adding to the concept of horizontal conflict between community members at the lowest level in the structure of society in rural areas. In practical terms, conflict can have a positive impact on the swamp buffalo farming community, encourage change, and trigger the development of an entrepreneurial spirit.

Many studies show that the existence of oil palm plantation companies has led to conflicts between large plantations and local communities. The issue of conflict in plantations can be found in almost all parts of Indonesia. The emergence of conflict is caused by many factors. Structural factors, differences in interests, land expropriation processes, and company management are some of the causes of conflict. These conflicts hurt local communities. Loss of land as a source of livelihood is the most felt impact by local communities.

These studies explain vertical conflicts. Conflicts occur between large-scale oil palm plantation companies and local communities. The study did not see horizontal conflicts between small-scale community-owned oil palm farms and local communities. Between these two groups, there may be horizontal conflicts due to differences in perception and differences in interests between the two. In addition, the study did not address the positive impact of conflict. Conflict not only has a negative impact but can also have a positive impact. The presence of oil palm plantations has had a positive impact in the form of open road access and infrastructure development. Another positive impact is the opening of alternative employment opportunities and the development of entrepreneurial spirit for local communities. Therefore, this research is expected to make a major contribution in the form of the rise of local entrepreneurs after conflicts between oil palm plantations and communities local.

Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency of Indonesia, the ratio of the number of entrepreneurs in Indonesia is 3.47% (9 million people) of the total population (Saputra, 2022). At the ASEAN country level, the number of entrepreneurs in Indonesia is lower than Singapore (8.76%), Malaysia (4.74%), and Thailand (4.26%). In addition, the contribution of micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) to exports is only 14.37% lower than Singapore (41%), Thailand (29%), Japan (25%), Malaysia (18%), especially when compared to China which has reached 60%. Therefore, the Indonesian government targets the entrepreneurship ratio to reach 3.95% in 2024 (Humas, 2022), under the mandate of Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 2 of 2022 on National Entrepreneurship Development.

To become a developed country, the Government of Indonesia continues to spur entrepreneurial growth including small and medium industries, while increasing productivity and competitiveness in the digital era. Although the ratio of entrepreneurs in Indonesia has exceeded the international standard of 2%, Indonesia still needs to work hard to catch up with the achievements of neighboring countries in ASEAN. Indonesia needs at least 4 million new entrepreneurs to encourage the strengthening of the economic structure. The growth target of new entrepreneurs is expected to spread evenly throughout Indonesia.

The South Kalimantan Provincial Government targets as many as 5,000 new entrepreneurs to have grown in 2021 (Antara, 2020), to drive the regional economy. To achieve this goal, various programs have been carried out, including the development of small and medium industries in collaboration with all related parties including banks to encourage the Capital sector through soft credit, institutional development of cooperatives and small businesses, improvement of industrial technology capabilities, improving the quality and productivity of labor through various training, improving human resources, promotion, partnerships, and network marketing. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics 2020, South Kalimantan Province is recorded as the province with the highest percentage of young entrepreneurs, with a figure reaching 16.53% (Dihni, 2022). Based on the provisions of Law Number 40 of 2009, what is meant by young entrepreneurs who are less than 30 years old? At the national level, the average age of entrepreneurs in Indonesia is 45 years. Business units developed by entrepreneurs are also found in oil palm plantation areas.

In South Kalimantan Province, oil palm plantations can be found in Kabupaten Barito Kuala, among others. Oil palm plantations developed in Barito Kuala District can be found in Kuripan District as a center for swamp buffalo farming. Swamp buffalo cattle have been raised by the community for generations. The breeders are from the Bakumpai Dayak tribe. Swamp buffalo farmers are most affected by the influx of oil palm plantations. Pastures that are grazing places for swamp buffaloes, most (97.5%) have been turned into Right to Use of oil palm plantations or *Hak Guna Usaha (HGU)*. Grazing pastures are not only used to herd swamp buffalo but also become another source of livelihood for ranchers. When grazing pastures have been converted to oil palm plantations, that source of livelihood has been lost. Subsequently, breeders developed new, completely different sources of livelihood. To analyze the struggle for these resources, the access theory from (Ribot & Peluso, 2003) is used. Access theory maps access relationships to natural resources that place ownership only as part of a series of access relationships between one another.

What farmers do is a rational choice. The rational choice theory focuses on actors, who have a specific purpose or purpose. Actors have goals, and their actions aim to achieve those goals. Friedman and Hechter (1988) in (Ritzer, 2015) have devised a framework model of rational choice theory. The actions of actors are determined by two main coercions: first, the limitation of different sources and access of each actor. Second, social institutions encourage actors to perform certain actions and avoid others.

The actions of swamp buffalo breeders carried out to achieve certain goals have encouraged the development of entrepreneurial spirit. In Western literature, entrepreneurship is called entrepreneurship. In the context of entrepreneurship in the West, building a business requires a combination of creativity and analysis in business (Ingle, 2013) and a very important leadership role (Kaptein, 2019). In the Indonesian context, entrepreneurship comes from the word which means courageous, meaning there is the courage to do business. Entrepreneurs are people who dare to work both for themselves and others (Firmansyah & Roosmawarni, 2019). Unlike entrepreneurship in the West, entrepreneurship in rural areas is characterized by the characteristics of courage, namely daring to take risks, and having the courage and willingness to do. Entrepreneurship is meant in the context of micro and small enterprises, carried out by individuals and families. The question that arises is how the impact of conflict is on the rise of local entrepreneurs. In particular, this study will analyze the rise of local entrepreneurship in swamp buffalo farming communities in South Kalimantan Province, as well as the determining factors of his resurrection.

Method

This research uses qualitative methods because there are problems related to the rise of local entrepreneurs in conflict areas that still need to be explored. The approach used is in the form of ethnographic studies, with a realist ethnographic type where researchers act as "objective" observers, recording facts with an impartial attitude (Creswell, 2015). This approach is intended to capture the lives of swamp buffalo farmers who have pursued entrepreneurship because the livestock business has suffered setbacks as a result of plantation intervention in palm oil. To know the factors that determine the rise of local entrepreneurs from swamp buffalo farming communities in conflict areas, it is better to be investigated using qualitative methods. By using the qualitative method of the ethnographic study approach, researchers holistically photograph the lives of swamp buffalo breeders with an ethical view or the views of researchers whose practical goals are for their interests. According to (Spradley, 1997) view, the social and cultural structure of society is described according to the researcher's interpretation.

This research was conducted in the villages of swamp buffalo rearing centers in Kuripan District, Barito Kuala Regency, South Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. The central villages of swamp buffalo rearing are Tabatan Baru Village, Tabatan Village, and Rimbun Tulang Village. In these three villages can be found swamp buffalo rearing activities, because there is grazing land overgrown with grass as the main feed. In addition, in these three villages, there are also oil palm plasma plantations whose concessions reach some grazing land. As a result, there is overlapping land use which has led to conflicts between swamp buffalo farmers and oil palm plasma plantations. Regional Regulation of Barito Kuala Regency Number 6 of 2012 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan of Barito Kuala Regency 2012-2031 of South Kalimantan Province, has designated Kuripan District as a swamp buffalo cultivation area. Therefore, it is very appropriate if this research is conducted in Kuripan District, Barito Kuala Regency, South Kalimantan Province.

For the collection of qualitative data, informants are determined purposively, that is, done deliberately to obtain key informants. Furthermore, the selection of advanced informants using the snowball technique. According to (Bungin, 2003) selected informants must meet criteria related to the activities of subjects who are still active in activities of concern to researchers, have enough time to be interviewed, provide information objectively, and can be "teachers" for researchers. With these two techniques, informants were obtained from 38 swamp buffalo breeders. In addition to swamp buffalo farmers, other informants came from plasma plantation managers and core gardens, formal and non-formal, collectors/middlemen, Kuripan District Police Officers, and NGOs. The number of informants other than breeders is 46 people. The total number of informants was 84. To collect research data, interview documents, observation guidelines, document data, and audiovisual data were used.

Interviews with swamp buffalo farmers were conducted to obtain information about the entrepreneurship carried out by farmers, when livestock businesses suffered a setback due to some grazing land having been converted to oil palm plasma plantations. Interviews with plasma plantation managers and nucleus plantations were conducted to obtain data on plantation land area and the process of obtaining land. Interviews with formal and non-formal figures are intended to obtain data on the impact of the entry of oil palm plantations. Interviews with middlemen were conducted to obtain data on commodity prices and the process of purchasing products from breeders. Interviews with police officers to obtain data on security and order issues, as some community members refuse entry to oil palm plantations. Interviews with NGO were conducted to obtain data on reports from community members who felt aggrieved by the

presence of oil palm plantations. Observations were made to determine the existing conditions of grazing land and oil palm plantations as well as the type of entrepreneurship carried out by swamp buffalo breeders. Data obtained from documents, both from the Central Bureau of Statistics sub-districts and districts, oil palm plantations, and from farmers, are secondary and primary sources that can complement data analysis.

The process of qualitative data analysis follows the model of Huberman & Miles (1994) in (Creswell, 2015), where the analysis strategy starts from sketching ideas, by writing marginal notes on field notes. These marginal notes are taken during interviews, observations, and document studies. These field notes are further summarized. From the results of the summary, coding is then made, and reduced to themes. Next, the researcher calculates the frequency of the code and connects each category so that a logical relationship is formed between variables. The next stage of the researcher connects categories with the analytical framework in the literature. In the final stage, researchers display data in the form of tables, charts, figures, and diagrams, and compare cases with standard cases.

Data validation is done through triangulation, researchers use interviews, observations, and documents to explain themes or perspectives. By using a variety of sources, researchers can provide more corroborating evidence. Researchers also use negative case analysis, because not all data is positive. Therefore, researchers must provide a realistic assessment related to the phenomenon of entrepreneurial growth from swamp buffalo breeders. Not all data will match the pattern from the code or theme. Some of the data collected are positive only, or negative only, but some contain both. This qualitative data analysis is carried out during data collection in the field.

Result and Discussion

1. Entry of Oil Palm Plantations

In South Kalimantan Province, oil palm plantations can be found, among others, in Barito Kuala Regency. Oil palm plantations are spread almost throughout the sub-district. Of the 17 sub-districts, only one sub-district has no oil palm plantations. Details of the area of oil palm plantations and the amount of production in each sub-district can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Oil Palm Plant Area and Total Production in Barito Kuala District

No.	District	Plant Area (Ha)	Total Production (Ton)
1	Tabunganen	10	-
2	Tamban	130	138.19
3	Mekarsari	-	-
4	Anjir Market	30	59.44
5	Anjir Muara	130	118.56
6	Alalak	2	-
7	Mandastana	85	58.17
8	Jejangkit	400	259.96
9	Belawang	74	49.53
10	Wanaraya	1233	4895.96
11	Barambai	277	146.58
12	Rantau Badauh	364	165.69
13	Cerbon	125	169.60

14	Bakumpai	73	92.05
15	Marabahan	503	1704.01
16	Tabukan	30	21.39
17	Kuripan	250	57.78
Barito Kuala		3716	7907.24

Source: (BPS, 2022).

Oil palm plantations developed in the Kuripan sub-district have occupied swamp buffalo grazing land (*Bubalus Bubalis*). Based on documents obtained from the company, the oil palm plantation received a concession from the Barito Kuala Regency Government to open plantation land in Kuripan District covering an area of 10,810 hectares, with details of 8,528 hectares of core garden land and 2,282 hectares for plasma plantation land (Rochgiyanti, 2021). Meanwhile, the total area of Kuripan District is 343.50 km² or 34,350 hectares. This means that the area of oil palm plantations in Kuripan District reaches 31.47% of the total area of Kuripan District. The rest of the area is residential, yard land, garden land, *Galam* forest (*Melaleuca leucadendron*), swamp buffalo pasture, public facilities (prayer rooms, mosques, government buildings, public cemeteries, village roads, etc.), and rivers.

Swamp buffalo is one of the germplasm or genetic resources of South Kalimantan. Swamp buffaloes live in a swamp environment under the geographical conditions of South Kalimantan. In South Kalimantan, there are two types of buffalo, namely buffalo raised on dry land and buffalo raised in water. Swamp buffalo is part of mud buffalo because it can dive and swim. That skill is what characterizes the swamp buffalo. From the results of research by (Hilmawan et al., 2020), it can be seen that based on the calculation of LQ (Location Quotient) values in South Kalimantan, five districts get LQ>1 values. Barito Kuala Regency is a regency area that has a relatively large buffalo livestock population compared to other districts so it can be declared as a base area for livestock buffalo based on LQ value >1. Barito Kuala Regency obtained an LQ score of 1.43. Based on the LQ value, swamp buffalo cattle can be used as superior commodities. The five districts that received LQ>1 scores agrosystem are swamp areas whose geographical conditions are very suitable for developing swamp buffalo cultivation. Buffalo cattle have the advantage that they can develop very well in very good environmental conditions spacious and in environments with wet to dry conditions (Hilmawan et al., 2020).

The maintenance of swamp buffalo in Barito Kuala Regency is carried out on grazing pastures located not far from the Barito River Basin. To get to the pasture, grazing can be reached through the tributary paths of the Barito River. The swamp buffalo breeders are all from the Bakumpai Dayak tribe. The maintenance of swamp buffalo has been carried out by breeders for generations. The breeders are scattered in three villages of swamp buffalo farming centers. When the research was conducted in the 2020-2021 period, based on the results of interviews with breeders, it was known that the number of swamp buffalo breeders in Tabatan Baru Village was 19 people, in Tabatan Village as many as 15 people, and Rimbun Tulang Village as many as 4 people (Rochgiyanti, 2021). The total number of breeders is 38 people.

Before the entry of oil palm plantations, the maintenance of swamp buffalo in Barito Kuala Regency was carried out on 12,786 hectares of pasture. After the entry of oil palm plantations, the area of pasture has shrunk as shown in the following table.

Table 2. Area of *Hadangan* Grazing Land in Kuripan District

No.	Year	Area (Ha)	Source Description
1	2011	12,786	Central Bureau of Statistics of Barito Kuala Regency, 2015
2	2012	12,781	Central Bureau of Statistics of Barito Kuala Regency, 2015
3	2013	13,351	Central Bureau of Statistics of Barito Kuala Regency, 2015
4	2014	13,141	Central Bureau of Statistics of Barito Kuala Regency, 2015
5	2015	11,005	Kuripan sub-district data, 2016
6	2015	250,000	Recommendations of plantation land for <i>Manuntung</i> village unit cooperative or <i>Koperasi Unit Desa (KUD)</i> No. 525/019.1/Hutbun, dated January 20, 2015, point 5 concerning the Preservation of the Swamp Buffalo Area

Sumber: (Rochgiyanti, 2021).

The data above explains that the area of balaan grazing pasture continues to decrease from 12,786 hectares to the remaining 250 hectares or around 1.95%. This means that around 12,536 hectares or about 98.05% of grazing pastures have been repurposed, both for plantations, agriculture, settlements, and road-clearing land. Based on observations on oil palm plantations and grazing pastures as well as interviews with formal figures, namely sub-districts and village heads, act the function of land is Most prevalent for oil palm plantations. Therefore, a conflict between swamp buffalo farmers and oil palm plantation companies is inevitable.

Both swamp buffalo farmers and oil palm plantation companies gain access to grazing pastures by different mechanisms. (Ribot & Peluso, 2003) define access as the ability to profit from something, including material objects, individuals, institutions, and symbols. They explained that the mechanism for obtaining access, namely (1) rights-based access mechanisms, closely linked to laws (state) and customs (community groups) that are usually incompatible, (2) illegal access, that is, the use of something through not obtaining the social approval of the state and society, or through acts of violence; and (3) structural and relational access mechanism, concerning economic, political, cultural frameworks, which manifest in the use of technology, capital, markets, labor and employment opportunities, knowledge, authority, social identity, and negotiation, as well as building social relations with others.

Based on the results of document studies and interviews with oil palm plantations, they get access to open plantation land based on rights-based access that is closely related to the laws of the country. The right is in the form of a decree from the regent regarding the opening permit and operational permit for oil palm plantations in its area. In addition, investment in oil palm plantations is possible because the state is boosting state revenue from various sources. Investment in oil palm plantations will bring a multiplier effect in the form of job openings, community participation as plasma farmers, increasing community income around plantations, an increase in Local Original Revenue from the tax sector, and foreign exchange for the country from palm oil commodity exports. Thus, access to oil palm plantations

is also supported by structural and relational mechanisms, concerning political decisions and economic development.

Swamp buffalo farmers use pasture based on rights-based access mechanisms that are closely related to customary law recognized by social groups in the community of Bakumpai Dayak tribe. Based on interviews with farmers, they learned that the grazing pasture was state-owned land. Therefore, the district government can easily issue plantation use rights to plantation investors. But ranchers have been using grazing pastures to graze swamp buffalo cattle and build pens on them, long before oil palm plantations came into existence in the region of these. They have been breeders of swamp buffalo for generations. Based on documents owned by farmers and based on interviews with breeders, the existence of swamp buffalo breeders is also legally recognized by the government district, because they already hold livestock cards and pay livestock tax regularly on an annual basis. However, the amount of livestock tax paid by farmers is much smaller than the tax deposited by the plantation. Therefore, it can be concluded that access to gain control over fishing fields by buffalo farmers, swamps and oil palm plantations is not go hand in hand, even contradicting each other.

If you look at the relationship that occurs between actors, it can be grouped into two, namely between parties who control resource access and parties who must maintain resource access. It is in this relational pattern that the sharing of benefits over resources is negotiated between the two groups of actors. In the negotiation process, each actor develops a different strategy for one goal, namely maintaining access to resources and also the flow of benefits (Priyatna et al., 2013). The district government can control access to resources based on the power they have. Oil palm plantations manage to control resources based on formal legal power obtained from district governments. Meanwhile, farmers try to maintain access to resources by resisting and resisting oil palm plantation companies. With the strategy developed by the breeder, in the end, they get a conservation area for swamp buffalo from the company, even though the land area obtained is much narrower compared to the number of swamp buffalo owned by breeders.

From this explanation, it can be seen that the strategies used by the parties to gain access to resources can vary. The results of research by (Priyatna et al., 2013) on access and strategies of actors in the utilization of Djuanda reservoir resources show that ownership rights of reservoir resources can be state property or private property. Resource ownership rights are always associated with regulatory and legal claims support. These rules and laws can take the form of formal legal or social consensus within society. These claims to regulations and laws always aim to protect an inherent set of rights for resource owners. However, a person or group of people can gain control of a resource because it manages to get rid of another group.

2. Negative Impacts of the Entry of Oil Palm Plantations

The entry of oil palm plantations into the villages of swamp buffalo farming centers has caused various impacts, both positive and negative. Some community members accept the presence of oil palm plantations because they are seen as providing employment. On the contrary, some residents reject the entry of oil palm plantations because they can eliminate sources of livelihood that have been occupied for generations. The rejection from some of these communities has led to conflict between oil palm plantation companies and residents. However, the conflict did not lead to a destructive and anarchist conflict. According to interviews with police officers, the conflict between the two parties was actualized in the form of demonstrations carried out by farmers at the plantation of palm oil. They demanded that the company not open plantations in the pasture. The process of conflict between the two parties,

including efforts to resolve conflicts that have been carried out by both parties and through mediation, has been described by (Rochgiyanti, 2022).

The influx of oil palm plantations negatively affects the livelihoods of swamp buffalo farmers. Based on the results of interviews with farmers and informal figures as well as observations in the field, it can be seen that the negative is the loss of some sources of livelihood because there has been landed use change. Forests that originally provided various types of wood abundantly have been turned into oil palm plantations. The marshland that became the habitat of freshwater fish has disappeared. Swamp buffalo grazing land, some of which is also used to make fish wells, has now been turned into oil palm plantations.

Before the entry of oil palm plantations, swamp buffalo farmers did not only depend on one source for their livelihoods. From interviews with farmers, it can be seen that when they raise swamp buffaloes, farmers also have additional livelihoods sourced from the environment. After the entry of oil palm plantations, there has been a change in the source of livelihood. The change is caused by land use change. Some of the old sources of livelihood have disappeared, but new sources of livelihood have emerged in oil palm plantations. The impact of the presence of oil palm plantations on the livelihoods of swamp farmers can be seen in the following table.

Table 3. The Impact of Grazing Pasture Conversion on the Livelihood of Swamp Buffalo Farmers for the 2010-2021 Period

No.	Era	Event	Farmer's Livelihood						
			Breeding Swamp Buffalo	Keeping Fish in the Well	Catch Fish in the River	Look for Wood in the Forest	Palm Oil Plantation Workers	Livestock Swiftlet	Other
1	2009	Enter oil palm plantations	√	√	√	√	-	-	-
2	2010	Local Regulations Issued No.3/2010	√	√	√	√	√	-	-
3	2011	Location Permit Extension	√	√	√	√	√	-	-
4	2012	Village unit cooperative Reactivated	√	√	√	√	-	-	-
5	2013	Plantation Business License and cooperation agreement	√	√	√	√	√	-	-
6	2014	Land delineation conservation	√	√	√	√	√	-	-
7	2015	Plasma farm location permit	√	-	√	√	√	-	-

8	2015	Recommendation of cultivation rights for village unit cooperative	√	-	√	√	√	-	-
9	2015	Planting of palm plasma	√	-	√	-	√	-	-
10	2017	-	√	-	√	-	√	√	√
11	2018	Planting of palm plasma	√	-	√	-	√	√	√
12	2020	Plasma garden harvesting	√	-	√	-	√	√	√
13	2021	The plasma farm has distributed the remaining results of the cooperative's business	√	-	√	-	√	√	√

Source: (Rochgiyanti, 2021)

From the table, it can be seen that before the entry of oil palm plantations, there were various sources of livelihood occupied by ranchers as side jobs. All types of livelihoods developed are sourced from wetland ecosystems, which are rich in various types of flora and fauna that can be utilized as a source of income for farmers. The influx of oil palm plantations has eliminated some sources of livelihood as the land where to forage for forest timber or catch fish has been turned into oil palm plantations. Oil palm plantations have transformed the landscape of wetland ecosystems into blocks containing oil palm plantations, bounded by trenches to drain fertilizer waste and maintain the ebb and flow of swamp water.

3. The Positive Impact of the Entry of Oil Palm Plantations on the Development of Entrepreneurship among Swamp Buffalo Farmers

Although some sources of livelihood for swamp buffalo farmers have disappeared, the influx of oil palm plantations has had a positive impact on farmers. Based on the results of interviews with formal sub-district and village head figures, informal leaders in the village, and swamp buffalo farmers, there is a generally positive impact that can be enjoyed by swamp buffalo breeders and other villagers are the opening of road access that connects between villages in the sub-district and between sub-districts in Barito Kuala Regency. Some road access was opened by oil palm plantation companies, and some were opened by the district government. Before the opening of road access, residents in Kuripan District had to use the Barito River route as the only route to get to the district capital or otherwise.

Road access opened by oil palm plantation companies is used to transport production facilities and infrastructure as well as transport oil palm crops to the mill for crude palm oil (CPO) processing. However, villagers can take advantage of the road route. The road route built by the district government has facilitated connectivity between villages in Kuripan District. By using land routes, it is easier for villages to reach the district capital than by river. The positive impact of the development of land routes, among others, can be seen from the development of fishing tourism in fish wells owned by residents, although overshadowed by

conflicts that occur between community members and oil palm plantations (Rochgiyanti et al., 2023).

The inclusion of oil palm plantations also has a positive impact on providing employment opportunities for residents of communities around the plantation site. At the beginning of the opening of plantations and the beginning of the planting period of oil palm seedlings, the need for labor is very high. According to information from the village head, at the beginning of the opening of oil palm plantations, as many as 80% of villagers in his area had worked as plantation laborers. But after entering the treatment phase, the labor needs of residents have shrunk to about 10%. Workers who can still work in plantations include qualified and educated workers with certain educational qualifications. Meanwhile, skilled personnel who are experienced in oil palm cultivation are imported from outside the region.

Another positive impact is the development of the entrepreneurial spirit of swamp buffalo breeders. After the entry of oil palm plantations, swamp buffalo farmers have lost their source of livelihood from wetland ecosystems as shown in table 3. However, these conditions have encouraged farmers to develop new sources of subjects that are under environmental conditions. Swamp buffalo farmers have made a rational choice to obtain a new source of livelihood while maintaining swamp buffalo whose numbers are decreasing due to the increasing number of the narrowness of grazing pastures. According to Friedman and Hechter (1988) theory of rational choice focuses attention on actors, who have a specific purpose or purpose (Ritzer, 2015). What actor has a specific purpose, and is done with a certain action to achieve its goal? Swamp buffalo farmers have been looking for alternative sources of livelihood with the aim that the source of opinion is not only single but comes from various sources. With sources of income that come from various sources, family welfare can be maintained.

Researchers used indicators of farmer welfare in terms of the ability to send children to college, as well as the opportunity to perform the pilgrimage to the holy land. Judging from the age of breeders, there are 65.79% of farmers can send their children to college. Children who are schooled until college are between 1-4 people. In addition, as many as 55.26% of farmers have made the pilgrimage to the holy land. To perform this pilgrimage requires a long waiting period, and large costs according to government regulations. When they will leave for the holy land, various kinds of congratulations ceremonies are also carried out which require a lot of money. With the loss of livelihoods other than raising swamp buffalo, ranchers have developed new sources of livelihood.

The actions of swamp buffalo breeders are determined by two main coercions, namely first, limited resources and different access from each actor (Ritzer, 2015). Limited resources that can be accessed by swamp buffalo farmers are caused because some pasture lands have been converted into oil palm plantation land. In addition, the breeders are not on the same status, but there are 4 criteria for swamp buffalo breeders. The criteria in question are breeders who have swamp buffalo and are kept by themselves, breeders who have swamp buffalo but maintenance is left to other breeders, breeders who own livestock and receive livestock entrustment from others, and farmers who only receive livestock entrustment from others (Rochgiyanti, 2021). Second, social institutions encourage actors to perform certain actions and avoid others. In the maintenance of swamp buffalo carried out by the Bakupai Dayak tribe, family ties among breeders are very strong. The maintenance of the marsh buffalo itself is characterized by the characteristics of trust, cooperation, and mutual assistance. Therefore, they choose to develop new sources of livelihood rather than in constant conflict with oil palm plantations. This is done considering that among swamp buffalo breeders there is 18.42% work

as plantation laborers, and as many as 34.21% of breeders have become plasma farmers in palm oil.

Based on wetland environmental conditions, new livelihoods developed by farmers are:

a. Breeding Swallows

Natural conditions in Kuripan District are very suitable for swallow cultivation. According to swamp buffalo breeders, swallow cultivation is easy to do, but requires very large capital. For 1 unit of swallow's nest house measuring 4 x 8 m consisting of 2 floors, construction funds of up to 100 million rupiahs are needed. If the bird's nest house is built with a wider size and higher floors, it can cost up to 400 million rupiahs. This swallow's nest house is built next to the house, behind the house, or in a garden not far from the house so that it is easy to supervise, some even take advantage of a house that is no longer occupied. After a year, they began to enjoy the results. At the time of the study, in the 2020-2021 period, the price of swallow nests ranged from 18-20 million rupiah per kilogram. Every week they harvest a swallow's nest of at least 1 kilogram. From the results of observations and interviews with farmers, it can be seen that the number of swallow nest houses in the villages of swamp buffalo farming centers is increasing. In 2014 only 1 unit of swallow's nest house was found, in 2016 the number became 34 units, in 2018 increased to 78 units, and in 2020 the number >100 units. As much as 44.74% of swamp buffalo breeders have built swallow nest houses.

b. Cultivation of medicinal plants

The medicinal plant cultivated by marsh buffalo breeders is the type of *Cassia Quaderialata*. The *Bakumpai Dayak* tribe knows it as *gulinggang* or *gelinggang*. This plant is also known as *Chinese ketapeng*. It grows wild in the forests of Kalimantan, including in the wetland area of Kuripan District. Local people have long believed that this plant has ordinary benefits for health. The Dayak Siang tribe uses *gelinggang* leaves as a traditional medicine to treat fungal diseases, such as ringworm, scabies, tinea versicolor, and acne. They mash the leaves to make cold powder to prevent and treat acne (Kementan, 2019). The plant grows in moist and adaptive areas to swampy conditions. This plant has an export value in the form of dry leaves. According to the Head of the South Kalimantan Provincial Trade Office, this leaf has been in great demand by various countries. Therefore, the residents of South Kalimantan have begun to export *gelinggang* leaves as ingredients for medicines and health care and health care traditional. From the source of *Trubus* (Kemenperin, 2018; Trubus, 2019), *gelinggang* leaves contain *glycosides, alkaloids, flavonoids, lectins, rheim, tannins, quercetin*, etc. which have many benefits for the body.

According to the breeders of swamp buffaloes, the cultivation of girdle plants is very easy to do. This plant can be planted in the yard, next to or behind the house, on the bank of the river, or the side of the road. This plant does not require special care. Once planted it is then allowed to grow on its own. The leaves of the plant are used by the community. They sell it in the form of dry leaves. They can harvest their leaves every 2 months, and the yield of dry leaves can reach 60 kilograms per harvest. At the time the study was conducted, the selling price of dried *gelinggang* leaves reached 12 thousand rupiahs per kilogram.

Based on the results of interviews with farmers, it can be seen that as many as 84.21% of swamp buffalo farmers have planted *girders*. The plants are easy to grow, require no care, and the results are very promising. What farmers do to build this new source of livelihood is a rational choice, and the results are immediate. With the existence of new sources of livelihood, the welfare of farmers can still be expected. If welfare remains guaranteed, the potential for conflict with plantations can be suppressed.

4. Factors Driving the Development of Entrepreneurship Among Swamp Buffalo Breeders

4.1. Very Strong Entrepreneurial Spirit

One of the entrepreneurial spirits of swamp buffalo breeders is determined by the entrepreneurial spirit that has developed for a long time. Farmers who come from the *Bakumpai Dayak* tribe (commonly called the *Bakumpai* people) have a very strong trading spirit. The *Bakumpai Dayak* tribe, including the *Ngaju Dayak tribe* group, is one of the four tribes from the *Ot Danum Dayak (Hulu Sungai)* family. In addition to *Dayak Ngaju*, the other three tribes are *Dayak Maanyan*, *Dayak Lawangan*, and *Dayak Dusun* (BRG, 2017).

(R. Hadi, 2015) has explained the persistence of the *Bakumpai Dayak* tribe in carrying out trading businesses along river routes in the South and Central Kalimantan regions. At that time, the trade commodities of the *Bakumpai* people came from forest products, such as rattan, resin, various forest tree saps, etc.; while returning home brought tobacco, salt, rice, cloth, household utensils, etc. (R. Hadi, 2015). As merchants, the *Bakumpai* are more open to receiving outside influences.

One of the trading skills of the *Bakumpai* is determined by their residence along the banks of the river and its estuaries. They are scattered in groups in small villages along the Barito River from the estuary to the upper reaches. River flow becomes a favorable condition in social and economic development. The choice of residence locations along the river flow and in river estuaries is based on needs and security factors because they have trading skills so they choose a strategic place (Hartatik, 2017). Although the mouth of the river is an unsafe area because of many pirates, the *Bakumpai* people have an aggressive attitude and dare to fight, and always live in groups so that they can overcome the pirates.

4.2. Spirit of Self Managing and Self Regulating

Business opportunities can arise from political and policy changes. The policy of the Barito Kuala Regency Government to open investment in oil palm plantations has brought changes in the livelihoods of the people around the plantations. Traditional livelihoods based on the natural wealth of wetlands have been displaced by oil palm plantations. Interventions that come from outside can eliminate the principle of self-managing and self-regulation that are formally local in the community. However, this study found that the occurrence of outside intervention in the form of the entry of oil palm plantations encourages the development of self-managing and self-regulating principles among marsh buffalo breeders. From observations and interviews with swamp buffalo farmers, it can be seen that breeders have developed new sources of livelihood based on the principle of self-management and self-regulation. Farmers have developed the principle of creating a source of livelihood independently and regulating it independently (S. P. Hadi, 2009).

Swamp buffalo farmers have built swallow nest houses independently, without capital assistance or technical instructions on swallow cultivation from the government. Likewise, with the cultivation of girder plants, they plant with their awareness, without the help of seeds or technical instructions from related agencies. They are also not backed by banking credit. From the results of interviews with farmers, it can be seen that the capital used to build swallow nest houses comes from the sale of swamp buffaloes. They sold part of their cattle because the grazing pasture narrowed compared to the number of swamp buffalo. With the new source of livelihood, farmers who manage the maintenance of swallow nest houses and rolling plants independently, harvesting time, and its sales. What swamp buffalo breeders do is very different

from entrepreneurship in Western principles, where analysis is needed in the business that will develop (Ingle, 2013), and very strong leadership is needed (Kaptein, 2019). Swamp buffalo breeders, under the principle of entrepreneurship, build businesses based on courage, including the courage to take risks (Firmansyah & Roosmawarni, 2019). The risk in question is caused by fluctuations in the selling price of the product and product quality.

4.3. Marketing Guarantee for Its Products

Market availability is a very decisive factor for a product. Although production can be boosted as highly as possible, without marketing guarantees, the product is not sold or can be sold but at a very low price. This marketing problem is a classic problem for those who are going to start a business. (Firmansyah & Roosmawarni, 2019) explained that entrepreneurship, among others, is characterized by the characteristics of courage, namely daring to take risks, having the enthusiasm and strong will, and marketing certainty.

Swamp buffalo breeders dare to take the risk to build a swallow nest house with very large capital because there is a guarantee of marketing swallow nests. They can sell swallow nests at any time. They just need to contact the middlemen or collectors. In a relatively short time, these middlemen or collectors will come to the village and buy swallow nests. Based on the results of interviews with middlemen or collectors, they can be contacted for 24 hours to purchase swallow nests. They buy it in cash. According to collectors or middlemen, the collected swallow nests are then sent to Java Island for further export abroad. At the time this study was conducted, the price of swallow nests ranged from 15-20 thousand rupiah per kilogram depending on the quality. The breeders themselves once sell the swallow's nest can reach a range of 5-10 kilograms.

Likewise, marketing dried *gulinggang* leaves can be done easily. Periodically, collectors or middlemen come to swamp buffalo breeders to take dried *rolling* leaves. According to middleman information, these dried *gulinggang* leaves were then deposited into a pharmaceutical factory in one of the cities in South Kalimantan Province. The middlemen buy dried *gulinggang* leaves in cash from swamp buffalo breeders. Middlemen or collectors buy dried *gulinggang* leaves for 12-13 thousand rupiah per kilogram. Farmers can sell between 30-60 kilograms per harvest every 2 months. With the guarantee of market certainty, what swamp buffalo breeders do is a very rational choice. Swamp buffalo farmers can think rationally when the natural resources that are the source of livelihood have changed due to intervention from plantations palm oil. The entrepreneurship developed by these breeders is related to a sustainable environment. Based on the results of (Guo et al., 2022) businesses based on high-quality environmental and economic development are more prevalent in central cities than in cluster cities. The development of regional entrepreneurship and the development of economic quality turned out to be running asymmetrically.

Conclusion

From the results of the data analysis above, it can be concluded that the entry of oil palm plantations has brought positive and negative impacts to swamp buffalo farmers. The positive impact is in the form of the opening of road infrastructure and the availability of employment opportunities for the community around the plantation, and the development of entrepreneurial spirit among swamp buffalo breeders. The emergence of this entrepreneurial spirit is due to the negative impact of oil palm plantation interventions that have eliminated traditional sources of livelihood. The influx of oil palm plantations has led to the conversion of wetlands into patches of oil palm plantations. In the end, swamp buffalo farmers have created a new source of

livelihood that is suitable for wetland conditions. The emergence of entrepreneurship does not occur immediately but is also influenced by a very strong trading spirit, the self-managing and *self-regulating* spirit that has been growing for a long time, and marketing guarantees for the products produced.

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