

Identity Struggling of Local Communities in Tiaka Oil and Gas Mining, North Morowali Regency, Indonesia

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Abstract: This study aims at describing the construction of ethnic identities of local communities to gain economic access to oil and gas refinery development in Tiaka reef, North Morowali Regency. The communities have directly experienced negative impact of access restriction to Tiaka reef, a place where the local fisherman has so far used to go fishing. The study employed qualitative research design and was conducted in north Morowali Regency, Indonesia. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, documents analysis and review of related data concerning the study. The research informants were selected purposively based on their direct involvement in various company activities. This study shows that in an attempt to gain the economic access, the local group have done several efforts such as resistance, demonstrations and sabotage against the PMT's job. Consolidation of local communities creates a social movement by highlighting their local ethnic identity associated with the topic of "communal land" or "traditional people". The local ethnic groups are Ta'a/Ta'a Wana, Bajo, Bungku and Bugis. However, the most affected ethnic group due to the existence of the company is Bajo ethnic in Kolo District. Consequently, Bajo is not only the name of local ethnic community but also becoming a symbol of poverty, exclusion and as well as a symbol of "resistance" in local communities around Tiaka oil and gas mining.

Key words: Ethnic identity, local communities, economics access, oil and gas, Bajo, Bugis

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic identity issue throughout years has always been integrated in the context of politics, economics and natural resources. In this modern era, instead of diminishing the relationship, the ethnic issue has increasingly widespread in the society. In Indonesia, the social conflict after the end of orde baru (one of the regime in Indonesian government) reinforces the notion that ethnic identity as a differentiator or as co-identification within the political and economic interests. Recently, there are more tendencies of ethnic identity conflicts in relation to struggles over access to natural resources in a particular region. Based on data from WALHI (a non-profit organization of environmental in dependent in Indonesia) during the years 2013, there have been 232 conflicts over natural resources in 98 districts in 22 provinces throughout Indonesia. Inequality control of natural resources between communities depending on the nature (land, forests, farm and seafood) and the chief of business sector (particularly to the large scale of industrial sector

such as plantation, forestry and mining) as well as the government's domination still ignore the rights of the local communities (tenure, traditional, customary).

The increasing awareness of local communities to construct ethnic identity is driven from the limited living space and social space that they have. The living space is limited because of the exploitation of oil and gas mines, palm tree farm and forest exploitation leaving the local community retarded and poor. This study was conducted around the offshore oil and gas mining owned by PT. Job Pertamina, Medco Tiaka Senoro (Job PMTS) built in the area of Tiaka reef where the local communities lost their livelihood sources/assets because the company restricted the access to Tiaka reef.

This less favorable condition is not accompanied with fair restitution for the fisherman. In short, the company did not implement the CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) that corresponds to the local community's expectations. As a result, violent conflicts finally happened.

Based on the fact from the field in August 21st, 2011, there was a tragedy occurring known as "Tiaka Tragedy"¹

when dozens of canoes and motor boats carrying hundreds of Kolo people to Tiaka oil and gas rig. The demonstrators were suspected of carrying weapons and Molotov bomb (traditional handmade bomb) but they were intercepted by the armed police from Banggai Region, as a consequence exchange fire among officers and civilians occurred killing Yurifin and Marten Datu Adam (the civilians). Meanwhile, dozens of others were injured and about 20 people were arrested and put on trial in the Palu City (the capital city of central Sulawesi Province, Indonesia).

The conflict that killed the two people mainly caused by the accumulation of problems that have occurred since the start of Tiaka refinery construction in 2004, although, the demands for CSR. The main problems of this event were issues dealing with economic access due to the presence of the oil and gas mining company. The conflict began when the company started to reclaim the Tiaka coral group area that covered 24 ha for the construction of oil and gas drilling platforms. According to local community, Tiaka Coral is better known as “Sapa Mataha”, taken from the Bajo traditional language which means long shallow. People around Tolo bay, especially Bajo ethnic, used Sapa Mataha as a fishing spots for decades but now they are no longer able to access the area. The company does not allow fishermen from anywhere to get closer from a radius of 1 km from Tiaka oil and gas refineries. If the local fisherman tries to approach the Tiaka coral they will be ambushed by security of the company or by the police officers assigned near by the installation area to keep it clear and safe. The Tiaka coral reef itself was once regarded as the greatest spot for fishing because of the giant catch of marine products such as Napoleon Wrasse (*Cheilinus undulatus*), Sea Cucumber, Lobster, Octopus, Sea Scallops and Giant seashells (*Tridacna* Sp.). Throughout the year, the fishermen are very much dependent on marine resources around Tiaka coral reef (Sangadji, 2002).

Now their access to Sapa Mataha was closed, fishermen from Kolo Bawah, Rata, Pandauke, Saliti, Kolo Up, Boba and Baturube Village have to go to sail and fish farther than they used to. During the reclamation activity in Tiaka coral progresses, the fishermen need to spend an extra cost for fishing due to the restriction made by companies. As a result, the fishermen increasingly suffer from a bleak economic conditions.

In this uncertain situation, a hope is hanging on the refineries that have already operated. Every night the people who lives on the seashore along the Western district of Toili in Banggai regency to the district of Baturube in North Morowali Regency can see the bright light emitted from the sea. It is a light caused by the

offshore oil drilling nearby. People's dream that these refineries can become source of their livelihood. They think that the oil and gas mining can contribute to the prosperity of people living around the area. Although, there are CSR funds for the local people but in the reality it does not meet their expectations.

Interesting case that happened around Tiaka oil and gas mining projects is that the heterogeneity of the ethnics (local and immigrant ethnics) with different characteristics and cultures living together as a community. The local ethnics are Ta'a, Bajo, Bungku and Mori. Living around them are the immigrants, through transmigration and spontaneous migration program decades ago. These ethnics consist of Java, Bali, Sunda, Lombok, Bugis, Gorontalo and Buton.

Ethnicity is a strong identity that will later become symbolic capital in an effort to gain the economic access and CSR funds for local communities. The relationship's pattern built on the oil and gas mining industry can be explained on how the government, industry and society (read: local communities) compete for controlling of natural resources near by the refineries area. In this case, the relationship is always in line with management of natural resources and how the fair distribution would be held. Land, sea, forest and other resources have always become the areas for competition of control and access with claims and justifications. Therefore, this study explored the dynamics of ethnic identity in gaining the economic access and the application of CSR for the local communities.

Literature review: Ethnicity is a cultural concept focused on the sharing of norms, values, beliefs, symbols, cultural practices and conservatism in relation to social organization (Armstrong, 1986). Ethnicity manifests in how we talk about the group's identity, signs and symbols that we use to identify certain group. Thus, the concept of ethnicity is relationship in line with self-identification and social origins.

Barth (1988) developed a theory in the context of ethnic identity which then emerges the concept of what he called as situational ethnicity. In this concept, the person attempts to exploit cultural symbols and show certain ethnic behavior that changes from time to time, fit in certain situation or correspond to personal or social interests (Mulyana, 2006). Barth perspective inspired many experts to examine the situational ethnicity as indicated by Armstrong (1986), Mulyana (2006) and Sjaf (2014). The findings of their studies show that the ethnic identity and symbols are being manipulated for personal, social, economic and political interests. In many previous studies regarding the access of land, forests and other

resources to local communities (ethnic groups) such as (Fitzpatrick, 2007; Lynch and Harwell, 2002; D'Andrea, 2013) showed that the land and natural resources conflicts that are widespread in Indonesia are based on the lack of acknowledgement to the local communities rights as well as their different mindsets in tenure system (resources utilization) recognized by society and the government.

In addition, studies on the utilization of marine resources as by Kinseng, indicate that the tenure and natural resources access is becoming a major issue in social conflicts such as conflicts among fishermen, conflicts between local communities and mining companies, conflicts between local communities and conservation area managers and etcetera. The research findings by MacNeill *et al.* (1992) assert the previous studies that social conflicts over natural resources and environmental problem would be more complicated in the future. The same estimation according to Dixon (1999) states that not only would natural resource conflicts increase in the future but also violent conflicts. Hommer-Dixon states that: "in coming decades the world will probably see a steady increase in the incidence of violent conflict that is caused at least in part, by environmental scarcity".

In the context of identity construction in accessing natural resources, studies from Hempel (2013) and Li (2012) became an important part to understand how the identity, especially in relation to ethnic construction as part of efforts in gaining the access to natural resources. Li, e.g., studied identity formation in the mountains of Palolo, Lindu and Kulawi area in Sigi District by observing how local people put themselves in the relationship to others and as well as having control for their community. Then, he learned the position of entrants to the local people, Muslims to Christians, the wealthy and the needy, who later categorized in a word of "us or them". Another study conducted by D'Andrea (2013) on the farmer's struggling for gaining access to the natural resources in Lore Lindu National Park in Central Sulawesi, explained that the rural farmer's identity were strategically organized as part of a broader political mobilization.

Especially, related to CSR fund, Imbun (2007) in Papua New Guinea found that CSR is only used as an attempt to quell the social and community resistance to the presence of oil and gas mining. The companies considered CSR as funding to resolve the social issues arouse within the local communities considering the company has exploited the natural resources for company's profit and ignored the local communities' right. This view, CSR oriented has caused company to be unable to provide solution to social problem and conflicts when local community resisted the company's existence.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study was conducted in the villages around Tiaka District and sub-district of North Bungku and Mamosalato Districts in North Morowali. This study applied interpretive paradigms (qualitative method) with a case study approach (Creswell, 2014). The data were collected through interviews, observation and document analysis. Informants of this study were selected based on purposive sampling technique. The informants include community leaders, traditional/ethnic leaders, leaders of community organizations and religious leaders who are actively involved in activities related to oil and gas mining in Tiaka or lived in the area around the project of Tiaka.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Local ethnic identity: In Tiaka oil and gas mining area, there are several ethnic groups living together both categorized as immigrant people and local (ethnic) people of Tiaka. However, this categorization create a problem because the immigrant people who have long settled in Tiaka region refuse themselves to be so-called "the settlers". These ethnic groups are Ta'a, Bajo, Bungku, Bugis, Mori, Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese. Among these groups, Ta'a, Bajo, Bungku and Bugis ethnics are actively involved in gaining the economic access to Tiaka refineries. Therefore, these ethnic groups picture the categorization of local communities.

First, Bungku ethnic is generally claimed to have several meanings: firstly, it refers to one of the twelve ethnic groups inhabiting in Central Sulawesi province. Secondly, it refers to a particular region of the former Tambuku/Tomboekoe or Tombuku (Bungku) landscape that constitutes a geographical unit located in Morowali and stretches from the district of Menui Islands up to the District of Mamosalato which is a fraction of North Bungku District (Mahid, 2012).

Second, Ta'a is one ethnic groups that used Ta'a language and it is the major ethnic group live in the North Bungku and Mamosalato. Ta'a ethnic is also frequently called as Ta'a Wana ethnic. The utterance of Ta'a Wana ethnic comes from the differences in self-concept or paradigm on viewing the identity of Ta'a people who live in the mountains and forests. Ta'a people who live in the countryside or in the city and mingle very well with other ethnic groups do not want to be so-called as Ta'a Wana because they already live in "modern" era. Most of Ta'a ethnic in countryside areas also embraced Islam as their religion while the rest are Christians. Meanwhile, non-government organization and the anthropologists describe Ta'a Wana people live in the forest or in the mountains to isolate themselves from modernization they

live in a barter system of trade and still believe the credence to ancestral religion called "halaik" (Alvard, 2000).

Third, 'Bajo' 'Bajo People', 'Bajau', 'Bajaw', 'Sama', or 'sea people' ethnic is always associated to the marine life as the fishermen. Bajo ethnic at Kolo area and their surroundings are originally assumed from the islands of Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi. An informant stated: "formely the fishermen from islands around Wakatobi, Wanci Islands, stopping here temporarily before traveling to their destination they stop here in this bay which they named as the Bonebuya Bay" (Datu 47 years old, 2016, May).

Bajo ethnic groups inhabit in the coastal areas, most of them live over the shallow reefs along the Gulf of Tolo. They were settled in the coastal villages such as Rata, Pandauke, Kolo area in Mamosalato and Ueruru, Uewajo and Tirongan area in Northern Bungku. Culturally, Bajo people are the ethnic groups whose life depend on the sea as their main livelihood. They are looking for marine products such as fish, lobster, crabs, seaweed, sea cucumbers and pearl shells. Therefore, Tiaka reef according to Bajo people is not only a space for survival but it also has a significant cultural meaning.

The last, Bugis ethnic in this context are those who have migrated to North Bungku and Mamosalato region a long time ago. According to the narration of local leaders, HL (55 years old, May, 2016) Bugis immigrant arrived to the Tiaka region since the 17th century characterized by the widespread of Islam as the religion in Tolo bay coast. Then, in 1950's era when the DI/TII (insurgence to Indonesian government) underway in South Sulawesi, Bugis people started to search for safer areas. The next migration period started when farming cocoa are booming in central Sulawesi. There are many Bugis people looking for new fertile land for farming cocoa. Ethnic Bugis in several studies described differently among the communities living in South Sulawesi compared to those who have already migrated (Massompe ethnic) to various places in Indonesia as well as abroad. The explanation about "massompe ethnic" (adventuring, wandering and exploring) turns to be particular characteristics of Bugis ethnic group. The high mobility of Bugis people associated with the hierarchy of the Bugis community itself, a desire for a better future, competition ethos in social life and their hard work habit.

The aforementioned explanation about local ethnic identity certainly contributes to identify the distinctiveness of ethnic groups associated to their origin. Factually, ethnic identity is typically contextual and situational because it is the result of a social negotiation

in which one ethnic identity declared, later it will be accepted, recognized and marked by other ethnic groups. One characteristic of ethnic identities is that open to the observation of other ethnic identity group as an affirmation and recognition of particular ethnic identity. The recognition of ethnic identity groups creates a room for rising the ethnic consciousness that is related to an affiliation of cultural elements from different ethnic groups. The final result from the awareness of ethnic identity group is the true association of one's personal identification toward the ethnic communities.

Dynamics of ethnicity in gaining the economics access:

Based on the findings of field study, the strengthening issue of local community identity in the access of economic contestation around Tiaka oil and gas mining, North Morowali Regency can be divided into 3 issues; firstly, the decrease (loss) of local communities' income due to the shrinking of fishermen catching area, Sapa Mataha which has become an offshore oil refineries. Secondly, the limited access of local communities in obtaining employment in Tiaka oil and gas mining. There are many skilled and unskilled workers come from outside the Ring 1 territory and Ring 2 region is affected, moreover many of the workers came from Java and Kalimantan islands. Thirdly, the demand fulfilling the local community right through the allocation of funds, DBH (profit sharing) and corporate social responsibility as well as community development.

The existence of Tiaka oil and gas refinery has caused a decline income of fishermen, especially to Bajo ethnic fishermen who settled in the village of Kolo District. Obstruction access to Tiaka refineries caused fishermen increase their cost for fuel because they need to take longer distances to find fish. The decline in marine fishing in Kolo area as described by Maesar (56 years old, June, 2016), "we used to go to Sapa Mataha and we could find fish up to 2 tons in one sail but recently we are lucky enough if we have two baskets of fish in our boat". Meanwhile, the other informant, Sut (35 years old, May, 2016) revealed facts in which she had kept among the Siliti village people and local people round Tiaka oil and gas mining that the livelihood systems of local ethnic communities is steadily declining in the production. Local people farm such as cocoa have many pests, leaves and the fruit dries, the local people assumed that it is happened because of the chemical waste of oil combustion blown from sea to the land.

The informant also revealed that their neighborhood has undergone a process of degradation and destruction since the activities of JOB-PMTS company in addition to this condition, people's livelihood were also changing. On

the other hand, the company has not fulfilled its commitment to provide adequate employment opportunities for the local communities. Then, the company also promised the CSR to the local ethnic communities during the construction of Tiaka oil refineries, however in the reality, CSR does not help Bajo people to get out of the poverty problem because the local people have another problem that is the decreasing family income. As a consequent, the people perceive CSR only as activities to shut people up and do not interrupt the company's presence in Tiaka.

Claims that group association and identity manipulation in fact confirm that the quarrel among the immigrant and local ethnic groups to gain external recognition, especially from the company. The phenomenon or ethnic tendency can be seen through the strong pressure of local communities by the emergence of the community or traditional assemblage or club to fight for the economic and political interests of local communities. Another phenomenon can be noticed by the emergence of groups that organize local people to strengthen the bargaining as well as the economic access to Tiaka oil and gas refinery such as Local People Communication Forum For North Bungku (FKMB), North Bungku Society Forum (FAMBUT) and Nation Fellow Community (LAB) which is domiciled in Baturube, Communication Forum For Mamosalato (FKPM), Ta'a Youth Communication Forum (FKPT) and Ta'a Community group (Permata) located in the village of Momo, Mamosalato District. Those social organizations that were formed by several elements of society for example the head of the village administration, customary leaders as well as youth and students have become the representative for each of the groups in negotiating and taking action for local people right in Tiaka oil and gas mining industry.

Although, the organizations formed were not entirely associated with particular ethnic group but in fact each organization carrying an ethnic issues in each agenda they planned and done. Among those organizations, the prominent one whose carry ethnic identity is Ta'a. The Strengthen of Ta'a identity due to the fact that historically the district of North Bungku and Mamosalato is Ta'a Wana indigenous territories since ancient kingdom of Mori and Bungku as well as along the Dutch colonial era (Mahid, 2012). It is also interesting to examine the dynamic of this region since the arrival of oil and gas in Tiaka, the identity of Bajo ethnic people becoming a central issue in gaining the economic access and CSR fund from the company.

The existence of oil and gas mining in Tiaka reef has caused the people who live around the area lost their

livelihoods, especially those people who lived in the village of Kolo district which is 95% of the population is Bajo ethnic. For Bajo ethnic, the sea is their part of life and Sapa Mataha is their area to find fish for their livelihood. That is where they hung over their life from historical period until recently still as a Bajo ethnic in Kolo District. The issue of livelihood loss and closing or restricted access to Sapa Mataha area becoming a common issue in the social context of local people in the district of North Bungku and Mamosalato. This issue was exploited by the leaders of various ethnic groups for the sake of their movements, both Bugis and Ta'a ethnics.

Important finding should be observed is how the local people play their ethnic identity in an effort to build community solidarity to gain the economic access of JOB PMTS company. For example, AMS is the initials for local people who has access and knowledge related to oil and gas mining operations, he actively counseling to Bajo ethnic community in Kolo area while his own background is ethnically mixed between Ta'a and Bugis. Likewise, public-movement leaders in Mamosalato, ASG, an intelligent young man with Bugis ethnic but leads community organizations for Ta'a people in Momo Village, Mamosalato region. Next, the explanation of Hsbl (one of informants) was quite surprisingly during the interview. He stated, "Social-movement leaders in North Bungku and Mamosalato that demanding access to Tiaka refinery were almost from Bugis ethnic". Important to note that the movement happened in North Bungku has Ta'a ethnic as the main issues that Tiaka area is the Ta'a Wana ethnic communal land. Meanwhile the movement in Mamosalato, has the Bajo ethnic as the major issues about declining income for local people because the access to Sapa Mataha is closed. The situation happens because the most vocal community which show their resistance to Tiaka oil and gas mining is Bajo ethnic community in Kolo Village.

The ethnic sentiment was used to happen occasionally among the people but it increased since PT. Medco Energi and PT. Pertamina started drilling for oil and gas in Tiaka area. Local people have sentiment for workers on the project which are mostly from Java ethnic. The sentiment "crystallize" as the mindset of local people that think their ethnic as the marginalized group while the immigrant work for Tiaka oil and gas mining as "those" who take a lot of profit from the land and sea in Tiaka area. Fortunately, transmigration of Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese who live in other villages in the North Bungku and Mamosalato region are not actively involved to the social movements to gain the economic access in Tiaka area. The opposite condition to Bugis ethnic (spontaneous immigrant) who are actively involved and

in many movement for economic access. In addition, for Bugis ethnic in North Bungku area refuse themselves to be so-called immigrants. Bugis people in North Bungku feel that they are also the local ethnic, besides Bajo and Ta'a as the major ethnic groups in Mamosalato. One of the reason why Bugis people refuse to be called immigrant due to the fact that the local (ethnic) community in North Bungku area were mostly greeted the arrival of Bugis immigrants since the 1930's until the 1950's when Bugis people migrated out because of the chaos of independence war and the government rebellion by Kahar Muzakkar in their origin areas. Then, surprisingly eight out of 23 headmen in North Bungku Villages are the descendants of Bugis ethnic (AHJ 35). As a consequence, they feel as the excluded ethnic group from the society and this condition does not contribute any benefit for them. On the other hand, the existence of oil and gas mining company in Tiaka is only profitable for certain group of people. Thus, Bugis people considers that the existence of oil and gas mining in Tiaka must be discontinued from the area.

Generally, the connectivity within a business and ethnic identity is every day fact that local people encountered in the daily life of the local people living in the territory of Tiaka project site. The term "My ethnics are Bungku-Bugis", "Ta'a-Bugis" "Bajo People", "Ta'a tribe" are the typical of very natural expression found both in the context of the interview or local people daily conversation. Emotional expression such as "extrude the Javanese ethnic from Tiaka" is one of the most extreme expressions that represent how ethnicity is associated with opportunities and employment, the implementation of CSR fund and expectation to be a supplier of oil and gas projects in Tiaka. The Identification of the ethnic identity from many informants constantly appeared in every interview situation. Following the expression of one informant from the Baturube Village of District of North Bungku:

"My ethnics are Bungku-Bugis, my mother is from Baturube, my father is Bugis. One reason to me to have an early retirement is a matter of Tiaka, I cannot my aspiration if I am still a soldier. Once I voiced but still there is no realization" (Ape, 52 yo, May 2016)

The previous informant directly identifies himself as person with Bungku and Bugis ethnic identity based on his descendants. Ape also provides additional attribute to himself that he is an early retired military and now work as farmers. The interview as seen in the quotation, states that one of the reasons why he decided to retire early is because of Tiaka issues, located in his hometown,

Baturube Village, North Bungku District, North Morowali region. Ape can be regarded as one of the community leaders who is very critical and even tends to be emotional and temperamental when discussing about Tiaka oil and gas mining.

The result of this study is in line to Klinken (2007) that the ethnic identity, especially for the case found in Central Sulawesi, mostly used as an effort to gain space and access to the economic and political interests. Therefore, the local people showed themselves with their ethnic identities background that needs attention and support in an effort to take back their right in the economic access. The emergence of local/ethnic identities in public communication and their way of communicating to another ethnic are always constructed for the purpose of gaining access a wider control of economic resources in the oil and gas mining area. This result also supports the ethnic situational perspective from Barth (1988) which considers that the construction of ethnic identity will be strongly influenced by economic interests, politics and the social situation.

The strengthening of resistance groups, demonstrations, or social movements could be also due to the strengthening of indigenous issue and indigenous communities since the start of reformation era in Indonesia. The tendency of indigenous revival, especially in eastern area of Indonesia can be seen from the efforts of groups that stand for their rights to take care of their natural resources and customs territory as well as to preserve their cultural value. Bouchier (2010) suggests that the ethnic become an idiom or expression is driven by various groups for many different purposes. This can be seen in public government official's campaigns, local aristocratic elite, ethnic solidarity, activists for land preserving and environmentalists as well as local communities, using the local/ethnic identity group as the major issues.

D'Andrea (2013) states in his analysis of the class struggling in the 18th century that "ethnic identity" is the rhetoric of legitimacy to the practice of rights prosecution. Mass resistance in response to modernization is a common response to the future era. The process of capitalist experienced people as a form of exploitation, deprivation of their indigenous rights to control the natural resources for the purpose of life value. Some studies focusing the "ethnic" term as movement's mobilization to a claim on local people natural resources (Li, 2000; D'Andrea, 2013). Finally, the local people emerge many topics in the context of gaining the economic access and rights to their own land, water and forests, marine product and/or their communal land.

CONCLUSION

Contestation of the economic access to oil and gas mining in Tiaka, involves both local and multi-ethnic immigrants. Local communities around the mining areas, consolidate to show their resistance, do demonstrations and even sabotage by emphasizing their local (ethnic) identity issue and associating them to the topic of “communal land” or “indigenous people”. The local ethnic groups are Ta’a or Taa’ Wana, Bajo, Bungku and Bugis. Bajo ethnic and Bugis ethnic are actually not local people in Tiaka area, if the claims are based on the indigenous territories and historicity that crossed over the region in the pre-Islamic era. The arrival of Bajo, especially those who live in Kolo District, settled for home in the 1940’s. Next, Bugis ethnic coming Tiaka area as traders and spread Islam as the religion. There are many Bugis people get into this area after the independence of Indonesia. Most informants who identify themselves as local people because they feel their ancestors who settled the land that later became the village now for example, Bajo in Kolo District and Bugis in Saliti and Baturube.

The dynamics of ethnicity that is most prominent in the context of economic access in Tiaka oil and gas mining is how the Bajo ethnic identity becoming issues of bargaining resistance and attempts to gain economic access to the company and CSR fund. Bajo ethnic and *Sapa mataha* area are the topic that always appear in every communities movements to attract the attention of oil and gas’s company. Bajo is not only characterized as marine parts, this ethnic also became a symbol of poverty, the defeated and eliminated group from their living area. Likewise, Ta’a identity or Ta’a Wana become welcome to build up their solidarity to be united in community in accessing the right to claim communal land around Tiaka reef. Ta’a Wana ethnic in the context of a community movement that later led to violence demonstration caused two deaths, becoming a symbol of rights prosecution. Finally, the ethnic or local community in one area should be addressed equally in economic access.

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