



Review Paper

Optimizing the use of agricultural resources in Riau province for the prosperity of residents living in a just political economy

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Abstract

Riau Province has a wealth of natural resources; petroleum, agricultural resources sub-estate; crude palm oil and Sago (*Metroylon, SP*). Both become energy sources and only for food. The state has cooperated with foreign and domestic investors to process it using the working model of capitalism and modernization. The formulation and implementation of the policy are loaded with economics, politics of resource management, it seems that it has not yet succeeded in transforming Riau society into prosperity. Now the Sago plant resources are starting to attract investors' attention to the world's future food. The problem is how can the potential of Sago as an alternative food future be able to avoid the exploitation of modern capitalists who do not benefit the residents who live in it? The foreign investment and domestic investment models need to be created in prospering the Riau people as an inclusive development model; *Metroylon, SP* must be an asset of local residents; Sago perennial land, processing and export by residents who live, prioritizing the mutual exchange of economic, political resources between investors and local residents.

Keywords: Inclusive, land capital, prosperous, locals.

Introduction

This paper reveals the benefits of natural resources and agricultural resources in Riau Province; petroleum, crude palm oil, which are managed by foreign and domestic investors, alternately and simultaneously, using a mechanism model, working procedures of capitalism and modernization. But apparently this approach has not been able to prosper and harmonize the people of Riau.

Furthermore, the Sago plant (*Metroylon, SP*) as a plantation resource that has not been optimally processed, must try, not to suffer the same fate as crude oil and crude palm oil that has not provided benefits to the community that is settled, but has seeped out of its production area both for a handful of elites, as well as foreign nations.



Figure-1: Map of Riau Province¹.

Riau Province as part of Sumatera is located on the eastern coast of the island of Sumatera, which is a strategic route for global shipping. Where the north borders the Straits of Melaka, North Sumatera Province. the east bordering Riau Islands Province, the Straits of Melaka; West side is bordered by West Sumatera Province; North Sumatera while in the South is bordered by Jambi and West Sumatera Province. Thus from the north to the east the area is directly facing the Melaka Strait (Figure-1).

The total area of this province reaches 110,620.96Km². Consists of a land stretch of 89,150.16Km² (80.59%) and a sea chain of about 21,470.80Km² (19.41%).² In that region, petroleum natural resources had contributed to colonial rule in the past colonial period. In 1930 the N.V Nederlandsche Pacific Petroleum Maatschaappij was established, which carried out oil exploration in an area of 600,000 hectares in Rokan Block. After Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, all foreign companies operating in the former colonies were returned to the Indonesian government based on the 1960 oil and gas mining law.

In 1963 the state company Pertamina entered into a contract of work with PT. Caltex Pacific Indonesia, which belongs to Chevron and Texaco from the United States. Chevron is one of the leading integrated energy companies in the world and through its subsidiaries in Indonesia has been operating in this country for 94 years³. It was during this time span that Riau's petroleum resources had been managed by companies from

outside the country who used a capitalistic and modernist economic model to obtain huge profits.

The principle of obtaining profits will usually lead to the exploitation of workers at low wages to workers from residents who reside. Marx⁵, said that capitalism is an economic system that provides an opportunity for a group of people to master the resources that are very important for maximum profit.

Petroleum, including those sourced from the bowels of Riau, has become a variable that determines the economy of the Indonesian nation, as the most important natural wealth is state property as regulated in article 33, the state constitution 1945, specifically only for the prosperity of the people of Indonesia.

Although since independence in its ideals the Indonesian economy has been prepared based on the principles of family and mutual cooperation, as the founder of the nation⁴, emphasized that: "In order to achieve a society based on justice and truth, the people must be aware of their rights and dignity ... "In short, how to regulate the government of the country, how to arrange the country's economy, everything must be decided by the people with consensus".

But it is unfortunate, where practices in the processing of petroleum in the area of Riau Province, apply the methods commonly used by capitalists in their investments. Capitalism is oriented from "production of goods for own use" to "production for sale"⁵. Attention to agricultural resources, starting at the Round Table Compression in December 1949, explained that foreign-owned plantations, including those belonging to the colonial government, were returned to the new Indonesian government. To accommodate this, State Plantation Companies were formed⁶.

Based on the 1945 constitution of article 33, Earth and Water ... in fact, are controlled by the state. So along with that, Riau Province which has a forest area of 9,456,160 hectares became the place of implementing Forest Management Rights, with the permission of the central government which subsequently practiced Cultivation Rights in plantation sector for the development of palm oil. The main actors being large plantation companies state-owned and private-owned, this activity took place on a massive basis in the early 1990s.

As said by Bahari Samsui⁷ "one aspect that is a prerequisite for carrying out agricultural development is access to land tenure".

Besides the carrying capacity of land, the population working in the agricultural sector is also very adequate, so that Indonesia is also dubbed an agrarian country. Where is the latest data until 2018, the number of agricultural business households according to age group in Riau Province is 6,814,909 people. Among the 35-44 years age group there are 192,633 people; the 45 -54 age group numbered 185,885 inhabitants. While the age group of 55-64 years there are 122,540 people⁸.

The Riau Provincial Government, based on regional regulation No 10/1994, directs policies on the development of plantations with an area of 3,133,398 hectares, which is as much as 33.14% of the total area, which in 2011 was realized covering an area of 3,244,000 hectares². The land of oil palm plantations and the oil palm fruit processing industry is also managed by foreign investors and domestic investors who use the capitalist work method, an exploitative framework of modernization.

The plantation sub-sector contributes to economic growth where the government prioritizes economic improvement and productivity⁹. The agriculture sector has contributed to GDP of 10.97%, of which 2.31% came from the plantation sub-sector, with the largest contribution being the food crops at 6.96%¹⁰.

Whereas Soesastro Hadi¹¹ states that large plantations as a source of non-oil and gas foreign exchange, employment opportunities, investment fields for domestic investors and abroad. Furthermore, plantations also provide multiple effects on the national economy¹².

Indeed in 2007, the export volume reached 1,068 tons, the value was US \$ 1,025,000, while in 2017 the volume was 2,518 tons with a value of US \$ 1,812,000 (Statistics of Indonesian Palm Oil 2017). According to Graham and Floering that "large plantations have benefited the state for production, added value, a significant contribution to state revenue in the form of meeting domestic needs as well as exports"¹³. Contrary to the opinion expressed by White (1990), the Department of Agriculture (2008), Soesastro (2007), Frasetyandy (2009), Graham and Floering (1984), as Saith (1989) asserted that "large plantations do not actually encourage local economic growth, anti-development, does not have a significant relationship with the surrounding economy.

Likewise Syarfi Ira W¹⁴ states that "the development of smallholder plantations has been more than two decades, not yet as beneficial for smallholder farmers, there has been a disregard for the basic dimensions of popular economy, maintaining dualism in which large plantation companies continue to dominate people's rights".

Now the potential of Sago plant (*Metrolyon, SP*) has flourished in Riau province which is peat-based land. Potential land for developing Sago plantations in Riau province is very promising. The area and production are in the second place under the Papua province. Sago has begun to be used as an alternative food source for the community, and has become a culinary dish in Riau province.

The problem in this manuscript is how the potential of Sago commodity resources spread in five coastal districts in Riau province, is optimized for the prosperity of the residents residing so that the economy does not seep out of the area and politically equitable to the generations who dwell.

Optimization is an action, or process and method to make something become more functional and effective¹⁵. Optimization of resources can be realized by using mechanisms, construction, methods of modernization and capitalism. Modernization has a very strong influence on changes in economic structure and patterns of society, according to Harison David¹⁶ structural differentiation.

Market liberalization is a thought in which, economic activity is solely taking place in market to realize the expectation of efficient allocation of international economic. Market liberalization opens to opportunities as well as a challenge to the people on the border in facing the onslaught of capital entry from outside the region, especially international capitalists.

On the other hand, residents who are limited to various aspects of life are almost certainly unable to win this competition. Because the values of capitalism always pursue progress, high consumption, efficiency, money and economy others, while democratic economic values place the interests of the people at the forefront where the people are often portrayed as objects that must be empowered.

As Hatta Mohammad¹⁴ gave a prerequisite; "So that the achievement of a society based on fairness and truth, must be the people of the essence of his right and esteem, then he must be entitled to determine his own fate and about how he must live and socialize. In short, how to regulate the government of the country, how to develop the country's economy, all must be decided by the people with consensus."

According to Sarbini Sumawinata¹⁷ "in the development of people's economy we reject the negative contents and spirit of capitalism, ... lead to exploitation, poverty and concentration of power and power in the form of monopoly". Equity does not equalize the results of development but equals the opportunity and ability to produce, equalize the means of production.

Capitalism, although it brings various advances, also has many negative impacts, such as selfishness, greed, and the desire for excessive pleasure or understanding of hedonism¹⁸. The main effects of capitalism are the formation of an employer and labor class, as well as exploitation and inequality. In summary Schumacher E.F.¹⁹ concludes, capitalism is only able to benefit a small number of people (perhaps the elite) but afflicts a large portion.

What Schumacher pointed out is true, especially in the use of agricultural resources such as the results of plantations in oil palm plantations that were built independently, and which were built with the PIR-Plasma partnership scheme. Likewise with capitalism that has been proven historically, and criticized by Marx, will lead to a structure full of conflict.

Mosca described in the Rulling Class quoted by Sastroatmodjo Sudijono²⁰ states: "In every society,... There are two classes of

population, a class that is mastered and a class master. The first classes are always smaller, run all political functions, monopolize power, and enjoy the gains given by the power, while the second class, which is much larger, is governed and controlled by the first class". This view emphasizes that in society there are two prominent classes, namely the ruling and the ruled classes. The first class to control political function, which is the monopoly of power while mastering the outcome. The second class instead, those with large numbers but no political power or function, they were directed and controlled by the first class in certain ways.

As Marx stated that the cause of certain class mastery over other classes was due to the unbalanced production relationship (surplus value) in a capitalistic production relationship. The political economy was a special emphasis that Marx spoke about in this opposition. Marx considers the discussion on capital and work, and between capital and land needs to be explained in detail, which has never been touched in any discussion on economics and politics²¹, about the class or group that is ruling and mastered. Mosca (1939) explains, as quoted in Soekanto Sarjono²². The first Class (ruling) usually consists of fewer people, implementing all functions of political function, monopolizing power by enjoying all the benefits of the position as holder of power. The second class, consisting of more people, is directed and controlled by the first class, in ways less legal, as a person or by force. The second class provides the means to be able to live and survive, as well as other things that are very important for political organisme.

On the other hand Weber in Johnson, Doyle P²³, recognizes the importance of economic stratification as a fundamental basis for class, in addition to prestige and political power. The social class consists of all those who have the same opportunity of life in the economic sphere. Weber states that, if you want to talk about a class, it is impossible to talk about: one: A number of people who both have a certain component that is a source of their life; two; This component is exclusively reflected in the economic interests of ownership of objects and opportunities to earn income and three; it is seen in the conditions of commodities or labor market.

In addition to the economic position and honor of the status group, the other basis for social stratification is political power. For Weber's power is the ability to impose a person's will despite the challenges of others. Power is the ability to overcome resistance from others in achieving one's goals, particularly in influencing behavior. The power is used continuously to instill a belief in its right to do so, attempting to enforce legitimacy of power as a stepping stone to an increase in economic position or status²³.

The state, according to Offe and Range, does not advance certain interests and does not alliance with certain classes. On the contrary, being protected and addressed by the State is a set of rules and social relations that are considered to be included in

the power of capitalist class. The state does not defend the interests of one particular class, but the common interest of all members of the capitalist-class community, referred to as power Tools. As Gramsci states that "social classes will gain supremacy in two ways, namely: by means of domination (Dominio) or coercion and through intellectual and moral leadership, called hegemony in Patria"²⁴.

It is important to remember that Gramsci in Patria, Nezardan Andi Arief²⁴ assumed hegemony is not only intellectual and moral leadership without adhered to the practice of domination or compulsion. But it can happen as intellectual and moral leadership and is accompanied by practice of domination or compulsion. Dominance is defined as mastery, positioning good and strong position; Great influence²⁵. While Tawney²² argues that: "Power may defined as the capacity of an individual, or group of individuals, to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in the manner in which he desires, and to prevent his conduct being modified in the manner in which he does not".

Power is interpreted as the ability of an individual or group of individuals to limit the wishes of other groups, and prevent their wishes from being ruled by other groups. In line with Galtung in Soekanto, Sarjono²² presents several things that can be used as a means to control other people or groups, namely: control of financial facilities; control over the means of compulsion; The privilege of gaining knowledge and science; Monopoly Mastery tract into the ultimate power environment; Ability in the field of commerce and Mastery over the means of production and distribution.

While Lorwin in Scott, James C²⁶, defines exploitation as the presence of temporary individuals, groups, or classes that are unfairly or unreasonably withdrawing profits from work, or for the loss of others. Exploitation has two main traits. First, the exploitation should be seen as an arrangement between an individual, a group or an institution; A exploited party implies the existence of an exploit. Secondly, exploitation is an unnatural distribution of effort and outcome, and this further requires a measure of distribution fairness to measure existing relationships.

Widyaningrumdkk²⁷ mentions that the hallmark of an exploitative relationship is as follows: First, The welfare of a community materially depends on the deprivation of material from other groups; Second, Such relationship involves the exclusion or termination of access to certain productive resources asymmetrically to the exploited group; Three, Mechanisms that result in exclusion or closure of access to productive resources involve the acquisition of value-added (fruits of labour) groups exploited by groups that control the production resources.

While the sources of strength are often used by the ruling class²⁷, expressed among them; The strength of the country policy, the existence of policies that privileged a group of actors

to do monopolies; The power of information and capital, mastery and closure of access to information and capital to be one source of the power of exploitation perpetrators.

Progress to be pursued through national development, specifically economic development, must increase prosperity on the basis of social justice, or in the words of the 1945 Constitution: "Prosperity for all people!"²⁸.

Methodology

The author uses qualitative, descriptive-analytical research methods. Bogdan and Taylor²⁹ define qualitative research as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of both written and oral words and observable actors. Descriptive-analytical is an attempt to describe the results of data obtained in the field, both orally and in writing to then be analyzed as a research conclusion³⁰.

Results and discussion

PT. Pertamina, a state-owned enterprise, as the holder of oil and gas mining authority, has full authority over all petroleum activities, managing state-owned assets in the upstream oil and gas industry. Petroleum activities include signing employment contracts with foreign companies such as PT. Caltex Pacific Indonesia (PT.CPI).

PT. CPI acts as a foreign contractor in contract with the Government of Indonesia. PT. CPI controlled the mining area of 9,030 kilometers square which included Block Rokan I and Block Rokan III in 1963. Subsequently in 1968, PT. Pertamina expands the mining area consisting of Sebangga, Southeast Minas, Southeast Libo and North West Libo which is also contracted with PT CPI so that the mining area will become 9,898 square kilometers As Richard. H. Hopper³¹, wrote in May 1973 PT. CPI recorded peak production of one million barrels per day, contributing cumulatively to national production of more than 12 billion barrels including from the giant oil field Minas see Figure-2.



Figure-2: Oil fields in Minas that are high in production³².

The highest oil production in Indonesia occurred in 1977, which was 1686.2 thousand barrels/day and continued to decline until 2004 which was 1094.4 thousand barrels/day³³. The natural resource industry Riau oil managed by PT. CPI in Riau, has on

average contributed on the economy and development in the Riau region. The contribution is between them; The Siak I Bridge is 350 meters long and 9.3 meters wide in 1977, Educational Infrastructure such as High Schools in 1957 and the Caltex Riau Polytechnic in 2001³¹.

Now the triumph of Riau's petroleum resources is over, even the contribution of CPO resources has also reached its peak. CPO production is generally obtained from activities in processing factories of state companies and large private companies, but none of the processing plants owned by farmers see Figure-3.



Figure-3: Oil palm bunches processing in one of the private plantation processing factories in Riau³⁴.

CPO production from oil palm plantations in Riau reached 7,841,947 tons, with an area of oil palm plantations totaling 2,424,545 hectares³⁵.

The data shows that the comparison of non-oil and gas exports on one hand with oil and gas on the other hand is very different. Comparison of non-oil and gas exports: oil and gas in 2018 each US \$ 1.329.931.25 compared to US \$ 237857.88³⁶.

However, the achievements of the contribution of oil palm plantations in Riau have raised criticism, where the plantation resources have not been optimally managed. Its contribution to the development of residents in the area concerned is not yet apparent, although the negative impacts are quite prominent including the increasingly limited customary community forest in Riau. Of course so, the expected contribution would still leave a number of problems such as the percentage of poor people in 2017, 2018 respectively amounting to 514,627 thousand people or 78% and 500.44 thousand people or 7.39%³⁷.

The Potential of Sago crop commodities for the development in the border region of Riau Province, among others, is in the islands of Meranti Islands, Bengkalis Island of Siak districts, Inhil, Pelalawan districts. Specifically for the Meranti archipelago district, it has 44,657 hectares of land for developing sago plants, around 2.98% of the total area of Sago plants throughout Indonesia. The level of production in one

hectare reaches 9.89 tons/year. In 2006 and 2010, production reached 440,339 tons, while in 2015 the total production of Sago plants was 198 thousand tons/year³⁸.

As for the entire Riau province, the total area and production of sago in 2017 was recorded for private plantation companies covering 11,900 hectares with a production of 108,234 tons. And for smallholder plantations there were 61,687 hectares with production of 230,492 tons³⁹. While the area of land owned by the people as farmers who have Sago plantations in Riau Province is 68,056 hectares, of which there are 12,564 farmers⁴⁰.

Riau Province as a producer of petroleum resources, gets a percentage of the revenue sharing of oil and gas, according to regulation No.33/2004 (Financial Balance between the Central Government and Regional Governments). Petroleum obtained from mining products, reduced by other components of taxes and levies is calculated at 100%. Of 100%, divided by 84.5% balance for central government and 15.5% for the province. The amount of 15.5% is reduced by 0.5% in the allocation to the basic education budget in the producing province. Of the remaining 15% divided into: 3% for the provincial government, 6% for producing district/city governments, and 6% for other districts / cities within the province⁴¹.

Now amid the ever-decreasing amount of Riau's oil production, PT. Pertamina, increased with Petroselat, Bumi Siak Pusako, Pertamina, Petroleum and Riau Development which are investors from within the country including from Riau Province. Of course the presence of contractors from within the country is no longer significant to spur Riau's petroleum production because "national oil production is produced by Chevron in Riau and experiences a peak when in 1975, 76.77⁴².

The decline in Riau's oil production, and the price of competing worlds that are no longer competitive, on the other hand, demographically Riau province still has development problems such as unemployment, poverty, limited educational infrastructure and improving the quality of human resources that have never been resolved from Riau Province.

In 2014-2015, the open unemployment rate was 6.56% and 7.83%, respectively. Whereas in 2017-2018, there were 6.22% and 6.20% respectively³⁶. This is a clue where previously the use of existing resources "overflowed" out of the Riau region and was unable to accelerate various development achievements. Besides that, it is certainly of concern that since 40 years ago it has not been able to transform the population residing to non-agricultural work such as industry, as seen from the age group of 35-44 years as many as 192,633 people and age 45-54 totaling 185,885 still working in the agricultural sector in 2018.

The contribution of physical development that has so far been, of course, is now increasingly meaningless and out of date amid the need for advances in information technology based on

human resources who are in charge of increasingly high-level digital technology. Riau's high Crude Palm Oil production reached 7,841,947 tons, supported by plantation land area of 2,424,545 hectares, contributing to soaring non-oil and gas exports, in 2018 of US \$ 1,329,931.25 compared with oil and gas exports of US \$ 237,857.88. Here shows young children, where the parents are farmers, their children are also still working in the agricultural sector, occurred in the population of the age group 25-34 years 84,334 people still work in the agricultural sector⁸. Ideally that number has become small in the middle of the digitalization era and as a result of the success of the plantation to the residents of young people living.

This means that the economic value added from the utilization of resources, the increasing value of non-oil and gas exports are only enjoyed by a handful of capitalist actors who apply capitalistic work practices. To make a long story short, capitalism is always present and thrives in areas that have comparative natural resource advantages and low human resource capacity.

Plant development land is owned by the people as Sago plantation farmers in Riau Province covering an area of 68,056 hectares, where farmers number 12,564 farmers and the level of production in one hectare reaches 9.89 tons/year at present, so that in 2015 reached 198 thousand tons/year, and production in 2019 will reach 230,492 tons. The potential mentioned above should not only provide small benefits as happened to the oil and crude palm oil resources.

Because investment cooperation with foreign parties, the Meranti island district government and the kingdom of Malaysia that has been going on for the period 2010-2016, is an opportunity as well as a challenge, it can even cause dependency. Dependence on foreign parties is very likely to occur amid limited infrastructure that supports domestic industries, such as cut, cut sago stems transported through streams to the bank to be transported to the mainland before heading to the processing plant see Figure-4.



Figure-4: Sago stems on the banks of the river before reaching the processing plant⁴³.

Normally infrastructure dependence, early industrial technology from resource leakage as the Exogenous Rural Development model has given a role to the intervention of parties who are outside of the territory itself, to optimize utilization natural resources. Likewise with the market as economic connectivity that exists spatially and between sectors.

On the other hand Endogenous Rural Development, which is a domestic economic force, has allowed the economic benefits of natural resources to be controlled by foreigners, such as massive investments in oil and gas exploration, as a result of limited capital and technology in the country. Likewise, the development of plantations financed by the world bank and led to long repayment of debt.

Even now plantation development has kept the people from their own customary land, lost resources for their children and future grand children. This is the leakage and loss of assets and the actual economic and political access to the inhabitants.

Now the approach to preventing the loss of resource benefits must be more advanced and look at contextual issues. The perspective of market economy development to pursue economic growth must shift to an inclusive perspective which believed to release dependency and economic exploitation amid limited resources.

The Inclusive Perspective returns resources to the people closest to the resource center. This means that it is openly accessed by local residents with the management capital of those who live and the benefits are also for local residents.

Of course applying the concept to inclusive practice is not easy, as other experts have examined cases that have similarities to what happened in Riau province as Van Teijlingen, K., & Hogenboom, B.⁴⁴, mention "The case of El Mirador illustrates the challenges of advancing Buen Vivir from concept to practice in the context of a search for a post-neoliberal development framework".

Optimization of the use of Sago resources in Riau province must start from policies that favor the people in the aspects of ownership, use and allotment of Sago plant land, by applying "eternal land" for sago crops. In the aspect of processing and down streaming it uses modern technology but the ownership of the industry and its workforce comes from residents who reside.

In the marketing aspect including exports, it must also be carried out entirely by residents residing by building a consortium of business entities belonging to the village of "cheering" (intra community cooperatives) empowering cooperative institutions so that the excesses of the international market to the community can be consolidated. As developing social cooperation in the community in rural areas, which is a reflection of Wallace's⁴⁵, on how opportunities for innovation, for social entrepreneurship occur in local culture.

The economy which is ideally built is the economy where most of the people are there, including farmers and rural areas⁴⁶. Distribution of economic assets to as many citizens as possible which will ensure the fair distribution of goods and services to as many citizens as possible. With the spread of investment in all corners also spread business opportunities and employment opportunities as well as the equitable distribution of income and purchasing power because the income was obtained with full participation in production and general economic activities.

The orientation of regional development absolutely adheres to the principles of justice as⁴⁷ ..., and given what they truly deserve. So does Dillon stresses that future growth strategies must be long-term, comprehensive, ambitious, built on past experience, and provide opportunities for all groups to contribute (public private people partnership)"⁴⁸.

As well as that Dillon, H.S.⁴⁹ who mentions ... If markets are sufficiently competitive, justice will prevail in the sense of a scalar distribution model — the more you contribute, the more you get.

Like Dillon's mindset, the obligation to save future generations has become a strong commitment from the United Nations which was expressly affirmed in the opening of the 1972 Stockholm Declaration on Human Environment which read ... to defend and improve the environment for present and future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind-a goal to be pursued together with, and in harmony with, the established and fundamental goals of peace and of worldwide economic and social development.

Intergenerational equity principle aims to achieve intergenerational justice, in terms of cultural and natural heritage.

Growing economic zones need to be fertilized again so they can be locked up in certain geographical and demographic areas while providing protection from the negative effects of external markets⁴⁸. This means that interaction with the outside world of territories is not absolutely closed, but is done by minimizing the seizure of territorial wealth. Favorable economic exchanges between residents and investors from outside economically and politically become important principles.

But of course, all of that is not enough to make the residents stay more prosperous, what is feared now is that the fortress against the outside can be made, but the fortress from within the state is actually hunting for rent, as Bennetworth, Paul⁵⁰ "The performance and survival of state capitalism depends on the performance and survival of competing systems". It seems to be largely determined by who is confronted by which power, and the winner is still the capitalist. For this reason, we must be aware of the possibility that,... scenario in which free-market

economies themselves move towards state capitalism, rather than the Western world⁵¹.

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