

The Habitus of Actor on Corporate Social Responsibility Program

A Study on PT Antam in Nanggung Sub-District of Bogor Regency

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Abstract

The objective of research was to find out the habitus of actor on PT Antam's corporate social responsibility (CSR) program implementation in developing the clean water

infrastructure, particularly involving the society leader and the members of society, as well as the staff of PT Antam. In this case, the leader was Lurah Desa Cisarua (the Head of Cisarua Village) attempting to make both company and society benefiting from the presence of company amid the society. The research method used was case study. Techniques of collecting data used were observation, interview, and focus group discussion (FGD). Technique of analyzing data used was an interactive model. Bourdieu's structuring theory was used to appreciate the leader's action. This theory states that $(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{domain} = \text{action}$. The result of research suggested that the community of Nanggung Sub District was the domain in which the actor exists, pertaining to values, norms, and problems encountered by the society. Habitus of society leader constituted knowledge and conception on its role and function within the society, learnt from its primary and secondary environments. The result also showed that a society leading actor should be able to serve the society by devoting idea, thought, and effort to its society. The members of society should be able to participate actively in the society's activity. Meanwhile, the actor of company should be productive and maintain the company's reputation. Capital consists of economic, social, cultural, and political capitals the individual actors have.

Keywords: Habitus, Development, CSR

1. Introduction

The objectives of corporate social responsibility (CSR) are to anticipate and to minimize the refusal against the effect of company activities from the community surrounding. So the objective of CSR implementation is among other is to make the company sustainable. Triple bottom line (3BL) theory (Elkington, 1997: 2) explains that if the company wants to be sustainable, it should pay attention to the relationship of three aspects: economic prosperity, environmental equality, and social justice. 3BL was then interpreted by Elkington into *people, planet* and *profit* (3P). Despite assumption that the company's objective is to gain as much as possible profit, the profit can be reach not only by the company but also by (directly or indirectly contribution) from other stakeholders. For that reason, caring about the community by taking its need into consideration and giving benefit as much as possible to it are the manifestation of CSR (Elkington, 2004: 14).

One of mining enterprises that have implemented CSR is PT Antam. PT Antam is a state-owned enterprise, whose main products are nickel, gold, silver, and bauxite, having purification unit and precious metal exploration and processing unit to cater the third parties (Maksi, 2008). PT Antam had four business units, in addition to Geomin unit (special unit handling exploration activity), and headquarter in Jakarta. Those four business units are Mining Business Unit of Nickel (*Unit Bisnis Pertambangan* [UBP] Nikel) operating in Pomalaa, South East Sulawesi, and North Maluku, UB of Gold in Pongkor, West Java, Processing and Purification Business Unit (UBPP) of precious metal in Jakarta, and UB of Bauxite in Bintan Island, Riau Islands (Antam's Annual Report of 2011).

The Pongkor Gold Mining Business Unit (*Unit Bisnis Pertambangan Emas Pongkor* = UBPEP) in Nanggung Sub District of Bogor Regency has been having license of exploitation Mining Authorization (*Kuasa Pertambangan* = KP) since April 10th, 1992 for a 30-year period.

This KP area is originally 4058 hectare wide, and then it was expanded to 6047 hectare consisting of Mount Halimun National Park (*Taman Nasional Gunung Halimun*), Indonesian Forest Company area (*Lahan Perhutani*) and people's land (Maksi, 2008: 15). To mitigate the conflict with the community, PT Antam has implemented Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) manifested in the *Bina Lingkungan* Community Development (Comdev) program. Surrounding people have been able to enjoy a variety of facilities like highway infrastructure, education infrastructure, clean water infrastructure and worship vehicles from PT Antam's CSR program.

Until 2010, the development of clean water infrastructure had been conducted in 7 locations. Previously, many attempts have been taken by the community and its some leaders, but they can only be realized in the presence of PT Antam's aid. The first and largest development of clean water infrastructure has been conducted in Cisarua and Malasari Villages, before other clean water projects followed. The realization of clean water infrastructure is independent of contributions from community leaders, members of society and employees in CSR division of PT Antam. The leader here means the Head of Cisarua Village who has been struggling for many years to get aid in the form of fund and tools from PTAntam. For that reason, the objective of research was to study the role of community leaders, member of society, and CSR staff of PT Antam in constructing clean water infrastructures.

2. Objective

Considering the background above, this research aimed:

- a. To identify the implementation of PT Antam's CSR program in constructing clean water infrastructures in Nanggung Sub District, Bogor Regency.
- b. To study the habitus of clean water infrastructure construction from the community leader, member of society and staff of PTAntam

3. Literature Review

3.1 Corporate Social Responsibility

Shauki and Djakman (2009:17) formulated CSR as the form of organization's (company's) interest in public interest by assuming the responsibility for the effect of company's activity on customer, supplier, worker, shareholder, community and other stakeholders including environment activist and regulator.

In business community, CSR is called "corporate citizenship", meaning that the company should be a good neighbor in the societal environment where it works. Tamam Achda (2006) stated that CSR can be defined as a company's moral responsibility to its strategic stakeholders, particularly community surrounding its work and operating area. CSR considers company as a moral agent. A company should uphold morality, with or without legal rule. The parameter of a successful company from CSR view is the emphasis on moral and ethical principle, which is, to gain the best result, with the least harm to other community group. One of moral principles often used is golden-rules, teaching an individual or a party to treat others just like they want to be treated. As such, the company working by setting forward the moral

and ethical principles will give largest benefit to the community.

One objective of CSR implementation is to make the company sustainable. Triple bottom line theory explains that when a company wants to be sustainable, it should consider 3 following aspects: People, Planet, and Profit. Despite assumption that the company's goal is merely to gain profits as much as possible, the profit can be reached not only by the company but also by (directly or indirectly contribution) from other stakeholders. For that reason, caring about the community by taking its need into consideration and giving benefit as much as possible to it are the manifestation of CSR.

3.2 Habitus

To conceive the action practice of Cisarua Village's Head, this writing employed Bourdieu's practical theory. The largest contributions of Bourdieu's theory to analyzing the community are (1) the use of habitus concept considered as successfully solving the dichotomous problem of individual-society, agent-social structure, freedom-determinism; and (2) that he has deconstructed his mechanism and domination strategy. Domination is no longer observed merely from external consequences, but also internal (inner) ones (habitus) (Adib, 2003: 104).

Habitus is the result of skill becoming practical action (unnecessary to be realized) that is then translated into an apparently natural ability developing in certain social environment (Jenkin, 2004). In the process of acquiring the skill, the created structures change into the creating one. What believed as creative freedom is actually a product of structure restriction. So, habitus becomes a source of activating action, thinking, and representation (Haryatmoko, 2003:10).

Economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capitals enable to create a social scope structure. Among those diverse capitals, economic and cultural ones are decisive in providing differentiation criteria determining in providing the most relevant differentiation criteria to developed society setting. It is what the capital structure is (Haryatmoko, 2003: 11).

Habitus concept cannot be separated from struggle domain one (champ). The two concepts are very essential because they rely on two-way relationship: objective structure (social structure) and habitus structure integrated into actors (Jenkin, 2004). Struggle domain concept (champ) becomes very decisive, as in a much differentiated society, the objective relations setting has typicality irreducible to the relation governing other area. Basically, however, each area is colored by Bourdieu's postulate (Haryatmoko, 2003: 11), that in every community there are "the dominating" and "the dominated".

4. Method

This study was a qualitative research, without ignoring the quantitative data as the supporting ones. The strategy employed was case study with thick description technique concerning community empowerment the PT Antam undertook. Through this technique, the role of community leaders was analyzed in the implementation of CSR by PT Antam through community empowerment.

The subject of research was PT Antam, government, formal leader, informal leader, and members of society. The primary data was collected using observation, questionnaire, in-depth interview and focus group discussion (FGD) technique (Krueger, 1994; Irwanto, 2006). Secondary data was collected using document technique. To validate the data of research, data and method triangulations were used. Technique of analyzing data qualitatively used was an interactive model of analysis with three components: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles and Huberman, 1992:16-18).

5. Result and Discussion

5.1 Agricultural and Mining Community of Nanggung Sub District

Nanggung Sub District is a rural area originally created to be farming village, with rice being the primary product. The water source already available in the back of hill along the year enables the farm to flourish. The crops include clove, durian, guava, *rambutan* and *petai*. Majority populations earn living from farm, and develop way of life as farmers (Wolf, 1985). The population life changed as PT Antam started to operate its exploration of gold product. Nanggung Sub District then developed into agricultural and mining rural areas.

Those who originally earned living from farm and then wrestled with mining, still maintain their agribusiness. The work once managed themselves now is given for its management to other people coming from other village. They still maintain their farm because they perceive that mining is speculative in nature. Something can get much profit some time, but some other time, it can result in nothing. Or in one certain point of time the yield of golden mining is surplus; but when it is operated for other exploration hole, it does not yield gold as expected before.

The water availability for farm and household need originally can be met all the time, from water source and river flowing into the area. Even during dry season for about 6 months, the water supply is not disrupted. But, water availability for household begins to decrease in the presence of PT Antam. The villagers should look for water in a place faraway from house and pass through a sufficiently hard plain. The villagers assumed that it is because PT Antam employed special device to suck water from the ground.

Clean water is needed not only for irrigating the farm but also for household, boarding school, and school requirement. In addition to decreased availability, river water is also contaminated by the gold processing carried out by some populations using mercury and cyanide the waste of which is disposed to the river. As such, the fulfillment of population's water need for household is harmed due to special device use by PT Antam, while the fulfillment of water need for the farmer is harmed because the river is contaminated by the waste of gold processing carried out by the population.

5.2 An Overview of Clean Water Infrastructure Construction by PT Antam in Nanggung Sub District

The construction of clean water infrastructure by PT Antam in Malasari and Cisarua Villages of Nanggung Sub District was conducted in 2008. Having the project indicated positive

benefit to the community, another similar project followed in Bantar Karet and other villages. As suggested in the Final Report on the Clean Water Infrastructure Construction in Malasari and Cisarua Villages, the clean water infrastructure construction taken place in those two villages had ever been conducted repeatedly since 1955. The local Lurah (head of village) along with the villagers had always tried to do it, despite failure. Only in 2008, by the virtue of the villagers' attempt under leadership of *Lurah*, Mr. H. Idris, Mr. Cipto and coworkers, and help from PT Antam Tbk UBPE Pongkor, this construction was finally realized and the villagers could feel its benefit.

The construction of clean water infrastructure was attempted again by Mr. H. Idris because he wanted to bring his father's dream into reality; his father, Mr. H. Idris, was the previous Lurah of Cisarua Village. Mr. H. Idris saw the increasingly need for water availability to meet the farm and villager household requirements. Mr. H. Idris then conveyed his ideas to some his close friends. Mr. H. Idris also involved LSM MRI as he considered that it could help him organize the proposal reasonable to be funded.

The proposal was eventually approved by PT Antam by allocating fund of IDR 1,155,750,000. Actually the fund grant would be given in the form of money in some stages of distribution. But, Mr. H. Idris worried that he would not be able to manage it well, so he asked PT Antam to spend it for this purpose. From the stance he took, it could be seen that Mr. H. Idris really kept PT Antam's and his villagers' trust. Mr. H. Idris also keep PT Antam's aid from resulting in new problems, that is, some conflict among the villagers.

5.3 The Habitus of CSR Program Implementation

The people of Nanggung Sub District are a domain, constituting residence, cooperation, competition and struggle from the members of community. The actor in this domain should master codes and rules of games. The actor should cooperate and compete with based on the agreed rule of game. The actor's success and strategy is dependent on the capital structure possessed in the social scope. In the pattern of gaining respectful positions, the actors' measure in using appropriate available strategies to confirm their position in the domain is getting clearer. In the context of clean water infrastructure, the actors discussed here included: *Lurah* as the community leader, CSR staff of PT Antam, and members of society.

The actors were studied using Bourdieu's practical theory, formulated as (habitus X capital) + domain. The concept of habitus cannot be apart from that of struggle domain (champ). The two concepts are very essential because they rely on two-way relationship: objective structure (social structure) and habitus structure integrated into actors (Jenkin, 2004). Struggle domain concept becomes very decisive, as in a much differentiated society, the objective relations setting has typicality irreducible to the relation governing other area. Basically, however, each area is colored by Bourdieu's postulate, that in every community there are "the dominating" and "the dominated" (Haryatmoko, 2003: 11).

a. The Habitus of Community Leader

The habitus of community leader, in this case *Lurah of Cisarua*, Mr. H. Idris, was created from his family and society. His late father, H.Saji equipped him with a series of internalized

scheme used to conceive his social realm. Late H. Saji had attempted to deal with water requirement for farm in order not only to be dependent on rain water. He invited some villagers to look for water source and tried to develop channel on which water can pass to the farm. His attempt failed due to hard field, limited labor and devices. As he matured, Mr. H Idris heard this story directly from his father. His father's attempts were recorded in Lurah Idris' mind, internalized with the values his father had implanted. Lurah Idris got example of leader's function for its community from advice and daily practices. Lurah Idris used these values to conceive his social realm. That is, as a leader, he can utilize his power to persuade others to help provide clean water infrastructure.

Economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals enable to create a social scope structure. Among those diverse capitals, economic and cultural ones are decisive in providing differentiation criteria determining in providing the most relevant differentiation criteria to developed society setting. It is what the capital structure is (Haryatmoko, 2003: 11). Lurah of Cisarua employed the capitals possessed interdependently. Cultural and symbolic capital as Lurah is utilized through vertical power to invite the villagers in organizing the plan of clean water infrastructure construction. The symbol as Lurah enables him to invite some villagers to engage since the beginning in the planning. The cultural capital as teacher of *mengaji* (studying Quran) also contributes to encouraging the villagers to engage within it. When the plan has been developed, Lurah also invited his villagers to see the staffs of PT Antam to ask for grant in constructing clean water infrastructure. Horizontal power with PT Antam was utilized to submit the fund grant proposal.

b. The Habitus of Community Members

The habitus of community members was also created from their family and community. They learnt that some people should be respected and obeyed within the society. It occurs in the villagers' respect to Lurah Cisarua. The background as the son of previous respected Lurah exerts positive effect on him. Moreover, this Lurah of Cisarua is also a teacher of *mengaji* with thousands followers, meaning that in addition to be a formal leader, he is an informal leader as well. Generally, Lurah of Cisarua is respected and loved by his villagers. The villagers welcome enthusiastically the Lurah of Cisarua's invitation to rethink about the way of dealing with clean water deficit. They are all available according to social, economic, cultural or symbolic capital they have.

The social capital was established based on trust and values. They believed that Lurah's invitation is not intended for his own interest, but for all villagers'. The population with economic capital, such as strategic location of house, provided his/her house for the villagers' meeting. Those having money provided consumption. Cultural capital, among others, lies in the villagers' respect to Lurah with their availability to attend the meeting to show off their respect. Meanwhile the symbolic capital was possessed by the other community leaders (Village Secretary, Head of RT or RW, employers, teacher and ustadz [Islam teacher]). They were willing to support by attending the meeting and seeing the CSR staff of PT Antam. The participation of community leaders, rather than Lurah, symbolizes the importance of problem encountered.

c. The habitus of CSR staff of PT Antam

The habitus of CSR staff of PT Antam is, among other, affected by the objective of CSR implementation, to make the company sustainable. Triple bottom line theory explains that if the company wants to be sustainable, it should pay attention to the relationship of three aspects: *people*, *planet* and *profit*. Despite assumption that the company's objective is to gain as much as possible profit, the profit can be reach not only by the company but also by (directly or indirectly contribution) from other stakeholders. For that reason, caring about the community by taking its need into consideration and giving benefit as much as possible to it are the manifestation of CSR. Out of all capitals possessed, the largest one is economic capital. The policy of allocating CSR fund by UBPE of PT Antam in Nanggung Sub District could not be independent of PT Antam Jakarta's policy. Basically, the policy is related to totally funding taken 2% from total net profit that is then distributed to several mining activity sites of PT. Antam in several locations in Indonesia. However, the staffs of individual companies had authority of deciding on CSR fund allocation. The cultural capital is related to the principle that the company's sustainability can be accomplished through good relationship with surrounding community. Meanwhile the symbolic capital expectedly comes from grant giving that will give the company an image of caring about physical and social environment surrounding.

6. Concluding Remark

From the discussion of research result, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- a. The construction of clean water infrastructure in 2008 is not PT Antam's initiative, but an attempt that had been taken for a long time, that is finally realized by the virtue of Mr. H. Idris' considerable contribution, as the Lurah of Cisarua who activates his villager to participate. PT Antam finally agreed the funding of clean water infrastructure construction to keep the company's image as the one friendly to social and physical environment. As such, the objective to be a sustainable company can be achieved.
- b. The people of Nanggung Sub district and their needs are a domain, constituting residence, cooperation, competition and struggle from the members of community. The actor in this domain should master codes and rules of games. The actor should cooperate and compete with based on the agreed rule of game.
- c. The habitus of community leader, in this case the Lurah of Cisarua, Mr. H. Idris, was created from his family and community. The function of lurah as a leader is internalized as the values his father had implanted to him. Lurah Idris utilized these values to conceive his social realm. That is, as a leader, he can utilize his power to persuade PT Antam to help provide clean water infrastructure. Lurah of Cisarua employed the capitals possessed interdependently. Cultural and symbolic capital as Lurah is utilized through vertical power to invite the villagers in organizing the plan of clean water infrastructure construction. Horizontal power with PT Antam was utilized to submit the fund grant proposal.
- d. The habitus of community members was also created from their family and community. It occurs in the villagers' respect to Lurah Cisarua. The villagers welcome

enthusiastically the Lurah of Cisarua's invitation to rethink about the way of dealing with clean water deficit. They are all available according to social, economic, cultural or symbolic capital they have.

e. The habitus of CSR staff of PT Antam is affected by the objective of CSR implementation, to make the company sustainable. With Triple bottom line theory it can be found that if the company wants to be sustainable, it should pay attention to the relationship of three aspects: *people, planet* and *profit*. The profit can be reached not only the company but also by the contribution of villagers. With the cultural capital constituting the values, the company's sustainability can be achieved through good relationship with surrounding society, and with economic capital, the company can help the community. Thus, symbolic capital can result in positive image as the company that cares about its surrounding physical and social environment.

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