

SIAM CITRUS MARKETING ANNEXATION HISTORY IN SAMBAS

Jajat Sudrajat

Department of Agricultural Socioeconomics,
Agricultural Faculty of Tanjungpura University

ABSTRACT

Up to the present, the factors underlying the need for direct interventions from the government in Siam citrus market in Sambas regency still raise many questions. Therefore, this study is intended to analyze some moments in the dynamic history of Siam citrus farming and also to investigate some paradigms which affect them. This study used an agriculture development historical approach. This study found three periods in the dynamic history of Siam citrus farming in Sambas. They were marketing domination period by the middlemen during 1950s-1990, marketing domination period by the company during 1991-1997, and recovery period from 2000 to present. Siam citrus farming achieved its prosperity and showed the sustainability aspect when it was organized by the middlemen. Unfortunately, this farming lost ground after its marketing was intervened directly by the government having appointed a private company as a marketing coordinator. This investigation also found at least three paradigms underlying the need for direct government intervention to regulate the Siam citrus market. They were the existence of a negative view (stereotypes) about middlemen, the drives to apply a core-satellite pattern in the marketing of agricultural products, and the spirit to develop cooperatives as a supporting institution of agricultural development.

Keywords: Siam citrus, middlemen, marketing, Sambas

ABSTRAK

Hingga saat ini, faktor yang mendasari perlunya intervensi langsung pemerintah ke dalam pasar jeruk Siam di Kabupaten Sambas masih memunculkan banyak pertanyaan. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk menganalisis beberapa momentum dalam dinamika sejarah usahatani jeruk Siam, dan juga menganalisis beberapa paradigma yang memengaruhinya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan sejarah pembangunan pertanian. Studi ini menemukan tiga tonggak dalam dinamika sejarah usahatani jeruk Siam di Sambas, yaitu periode penguasaan pemasaran oleh pedagang pengumpul: 1950an-1990, periode penguasaan pemasaran oleh perusahaan: 1991-1997, dan periode pemulihan: 2000-sekarang. Usahatani jeruk Siam mencapai kejayaan dan menunjukkan aspek keberlanjutan ketika diorganisir oleh pedagang pengumpul. Sayangnya, usahatani ini kemudian mengalami periode kehancuran setelah pemasarannya diintervensi langsung pemerintah dengan menunjuk perusahaan swasta sebagai koordinatornya. Penelaahan menemukan sekurangnya ada tiga paradigma yang mendasari perlunya intervensi langsung pemerintah mengatur pemasaran jeruk Siam, yaitu adanya pandangan negatif terhadap pedagang pengumpul, terdorong untuk menerapkan pola inti-plasma dalam pemasaran hasil pertanian, dan semangat menjadikan koperasi sebagai lembaga pendukung pembangunan pertanian.

Kata kunci: Jeruk Siam, pedagang pengumpul, pemasaran, Sambas

INTRODUCTION

Since the New Order government, agricultural developments in Indonesia have received serious attention either from central or local government. This attention is documented in the five-year national development plan program which places agriculture as a priority sector. However, in the practice, it is often far from the expectation since there is a clash with various interests. This reality could be seen from the case of Siam citrus (*Citrus nobilis* var. *microcarpa*) farming in Sambas, West Kalimantan. The Siam citrus commodity, as a featured area, was quite successfully developed by farmers and the middlemen. It then experienced an unpleasant period after its marketing was intervened directly by the government through the appointment of a private company as the marketing coordinator. It indicated that there were several conflicts of interests which would take advantages of the existing potencies. This case could be taken as an important lesson in the history of agricultural development in Indonesia.

Actually, the success of Siam citrus farming in Sambas was a result of farmer invention. It means that the invention of Siam citrus variety was not through structured scientific research. Similarly, the development of Siam citrus farming areas was not as a result of the government planning in agricultural sectors. But rather, it came from the farmers' previous knowledge which stemmed from their own experiences. The farmer invention in Tebas could be regarded as "indigenous knowledge". Generally, the farmers' knowledge in finding the adaptive crop in an area was done naturally through learning-by-doing approach, so-called trial and error process, which was harvested from their practical experiences (Altieri, 2004; Senanayake, 2006). Through this process, there was a region which emerged to produce a commodity that would become the identity of that area. Identically, this trial and error process had supported the growth of Siam citrus production in some other sub districts at Sambas regency.

Agricultural development in Indo-

nesia can be divided into several stages. It was started from the government's efforts to fulfill the Indonesian's staple food, especially rice. Then, the stage continued to the fulfillment of other needs including vegetables and fruits, livestock, fishery, and other commodities from the plantation sector. The development program was run in almost all places in Indonesia that was also known as a "green revolution" program. Nonetheless, the program implementation frequently ignored the essential purpose of the development itself; that is to create prosperity and justice for all elements of society. In the case of Siam citrus farming in Sambas regency, specifically in Tebas sub district as the main production center, the local farmer experienced suppression due to the weak understanding between planners and government development agencies toward the meaning of development. In the New Order government era, such a suppressing by the authorities could work well because there was no freedom in expressing opinion.

In every development decision, there has to be a paradigm or even an underlying ideology that affects the human thinking. Similarly, it is also true in the case of the government decision to intervene directly the Siam citrus market in Sambas. This issue is important to discuss in the effort to learn the formulation of rural development policies as a whole. Hence, this study is expected to give a good understanding regarding the underlying factors, paradigm, and its impact on development in which they receive less attention from the researchers. Furthermore, it is important to describe the current condition after this farming experienced a falling period. Based on that idea, particularly it can be formulated two aspect as the main objectives in this study: (a) to analyze the historical in the dynamic of Siam citrus farming, and (b) to analyze the paradigm concerning the need for direct government intervention policy to regulate Siam citrus marketing in Sambas regency.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study was conducted in Sambas reGENCY, in which Tebas was taken as the main location. Tebas is one of several sub districts in Sambas and well known as the center of Siam citrus production (see Figure 1). This case study used the agriculture development historical approach. Primary and secondary data were collected from the village until provincial level in October 2016 to March 2017.

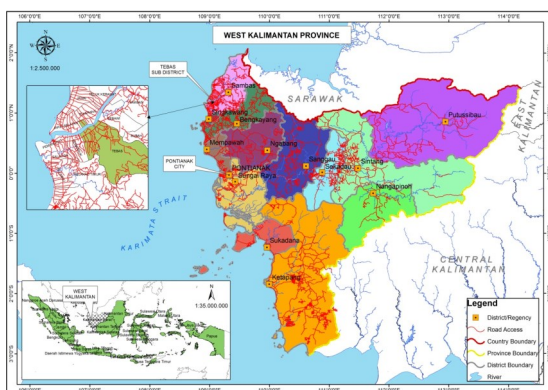


Figure 1. Map of Tebas Sub District in West Kalimantan Province

The primary data were collected through interviews, observations, and discussions in the site of study, while the secondary data collection included the search of documents and historical records. The primary data were traced through informant farmers, farmer leaders, and agricultural officials in the level of village, sub district, district, and province. The key informants was selected by a purposely flow from the informants, using a snowball sampling technique. Any information or data were verified by using a triangulation method.

Data in this study were analyzed by using a descriptive qualitative method, referring to principles of qualitative study as described by Somantri (2005) and Bungin (2015: 57-68). Comprehensively, this study was divided into five parts including some moments in Siam citrus farming history, marketing domination period by the middlemen during 1950s-1990, marketing domination period by the company from 1991 to 1997, recovery pe-

riod from 2000 up to present. Finally, it was ended by critical review to explain the paradigm that has become the underlying factor of government policy to regulate the Siam citrus market.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Some Moments in Siam Citrus Farming History

Tracing its history, Siam citrus farming in Sambas had been recognized at least since 1950s. According to people's stories in Tebas, Siam citrus farming started from the initiative of two chineases, namely Jun Kun Bun and Bon Kin Sin in Segarau vil-lage, Tebas sub district. The first citrus planting experiment showed a good growth and gave a satisfying result. Their success inspired local communities in Sambas. Subsequently, the success of cit-rus cultivation in Segarau was followed by Lim Kun Sin and A. Rani, a Malay farmer, in Bekut vil-lage.

After this success, the Siam citrus cultivation in Tebas sub district grew grad-ually and was followed by many other farmers. Nevertheless, in 1950s to 1970s, the Siam citrus farming growth was still relatively slow due to the limitation of marketing scope and low purchasing pow-er. However, for local farmers, the Siam citrus farming had become a promising alternative in agribusiness, beside paddy and rubber as the main farming in Tebas. The paddy farming was developed for the primary purpose as household consump-tion (subsistence farming), while the rub-ber crop was cultivated as a commercial commodity that could provide income cash.

Ecologically, the Siam citrus farm-ing is located in a tropical rain forest cli-mate and tidal lowland areas, so in its cul-tivation, it requires a specific technique related to the possibility of a continous water supply in a swamp area. Moreover, Tebas sub district location is around the downstream of the Sambas River near the coastal areas of South China Sea, so it is affected by the tide (see figure 1).

Based on the data collection, most farmers cultivated the Siam citrus in the

land areas that were not overflowed by the tide, either by a small or big tide. Siam citrus cultivation in many cases was done by a monocultural pattern, but in other cases it was intercropped with paddy plants, especially when the citrus crop was still young. Until the early 1980s, this farming increased fairly rapidly along with the national economy that grew positively. In 1983, based on the record of the Agricultural Extension Bureau of Tebas sub district, the Siam citrus planting areas reached approximately 3,307 hectares (68.98 percent) from the total areas in Sambas district by 4,794 hectares (BPS Kabupaten Sambas, 1991). Other sub districts around Tebas that later also became Siam citrus production centers were Pemangkat, Jawai, and Selakau.

Furthermore, until 1990, the Siam citrus farming in Sambas increased continuously. This decade could be considered as the best growth. Unfortunately, then it experienced a falling period in 1991 to 1997 after the marketing was controlled by a company which was appointed by the government. Next, starting in 2000, the Siam citrus farming was reconstructed which was intended for a recovery. Hence, it was called as a recovery period.

The case of Siam citrus farming weakening was frequently linked to the government paradigm in managing resources. It was originated from the views that allowed the government to intervene the Siam citrus marketing directly. The government was over confident that their arrangements would lead to success, whereas, in reality, the market system was very difficult to control. In this case, the New Order government authority was not different from the colonial legacy, which placed the state as the culmination of the law, monopolizing all authority and power in organizations the reign (Muchlis et al., 2016).

The pretension to intervene the Siam citrus marketing directly came from the negative perspective (stereotypes) about the middleman role in the rural economic system. In fact, since the first time the Siam citrus market in Sambas was tra-

ditionally controlled by the middlemen. The negative view did not only come from ordinary people, but also from the government bureaucracy or even the development planners which regarded the middlemen as adverse institution to the farmers. Therefore, it was reasonable if their existence must be removed through the direct government intervention into the market. Then, unilaterally, the government took over the Siam citrus marketing by appointing PT Bima Citra Mandiri (PT BCM) as the coordinator. This case was a dark historical record in Siam citrus farming at Sambas regency. Thus, referring to its history, there were some important moments in Siam citrus farming, namely the marketing domination period by the middlemen: 1950s to 1990, the marketing domination period by the company: 1991 to 1997, and the recovery period that was started in 2000 until now.

Marketing Domination Period by the Middlemen: 1950s - 1990

After the national economy of Indonesia grew in 1980s era, the Siam citrus demand in Sambas increased over the time. The market areas not only covered Sambas, Singkawang, Pontianak, and other cities in West Kalimantan, but also covered Jakarta and surrounding areas. In the capital city of Jakarta and surrounding areas, they were known as Pontianak citrus.

The expansion of market areas continued to be made by the traders over time with a natural process, namely through the development of product marketing networks. When a market network had been created, it would automatically influence the increase of citrus production at the farmer level. Thus, the Siam citrus farming in Sambas was formed and developed by a natural process as a result of the gradual cooperation between farmers and the middlemen. Until 1990s, the progress of Siam citrus farming in Sambas could be perceived as a fantastic growth. By 1990, the achievement of total planting areas was 18,644 hectares with the production was about 176,871 tons (BPS Kabupaten Sambas, 1991).

In its effort to sell Siam citrus, the middlemen performed grading which aimed to provide a price certainty either for consumers or producers in accordance to product quality. In this era, the grading was carried out in a simple technique using hand grips. Therefore, the citrus grade only comprised four classes: AB, C, D, and E. Referring to some documents, grade AB (the highest class) had a diameter more than 6.3 cm, grade C 5.6 to 6.3 cm, grade D 5.0 to 5.6 cm, and grade E (the lowest class) 4.5 to 5.0 cm. The use of centimeter size in applying grading was just a standard. In practice, for reasons of practicality, it was only based on rough estimations, because until now there is no mechanical device that can help to do this grading quickly.

The most remarkable expansion in Siam citrus planting occurred during 1984 to 1989, leading to increase productions in the next periods. Therefore, in 1990, the Siam citrus production increased rapidly, reaching 176,871 tons compared to 1981 which was still around 33,325 tons (BPS Kabupaten Sambas, 1991). This period could be regarded as a prosperity period in Siam citrus farming in Tebas. Mr. Rabudin, a farmer in Gerinang hamlet of Tebas Kuala village, illustrated that period as follows.

At the time, Siam citrus farming was really bringing prosperity to the farmers. I could buy farm land and build a house. Many Malay went for a hajj (pilgrime to Mecca), and many Chinese became rich people (Interview, March 4th, 2017).

The ballooned of this Siam citrus production teased companies outside of West Kalimantan to get profit from this citrus trade. Subsequently, through the political power to the central and local government, they were successful to push the government to intervene directly the Siam citrus marketing. It was decided through the Decree of West Kalimantan Governor (Pardjoko Suryokusumo) number 296/1991 which appointed PT Bima Citra Mandiri (PT BCM) as the executive coordinator of Siam citrus marketing in

West Kalimantan.

Marketing Domination Period by the Company: 1991 - 1997

Through the Decree of West Kalimantan Governor number 296/1991 which gave rights and an authority to the company to organize marketing, the Siam citrus trade in Sambas entered a new phase. PT BCM as the right holder then developed a marketing model by involving cooperative institutions as a collector for citrus production at the village level. It means if in the previous period marketing activities were established through social and economic relations to the middlemen, but in this period the farmers had to deal with institutions, namely *Koperasi Unit Desa* (KUD), a village cooperative. In fact, it was strange and unusual for the farmers in Sambas. Therefore, the farmers in the village had to make some changes in farming management for dealing with the situation that had never thought before.

The drastic change caused a worry to the farmers because cooperation with the middlemen actually was not limited in terms of buying and selling merely, but also in other social and economic relationships. For instance, this relationship was followed by the borrowing relationships in the kind of farming input or even the cash loans to fulfill various needs of the farmer households. In some cases, the cash loans were granted by the middlemen usually without interest rate as a form of interpersonal relationships that were established in a long time ago. This type of relationship was a common model in rural areas of Indonesia.

Disappointment was not only befalling to the farmers, but also to the middlemen. For middlemen, this drastic change had removed their livelihood that had been built for a long time without a clear reason. As an implication of deep disappointment, some middlemen sold their marketing facilities such as motor boats, motor cycles, etc.

The farmers were disappointed indeed, because the marketing model was coordinated by PT BCM did not give a

better price even its price rate was lower than the price rate when organized by the middlemen. In addition, not all production could be accommodated by KUD, especially for the lowest citrus grade. It was different when they sold to the middlemen where all production could be accommodated because generally the traders had tactics or strategies in marketing their product creatively. For example, low quality oranges were sold into traditional markets through business networks that had been created before.

Price rate differences between cooperatives and the middlemen were closely related to the grading composition. The middlemen did the grading by simple ways into four classes as described above, while KUD perform grading into six classes, namely AA (the highest class) with a diameter more than 7.4 cm, grade A 6.8 to 7.3 cm, grade B 6.3 to 6.7 cm, grade C 5.6 to 6.2 cm, grade D 5.0 to 5.5 cm, and grade E (the lowest class) 4.5 to 4.9 cm. This grading composition was based on the West Kalimantan Governor Decree number 106 in 1987. Enactment of the grading composition was intended to increase the price rate in the farmer level which was appropriate to the quality of the product. Based on this grading system, grade AB was removed because it was assumed that it would decrease the farmer profit. The government considered that the middlemen's grading composition was a tactic of the traders to gain higher profits. In this respect, the middlemen were regarded as an institution that constantly exploited the farmers. It was one of some reasons which gave negative perspectives (stereotypes) to the middlemen.

This phenomenon should be understood comprehensively. Although, on one hand, grade AB in the middlemen's grading composition was one of several middlemen tactics to gaining profit, as a form of compensation, traders also accommodated the farmers' interest in buying the entire of citrus production. Traders would obtain profit from grade AB through sales target in the middle and upper class consumers. It should be understood that citrus

of AB quality was not much in volume compared with the lower class citrus. Therefore, if the cooperative's grading composition was examined deeply, the classification into six classes caused the price rate suppression in the middle and lowest grade. It was inflicted to bigger financial loss of the farmers. Commonly it was because the amount production of citrus in the middle and lower class was more than the highest class. So, overall, the farmers felt more suffering a financial loss if they sold their citrus to KUD. This problem happened over time and caused accumulative disappointments among the farmers, especially for the small scale farmers. It was exacerbated in the excess supply case of a harvest time that the company was not able to buy all farmers products. Thus it increased distrust toward KUD, PT BCM, and the arrangements were made by the government.

During this period, although there had been KUD, citrus sales to middlemen were still happening with smaller scales. The sales to middlemen was motivated by the reasons of the higher prices, while sales to the cooperatives could be done due to a closer distance which played a role to reduce transport costs. Of course, there were many other reasons which became the basis for the sales selection by farmers. However, after the citrus marketing was organized by cooperatives and PT BCM, there was a lot of disappointment felt by the farmers. The farmers felt that the dealing to cooperatives as formal institutions less favorable than dealing to the middlemen. The middlemen in rural areas done many functions either in social or economic relationships, such as giving cash loan or borrowed in the form of farming inputs, etc.

The long disappointment undermined farmers' enthusiasm in the production, so that during this period, many citrus farms were not maintained optimally by the farmers. In many cases, the farmers looked for some jobs, as alternative to fulfill their household needs. Next, the citrus farms which were not maintained would cause some physical damage and plant

diseases. Finally, there were CVPD (Citrus Vein Phloem Degeneration) diseases attack the Siam citrus, and it accelerated Siam citrus damage in Sambas. It happened in the short run period, until all farming in production centers at Sambas regency collapsed. For this reason, KUD began to disperse and PT BCM stopped. In 1999, the harvested areas of Siam citrus in Sambas district only remained about 3.78 hectares and it was produced by Sungai Raya sub district which was not the production center in Sambas (BPS Kabupaten Sambas, 2000).

Recovery Period: 2000 - Present

After the Siam citrus farming collapsed, the farmer income continued to decline. Consequently, it was reported that many young people in Tebas went to the other places in order to obtain a better job. Even, there were many young workers went to a neighboring country, Malaysia, as illegal workers. Next, after Indonesian political reforms in 1998, the provincial government took an initiative to recover Siam citrus farming in Sambas.

The recovery process was initiated by the Development Planning Bureau at Provincial level. This process was begun by conducting a study which involved university. Through a comprehensive discussion, the government initiated to re-establish the Siam citrus production centers and chose Tebas sub district as the main production center. Next, the government built a new nursery project by introducing a modern cultivation technology. New agronomic technology was conducted in order to avoid CVPD diseases. Herein, a nursery technology was introduced concerning the underneath stems of the citrus variety that were resistant to CVPD, while the upper trunk was Siam citrus.

Furthermore, in 2001 through the Development Planning Bureau project, new plantations were started and some farmers began interested in this citrus planting. It was related to the confidence of the new government after the political and authority changes at the national level. During this recovery period, it was not

only small-scale farmers which were interested in cultivating the Siam citrus but also companies. By 2004, the new Siam citrus in Tebas started to produce, and in 2014, it had been able to produce about 1,226,881 tons (BPS Kabupaten Sambas, 2015).

Now, the marketing of Siam citrus is taken over again by the middlemen. However, in this period there are some differences from the ones in 1950s-1990 periods. The difference is that some market segments have been taken by the companies, so the small-scale farmers's involvements are not as much as before. Although the recovery can be done, business opportunities for small scale farmers basically decreased in number.

Critical Review

One of some reasons inspiring the need for the direct government intervention into the Siam citrus market is the negative view (stereotypes) about the role of middlemen. The negative perspective is not only felt by ordinary people, but also by the bureaucrats, even though the development planners have no idea concerning social relationships in rural areas.

Based on several studies, it should be admitted that there are middlemen who often suppress small-scale farmers in rural areas, for instance, in the case of livestock marketing (Syahyuti, 1999), the case of fishery product marketing (Febrianto and Rahardjo, 2005), and the case of ethnically tied trade on the welfare of small-scale producers in the handloom sector of Ethiopia (Ali and Peerlings, 2011). On the other hand, there are many middlemen who provide positive benefits to the farmers, for example, in the marketing case of mangoes in West Java (Sulistiyowati et al., 2014), the case of corn marketing in Bengkayang, West Kalimantan (Sudrajat et al., 2015), the case of grain marketing in Ethiopia (Gabre-Madhin, 2001), and the case of fishery product marketing in Nikoya Gulf, Costa Rica (Pollnac, 1978). Thus, their role could be positive or negative depending on the case. In the other words, it is not judicious to generalize that the mid-

dlemen are always suppressing the farmers. According to Sudrajat et al. (2015) and Syahyuti (2008), the positive side will arise when the relationships are based on the presence of social capital.

Theoretically, the problem will arise if the middlemen have an overly strong position in a market system, for instance when it leads to monopolistic market structures. Conversely, the positive side may arise when the market structure leads to a competitive condition. In the case of Siam citrus marketing, its market structure is competitive since it involves many middlemen. Hence, in this study, the presence of the middlemen was really beneficial for the farmers. This argument is supported by the facts in the village, as stated by Mr. Gandi, a farmer in Sutra hamlet of Mak Rampai village, as follows.

In every village in Tebas, there are many middlemen. Therefore, they cannot suppress the farmers by setting a price lower than the market price. If there are the middlemen who push down the price, the farmers can move to the other middlemen (Interview, March 5th, 2017).

According to Rustinsyah (2011) the relationship between the farmers and the middlemen occurs in a long time period and it is based on the differences in access to the markets, so that the middlemen are not always richer than the farmers who become their clients. Basically, the middlemen play an important role in the agricultural product marketing, especially in the developing countries. The study of Abebe et al. (2016) in Ethiopia shows that majority of the farmers sell their products via middlemen, particularly for the farmers with a low resource endowed, because such tradings can enhance smallholder commercialization.

Indeed, in certain cases, there are often some traders who want to take excessive advantages. However, it is not necessarily the case. Conversely, there is often a mutual understanding mechanism in marketing relationship of agricultural products in rural areas. In many cases, it is often documented the efforts of the middlemen to share risks and profits with the

farmers.

In this study, it seems that the government wanted to find out the most ideal model in marketing cooperation, whereas it was very hard to get the ideal model in its reality. The cooperation model was the pattern that could guarantee the sustainability but it did not have to be the most ideal. The pretension to look for the most ideal model remarkably led to the weakening of Siam citrus farming in Sambas.

Other reasons appearing in this study was linked to the government who was overly confident to apply a core-satellite pattern (contract farming) in the agricultural development. It was motivated by the success in applying of Nucleus Estate Smallholder (NES) pattern of oil palm plantation through World Bank support in the early 1980s. Subsequently, this pattern was applied on various agricultural commodities, including in the case of Siam citrus marketing. In this research, the government appointed PT BCM as the core in marketing, while cooperatives and farmers played a role as the satellite. The application of the core-satellite model in the various agricultural commodities almost entirely failed, such as in the NES case of Sugar Cane in Java, NES of shrimp in Indramayu, NES of pineapple in Subang, NES of dairy milk in Central Java, and NES of tea in Tasikmalaya (Bachriadi, 1995). Similarly, it occurred in the NES case of coconut hybrid in the south mountainous areas of West Java (Gunawan et al., 1995). In West Kalimantan, it also could be seen in the NES case of rubber plantations in Monterado, Bengkayang regency. The application of the core-satellite model in the agricultural sector raised many failures and complex issues. For example, the NES case of rubber in Monterado still raises problems of farmer debt that cannot be resolved until today.

In addition, another factor was the government's enthusiasm to develop KUD in the development of the agricultural sector. KUD was placed as an institution at the village level to distribute the farming inputs and also marketed the agri-

cultural products. Yet, in reality, it was very difficult to manage the agricultural cooperative. The cooperatives were powerless when faced with the marketing system that already was controlled by the middlemen. In fact, in the world, the success of cooperative in marketing of agricultural produce was only exemplified by the success of dairy farmers cooperative (Perhepi, 2004). The success of dairy farmer cooperative was tightly related to the characteristic in marketing of milk. The market area was limited by the space in a region that led to a spatial monopoly (Sudrajat and Arani, 2016).

CONCLUSION

Siam citrus farming in Sambas was formed as a result of natural cooperation between farmers and the middlemen in a long time. Tracing its history, there were three important moments in Siam citrus farming, namely the marketing domination period by the middlemen in 1950s until 1990, the marketing domination period by the company in 1991 until 1997, and the recovery period that was started in 2000 until today. This farming gave enormous benefits to the farmer in the mid-1980s until 1990 when the marketing was dominated by the middlemen. Unfortunately, it experienced a falling period after this commodity market was intervened directly by the government through the appointment of a private company as the marketing coordinator. The recovery could be done in 2000 by the local government initiative, and in this period, the marketing mechanism was taken over again by the middlemen. This case provided an insightful understanding that natural cooperation could guarantee a sustainability aspect. Conversely, the direct government intervention into the market could possibly cause a falling. At least, there were three paradigms underlying the need for direct government intervention into the Siam citrus market, namely: (1) a negative view about the role of middlemen in the rural economic system since they were often regarded as an institution that always suppressed the small scale farmers.

(2) The government was over confident to apply core-satellite pattern (contract farming) in agricultural development. This pattern was applied in various agricultural commodities, including in case of Siam citrus marketing. In this case, the government appointed a private company as the core in marketing, while cooperatives and farmers played a role as the satellite. (3) Finally, it was the spirit of government to develop cooperative as an agricultural development agency, whereas, the establishment of agricultural cooperative was very difficult. In the world, it was only demonstrated by the success of dairy farmers cooperative.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is grateful to the dean and staff in the Agricultural Faculty of Tanjungpura University, which have supported the completion of this study. The author also thanks to the farmers and the community leaders in Tebas sub district who have provided useful information and served the author during the field visits.

REFERENCES

- Abebe G.K., Bijman J., & Royer A. 2016. "Are Middlemen Facilitators or Barriers to Improve Smallholders' Welfare in Rural Economies ? Empirical Evidence from Ethiopia." *Journal of Rural Studies*, 43: 203-213.
- Ali M. & Peerlings J. 2011. "Ethnic Ties in Trade Relationships and the Impact on Economic Performance: The Case of Small-Scale Producers in the Handloom Sector in Ethiopia." *Journal of Development Studies*, 47: 1241-1260.
- Altieri M.A. 2004. "Linking Ecologists and Traditional Farmers in the Research for Sustainable Agriculture." *Front. Ecol. Environ.*, 2(1): 35-42.
- Bachriadi D. 1995. *Ketergantungan Petani dan Penetrasi Kapital: Lima Kasus Intensifikasi Pertanian dengan Pola Contract Farming*. Seri Penelitian Akatiga Nomor 14. Bandung: Yayasan Akatiga.
- Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Sambas. 1991. *Kabupaten Sambas dalam Angka*. Sambas: BPS Kabupaten Sambas.
- Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten

- Sambas. 2000. *Kabupaten Sambas dalam Angka*. Sambas: BPS Kabupaten Sambas.
- Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kabupaten Sambas. 2015. *Kabupaten Sambas dalam Angka*. Sambas: BPS Kabupaten Sambas.
- Bungin B. 2015. "Format Desain dan Model Kualitatif." In Bungin B. (Ed.) *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Aktualisasi Metodologis Ke Arah Ragam Varian Kontemporer*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada. Pp. 57-68.
- Febrianto P.T. & Rahardjo. 2005. "Eksplorasi Hubungan Pandega-Juragan dalam Modernisasi Perikanan Tangkap di Desa Grajagan, Kecamatan Purwohardjo, Kabupaten Banyuwangi." *Sosiosains*, 18(2):325-339.
- Gabre-Madhin E.Z. 2001. "The Role of Intermediaries in Enhancing Market Efficiency in the Ethiopian Grain Market." *Agricultural Economics*, 25: 311-320.
- Gunawan R., Thamrin J., & Grijns M. 1995. *Dilema Petani Plasma: Pengalaman PIR-Bun Jawa Barat. Seri Penelitian Akatiga Nomor 13*. Bandung: Yayasan Akatiga.
- Muchlis F., Lubis D.P., Kinseng R.A., & Tasman A. 2016. "Sejarah Marginalisasi Orang Rimba Bukit Dua Belas di Era Orde Baru." *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 26(2): 217-229.
- Perhepi. 2004. *Pembangunan Perdesaan, Rekonstruksi Kelembagaan Ekonomi*. Bogor: Perhimpunan Ekonomi Pertanian Indonesia (Perhepi).
- Pollnac R.B. 1978. "Sociocultural Aspects of Technological and Institutional Change among Small-Scale Fisherman." Anthropology Working Paper No.22. Sociology-Anthropology Department International Center for Marine Resource Development University of Rhode Island. *Paper Presented at: The International Symposium on Modernization in Fishing Industries and Communities*, Institute for Coastal and Marine Resources East Carolina University, April 27-29, Greenville North Carolina.
- Rustinsyah. 2011. "Hubungan Patron-Klien di Kalangan Petani Desa Kebonrejo." *Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, 24(2): 176-182.
- Senanayake S.G.J.N. 2006. "Indigenous Knowledge as A Key to Sustainable Development." *The Journal of Agricultural Sciences*, 2(1): 87-94.
- Somantri G.R. 2005. "Memahami Metode Kualitatif." *Makara, Sosial Humaniora*, 9 (2): 57-65.
- Sudrajat J. & Arani N. 2016. "Institutional Economic Reconstruction by Optimizing the Role of Middlemen." *Mimbar: Social and Development Journal*, 32(1): 65-73.
- Sudrajat J., Mulyo J.H., Hartono S., & Subejo. 2015. "Peranan Social Capital dalam Memelihara Keberlanjutan Agribisnis Jagung." *Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, 28(3): 141-155.
- Sulistyowati L., Rasmikayati E., & Saidah Z. 2014. "Peranan Kelembagaan Kemitraan Usaha dalam Penerapan Teknologi pada Agribisnis Mangga di Jawa Barat." *Prosiding Konferensi Nasional XVII dan Kongres XVI Tahun 2014 Perhimpunan Ekonomi Pertanian Indonesia*, 28-29 Agustus, Bogor-Indonesia, hlm. 649-667.
- Syahyuti. 1999. "Keragaan Subsistem Tata Niaga Peternakan di Indonesia: Suatu Analisis Sosiologi Pelaku Pemasaran Komoditas Peternakan." *Wartazoa*, 8 (1): 1-8.
- Syahyuti. 2008. "Peran Modal Sosial dalam Perdagangan Hasil Pertanian." *Forum Penelitian Agro Ekonomi*, 26(1): 32-43.