

THE ROLE OF WOMEN COOLIE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURAL LIFE IN LEBONG TANDAI

PERAN KULI PEREMPUAN DALAM PEMBENTUKAN STRUKTUR KEBUDAYAAN DI LEBONG TANDAI

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Abstract

The cultural life of an area can be realized because of the role of many parties in one community group. One of them is the role of women who work as coolies in Lebong Tandai Village; some women work hard as "capung" (goods carriers) and mash porters (stone crushers). Both types of coolies play a significant role in the development of social and cultural life in Lebong Tandai Village. The focus of this study is to investigate the role of female coolies in shaping cultural life in Lebong Tandai Village. The method used in this research is qualitative. To study it, an effort was made to trace data sources through field studies by observing the research object and interviewing selected informants through purposive sampling. The data obtained were then analyzed using an approach from Talcott Parsons' structural-functional theory. The results showed that there were several forms of culture resulting from the role of female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village, namely elements of living equipment and elements of knowledge that developed from generation to generation as the final form of establishment in the cultural structure of Lebong Tandai Village.

Keywords: Lebong Tandai, Colonial, Coolies, Mining, Culture.

Abstrak

Kehidupan kebudayaan sebuah daerah dapat terwujud karena peranan banyak pihak dalam satu kelompok masyarakat. Salah satunya tampak dari peranan perempuan yang bekerja sebagai kuli di Desa Lebong Tandai. Di Desa Lebong Tandai, terdapat perempuan yang bekerja berat sebagai kuli capung (pengangkut barang) dan kuli tumbuk (pemecah batu). Kedua jenis kuli tersebut berperan besar bagi perkembangan kehidupan sosial dan kebudayaan di Desa Lebong Tandai. Fokus kajian ini ialah menyelidiki bagaimana peranan para kuli perempuan dalam membentuk kehidupan kebudayaan di Desa Lebong Tandai. Metode yang dipergunakan dalam penelitian ialah kualitatif. Untuk mengkajinya, dilakukan upaya penelusuran sumber data melalui studi lapangan dengan pengamatan terhadap objek penelitian dan wawancara terhadap informan yang dipilih melalui purposive sampling. Data yang didapatkan lalu dianalisis dengan mempergunakan pendekatan dalam teori Strukturalisme-Fungsional Talcott Parsons. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat beberapa bentuk kebudayaan yang dihasilkan dari adanya peranan para kuli perempuan di Desa Lebong Tandai, yakni unsur peralatan hidup dan unsur pengetahuan yang berkembang dari generasi ke generasi sebagai bentuk akhir kemapanan dalam struktur kebudayaan di Desa Lebong Tandai.

Kata kunci: Lebong Tandai, Kolonial, Kuli, Tambang, Budaya.

INTRODUCTION

In society, the issue of women

continues to be interesting to study. Both the role of women in political positions, education, and the field of their profession or career. This study is a very strategic sector in the issue of gender equality. The Central Bureau of Statistics published data for 2021, which shows that women's involvement makes up 36.2% of the total workforce in the formal sector (BPS, 2021). From the display of these percentages, it is clear that the number of female workers ranks below the number of male workers, especially in the formal sector, which is generally known to the people of Indonesia. Maybe for most men, the number of female workers cannot be equated with men because of women's physical problems, which are considered to be below men's capabilities.

This opinion is also supported by the opinion about "coolies" which is always brought up in every discussion on gender equality. In the opinion about "coolies", it is emphasized that the so-called women and men cannot be equal. For some parties who do not agree on gender equality, they will argue that female and male workers are different. The easiest example is reflected in the work of "coolies". There is still a general perception that no woman wants to be a coolie. Naturally, the assumption was made because of the hard work done in that profession.

The arguments stated above can be refuted in Lebong Tandai Village, Napal Putih District, North Bengkulu. In this area, there are female coolies who work as transporters of heavy goods, such as gold-milling machines weighing up to 30 kg, heavy equipment (mining processing machines), and transporters of commodities and staples for the village community. It turns out that the work of coolies, which is closely related to energy and muscles, is also carried out by several women who live in Lebong Tandai Village to make ends meet.

This female pelvic porter is called *capung*¹. The term *capung* is known to

come from dragonflies which are known to be good at grabbing. The concept of "grabbing" was finally adopted as a term for people who carry heavy goods that are transported from one place to another at a fast pace. Fast movements were made to speed up the process of distributing the goods that were carried because these goods were heavy (Yuniarti, 2020: 78).

In Lebong Tandai Village, the process of transporting heavy goods is carried out at three points, namely at the departure point, the intermediate point, and the last point on the route to Lebong Tandai. The point of departure is the location where the named transportation carrier is located *lori*² (*lori* is a freight train that transports various types of goods and necessities) transporting heavy goods in the first stage. The first stage, to be precise, is at the Napal Putih location. Furthermore, the transportation process is also carried out in the second stage which connects the first location point and the third location point. The second point by the local community is called "Kawasan Ronggeng" which is the location of the landslide and became the breaker of the transportation network *lori*. Therefore, *lori* who departed at the first point, must stop at this intermediate point to be resumed by *lori* others who have been waiting at this in-between point. To continue the journey, the goods are brought in *lori* first from the point of departure and will be moved to next *lori*. At this point, the process of transporting goods by humans is again carried out. The goal is to move things from *lori* first, onto the second *lori*. After the lorry arrives at the location of the final point, the transport of goods is carried out again by the porters or the people who own the goods in question.

All processes of transporting goods outside the lorries are carried out by so-called porters *capung*. Among the coolies *capung*, usually, two women join as coolies. Their reasons are economic reasons, namely to meet family needs. Thus, these female porters try to work by transporting heavy

goods, which is generally done by men. For some people who see this phenomenon, the profession of women who transport or carry heavy goods is considered inappropriate as a profession.

Even though it is inappropriate for women it is a profession *capung* this plays a big role in the sustainability of life in Lebong Tandai. Without them, the people of Lebong Tandai Village would not have been able to obtain staple foodstuffs, even important tools for managing food. This is because the environmental conditions of Lebong Tandai are very extreme. After all, the area is dominated by steep natural topography, forests, wild plants, and wild animals. The only transportation that can enter this area is the train *lori* and *molek*³.

Besides *capung*, there is also another coolie profession that also involves women. This profession is called the *tukang tumbuk* or stone crusher. The stone breaker in question is the profession of a woman who tries to earn a living by separating stones from precious metal gold. The effort to separate the stone from the precious metal gold is by breaking the stone using a hammer. Efforts to break the stone require great energy. Not surprisingly, usually, those who work in this profession are men. However, in Lebong Tandai, many women also work in this profession to make ends meet.

Efforts to fulfill the necessities of life by becoming *tukang tumbuk* have been going on for a long time. With this profession, several family groups can make ends meet through the gold they earn. This shows that the stone-breaking profession is also a significant profession for women living in Lebong Tandai (Dede, 2022).

The existence of a porter profession engaged in by a group of women in Lebong Tandai to make ends meet was carried out considering that Lebong Tandai has natural conditions that are rich in precious metal mining materials, in this case, gold. The Lebong Tandai area is an area located in the

Napal Putih District, North Bengkulu Regency. The natural conditions of Lebong Tandai form a topography of hills, valleys and is traversed by rivers. The vegetation that is generally found on the route to Lebong Tandai is in the form of various types of wild trees, oil palm plantations, and vines (Arief, 2009: 13). This makes it difficult for the development of the Lebong Tandai area to become a strategic area for road construction. This is what demands transportation *lori* remains the main choice for rural communities. Of course, this also makes a profession *capung* become a prima donna profession besides being a gold mining coolie in the center “lobang” gold Lebong Tandai.

Knowing that the role of women as *capung* and *tukang tumbuk* is very important for the continuity of life in Lebong Tandai, this study will specifically discuss the role of women's groups working as coolies in Lebong Tandai, Napal Putih, North Bengkulu Regency in the structure that forms culture. and social community. To gain an in-depth understanding, this study was conducted in an interdisciplinary manner by involving two approaches in the field of anthropology studies. The field of anthropology is studied as a basis for understanding the phenomenon of development within a community group due to an interaction process, while cultural studies are part of the results of the phenomenon of community interaction in a particular area. These two sciences can complement each other to gain in-depth material about female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village and their role in the cultural progress of the people of Lebong Tandai Village.

Based on the studies that have been carried out, it is known that research on the Lebong Tandai area has not been specifically explored by experts. This is because access to that area is very difficult to reach. Thus, this study specifically wants to examine the life of the community in Lebong Tandai, especially regarding the

history of the emergence of community groups of women who work as *capung* or porters and a group of women who work as stone breakers in Lebong Tandai Village. This needs to be done to show that female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village have a big role in the development of the local community. In addition, this study needs to be carried out to prevent marginal women who work as coolies in Lebong Tandai. By conducting this study, this theme can become part of Bengkulu's social history which is very important to know. Not only that, a study of female coolies can show that gender differences based on physique are no longer an issue that needs to be debated. In fact, this study emphasizes that men and women can jointly contribute their respective roles to the development of village culture.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on women's skin has been carried out by several researchers. Among them Jennifer J. Hinton, et al (2003) in "Woman and Artisanal Mining: Gender Roles and the Road Ahead" published in *The Socio-Economic Impacts of Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining in Developing Countries*. The research of Jennifer J. Hinton, et al discusses the role of women in the economic development of traditional mining communities (Hinton et al., 2003). This study can help strengthen information about the role of women in society through the economic sector. Besides Jennifer J. Hinton, discussions about the role of women as miners and coolies have also been discussed by Hasrizal and Mardhiah (2021) in the article entitled "Peran Ganda Perempuan Penambang Emas" in *Jurnal Perspektif: Jurnal Kajian Sosiologi dan Pendidikan* Vol. 4 No. 4. The article discusses women gold miners who experience multiple roles. The dual role in question is the dual role in the domestic sector and the public sector in the life of women as mining workers (Hasrizal et al., 2021).

Apart from the women's side, discussions on mining that focus on the

economy have also been carried out in Syaputra's study, et al (2022) which discusses the dynamics of mining companies in Bengkulu. The article observes social and economic changes that occur in mining companies and their production factors (Een Syaputra, 2022). In the social field, specifically mining studies have also been written up in the article Dondo, et al (2021) in the article entitled "Dampak Sosial Pengelolaan Tambang Emas di Desa Bakan Kabupaten Bolaang Mongondow". The Dondo, dkk (2021) article resulted in findings that stated that the management of gold mines by mining entrepreneurs through the working process of coolies had positive and negative impacts. The positive impact is shown by the increase in the company's and the miners' economy, while the emergence of danger to the natural environment around the mine and the disruption of the health of the miners is a negative impact of mining activities (Dondo, Sri Mela, Burhanuddin Kiyai, 2021). The information from Dondo, dkk (2021) articles can be a reference in knowing the negative effects of mining activities carried out by mining coolies.

These published studies do not mention that apart from being in the social and economic fields, women are also an important part in helping to strengthen the culture of mining communities in various countries in the world. This is reflected in Lebong Tandai Village, a former Dutch colonial mining area located in Napal Putih, North Bengkulu. Therefore, this study specifically discusses the role of women who work as coolies in building cultural life in Lebong Tandai Village.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research using qualitative description methods. A qualitative approach is an attempt to understand the cases that occurred in Lebong Tandai Village. In this case, there are symptoms of women who work as coolies in Lebong Tandai and their profession plays a role in contributing to

development in various fields, one of which is in the field of culture (Tanudirjo, 1989). Thus, data collection is carried out by making observations or field observations of the activities of women who work as porters (*capung* in local term or *porter* in foreign term) and stonebreaker coolie (*tumbuk* in local term or *stone breaker* in foreign term) in Lebong Tandai.

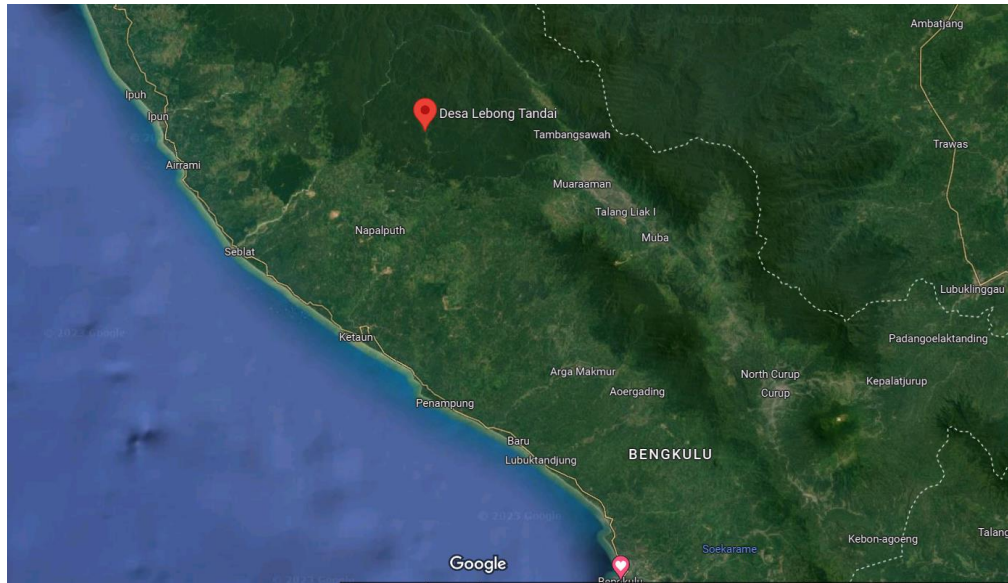
After the observations were made, women who worked as porters and rock-breaking coolies became informants who were interviewed using research instruments that had been prepared systematically. Interviews conducted with informants were also supported by photographic and videographic documentation. In addition to observing and collecting field data, library data was also collected. Library data collection was carried out to complete information about Lebong Tandai from a geological, ecological, social and cultural perspective. Literary observation was carried out at the Bengkulu regional library, Bengkulu University Library, and collection of documents regarding village profiles at the Lebong Tandai Village office.

After the observation, the data analysis stage was carried out. In data analysis activities, data is sorted. Data sorting is done to obtain information that is in accordance with the objectives of this study. The sorting effort is based on Talcott Parsons' structural – functional theory. The intended purpose is to obtain information about the role of female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village. Thus, the resulting interpretation is based on Talcott Parsons' structural-functionalism theory. By using the theory of structural-functionalism which refers to four stages, that is *adaptation*, *goal attainment*, *integration*, dan *latency*, there are indicators for the interpretation of the development of historical and cultural life structures in Lebong Tandai Village from the existence of a structural element, namely female mining coolies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Lebong Tandai as Ex-Mining Gold Area in North Bengkulu

Lebong Tandai is a village in the District of Napal Putih, North Bengkulu Regency. The natural conditions of the village are filled with hills, valleys and streams. On the route to Lebong Tandai, there are various types of wild plants, plantation plants which are dominated by oil palm, as well as wild vines which are now being managed as production areas by the local community. Some village areas also have status as protected forests by the government (Arief, 2009; Mentari, 2022). The condition of the fertile natural environment in the village area is also supported by the rich gold content deposited at various points (Harkantiningasih, 2014; Sartono, 1984). In the 19th century, the existence of this gold succeeded in inviting the Dutch colonialists to come to Lebong Tandai Village to this village (Andriyanto & Fitrisia, 2019; Marsden, 2013; Stibbe & De Graaf, 1919).



Picture 1. Aerial Photo of the Location of the Lebong Tandai Area, Napal Putih, North Bengkulu (sign with red dot)
(Source: Processed from the image *google map*, May 26th, 2023)

The entry of the Dutch colonial into Lebong Tandai Village caused various ethnic groups living in the village. If previously the village was inhabited by natives, with the arrival of the Dutch, immigrants from Javanese, Sundanese and Chinese ethnic groups entered. The existence of these various ethnicities began to increase the population and social diversity of the local area. Previously, the village area was only used as land for traditional search and extraction of gold. After the Dutch private sector gradually entered the village with new workers from various ethnic groups, various community activity centers began to be built to support mining activities. Of course, it is supported by more sophisticated tools and technology prepared by a Dutch private company. In 1901, it is known that a

private mining company was established in Lebong Tandai Village. The named private company is *Mijnbouw Maatschappij Simau* (Een Syaputra, 2022; Lindayanti, 2007; Mentari, 2022; Rahmana, 2014).

The ability of Lebong Tandai Village to produce gold in abundance was continued by the Dutch private sector until 1948. In the following years, Lebong Tandai Village was destroyed by the Dutch when Dutch military aggression was carried out in Sumatra. According to historical records, the destruction of the village was carried out by the Dutch with the aim that the indigenous warriors would not use the remaining gold wealth in Lebong Tandai Village to assist resistance activities against the Dutch. (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Bengkulu, 1978). After

several parts of Lebong Tandai Village were destroyed by bombs by the Dutch, the people finally started mining activities independently. Some time later, the still potential of the village as a producer of gold veins prompted another private mining company to set up a mining company. The private company is *Lusang Mining* (1985). With the establishment of foreign private companies, mining activities are carried out side by side with traditional mining businesses carried out by indigenous people. Traditional mining that is cultivated by the community continues until the establishment of a foreign company Bengkulu Utara Gold in 2010 replaced the role of Lusang Mining in Lebong Tandai Village (BoddingtonGoldCorp, 1950).

Coolie in Lebong Tandai

As already stated, in early 1949, mining activities in Lebong Tandai Village were no longer carried out by the Dutch private sector, but were managed by the local community. (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Bengkulu, 1978). The mining activities also support the development of several types of livelihoods for the local community. These livelihoods include mining prospectors, stone crushers, and goods carriers. Almost all types of work are related to gold mining activities in Lebong Tandai Village. Based on the studies that have been carried out, it is known that of the

various kinds of heavy work related to mining, there are two types of work as coolies that are engaged in by women in Lebong Tandai Village.

1) The Stone Breaker Coolie (*Tukang Tumbuk*)

The livelihoods that emerged in Lebong Tandai Village led to the emergence of contracted coolies and coolies who worked on a freelance basis. Contract coolies in



Picture 2. Women as mashed laborers using manual mashing equipment. (Source: Pasmawati, May 11th, 2023)

Lebong Tandai Village are an employment system that makes coolies bound by work agreements with their employers. This means that the coolie has a work schedule, wage rate, and work rules that are agreed upon by the employer. Apart from contract workers, there are also freelance workers. Freelancers are people who work under conditions set by the employer. This means that the work schedule, wage rate, and work rules are determined by the individual who will receive the job. The

employer only needs to agree to the terms requested by the freelance worker. As previously stated, in Lebong Tandai, work as contract laborers can be observed in the types of work of mining laborers and stone crushing laborers. However, of the two types of contract work, the women in Lebong Tandai Village are mostly engaged in work as stone crushers or porters. Coolie work as *Tukang tumbuk* many women have chosen Lebong Tandai Village because of the many requests from gold miners in the village.



Picture 3. The woman a *tukang tumbuk* using a mechanical crusher. (Source: Suskha, May 11th, 2023)

Work as a traditional stone-breaking coolie has existed in Lebong Tandai Village since mining work by the indigenous people was carried out, in 1949 to be precise. At that time, the transition to mining activities in Lebong Tandai Village sparked the emergence of independent mining operations by the community. At that time, the work of coolies was generally carried out by men. The women at that time

were still dominant as housewives. In later developments, the men who went to the mine pit (the cave where the source mined gold) were assisted by their wives to carry out the process of breaking the rock.

Stone splitting is the process of smoothing stones. At this stage efforts are also made to separate the gold mineral from other minerals that are not needed by traditional miners. The women who carry out traditional mining activities at the stone breaking stage usually work using certain techniques. The first technique is to use a manual mashing tool, while the second technique is to use a mechanical mashing tool. The female porters who use manual hammers produce fewer stone impacts than the female porters who use mechanical hammers. The manual hammer tool is intended for coolies who use a stone hammer. In contrast to female porters who use a stone crusher in the form of a stone crushing machine. The stone crusher machine is made of heavy steel. Tools in the form of pestles or stone crushing machines are usually privately owned by female porters in Lebong Tandai Village.

Work as a coolie *tumbuk* women in Lebong Tandai Village work to supplement their family's economic income. According to one of the stone-breaking coolies in Lebong Tandai Village, namely Sayidatul Aida (Wawancara 11 Mei 2023), now in Lebong Tandai village there

are more than 15 female coolies who work as stone breakers. In general, they are contracted by traditional miners who get the rock from the mining pits. The female coolies were asked to complete about three to five stone sacks. The completion of the stone breaking work was carried out within the contract period of three days. This means that female stone crushers must be able to complete the work of breaking stones within three days.

In the process, the stone-breaking female coolies receive wages after they have completed the work of breaking stones or after three days according to the contract agreed with the employer. In the process, the stone-breaking female coolies work from 09.00 o'clock in the morning until 14.30 o'clock in the evening. While they were working, some female porters brought their children to watch them work.

2) The Porter Coolie (*Capung*)

Apart from being rock-breaking porters, which are mostly worked by women from Lebong Tandai Village, there are also jobs as porters or porters. The coolies are called *capung* coolies. *Capung* coolies is a type of work that is included in the type of freelance coolie. In all its history, *capung* coolies in Lebong Tandai Village began to appear in 2018, to be precise when the route from Napal Putih Village to Lebong Tandai Village was cut off. The route break was caused by a natural disaster in the form of an avalanche. The

existence of this disaster made it difficult for people who wanted to go to Lebong Tandai Village to carry their belongings when they wanted to go to the village or go to the White Napal.

Kind of coolie work *capung* not only worked on by the men in Lebong Tandai Village, but also by the women in the village. Even though the burden carried by the porters was very large and heavy, this



Picture 4. The woman as *capung* using a rope tool.

(Source: Mentari, May 11th, 2023)

did not prevent several women in Lebong Tandai Village from engaging in this type of work. They mentioned that working as a coolie woman was quite promising in supporting their economy. In a day, coolies *capung* can generate 200 thousand to 400 thousand rupiah in a day. Items usually carried by woman porters *capung* are cement, rice, gas cylinders, oil, and a ball mill (a part of a gold mixing machine).

Women coolies *capung* have a habit of recording the consumer's goods that will be brought

and transferred from one lorry point to another. This is done in order to prevent goods from being exchanged or to prevent goods from being carried away. The habit of recording these items has been carried out since 2019 in Lebong Tandai Village.

The Living of Woman Coolies in Lebong Tandai

As has been stated in the history of the arrival of coolies in Lebong Tandai Village, mining life in Lebong Tandai Village was initially dominated by men. Especially when the Dutch government ruled Indonesia until the end of 1941. Male mining coolies continued to dominate during the Lusang Mining era, a Dutch private company that emerged to replace *Mijnbouw Maatschappij Simau*. Lusang Mining owned a concession right over the mining area in Lebong Tandai Village until 1997. At that time, women began to enter the mining activities within the company. Although there is not much data showing female coolies who were involved at that time, data on the records of workers involved in mining companies are neatly recorded in the company's office. The cessation of mining activities carried out by the Lusang Mining company was caused by the ongoing monetary crisis in Indonesia at that time.

Based on historical data, it is known that coolies or gold mine workers in Lebong Tandai Village received food sources from the Dutch government. The Dutch government obtained rice for the coolies

who were worked on by agricultural coolies employed in the Kemumu area (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Bengkulu, 1978). At any time, the supply of rice from the Kemumu area is a raw material that must be sent to Lebong Tandai Village to facilitate the activities of miners in Lebong Tandai Village.

In later developments, along with the official contract of PT. Bengkulu Utara Gold in 2010 for mining at several points in Lebong Tandai Village, traditional mining was started to be carried out again by the local community. This is exactly what the indigenous people did in traditional mining before the Dutch colonial companies appeared.

Most of the traditional mining is carried out by Lebong Tandai women. The work of the women's traditional coolies is related to heavy and dangerous technical tasks. In this case the heavy work is directed at breaking or grinding stones and carrying heavy equipment for mining activities. Some women miners admit that their status as mining workers, stone crushers and porters, is often not recognized by the community as an official profession because their presence is seen as only helping to add to the family's economy. In fact, unknowingly, women who work as coolies play a very important role in various fields (Tricahyono, 2020). An example of this can be seen in dragonfly coolies and female porters in Lebong Tandai Village who have played a very

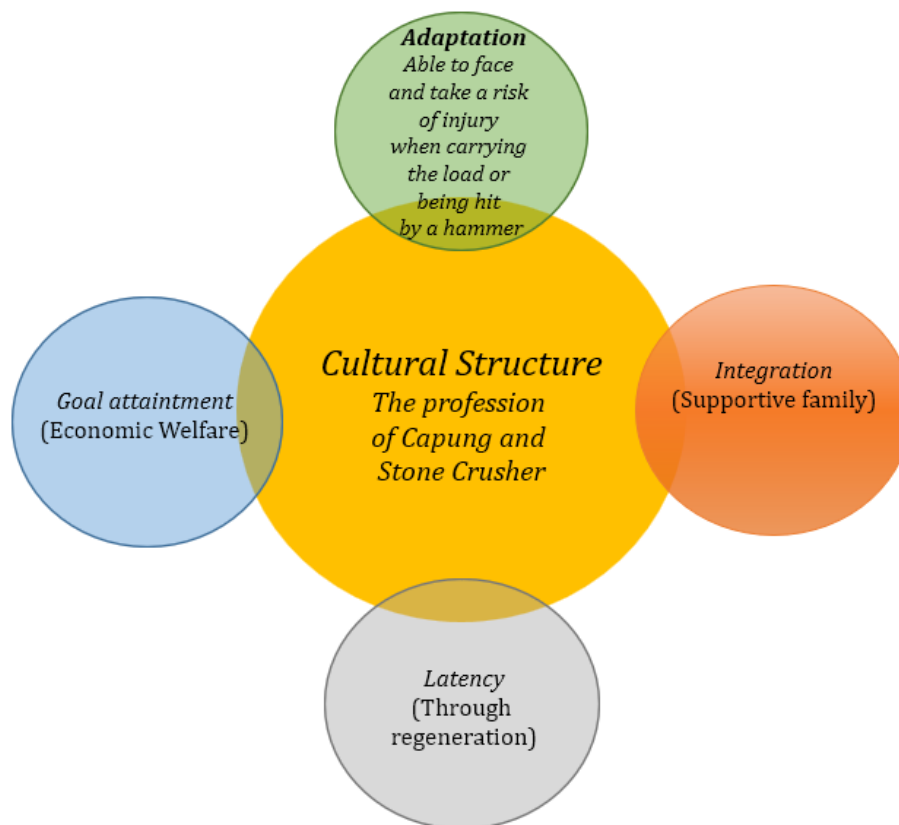
important role in the economic, social and cultural developments in Lebong Tandai Village.

The Role of Woman Coolies in the Cultural Life of Lebong Tandai

The existence of women in the midst of society certainly plays

That is, women can play multiple roles and even have multiple roles in social life. This role has an impact on development, one of which is in development in the field of culture.

Culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1984) is a series



Picture 6. The process of forming a cultural structure
The Livelihoods of Female Coolies in Lebong Tandai Village
Based on the application, a structure is formed according to Talcott Parsons
(Source: Primary Data, 2023)

many roles. *Role* is status or position. That is, women have a certain status in life (Manembu, 2017). Women can become mothers, become wives, become business managers, become volunteer workers, or become leaders of associations and organizations.

of abstract ideas, behaviors, and works created by humans. In the condition that women play various roles, women contribute thoughts, behaviors, and products produced in their daily activities. This certainly makes women play a very important role in

cultural life. Concrete examples that can be observed are the women in Lebong Tandai Village who work as stone crushers (*Tukang tumbuk*) and porters (*capung*). They have great potential and role in the formation of a thriving cultural life in Lebong Tandai Village. The potential and role of women breaking stones and transporting goods is manifested in behavior and cultural objects that are real. The embodiment of this culture is clearly reflected in the elements of the livelihood system (hereinafter abbreviated as MP) which form the culture (Ramlafatma et al., 2023). The MP system is intended to help the people of Lebong Tandai Village in carrying out their social life¹.

The development of village culture is an activity that involves three main elements, namely methods, processes and objectives. The method is intended for all members of the community and their activities that are directly related to the socio-economic interests of the community. Furthermore, in the "process" of forming the culture of a village, it is a stage of forming habits from time to time which are eventually preserved and passed down from generation to generation because they are considered to provide life advancement. The existence of village culture makes a village have an

identity attached to the village.

There is a role and function of women's coolie groups in shaping cultural life in Lebong Tandai Village. This role can be seen in adaptation, goal attainment, integration, latency, and the roles and functions of women in the family. According to these female coolies, work as coolies has potential considering that there are still many people who need the services of porters and stone breaking services. This makes coolies very adaptable to their work. At the start of their work, the female coolies believed that the coolies' work could be done by them. Despite having a heavy burden, the women who work as coolie get a sizable advantage in the economic field. In a day, their income can exceed the income of employees. Therefore, the husbands or children of female coolies who work as *capung* or coolies *tumbuk* support his wife to keep working. This is because the economic results or wages obtained really help the welfare of the family.

Also as a form of adaptation, female coolies must be able to minimize the risk or impact of accidents when they work. Several female coolies who work as *capung* mention that they have a certain technique in transporting heavy goods. Apart from that, the transportation of

¹ Unsur kebudayaan menurut Koentjaraningrat terdiri atas tujuh unsur, yakni bahasa, sistem pengetahuan, sistem peralatan hidup atau teknologi, sistem kesenian, sistem religi, sistem organisasi, dan sistem pengorganisasian sosial atau sistem kemasyarakatan (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Dalam

(Amraeni, 2021) disebutkan bahwa kehidupan bermasyarakat akan berjalan jika unsur-unsur budaya tercipta di dalamnya. Semua sistem kebudayaan yang tercermin pada tujuh unsur kebudayaan menjadi wujud adanya kekhasan dalam suatu masyarakat.

goods is also supported with the help of a tool that the female porters make themselves, namely load straps. Adaptations by minimizing the risk of accidents are also made by female coolies who work as coolies *tumbuk*. Coolies *tumbuk* women must ensure that their body condition or health and consciousness are in good condition. That is, coolies *tumbuk* women who get the task of breaking stones need good concentration at work. If they don't concentrate enough, the risk of being hit by a mashed machine is very large.

Role of *integration* in the life of female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village can be seen in the public's perception. For the community, the existence of coolies *capung* and *tumbuk* coolie woman very necessary for the survival of the village. Women who work as coolies are more thorough in their work than male coolies. From the point of view of strength, society in general does not differentiate between the abilities of men and women. The female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village are also capable of transporting and doing stone breaking work well. With the support of the village community, a job as a coolie *capung* and *tumbuk* coolie support the lives of several women in Lebong Tandai Village.

In *latency*, female coolies who work as dragonfly coolies or coolies *tumbuk* usually transfers knowledge about his work to his family and children. Thus, the regeneration of technical knowledge about

the work that the female coolies are involved in is carried out continuously by the female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village. The female coolies also stated that among their families, it was confirmed that one person in the female coolie's family would succeed the job. In Lebong Tandai, work as coolies *capung* or *tumbuk* coolies much needed by the local village community. This is because activities in Lebong Tandai Village will not work if coolies work *capung* as well as coolies *tumbuk* not executed.

CONCLUSION

In a study of female coolies in Lebong Tandai Village, it was found that there were two types of hard work that women worked as coolies, namely *capung* and coolie *tumbuk*. Working as coolie *tumbuk* has been in the business longer than working as a coolie *capung* in Lebong Tandai. The role of the two types of coolies is very large for the development of culture in Lebong Tandai Village. Thanks to the coolies *capung*, various types of commodities, livelihood equipment, and other heavy goods can help sustain life in Lebong Tandai Village. Not only coolies *capung*, coolie *tumbuk* also able to make a large contribution to building the economic life of families in Lebong Tandai Village. The way these two types of female coolies build culture in Lebong Tandai Village is by adapting knowledge about how they make a living as coolies through the regeneration of their family

members. They teach how the tools used in work can help facilitate their work process. This shows that the element of livelihood as coolies *capung* and coolie *tumbuk* able to become a job that preserves the mining culture in Lebong Tandai Village.

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