WORKING ETHOS OF EMPLOYEE FROM AMUNGME TRIBE THAT SUPPORT PRODUCTIVITY AT PT. FREEPORT INDONESIA IN MIMIKA DISTRICT

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ABSTRACT
This article aimed to illustrate how Amungme tribe interpreted the work and working ethos in its cultural view, as well as how the working process undertaken by the Amungme tribe in their engagement at PT. Freeport Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative approach, where the writer tries to understand the meaning process of work and working ethos. The result of research indicates that the understanding of work is very depend on how their perception about their experience during interaction with various condition that exist in their place of work which have implication to the increase of productivity at PT. Freeport Indonesia.

Keywords: meaning, work, working ethos, Amungme tribe, productivity

INTRODUCTION
A high working ethos usually arises due to various interesting challenges, expectations and possibilities. The emergence of a working ethos of a society comes and developed based on standards and norms that made society’s orientation. Working ethos of a society is indeed a freely desired attitude that grows from an awareness to always work diligently. Discussion about working ethos gets considerable attention, either among intellectuals, practitioners, or among the government.

Working ethos of Javanese, Bugis, Batak, and several ethnic groups inhabiting Indonesia is quite high, as evidenced by the variety of creativity
and economic growth in the region of ethnic. Compared with the working ethos of Papuans, the results of Amiruddin’s (2003) study indicate that the working ethos and the meaning of work for Papuans are still minimal. This makes for Papuans is difficult to compete with migrant populations in developing their own economies (see Hosio, 2009; Tewu, 2011; Silak, 2011; Hijjjang, 2006; 2013; 2014; Abraham, 1991; August, 2000; Wally, 2013).

Friedman and Havighurst in Yaktiningsasi (1994:40) argue that the formation of the meaning of work varies for everyone, depending on individual experience and how to view that experience for themselves. His studies of five groups of workers, includes workers in steel industry, artisan craftsmen, miners, salespeople, and medical experts shows that they still gives meaning and puts their work as a means to satisfy their economic needs. If these symptoms appear strongly in all groups, then that is understandable given that the research was conducted during the imbalance or incapacity of the world economy. Nevertheless, the five groups of workers consider that besides contains the meaning of economic, it also means being able to live their lives through work activities and can fill their days in a positive way (see Warrem, 1980, 1995; Vayda and Setiawaty, 1998; Griapon et al. 2010; Alua, 2007).

The word ethos can be defined as the basic character of a society, the manifestation of ethos can be seen from the structure and social norm of society. As the basic character of society, ethos becomes the foundation for self-behavior and the surrounding environment, which radiates in peoples’ lives (Geertz, 1973, 1983, 1998). Since ethos as foundation for human life, it also deals with evaluative aspects to judge in the life of society. Therefore, ethos cannot be separated and even an integral part of the cultural system owned by a society. As the basic character of a society, ethos is rooted in the culture of society itself. Culture, as a system of knowledge of ideas that a society possesses from the learning process is the core of ethos.

If in the culture of a society there is an assessment that people who work rated higher status than those who are unemployed, then the working ethos of society is quite high, while the unemployed is considered low. Indeed, this explanation is not simple. Various cultural constraints can cause a bias to the simple explanation, because in society there are always systems related to the system of labor division by sex, social status, and etc. There are people who rate that men who work hard in the fields are high in society, but others see people who do such jobs as low social status. Despite the awareness of these differences, for the discussion of this working ethos, Indonesians are viewed as a whole with relatively similar cultures (Chambers,
Working ethos according to Geertz (in Bachtari, 1998) is in recent anthropological discussion, the moral (and aesthetic) aspects of a given culture the evaluative elements, have commonly been summed up in the term "ethos" while the cognitive, existential aspects have been designated by the term "world view". A people’s ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their word that life reflects. The fundamental attitudes toward self and the worldview that are emitted through meaningful and evaluative meanings are both moral components. Working ethos is aesthetic and moral about how should be the rhythm, the nature, and the quality of life as the basis of the actions reflected in life.

Amungme tribe is faced with the corporate culture of international standard. The company needs reliable human resources and can make a significant contribution to the progress of its company. Human resources in the environment around the operational area should get serious attention from the company that is the people of Amungme tribe because they live and reside in the environment around the corporate area that has different customs and cultures from the existing culture in the company. Potentials that belong to Amungme tribe can be a firm support force but it can also be a difficult burden if the company does not manage the ethos that are part of the Amungme’s culture (Muller, 2008; Yuniarti, 2008; Kum, 2015; Heidhuses, 2008; Diamond, 2014; Sunjojo, 2007, Koentjaraningrat, 1963, 1983, 1992; Timang, 2016).

METHOD OF RESEARCH

The method used is qualitative to gather information about working ethos and the meaning of work of Amungme tribe at PT. Freeport Indonesia. This method is based on data or information in the form of detailed description of situation, events, actors and behavior observed. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and employee’s documentation at PT. Freeport Indonesia who comes from Amungme tribe.

Observations were conducted to collect data related to work activities in the company. This observation is done by settle and staying for some time in the location and in the environment of Amungme tribe. In-depth interviews were conducted to gather information from informants from Amungme tribe.
and the company’s management. Data and research information collected then analyzed descriptively and qualitatively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Meaning of Work

Based on result of research, workers at PT. Freeport Indonesia in August 2014 data amounted to 12,768 consisting of employees from Papua, non-Papua and Expat. For all employees, Papuan includes 7 tribes namely; Amungme, Dani, Lani, Mee, Ekari, Kamoro and Damal, and Moni’s people amounted 1805 and Papuans who were not of 7 tribes amounted 2620 and non-Papuan is 8343. For all employees, there were 322 workers comes from Amungme tribe with details; the number of men workers 305 people, women workers 17 people and classified as staff 40 people and non-staff 282 people includes 37 and 3 for men and women peoples, respectively. For more details can be seen in the table.

Table 1. Employee of PT. Freeport Indonesia comes from Amungme tribe in 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE / LEVEL</th>
<th>AMUNGME PTFI EMPLOYEE</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COLLEGE / UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>HIGH SCHOOL</td>
<td>JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS Grade F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS Grade E</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS Grade D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS Grade C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS Grade B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS Grade A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Level 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Level 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Level 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Level 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Level 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Level 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PT.Freeport Indonesia, 2014.
As data above, the employee of indigenous Amungme people is 322 people, before they work at PT. Freeport Indonesia they only do activities that are individual and family or kinship groups to meet the needs of food that is cultivation and plantation are still relatively simple as planting tubers, especially erom (sweet potato) and mo (yam taro), kalakel (banana), pumpkin, gedi vegetable, red pandanus (wisam, kweng). Erom and Mo in Amungme’s culture have different meanings which erom as female plants and

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**Table 2. Distribution of Labor Division at PT. Freeport Indonesia from Amungmetribe in 2014**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>DIVISION</th>
<th>NON STAFF</th>
<th>STAFF</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CENTRAL SERVICES</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>COMMUNITY RELATIONS &amp; HUMAN RIGHTS</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>CONCENTRATING</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ENVIRONMENTAL</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EXECUTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>GEO SERVICES</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>GOVERNMENT RELATIONS – PAPUA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>MAINTENANCE SUPPORT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>MANPOWER MANAGEMENT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>MINE MAINTENANCE</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>MINE SURFACE</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>MINE UNDERGROUND</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PAPUAN AFFAIRS</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>SECURITY RISK MANAGEMENT</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>STRATEGIC DEV. BUSINESS SERVICES</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>SUPPLY CHAIN MANAGEMENT</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>TAX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>WORKPLACE COMPLIANCE</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: PT.Freeport Indonesia, 2014.*
moas male plants. *Mo* can only be planted in the forest area primary or secondary by men while *Erom* is planted by women in forests which previously overgrown by bushes, or grasses by using traditional tools are wooden sticks (*tugal*) to hole the soil and planting the plants. This kind of work is not binding because the planting method is so natural that after planting is left to the time of harvest, and on waiting for harvest time, they hunt animals such as polecat (*mkam-mkam*), wild pigs (*buwe*), cassowary (*jalaui*), kangaroos (*kapalan*), and mambruk (*kuki*) which become food sources and containing protein (Poli et al, 2016; Tabuni, 2013).

The routine reflects that Amungme peoples has never done the job as the type of work available at PT. Freeport Indonesia, but the policy of the company to recruit workers from Amugme tribe since 1973 with a position as workers in charge of lifting equipment to conduct exploration. When they are accepted as workers, the company conducts trainings to increase their knowledge of the type of work and improve their ability to become more skilled.

PT. Freeport Indonesia recruits local workers, especially from Amungme tribe, in addition to increasing their income also to help companies increase its productivity. In the beginning they worked in the company, always occurs problems, both technical and substantive, but the company did not make a standard to assess the performance of Amugmme workers, but they were continually nurtured to improve their work performance as their work field.

Working for employees of Amungme tribe is a process that takes a long time, a process that requires perseverance, a process that requires complex and challenging cooperation. One informant stated that the beginning they work at PT. Freeport Indonesia, starting by applying for work until it was accepted to work as a very difficult process, although the work location was in their customary rights area in the mining area, concentrating area, Tembagapura (Mile 68 and 66) to Kuala Kencana, but this is where they sense the meaning of working in a company different from the work they do outside the company (Poli et al, 2016).

Thus, the meaning of working for employees of Amungme tribe is to be able to support the family, besides also by working they can help families who need aid. For Amungme people by working they can give each other Naga o weior they are very easy to give to others or relatives. As argued by an employee (DM) has worked for 22 years and has been a staff since August
2013, saying the meaning of working for him is a gift from God and a flow of blessing for his family and his brothers who need me, in Amungmellanguage (Menawagol him me jagawin, me nateneti me jagatimayoungkangmenatagikmame jagatiwin no we diiye). Furthermore, an employee (PK) also interpreted work by saying that work for me means to support the family, educating their children in the school and to meet the needs of life. Similarly, according to MD that working is doing work that has never done before, the purpose is to prepare the future to support his family, and help the company to be more productive.

Furthermore, an interview with a female employees (MK) who has been a staff at PT. Freeport Indonesia, who has an education background of S1 and has worked for 7 years, interpret the work related to the needs of working well then personal and family needs can be met, for that he felt grateful and able to help the family because the family is number one.

Then, a non-staff employee said the meaning of work for me is very meaningful especially to finance my children’s school, let me not finish primary school but it is important that my child must go to school. Similarly, by MN as a leader at PT. Freeport said the meaning of work for us that has been inherited by his parents that before as a street pioneer to open the street together with foreigners who find the place that is now owned the largest company in the world that is PT. Freeport, with the working capital of parents who is now inherited to me his by saying even though I (parent) naked and only wear koteka, stupid but know that parents have prepared capital for their children so can continue the work he has ever done, with his slogan even though we naked, stupid and illiteracy but our children must open their eyes and work well to get capital for next generation. Thus, Mr. MN interpreted work as what he now feels with working hard will get maximum outcome and also I may be entrusted to become one of the Vice President in this large company.

And then as result of interviews with some employees who are already staff and non-staff showed different understanding about the meaning of work. For those who already staff said that they are very happy to work in this company and be noticed by the company’s management so they can enjoy all existing facilities, so it can support their daily work in their respective departments by get earning or salary that can be sufficient and for prosperity of his/her family, so they work sincerely and are afraid to make mistakes in working. As argued by one staff (KR), that the meaning of work is want to learn and learn to earn a lot of money and learn again. Similarly, one staff
(HF), said by working in this company I would be very grateful because by working I can enjoy the work and can get earning of working and can help my brothers and for that I also must maintain this company, because this is my place and I have to work, because if the company closes it means I become victim.

While some employees are still non-staff, interpret the work with feel less pleased and feel not noticed by the company’s management so they interpret the work is normal to add family income, so among them often commit violations that can harm yourself and the company. For example, as argued by a non-staff (NS), I feel that work is useful for me and my family, but I am disappointed with our management because we works for a long time but not promoted, so work for me is normal unless I have been promoted I want to work well.

Observe the fact that almost or even some of them use more than one-third of their daily active life, for the benefit of work, it is understandable that this working activity occupies an important place in human life or the worker/employee concerned. Not surprisingly, there are some who think that work is the center of everything, including being the center of his/her life. For them, it always comes to mind about work or everything related to his/her work including his/her future. In themselves always found a demand for the demands, both coming from inside and outside. These are the things that encourage them to always align them, which indirectly make them have to get involved in their work.

Actually, working itself is a human invention activity, which is used as a means to realize hope, desire and to sustain life. So it is fair to say that through working humans can meet their needs. As experienced by Amungme employees that working at PT. Freeport that work and work become a necessity.

As explanation above it can be found at the beginning of this paper, then the formation of the meaning of work is determined by various factors that exist in around it. Factors that affect the formation of the meaning of work is not only come from the personal, as well as the background of the person only, but the influence can also come from other factors, related to the work and various things that occur in the work environment. The meaning of this work is developed by gaining influence from various macro conditions, such as company condition, state, socio-cultural, and events that bring effect to all employees. The interaction of these things causes why an individual, both as
a person and as a member of a society, will perceive dimensions of the meaning of work in different order of importance. In the process, the meaning of work depends on how they perceive their experiences during interaction with different circumstances. This can be explained by pointing to the notion that the meaning of work is essentially identical to the value one believes about the activity, where these values are derived and developed from ones’ experience. This means that as “output”, values are believed to work that will give direction to the attitudes, beliefs and work behaviors of a person, since they basically have a directive element.

2. Working Ethos

Papua peoples and especially Amungme who are employees of PT. Freeport Indonesiacan be understood through the activities undertaken by them to sustain their lives. For example, the people in the swamp ecological zone, makesago are their main livelihood; it is different from the people in the mountain ecological zone whose livelihood is planting. This difference in livelihood greatly influences the work ethic of each group. In societies belonging to the group of sago making, includes peoples of Asmat, Kamoro, Waropen, Bauzi, Inanwatan who live in the swamps and great rely on this livelihoods to meet the needs of adequate daily food for the same day or enough to eat one day, then tomorrow work or search again for that day and so on.

Such working ethos is based on the basic idea that the purpose of this life is to be enjoyed. Hence, according to them for what to bother to collect too much if that has been collected is enough to enjoy. Such a view is reasonable because each family that functions as a production group in a gatherer society conduct similar thing, no differentiation of work, so that each family is economically independent, not depend to other families or production groups. The emphasis of work on the gatherer group is to collect the results already available in nature, not at the level of effort to produce and maintain the production that has been produced. This working ethos can be changed if differentiation of work is created between them by utilizing the potentials available in the local natural environment. In addition, aids should be given to enable them to engage in market economies such as empowering them to shift from gathering effort that available in nature to the level of effort
to produce and facilitate the sale of products produced in the centers of market.

For the gatherer peoples, gathering is an economic activity to meet basic needs just for a moment. The ethos of the gatherer peoples is not hard-working, the long routine time value is not dominant, up to date orientation, low working ethos, low hygiene ethos, low order ethos, and values directly understood.

Contrary to the working ethos of peoples in the mountain ecological zone Amungme tribe who oriented to the farming, for them the ethos is a work person not to meet current needs but to meet the future needs. Activities to open a field into a field, requires a long process from cleaning/cutting trees, planting, maintain, until the harvest. All process takes between six and ten months. Sometimes more than ten months depending on the type of plant being cultivated. This is done by the Amungme especially for the employees who before they work in the company. Amungme area is very heavy and difficult to pass and developed using simple equipment. Such conditions make Amungme people to work hardly and have to squeeze more energy and mind to conquer nature in order to survive.

Working phases in a long process that requires persistence and diligence of people shows that the workingethos of the population in these mountainous ecological zones present in Papua and specifically for Amungme employees can be categorized as a hard working ethos. Employees of Amungme tribe who work show spirit or work hard with occupational categories in areas that require expertise and in jobs not supported by expertise, for example employees who are already staffed are different from those not yet staffed. Non-staff employees who focus on their work include heavy work such as working as laborers in tunnels or in very heavy or high-risk places, but with spirit to showing their hard work. This shows that employees of Amungme tribe work hard according to their workingethos not just to fulfill their life needs, but to increase the productivity of the company. So, for the employee of the Amungme tribe they always hard work regardless of the work is difficult but still they work with passion to meet the needs of their families and the future of their families and the success of the companies.

The basic values and orientation of cultural values as well as from peoples who living in these mountainous ecological zones indicate that they are more creative, progressive and always have life planning for the future,
more horizontally oriented, confident, individual progress is prioritized in determining prestige in the position of men with authority, leader position is gained through achievement, and they more quickly adjust to innovation in development. While their working ethos is like working hard, diligent, creative, progressive, responsible and high work productivity. This can be seen in some employee of indigenous Amungme, where they work hard to vigorously become respectable, and become a leader for their people. Quote of interview from informant who stated that I from Papua native peoples of Amungme tribe, even though I do not go to school like our brothers from another tribe who have a high education and I do not have it, but I work hard and take responsibility in work and responsibility given to me and all this also for my brothers and my community, especially to increase the production of PT. Freeport Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The meaning of work is greatly depends on how their perception about experiences during interacting with various different situations in which they work. This can be explained by departing to the idea that the meaning of work is essentially identical to the value that one believes about their activity, where it is acquired and developed from one’s experience.

Actually, the working ethos of Amungme's peoples is adaptive to the working ethos of companies that embrace the modern management system. Adaptive working ethic is a fundamental attitude and views that are firmly held by them as the company’s employees to improve the quality of life so that it affects the behavior of their work. From various aspects that have been mentioned above, the Amungme tribe who has been accepted to be a staff at PT. Freeport Indonesia has a high working ethos and they are constantly striving to improve themselves, improve their household economy and to commit to improving the productivity of the companies they work for. The quality of this working ethos is determined by the cultural values orientation system of community concerned.

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