

Padoe Community In Modernization: A Hope Within Domination Of Pt. Inco Sorowako

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ABSTRACT

The presence of multinational corporation, such as PT. Inco Sorowako in East Luwu Regency, was at first faced with anxious hope. However, foreign company is always connected with big capital and it is expected to become the prime mover for the regional economic growth which enabled to have the trickled down effect on the local people's welfare.

Some other people views that the presence of that foreign company could destroy the ecosystems and marginalize the local people, especially the traditional community of Padoe as one of the communities in the confensional area of PT. Inco Sorowako.

This research critized the consequences of modernization by the expansion of PT. Inco eowards the local people and how far the Corporate Social Responsibility had been implemented for the local people.

The research results show that in the beginning operation of the company, there was a resistance against it. But, when the corporate social responsibility was implemented through the Community Development Programme in form of empowering community on six sectors: education and training, health, agriculture, and agro industry, local entrepreneurship development, socio culture, melding sports, facilities and infrastructures. This programme was implemented based on the people's need proposed by each participatory need assessment. The technique of data collection used in this research was observation.

Key words : *multinational corporation, modernization dan traditional community*

INTRODUCTION

The centralistic government during the New Order era emphasized the strong dominance and superiotas of the State towards local communities, especially in natural resource management sector, including the mining sector. This is related to the issuance of Law no. 1 of 1967 concerning PMA which makes easy the foreign investors to invest in Indonesia. This was later confirmed in Law no. 11/1967 on Mining Principles that mitigate the involvement of private sector in mining activities.

It must be admitted that at that time the mining sector generated export foreign exchange and state revenues very significant in financing the Five-Year Development Plan for decades and encouraged Indonesia to move from the group of "low-income countries" to "middle income countries" in the 90s. The problem is that the rules and laws governing the management of natural resources, especially the mining sector, are not in favor of public at large, even though these laws mandate that mining revenues are used for the benefit of all Indonesian people.

The expected prosperity of people has not yet come true. In fact, there is a tendency that mining in Indonesia displays an absurd panorama, due to the loss of community access and control over the natural resources they should enjoy. This then triggers social unrest which may disserve the mining company management and the community itself.

According to Soetrisno (1997), mining companies generally operating in a remote area tend to form an enclave with complete facilities. This often creates jealousy from local communities, a latent factor that brings through a conflict between the company management and the surrounding population due to a feeling of being marginalized, both from a social and economic perspective. The land that used to support their living has been controlled by the mining companies without giving anything beneficial to them.

Conflicts between local people and the mining company have occurred in several areas. What is quite sad is the resistance of Papua people, especially the seven tribes, against the management of Freeport Indonesia due to the heavy disappointment they experienced was the very pathetic. It was even said an oppression. As a result, the riots on March 16, 2006 resulted in casualties, both on security forces and the masses.

Sallatang et.al (1995) argued that exploitative mining companies tend to cause "destruction" to the socio-ecosystem in the area concerned. Mistakes in their management can lead to regional carcasses. The real and potential destruction can occur at four types or levels: 1) depletion and transfer of mining (mineral) resources from the local ecosystem to the outside is the first local impoverishment, 2) clearing of biological layers and eliminating germplasm reflecting the vitality and biodiversity of the local ecosystem as the second stage of impoverishment, 3) the growth of social conflict and threats to the integrity of social institutions, and 4) capacity of local environment exceeded.

According to several sources, PT. Inco Sorowako is also creating a number of problems. Tikson (2000) affirmed that there is a practice of alienating indigenous people in the mining areas from their lands. Robinson (1986) said, marginalization of local communities occurs, both because of road construction and compensation problems. Aditjondro (1982) also noted the same thing that the local government persuaded and even pressured local people to sell their land, when PT. INCO built Sorowako. It is also stated that PT. INCO encourages the arrival of migrants who then buy native land, thereby reducing the access of the native population to own more land. While Marr (1993) reported, PT. INCO has accelerated the destruction of forest resources, such as damar and rattan, while the foothills people usually cultivate as gardens cannot longer be cultivated because they are part of the mining concession of PT. INCO.

When the reformation became more and more echoed, PT. INCO is in the spotlight of many parties, especially students and non-governmental organization (LSM). This mining company is considered to have less concern for the environment and the community around the mining site. On the contrary, it enriches the central government, while its contribution to regional development is very small. In fact, in East Luwu district the number of Raskin recipients has currently increased by 22.94 percent spreading evenly around the four sub-districts (Fajar, 16 February 2008). This indicates that there is still an imbalance of social development in this area. Of course, this problem becomes

an interesting object of study, because PT. Inco Sorowako is located in East Luwu, so this area is known as a rich mining area.

This paper is elaborated from a qualitative study of Padoe community in the East Luwu Highlands. As a qualitative research, the data is collected through interviews and observations which are then processed through the stages of data reduction and data presentation (Ismail, Sunubi, A.H., Halidin, A., Nanning, Kaharuddin. 2020 ; Arafah, B, et.al. 2021). These two stages are carried out before being interpreted and verified in the form of a comprehensive descriptive description.

DISCUSSION

Padoe Community in the area of PT. Inco Sorowako

Padoe people in Wasuponda sub-district are concentrated mainly in 6 villages: Balambano, Tabarano, Wasuponda, Ledu-Ledu, Magani and Nikel (Lebba, 2004). The last two villages were included in Nuha District area, mountain people with their livelihoods as cultivators, hunting and gathering, especially milling and caning. Others in lowlands lived gardening and farming. However, this area is relatively underdeveloped that Padoe people seemed isolated. Currently, they are generally still farming and gardening, but some have become entrepreneurs, civil servants, and a small proportion of them are employees of PT. Inco Sorowako. Others work as fishermen by utilizing the waters of Lake Matano. In addition, several groups of fishermen cultivate fish in ponds on a small scale. Even though it looks simple, they live in peace because they are supported by a kinship system maintaining the principle of mutual help and high solidarity. Because of this, many activities, especially those around livelihoods and domestic work, are always based on the principles of mutual cooperation and togetherness. The calm and peaceful life of Padoe people in Wasuponda highlands is also supported by their religiosity which requires them to organize their lives in social relations between fellow residents and with other community in the area.

Long before PT.Inco operates in the highlands of Nuha-Wasuponda, the Padoe community has inhabited this area. They migrated from Lakari, Central Sulawesi in the 18th century. They moved to Nuha-Wasuponda on the orders of the King on the basis of demographic and economic considerations. The highland of Nuha-Wasuponda is interesting, it is fertile to become reason the Padoe community has settled in the area. They became residents of the highlands of Nuha - Wasuponda along with several other communities such as the Karunsi'E community, Tambe'E community, Taipa community and others. Initially, the Padoe community inhabited almost the entire highland area of Nuha - Wasuponda, namely Kawata, Togo, Wasuponda, Wawondula, Matompi, Ranteloka, (Liaka) and Tabarano. Due to the large number of Padoe people in Wawondula, some of them later moved to Asuli, Kantara and Matompi.

Before the Dutch colonial period, Padoe society was under the authority of Matano Royal Government which was held by a nobleman from Palopo. It was due to the power of Datu Luwu covered mountainous areas to Central Sulawesi. The Royal power lasted when Makole leadership was formed which lasted in 1950. This power was later transformed into a "district".

The early 1950s was upheaval era of DI / TII (Darul Islam or Indonesian Islamic Army), a separatist movement against the state to form a separate state, namely the Islamic State under the leadership of Kahar Muzakkar, he was actually a disappointed fighter who returned to fight for an

ideology against the state he once fought for. For this reason, DI / TII troops had to confront the TNI (Indonesian National Army) where Kahar Muzakkar was also part of the chord with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. The clash of ideologies caused the people, especially those who lived inland, to suffer, one of which was the Padoe community.

Padoe people who lived in forested areas and relatively far inland were under the supervision of DI / TII (Darul Islam / Indonesian Islamic Army), while the Padoe people living in villages easily accessible by TNI had to be evacuated to avoid DI / TII. This condition made the Padoe community in a dilemma because they had to flee and leave their hometown. Christian Kado people had to flee to other cities because of the threat of DI / TII. They would be killed if they did not want to convert to Islam.

An informant (Bede) said: on June 10, 1954 a large-scale operation was carried out by TNI until Tabarano. At that time he was 15 years old and lived at home with his older sister, while Mother and two siblings, and Grandma were in the garden. This operation caused Bede and his brother to be escorted by the TNI to Malili, while his mother and two older siblings ran and hid themselves in the middle of the forest out of fear, and using a boat they headed to Kampung Tinampu, an old village on the shore of Lake Towuti. Dede and his brother were sent to Mandiri via Ussu-Kawata for two days and two nights with hundreds of refugees who were then concentrated in Gemba, a small village not far from Mali, then moved to Malaulu. Subsequently, they were moved again to Carefour, a village relatively close to Nuha, where the refugees came from. The number of refugees, hundreds of people, came from several villages.

The sudden evacuation caused many refugees scattering and separating from their family members and left sadness and deep wounds for the Padu community.

Resistance and Dynamics of Local Political

PT. Inco is a multinational company engaged in mining and processing of nickel ore in Eastern Indonesia, East Luwu Regency, South Sulawesi Province. The contract of work between PT Inco and the government of Republic of Indonesia was signed on July 27, 1968. Commercial production started in 1978 as the beginning of the 30 year contract of work. An extension and modification of the contract which is valid until 2025 was signed between PT Inco and the government of Republic of Indonesia on January 15, 1996.

PT. Inco will always be treated with anxiety, especially by the local residents around and within the company's premises. However, the local community really hopes that there is a trickle down effect from the company for their welfare in the form of having chance to participate in the company, or the hope of obtaining adequate social services. In this case, the company is expected to support their fate improvement.

The grassroot segment of society is relatively living backward (Hasyim, M., Nursidah, & Hasjim, M. 2019). They are used to living with all shortcomings. The condition of community in mining area at that time was relatively isolated geographically with a very low level of welfare. Actually, PT. Inco could live up to their life expectations.

In the 1960s, the Districts of Malili and Nuha were not yet free from rebel horde disturbances. As a result, these areas were very closed and remote. The road from Palopo, the capital of Luwu Regency, to Malili is very bad. The road from Malili to Wasuponda via Tole-Tole was in very bad shape until 1973 and was finally abandoned completely after the 60 kms project of PT Inco Highway linking Malili Sorowako via Wasuponda was completed. Then in 1982 the road from Palopo to Malili was opened by government as part of Sulawesi Trans. In addition, facilities and infrastructure in the villages were very limited and even no electricity and clean water supply provided. This causes the public health condition to be very poor, marked by the large number of people suffering malaria and tuberculosis due to humid air, malnutrition and poor environmental sanitation. Community income was relatively low and there was only 1 Elementary School (SD) in Nuha and 1 Junior High School (SMP) in Malili for educational facilities.

PT Inco was aware that the company is located in a residential area. Therefore, in company management there was a "manager of government and public relations" who was assigned to manage the social relations and community development. It had been executed since the beginning and coordinated with the government, both central and local governments. The problem was that managing excessive and unrealistic expectations of local residents was not an easy task. However, PT Inco is a corporation that must prioritize the economic interests, without having to abandon its obligations in providing social services and empowering the community within reasonable limits.

Incompatible objectives with dynamic of change must result in a resistance. Presumably this is what happening in the mining area of PT Inco Sorowako. As explained by Sangaji, A. (2000) that independent reports and academic works show that the presence of PT Inco has brought about many land problems, as quoted from Robinson (1986), the occurrence of alienation practices, either due to road construction or land compensation problems. Particularly for land compensation, there was a price negotiation practice between PT. Inco with government, without including the land owners and local customary communities.

Sangaji, A. (2000) argued that the land issue is not finished. Escalation of the land conflicts made Sorowako residents in difficult. Their claims to the land in Old Camp, the residential location of PT. Inco, had even led Andi Baso AM to the accusation as a suspect in taking possession of the land belonging to PT. Inco. This case was decided by the Palopo District Court on September 13, 1999, where Andi Baso AM was deemed to have violated Article 6 (1) (2) of Law no. 51 PRP 1960. Andi Baso, the Chairman of KWAS (the original soroako people communion), had submitted a memorandum of appeal against the decision to the South Sulawesi High Court.

In 1968 PT. Inco signed a work contract, but from 1968 to 1973 it was still in the exploration which was then continued with the construction of phase I in 1973 - 1976 onwards, where PT. Inco built sports facilities, such as a golf course on top of the former To Karunsi'E settlement, which was previously an ethnic diaspora.

The Karunsi'E settlement land had actually been paid twice, but PT. Inco still pays attention to the fate of these local residents by relocating them to a new settlement in Wasuponda on an area of 20 x 30 meters per household. For this reason, the corporation hopes that there will no longer claims on the land (interview with Sawedi, Manager of Government and Public Relations of PT. Inco).

In addition, Nggao (1990) reported that the presence of PT. Inco encourages the arrival of migrants who then buy the indigenous peoples' customary lands. This actually limits the access of the indigenous people to own large amounts of land. They tend to settle in centre areas of growth to try their luck. People will migrate if there is a difference in place utility between the origin area and the destination are. The greater the difference in these benefit value, the greater the flow of population mobility between the two regions (Mantra, 1996). Moreover, Bugis people who are known as migrants, could be prevented to settle in Sorowako, because they see an opportunity to improve their fate in this area.

The management of PT. Inco recognized that there is still dissatisfaction among the community, even though PT. Inco has carried out social development through strong strategic partnerships. Therefore, social studies on education and health mapping and other empowerment activities are still being carried out. Realizing the relatively backward sociological environment of the mining area in the highlands of Nuha - Wasuponda, PT. Inco Concern is carrying out affirmative action as the basis for the Community Development Program.

Community Development managed by PT. INCO is focused on six sectors: education and training, health, agriculture, agroindustry, local business development, sports, social and culture, facilities and infrastructure. These six sectors can be achieved by facilitating social transformation in enhancing mutually beneficial relationships through technical systems, exchanging information and public discussions, building capacity, and implementing research results in a sustainable manner. All programs as the target of Community Development PT. The INCO are implemented based on participatory need assessment.

The Consequences of Modernization of PT. Inco

1. Effect on Economic Activities

Appell, G. N. (1992) argues that one of the most pressing important problems for developing countries (actually also for other countries) is the management of social change. Social problems caused by this change may stem from an explicit policy of social reorganization or the unexpected social consequence of technological development. Furthermore, development, modernization and social change are almost sacred things and their usefulness never doubted. As a result, they have a rarely reviewed complete impact on society. of development activities, modernization and social change. This impact is in the form of, (1) every development or modernization activity involves destructive activities, (2) the effort to introduce a new activity is always superseding a traditional activity, (3) potential adaptation of a population is very limited and any temporary change of action affect that potential until the change is fully accepted, (4) due to the weaken of potential adaptation, any change in action may cause physiological, psychological and / or behavioral harm in related population, (5) modernization gnaw at the support and upkeeping mechanisms in managing social pressure; (6) changes always inflict psychological harm and compensation for these losses; (7) changes threaten the nutritional state of a population.

Extractive corporations may have more severe consequences, if the corporation is not managed properly. The socio-psychological and ecological consequences make aware to implement Corporation Social Responsibility. Albert Fery (Kompas, September 1, 2006), a former manager at

World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCD), stated that the biggest enemy of environment is poverty. If in an area of rich natural resources is operating an international company reaping large profits but the community in the surrounding environment is suffering from poverty, there must be social injustice that needs to be rectified.

Padoe community was in general living from gardening, hunting, concocting and farming. Wasuponda was settled by very limited people, they are generally the indigenous communities of Padoe people. When PT. Inco started operating, this area began to open up, especially since the paved road from Malili to Sorowako has been bypassed. Wasuponda began to be traversed by project vehicles, public cars and government officials' cars. At present, Wasuponda has transformed into a sub-district city functioning as a center for people's economic activities, social activities and education. There are already several inns in small towns and they are indicators of development dynamics. The accommodation is needed to serve especially the drivers of canvas cars stopping by after distributing goods to their customers, both at stalls, markets and shops. The economic activity is very pronounced, making the Padoe people who were previously confined in a subsistence life of field farming to become market economy activists. The Padoe people who are still in farming are no longer subsistence farmers because part of their rice fields have been irrigated by technical irrigation. There are still Padoe people concocting rattan and resin, but this work is done between time of working the cash crops, such as cocoa and pepper.

Some of reasons underlying young people switching to commercial crops cultivation are 1) the Padoe people are no longer interested in traditional livelihood systems such as seasonal crops, 2) the role of forest products has begun to deteriorate as a result of rattan forest difficulty in get independently, 3) availability of other job opportunities. If not absorbed in PT. Inco, the young people work for the sub-contractors of PT. Inco, and 4) the entrepreneurship sector has also become a special attraction so that many Padoe people are starting to work on it

2. Changes in Educational Orientation

The backwardness of Nuha-Wasuponda in the past was marked by the lack of educational facilities. There was only one primary school (SD) in Nuha and one junior high school (SMP) in Malili. As a result, the children did not have sufficient education and many have not even received formal education at all. Only certain people, especially from wealthy families, could get a better education by sending their children to cities, such as to Masamba, Palopo or Makassar.

The absence of access to education (SD-SMP) results in the limited ability of the people in the area to understand the events and developments in world that are actually important to them. The backwardness and isolation they experienced was exacerbated by the confinement of DI / TII troops which was still present until the early 1960s in this area. As a result, those who survived living in the highland villages of Nuha-Wasuponda were trapped in a routine of life wrapped by traditions: farming, gardening, and concocting rattan. The rest are maintaining tradition through ceremonies that allow the community to feel meaningful, both for social relationship and for their relationship with the Creator

Ceremony in farmer communities is seen important for their social relationships and so make make them to maintain the balance between the interests of the related units and the

interests of the coalition that binds the farmers to the wider community (Arafah, B., Thayyib, M., Kaharuddin, & Sahib, H. 2020). In this connection, the ceremony has a special function in order to legalize the social units and the relations between them.

From the perspective of development theory, traditional societies are perceived to have limited capacity to regulate their environment (Hasjim, M., Arafah, B., Kaharuddin, S. V., & Genisa, R. A. A. 2020, Abidin & Kaharuddin. 2021). Therefore, the people in Nuha-Wasuponda highland did not understand the importance of formal education. They might know that formal school was an institution in which their children could get education. However, the very limited accessibility and facilities shackled them in an ignorant attitude. It was proved by their children interest supported by their parents to school when Elementary and high schools opened. Today, parents encourage their children to enter formal schools through which they will be living better in future.

3. Changes in Role of Family

The main function of family, including the family in Padoe community, is to instill cultural values early on to family members in a traditional manner. Because, since children were born from they would relate to their social environment (family unit), where family members such as father and mother, older siblings and other family members were necessary to pay special attention to the newborn child. Family teaches how to behave, absorb cultural norms and values and then learn to comply with cultural norms and values (Kaharuddin, Ahmad, D, Mardiana, Rusni, 2020). Thus, a sense of attachment in maintaining self-esteem and family dignity will be formed. Family members who are considered to have deviant behavior have implications for their family self-esteem and dignity. The necessity to behave based on this traditional pattern is the cause of the limited space for children to develop their behavior (Arafah, B., & Kaharuddin, 2019).

Children, especially girls, were disallowed to play far away from home for their safety and security, because they were expected to protect the honor and dignity of their family. If this honor was violated, it would not only have fatal consequences to their families, but also brings disgrace to the whole society. Because of that, girls had to be looked after by their families. They were not allowed to go away alone even to their friends' house or their family. Girls going out or travelling alone would be slandered and even teased for being unusual. This was a form of punishment from society, especially for the family members. This then led to the emergence of various taboos that had to be obeyed as an adaptive mechanism in building community connectivity.

Due to that problems above, children, especially females, must be know norms applied in society. Boys must must know what man should do as father is perform in daily life for maintaining family life. Only boys are natural to accompany the father in working the fields or gardens or supervising and herding livestock, participating in salvation organized by neighbors and so on. Meanwhile female children, on the other hand, are more oriented to the habits experienced by mother such as working in household environment, cooking in kitchen, helping mother to supervise and care for young siblings, accompanying mother to certain places.

The restricted freedom caused the creation of adjacency and intimacy between family members. Awareness of rights and obligations among family members reflects devotion to family life. We can see this, for example, the awareness performed children both male and female to do

duty of fetching water, sweeping the yard, gathering with family at sunset, having dinner together. It is rare to find children running around as we often see today.

To have lunch and dinner together, the daughters help mother to prepare the dishes and wash the dishes after eating. In terms of household jobs, women contribute more than man. On the other hand, boys are educated to do the outside work, such as helpbf father meet to satisfy family needs, especially to buy items consumed every day such as rice, vegetables, side dishes.

The consumption pattern of Padoe people seems very simple that most ingredients can be obtained from their surroundings without spending money. They got rice from the rice fields, pick vegetables from garden or yard, and fish is sometimes bought or or got from lake. Other side dishes are such as eggs obtained from traditionally raising livestock. Extra food in form of cakes is rarely served specifically as a daily meal. But at certain times traditional cakes are served, especially at traditional ceremonies or salvation.

The other side of traditional life is decision making. It seems that the role of parents is very prominent in certain aspects. For example, in matter of choosing spouse children must accept without protection what their parents have decided throught discussionh. Thereofre, many married couples did not know each other before their marriage.

The presence of PT. Inco in Nuha-Wasuponda highland has an impact on the aspects of community life, particularly the changes in role of family. Change actually occurs in form of social phenomena, as seen in the aspects of freedom to choose and make decision on a problem (Hasyim, M. 2017). Family members have freedom to act things they want and change is also seen the orientation of cultural values. It is reflected in the activities of community members in general, and especially in the interactions of young people becomes more flexible and inimpeded. In the afternoon, after the school the children are no longer staying at home helping mother or going with father to the fields or gardens, but use the free time to play or practice sports and arts with their friends in village. Even at night, many children, both boys and girls, are performing other activities, such as watching TV and studying together at friends' houses.

Children are no longer so strictly supervised as in the past, where children especially girls had to stay at home. Today, boys and girls have no difficulty going to their friends' houses after school. It is even not uncommon to find female children driven by male friends to go some where, whether related to school or in other community activities. Likewise, we often find female children being hitched to and from school by his friends without feeling guilty and afraid of being scolded. Even the matter of dating within certain limits the parents seem quite understanding. Therefore, It is assumed normal if a girl has a male friend to visit.

Furher implication of the wider range of space for citizens to act in society, especially the young people, is freedom to decide the spouse. In the past the close relatives must make decision though discussion, now the children themselves have the courage to propose and even choose their spouse. In this case, parents and family can usually understand it. But among prominent figures, the spouse must be chosen very carefully, although not as strictly as before. The problem is that the children today can dare to elope if their wishes are not fulfilled.

Changes in cultural value orientation have implications for changes in the aspect of responsibility of a family members. In the past, male children contributed to household economy for example as a farmer working with father almost every day in rice field. Likewise, female children worked in household chores. Nowadays, children spend their time for self-development in educational field so to be expected to improve their future, fully awared by parents. The value of this education seems to be very important because with the higher educated people can change the social status, not only of the children, but also his parents and the wider family.

CONCLUSION

The social environment of Padoe Community is built on a relatively traditional kinship system. In addition, the value of religiosity as adherents of Christianity made the Padoe community always strive to be devout adherents of religions, but still respect the adherents of other religions. This principle also underlies the social harmony of the settlement environment of Padoe people.

On the other hand, modernization of PT. Inco is more or less affecting the social environment of Padoe people. The work pattern of industrial society scheduled and regulated in a highly disciplined management mechanism relatively reduced the free time especially for Padoe people working at PT. Inco, it was restricting them to see each other. The consequence, the social closeness of the community is relatively reduced. In addition, new social relations, in this case the co-workers from other ethnicities, have led the segmentation of the new human relationships developed.

The consequences of modernization as a result of the operation of PT. Inco is inevitable. However, it can be double-edged. On the one hand it is interpreted negatively, but on the other hand it can be interpreted as positive. At the beginning of the operation of PT. Inco, the life of Padoe people is relatively subsistence that they appear to be a community without economic problems. To keep living they are hunting, concorting rattan and gardening, some are working on rice farm. The problem is that PT. Inco makes changes on Padoe people from a subsistence society to a relatively modern society with a higher level of need.

The efforts to fulfill the socio-economic needs makes Padoe people to leave the old economic activities such as hunting, gardening and farming which are assumed no longer providing adequate opportunities. They enter the market economic activities, permanent farming and laborers or employees of PT. Inco. Those who are unable to meet their daily needs feel disadvantaged, but PT. Inco is implementing empowerment programs as part of the Corporation Social Responsibility.

Impact of PT. Inco on the aspects of life, especially in educational aspect, makes the role of family is inevitable. In education sector it is relatively positive and changes in role of family are relatively understandable so that it is not considered to endanger the social order.

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