

Social Changes in Peasant Community Due to Gold Mine

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Abstract

The discovery of gold at the end of 2008 followed by the activity of gold mining in Bombana Regency has brought many changes for local people who mostly live by unpretentious as the peasant. This paper examines the social changes of the peasant as a result of gold mining activities by mining companies in the area around their crops. This study applied post-positivism paradigm with the qualitative approach (descriptive and explanative types). It used the case study method. Data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews on elements of a peasant community, government and mining companies. The results reveal that gold mining activities for seven years have affected the environment in which peasants grow crops and have led to social change in the peasant community. Social changes that occurred consisted of changes and large population growth, social structure changes, changes in social interaction, psychosocial impacts and changes in culture (value of money).

Keywords: social change, peasant, gold mining

Received 22 April 2016; Accepted 16 June 2016

1. Introduction

The area of research is dominated by the peasant community who have land area, in average less than 2 ha and scattered in multiple locations. In sociological, life as a peasant has been attached to the Bombana society. Even if there is another source of income, the main livelihood comes from agriculture. The rice crop is leading commodity. The statistical data in 2012 showed 40% of acreage rice crops Bombana (4,481 Ha of 11 047 ha) located in the area of research.

Before the discovery of gold, people live by utilizing the natural surroundings. Daily needs are always taken from nature, such as rattan, bamboo and dry wood from the forest. Although taking the needs from nature, people do not exploit for commercial purposes, but solely for the necessities of life. Scott [1] refers to this as a pattern of life-based on the ethics of subsistence where farmers only take from nature as required for subsistence as an act of moral right. This was confirmed by Polanyi [2] where the historical evidence indicates that people's traditional or primitive society more humane than modern society or capitalist.

On-site research, the local community is composed of tribes Moronene as indigenous and tribal settlers namely Bugis, Bali and Lombok. They led a simple life and are simply characterized by traditional Indonesian society in general. They are intense in social interaction, care and

mutual help in everyday life, especially in community social events such as weddings and deaths as well as agricultural activities like planting, water management, and harvesting. However, the presence of gold mining industry brings social change in people's lives. This change began in late 2008 when gold was discovered and followed by the traditional mining and by mining companies.

Study of Warren and Uphoff [3] is similar to the change in the area of research in which social change can occur suddenly which takes place in two important phases. First, the main phase is directly related to new discoveries in the population, which led to migration, for example, the opening and the exploitation of new resources and new companies. The second phase was a failure to adapt due to the progress of the first phase. In the area of research, the discovery of gold in Bombana became the cause of the occurrence of population migration to Bombana. Even when the mine closed, the presence of folk mining companies is job opportunities for migrants. This is what led to the population and was followed by various other social changes. The second phase indicates the occurrence of the failure of the adaptation of the discovery of gold in the form of dysfunction at some institutions and social institution that has been embedded with the community of peasants prior to the presence of mines. The same case was observed Hilson [4] in Ghana, where mining has affected the quality of the environment, a place for the local community activity.

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DOI: 10.21752/sjppi-ukm/ses/a16062016

Meisanti, et al. [5] analysed the impact of gold mining in Bombana District three years post gold discovery and their results show that there are three impacts that affect peasant community, namely social, economic and environmental impacts. The presence of gold mines changed the social structure of the peasant community and affects their social interactions as well as pose a potential conflict between local peasants and mining companies. This time, after more seven years living on the land of gold, peasants around the mine area has not experienced an increase in prosperity means, and even the effects of the mine more pressure on their livelihoods from agriculture where peasants fields affected by mining activities. Even if changes occur in three aspects: physical environment, social and economic and this region produces trillions of rupiah royalty to the State [6]. Life as peasants become more difficult amid social changes that occur year after year. To that end, this article specifically analyses in depth the social changes that occurred in the peasant community around gold mining region since the discovery of gold up to seven years after the discovery of gold.

2. Materials and Methods

This study used the paradigm of post-positivism, which reveals social change as a social reality which can never be ontologically conceived as a whole due to the limitations of human nature. Therefore, researchers use a variety of data sources (primary and secondary) to be able to understand social reality more. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews against 39 (thirty-nine) key informants who were chosen deliberately. Secondary data obtained through agencies or related institutions, such as Dinas Pertambangan dan Energy (Office of Mining and Energy), BPS (Central bureau of statistics), Dinas Pertanian dan Tanaman Pangan (Office of agriculture and food plants), Dinas PU (Office of Public Works), BPN (National Land Agency), and JATAM (Mining Advocacy Network). Research was carried out by the case study method. The period of the case since the discovery of gold at the end of 2008 that lead to traditional mining and mining industries grow until 2015. The data were analysed by descriptive and explanatory.

3. Results and Discussion

Social changes that occur due to industrial or mining activities have been observed by some experts. Armour in Vanclay [7] classifies variables social impact consists of (1) the human way of life that is how they work, play, interact with one another in their lives daily; (2) a culture of shared beliefs, namely, customs and values (3) stability, namely cohesion, stability, character, service and facilities. Vanclay [7] adds the opinion of Armour that is the politic system, environment, health, ownership and personal rights, fears of the future Community and his sons. Next Juslen in Vanclay [7] identifies six general categories of social

impact, namely (1) the standard of the social impact which often fuss namely pollution and so on, (2) psychosocial impacts (such as community cohesion, social networks are disrupted), (3) concerns (4) impact assessment (5) the impact of the country and personal service (6) over the impact of mobility (transport, security and obstacles on the road).

From several categories of previous research on a variety of different locations in the world, the Bombana Regency research indicates the occurrence of a typical social change in a peasant community. Social change happens consists of changes and population added, changes in social structure and social interaction, psychosocial impacts (security, anxiety, trust/trust, social disease), and culture (value for money).

3.1. Changes and Population Added

The human desire to prosper quickly brings migration of people from various regions in Indonesia to Bombana for mine gold. As a result, there is a change and population growth in Bombana. According to Hasdin Ratta, Head of Economic and Development Bombana Government office in 2009/2012, when the government legalized traditional mining in 2008-2009, the number of inhabitants and the newcomers Bombana estimated at 250,000. This amount is reduced much after traditional mining is closed.

Migrants who live settled only about 20% of the total of 28,000 inhabitants are migrants who came by the appeal of gold. This is according to BPS [8] data in 2011 which recorded the total population in 2010 was 139,235 inhabitants, an increase of 29,352 inhabitants of the population data of 2008 is 108,231 inhabitants. Residents who settled are the workers of the mining companies good employees, mine workers or entrepreneurs of small mine as partners of the company. Migrants are mainly from Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Maluku.

The impact of the presence of mines over a wide range of community workers – miners had previously been observed by Wilson [9] in America. Workers come primarily because of the potential resources for him. The experience to be miners or working in the mines is like riding a dependent roller coaster. Resources change the way to work. On-site research, newcomers who are looking for work and settled through the traditional closed mines are especially coming from South Sulawesi. They stay because it has felt the economic source of comfort compared to the region it comes from. They live from different businesses i.e. gold trade, mineral water business, basic food shops, restaurants, inns, public transportation, entertainment and other goods or services entrepreneurs. An overview of the population can be seen in table 1.

3.2. Social Structure

According to Ralph Linton [10], the social structure of society consists of two main concepts, i.e. status and role. Social status is a social position or position of the person in society while the role is a set of expectations against

someone who occupies a certain position or social status. Based on the status and role in society, it was formed a

division/social stratification known as strata (classes are arranged hierarchically).

Table 1
Added Population, Condition of Before and After Mine

No	Added Population	In Condition	
		Before Mine	After Mine
1	The arrival of migrants	In 2008, population of Bombana 108,231 inhabitants (BPS)	In 2009 the population reach 250,000 inhabitants (interviews), 111,481 soul (recorded in BPS) In 2010 population of 139,235 inhabitants (BPS)
2	Increasingly Heterogeneous Society	There are 5 major tribes namely Java, Bali, Lombok, Bugis, Moronene	In addition to an existing tribe, the newcomers came from Jakarta (Betawi), West Java (Sunda), Sumatra, Kalimantan and Maluku

The social structure changed by the presence of mines is a shift in the structure of ownership thanks to agricultural land into the region of IUP (mining license). It was happen where the ownership of land overlaps. The land legally belonged to a farmer during the farming activities on it, but the land area of IUP where mining companies can perform exploration or production in the mines, is below the ground surface. Borrowing the term Marx analyses the economics of modern capitalism in Ritzer and Goodman [11] then Bombana Regency in mining is a form of capitalism where the mining entrepreneur known as Bourgeoisie and peasants were the proletariat. The mining company exploits over land by taking the gold that lies beneath the surface of the soil in the area of agriculture which became the source of life of peasants (the proletariat). Exploitation conducted of mining, the bourgeoisie has been reducing of peasants' lives through land ownership as living resources and environmental degradation. Marx predicted that this kind of State is going to be a blast and depression due to the conflict by the attitude of the bourgeoisie which increases its profits without regard to the interests of the farmers who are getting marginal. Dahrendorf [12] called it as a potential conflict that is latent and Merton [13] knew it as the negative consequences of function or dysfunction.

The presence of mines also impacts the present civil society that brought democratic values (freedom, equality, liberty) as new structures that develop within the community. The structure of civil society, among others, are NGOS (Mining Advocacy Network), Print / Electronic, CBOs (Pemuda Pancasila) and others that did not previously exist. The development of civil society structures based on its function as an institution that becomes the controller and balance in people's lives (check and balance).

The NGOS and the printed/electronic media control the government policy and company in conducting the exploitation of nature in order not to exceed the authority. While different things were did by Pemuda Pancasila organization and several personnel of Indonesian military and Police. Pemuda Pancasila as an independent organization was utilized by mining PT PLM as a security organization. Even member of few Indonesian ARMY and Police were haired by the company to suppress other

parties that disturb the stability of the company. Kemp, et.al. [14] in their research found that the mining companies are always under pressure of local communities, groups of civil society, NGOs, global institutions, social institutions funders, government agencies, and other stakeholders in the face of corporate conflicts and community.

Strata or social stratification in society is varied based on various criteria such as political criteria, caste, economic (wealth), power and so on. For example, there is a difference of social stratification in urban and rural communities, farmers and fishermen communities, Bugis and Balinese society. In determining these criteria, there should be consistent in different conditions. Johnson [15] explains that Marx analysis social class people are also inconsistent. In his book *Das Capital* volume 3 compiled by Engels, he distinguishes three social classes in England which are wage labour, capitalists, and landowners. Meanwhile, in *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx distinguishes social class into two large groups hostile to each other and directly opposite that is bourgeois and proletariat. In the area of research, community social change from a simple agrarian society towards a more complex society. Gamst [16] stated that cultural evolution that has brought changes in agricultural civilization or agrarian society would be transformed continuously to become industrial city civilization. In this case, the farm community faces mine as a new civilization amid their agrarian life.

Strata (coating) in areas of social research are distinguished based on wealth and power. It was adopted from Rogers et al. [17] who describes the social stratification as the process by which the position in society of differentiated into layers and the resulting gap. Social strata in society are governed on the basis of status and role. A layer of society including individuals occupy the status that is associated with approximately the same level of wealth, power, and prestige. These studies distinguish over wealth and power alone as the most appropriate conditions in the field. Social strata in the area of research were formed due to economic status (wealth) and a distinguished authority over three divisions, namely the upper strata, strata of the middle and lower strata.

The social structure of society changes after the presence of mines. There is a meaning of strata based on wealth (Economics) or based on power. From the results of research on strata of society in Bombana, it can be seen that the higher social strata belongs to someone either from the economy (treasures) or the power with more distinguished and respectable position among the surrounding community. Speech and deeds will gain legitimacy from its surroundings so that it has the power and the masses.

The upper strata based on economic criteria is filled in by the elite of the village that has food reserves and

business development while based on power is filled by people who have the power and authority as well as access to a wide range of facilities and capital. The middle strata based on economic criteria is filled by people who have food reserves alone while based on power consists of people with authority and limited access to capital. While the lower strata are people who have no food reserves and reserve business and they are working to survive while based on power consists of people who have no power/authority over the capital. Strata of society before and after the existence of the gold mine found in table 2.

Table 2.
Changes of Strata Community Before and After There is a Gold Mine.

No	Strata	Based On	Before Mine	After Mine
1	Upper	Economic Criteria	The rich farmers (got large of the land, cattle, and other businesses such as rice milling), entrepreneur fertilizer	The rich farmers (got large of the land, cattle, and other businesses such as rice milling), fertilizer entrepreneur, mining entrepreneur.
		Power	Government officials (head of the subdistrict), Custom Characters (count Moronene/Mokole), Religion (Imam mosque, the head of the Temple), Socialite	Government officials (head of Subdistrict), Custom Characters (count Moronene/Mokole), Religion (Imam mosque, the head of the Temple), community leaders, Elite Company
2	Midle	Economic Criteria	Peasant with landowners, traders (groceries, restaurants, traders in the market)	Peasant with landowners, traders (groceries, restaurants, traders in the market, gold traders, mineral water refill entrepreneurs, the innkeeper / boarding house, the owner of the cafe, billiards, workshop entrepreneurs)
		Power	PNS (Civil servants) , TNI (military), police, Agricultural Extension, Village Chief, Chief Artisan (to have special skills)	PNS (Civil servants) , TNI (military), police, Agricultural Extension, Village Chief, Chief Artisan (to have special skills), Local Mine Entrepreneurs, employees of mining companies
3	Lower	Economic Criteria	Poor peasant (land tenants, keepers of cattle belonging to the Lord)	Poor peasant (land tenants, keepers of cattle belonging to the Lord), illegal gold miners
		Power	Farm workers, freelance, crew of bricklayers, crew of bricklayers carpenters	Farm workers, freelance, crew of bricklayers, crew of bricklayers carpenters, mine workers

3.3. Social Interaction

Social interaction is a dynamic social relationship that concerns the relationship between individuals, between groups of humans, as well as among individuals with a group of men. Simmel in Johnson [15] describes the social interaction in the two concepts are distinguished on the form and content is dynamic. The content of the very diverse interactions can be erotic instinct, the interests of the religious impulse, objective, purpose of defending and attacking, play, benefits, assistance or instructions not be counted or other causes people to live together with others, to act against them, acting with them, influencing or influenced them. While these forms of interaction can be either a superiority or subordination, competition, Division of labour, the establishment of the party, representative, solidarity into accompanied nature close up to an outsider, and so on. These shapes by Simmel can be manifested in the country, in a religious community, a plot, economic associations, schools, and families.

Based on the Simmel social interaction takes place in a farm community that contains the shared interests of peasants manifested in various forms. Interaction in a hospitality as in community social events among farmers is a form of sociability relationships. While the relationship of the peasant in the group of peasant such as irrigation channels clean-up activities, repair farm tools are used together, the process of planting and harvesting is interaction in the form of division of labour. The interaction of peasant workers with the landlord is a form of sub-ordinate and super-ordinate.

Interactions between members of a group of farmers on the same stretch in utilizing water resources limited is a form of competition. To see the social interaction before and after mine, there is gold mine impact then distinguished over three categories interaction that is the first of its nature that is directly and indirectly (through media such as email, phone), both the intensity of the interaction and the third is change parties interact.

Table 3.
Social Interaction of Community before and after the Presence of Gold Mine

No	Social Interaction of Community	Interaction	
		Before The Presence of Gold Mine	After The Presence of Gold Mine
1	Direct/ Indirect	Direct interaction happened in the land, markets, mosques/ temples, social events, including a celebration when invited to do directly with letter	Direct interaction is still going on in the land, markets, mosques/temples, civic social events, but to invite a certain event is done through mobile/letter
2	Intensity of the Interactions	More intense through peasants Group meetings regularly, mutual cooperation	Less intense in the activities of the peasants group except in the cleaning of irrigation
3	Change means in Interactions	Interactions between local communities	Interactions between local communities and between communities by outsiders (migrant, corporate, Government, Parliament)

3.4. Psychosocial Impacts (Security, Anxiety, Trust and Social Disease)

One of social change due to the presence of gold mining is the psychosocial impact that can be divided into four subjects, namely security, anxiety, trust and social disease.

3.4.1. Security

There were the mines, people live in security. Virtually no cases of accidents let alone a crime. Once there is a mine, the situation has changed. The economic value of high gold had invited social insecurity. In 2008/2009 of a traditional mining era, the miners come to perform excavations making the rat holes in the ground which caused many miners dead buried in the ground.

Although the traditional mining has been closed since March 2009, but still there is a surreptitious mining on private lands. As a result, there are still cases of people buried in the ground. As happened in the case of the death of four miners in the villages of Watu-Watu on November 1, 2013.

In addition to cases of buried in the ground by the presence of gold mining, the level of criminality and prostitution also increases. The case of robbery occurred in mining, houses, markets or on the streets. The robbery happened worth hundreds of millions to even billions of rupiah. Robbers also do not hesitate to persecute their victims as the case in May 2010. Ten men, armed robbers managed to bring a run for 10 kg of gold worth 3.8 Billion rupiah and persecuting its owner in Swamp National Park Road that was declared both pretty quiet. Another case was the robbery conducted by seven robbers in May 2013 where the 2.6 kg Gold managed to bring in cash and 200 million rupiahs also hurt homeowners. Incidents of this kind clearly raise insecurity for the people that were once quiet and peaceful life.

The community also lost the sense of security due to the behaviour of the security apparatus companies who often perform a violent act. One of the mining companies, namely P.T. Panca Logam Makmur using few of police, soldiers, and the NGO Pemuda Pancasila to suppress the people who enter the area of mining companies.

3.4.2. Anxiety

The presence of mines also caused anxiety in the farming community. First, farmers concern about the land. Peasants were anxious to lose their livelihood from the land flooded tailings sludge and drought. Mining makes the River flow being dammed for the purposes of mine so that drought occurs during the dry season. On the contrary, in the rainy season, the resulting mining sludge flooded agricultural lands. Sometimes erratic rainfall in the rainy season. Peasants were not sure whether rainfall will be enough to fulfil the needs of plants or not.

Second, people worried about their own health and the environment. Many cattle died due to contaminated drinking water. The community worried that mining impacts also to humans. Wealthy residents don't even want to consume the rice that is produced in the area, but the poor still consume their rice production. Another result of the perceived environmental pollution is a skin disease where the feet become itching, sores and ulcers that are not into heal. According to the society, these diseases arise after washing away with water flowing from the mountains, the area where the exploitation of gold. Besides Diarrheal and ISPA (upper respiratory tract infections) as well as more often happens when the dry season comes. ISPA was caused by vehicle fumes while diarrheal was due to a less clean environment.

Third, the peasant community anxiously harvests rice crops to be below quality. In 2010, 70% of the peasants in the sub-district of North Rarowatu and Lantari Jaya has returned to grow rice, but rice yields was low quality. Reddish colour makes the rice price to be down. From the interviews, Fajaruddin (the farmer from the village of Langkowala), Dewa Made (from Kalaero village) and H. Ahmading (rice milling factory owner) says that soil contamination by mining mud and compounded with high rainfall during the time of harvesting and drying make the quality decreased.

3.4.3. Trust

After the presence of the gold mine, there was a crisis of public trust in government, parliament, and companies for everything related to mine and environment. The community hopes the traditional mine will be opened again

for the livelihood of peasants. It is a way out for farmers whose livelihoods are dependent on agriculture disrupted due to mining activities. The government's promise to repair irrigation canals damaged by the mud was not realized. As a result, water regulation is disturbed, the water quality is also low due to mining waste. Water regulation was finally done by household and no longer by the existing irrigation institution. Even, Wumbubangka village is no longer carry out agricultural activities since the irrigation water from the La Sangi river in the village was used for mining purposes. Peasants lost trust in government to support agriculture. The government considered only to supports mining that bring advantage for the economics of the country. In addition, the community also lost their trust in the parliament who did not fight for their interests.

The community also lost their trust in the mining company. For the community, the company only exploited the gold and did not consider the interests of them. Various dissatisfactions with the company were experienced by the community. The arrogant attitude of the employees of the company towards the local community, the restitution due to the impact of mud by companies that are not fairly distributed and the big gap in welfare between the local peoples with the employee of the companies is the potential for conflict.

3.4.4. *Social Diseases*

Prostitution is a form of social diseases and becomes a negative social change due to the presence of a gold mine. Prostitution was characterized by the development of night life in the area of research. When traditional mines was opened in the late of 2008 until March 2009, it changed the life of the "city in the middle of the village" where cafes, karaoke and snooker games existed and prostitution became a part of it. Transactions in the practice of prostitution did not just occur in cafes. According to the recognition of the community, the transaction also occurred in places where mining and the payment was by 1 gram of gold, even more expensive for more beautiful woman. The kind that makes living as a simple life with peasant community became less comfortable. Hence, after the mine was closed and traditional entrants diminished and then life was improved slowly, though yet disappear altogether. Until now there are still cafes and karaoke but prostitution is much reduced. At least, the prostitution activity is not as obvious as before.

3.5. *Changes of Culture (Value of Money)*

Culture includes material and non-material aspects of the way of life and is transmitted among members of the public. Culture includes material produced by community, cultural beliefs, values, norms, attitudes and behaviour of its members [17]. In this paper, culture refers to the growth of materialistic values (changes in the value of money) resulting from the gold mine that shifts the value of mutual cooperation and reciprocity that characterizes the farming communities in the study area. Given as an example is the

change of values during the time of planting, when the land was planted together and took turns with friends of adjoining land. These values changed since there is a gold mine.

The higher price of gold than the agricultural output value brought the changes in the community of peasants. Moreover, it is easy to get the gold from mining. Money becomes the measure of everything. No more mutual cooperation in the land cultivates caused the existing of wage employment with money. Likewise in the harvest time, workers who did it were also paid with money, although some still received the results in the form of grain. This state of affairs by Simmel in Ritzer & Goodman [11] is seen as the economic impact of money on the freedom of the individual. In this case, the farmer is no longer bound to a group in the work of planting and harvest but stands on its own. So impersonal relationship is increasingly rampant. Money also reduced the human being to a number of dollars. This is noticeable when there were community members carrying out the celebration, it was rare that assistance is in the form of goods such as sugar and rice, but changed to money. The value of the money will be paid back when the money givers do a celebration too.

Even capital loan in Ijon system with the middleman also shifts with collateral systems such as electronic goods, land, homes that have the value of the rupiah. Mining brought the value of materialism in the lives of the villagers. Changes in the value of money have affected peasants group and institutional credit. In peasant groups, there was a shift value of mutual cooperation, reciprocity in the planting and harvesting. Activities formerly carried out by fellow members of peasant groups are now using the wage system. In institutional of credit i.e. middleman, ijon system which guarantees the crop has not been harvested shifted into valuable items of value. Money has reduced the number of things that have been widespread in the lives of peasants.

4. Conclusion

The research concluded that social changes which occurred consisted of change and large population growth, social structure changes, changes in social interaction, psychosocial impacts and changes in social values. The population has risen significantly during the opening of the traditional mining and decreased when traditional mines closed, however, the immigrants who settled create the Bombana population to be increasingly heterogeneous. The structure of social change in which new social strata formed by their economic status (wealth) and power is divided into three groups, namely the upper strata, the middle strata and lower strata. Social interactions changed after the mining where direct interaction was reduced and was replaced by interaction through media such as mobile phones. The intensity of interactions are also getting less and those who interact more widely by the presence of various stakeholders on the mine. Psychosocial impacts occur where less security, increased anxiety, losing public

trust in both the government and the mining company and the prostitution that previously did not exist. Gold mining also made a cultural change in society where materialistic values increased, the easy of extracting gold in mining made money to be the measure of all things and shift the values of mutual cooperation, reciprocity and profit sharing in farming communities.

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