

# The Factory Industry and Local Community around a PT Semen Tonasa Factory: A Case study of Two Communities in the Pangkep Regency

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The present research aims to describe the impact of socio-cultural factors, especially the attitude of the surrounding community, regarding the existence of a PT Semen Tonasa factory in Bungoro-Pangkep. Besides, it also aims to describe the impact of the socio-economy, especially the livelihoods and cultural background of the community, as well as provide a comparison of the past, and present types of businesses that can support the community to survive. An endogenous plant is the result of a long process combined with other social phenomena. The data collection methods used included in-depth interviews with selected informants, observations, and group discussions. The findings reinforce a situation or condition of the impact of the livelihood of life, and public attitudes towards the construction of integrated plants.

**Keywords:** *Impact of the factory industry, Livelihoods around the factory, Local community.*

## Introduction

In Indonesia, the symptoms of development's impact began in the early nineteen-nineties. The people protest through demonstrations, and violence to oppose the Government or physical project managers in a particular location. This form of protest takes place from preparation, and until the project is in progress. At the preparatory stage, people usually protest the development plan. The issues which they face are being eliminated from the project's development area, given unfavourable compensation or inflicted environmental damage, as impacts of the project's development.

At the implementation stage, the protests occur because of the impacts caused, both socially and physically. Conflicts often affect corporate-community interactions, which are caused by various problems. Among them, is change in the relationship between the company, and its stakeholders. Besides, at the community level, structural change also occurs because of the factory construction industry. The development policy of PT Semen Tonasa is a form of process that leads to ecological dynamics, which pass through five stages, as stated by Arlina G. Latief (1992): grouping is centralised of various activities; concentration to concentrate activities; social separation; invasion; and succession.

The segregation in urban development can lead researchers to further identify the impact of the existence of PT Semen Tonasa. Several studies have reinforced this, as Kartosudirjo Suhartono (in Sulisty, 2005: 4–5) suggests that peasant uprisings in Java during the colonial period were protests over economic exploitation, which brought poverty to farmers, and factory workers. Furthermore, the research conducted by Tikson (2009), at a nickel mining company in Soroako, in South Sulawesi, found that the existence of the company, which has been operating for 32 years, provides no positive effects upon the three local tribes (Padoe, Korong Sie & Tambe). According to this study, the local communities are being affected because foreign investments do not stimulate and regulate the local economy, and do not cultivate prosperity in local communities. Moreover, the mining operations also damage the forest, as a source of livelihood for the local people.

Recently, major changes have occurred in almost all areas of life within the area of the District of Bungoro, especially the village of Biringngere, and its surroundings. The road linking the City to the towns of Pangkep, and Maros, which was previously damaged and cracked, is now smooth. Dozens of transports with horses, and the like, which transport people and goods, have been on the new road. The village of Biringngere has transformed into an industrial area (PT Semen Tonasa). This area has become more crowded. The citizens are busy, and the newcomers from outside the community have brought different styles, and attitudes to the local community. New sights that begin to mislead this new city, include pedicabs, laborers, food and market trade, and a terminal of public transportation. The new houses are built in a modern architectural style, which are made of concrete walls and rocks, and that are mostly inhabited by old residents, and newcomers by rent or purchase. The nightlife has now turned into the enjoyment and pleasure of the urban society. Furthermore, immigration is a key characteristic of the population growth in this area. This article will discuss and analyse the public attitude towards the existence of the factory, PT Semen Tonasa, in the District Bungora, of the Pangkep Regency, and in addition to its socio-economic impacts.

## **Method of Research**

This research is conducted through three basic stages. Firstly, to uncover the attitude of the society surrounding the factory, including the pros and cons of the existence of the factory industry (PT Semen Tonasa) in the Pangkep Regency during its first year. Secondly, to describe the source of the community livelihoods surrounding the factory, where the livelihood shifts from on-farm to off-farm, and the shifting ownership of land from ascribed status to achieved status. Third and finally, identifying the potential of internal or local socio-cultural impacts, and the environment, and externally growing an entrepreneurial spirit, and formulating the development model of social mapping insight, which led to the integrative society of the factory's surroundings in its second year.

## **Research Site and Informants**

This research was conducted in the Biringngere, and Mangilu villages of the Bungoro Sub-District in the Pangkep Regency. Geographically, Biringngere extends as far as 12 kilometres, and Mangilu is 15 kilometres from Pangkep.

The informants consisted of traditional community leaders, government officials, religious leaders, the Sub-District Head, the Village Chief, and community leaders who knew significantly about the before and after presentation of this factory in the Biringngere, and Mangilu villages of the Pangkep Regency.

## **Data Collection Techniques**

This research utilises a qualitative descriptive design, relying on the data collection techniques commonly used in the field of sociology, such as observation, and in-depth interview (Hasyim, et al., 2020). The observations were conducted by staying in the area of research to directly observe the activities of citizens or foreigners involved in the utilisation of the resource activities of the industrial areas. With observations, the researchers are expected to understand the various factors underlying the actions of the perpetrators.

The in-depth interviews conducted during the study were not made in the form of structured questionnaires, but a list of open questions that allowed the informant to answer freely. During the interviews, the researchers completed their recordings thoroughly. We selected informants based on research questions where the answers would be included in the study. The data collection was also performed with a focus group discussion (FGD) in the community, and at the research site. This primary research tool was a sound tape recorder, and a camera or a handycam for visualisation.

## **Data Analysis**

The data analysis was performed in three steps, namely data processing and data reduction, presentation in the form of description and explanation or interpretation, and the withdrawal of research conclusions. In this research, the processing and analysis of data was completed simultaneously, in a process that was carried out continuously. This is because the data collection is done, especially in the process of organising, selecting, and categorising between the data, in the form of narrative descriptions or thick description (Geertz, 1992).

The description of the narrative reflects the various relationships of the social variables or domains, and the interpretive and reflexive processes. Thus, the results of the study will be more objective, and credible (Apradly, 1980).

Furthermore, the research examines and identifies the background of the subject matter to assess the issues that are examined. Therefore, it is possible to provide follow-up advice upon the implementation of the program, concerning the society that is studied.

## **Literature Review**

### ***Impact of Factory Industry around Community***

If we adopt Dahrendorf's opinion, that in an industrial society, capital and work decomposition will occur so that class conflict does not need to occur, certainly we will leave the industrialisation process to proceed by itself, even though the social price that must be paid is very high at first. However, if Wright Mills is right, that there will be a power elite that dominates the community, then we need to be wary. Without embracing Marxist, and Neo-Marxist theories, we remain worried about the current process of industrialisation because, in reality, we are more pragmatic than to think about economic ideology. Perhaps this pragmatism arose because the technocratic awareness had spread evenly to technocrats, as Raymond Aron believed that the age of ideology was over. Dualism and inconsistency still exist in a social system, so that every time we see a new economic institution emerge, such as supermarkets in several cities, we are always anxious and ask who benefits from the growth of such supermarkets, and who is harmed. Moreover, if market buildings are renewed, we still consider that those with a small capital will always be marginalised. Thus, a bad consequence of pragmatism is allowing the injustice to occur in the process of industrialisation, in the hope that the wounds will heal once our industrial economy is established. Such pragmatic economic politics become an irrational policy because it is unable to see the relationship between the economy and society (Kuntowijoyo, 1990, 112).

The same event happens to other economic institutions, namely factories, as places for goods to be produced. Industrialisation, especially after the use of the latest energy sources, requires

certain human resource qualifications. When textile yarns are spun by hand, and woven by hand, people make fully woven fabrics. The role of people decreases when machines are invented and decreases again when they become more sophisticated. While no worker completely works in manufactured goods alone, they also lose control of marketing. The mechanism of reducing man becomes part of the machine, and the strength of the macroeconomy (market or not) deprives the power of goods made by hand. This situation is referred to by Marx as *alienation*. The work methods which are used in factories make people who were originally *homofabers*, turn into *homotechnics*, which are people who only have a technical reason, and ratios that are only instrumental. According to Kontowijoyo (1990, 113), to foster an ethics of the industrial society that guarantees welfare, arranges relations between producers and consumers, guarantees the relationship between capital and work, and arranges bureaucracy and business, we need to revive the normative forces that are rooted in culture, and religion. Culture, as a source of ethics, is often related to the era, meaning that a lot of our culture is the culture of the agrarian community. However, among every culture, there is always a universe that is carried over in the collective consciousness of the community, even though the social system has changed. The tendency of the universalisation of industrial societies that negates local variants so far, continues to separate certain cultural sensibilities. In the industrial society in Japan, the technology used is the same as in the American industrial society, and has its characteristics, such as the Japanese model management system. The management system is taken from cultural sources. Likewise, religious awareness can limit the formation of class, and social stratification in an industrial society, especially in overcoming the problem of social conflict. Religion, in Marxist's view, is a conservative force which can be a radical force, meaning that it can deliver the society towards change. We see this trend in several places in Latin America, and Asia.

## Result and Discussions

### *Pros and Cons of the Community around the Factory*

#### *Pro-Community Attitude towards PT Semen Tonasa*

This section will discuss the communities' attitudes or opinions towards PT Semen Tonasa. The pro-community attitude refers to the attitude or comfortable or uncomfortable sensation, and why they have such attitudes. This can be seen in the following Table 1.

**Table 1:** Informant attitudes towards PT Semen Tonasa by sensation

Sensation	Informant	%
Comfortable	7	63.63
Uncomfortable	3	27.27
Doubt	1	9.10
Total	11	100

**Source:** Field data, 2018

As per Table 1, we see that most of the informants expressed a comfortable sensation towards the establishment of PT Semen Tonasa at 63.63 per cent. Although this difference in percentage from the informants' attitudes seems too significant, in general, this be a manifestation of the way in which they see the future or absolutely nothing. The PT Semen Tonasa has clearly caused changes in people's lives and is liked. In addition to education, the informants also see opportunities for progress from an economic perspective, and it seems that events have indeed given hope to this desire for entrepreneurs in the informal sector. It can also be seen that the number of uncomfortable informants was small (27.27 per cent) in expressing their sensation, but this does not mean that they did not see the possibility of progress for themselves. Their considerations are certainly much broader than those of the informants who expressed a comfortable sensation because the group of informants who expressed an uncomfortable sensation consists of various professions.

**Table 2:** Informants' positive reasoning towards PT Semen Tonasa

Reason	Informant	%
Developing the economy	6	54.6
Developing the physical infrastructure	3	27.2
Developing the education	2	18.1
Total	11	100

**Source:** Field data, 2018

As per Table 2, it is shown that '*developing the economy*' attained the highest position in all fields, with a percentage of 54.6 per cent. In this context, developing the economy is in the form of increasingly open employment opportunities, both directly or indirectly at PT Semen Tonasa, thus increasing business progress, and increasing community income.

Furthermore, we also explored the informants' negative reasoning towards the establishment of PT Semen Tonasa, and the changes that have been made by the company. The findings can be seen in the following Table 3.

**Table 3:** Informants' negative reasoning towards PT Semen Tonasa

Reason	Informant	%
Irregularities in land purchase procedures	3	27.3
More benefits are enjoyed by the newcomers	5	45.4
Threatening religious norms	2	18.2
Increasing living cost	1	9.1
Total	11	100

**Source:** Field data, 2018

As per Table 3, it can be concluded that there will be varied influences supporting an uncomfortable sensation because the informants interviewed generally held an uncomfortable position towards the establishment of PT Semen Tonasa. For the same reason, an uncomfortable sensation was also supported by many students, and informal and formal leaders in the Bungoro Sub-District. In fact, several informants openly said that, if necessary, they could gather a group of local youths immediately to invade the PT Semen Tonasa. The three leading reasons above seem more prominent, and open. This occurs because these reasons involve the sentiment, and solidarity of ethnic, and religious groups.

In fact, the local community realised that the compensation for their land was quite adequate; some even say it is quite high. However, the mistakes of people who are affected by their land often arise because they are faced with complicated procedures in receiving compensation. This includes brokers by certain people, and the closed bureaucracy from the company, which does not want to be understood by members of the community. As a valid fact, they are considered as the fault of the PT Semen Tonasa. This issue has also been highlighted by an informant, H. Hasanuddin, who is 71-years-old and is a former Village Head:

*A member of the provincial Agency Regional Development came to instruct the communities in Biringngere, and Mangilu village at a meeting in late-August 1975. The meeting said that the development plan of PT Semen Tonasa is very closed to the communities and local government. So that the communities and the local government were late to receive information. After the buying of the land, then the situation culminated to be negative when the project plan [was] not yet known publicly, according to the report that several officials [persons] of a company has been taken local land entirely that will be used to expand the factory project with the inexpensive price (sold under Rp.1.175.00 per m2)." It certainly and expecting[ly] [was] resold to the company at a price that is tens of times [more]. But this action was soon known by certain people in this area, so that land brokers emerged, both from government officials and the community. Here, the people who are 'stupid' or 'fooled' are only given the opportunity to deal with the broker, both in terms of pricing and payment. This situation tends to trigger protest movement[s] of the communities, led by a student after the Eid in 1985, and the first month of 1985".*

As highlighted in the interview above, the reasons of the local community are stated. However, if we observe comprehensively, and consider the social system viewpoint of rural communities in Indonesia, then the conclusions of this situation would be wiser than if it was a narrow social reality. In another aspect, the matter of the breakdown of village community ties must be considered. The community unity in villages, which are based on genealogical and territorial ties, have a close function with the various aspects of community life. As stated by Borke J.H (1971), the reality, as mentioned above, shows that the unity of rural communities in Indonesia can be occur through economics, kinship, and residential units. Certain components of the

villages, such as the public baths, rice fields, houses of worship, sacred trees, and so on, through a long process, have bound the villagers in unique ties and unity. Such unity and ties are not easily released in simple and quick ways.

### **Counter-Community Attitude towards PT Semen Tonasa**

It is usual for people to be grateful for success, just as it is for the company to be grateful for the success of operating and implementing its programs as a company or providing an empowerment program for the poor surrounding the factory. However, such gratitude does not last long, and disappointment immediately follows when change is evident in the community. The company stood firm with its high cost but in fact, it is not as suitable as expected, and even reaps disappointment among the local community. Such disappointment was revealed by 36-year-old Fitriani Z, who is an employee of PT Semen Tonasa in the Pangkep Regency. She states:

*“I am shocked to see the community around the company (factory). It seems they do not support the presence of the company at all. Almost every year, a corporate social responsibility assistance fund is given, but the outcome is still considered zero. For example, CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility] program through revolving funds [is] given to the community for business capital, especially for those who are engaged in informal sector trade [and] are still considered to have less impact on their lives. Every year the community empowerment program is implemented, but it just passes without changes to the community. Whereas, the program is expected to reduce theft and damages to the company”.*

If we look closely, what Fitriani is complaining about is explicitly related to the attitude of defiance of the community which surrounds the factory.

This type of resistance is often committed by almost all people who are related to the company, especially the irregularities in buying or giving compensation, and the illegal occupancy, as conducted by the company factories in the Biringngere, and Mangilu villages in Pangkep. This was also stated by 26-year-old Rustan, a resident of the Biringngere village. In addition to his experiences of stealing from the company, he also often damages parks and greenery on the boundaries of the company, and residents' villages. According to this drop-out student, every time he comes out of his house at the edge of the factory in Biringngere, he intentionally damages or pulls up the green trees that have been planted along the boundaries of the factory and the resident village. The same destruction was performed by other residents. This was done to release resentment or displeasure towards the factory, while at the same time, strengthening their control over the land they lived on or the occupied land. The respondent realised that this action was against the law, and had a negative impact on the environment, but for the poor

people around the factory, like himself, maintaining the existence of the interests of the dwellings, and the State land that was controlled for gardening, was far more important.

According to Rustan, the community stood against the greening program by destroying or pulling up the trees that had been planted. They perceived that if the greening program is successful, the tree growth could fall down and befall residents. This was in addition to defending the land they occupy, and the plantation land they control, even though the State land they occupy will be disturbed. Furthermore, they also felt they were treated unfairly by the project managers who only benefit certain parties. Surprisingly, according to Rustan, the greening officer appointed by the local company seemed disinterested in the greening program; maybe the problem was because the greening program was a provincial project, not a project from the company. Rustan's experience is not much different from the experiences of Syahid, Sudirman, and Hj. Nurmiati — the three Biringngere residents. Like other residents, they have never allowed the growth of green trees to be planted around the yards and residential areas. They considered that the greening program by the company had failed because after planting, it was released without control. Syahid felt that he did not need to maintain the trees, even intentionally damaging and pulling them up because the growth of the trees would disturb the fertility of his yardland, which was only a seasonal crop, and they could befall his house if the trunk was large. According to Syahid, his attitude was also encouraged by the resentment of seeing the factory conducting greening which did not involve the Biringngere residents in the implementation of the planting process. The workers involved were from outside the community, specifically a neighbouring village from Mangilu, which is four kilometres from Biringngere. The workers are paid by the company, while the Biringngere villagers are only invited to watch.

As a result, he felt hurt and did not care to maintain the greening trees, even intentionally pulling them out one by one:

*“It is our protest indirectly because we were not involved in the implementation of tree planting. Instead, Mangilu villagers were involved. We are hurt to see that. In fact, if we are involved in helping, we are poor person here. We are also worried, if the trees planted [are] fertile and increasingly high, it will disrupt the activity of the yard and hinder the growth of plants and stems, [and] if large, it could hit the house. The greening program in Biringngere around the company or factory has failed all this time. No one has left a trace, except on the side of the road [where] there are one or two trees that are still standing. I think the greening program will always fail in Biringngere around the company or factory because the government and the company or factory always regards [the] Biringngere villagers as enemies”.*

The collective experiences of Rustan, Syahid, Sudirman, and Hj. Nurmiati will become a longer list if we asked the same questions of everyone who resides around the company or factory in Biringngere. They will argue that their actions to damage the greening plants are an expression of disappointment towards the company or factory, other than as a form of their strategy to maintain the interests behind the management of the company or factory that is less concerned about the people around it.

Another resident, Dede Rosmala, claimed that the factory and the Government were never greening. He pointed out that the SCR (Corporate Social Responsibility) program for greening and the environment was carried out in Biringngere, and Mangilu, which had been carried out since the nineteen-nineties but was never successful because the community around the factory did not support it as a form of regret for the company's existence. He still remembers, at that time, how the factory, and until the Government intervened, had prepared hundreds of green trees for the community. The community themselves were even given living facilities, such as money, rice, and side dishes over a certain period, so that the community would support the greening project on the edge of the factory and the residential areas, and maintain it. However, people only pretended to implement or support the greening program. They took the money and other assistance, while the tree seedlings were distributed, planted improperly, and not maintained. Furthermore, some did not plant them, and they were left to die. There were even residents who intentionally killed trees that had grown, so that their yard plants and residential areas were not disturbed.

The defiance of the community around the factory in the Biringngere village was unable to produce significant changes to their destiny, and if continuously carried out, it would undoubtedly pose a threat that was undeniable. However, even the slightest serious actions — such as the failure of the greening plants, the destruction of the plant yards, and blocking the road to obstruct factory-owned trucks — which is carried out by the residents, so far, is not because of open or antagonistic demonstrations. However, these actions quietly articulate the feelings of the community around the factory, which seems trivial and frivolous, and it is done by damaging or protesting. Such actions can be considered as a virus, which undermines all efforts to realise the greening program around the factory, and slowly creates uncertainty, becoming a stumbling block to be created as one of the provincial programs, i.e. *Go-Green* to create greenery around the factory, changing the location of a factory into arid, plantation land, and even residential areas.

**Table 4:** Matrix of the meaning of defiance

Actor	Meaning
Poor people around the factory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Displeasure expression towards the factory or the Government that is realised in the form of intentional damage and does not support the greening program, as an effort of the factory's support to the Government, i.e. <i>Go-Green</i> and maintain claims of legitimacy over occupied land and settlement.</li> <li>• Quiet action to undermine the efforts of the greening program in order to preserve their interests and survival.</li> </ul>
Rustan, Syahid, Sudirman, and Hj. Nurmiati	Basically, defiance is a form of people's material claims to preserve their interests and survival.

Table 4 implies the meaning that defiance is a displeasure expression of the poor towards the factory and the local government, which is realised in the form of damaging plants and other facilities intentionally around the factory. In addition, another meaning implies the quiet defiance, which is to undermine the efforts of greening in order to maintain or preserve the interests and survival of the poor communities around the factory. In relation to the concept of the *hidden-transcript* by Scott (2004), such a concept is a hidden agenda, which may not directly produce changes in community life, but can slowly affect the factory operations and create uncertainty about improving the livelihoods of a small number of residents (villagers), who live around the factory.

The actions of the community's defiance around the factory in the Biringngere village was unable to produce any significant changes to their fate, which is something that cannot be denied. However, even the smallest action, if done continuously, will trigger a serious threat. The failure of the greening plant, and the destruction of the factory yard, which have been undertaken by the villagers so far, is not because of open and antagonistic demonstrations, but are quiet protests that articulate the community's sentiments.

## Conclusion

The construction of an industrial unit, especially a unit that is large and complex like PT Semen Tonasa, will create opportunities for work, both directly as employees, and through indirect opportunities in free economic employment or self-employment.

Based on the above, we can use the term Idrus Abustan (1990) that migration or waves of population movement with various variants. This statement also applies in the study area. This

is a special attraction for villagers, especially the poor farmers and farm labourers who have experienced a dislocation from being *on-farm*. For those who do not have land, there is more work in Pangkep. Travelling by mobility, they left early in the morning and returned late in the afternoon to their home. The advantage of structural, and not seasonal labour in the rural economy results in extensive labour nomadism. Nomadism is a form of migration pattern that requires leaving the house for an unspecified period, and lasting several weeks or months.

For example, in the field of education, this influences the village leadership structures, social stratification systems, shifts in trust, and changes in marital institutions, family structures, and the openness to new ideas. This finding supports Mantra's (1981: 23) hypotheses, that the power that influences a person to move (*migration*) is a centrifugal force that is the power of a person leaving his village because he feels less satisfied with the agricultural sector.

The interesting matters in the research location are the lower-class farmers as traders of rice, soybeans, and fruits, who sell their goods to the wholesaler. This activity is done alternately because it adjusts the situation. The specific term for this activity for the local community is called, '*balukan juku*'. This implies that if it is the harvest season of rice, they simultaneously sell or buy rice, and if it is the harvest season of corn, they simultaneously sell or buy corn, and so forth. By adapting the term, 'floating period', from Evers (1984: 116–122), this trading activity by farmers can be referred to as floating traders, and their activity is greatly influenced by the situational conditions in the study area.

Furthermore, this research also found that there was a closure of the ownership of the paddy land among the paddy farmers community, both rich and poor farmers, and close to polarisation. The polarisation that develops is not a polarisation of conflict between the rich and poor farmers in an open (*antagonistic*) manner, as hypothesised by Marx between broad landowners (rich farmers) with narrow landowners (poor farmers) and farm labourers in the production process. It is also unlike Nasikun and Lambang Triyono's (1992: 53) findings, that polarisation will develop if opportunities to increase income or living opportunities for *off-farm* life get smaller or narrower for the poor. Instead, it is the type of conflict that occurs because of the increasingly narrow preserver valve, and the limitation of opportunities that can be accessed by poor farmers to shift business, and work outside agriculture. As a reality in this area, the number of poor farmers and farm workers changes the livelihood outcomes.

**Table 5:** Patterns of livelihood change

No	Variables	Before the factory	After the factory
1.	Farming	<i>On-farm</i> , traditional agriculture	<i>Off-farm</i> , raiding the cash economy, scavenging economy, and service.
2.	Land	Rice field and yard	Company site, warehousing, and factory.
3.	Trading	Pedang Apung (floating trader)	<i>Self-Employment</i> , and informal sector.

**Source:** Analysis of data, 2018

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