The Dynamic of Social Relations and Conflicts in Mining Area in Indonesia: Study of Mining in Bahodopi of Marowali, Central Sulawesi

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Received: February 25th 2019; Accepted: March 01st 2020; Published: September 30th 2020

Abstract
The study of socio-cultural institutions related to natural resource management includes two factors namely IPSO facto (based on facts) namely management in an area marked by the presence of people who carry out activities and IPSO de jure (based on law) namely management based on legal aspects positive. This article aims to analyze how the socio-cultural principles lived by the community in Bahodopi District, Morowali Regency in response to their lives. The results showed that the dynamics of community life after the entry of the mine in Bahodopi had broad implications related to social life. However, empirically, this study shows that the conflict mechanism that arises is more dominated by conflicts between migrants and local residents, as well as local communities and companies. The number of conflicts raised by the community is a low escalation but has a broad impact on the sustainability and existence of investment management. The interaction of various cultures that have different perspectives is typical even though it has the potential to create conflict and even violence if it is not appropriately managed. Socio-cultural background with a different basis is a trigger for disharmony in the community if it cannot be appropriately managed. The conflict that occurs mainly with the appearance of two ethnic entities facing each other is an irony in the life of a capitalist character.

Keywords
Bahodopi of Morowali; conflict; mining; social relation

INTRODUCTION
Stories about Villages in Bahodopi sub-district before the industrialization of nickel; mining and processing, is a story about poor villages that only depend on subsistence farming and fishing. There are no stately stone houses, only wooden houses with wooden walls, thatched roofs or a small portion of tin-roofed roofs or the most luxurious cement floors without tiles. Some stand on the edge of the Trans Sulawesi road, on the shoreline, some swamps in villages along Lele to Bete-Bete Village. One or two houses of stone construction are owned by local entrepreneurs, village leaders and by Civil Servants who live in these villages.

Residents in Bahodopi mostly depend on the livelihoods of the secondary crops sector and other traditionally cultivated seasonal crops. Some residents depend on cocoa and cashew harvest. Another significant source of an economic family is cattle and goats by utilizing stretches of dry land...
and swamps as a source of food. In a small proportion, some residents are traditional fishers. Even among the villagers, there are still those who work for family life by looking for resin and "Barotan". Before the 2000s, cocoa was a mainstay in several villages in Bahodopi as a reliable economic source, but after that time this commodity experienced a bleak period. Prices continue to decline while cocoa plants are also attacked by pests so that productivity continues to decline. As a result, many residents migrated to Kalimantan and Malaysia. The turning point for prosperity began to be felt when the nickel mine became known in this area. Ore exports by many mining companies have changed the economy, society and culture of the people. Villagers began to leave agricultural land and plantations. Unmanaged plants and livestock such as cattle, buffalo, and goats continue to experience a shrinking population until the footprint of the many cattle in the past ten years is now just a story. The stretching of the livestock business has just begun again, adjusting to the needs of the growing cattle market due to the existence of mining. The footprint of fishers in Fatufia village and surrounding villages is now hard to find. Work shifts become plural.

The presence of PT. Bintang Eight Mineral, which transformed into PT. IMIP in Fatufia has changed the landscape of the region into an area full of the dynamics of industrialization. Villages in Bahodopi now recently tend to be bright, busy, crowded, and expensive. Citizen activities last for 24 hours because the company’s electricity flows to homes with subsidies. Employees and local immigrants are increasing every day so that the flurry is increasing much fold, so to are the dense settlements because the boarding houses, houses, stalls, shops and other buildings continue to stand at any time. Open employment, and the business world is rapidly increasing, implicating that large incomes attract the arrival of goods and services as part of meeting the needs and distribution chains of trade. “The villages here, the taste of the city, is now becoming expensive, ranging from land to food that is sold more expensive,” said a migrant visiting Bahodopi. Bahodopi is treading its changes. Jump and cut the stages of community development. From traditional societies to industrial societies, it is happening in just such a short time.

In the context of this research, the meeting between capital with all its participation is often seen to clash with the local community or generally referred to as indigenous people. Indigenous people or Indigenous Rights with industrialization or companies in some sense place it in two different poles; instead of being united, even both of them negate each other. So much understanding has developed so far. As a result, the presence of a company or industry in an area where there are traditional communities or indigenous people will result in disharmony relations between the two.

Disharmony often occurred due to different points of view in seeing resources (resources). On the one hand, companies see indigenous people do not need to get attention because community development is part or task of the local government, especially the indigenous people are not relevant to be involved as workers in the company because in terms of capacity/skill is not enough to contribute to the production process due to limited ability. On the other hand, indigenous people have local cultural and historical perspectives (local values, norms and institutions) towards the area where a company operates. Historically they understood that the area became an integral part of its existence as a group and community, for example, simple Bahruddin research results that quote the Sentani community assertion that “there is not an inch of land in Sentani that is free from Ondofolo’s power” (Bahruddin in Twikromo: 2010). A local understanding culture like this will undoubtedly encourage disharmony between Indigenous people and mining companies, especially when indigenous people feel a gap in their

1 Interview SF, Agustus 2017
social life with migrant workers, and cause the indigenous people to be slowly uprooted from their ancestral lands.

METHODS

Review of Secondary Data
The study mechanism is enriched by a variety of the latest reference studies and is supported by reliable information sources and from valid sources. The use of various results of studies from various local government institutions, centres and researchers who have studied and explored certain parts of the area that are the object of research, namely Bahodopi. Secondary sources of information will be obtained using the latest index data. The source of the data obtained from agencies such as the Central Statistics Agency, Kab. Morowali, Bahodopi District Office, Village Office in the Bahodopi sub-district area, mass media, and other reliable sources.

This research aims to understand the culture and socio-cultural life of local tribes in Morowali district by using qualitative methods. The use of qualitative research methods departs from research procedures that produce descriptive data, in the form of written or oral statements from someone and their behaviour can be observed. Thus, the consequence that must be carried out in this study is to collect data through interviews with informants who are considered to have the information needed in research this.

The method of collecting research data is carried out by in-depth interviews with informants using descriptive questions, namely a question that seeks answers about everything related to the research topic, in this case, the informant’s exposure to what is related to indigenous ethnic culture in Morowali district. Those who were made into informants by category, traditional leaders, community leaders, religious leaders, traditional stakeholders, NGOs, communities, women leaders who have the ability to explain the topic of study. As a social study, the source of data is expected from informant information. This research uses a snowball approach to capture information from informants. This means that those chosen as informants are not explicitly determined except for the characteristics of the informants namely those who have the closeness of information to the research topic make indicators in determining the choice of someone to be an informant.

In addition to the in-depth interview method above, a questionnaire was also distributed. This technique is used to record socio-cultural and environmental data related to community views and attitudes. This is mainly to see the tendency of the community to see and feel the existence and life of the mining industry in the region. Specifically, the data consists of the physical environment; facilities and infrastructure; and the daily activities of Indigenous People in relation to their social and cultural life. The implications that will be seen are mainly related to community activities in general for gardening, farming, ritual activities, gardening places and ritual places as well as ritual tools, and various other observable material cultures.

The survey was first conducted by determining the respondents to be sampled. The main criterion of respondents is the Head of the Family (KK) who is domiciled in the District of Bahodopi. Meanwhile, the total number of respondents is limited to 240 families divided into 12 villages in the Bahodopi sub-district. That is, each village consists of 20 families.

The diagram above shows that 65% of men and 35% of women participated in this survey. Most of the respondents are family heads, and some are family members who are considered to have the capacity to provide information. The family member is chosen only if the head of the family is not at the location or is unable to participate. This technique is usually known as purposive sampling, where the sampling technique is chosen based on certain considerations.

Focus group discussions were held in the two sites chosen based on consideration of the study area and suggestions from the village heads and BPD heads from 12 villages.
in the study area. FGD participants consist of; village heads, village officials, BPD, community leaders (adat, farmer groups, fishermen, youth, women, teachers, scholars). This method is at the same time, a means of confirming data from various other sources. Based on this, the FGD was held in two places:

1. Desa Fatufia in the village hall
   Participants were from 1) Desa Fatufia, 2) Desa Keurea, 3) Bahodopi, 4) Labota, 5) Padabaho, 6) Makarti Jaya dan 7) Bete-Bete, 8) Desa Bah Makmur

2. Desa Simbatu, in the village hall:
   Participants were from 1) Desa Siumbatu, 2) Desa Dampala, 3) Desa Lalampu dan 4) Desa Le-Le

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Bahodopi Sub-district is a fraction of South Bungku Sub-district, which was expanded since 2013. The increase in population, economic development, and the growth of the nickel industry in this region are essential reasons for the Morowali Regency government to split the region. Bahodopi is bordered directly by Tolo Bay in the east, in the North is bordered by Bungku Timur sub-district, Bungku Tengah and Southeast Sulawesi Province border west, and Southern part is bordered by Bungku Selatan sub-district and Southeast Sulawesi Provin-

**Table 1. Area Size by Village in Kec. Bahodopi, 2017**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Width (Km²)</th>
<th>Presentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bete Bete</td>
<td>112,84</td>
<td>10,44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Padabaho</td>
<td>43,74</td>
<td>4,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Makarti Jaya</td>
<td>29,24</td>
<td>2,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Labota</td>
<td>162,17</td>
<td>15,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fatufia</td>
<td>119,79</td>
<td>11,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Keurea</td>
<td>102,87</td>
<td>9,52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bahomakmur</td>
<td>41,16</td>
<td>3,81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bahodopi</td>
<td>118,71</td>
<td>10,98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lalampu</td>
<td>103,32</td>
<td>9,56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Siumbatu</td>
<td>117,33</td>
<td>10,85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dampala</td>
<td>62,16</td>
<td>5,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Le-Le</td>
<td>67,65</td>
<td>6,26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,080,98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kecamatan Bahodopi dalam Angka 2018

**Table 2. Total Population and Rural Household in Bahodopi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population Number</th>
<th>Household Number</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bete Bete</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Padabaho</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Makarti Jaya</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Labota</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fatufia</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Keurea</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bahomakmur</td>
<td>1167</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bahodopi</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lalampu</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Siumbatu</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dampala</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Le-Le</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,517</td>
<td>1,738</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kecamatan Bahodopi dalam Angka 2018
number of employees of PT. The registered IMIP per August 2018 is more than 24,000 employees; we can be sure the population of Bahodopi sub-district can be doubled. This assumption was obtained from the statements of employees, village heads, sub-district and district officials who stated that the majority of employees accepted at PT. IMIP has taken care of resettlement and residence status as a villager in Bahodopi District. Not to mention the families of employees who have become residents of villages around the IMIP area which are spread across 12 villages around the circle. Table 2 is data on the number of villages and residents in the Bahodopi District.

CONFLICTS IN BAHODOPI

The phenomenon of the new city shows various competitions and competitions with various typologies and achievement targets. One of the primary and very prominent competitions is the struggle for the existence of social and economic space. Bahodopi, as a socio-cultural entity after the entry of the mining, builds a dynamic of community life as a hope for a better life. The most recent event that occurred on 27 October 2018 was a consequence of social phenomena related to the existence of the community. The most significant event that occurred after the entry of mining investment in Bahodopi was only one potential that reached a level of saturation that exploded.

The context becomes the domain of competition for economic, social, and cultural space to have a broad impact on the conduciveness of people’s lives. The main implication affected by this situation is the management of mining investment, which is the atmosphere that triggers growth in this region. The conflict resulted in 22 serious injuries that received treatment in several hospitals, namely Morowali Hospital in Bungku Tengah and at PKM Bahomotefe. Conflicts triggered by personal feud then continue and escalates to the scale of ethnicity, which also drags religious issues into it. This mode is one of the phenomena that have become the face of the current social relations in Bahodopi until now although the main trigger for some people is considered a form of arrogance that also has political motives. The statement of the Keurea youth figure stating that: “... the occurrence of violence in the community in recent times due to the existence of political elements because the current conditions are approaching the party of democracy...” (HAL). In addition to the political typology of the conflict, it also dragged other elements of conflict that divide between migrants and local communities, as stated above. Horizontal conflict or competition between local communities also occurs, although it has never been accumulated in the form of violence.

The conflict in this research is seen as a difference in the perspective of resources. Its manifestation is illustrated by the birth of a conflict typology that includes various interests of each stakeholder. There are 6 (six) forms of conflict involving various actors in the mining area, namely: local residents vs migrants, local ethnic vs ethnic migrants, villages vs villages, employees vs companies, companies vs other companies, and local residents and companies. Based on field research findings.

The dynamics of community life after the entry of the mine in Bahodopi has broad implications related to social life. However, based on information understood by the community, the conflict mechanism that arises is more dominated by conflicts between migrant communities and local residents, as well as local communities and companies. The number of conflicts raised
by the community is a low escalation but has a broad impact on the sustainability and existence of investment management.

The main problems arising from the conflict mentioned above can be divided into 2 (two) essential parts, namely social behaviour and the employee recruitment system. One of the main problems with the emergence of the conflict was as stated by one of the community leaders who stated that “the problem of youth fighting occurs because it was triggered by alcoholism. The problem of alcoholism is not because of religion, because of both Islam and Christianity if already drunk, it will be easier to make a fuss “. The development of the city will also be followed by a lifestyle (consumerism) that adjusts to the social needs of the community.

Interactions of various cultures that have different perspectives are frequent, even though they have the potential to lead to conflict and even violence if not managed properly. The perspective of community values related to liquor as a segment captured by the market as a business opportunity is a new reality of the city of Bahodopi which now comes with a different face with the presence of people with various values and social backgrounds present in this city.

Socio-cultural background with a different basis is a trigger for disharmony in the community if it cannot be adequately managed. The conflict that occurs mainly with the appearance of two ethnic entities facing each other is an irony in the life of a capitalistic character. An interesting statement from an informant stated that:

“... This conflict occurs because each one brings culture if the culture is not brought here from outside. After all, the culture is allowed to differ. There are people here who are not happy because of cultural issues that do not make sense. The newcomer is not a problem, but it is better to be able to establish a friendship. The area of my interest has never happened such conflict so far; it might just be a misunderstanding. I do not think such incidents should happen anymore. Yesterday the problem was already a racial issue between the Toraja and the local tribes (Bungku). They thought that they had more people than my flower, their calculations. They have a period of about five thousand; they think if my friend is just a photocopy, they do not count, Bungku menui until witaponda when they come down. Finally, my bungus people go down all too .. “(ARM, 40).

The statement above emerges from a reality of cultural interaction which unconsciously unwittingly gave birth to conflict. The “mabbadong” culture is the process of accompanying a funeral body by carrying in the culture of the Christian Toraja community, a tribute to the deceased and at the same time showing social status. In addition, the frenetic use of vehicles in accompanying the process helped to attract attention amid the bustle of Bahodopi, which is identical to the density and traffic congestion with various
The struggle for the existence of space with negative cultural antagonism triggered by the consumption of liquor as a lifestyle is one of the triggers for the birth of social violence in the Bahodopi community. Indigenous people have a perspective of local culture and history (local values, norms and institutions) towards the area where a company operates. Historically they understood that the region became an integral part of its existence as a group or society.

The second triggering factor is the recruitment system which, although it was felt there was an alignment to the local community (indigenous people) but was considered empirically not as expected. There are indications that the dominance of certain ethnicities in the recruitment of employees, especially in certain positions, is a common understanding of the Bungku local community. Community involvement in the investment business in Bahodopi consists of, being involved as company employees and as suppliers (suppliers of goods). There is a mechanism to meet this, namely educational background and age for employees and village capital and recommendations for suppliers. The chaos caused by the recruitment system that requires the existence of a local ID card for job seekers based on the letter of the Morowali Regent caused chaos in the population system in Bahodopi. The village government finds it difficult to control the population to be able to map the potential and take action to minimize conflict. What was stated by the informant that:

"Dampala Village is only a stepping stone victim to job seekers who come to Bahodopi, and this is to make it easier for them to enter the recruitment of company employees. Generally, villages in Bahodopi have refused especially those close to the mine. Only here who want to accept migrants, other villages reject them. The village government also cannot forbid them from entering this village, because there are rules also on the grounds they are looking for work." (BAS).

The existence of seasonal residents due to the need to become employees has damaged population administration in various villages in Bahodopi. The actual requirements for moving residents are not a requirement but are later chosen by job seekers to disrupt the population arrangement. In the village administration records in global villages in Bahodopi differed between the number of population records and the number of settlers. For this purpose, every village strives to make new rules and agreed upon by the government, so that there is clarity in the settlers' residence. This is to establish the accountability of migrants so that they are clearly recorded.

"So far, what has happened is, there are job seekers who make various kinds in other villages, but then what is mentioned is Dampal village. The incident in Bahomatepe that brought his wife to a person, even though the person did not live in the village of Dampala but rather lived in Bahodopi. Based on data from the village, it turns out that the woman reported directly to the village head, then settled and lived in Bahomakmur." (BAS)

Empirically, various complaints from the local community regarding village recommendations for employees originating from the village were not in line with community expectations because they also continued to follow the stages and many were not even accommodated until now. The mechanism of the supplier of goods according to the understanding must go through the village. Currently many have taken the direct route. The entry of capital-intensive entrepreneurs results in the elimination of local investors and or the formation of local capitalization mechanisms that are not in accordance with the initial understanding between the company and the village.

The conflict between employees and companies also gave birth to a relationship character other than certain ethnic dominance, as indicated as a condition that was born by the firmness of the employees. The lack of discipline and understanding of job work that is his responsibility is the basis of the justification used. However, the commu-
nity is of the view that this does not apply to foreign employees who have the same tasks as them. Assumptions about the company’s double standards for local employees triggered the conflict, in addition to the termination of work carried out unilaterally by the company. The dualism of company policies related to the use of local (Indonesian) and foreign (Chinese) workers raises its problems. The policy is discriminatory for local workers; the condition is related to salary standards (foreign currency) as well as the treatment of the rights and welfare of employees (rest, worship and consumption).

The main problem and is a potential problem that can have a direct impact on investment efforts is the existence of conflict that results in violence in the community. Although this is not a direct implication of the mining business process, it provides a direct contribution to the mining process and sustainability. Disrupted environmental conditions due to the violent atmosphere of the mining area will not be able to produce effective business processes, especially in the initial investment phase or phase which is more on the development of mining company infrastructure and has not been maximized in the exploration business. The source that caused the conflict is present as a general phenomenon that exists today.

There are 9 (nine) sources of conflict that are often triggered, in general, can be extracted into three sources of conflict, namely: Ethical problems and juvenile delinquency, economic conditions and harmonization and fanaticism as well as law and marginalization. The facts stated are in line with the statement above, which states the role of young people who trigger violence. Ethics/morality deprived of the socio-cultural values of the Indonesian people, which prioritize aspects of patronage are shifted to be more pragmatic according to the needs and circumstances to be achieved. Generally, the mobilization of the people to Bahodopi is a productive age with a limit of no more than 40 (forty) years. The age limit is in accordance with employee recruitment provisions that do not exceed 40 years.

Empirically, studies show that there is another age mobilization above that age, but the purpose of going to Bahodopi is for business or business. The very dynamic nature of the mining area with the dominance of the productive age, of course, will include the psychological condition of young people who are more sensitive. The pressure of the work climate caused by the professional working atmosphere in mining puts its

Figure 3. Perception of Respondents as a Source of Conflict in Bahodopi
pressure on this working-age group. One of the spaces to release the energy is that recreation in the Bahodopi region is still minimal and the implication is channelled to karaoke which generally includes liquor which is also still limited so that the intensity of interaction of the young group is more significant. The situation is similar to that stated by an informant (HAL) stating that:

"Indeed the social behaviour of the people in Bahodopi has changed by a total of almost 70%, firstly because so many cultures have entered and secondly because of modernization, especially with the presence of the Cafe. Previously in Bahodopi, there was no cafe, but now people go to the cafe to drink and drink. This cannot be avoided anymore because of changing times because it is considered a necessity so that it causes a shift in value in the community that used not to know that freely."

The emergence of ethical problems that are in line with the delinquency of adolescents mentioned above is a depiction that the fundamental phenomenon that triggers the emergence of violence is a liquor that eliminates awareness for those who enjoy it. Heterogeneous social interactions with factory production systems that do not know the time or 24 hours non-stop divided into three working hours (shift), making social relations that can be built with the community around the workers becomes very difficult. A boarding house business that is rife with various schemes developed by the community only places the ultimate goal of income as a final goal by ignoring the socio-cultural aspects that are increasingly far from the existence of Indonesian society in general and Bungku in particular.

Culturally, the Bahodopi or Bungku community broadly has a cultural instrument which is a means of active interaction. As with the existence of lulo dance in the Bungku community. The lulo art culture interaction today is always identical and full of violence because of the loss of the fundamental value of the lulo. The most profound value of this art is closely related to the necessity of awareness and shared responsibility that should be the spirit of binding the participants of the lulo dance. As one informant put it: "... In lulo culture, we hold hands, which means that in this life, we must not choose skin colour and religion at the same time ..."

The insufficient space of interaction and time that can be used in social and cultural relations in Bahodopi paves the opportunity to build strong social harmony. The existence of other public spaces such as houses of worship (mosques, temples, churches), traditional markets, schools and small-scale restaurant businesses that are scattered on a small scale in Bahodopi become the dominant dimensions that fill professional activities (employees). Such community conditions give birth to a very pragmatic living condition so that it is tough to give birth to a sense of trust (trust) among heterogeneous societies. The need for the existence of local communities is bound by the land and the value they have. On the other hand, this situation is not owned and fostered by migrant communities as a phenomenon of the birth of future conflicts as a fire in the husk, which can find its momentum at any time.

The concern over social conflict caused by social interaction in the Bahodopi region has also become a serious concern. Various policies have been made by the village government and the community to create a conducive atmosphere in the community. One of the villages that stated this was stated by the chairman of BPD Bahomakmur who stated that:

"... problems in this village are rife like cockfighting (gambling). As a result, the community is damaged and not developing. Even though they have income and the lack of cases of chicken theft, the work is used for gambling. Another problem is the circulation of drugs which yesterday the dealer had caught. Village officials here give rules to people who live in boarding houses not to raise chickens, may not drink liquor, must not get drunk and others. We emphasize this emphasis to the owner of the boarding house. The obstacle is that those who have boarding houses do not report to the authorities, so it is difficult to control it ... "(ARI)."
The implications of conflicts that occur on the social, economic and cultural life of the community are very diverse. Some implications that are greatly affected are limited community mobility, economic access, material loss or damage and lack of freedom. Conflicts that cause violence as the whole to distrust or distrust between the people. Suspicion arises over entities of certain ethnicities which in this case are mainly migrants and specifically the Toraja migrants.

Like most other regions in Indonesia, the condition of an area other than inhabited by local communities has also been inhabited for a long time by migrant communities before the mining era existed. This situation also occurs in Bahodopi, which has long been visited by ethnic Bugis people from South Sulawesi, some ethnic groups from Southeast Sulawesi such as the Tolaki ethnic group who mated with local communities. The character of the people who have interacted culturally is a far different character from the immigrant community because of the pragmatism of work needs. The views of Muslim figures in Bahodopi stating that:

“I honestly speaking. Actually, Torajans everywhere are not right. The nature of the Toraja people who used to make a scene as what happened in Poso is also like that; North Kolaka is like that. Toraja people who trigger problems with other communities, especially related to adultery, drinking, gambling cockfighting. Standard events cut people. As a result, two people got machetes, and rubber bullets hit some. Even though now the conflict is over but it has stopped production of the mining business for two days, the employee is not working. However, not all Torajans are like that. This happens because of coercion from their first organization that threatens its members with machetes to be forced to participate.”

The violence, although it can be resolved, has created a blemish in people’s perceptions of certain ethnicities to form a division. In general, the existence of these assumptions was built as an actual manifestation related to the fairness of mine management related to recruitment, which in general assumptions of the community, both other migrants and local communities, favoured the ethnic Toraja. Conflicts between ethnic groups also take place between other ethnic groups in Bahodopi, as happened between the Bugis and Balinese ethnic groups.

“It has happened here between Balinese friends and the Bugis people until they bring a machete. It happened just a month ago. The problem occurs in the river. Each tells the truth of the story, but from them, takes the negative story. It means that I didn’t immediately respond to their story when I came to my house, but I went straight to the crime scene. To find out the real problem. After I check in the river, it turned out that something else was told to me at home, another story when I was at the river. Until his friends from Bali all brought machetes, the problem was because of the plantations. The Bugis accuse the Balinese of taking plants, bananas and others, but there is no evidence. Average Bugis people do gardening. Types of plants ranging from chocolate and so on. So on this road, I call here the Bugis village, moved from Palopo, and others. Meanwhile, the average Balinese in the company is in the garden.” (BAS).

The depiction of perception above shows that the potential for ethnicity conflicts in this region is a trigger instrument that can give birth to a profound impact on the lives of mining businesses.

Conflict raises a variety of conditions that provide limited conditions in people’s lives. The Harmony that should be part of a process of interaction that is full of mutual trust turns into mutual suspicion and mistrust. Although theoretically if you use the perspective of the spiral of violence by Dom Helder Camara (2000) who argued that

“The leading cause of the emergence of violence comes from the practice of injustice and social, economic, political and cultural oppression that befall simultaneously on a personal, institutional and structural basis. Injustice and oppression give birth to acute social conditions, are sub-human,
The spirit of the theoretical framework is to explain that the mechanism of survival of the fittest is a natural mechanism that is formed if the mechanism of injustice puts overwhelming pressure to foster a new way to survive.

MINING AND FUTURE BA-HODOPY

The typology of the Bahodopi sub-district, which consists of 12 villages, is an area with the characteristics of an agricultural area, namely rice. This area extends along the coast of the Tolo bay, which has long been known for its rich marine resources, especially fish. The development of the Bahodopi area with a mining scheme gave birth to a diverse obsession from the community. The primary source of income of the community, which is generally sourced from rice, making this region through the government in the period below 2018 lift Size or barns as a vision to be realized. This is, of course, far different from the real reality that can be seen today when the business life that dominates the Morowali area is mining.

The existence of large to moderate industries when using data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) of Morowali Regency, especially for the District of Bahodopi in numbers, especially since 2015, which is the development phase of PT IMIP in Bahodopi. In this data, there is not a single large and medium industry in the village area of Bahodopi. This reality is paradoxical when compared with the existing conditions; even there is only one small industry in the village of Dampala. Twisted Morowali economic life experienced a fantastic phasing, from the development of agricultural businesses with the entry of oil palm investment. The next development occurred with the presence of the mining industry marked by the construction of PT Bintang eight which until now the area has developed into an industrial area known as the IMIP (Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park). The area is a PMA company between Tsingshan Group from China and PT. Eight Star. Its operation has been started since its establishment in 2013 with the principle permit of Morowali Regent in 2014 and an environmental permit from the Governor of Central Sulawesi in 2015 with an area of 2000 hectares.

In general, community perceptions of mine management in Bahodopi have improved as the results of the study below. Diversity of community perceptions is a dyna-
mic that is faced as a real reality around the area where they live. Although there are 12 villages in Bahodopi sub-district, not all villages have the same impact on the ongoing mining investment process. Four villages were directly affected, namely Fatufia, Keurea, Baho Makmur and Bahodopi. The implication can be seen from the community’s perspective on the mining management process.

Information obtained directly from the community shows that the dominant community got a good impact from the mining investment process that took place in Bahodopi. Nevertheless, there are still people who are of the view that the existing process does not have a less beneficial impact on him. The existence of 33% of the people who view the company’s impact as unfavorable is a general phenomenon related to the background of their work. The perception of the informant who stated that:

“Years ago, there was an economic mine; it was still difficult for the community to rely on rice farming, fishing using light and not trawling. Generally, the fishermen who used to be fishermen were Bahodopi, I first bought fish from the fishermen and then sent it to Kendari. Catch people like mackerel fish. At this time no one is a fisherman anymore because now the catch of fish by fishers is lacking after the mine. In general, fishers currently work in mining companies. Farmers are also gone, their land has been sold because the state of the kuala (river) is already deep so that it can no longer flow through the fields. Farmers have also worked in companies for those who fulfil the requirements, except for those who are old, they will open a farming business by growing vegetables around the house, and for the community-owned land, they sell part of the land for capital to

Figure 5. Community Perception of the Impact of Mining

The positive view of the community, in general, can also be seen from informants who stated that: there are many benefits to be gained from the mining business from being an employee, getting educational assistance, and availability of health facilities that are accessible to the community. On the other hand, it was also stated that the existence of community backgrounds who worked as farmers and fishers traditionally with the existence of this mining business had eliminated the various potential of these traditional resources.

The mechanism of agriculture cannot take place because the river water has become more profound than the surface of the paddy fields that want to be drained other than river water has turned red and causes the rice seedlings to die. Even though the current price of fish is getting further away, due to the condition of genetic damage caused by turbid water and hot water waste disposal, electricity generation disposal makes fish scarce. If fish were quickly caught in the past, the price would also be lower, this is inversely proportional to the present where fish is delicate even though the price is high. Such information as stated by an informant that:

“In the past when there was no hard work in the mining business, now it can be calculated that only one or two people do not work. People who are 40 years old and older may not be accepted for work in the company. For this reason, many also work in the carpentry sector. Well, even so, the work is endless because the people who use it outside of their respective livelihood work are mined.” (LAO)
make a boarding house business.” (MUK)

There is always a standardization in the acceptance and placement of someone’s workforce. The statement above is relatively different from that stated by Laode Usabir, who is also the Head of Padabaho village, that:

“As far as I know, there are only various kinds of divisions working in the kitchen, so the term is said to be f, there are kinds of work that can be filled or formed because there are those in charge of rolling dynamo, there are those who are stoker. We generally do not know about the activities in the mine because they have been distributed and each person is given a target of 3 each since the training month. If in the past after three months it was continued again for six months if it was not immediately one year he was contracted, well, it is good one year, it will be immediately permanent, so the model within the company. If I say the company is right in management, the assistance is even if there is a family that supports the family can get 3 to 6 people.” (LAO)

This condition is for some people; a condition that is economically changing and changing. For some people, the current situation is an opportunity to be more advanced. One step forward with the educational opportunities of Bahodopi children who prefer to go to Java or Makassar to continue their education, which has been the furthest to Palu or Poso. The broad impact felt by the community can be illustrated in Figure 6.

One’s view will be both objective and subjective, although this will be able to describe one’s position or tendency concerning the situation that is being the object of conversation. The impact obtained from the presence of the mine shows the high number of community involvement in the mining mechanism and process. Some information regarding the relationship mechanism between the community-government and the mining company can be described as follows.

“Before the company, the economic problems were far different from the present situation. In the past, the economy was still challenging because mothers only opened food stalls, selling small cakes. I was before the existence of a mining business or the first time I opened a restaurant but not as big as a restaurant now. Market conditions before the mine could only sell once a week. The economy was difficult when the husband was also an honorary employee who was later lifted by civil servants in 2007. If in general the community before the company worked as a farmer at that time, the rice grew well. Currently, there are already people who work in mining besides trying.” (MIS).

An informant who is an activist who is an alkhaeraat woman and a business actor in this area provides an explanation related to changes in conditions experienced by the community and the involvement of local communities in the mining business. The community involvement scheme always involves elements of the government especially the village government as the spearhead of the community, all village officials stated that

“There is a mechanism for recruitment of local workers taken through the village government recommendation mechanism, although initially, it went well but lately it has not been running as it should be included in the case of the existence of suppliers of goods to the company.” (FGD).

The mechanism provides opportunities for local residents to be recruited even though some things hamper, primarily related to the quality of local resources that do
not meet the needs of the company. For village officials, this condition should not be a problem. The informant stated that:

“...the inability of the community as a local resource is an obstacle to hiring employees from the village or a particular recommendation scheme. If it wants to be used, it can be done by the company if it intends to fulfill the involvement of residents or local communities in the mining business on their land and not just be a spectator ... “ (MAJ).

The same thing related to community involvement was stated by another informant about the role or contribution of the company in increasing village income, stating that:

“...related to CSR obtained from companies, this has only been running for two years the program system, previously given in cash by the company / IMIP. However, now the company no longer wants to give in cash. Because the community feels that there is a change in the system of giving CSR funds, the community does not want to receive; they want to get the funds in cash. Finally, when we give information to those who need information after he cross-checks in the field, it is not following what we have to say. Because the will of the community which states “the company does not give anything to them, while the company has a broad impact on people’s lives. There is a difference of opinion here that the funds available from the company will be managed for the construction of rooms to be contracted whose profits will go to the village treasury to be able to help the community and Fatufia village development in the future, the community thinks more in the short term and does not think about business costs. boarding house ... “ (RID).

For village officials in the Bahodopi mine that currently exists, there is the same anxiety regarding the mechanism of cooperation to give “privileged” rights to local residents to be involved in the mining business. Like a word, after being discarded, the village officials only received more impact from the mining business. Even though from the beginning, they were asked to be involved and help the smooth investment of the mine as a commitment to the progress of the region and the Bahodopi community.

Ironically, some of the existing village officials, both those in the village government and those in the BPD (village representative body) are figures who have a past history with the company, especially before IMIP or after IMIP was established. This is a time bomb that could one day explode at a minimum. There will be a division in leadership in the community and more or less will have implications for the mining business. Public involvement is generally described based on the percentage of public opinion related to the involvement witnessed or felt so far as in the Figure 7.

Figure 7. Community Involvement in Mining Management

The mining sector and Bahodopi in the district with the largest area in Morowali Regency is a necessity. The future and hope for people like it or not as it will mainly depend on the mining sector. The natural wealth that has invited thousands of people to come for the sake of sustainability and better life ideals. This is, of course, hope and expectation of local people who hope not to be marginalized in business processes that stand on ancestral lands and values that make them owners and keepers. This ex-
expectation certainly will not be successful if all stakeholders position all interests in the mining area proportionally and prioritize favourable aspects of the investment climate by not exploiting that is beyond limits and uncontrolled.

MINING MANAGEMENT IN BOD-THODOPI IN THE PRESENT

Life Bahodopi community has a life with a variety of conditions that surround it. Community memory is a unique condition that is owned and becomes an atmosphere that will psychologically cling to and long for. The occurrence of differences in conditions between the past and the present after the entry of the mining business becomes a problematic condition in the mining world. Drastic changes in Bahodopi’s green face with agricultural business change with the atmosphere of traffic congestion and dusty environmental conditions and full of areas injured due to erosion for soil or ore exploration.

Damage due to mining has been proven to shift the life and orientation of the Bahodopi people. The rice field is not functioning due to the silting of the river, and most importantly, the community cannot use the flow of water at will because it is still a mining area. As a result, rice farming can be said to be lost and changed to supporting mining locations such as airports and the development of rented houses (boarding houses). An informant stated that:

“The impact of mining on the economy has been extraordinary, especially in the business circles, if in the past the cake sellers were limited but now people sell cakes very much and always run out. This is because of the need for more and more people to eat increases and is diverse. In other words, the companies with small businesses when compared to the past with the current one, are very different. Before the existence of the mine, that day’s income was only enough for that day. Today when there is a mine, do not local people who have many lands, there are also newcomers who rent land then he wakes up the boarding house ... “(ARM)

Forest area which is the general natural state of Morowali which was once green and tight. At present, this situation is undergoing an opening that has changed the face of Morowali. As far as the eye can see in the Bahodopi region when it looks red as a marker of nickel (ore) excavation. Thick, sharp dust as a combination of vehicle emissions with ore dust that will blow the face and people’s lives. Ore transport group that crosses the road in the steep hauling mountains across villages around the mine area to be able to transport materials to the port management.

The failure of rice farming to shift the pattern of community production to other agricultural businesses, especially pepper. The success of this agricultural crop is a hope for people who cannot be recruited as employees because of their age and educational background. The biggest threat to this is the condition of the price of pepper which is not stable in the international market due to speculators so that it falls from 100,000 to even more per kilo, at present only 46,000 rupiah per kilo. However, this new effort, although felt heavy for the community, is because Pepper’s characteristics are spoiled and cannot be abandoned if they want good results.

The primary and fundamental problem for mining areas is environmental damage. In addition to environmental problems that are polluted by other serious problems, no less critical is social problems. The presence of community life, supported by the existence of unlimited electricity, provides a new challenge for the community to use it. The character of the industrial city was born and gave extensive influence to the role and existence of information technology and communication technology as well as the ease of transportation networks between regions to and from Bahodopi. Management of the mine was significantly Bahodopi’s green red and dusty even though it was acknowledged by the community that these conditions brought various opportunities and expectations inherent in the process that followed.

The people of Bahodopi feel that the-
There is progress with the entry of mining businesses into Bahodopi. Based on community perceptions, the results are obtained that the mining business has an impact on improving welfare. Increased welfare is supported by the birth of various opportunities that provide new livelihood opportunities by utilizing developments as the implications of the existence of the mining business. There are other impacts such as the existence of social inequality, damage to the order of cultural values and the most important is the spread of disease. The entry of large investors into Bahodopi now has implications for shifting business relations from initially managed by local communities to being managed by entrepreneurs from outside Bahodopi.

The spread of diseases caused by environmentally damaged due to being influenced by the process of mining activities is a real reality that exists today. The existence of ARI is a common thing which in the beginning was prepared by the existence of a clinic by the company and the availability of Puskesmas, which has adequate equipment. One of the problematic things in the effort to prepare for the handling of the health impact is that medical staff, especially doctors, are limited because there is no permanent and only hires practising doctors for 3 (three) months.

In addition to these chronic problems, the destruction of the social order is also a real condition that is faced by society. The presence of various cultural values from various regions throughout Indonesia poses special challenges for the condition of the community in the Bahodopi mine area, especially in the four villages that are directly affected locations namely Bahodopi, Keura, Fatufia and Bahomakmur. Although other village areas remain affected because of the damage and the distribution of the supporting areas of the mine, there are in 12 villages that surround the mining area of PT IMIP and various other companies.

The central perception of the Bahodopi people who became Respondents based on the study above shows that there

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![Figure 8](image-url)

**Figure 8.** Persepsi Responden terhadap dampak Pengelolaan Tambang Bahodopi

was an increase in welfare with the existence of a mining business in Bahodopi. The people of Bahodopi apart from feeling a shift in welfare despite the changes in production mechanisms that are done traditionally, namely the livelihoods of agriculture, fisheries, resin seekers, rattan or hunting who are now shifting to employees or feel the impact of the mining business by making costs experience changes. The community feels the impact of the existence of a mining company with an increase in community income in this region. Although the pattern of community production has changed, some people still maintain the pattern of agricultural production by shifting the type of crop to Pepper / Pepper or chocolate, which has better value. This is also done either by buying new land with funds obtained from the sale of land in Bahodopi and using company unused land. The increase in income also triggers an increase in people’s living standards and changes in community behaviour so that it becomes more consumptive.

COMMUNITY PERCEPTION ON IMIP

Tailings Management and Its Problems

Tailings are a consequence of mining activities. Pohan et al. (2007) explained that tailing is a type of waste generated by mining activities and its presence in the mining world cannot be avoided. Herman (2006) also defines tailings as residue originating from the remaining slurry of ore after the principal mineral targets have been separated and usually consists of various grain sizes. The existence of tailings so far is considered to be a negative impact on life in the area.

The lack of awareness and awareness of the mining industry on the importance of preserving the environment is an issue and a phenomenon that will inevitably emerge. The mining process that starts from the opening of the channel, extraction of material, delivery or mobilization of mining materials to management is a crucial issue. If this is not resolved, it will ultimately have an impact on the communities around the Mine, which will directly have a direct impact on the mining business due to community resistance to it.

One of the renewable techniques currently available is the plan to build a project (High-Pressure Acid Leaching / HPAL). This technique is a solution to the consequences of the Minerba Law No. 4 of 2009. The regulation on the provisions prohibits the export of mineral raw materials so that each mining company is required to process raw materials in the country. The management of tailings and the tailings for the future placement of tailings is a significant challenge given the location of Bahodopi. The character of the area which is generally dominated by coastal seas from shallow seas which is currently undergoing a process of reclamation to the deep sea which is an asset of fishery resources in the Morowali region even in some places processed into tourist destinations. Technological developments also bring mining businesses to be able to exploit a variety of potentials, including tailings, to be recovered. The mining mechanism then leaves waste in the form of the remaining tailings. This technology-based efficiency is a mining processing innovation that is expected to provide solutions as well as benefits for the mining business.

Figure 9. Perception of a Deep Sea Tailings Management Plan

The public perception that expresses their disapproval of waste management with any model into the ocean is an understanding that is built on the current con-
ditions of factory waste disposal at IMIP. Based on data from community perceptions related to tailings management and the rest of tailings into the deep sea, there are 29% of the community who responded related to the possibility of being able to accept the application of the technology with various records. Although in general, the community refused, this was a response related to the experimental conditions faced in daily life that were confronted by various implications as an impact of mine management. Ecosystem damage, the management of the area changed from rice fields or gardens to housing or office complexes and even rice fields between Keurea-Baho Makmur now has become an airport for companies that have initially been pointed out for public airports so that people want to release at prices below market prices.

If one looks at the perceptions of the community's understanding of the current mine waste management mechanism, it can be said that the company hides the process very carefully. Nearly all the information collection techniques used in the study stated that neither the apparatus nor the public was aware of the company's waste management mechanism. An informant stated that, "... They manage themselves (IMIP); there is no involvement of the village government or community leaders. The company will have difficulty later approaching. Their waste disposal is dumped on top of (mountain) ..." (MAJ). The assumptions of the community which put the indifference towards the existence of the community and the government related to waste management are obvious in the informant who is a village headman. The management of tailings and the remainder of tailings and even waste generated by work processes in the mine work environment is unknown to the public. The statement from the informant in line with the above stated that:

"The public does not know about the disposal of mining waste or the company. There is no socialization where the waste is. In every mine management, there must be no waste. There is no waste, even in households there is waste, what else is a big company like IMIP." (NUR).

The informant further stated related to the use of environmentally friendly technology, that:

"The important thing is that the waste does not pollute the environment; there must be waste management; it does not have to pollute the sea because there are still fishermen looking for it. The people also need fish. What is clear is that we have begun to feel that fish are already expensive, and it has begun to be difficult to obtain as well." (NUR).

Waste and rubbish, in general, are human problems all the time. The problem of waste and garbage in the mining area is also a problem that has been predicted. Especially considering that the location of the mining area, which is the location of an industrial estate in Bahodopi is a residential area located in Bahodopi, Keurea, Fatufia and Bahomakmur. One of the company's internal staff members said that: "... Nowadays, especially the Bahodopi Sea, it is already very polluted. Especially waste disposal. Try to see the clay in the river at Bahodopi. There is already a "smelly grandmother" (very smelly). Here there is no landfill garbage, not to mention landfill, TPU (public landfill waste) is not there.

Some other informants gave their understanding related to mine waste management which suggested that there were chaos and insensitivity in mine management related to the environmental impact caused by the company. As this is stated as follows:

"Mining waste from running to river becomes poisonous. The water flows into the sea; eventually the fish that are lured are reduced. It used to be easy to get fish, but it was hard to sell, now it is hard to get, but it is expensive. That is why first because we exchange much fish with rice alone. " (MUM)

Similar statement and emphasize the urgency of proper mine management, an informant stated that "... Tailings waste or the rest should not be disposed of at sea. The current situation is only the soil that pollutes the water (red), but the fish are far
away (it becomes unmanageable) especially if it is mercury or tailings/tailings that have been thrown into the sea ... “(MAJ). Johan (a former of IMIP Public Relations) added in the Focus Group discussion (FGD) related to this issue, as follows:

“We do not know, but if the waste in water, waste from mining impacts, try to see the sea up there, all red. That was once the Amdal team from the province I once argued with because he got a report from the company that there was no waste, I said, let us try going down to the sea, there was still a sign I put it there a year ago, which initially was still this high (pointing heel or ankle) now it has reached one meter, so finally this has the same impact on fishermen, if facilities do not support it it will take 5-6 hours to be able to catch fish”.

Johan tries to explain that the waste generated by the company today has a real impact on the environment. As an example, he shows where the condition of the sea has been contaminated with mud so that it has an impact on fishing activities by fishers. A decrease most likely influences this condition in water quality so that fish are unable to adapt and consequently, fish migrate to other places. This means that fishing areas have been degraded due to mining activities. This possibility is even more significant when referring to the opinion of Sarianto et al. (2016) which states that Nickel Seed is generally associated with other heavy metals such as tembanga (Cu), Arsenic (As), Iron (Fu), and Platinum (Pt). This heavy metal has an excellent opportunity to enter the waters around the mine through the river flow. While it was discussed earlier that almost all of the rivers in the Bahodopi sub-district were polluted.

The nature of factory waste management is unknown to the public. The implications of mine management are only based on community knowledge related to the results of waste produced by coal-fired power plants that are burned using coal. The condition of the burning of hot water which is flowed directly into the sea causes the seawater around the power plant to become hot and does not leave any life beneath it. Tailings management and the remaining tailings from nickel management in Bahodopi are entirely unknown to the public.

Although the tailings and tailings management scheme is given to the community, due to the limited understanding and knowledge related to its implications to the community, the environmental impacts due to environmental damage that are directly felt and the shifting dynamics of values and social life to the community are far more critical for the community. The limited technical knowledge regarding tailings and the rest of the tailings puts the issue on this matter not so strongly received in the community.

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2 Sarianto, Deni., Simbolon, Domu, Wiryawan, Budi. 2016. Dampak Pertambangan Nikel Terhadap...
CONCLUSION

The government and companies need to anticipate the disturbance of security and order, increasing the potential for social conflict due to social segregation; both ethnicity, religion, migrant and native status and differences in the ethos of trying and working. The previous inhabitants of Bahodopi Sub-district, despite having diverse ethnic backgrounds, such as Bungku, Bugis, Tolaki, Toraja, Javanese and Lombok, were relatively homogeneous in terms of religion, namely Islam. The current condition is increasingly multi-ethnic with the arrival of new migrants such as; Batak, Minahasa, Buton, Pamona, Mori, Toraja, Bali while in terms of religion are also increasingly diverse. Violent conflict involving local residents, Bungku with Toraja migrants in October 2018 is evidence of the situation in question.

Equally important is that companies also need to increase empowerment (empowerment) of local communities to face social change from an agrarian society to an industrial society, which previously worked with a subsistence mechanism into an industrial society that is skill intensive and demands a high ethos. At present, it appears that it is still able to survive and accelerate because local communities own land that is sold to companies, land that is rented to migrant traders and boarding houses rented by employees. That period will end if the local population is oriented towards consumption without financial management and building businesses and increasing the skills needed by the industrial community. Based on field findings, almost 80% of business activities and company suppliers are controlled by migrants.

Finally, the people in Bahodopi district broadly have a positive perception with the presence of PT. IMIP, this is illustrated by 67% of respondents who answered well. The reasons for positive perception consist of; increased community income, work opportunities, business opportunities, education, health assistance and opportunities to become suppliers. 33% have negative opinions, based on reasons for the difficulty of working in a company, changes in livelihood patterns, environmental damage, difficulty access to local entrepreneurs, social conflicts due to a large number of migrants.

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