The Mystery of Ecological and Socio-Cultural Degradation Of Bajo Community (A Study Of Nickel Mining Expansion In Pomalaa Sub-District, Kolaka Regency)

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Abstract: A paradox becomes clear and confusing; nickel mining expansion in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province, the ecological and socio-cultural aspects that should be the most essential and maintained components are the last things to pay attention to. This neglect has made ecological and social cultural aspects shrouded in mystery.

The focus of this research is to explore and uncover various mysteries of the ecological and socio-cultural degradation of the Bajo community towards the expansion of nickel mining in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency. This research employs post-positivism paradigm with Grounded Theory approach. The techniques of data collection used are interviews, observation and document study.

This research concludes that there are some mysteries of the ecological and socio-cultural degradation of the Bajo community in Pomalaa Sub-district Kolaka Regency due to the expansion of nickel mining including: first, the desire to exploit natural resources as much as possible to meet market needs and obtain profits privately or corporately. Second, the mystery of the occurrence of ecological and socio-cultural degradation without being documented and which is rarely reported. Third, the mystery of the failure of the local government to control the market and manage natural resources. Fourth, the mystery of the failure of law enforcement, which is the powerlessness of law enforcement agencies to safeguard the rights of local communities. Fifth, the mystery of the failure of law enforcement, which is the powerlessness of law enforcement agencies to safeguard the rights of local communities.

Keywords: Ecological, Socio-Cultural, Degradation, Bajo Community

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I. INTRODUCTION

Sustainable development is the development carried out to meet the needs of the present generation without depriving the rights and needs of the next generation. Sustainable development is a development process of land, city, business, community and so on, which principled to meet the needs of the present generation without sacrificing the needs of the future generations (Brundtland in United Nations; 1987). There are many subsequent UN reports. The latest is a report from the 2005 High Level International Conference, which suggested that sustainable development consists of three main pillars (economic, social and environmental) that mutually reinforce and are interdependent.

To fulfill the UN provisions, the Indonesian government has ratified the results of the agreement into a form of regulation; Law No. 23 of 1997 concerning Environmental Management as amended to Act Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management:

…Article 1 paragraph (2) states that environmental protection and management is a systematic and integrated effort carried out to preserve environmental functions and prevent pollution and/or damage to the environment which includes planning, utilization, control, maintenance, supervision and law enforcement. And Article 1 paragraph (3) states that sustainable development is a conscious and planned effort that integrates environmental, social and economic aspects into a development strategy to ensure the integrity of the environment and the safety, capacity, welfare and quality of life of the present and future generations.

However, in fact, there are a lot of development activities in Indonesia, especially related to natural resource management, which result in environmental damage and undermines the socio-cultural system in society. One of them is the expansion of nickel mining in Pomala, Kolaka Regency. According to the 2009 Report of the Center for Environmental Research of the University of Southeast Sulawesi, based on the results of
The analysis carried out, the sedimentation of mining sludge that entered the rivers in the seawaters of Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province by PT. INCO. Tbk, now PT. Vale Tbk, managed to maintain the ecological and socio-cultural conditions of the local community while nickel mining and processing in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province by PT. Antam Tbk, and other companies failed.

To uncover the mystery, the authors attempted to trace theories to be used for analysis so that the mystery in question could truly be revealed clearly and thoroughly. Theoretical discourse starts from the view of Amitai Etzioni (in Poloma, 2010) about active society, namely society that controls their social world, not controlled by outside forces or other active forces. Next is Gramsci's hegemony theory, which is built on the premise of the importance of ideas and not enough physical strength in socio-political control. In order for those who are controlled to obey the authorities, they must not only feel to have and internalize the values and norms of the authorities, but more than that they must also give consent to their subordination. This is what Gramsci meant as "hegemony" or controlling with "intellectual and moral leadership" (Gramsci in Sugiono 2006: 31). The concept of hegemony can be elaborated through an explanation of the basis of class supremacy. Supremacy of a group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and as "intellectual and moral leadership". Gramsci's theory points to a chain of victory obtained through a consensus mechanism, not through oppression of other social classes. This can be done through institutions in the community that determine directly or cognitive structures of society (Gramsci 1976: 144).

Even more interesting, Foucault's theory of Power/Knowledge (1980) is the grand theory in this research. If we look closely at the work of Michel Foucault, almost all of them talk about truth, power, and...
knowledge, but the main focus is on power. He does not talk about what "power" is, but the mechanisms and strategies of power and how power is practiced, accepted, and seen as a truth.

Previously Foucault in his book entitled The Archaeology of Knowledge (1969) introduces archeology method with clearer exploration. Archeology in this case is understood as a means of critical analysis to uncover the relationship between knowledge in discourse. He used the term discourse to explain ways of thinking and acting based on knowledge (Jones, 2009). Foucault views power not from the Weberian perspective, namely the subjective ability to influence others. Power is not also interpreted from Maximan perspective as a material artifact that can be controlled and used by certain classes (bourgeois) to dominate and oppress other classes (proletariat).

Power according to Foucault is not an institution, structure or strength in society, does not always operate in a negative and repressive area but operates at a positive and productive level, because power always creates knowledge, which in turn brings out its own truth. Knowledge supports truth and truth sustains knowledge. It can be concluded that truth is a procedure system to produce, organize, disseminate, and operate statements (Foucault, 2009).

Foucault also maintains that sovereignty is far more universal than other concepts that must be understood in its historical features according to regimes especially in practices and forms of political rationality. Hence, Foucault summarizes several changes and uses of language and sovereignty theory (1980:103).

So power is classified as power over life and death, which is the right to take life or let live (Foucault, 1969:136); emphasis on authenticity or 'Je droit de faire mourir ou de laisser vivre' (Foucault, 1969). A more complete understanding of Foucault's concept of power and sovereignty can be obtained in several of Foucault's works such as Madness and Civilization (1961), The Birth of The Clinic (1963), The Order of Things (1966), Power/Knowledge (1980), The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality (1991).

The concept that is not less important to uncover the mystery of ecological and socio-cultural degradation in this context is "capitalism". The concept of capitalism is based on individualism in which each individual will always strive to pursue and seek material benefits to obtain economic and social benefits in his community. Adam Smith in Wealth of Nations (1776) argues that capitalism is an individual's attempt to pursue their own material profits so as to produce positive economic and social consequences for the entire community. Unfortunately, he did not pay much attention to the internal contradictions and cruelty of the system. (Lippit, 2005). Thus, in a capitalist system, individual rights obtain a very special place and must be protected by the state. (Harvey, 2005; Lippit, 2005).

The driving force of capitalism is globalization. Globalization is a dynamic process of liberalization, openness, and international relations built on healthy and competitive "market" institutions (De le Dehesa, 2006).

Globalization is a very powerful booster or power provider for the acceleration of economic development based on capitalism - neoliberalism (Solichin A. Wahab, 2010). As a liberalization booster, globalization carries the slogan of freedom to trade, which serves as a support for world capitalism and the obligation of every country to compete fairly in the market institution (Harvey, 2005; Lippit, 2005; and de le Dehesa, 2006).

The theoretical relationship between capitalism, neoliberalism, globalization and the role of the state is directed to the formation of a new economic institution that leads to the formation of homo economicus (Nurmi, 2006), which is the result of the world capitalist system (Lippit, 2003, p. 3 – 5). Lippit 2005, 71-72 stated that globalization and technological change are core elements of capitalism. The combination of the public sector (state/government) and the private sector is a form of game theory Nurmi (2006). There are several game theories such as zero sum-game, constant sum-game (Nurmi, 2006; 60) and dominance-solvable (Nurmi, 2006; 62), Nash equilibrium (Nurmi, 2006; 65), and sub-game perfect equilibrium (Nurmi, 2006; 73).

The expansion of nickel mining in Pomalaa starts from the perspective of neoliberalism. The assumption is that development has a positive correlation with capital. The basic rule of neoliberal is 'liberalize trade and finance'; 'let the market determine prices', 'end inflation', 'stabilize macro economy', 'privatization', 'the government must move away from blocking the road' (Chomsky, 1999). Thus, if a country wants to achieve prosperity, then development will be directed to the realization of economic growth (Hayek, 1978). Harvey explained about the phenomenon of Neoliberalism as follows:

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (Harvey, 2006)

The role of the state is to maintain and guarantee personal freedom and independence within the framework of markets and free trade. The state must also improve the capabilities of its military, defense, police and judicial structures and functions to ensure the security of property rights from power disturbances outside the market if needed for the functioning of private ownership on market mechanisms. (Harvey, 2006). Thus, globalization characterized by the advancement of information technology creates a free and wide world order.
without barriers. Capitalism has expanded its development, which will eventually be global (Emanuel Wallerstein). Hence, the future of the world economy is in the grip of capitalism (Berger, 1990).

Ayn Rand in Capitalism (1970) mentioned three basic assumptions of capitalism, namely: (a) individual freedom, (b) selfishness, and (c) free market. Influenced by the term "invisible hand" from Smith, free market according to Rand is a process that is constantly evolving and always demands the best or the most rational. Smith once argued: "...free market forces is allowed to balance equitably the distribution of wealth" (Lerner, 1988).

Another perspective is proposed by Hernando de Soto (2000) who considers the problem of poverty as a result of inequality of access to capital by developing countries where the poor move more outside the global market system (extra legal system). Assets or property rights in developing countries cannot be utilized (dead capital). In fact, the dead capital in the form of houses and land with no certificate is mostly owned by the poor. Unfortunately, since it is not recorded, such wealth is not ready to be transferred to social capital.

IV. RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs post-positivism paradigm with Grounded Theory approach (Strauss and Corbin in Shodiq & Imam Muttaqien, 2003; and Strauss and Corbin in McNabb, 2002). The techniques of data collection used are interviews, observation and document study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter will describe the research results and the discussion to answer the research problem, namely why ecological and socio-cultural degradation can occur in the Bajo community, Pomalaa, Kolaka regency, while in other places, the mining industry and the ecological and socio-cultural development of local communities can actually progress together.

Referring to Hernando Desoto’s (2000) statement in his book entitled The Mystery of Capital, the authors attempt to explore two mysteries of ecological and socio-cultural degradation of the Bajo community in the expansion of nickel mining in Pomalaa Kolaka regency; the mystery of ecological degradation and the mystery of socio-cultural degradation.

The Mystery of Ecological Degradation

Ecological degradation due to the expansion of the nickel mining in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency is true. Complete data about the rate and level of environmental damage that occurs can be obtained from the 2009 Report of the Center for Environmental Research of the University of Southeast Sulawesi and the results of Hamzah’s dissertation research (2016).

The occurrence of environmental degradation as described above seems increasingly difficult to control. The results of the documentation are corroborated by the results of the observational study conducted by the researchers from November 1, 2017 until March 31, 2018. Environmental degradation was observed in Tambea Village and in Hakatutobu Village, Pomalaa sub-district, Kolaka Regency.

There are at least three indicators that I can describe from the results of my observations related to environmental degradation in Tambea Village and in Hakatutobu Village, Pomalaa Subdistrict, Kolaka Regency, namely turbidity of surface water, sedimentation level and rate, and marine life. While in the location, I got 2 seasons, dry season and rainy season. Related to the turbidity level, the surface water in the dry season was light brown. This condition still occurred both during high tide and during low tide. And when the rainy season came, the water turbidity seemed to get worse. The color of the sea surface became dark reddish brown.

Based on information from local fishermen, from 2007 to 2017, the average thickness of the seabed surface was approximately 1 meter. This means that there is an uncontrolled sedimentation rate of an average of 10 cm per year. As a result, along the coasts of the villages of Tambea and Hakatutobu, we can no longer meet the biota that existed before the issuance of IUP (mining business license) in 2007.

Data regarding environmental degradation from the results of document study and observational study is also supported by the following interview results:

Mr. H. Burman “PT. Antam was ahead of us in this Hokatutobu village, even this village was the land given by Antam to the community as a form of empowerment and the condition of the environment was still very good. But in 2007-2008, other companies came, participating in mining activities, this is what has damaged the environment until now (Interview, 25 November 2017).

Furthermore, the following is the result of an interview with Mr. Kadir.:

…” Those mining companies have left with profits. They left us "Mud and Dust". The water has become red and the mud is waist-high. With so many mining companies, if we all unite and the government cares, we will certainly be rich, because we are right in the middle of them. But, in reality, we only get Dust and Mud (Interview, 25 November 2017).
Almost all the data obtained from the interviews are the same and mutually reinforcing, as stated by Mr. Daning that the main thing is to improve the environment, because fish are the same as humans, if the environment is damaged they will definitely leave. (Interview, 27 November 2017).

Data from the interview is in line with Mr. Sardi's statement that:

“People here only make a living on the mountain or in the sea, there is no other place. But now making a living on the mountain is no longer possible because it has been controlled by mining companies, and making a living in the sea is also difficult because it has been polluted, so we have to go further into the ocean to get fish or plant seaweed. In the past, we could find sea cucumbers under the house. In the past, during low tide, the sand was clean and white, children played soccer in the sand, but now it is covered with mud, look, the water has turned red (Interview, 27 November 2017).

The last data iteration was from Mr. H. Mursalim (the secretary of Hakatutobu Village) who stated that:

“The decline in income was solely caused by environmental damage by mining companies. Marine biota disappears or is buried due to sedimentation, in the past, seaweed was very promising and fast-growing, we farmed sea cucumber, shellfish, etc., but now everything is gone. (Interview, 21 January 2018).

Data from document study, observations and interviews show that the acceleration of ecological degradation rate in the villages of Tambea and Hakatutobu occurred since the issuance of new IUPs (Mining Business Licenses) for companies such as PT. Tosida, Pt. Asia Mineral Mining, PT. Putra Mekongga Sejahterah (PMS), and PT. Kelapa Gading who conduct mining activities that are not environmentally friendly. PT. Antam's contribution to uncontrollable ecological degradation is even further exacerbated and accelerated by the presence of new IUPs which have a short validity period but open vast areas of land to mining because those companies are chasing market demand and of course pursuing greater and instant profits.

The results of this study found that ecological degradation was caused by the practice of nickel ore mining, which was not environmentally friendly, weak government supervision, and the high desire of nickel mining companies to obtain maximum profits. The results of this research are supported by the results of Surya's research (2011) that spatial physical changes that take place very quickly encourage accelerated development, beginning with the development of new functions, encouraging increased influx of migrants. The results of this study are also in line with the results of Regus's (2011) study that environmental ethics in a local perspective that refers to cooperative appreciation of the existence of local aspects has not become part of the overall mining industry paradigm in Manggar.

It seems that capitalists and neolibs play a role in ecological degradation due to the expansion of nickel mining in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency, with the pretext of meeting market demand. Greedy capitalists who fulfill their desires to pursue their own material benefits always hide behind their own logic that what they do can produce positive economic and social consequences for the whole community. This is because market is at the core of the capitalist system, and fully developed capitalism requires labor market in the production process and product market. Unfortunately, they do not take the internal contradictions and cruelty of the system into account (Lippit, 2005). Even Hayek and Friedman (in Priyono: 2003) state that there is one and only one social responsibility of business that is to use all of its resources for activities that serve accumulated "profits".

The discourse proved that in the expansion of the nickel mining in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency, the role of the society was not seen at all, as Amitai Etzioni (in Poloma, 2010) stated, as an active society, but in fact none of them were able to withstand the rate of ecological degradation in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency as a result of nickel mining expansion of PT. Antam Tbk, which owns a Contract of Work and other nickel mining companies that have a Mining Business License (IUP). All parties easily argued that they care about the environment, but none of them explained which ecological aspects of the Bajo community in Pomalaa community were preserved.
The Mystery of Socio-Cultural Degradation

The shift of the social structure and cultural values of the Bajo community in the villages of Tambea and Hakatutobu was also shown by the data from the observation conducted by the researchers from November 1, 2017 until March 31, 2018. The data from this observation is presented as follows:

It cannot be ascertained since when the Bajo Tribe has been in Tambea Village, Pomalaa Sub-district, Kolaka Regency, but the Bajo tribe is one of the tribes that are considered to be indigenous to the Tambea village. Bajo tribe's love of the sea began when they tried to avoid war and riots on land and they finally found peace in the sea, since then they lived on boats. Bajo people initially lived on a boat called bidu. This community is nomadic, moving in groups to different places, which are locations for fishing. Therefore, Bajo people are often called sea nomads or sea gypsies. The sea for the Bajo is of great importance because besides being a place to live, it is also a place to make a living. This is because the life of the Bajo people depends entirely on marine resources. The sea for them is a source of life.

The social and cultural habitat of the Bajo tribe was originally bidu or boat until the 1930s. Then, in the 1935s, they began to build kampoh (permanent residence). They then built babaroh on the tidal beach. Babaroh is a temporary residence for the Bajo tribe to rest and process seafood. All construction materials came from the surrounding environment, such as mangrove wood for pillars, sago palm leaves for roof coverings, and bamboo for floor or wall.

Due to environmental damage, some of the Bajo people (sea Bajo) felt that they were not at home living in Tambea Village; they found it difficult to catch fish, their livelihood was gone, then they took the initiative to move to Hakatutobu Village, which was started by 7 families. However, environmental damage also occurred in Hakatutobu village, so the Bajo community in Hakatutobu village was resigned and tried to adjust to changing times. As time went by, through mixed marriage between the Bajo community in Tambea Village and those in Hakatutobu Village, their social structure and cultural values began to change, they no longer depended too much on the sea, but they started to learn farming, trading, carpentry and other things done on land. They also lived permanently, no longer nomadic, because they had learned that wherever they moved environmental damage could not be avoided and they had realized that they could find happiness in one place. However, some of them are still very dependent on the sea. Thus, their lives in Tambea and Hakatutobu villages are divided into two; living on land and living on the coast, but there are also those who live in the sea, apart from others and their homes are accessed by boat, not roads or bridges.

The data of the document study and observation results are strengthened by the data of the interview results related to the social and cultural degradation of the Bajo tribe in the villages of Tambea and Hakatutobu.

The following is the data from the interview with Mr. Ruslan Gafur:

"Initially the Tambea community who moved to Hakatutobu Village only consisted of 7 families; they left Tambea because there was no farm in Tambea, their life depended only on the sea, while here in Hakatutobu, there were farms, so if we can't go to sea, we farm. This Hakatutobu village was initially dedicated to the Bajo tribe, but as time went by, our children were married to people from other tribes. In addition, there are more people from other tribes than people from the Bajo tribe". (Interview, 25 November 2017).

Meanwhile, Mr. Asrianto said that “the most important thing is to improve the environment and economy, education is adequate because many schools are available, but if the family's economic conditions are not good, the children will help to earn a living, go to sea, and this cannot be avoided” (Interview, 25 November 2017).

Furthermore, Mr. Sardi stated that “…Bajo people live on boats, there used to be land given but it had been sold. People here only make a living on the mountain or in the sea, no other places. But now making a living on the mountain is no longer possible because it has been controlled by mining companies, and making a living in the sea is also difficult because it has been polluted, so we have to go further into the ocean to get fish or plant seaweed. Meanwhile, the people here cannot do anything, because most of them are illiterate, they cannot write and read”. (Interview, 25 November 2017).

According to Mrs. Jumati, Tambea consisted of Bajo, Bugis and Makassar tribes, even the village head was Buginese. Therefore, the indigenous culture of the Bajo tribe is almost extinct, because it is mixed with the culture of other tribes. Buginese language is used more often than the original Bajo language, (Interview, 25 November 2017).

Mr. Ir. Agus said that Bajo culture has shifted and fused with other cultures. Now they are more often on land and they no longer feel dizzy when they are on land, especially since many have married those from other tribes (Interview, 27 November 2017).

From the results of research related to socio-cultural degradation, it can be concluded that socio-cultural degradation is caused by the acculturation of the social structure and cultural values of the Bajo community with other communities through industrialization, capitalization, mixed marriage, and education. Socio-cultural changes occur through the process of acculturation, assimilation, and diffusion. The results of this research also found that the Bajo community living in the village of Tambea and the village of Hakatutobu in Pomalaa, Kolaka.
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Regency is an open society, so the diffusion process is very easy, especially since the two villages are in the middle of the nickel mining industry.

The investigation of socio-cultural degradation in the Bajo community in Pomalaa Sub-district Kolaka Regency gave birth to what Foucault called "historical a priori", impose limits in the sense that they involve certain rules and regularities that are in accordance with "body of knowledge" in certain historical periods (Kologlugil; 2010). This is what is referred to as power of knowledge (Foucault, 1980) that knowledge produces power so that it becomes a truth. Socio-cultural changes in the Bajo community due to the expansion of nickel mining are also in line with archaeology of knowledge (Foucault 1972; 1988; 1994a; 1994b). In this respect, the social and cultural degradation of the Bajo community is a phenomenon that creates itself through certain phases and periods, so that the phenomenon can be said to exist and can be considered as truth (Foucault in Kologlugil, 2010).

The social and cultural degradation of the Bajo community was analyzed using Foucault's archeological view of "madness" and "illness", each as an object of medical science and psychology. In his theme of madness and civilization, Foucault began exploring changes in the way Western culture understood "madness" and made it an object of discourse in "scientific" inquiry. This departs from the perception of people with mental illness who are considered to have strange relationships with divinity and become part of everyday life in the Renaissance, as stated by Foucault "...to that which put them to houses of confinement together with the criminal and the unemployed, with all the "idle" elements of the early capitalist society that constitute its other (Foucault 1988).

Thus, we can see the core of Foucault's theory which shows that mental illness only appears as a mental illness in a culture that defines it as such. Regarding the definition, in mental illness, power actually dominates. Madness is different from the usual, and because the usual is characterized by productivity, then madness is lack of productivity. Handling insanity is a form of application of one's power or a group of people's over others (Foucault, 1963). Thus, it can be concluded that socio-cultural degradation due to the expansion of the nickel mining in Pomala Kolaka Regency is a necessity.

The mystery of socio-cultural degradation is the decrease or loss of socio-cultural functions to produce goods and services. So many people, both as individuals and as groups, government and non-governmental organizations, even BUMN (State-Owned Enterprises) and private companies were proclaiming themselves as social cultural observers of the local community but in fact none of them were able to withstand the rate of socio-cultural degradation in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency as a result of nickel mining expansion of PT. Antam TbK, which owns a Contract of Work and other nickel mining companies that have a Mining Business License (IUP). All parties easily argued that they care about the society, but none of them explained which socio-cultural aspects of the Bajo community in Pomalaa community were preserved.

VI. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research and the discussion aforementioned, it can be concluded that there are some mysteries of the ecological and socio-cultural degradation of the Bajo community in Pomalaa, Kolaka Regency due to the expansion of nickel mining. These include, first, what Hernando de Soto (2000) calls the mystery of lost information, namely the tolerance of the occurrence of ecological and socio-cultural degradation without being documented and which is rarely reported, second, the desire to exploit natural resources as much as possible to meet market needs and obtain profits privately or corporately, third, the mystery of local politics failure, which is the failure of the local government to control the market and manage natural resources, fourth, the mystery of law enforcement failure, which is the powerlessness of law enforcement agencies to safeguard the rights of local communities, fifth, the mystery of sovereignty failure, the condition in which local communities, especially the Bajo community, do not have the power to defend their rights because of lack of knowledge so that they always face insoluble dilemmas.

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