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## **Analyzing the Ethnography of Pado'E Community in Nuha District of Luwu Utara Regency Lebba Kadorre Pongsibanne Rismawati**

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### **Abstract**

*The ethnography of Padoe Community can be seen from the perspectives of origin and history, language, technology and systems of livelihood, kinship, knowledge, art, religion, leadership, political life, as well as the law of land ownership and mastership. The community lives in mountainous areas which is now marginalized by the presence of industrial society named PT. INCO, which consists of people from various ethnic groups and nationalities. This has caused Pado'E community find it difficult to adapt to the industrial society due to the differences.*

*This study is aimed at describing the ethnography, the social, economic as well as cultural implications of Pado'E community in the District of Nuha due to the existence of PT. INCO Tbk. Observations, interviews, and literature studies were used to collect the data of this study which were presented by using descriptive analysis to describe the ethnography of Pado'E community and the social implications because of the existence of PT Inco Tbk from 1968 to the present.*

*Nuha district was chosen as this research location because this district is the center of Pado'e community residence consisting of approximately 5,997 populations. 20 % out of the total populations embraced Islam and 80% Christian. The people of Pado'e community are hunting, gardening as well as farming for a living with the help of animals such as dogs, buffaloes and cows. Owing to the facts, the government, enterprises and other organizations such as local community organizations, NGOs made several efforts in order to improve the living standards of the community by employing few people of the community who have certain skills or expertises, and occasionally giving farm aid such as fertilizers and seeds once in a year.*

***Keywords: ethnography; standard of living; pado'e community; nuha district; north luwu regency***

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**1. Introduction:** The community of Pado'e lives in a mountainous area included in the territory of a nickel mining company called PT. INCO Tbk in Nuha district of Luwu Utara regency which is dominantly occupied by workers of the company known as the industrial society. This requires Pado'e community adapts and blends with people from different cultural backgrounds and nationalities. In addition, they are also required to retain their local culture in order not to be altered by a western culture brought by the people of the industrial society.

The existence of PT. INCO really affects the social and economic life of Pado'e people in the District of Nuha. Since the company was established in 1968, the Pado'e people find it very difficult to meet their daily needs by hunting, gardening, farming as well as looking for resins or rattans for a

living because their lands have been taken over by the company for mining nickel, building workers' housing and the company's offices, and setting up hydro electric power (PLTA) in some areas of the Nuha District. These facts also affect the environmental conditions there, which used to be so beautiful and comfortable, has physically changed with high level of air pollution. The air pollution has brought adverse impact to the health of Pado'e people who live around the company.

The Pado'e community now feels increasingly left behind and underdeveloped due to the increasing number of migrants from outside northern Luwu regency who worked at PT. INCO Tbk. Most pado'e people who live in 11 villages (The village of Balambano, Tabarano, Wasuponda, Ledu Ledu, Parumpanai, Kawata, Magani, Matano, Nuha, Soroako, as well as the village of Nickel) feel that they are economically underdeveloped because they can only farm in the rest of the lands that are not cultivated by the company yet. On the top of that, they mostly not only assume that their economic life used to be better (before the company exists) than now (after the company exists), but also feel that the company pay less attention to the pado'e people's social and economic life as natives who mostly still live below the poverty line.

It should be recognized that the presence of PT. INCO Tbk for over two decades has given impacts on pado'e people in social, economic and cultural aspects of their lives. The effect on culture appearing today is the waning of the local culture values, habits and customs in local people's lives as influences brought by the people of industrial society's cultures and habits within the company. There must be a real effort done to counter the tendency of losing the local culture and one of the efforts is to write about indigenous people in the area around PT. INCO Tbk, particularly about Pado'E Community who lives in Nuha district. For the reason, the writer is interested in carrying out a research on the ethnography of Pado'e community in Nuha district of North Luwu regency before the existence of PT. Inco, as well as the implications of the existence of PT Inco. on Social, Economic and Cultural aspects of Pado'E community.

**2. Literature Review:** The theoretical foundations used in this study are the theory of ethnography, social institutions as well as cultural approach. James P. Spradley (1997) argues that ethnography is to describe the work of a culture. The main objective of this activity is to understand a way of life from the perspective of indigenous peoples. Ethnography is a culture that studying other cultures. Ethnography is a knowledge-building, which includes engineering studies, theoretical ethnography, and a wide variety of cultural description. Gooddenough (in Hari Poerwanto, 2000: 34) argues that the culture of a society consists of and about something regularly to be known or to be trusted, then to be operationalized in the customs or procedures (manners) which is received by the society's people, and if some people receive and implement the culture. It will be transformed into a model to accept to connect, and then to do in the people's lives as an interpretation of the culture.

Among all human actions, there should be a difference between the actions implemented according to the informal patterns and the informal patterns. In anthropology and sociology, the actions are called social institutions (Koentjaraningrat: 1990). According to Malinowski (in TO Ihromi, 2000) social institution can be defined as a group of people who are united (and it is therefore organized) to attain some specific purposes and possess means required to achieve the goals or at least make plausible efforts aimed at achieving the goals which support a certain value system, ethics, as well as beliefs, and justifying the purposes with the types of more predictable actions.

In addition, this study uses a cultural approach in which people being targeted as the research objects will be seen as individuals who actively grasp, manipulate, and exploit some resources in their environment by using their culture so that they can maintain and improve their welfare. In real activities and social lives, cultural institutions exist in a society and are not individually applied as a separate entity, but they are a unified and holistic system. In other words, each cultural institution of a culture (as a subsystem of the culture), has a function for other institutions within the culture. So, the function of a culture can obviously be seen in people's activities and lives related to utilization of existing resources in their environment for the survival and prosperity of the people themselves. In this study, the exploitation of natural resources by the local people of Pado'e community may be seen as an institution that is able to accommodate a variety of interests to be able to maintain and improve the lives of the people, especially those concerned with the fulfillment of their basic needs.

### **3. Reserach Methodology:**

**3.1. Research Design:** This type of research is qualitative research as a strategy to reveal the substance of the problems studied. It is expected that the subjective reality truth can be achieved. Selection of the type of qualitative research is also based on the view Dilthey (Smith, 1984: Smith and Heshusius, 1986) who firmly believes that social phenomena and human behavior basically exist only in the human mind and the reality is always bound by the dialectic interaction of a subject and its object. Berner (1981) states that social reality is the result of human's will, which consciously may not be separated from the specificity of inter-human relationships involved. Based on the above considerations, the qualitative research is selected to investigate Pado'e community in the District of Nuha.

**3.2. Research setting:** This research was conducted in the District of Nuha Luwu Utara by selecting six villages purposively. The district is selected because it is the center of Nickel production of PT. INCO Tbk. Besides, the district is also the area where Pado'e community lives in its six isolated sub districts (villages) i.e. Balambano, Tabarano, Wasuponda, Ledu Ledu, Magani, as well as village Nikkel village.

**3.3. Informant selection:** In addition to the key informants to the collection of data in this study, a number of expert informants are also selected by using the following requirements: (a) They are able and willing to provide the correct information and with regard to the problems examined. (b) They have been in the field of industry or mining Nickel for a long time (at least 5 years). (c) They have made the field of industry or Nickel mining as part of the main livelihood.

The number of the informants were not absolutely determined since the informants were selected by using snowball sampling strategy and the data collection of this study ended up if the required information was sufficiently satisfied. Besides, the collected information was then interpreted by using esoteric and exoteric interpretation. Similarly, direct interpretation was also done especially after the researcher conducted in-depth interviews and observed the behavior of the people of Pado'e community at the sites.

**3.4. Data collection technique:** The triangulation model was used to collect the data. This model combines a number of techniques according to the type of data required. This study then used two collection techniques i.e. literature study and observation.

The observation was carried out by performing a direct observation to the objects and the situations at the research sites. It was done in two ways: regular observation and participatory observation. Regular observation eas used to gather the information on the state of people

settlements, household conditions of the people, the type of equipments and life supplies, the pattern of activity and daily activities of the people. While participatory observation conducted to obtain data that requires the involvement of researcher in this study which was aimed at gathering the information on the behavior and the activities of Pado'e community such as its kinship, its patterns of life, and so on. In addition, the interview was not only used to collect information on the data related to the knowledge, attitudes and responses of the target group clearly and deeply, but also used to describe the various aspects required in connection with the research problems as well as to gain a description on the life of Pado'e community in the District of Nuha.

## **4. Discussion**

### **4.1. The Etnography of Pado'e Community**

**4.1.1 The History:** Pado'e community originated from Lakari and its capital was Lakarae in Central Sulawesi. This migration occurred before the Dutch colonization era. At that time, population growth in lakari so fast and very dense that made *Mokole Oputowe* (king of Lakari) ordered most of his people to migrate. Then, around the 18th century, he moved most of his people (more than 200 families) to the Matano region. *Mokole Oputowe* was also known as *Bintango Wute* which means the one that if he died, his body will disappear). In 1905-1906, the Dutch colonists came in Matano which had converted into a kingdom at the time. The Dutch then renamed the kingdom of Matano into Nuha District. Opu Andi Halu originated from Palopo was appointed as the first chief of Nuha district who was placed in Timampu. He ruled from 1910 to 1928 for 18 years, and was dismissed due to a mistake in 1928.

Since a long time ago, Padoe Community upholds the principle of mutual assistance in the life of society, but because the people are already scattered everywhere that the principle is not so visible in the community any more. Most people of the community are already mingling with industrial culture around them since the presence of PT. INCO in 1968. (Sibanti, Interview; Tabarano: May 1, 2003).

In the era of DI / TII (house of Islam/Islam Armed force of Indonesia), there were about 500 people of Pado'e community captured by Kahar Muzakar (the leader of DI/TII) from 1950 to 1966. After DII/TII was dissolved by the government of Indonesia, Nuha district started being peaceful. Kahar Muzakar then fled to Laa Solo. Since then, Nuha began to be filled by people from all over the world, both domestically and from abroad, such as America, Britain, Germany, the Philippines, Korea, India, Saudi Arabia and so on. They came as workers/laborers in the nickel mining company or PT.Inco which located in Verbek Mountains at the time.

**4.1.2. The Language:** The Pado'e community uses Pado'e Language to communicate every day in family members' intercatations, in addition to using the Indonesian language as the national language to communicate with some other ethnic groups there such as Buginese, Makassarese, Torajanese, Javanese, and so on. In the second world war, people of Pado'e used a stick fibers as stationery and banana leaves as writing papers to write out ideas and to record the words of the language such as writing 'where from' (mbu nderioke), 'where to' (minggi leko nderioke), who (neiokeiko), do/does (mbiokenie), why (mombio), including when writing numbers from one to ten (1,2,3,4,5,6, 7,8,9,10) in the language of Pado'e that is aso, oruo, otolu, opa, olimo, ono, opitu, oalu, Osio, opulo. The local language of Pado'e was used for communicating within the family, speaking with compatriots in the community, composing poetry in the native tongue, and writing down folklores of the Pado'e community.

**4.1.3. Technology systems and livelihoods:** The Pado'e community uses equipments of agricultural technology such as hoes (bingku), shovels (sekopa), crows (pandoli), chopping knives/machetes (owu), sickles (kandao), axes (ondamo) from the past up to the present. To meet their daily needs every day, the people of Pado'e Community hunt (mowusu), farm (melere), search for resin and rattan in the woods. Such activities serve as their main livelihoods.

In the past, hunting was a routine undertaken by the people of Pado'e community to meet their basic needs. They hunted animals such as wild boars (Bonti) and anoas (nua). However, this activity is not overly done anymore, since the increasing the number of people coming to Nuha district. Besides, the woods for hunting have already been very limited due to the woods' exploitation for mining nickels by PT.Inco people. Therefore, hunting as for Pado'e community can no longer be said as their main livelihood.

In addition to hunting, some people of Pado'e do gardening and farming by using slash and burn cultivation, which is only done in the area of secondary forests. They do gardening by opening forests for plantations. The gardens have been planted for several years will be left to restore soil fertility on a rotational basis. Meanwhile, the settlements of the planters are usually semi-permanent or moving from place to place. At present, the people of Pado'e who do gardening already have permanent settlements. To open the forest for gardening, they commonly use machetes, hoes, crowbars, axes as well as a sophisticated equipment like chainsaw. Working in the rice fields has been carried out by the people of Pado'e to grow rice. They commonly use hoes (bingku) and buffaloes or oxen to plow their rice fields. In general, this work is done by the average people on a relatively spacious rice field. The nobilities in the countryside generally have wider rice fields and as a consequence, most of the fields are tilled by their clients or treated with a revenue sharing system.

Pado'e community also grows cacao (chocolate), bananas, and vegetables, such as spinach, cassava, cabbage, etc. The plantation crops are sold in the market every Thursday and Saturday, because the days are the market days in the District of Nuha, which take place particularly in Wasuponda village as the capital of the district. Beside, searching for resins and rattans in the forest is also what the people of Pado'e do for a living since long time ago up to now. The resins and rattans are generally sold to Chinese buyers. The money from the sale of resins is spent to buy groceries for daily needs, such as rice, fish, and others. While the money from the sale of rattans is spent to pay their children's school fees.

**4.1.4. Kinship System:** Kinship system refers to the family relationships, whether by marriage or consanguinity. The kinship system not only contains social functions that regulate the life of the local community, but also plays an important role in the organization of production and distribution economically. As Keesing (1989) states that kinship, descent, and marriage are central to the formation of various economic relations. The kinship system of Pado'e people is based on relatives lines of men and women (bilateral). According to local people of Pado'e, kinship in Pado'e community refers to whole relatives who include in the line of parents (mother and father). Therefore, it is said that Pado'e kinship relation in society is determined by heredity (nasab) and marriage.

In the nucleus family of the Padoe people, the husband (male) is regarded as the head of the family who is primarily responsible for daily household needs in all community activities. Meanwhile, the main duty of women (wives) in the family is to manage the affairs of the household

(domestic). However, there are many wives who must do something for a living family since the level of their husbands' incomes as farmers and gardeners are low and insufficient. In addition, the children are obliged to help their parents' jobs both inside and outside.

**4.1.5. Knowledge System:** Koentjaraningrat (1990) is of the opinion that the system of knowledge within a culture is a description of the branches of knowledge. With regard to the knowledge of nature, the people of Pado'e start their planting season from December to March because at that time, less pests and plant disease attack plants in their farms which positively bring about satisfying harvest for the people. It is different from farming in June, in which pests such as rats, sparrows, and worms begin breaking out that month. On the other hand, Pado'e people are still using natural materials (Toga) to cure diseases, such as guava buds to treat stomach aches.

**4.1.6. Arts:** Dero is one of the arts of Pado'ecommunity which is always exhibited in parties and festivals such as *padungku* (harvest festival), weddings, and anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia on every 17 of August. In addition to Dero, there are also many traditional dances (e.g. Ende Laemba, and Riringgo dances), music (e.g. bamboo music, mesusue or singing of baby persuasion), which are almost extinct and desperately need an effort to conserve and to preserve. The community of Pado'e always holds the art performances on any customary deliberations, especially in South Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi, even the arts are sometimes taken out to the other Province such as Bali and Jakarta to be performed on official occasions.

**4.1.7. Religion:** Before missionaries entered into the region of Pado'e community, the people of Pado'e embraced animism (*montuila*). After the Dutch came, they gradually began to switch their beliefs and converted to Christianity. Immediately after Islam began to develop from the coast to the mountains, some people of Pado'e who initially embraced animism finally converted to Islam. But until now, most people of Pado'e in District Nuha, especially from the six villages of Balambano, Tabarano, Wasuponda, Ledu-Ledu, Nikkel and Magani. still embrace Christianity. Based on the data from the office of Nuha district, 20% of the populations adhere to Islam 20% and 80% are Christian.

**4.1.8. Leadership and Political system:** In Pado'e community, Mokole is a traditional leader who is accompanied by a Sulewatang. They are a unifying symbol and highly respected by their people. A position as Mokole is the highest position in the community and to whom people of Pado'e expect to receive protection, security and justice in living their daily lives. Therefore, to appoint a Mokole, there are several factors to be considered such as: (1) Mokole must be the descendant of Mokole, (2) Mokole must have the maturity to think, (3) Must have wealth, (4) Must be smart, (5) Must be brave, and (6) Must have a large family grove.

Heredity is an important factor in choosing a Mokole, since the descendant of Mokole is regarded as a symbol of well-behave people with typical characteristics such as having a good moral, ethical, high wisdom, honesty, and fairness in carrying out a mandate. A Mokole is regarded as a descendant of good people with typical good characters as well. Meanwhile, Sulewatang whose position is under Mokole serves to help Mokole in running the traditional government, such as organizing community life, keeping the implementation of the customs, including a role in resolving a conflict between people in the community.

**4.1.9. The law of Land Ownership and Mastership:** Land ownership for the people of Pado'e is based on customary land (customary rights). Signs such as *mata kali* (the boundaries of land marked with bunds) and plants growing on certain lands serve as the signs to know that a piece of land has been or has not been regarded as customary land by others. A piece of land that has become a

customary land should not be cultivated by others without the permission of the traditional leader of the community. Therefore, each family has its own right to cultivate their own land without the others' interference to cultivate it. However, if anyone wants to cultivate the land around the customary lands, then he should report or ask permission from the landowner or the customary leaders. However, in cultivating the land, there must be an agreement in advance that the land should not be planted with long-term plants.

**4.2. The implications of the Existance of PT. INCO on the social and the economic life of Pado'e Community:** PT. INCO was established in June 1968 after 'the contract of work' was signed between the Indonesian government represented by the Minister of Mines of the Republic of Indonesia and the leaders of PT. INCO Tbk on 27 July 1968. Since then PT. INCO Tbk as an industrial enterprise and a social institution shows its presence to the Community of Pado'E in particular and to the society of Luwu in general. Gradually, PT. INCO Tbk shows its progress with the construction of the factory together with its supporting infrastructures in 1973. The concession area covers some parts of South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi provinces and some of Southeast Sulawesi province. On December 29, 1995, the modification and the extension of work contract of PT. INCO were approved by the government and signed on 15 January 1996. The latest work contract contained a provision aimed at increasing local revenue and welfare of local people which began to be realized on April 1, 2008.

At first, the people of Pado'e were still able to earn their own living (e.g. by farming or farming by moving from one place to other places, hunting, searching for resins and rattans in the forests) without relying their lives on the company PT. INCO. Because the farmlands were very limited, agricultural products decreased, and the air pollution level was very high, the social and the economic life of the community become progressively worse.

With regard to the facts, Sangaji (2000) argues that some problems have arisen in the middle of Pado'e community because of the presence of nickel mining company PT. INCO since 1968. Sangaji's opinion is also supported by reports of independent organizations and academic works. The reports show that the presence of PT. INCO has brought a variety of land-related issues that negatively affect the social and the economic life of the local communities. Robinson (1986) considers that the practice of alienation of indigenous peoples from their lands has happened there, either because of road construction, or land compensation. When, PT. Inco began establishing a small town called Soroako, 200 farmers were persuaded by the government to get them to sell their land at very low prices: two pennies per square meter (Aditjondro, 1982).

Around April 2000, Andi Baso conducted a campaign trip to Canada (Due to the help of non-governmental organizations in Canada, Mining Watch Canada) to give testimony on the impact of PT. INCO Soroako on the society (Subbury Star, April28, 2000). In the annual meeting of INCO Limited in Toronto, Andi Baso gave testimony to the shareholders (shareholders) (The Globe and mail, April 20, 2000). The testimony certainly extends the list of social problems made by INCO Ltd with local people around the area of its operations. Because INCO Ltd in Canada is facing the issue of its exploitation plans in the Voisey's bay in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The issue is about the claims of indigenous Innu and Inuit on areas which are considered as their traditional territory (Lpwe, 1998). Moreover, Ngo (1990) also reported that the presence of PT. Inco encouraged the arrival of migrants. The migrants have purchased the lands of indigenous people, resulting in narrowing access for the indigenous people to own land in a wide area.

Another issue is the construction of hydropower (PLTA) Larona to supply electricity to PT. INCO Tbk. The construction has also been flooded mosques, houses, fields, and orchards belonging to the buginese families (Adidjondro, 1993). The destruction of forest resources, such as resin and rattan has economically put the local people in difficulty because the foothills, which used to be cultivated by the people as farming areas and gardens have turned into a part of the mining concessions, that the areas can no longer be worked.

The lives of local people to the life of PT. INCO workers look very different. For example, houses of the local people in Soroako Tua village look cramped, huddled, and irregular order. While, the houses of the employees are quite spacious and well ordered. In fact, most of the local people have to build their houses on the lake, because no land available to build their houses any more. The roads in Soroako Tua village are not paved and potholed, whereas the roads in the employees' housing club are very smooth and paved. The employees enjoy free electricity supply, while the local people have to spend money to obtain electricity supply from State Electricity Company (PLN).

PT. INCO Tbk. claims itself as the most secure operating company in the world in the category of similar companies (PT. International Nickel Indonesia, Tbk.1999). But in fact, the distance between the factory and the town of Sorowako is very close. Consequently, the particles out of the chimneys easily spread to the people's settlements. According to the people of Soroako village, if they put their laundry on the clothesline at night, then the laundry will be filled with blackish dust the next morning. We can imagine that the dust can freely spread over the local people's houses, because the houses' construction is simple and open. In contrast to the houses of PT. INCO's employees, their houses are equipped with air conditioners (AC). Besides, the situation negatively affects the growth of plants in the areas near the factory and this absolutely harms the local people who farm for a living.

Nonetheless, many efforts have been carried out by various parties (such as governments, companies PT. Inco Tbk, NGOs, community organizations) for the welfare of Pado'e community by equipping them with required facilities for their better lives such as electricity, health centers, paved roads, qualified educational facilities, modern farming equipment (e.g. tractors, and field hijackers) and so on. In addition, some non-physical efforts are conducted as well such as encouraging the farmers to participate in agricultural training programs (e.g. training on how to farm cocoa professionally), training the local people to become independent entrepreneurs by giving financial aid with a very low interest which must be returned on predetermined time, improving the quality of the local people's education by providing scholarships to poor students and high achieving students from the level of primary school to the level of graduate programs, and so forth.

**5. Conclusion:** Pado'e people majority live in the mountainous areas located in the District of Nuha eastern part of North Luwu regency. They originate from Lakari in Central Sulawesi. The people do hunting, searching for resins and rattans, farming as well as gardening for a living. In doing the activities, they use animals to help them such as dogs, buffalo and cows. In farming, they produce various kinds of foodstuffs such as rice, maize, cassava, yams, and peanuts. While in gardening they plant coconut, cocoa, cloves, and pepper. Nuha district is also known as the nickel mining area, but the local people who live around the district do not live in prosperity, especially Pado'e community

However, the life of Pado'e community has gradually changed because of the influences brought by the outsiders who come to the district of Nuha as the workers of PT. INCO, a mining company which has transformed a mountainous area into a world class nickel mining area. The presence of the company has generated many issues which greatly affect the social and the economic life of the people of Pado'e such as the declining agricultural products, limited land for farming, gardening and shelters for the local people, the high level of air pollution and the endangerment of local culture of Pado'e community due to the influence of the culture brought about by the outsiders who work for the mining company, PT. INCO. Nevertheless, Pado'e community should still maintain and be able to adapt their culture and social life in the middle of the industrial society. Their local culture should not be affected and displaced by the new culture that is incompatible with the moral values of their local culture.

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