ALife Portrait of Remote Communities: A Study in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Isolated customary communities exist in almost all parts of the world, including in Indonesia. Such communities are usually located in hard-to-reach areas, for instance, in forested or mountainous areas. In these areas, the geographical nature of the surroundings makes it difficult for community members to access necessary services, including health, economic, education, and economic services. This condition is experienced by the isolated community of Pangahu in the Gorontalo Province in Indonesia. Pangahu Village is a poor and under-developed community. The area has limited access because of poor transportation and communication infrastructure, low economic status, low educational level, and limited health facilities. As a result, most of the members of this community have succumbed to the existing situation and no longer consider their future. The most appropriate approach to this situation is empowerment in the aspects that are required to live. However, all empowerment efforts should consider the local wisdom, social values, and cultural regulators that are inherited from generation to generation. Accordingly, the difficulties that occur in many aspects of these community member’s lives will be prevented.

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INTRODUCTION

As an agricultural country, Indonesia has a geography with a diverse topography. The territory that is scattered on several islands and isles is a source of natural wealth. Nevertheless, the geography also creates a challenge to implement equitable development in various sectors (social, economic, and political) that is dedicated to all citizens who are scattered in all corners of the homeland, including the isolated customary communities at Gorontalo.

In 2014, the population of the isolated communities in Gorontalo consisted of 2,505 family heads who are distributed in several regencies, such as Boaemo, Pahuwato, Gorontalo, Gorontalo Utara, and Bone Bolango. Most of the isolated communities stay in the forest, around mountain slopes, swamps, seaside, and coastal areas. In this case, these communities live in a group of five or six houses.

One of the isolated customary community in Gorontalo is located in Pangahu Village. This community rarely has social contact or interaction with other societies, especially with the people in the village. This community has a limited communication and transportation (road) infrastructure, as well as health facilities. Most people in this society also have a low economic status and low educational level. This condition causes this society to submit to their existing situation. They even no longer consider their future. In response to this condition, an approach should be created but cannot be directed universally. Any approach should be conducted based on the case in the field. Thus, an approach and planning that is suitable to the life patterns of this community can be constructed.

The advancement of science and technology has marginalized this isolated community. Therefore, empowerment is necessary. Any empowerment should consider the local wisdom of the community. As stated by Tumanggor (2006), the empowerment of an isolated society must consider the local potency (social, economic, and cultural) because cultural values are embedded and difficult to abandon. In this case, a new format should be found to empower the life pattern of an isolated community without ignoring the culture that has been handed down. In addition, empowerment should also involve many parties, such as other societies and communities around the area.

The Directorate of Isolated Customary Community, General Directorate of Social Empowerment of the Republic of Indonesia’s Social Department has created an empowerment program for isolated customary communities. This program is
expected to help or change the life patterns of isolated communities so that they can interact with other societies. The main goal of this program is to empower all aspects of community life. Thus, the community can live normally. Moreover, it is also expected that the community can actively engage in the development issues that relate to societal interests or their members in general (Social Department, 2005).

One empowerment strategy is to create a condition that supports the isolated customary community to develop their skills and abilities, so that they can adapt to changes in the social, cultural, economic, and political environments. Research should be conducted to find the factors that support and detract from the empowerment of an isolated community.

Based on this explanation, this study attempts to investigate the life of an isolated customary community in Pangahu Village, Asparaga, Gorontalo concerning the economic, social and cultural aspects. The result of this study is expected to describe the life of the isolated customary community at Pangahu Village to facilitate the formulation of an empowerment program that is suitable to the local wisdom of this community.

**Methodology:**

This study used a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach has several characteristics. First, it is intended to give a systematic, factual, and accurate description of the investigated phenomenon. Second, a qualitative approach depicts the facts, characteristics and relations of the investigated phenomenon. Third, the data from a qualitative approach are descriptive in the form of written or spoken words from the observed respondents. These characteristics accord with the purpose of this study that attempted to portray the life of the isolated customary community at Pangahu Village, Asparaga District, Gorontalo Province, Regence, Gorontalo Province.

Regarding the data collection technique, this study used interviews, observations, and documentation. The interviews mainly focused on the respondents’ perspective. The researcher acted as a key instrument and directly observed and collected the data. This method was consistent with Bogdan and Biklen (1992) who stated that qualitative research has a natural setting as the source of the data, and the researcher is a key data collection instrument. Meanwhile, the people in the isolated customary community at Pangahu Village, Asparaga, Gorontalo were selected as the respondents.

In analyzing the data, this study used an interactive model. There were three steps of data analysis in this model, namely, data reduction, data presentation, and a conclusion (Miles and Huberman, 1984). These three steps were employed in analyzing the data that were gained from interviews, observations, and documentation. The analysis of the gained data was performed directly and simultaneously (Creswell, 1994).

**The Origin of the Isolated Customary Community in Gorontalo:**

Pangahu Village in the Asparaga District, was formerly a village in the Paguyaman District, Gorontalo. According to the area’s development, the Paguyaman District was divided into several districts. One of these districts was Asparaga.

The peninsula of Paguyawan is flanked by the Boliohutu mountain ranges. For Gorontalo society, this place was considered a refuge for people who disliked Dutch colonization. Parents told various myths regarding this place, and one of these myths was the horror of Boliohutu. There was a belief that not everyone could pass Boliohuto’s slopes, only those who had ability (a certain ability that could thwart an attack by Boliohuto’s inhabitants). If a person ascended to the top of the mountain, it was believed that he would not return. The people who live in the Boliohuto mountain ranges are known as the polahi (a group that fled into the forest/mountains). Hatu (1998) in his study stated that polahi literally means runaway. Some people called polahi forest man. Generations of polahi lived in the Boliohuto mountain ranges. Nevertheless, some of the polahi have interacted with the people in the center of the village to buy salt, for example. The activity of the polahi community was usually followed by other communities. For instance, these communities farmed in mountainous areas, such as at Pualam in Pangahu Village, Asparaga, Gorontalo.

The isolated customary community at Pangahu, Gorontalo is located on the path track. This track was crossed by the rattan seekers from various villages. The rattan seekers usually consisted of five to eight people in a group. They wouldstay for weeks in the wilderness to find forest products. Almost the entire location of the isolated customary community at Gorontalo was the stopover or resting place (puhuhelia) for the rattan seekers who had gone to or returned from the forest.

Because of the decrease in forest products and the rising number of rattan seekers, the people on the path track began to perform shifting cultivation. There were three to five people in a group (usually relatives or relatives by consanguinity). At first, they built a hut, known as wombohe. This hut was used as a resting place by the farmers. Its size was 3x4 meters, and its height was 1-2 meters. The hut was made from wood or bamboo and had a thatched roof. It did not have a bed or kitchen. Gradually, the number of the group that stayed in
this area increased. Most of these people were in groups.

**The Process of Village Formation in Gorontalo:**

In Gorontalo, the village was known as *kambungu*. Before *kambungu* was formed, society had a nomadic life in small families that were known as *ambua*. They lived on hunting and gathering food in nature. Because they were familiar with traditional farming systems, they began to settle in places that enabled them to cultivate the land, such as along the edges of streams. The number of *ambua* then increased because of the gathering of small families or *ngala’â*.

The gathering of small families then formed *thelinul*, which was a collection of several *ambua*. The *linul* was headed by an elder and highly respected person, known as the *tauwala lo linul*. This person was respected because of his efforts in uniting *ambua* groups. *Ambuahen* became a large group and formed the *kambungu* (village) that was headed by a chief called *Tauda’â*, which is currently known as the Village Head.

The settlement pattern of Gorontalo society was centralized, where *thengala’ain thelimulas* surrounded the *tauwala lo linula*’s place. This pattern has been used since the kingdom era, when the kingdoms were formed from *linula-linula*. This pattern has also been used by most of the village currently, where the *thengala’â* stayed on the land around the elder person of the village.

**The Pangahu Community:**

Geographically, Pangahu Village is located in two areas, which are lowlands and mountain ranges. The distance between the hamlet and the central government is sufficiently distant. The distance between the hamlet and the village is approximately 3 km. The distance between the village and the district town is approximately 12 km. The distance between the village and the capital regency is approximately 50 km. Meanwhile, the distance between the village and the capital province is approximately 200 km.

Based on the secondary data, Pangahu Village consists of 285 family heads (KK). The total population of this village is 1,120 people who comprise 570 males and 550 females. The average population density is 20 family heads per kilometer who are scattered in several hamlets, such as Buluo, Tonala, and Alawahu.

The location of the isolated customary community at Pangahu Village is distributed over several hamlets. 1) Buluo hamlet is located 3 km from the center of the village, which is precisely above the height of the mountain with a slope of more than 90°. The community consists of 23 family heads with 76 people who are scattered on the mountain slopes. 2) Tonala hamlet is located under the foot of Nantu Mountain and comprises 17 family heads with 39 people. 3) Diangahamlet consists of 5 family heads with 22 people. 4) Alawahahamletis located near the Nantu forest, a protected forest that was settled by the Polahi, and includes 5 family heads.

**Marginalization of the Pangahu People:**

There are almost no obstacles to reach Pangahu Village, Asparaga, Gorontalo. The transportation infrastructure is available although it is not usable as a communication facility for society. Nevertheless, there is only one main road to reach the settlement and the work place (agriculture or plantations).

Pangahu Village has an educational facility, which is the State Primary School (SDN) No 15 Asparaga. This school has permanent building with a capacity of six classes. The students are from Asparaga, especially the students who live in the center of the village. Most of the children in the isolated customary community do not use this facility because of the distance between their settlement and the school, which is approximately 4-5 km. The children also do not continue their studies at a higher level although various options of secondary school are provided in the Asparaga District.

Regarding religion, most of the society in Pangahu Village, particularly the isolated community, are Muslim. A mosque with a tin roof is located in the center of the village. The distance between the location of the mosque and the isolated community is 5-6 kilometers. The mosque can only be reached by walking. Although most of this society is Muslim, they still have faith in unseen things, especially when they have a problem. When there is a sick person, for instance, the community believes that he is plagued by spirits. Thus, the community prefers to use shaman by using material that is gained from the natural surroundings. Regarding this belief, one of the people (BI) who lives on the mountain top stated:

We stayed hereditarily in this place by respecting each other, particularly parents. Some parents have occult sciences relating to the spirit, and people believed it. We only gave a glass of water to the sick person, whether he has a stomach ache, headache, and vomit. There was also the treatment by using spices, such as turmeric, gingaer, and cloves. Before these spices were given to the sick person, it was first prayed. Then, it was drunk by the sick person or smeared on the affected part.
From the above statement, it can be seen that the isolated community at Pangahu Village still believes in the spirit. Nevertheless, some people go to the health center in the village when they are sick.

Clean water and health facilities are the basic needs of this society. Concerning clean water, most people in the isolated community use the water from the river to drink, bathe and wash clothes. Meanwhile, the health facility is located in the center of the district or village. Most people in the isolated community do not use this facility because they generally prefer treatment by a shaman.

The Economic Conditions of the Pangahu Community:

A resource is something that has use value. Natural resources are the result of the overall physical, chemical, biological, and social processes that formed our environment. Cutter and Renwick (2004) stated that natural resources are all derived from the earth, biosphere, and atmosphere, and their existence depends on human activities. All parts of our natural environment (i.e., seeds, trees, soil, water, sun, and rivers) are natural resources. The existence of natural resources is highly dependent on the management form that is chosen by human beings, including the people who live in isolated areas and regions.

In the life of an isolated community, the natural environment largely determines the life order. This influence is because isolated communities can continue their lives only with a good natural environment. Concerning the isolated communities at Pangahu Village, their lives are highly dependent on natural resources, such as agriculture. These communities use nature’s potency maximally because it is a source of a family’s income.

Most of the isolated communities at Pangahu Village have planted various products, such as corn, pepper, banana, cocoa, and coconut. Some of these communities have also hunted or found rattan in the forest and made huts in the forest as resting places. Nevertheless, along with this society’s development, the number of rattan in the forest has decreased. Responding to this condition, this society has gradually shifted to farming by planting corn, cassava, sweet potato, and other crops.

Land cultivation is done traditionally by using tools such as axes, hoes, and spades. The crop then is kept to be consumed by family. Nevertheless, some of the crops are also sold. The income is used for other needs, such as buying cloth.

Corn is an excellent product for the isolated communities at Pangahu Village. Similar to land cultivation, planting corn is also done traditionally, particularly in clearing bushes. Hoes (popati) and machetes (wamilo) are used.

As an excellent product, corn became the main income for the isolated community at Pangahu Village. Corn can grow well in the loose soil structure and agricultural land with a slope above 90°. These land characteristics are appropriate for the geographical condition of Pangahu Village. Corn seeds can also be easily gained, especially from the farmer around the isolated community at Pangahu Village. This plant can also be easily marketed when it is not sufficiently ripe. In addition, planting corn has become the main job that was performed hereditarily. Corn can also be used as main food. In this case, corn is manually processed by mill, and the food is known as “Ilabaaloobinte.”

Fig. 1: Machete (wamilo) as an agricultural tool.
(Research Documentation Photo in early January 2014)
Fig. 2: **Illa Lobintte**, the main food of the isolated communities of Pangahu Village, Asparaga, Gorontalo. (Research Documentation Photo in early January 2014)

In addition to the machete and hoe, the society at Gorontalo also uses the *popadeo* as a traditional agricultural tool. The *popadeo* is utilized in the season of land cultivation. Unfortunately, with development, the *popadeo* is no longer utilized by farmers who have a large agricultural area or who live in an accessible area. Most farmers have shifted to tractors, and the *popadeo* is only used by farmers in isolated areas.

Regarding social and economic life, this isolated community generally has a simple life, which can be observed from several factors. 1) These communities are not familiar with a banking system or economic institutions, such as a cooperative. As a result, sufficient economic development cannot be created. 2) Money transactions or money exchange is conducted in the traditional market, where the people sell their crops. 3) Most people in the isolated community do not have a permanent home. Their homes are generally thatched-roofed huts (*woombohe*).

Fig. 3: The *popadeo* is an agricultural tool that is used by the Pangahu isolated community. (Research Documentation Photo in early January 2014)

Fig. 4: The *woombohe* is a temporary resting place for the Pangahu isolated community. (Research Documentation Photo in early January 2014)
Local Authorities in the Pangahu Community:

The leadership system in the Pangahu isolated community is still traditional. The leader is selected from a group of old people (Mongopanggola) and is considered to have broad knowledge of the prevailing customs. In addition, the leader should also receive a blessing from the traditional, religious, and community leaders. The leader is called the village head or tauda’a. Based on the customary law in Gorontalo (buto’olipu), the Kimalahatitle is given to a person who becomes atauda’a. This title is given by custom parties in the Gorontalo district (Ibrahim, 2002).

The head of the village is helped by a village secretary, who is called the dulutuli, to manage village administration and other matters that relate to the village. Every village has a mosque, a public hall (bandayo) as the administration center, and a meeting hall as a place to discuss the issues of village development.

Both the public and meeting hallare located in the center of the settlement and along the village roads that are consistent with the housing of the village. Thus, these halls are accessible to all people who come from the various hamlets of the village. There is a field near the public hall. This field is used as a center for sports, art, and religious activities.

The traditional leadership of Pangahu Village has caused this society to lag behind because of the lack of knowledge and skill that is possessed by the leader. Concerning decision making, the leaders usually ask for suggestions from the customary, religious, or community leaders. Therefore, when there is a program that is unsuitable to the prevailing customs in society, it cannot be implemented.

The leadership pattern of Pangahu Village is dominated by physical and science ability. In this case, science does not refer to the knowledge that is gained through formal education but the ability to cure diseases and repel spirits.

The Social and Family Relationships:

The descent principle in Gorontalo society is bilateral and parental. The male and female families (between husband and wife) have a similar relative relationship. However, in certain cases, the male’s family is treated better, such as in inheritance. Gorontalo people have certain relative relationships with specific characteristics that differentiate them from other relative groups.

The isolated community in Gorontalo comprises several families who have relative or consanguineous relationships. This relation is shown by the family name as a symbol of relatedness. Similar to the isolated communities in Gorontalo, the community of Pangahu Village also has its own relative relationship, which is known as Ungala’a. Ungala’a consists of several families who have had children and grandchildren, called ngala’a. Most of these families have the same family name.

The family relationship in Pangahu can be seen from the society’s settlement. The homes of small families are usually located around the house of the elder person who is presumed the head of the family. Parents are role models in daily activities, such as in processing agricultural products. In planting day, for instance, the elder person was considered the person who knew the problems of the natural environment. There are even certain days for planting corn and other plants.

The social relation between village society and isolated society is well intertwined, and they still help one another. It can be observed from several activities, such as repairing homes, helping a person who had an accident or is sick, and helping in activities on agricultural land. This social relation indicates the high solidarity in society among either individuals or groups. This observation is consistent with Durkheim cited in Johnson (1980) who stated that social solidarity is a relation between individuals and/or groups that is based on a possessed moral sense and trust that is strengthen by shared emotional experiences. Solidarity, however, emphasizes the relation among individuals and groups. Solidarity is also grounded in the shared connection in life that is supported by moral values and a belief in society. The actualization of a shared relation is emotional experiences that can strengthen relationships.

In Gorontalo, social solidarity and mutual helping is known as huyula (cooperation). This concept is manifested in various forms, such as the following: 1) Ambu, helping one another for collective interests; 2) Hileya, the spontaneous helping of one another; and 3) Tiayo, helping a group of people for one interest.

Aluya (helping one another for a collective interest) can be seen from the voluntary works in cleaning village offices, waterways or roads. These activities are performed by all people in the community without considering their educational, social, and economic statuses. Hileya (the spontaneous helping of one another) can be observed from the community’s attention when a family member or neighbor had an accident. People usually come to this aggrieved person to support him. They buy food and stay for several days, and they also cook so that the aggrieved person does not need to cook. Meanwhile, tiayoonly occurs when a group of people help a person perform his job. The helped person only provides some food and is...
also expected to help the people who assisted him.

**Survival Skills amidst Marginalization and Poor Conditions:**

Communities have various regulations that control their lives. For the community who lives in the forest and mountain ranges, land is the most important factor that is useful for their lives. This condition is also experienced by the Pangahu isolated community. For them, agricultural land is the capital to survive. Agricultural land can also be maintained for a long period of time and can be passed to subsequent generations. These factors imply high reliance on the land in terms of the social and economic aspects. As stated by DP (48 years old), for people who live in the Tonalahamlet:

“For isolated communities, agricultural land should be well kept since it supports our daily life.”

Theoretically, two rationales created the debate among some experts regarding the shift of the life order. These rationales can be used in describing and analyzing rural societies, including the isolated customary communities of Pangahu Village. The first rationale came from Geertz (1983) who conducted a study on shared poverty and agriculture involution. The result of Geertz’s study was consistent with the study that was conducted by rural economists from Japan, Hayami and Kikuchi (1981). Geertz’s study found that capital changes the social stratification of rural society. Nevertheless, this change does not destroy the homogeneity of rural society. Geertz (1983) also found that social polarization in rural areas does not occur because of the strong traditional relations of society. The second rationale was stated by Collier (1996) who indicated that stratification change results from rural development and tends to lead to social polarization that is indicated by the imbalanced level of economic prosperity and the domination of society’s assets.

Based on the opinion of these two experts, the cultural and social values of the Pangahu isolated community would shift if these people moved to other places that were far from their prior location. However, a change of their life order may occur if they stayed in their current place.

The Pangahu community did not migrate to another place. With their underdevelopment, the Pangahu community has still maintained the emotional and relative relationship between the patron and the client that has created a quiet life that is free from hunger. If they move outside the village, the Pangahu community would not be ready to cope with the uncertainty of life.

![Fig. 5: The home condition of the Pangahu isolated communities. (Research Documentation Photo in early January 2014)](image-url)
Fig. 6: Pangahu farmers in agricultural land. (Research Documentation Photo in early January 2014)

The effort of the Pangahu isolated community to survive is driven by several factors. 1) Their relative system strongly adhered to life in the society, particularly the farmers who used the ngulaa system, where the relative relationship was still maintained hereditarily in their area. 2) The reluctance to move to another place is also a factor. As previously stated, if the Pangahu migrated to another place, they would not be ready to cope with the uncertainty of life, especially to fulfill daily needs. 3) The land that was given hereditarily by the parent is also another survival factor. The parents have even asked their children to maintain the agricultural land to fulfill their daily needs. 4) Finally, the poverty of Pangahu society is a survival factor. In this case, this society is willing to live in poverty as long as they remain together and socially interact.

The Empowerment of the Pangahu Community Based on Local Wisdom:

Local wisdom has been flourishing in recent decades. This conversation is often associated with local society. This conversation is also defined varying according to the local wisdom in each region that has become the societal tradition. The local values that are presented in the community are the identity of a region/community that is rooted in trust, heritage, and habitual values in society. These values became guidance in daily life.

According to Keraf (2002), local wisdom is a form of knowledge, belief, understanding, insight, custom, or human ethics that lead human behavior in the ecological community. Local wisdom addresses not only society’s knowledge, human understanding, and good relationships among humans but also how the relations among all inhabitants of the ecological community can be built.

Meanwhile, Wahono (2005) stated that local wisdom is the knowledge and management strategies of the universe in maintaining the ecological balance that has been tested by various disasters, distractions, and human negligence for centuries. Local wisdom addresses not only ethics but also norms, actions, and behaviors. Thus, local wisdom is similar to a religion that guides humans to behave in daily life and determines further human civilization with the dynamics of development in social life generally and the isolated community life particularly.

Development problems, mainly sustainable development, focus on the process and impact of any development activities that provide continuous benefits for humans and minimalize the suffering that is experienced by humans with the natural resources and environment as a whole. In this concept, harmonizing focuses on human awareness to create a balance in the interaction between humans and nature so that both of them have long-term survival (Departemen Sosial RI, 2003; Triarti, 2003).

In fact, the failure of development, particularly in the development of isolated areas, is indicated by the stagnation of social defenses, which indirectly show the weak role of social defenses in development. Therefore, development should be people-centered development (Korten and Syahrir, 1998) that focuses on how to create society participation in all aspects regarding their local wisdom and values, such as in the isolated communities of Pangahu.

In Gorontalo, there are the terms pangan (the belief that is used in determining a good day for planting) and lowanga (the prohibition of doing something on a certain day or at a certain time). These local wisdoms became the belief that was held hereditarily by Gorontalo society, especially for the community in the isolated area. Panggoba was believed more by the farmers in the village to determine the days for planting, according to DA (58 years old), one of the Pangahu people.

In determining the day for planting, the farmers observe the stars in the sky. If there are five to eight adjacent stars in the sky, this indicates that the next day (tomorrow) is a good day for planting corn or any other plants. Many stars in the sky are known as taadadaata, which means that the planting will grow well. Meanwhile, lowangais used to determine the best day or time in doing something. In building a home (momayango), for instance, the community considers certain days and does not build a home on Fridays because they believe it will bring disaster.

Based on this explanation, local wisdom should be maintained because it has become social capital for the Pangahu isolated community. Therefore, this local wisdom should be considered by the individuals who want to empower the isolated community so that the social and cultural values that are owned hereditarily by this community are not lost.

Conclusion:

From the explanation of the isolated customary community of Pangahu Village, several observations can be concluded. First, the isolated community of Pangahu lives in the forest and mountain ranges. The people have limited social contact or interaction with other societies, mainly the societies in the center of the village and district.

Second, the life pattern of the community has been impeded by the lack of communication and
transportation infrastructure, low economic condition, low education level, and limited health facilities. As a result, most of the people submit to these facts and no longer consider their future.

Third, the economic conditions do not support the society’s daily life. This society has only a limited livelihood and can only hunt, farm, or collect forest products. Moreover, the agricultural tools that they use are still traditional.

Fourth, the society has a strong relative system. This system is particularly used in the portion of society with anngala system, where the people in a community or area still have a relativity that is maintained hereditarily.

Fifth, the society of the isolated community does not migrate or move to another place because they are not ready to cope with the uncertainty of life, especially to fulfill daily needs.

**Suggestion:**

The society in the Pangahu isolated community is dominated by farmers. Corn is one of the excellent products from this area. In this case, the government can develop this society’s potential by giving excellent corn seeds and modern agricultural tools to support the agricultural activities that are performed hereditarily by this community.

The communities’ empowerment is needed to improve the life pattern of the isolated community. It is expected that the isolated community can provide similar services to the community that lives in the center of the village, such as social, economic, cultural, and political services.

It is recommended that the empowerment of the isolated community of Pangahu does not destroy the cultural values that have been instilled in their lives to avoid the occurrence of new problems.

Transportation infrastructure should be provided because it will enable the community to sell their crops to the market in the center of the village. Moreover, transportation infrastructure will facilitate the community’s social contacts with the society in the center of the village or other villages.

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**REFERENCES**


