

Mining, Land Grabbing and Vulnerability: Vulnerability of Village Communities Post-Mining and Lumber Company Land Expansion in Lahei Barat and Lahei District, North Barito Regency, Central Kalimantan

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Abstract. Coal mining and timber companies are strategic industries for Indonesia, so exploration is very massive and extends to remote villages, including in the area of Kecamatan Lahei Barat, Kabupaten Barito Utara, Kalimantan Tengah. The Lahei Barat community, which previously inhabited the area and used nature as an economic foundation, especially in searching for rubber latex and processing river fish, is being threatened due to two activities in the forest and mining sectors. There are three aims of this research, namely, first, identifying the main problem of community vulnerability in the Lahei Barat region due to mining and timber company expansion, second, identifying conflicts that arise due to the movement of vulnerability in the community, and third, identifying factors that trigger conflict.

Keywords: Mining, Land Grabbing, Conflict, Struggle for Economic Access, Village.

1 Introduction

West Lahei District and Lahei District are two sub-districts located in the Barito river basin in North Barito Regency, Central Kalimantan. These two areas are areas that are very rich in natural resources so they attract a lot of investment in these two sub-districts, there are 5 wood industries and 11 mining and mining support industries, The area of Kecamatan Lahei Barat is 1259.4 km² and Kecamatan Lahei is around 1618.48 km². [1] This condition has become a magnet for people in the two sub-districts to try their luck working in the mining sector, from primary and secondary education graduates, to undergraduate graduates hoping to gain access to job opportunities. Several job vacancies are available for local people, from

drivers, communications operators to mining workers, in the forestry sector there are also many people who try their luck by being transporters of raised wood such as raised meranti and sunken meranti, to becoming public relations staff at timber companies. However, not all local communities get equal opportunities, due to selection and filtering of the qualifications of workers who will be employed by the mining and timber companies.

This process then becomes the root of conflict in the future because not many people around the company can be employed and gain economic access in the economic space that occurs in their area. Some communities actually have assets in the form of rubber plantations from which the latex can be extracted and sold to collectors, but the very fluctuating price of rubber makes people reluctant to become rubber latex collectors for a long time, and switch to jobs that are more sustainable in terms of income. There are several options for the community, namely to become freshwater fish farmers along the Barito river, but the lack of capital and difficulty in getting access to buyers is another problem in developing cage fish farming, then, there are those who try their luck in the job of finding freshwater fish, but there are Certain seasons must be passed to get freshwater fish to sell to the market, so they cannot be available every day. This condition means that the community must take the initiative to make efforts to reach economic space in villages inhabited by mining companies and timber companies.

Various conflicts arise due to the limited economic access interests of local communities by companies and cause the seeds of conflict to emerge on several occasions in latent and manifest form. In several cases, the conflict was able to be suppressed by the presence of village government officials and police and soldiers tasked with securing vital objects (PAM Obvit TNI). In the writings of Laurens Bakker [3] several conflicts occurred in mining areas because conflicts often used the power of state apparatus. to be resolved, although there are several peace efforts that are completed well, sometimes the rest do not go well. This also applies to the communities of West Lahei and Lahei, in problems of struggle for economic access that occur with mining companies and timber companies, there are times when the village, represented by the village head, has to step in to mediate the conflict.

However, quite a few people also took unilateral action by sabotaging the access route to the village by providing wooden or cement concrete barriers to cover the road to the company, [4] Arce and Matiz-Nieto, stated that mining expansion and open conflict is an interrelated part of the social process that occurs in a region or country anywhere, so it cannot be separated just by looking at the fact that the existence of mines or companies related to natural resources refers to the prosperity of society, there will always be conflict that accompanies it because of the nature it brings. by mining-based companies results in potential conflict.



Fig 1. Wood Pulling Activity from Luwe Hulu Village, Kabupaten Barito Utara, Central Kalimantan to Banjarmasin City, South Kalimantan.

Apart from that, in village areas in Lahei Barat and Lahei, there are still indigenous Dayak Dusun people who inhabit forest areas and are still persisting in managing forests even though they are threatened by land co-optation or land shifting due to mining expansion and forest logging. Indigenous people's livelihoods are still very traditional, they sell natural honey, sell forest rubber latex, fish, harvest forest rice and trap birds. Their existence in the forest is increasingly threatened due to the existence of land brokers who claim areas inhabited by indigenous peoples as areas of private ownership which is actually also a fraud against land ownership rights. Several land brokers affiliated with mining companies are trying to persuade indigenous peoples to leave forest areas to make it easier to control the land inhabited by indigenous peoples, in exchange for money that is actually not appropriate for the survival of indigenous peoples. In our research, some indigenous communities received compensation of around 5 million rupiah per hectare, while land brokers actually received hundreds of millions per hectare from land that had been sold from indigenous communities.

This, throughout the 1990s to the 2000s, was very common, resulting in the number of indigenous Dayak Dusun communities in forest areas decreasing in number, at the time of our research in 2022, the number of them in West Lahei and Lahei Districts was only around 30 heads of families from what was originally 1000 family heads (according to the confession of the Head of Luwe Hulu Village). The process of migration of traditional communities was also not detected by people in neighboring villages because they rarely interacted with local communities other than traditional communities.



Fig 2. Coal mining activities in Karendan Village, Kecamatan Lahei, Kabupaten Barito Utara, Central Kalimantan.

In line with this reality, writing from Bose [5] related to the consequences of land clearing due to mining and the risk of deforestation for indigenous tribes that occurred in Inida found its form when indigenous people demanded that it would be difficult to find a livelihood after the opening of the mine. This also applies to the Dayak Dusun community who live in the forests of the West Lahei and Lahei areas, who are also slowly being eliminated due to the rapid expansion of coal mines which intersect with the forest areas where the tribe lives and earns a living. This logical consequence sparked anger from local NGOs such as Fordayak (Dayak Youth Forum) which participated in assisting with advocacy and social assistance even though the status of land occupied by indigenous peoples was still being eroded because legal regulations were still unclear regarding indigenous peoples who occupied land in the area. [6].



Fig 3. Wood Pulling Activity from Luwe Hulu Village, Kabupaten Barito Utara, Central Kalimantan to Banjarmasin City, South Kalimantan.

According to the researchers' formulation of the problems in this research, there are 3 main things to be studied, namely, first, identifying the main problem of community vulnerability in the West Lahei region due to the expansion of mining and logging companies, second, identifying conflicts that arise due to the shifting of community vulnerability, and third, identifying factors that trigger conflict. According to researchers, this is important to see what actually happens in villages that directly border or are included in coal mining companies and the timber industry. Apart from that, this research has not been carried out, especially in studying problems in North Barito and problems in mining areas. and the timber industry. Apart from that, researchers want to see the forms of conflict that occur between local communities and identify the causes of the conflict that occurs. Semedi and Bakker [7] say that the illegal and legal methods used by the community to obtain land recognition are aimed at companies that take over land for the company's interests. This is the root of the problem in the conflict that occurs between local communities (indigenous communities and communities around the village) to make efforts to fight for economic access in their territory.

The development direction of companies, both in the mining and timber industries in Lahei and West Lahei, is felt by the local community to be inconsistent with the vision to develop the economy and support good economic activities in local communities, thus triggering hidden and revealed conflicts between individuals and social groups. exist in village communities. It becomes an agreement that if something happens that is felt to be burdensome for one of the parties, especially the local community, then what will happen is conflict. Moreover, the company is dredging up things from the village community's land, and is expanding from year to year in the Lahei and West Lahei areas.

2 Research Method

This research uses a qualitative model with a grounded theory approach. This research was carried out for 4 months, from February to May 2022, by conducting initial observations at mining and wood industry locations in the Lahei and West Lahei Districts, North Barito Regency, Central Kalimantan. This research focuses on conflict studies and typification of conflicts in these two regions. The use of secondary data in the form of data on the number of companies and total land area uses data from Central Kalimantan BPS as a secondary data base to support the data analysis process, as well as using journals and proceedings related to the title or topic used by the researcher.

Researchers began this study by approaching key informants such as village heads, company workers, communities who were in conflict or had been in conflict with timber and mining companies, and triangulated data on research subjects to confirm the answers from the informants studied. Researchers used research subject searches as well as purposive sampling and snowball sampling in accordance with Denzin's qualitative approach model [8]

3 Struggle for Economic Access to Natural Resources

The struggle for economic access in matters of natural resources is something that often occurs in social reality in any part of the world, including in Indonesia, especially in mining areas which are centers of exploration and exploitation of natural resources, in the Lahei District and Lahei District areas. West, according to table 1 below, from year to year mining exploitation and exploration activities are increasing and showing significant figures in their development. This is an effect resulting from the discovery of coal and other mineral reserves in the North Barito Regency area, including in Lahei District and West Lahei District. Efforts to maximize the yield of natural resources can also be seen from access to permits from the central and regional governments for companies based on extracting coal and other minerals.

Table 1. Number of Companies (Mining Concessions) Operating According to Activity Level in Barito Utara

Year	Exploitation	Exploration
2011	61	137
2012	64	139
2013	87	144
2014	87	144
2015	88	141

Sources: Bureau BPS Central Kalimantan, 2020

Of course, there are efforts to attract investment and enable residents in the district to participate in gaining sufficient economic access for residents' economic income. [9]

However, what happens is just the opposite, residents find it difficult to get access to work and are involved in fighting over access to natural resources in the mining area, so that the local community is involved in informal activities which are continuously formed as an effort to legitimize the struggle for rights to economic access [10], because local communities are also starting to get tired of being involved in a very small capacity as workers with low wages [11] even though what they are doing is something that is very expensive so that local communities see the opportunity to make very systematic efforts in the form of conflict to seize economic rights in the region.

Interestingly, the efforts made by the community are the idea of a big mistake in the world of the mining industry and the timber industry which did not see how a conflict could occur due to the neglected status of local communities and only saw profits from mining and timber products as the priority goal. Instead of using and involving local communities into a collaborative work ecosystem to create a better local economy from mining products and forest wealth [12], companies in these villages only use local communities as an entry point to erode natural resources in that area. This action ultimately makes residents feel neglected in their efforts to share economic access in the same space, so that it can help sustain the livelihoods of local communities, whose asset ownership of land and natural wealth is also increasingly dwindling since mining and industrial exploitation and exploration. Wood in the community area. In fact, forests and the territorial spaces they occupy are the center of survival for local communities in earning a living and living [13]

At this point, local communities in West Lahei and Lahei, vulnerability in economic access arises due to limitations in the utilization of natural resources when companies with very large capital enter the social structure of local communities in these villages (Pari, Karendan and Luwe Upstream). The mining invasion has made local communities very marginalized and only see a large structure in front of them taking most of their livelihood from forests and mines, which in fact if local communities have the same amount of capital they also have the same potential to gain profits like like that big company.

We can see in table 2 below that the number of coal mining companies in the Karendan and Pari Village areas, if added up, is 14 companies operating in the mining sector, this number is very large considering that on a village scale alone, if divided into two parts there are 7 companies that operate in coal mining and is still operating today [1]. Not all of the local people in these two villages work in the company, due to qualifications, age and limited job vacancies run by the company. As a result, many local people end up having to look for other jobs, because most of the local people in these two villages have limited access to forests and do not even have forest rights due to the invasion of mining companies. Some local communities end up depending on other industrial sectors such as the wood industry, but it is not included in the main structure, but rather as a security service for wood transportation that is being transported downstream to Banjarmasin City, South Kalimantan. Some other local communities are also involved in road security services, or as road portal employees if their economic conditions are desperate, they do not hesitate to ask for money for large trucks from logging companies and mining companies in order to get money which is a nominal amount compared to working. As an employee or working to manage forests. Of course, this is a condition that is often found in the daily phenomena of people in the area.

Table 2. Coal Mining Industry of Lahei

Village	Industry	Amount
Mukut	Exist	13
Ipu	Exist	11
Lahei II	Exist	23
Lahei I	-	-
Juju Baru	Exist	4
Muara Bakah	Exist	17
Muara Inu	Exist	12
Bengahon	Exist	4
Rahaden	Exist	7
Muara Pari	Exist	6
Karendan	Exist	8
Haragandang	Exist	5
Hurung Enep	Exist	2

Source: BPS Central Kalimantan, 2020

In Luwe Hulu Village, West Lahei, there are 14 coal mining companies, in fact the largest number is with Papar Pujung Village, this figure is the same as the two villages in Lahei sub-district above, the condition of the people in Luwe Hulu Village is also not much different in terms of income and income. access to their livelihoods, work in the mining sector is also limited, finding access to a living in forest areas is also very difficult, but the people in this village are helped by several rubber plantations from which the latex can be taken and the village's relatively close distance to the capital of North Barito, Muara Teweh, makes The variety of work carried out by the people there is also wider and wider. However, several fights for access are still being carried out as an effort to maintain the process of survival, if the rubber plantation they are trying to find encounters problems or the rubber plantation has started to enter a period of rejuvenation, because there is a cycle of rubber sap which is very difficult to harvest according to local communities.

Apart from that, there are still local people who are the same as Karendan Village and Pari Village who rely on their income from maintaining the village bridge portal, because there is a bridge which, during the rainy season, is difficult to pass because it is located between two fairly deep rivers, so they can taking advantage of this condition to find side income by helping to guide large trucks carrying coal, small goods and passenger transportation for workers who want to work at the company. This is often done when the rainy season comes as an effort to earn a living, but the total is not too much, as long as they can feed the family for one day, that is enough for them.

Table 3. Coal Mining Industry of Lahei Barat

Village	Industry	Amount
Nihan Hilir	Exist	9
Nihan Hulu	Exist	12
Luwe Hilir	Exist	5
Luwe Hulu	Exist	14

Jangkang Baru	-	-
Jangkang Lama	Exist	3
Papar Pujung	Exist	14
Teluk Malewai	Exist	10
Bena0 Hilir	Exist	10
Bena0 Hulu	Exist	15
Karamuan	Exist	7
Nihan Hilir	Exist	9
Nihan Hulu	Exist	12

Source: BPS Central Kalimantan, 2020

In table 4 below, it is also explained that there is a consistent increase in exploitation and exploration in forest areas from timber companies in the North Barito Regency area. This shows that there is a very massive series of logging activities and transportation of certain types of wood in the region. The data does not explain in detail the position of exploitation and exploration of forest wood products, but we can read this data as a significant result in the expansion of timber companies. in the district. Local people in these two sub-districts are also workers in the wood industry sector, although they are not directly permanent employees, they are trying to get access to management in the form of wood transportation services to Java and South Kalimantan, so that there is still hope for wood management in This area is used for people's income, however, there are also several local people who guard the flow of wood transport to avoid theft along the Barito River on the way to South Kalimantan, usually they guard every village that the river passes through.

Table 4. Logging Area and Forest Product Exploitation Business

Year	Exploitation	Exploration
2010	7674.27	11.00
2011	13458.83	11.00
2012	8858.05	13.00
2013	5315.86	12.00
2014	7231.80	12.00

Source: BPS Central Kalimantan, 2020

4 Forms of Conflict

The forms of conflict that occur in the West Lahei and Lahei regions vary and depend on the treatment or attitudes of coal mining companies and timber companies. This attitude is taken differently, due to several treatments felt by local communities, if the company's treatment of local community requests is good, then what happens is, the community tends to try to secure access to transportation for mining trucks, mining activities, as well as good relations with workers. mines, however, if the company ignores local community requests, such as requests for economic access, clean water, CSR, and local community social activities (sports activities, independence day and so on) which are not complied with by the company then what will happen is that there will be a forced closure of the entrance towards companies,

sabotage of companies by turning off electricity, destruction of company facilities, demonstrations and social restrictions from local communities on mining and timber industry activities.

On several occasions, local communities have been involved in confrontations in the form of sabotage and destruction of company facilities due to their desire for economic access in the form of CSR distribution or clean water and even requests to work at the company have not been achieved. As a result, the police intervened to reconcile the two conflicting parties in mediation, but sometimes the mediation decision was not satisfactory to the company, and there was no further handling on the grounds that the company was a vital state object and was at great risk of state losses due to the cessation of company operations. Of course, some local communities are increasingly escalating the conflict to a serious level, namely mobilizing masses to demonstrate demanding favorable conditions for local communities. [14]

Apart from that, there is a gap between local communities who are involved in the company's work structure either directly or indirectly [15] and local communities who are not at all tied to the company, so that there is social jealousy that occurs between the two local communities, there is gossip and The hope is that the spread of gossip against local people who work with the company, from food businesses, wood assembly businesses, and businesses related to coal mining, will result in the formation of public opinion which will result in local people working with the company not having access to jobs or at least doubtful about working with the company again.

Then, there are also forms of conflict in the form of symbolic and physical violence between village officials and local communities [16] who feel that village officials are unable to accommodate the interests of local communities. The spread of news regarding corrupt village officials is often found when local communities feel that their interests are deadlocked in mediation with companies and village officials, in a narrow sense, economic access rights are not given to some local communities. In 2018-2019, during the village head election in Luwe Hulu, there was some news that was in a state of confusion between true or false that increased on social media, the truth of which was difficult to confirm, even though later the news was denied or happened, but the consistency Such news on social media (infidelity between village officials, corruption and defamation) increases during village head elections.

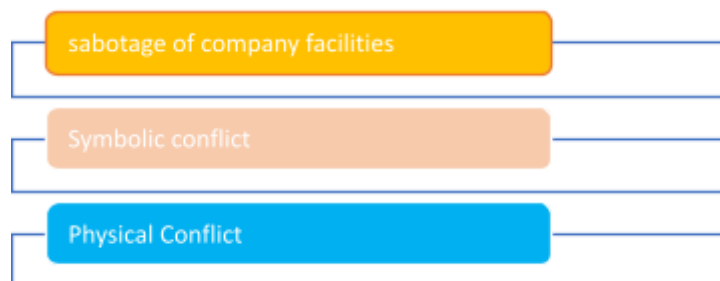


Fig 4. Form of conflict between local community and companies

5 Factors that Trigger Conflict

The factors triggering conflict in local community relations in Luwe Hulu Village, Pari Village (Muara Pari) and Karendan Village, are very dominated by economic interests, [17] because most of the people who are actively involved in the discourse are people who are very little able to utilize forest products. due to the invasion of mining companies and the timber industry, apart from that, there are other factors that are not always related to the economy, namely power, especially the election of village heads, not always when local people talk about becoming a village head affiliated with the economy, but it is related to the honor and authority that It was built when one of the local people was able to win and become village head in one of the villages.[20]

Lastly, the factor that triggers conflict is because of resentment over land grabbing [18] which occurs between mining companies and the timber industry and local communities, when their land is bought cheaply or deliberately forced by the company to be sold on the grounds that the surrounding community has already sold the existing land. near that individual's area, then inevitably, that individual has to sell his land at a very illogical price, thus creating a long-lasting grudge which leads to triggering conflict in the future[19]

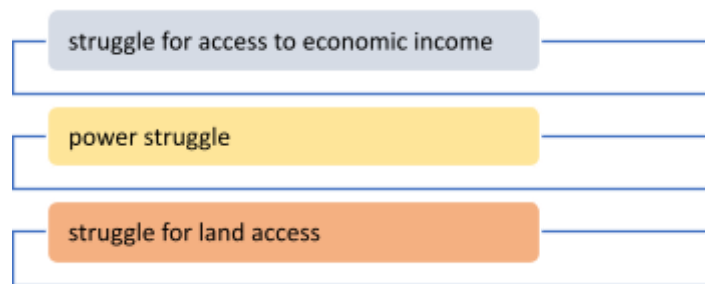


Fig 5. Factor that trigger conflict between local community and companies

6 Conclusion

The conclusion of this article is that the existence of coal mining companies and wood industries in Karendan Village, Luwe Hulu Village and Pari Village, provides another dimension to the social conditions that occur in the area, the existence of conflicts that are based on different triggers between economic factors. , power, and land grabbing, make the social conditions in the region have extraordinary social dynamics. There are group interests represented by the company, local communities who work with the company, local communities who are not affiliated with the company, village officials, security forces (police and army) who guard vital objects, connected to each other in the same space, namely access to natural resources. [3] in North Barito.

Land control which was originally by local communities and transferred to companies either illegally (forced sales) or legally, created a phenomenon that was not previously predicted,

several articles that raised this issue in North Barito were very limited and difficult to find, with this research, the researcher hopes to be able to raise the issue of the vulnerability of local communities due to the invasion of companies investing in these two sub-districts, so that it can become a reference for future researchers to sharpen their analysis, especially the problem of dispossession of local communities from economic, social and cultural access which haunts every moment in the journey of local communities in the area.

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