

Local Community Tactics to Decline the Mining; Evidence from West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract. Conflict between local communities and companies occurred from land seizure, declination of mine development plans, exposure to mining waste that threatened local communities, into demands for post-mining recovery. This article discusses the declination of local communities to development of gold mines by PT. Inexco Jaya Makmur in *Nagari* Simpang Tonang, Pasaman Regency, West Sumatra. The data was collected using in-depth interviews and document studies. The research findings indicated the institutional and extra-institutional tactics was used by the community. Authors conclude the strategy was carried out from soft approaches (correspondence with government) to confrontational one.s

Keywords: *Local Community, Declination Tactics, Ecological Conflict.*

1. Introduction

The utilization of natural resources carried out by mining companies provides benefits and problems simultaneously. As such two sides of a coin, mining is claimed to increase the economy and meet the market needs, and conversely, have a negative impact on the local community that it provokes protests and resistance from various parties. The utilization of natural resources is highly necessary for the life sustainability since nearly the entire life of the community depends on natural resources[1], [2]. A simple example is computer electronic equipment that extremely necessary in everyday life, but the entire assembly process from distribution to the hands of consumers uses natural resources and produces thousands of tons toxic and radioactive waste[1]. On the other hand, mining activities lead to various declination in the community, from the issue of seizing mining area, which was originally controlled by the local community [3], [4], declination of mining development plans, exposure to mining waste that is agitating the community around the mine [2], [5], as well as the arising issues following the mining (such as demands for post-mining environmental improvements).

Declination by local communities is highly possible as they suffer losses due to mining or are concerned about the impact. Various potential environmental impacts influence local communities due to mining, such as increased noise, air pollution and odors, water pollution, disruption in rural landscapes, vibration, and potential earthquakes. Social impacts also tend to

have an effect on local communities, including anxiety due to the increased truck traffic, road damage, property disruption, and disturbance to livelihoods [2], [6], [7]. Another paper mentions, the environmental damage done by human has disrupted the balance of nature such as natural disasters, landslides, floods, and other that may cause a threat to the sustainability of human life [8].

Various studies that examine the issue of local community conflicts with companies revealed that people tend to be weak parties and being weakened when dealing with companies. It happened due to the mining carried out by the companies received support from the government. The symbiotic relationship between the companies and the government often privileges the companies and tends to allow public rejection [2], [3]. The weakness of the community when dealing with companies can be observed in the absence of the power to fight for the demands. In the same time, the weakening of the community is an effort to suppress declination and resistance [1], [9] by the government and the companies. However, various studies have found that local communities continue to make various efforts that their interests are heard [10]. Efforts were made from gathering strength in their own community (strengthening the in-group), as well as asking for help from other parties, such as Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).

This paper discusses the declination tactics of local community towards mining development, which was carried out by PT. Inexco Jaya Makmur (here in after referred to as PT. IJM) in *Nagari* Simpang Tonang, Duo Koto District, Pasaman Regency, West Sumatera Province. Declination by local communities here is referred as companies-local community conflicts. The conflict here is recognized as a conflict of interest between two parties (local communities who decline the mine and companies that want the mine for profit).

2. Literature Review

Conflicts almost occur in almost all potential resources [11] and it's involved the local community. The recent studies on conflicts between local community and companies have been widely carried out. The main issues discussed in the study included land use seizure, declination of mine development plans, exposure to mining wastes that threatened local communities and demands for post-mining recovery [4], [5], [9], [12]. The majority of study's findings examine the issue of land ownership seizure and exposure to mining waste. In the same time, studies discussing the issue of declining mine development plan and recovery of post-mining areas have not been widely found. Overall, the four issues discussed in conflict studies between local communities and companies intersected with conflict actors. Local community conflicts in mining issues involve local communities and companies as main actors. Apart from them, there are also other involved actors, such as government, environmentalists (environmental activists, universities, NGOs).

Conflict studies between local communities and companies focus on local communities effort to fight for their interests [4], [5], the government as a mediator in suppressing escalation of conflict through companies power [9], Non-Government Organization (NGO) as a mediator and community facilitator [13]. The study of Adams and Shriver (2017) on the local community strategy in paying compensation for the pollution by the company is crucial in this article as they equally focused on the local community tactics in dealing with the companies. However, there are differences between this study and the Adams and Shriver's in terms of declination substance, which this article discusses the declination of mine development, while Adams and Shriver's writings discuss the issue of pollution. Then,

theoretically the tactics in this article are regarded as a dynamic in declining mine development, whereas in Adams and Shriver's writing, tactics are used as a form of resistance.

The tactics referred to in this paper are a series of efforts by the local community to fight for their interests, as a form of declination of mining companies. Other writings refer it as the patterns of protest. The local communities had carried out various patterns of protest to fight, starting with soft patterns to those tend be hard ones, such as correspondence, lobbying, demonstrations, blocking access to mining locations and destruction of assets owned by companies [14]. The grassroots movement tactics on declining mine was categorized into institutional and extra-institutional tactics. Institutional tactics include writing letters, lobbying, submitting petitions and interacting with the institutional elite in accordance with the agreed methods. Conversely, extra-institutional tactics are confrontational tactics and refuse to follow institutional guidelines, such as occupation, demonstration blockades, various preventive actions against attacks, and use of violence [14]–[16].

3. Method

This paper is a preliminary study to understanding local community declination towards mining development in *Nagari* Simpang Tonang, Duo Koto District, Pasaman Regency, West Sumatra Province. The mining development was carried out by PT. Inexo Jaya Makmur (here in after referred to as PT. IJM) since 2017 and local community disagree with the project. thus, the local community making various efforts to decline, starting with directly dealing with the companies to inquiring for local NGO assistance. The conflict began to come up in October 2017 and went through an annual escalation in May 2018. The data was collected through interviews with key figures in local community and NGOs. In addition, authir also participated in hearing activities conducted by the community with the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) of West Sumatra Provincial. Some document such as local community report documents, release and reports of local NGOs who assist the local community, and news in the mass media was examined in this study. The data were analyzed using analytical-descriptive and presented systematically according to the paper purpose.

4. Underlying Conflict of Local Community with Mining Companies

PT. IJM is a gold mining company with exploration and production operations permit in *Nagari* Cubadak and *Nagari* Simpang Tonang, Duo Koto District, Pasaman Regency. The permit is under Mining Business License (IUP) Number 544-274-2017 that issued by the Governor of West Sumatra on October 2nd. The permit covered 2,408 Ha mining area. Based on the license, the IUP of PT. IJM is located at *Jorong* Sungai Beremas, *Nagari* Cubadak, Duo Koto District, Pasaman Regency. However, based on map analysis, the Mining Business License Area (WIUP) of PT. IJM in compared with the administrative map of Duo Koto District, the IUP of PT. IJM is located at *Nagari* Cubadak (1,434 Ha) and *Nagari* Simpang Tonang (974 Ha). An addition, in compared with maps of forest areas, the IUP area is located at Limited Production Forest (HPT) area (435 Ha) and at Conversion Production Forest (HPK) area (1,973 Ha). The incompatibility of IUP and WIUP is the main local community of *Nagari* Simpang Tonang main reason to decline the mining [17].

The operation are of PT. IJM also includes residential areas, cultivation, agriculture, customary forest areas, and watersheds. It means that there are mistakes in spatial inspection, during pre-construction of the construction project. Although it is still in the same Regency,

mining development projects ideally pay attention to controlling the use of space, zoning rule, licensing provisions, as regulated in Law No. 26 of 2007 on spatial planning.

Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi), a NGO assisting the local community stated, the licensing process, and documents preparation regarding the environmental impact analysis of PT. IJM did not involve the community and stakeholders in the *Nagari* Simpang Tonang. It leads to public anxiety and fear of environmental impacts (river damage), and socio-economic impacts (loss of private and customary land, loss of houses, sources of income from agriculture/plantations) [18]. In line with Walhi's statement, in a hearing between local community with the DPRD of West Sumatra Province, representatives of the local community affirmed:

"We obtained information from one of the figure of Nagari Simpang Tonang, who once served as Head of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, stated that our Nagari is brimming with gold, but the damage caused by mining is far more detrimental than the obtained benefits"

Some points of view of the *Nagari* Simpang Tonang community related to exploitation and exploration activities carried out by the companies are:

1. Declared to reject mining because it's will pollute the environment (water sources and community agricultural land) because the mining locations close to residential areas, agricultural land and rivers. The mining will impact to local socio-economic.
2. The Company considered was "deceived" the community because it does not involve the community in the licensing process
3. Repair the \pm 7 km of the *Nagari* road which was damaged by the entry of heavy equipment owned by PT.IJM.
4. Production Operation IUP of PT. IJM should be revoked,

5. Conflict Actors

Conflicts in the industrial sector usually involved three main actors, society, companies and government [19], [20] and their rule are different in each conflict. However, many studies show that conflict also involves actors besides the three main actors. The mining development conflict in *Nagari* Simpang Tonang involved many actors. The actors composed of main actors and actors acted as mediators and actors who tended to take sides with one of the main actors. Using the actor analysis approach, there was a shift from conflict between local communities and company to conflict between local community and Pasaman District Government. The local community that originally regarded the Pasaman Regency Government act as a mediator began to shift as a party in opposition to the local community. Local communities expressed their concerns about the mine construction and problematic permit and inquired the government to abandon the mining plan. However, the Government conversely ensured the benefits of mining activities.

The provincial government also supported the companies and overlooked the demands of the *Nagari* community. Government support for the companies can be regarded from the issuance of new permits for PT. IJM under No. 544-99-2018. The Governor of West Sumatra issued the permit after passing the AMDAL addendum process, which was considered a unilateral decision by the community. The new permit revised the IUP is located at Jorong Sungai Beremas, *Nagari* Cubadak and *Nagari* Simpang Tonang, Dua Koto District, Pasaman Regency, West Sumatra Province covering 2408 Ha.

Outside the local community, government and companies, there were NGOs as part of the process of resolving conflicts between the *Nagari* Simpang Tonang community and companies as well as the government. The involved NGOs were Walhi West Sumatra region and the Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association (PBHI) of West Sumatra. The two NGOs tended to place their position as advocates for the local community. Opposing the government, the two NGOs positioned themselves as part of the local community, which helped to decline the mining activities plan.

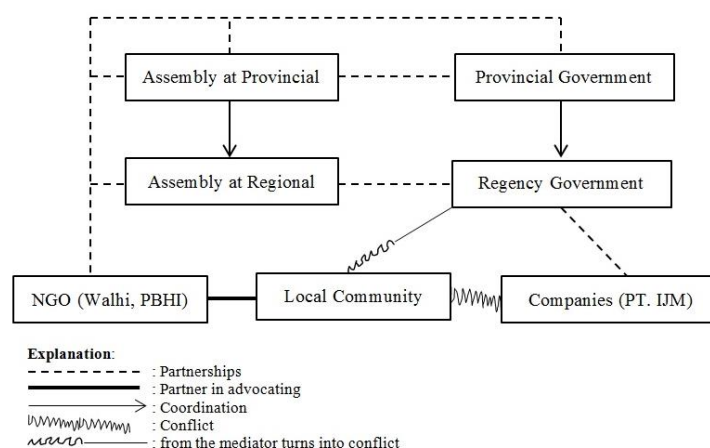


Fig.1. Map of Conflicting Actors between Local Community and PT. IJM

6. Local Community Tactics in Declining Mining Companies

Each community chooses their own way to reject various programs that are considered threatening their sustainability of lives. The strategies of rejection are from the softest way to the hardest way [21] such as violence, anarchy and etc. These approaches have been carried out by local community in Nagari Simpang Tonang, West Pasaman. In general, the tactics chosen by the local community in Nagari Simpang Tonang as an effort to reject mining were carried out using institutional tactics and extra-institutional. The tactics that have been used can be traced based on the chronological conflict presented in the following table:

Table 1. Chronology of conflicts and local communities' tactics

Time	Chronology of Conflict	Community Tactics
Mid 2017	Clan leader and Walinagari Simpang Tonang invited by PT. IJM to discuss the mining plans. On the meeting, they not agree with the plan and walk out form the forum.	-
Oct 2, 2017	The West Sumatra Governor issued the production operation mining license (IUP) PT. IJM.	-
Oct 20, 2017	PT. IJM sent a letter to Nagari Government in term of roads construction, base camps construction, borrowing land leases.	-
Oct 21, 2017	The company's equipment has brought to the Nagari Simpang Tonang.	-

Oct 30, 2017	Local community wrote a declining letter toward mining to Pasaman Regent and declared the decline.	Institutional tactic – writing letter
Nov 6, 2017	Walinagari wrote a letter to regent of Pasaman in form of PT. IJM activity at Nagari Simpang Tonang.	Institutional tactic – writing letter
Nov 8, 2017	The company's socialize the exploration and exploitation activities to community.	-
Nov 13, 2017	Local community wrote a decline letter toward IUP (mining license) to governor of West Sumatera Barat	Institutional tactic – writing letter
Jan 11, 2018	Local community held hearing with DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council) of West Sumatera accompanied by Walhi of West Sumatera	Institutional tactic –contacts with institutional elite
Marc 28, 2018	Demonstrations held by Association of Pasaman University Student (IMAPAS) to revoke the license of mining	Extra Institutional tactic– Demonstration
Mei7, 2018	Duo Koto students reported the conflict to National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) of West Sumatera accompanied by Walhi and PBHI	Institutional tactic – lobbying
Mei 22, 2018	The riots occurred in declining towards mining license protest. Street was blocked and polices car burned.	Extra Institutional tactic –Blockade and protest
Mei 23, 2018	PT. IJSM's base camps burned	Extra Institutional tactic -Violence

Source: *Secondary data 2018*.

In the time span, various conflicts between local communities and companies occurred as a form of public declination of the mining activities plan. The series of incidents started from the companies' activities in delivering the mining plan, building base camp to the destruction of company assets.

7. Conclusion

The findings of this study denote that when local communities deal with the government, institutional tactics tend to be used. This was influenced by the government relatively opened to accept declination to use institutional tactics. Although there is no assurance that the tactic is able to materialize an agreement between the conflicting actors, the shift in tactics that institutional tactics to extra-institutional ones did not occur when the community expressed rejection to the government. However, there is a movement to convey interests, at different levels of the institution hierarchically (previously submitted to the Regency Government, moving vertically to the Provincial Government).

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