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Encourage resource governance: Responding disaster threats behind environmentally friendly claims at the Tumpang Pitu gold mine

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ABSTRACT

The Indonesian constitution has stated that natural resources must be utilized for the people’s benefit. But the people’s interests are often defeated by the elite. The long-term goal of this research is not to close the mining area and its activities, but to ensure that the exploration and exploitation process that has already started must prioritize ecological balance and disaster resilience. Using a qualitative method and a descriptive approach, this study analyzes the role of the government, corporation, and local communities in the framework of resources governance in order to strengthen the advocacy of civil society who are often marginalized in the existence of extractive industries. The results of the study show that the gold mining activity is contrary to the forestry law where the existing rules have been liberalized by selling state assets to private companies; the lack of added value for local communities such as limited job vacancies; the occurrence of environmental damage around the gold mining area where this area is actually a protected forest and a natural barrier from the threat of a tsunami disaster; and even though mining companies have claimed that their activities are environmentally friendly, in fact disasters are starting to appear.

Keywords: Disaster; Environment; Resource Governance; Gold Mine

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that is very vulnerable to the disasters threat. This is because geographically Indonesia is located at the confluence of three of the world’s active tectonic plates, namely the Eurasian Plate, Indo-Australian Plate and the Pacific Plate, which move with each other. In the territory of Indonesia, there are also many active volcanoes that form a ring of fire, therefore earthquakes and tsunamis often occur due to volcanic eruptions (Masum & Akbar, 2019; Mutaqin et al., 2019; Farwanto & Oyama, 2014; Siagian et al., 2014). With these characteristics, the disaster threat risks other than earthquakes and tsunamis
such as floods, landslides, and so on also continue to lurk in various regions of Indonesia (Kelley & Prabowo, 2019; Rodysill et al., 2019; Widiyanti et al., 2019).

In Indonesia, disasters are not only seen as natural phenomena or ecological phenomena that must be mitigated and overcome, but also become political commodities. Especially when a disaster is caused by something of economic value, political actors will be closer. The cultural politics of natural disasters are shaped by competing claims and conceptions of nature (Dewayanti & Rebecca, 2021; Drake, 2017; Klitzsch, 2014; Lewis & Lewis, 2017). Therefore, it is not surprising that the disasters that have occurred in several areas so far have not escaped the attention of a number of politicians who have taken advantage of the momentum of the disaster in order to gain sympathy by opening command posts at disaster locations and providing assistance to affected victims. However, all of this political momentum unfortunately has not yet fully led to a commitment to place the issue of ecological safety as a priority. Safe governance and people oriented has not really become a mindset.

Whereas, according to Indonesia’s constitution, natural resources are to be maintained under the powers of the state and used to the greatest benefit of the people (Arsil & Ayuni, 2021; Dutu, 2015; Kadir & Murray, 2019). Constitutionally was prevented from direct selling of mineral assets to foreign investors (Welker, 2014). But in practice the interests of society are often forgotten by the interests of a few greedy people who want to enrich themselves. In Indonesia, the clash between the needs of the mining industry and the environmental sustainability which emerging nowadays and become a big attention of the wider community is the Mount Tumpang Pitu case. The Mount Tumpang Pitu – also known as the Seven Hills Mountain – is located in the southern part of Banyuwangi Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. This area became so popular after geologists found the fact that this area has gold ore reserves in large capacity with special characteristics and claimed as the second largest gold mining in Indonesia after the Grasberg mine in Papua operated by Freeport (Rochman & Tehusijarana, 2020).

After twenty four years exploring since 1991, Mount Tumpang Pitu officially became a real mining area with PT Bumi Suksesindo as official investor who was designated by the Local Government of Banyuwangi Regency. The policy to exploit the gold contains the scent of politics which is only thinking about economic benefits and ignores environmental impacts. Local government argued that the gold reserves will be able to contribute about ten to twenty percent of Banyuwangi local revenue. But Mount Tumpang Pitu area is a natural conservation area that should be preserved (Alfian, 2019; Jamiah et al., 2018; Triatmojo et al., 2020). The destruction of Mount Tumpang Pitu will have an impact on the survival of the creatures in it. It is not just a protected forest, but a natural barrier to the local area from the threat of a tsunami in the southern Indonesian sea which can occur at any time.

Actually the entire southern coast of Java Island is not suitable for mining (Irawan et al., 2021; Lestari et al., 2019). This is because from the start the damage has been so visible. As in several regencies in East Java Province, such as Blitar, Jember, Lumajang and now Banyuwangi, they are threatened with the same damage (Hakim & Sihabudin, 2018). This condition led to a struggle for interests over the governance of Mount Tumpang Pitu which involved the government working hand in hand with corporations against environmental activists, local communities and non-governmental organizations (Permadi & Dewantara, 2018; Saputra & Setiyono, 2021). This struggle occurs behind the disaster threat that lurks even though investors or mining companies continue to propagate that their activities use a green mining model that is claimed to be environmentally friendly. Concern to explore investors’ claims about open pit mining with an environmentally friendly green mining
model carried out in gold mining exploitation is important considering that according Indonesian National Agency for Disaster Management Banyuwangi Regency is ranked 11th out of 514 regencies and cities in Indonesia with a high disaster risk index (BNPB, 2014).

Mount Tumpang Pitu is a real example of the neglect of ecological safety and the potential disaster threat. The local government’s policy of approving the exploration and exploitation of gold is thick with a political scent that prioritizes economic benefits but ignores environmental impacts (Rifai et al., 2020). Therefore, this study is important because the authors noticed some irregularities in the policy making and operational management of Tumpang Pitu gold mining, among others: first, local government policy in mining management was allegedly contrary to the Indonesian Law No. 41 of 1999 about Forestry - the existing rules have been liberalized and sell state assets to private corporation; second, the destruction of environment around the mining area whereas this area is actually a protected forest and barrier from tsunami disaster threat; third, the violence escalation that occurred around the mining area involving government officials; and forth, lack of added value for local communities such as employment and corporate social responsibility.

Based on the explanation above, this study in general aims to reveal the clash between actors and their political, socio-economic, and environmental problems. Thus, it is hoped that the government, investors, and local communities will be integrated in the framework of resource governance so that later it can minimize the emergence of parties who are ignored or disadvantaged. Therefore, resource governance will be the theory used in this study to analyze the phenomena that occur. In general, it can be understood that resource governance is an effort to promote good governance in natural resource management (Moore et al., 2011). The other objectives are to identify various potential disaster threats behind the management of the Tumpang Pitu gold mine, both from land and from the sea, to prove investors’ claims about the mining model being used that is environmentally friendly and takes into account aspects of disaster resilience, and strengthens advocacy to local communities.

As social engineering, this research is expected to encourage efforts to handle vulnerable communities, save critical environments, and reduce disaster risk in the Tumpang Pitu gold mine area as stipulated in the Indonesian national disaster management plan. However, risk reduction for vulnerable groups must involve the groups themselves because through their participation the needs and direction of disaster risk reduction policies can be formulated more precisely and according to their needs (Siregar & Wibowo, 2019). The results of this study are important to find ways to minimize vertical and horizontal conflicts that occur in the existence of the Tumpang Pitu gold mine which until now have not found the right permanent conflict resolution. In this case, social solidarity must be understood as a form of exchange in which inevitably there is a discussion about power relations (Alfirdaus et al., 2015). The results of this study are expected to be able to contribute to relevant stakeholders, especially as a reference and evaluation material in the future so that later mining activities that have been carried out so far do not turn into a disaster threat that can destroy Banyuwangi, especially in the part facing the south coast.

Basically, several studies with similar themes have been published and become references in this research. First, research from Triatmojo et al. (2020) which states that the mining business will negatively harm environmental conditions which can affect the social life of the community and reduce the quality of the environment. However, it has a positive impact on changes in the level of the economy. Second, the research from Putri & Adi (2020) which explores that increasing economic welfare in Tumpang Pitu is just a myth that is blown by the regime and corporations, while the environmental damage that has occurred on a large scale is not disclosed. Third, research from Moerad et al. (2016) who argues that many
economic contributions can be obtained since the emergence of mining, such as the
development of tourist destinations around the mining area.

Apart from these three publications, there are still quite a lot of other studies in the
form of theses. However, from these various studies, most of them focus on the issue of
economic improvement and environmental degradation only. It is true that this research is
also still discussing the issue of environmental degradation, but there are two things that
distinguish this research from previous research. First, this study analyzes problems in the
framework of resource governance. Second, this study highlights the environmentally
friendly claims at the Tumpang Pitu mine that have not been reviewed by previous studies.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative type and a descriptive approach. To obtain holistic
research results, this study presents data qualitatively through collecting data by means of
in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, field observations, as well as extracting
secondary data such as related government documents, books, journals, academic research
articles on various mass media that have relevance to this research. This research was
carried out on Mount Tumpang Pitu which is the location of gold mining. The research site is
located in Sumberagung Village, Pesangaran Sub-district, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java
Province, the Republic of Indonesia. The selection of this location was done because the
authors wanted to see directly the mining activities and its impact on local communities and
environment to dig up relevant data. The duration of this research was carried out from April
to August 2019 or five months.

The consequences of an interview study need to be addressed with respect to possible
harm to the subject as well as to the expected benefits participating in the study (Kvale, 2007;
Qu & Dumay, 2011). In this study, interviews were conducted with several sources including
local government and civil society. Interviews with the government included the Local
Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) and the Local Department of Environment. The
interviews with civil society included journalists from the two largest local newspapers in
Banyuwangi Regency (Koran Kompas and Radar Banyuwangi), non-governmental
organizations (ForBanyuwangi), the disaster risk reduction school volunteers, local village
youth organizations, and affected communities. While, forum group discussions are
conducted by inviting academics from local universities and local independent researchers
who are also involved in the same issue. The author is very aware of the limitations of this
research. To talk about resource governance, the authors need data not only from the
government and civil society, but also the private sector, in this case mining management
companies. But unfortunately the author has difficulty getting direct access to the mining
area so that the author must maximize secondary data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Welfare Improvement vs Environmental Degradation

In 1972, the United Nations conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm
Declaration) represented a milestone in the field of environmental policy on a global
scale when they inaugurated the promotion of the concept of sustainable development
as a resolution to environmental dilemmas considered to be development dilemmas.
Thus the Stockholm Declaration had a major influence on the formation of the
relationship between humans and nature, and the perception of how natural resources
should be formally regulated and managed (Castillo-Ospina, 2013; Chasek, 2020;
Chawla, 2020). Shortly after the turn of the twenty-first century, the world found itself
in the midst of a tremendous resource commodity boom: investment and trade terms in extractive industries were at such a high level.

The rise of the mining industry raises issues about the agenda of neoliberalism, neocolonialism, and capitalism (Brisbois et al., 2021). The importance of a nuanced understanding of the social power relations that underlie the process of resource exploitation in the neoliberal turn over of capitalism (Adduci, 2013). This concern then gave rise to the concept called resource governance. According to Singh & Bourgoin (2013) resource governance is when the state remains the locus of power in managing natural resources for development, pressure from above and below influences the reform agenda at the national level. This transformation is not only by changing the configuration of the state-market relationship but also the transformation of resource management at different scales of government. Resource management is currently a hot issue in the world, including Indonesia. This is because the management of natural resources cannot be separated from the government’s role in the form of public policy.

The development process in Indonesia so far, in addition to having achieved various progress in all fields, it is undeniable that there are still problems that are counter-productive in the effort to realize a comfortable and sustainable living space. Various strategic issues in the environmental field that are currently faced by the Indonesian people include uncontrolled land conversion, both in protected areas and cultivation areas which have an impact on the destruction of the ecosystem balance and a decrease in productivity (Firman, 2000; Tacconi et al., 2019). Moreover, at this time Indonesia has been running in the phase of democracy and the era of regional autonomy where sometimes this phase even produces a powerful ‘little king’ in the local area. However, it should be remembered that the advent of democracy in Indonesia is to realize the people’s sovereignty. Learning the basics of democracy in Indonesia, we are ultimately guided by a new awareness that democracy must be realized as welfare democracy (Santoso, 2015). These claims are indeed the essence of democracy, when democracy could provide an opportunity for the public to determine his life, to have access to resources, and can manage the resources to bring it to a better standard of living (Paskarina et al., 2015). It must be remembered that the presence of democracy in Indonesia is to realize the sovereignty of the people.

A major transformation needs to be carried out to realize the strengthening of the disaster resilience aspect in the governance of the resource extractive industry in each period of leadership of the rulers which is limited to a period of five years. This is important to do so that the commitment to strengthen the identity of Banyuwangi Regency as an area that prioritizes and considers the balance of nature, where Banyuwangi Regency has been synonymous with programs based on the green and clean movement, which should be a regional development program must be balanced with the spirit to maintain environmental sustainability, including the coastal environment. Thus the maritime axis vision is not only the spirit of the central government, but can be integrated and used as a common interest for local governments and other stakeholders involved.

The main vision of the administration of Joko Widodo to strengthen the maritime aspect will not run optimally if the focus is only on development programs or ignoring the problem of disaster threats that can occur in mining areas. The response to a disaster will usually be felt when the disaster hits areas in Indonesia, especially when it is more responsive before the democratic party. No wonder it is often found and it can be ascertained that every inch of the disaster-stricken area will be used by political parties to build a political image by distributing aid to victims in campaign packages and
political advertisements to influence the masses (Susanto, 2014). In short, this can mean that the response to disasters is packed with more political interests. For this reason, this research will frame it in the concept of resource governance. The concept of resource governance is here to link the idea of good governance with extractive resource governance which is more political (Ahrens & Rudolph, 2006; International IDEA, 2018; Moldalieva & Heathershaw, 2020). Thus, resource governance positions extractive resources that must be managed wisely and consider aspects of energy security, social welfare, and sustainability. To explore it more contextually, the resource governance link is also linked to disaster risk reduction to identify the problems faced in greater depth.

In Indonesian Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management states that a disaster is defined as an event or series of events that threatens and disrupts people’s lives and livelihoods caused by both natural and/or non-natural factors as well as human factors, resulting in human casualties, environmental damage, property losses, objects, and psychological effects. Disaster management is an integral part of national development, therefore the roles and responsibilities are not only with local governments, but also with the central government. For this reason, coordination and cooperation between governments, both central and local governments, is needed in disaster management. Even though in practice, when a disaster occurs, the disaster management carried out by the government actually seems slow and seems less coordinated between one institution and related institutions. This is not only happening in Indonesia, according to a study conducted by Brown & Magary (1998) which states that the complexity of processes in the government bureaucracy is often an obstacle in dealing with disasters that occur. It is critical that intergovernmental responsibilities are clearly delineated and understood at the government level (Col, 2007). More than that, disaster management must also be a joint matter for that, the involvement of the role of all relevant stakeholders is very necessary, especially the business world and the community so that disaster management becomes a common interest and requires collective intervention. Thus, all stakeholders have the same responsibility in efforts to reduce disaster risk.

2. Political Intervention and Disaster Risk Reduction

As an area that is prone to disasters, it is appropriate that Banyuwangi Regency needs to reflect on a number of natural disasters that have occurred in almost all regions in Indonesia, ranging from landslides, flash floods, tidal floods, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, droughts, tsunamis, and so on. It is still clearly recorded in various records, major catastrophic events that occurred in 2018, such as the earthquake in Lombok Island, the tsunami in Central Sulawesi, and the tsunami in the Sunda Strait which claimed many lives and cause huge material losses (Felix et al., 2021; Fuady & Munadi, 2021; Safitri et al., 2021). A number of major disaster events that have occurred are a reminder for the government and all relevant stakeholders to continue to make improvements. The earthquake and tsunami that hit Aceh in 2004 was not only a momentum to end the conflict and initiate peace between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), but more than that, it also became a new momentum for the Government of Indonesia to respond and place disaster as a national priority. Before the catastrophic disaster occurred, the government’s concern and preparedness for disaster management was very weak and was only carried out when a disaster occurred.

Learning from this incident, the Government does not want the same thing to happen again. Recognizing the importance of the legal basis for disaster legislation,
Indonesian Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management was born. A year later, followed by the issuance of Government Regulation Number 21 of 2008 concerning the Implementation of Disaster Management, Government Regulation Number 22 of 2008 concerning Funding and Management of Disaster Assistance, and Government Regulation Number 23 of 2008 concerning the Participation of International Institutions and Foreign Non-Governmental Organizations in Disaster Management.

The Local Government must know very well how the condition of the area is so that disaster management strategies can be carried out in a targeted manner, especially in carrying out humanitarian tasks. In this case, the government is responsible for the implementation of disaster management which includes pre-disaster, emergency response, and post-disaster conditions. To be concrete, the mainstreaming of disaster risk reduction in development is drawn up in the National Action Plan for Disaster Risk Reduction (RAN-PRB) and the Regional Action Plan for Disaster Risk Reduction (RAD-PRB). Thus, the Central and Local Governments can respond to disaster problems in their entirety and no longer partially, because often what happens is that disaster management is carried out only when the disaster occurs so that the approach taken is only an emergency response.

For this reason, coordination and cooperation between governments, both central and local governments, is needed in disaster management. Even though in practice, when a disaster occurs, disaster management carried out by the government actually seems slow and seems less coordinated between one institution and related institutions. One of the important keys for disaster management is the relationship between the central and local governments in disaster management so that the limitations faced by institutions can be minimized and become lessons learned for local governments in managing disasters (Čvetković et al., 2021; Kusumasari, 2014; Lee, 2019). In other words, mainstreaming disaster risk reduction is a shared responsibility.

If we use the statute approach, then the completeness and compliance of the administration of policy products that have been issued by the Government towards gold mining activities carried out by PT Bumi Suksesindo have a permit and legality. However, if we look at the political approach, the legality of gold mining is a real example of a strong correlation between politics, law, and the economy. The granting of gold mining permits has contributed to forest degradation on Mount Tumpang Pitu. This mining activity arises because of the constellation of power that is motivated by political and economic interests. In this case, the arrival of disasters is no longer seen as a natural reaction but more than that because of human activities which have a close relationship with power relations and political economic interests.

The government plays an important role in reducing individual and collective vulnerability to disasters (Haratunga et al., 2019; Dayton-Johnson, 2006; Hansson et al., 2020; Lakoff, 2010). Through measures such as disaster relief, infrastructure development, and environmental regulation, public policy is central to making communities more resilient. However, the recent push to replace public institutions with market mechanisms has challenged government efforts to manage disaster risk. To be more concrete, the Tumpang Pitu gold mine resource governance involves three stakeholders, namely the government (political actors), the private sector (economic actors), and civil society (affected actors). But in reality, civil society as the affected actor is often not involved in the public policy making process carried out by the government. Ironically, public policy making is often intervened by the private sector as the owner of capital, this is where the practice of political economy takes place. Claims of environmentally friendly mining cannot be taken for granted and then everyone assumes
that everything will be fine. Environmental and community safety must be the main orientation.

3. **When Capital Talks and Its Impact**

Humans are not only social creatures, but also ecological creatures. When the ecological balance is threatened, the potential for disaster is very possible and can threaten the safety of the people in it. The potential disasters that are feared to occur in this context are not only focused on natural disasters but also ecological disasters caused by human activities from mining activities that are not environmentally friendly. But unfortunately, the community’s concerns do not go hand in hand with what is desired by the owners of capital. The issue of disaster has always been ignored by PT Bumi Suksesindo as an investor. PT Bumi Suksesindo is a mining company with the status of a domestic investment which based on the Decree of the Banyuwangi Regent Number 188/547/KPP/429,011/2012 already has a mining business license for production operations covering an area of 4,998 hectares with the main activities being gold and copper production. The mining location was then also designated as a national vital object based on the Decree of the Indonesian Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 651/K/30/MEM/2016.

Despite its status as a domestic investor, it is suspected that PT Bumi Suksesindo is just an administrator from Merdeka Cooper Gold Corp, which is a foreign investor. For this reason, although investors continue to propagate that their mining activities are open mining but use a green mining model that is claimed to be environmentally friendly, this does not necessarily eliminate the concerns of local communities and guarantees that environmental conditions have changed after the exploration and exploitation process is still able to withstand potential disasters both on land and from the sea. The lack of added value obtained by the local community also triggers social resistance from the surrounding community, both through advocacy and demonstrations which then also triggers the emergence of acts of violence that have the potential to violate human rights.

In the case of the exploitation of the Tumpang Pitu gold mine, the public policy making process involved only includes the government and the private sector, resulting in several points that give rise to multiple interpretations and pros and cons, such as protected forest being converted to production forest and Mount Tumpang Pitu officially being an open gold mining area. This policy is felt by the community to be very detrimental, because although the results of gold mining can increase local income, it has less direct impact on the community around the mine. Even in the long term the impact will lead to environmental degradation. This condition shows that there is one side that is marginalized, namely civil society.

Thus, resource governance has not been able to be applied in mining management at Mount Tumpang Pitu. As a result, the local people living around the mining area became volatile, they fought back which caused clashes and even vertical and horizontal conflicts. Resistance emerged in society as an expression of disappointment and dissatisfaction with the government and corporations. This resistance was carried out through demonstrations by the people of Sumberagung Village and the surrounding affected areas. Various confrontations, violence, and tensions carried out by residents for years did not produce significant changes. In fact, mining activities are still being carried out with an expanding area.

The disaster threat is one of the serious problems currently being and has been faced by Banyuwangi Regency, especially in the southern coastal area. Moreover,
basically the entire south coast of Java Island is not suitable for mining. This is because from the start the damage has been so visible. Several regencies in East Java such as Blitar, Jember, Lumajang and now Banyuwangi are threatened with the same thing. This concern about the disaster threat is a logical consideration given the experience of the tsunami that hit Banyuwangi Regency on June 3, 1994 – known as the Friday Pon Tragedy – especially in Pancen Hamlet, Sumberagung Village, Pesanggaran Sub-district (Naryanto & Wisyanto, 2005). Local residents who survived the tsunami were worried if a similar incident would happen again in their area. To minimize the possibility of a similar disaster, Mount Tumpang Pitu must maintain its ecological balance because people believe that Mount Tumpang Pitu is a natural barrier to tsunamis and other natural disasters, especially floods and landslides.

Almost all areas of Banyuwangi Regency have a variety of disaster threats ranging from medium and high risk, and some have low risk. The potential for disasters is quite high, including tsunamis, volcanoes, floods, and landslides. Furthermore, in particular, if we trace more deeply the potential threats that exist in Pesanggaran Sub-district especially in Sumberagung Village which is the location for gold mining, then there are a number of disaster threats that may occur in the future, including floods, landslides, tidal waves and tsunamis, earthquakes and forest fires. Banyuwangi according to a study from BNPB ranks ninth with a high vulnerability value for areas with a regional vulnerability index to earthquakes and tsunamis. A number of these disasters can occur because they are influenced by behavior patterns of individuals and groups who lack or even do not have awareness of the environment so that it can result in damage to the environment or ecosystem. Therefore, although PT Bumi Suksesindo continues to promote the image that their mining activities are safe, the surrounding community remains concerned about the short-term and long-term impacts of exploitation.

One of the disasters that had occurred was the mud flood that damaged agricultural land where 300 hectares of corn crops belonging to residents failed to harvest. Not only destroying agricultural land, mud floods also pollute the sea. The amount of mud that enters the sea causes coral reefs in the waters of Pancen to be badly damaged and causes fish in the area to disappear. The mud comes from overflowing rivers that erode the bare hills in the exploitation area of Mount Tumpang Pitu. Local residents who were disadvantaged said that before there was gold mining activity, the area had never experienced mud flooding. With an open-pit mining system, the forest on Mount Tumpang Pitu will become dry and water infiltration will be reduced. The local community asked PT Bumi Suksesindo to take responsibility for the incident. The more Mount Tumpang Pitu is dredged, the greater the potential for disaster is also more real.

Therefore, disaster risk management must place more emphasis on a holistic approach, both during the pre-disaster, during the disaster, and post-disaster stages. This is exacerbated by the increasing intensity of the earthquake in Banyuwangi since the beginning of 2019. Earthquakes can cause giant chemical waste storage ponds in mining areas to crack, leak, and seep into the ground and even contaminate groundwater and the sea. Local people are still traumatized by the 1994 tsunami. Most of them still remember very well what happened when the tsunami hit the Tumpang Pitu area and destroyed residents’ houses. In fact, this incident became a collective memory for the local community and to remember the tsunami that occurred on June 3, 1994, a memorial was erected in front of the Pancen Hamlet Hall. The community said that they survived because Mount Tumpang Pitu was a natural barrier that prevented the water from rising from the tsunami, so that if the mountain environment was destroyed due to
mining activities, there would be no natural protection against the threat of a tsunami if it happened in the future.

4. Questioning Environmentally Friendly Claims

The local government seems to always be normative in responding to environmental issues in the Tumpang Pitu area. The government continues to say it is safe and places more emphasis on improving welfare. Not only that, the media was divided. There are those who reject the mine, there are also those who support it. The supporting media are then invited by investors to cover mining activities. For example, a local newspaper was invited to carry out exclusive coverage which was published in the Monday, July 17, 2017 edition. In this edition, it discussed various issues, essentially that mining activities use environmentally friendly green mining methods, including:

First, the separation of gold with other mineral content with chemicals is carried out by the heap leach method so that it does not produce waste. In this case, what is meant by no waste by the mine manager is not really no waste, but rather that waste is stored in large ponds which are continuously recycled. From there emerged the claim that they do not dispose of waste at all and do not contaminate the environment. As proof that their waste is safe, investors are placing lots of tilapia in their ponds although it is not yet clear whether anyone will consume the fish. Second, the waste collection ponds are flushed with a reagent solution which is a mixture of carbon and nitrogen. The management said that even after the mining activity was completed, watering would continue for two full years so that the location became environmentally friendly. Third, the manager has prepared the nursery area early with various green plants with the aim that after mining, the area will return to green.

However, in this post-truth era, reports from one media alone cannot be swallowed whole. Now, facts are no longer considered the most important, when a message resonates or goes viral and is strengthened by amplification media so that the information presented is trusted by many people. Post-truth situations are associated with skepticism, and post-modernism which rejects universal truths. Reality and truth are merely perceptions or tied to individual perspectives and interpretations. Also, there is no universal moral and virtue framework as a common reference (Suharyanto, 2019). Actually quite a lot of other arguments put forward by mine managers. In this case, the research team did not want to get caught up in the technicalities which then closed the substance. Even though the mine management has claimed with various arguments that what they are doing is green mining that is environmentally friendly, in fact ecological disasters have started to emerge.

In addition to concerns about natural disasters caused by human intervention above, other disasters that are also found in the mining activity area are social disasters. Knowledge to understand the existence of a number of disaster threats is important to be understood by all parties currently living in Sumberagung Village in order to minimize the risks that arise. This is because we cannot predict when a social disaster will occur, but we can reduce its negative impact. The local community has the perception that the policies that have been set by the government are not at all in favor of the aspirations of the people. The community demands justice regarding employment, guarantees regarding settlements that will not be relocated, asks for transparency in environmental social responsibility (CSR), and clarity on environmental impact analysis.

Indeed, PT Bumi Suksesindo has a CSR program. Technically, the CSR program by the company is divided into four main components, namely economic empowerment, education, health services, and infrastructure. However, from these various aspects, the
community feels that the CSR program has not really improved the situation directly affected by mining activities. Some people also think that CSR appears to be just a formality to imagine that they have complied with regulations. The most obvious thing is that there is almost no CSR related to disaster management even though that is the biggest danger caused by mining activities.

In general, the existence of a gold mine does not provide significant added value to the local community. Even local people had difficulty getting accepted to work in the mining area. Recruitment of local communities was only carried out when various violent demonstrations became unstoppable. Demonstrations coordinators were recruited so the voices of dissent were divided. Until when this manuscript was written, the voices of rejection from the underworld were still there, but the voices began to fade away as community resistance coordinators were recruited to become employees at PT Bumi Suksesindo. Of course we hope that Mount Tumpang Pitu does not disappear like the voices of resistance against the mines.

The existence of a gold mine can indeed be seen as progress, but it is a high-risk progress that, if not managed carefully, the losses will outweigh the benefits. For this reason, the involvement of the roles of all relevant stakeholders is very much needed, especially the business world and the community so that disaster management becomes a common interest and requires collective intervention. Thus, all stakeholders have the same responsibility in efforts to reduce disaster risk. Especially on the disaster threat arising from natural resource management where one of the factors causing it is man-made disaster, then this needs to get mutual attention.

CONCLUSION

The gold exploration and exploitation activities at Mount Tumpang Pitu Banyuwangi have created an ecological impact on the surrounding environment. Although PT Bumi Suksesindo as an investor continues to claim that they use the green mining method where the chemical waste they use is not dumped into the sea but continues to be recycled through giant reservoirs, the facts show that environmental changes are unavoidable and change the natural landscape. The area which was originally a protected forest but was converted into a permanent production forest is increasingly damaged due to deforestation for open-pit mining, land damage due to dynamite explosions in mining activities, mud floods that attack residents' agricultural land and the Red Island beach tourist attraction. It should be noted that so far the flood of mud that struck was unprecedented. All parties must also be aware of the potential danger of a tsunami disaster that can occur at any time – such as the tsunami that occurred in 1994 – considering that recently the Banyuwangi Regency area has often been rocked by earthquakes. The current condition is clearly more dangerous because Mount Tumpang Pitu which is a natural barrier from the tsunami has been gradually damaged.

Once again, the authors emphasize that the research results are not meant to close the gold mine, but as part of an advocacy effort for the environment and affected communities. Therefore, based on the conclusions above, the recommendations that can be given by the authors are as follows: First, both local governments and corporations should be wiser in exploiting, avoiding greed and carelessness. Local governments and corporations must open their eyes that the onset of a disaster is a fact that cannot be hidden. Second, local governments and corporations need to build more open public access where the public must be given broad access to control. Likewise, neutral media also need to open the widest possible access to produce credible information. Third, local governments and corporations must continue to dialogue so that communities affected by mining activities are the ones who
feel the most impact of ecological changes are the surrounding communities. Fourth, the government and corporations need to strengthen aspects of local wisdom in managing natural resources in the Tumpang Pitu area, not only based on liberal economic understanding. This is important so that resource governance that benefits all parties, including the government, the private sector, and civil society can be realized.

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