

Be Aware of Inequality: Political Challenges and Redistributive Public Policies

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Abstract

This article focused to uncover inequalities in natural resource management. The presence of a mining business in a region is dilemmatic. On one hand, it can be a blessing because regions need investment in order to boost regional income because companies can provide royalties to the government that grants permits, both to the regional government, provincial government, and district/city government. This is not to mention various taxes such as land rent, buildings, and other taxes. However, in terms of equality, especially in local community, a mining company discriminates and acts unfairly. The community stated that the mining company had no impact on welfare. The second dilemma is implicated in more inclusive development to reduce inequalities in the context of democracy. So far, studies on mining have been carried out by scientists from various perspectives such as mining, mining and investment governance, social conflicts in the mining sector, the impact of the mining sector on environmental damage, natural wealth in the mining sector, natural resources curse, and political economy of mining sector. Based on various studies above, scientists have not much attention to the dynamic aspects between mining management and the enforcement of citizenship rights. This study found the novelty, that in the context of regional autonomy which gives freedom to the regions and actors to manage natural wealth. By using a public policy perspective, this study found that the importance of policy making so that there is equality of rights. It is hoped that vulnerable and marginal groups can help to reduce inequality, especially on gaps that occur from time to time.

Keywords

Inequality; Citizenship; Public Policy; Redistributive

INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that so far, the mining sector in Indonesia has contributed to increasing non-tax state revenues. With these contributions, Indonesia, which has

been known to have abundance of potential natural resources such as nickel, gold, silver, coal, and tin, if it is managed optimally, will have the desired impact. Through the high amount of mining natural resources, it is expected to be able to bring prosperity to the community as a precondition for political modernization that leads to democratization (Pye, 1966). Therefore, mine management cannot be released with power as the study of

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Mietzner (2007) discusses in relation to financing political parties after reformation. Gandataruna and Haymon (2011) discusses mining management in the constitution and formal regulatory framework. Devi and Prayogo (2013) discussed the link between mining and development. Aspinall and As'ad (2016), discussed mines in regional head elections. Ansori (2016), conducted a study of who benefits and incurs losses in the issuance of Mining Business Permits (IUP). Bhasin and Venkataramany (2007) discuss the legal aspects and mining policies. This article tries to relate the issue of inequality in natural resource management. Inequality is an individual or collective phenomenon, it is between individuals and households, and also between social groups (Hapsari, 2018). Therefore, it is economic, political, social, and cultural, moreover it is formed through a dynamic process of interaction and dispute between the state and society towards the distribution of power and resources.

As of now, the results of observations carried out by several scientists indicate

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that exploration of natural resource management including mining management has an important contribution to the national economy. If calculated, its contribution is 11 percent of GDP and 19 percent of exports (Sullivan & Purwono, 2013). For Southeast Sulawesi, the contribution of the mining sector to Southeast Sulawesi's development in 2018 is in the range of 7.7%, which is the same as that of the agricultural sector. Agriculture, which loses only to construction sector's contribution, reached 8.8% (Bank of Indonesia, 2018). The total mining potential in Southeast Sulawesi is 27,207 hectares with an estimated reserve of 8,223,361,042 Wet Metric Tons (WMT), with an estimated value of 1,850 Trillion Rupiahs. The potential is spread over 5 main areas, namely: Central Lasalimu Area covering Buton and Muna Islands, North Konawe Area Center covering North Konawe Regency and South Konawe Regency, North Kolaka Region Center covering North Kolaka Regency and North Konawe Regency, Kolaka Region Center covering Kolaka and South Kolaka, The center of the Torobulu Region covering the South Konawe Regency, Bombana and Konawe Kepulauan or also called Wawonii (Bappeda Sulawesi Utara, 2017).

Based on the above potential, logically

for the welfare of the community it is natural that the mining sector becomes an idol. The mine management effort is given in the form of the issuance of a Mining Business Permit (IUP). Based on available data, from a number of mining activities in the Southeast Sulawesi region, nickel business is the most popular. This was confirmed by permission to conduct a mining business issued by the Southeast Sulawesi government. Data from the Department of Energy and Mineral Resources in 2015, notes that a number of districts issued mining licenses with a total number of 528. Of the total referred to, there were 350 (66%) constituting nickel mining permits. That is logical because nickel has many functions such as coatings for goods made of iron, copper, steel, and for making stainless steel. The international world market is also interested in nickel products. The highest nickel business permit (IUP) is in North Konawe Regency followed by several other nickel producing regencies in Southeast Sulawesi Province. Although behind the potential and contribution of the mining sector to development, those who enjoy the benefits are large companies (mining investors), medium, small scale (cooperatives), and individuals. They are business actors, both at the local and Jakarta levels who have business networks with actors in Southeast Sulawesi.

Mining activities continue to be carried out, while the communities around the place remain poor. Along with the increasing number of Mining Business Permit, environmental damage is also increasing. Since 2015, many residents have complained that mining activities on Wawonii Island have resulted in pollution (Southeast Sulawesi, 12/03/2019). Another aspect is that the Mining Business Permit that has been issued is 23,373 hectares from the total area of Konawe Kepulauan Regency covering 73,992 hectares. This shows that 32% of the area in Konawe Kepulauan Regency has been controlled by the mining sector. Such factual conditions greatly threaten the existence of local communities, both from ecological aspects and from socio-economic aspects. For this reason, the resistance of the Wawonii community over government policies considered pro mining entrepreneurs has continued to be carried out for some time (Suaib et al., 2019). Such findings are the same as the impact caused by mining activities by mining companies in Freeport, Newmont, Laverton, and Rio Tinto which have dumped 2.6 billion tons of tailings into land, rivers, and sea (Maimunah, 2012).

This phenomenon also seems to occur in several other regions. In Africa, natural wealth is spread in 54 countries. Some prominent countries, such as Sierra and

Botswana, are famous for their diamond mining products. Burundi is famous for nickel and uranium; Guinea is famous for nickel and uranium. The countries of Burkina Faso and Benin are famous for gold. In addition, many oil-producing countries in Africa. Countries with oil-rich resources, namely Nigeria and Venezuela, did not succeed to boost economic growth for the better, but instead incur an increase in debt when oil prices fall. As a result, people do not get maximum service from the state. The facts above show that countries that depend on extractive natural resources tend to show repressive, corrupt regimes and bad governance.

As above mentioned, phenomenon, of course raises the problem of whether the government and democratic practices that are carried out can necessarily bring prosperity to its citizens. Therefore, presently the management of the mining sector should be able to realize welfare for the surrounding residents in the form of access and opportunities for individuals who can guarantee the redistribution of welfare creation (Leftwich, 2008). As a result of the above practices, the natural resource sector has turned out to be more profitable for actors such as international, national, and local mining investors. The relationship between inequality and democracy has been the subject of debate. Existing literature evidence states

that inequality does not have a clear impact on regime change, an authoritarian regime will not be destroyed and become democratic only because of inequality alone, and likewise democratic countries which are very unequal will also not fall due to inequality (Knutsen, 2015).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mining Management Challenge: Balancing Rights

The abundance of natural resource wealth along with the government's agenda to increase investment in the country does not deny the mining sector as a mainstay. Various attempts were made to provide optimum results. However, mining management faces a challenge that is the imbalance of the rights of citizens. This should not have happened because Indonesia, including in Southeast Sulawesi has experience in mining management. This can be seen from the beginning of the discovery for the mining potential in Southeast Sulawesi since 1909 when E.C. Abendanon a Dutch geologist, who discovered nickel in Pomalaa. The Dutch Colonial Government explored the mine through the Oost Borneo Maatschappij (OBM) and Bone Tole Maatschappij companies. As a result, the period before independence production already begun because in 1938, OBM sent ships containing 150

thousand tons of mining products from Pomalaa to Japan.

After Indonesia's independence, the Indonesian government nationalized foreign companies through nationalization, the process by which the Indonesian government takes ownership of a company by establishing PT. Pertambangan Nikel Indonesia (PNI). In further developments, the company and all its subsidiaries were structured under the name PT. Aneka Tambang (PT. ANTAM). The time of its establishment was July 5th, 1968 and it still continues to carry out mining activities. PT. ANTAM not only produces nickel products, but also produces various levels of other mining products that process nickel matte to produce nickel pig iron (Yasin, 2011).

Wawonii Island, another name for Konawe Kepulauan Regency (Konkep), Konkep Regional Development Planning Agency 2017 has identified the area by claiming to have great potential in the mining sector. This area has large natural resources with regional characteristics consisting in part consisting of rocks. From the geological aspect, top soil consisting of rocks has the potential to contain Fe-Ni (laterite iron), cobalt (Co), chromium (Cr), and manganese (Mn). All the potentials that exist are natural resources that have not yet been processed stored in the earth crust.

All the aforementioned potentials will produce a significant mining potential through a natural process. It is estimated that the potential in the area is approximately 21,960 hectares spread over most of the region, plus certain height requirements, which range from 7.4 m asl - 893,262 m asl. Through the calculations of scientists, it can be calculated how much content is under the earth's crust and above the earth. The result is that Wawonii Island contains mining resources, especially nickel of 865,639,325.93 m³ (cut-fill measurement method). The potential is meant to be processed so as to produce crude ferronickel (CFN) with a maximum amount of 100,000 tons/year. Even though the minimum amount is only 736,000 tons/year. Therefore, the difference between the potential and the minimum number of needs is in a large enough difference so that the estimated age for mining production is above 30 years. An enormous potential and strategic value (Yasin, 2011).

Even though Wawonii Island has a large potential in the mining sector, mining does not have a long history due to the main livelihood of being copra farmers and fishermen. Mining activity was rife in the period 2007 to.d. 2013, when Wawonii Island still joined in Konawe Regency. Through the regional autonomy regime,

the regional government can issue mining permits for all types of minerals and ban specific areas for public use. Some companies operating on Wawonii Island are PT. Cipta Puri Sejahtera, PT. Hasta Karya Megacipta, PT. Investa Kreasi Abad, PT. Gema Kreasi Perdana, PT. Natanya Mitra Energi, PT. Derawan Berjaya Mining, PT. Kimco Citra Mandiri, PT. Alotama Karya, PT. Konawe Bakti Pratama, and PT. Pasir Berjaya Mining. Through this Mining Business Permit, it is possible for companies to carry out exploration activities including general investigations, explorations, and feasibility studies in permitted mining areas (Resvani, 2017).

The granting of IUPs, can practically increase state revenue in the form of increased Local Revenue (PAD), accelerating economic growth, providing employment, and alleviating poverty through good mining management practices (Resvani, 2017). To increase PAD, the mining sector is included in the category of revenue from the use of natural resources which is one type of non-tax state revenue (PNBP). All PNBP must be paid as soon as possible to the state treasury as a source of PAD. Meanwhile, PNBP types are divided into fixed fees and mining product sales. Regions receive a part of the fixed contribution with a certain percentage and are divided proportionally between the

central government, provincial governments, and regencies/cities that produce these natural resources. Royalties are also shared with a certain percentage. Usually a greater percentage of royalties is owned by mining producing areas. Royalties are also given to other districts/cities in the same province. However, not all royalties go to the PAD, but rather flows to individual officials (panjikendari.com, 2019).

Local officials also benefited during the decentralization of mining permits. Since then, the number of Mining Business Permit issued by local officials has increased sharply. Local officials issue Mining Business Permits with certain concessions from mining investors. That means that the mining sector has become a political commodity to be used by local officials as a source of funding to advance in political contests. Business activity related to mining is a large source of income and is lined with local relations to national actor.

The relationship between the authorities and investors is mutually beneficial, both at the central and regional levels. The story of the former Governor of North Sulawesi illustrates the mutually beneficial relations that occur. Part of his success in Southeast Sulawesi was due to his relation to Hatta Rajasa, former Coordinating Minister for the Economy and

General Chairman of Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) and candidate for vice president Prabowo Subianto. Before entering politics, Nur Alam was known as a big businessman in Sulawesi and had a contractor company, PT. Tamalakindi Puri Perkasa. In 2008, Nur Alam organized a campaign with substantial funding for the position of governor from PAN, who defeated Golkar and incumbent candidate Ali Mazi. At that time, PAN was not well known in North Sulawesi. In his tenure of almost 10 years, Nur Alam succeeded in changing into PAN party almost all regional heads in North Sulawesi at the district level (Suaib & Zuada, 2015). During Hatta Rajasa's tenure as Minister of Transportation 2004-2007, Nur Alam's companies won contracts for various infrastructure projects in Indonesia that contributed to the expansion of his business (Warburton, 2014).

The presence of mining industry succeeded in including local workers in the source allocation process and integrating key actors at the site where the mine operates. By recruiting local workers, the hope is to easily legitimize their operations. The presence of the mining industry for the people of Wawonii is for them to live more prosperous, healthier, and having a future. Most of them work in the mining sector because they do not have permanent jobs. In fact, some of

them do not have jobs. Before mining activities flourished in the area, many residents' livelihood activities depended on being a fisherman, farmer, or doing copra farming. There are those who leave the job and try to make a profit in the mining sector. If lucky, then working in the mining sector can be better than previous professions. A number of miners who live frugally can double their income by doing some business activities. The state of market, daily activities, and social in Wawonii reflect the dynamic economic situation. Even so, mining activities have a severe impact on people and the environment that the issuer of mining permit has never imagined.

In this case, the regional authorities face the aggressiveness of money and the roughness of the mining business. Popular economy which is expected to grow after mining activities seems to be covered by economic practices that are not pro-people, only prioritize momentary interests, and are aggressive towards the environment (Erman, 2008). It is undeniable that economic enthusiasm grows but is not proportional to the economic costs as a result of natural damage such as erosion and expenditure due to infrastructure buildings or physical facilities damaged by erosion that even claimed lives. Equipment in the form of heavy machinery was brought in from

outside the region because it was not available on site for land clearing activities. At the same time, mining activities reduce the potential economic resources of residents due to reduced fertility of land, fish, and other natural resources which are sources of income for citizens (CSIRO, 2008). Thus, the general pattern is by relying on the mining sector, local people can live even though they get a small economic benefit to meet living standards but with unequal rights and environmental burdens.

Inequality of rights can be seen in changes of individual rights, specifically related to land ownership rights. Residents before the land allotment activities are intended for settlements and plantations. This is understandable because usually for mining activities land is required to explore mining materials. Land is given by residents with rights reserved for mining use. For this givings, the investor is required to compensate the owner of the land rights. Because the village head, security forces, and the residents themselves are competing to find land to be used as a mining exploration site. Thus, mining activities can have an impact on the nomenclature of land use and function. These changes result in land conversion, especially in the mining area. Land that was not well managed has been turned into a mining location because usually

when they want to open a mining area, it requires a large area of land. Such a tendency is a natural phenomenon in an area with a large potential of the earth's resource from the New Autonomous Region (DOB) with several mining investors who have done exploration (Sihombing, 2013; Munauwarah, 2016).

One non-economic loss is the availability of clean water. Companies that operate massively dismantle the area of citizens' spring sites. Water as a basic right of citizens is a public goods, but now citizens have limited access because it has been reduced. There is no exact data in Wawonii how many cubic meters of water will be lost as a result of mining activities. But recently, in some places, the water has become sticky and colored red. Apparently, the water no longer meets health requirements because it is polluted by substances that are harmful to the health, causing immune deficiency in the human body. The water is not suitable for consumption because it has changed color and taste. All of them can disrupt the performance of the fisheries and plantation sectors which are the mainstay sectors on Wawonii Island. Residents also lose their rights to get water from wells because they have been polluted and the source of the water has gotten deeper. Residents must buy bottled water for cooking and drinking water consumption.

For the Wawonii community, the majority of their work is as farmers and fishermen whose livelihoods are from the plantation sector with the main commodities consisting of cashew, cloves, nutmeg, and copra, mining activities can threaten their livelihoods. When mining activities began in the area, some residents switched professions as miners in the hope of improving their family's living standard. Mining business for farmers and fishermen not only provides food but also provides higher income than just food. Enthusiasm was also shown by residents, because investors promised social assistance and others. However, after several years of operation, many problems have been caused by mining activities.

Mining activities that are aggressive towards the environment can be seen from the ignorance of the mining site areas. In general, mining activities cleared dense forests for exploration which are then leveled for exploitation purposes such as opening roads and land for workers' settlements. The natural landscape profile changed completely, the mountain was leveled, the damage that occurred to the lands used to work on rice fields and gardens also hit the surface of moist soil, large river, and shrubs. If everything is damaged, the soil can no longer absorb and retain water. Loading operation and

the going back and forth of uncovered mine barge cars carrying dirt spread dust flying into the environment. Undoubtedly, this loading operation is often done in densely populated settlements, thus threatening the health of children and adults.

The examples above are some of the many cases of environmental damage caused by irresponsible mining. As a result, many protests are carried out by the community. In Wawonii itself, since 2007, residents have refused mining companies. Violent acts such as burning of excavators, eight-wheel dump trucks (8), and power plants were burned. The company's complex is razed to the ground, while some smelters are also burned. Additionally, there was a clash between residents and the police which resulted in fourteen (14) Wawonii residents experiencing violence and being criminalized for refusing mining operation. Some residents were arrested by the police until they experienced persecution. Physical violence was also followed by sexual violence as happened to one of the women of Wawonii (Nugraha, 2015). The community came to the Regent's Office and demanded that the Konkep Regent reject mining on Wawonii Island by making recommendations for the revocation of 15 active IUPs. Residents also lowered the flag at half mast as a sign that pro-people

policies have 'died' in Konkep. The practice of society as above, in the study of citizenship is a construction of citizenship that can be observed through everyday politics, from the use of text, language, symbols, and various practices ranging from resistance or opposition, to compliance and support (Kerkvliet, 2009).

The resonance of the community's sense of uncertainty towards the Regional Government as a result of mining governance seems to be increasingly echoing, and the tension of the sense of uncertainty itself is increasingly rising. In Wawonii there were resistance movements such as the NGO Komnasdesa-Sultra and the Forum Masyarakat Pembela Wawonii. Even at a certain level, people's dissatisfaction has reached the level of resistance. The awareness of the residents, although there are also groups that are pro, organized themselves to reject mining activities. The expansion of resistance even went to the Southeast Sulawesi Governor's Office in Kendari, around 300 residents held a demonstration accompanied by student organizations such as the HMI MPO Kendari, GMNI, and LMND Kendari. They are united in an element called the Front Rakyat Sultra Bela Wawonii. The demonstration lasted for several days and moreover on the second day of demonstrations, residents and students did not stop and held a long

march from the Halu Oleo University Campus to the front of the governor's office. The masses demanded that the government revoke fifteen (15) IUPs in Wawonii. The community that was accompanied by student activists voiced that they would not stop making mining rejections in Wawonii. Wawonii's rejection of the presence of fifteen (15) Mining Business Permits in Konawe Kepulauan Regency represented a struggle or contestation between the state and the community (Suaib et al., 2019). The government's response to these demands, through the Southeast Sulawesi Governor's Letter Number 207 Year 2019 dated April 11th, 2019, is the permanent revoke of nine (9) IUPs namely PT. Hasta Karya Megacipta, PT. Pasir Berjaya Mining, PT. Derawan Berjawa Mining (two permits), PT. Cipta Puri Sejahtera, PT. Natanya Mitra Energi (two permits), PT. Investa Pratama Intikarya, and PT. Kharisma Kreasi Abadi. While there are six (6) frozen mining licenses namely PT. Alatoma Karya, PT Bumi Konawe Mining, PT. Gema Kreasi Perdana (two licenses), PT. Kimco Citra Mandiri, and PT. Konawe Bakti Pratama. PT. Harita Group, holder of IUP owned by PT Gema Kreasi Perdana.

The emergence of community resistance to mining management is because the regulations that govern it only led to the interests of mining investors.

Residents are not given the right to express their views regarding mining investment. If there are citizens who object, the government considers it repressive. From the regulations point of view, every citizen who is considered to hinder or interfere with the mining business activities of the IUP holder is then threatened with criminal sanctions or fines. As a result, the position of citizens is very vulnerable if there are protests against mining activities using law enforcement officers. In other words, mining management is done on the basis of state sovereignty, not citizen sovereignty. In mining management, citizens who are under state jurisdiction should be able to enjoy their rights (Tilly, 2007; Satriani, 2016).

Listening to the above description, it can be concluded that the chaotic management mining operation is because it threatens the source of life, the transfer of rights, the impact on the environment, and a ferocious economy. The impact of mining on community and environmental rights is far from beneficial. The result for this certainly is not a simple factor. In the context of citizenship politics, it means showing the weakness of democratic instruments, especially the citizens rights so that citizens are indifferent and tend to vent their anger by demonstrating injustices committed by the state. But how

wealth, power, and privileges are distributed among the population fundamentally affects the quality of democratic governance and disrupts the robustness and resilience of a democratic country (Houle, 2009).

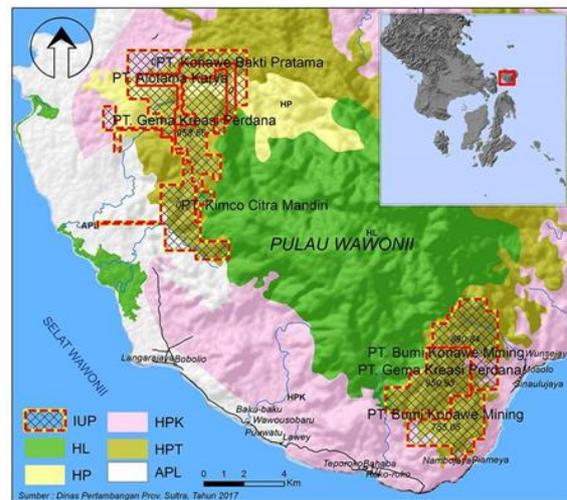


Figure 1. The location of mining activities.

Redistributive Policy: Vercoming Inequality

Inequality between citizens, mining investors, and the state in the mining arena may raise the question of how to overcome inequality in inclusive development. One solution to this is that it is possible to propose redistributive political policies as a form of struggle over injustice and is a form of citizenship politics (Stokke, 2018). As explained above, that at the mine site resistance and opposition have occurred which are manifested in the form of mass mobilization to produce new mechanisms related to the distribution of justice. In a

political context, this can encourage better governance.

Based on the arguments that have been built before, it appears that resistance and opposition movements indicate that they want to undermine the myths about the relationship between mining activities and welfare (Paskarina, 2017). This is used as the main node to mobilize elements of society to influence the center of decision making. The desire to bring together mining activities that are expected to produce prosperity and recognition of the rights of residents around the mine is not placed in an equal position. The intended welfare is the production of mining activities that can provide greater income both for the region (PAD, taxes, levies) and for residents around the mine. Meanwhile, what is meant by citizens' rights is land, a well-maintained environment, and more open employment opportunities (Johnson & Forsyth, 2002). That did not happen and mining investors did not pay attention to this important aspect. This is the main source of motivation for residents to fight back when mining activities have disrupted their rights. In Wawonii, recognition of that right is how mining products can be produced and distributed. The end of this is the demand that the state can recognize resistance to the mining industry as part of the use of citizens' rights.

Resistance carried out by the community is also built on the basis of a desire to defend the property rights of citizens, especially land. The mining authority holder disputes with local residents about who has more rights over the land that is used as the location for mining. The struggle over land is also often framed in ethnic terms. Local residents often defend land as one of the basic rights of citizens (van den Muur, 2018). In the community's view, mining activities have disrupted access to ancestral lands, while the welfare distribution scheme of mining activities has not yet been fully understood. As a result, there is indeed the potential for marginalization of residents in the process of mining activities.

The above description shows that there is an imbalance of rights between mining investors and residents residing at the mining site. The trigger is the weak protection of rights for citizens who are not well accommodated in the regulation in the mining sector. The country is helpless when investors plunder the stomach of the earth's crust, although it does not pay attention to the sustainability of the natural environment. The problem is more complicated because of mutual claims between residents and investors, which in some cases is one of the factors triggering social tensions in the region.

Social disunity among community groups can also occur because there are community groups who are in favor of mining investors because they bring benefits to them. Usually they are a group that is compensated for land, believes in the socialization done by the company, and supplied the logistics needed for the mining company. This pro-mining group will deal with counter-mining groups which are usually carried out by people who feel they do not benefit from the presence of mining companies in their administrative areas.

Poverty and misery faced by residents around the mine indicate the absence of a protection format and good will from the mine investor. Profit orientation is a source of problems with this aspect. So far, the actors who have benefited the most are mining investors. The allocation of corporate social responsibility funds is made according to one-sided calculations. Meanwhile, residents around the mine become actors who do not get maximum benefit from the presence of mining investors. The most visible thing is the inability of residents to 'force' mining investors to maximize the benefits for residents around the mine so they feel comfortable. In fact, what happens is that the mining investors who get more profit and reinforce the impression that in terms of mining management keeps people away

from prosperity. The 'trickle down effect' assumption that is used from mining management for the welfare of the community does not occur. There is even a tendency for wider discretion for mining investors in terms of allocating profits in accordance with the calculations provided by investors. It appears that the State gives more priority and defense to investors. The state should have the mandate, capacity, and legitimacy to redistribute wealth and resources, giving it a major role in promoting and guaranteeing the inclusiveness of development outcomes (Leftwich, 2008; Törnquist & Harriss, 2016).

Making sound policies has become an important part of fighting poverty and inequality. Policies and initiatives directed at vulnerable and marginalized groups help reduce inequality, especially those that focus on disparities that intersect with each other over time (Arauco et al., 2014). In the context of mining, this needs to be done because usually the most vulnerable is the risk faced by the community in the form of threats to sustainability in the form of health and safety disturbance as well as threats to the sustainability of social and cultural life. To reduce these risks especially those faced by the community, the intensity of community involvement needs to be considered, at least it can be done in

manners such as: informative (informed of things); consultative (asked for opinion); and participatory (asked to participate).

The above description requires that in the management of natural resources contained therein the society as main content (Palley, 2003). Without the opportunity for the development of autonomous citizens, the management of the mine so far is very oligarchic. In that atmosphere, residents are only 'spectators'. To be able to get the opportunity to enjoy the resources owned by nature where the residents live, namely the rights to participate in natural resource management. Therefore, citizens should not be dislocated and subordinated. Thus, at least in a minimalist measure of democracy the government and citizens have equal access to natural resources. It is in practice that the citizenship status is independent-associative autonomy, namely the status as citizenship. Associative autonomy is very vital for citizens for two reasons. First, they are the most vulnerable to forced acts committed by the government (if for example they oppose a policy); second, their needs to survive so that they are very vulnerable to the enticement promised by the elite.

How to encourage the emergence of a political regime that is willing to recognize the right of citizens to pursue their goals autonomously? In other words, how to

encourage respect for citizenship rights? What political format can guarantee that citizens will be able to enjoy the resources controlled by the state without having to sacrifice their basic rights as citizens? Among the most numerous answers, one of them that is the most important is the distribution of economic resources.

CONCLUSION

This study carries important implications and recommendations for further research. It cannot be denied, many mining studies have been carried out by scientists. Devi and Prayogo (2013), Vivoda (2008), Otto and Cordes (2002), Laodengkowe (2008), Bhasin and Venkataramany (2007) discusses mining governance. PWC Indonesia (2012), Chatterjee (2002), Barma (2014) studies mining and investment. Holden and Jacobson (2007), Ross (2004) writes about social conflicts in the mining sector. Economy (2007), Tietenberg and Lewis (2016) discuss the impact of the mining sector on environmental damage. Barma (2014), Robinson et al. (2006), Collier and Venables (2010), Rosser (2006), Martin and Subramanian (2003) discusses natural resources in the mining sector, revolving around natural resource curse. Sullivan and Purwono (2013), Ansori (2016) which discusses who benefits and loses from natural resource management

also wants to model natural resource management and its relation to the political system and in general examine the relationship between natural resources and political institutions or regulations.

The results of the above studies, scientists have not paid much attention to the dynamic aspects between mining management and the enforcement of citizenship rights. Unlike the studies that have been done, this study wants to offer a view in the context of regional autonomy that gives freedom to the regions and actors to manage natural resource. Using a public policy perspective, this study found that policy making is important so that there is a balance of rights. Through this, it is hoped that vulnerable and marginal groups can help to reduce inequality, especially those that focus on inequalities that occur time and again.

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