

Oligarchy of Power in The Management of C-Mine Resources in Noemuti, North Central Timor Regency

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Abstract

This paper raises the dynamics of oligarchic power relations in the management of C-quarry mining resources in the form of stone in Noemuti District, North Central Timor Regency. This research uses the oligarchy theory of Jeffrey Winters as a basis for analysis in looking at mining problems that seem to be deadlocked when dealing with power authorities in resource management in the regions. The practice of oligarchy in Winters' theory uses 5 main approaches. But in this paper, it only limits to two approaches, namely the concentration of wealth and the concentration of power. Facing the dynamics of oligarchy that strengthens in local resource governance, on the other hand, presents resistance from civil society to take part in the legitimacy of power in the context of equitable distribution of resource management policies. The practice of community resistance is based on Sidney Tarrow's theory of collective challenge, common goals, solidarity and collective identity and maintaining the politics of resistance.

Keywords: Oligarchy, Power, Governance, C-mine

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to raise the dynamics of oligarchic power relations in the management of C-quarry resources in the form of stone in Noemuti District, North Central Timor Regency. This research uses oligarchic theory as a basis for analysis in looking at mining problems that seem to be deadlocked when dealing with power authorities in resource management in the regions. Facing the dynamics of oligarchy that strengthens in local resource governance, on the other hand, presents resistance from civil society to take part in the legitimacy of power in the context of equitable distribution of resource management policies.

Research on oligarchic power has been of concern to some previous researchers. In a journal by (Suryani, 2021), it was highlighted that the strengthening of oligarchy narrows the role of civil society in natural resource management in Noemuti, with the consequences of natural resource governance policies that have the potential to damage the environment more deeply. Also, in a journal by (Luthfi, 2020), it is mentioned that environmental damage is caused by abuse of power and policies that harm society, where green political participation in the form of political parties is considered a more effective solution than just demanding improved regulations and law enforcement. Other authors, such as (Auty, 2017), present the idea that resource-rich countries tend to give rise to predatory political states that create civil strife, whereas (Martin, 2015) discusses how oligarchs, even in Western European leftist political parties, tend to develop and distort organizational structures to become undemocratic. All of this illustrates the complexity and negative impact of oligarchic rule in a variety of contexts.

Some of the earlier research described above explains how oligarchy is practiced in politics and natural resource management, even gaining a privileged place when a country implements a democratic system that is empirically opposed to oligarchy. But there is an interesting thing that previous researchers did not see, namely how civil society in democracies builds resistance to resist the power of oligarchy. This ability to build resistance is even strengthened when oligarchs

dominate and share it with local authorities (government). The main goal is equal access to resources.

Natural resource management is one of the keys that determine the direction and development of the country, from the center to the regions. Good and transparent management of resources will give birth to welfare for its citizens, as happened in Scandinavian countries. Conversely, mistakes in managing resources can have fatal consequences and even bring destruction, or to borrow Michael L. Ross's term, as "*Resource Curse*", taking the example of some *middle east* countries in the Middle East. One of the main reasons for failure to manage resources is the lack or even absence of community participation, transparency and accountability in management. This condition fosters the domination of the oligarchy, which at the same time has a vested interest and desire for power in economic access (material resources managed). As raised by (Suryani, 2021) in the research "*The Setback of Natural Resources Governance Democracy: Strengthening Oligarchy and Weakening Civil Society Participation*". According to them, the democratization process is directly proportional to the participation of *civil society*. While the strengthening of oligarchy is directly proportional to the weakening of *civil society*.

Democratization that has swept almost all countries in the world, apparently does not necessarily eliminate oligarchs who also continue to adapt to get space, especially if democracy loses its spirit, such as: participation, transparency and accountability. Similarly, in the management of natural resources. (Winters, 2011) even considers democracy to give birth to inequality and nourish oligarchy. For Winters, oligarchy has always been concerned with two main aspects: the concentration of wealth and the concentration of power. At this point resources become important to the oligarchy because they become the material basis of wealth with which it becomes the capital of power.

In Indonesia, the concept of oligarchy introduced by Winters became more widespread during the reform era, not only limited to the national level but also penetrated into local politics and local resource management through a process of decentralization. The study of the C quarry in the Noemuti region of North Central Timor Regency illustrates how local resources such as stone are privatised and exploited heavily by private companies for private gain, often without the necessary permits. Despite regulations to manage excavated materials, mining of mine C in Noemuti often does not pay attention to environmental sustainability, resulting in serious damage to the environment and the welfare of local communities. Furthermore, local governments are less likely to act to address this problem, indicating the involvement of oligarchs in decision-making regarding resource management in the area. This reflects the dominance of private economic interests over the needs and rights of communities in natural resource management.

The oligarchic cycle that is always supported by the concentration of wealth and power (borrowing Winters, 2011) requires people to also be involved in governance if they do not want to lose the right to manage resources. As Borrás and Franco (2008), interpret democracy in natural resource governance as a political process contested by many actors, both state and society to control the nature, speed, level and direction of access, as well as control over the use of natural resources. To dissect community resistance to oligarchy-dominated mining activities, researchers use the perspective of Sidney Tarrow's social movement thinking using several stages, including: collective challenges, common goals, solidarity and collective identity and maintaining a politics of resistance.

Optimal community involvement in natural resource governance will guarantee the rights of the community to use and enjoy the results of natural resource utilization, and will reduce conflicts, both horizontal and vertical. A similar opinion was also expressed by (Luthfi, 2020) in their research entitled "*Oligarchy Domination and The Absence of Green Political Party in Indonesia*". According to them, environmental damage is the result of abuse of power and

policies that harm the community, because so far small communities and the environment have not been taken into consideration by politicians in making policies. To protect it all there is no other choice, but to unite and participate in power contestation in order to build equal legitimacy in accessing and managing resources.

From the background description above, the researchers want to further examine how the dynamics of the Power Oligarchy in the Management of Mining Resources Mine C in Noemuti, North Central Timor Regency, as well as how civil society builds resistance to the dominance of the oligarchy. This study aims to analyze the power relations between oligarchs and local authorities in the management of C mining resources in Noemuti, as well as explain People power resistance efforts as an alternative to controlling oligarchic power in natural resource management.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a type of descriptive research to describe the state of the subject or object of research at the present time based on facts that occur in the field. The research locus is located in the Galian C Mining area in Naiola Village, South Bikomi District, North Central Timor Regency, which was chosen because it is an arena of conflict between the public, private sector, and government regarding the dominance of oligarchs in resource management that has an impact on environmental damage. The focus of the research is on Power Oligarchy in the Management of C-Mining Resources in Noemuti Village-North Central Timor Regency, with a sub-focus on answering questions about the power relations formed between oligarchs and local authorities in the management of C mining resources in Noemuti. Data collection techniques include observation, interviews, and documentation, with informant determination using purposive sampling techniques. Data analysis is carried out inductively with stages of data reduction, data unitization and categorization, data display, conclusion making, and verification. The research implementation time is planned from March to September, with preparation, data collection, data management, report preparation, and publication activities.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Power oligarchy in the management of mining resources C

The management of mining natural resources always presents polemics in the community. This is underpinned by the fundamental question, who benefits from the management of these resources: Government, (private) entrepreneurs or communities that own resources? In a democracy, good governance processes should benefit all parties, including by not ignoring environmental impacts that can be damaged as a result of the process of mismanagement of mining land. But the ideal has changed because mining governance is also the target of oligarchs to reap as much profit as possible. The presence of oligarchs is not only through direct mining exploitation but also into the realm of governance policy. It is no secret that oligarchic regimes always try to approach and intertwine with political regimes. This is in order to strengthen legitimacy and influence policy direction.

In many cases, it explains the perspective of state administrators who tend to be in line with the private sector (entrepreneurs) in seeing mining resources as an economic source. The priority of mining resource management involves the government as a facilitator of private companies in exploring natural resources to increase profits in determining how nature is managed. These perspectives and priorities also then have an impact on the sustainability of

natural metabolism in general, especially those around mines. This condition further explains the presence of oligarchs which at the same time has the potential to weaken the presence of civil society and community participation. The presence of communities in mining governance is often limited to neglected objects for profit benefits in the name of greater community development and welfare.

The presence of oligarchs in mining management is not only a problem at the central level, but also extends to the regions, especially areas that have natural resource potential. One of them is in Noemuti District, North Central Timor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. The Noemuti area has C-quarry mines in the form of stone quarries located in Naiola Village, Oenak Village and Fatumuti Village.

Exploration of the C-mine in Noemuti has been going on for a long time, but management by private companies officially began around 2014 which was started by the Ramayana company, as stated by the Head of the Environment Office of North Central Timor Regency:

"The official license of the company operating legally in Noemuti has been carried out since 2014 by a company called Ramayana. Of course before that there were local miners who were already operating but illegally."

At that time the local government saw the potential for mining management in the form of stone and sand along the Noemuti river which could be used for road and housing infrastructure development in the North Central Timor (TTU) region. Therefore, all who want to take stones and sand must obtain official permission from the local government. The management potential of this C-mine is rapidly growing and attracting other private investors to invest and take part in stone mining in Noemuti. Interestingly, there are several mining companies that do mining but their operational licenses have died.

The problem of stone mine management in Noemuti began to be problematic because the management of the mine, which was previously expected to benefit all parties, began to show the impact of environmental damage and disturb the community, especially in Naiola Village, Oenak Village and Fatumuti Village. Community rice fields in some of these villages on the banks of the river were damaged by flooding due to erosion from the exploitation of stone mines that did not follow procedures. The community also complained that the damage to rice fields also had an impact on the lost rice harvest. In addition, stone transport vehicles that cross village roads also damage residents' roads and cause excessive air pollution. As stated by the female leader in Naiola Village:

"...We can say that we have suffered a lot because it has been almost 2 years of harvest season, we can no longer harvest rice because the rice fields of the people on the coast of Kali have been eroded by rainwater due to the sand mining process that is too deep and very close to the rice fields. So that the community failed to harvest successively. In addition, we people who live along the river area that is used as a mine site, really feel the impact of air pollution which is very dirty because of the road passed by project vehicles every day. The road condition is not paved and very dusty. So when passed by project trucks, it further aggravates air pollution, so the effect is that we have difficulty getting clean water because water sources for drinking, eating and other needs are polluted by dust. Even water stored in the house cannot be consumed because it has been mixed with very thick dust. In addition, many people suffer from illnesses such as coughing colds because they breathe very dirty air."

The explanation above shows that poor natural resource management can have an impact on damage to other natural resources, due to mining exploitation by private companies is very large and harms the community, especially the economic impact due to the destruction of rice fields covering an area of \pm 1000 hectares. If this problem is allowed to drag on without any resolution by the government, the impact caused can be widespread, not only economic.

The impact of environmental damage at the expense of the community has actually been known by local governments and private entrepreneurs who manage mines. It's just that there is no firm and holistic solution by the government to solve the existing problems. The government has actually coordinated with private entrepreneurs to follow up on the complaints of affected communities, but the solutions provided do not answer what are the basic complaints of the community. As a community leader in the village of Naiola said:

"We have protested to mining companies and the government, but the business is very complicated and the end result is that we are only given 1 piece of fiber to overcome our condition which is difficult to clean water due to very dirty air pollution. Meanwhile, from the relevant agencies, they have only visited the affected location once, but even then there has been no continuation until now."

The information above explains that the government has not yet provided a firm solution. The government's attention is only limited to coming and visiting locations that are considered problematic without providing solutions to the problem. Meanwhile, reprimands to private companies that carry out mining and concrete steps to repair roads are not carried out by the government. This explains that there has been no serious step from the government to solve the problems caused by c-mine mining in Noemuti. As said by Mr. Agus as a community leader in Naiola village that:

"We people once blocked the road to Kali because company vehicles operating in the mine caused dust and mud pollution that damaged the village road. But the company contacted the police to open the road that was blocked by the community without providing a solution to the problem that the community complained about."

This fact explains the government's lack of action to resolve the conflict caused by c-mine mining activities in Naiola and seems to protect companies that carry out mining. This condition further strengthens the assumption that the government tends to collaborate with entrepreneurs and is only concerned with profits from mine management in Noemuti.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that there are mining activities carried out by several companies, both legal and illegal. This practice of C-mining then has an impact on the social and economic conditions of the people in Naiola village. The community does not benefit from the mining carried out in the village of Naiola. The adverse impact experienced by the community then caused a resistance movement by the community by carrying out various forms of protests both to mining companies and to the government. However, the resistance movement carried out by the community has not received a good response from the government to resolve the conflict. The government seems to protect mining companies, this can explain the concentration of wealth and power in mining practices in the village of Naiola.

Concentration of Wealth (Material)

In the case of mines that occurred in Noemuti District, especially in Naiola Village, Oenak Village and Fatumuti Village which were the object of exploitation of c-mines, the author tried to find the involvement of oligarchs in the entire mining process involving private entrepreneurs and the government as a catalyst that ensures the sustainability of the oligarchy process remains entrenched. Indications of oligarchic involvement can be traced to private companies mining stone and sand that apparently do not all have permits, or mining permits have expired, but still carry out the mining process. Concentrating wealth and getting as much profit as possible becomes an inevitable goal. This is as stated by Mr. Agus, one of the community leaders from Naiola Village:

"Of the 7 (seven) private companies that mine excavated material C in the form of stone and sand in this area, it turns out that after I checked with the Provincial Public Works Office, not all of them have official permits to mine. I wonder why the government doesn't

pay attention to that? Based on the data I got, only 3 (three) companies are official. While others are illegal."

The narrative conveyed by the informant above explained that there was an accumulation of wealth carried out by mining companies for personal gain. This is evident from not all mining companies that have official government permits. This confirms the defense of oligarchic wealth which always has two components: property defense and income defense. They will keep as much income and profit from wealth as possible through various means. All potential to generate wealth is maximized, including by manipulating rules in order to pass interests. But the question is, why did the government not respond to this well, even though the government issued mining permits to private parties? In response to this, the district government, through the environmental office in an interview, even said that there were 7 companies that carried out mining and all had official permits. As stated by a representative of the TTU District Environment Office:

"In the TTU area alone, so far there are 7 (seven) mining companies that have mining permits. Among them are GG Jaya, Ramayana, SLT, SKM, Bintang Harapan, Wimala. While there is one individual permission. All of these companies have mining permits. But the one who issued the permit was not from our side, but from the Province. We are only limited to monitoring and recommending."

To confirm what was conveyed by community leaders and the Environment Office of North Central Timor Regency, the researchers then interviewed the Province, through the Head of Mineral and Coal Sector, regarding companies conducting C-mining in the Noemuti area. The information obtained is as follows:

"There are five companies that have official permits from the province, namely: Bintang Harapan, Sari Karya Mandiri, CV Cristin, and Surya Raya Timor and Anton Tnome (personal). All of them are exploration and producing C-mines in Noemuti."

The results of the explanation from the Head of Mineral and Coal of NTT Province confirm what was conveyed by community leaders in Naiola Village, that not all companies have official mining permits. Of the 5 companies that have official permits, only 3 operate in Noemuti sub-district, while the other 2 companies are located in East Noemuti sub-district. There are indications that communities are being fooled into the terms of their mining permits, because proof of permits is never shown to the community. In addition, there are indications that this practice of self-enrichment is supported and protected by influential people. Even the government can't do much against these people. As further explained by the Head of Minerba:

"Those who own this mining company, do not work alone. There are influential people who protect and have interests. Even we were helpless when faced with them. You can track it yourself... What is certain is that they are strong people."

The explanation of Kabid Minerba above shows that the practice of oligarchy for wealth accumulation does not run alone. There is collaboration built between mining companies and influential people allegedly from the government and security forces. This condition is further exacerbated, because the government in the management of the C-dig mine tends to prioritize profit and ignore the complaints of affected communities, as well as environmental damage that occurs. This is evidenced by the absence of concrete government steps both at the district and provincial levels to solve community problems, both in the form of compensation and reprimands to mining companies. All mining activities were allowed to continue as usual even though they had received demonstrations from the community around the mine.

Concentration of Power

The case of the C-mine mine, which has an impact on environmental damage and community welfare in the Noemuti sub-district, is also strongly influenced by power relations. There is a pattern of unequal relations between the actors involved (Government, private companies and communities in the mining circle). The majority of people are helpless and

victimized by mining companies that control stone and sand resources. While the government as the ruler of local authorities seems to be a servant for the interests of businessmen. At this point the concentration of power that frames oligarchic practices in mine governance becomes a pragmatic non-negotiable choice. In practice, the concentration of power according to Winters (2011, p.18) is mapped into 5 (five) types of power, including: Power based on political rights, official office power, coercive power, mobilization power and material power.

The case for the management of the C-mine in Noemuti is not spared from the practice of the power oligarchy proposed by Winters above. However, the context on the ground also shows that not all practices of concentration of power (five types of power) occur simultaneously. Field results show that there are at least five oligarchic practices of power formed in the governance of the C-mine in Noemuti, including official office power and material power. The conditions in question can be traced through facts on the ground that show the helplessness of the Noemuti community around the mining circle in the face of the power of private mining companies that seem to be protected by the government.

The power of official positions can be traced from the polemics of private mining companies that argue for mining practices by obtaining official permits from the state. With existing permits, they dredge rocks and sand in the river in Noemuti excessively without regard to the impact of environmental damage caused. Such as dredging rocks and sand near the location of community rice fields which then causes soil erosion and when the rainy season arrives, community rice fields are eroded away. This was stated by Gebi, a youth leader in the village of Naiola:

"The private companies that are here pick up rocks and sand as they please. They even took it near the location of the community's rice fields. As a result, when it rained, almost all the rice fields of the community close to the mine site were eroded by flooding. It has been almost 2 years since the community has been unable to plant and harvest rice because their rice fields have been damaged. But when we ask the company, they always avoid and say that they mine because there is already a mining permit from the government. In the end, people can't do anything about it."

What the youth leader said above shows how official power is the starting point for abuse of authority by mining companies. Private companies seek refuge and take advantage of the legitimacy of government permits to optimize their profits.

In addition, the official power that is used as a benchmark for oligarchic practices in mining governance can also be seen from the absence of community involvement in mine management from the

beginning. As the female leader of Naiola village put it:

"From the beginning we were not involved in mining permits and management. The company has never coordinated with the village government, let alone with us people. They just say they have an official permit and then mine on the river."

The above interview shows that mine mismanagement has started from the beginning, where the government (provincial and district) also takes part in mismanagement practices. Because the correct licensing process should go through clear stages, such as local community support, village and sub-district head permits, as well as permits from the Regent and Head of the district public works office. As stated by the Head of Mineral and Coal Province:

"To obtain a mining permit requires community support signed jointly and known to the village head and sub-district, a governance permit by the Regent and the district PU Kadis. Free permits for residential areas or forests from the local government."

The above submission shows that there was a procedure that was violated, because the permit did not involve the community and local (village) authorities, but then gained legitimacy and was officially issued from the Provincial authorities. There are indications that there is no

transparency between entrepreneurs and the government and local communities. The government also seems to use its authority (official power) to serve the interests of the investor without regard for the fate and welfare of the people of Noemuti.

On the other hand, material power can be traced from the strong influence of mining companies that can accommodate their interests by utilizing the material base they have. The resources of material power make room for the establishment of a formidable oligarchy. The capital base and profits derived from the profits of mining sandstone in Noemuti give legitimacy to mining companies to monopolize the mine, including forcing the government to remain silent when faced with resistance from aggrieved communities around the mine. This is as stated by the elected Village Chief of Naiola, who once led the community to protest to the local government and local representatives (DPR):

"I and the public have held demonstrations in the government and the DPR. We demand that the company that mines the C-mine leave, or at least provide compensation and road repairs in our village. Because almost all village roads passed by their vehicles were damaged, then many of our rice fields were damaged and also ash (dust) for many people who were sick. But our struggle was in vain, because the DPR and the government only promised to solve the problem. But we never felt it until now. They seem to be unable to do anything with the mining entrepreneurs. But they have the power to do so."

The above presentation shows that material power has a great influence in determining policy. With capital, people can control the governance of natural resources, including influencing policy. While on the other hand, the government can only follow the pattern of "games" formed by the private sector because basically the government also needs funds obtained from mining processing levy funds under the pretext of being in the greater public interest. Such conditions will facilitate the workings of oligarchs in sustainable control of mines.

The influence of material power can also be traced from community resistance to mining companies by closing village road access, but stopped because security forces restricted residents' movement. As stated by Mr. Agus, one of the community leaders:

"The village youths once blocked the village road with stones and tree trunks so that vehicles transporting stones and sand would not pass. Because vehicles passing by every day make the road damaged and many of the people, especially those near the road breathe dirty air. Even the water they collect every day for domestic use cannot be used because it is dirty due to dust. But the efforts of the youths were fruitless, because the company contacted the police and dispersed and forced the youths not to close the access road for stone and sand transport vehicles."

Resistensi People Power

Collective challenge

When an unwanted change arises, the people power movement or people power comes to the fore. This is often marked by strong resistance from those who disagree with the change. This resistance is a collective challenge that change advocates must overcome.

One of the collective challenges that arise in the face of resistance *people power* is increased community involvement. The more people involved in the movement, the greater the potential for conflict with opposing parties. Therefore, the collective challenge faced is how to create constructive dialogue and mediate differences of opinion so as not to lead to conflict.

Regarding resistance to exploration and exploitation of C-mine in Noemuti District, North Central Timor district, by affected communities, it can be said that there has been no constructive dialogue to seek mutual agreement.

"We, the community who have experienced the direct impact of the sand mining process in Noemuti District, have made demands to the mining company, regarding compensation to the affected community residents. We even protested to the TTU District

Parliament, the Environment Agency. But until now our demands have not been realized. We no longer know where to complain and to whom? Because it seems that our demands are blocked by those who have an interest in this matter"

One way to overcome collective challenges in the face of resistance *people power* is to build solutions together. It involves dialogue, negotiation, and compromise among the relevant parties involved to reach a consensus that benefits all parties.

In the face of resistance to movement *people power*, It is crucial to understand that these collective challenges can be overcome with a deep interpretation of the social, political, and cultural dynamics involved in the conflict. Therefore, through a wise and collaborative approach, there may be solutions to achieve good and sustainable change in society.

Common Goals

People power *resistance* in mining C mines (such as coal, iron ore, sand, and the like) has a common goal, which can include several aspects that describe the community's struggle against the negative impacts of mining activities. Once identified, the general objectives in *people power* resistance associated with mining mine C can be described as follows;

1. Sustainable environment; One of the main objectives of *people power* resistance in every mining activity, one of which is mining excavation C, is protecting the environment. Communities belonging to people power resistance groups, want to ensure that mining activities are carried out sustainably, without damaging natural ecosystems, disturbing animal habitats, and resulting in land degradation.
2. Protection of natural resources; the *people power* movement wants to ensure that the natural resources found in mining mine C are used wisely and sustainably so that they can be enjoyed by future generations.
3. Public health; *people power* resistance can emphasize the public health impacts of air and water pollution caused by mining activities. The community as a vulnerable group is affected, wanting to ensure that they are not exposed to air pollution that can harm their health.

"When talking about the impact of environmental damage, we can say that we have suffered a lot because it has been almost 2 years of harvest season, we can no longer harvest rice because the rice fields of the people on the coast of the river have been eroded by erosion by rainwater due to the sand mining process that is too deep and very close to the rice fields. So that the community failed to harvest successively. In addition, we people who live near the river area that is used as a mine site, really feel the impact of air pollution which is very dirty because of the road passed by project vehicles every day. The road condition is not paved, aka dusty. So when passed by project trucks, it exacerbates air pollution, so the effect is that we have difficulty getting clean water because water sources for drinking, eating and other needs are polluted by dust. Even water stored in the house cannot be consumed because it has been mixed with very thick dust. In addition, many people suffer from illnesses such as coughing colds because they breathe very dirty air."

4. Rights to land ownership; Resistance aims to protect the original ownership rights of mining sites or land that is often directly affected by mining activities. Communities want to ensure that landowners get fair compensation and even communities don't want to give up legal ownership rights to their land. Even if it is released to mining companies, people just want their culture and rights to be respected.
5. Transparency and accountability; The people power movement strives to increase transparency in mining activities in C mines, including in the licensing process, environmental management, and sharing of economic benefits from mining.

6. Community participation; The people power movement wants to demand active community involvement in the decision-making process related to mining excavation C, so that communities can control the impact of mining activities on their environment.
7. Economic alternatives; The people power movement seeks economic alternatives for areas that are highly dependent on mining activities C. The community wants to offer economic diversification to minimize dependence on the mining industry.
8. Community empowerment; People power resistance can focus on empowering local communities to deal with the impacts of mining activities and ensuring that communities have a voice in the policy process.
9. The right to live in a healthy environment; The right to live in a healthy and safe environment is one of the main goals of *people power resistance*. They want to protect this basic right from the negative impacts of mining excavation C.

This shared goal in *people power resistance*, reflects society's struggle to strike a balance between economic interests and environmental protection and community rights. *People power resistance* in mining mine C aims to create positive change that benefits affected communities and environments.

Solidarity and collective identity

Collective identity becomes important for a social movement, which can affect the formation, quality of success and failure, and even lifespan of a social movement. According to Polleta and Jasper (2001), collective identity is the moral and emotional connection between individuals and communities (Sukmana 2016). The similarity of problems faced and losses experienced by the community around this mining site then gave birth to community solidarity and formed a collective identity to jointly reject the exploration of the C-mine in Noemuti.

The adverse impacts caused by the exploration of the c-mine in Noemuti are in the form of damage to agricultural land, village roads and impacts on public health due to dust caused by project vehicles. The people of Naiola then formed an alliance to protest against the company exploring the C-mine. The alliance was spearheaded by several youths and had the support of community leaders in the village of Naiola.

The formation of collective identity from the process must bring together the individual dimension and the collective dimension, because the problems experienced are not only related to collective problems but also individual problems. The meeting of individual and collective dimensions, the problems faced can touch the sentiments of movement participants, which can then form collective identity and strengthen community solidarity.

Interestingly, when looking at the impact of mining exploration, it actually involves several villages around the mine site, but solidarity and collective identity are formed newly from the village of Naiola. The other three villages do not yet have awareness of the mining problem in Noemuti which has a negative socio-economic impact on the affected villages. This explains that when viewed from the impact caused by mining activities, the collective identity has not been well formed, but when viewed from the social movement of the Naiola village community, the collective identity has been well constructed. Because those who became the pioneers of the movement in Naiola village were those who experienced the direct impact of the mining activity. Actually, youth and community leaders have communicated with several village heads and community leaders in the three villages but did not get a positive response. This is due to the fear of the three villages, especially the village head, if refusal will have a political impact, there is a fear of pressure from higher powers.

Preserving the Politics of Resistance

This constructed community resistance movement certainly has a goal, as long as the goal has not been achieved, of course the resistance movement will continue. After several actions taken by the people of Naiola such as holding demonstrations at the DPRD and the Environment

Agency, the people of Naiola village continued to make various efforts as a form of rejection of the exploration of the c-mine in Noemuti.

Mr. Agus as a community leader hopes for legal assistance such as advocacy on this issue:

"We hope that Undana lecturers can provide advocacy to the people of Naiola to take legal action against mining companies"

In addition, he also continued to seek information related to the legality of c-mining companies in the NTT provincial Mining Office, which later found that only 3 companies had the legality to export c-mining mines in Noemuti.

The people of Naiola have also written to the NTT provincial government regarding the mining issue, this is a political step taken as a form of community resistance.

This fact explains that there is a transformation of the community movement from direct action with demonstrations and audiences with the relevant governments, then changed by taking legal and political measures although it has not fully worked well. Thus, it can be concluded that the magnitude of the adverse effects experienced by the community makes this resistance movement continue to be carried out, the community's resistance efforts will continue as long as the goals of this resistance movement have not been achieved.

CONCLUSION

The presence of oligarchs in mine management, especially in Noemuti, North Central Timor, East Nusa Tenggara, poses serious problems involving patterns of concentration of wealth and power. This oligarchy is reflected in the practice of private mining companies that do not always have permits or renew their permits but continue to carry out mining activities for personal gain. Collaboration between mining companies and influential parties in the government and security forces has also exacerbated the situation, with the government tending to prioritize profit over community complaints and environmental damage. This resistance to oligarchy occurs through societal resistance which includes stages from collective challenge to maintaining a politics of resistance. Solutions to address this problem include strong government action against mining companies that violate the rules, the development of a more structured community movement, and the need for mining companies to pay attention to environmental impacts and comply with applicable regulations.

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