

THE PRESSURE OF MIGRANT ILLEGAL MINERS ON LOCAL COMMUNITY DYNAMICS: PONGKOR GOLD MINING CASE, 1998

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Abstract

Based on my research, the paper will discuss the dynamic of Pongkor local community and illegal miners from many other places in Indonesia, especially in case riot on 1998. The high mobility of traditional miners at that time was mostly migrant workers from Lampung and Lebak, which descended on Pongkor and mined for gold without the company's permission for many years.

It Indicated that the forceful of migrant illegal miners had been pressured not only by the Company, but also by the local community around the mine site. The migrant illegal miners brought their own cultures and sometimes the local community had to follow them as much as they want. The role of "Jawara" gave any touch on the kind of local security and intervened to the local policy authority.

The dynamic of local community gradually changed. It has shown for many years and changed the way of life and kind of job. The identity was constructed. Even though since around 2003 the situation has changed, which only a few migrant illegal miners at Pongkor mountain, but it's hard for many young generation of local community to find their own way of life.

Introduction

Studying about small-scale mining in Indonesia, particularly consist of gold mining sector in Pongkor, West Java, essentially regarded as illegal mining or PETI (Pertambangan Tanpa Ijin or mining without legal permit). Even though, in some cases small-scale mining could be define also as the traditional miner. As Aspinall (2001) indicates that traditional miner is one of gold seekers. They are villages with a natural instinct to pan for gold, which generally live in villages. In local community cases, it could be as traditional miner, but in many cases, the small-scale miners are the migrants' people. Therefore, at Pongkor cases, small-scale mining is more in illegal mining category. Even, in West Java and Banten area the small-scale mining is called *gurandil*.

Historically, the migrants' *gurandil* were leading in the Pongkor mine site, since company PT ANTAM was exploration at 1981. They were only in very small number and mostly from Cikotok, where are one place of the oldest gold mine sites in Indonesia. When PT ANTAM was granted on 1992, the situation slightly changed in

term of building infrastructure and mobility of *gurandil*. At that time the local remote people, which was all farmers, started to learn as *gurandil* from Cikotok people mostly.

However, since the start of Indonesian economic crisis in 1997, the situation and mobility of *gurandil* had changed dramatically. There were many people jobless and not enough kinds of jobs. At that point, in time the mobility of *gurandil* was going up. It was driven also the phenomena of sporadic social conflict in many places and level of communities in Indonesia. The community resistances rose on 1998,¹ the trend of social turbulence was not only in the big cities in Indonesia, but also in many mining sites in Indonesia. At that time, one of large riot was at Pongkor mine site on 3 December 1998, which many sources state that more than 1000 people burn all PT Aneka Tambang (ANTAM) office facilities at Sorongan-Pongkor. Even though, PT ANTAM and police from West Java Province could handle those critical situations after few days. There were a big question about social culture, which usually they are friendly, compromise and open community.

These phenomena become complicated, not only hard to detect the total number of *gurandil* their production and environmental damage, but more important is the changing cultural of Pongkor Community. It is the key to understand why the migrant *gurandil* could get important access of facilities in the community and dominated them.

This paper will discuss how the forceful of migrant illegal miners had been pressure not only to the Company, but also to local community around the mine site. The migrant illegal miners brought their own cultures and sometimes the local community had to follow them as much as they want. In addition, how the dynamic of local community gradually changed, which the identity was constructed.

The Movement of Illegal Miners in Pongkor Gold Mining Site

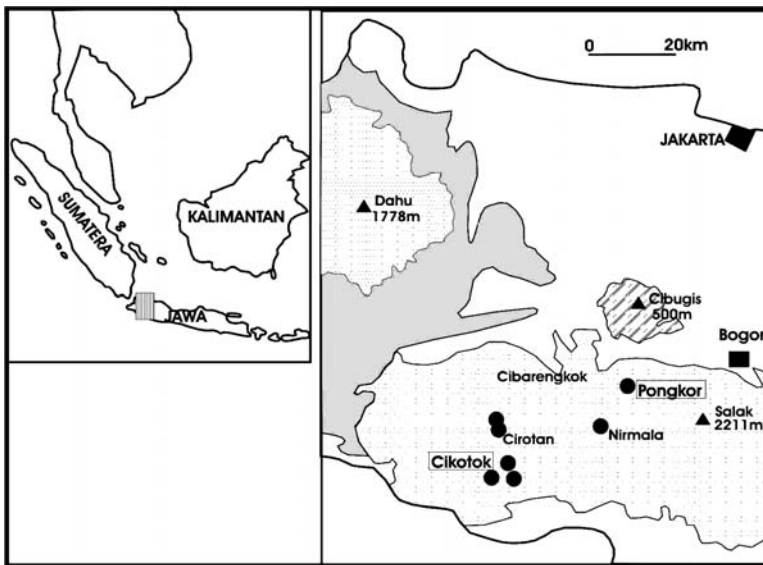
Pongkor mine site is at Pongkor Mountain, which is located at Bantar Karet Village, Nanggung District, Bogor Prefecture, Province of West Java. It is one gold rich mining in Indonesia operated by state-owned mining company PT ANTAM. It was granted on 29 April 1992 for period of 30 years for gold and silver. Indications of gold deposits at Pongkor were discovered by Antam Geology Unit in the 1981, and production commenced in May 1994. (ANTAM, 2002) The surface area is approximately 4,058 ha which are mostly in the Gunung Halimun National Park; some are in PERHUTANI Unit III (Forest Government Company) areas, and rest of them were community lands.

However, operation of PT ANTAM company still in a few areas. There are three primary veins of gold, which are being mined: Ciguha, Kubang Cicua and Ciurug areas (ANTAM Map, 2002). Even though only in a few areas, the locations are not close to each other. These kinds of underground Pongkor gold mine attract not only PT ANTAM Company, but also community, which use to work in mining. They are not only from Nanggung community, but also from others include from Cikotok.

¹ It indicated with the national riot on 13-15 May 1998 with pillages, burning, ethnic violence in mostly Jakarta, Surabaya. Medan, Solo, Ujung Pandang and Palembang.

Compare with Cikotok gold mine site, which is also operated by PT ANTAM, Cikotok has long history of gold mining company. Dutch built it since 1936 and changed the owner as a part of Indonesian company since 1958.² The large of Cikotok mine site is 2598 Ha and it enlargement to Cirotan (south Banten II) with large 1978 ha. With different history of company, it affects also the gold reserves and the approach of local community. Working as *gurandil* (small-scale gold miner) actually is one kind of job opportunities. Many of local community in Cikotok and Cirotan indicated that many of them move to Pongkor to take advantages as *gurandil*. Unfortunately, it is hard to get the exactly number of people from both areas, because many of them are commuting (Zulkamain et.al. 2003: 87-88).

Figure 1: The position of Pongkor Gold Mining Site.



Source: Zulkarnain et al. 2003.

Some sources from local community and PT ANTAM (2003) remain that they did not only come from local community, but mostly from other cities, even they were from outside of Java. Actually, *gurandil* exist there since PT ANTAM started to exploration at Pongkor. However, attention of local community to be *gurandil* was only a few people, which has small experiences with gold at Cikotok, because generally local community is not familiar with exploration and processing bullion.

It was not really clear when actually the flow of people from outside in term of being *gurandil*. Indeed, around 1990s there were flows of people from Cikotok, Jampang and Sukabumi. They took advantages in Pongkor gold mining as illegal small-

² Actually, since 1924 it was explored by W.F.Oppenoorth, geologist from Dutch, but they built company on 1936 by NV Mynbouw Maatschappy Zuid Bantam (NV.MMZB). Unfortunately, at World War I, it did not operate and when Japan invasion, this company was operated by Japan for war ammunition. Then after Indonesian independence, this mining company started production on 1957. PN Tambang Mas Tjikotok Gold Mine), PN Tambang Mas Tjikotok, 8 June 1968, p. 2-3 and Brosur Proyek Ekplorasi Pengembangan Ernas dun Perak Cikotok (Brochure Project of Exploration and Development on Gold and Silver Cikotok), 2000.

scale mining. Their movements were taken advantages by some local communities on learning gold exploration.

The situation was getting worse at that time, 1997, when the Indonesian crisis touches every level of societies. It is driving many people enter the highly risky business of illegal mining. At that time almost 30 percentages of *gurandil* was local community, which in reality they were farmers. Most of them left their farm and became *gurandil*, even some of them explored their farm for gold mining. The illegal gold miners actually are reported to come mostly from outside the immediate area - some of them from outside Java, such as from Bogor, Tasikmalaya, Cikotok, Cirotan. East Java, Bengkulu, South Kalimantan. According to the company, these men work in groups organized by local leaders in Nanggung.

At least, our research indicates that there are many kinds of migrant *gurandil* at Pongkor, which also show the networking of *gurandil* exploration at Pongkor:

1. Owner of financial capital
2. Holes security (they call Danlop = Komandan Lubang or hole security leader)
3. Miner in the "rat holes"
4. Raw material carrier
5. Owner of processing bullion (= *gelundung*)
6. Mercury supplier
7. Gold extractor (=burner)
8. Trader

Most of them usually had networking among them. To open "rat hole" was needed around 20 million rupiah, many migrant and local *gurandil* usually did not enough money for the capital. Therefore, the position of migrant owner of financial capital was very important. Many of them has their role were not only as the financial capital, but also could as the owner of holes and *gelundung*. Moreover, some of them were also as gold extractor and trader.

The owner of financial capital had special relationship with hole's security (Danlop), which his role gave any control not only to the time schedule of miners in the hole, but also any protection of the hole itself. There were two kinds of *danlop*. First, he was a local army or police. The background of *danlop* related with the kind of ANTAM security guards charged. Before early 2000, the Bogor and Nanggung local army were in charge as ANTAM security guards, so that time the *danlop* was a local army. Most of them played double standards guards. After early 2000, PT ANTAM changed their security guards; they are from West Java Province Police Brigade mobile. Even though. they are no special relation with *danlop* and the situation already changed, the *danlop* are from local police and army. Second, he was Banten gangster (Jawam). Most of them worked with his group from Banten, some of them were charged by other groups. Then, some of *danlop* had "rat holes" and handled their holes.

Related with the miner in the "rat hole", most of them are not the new player in mining, they already worked in other places of mining site, such as from Cikotok, Bengkulu. Taikmalaya, South Kalimantan, but most of them from Cikotok. They have some skills to identify the map of gold vein. Unfortunately, the highest risk of players

in the gold "rat holes" is the miner. By the company's own admission, at least 257 illegal gold miners died in accidents at the mine over the last seven years. The worst incident was in 1997 when a landslide killed at least 141 people.

The miner usually works together with raw material carrier. This kind of work does not need special requirement, they just need to be strong and quickly. Only a few migrants work as carrier, because the rate of payment is the lowest rate.

The mercury supplier is usually Chinese from around Bogor, he has special connection with many kinds of this networking, but the closer connection is with the owner of *gelundung*. They work mostly not at the mine site, but they open shop at Leuweliang market (the nearest market from Pongkor), which in their shop also sell the miner properties. The market of mercury are open market, so it easy to find on the way to go to Pongkor.

Figure 2: The *Gelundung* (processing of bullion) of migrant illegal gold miner at eh Pongkor mine site.



Source: LIPIs Documentation, 2003

In term of the *gelundung* owner, there are special equipment was need, such as picture above. The *gelundung* usually is running on the stream flow at the small river. Because of it works in the public space, the owners usually needs some protection of their machines, then, they worked together with police, army or Jawara to protect its. Interestingly, some of them were also the gold extractors. Even though, many of traders were also the owner financial capital, there were people, who worked only as a trader. They usually had dosed relation with the gold extractors.

However, the phenomena had slightly changed after 2000, all migrant communities do not only dominate these categories and networks, but there are some of them are from local community. Even though only a few local community, which was *gurandil*, they get many advantages as the owners of *gelundung* and holes at Pongkor mine site.

The Riot on 1998

Dominating of migrant illegal miner indicated on 3 December 1998, which riot has driven by some migrant *gurandil*. The riot was triggered by rumour that one of the migrant *gurandil* shot dead by company security guards. Although, then these migrant *gurandil* made correction that only minor injure, the rumour already spread out to community around Pongkor, particularly to migrant *gurandil*. The anarchy began at 3 o'clock when ANTAM security guards, police officers and soldiers were on guard at the mine where at least four migrant illegal miners were killed on 28 November 1998 after being buried in the collapsing shaft. At that time, on block Cepu or Kompa Gunung Butak the security guards and soldiers ordered hundreds of *gurandil* leave the hole site. Some *gurandil* still tried to stay and as their order was disobeyed, they were later involved in clashes. One of the army fired a warning shot to disperse the miners from crowding the scene, but unfortunately the bullet hit the ear of one the *gurandil*, who identified as Ahmad from nearby Leuwi Sadeng village. As a result, turbulence with act of damaging and burning had taken the ANTAM facilities and office at Somngan Pongkor.

Upon seeing their friend was injured and though he was dead, then only around one hour later other *gurandil* went to the PT ANTAM at Sorongan and started to damage the facilities. Around 1000 of *gurandil* at Pongkor gold mine went on the rampage, destroying some building and burning at least 11 vehicles belonging to state-owned mining company PT ANTAM. Most of ANTAM officers run away to ANTAM Mosque, which only this building was not burnt.

However, the Chief of Local Police at Bogor and The Coordinator ANTAM Security Guards said that actually, when the soldier fired a warning, that *gurandil* run away and hit the stone. It could be his ear was injured because of he hit the stone or the bullet hit him, but he was not dead. Some information of ANTAM security guards indicated that before riot there were some sabotase. No communications and telephones were put into function. Then, electricity of ANTAM office suddenly turned off (Public Relation of PT ANTAM, 1998). Although the police and soldier from local district and province West Java have handled the situation, for several days at Sorongan and village around mine site were very fear gripped everyone, because there was no electricity. The impact of this riot was company ANTAM could not run their production for 10 days.

One important thing is the number of *gurandil* at that time was the highest one than before or after riot. Much information indicates that the total number of *gurandil* was around 6000 people since 1997 until 2000. Compare after 2000 until 2003 was only around 500 and when we was there are only around 100-200 *gurandil*?³ It relates with the prediction of people movement in Pongkor mine site. Some information, include information from Bantar Karet Wage office, that there are no exactly number of *gurandil* from outside of village. However, they can predict that local *gurandil* is not more than 30 percentages today. (Zulkarnain, 2003:84).

³ This estimation is the end of this year and it is estimation of collecting data from many people around Pongkor security PTANTAM and the official of Community Relation Bureau of PT ANTAM at Pongkor, 2005.

Based on the riot December 1998 and ESDM finding (2000) it demonstrates that there was some negative impact of the *gurandil* activities around Pongkor mine site:

1. Mine accidents: although there are no statistical data on *gurandil* activities, mine accidents causing death wounds and sickness are believed to be high.
2. Anarchy: *gurandil* breeds anarchy. Beside these *gurandil* do not clearly understand to law for a variety of reason, the *gurandil* takes activities, because they believe that no one could not claim as the owner. Therefore, it means that they can take as far as they like. This attitude makes it difficult for the government to build the economy.
3. Destroys the living environment: they create "rat" tunnel or holes, which mostly are on Gunung Halimun National Park. Its make the land subject to landslides and erosion.
4. Destroy riverbanks and pollutes river water: their activities destroy rivers, such as, it is estimated the *gurandil* dumped 150 kg Mercury each day into Cikaniki River, near Pongkor in West Java between years 1997-1998. Sluicing and pressure hose monitoring on riverbanks in open pits has and is causing lots of environmental damage. Oil from the water pumps and machinery, as well as mercury after gold clean-ups all goes into river. Visible oil slicks on these rivers are now a common sight.
5. Social Unrest: Wherever the activities of *gurandil* occur, they generally cause social unrest. This is because the *gurandil* become "Wild West" situations. They may work hard during the day, but at night gambling and prostitution takes over. Stabbings and killings happen. Social diseases are common around camps and create social unrest of migrant *gurandil* with any local and traditional inhabitants in nearby villages.

The Construction of Community Movement

The high movement of migrant *gurandil* sometimes put forward as being among the fundamental causes of transformation, they leading to the "mixing" of naturally exclusive community (Bates, 2000). Generally, the *gurandil* brings their own culture and economical background, which usually is much better than local community does. It is important to notice that under what conditions the migrant illegal miner usually has internal cohesion. Although they were not in the same family, but only from the same village or town their internal social-economic cohesion was strong. They made a group, which usually from the same place and ethnic. Banten, for example, had special groups not only a group community from Cikotok, but also a group of Jawara, in one group, usually they discover place together or secure each other and open gold holes together.

It was found that the raise of migrant illegal miners got their space in the local community. On the contrary, many local communities got many advantages from strangers. At that time, many young local people, who already moved to big cities, such as Bogor and Jakarta, came back to Bantar Karet and Cisarua to enter the business illegal gold mining. However, only a small number of local communities become the owner of "holes". In Ciguha, for examples, only one person has holes. There are no exact numbers of the local people owners. Some information indicates that only few local people were the owners of holes.

Since there were segmentation in the illegal gold mining, the concept of land rental and holes rental became quite interesting. This concept is not a part of the government regulations, but more the rule of market is powerfully. There were many kind of rental, such as house rental, land and holes rentals and *gelundung* rentals. The rule of rental was depending on the price and location, which should be agreed both. On one hand, there was not the agreement letter or the contract letter, which as supporting document of land, hole or house rental. Because of this, sometimes it was very hard for the owner to claim back their house, land or hole, when the contract by migrant *gurandil* was over.

On the other hand, the economic impact upon environment can be clearly visualized:

1. As *gurandil* needs for its operation supplies and commodities such as wood, compressor, tent, machine and mercury for processing of gold raw material, all of which are purchased nearby Pongkor;
2. there were instant small markets and coffee shops around *gurandil*'s holes and *gelundung* activities;
3. Bantar Karet village's officer indicates that many return urbanization from big city to Bantar Karet. Mostly they return from Jakarta and Bogor;
4. There are many new houses building, which before it were made from bamboo, now it made from brick stone. It started on 1999-2000;
5. Many local community had motorcycles or cars suddenly;
6. Noon and night sex entertain, which could find in many places in Ciguha and Bantar Karet.

Those situation and condition could not find before, when the local community just work as farmers. Unfortunately, only a few of local community that spent their money for investing in houses or car, many of them mostly spent their money for fun and entertainment, particularly for sex entertain. Aneka Tambang's Iwan Irawan said the mine's presence had changed the local livelihood from farming to gold mining, commenting that the villagers had led "consumer-driven lifestyles" ever since.

Regarding to the local community in Bantar Karet, Nirmala and Cisarua actually seems do not have strong social cohesion. Mainly they identify themselves with the dominant type of work. The farmer community is that they assume to represent their identity. This type of community is must egalitarian society, which usually they become open community. There are no special norms in; even they can share their territory of their places. So they much easily adapt with another culture or behaviour.

However, the situation has changed, around 1998 to 2000s friction of migrant *gurandil* with local community raised, which mostly because of social-economic intension among them when the number migrant illegal miner was getting bigger. They are not only from one kind group, but also from many, for example, from Cikotok-Banten, Lampung, Bengkulu, and East Java. Their cohesion of every group had impact to others. There were competition among them to access the gold mine and their space. The dynamic of relation between them tend to be ethnic or group of people's conflict. Even though Horowitz (2001) remains that ethnic or group

competition does not necessarily lead to ethnic or group violence, it will turn into violence under certain circumstances.

It might be argued that if migrant *gurandil* indeed a determinant factor, this might be simple, because dislocation promoted insecurity for local community. While building tents in many places of mine site, the traditional miner also entered to many villages and stayed at local communities by peace or force. At Ciguha, for example, there were many accidents happened that the owners could not throw out the migrant miner, because the migrant threatened to kill them and made them stay at the small space of their house. Almost all their house became shelter of migrant's group. Moreover, when Jawara from Banten, as one group shows the dominant group, it created criminal action and extended and unsecured situation for others, especially for local community.

On 1999, the migrant illegal miners became more forcefully to the space and society. While in multi ethnic or group situation, where there were more than *two* groups relatively equal in size ethnic relations will take form of "anarchy". Supriatma (2004) in his paper "Communal Violence in Indonesia: A Comparative Study" remains that "anarchical relations" is defined as the absence of dominant power in interethnic relations. This is typical of a highly divided society, where every group makes claims for more power and is highly sensitive to issue such as distribution of power and wealth. It is clear that under this situation competition among groups were intense. In term of *gurandil*, the competition among groups was intense, it indicates that there were many criminal accidents and started to be fear for the local community.

Furthermore, when amok mass on 3 December 1998, many information remain that around 70 percentages of amok mass were migrant people. This amok was actually also bear with the competition to get more gold raw material each other. At that time, the estimated of total number *gurandil* was in the highest number, but the spread of holes location at Pongkor were not as fast as the group number of *gurandil*. Consequently, the competition among them could not be avoided and it means every chance tried to take by *gurandil*. Then the situation became fragile and sensitive, which many of local people feel strange and unsecured towards *gurandil*, particularly from Banten. When the operation of ANTAM security guards was more active to handle mine site from *gurandil*, many local community supported them, because they dream the normal situation.

The Response of the Main Stakeholders: The Failure of Social Responsibility

The situation on Dec 1998 must be seen that community is in the bottom line which does not have access to the natural resources directly, even though they live in the mine site. Many government regulations have established for exploiting, in this case, gold resource, but most of that regulations are for managing the company, not how to develop the area of mine site with in participating local community.

In this case, PT ANTAM actually tends to collaborate with the leader of local people from the dominant group, which have large authority to handle the community. Unfortunately, the relationship among them, only give advantages to the few local

people, which close to the power. In addition, sometimes their authority was used for their own interest. For example, the meeting at Nanggung district on the early 1998, when the leader from village and district provoked to get permission for gold mining at the site. The situation was getting worse by unclear information from government, particularly. One example, as the head of Bantar Karet indicated, was which made definitive decision to be *gurandil*, because at that time the officers from Forestry Department gave permission to local community to mine at the forestry land as long working with Village Economic Enterprise Unit "Bakti Tani". This economic enterprise gave permission for local community to mine at Pongkor with some instruction and charges.

That information misled the local community, because later it was known that there was not instruction from Forestry Department about mining at Pongkor and the economic enterprise was illegal enterprise. It indicates that there were conspiracies among many people, which supporting the *gurandil* activities.

In this case, almost all government officers did nothing to handle the mobility of people in and out of their communities. Many of them remain that there are no mechanism to handle huge mobility of people, so they seem only stand up as observers of the *gurandil* activities dynamic at Pongkor.

Beside that, many of the security guards from police or army play their role significantly in term of supporting the *gurandil* activities on 1998. Most of them were the owner of financial capital, which came from outside of Pongkor. Affected of this conspiracy, migrant miners got some privileges to enter and mine in many places in Pongkor mine site or in villages.

However, after amok December 1998 at Sorongan Pongkor, the treatment of handling *gurandil* became more focus and intensive. It was strengthened by producing The Presidential Instruction no. 3 on 2000 and The Presidential Decree no. 25 on 2002 about handling the illegal miner, which following with some decisions from province and district government and security board. Base on those guidelines, they established the handling Illegal miner team, which the composition was PT ANTAM Security Guards, Government Environmental Handling Agency from Bogor, Brigade Mobile from West Java Province Police, Government officers from Nanggung area and village. The purpose of this team was giving some information to the community about the danger of mercury and the rat holes for environmental and life about the consequences of social problems of *gurandil* activities. There were rehabilitation programs, such as:

- a) Program of handling and reconstruction of area
There were some activities, which involved the local community leader and religion. The some activities were such as:
 - To close the 'rat hole' of illegal miners;
 - To take the *gelundul* and diesel machines from the illegal miners activities or locations;
 - To be clearance of illegal miners buildings;
 - To protect the PT ANTAM mine site.
- b) Program of social, economic and culture local community empowerment
As PT ANTAM Public Relation officer informs, this program actually focuses on

two kinds of communities, firstly, for encouraging the illegal miner, particularly local *gurandil* to change the activities. Secondly, for empowering the local community through kind of program was purposed to no ones interest to be illegal miners. The programs are:

- Routine assistance for developing the community, such as assistance for teachers, local security guards and law enforcement;
- The priority funding for local company particularly to transportation, environmental reconstruction, building the public the public space and facilities;
- Soft loan for small-scale company and economical enterprise through 'Skim PUKK' (soft loan from company). Until the end of 2001, the total soft loan from PT ANTAM was 3,780 billion Rupiah for 15 economic enterprise unit and 380 small-scale companies;
- Building the public facilities, such as streets, clean water, irrigation;
- Developing free health facilities for local community;
- Training for farming, which cooperation with Gunung Halimun National Park Conservation;
- Training for agro-business, which working with Community research Center – Bogor Agriculture Institute and Social Laboratory of Agriculture Faculty – Bogor Agriculture Institute;
- Assistance in term of farming equipment, training and larger of farm areas, which working with Agriculture and Food Crops Agency of Local Government.

In term of environmental problems, PT ANTAM developed the critical environmental area at Dahu mountain (around PT ANTAM tailing area) and also reforestation and revegetation around illegal miners activities, which did around 1997-2001. Some programs were such as:

1. to identify the kinds and area of problems and damaged;
2. to plan the critical area with kinds of seeds, which location around Ciurug, Cepak Puspa, Gunung Dahu, Pasir Pasang, Sorongan-Ciurug street, PT Aneka Tambang office area, Tailing Dams areas.
3. to make research about the level of mercury polluted in the rivers around Pongkor mine site. It worked with such as center for environmental handling facilities and JICA.
4. to inform the dangers of mercury and 'rat hole' of illegal miners in term of safety and life to *gurandil* and local community.

One important step dealing with the migrant illegal gold miners was on the changing PT ANTAM security guards. With regard to security guards in ANTAM Company, there was some significant changing, which changed the local army and Bogor police to Brigade Mobile from West Java province Police, which the rule of mechanism of personnel shifting of Brigade Mobile is for every week and once a month. The situation can be controlled relatively quickly, after shifting the security guards. Speeding up of the changing security guards shows significant effect on the total number of migrant illegal miners there. This move put security guards far from *gurandil*, make no connection between them, made it was easily to close the rat holes

by dynamite and take then *gelundung* out from mine site. It seems that before the personnel of security guards had important position on the dynamic of *gurandil*.

There were some impacts of this movement:

- the total number of dead and injured *gurandil* because of mining activities went down sharply.
- Water from Cikaniki, Ciguha and Cimanganten rivers were getting clearly which before it had been polluted because of processing of gold raw material activities (*gelundul* activities)
- There are many plantation and some animals again.

However, it does not mean that it will make no *gurandil* anymore. The total number is not significant, now there are less than 100 people (ANTAM, 2004). They are mostly local community and migrant people, which mostly marriage with local people.

Some of them said that they still work as *gurandil* because they did not have any land and job. They have lost their land, usually because it was sold for "rat hole" capital, which many of them can be found at Malasari village, close to Citoret area.

Figure 3: There are some migrant illegal miners still trying to survive with last year's tailing on the river area close to Ciguha.



At some places, such as at Ciguha and Citoret, some of them was migrant *gurandil*, which already marriage with local people. They do not have any land and any skill working as farmers, so they still try to be *gurandil* in that area. At Ciguha, some of them stay and survive to take gold raw material on river, as that picture. They process the tailing without any chance to get access to the mountain Pongkor to open "rat holes" again.

Source: LIPIs Documentation, 2003

They found themselves that there are no choices anymore, because when they try to leave this of job, they do not have any other skill and enough money to come back their origin village. From time to times, they only work as traditional miner at many other places. At that river, there are two groups of *gurandil*, which every group is around 10 people and has a leader. Usually the wife of leader and 2-4 other wife's *gurandil* come along in that shelters and look after all members in term of their foods. The members were mostly from Jawara Banten, then Tasikmalaya and East Java. One of their leaders was a member of local army (Koramil = Military Regimens Commandos at Nanggung, which before his duty was at Madiun-East Java. He put in the status of suspended in pay from the military corps, because when he was in active army on 1997, he spent his time much more to his two "rat holes" at Gunung Butak and as *gurandil* security guards than as the member of Koramil.

Both area at Ciguha and Citoret there are still some "rat holes", because PT ANTAM and local government could not give alternative job to them. Therefore, PT ANTAM gives special location in ANTAM area, but it is easily to control their activities and not close ANTAM's activities. Unfortunately, many of them still try to make rat holes around Cepu Longsoran area or around level 900.

Figure 4: The 60 gelundung which is owned by one of the important persons at Cisarau village.



To exploit the Citoret or Malasari production of *gurandil*, today there are some local community have many *gelundung* for extracting those bullions, which they were *gurandil* and succeed. One of them, for example, at his house Cisarua village he has 60 *gelundung*, which work not by waterwheels, but work by electricity. It takes on such as tailing reservoir at next to his house.

Source: LIPIs Documentation, 2003

Besides that, today there is another kind of *gurandil*, which mostly are local community. They are called "bajing loncar (jumping squirrel). They do not mine, but take aggressively and quickly from dump truck, which bring gold raw material from mine site to the processing place. They usually work in a group and wait for the truck in under bushes along the steadily upwards streets, when the truck move very slowly. At that time, some of them jump into the truck and move the stone (gold raw material) out the street, where some their friends stand and put it into the gunny sacks. This activity is very risks, because many of them are dead, when are tried to avoid and run away from the security guards without paying attention the dangerous area of mine site, such as fall down to ravine or was buried under the stone.

Even though ANTAM security guards and local government share out the information about the dangerous of *gurandil* include bajing loncat activities, most of local people ignore this information. In addition, their main reason is always about how to find their job, that they do not have any choices to get another job.

This situation indicates that there is not enough attention from village and district government officers. It seems they do not care with their society, which finds serious problems of welfare. The local government mostly think that they are the company ANTAM's responsibility, because only company that can help them, either *gurandil* or local community generally.

As the program of company social responsibility, PT ANTAM sees uneasily to be conscious of those *gurandil* groups or other local community. Through community

development program, company provides many infrastructure and soft small loan priority to *gurandil*, which it has been expected to leave their *gurandil* activities. Community development program is the other alternative for people to create their job. However, many of them left this program, because they can get enough benefit from the new job. Moreover, it seems that there is no advocating to the community. So the CD becomes not effectively.

Community development has long been a challenging and complex equation of PT ANTAM Company. While one hand, it has been a frequently voiced concern that are not doing enough to spread the wealth to local community. On the other hand, many local communities, which got large of money from ANTAM, thought that it was only the responsibility of company to give them money compensation, not to develop the wealth of local community. It could be understood that there are a bit contradiction action of community development program there, because many local community, which got money of community development PT ANTAM, were the *gurandil*.

This policy of company is more for security company approach than for wealth of community. Some information of PT ANTAM remains that the company hope former *gurandil* will not become a troublemaker in the gold mine site again. In establishing peace with community, ANTAM company are then free to go about their business without fearing interference in the form of social disturbances, which inevitably lead to decline in productivity and result in losses (Kiroyan, 2000). This policy seems work well in term of Security Company, but it did not in success result in term of developing community and social responsibility itself.

Based on the purpose of community development as relevant to the mining industry is to improve the welfare of people in those surrounding communities affected by mining activities. Kiroyan (2000) argue that it means that the company has kind of social responsibility towards community development. It also means that it is a working contract with the community. They should have permitted the corporations to enter and to commence operations. The operation may have fulfilled all legal requirements, but without acceptance by the community it is part of lacks legitimacy. Acceptance can be achieved only if we are worthy of being trusted.

As well, the participation of local community in the company, it is also important to develop the selection mechanism of company funding in term of community development program. It must be selected committees of local community and built the regulation understanding how to develop, monitor and evaluate the program.

Certainly, the main responsibility is not the company, such as ANTAM done, but the government, particularly local government does. The local government must have to the master plan of developing their community and from this master plan, they should ask to the company, as the stakeholder, to integrate the plan and fund it. Unfortunately, there is no master plan of their community. It means they should develop it together among them: community, local government and company. It will illustrate the priority of the welfare and economic potential of community.

Closing Remarks

The changing culture and reconstructing identity of many young local communities become one of important issue for company and local government that one day it will be a potential *gurandil* and a potential conflict with company in the future.

The long and deep experiences with huge movement of migrant *gurandil*, indicates that the root of problems there actually could not be separated from the failure of government policy on national and local level. However, it also give a better understanding that Pongkor mine site should be managed by them self, not others. It means the main stakeholders of mining, company, local government and local community must have a master plan how to develop and empower the environment and people there.

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