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THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN RESOURCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN COASTAL COMMUNITIES OF BANTEN BAY

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ABSTRACT

Sea sand mining activities in Banten Bay from 2003 to 2016 have triggered conflicts between local governments, companies and coastal communities. The mining of sea sand by the company is intended to meet market demand for island reclamation in Jakarta Bay, Indonesia. Conflict is created because the communication between the regional government and the coastal community has not been effective in granting mining business licenses to the company. The research aims to analyze the role of communication between conflicting parties at each stage of resource and environmental conflicts in Banten Bay. The research was conducted using qualitative methods through participatory observation, documentation studies and in-depth interviews with informants representing groups of fishermen, community leaders, NGO activists, local governments and sea sand mining companies. The results showed that in the absence of communication between parties involved in the conflict, the form of communication that is manipulative and instructive is an ineffective communication approach in managing potential conflicts. Communication between parties involved in the conflict works effectively with a dialogical communication approach because it facilitates the conflicting parties to understand each other, reach agreement and share roles. Communication determines the transformation of society into conflict groups. Open conflict is manifested in the forms of peaceful actions, joint protest actions, riots, and radical actions. The intensity and escalation of conflict are related to the communication of the parties involved in the conflict during the conflict periods.

KEYWORDS

The role of communication, resource and environmental conflicts, coastal communities, Banten Bay.

Sea sand mining activities that are not synergistic with the interests of the community have triggered conflicts between coastal communities, local governments, and sea sand mining companies. The dominance of access to the use of natural resources causes conflicts between government, companies and local communities. Conflict is caused because people feel marginalized in access to natural resources and efforts to meet their needs. The Serang Regency Government has an interest in sea sand mining activities in Banten Bay as local own-source revenue (PAD) through non-metal mineral retributions and taxes. The realization of taxes from sea sand mining activities in 2015 reached 41 billion with sea sand exploration 15 million / m³, from the taxpayer of PT. Jetstar, PT.MCA and PT. Hamparan Laut Sejahtera (DKPESDM Serang Regency, 2016). The policy on the exploitation of sea sand as a business commodity is influenced by the demand for sandstone for the reclamation activities of island C and island D in Jakarta Bay (PT. KNI, 2012). Government and company policies are full of the interests of funders from outside parties.

A top-down policy approach in natural resource management that does not look at the needs of the community and involves the community in making decisions about resource control has a high potential for conflict. Conflicts between the government and the community relating to the control of natural resources are caused by the government making regulations

and policies on natural resource management only to protect its interests and impose its rules on civil society, while the rules are detrimental to society and encourage people against the state to defend their rights. Besides, technical aspects, ways of organizing government, implementing policies, development programs and roles that intersect with the interests of the community (Sumardjo, 2015).

Conflict always changes following social interaction. Conflict, in general, is a cycle from the emergence of conflict to its resolution which does not always lead to linear mode. Conflict cycle (Engel and Korf, 2005), consists of (1) latent stages, potential hidden conflicts. Latent conflict refers to social tensions, differences, and disputes that are hidden or growing, (2) conflicts emerge on the surface gradually and continue to develop rapidly in response to various events that are the cause of conflict and parties to the conflict begin to emerge, identified and enter the public sphere, (3) manifest stage, the difference becomes more prominent between the parties involved in the conflict and focused on group dynamics, (4) escalation, the stage where the level of tension, threats and violence increases.

Interest groups that are closed (latent) increase to be open (manifest) if there are leaders who are brave with conflict relations, groups have conflict ideology, group members are free to organize conflicts and have members who are committed and communicate with others (Dahrendorf, 1986). Conflicts become real (manifest) depends on the communication process in building the identity of members and group collectivity in conflict groups (Kriesberg, 2011).

Sumardjo et al., research (2010) emphasizes the trust between related parties in the utilization of natural resources is a key factor for the effective management of community conflicts around the mine. Conflicts must be managed when conflicts are at a latent stage before they arise and increase to escalation (Engel and Korf 2005). Grievance and conflict management at the latent stage is carried out by building communication between stakeholders and identifying potential conflicts at an early stage to prevent escalation (Kapelus et al., 2011).

Conflict resolution approaches are categorized in two dimensions, namely cooperation/non-cooperation and decisive/indecisive, consisting of five kinds of approaches (Sumardjo et al., 2014) namely, (1) Competition, the resolution of conflicts that occur with one party defeating/sacrificing the other party, termed a win-lose orientation; (2) Accommodation, conflict resolution is done by giving the whole settlement to the other party without fighting for its own goals; (3) Sharing, a compromise approach to conflict resolution between the domination of a group and peaceful groups; (4) Collaboration, a conflict approach that is done by satisfying both parties, an approach to problem solving and integration of the parties involved in the conflict; (5) Avoidance, is the ignorance of both parties or circumstances to draw the interests of the group from conflict.

Dialogue is a communication technique that respects relationships above individual reviews, positions, and interests. The process of communication using dialogue is one way to manage conflict. Dialogue encourages participants to find the core problem, build respect, defuse polarization/difference and build collaboration (Littlejohn and Domenici, 2001). Communication has a strong positive effect on inter-group cooperation in various types of social dilemma (Balliet, 2010). Collaboration has proven beneficial for collaboration in conflict (Cowan and Arsenault, 2008). Kaye (1994) suggests the stages in the collaborative approach which are divided into three issues, namely (1) problems and needs, (2) solutions, and conflict resolution, (3) plans and actions.

The focus of this research problem is the communication of local governments, companies and coastal communities in the phases of resource and environmental conflicts in coastal communities in Banten Bay. The formulation of the problem is how the communication role of the parties involved in the conflict in managing the potential conflict at the latent stage? How is the role of communication in the transformation of quasi groups into conflict groups? How is the role of communication in open conflict and its escalation? The research aims to analyze the communication of parties involved in the conflict at each stage of resource and environmental conflicts in coastal communities in Banten Bay.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

The research approach uses a qualitative approach with case studies (Creswell, 2007). The research was conducted in July 2017 to July 2018. The research sites were coastal villages and small islands in the Banten Bay area which became the location of sand mining including Lontar Village, Wargasara Village, Tunda Island, Tirtayasa District and Pulau Panjang Village, Pulo Ampel District, Serang Regency.

Figure 1 – Sea Sand Production Operations map in Banten Bay (Distamben Banten, 2017)

Primary data sources were collected by participant observation and in-depth interviews with 18 informants consisting of fishermen groups, community leaders, NGO activists, local governments and sea sand mining companies. Secondary data collection is carried out with a literature study of previous studies and documentation studies, including news from local and national newspapers and other government documents. Data analysis was performed using an interactive model (Miles et al., 2014).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Poorly managed stakeholder communication triggers conflicts between local governments, companies and coastal communities put their lives on coastal and ocean areas in Banten Bay. Conflict of coastal communities in Banten Bay based on the factors causing them (Satria 2009) is a conflict of resources and environment, mining of sea sand cause damage to coastal and marine ecosystems as well as harming the coastal communities. The type of conflict is a structural conflict between the local government, companies and coastal communities whose mining areas cover Lontar, Wargasara, and Pulau Panjang Villages (Figure 1).

Sea sand mining activities became the main problem of conflicts that occurred in three rounds of conflict in 2003-2004, 2011-2014 and 2015-2016 (Table 1). Referring to the stages conflict of the Engel and Korf (2005), each round of resource and environmental conflicts in the Banten Bay begins with closed (latent), emerging, opened (manifest) conflicts, and escalation of conflicts accompanied by increased violence in its settlement. The conflict did not only involve three villages that became mining sites but also extended to coastal villages on the North Coast of Banten Bay.

Sand mining is carried out after the company obtains a Production Operation MBL (MBL PO) from the local government. The granting of MBL PO by the local government to a sand mining company is a form of authority transformation that places the company as the authority's owner. Viewed from its position, the conflict of coastal communities with local governments and companies is a vertical conflict, a conflict between parties who have authority and who do not have authority.

Figure 1 – The cycle of resources and environmental conflict of coastal communities in Banten Bay

In the beginning, the coastal community did not know about sea sand mining because the local government did not convey information on sea sand mining to coastal communities as affected communities. Local governments communicate with coastal communities in the process of granting Mining Business License (MBL) after the issuance of Environmental Management and Protection Law number 32 of 2009 which requires companies to prepare AMDALs and obtain environmental permits by involving affected communities. Changes to regulations that require community involvement, facilitate communication between local governments, companies and affected communities in managing potential conflicts.

The government and company communication approach to coastal communities in the process of granting MBP is manipulative because it is carried out to obtain an attendance list of participants in the socialization of sea sand mining which is converted into a document of community approval of sea sand mining activities as required in Minister of Environment Regulation No. 17 of 2012 concerning guidelines for involvement community in the AMDAL process and environmental permit. The local government and the company socialized sea sand mining activities in Banten Bay to the coastal communities at the beginning of the 2011-2014 conflict round. However, the regional government and the company did not seriously involve coastal communities in the process of granting MBP. The government and companies communicate with the public aiming to manipulate the requirements of environmental permit documents.

Likewise in the 2015-2016 conflict round, local governments and companies communicated in an instructive manner to coastal village communities about sea sand mining activities and the community received compensation funds for the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program from the company. The instructive communication of the local government and the company is coercive because there is no room for dialogue with coastal communities and participant relations of communication seem to occur between superiors and subordinates. The government and the company conveyed the message to the coastal community that the community could not refuse because the company had a valid permit from the local government that was authorized to use the coastal and sea resources of Banten Bay.

The approach of local government and company communication to coastal village communities that goes in one direction (monologue) closes the space of coastal communities to convey their views and aspirations towards sea sand mining activities. Local government and company communications aimed at deceiving and coercing coastal communities to

accept sea sand mining show that the communication participant structure of local governments and companies is more dominant. local government and company communication that is top-down, manipulative, and instructive are ineffective in creating mutual understanding and convergence of interest in affected communities. Ineffective communication becomes a source of problems between local governments, companies and Coastal communities during the conflict periodization. Illustrated in Figure 2, the competition and collaboration approach to conflict management was developed from Sumardjo et al., 2014, Cowan and Arsenault 2008, Kaye 1994.

Figure 2 – The effectiveness of communication in managing potential conflict

Local governments and companies tend to learn from conflict experiences with coastal communities. Local governments and companies take a different communication approach than before in managing potential conflicts. They use the communication approach in managing potential conflicts with small island communities in the form of 1) constructive dialogue with local government, companies and small island communities facilitating the explanation of the company's need to get community support, the community's need for company CSR funds as alternative community income and village development, and the need for tax revenue from sand mining activities to increase local own-source revenue, (2) consensual dialogue facilitates the agreement of the small island village community to support sea sand mining activities and obtain profit-sharing from the production of sea sand in the form of corporate CSR in the amount of Rp. 1,000 / m³, (3) the action plan dialogue results in a CSR fund distribution plan through a CSR management team managed by the community and community involvement in securing the sea sand mining production process, as illustrated in Figure 2.

The communication approach of local government and company to small island communities is two-way communication with equality of communication between communication participants. Constructive dialogue facilitates communication participants to understand each other's needs and interests. Consensual dialogue encourages communication participants to reach a conflict solution in the form of an agreement that meets the interests of both parties as a conflict solution (win-win solution). The action plan dialogue regulates the role of communication participants / conflicting parties to work together to support what has been agreed on.

Communication between local government and companies with coastal communities that are one-way, manipulative and instructive in managing potential conflicts results in patterns of conflict relations. Whereas the communications between local government and company with small island communities that are interactive through constructive dialogue, consensual dialogue and action plan dialogue result in patterns of equal relations and cooperation. Communication between local government and companies with small island communities tends to be effective in managing potential conflicts, preventing open conflicts and escalation. On the contrary, the communications between local government and

company with coastal communities tend to be ineffective and form the basis of resource and environmental conflict of coastal communities in Banten Bay (Figure 2).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) communicate with groups of fishermen, seaweed and fish farmers on the issue of environmental damage caused by sand mining activities that have an impact on gaps in the access of coastal communities to fisheries resources in Banten Bay. NGO communication encourages the collectivity of the interests and actions of groups of fishermen, seaweed and fish farmers as quasi groups to transform into conflict groups, illustrated in Figure 3. Conflict groups are created when coordinated groups realize their interests objectively and collectively (Turner, 1998). The parties involved in resource and environmental conflicts in Banten Bay are divided into two groups, namely the pros and cons of sea sand mining.

In the context of access to fishery resources in the Banten Bay, groups of fishermen, seaweed cultivator, and fish farmers are quasigroups that can turn into conflict groups whenever there is a trigger. NGO communication in the form of face-to-face communication, open dialogue, group discussions, and the village coordinator's communication network makes coastal communities realize their interests objectively and collectively so as to form conflict groups. Communication between NGOs and community groups in coastal villages and small islands triggers conflict in each round of conflict.

One important element in the transformation of quasi groups coastal community into conflict groups is that the village NGO coordinators are mostly fishermen who own the boat (skipper), financiers (customers) and fish collectors (small tradeswoman). The relation of the skipper, costumer, and small tradeswoman authority is closely related to the structure of the fishing class in Banten Bay. The majority of fishermen in Banten Bay based on the structure of the Kinseng fishing class (2014) are fishing laborers and small fishermen who have a dependency on the skipper, customer, and small tradeswoman. The relationship between the skipper and the fishing laborers, customers and small tradeswoman with the skipper is patron-client and dominant-subordinative in line with what was revealed by Kinseng (2013). The leadership structure of the NGO village coordinator, mostly as a skipper, customer, and small tradeswoman in a fishing group, played an important role in the formation of conflict groups.

Figure 3 – The role of NGO communication in the transformation of conflict groups

Coastal communities involved in the conflict are coastal villages in the Districts of Pontang, Tirtayasa, and Tanara (Pontirta). This is due to the fishermen fishing in the waters of Lontar are fishermen in the District of Pontirta, sand mining operations extend to the north coast, and the role of communication and advocacy of NGOs to the communities of the north coast villages. The conflict has spread to the small island community due to NGOs and fishermen TPI Lontar communicating and advocating for small island fishermen as the location of the mine moves to the small islands. The leadership of small island village fishing groups is dominated by fishermen who were previously involved in coastal village conflicts.

Conditions that support community groups in coastal villages and small islands to become conflict groups are: (1) NGOs become opinion leaders/sources of information and

actions of groups of fishermen and farmers to get involved in the conflict, (2) the caretaker of an NGO that has power relations with fishermen becomes the leader of the fishermen and farmers group, (3) the leaders of the fishermen and cultivator groups organize the coastal community without weakening efforts from the local government and the company as the dominant group, (4) fishing group members and cultivator communicate actively and intensely with other group members for member recruitment.

Conflicts become real (manifest) depend on the communication process in building member identity and group collectivity in conflict groups. Direct NGO communication (primary communication) and through the communication network (secondary communication) of village coordinators to coastal and small islands communities play a role in the formation of the collective identity of fishing and cultivator groups. The success of NGO communication in the formation of collective identity refers to Kriesberg (2011) supported by the following factors: (1) homogeneity of members, characteristics of coastal communities that have similarities, that is, hanging livelihoods from the ocean tends to form a shared identity, (2) ease of communication, aspects of personal closeness (proximity) between rural communities that are familial facilitate the formation of a shared identity, (3) a sense of solidarity, coastal communities as sand mining-affected communities tend to have solidarity because they have the same fate, (4) organizational potential, social relations between fishermen with skipper, customer and small tradeswoman encourage collective interest and mobilization.

Communication and advocacy of NGOs to coastal village and small islands communities interactively encourages the interests of the group that are closed (latent) becomes opened (manifest) in the form of: (1) solidarity of the interests of fishing and cultivator groups, (2) identities of conflicting pros and cons groups of sand mining (ingroup versus outgroup), (3) collectivity of actions to refuse sea sand mining activities in Banten Bay. Interaction of NGO communication with various village groups, community groups, youth organizations, students and through various action plans to build the cohesiveness of the counter group of sand mining.

Coastal communities in Banten Bay are encouraged to get involved in resource and environmental conflicts because they are related to livelihoods and meeting the needs of life for coastal communities who work as fishermen. Research Yang et al., (2014) and Perc et al., (2013) asserts that the involvement of local communities in resource and environmental conflicts is due to economic interests. Resource and environmental conflicts tend to involve affected local communities. Involvement of local community conflicts occurs because it does not involve local participation (Liu et al., 2012). Conflicts between coastal communities, regional governments and companies occur openly (manifest) in the communication interactions of the parties involved in the conflict during the conflict periodization in 2003-2004, 2011-2014 and 2015-2016.

The conditions that propel conflict manifestations (Kriesberg, 2011) relevant to conflict in coastal communities in Banten Bay include: (1) local governments and companies as opposing parties whose interests are not in line, (2) members of conflict groups consisting of fishermen and cultivators feel disadvantaged due to sea sand mining because they seem to have less access to resources than they should, (3) group members believe that local governments and companies are responsible for their complaints, (4) group members believe that the involvement of the conflict in the form of mobilization will change the mining policy of sea sand. Changes in conditions of manifestations of conflict and communication interactions of conflicting parties have implications for conflict output that are destructive or constructive.

Conflict manifested in four forms of action (Table 1), namely (1) peaceful action, mass demonstrations to local governments and other state institutions to make complaints, check the truth of information, express aspirations and report violations of the production operations of sea sand mining; (2) joint protests, community demonstrate in a group to criticize policies, express resistance, demand and threaten local governments to stop the mining of sea sand; (3) riots, joint protests with riots and acts of destruction of local government public facilities, up to (4) radical actions, expressions of anger carried out in the form of acts of judgment,

assault and intimidation in groups to local government officials and company impacted on human rights violations and material destruction.

Each coastal community in Banten Bay has a different level of involvement in open conflict and conflict periods. The people of Lontar Village and the north coast were involved in an open conflict in the form of peaceful actions, joint protests, riots and radical actions with local governments and companies during the entire conflict period (2003-2016). Pulau Panjang villagers were involved in an open conflict in the form of peaceful actions up to radical actions only during the 2011-2014 conflict period. Whereas the people of Wargasara Village were involved in an open conflict only in the form of peaceful actions and protests during the 2011-2014 conflict period. According to Yang et al., (2012; 2013), the intensity of conflict that varies from each location of environmental conflict is related to information gaps, variations in perceptions and individual characteristics of local communities.

The most dominant form of conflict involvement that occurs in coastal communities is peaceful action and joint protest actions. The involvement of local community conflicts in resource and environmental conflicts is in line with research Yang et al., (2013), Zhang et al., (2013) and Wakefield et al., (2006), describing community involvement in China in conflict is the need to convey aspirations in environmental policy decision making. Peaceful protests and joint protests also increased because of the political system in Indonesia after the reform was more democratic than before. Fishermen in the reform era tend to fight for their interests openly (Kinseng, 2017). The people of the coastal villages and small islands in Banten Bay held a demonstration to the local government to express their opinions, attitudes, and actions in public space freely, openly and without pressure.

Coastal communities tend to carry out peaceful actions against local governments at the beginning of the open conflict. When local governments do not handle conflicts quickly or protracted, then community actions tend to escalate into joint protests and riots. There is a tendency for coastal and small island communities to commit verbal violence and riots when large numbers of participants demonstrate. The people of the coastal and small island who are emotional tend to take radical action. According to Coser, conflicts in the form of violence usually occur for unrealistic reasons (in Kinseng, 2007). In this case, the reason was realistic, but the conflict manifests in the form of violence and it is because of the fulfillment of basic needs problems. This can be seen from Table 1, radical action became the peak of the conflict in the history of resource and environmental conflicts in Banten Bay.

Radical action is closely related to the loss of public trust in local governments and companies, which causes coastal communities to tend to "vigilante" to achieve their interests collectively. It is very difficult to manage resource and environmental conflicts in Banten Bay effectively when the conflict escalates in the form of radical action. This is because effective conflict management requires trust between parties to the conflict (Sumardjo et al., 2010). Conditions that underlie the easily escalating intensity of conflicts are problems of poverty, economic urgency and feelings of life uncertainty causing the intensity and escalation of conflicts to peak easily as explained by Dharmawan (2006). The dominance of natural resources that are the source of community livelihood triggers radical conflicts (Sumardjo, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Solutions to resource and environmental conflicts in coastal communities at the mine site require management, especially at the latent stage / potential conflicts before fishing groups turn into conflicting interest groups. The collaborative approach with communication dialogue techniques between conflicting parties at a latent stage in the case of small island communities plays a role in preventing open conflict and suppressing greater escalation. This is in line with Kapelus et al., (2011) and Engel & Korf (2005). The competition approach with manipulative and instructive communication techniques triggers open conflict and reinforces it. Communication plays a role in the transformation of awareness of fishing groups into conflict groups. The transformation of fishermen into conflict groups is closely related to the structure, power relations and economic system of fishermen in Banten Bay. The parties

involved in resource and environmental conflicts in Banten Bay tend to learn from previous conflict experiences. Communication between fishermen groups and small island communities and sand mining production operations that extend to small islands has caused small island communities to conflict with local governments and companies.

Open conflict occurs after fishermen formed conflict groups that openly fight for their interests (manifest). When an open conflict escalates, turns out that it is difficult to manage a win-win solution approach, because each party competes with one another to win the conflict. Open conflict conditions make each party distrust each other so that managing conflict is difficult to do effectively. Coastal people who ignited emotionally commit violence because of the problems of livelihood and basic needs.

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