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Mining and the conflict over values in Nusa Tenggara Timur Province, Eastern Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Political reform in Indonesia, which began in 1999, opened up spaces for local governments to make more decisions that would affect the economic development of their districts. With the freedom to seek foreign investment, many district heads in Nusa Tenggara Timur province began to allocate mining licenses for mineral exploration. This proliferation of mining activity increasingly received a lot of resistance from environmental NGOs, church organizations and various communities across the province, and became a catalyst for people to rethink development strategies and values that are thought to be associated with various livelihoods. In this paper I examine the conflict over various values, such as justice, democracy, sustainability, environmental conservation and cultural tradition, which I look at through a series of cases that trace the recent history of mining in this eastern Indonesian province. Building on critiques of the simplistic contrast between unsustainable versus sustainable development, focussing on reputed differences between mining and tourism, I examine these two industries, following Büscher and Davidov, (2014a, 2014b) as forming a type of "nexus". This nexus I argue is what has instigated this examination of values.

1. Introduction: mining and tourism—clashing industries, clashing values?

In March 2014, before the parliamentary elections due to be held in April, a map circulated throughout the eastern Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT, East Nusa Tenggara) indicating the mining concessions allocated in electoral districts of the province, and the names of the parliamentary candidates. The map, entitled "Will the 2014 elections reduce the crisis in your area?" challenged voters to find out which candidates supported mining, asking "Are you sure the candidate of your choice will guarantee public safety and serve [public needs] for the next 5 years?" (see Fig. 1). Surprised that half of the newly-formed district of Nage-Keo in central Flores Island appeared to be under mining concessions, I sought information from one priest who was on a church commission that rejected mining in Flores, to determine whether or not this was true. He was also surprised at the large area of concessions, so two weeks later when the opportunity arose, I made enquiries at the relevant government offices in Nage-Keo district.

At the tourism board office, the assistant head was astonished to see the map, and insisted that it was not true. "Who made this map?" he demanded. "They want to destroy the name of our district!" Nage Keo district was the home of the "17 Islands Nature Recreation Park" a popular spot for domestic and international tourism; there were also plans to develop the whole northern coast for tourism. I responded that it was compiled by JATAM, the national level anti-mining advocacy group, WALHI, the national level environmental network, and the JPIC of the OFM (Franciscan) order of the Catholic Church. Disturbed by what he considered to be false information, he showed me the zoning for the district of Nage-Keo. "There are no mining activities zoned for the whole district," he insisted. "Take this booklet and tell the anti-mining groups in Jakarta that we have no mining in Nage-Keo!". An hour later I was in the mining and city zoning office. Unlike the tourism official, those in the mining office were not at all surprised to see this map. "Yes, so?", they said. "But is it true?" I asked. "Yes of course," they said, "but all of these concessions are still in the very early stages of exploration. We wanted to know what the mineral potential of our district is, so we gave concessions to different companies." When I asked about the potential clash with plans for developing tourism in the district, they responded that they saw no difficulties in developing tourism and mining as two compatible industries.

As this story illustrates, and what I have found to be widely true in Nusa Tenggara Timur province, those involved in or supporting tourism growth as the hope for economic prosperity, are almost

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Fig. 1. "Akankah Pemilu 2014 Mengurangi Krisis di Wilayah Anda?: Peta Konsesi Tambang Dapil NTT-I"- "Will the 2014 Elections reduce the crisis in your area?: Map of the Mining Concessions in the first electoral district of Nusa Tenggara Timur [NTT]" (caption is not visible on this photo).

unanimously against mining. It is frequently articulated in this resistance that mining and tourism are founded upon opposing sets of values. As the recent works of Davidov (2012) and Büscher and Davidov, (2014a,2014b) show, this is a common perception. Tourism, especially ecotourism, is often depicted as promoting sustainable development and helping to preserve "pristine wilderness" (Duffy, 2014, p. xiii,Büscher and Davidov, 2014a,b, p. 17). The values encoded in "sustainability", as it was originally conceived in the Brundlandt report (UNWCED, 2016) were not only that of concern for the environment, but also equity and social justice. The idea of preserving for future generations encodes the idea that the present generation must be equitable in distribution across both time and space. Mining as an extractive industry, on the other hand, is seen to be ecologically-destructive, and to be the quintessential example of "unsustainable development" (Davidov and Büscher, 2014, p. 3). Mining and other "extractive industries" are thought to be inequitable, usually marginalizing local communities, and destroying their environments. Extractive industries are thought to embody values that only have to do with greed, and short term benefit for elites at the local, national or global level, who leave the poor and marginalized to pay the costs of the destruction left in their wake (Duffy, 2014, p. ibid).

As the papers in the Büscher and Davidov volume show, though, there is not only considerable diversity across the industries of eco-tourism and extraction, but these purported values of sustainability versus unsustainability, altruism/virtue versus (ir) responsibility/guilt, are not so neatly mapped onto these industries. Scholarship has come to query not only the sustainability and virtue of eco-tourism and conservation (see among others, Igoe et al., 2010), but also the necessarily destructive or unjust nature of extraction (Langston et al., 2015). What is particularly interesting is that the volume points out these flawed dichotomies by precisely showing that these two industries are often found not only contiguous to one another, but even supporting one other. In this way the authors analyse this contiguity as a "nexus" (see also Davidov 2012). This "nexus" approach focuses not just on the connections, but "the *means* of connection" (Büscher and Davidov, 2014a,b, p. 19). While the volume explores various ways ecotourism and extractive industries are connected in a "nexus", their volume also underscores the changing global economic climate, of privatisation, capitalization, accumulation and the increasing emphasis on extracting and removing value from local areas, that has led to both industries evolving in increasingly "extractive" ways, that marginalize local communities (Davidov, 2014; Walsh, 2014).

Mining, certainly more than tourism, has been referred to as an industry which is contentious and full of ambiguities (Bebbington et al., 2008). As a path to development it is often strewn with considerable conflict, and is cited as "having a dismal track record" in regards to poverty reduction (Bebbington et al., 2008, p. 891). Mining also is often negatively associated with poor governance, corruption and lack of transparency (892), and may sometimes lead to civil strife (ibid). Conflicts around mining have spread with the outreach of the mining industry into new parts of the globe, but Bebbington et al. suggest that these "geographies of mineral expansion" have been accompanied by "changing forms of protest and instability" (899). Using Harvey's distinction between "capital accumulation by exploitation" versus "capital accumulation by dispossession", Bebbington et al. suggest that in the recent mineral expansion the stakes are much higher for communities who are effected by mining. Not only are conflicts centred around miners' working conditions, rights and compensation, as was the case in the past, but communities' livelihoods are often being more seriously threatened by the expansion of some companies into remote areas where they do not follow what have become the global "best practices" of the extractive industry (901–903). Exposure over several decades has forced the formation of various committees at the global level to identify and monitor what had been often atrocious destruction and exploitation wreaked by the extractive industries in the past. Indeed these earlier conflicts and atrocities have, they argue, raised awareness of the negative issues and have opened up pathways and creative spaces where "the

construction of institutions that could foster more socioeconomically inclusive and less environmentally damaging forms of mineral expansion" (889) might be negotiated.

In this paper, I look at the space of conflict that has opened up in Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) province because of the introduction of mining. I conceive of NTT as a "nexus" of mining and tourism, even though mining and tourism are not necessarily found contiguous to one another throughout the province. The "nexus" is one of an "imagined space", where the two industries are often juxtaposed, particularly by those who reject mining. NTT itself is an imagined space that has often been constructed by particular actors as "poor", "fragile", "traditional", "unfulfilled potential", "low human resource capabilities" and "backward". Different actors who construct ideas of NTT have different positions in regards to what mining or tourism has to offer people living in the province. In the 2010 national census the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, had almost 4.7 million residents, where over 80% of the populace still live by farming or fishing. Only a little over 25% of the population had graduated from junior high school or higher (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010). Although both mining and tourism are industries which have minimal presence in the province, both are considered to be industries that hold out great promise for development in this poor area of Indonesia. Since 2007, the spread of mining in the province has been a catalyst for a major movement to reassess core values in order to support or counter its presence there. The articulation of these values is often done in a binary manner, which sometimes contrast mining with tourism, in similar ways mentioned above by Davidov and Büscher. Those who see mining as a "threat" focus a lot of attention on values that are thought to be important to the people of NTT – tradition, culture and community – which mining is considered to undermine. It is also feared as being extremely detrimental to the environment – water and land – intrinsically seen as a basic part of the farming communities' identity. On the other hand, there are those who uphold the values of "progress" and "modernity". They see mining as an important and efficient way of making money so as to allow people to educate their children, build better houses and live a more comfortable material lifestyle. I will explore here how mining, for the people of NTT, has led to various kinds of conflict, as has been highlighted by Bebbington et. al., but also to various kinds of "conversations", and one of those conversations which takes place at the provincial level, as well as district and local levels, is not only about impacts, but also about values. What will happen to the province, the people, the land, the culture, if mining were to be one of the main development strategies in NTT province? Can mining co-exist with other livelihoods? Does it preclude any other possibilities at the time it is operational and forever after? Strong opinions are found about these issues and I want to explore some of them here.

Tourism, although arguably sometimes also an "extractive industry", is not seen in the same negative light, and is considered more compatible with the values of sustainability, conservation of the environment, culture and tradition. In what circumstances are mining and tourism understood as industries that are either compatible or incompatible? What are the various values that have been activated, mustered, brought in to play, in order to support or detract from the positive assessment of these two industries? I present the province here as an imagined space, since in the media and in the proclamations of many NGOs and government officials, the province is often referred to as a unified entity, even though it is extremely diverse, and the possibilities for mining and tourism in the province vary greatly. However, at the same time I also deal with a number of concrete places in this paper, allowing the more abstract values that are imagined for the entire province, to be analysed in the context of a number of key sites, which help to give substance to my argument that the space of conflict is a creative space to reassess values. Mining has been a catalyst for people in NTT to carefully rethink "development" and its relationship to questions of justice, democracy, environmental conservation and cultural tradition. Because of the ideological rift that was created around the idea of mining, as a particular activity, with particular consequences, various issues were brought into relief, that continue to be worked out, and will most likely have lasting consequences. In this way, although Davidov and Büscher show us in their volume that mining and tourism, for example, cannot be simply assigned particular values, along a rigid dichotomy, the aligning of values in a "nexus" site, whether or not they are true to the everyday realities or not, can have considerable real world consequences.

This paper is organized into different sections that will trace the struggles in NTT province over the values associated with development. After a quick look at my methodology, I will introduce the province through the debate over whether mining can indeed be "green" or not. The notion of "green" encapsulates both the idea of sustainability in terms of environmental use, as well as the just and fair allocation of resources. This focus will help to open up a brief historical look at how changing politics had allowed mining to spread as rapidly as it did in NTT province; over a period of less than 10 years, 315 licenses were allocated to mining companies. The question of "green" mining, then, will ultimately lead to the question of democracy as a value. How has the spread of mining in NTT in an era of "democratising reform" inhibited or assisted the spread of democracy? The question of democracy and mining will continue in the next section, Section 4, with a look at the first mining controversy that took place in the reform era in NTT. Part of the protests that surrounded this mining operation had to do with the controversial and undemocratic way that licenses were allocated and plans were made in regards to the lives of poor villagers without their consent. The massive protests that ensued were based on another core value that gets often discussed in Nusa Tenggara Timur, the value of "tradition". Reviving and re-inventing tradition, as I will show, came in as a strong rallying point for the resistance to mining and ultimately this case became the model example of successful resistance to mining in NTT. The question of sustainability, raised in Section 3 will be revisited in Section 5, with a brief look at another famous controversial case where a mining company was given permission to work in a protected forest. This case highlights some of the contradictory attitudes that have been held about conservation of forests in NTT, (and throughout Indonesia) in regards to profit and wealth, versus conservation and tradition. Mining in protected areas brings out this contradiction particularly strongly, since with the allocation of mining licenses, some district governments, which had been staunchly fighting to keep villagers out of protected areas, have appeared to do an about face, allowing mining to take place in or near protected areas. Some protected areas are also important sites of tourism, and the final section will explore the imaginings of tourism as a sustainable development strategy in NTT province, and the values seen to be encoded in this, as opposed to mining. This section will underscore the ambiguity of these contentions, and how the various positions held by different actors, can only be revealed when examining mining and tourism as a "nexus".

2. Methodology

The spread of mining came to my attention as soon as the first controversial cases started to be discussed in 2007. I have been undergoing various anthropological research projects in Nusa Tenggara Timur province, specifically on the island of Flores, since the early 1980s when I began my research on kinship and ritual. In the 1990s my research focused on revival of tradition and this led me to tourism. Later in the late 2000s, protests from the tourism community about the allocation of mining licenses in the western

part of Flores, and the increasing heat of the resistance, eventually convinced me that this was an important topic to research, despite my lack of background in related topics. Working together with scholars from the national university in the provincial capital of NTT, Universitas Nusa Cendana, in 2013 we chose four undergraduate students to research resistance to mining on the four islands where mining was an important issue, Lembata, W. Timor, Sumba, and Flores for their final year theses. The students did their research in 2014, and I visited them in their field sites on these islands. I also began in 2014 to interview a wide range of actors in civil society organizations, that were involved in the resistance to mining, this included not only those involved in environmental and social justice advocacy, but also religious leaders, especially in the Justice and Peace Commissions of the Catholic Church, which have had a very influential role to play in the anti-mining movement in this predominantly Christian province. In 2015, under the auspices of the Ministry of Research and Technology in Jakarta, and affiliated with the Centre for Anthropological Research at the University of Indonesia, I had the chance to speak with government officials at the district level, as well as some people who work (ed) for mining companies. Also in 2014–2015 I have visited many other field sites on Flores, where mining was already operational, or where concessions had been granted. I have consulted the archives of the Justice and Peace Commission in Ruteng, Manggarai, Flores, where they keep newspaper clippings and other materials that document their work in building resistance to mining in NTT. My analysis here has been informed by many conversations, interviews and information from various sources over the years in terms of both tourism and mining, which have given me insights into the role that values play in the imagining of mining as a livelihood strategy, which has shaped either the resistance or reception on the part of various actors in NTT province.

3. "Green mining" versus "The mining monster"

In July 2014, a team from Charles Darwin University, in Darwin, Australia, presented to the Nusa Tenggara Timur government, in the provincial capital Kupang, their proposal for promoting sustainable, "green mining" in part of the province. I did not attend this meeting, but heard about it later from the members of the NTT branch of the Indonesian Environmental Network, Walhi (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia) (see also "Walhi NTT: Lewat 'Green Mining' Australia Ingin Keruk NTT"). According to the Charles Darwin University report (GIS/SMS, 2014), a training session was offered after this initial meeting, to help the local university lecturers and students understand better ways to help monitor the environmental and health dangers associated with artisanal mining. The project was spurred by the understanding that while artisanal mining allows local farming communities to directly benefit from the mineral wealth on their land, it is often done in ways that is detrimental to the environment and that are potentially hazardous to the miners and the community. Artisanal mining had been growing in West Timor from around 2008, when allocation of licenses for mining in the province increased dramatically (Hasiman, 2014). Village farmers quickly became involved in the mining activities, due to the easy access to good quality manganese on Timor Island, where the mineral is found in rocks on or close to the surface of the soil (unlike on neighbouring Flores where the manganese quality is not as good and is found at around 15 m below the surface, Rihi and Julians, 2014, p. 7). The farmers began to sell rocks that they had cleared from their farmland to agents from mining companies, and later when the surface rocks were all sold, began to dig deeper to find the manganese rock to sell to various trading agents. Many accidents occurred in this early period of manganese mining on West Timor; between 2008 and 2010, 54 people were killed when tunnels that they were digging collapsed (Hasiman, 2014, p. 20). Although many farmers made a reasonable amount of money selling this rock, the dangers associated with their retrieval was one of the reasons that activists in Timor began to speak out against mining as a livelihood activity.

Since January 2014, much of the mining activity across NTT province has slowed down or ceased, because of changing legislation, principally the implementation of one of the regulations in the 2009 mining law which stopped the export of raw minerals which had not been processed (and thus value added). The presentation of plans for "green mining" initiatives in July, were meant to train facilitators who could prepare villagers for the time when it would again be profitable to resume mining activities (GIS/SMS, 2014). Where previously villagers had been "cheap labour" for mining companies, selling rock that they dug themselves, taking risks, with no protection or insurance, "green mining" would empower villagers to be more aware of the risks and allow them to get more of the benefit from the sale of their minerals.

Activists I spoke to at the environmental NGO Walhi in Kupang in August 2014, were extremely sceptical about the purpose of "green mining". They did not see the initiative as benefiting villagers, but instead as a ransacking of the wealth of the West Timor landscape by Australia. The Australian government, through this Ausaide program that was training miners, they argued, was willing to support the program simply because several Australian companies were building smelters, that would later have a monopoly on the processing of minerals from Timor and other NTT islands, and thus benefit from the new law. This did not, they argued, make this mining "green", which to their minds (as to scholars such as Kirsch, 2010), was impossible; "sustainable" or "green" mining was an "oxymoron", which could not exist. Mining, they, and other anti-mining activists in NTT argued, was too environmentally destructive to ever be "green", and it should not be allowed to take place in the fragile environments (already dry and volcanic) or which would increase the vulnerability of the poor communities of Nusa Tenggara Timur province.[1]

In this section, I explore some of the political background to the spread of mining in NTT to understand how mining became a catalyst to this discussion over sustainability versus unsustainability for livelihoods, as well as the environment. The issue of sustainability is the linchpin to the question of whether or not mining can be more beneficial than it is harmful to poor villagers in NTT province. This concern is closely related to other types of values which have appeared and been central to struggles against mining at various times in this past decade. One of them that is important to discuss in this section is the issue of "democracy", which is tied to the issue of political change. The image of mining as a monster that has been circulating and growing in Eastern Indonesia since 2007, gives a concrete metaphor to both the belief in the unsustainability of mining, as well as its undemocratic values, both of which are countered by the new thrust and attempt to develop "green mining".

As mentioned in my opening story, mining was raised as an important political issue in the parliamentary elections of 2014. Part of this has to do with the radical political changes that Indonesia has gone through in the past 15 years. From a country led by a strong armed leader who often used terror and fear as a means of control, Indonesia has moved to what is considered one of the most democratic in Asia. Although elections were held during what is called the "New Order" period, between 1966 and 1998,

[1] Already in 2009, there were a series of heated articles in the local provincial newspaper, Pos Kupang, that debated the possibility of a "sustainable" mining, see Rungga (2009) and Peruhe (2009).

there was never any doubt that the then president, Suharto, would win every five years. Natural resources were controlled by the Suharto family and cronies, both in the context of tourism, as well as extractive industries such as timber, oil, gas and minerals. Places on the margins, such as the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, were labelled poor in natural resources, and from the point of view of extraction, and major tourism developments, were left pretty much alone.

The end of the New Order era, with the fall of President Suharto in 1998, ushered in an era of massive reform, eventually giving rise to a program of decentralization (supported by regional autonomy laws implemented in 2001), which gave widespread fiscal powers to the district heads, and cultural autonomy to districts (Aspinall and Fealy, 2003; Kingsbury and Aveling, 2003; Erb et al., 2005; Schult-Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007) and eventually a type of political autonomy, when a direct election system for district heads was implemented in 2005 (Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009). The new laws on regional autonomy not only allocated more power to make fiscal decisions on investment to the district, but also profits from resources would be more fairly allocated to the various regions from which they originated. The effects of these laws, however, were rather "mixed", as Duncan (2007) suggests, particularly for people living in more marginal areas. Many marginal communities claiming indigenous rights over land and resources that had been ignored during the highly centralised New Order era had hoped to regain these rights in the new era of reform, spurring a widespread "revival" of *adat* (customary) institutions, which spread across Indonesia in the early years of reform (Li, 2000; Duncan, 2007; Davidson and Henley, 2007). The rights that regional autonomy laws invested in district heads and the fiscal responsibilities placed on them, though, led very often to what Duncan terms "aggressive extraction of natural resources" (2007:712), and hence the continued ignoring of local community land rights. As other commentators have shown, a continuation of many of the state capture strategies used during the New Order increasingly took place at the local level, which led to a "privatisation of formal institutions and the institutionalisation of private interests" (Schult-Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007, p. 25), resulting in the widespread dissemination of corruption, collusion and nepotism, the eradication of which was ironically the rallying cry for the reform era. In NTT province there was an expansion of mining concessions from 2007. By 2014, 315 IUP were held by various different mining companies in areas throughout the province, (most of them being in West Timor) (HUMA 2012; Hauteus, 2014).

The allocation of mining contracts by district heads in Nusa Tenggara Timur is not only consistent with the rent seeking activities of politicians across Indonesia, and promoted by the free hand given to them by the regional autonomy laws. It is also consistent with moves globally to expand mining into areas considered inaccessible or of little value, primarily because of certain neoliberal reforms that swept away regulations that protected labour, local communities and the environment (Kirsch, 2007, p. 305). It was also consonant with a national emphasis to prioritize mining in Indonesia as an important sector of investment, but under conditions that would benefit the local and national coffers. In 2009 the new mining law referred to above, was implemented, reflecting this new political climate (Law 4/2009 on Mineral and Coal Mining), which changed the conditions for investment in mining, especially for foreign investors (Boulan Smit, 2002; Bachriardi, 2004; Haymon, 2008; Resosudarmo et al., 2009; O'Callaghan, 2010). This law made mining more attractive for provincial and district heads as a means of attracting investment and generating local revenue, but the expansion of mining has also generated massive resistance nationally that appears to be growing. Local communities, and members who originated from these communities who live in cities throughout Indonesia, have participated in massive protests, and resistance through forums, through the media, and through the Catholic

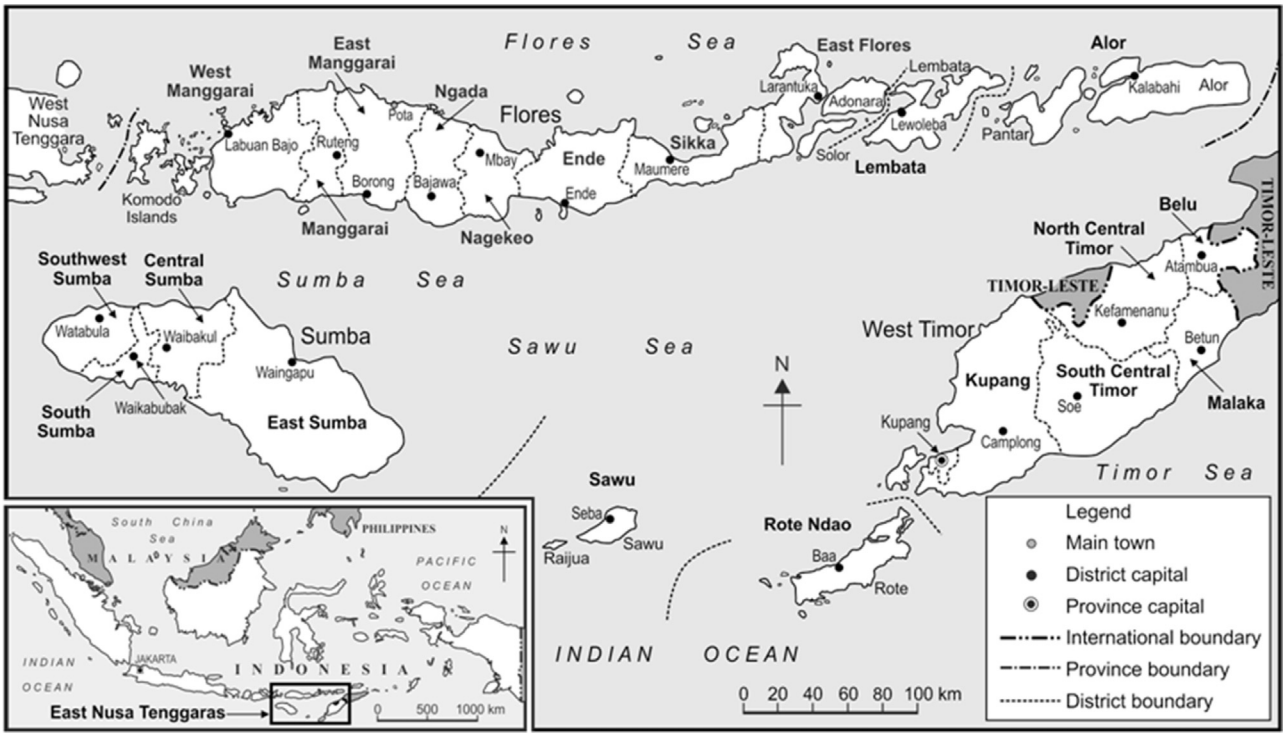

Fig. 2. Map of Nusa Tenggara Timur (East Nusa Tenggara).

Church's Justice and Peace Commissions (Jebadu et al., 2009; Regus, 2009; Suban Tukan, 2009; Erb, 2011). In fact, May 29, 2012 was proclaimed as the first annual National Anti-Mining Day to show consolidated opposition to the allocation of mining contracts across the nation, given to investors often without proper consultation with local communities, and resulting in growing conflicts and environmental destruction (JATAM, 10 May 2012).

This "aggressive extraction of natural resources" has also been evident in areas which are meant to be protected. Law no 25/1999, which regulated decentralization of fiscal authorities, mandated that 80% of natural resource revenues be redirected to the regional governments, instead of the 20% that was their due during the New Order (Patlis, 2008, p. 405). This allowed for legal use of resources by local level governments. Tan (2007) has examined what effects the laws on regional autonomy have had on the protection of national parks and other protected areas in Indonesia after their implementation. Local government heads and parliaments seized the power to make their own local level regulations and ignored higher level laws that by rights should supersede and control these regulations. Hence the regional autonomy laws led to a "messy decentralization of political power to the regions", which "increased access by local elites to the profits of natural-resource exploitation" (2007:358), making them feel, as if they were "little kings" controlling their own districts' wealth, without attending to national level laws on protected areas. Also environmental impact assessments, meant to be utilized before any large scale project or exploitation was to be implemented, fall under the purview of a different department, the Office of the State Minister for the Environment, and not the Ministry of Forestry which controls all national parks and protected areas. Since this office is "not a fully fledged 'departmental' ministry' . . . it only has advisory (and not enforcement) powers in the regions" (Tan, 2007, p. 359). The central government agencies, therefore, have lost a lot of their control over what gets done in regards to conservation activities and environmental assessment in the regions.

Another important "messiness" that was ushered in by the reform era and the decentralization process was the proliferation of new political units, some new provinces but many new districts and sub-districts (Schult-Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007). The justification for creating new districts was to bring government closer to the people, but some observers argue this division process was pushed more by the desire to create more political positions and government jobs than to bring better service to isolated communities (Schult-Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007, p. 19; McWilliam, 2011; Erb, 2011). In Nusa Tenggara Timur several new districts were created between 1999 and 2007, four of them represented on the map below (see Fig. 2), Lembata (1999), West Manggarai (2003), East Manggarai (2007), Nage Keo (2007). The scholar activist George Aditjondro suspects the creation of these Flores districts were spurred on behind the scenes by mining companies (Aditjondro, 2009, p. 326), who helped fund payoffs needed to pass the legislation. This then ensured support for mining concessions from the elite who would benefit from the formation of the new districts. Indeed, if we look at the allocation of mining contracts in these new districts (such as Nage Keo mentioned in my opening story), we can see a huge swathe of the area, as noted above, was given over to mining exploration.

Corruption, and one aspect of it which is referred to as "money politics", became even more of a problem with the implementation of direct elections for district heads starting in 2005. "Democracy" has become an increasingly expensive procedure, with huge demands for money to be paid to political parties for sponsorship and funding campaigns. Part of the money necessary in recent years has been the direct payment to voters, which used to take the form of gifts to communities, but now has become rather straight forward "vote buying". Stein Kristiansen has calculated that, despite the fairly low salary of governors and district heads, (between around 600–900 USD a month), they are willing to pay between 1 and 20 million USD for a governor's post, and 1/2 million −2 million USD for a district head position (Kristiansen n.d, p. 1).[2] The deficit between their salary over the 5 years of office, and the amount they pay for the position, is therefore huge. It seems to be an "open secret" in NTT province that in recent years mining companies have helped to foot the bill for election costs (Hasiman, 2014, p. 13). Anti-mining activists lament that in the most recent elections in some districts, candidates promise voters not to support mining, or promise to cancel mining contracts, but after the election is over it is "business as usual", since the money to support their campaign was paid for by the very companies they promised to expel.

Ferdi Hasiman, in his book "Monster Tambang"- The Mining Monster, criticizes the role that mining has had in undermining democracy in NTT province (2014). Precisely because the politicians are desirous of the commissions and kick-backs offered by mining companies if they allocate concessions, they will not consider the environmental or social consequences of bringing mining to their districts. The district heads are complicit in manipulating information and local political positions so that the communities agree to give over land for the concession, by which they are undermining the democratic process where people have the right to know and choose who will represent them and to what use their land is put. But some researchers, such as those in the JPIC teams, claim that the mining companies are also taking advantage of the politicians, who themselves are extremely ignorant of mining, what it entails, what profit and what loss is to be had from having mining in one's district (JPIC, 2010, pp. 17–22). Some of the cases, discussed below, help to illustrate why there are people who believe that the values of democracy have been negated by the machinations of mining companies and the local government officials in some districts in NTT province. They also explore how far principles and values of justice and environmental conservation, claimed to be embedded in the idea of sustainability, can be found with the industry of mining as it has so far been developing in NTT province.

4. Reviving tradition and resisting mining

The perceived undemocratic nature of the process of recommending and setting up exploration for mining in NTT is best illustrated by the controversial case of Lembata Island, which was arguably the spark that set off the fire of resistance throughout the province after fierce protests took place starting in 2007. Lembata had become a separate district in 1999, just after the beginning of the reform era and in the first wave of district splitting which began at that time. The richness of minerals in Lembata, located on the Sunda Arc, (which is known by mining companies to be filled with rich gold and copper deposits, see Southern Arc Minerals, http://www.southernarcminerals.com/section.asp?pageid=22151) has always been known to the people in Lembata, according to villagers there. The ancestors had already recognized that the island sat on a "golden pillar" (as told to me by one ritual expert), but if the communities of Lembata were to dig up this gold, it would destroy their foundation, and the island would sink into the sea (see also JPIC, 2007, p. 4). Although mineral exploration has taken place on Lembata Island since the time of the Dutch colonial

[2] The USD-rupiah exchange rate has been extremely volatile after the initial years of the Asian Financial Crisis. From about 2000 rupiah to 1 USD in 1997, the rupiah plummeted to nearly 20,000 rupiah to 1 USD for a short period. Since then it had been around 10,000 rp to 1 USD for quite awhile, although now it is closer to 13,000 rp to 1 USD.

regime, and even some limited mining activities, no large scale mining had taken place that affected any of the local communities, either in a positive or negative way. However, in 2005, resulting from political changes that empowered district heads, but also made them seek direct election from voters (an increasingly expensive proposition), the district head of Lembata, approached by the national mining company PT Merukhe for rights to explore for various minerals, set in motion the procedures to allow this company to mine extensively on Lembata Island. Mining was seen to be the perfect opportunity to offer jobs to locals, and expand various services, on an island, like many in NTT, that is quite dry. Due to poor technology, limited infrastructure and remoteness of the island, often the basic needs of the residents cannot be fulfilled through their own farming, livestock and fishing activities (JPIC, 2007: 3). For this reason, many on Lembata seek work in Malaysia, remitting money back which is used to build better houses, for education and other daily needs.

In 2006, PT Merukhe's plans progressed to request a mining concession from the Ministry of Energy and Mining, with the support of the local government, without the knowledge of the local parliament, or consultation with the communities living on the land which was to be part of the concession. In fact, without their knowledge, suggestions were being made by PT Merukhe that it would be better to resettle many of these communities elsewhere (JPIC, 2007:12). At the end of 2006, eventually village representatives were told about the mining concession, but their fears, of dangerous tailings, of environmental destruction, and of being removed from their homes, were all dismissed; community members and civil society was assured that sanctions were in place to hold the mining company responsible for their mining activities (JPIC, 2007:18). Once the various communities found out about these plans, though, they were not reassured by the government's words, and they began one by one, to use traditional rituals to show their forceful rejection of mining (JPIC, 2007: 14–16). At the same time various protests, involving many thousands of people, were staged in front of the district head's office and the local parliament building throughout early to mid- 2007. The district head, denying charges that he had received money for his 2005 election campaign from the mining company, continued to use tactics that tried to hide his decision making in regards to the mining concession. Ultimately villagers were told by their parliamentary representatives that no one in the local government had the right to make a decision on the mining developments; the decision was in the hands of the Minister of Energy and Mining, and the villagers did not have a right to refuse these developments (JPIC, 2007: 18). However, many civil society organizations from the provincial and national levels, such as Walhi, and the anti-mining NGO Jatam, as well as the Justice and Peace Commission of the Franciscan order of the Catholic Church, had provided much information to villagers about the likely destructive nature of mining to their community environment. Villagers came to know about the various cases in Indonesia where tailings had been extremely destructive, such as from Newmont operations in Sulawesi and Sumbawa, and Freeport in West Papua. The government officials denied the relevance of these fears and insisted that much more good would come from allowing the mining company to work in Lembata. The villagers would become prosperous, with the various programs and jobs that the company would provide, and they would be given new apartments, hospitals and airports (JPIC, 2007, p. 25). A document had leaked out, though, that spoke of plans to resettle all of the villagers (JPIC, 2007, p. 26), and this helped to make people suspicious. Which was true? Increasingly villagers did not trust the government; protests grew and grew, and eventually at the beginning of 2009, there was a massive demonstration where truckloads of villagers and thousands of people confronted Merukhe and his miners, forcing him to sign a formal letter that he would remove his equipment and not mine anywhere on Lembata (Gantung, 2009). Because of these massive protests, the mining company had to back away, and it was clear that the government had no longer any legitimacy. This lack of legitimacy continues in the present, despite the change of district heads in 2011. One parliamentary member told me that people do not trust the new head, who though he promised never to allow mining in Lembata during his campaign, had begun to talk about the possibility of mining in limited places on the island. The new district head's plans for tourism developments, an industry that is primarily limited to promoting the viewing of whale hunting on the south coast of the island, have also disgusted many people, since he wanted to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars putting up letters on a hill overlooking a neighbouring island that would say LEMBATA, imitating the HOLLYWOOD sign. Foreign investment in general is not trusted by many in Lembata, this parliamentary member told me, so tourism developments, not only mining developments, are looked upon with suspicion by many.

I spoke with one activist in Lembata, from the area of Kedang, one of the areas where the mining company planned to evacuate all of the villagers. He explained to me his own journey to resisting mining in his homeland. As a young man he had spent much time in Malaysia, and when he had heard about the prospects for gold mining in Lembata, he was initially very proud of this mineral wealth. When he returned to Indonesia, though, he fell in with various environmental activists in Jakarta who were anti-mining and came to understand the destructive potential of the industry. "Allowing in mining," he said, "would be to become a slave in one's own land." He returned to Lembata to help in the movement against PT Merukhe and he was one of the individuals who actively disseminated information about the negative impacts of mining to raise the initial awareness; he worked hard for almost a year, to get people to participate in the multiple demonstrations against mining in mid-2007.

He mentioned how important culture was in the building of this resistance. He admitted to have not really known his own culture, nor believed in the ways of the ancestors, before the movement began. But it was during the fight against the PT Merukhe mining company, that he came to see the importance of fighting through the use of culture, and realized this was the only way that poor villagers could fight against the powerful. He had learned this from various other activists in Kupang who had been involved in cases of resistance to mining companies.[3] So in the preparations for the resistance to the mining, he began to dig up all of the various beliefs and rituals about the earth, about the ancestors' relationship with the land, in order to support their resistance. With the support of various ritual leaders, their movement revived all of the ceremonies and beliefs that could make the villagers aware of the necessity to support the movement. He said he felt a kind of mystical force was there that gave them the strength and the spirit to rise and resist. These rituals helped to return the power of the earth to the Kedang people. The belief about gold itself was important to remind them; that the mystical strength of the earth, is gold. He said that he began to believe this himself, that there was something rather mystical and spiritual about the way the people live; they reside in an area which is very poor, there is little water, little rain, and yet everything grows. There is enough fertility to support the needs of the people every year. He came to believe that the gold itself gives fertility to the soil, allowing it to produce for the people. If it is taken, according to traditional belief, the island

[3] In particular, he mentioned the famous case of Mama Aleta Baun, who had won the Goldman Environmental Prize in 2013 for resistance to mining in Timor back in the late 1990s early 2000s. See http://www.goldmanprize.org/recipient/aleta-baun/.

will sink, but it is more than that; the gold is a mystical spiritual fertility that allows them to survive.

This activist spoke of his later experiences helping out in spreading the anti-mining movement to other parts of NTT. He was sent to Manggarai, a district in western Flores where some of the oldest large scale mining sites are located, by the Franciscans (OFM). Since the protests in Lembata were so successful, they were seeking people who could be witnesses to the destructive and undemocratic nature of mining, to help inspire villagers in Flores to demonstrate. He said he was surprised that people there complained about being poor. They had abundant rainfall and lots of forest land, but their standard of living was no better than in Kedang; in fact, it was worse. What made, he asked, the Kedang so much more prosperous than people in Manggarai, where the environment is more "friendly" to their needs? He was trying to understand what it was that gave a certain "spirit" to the Kedang, which gave them a better life than people in Manggarai. Additionally, this activist felt that people in Manggarai were not that strongly against mining as people in Lembata; the Manggarai people seemed to be more interested in money than those on Lembata. They certainly also were not as "proud" to be farmers, and did not love the land as the people in Kedang did. While people in Manggarai valued the land, it was more as an economic resource, especially since the price of land had been increasing rapidly over the years (as the population grew and particularly in some places as tourism expanded). For the people in Kedang it was not the worth of the land in terms of money that was important, but instead its value as earth, a feminine, motherly entity to be worked and nourished. For the people of Lembata, the most important value is the cultural, deep spiritual importance of the land; it was the remembering of this value, the reminder that the ancestors had built a tradition that allowed them to live on that land, even though it was poor and unfertile, which allowed them to build a resistance to mining that has so far not been matched or replicated among any of the other cultural groups in NTT province.

5. Valuing conservation and protected areas

> *"This case is totally absurd. Real truth and justice has easily lost to transactional truth and justice. Even more so 'value' has easily been pushed aside by 'price'"* (Frans Anggal, editorial, *Flores Pos*, 1 March 2011, translation by author)

For people in Lembata, environmental conservation was a concern, but for them it was more their traditional culture attached to the land and their ancestral ways of life that needed revival and conservation. There was concern over the destruction of forested spaces, but because the district had been carved out of the eastern part of Flores Island, the protected forest areas, that were supposed to be part of the spatial planning of every district, had not been initially factored into their island.[4] This was not so for Flores, however, and particularly for its western part, where forest covers vast areas of the landscape. As noted by the activist on Lembata, the western part of Flores, divided into three districts, West, Central and Eastern Manggarai, is rich in forests, rainfall and fertile soil, unlike the island of Lembata. The mineral wealth of northern Flores had also been known since the time of the Dutch, and widespread mineral exploration has taken place since 1980. In the late 1990s the central government gave concessions for several large scale mining operations, near the important harbour town of Reo, which were exploited on a large scale until the recent slowing down of mining activities across Indonesia.

After the protests on Lembata Island in 2007, the Catholic Church throughout NTT became concerned with mining, and the bishop of Manggarai appointed one of his priests, in charge of the Justice and Peace Commission for the Societas Verbi Divini (SVD) Order, to look into those large scale mine sites on the north coast (Suban Tukan, 2009, p. 275). The poor condition of the workers, and the massive environmental impacts, motivated the Catholic Church, along with environmental groups, to plan activities to reject the possibility of mining spreading in other parts of the province. Despite the growing concern and movement against mining, various district heads in the greater Manggarai region (which includes the three districts that used to be one before 2003), gave out over 50 different mining concession licenses of various types (Suban Tukan, 2009, p. 282). In 2007, the head of Manggarai (the central district), in which the operational mines were already located, gave out 20 licenses, some for the renewal of exploitation, others for new exploration.

Just one of these locations I want to focus on briefly here, since this location became the object of considerable protest and conflict; this particular case also helps to open up some of the contradictory positions that have been associated with forest lands, their conservation and their value in greater Manggarai. This location is on the northern coast of Manggarai, about 20 km west of Reo town. Coincidentally the location also used to be a popular site for a small cruise ship company to bring tourists snorkelling in the 1990s. At that time, before any mining took place, the villagers had become used to setting up a market every Friday to sell their handmade goods to the small group of tourists who regularly visited them. The cruise company went bankrupt in the mid 90s and the visits stopped. Some of the people living in the villages there lament that now that the mining company has so damaged their forests and the coral in the seas due to the dynamiting and the tailings, no tourists will ever want to visit their area again.

The controversial mine site is referred to as Soga, in the Kedindi forests of Torong Besi, an area designated as a tourism zone, and included in the protected forest land of the Manggarai district. The permission (Izinan Kuasa Pertambangan) to operate a mine in this location was originally given to PT Istindo Mitra Perdana in 1997 by the Minister of Mining and Energy for 10 years (Suban Tukan, 2009: 279). In 2004, after the beginning of regional autonomy, the then district head, Anton Bagul Dagur, allowed a transfer of this license to PT Tribina Mitra Sempurna (Suban Tukan, 2009, p. 289). In 2007, PT Tribina Mitra Sempurna made a request to extend their license, at the same time transfer it to PT Sumber Jaya Asia (SJA), a company operating out of China (Suban Tukan, 2009, p. 281). Due to the rising concern over mining in Manggarai, which was sparked by the Lembata incident, it came to the attention of the Justice and Peace Commissions of the Catholic Church and other environmental activists that this mining concession was located in protected forest land, and they notified the district head. The then district head, Christian Rotok, informed the PT Sumber Jaya Asia in June 2008, that they would have to stop working in the protected forest lands, and seek permission to "borrow" this protected forest from the ministry of forestry (Keadilan, 2010). The request of SJA to continue to use the forest land for mining was rejected by the Ministry of Forestry, though, in January 2009, and the district head withdrew the permission to mine in the Soga concession in March. The police then moved in and forcibly closed the mine confiscating their mining equipment. But the company, feeling wronged, since they had the proper paperwork and permissions to mine in that location, brought their case up to the State Administrative Court in the provincial capital Kupang, and later to the Supreme Court in Jakarta, and won their case. The district head was ordered to revoke his cancellation of the mining license in March 2011 (Anggal, 2011). The case had an element of absurdity, as the editor of Flores Pos Frans Anggal commented (quoted above), since the Supreme Court

[4] This was revealed to me by a member of the parliament in August 2014.

did not appear to be supporting the right of the Ministry of Forestry to control mining in protected forests. Since then, PT Sumber Jaya Asia has transferred their concession to another company, PT Global Asia Commodity, an Australian linked company, but the mine site has not been operational since 2010.

During these various legal proceedings, resistance to mining in Manggarai was growing, partially in reaction to what was seen as a particularly unjust case towards the local communities. Eight villagers from the surrounding region of Soga had been arrested for taking some wood from the protected forests there in order to build a school. People could not understand why villagers were arrested for simply taking down a few trees, when the mining company had stripped massive areas of the protected forest land down to bare rock and had dynamited huge pits in the mountain tops. This injustice had instigated some villagers to seek the help of the Justice and Peace Commissions, of the SVD and OFM orders. They formed the "ALMADI" (Aliansi Masyrakt Peduli, An Alliance of Concerned Villagers), which led various protests against the government and started up a class action suit against SJA for criminally destroying the forests and against the government for giving the permission to mine in protected forest land (Komisi, 2011a, 2011b, "Warga Lingkar Tambang Demonstrasi", and "Warga Lingkar Tambang Soga Datangi PN Ruteng"). At the same time as ALMADI was organizing at the local level, there was a provincial group that was organizing as well to protest mining across the province of NTT. This group, the Jatap Ecosob NTT – (Jaringan Tokoh Agama Peduli Hak Ekonomi, Sosial, Budaya – Network of Religious Leaders Concerned about Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), consisting of 31 religious leaders (from the Catholic, Protestant and Muslim religions) from 12 different districts across the province, visited the Soga mine site at Torong Besi in July 2010 to plant trees and to pray (Keadilan, 2010, "Bebaskan NTT dari Tambang", "Dengarlah Seruan Tokoh Agama"). Additionally, as mentioned above, provincial and national level efforts from the Catholic Church JPIC commissions and the national level environmental NGOs were all converging on this particular site in Manggarai, bringing activists from across the province, to aide in the building of resistance to mining in Manggarai and indeed in the entire province. The National Human Rights Commission (*Komnas HAM*) was also called in to investigate various issues to do with mining in the Manggarai districts, such as not disseminating proper information before the mines were opened, or compensation afterwards (Lawudin, 2010). Complaints that emerged during all of these protests and demonstrations had to with various health issues that were affecting some of the villages that were downstream from the mine sites such as skin and lung irritations. Others complained about the loss of wildlife in the area, due to the destruction of the forests, and the dynamite blasting. There was also a major decrease in water in the rivers and springs, and the tailings from the manganese mining were being blamed for polluting the northern seas and creating a decrease in the fish intake for the fishing communities living in the vicinity.

This mining case brings out the contrast between values of justice, truth and protecting the environment, versus the ability to pay and the importance of wealth, as brought up by Anggal in his editorial. These contrasts were underscored to me by one activist who I spoke to in April 2014. He told of his commitment to protecting the forests of Soga, because it was his grandfather who had defended those mountain forests from encroaching marauders from Sulawesi, back before the Dutch entered Flores. This activist claimed to have been the one to have brought the case to the attention of the Justice and Peace commissions and was also the leader in the class action suit. He told me that due to his prominent role in the anti-mining movement he has become a target of bribery. The mining company sent someone with a whole suitcase of money to try to convince him to stop the protests and the class action suit, but he refused to accept the money. He told me, "We do not need the money from the company. We may get the money, but then the earth is destroyed. We do not want that". He said as the guardian of his grandfather's land, he had not allowed one centimeter of the land to be used by people to open fields. But then the company came along and totally destroyed the forest. When asked by the judge in the class action suit, why he was bringing up this case about land that wasn't even his, but state forest land, he replied "It is not for me that I struggle, I don't need this land, or these forests for myself, but for the 'generasi', the generations that are going to follow".

This individual's commitment to the value of sustainability is one that has taken root in the minds of other villagers on the north coast of Manggarai near the mine sites as the mining protests have developed. Members of one village that I visited in 2014 and 2015 were adamant about not allowing mining to take place on their land. In 2013 one company had approached them to build a road through one of their community fields located on a mountainside, so as to access a mine site on the other side of the mountain. The 72 households in the village all agreed, and were given equal compensation, plus a road to access their village and a communal ritual house. Later though, the brother of a village leader clashed with a mining company person and was jailed. While he was in jail, a company representative approached villagers again for some more land that could become part of the mine site. 20 households agreed, but later this became a bone of contention, since the other households were afraid of what affect this mining would have on their land which was adjacent to the site. The village leader told me that the company, realizing there was resistance, arrived at the village one day with the police and army, ready to force their way onto the village land. One of the priests in the Justice and Peace Commission, who knew of the company's tactics beforehand, was on site and was physically pushed around by the police. This physical rough-handling became an extremely controversial case that was debated in the media for weeks afterwards. The village leader was adamant in his support of this priest, and the resistance to mining. He told me he was not at all tempted by the promises or style of life that the company held out to them. He said, "I don't need to be rich, as long as I can continue to work the land of my ancestors, and not ruin it, so I can pass it on to my children; this will make me happy".

The valuing of "sustainability" and tradition over money, however, is not, unanimously supported among the villages on the north coast of Flores located in the vicinity of the mining operations. I visited two villages where many of the villagers were employed by the mining company in their vicinity. They saw mining as the only recourse for them to improve their livelihoods and make money. In one village people said, "Before the mining company came, we could only sell wood to get money". Their land was poor and they did not get good harvests. After the company came, those who worked for the company became better off, they could build houses out of cement and raise their standard of living. The stopping of the mining operations in 2014 (partially due to the law forbidding export of raw materials), had caused them a lot of hardship. For them money was extremely important and working for a mining company was the only way they could imagine to get money. For these villagers, as the activist in Lembata had insinuated, money was more important than land. These conflicting ideas about the role of money in development and the value of money versus sustainability helps to underscore what the Lembata activist said. In Manggarai the resistance to mining was not as strong as on Lembata.

6. Tourism vs mining? Valuing money

In 2013 the Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur "hosted" the 12th annual Sail Indonesia yacht rally under the rubric "Sail Komodo". The Sail Indonesia organization sees as one of their aims the

exploration of little known places in Indonesia.[5] After 2009, the Indonesian central government became actively involved in organizing these annual marine events in eastern Indonesia, as a way of pumping money into the selected provinces to develop the infrastructure to support tourism and more general local development. In February 2011, the governor of NTT offered to host a Sail Indonesia event; this was the year that the Komodo National Park, the "jewel" of tourism in the NTT province, was still a finalist in the competition to be one of the New 7 Wonders of the World,[6] which it eventually won on 11 November 2011. As I have discussed in a recent paper (Erb, 2015), the imagining of tourism as a major pathway to development in NTT comes out extremely strongly in the publicity and discussion of this event in the months before it occurred. Many newspaper reports featured interviews with government officials highlighting their hopes that Sail Komodo would substantially increase the numbers of visitors to the province, and would be an opportunity for poor villagers to sell their handicrafts and produce to visitors to raise the standard of living and lower poverty levels. The irony was that the numbers of sailors in the Sail Indonesia event have always been extremely small (about 100 a year), and hence the numbers that would visit any one of the dozens, if not hundreds of sites across the province that were hoping for their appearance, would be miniscule. The realities started to hit home very shortly after the three-month event began, when various officials started to complain about the extremely small economic impact that Sail Komodo was having for the villagers who had eagerly awaited them on the coastlines (Erb, 2015, pp. 156–157). Huge amounts of money were allocated for infra- structural improvements in the province, and particularly for the town of Labuan Bajo, in West Manggarai, gateway to the Komodo National Park and where the grand final ceremony, attended by then President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, was held in September 2013. This is where the real money was to be found, in government allocations, not in tourist spending. Much of this money was apparently misused, though, and many people argued that a lot of it disappeared into private pockets, with many of the projects not being completed. Immediately after the event, a coalition of various civil society organizations in Labuan Bajo demanded an audit of the budget for Sail Komodo and made multiple accusations of misappropriation of funds (Erb, 2015, p. 157).

What this story highlights is the misconception of tourism and how it should be managed in Nusa Tenggara Timur province. How does tourism make money for local people? I have long felt that there is a rather "magical" idea about how tourism will bring money without work. Indeed, in some cases within tourism encounters, money appears to be given extremely gratuitously, for no apparent purpose. Government officials support and promote this way of thinking about tourism, that it will result in easy profit for locals. At one tourism festival in Labuan Bajo the provincial head of the tourism board promised people that money would "fall from the pockets" of tourists into the hands of locals, without giving any explanation of how this "falling" might take place. Money has become an increasingly important value for people in NTT. As I have suggested above, money increasingly figures strongly in the political arena, having, one might argue, almost a life of its own as an actor, that cuts away at the meaning of democracy and the supposed empowerment of citizens to influence the decision of politicians by their votes. This absolute "power" of money is counteracted by the very little of it that actually circulates in Nusa Tenggara Timur villages, but for that very reason, raises its mystical power even higher. The 2013 International Labour Organization report indicates that in 2012 the minimum wage in NTT was around 900,000 rupiah, less than 100 USD a month (International Labour Office, 2013). However, this minimum wage is only 0.8 ratio to the cost of living index, meaning even those with formal salaries are not making enough money to get by with their daily living costs. At the same time, it is likely that the cost of living indexes monetize all aspects of the daily living costs, whereas as stated above, 80% of people in NTT are farmers, and many of the basic daily needs can be covered without necessarily very much monetary output.

Despite the need for money in absolute terms being not so great, the attraction of money is extremely powerful. Money over the decades has come to take the place of any important ritual obligation, bridewealth, death exchanges; money can symbolically replace all objects of traditional worth. Money because of its ability to take the place of different kinds of ritual gifts between kin, becomes a means of forging obligations, creating relationships, and gathering support, that is not simply economic, but also emotional. The attraction of both tourism and mining, therefore for the average villager is in the apparently almost magical ability for these industries to bring money into the local system of exchange. One villager on Sumba, for example, related his disbelief, and extreme gratitude, that a mining company would pay 75,000 rupiah (about 6.00 USD) just to bring a few people to a prospective mining site. On Timor Island, one village head spoke of the disbelief of villagers, when a company first came in and started to buy manganese from them, a rock that previously had absolutely no value, and had been discarded from their fields as a hindrance to farming. This apparent generosity, even insane profligacy of mining companies in some places, and towards chosen individuals, has led those people to support the presence of mining companies in villages across NTT. As I have suggested, both tourism and mining are held out as a promise for local communities, that they will bring prosperity and lots of money for them.

The interesting irony, though, at least as far as the government views on tourism and mining as sources of revenue is concerned, is that tourism, despite its promise of money, does not figure as a government department that brings in high returns. Tourism revenue is split between many different local level government departments, such as trade and industry, hotels and restaurants, small businesses, culture and education, forestry and environment, etc. So the tourism boards only generate revenue through ticket sales to various "objects" of attraction, which do not include national parks, which fall under the department of forestry. The necessity to seek local area revenue under regional autonomy legislation, has resulted in pressure for each government department to "perform"; local governments put demands on each department to set targets and to provide revenue for the government coffers. How much do "natural and cultural resources" for example, bring profits to the government? This sets up certain measures of "success" and "failure" for certain activities, a measure by which they are judged and found to be successful or found wanting, and a justification for moving to another alternative if the success is not as expected. This is one explanation often heard as to why the local governments have turned to mining, instead of tourism, which ostensibly provides more revenue to the local government. But calculation done by the JPIC on the actual amount of money contributing to local revenue, shows that the number is woefully small (Suban Tukan, 2009). For example, in the year 2007 in the Manggarai district, (after 10 years of mining companies operating on the north coast) only 88 million rupiah (approx. 7000 USD at the exchange rate of the time) was added to the

[5] See their website at: http://www.sailindonesia.net/rally/organisers.php.

[6] The New Seven Wonders was set up by the Swiss Canadian Bernard Weber to stimulate conservation of cultural and natural sites across the world in the new millennium (see http://world.new7wonders.com/about-n7w/the-new7wonders-foundation-campaign/). Voting was done through websites and short cellphone messages over a period of 4 years, from 2007–2011.

government's revenue from mining (Suban Tukan, 2009, p. 290). Thus despite talk of prosperity and the production of lots of "magical" money, neither tourism nor mining appear to in reality produce what they promise either to the government, or to the people whose lives are potentially dramatically affected by these industries.

It is, however, the prospect of adding to government revenue, what tourism had ostensibly failed to do, which apparently led the head of the district of West Manggarai in July 2008 to allocate several licenses to mine for gold in a number of locations in his district. One of these sites was in protected forest land, and near a location long designated as a tourist destination because of the petrified wood found scattered throughout the landscape. The other site, much more controversial and heavily contested by the residents of Labuan Bajo, and everyone involved in the tourism industry there, was the Batu Gosok Peninsula, located on the north west coast of Flores and contiguous to the Flores sea and the waters directly feeding into the marine spaces of the Komodo National Park. On and near this peninsula were already located several hotels and the land on the entire peninsula had been divided up years earlier, into private land holdings by the ritual land leader of the traditional domain in that region. The area was zoned as a "jalur hijau", a "green space/lane", which usually means the prohibition of any building, so as to be a space for leisure, recreation and fresh air in urban spaces. In 2009, the Chinese mining company that was given a two-year license to explore for gold on the peninsula, started to drill at the far end of the peninsula not far from a hotel that had been there since the mid 1990s. The drilling, according to local tour guides, made guests very unhappy and they left the hotel, because of the disturbance, an incident that helped to rally the tourism businesses against the mining.

Not only did these operations affect the tourism businesses in the area, but there was great fear that if and when the mine eventually became active, that blasting, and the use of toxic chemicals, would be detrimental to the sea and terrestrial life in the region, which was precisely bordering the seas of the Komodo National Park. A civil society umbrella group was formed in Labuan Bajo town to resist the mining under the name of GERAM, (Gerakan Masyrakyat Tolak Tambang—The People's Movement to Reject Mining); the acronym was chosen because *geram* in Indonesian means "anger". GERAM consisted of 40 different organizations, including the JPIC commissions, tourism associations, women's groups, village associations, and various political groups (Saridin, 2009). A number of highly placed government officials also joined the movement against mining in West Manggarai, leading the district head to sideline them from their active appointments. GERAM coordinated many demonstrations, inside the mine site, on the streets of Labuan Bajo and in front of the parliament and bupati's office, over the 2 years of the Chinese company's mining exploration license (see Saridin, 2009).

Many people in West Manggarai, particularly in Labuan Bajo, had come to accept tourism as the future of West Manggarai development. In fact, the separation of the district in 2003 from the main district of Manggarai, was legitimated by the prospect of economic viability as a separate district because of the potential of tourism as a "leading sector". The allocation of a mining license by the district head seemed particularly strange to everyone in the tourism industry and many other residents of Labuan Bajo at that time, since everyone in the district of West Manggarai and beyond was following with great anticipation the voting of the New Seven Wonders of Nature, referred to above. At that time the voting had just begun, and the Komodo National Park was not yet a finalist, but the great honour of having been chosen as a "wonder of nature", and then the dissonance of the district head apparently turning from tourism hopes for West Manggarai, to mining on the fringes of the park was a matter of confusion and anger to many residents. The district head's decision ultimately resulted in so much resistance, that in the 2010 elections he lost his position and the new head stopped all mining activities in the district. Significantly he has been the only district head in all of East Nusa Tenggara province who has done so. The power of fairly strong tourism prospects appeared to make the contiguity of these two industries, in this particular case, very "uncomfortable" for many residents in the district, and the qualities and values of the two industries were starkly compared and contrasted, leading many to support tourism as the more "sustainable", "green" industry.

How far, though, has tourism development aided the growth of the economy for local villagers in West Manggarai and even those in the tourism industry in the town of Labuan Bajo? Has tourism since the mining ended in 2010 led to a more sustainable, democratic development for West Manggaraians? It is here that the valuing of money over land and culture, a contrast and conflict in values that has been surfacing in the anti-mining movements in some other districts in NTT that I have been analysing here, appears to have undermined the possibility of sustainability of tourism developments in West Manggarai. Since the Komodo National Park won the New Seven Wonders competition as one of the seven great natural wonders of the world, interest in tourism investment in Labuan Bajo and the rest of West Manggarai has boomed. The great value on "magical money", which tourism has helped to foster, has been fed by the increasingly skyrocketing prices of land that have been offered particularly all along the coast of West Flores and beyond. With the winning of the New Seven Wonders, many eyes from the centre (more central, wealthy places in Indonesia, such as Jakarta and Bali) have focussed on the tourism potential of West Manggarai, and land has been bought up extremely quickly. Local young men who used to work as guides, readily changed their profession and became land brokers, making huge commissions on the sale of land all along the coast of West Manggarai, and even into the interior. These acts of alienating land from local farming communities clearly counter the types of activities and values that have been promoted in the resistance of mining in other areas of the province and hence do not ultimately make tourism in West Manggarai an industry which promotes values of sustainability, justice, democracy or tradition. Tourism in West Manggarai, as was suggested as a possibility by Davidov and Büscher (2014, p. 6), has itself become an extractive industry.

7. Rethinking clashing values and the nexus of tourism and mining

My various cases in this paper, located in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, have tried to highlight the discussion, rethinking, reimagining, and clashing of values that has been taking place in the province, particularly since the rise of mining as a promoted alternative livelihood strategy for development in the province. I have proposed to take the idea of a "nexus" suggested by Davidov (2012) and Davidov and Büscher (2014), to examine the means by which various livelihood strategies are imagined and experienced, particularly in relation to the values that they are seen to uphold. Tourism, long dreamed of as an alternative pathway for development in a province which is primary agricultural, is showcased by many who resist mining as the most sustainable and promising means of achieving prosperity for this poor province. The "nexus" of tourism and mining in NTT on one level, therefore, exists in this imagined space of possibilities and alternatives to the traditional ways of life of the rural population in the province, often seen as "backward" by government officials and urban dwellers. Both tourism and mining then, though in some ways seen to be radically contrasted, hold out possibilities of furthering values of "progress" and "modernity". At another level, in the more localized, specific spaces of the province, the nexus of tourism and mining varies

considerably in the lived experiences, if not always in the imaginings of the village dwellers. Though most people have vague ideas about the benefits or detriments of tourism, many have not directly experienced it; but, in the sites I have chosen to examine, all of the villagers have experienced mining in one way or another in a very dramatic way. These experiences have formulated for them very definite ideas about various values associated with mining, which may be complementing or clashing with values that they themselves hope to pursue and uphold in their lives.

Resistance to mining is not monolithic in NTT, nor is it homogenous. There are voices, mostly those who have in some way been associated with the government, who do not see any problem with mining, and even express anger at the resisters. One ex-sub-district head and later local parliamentarian, was extremely angry at the resistance that had been shown in Flores in October 2014, when demonstrations were taking place more and more frequently towards mining activities in East Manggarai. He said, "this attitude of theirs is very selfish. What if the people of Sumatra and Kalimantan, where we get much of our oil, were to say, we do not want any longer for these companies to come in and extract oil from our regions? What then? How could we survive without the natural resources that they provide us? I have a mind to tell the district head the next time there is a demonstration, that he should close all of the Pertamina (fuel stations), and then see how the demonstrators will react! It is just selfish, they refuse to do their part and sacrifice for the good of the whole country. If everyone acted that way, where would we be?" In this way, interestingly, mining is associated with the virtue of sacrifice and the values of community and patriotism. Others, see rejection of mining as rejecting a livelihood strategy that could bring money and prosperity to residents of the mining areas. And money, as I have suggested, is an extremely important value, something that goes beyond the mere question of wealth, and indeed underscores questions of responsibility, creation and nurturance of relationships, and interconnectedness. Mining in this way, has created an extremely emotional response on the part of supporters, some of whom see the companies as being extremely generous, and the almost magical appearance of money through mining, as being impossible to create in any other way.

Resistors, however, have their own emotional response and their own values that they see embedded in this resistance. These values are closely tied with ideas about the rights of indigenous communities to seek out their own livelihood options, and keep control of their own land. This also includes values which they see as traditional, love for the earth as a mother, respect for the environment, water, trees, minerals that have a cosmological association with ancestors and other supernatural entities. Although resistors frequently point to tourism as one of the potential livelihood strategies of choice for village and town peoples in Nusa Tenggara Timur, and point to the central government's own endorsement of this as a development strategy for the poor province, it is clear that cracks are emerging in the "glow" of tourism as a "sustainable" economic strategy that will promote justice and prosperity. Tourism, does not necessarily promote or support the values that either church resistors, or other types of activist resistors would like to see developing as a means to preserve environmental integrity, or to preserve community control over their own future.

As Bebbington et al. (2008) suggest, though, through conflict, creative pathways are often found to negotiate better governance, and better institutions that can more sustainably manage different livelihood options. The conversation over values, and how they are seen to be located in these different livelihood strategies, is part of this creative conflict that has appeared most dramatically in Nusa Tenggara Timur with the increasing promotion of mining as a development option. The critical view of tourism, however, as also a type of extractive industry, has been given little traction, and has had much less opportunity for exposure in NTT. There have been to my knowledge no demonstrations outright rejecting tourism, as there have been for mining. This means that the critical assessment of the values of tourism, in this nexus space, has been weakened by its too positive comparison with mining, and thus lessens the possibilities for beginning to imagine it in more sustainable, democratic and just ways. Although many in the province hope to eradicate mining altogether, it is unlikely that it will entirely go away, given the huge mineral potential located in the province, even though in some locations the resistance has so far been successful. Through these conflicts, though, new ideas, such as "green mining", albeit rejected by many, has opened up spaces to at least imagine the mining industry as more democratic, more just and more sustainable and has started to carve out a semblance of reality for this vision. Whatever does happen in the future, it is hoped that Bebbington et. al.'s faith that conflict will lead to better governance and better ways to protect the environment will come to pass.

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