

Community Resistance Movement Against Mining: Case Study of the Save Sangihe Ikekendage (SSI) Movement Against PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) in the Gold Mining Case in Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi Province for the 2020-2024 Period

Agus Maarif¹, Chusnul Mar'iyah²

Universitas Indonesia

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Abstract

This study examines the Save Sangihe Island (SSI) movement against PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) in 2020-2024 in the case of gold mining in the Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi. The study uses the theory of contentious politics to explain the resistance of the movement. The research method uses a qualitative method to explore the social phenomenon of the SSI movement against PT. TMS by asking a number of in-depth research questions. The results of the study show that the SSI movement emerged as a response to ecological threats and violations of the right to living space due to mining policies in small island areas that should be legally protected. By using a qualitative approach and a contentious politics framework, this study analyzes how SSI builds resistance through the mobilization of social resources, elite support, litigation, collective action repertoires, and framing of resistance narratives. The findings show that SSI's success lies not only in the strength of the masses, but also in the effectiveness of strategic networks, moral legitimacy, and adaptive abilities in the face of state repression. This study contributes to strengthening the theory of contentious politics by emphasizing the importance of the interaction between political opportunities, resistance tactics, and symbolic power in fighting PT. TMS which has strong resources.

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Corresponding Author:

Agus Maarif

Universitas Indonesia

Email: agusmaarif66@gmail.com

1. INTRODUCTION

Social movements are political resistance that occurs when ordinary people join with more influential community groups to gather strength to fight against elites, authorities, and other opposing parties (Tarrow, 2011). As a movement that fights injustice and arises from anxiety, it is very possible that it can spread and last for several years if it does not get a response from the relevant parties being opposed (Tilis, et al., 2023). The disadvantaged community will continue to resist according to the values they embrace, especially when it concerns living space (natural resources), *local wisdom*, and socio-political conditions.

Resistance movements that target the government require greater effort and strength. Tarrow (2011) calls the goal of this social movement contentious *politics*, namely collective action carried out by people without regular access to institutions, who act on behalf of dissatisfaction, and are fundamentally opposed to the authorities. *Contentious politics*

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occurs when civilians, often together with people who have influence in the socio-political realm in society, build power to confront elites and other parties who have authority. In the context of mining, rejection of mining activities is characterized by the dynamics of relations between the state, corporations, and local communities who believe that the power of change lies in the hands of the people (Regus, 2011).

One of the resistance movements in response to the policies and exploitation and exploration of mining companies is the Save Sangihe Ikekendage Movement (SSI) which is facing PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) in the gold mining case in the Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi. Judging from its emergence, it can be seen that the SSI movement is an instrument of contentious *politics for* local Sangihe residents who reject gold mining carried out by PT. TMS. The community that is part of the SSI movement rejects the existence of gold mining in Sangihe because it is contrary to local wisdom, threatens traditions and culture in the community, and is contrary to several regulations.

If we look at the mining regulations, mining in Sangihe is not permitted regionally. In terms of area, Sangihe is an area with an area of 736.98 km² so that it is in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of Law Number 27 of 2007 concerning Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands which states that a small island is an island with an area of less than or equal to 2,000 km².² then Sangihe is included in the category of small islands. Based on Article 35 of Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law Number 27 of 2007 concerning Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands, it is stated that "Mining in Small Island Areas is prohibited". Meanwhile, Article 134 paragraph (2) of Law Number 3 of 2020 concerning Amendments to Law Number 4 of 2009 concerning Mineral and Coal Mining states that "Mining business activities cannot be carried out in places that are prohibited from carrying out mining business activities in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations." The regulation has explained the status of Sangihe as an area that may not be mined.

The regulation was not heeded by the parties related to the issuance of the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number: 163.K/MB.04/DJB/2021 concerning the Approval of Increasing the Production Operation Stage of the PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe Work Contract. This policy makes PT. TMS controls 57% of the Sangihe area consisting of 80 villages and 7 sub-districts. The granting of a mining permit from the government to PT. TMS has sparked resistance from the community who are members of SSI because it is clearly stated in the laws and regulations that Sangihe may not be mined. They believe that the existence of mining can damage the environment, disrupt their main jobs as farmers and fishermen, can threaten traditions and culture in the community, violate human rights, such as the loss of the right to housing, the loss of the right to a clean and healthy environment, the loss of the right to decent work, and the threat to public participation in maintaining the integrity of their region.

In response to this situation, social movements involving resources, utilizing political opportunities, and unifying views between parties have been increasingly carried out by SSI. One of SSI's efforts to fight PT. TMS by mobilizing resources is the presence of 37 Sangihe residents who sued the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources and PT. TMS which resulted in the revocation of PT TMS' production operation permit status by the Supreme Court through Supreme Court Decision Number: 650 K/TUN/2022 concerning the Revocation of the Mining Business License for Operations and Production of PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe. The decision was then strengthened by the issuance of the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number: 13.K/MB.04/DJB.M/2023

concerning the Revocation of the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number: 163.K/MB.04/DJB/2021 concerning the Approval of Increasing the Production Operation Stage of the PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) Work Contract.

The problem that arose was that PT. TMS ignored the policies issued by the government so that SSI continued to fight to ensure that Sangihe was not mined and PT. TMS left the Sangihe area. Based on this explanation, the problem raised in this study is about the form of contentious *politics conducted* by SSI on PT. TMS by looking at it from the perspective of political opportunities, resource mobilization structures, and collective action framing.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

In this study, a qualitative approach is used as a method to explore social phenomena from a group of people or individuals by asking a number of in-depth research questions to interpret personal experiences and social and historical values that aim to solve the complexity of research problems (Creswell, 2018). The type of research used in this study is descriptive qualitative. In the problem of the mining resistance movement in Sangihe, each actor has subjective considerations related to their actions so that it is more appropriate to expand the meaning of the phenomenon and participants than to make certain categorizations. Data collection in this study uses primary data by going directly to the field and conducting in-depth interviews (*in depth interview*) with informants, and secondary data in the form of official documents from related agencies, literature, articles online, and posts about SSI on social media.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Resistance of the Save Sangihe Ikekendage (SSI) Movement Against PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) Period 2020-2024

The SSI movement is a collective awareness of the community to fight against PT. TMS which wants to make Sangihe a mining area. The efforts of PT. TMS to obtain IUP OP from the government have made the community realize that resistance must be carried out collectively, sustainably, and involve many parties. The community as individuals will not be able to fight against a company that has adequate resources, both materially and non-materially. With this basis, SSI formed a frame which is clear about small islands not being mined. Local communities, the Sangihe Talaud Gospel Community Church (GMIST) community, and the Sangihe Customary Body (BAS) community are important elements that have resisted since the attempt to make Sangihe a mining area because it is contrary to the social and cultural values of those who live in the small island area.

The emergence of resistance to the presence of mining in Sangihe is also caused by the fact that 57% of the Sangihe area is a mining concession owned by PT. TMS has an impact on the destruction of the Sahandarumang Protected Forest, the loss of springs, the narrowing of plantation and agricultural land, and the threat of the loss of residents' homes, places of worship, highways and other public facilities. Resistance is increasing with the provocative actions taken by the company when carrying out mining land clearing activities. This makes the community increasingly restless with the presence of mining, coupled with the ongoing feud between the community and PT. TMS. The feud carried out by SSI certainly requires clear institutions, demands and commitments from the movement, and how SSI can carry out resistance.

Institutions for a social movement have an important role so that the direction and goals can be organized, directed, and can bring about changes as desired. The momentum of the SSI declaration on April 3, 2021 illustrates the politics of resistance that occurs when ordinary people join more influential community groups to gather strength to fight the elites. A combination of community groups who feel the same anxiety from religious, social, cultural, environmental organizations and the Sangihe Diaspora agreed to ensure that Sangihe land is not mined and that there is a joint commitment to expel PT. TMS. The success in uniting views to carry out collective action cannot be separated from leadership strong from the SSI coordinator, the framing of the problem of the seizure of living space that has spread in society, and the existence of clear demands. The figure of the movement coordinator, namely Jull Takaliuang, who succeeded in accommodating ideas and concepts into one goal in fighting PT. TMS is the key to the direction of the SSI movement. In addition, supporting factors such as coalitions from other community organizations and the emergence of community dissatisfaction further strengthen the institution of SSI.

The solid institutional structure of SSI is also inseparable from the existence of framing strong from the socio-religious side carried out by GMIST and BAS. As a coastal area that is religious and adheres to social and cultural values, the role of religious and social institutions is a fairly powerful adhesive media in uniting views in resistance. GMIST succeeded in institutionalizing the church community to unite against PT. TMS, while BAS succeeded in institutionalizing the community by prioritizing the traditional values of Sangihe that must be maintained. The most important thing is that the differences from various aspects have been united in an SSI institution that has one goal, namely to free Sangihe from mining.

From this, there are 3 (three) demands from SSI. *First*, so that the Sangihe area is not mined by any party and PT. TMS immediately leaves Sangihe in accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number: 13.K / MB.04 / DJB.M / 2023 concerning the Revocation of the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number: 163.K / MB.04 / DJB / 2021 concerning Approval of the Increase in the Production Operation Stage of the PT. Tambang Mas Sangihe Work Contract. The demand is also supported by the existence of a clear legal umbrella stated in Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law Number 27 of 2007 concerning Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands and Law Number 3 of 2020 concerning Amendments to Law Number 4 of 2009 concerning Mineral and Coal Mining. The demands made are very logical because according to the regulations it has been clearly decided that the Sangihe area may not be mined and in terms of social and cultural values it is also contrary to the lives of the island community.

Second, PT. TMS must be responsible for environmental damage, both water pollution, land, and the destruction of protected forests. SSI considers that this condition is no less important than the exit of PT. TMS, because Sangihe's strategic position as an archipelago requires the preservation of nature and the environment which will have an impact on survival. *Third*, there is strict legal action against individuals who are clearly and obviously involved in illegal mining practices. Revoldi Koleangan (2025) saw that so far important decisions related to the revocation of the IUP OP status of PT. TMS were not followed by action taken by the relevant parties in Sangihe. The conditions that occurred in the field were that many individuals were consciously involved in these illegal practices, even though the rules clearly show that mining status in Sangihe is prohibited.

With these conditions, SSI is committed to continuing to fight through litigation to ensure that PT. TMS leaves Sangihe. If law enforcement officers are deemed incapable of carrying out their duties properly, SSI will take advantage of political opportunities at the central level to gain support, such as consolidating with the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, the National Human Rights Commission, and Commission III of the Indonesian House of Representatives. If PT. TMS continues to be allowed to carry out activities without taking firm action, it is the same as allowing colonization in Sangihe which is detrimental to many parties. From this, SSI with its resources remains at the forefront to fight PT. TMS and anyone who tries to make Sangihe a mining area. This commitment is not only a struggle against mining but also to maintain the sustainability of social and cultural values of the community and in order to maintain the survival of future generations.

Structure of Political Opportunities in the Resistance Movement to Save Sangihe Ikekendage

The political opportunities carried out by SSI as a resistance movement are related to the opening of political opportunities utilized by social movement actors to achieve their goals through movement activities. Institutionally, SSI was not formed as a formal institution but was formed as an institution that accommodates the community in opposing the gold mining activities of PT. TMS. SSI was formed as a horizontal social network consisting of various actors such as local residents, traditional leaders, women's groups, church communities, environmental activists, academics, the Sangihe diaspora, and national-international NGOs. This organizational form allows flexibility in acting, expanding the support base, and combining various resistance actions such as online campaigns, mass actions, strategic studies, and litigation efforts.

In the framework of the political opportunity structure, the existence of SSI can be read as a response to an exclusive and unresponsive political system. The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources in granting mining permits to PT. TMS did not pay attention to regulations from other ministries so that it was not in accordance with laws and regulations. As the authorized party, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources also did not open channels for public participation, thus giving rise to dissatisfaction with mining policies on small islands. The opening of these political opportunities was used to gain support and changes in the power structure and policies that were not in accordance with the provisions, successfully opened up space for the emergence of community mobilization with the influence of SSI actors.

Jull Takaliuang as the movement coordinator is not a dominant figure, but a number of key actors emerged as representatives of the movement, including Revoldi Koleangan, Soleman Ponto, Alfred Pontolondo, Welman Boba, and Helmud Hontong. As the Deputy Regent of Sangihe 2017-2021, Helmud became an important symbol, showing that in the local power structure there are still gaps in elites who sympathize with the movement and pay attention to the fate of the community, which according to Tarrow (1998) is an important component in creating political opportunities. *Leadership* from SSI which does not refer to a dominant figure is the key to attracting national and international public sympathy, as well as creating a form of counter-authority to the dominance of PT. TMS.

Revoldi Koleangan as one of the actors involved in the movement stated that SSI's main demands were not merely a rejection of PT. TMS, but included a broader agenda, namely canceling the work contract and environmental permit of PT. TMS, enforcing laws

and regulations, guaranteeing the rights of indigenous peoples, and restoring community sovereignty over space and natural resources. This political opportunity structure explains how SSI was able to take advantage of the moment of crisis, legal opportunities, and elite support to build collective power. The conditions that occurred showed that the gold mining conflict that had occurred for years made public space more open to voicing resistance so that it was successfully utilized as a collective action by the community against PT. TMS is fighting for the Sangihe region from gold mining exploitation.

The opening of political opportunities can be seen as political opportunities that can encourage activities from social movements to be able to articulate their interests. Jull Takaliuang (2025) as the movement coordinator always emphasizes that Sangihe should not be mined and the sustainability of the lives of people living in coastal areas and small islands is much more important than gold mining. This is reinforced by the Sangihe indigenous people who always believe in the importance of nature for survival. As explained by Tarrow (1998) about political opportunities that encourage resistance movements, SSI takes advantage of this to thwart mining efforts on Sangihe Island as much as possible with the support of parties in Sangihe and the existence of open political gaps.

Resource Mobilization in the Resistance Movement to Save Sangihe Ikekendage (SSI)

Resource mobilization is an important structure found in contentious politics. Tarrow (1998) sees resource mobilization not only in the form of interaction between movements and the authorities received, but social movement organizations also have strategic steps and their emergence is caused by the availability of supporting factors such as coalition factors and financial support, the existence of pressure and effective organizing efforts and other important resources in the form of ideology. This support then strengthens a movement to resist the elites or other parties in conflict.

From the existence of collective awareness and the emergence of SSI caused by dissatisfaction that occurs, organizational and leadership factors are factors that can encourage or inhibit a social movement. Tarrow (1998) is of the view that dissatisfaction does not always give rise to protests because individuals are rational actors who always consider profit and loss so that contentious *politics* in a social movement will occur and be able to survive with the mobilization of resources both material and non-material. In addition, the important thing in resource mobilization in SSI is the importance of structural factors such as the availability of resources for collectivity and individual positions in social networks, as well as emphasizing the rationality of participation in social movements.

As expressed by Tarrow (1998) about contentious *politics*, the mobilization of resources in social movements is greatly influenced by the structure of available political opportunities. In the case of SSI, changes in the political constellation occurred along with increasing public awareness of environmental issues and the rights of indigenous peoples, especially related to the social life of people who live side by side with nature. Important moments such as the global momentum related to climate change and the ongoing advocacy of civil society for environmental sustainability provide an opportunity for SSI to utilize public participation space. SSI also succeeded in mobilizing environmental observer institutions, community institutions, and legal aid institutions such as Jatam, Walhi, KontraS, LBH North Sulawesi, GMIST, BAS, and other institutions so that they can create a wider space to articulate demands and make the movement more focused. The demands and objections conveyed cannot be separated from the collection of material and non-material resources to support SSI's struggle. From the material side, solidarity funds were

collected through fundraising from the Sangihe Diaspora and online campaigns to support advocacy costs and field actions. Especially for the diaspora, the SSI coordinator has an important role as an intermediary in conveying messages about the actions taken.

Other sources of funding also come from community volunteers and organizations who want to help the actions carried out by SSI. Fundraising is also done online through the website <https://savesangihe.carrd.co/> through the #KoinUntukSangihe program. This step was taken to open the public's view that the Sangihe community is currently in danger and needs assistance from all parties in terms of material, both Sangihe people and outside Sangihe. In addition, from the non-material side, SSI utilizes knowledge resources such as environmental research, legal studies, and mining impact data by collaborating with the North Nusa Polytechnic, Jatam, and Walhi to strengthen arguments against gold mining exploitation. This research is an important support for SSI's movement in litigation efforts against PT. TMS, one of which is as supporting data for the lawsuit filed by the Sangihe community to the PTUN over the IUP OP granted by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources to PT. TMS.

Framing of Collective Action of the Save Sangihe Ikekendage (SSI) Movement

Framing collective action as explained by Tarrow (1998) is a strategic effort that is realized by groups or people as a shared way to understand the world and themselves that legitimizes and motivates to carry out collective action. In his view of framing collective action from a contentious politics perspective, Tarrow (1998) argues that social movements are the result of framing and produce a certain frame. SSI as a resistance movement has succeeded in framing complaints and demands from the community to be meaningful so that they can then become values for action. The framing that was carried out has succeeded in strengthening collective awareness and strategic decisions as part of the movement, and emphasizing and strengthening the subject of contestation between SSI and PT. TMS.

Along with the ongoing fight by SSI, *aggregate frame*, *consensus frame*, and *collective action frame* is an important thing that becomes a framework for uniting various views of society so that it becomes collective action. *Aggregate frame* what SSI does is to collect various complaints or fragmented social problems into one common narrative. Jull Takaliuang as the SSI coordinator has an important role by not only voicing a single issue, such as environmental damage but also successfully aggregating different but interrelated issues, such as the threat of the loss of Sangihe's social and cultural values, the licensing process that is contrary to the law, the lack of synchronization of policies between the center and regions in granting mining permits in small island areas, and the colonization of small island areas by foreign parties. In this way, SSI has succeeded in making resistance to gold mining not only an ecological issue, but also touching on the realm of social justice, participatory democracy, and indigenous peoples' rights, thus expanding the movement coalition, from farmers and fishermen to environmental activists, human rights activists, and academics.

Next *inconsensus frame* SSI forms a moral consensus and common goals through the main values that are carried, namely that the land, water, and lives of the Sangihe people are not for sale or exchange with mining. Meanwhile, Jamil, who is a member of Jatam, also intensively voiced that gold mining is a new form of colonization that threatens the future of the small island and violates the principles of harmonious living of the Sangihe people. In terms of *collective action frame*, namely a form of framing that directly calls for collective action, provides direction for mobilization, and ignites the spirit of resistance.

This stage is the most strategic framing stage in mobilizing the masses, especially in non-litigation efforts carried out by SSI. In its resistance, SSI uses collective *action frame* in forms *tagline* and the slogans of the action that are continuously carried out as a moral and political call to action such as "Sangihe is a small island, not for mining", "Sangihe ikekendage, a beautiful small island", "PT. TMS is illegal", and "Reject PT. TMS". The figures in SSI are increasingly strengthening solidarity and accelerating the mobilization of resources to achieve the movement's goals. As a result, *collective action frame* SSI succeeded in generating national solidarity, giving birth to a cross-island movement, and even drawing international attention to the gold mining threats facing Sangihe as a small island.

From this, SSI shows how aggregate frames, consensus frames, and collective action frames can work synergistically and sequentially. First, they collect various citizen concerns (*aggregate*), then uniting them in a shared moral narrative (*consensus*), and finally translate it into a concrete call to action (*collective action*). This structured framing strategy makes GSSI not just a protest movement, but a community-based social movement that is politically intelligent and morally strong. By using a strong moral frame, SSI builds a collective identity as the protector of the island from the threat of ecological damage and human rights violations. This narrative has succeeded in uniting various groups from different backgrounds to get involved in the movement, both as direct supporters in the field and support from other sides such as in the form of writing and campaigns in the media.

Collective Action Repertoire in the Save Sangihe Ikekendage (SSI) Movement

Within the framework of contentious politics, Tarrow states that collective action repertoires are ways of acting that are available and recognizable to a society to voice its claims against the opposing party. This repertoire includes actions that can take the form of demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, petitions, to the use of digital media and art as a means of protest or against the opposing party. Repertoires are not only static, but are influenced by various factors such as the political context, culture, and historical experience of the society itself.

The SSI movement developed various forms of collective action repertoires that were not only physically confrontational, but also symbolic, legal, and cultural. Confrontation from various aspects then became an important capital for carrying out direct resistance actions. Some things that can be seen are: *First*, SSI conducted peaceful demonstrations, blockaded the entrance to the mining area, evicted heavy equipment at Pananaru Port, and directly closed the mining area in Bowone Village as a form of direct resistance in the field. These actions became a means of mobilizing collective emotions and asserting the community's claim to their living space in the small island area. *Second*, SSI also adopted a litigation repertoire by filing a lawsuit against PT. TMS' mining permit to the PTUN, which later resulted in a legal victory at the Supreme Court level.

Third, the form of digital and symbolic repertoire also plays a crucial role for SSI in confronting PT. TMS. SSI launched an online petition "Sangihe Pulau yang Indah, Kami Tolak Tambang!", disseminated narratives through social media and YouTube channels, and involved local artists in creating artworks with resistance themes. This broadened the reach of solidarity and strengthened the moral legitimacy of the movement in the eyes of the national and international public. *Fourth*, SSI developed a cultural repertoire that is unique to Sangihe, such as holding traditional worship services at mining sites, rejecting

mining in cultural forums (such as the Mebuntuang Mendiaga Nusa Festival), conveying messages about the dangers of mining in GMIST and BAS forums, and using local cultural expressions such as Masamper in conveying social criticism of power. This cultural repertoire strengthens the claim that their resistance is not only about the environment, but also about the sustainability of social identity and cultural heritage that need to be fought for.

State Reaction and Repression Strategy towards the Save Sangihe Ikekendage (SSI) Movement

In the dynamics of contentious politics, the state is a central actor that is not neutral, thus causing conflict. In this case, the state can act as a facilitator of democratic space for people to speak up, but it can also act as a repressive force that maintains the status quo when capital interests are at stake. This is clearly seen in the state's response to the SSI movement and the state's response to PT. TMS, which shows its non-neutral position. The state's goal of improving people's welfare is actually faced with the reality of the threat of losing the living space of people living on small islands and disaster-prone areas.

The state's response to SSI from the beginning showed an ambiguous side. The law in this case clearly stipulates that areas with an area of less than 2000 km² should not be mined. However, the state through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources fought for the issuance of a mining permit for PT. TMS with various supporting policies issued. When resistance was carried out by SSI and there was a lot of public attention regarding the status of mining on small islands, the state changed its policy by issuing a Supreme Court decision and a decision by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources which formally revoked the operating permit for PT. TMS. The problem is that the state cannot take firm action against PT. TMS to immediately leave Sangihe in accordance with the provisions that have been set. In fact, various elements of the state actually appear to support the continuation of the mining operation secretly.

When SSI blocked the mobilization of heavy equipment that was going to enter the mining area, there was a coalition between PT. TMS and security forces with an escort during mobilization. This silent coalition between state and corporate actors is a concrete form of what Tarrow calls alliance *between state and market elites*, which functions to defend *status quo extractive* domination over marginal areas. Communities who resist injustice are intimidated by PT. TMS and the authorities because they are considered to be disrupting investment.

One of the most striking forms of repression is the criminalization of residents who are active in the movement to reject mining. The case of the arrest of Robison Saul, who was accused of carrying a sharp weapon while blocking heavy equipment, became an important precedent. The arrest of Robinson Saul was accompanied by an intense criminalization narrative in the local media, which tried to frame SSI as lawbreakers and rioters due to the presence of gold mining investment. The community was considered unable to be invited to progress, even though the community's struggle through SSI was clearly to maintain the survival of the community living in the small island area. The actions taken by SSI and Robinson Saul as a local community were a form of collective action within the framework of defending the living space of indigenous peoples and local ecosystems. This criminalization is a form of repertoire of repression from the state that is both symbolic and physical. The message conveyed by the state to those who reject the presence of mining is that resistance to extractive projects will not only be in vain, but also

legally risky. The strategy carried out by the state can be seen as a strategy aimed at creating a deterrent effect, breaking solidarity, limiting further mobilization, and limiting access to external parties who want to help SSI.

4. CONCLUSION

This study looks at the form of contentious *politics* which plays a role in the resistance of the SSI movement against PT. TMS on the gold mining problem in Sangihe. This study shows that the SSI movement is a real form of contentious *politics* which was born as a response from the local community to the presence of gold mining by PT. TMS. The response was based on laws and regulations stating that areas categorized as small islands should be free from mining activities. This is also supported by the revocation of PT. TMS's mining permit status by the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources as the ministry authorized to issue mining permits.

In carrying out its resistance, SSI succeeded in consolidating socio-political power spread in the form of a horizontal network between indigenous communities (BAS), religious institutions (GMIST), environmental organizations (Jatam, Walhi, Greenpeace, KontraS), diaspora, to local and national political figures. The role of the movement coordinator became important by successfully combining different elements of society into a unified whole in the same strategy against PT. TMS. Through litigation strategies, mass mobilization, symbolic actions, and the use of social media and formal advocacy channels, SSI demonstrated the collective capacity to fight corporations that are structurally supported by the state and have strong resources. This success was also supported by framing a clear movement that makes the Sangihe community aware of taking collective action and fighting for their rights to life as citizens who are concerned about the impact of mining.

This movement not only shows resistance to ecological damage, but also fights for the right to living space, the sustainability of social and cultural values, and the sovereignty of local communities in determining the direction of development in areas that fall into the category of small islands. SSI takes advantage of political opportunities through elite support and legal momentum such as the Supreme Court's decision. This momentum further strengthens the direction of the movement to fight resistance with a clear legal basis. However, this resistance still faces challenges in the form of criminalization, co-optation, and the continuation of illegal mining activities by PT. TMS even though its business license has been revoked. In this case, the SSI movement is a symbol of resistance to mining practices that eliminate citizen participation in decision-making for development policies, thus giving rise to resistance.

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