



## Cohesiveness of NGOs and the community in the anti-coastal reclamation social movement

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### ABSTRACT

This research is an elaboration of the response of the coalition of NGOs and affected communities in rejecting the sand mining in Takalar Regency, South Sulawesi. This study aims to analyze the motives and methods of advocacy carried out by NGOs and affected communities. This study also tries to examine the factors that influence cohesiveness between those who are resistant to this extractive industry. This research uses a qualitative approach. We got data in this study through interviews, observations, and document reviews. This study found that the primary motive of the Save Coastal Alliance Against the Sea Sand Mine in Takalar expresses resistance from NGOs and affected communities on the economic and environmental effects of the extractive industry of sand mining. The advocacy method adopted includes four step strategies. The first is conducting political education for citizens; Second, build alliances with other NGOs and; Third is conducting a lawsuit and; Fourth, through non-litigation. The study also found that cohesiveness between NGOs and affected communities was the dynamics of each group internally. This has contributed to building the context of relations between NGOs and the community.

## 1. Introduction

Environmental issues have now become a concern of global society and sparked much debate. Concerning issues of development or political economy, a State that can implement proper development, can compete internationally, which will facilitate in achieving national interests. Ideally, development practices must pay attention to the environment and strive to preserve it. It bases this on the understanding that environmental factors are the primary contributors to sustainable development.

Regarding the impact of development on the environment, researchers have asked for global concern about the dangers of the environmental crisis. Limit to Growth (McGinnis et al., 1973) is considered as the most relevant research in proving the relationship between the two. This research suggests that five problems are facing the world, including rapid industrial growth, high population growth, widespread hunger, depletion of non-renewable natural resources, and environmental damage. He also mentioned that within a specified period, it considered the environment to be no longer able to bear the impact of industrialization. Graham Turner conducted further research (Turner, 2014), who found that the prediction of Limit to Growth research in 1972 might speed up if countries did not make fundamental changes.

Within the Southeast Asia Region, one type of industry that has received a much protest from civil society is the mining industry. The problem is illustrated by Amalinda Savirani's research (Savirani et al., 2018) with the headline Extractive Industry, Policy Innovation, and the Civil Society Movement in Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, one issue related to environmental conservation that has received much attention is Coastal Reclamation and sea sand mining. One reclamation case that has drawn protests from civil society groups is the beach reclamation case in South Sulawesi. The Center Point of Indonesia (CPI) reclamation project and other reclamation projects have triggered public unrest in South Sulawesi. This stems from the South Sulawesi Government's policy, which issued Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2019 concerning Zoning Plans for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (Perda RZWP3K Sulsel). The policy gives the company legitimacy to do environmental damage by mining sea sand and reclamation in the coastal areas of South Sulawesi Province. The sea sand mining in Takalar Regency is intended to support the reclamation of the CPI and Makassar New Port from 2017 to 2018, making the coastal ecosystem of South Sulawesi. The policy has drawn negative responses from various affected community groups (Sulfitra et al., 2019).

Sea sand mining activities in Galesong, Sanroboneto Tanakekeare considered because of the government's caution in issuing permits. The final report in 2019 of the South Sulawesi Forum for the Environment (WALHI) revealed that the community's catchment area had become a victim, lost nets, disturbed seaweed cultivation, sediment capture locations by sediment, abrasion is getting stronger. Before they issued the permit, they never notified the fishermen were never of the planned sea sand mining activities in the territorial waters. Meanwhile, fishers strongly believe that the mining activities will damage fishermen's catchment areas, and fishermen's settlements will be eroded because of abrasion (Sulfitra et al, 2019). Although the government said that the mining activities would not damage the Takalar coast, a group of people and NGOs argued otherwise. They formed an alliance to resist the sand dredging.

In the Indonesian context, social movements are a complex study because they closely relate them are closely to the political system and development models that are taking place in Indonesia. Several studies have been proposed to see that social movements are initiated by actors who have the capacity and desire to make a change. They contribute a lot to debates and social justice as a unifying foundation of society. Actors contribute to saving the value of freedom as a fundamental element of emancipation, demanding that this value and supporting factors not be understood as abstract principles of

emancipation, as is right in the formation of modern political citizens. Experience and recognition must explain and support freedom in a social context, combining individuality and collectivity, reason, and subjectivity. In the Indonesian context, many of the actors becoming initiators are Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).

Research by Bob Sugeng Hadiwinata (Hadiwinata, 2003) found that NGOs have two roles. The first is as a development institution whose primary goal is to eradicate poverty. While the second is as part of a social movement whose primary purpose is to fight the social and political structures that cause poverty and injustice. The study also concluded that changing socio-political conditions in Indonesia after the New Order allowed NGOs to move beyond their traditional role oriented towards development at the grassroots level to become more actively involved in the movement to promote democracy.

In a more specific study related to NGOs' responses to environmental issues Winarno (2012), explained the results explain the polemic of The establishment of the largest pulp and rayon mill in Asia intended to drive the industrialization process in Indonesia on its journey turned out to harm the environment. This program caused the disappearance and destruction of 50,000 hectares of forest, 30 hectares of rice fields, and 6 hectares of fields and environmental pollution. This condition then sparked resistance from various elements of society, such as the Portsea community, NGOs, students, and international forums (CGI). This resistance then led to the temporary suspension of the company's activities in March 1999.

Some recent research related to NGOs and the Environmental Social Movement in Indonesia (Lay, 2017; Nomura, 2007, 2009; Schweizer et al., 2016; Baharuddin et al., 2020, 2016; Varelly et al., 2019; Prayogi et al., 2020; Syarifuddin, et al., 2020) have provided an overview of related to NGO relations with the government but are still minimal research that looks specifically at the relations of NGOs and the communities they advocate.

This research places the environmental and economic impacts on society as the cause of resistance from the Coalition of NGOs and the Community. Furthermore, this study tries to fill the gaps in previous research by focusing on cultural factors that influence the course of resistance by the Coalition of NGOs and Communities to sand mining in South Sulawesi. These cultural factors are identified as aspects that affect the cohesiveness of NGOs and communities affected by coastal reclamation. In other words, the success of this Movement is greatly influenced by these cultural factors.

## **2. Method**

This study uses a qualitative research method, which is a research method that produces descriptive data as an approach to understanding about research and is supplemented with spoken and written words, and observable behavior from the people studied (Semiawan, 2010). This research often puts forward inductive reasoning. This is because qualitative researchers produce theoretical propositions from our empirical observations (Bugin, 2008). The approach used in analyzing this research is ethnography. Ethnography is an approach in studying the social and cultural aspects of society and institutions. ethnography takes the position that the constructs of human behavior can be studied through systematic observation (LeCompte, 1999). This study understands

the effectiveness WALHI as an NGO engaged in the environment's field for the community with sand dredging in Takalar District in building community resistance to refuse to mine.

In using this qualitative research method, the researcher tries to apply interviews, library, and observation techniques as data collection techniques. Data is obtained sources of qualitative data in this study in several ways. For primary data, the sources to be use dare official documents or publications got from the official website of the WALHI organization and also through direct interviews or by observation methods related to research topics that are supplemented with written notes or by using recording aids, such as tape recorder and handphone.

The informants in this study were Community Leaders and Government of Aeng Batu-Batu Village, WALHI, and the Student Advocacy Circle (LAW). They joined the Sand Sea Mining Mining Alliance Alliance. Meanwhile, secondary data will be obtained by conducting literature reviews on various scientific and news sources, such as books, press releases, scientific journals, and data or news sources from the internet. After we have collected all research data, the next step that must be done is data analysis, wherein this study, the authors used descriptive data analysis. The purpose of using descriptive data analysis is to explain the current social phenomena, namely the development and the environment, from the NGOs' perspective.

### **3. Result and discussion**

- **The perspective of the NGO Coalition and the Community on Coastal Reclamation**

Conceptually social movements have peculiar characteristics from various forms of mass action, such as crowds and riots, rebellions, revolutions. Some mass actions, in this case, the crowd and riots, have a probationary period, appear and vanish, and sometimes using violence. The revolution raised in the social movement relies on the participation of all people in the territory of a country to overthrow and replace the political order with a new one. In this sense, revolution is an attempt to restructure the social, political, and economic order by including fundamental changes in society's structure (Singh & Rajendra, 2010). We can explain further social movements as the mobilization against the state and its government system, which is not always associated with the use of violence and armed rebellion, as happened in riots, rebellions, and revolutions. Social movements express themselves in terms of democratic values.

Sidney Tarrow (2004) argues that social movements are a collective challenge carried out by a group of people who have the same goals and solidarity in ongoing interaction with elite groups, opponents, and rulers. Here are four essential keywords, namely collective challenges, shared goals, social solidarity, and ongoing interaction. Diani Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow (2004) offer at least four primary characteristics of social movements, namely (1) informal interaction networks; (2) shared feelings and solidarity; (3) conflict as the focus of collective action; and (4) promoting forms of protest. It can be described that social movements are informal networks that are based on shared feelings and solidarity. These aim to mobilize conflictual issues through various forms of protests

that are carried out continuously. This also distinguishes social movements carried out by political parties, interest groups, religious sects, momentary protests, or momentary political coalitions.

When analyzing social movements, Touraine argues that, in recent years, individuals have continued to move towards a comprehensive social or global movement modality, supported by suitable references and awareness of conflict or militant problems. Even though the movement was born in a local or national scope, the movement will continue to be broadened to a broader scope and cover many crucial issues, including environmental preservation (Singh & Rajendra, 2010).

The coastal city of Makassar is the region with the largest allocation of space for reclamation compared to seven other districts/cities. The area of reclamation plan in the Makassar City coast reaches 2706.86 ha or around 72.93% of the total reclamation area regulated in the South Sulawesi Regional Regulation RZWP3K. They project the reclamation in Makassar City to become an integrated business center of Makassar City. In WALHI's view, South Sulawesi Regional Regulation RZWP3K is a regulatory instrument intended to reorganize coastal spaces and political systems to encourage investment penetration by the state and national, international financiers (Sulfitra et al, 2019). The following is complete data on coastal reclamation plans in the province of South Sulawesi.

**Table 1. Reclamation Plans in South Sulawesi Province**

No	Name	Location	Area (Ha)
1	Integrated Business Provincial Strategic Area (KSP)	Makassar	1.154,81
2	Untia Pavilion	Makassar	1.552,05
3	Kawasan Salemo	Palopo	442,38
4	Cempae Soreang Pavilion	Parepare	1,43
5	Sumpang Minangae Pavilion	Parepare	1,97
6	Mattirotasi 1 Pavilion	Parepare	7,59
7	Mattirotasi 2 Pavilion	Parepare	7,56
8	Bisappu Pavilion	Bantaeng	67,58
9	Bantaeng Office Area	Bantaeng	129,29
10	Water Front City Area	Bulukumba	43,46
11	Maritime City Area	Bone	227,86
12	Lampia Coastal Area	Luwu Timur	13,36

Source: RZWP3K Regional Regulation in South Sulawesi

From the results of the WALHI spatial analysis, they will connect the reclamation in the strategic area of the province with the CPI reclamation results. At least, the length of the coast to be reclaimed reaches 8.89 km. They are stretching from the CPI location to the Aeng Towa Village area, North Galesong District. Along the beach to be reclaimed, there is the Tanjung Bayang Beach. On the beach live communally, the indigenous people of Makassar City who hang their lives from the results of the management of coastal tourism, both as traders and rental accommodations. Besides, this reclamation plan will also cover the mouth of the Jeneberang River and tributaries in the North Galesong District. These two rivers are also accessed for traditional fishers, both North Galesong fishermen and fishermen from Tamalate District, Makassar City so that it



can be mapped potential areas that have the potential to oppose the reclamation plan in the province's strategic area, namely the Tanjung Bayang Beach area, Tamalate District, Makassar City to the North Galesong District, Takalar Regency (Sulfitra et al., 2019).

Reclamation as an answer to the spatial problem is something that inevitably happens. In Indonesia, many regions have experienced this way of development by adopting reclamation methods in the Netherlands and Dubai development. Such areas include Telok Banoa in Bali, the Jakarta Reclamation, and the Reclamation of the Point of Indonesia Center in Makassar, where the development is inseparable from political and economic interests have an impact both materially and non-material.

The most significant impact of the reclamation is damage to the environment, marine ecosystem, and the surrounding area. Economic logic will not be in line with the logic of environmental protection. In economic logic, one of the means of production is nature (land, water, air), as at the Reclamation Center Point of Indonesia (CPI). The project has been going on for almost four years and will add 157 ha of land around the Losari Beach and Lae-Lae Subdistrict, which has been managed with the permission of the South Sulawesi provincial government to PT. Ciputra and PT. Jasmine. They plan it that of the 157 ha of the sea that has been stockpiled, 150 ha will be allocated by the private sector to be used as luxury housing and hotel areas. In comparison, the Sul-Sel Provincial Government will give the remaining 7 to be used as a public vehicle such as a tourism area (city park). The CPI development is a master plan in making Makassar a World City that will increase regional income if they realize this project (Sulfitra et al., 2019).

The development of this CPI will impact the environment, especially. This project has damaged the coral ecosystem around Losari Beach, which used to be a place for fishers to fish. According to some data from WALHI, about 5-10% of coral ecosystems have been damaged and cannot be repaired anymore. Besides, we can also see environmental damage can also from the color and smell of water that gets worse every day. Besides, the environmental impact has caused fishers to reduce their income and even have to stop being a fisherman, and are forced to become hawkers around the coast. The people most affected by this development are the people of Lae-Lae District of Makassar (Sulfitra et al., 2019).

Initially, the source of the accumulation of marine areas only came from Lae-Lae Subdistrict, and Losari Beach has now switched. This diversion is caused by an insufficient quantity of sand in the two regions. To cover up these shortcomings, a new exploration began. They locate the exploration in four sub-districts in Takalar, namely North Galesong, Gelesong, South Galesong, to Tanakeke. Sand dredging that has occurred in Takalar Regency since March 2017 has affected several sub-districts which have sped up the process of abrasion, ranging from sand being eroded under the sea, seawater becoming turbid so that the income of fishers around is reduced, not to mention the residential population that is threatened to sink. In more detail, the mapping of the impact of sand dredging, according to the Save Coastal Alliance (ASP) Rejects Sea Sand Mine is as follows.

First; Marine pollution, the destruction of coral reefs, and the death of marine life. We can see the impact from the discovery of three-stranded and dead dolphins found in

Kaluku Bodo Village, Mangindara Village, and Pamandongang Village. Second; Decreased income of fishers. Many fishermen complained that the fish began looking for clear waters, and some even died (Interview with H. Sese). It estimates this because of damage to ecosystems by mining sea sand, which is over 10 meters under the sea. Third; Acceleration of abrasion on the edge of Galesong Beach - Sandrobone. As happened in Kaluku Bodo Village, South Galesong Subdistrict, filling occurs because the sand that forms the seafloor has now fallen by sand mining. Fourth; Ocean currents are getting stronger. Changes in ocean currents occur because of the deep dredging of sand. Fifth; they threaten Residents to sink if sand dredging continues (Mongabay, 2020). These affects are then the primary sources of community and NGO resistance.

- **Role of WALHI in Advocating the Rejection of the Sea Sand Mine in Takalar**

We can define NGOs as independent, non-partisan, non-profit organizations that aim to improve the quality of those who are marginalized. NGOs are not part of the government but are elements of civil society that bridge the community with the government by taking concrete actions and are an independent social organization. NGOs as non-profit organizations aim to serve particular community interests by focusing on advocacy and or operational efforts towards social, political, and economic goals, including equality, education, health, environmental protection, and human rights (Teegen et al., 2004).

Based on its key activities, we can divide NGOs into two categories, namely operational and advocacy (Teegen et al., 2004). By operational means, NGOs provide critical goods and services to 'clients' who need them. While advocacy is an NGO that works as a representative of people who does not have a voice or access to promote their interests. In conducting advocacy practices, NGOs use various methods such as lobbying, acting as expert experts and advisors, conducting research, conducting conferences, monitoring and exposing the actions of other actors, holding public trials, sharing information on critical constituents, forming an agenda or boycotting (Hudson, 2001).

As an NGO, WALHI is an NGO that has an extensive history of advocating various environmental-related cases in Indonesia. Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia, known as WALHI, is a leading independent non-profit environmental organization in Indonesia. At present WALHI has spread to 28 provinces in Indonesia. The WALHI organization also campaigns internationally through Friends of the Earth International, which has netted at least 71 members in 70 countries, 15 affiliated organizations, and over 2 million individual members and supporters around the world. WALHI's primary goal is to oversee the current development by promoting solutions to create a sustainable environment and uphold the social justice of the community. With the vision of "the realization of a just and democratic social, economic and political order that can guarantee the people's rights to the sources of life and a healthy environment". (WALHI website, 2020)

WALHI itself is a civil society group forum comprising non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Nature Lovers Group (KPA) and Non-Governmental Organizations (KSM) which was established on October 15, 1980, as a reaction and concern for injustice in

management of natural resources and sources of life, because of paradigms and development processes that do not favor sustainability and justice (Wickham, 1987).

Organizational growth requires adequate living space and space. Growth carries the consequences of development in the diversity of issues and movements. In achieving its objectives, restoring popular sovereignty over natural resources, WALHI's step by not compromising on various environmental destroyers is not enough, because all of that is determined by various regulations made by the government. In 1988, the WALHI Executive Board began campaigning on Environmental Reform, focusing on macro issues, including environmental policies and environmental institutions. The policy is based on the statement that environmental policies must fulfill a sense of justice, protect the environment, and be enjoyed by the community. Whereas in terms of institutions based on institutions built and developed to carry out these policies (WALHI Website, 2020).

In the Indonesian context, we can classify WALHI as a Transformative NGO in the sense that NGOs question politically the mainstream paradigms and ideologies are on the mainstream Development agenda that does not have an environmental perspective. We can say it that WALHI encourages an alternative paradigm based on social and environmental justice. WALHI encourages the Alternative Development agenda to avoid ecological disasters. The intended ecological disaster is a disaster that arises because of the accumulation of development models that are not environmentally friendly by humans or corporations. This situation occurs when development activities change the ecosystem and environmental degradation to harms the community.

To disseminate views to realize the ideals of democracy the Indonesian Forum for the environment as a national-scale advocacy organization needs to be throughout the archipelago. This is also one factor driving the formation of WALHI in South Sulawesi. WALHI South Sulawesi was established in 1991. Briefly, the reason for the establishment of WALHI South Sulawesi is to strengthen the national environmental movement (WALHI South Sulawesi Website, 2020). One case WALHI South Sulawesi seriously advocated that was sand dredging in Takalar District for the needs of the CPI Project in Makassar.

Sand dredging cases that occur have much impact on fishers; both their livelihoods and production tools, namely the sea, are increasingly damaged. In responding to these problems, many social movements in the form of alliances emerged, responding to this. One movement that has a massive movement to resist is the Alliance of People Against the Sand Sea Mine. This alliance is a collection of various non-governmental organizations and communities trying to stop sand dredging from happening.

Since 2017, WALHI, a member of the alliance, has been carrying out advocacy activities. WALHI's role in the alliance can be classified through four advocacy strategies. The first is conducting political education for citizens; Second, build alliances with other NGOs and; Third is conducting a lawsuit and; Fourth, through non-litigation. The elaboration of these strategies is as follows.

First, Political Education. This study found that WALHI conducted an advocacy strategy by educating the Takalar community, especially fishermen in North Galesong. Sitepu



(Sitepu, 2016) argues that political education is learning and understanding the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of every citizen in the nation's life and state. Political education has three objectives, namely to form political personality, political awareness, and political participation. This political education transfers political values and ideologies from generation to generation, starting from an early age and continuing throughout life. Political education is an emergency need for the community because of various factors that influence each other; thus, political education can shape the feeling of being a loyal citizen, building individuals with the qualities that they should, then crystallizing them to become true nationalism.

This political education is needed because, in WALHI's view, the crucial issue that will influence the success of this advocacy is the level of community understanding of the potential social, economic and environmental affects of the extractive activities of the sand mining. They carry political education out by WALHI through a basis or awareness to the community, especially the fishermen, that it threatens them with livelihoods and the sea. In this way, WALHI expects citizens to be aware and resistant in fighting for their rights and not apathetic. (Interview with Muhammad Badai Anugerah, 2017).

Second, Building a Coalition with NGOs with the same concern. Advocating the cessation of sand mining activities is at the vast umbrella of the Save the Coastal Alliance. Besides the Forum for the Environment (WALHI) of South Sulawesi, there are several NGOs that are actively involved in the alliance. These NGOs include the Anti-Corruption Committee (ACC), the Makassar Legal Aid Institute (LBH), and the South Sulawesi NGO Communication Information Forum (FIK NGO). Besides, other NGOs are Blue Forest, Women's Solidarity Anging Mammiri, National Student Front (National Student Front) FMN), the Indonesian Child Advocacy and Education Institute (LAPAR), the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (Kontras), the Archipelago Indigenous Peoples' Alliance (AMAN) of South Sulawesi, Journals of Celebes, and the Makassar Parking Spellers Union (SJPM).

Third, the path of litigation or lawsuits. This lawsuit was made by the Save Coastal Alliance which was represented by LBH Makassar to the State Administrative Court related to the Governor of South Sulawesi License Number 644/6273 / TARKIM dated November 1, 2013, concerning the Reclamation Implementation Permit in the Indonesian Integrated Central Business Area in the Province of South Sulawesi by submitting legal reasons deemed relevant to the reclamation issue that occurred (Zulkifli Aspan, 2017). Although this lawsuit was finally rejected, this lawsuit made the Reclamation case even more widespread.

Fourth, the Non-Litigation Pathway. Activities are undertaken by NGO coalitions through dialogue and mass mobilization to conduct demonstrations. They held the dialogue with the stakeholders in the Takalar District Parliament, the Regent, and party leaders. If the dialogue activity is deadlocked, the NGO coalition will hold a demonstration to express their opinions and protest openly. They have held demonstrations at the Takalar City Parliament Building, South Sulawesi Governor's Office, and the Makassar CPI reclamation area (Interview with Wahyudin Dg Sibali, 2017).

- **Factors influencing the cohesiveness of NGOs and the community**

In examining the activities of a social movement, often the center of attention is the uncommon attitudes and interests of the conflicting actors. This is clear in the research of Cornelis Lay (Lay, 2017), Ko Nomura (Nomura, 2007), and Rémi Schweizer, Johann Dupuis & Guillaume de Buren (Schweizer et al., 2016). However, this research found that there is a need to broaden views on internal dynamics of cohesiveness by opponents of government policy, in this problem, NGOs and affected communities. This study found that cohesiveness between NGOs and affected communities was influenced by the dynamics of each group internally. This contributed to building the context of relations between NGOs and affected communities fused in the advocacy process.

From the poles of WALHI South Sulawesi, WALHI South Sulawesi has historically had an excellent reputation in handling environmental cases. This made the advocacy quickly gained solidarity from many groups, especially NGOs and students. Although sometimes not fully agree with WALHI's technical steps in the advocacy process is one reference in advocating environmental problems in South Sulawesi and Indonesia (Interview with Muhammad Amri Murad, 2017). Besides, WALHI is an institution with a broad and robust national network, so WALHI's involvement in advocacy can make the issue a national concern.

In the advocacy process to refuse sand mining activities in Takalar, WALHI's position has become very strategic for residents. In this advocacy process, WALHI is a source and medium of information processing for citizens. For example, coastal communities and fishers in Takalar feel that there is a change in the coastal environment after the sand mine is operational. The results with the help of explanations and information from WALHI South Sulawesi as a credible institution in the environmental field. The people can understand it connected (Interview with Wahyu Dg. Sibali, 2017).

From the poles of affected communities, the internal dynamics that occur are communities that are divided because of local political contestation. The situation left mistrust among residents in responding to sand mining in Takalar. This phenomenon has contributed to slowing the pace of advocacy for the NGO Coalition and affected communities. In the situation of the two poles, the cohesiveness of the coalition depends on the determination of the NGOs to plan a shared narrative affected communities divided in their political choices can accept that. In the problem's context of sea sand mining in Takalar, the appropriate narrative formulation is about environmental sustainability and residents' livelihoods.

#### **4. Conclusion**

This study found the motives, methods, and factors that influence the cohesiveness of the Save the Coastal Alliance against the Sea Sand Mine. The primary motive of the Save Coastal Alliance Against the Sand Sea Mine in Takalar expresses resistance from NGOs and affected communities on the economic and environmental affects of the extractive industry of sand mining. The advocacy method adopted includes four step strategies. The first is conducting political education for citizens; Second, build alliances with other NGOs and; Third is conducting a lawsuit and; Fourth, through non-litigation. The study also found that cohesiveness between NGOs and affected communities was influenced

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### Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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