

Agrarian Conflict in Urutsewu: Political Ecology Approach

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Abstract

This book discusses the management of natural resources that are prone to conflict, such as the exploitation of mining materials. In this case, usually the parties involved involve several elements such as the community, local government, non-governmental organizations or environmental NGOs, and of course companies that will carry out mining. In this case, of course, to gain profit and the local government supports mining in order to increase regional income. However, in this case it is not in line with the community and environmental NGOs who refuse mining on the grounds that it disrupts the economic well-being of residents from their original livelihoods and ecological damage due to mining activities. This conflict has frequently occurred in Indonesia since 1999 and has spread to various regions, from Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara to Papua. Gold mining in Papua by 2 Agrarian Conflicts in Urutsewu: Political Ecology Approach PT Freeport Indonesia, for example, is one of the causes of the prolonged conflict. The trigger for this conflict is not only about the welfare of local people who are being ignored by the government and PT Freeport Indonesia. Even deeper, the conflict is also rooted in environmental damage due to the dredging of Mount Ersberg's gold deposit.

Keywords: Conflict, Agrarian, Political Ecology



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INTRODUCTION

One of the mining activities that is increasingly prevalent in Indonesia is iron sand mining. Iron sand is a promising export commodity as a raw material for the steel industry. What's more, iron sand is a natural wealth that stretches on the west coast of Sumatra, the south coast of Java, East Nusa Tenggara, West Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi. Entrepreneurs take this opportunity to earn profits. However, plans to mine iron sand often encounter resistance from the community. Conflicts also arise from various backgrounds, ranging from the impact of environmental damage due to mining, problematic permits, to the exclusion of the community from the process of formulating mining policies. Iron sand mining is also on the agenda of the Kebumen district government on the south coast of Urutsewu, to be precise in the villages of Mirit Petikusan, Mirit, Tlogodepok, Tlogopragoto, Lembupurwo and Wiromartan. The six villages are in Mirit District. An exploration permit has been granted to PT Mitra Niagatama Cemerlang (MNC) since 2008. After going through the exploration stage, an AMDAL commission meeting was then held. The village officials who were present at the meeting rejected the miners' presence. Only Winomartan Village, through its village head, supports the mining plan, as long as the activity benefits the local community.

The rejection of the five villages is in line with the rejection of the iron sand mine by members of the Regional People's Legislative Council (DPRD) of Kebumen Regency. Several

members of the Kebumen DPRD argued that mining would cause damage to the south coast and agricultural cultivation in the form of watermelon and melon plants which are being developed by residents. The rejection was also based on the reason that the south coast would be better if it became a greening location.

On January 21, 2011, with the consideration of increasing development in Kebumen, the government granted PT MNC a Production Operation IUP for ten years. The issuance of this permit surprised residents because previously there had been no socialization. Another reason for the community's refusal is regarding the status of the land to be mined. The production permit stated that the area to be mined reached 591.07 hectares. Of that area, it was recorded that 317.48 hectares of land belonged to the Indonesian Army National Army (TNI AD).

Long before there was a plan to mine iron sand, the community had rejected the recognition of land in Urutsewu as belonging to the Indonesian Army. The entry of mines on the one hand and claims of ownership of land in Urutsewu by the Indonesian Army on the other hand are two issues that are interrelated and provoke resistance from the people of Urutsewu. The decline in the Production Operation Mining Permit in January 2011 sparked anger among residents because they felt their aspirations were being ignored. On March 2, 2011, residents who were hosted by FMMS held an audience with the Kebumen DPRD. However, because the results of the hearings did not show clarity, the people of Urutsewu held a Great Pasowan (great hospitality) action on March 23, 2011. Interestingly, this action was not attended by residents of Mirit Subdistrict. The strong suspicion as to why this happened led to political lobbying during the FMMS hearing with the Kebumen DPRD, two days before the action. The Regent of Kebumen and his staff responded to the demonstration by the Urutsewu community in conveying their aspirations by convening a Regional Leadership Forum (Forpimda) on March 30, 2011. The government's insistence on continuing iron sand mining in the name of development is the opposite of the community's rejection of mining and land ownership claims by the TNI. This attitude further prolongs the conflict. Because of this conflict that encourages the author to raise the problem in his research.

As for the literature review, the authors reveal that conflict theory emphasizes that society consists of groups involved in fierce competition over scarce resources. Alliances or cooperation between community groups can take place on the surface, but beneath the surface there is a struggle for power (Henslin 2007: 18). The struggle for natural resources becomes a battle between various parties who have interests. This happens because the environment has characteristics that have the potential to trigger conflict (Hadi 2006: 4-9). First, the environment has an intangibility function, namely the environment is not easily quantified in monetary terms. Second, the environment is a public good (common property). Third, negative externality, namely that the impact of environmental damage will befall other people and not the initiator of the activity that causes the impact. Fourth, the impact of environmental damage occurs in the long term.

There are four levels of conflict according to Alao 2007: 20. The first is societal or intergroup conflict, the second is communal or conflict in the name of religious and ethnic issues, the third is interstate conflict and the last is interpersonal conflict. Alao said natural resource conflicts fall within the four levels of conflict. Then according to Neoliberal the increasing number of natural resource conflicts in the world is the effect of globalization. According to Alao in 2007 there are three ways to link natural resources with conflict, namely as a cause of conflict, as a factor that prolongs conflict, and as a means of overcoming conflict. Alao also explained that natural resources could be linked to the expansion of conflicts by looking at cases in Africa. As a means of conflict resolution, natural resources play a very important role.

According to Alao, one of the most important resources is land. Land is often seen as a natural resource that must be preserved for future generations, so it is not surprising that conflicts occur over this resource. Land which is one of the assets often experiences a scarcity. Scarcity is also a factor in the occurrence of conflict. Reduced access to land is a causal relationship from land control carried out by a person/group. Within the structure of land tenure, there is an imbalance of power relations involving aspects of power (political), welfare (economic) and hierarchy (social). According to Alao, the land which contains mineral resources is often contested by interested parties, resulting in conflicts. In Indonesia, natural resource conflicts can be divided into two time categories. First, the conflict inherited from the New Order and the second is the conflict in the reform era. In this natural resource conflict theory it is used to explain the relationship between natural resources and conflicts that arise in the Urutsewu region.

Urutsewu is the name for the southern coastal area that stretches from Cilacap, Kebumen and Kulonprogo Regencies. In Kebumen, the sub-districts included in the Urutsewu area include six sub-districts, namely Klirong, Petanahan, Puring, Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit sub-districts. Political ecological conflicts that arose in Urutsewu only occurred in the Districts of Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit. Buluspesantren sub-district consists of 21 villages, Ambal sub-district 32 villages, and Mirit sub-district 22 villages. The villages involved in the political ecological conflict include the Villages of White Chicken, Setrojenar, and Bercong in the District of Buluspesantren; Entak, Ambalresmi, Kaibon, Petangkuran Kaibon, Sumberjati, and Kenoyojayan Villages in the Ambal District; and Mirit Petikusan, Mirit, Tlogopragoto, Tlogodepok, Lembupurwo, and Wiromartan Villages in Mirit District. For the division of land uses, the land on the south coast of the Districts of Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit is divided into several blocks. The blocks in question are local idioms made by the community to divide land areas in a village according to their uses.

In the village of Kaibon Petangkuran, there are dokelan blocks, graves, jenggreng, gupakan, pangonan, and kisik. Then Urutsewu is an area that contains abundant natural resources, including in terms of mineral potential. One of the mineral potentials of the Urutsewu coast is iron sand of high quality which is spread along the west coast, from the Luk Ulo River to the Cicinggulung River (covering Klirong, Petanahan, and Puring Districts), and along the east coast, namely from the Luk Ulo River to the Wawar (covering the Districts of Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit). In addition, the author also mentions that not only mineral resources, Urutsewu also has very good agricultural potential. Agricultural business has been widely developed in this region. Most of the agricultural products produced by the Urutsewu community include watermelons, melons, shallots, papayas and chilies. Farmers in a year can plant five times.

In fact, if converted, the circulation of money for farmers in one village for a year can reach around 3 billion rupiah, calculated from dry land agricultural products which include horticulture and fruits. Then Urutsewu also has promising tourism potential, one of which is the lagoon in Wiromartan Village. In 2009, the Kebumen Forestry and Plantation Service planned to develop the lagoon into a mangrove forest area (mangrove) combined with a fishery business (silvo isherly) or anamina area. The tourism potential in Urutsewu is also found in Setrojenar Beach or people know it better by the name Bocor Beach. Other beaches that attract tourists to visit are Rowo Beach in Lembupurwo Village and Pranji Beach in Entak Village. On Rowo Beach, pine shrimp plants have been developed. On this beach, the gebyak rowo tradition is also held as the peak celebration of Idul Fitri. Almost the same as Rowo Beach, Pranji Beach is also used to hold the ritual of "cah angon Urutsewu. This event is usually held in the month of Maulid (Rabiulawal). This "cah angon" ritual is a cultural potential of Urutsewu which should be preserved, in addition to other cultural potentials.

The writer mentions that the actors involved in the conflict include several actors. First, PT MNC as a corporate actor. Second, state actors include the Kebumen district government, the Kebumen DPRD, and the Indonesian Army. Third, grassroots actors which include the Urutsewu community from the Districts of Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit. Fourth, environmental NGO actors, both local and national.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sewu Sequence of Land Problems

The land conflict in Urutsewu began with unclear status of land ownership along the coast in Buluspesantren District, Ambal, and Mirit, Kebumen Regency resulting in mutual land ownership claims between the two parties, namely between residents and the Indonesian Army. The TNI AD's claim to land in Urutsewu is based on the argument that the armed forces institution has been using the land since 1937 by utilizing state land which is approximately 500 meters wide from the sea line to the mainland along approximately 22.5 kilometers. And local residents claim based on land acquisition in 1932 by the Dutch colonial government. Klangsiran land is a land mapping process carried out by the mantri klangsir with the aim of determining the tax that must be paid by the community. It is also known as Setrojenar which is a land owned by the people. Land concessions are land that is taxed and paid for by the community.

Withdrawal of taxes in 1962 using pethuk as a token of payment of land tax. The land problem in Urutsewu is also related to residents' objections regarding the TNI AD training because it has hampered local residents' activities such as not being able to farm and the training also has the potential to damage farmers' crops. It was recorded that in November 2008, the TNI AD conducted a series of exercises and competitions which resulted in damage to Muklas and Marsino's corn crops. The situation was exacerbated by the absence of compensation from the Dislitbang TNI AD to residents. The TNI AD instead shifted this responsibility onto TNI units that were training and when the training was held at Ambalresmi Village in early September 2009, the TNI AD removed 17 coconut seeds belonging to farmers without permission. Then the conflict also occurred because of the TNI AD's negligence in carrying out the cleaning after carrying out weapons trials. This is evidenced by the many discoveries of mortars by residents who are still active on their farms.

In fact, the result of the TNI AD's negligence has claimed lives. In 1998, there were children who found mortar and brought it home. At home, the mortar is used to play around so it explodes. The incident claimed five lives. The problem became even more complicated when, around October 2007, the TNI AD marked 22.5 kilometers of land owned by residents on Jalan Diponegoro (from Ayam Putih Village to Wiromartan Village) with markers marked with the words "TNI AD". With so many land issues with the Indonesian Army, this did not hinder the enthusiasm of the community to make the Urutsewu area a tourism area. It was marked by the construction of a gate which caused tension between the community and the TNI AD. On 20 February 2009, the District Head of Buluspesantren facilitated a meeting between the Head of the Indonesian Army's Research and Development Agency, the Head of Setrojenar Village, and a number of community leaders. Land problems in Urutsewu still continue. On May 14, 2009, residents staged a demonstration at the Kebumen DPRD building. The action was carried out by placing banners, posters and warning boards prohibiting the Indonesian Army from holding exercises in the Urutsewu area.

According to Windiyatno, the authority to use Urutsewu land rests with the central government. Windiyatno added that the TNI does not own land in Urutsewu. This is because the land in Urutsewu is state land. Anyone, both the military and the people, may use the land.

To resolve this case, an FPPKS event was held. This event was held to find the best solution between the farmers and the Indonesian Army regarding the threat of being ambushed by the farmers if the shooting drills to be carried out by Military Academy (Akmil) cadets at the Dislitbang TNI AD on 22–25 July 2009 were to be carried out. The results of the agreement included that the Regent would coordinate with the Governor and Deputy Governor of Central Java and consult the Military Academy regarding the training agenda and the Regent would urge the Governor of Central Java to hold the Akmil training outside Kebumen; and the Regent guaranteed that there would be no TN training) in Urutsewu. 45 However, in fact the TNI training was held again on 25 August 2010 and continued on 21 September 2010. Due to opposition from residents of Setrojenar Village, the military moved the training location to Ambalresmi Village. The land issue in Urutsewu became even more complicated when the Kebumen district government agreed that there was TNI AD land in Urutsewu which was used as a weapons testing area. This is stated in the Kebumen Regency Regional Regulation Number 23 of 2012 concerning the Kebumen Regency Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) for 2011–2031.

Iron Sand Mining in Mirit District

On September 17, 2008, the KSAD sent a letter to the Military Commander IV/Diponegoro numbered B/1949-09/27/12/Set regarding the agreement to cooperate in the utilization of TNI AD land in Mirit District for the iron sand mining business. On this basis, the Pangdam IV/Diponegoro approved the use of TNI AD land for iron sand mining. The approval letter numbered B/1461/IX/2008 was signed by the Military Commander IV/Diponegoro Major General Haryadi Soetanto on September 25 2008. This exploration permit was granted to PT MNC for one year. This permit, which was later issued by KPPT, was granted as a requirement for the preparation of an Environmental Impact Analysis (AMDAL) document which is valid for twelve months. In the process of preparing the AMDAL, PT MNC conducts outreach through mass media and direct outreach to the public.

Socialization through the mass media was carried out in the context of elaborating Government Regulation Number 27 of 1999 concerning Analysis of Environmental Impacts and Environmental Management Agency Decree Number 08 of 2000 concerning Community Involvement and Information Disclosure in the Process of Analysis of Environmental Impacts. There were objections made by 5 villages. The rejection of the five villages was in line with the rejection of iron sand mines by members of the Kebumen DPRD. Halimah Nurhayati, a member of Commission A DPRD from Mirit sub-district, has categorically rejected the investor's plan to mine iron sand. He also questioned KP's recommendation for investors to explore 1,000 hectares of land in the Districts of Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit. Moreover, the coastal area of Kebumen is productive agricultural land and has become a center for watermelon and melon production. In addition, iron sand mining activities are also prone to erosion. Even though there has been objection to iron sand mining, the AMDAL discussion continues to the next process, namely the AMDAL assessment.

The AMDAL assessment is carried out by a provincial level AMDAL assessment commission. By the assessment commission, the AMDAL for iron sand mining in Mirit District was declared to have met the due diligence standards. In the end, the AMDAL document was ratified by the Governor of Central Java, Bibit Waluyo. In the end, the Kebumen Regency Government granted PT MNC a Production Operation IUP for 10 years through letter number 503/001/KEP/2011 on January 20 2011. The production permit stated that the area to be mined reached 591.07 hectares. Of that area, it was recorded that 317.48 hectares of land belonged to the Indonesian Army, which was usually used as a place for training and testing weapons.

Triggers for the Emergence of Iron Sands Development Conflicts

The seeds of the iron sand mining conflict began to emerge during the AMDAL commission meeting. During the meeting, five of the six village administrators refused the presence of miners, except for Wiromartan Village. The rejection of the five villages is in line with the rejection of the iron sand mine by several members of the Kebumen DPRD. Even though there has been a refusal to mine iron sand mining, the AMDAL process continues to the next stage, namely the AMDAL assessment, which ultimately leads to the issuance of a Production Operation IUP. At first, the community did not know that a permit for mining production had been issued by the KPPT. After learning about this, the people of Mirit sub-district rejected mining more firmly. The movement against the residents that was carried out came from the Mirit community who are members of the FMMS. With the excuse of passive village bureaucrats, the resistance was led by FMMS coordinators at the village and sub-district levels.

The community has several reasons for refusing to mine iron sand in terms of environmental and economic sustainability. If mining continues, the community is worried that environmental damage will occur, such as a tsunami disaster, considering that Mirit District is a tsunami-prone area. Another impact is in the form of well water becoming salty because the iron sand used as a filter has been dredged. From the economic sector, the community's resistance was driven by a sense of threat to the loss of their livelihoods. If agricultural land is dredged, then farmers will not be able to use the land for farming.

Likewise with fishermen who can no longer go to sea because the area has become a mining area. Manijo from Mirit Petikusan Village is worried about such an impact, so he prefers the Urutsewu area to remain as agricultural land. The community is worried that environmental damage will occur due to iron sand mining, as happened in Ketawang Beach, Purworejo, Central Java. In the area, iron sand mining causes groundwater discharge to fall, roads are damaged, and dust is spread which disrupts traffic and the community. Dig holes that are quite deep still remain after mining, although some have been reclaimed, revegetated, and become paddy fields. Although mining has had a positive impact in the form of assistance and soft loans to the community, the mining process which has lasted for about 20 years has had a more negative impact. The land reclamation efforts promised by the company did not make the community immediately agree to mining. The reclamation that the community hopes for is the return of the land to how it used to be. Not only the community, one of the board members from the National Mandate Party Fraction, Woro Retnoningrum, regretted the environmental damage caused by the exploitation of iron sand because reclamation would not be able to restore its original condition. But on the other hand, the National Mandate Party faction really understands that the potential for mineral minerals such as iron sand is very significant for the interests of many people.

The positive benefits of iron sand mining for the community have actually been promised by the company. PT MNC has a community empowerment program (Corporate Social Responsibility) in the form of providing loans and grants (education and training assistance as well as product marketing). PT MNC also offers community development programs such as assistance to victims of natural disasters, education or training assistance, health improvement assistance, assistance for the development of public facilities and infrastructure, and assistance for worship facilities. To carry out this program, PT MNC has provided funds of IDR 1.08 billion. Even so, the community will continue to reject iron sand mining. According to them, the money that will be given by the company will not be able to pay for the ecological damage that must be faced by society. The people of Mirit Subdistrict in particular and Urutsewu in general are more concerned about environmental sustainability for their future descendants. Aside from the ecological impact they will face, the community is also disappointed because the Production

Operation IUP has been issued without the public's knowledge. They feel they are not involved in the mining licensing process other than in socializing the AMDAL.

The rejection of iron sand mining did not only come from the people of Mirit Subdistrict, but also from the people of Buluspesantren and Ambal Subdistricts who are members of FPPKS. FPPKS learned that there would be mining from Mirit District residents who came to FPPKS at the end of 2010. FPPKS' reasons for rejecting iron sand mining were related to the impacts of mining, such as environmental impacts, loss of agricultural areas which are the livelihoods of local residents, and issues of ownership claims. unfinished land. A DPRD member from the Golongan Karya party faction, Mohammad Kiki Wahid Purnomo, is of the opinion that the turmoil that has arisen in society is caused by several things. First, because there are many tombs there. The southern coastal area is used as a burial place for residents. Second, Urutsewu is an agricultural area that is now more advanced than in the past. Third, the threat of extraordinary environmental damage. He gave the example of Cilacap Regency which is considered the best in terms of environmental reclamation, but in reality the environment is damaged and the climate is getting warmer. According to him, these are some of the things that make the people of Mirit District reject iron sand mining.

Iron Sand Mining Conflict Process

In responding to the community's aspirations, the DPRD promised to be on the side of the community, although institutionally so far the DPRD has never been involved in the iron sand mining licensing process. DPRD does not have the authority regarding the granting of mining permits. The DPRD is only authorized to control the policies carried out by the government. While upheaval continued to occur in the community, the Kebumen DPRD began discussing two draft local regulations related to iron sand after the issuance of the IUP for Production Operations for iron sand mining in the coastal District of Mirit. The two draft regulations are about mineral and coal mining and tax on non-metallic minerals and rocks. In the general view of the factions at the plenary meeting of the Kebumen DPRD on Monday, March 14 2011, the two draft regional regulations were discussed. The meeting was chaired by Deputy Chairman of the Kebumen DPRD, Agus Kurniawan. Of the six factions of the Kebumen DPRD, one faction, namely the United Development Party (FPP) faction, firmly rejects the existence of iron sand mining because of the existence of community-owned agricultural land. Meanwhile, the other five factions stated that they could accept it for the sake of increasing regional income.

After the hearing on March 2, 2011, the community expressed a stronger rejection of iron sand mining. Various banners and billboards containing opposition to the use of the Urutsewu area as a location for iron sand mining were installed along Jalan Daendels, from Mirit Petikusan Village to Wiromartan Village (Suara Merdeka, 22 March 2011). In addition to placing banners, rejection was also made through internet media, namely through a blog managed by FPPKS. Another form of refusal was by holding a grand Pasowan Agung action (great gathering) on March 23, 2011. The district head invited residents to resolve land issues at the BPN. Meanwhile, in the Buluspesantren and Ambal sub-districts, the management will be handed over to the community. Regarding the land in Urutsewu, the Regent promised to review the state land boundary markers that the people believed in the next day, March 24 2011. And indeed, the next day, the Regent and his staff as well as the Chairperson of the DPRD and representatives of the Kebumen BPN came to Buluspesantren District to fulfill his promise to see the land plots. state land boundaries. However, the arrival of the Regent was preceded by the arrival of hundreds of troops from Semarang, Magelang, Solo and Bandung. The farmers welcomed him by bringing sharpened bamboo, sickles, and other tools. There was no physical violence that occurred at that time, but the community referred to the arrival of hundreds of soldiers as the army's occupation of Urutsewu.

While the people of Ambal Subdistrict and Setrojenar Village demonstrated demanding that the Urutsewu area be made into an agricultural and tourism area, residents of Mirit Subdistrict prepared a statement refusing stamped iron sand mining. The actions are coordinated by FMMS. The responsibility for collecting statement letters was delegated to the coordinator of each village. In response to community actions, the Kebumen Regional Leadership Forum (Forpimda) held a meeting in the courtyard of the Kebumen Resort Police Headquarters on 30 March 2011. Forpimda made an agreement to mutually support sustainable development and maintain the security situation and safe and conducive national order in Kebumen. This forum was held in a joint ceremony which was attended by 275 TNI personnel and 425 Polri personnel, Kebumen Regent Buyar Winarso, Kebumen Police Chief Adjunct Senior Commissioner of Police Andik Setiono, Dandim 0709 Kebumen Lt. Col. (Inf) Windyatno, Chairman of the DPRD Budi Hianto Susanto, Chair of the Kebumen District Court Hanoeng Widjajanto, and Head of the Kebumen District Attorney Mahatma Sentanu. Buyar Winarso said that this gathering was an affirmation of the solidity of the ranks of the TNI and Polri as well as the Kebumen district government.

Transition of Iron Sand Mining Issues to Rejection of Weapon Trials

The Pasowan Agung action on March 23 2011 which was not attended by the Mirit people on the grounds that the action was an act of refusal to test weapons resulted in a shift in the issue of conflict. The action taken by FPPKS was seen as a rejection of weapons trials and land claims issues, without anything to do with the rejection of iron sand mining. The shift in the issue of conflict became even more evident when in April, residents received news that the Indonesian Army was planning to conduct war exercises and tests of the 105 mm caliber KH-178 Howitzer in Setrojenar Village. This plan really surprised the FPPKS and the residents of Urutsewu. An emergency meeting was also held by FPPKS at Imam Zuhdi's residence in Setrojenar Village that same night. From the meeting it was agreed that the residents would put up resistance if the TNI AD continued to carry out training in Setrojenar Village. On April 11 2011, residents blocked the road leading to the Indonesian Army's Research and Development Office with tree trunks. All access to Dislitbang is closed and heavily guarded by residents. Soldiers were trapped inside Dislitbang without food supply.

Residents who took action to block the entry of food by beating and expelling residents of Ambal District who were ordered to deliver food. While the blockade was in progress, deliberations were held between the Regent, DPRD, and the FPPKS Coordinator at the Buluspesantren District Office. Because the TNI AD persisted in conducting weapons trials, at around 11.00, the FPPKS representative decided to leave the room and immediately joined the community in front of the TNI AD Dislitbang. The residents' disappointment with the TNI AD's attitude was shown by burning tires and standing in front of the Dislitbang fence while carrying a machete. Inside the Dislitbang, the TNI AD stands ready with full weapons at a distance of about five meters from the Dislitbang fence. The crowd's emotions were then managed to be suppressed by Imam Zuhdi, the coordinator of that day's action. Residents will not attack if the TNI AD does not open fire. It would be a mistake for the TNI AD to open fire first. Toward dusk, the residents finally stopped the blockade and allowed food to enter the Dislitbang on humanitarian grounds.

Immediately, six newly imported South Korean cannons were taken away again. TNI members who were at Dislitbang also left the location. That evening, Adi Pandoyo, Assistant I to the Kebumen Regional Secretary (Sekda), facilitated a dialogue between FPPKS representatives and the Military Commander IV/Diponegoro, Major General Langgeng Sulistiyono, witnessed by the Head of the Central Java Regional Police, Inspector General

Edward Aritonang. In this dialogue it was decided that deliberations would be held again within the next two weeks. During that range, the TNI will not carry out weapons training and trials. While the residents of Setrojenar and Ambal were demonstrating against weapons training and testing, the Mirit people and several members of the council held a meeting to discuss iron sand mining. In the meeting held on April 11 2011, the members of the council stated that they would stay behind the community. If Mirit ends up becoming a mining area, reclamation must really be enforced. Various efforts have also been made by the company to approach the community. The approach was taken by inviting residents to conduct a comparative study to the former iron sand mining area of PT Aneka Tambang in Karang Bendo Village, Adipala District, Cilacap Regency.

However, the TNI AD through the KSAD, Lt. Gen. George Toisutta, emphasized that none of his soldiers were the backing for the iron sand mining business in the Urutsewu area, Setrojenar Village, Buluspesantren District, Kebumen Regency, Central Java. This statement is not wrong because those involved in iron sand mining are retired army generals. At a time when the TNI AD was intensively carrying out its mission to claim ownership of land in Urutsewu, the community received support and sympathy from various NGOs, both local and national. From 16 to 25 July 2011, JATAM conducted research on iron sand mining on the south coast of Java covering four districts: Tasikmalaya, Lumajang, Kulonprogo and Kebumen. Regarding the Democratic Party's response to iron sand mining, Aksin, who also serves as Chair of Commission C and Chair of the Democratic Party faction, said that his party supports investments that are beneficial to society. According to Widodo Sunu Nugroho, the leader of the Wiromartan Village community who refused mining, after the heavy equipment arrived, residents began to gather and agree to refuse mining.

Political Economic Analysis of Iron Sand Mining

The need for world steel production continues to increase from 1,028.8 million metric tons (MT). In 2005 to 1120 million MT in 2006 requires more raw materials. One type of mining material which is the raw material for making iron, steel, concrete iron and construction iron is iron sand. This demand comes from industrial countries such as Germany, America, Japan, China and India. These countries are competing to mine iron sand in developing countries, one of which is in Indonesia. To improve economic development, Indonesia is also competing to develop the economy by extracting natural resources. With the implementation of regional autonomy, the authority to manage natural resources lies with the local government. One form of implementation of natural resource management by the regions is carried out by the Kebumen district government by giving investors the opportunity to mine iron sand. Interested investors are foreign investors from China, Japan and India, as well as local investors such as PT Aneka Tambang and PT Mitra Niagatama Cemerlang (PT MNC). Among these investors, the company that obtained the permit from the district government was PT MNC. The iron sand mining that will be carried out in Mirit Sub-District raises political ecological conflicts in the Urutsewu area.

The conflicts that arise are closely related to natural resources in the form of soil and iron sand contained in Urutsewu. Conflicts over land arose when the community's need for land in Urutsewu as agricultural land conflicted with the TNI AD's need for land as an area for weapons training and testing. The cause of the conflict was not limited to Urutsewu's land use, but more to the issue of land status. This problem concerns the unclear status of land ownership in fallow zones (land that is intentionally left unproductive) along the Districts of Buluspesantren, Ambal, to Mirit, causing mutual claims between the community and the Indonesian Army. The resources contained on the south coast of Kebumen invite interested actors, namely, first, the

people who use the land as agricultural land and will be the ones who feel the direct impact of iron sand mining.

Second, the Indonesian Army uses the land for weapons training and testing. From this mining, the Indonesian Army will get economic benefits from the company. Third, investors who will extract the iron sand. This investor is part of a group of multinational companies. Fourth, the district government wants to earn income to increase local revenue (PAD). Fifth, local and national NGOs. Scarcity occurs when the Indonesian Army claims the land as its own. In various ways, the Indonesian Army tried to legalize land tenure in Urutsewu. Among them is through the creation of a regional RTRW and land certification efforts at the BPN which are supported by the Kebumen district government and the Kebumen DPRD. The process of making the RTRW draft bylaw was full of the interests and intervention of the Indonesian Army. The indication is the presence of members of the Indonesian Army during the legislative process in the DPRD. In addition to the quantity and quality of the availability of natural resources, other causes of conflict are politics, management and control related to how natural resources are managed by the state (Alao, 2007: 27). The state, in this case the Kebumen district government, the Kebumen DPRD, and the TNI AD have not been able to manage natural resources wisely.

The TNI AD's claim is only based on historical information that the land in Urutsewu has been used as a defensive fortress by the Dutch and Japanese troops. On this basis, the TNI AD felt that it had the right to use the area after Indonesia won independence from the Netherlands. In addition, the TNI's claim was made based on the acknowledgment of the competent authority, including: the Governor of Central Java through the Governor of Central Java Letter Number 592.2/20317 dated Director General of Spatial Planning for Regional Work Units (SKPD) Deconcentration of the Cipta Karya and Spatial Planning Office of Central Java Province; as well as State Asset Inventory Data with Register Number 30709034. This acknowledgment by the competent authority is essentially only an acknowledgment that the land is being used as a TNI training area, not stating that the land belongs to the TNI. Conflicts over ownership of agricultural land due to the exploitation of iron sand also involve the community.

Patterns and Characters of Iron Sand Mining Conflict in Urutsewu

The study of political ecology places political analysis in the first place by first explaining the interaction between humans and the environment which is related to the spread of environmental degradation (Bryant, 1998: 80). The study of political ecology of environmental change is the result of economic and political policies, which arise through the struggles of various actors in the context of the state, the interactions between countries, and in the context of the development of global capitalism (Afiff, 2009: 27). In this analysis of the political ecological conflict of iron sand mining, it will be seen how the political interactions of the actors involved in it. These actors include state actors (Kebumen district government, TNI AD, and the Kebumen DPRD), corporate actors (PT MNC), grassroots actors, and NGOs. From the interactions of these actors, the interests of each actor will be analyzed using the theoretical approach of Bryant and Bailey (1997). It is this difference in interests that can lead to conflict where there are differences about who benefits and who loses (Mitchell et al., 2003: 23).

State and Society in Iron Sand Mining Conflict

By granting mining permits to PT MNC, the district government appears to have ignored the interests of the community, considering that the land in Urutsewu is still a dispute between the TNI and the community and that there has been a refusal to test weapons which are considered detrimental to farmers. The people of Urutsewu's rejection of iron sand mining is not merely because of their respect for the environment, but because of their dependence on

the environment where they live and where they earn income by growing horticultural crops. If iron sand mining continues, then the community will not be able to plant crops and earn income from agricultural products. Communities who benefit from the land are spread across various professions such as farmers, farm labourers, providers of agricultural equipment, and traders of agricultural products. If access to land is lost, the livelihoods of these various professions will also be lost. FMMS faces the threat of the impact of iron sand mining from an environmental, economic and social perspective. In expressing its refusal, FMMS was more cooperative with the district government. This can be seen when FMMS followed the Regent's suggestion to make a stamped refusal letter instead of participating in the Pasowan Agung action on March 23 2011.

In Bryant and Bailey's terms, FMMS can be included in the category of self-help grassroots organizations because of its character as a community organization that tends to avoid confrontation with powerful actors, such as district governments and companies. The grassroots organization that also opposes iron sand mining is FPPKS. The focus of this organization's struggle is to make the Urutsewu area an agricultural and tourism area. This is also closely related to the settlement of land disputes in Urutsewu between the community and the Indonesian Army. FPPKS wants the Urutsewu area to be free from TNI AD training and iron sand mining prior to iron sand mining in Mirit District, FPPKS which has a mass base in the villages of Ayam Putih, Setrojenar, Bercong, Entak, and Kaibon Petangkuran has faced ecological problems. Communities in these villages have limited access to natural resource management, even though in essence they are the ones closest to the environment. This is in line with Bryant and Bailey (1997: 158) that grassroots actors are groups that are marginalized in the management of natural resources because environmental resources are controlled by powerful actors, namely the state and business groups.

The community also depends on marine catches and businesses in the beach tourism sector. Bryant and Bailey (1997: 16) mention that grassroots actors who live in villages have an interest in managing environmental resources not because of a great sense of respect for the environment, but rather because of their dependence on natural resources. This is because industrial development often creates negative influences, as stated by Bryant and Bailey (1997: 57). Industrial development also brings other effects such as increased air, soil and water pollution from the manufacturing process (Bryant and Bailey 1997). Iron sand mining in Mirit will cause a decrease in air quality, noise (noise pollution), disruption to smoothness and traffic safety, decreased area quality, and changes in soil vegetation. 85 This situation will be a concrete threat to grassroots actors.

As a result of economic and political marginalization related to iron sand mining, the Kebumen district government, DPRD, and the Indonesian Army have come under pressure from local communities who are organized in community forums. Pressure was carried out through hearings and demonstrations. The state is required to make policies that are pro-community, both related to land disputes in Urutsewu between the community and the Indonesian Army, as well as the issue of iron sand mining. The state is also required to make pro-environmental policies by making the Urutsewu region an agricultural and tourism area. This demand is considered more environmentally friendly than making Urutsewu a weapon testing area and iron sand mining site. The marginalization experienced by the Urutsewu community is a form of injustice. Referring to Camara (2005: 31), injustice is a form of violence.

The existence of injustice prompted the people of Mirit District, organized by FMMS, to reject iron sand mining. The rejection was made by placing banners and billboards along the road between Mirit Petikusan Village and Wiromartan. In addition, the rejection was also conveyed in an audience with the district government facilitated by the DPRD. Meanwhile,

community protests gathered in FPPKS were carried out through audiences with DPRD members, communication media, and through demonstrations. The Pasowan Agung demonstration became a major resistance for the people of Urutsewu with basic demands. This action is a form of their participation in demanding justice in their position as a society that is close to the environment. However, there were efforts to weaken the action in the form of persuading the Regent to the people of Mirit Subdistrict not to take action and to issue a stamped refusal letter. If the conflict has manifested itself in resistance and protests from the community, the authorities will do everything they can to secure their position. As Camara (2005: 36) says: "When conflict reaches the streets, when violence no. 2 tries to fight violence no1"

Repression carried out by the state does not stop violence, but instead creates new injustices. The most visible form of injustice was when the perpetrators of the destruction were detained at the Kebumen Police, tried according to law, and had to languish in prison. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Army, which has shot, beaten, destroyed, robbed, and terrorized people, has not been subject to legal proceedings. Violence perpetrated by powerful actors, whether in the form of injustice or physical violence, is an attempt to win the interests of these actors. This is because a strong community movement will threaten the interests of other actors such as the interests of the district government, miners, and the TNI AD institution.

Company Actors, State Actors, and Community Actors in Iron Sand Mining Conflicts

When Nashiruddin Al Mansyur was the Regent of Kebumen, an exploration permit for iron sand mining in Mirit District was granted to PT MNC. PT MNC, which is known as a local company, has a global network and operates in a global scope. This company can be classified as a transnational company and enters into the network of global capitalism. This mining company group consists of several companies owned by Ratna Handini. The granting of exploration permits and production operation permits to PT MNC was not without cause, because PT MNC managed to obtain land use permits in Urutsewu from the Military Commander IV/Diponegoro which was most likely supported by insider connections. PT MNC is owned by a retired general indicating a non-institutional military business.

From this, it can be seen that the influence of business power in global capitalism has proven to be strong, because PT MNC which is a local company has a global network and can be classified as a transnational company. In addition, insider connections are an influencing factor in decision making in granting exploration permits and production operation permits. This shows that there are non-institutional military businesses that still exist in Indonesia despite the implementation of Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces discussing the granting of permits for exploration and production operations for iron sand mining in Mirit District, Kebumen, to PT MNC which succeeded in defeating PT Aneka Tambang which was also interested in mining in the area. PT MNC is known as a local company because its director, Imam Mudzakir, is a businessman from Kebumen. However, this company has a global network and operates in a global scope. PT MNC is part of a mining company group consisting of Handini Resources Limited, China Time International Limited, Tabang Mineral Ventures, PT Bungo Raya Nusantara, PT Bara Adhipratama, and PT Nusantara Termal Coal. the company is owned by Ratna Handini. Local company capital does not always come from local people, but can also come from transnational companies that invest indirectly on behalf of local companies.

The granting of land use permits in Urutsewu for the exploitation of iron sands to PT MNC was supported by the statement by Rully Aryanto, Assistant Manager of PT MNC, that PT MNC had connections with insiders to join the Indonesian Army. It is highly probable that the

connection of the person in question is Major General (Retired) Rianzi Julidar who served as Coordinator of the KSAD Expert Staff from 18 December 2007 to 29 May 2008. He also discussed the existence of non-institutional military businesses in Indonesia, namely a number of companies owned by the families of former or current officials. TNI officials who in carrying out their business have an emotional and moral relationship with military agencies. From the ownership of PT MNC by retired generals, it can be concluded that the business is included in the non-institutional military business category. It can be concluded that PT MNC is a local company that has a global network and is part of a mining company group. The granting of land use permits in Urutsewu for the exploitation of iron sands to PT MNC was supported by connections with insiders, most likely former TNI officials. In addition, the ownership of PT MNC by a retired general indicates the existence of a non-institutional military business.

The Unfinished Conflict

In explaining the unresolved conflict, the district government, the Army and the Kebumen DPRD, supported by PT MNC, are trying to defend the Urutsewu area as a defense and weapons testing area and continue to play in the iron sand mining business behind them, without take into account environmental conservation. This conflict occurs because environmental conservation is something that is not taken into account by the state because it tends to seek economic and political gains. District governments and DPRDs pay less attention to environmental conservation and seek more political-economic benefits to increase PAD. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Army as a state security institution also prioritizes the economic benefits of iron sand mining. In this position, the state becomes an "amalgam", which only prioritizes institutional interests. In this position, the state becomes an 'amalgam', only prioritizing institutional interests and rarely speaking with one voice when it comes to activities that cause environmental degradation or conservation. Even though environmental damage has not yet occurred in the Mirit region, changes in the landscape are bound to occur, the negative impacts of mining are always denied on the grounds that there will be reclamation after mining, but the reclamation promised by the company may not necessarily be fulfilled. In addition, the companies associated with PT MNC, namely PT Nusantara Termal Coal and PT Bara Adhipratama, have a track record of destroying the environment through coal mining. In addition, licensing, social, and conflict issues also occurred at the mining sites that the two companies worked on. The state, in this case the district government and DPRD, only talks about the benefits from mining, namely increasing PAD. The regency government and DPRD did not explain the impact of mining on the environment to the people of Mirit Subdistrict who would feel the direct impact of mining.

When the community and NGOs demanded that iron sand mining not be carried out in their area, the district government and the DPRD still defended the decision on the grounds that it was in the interests of the region. So that the dualism of the state's attitude or the nature of "amalgam" was evident in the position of the Kebumen regency government regarding the position of iron sand mining in Urutsewu. The state is in between positions as a "developer" or "destroyer" of the environment. On the one hand, he wants to develop the protected area and potential development of Urutsewu which is more environmentally friendly by designating the Urutsewu area as a coastal border area, marine and other waters nature reserve area, mangrove forested coastal area, germplasm protection area, agricultural area, fisheries, and tourism, as well as tsunami-prone areas. However, on the other hand, the district government also places Urutsewu as a defense and security area as well as a mining area that damages the environment. Judging from the process of granting Production Operations Mining Permits for iron sand mining and recognition of defense and security areas by the state, the authors see that the state

prefers to be an environmental "destroyer". However, the district government will not withdraw the Production Operation IUP as this will harm their economic and political interests. In conclusion, the political ecological conflict in Urutsewu occurred because the district government, TNI AD, and the Kebumen DPRD prioritized economic and political interests over environmental conservation. The state becomes an "amalgam" that only prioritizes institutional interests, and in this case, prefers to be an environmental "destroyer".

CONCLUSION

In Urutsewu, there is a political ecological conflict due to the appropriation of natural resources by state actors, which can be seen from the claim of ownership of a land area 500 meters wide and 22.5 kilometers long by the Indonesian Army in three sub-districts from the village of Ayam Putih to Wiromartan. This claim of ownership results in a scarcity of artificial land. The conflict worsened when the Kebumen district government, the Indonesian Army and PT MNC entered into a business relationship for an iron sand mining permit in Mirit District. DPRD tends to be inactive in dealing with iron sand mining, even supporting the status of land in Urutsewu as a defense and security area. This points to the lack of state management of natural resources which exacerbated the conflict. Conflict tensions have increased with the exploration and exploitation of iron sand by PT MNC after being granted a Production Operation Mining Business Permit by KPPT Kebumen.

Actors who have power over natural resources can exploit and harm grassroots actors who are weaker economically and politically. The people in Urutsewu have a very strong attachment to their land, and when there were threats from the Indonesian Army and the iron sand mining company, they tried to defend their land rights. Groups such as the South Mirit Community Forum (FMMS) and the South Kebumen Farmers Association Forum (FPPKS) are demanding socially just and environmentally sustainable policies from the government. This conflict has led to violence in Urutsewu, where stakeholders and businessmen secured their positions and repressed grassroots movements. Nonetheless, this violence also sparked solidarity from other community and environmental organizations. The company is working with the Kebumen district government and the Indonesian Army in iron sand mining activities in the Urutsewu area, which indicates rent seeking in the area. This collaboration provides benefits for each party, where PT MNC will generate maximum profits by dredging iron sand with the logic of capital accumulation. The state will also benefit from tax revenues, mining fees and levies, as well as job creation. However, these gains are not comparable to the environmental damage that has occurred. The district government of Kebumen and the Indonesian Army prioritize institutional interests over protecting the environment, and rarely speak in one voice about the potential for environmental degradation.

This can be seen from the issuance of permits for the production of iron sand mining and the recognition of defense and security areas by the state in the Regional Regulation of the Kebumen RTRW, which indicates that the state prefers to be an environmental "destroyer". Cooperation between the Kebumen district government, the Indonesian Army, PT MNC, and the Kebumen DPRD has strengthened the position of actors who support iron sand mining, including the Urutsewu community group through the Urutsewu Kebumen Peace and Order Consolidation Communication Forum (FK4UK) and the Bina Bangun Generasi NGO (BBG). The involvement of every actor in this cooperation provides economic and political benefits. Meanwhile, community organizations such as FPPKS, Urutsewu Bersatu (USB), and FMMS, although the latter are not very vocal, have united in rejecting mining and TNI claims by holding demonstrations and lobbying the government, as well as establishing solidarity with other areas facing mining threats. To change the state of conflict, there are two ways: actors who

support mining must have the political will to resolve conflicts, or actors who oppose mining must continue to coordinate and consolidate with each other. In addition, the community must not only depend on the government, the Indonesian Army and companies in resolving the conflict in Urutsewu.

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