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## THE HEGEMONY OF THE COAL MINING CORPORATION, THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KUTAI RICE BARN CENTER AND THE DAMAGE TO THE LIVING SPACE OF TRANSMIGRANTS

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### ABSTRACT

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*Kerta Buana Village, became the location for transmigrants from Bali, Lombok (NTB) and a few local transmigrants in 1980. This village later grew to become part of the main rice granary area of Kutai Kartanegara Regency, as well as being known as the Bali Village of East Kalimantan. Kerta Buana is also known as the Pancasila Village, because of the harmony of the villagers with the background of 2 different dominant religions, Balinese transmigrants are Hindu and Lombok Muslim transmigrants. However, at present Kerta Buana Village has suffered severe damage to life, has changed its face into a village surrounded by coal mines, surrounded by 14 mining pits, agricultural productivity is low and a class of farmers without rice fields has emerged. This article analyzes how a transmigrant village that was once known as part of the district's food barn has now turned into a village surrounded by mining. Data was collected by in-depth observation, in-depth interviews with 16 key informants from each transmigrant group and repeated focus group interviews. Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony is used to explain how company power builds historical blocks, hegemony villagers with extractive economic ideology so that villagers agree to massive coal exploration around the village. The results show*

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*that companies use corporate and government institutions, community leaders, security forces and even local communities to lead transmigrants to obey the company's wishes. There have been small struggles, organic intellectuals have appeared for a while, but in the end, they lost in the face of corporate power and the village of Kerta Buana changed its face into a village surrounded by coal mines.*

**KEYWORDS**

Open-pit Mining, Hegemony, Transmigration, Destruction of Living Space



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## INTRODUCTION

Transmigration became the main political demographic during Suharto's reign (Warganegara & Waley, 2021). In the province of East Kalimantan alone, the local Manpower and Transmigration Office noted that as many as 299,455 household heads were accepted in 240 transmigrant settlement units spread across the province. The biggest wave during Suharto's New Order (1969-1996) was 277,246 families were moved to 172 transmigration settlements in this province (Purwaningsih et al., 2019). Although social experts criticize transmigration as the colonization of local communities (Penz, 2019), transmigration is also believed to change the face of Indonesia from islands that are identical with the identity of certain tribes, to islands with multiethnic populations (Hoey, 2003; Sutrisno et al., 2020). The issue of transmigrants characterizes the problem of community development in the outer islands of Java, ranging from classic problems such as identity (Widyatmoko & Dewi, 2019), networking (Setiawan, 2018), to environmental issues (Yuniza & Inggarwati, 2021).

In the 1980s, after the dimming of the glory of wood exports in Indonesia, the government began to pay attention to coal to earn foreign exchange. The National Mining Network (Jatamnas), an NGO that has long advocated for mining policies in Indonesia reported that until 2018 there were 8588 Mining Business Permits (IUPs), clearing an area of 17.1 million hectares in Indonesia. East Kalimantan is a province rich in coal reserves. East Kalimantan province has the largest IUP amounting to 1,190 or 13.87%. By the end of 2021, coal mines had produced 1735 gaping lakes that were left behind, 749 of which were in the city of Samarinda, the capital of East Kalimantan (Korporasi-State et al. n.d.). Many protests were carried out by civil society communities against coal mining operations in East Kalimantan (Yunianty et al., n.d.) (Priambodo et al., 2020). This Extractive Industry causes floods in cities in East Kalimantan, dust pollution, agricultural decline, damage to local people's living spaces, death.

In 1980, the Tenggarong sub-district became the destination for thousands of transmigrants from Java, DKI Jakarta, NTB, DIY and Bali. This area is a former concession area of PT Lamiri, a timber company that exploits forest timber in this sub-district. This region is known as the L region, extending from L-1 to L-4. Kerta Buana village is located on L4, inhabited by transmigrants from Bali, NTB and local transmigrants. In 1983 a coal company from Thailand named PT Kitadin began exploring coal mines with an underground mining system just to the right of the village gate of Kerta buana village (south of the village). Previously, the largest shareholder of PT Kitadin was Indocoal. In 1999, the

majority of their shares were sold to the Thai Banpu Group of Companies. This giant tamang from Thailand invaded an area of 973 ha.

Although neighboring coal mine exploration, underground mining does not have much impact on agriculture in this village, because this mining system does not require a very large area. In the early 1987-2000s, Kertabuana Village was known as the Bali Village of East Kalimantan. Although the population is not only composed of transmigrants from Bali, but in the upper villages, the typical Balinese scenery is presented very attractively. Each house has a temple, houses with Balinese architecture, plus a row of charming village temples. The location in the valley (behind the Village Hall) is often called Kampong Lombok, the place where the majority of transmigrants from Lombok live. Here there is a pesantren, and a madrasa built by the Nahdlatul Wathan Community. Kerta Buana Village is often also called Pancasila Village, because it presents the diversity of Balinese (Hindu) and Lombok (Muslim) cultures who live in peace.

In 2003, PT Kitadin started exploration using the Open pit mining method at the Embalut Site, closer to Kertabuana Village, covering an area of 2,973 Ha producing sub-bituminous coal with a calorific value of 5,850 kcal/kg and a sulfur content of 0.2%.

In 2004, PT Mahakam Sumber Jaya (MSJ) explored coal from the north side of the village. Concession Area, PT. MSJ is 20,380 Ha. Informant H who works as an employee of Mahakam Sumber Jaya (MSJ) contractor, PT. PCP---Mahakam Sumber Jaya (MSJ) has 2 contracting companies in charge of dredging coal in its concession area, namely Leighton and Cipta Kridatama (CK). Apart from these 2 coal giants, there are still 3 mining companies with exploration permits from the Regent of Kutai Kartanegara, namely CV. Intan Bara Mandiri, CV. Sardila and Kintamani Bara Utama, the total area is 239 ha.

Until the early 2000s, entering the gate of Kertabuana Village, you will be presented with views of verdant rice fields on either side of the village road. Entering the village area, the scenery changes with Balinese architectural houses, complete with temples at the front, and offering places on the roadside. After PT Kitadin and MSJ explored coal from either side of the village, Ajah Kertabuana changed drastically into a village surrounded by dozens of mining pits, with rice fields that were not as green as before. This paper will analyze the drastic changes in Kerta Buana Village as part of the Kutai Regency rice barn which is famous for its 'Bali village' in East Kalimantan, changing its face into a village surrounded by mines and experiencing extraordinary agricultural decline. The analysis will focus on how the hegemony of coal mining companies can change agricultural areas that have been designated as rice granaries in Kutai Regency.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research is descriptive-qualitative research. Data collection was done by observation, in-depth interviews and Focus Group Interview (FGI). Field observations were carried out twice before, to identify the village atmosphere and ensure the selection of the right informants. Talks about the decline of agriculture and mining issues in Kertabuana are heated discussions that trigger many conflicts of interest. In-depth interviews were conducted with 16 informants from each group of transmigrants from Lombok, Bali and later migrants (Cho & Trent, 2006) (Hayashi Jr et al., 2019). The selection of informants was carried out by taking into account the distribution of ethnicity, profession, position in society, age and education (Lampard & Pole, 2015). The FGD was canceled to avoid unproductive disputes among informants. This was done after evaluating the results of in-depth interviews which were feared to result in an unfavorable situation if all informants were brought together in an FGD (ten Have, 2004). Instead, focus group

interviews were conducted 3 times each for categories of groups of informants based on common perceptions grouped from the results of previous interviews. The FGI was carried out very thoroughly and carefully to triangulate the opinions of previous informants from other groups of informants (Brown, 2010). The FGI was conducted to deepen and clarify in exploring the history of village development, relations with corporations, pressures for land release, pressures for village relocation, community attitudes and behavior towards mining expansion and its impacts, acceptance, rejection and defense in coexistence with coal mines.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Result**

Some of the important findings in this study are:

1) There is a very striking difference in the pattern of hegemony among the residents of Kerta Buana Village, when they were part of the center of rice farming and when they became the center of coal mining in Kukar. The first hegemony was designed by the government as part of the ideology of developmentism that carries the politics of food self-sufficiency and equitable development. The 1980s and early 2000s were a time when the government built a historical bloc, confirming the consensus of transmigrants to submit to this ideology of developmentism. All government institutions and apparatus, down to the village level, community leaders and local communities, are guided by various state ideological instruments to ensure that all support the success of the transmigration program in Kerta Buana. Since the arrival of the transmigrants, the government through the department of transmigration, the department of information and the department of social affairs at that time, tried its best to hegemonize the transmigrants with the ideology of food self-sufficiency. Meanwhile, the security of residents in the new place is very tightly protected from security disturbances, especially security disturbances or potential conflicts with local communities due to tenure claims to the lands occupied or cultivated by transmigrants.

2) Open pit mining marks a turning point in the transition of the hegemony power of the political regime of developmentism with food politics and equitable development, shifting to the power of coal corporations with extractive economic jargon and foreign exchange heroes. The early 2000s to 2019 (when this research ends) were a period of where the company builds and strengthens continuously a new historical block that rests on the hegemony of extractive industry power. The company uses many strategies to create and maintain citizen compliance so as not to become a hindrance to the company's operations. The company uses many strategies, mobilizing village institutions, sub-district to district bureaucrats, police, and community leaders to persuade residents to give up their land. Many losses are borne by farmers, rice field irrigation sources are lost, soil fertility decreases, unrecognized pests appear, rice productivity drops dramatically and depends on rain. Apart from losses to the agricultural sector, residents also suffer from dust pollution, cracked houses, frequent floods and the collapse of temples.

3) Villagers are left to face the devastating destruction of their living space without strict law enforcement, even though on paper this village has been designated as an agricultural area. In terms of facing the threat of tenurial conflicts due to the unilateral claims of local communities, the government and security forces do not stand tall on the side of transmigrants even though transmigration is clearly the government's legal policy. The government and security forces allowed the conflict to end with great pressure on the part of the transmigrants for fear of being evicted because their land was claimed by local residents. In several incidents of citizen protests, the identity idiom of local residents was

actually used to beat back the struggle of the citizens under the pretext of disturbing security.

4) Civil society resistance has emerged since the beginning of the open pit mining operation, in every damage that causes losses to residents, spontaneous demonstrations always arise to demand compensation. Organic intellectuals only emerged in 2015/2016, when there were children of the second generation of transmigrants who had become students and were aware of legal injustice. There was resistance organized by this generation of organic intellectuals, but it was soon extinguished because it was collided with the local community. Although Balinese transmigrants have stronger resilience in terms of asset management for land compensation, both Balinese and Lombok transmigrants have suffered severe damage to living space due to mining.

## Discussion

### **Hegemony of Government Power: Politics of Food Self-Sufficiency and the Hegemony of Agriculture in Kerta Buana**

Suharto's hegemonic power was reflected in the organization of the transmigrants down to the village level, since their arrival. The strategy of hegemony is carried out in various ways, to ensure that transmigrants become part of the success of this development (Supadi, 1980; Tsujino et al., 2016). This period was a period when ABRI's role was very dominant, the government producing citizen compliance under the control and supervision of the military. The hegemonic strategy is carried out in various ways, involving all government institutions to the village level and transmigrant community leaders. The years 1980 to 2000 marked the processes in which the government built and strengthened consensus with transmigrants to succeed in food politics with these jargons of food self-sufficiency and equitable development.

The Department of Transmigration, the Department of Information, the BKKBN, the ABRI Department of Agriculture were deployed to oversee the success of this program. At the village level, development extension officers from the Ministry of Information at that time were tasked with educating the community with development jargons such as food self-sufficiency, equitable development and insight into Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Agricultural extension officers are tasked with assisting residents in starting agricultural businesses. Seeds and fertilizers get subsidies from the government, logistical rations for the whole family for 1.5 years. Family planning extension officers are tasked with providing counseling about family planning, the success of the program for 2 children is enough.

Babinsa officers, an army unit at the sub-district level, are ready to maintain public order and sterilize this new area from various kinds of security disturbances. The informants recalled that the soldiers did not only play a role in securing residents from security disturbances. If there are local residents who are actually members of the local transmigration program, triggering a tenure conflict, it will be quickly resolved by the soldiers who are on standby around the village. Some of the informants remember very well how swiftly the soldiers guarded the security there at that time. There is not the slightest tolerance for those who trigger riots in the village, both from the transmigrants and the indigenous people. On the other hand, the soldiers who served in the village also often worked together to make ditches and repair village roads.

The rumors that Kertabuana is a mining area have been heard by the transmigrants when they were gathered at the village mosque. A transmigrant assistance soldier said that this area was a mining area, the transmigrants were advised to seek as much land as possible. But at that time, the transmigrants did not understand what a mine was. Talks among Babinsa soldiers, village officials and agricultural extension workers that their village is the best coal area are often heard, but they just pass. For those who did not own

land in their area of origin, the 2 hectares of land from the government was considered very large at the time and it was exhausting to start farming in a new area. At the beginning of their arrival, it was very difficult for the transmigrants to start an agricultural business. Although the land provided had been cleared, when they arrived the land had returned to being a thicket, with the remains of large pieces of wood. Forest rats and golden snails are pests of mountain rice that are foreign to those who are accustomed to rice farming systems in their area of origin.

In 1982, PT Kitadin started coal exploration using the underground mining method. The difficulty of pioneering agriculture in the early days led many male transmigrants to become unskilled underground mining workers. Others become timber company workers and construction workers to get capital to develop agriculture. Meanwhile, women take care of the household and continue to work as farmers. The transmigrants who work as miners in the field, they can still work on the fields before entering work and after work. The working hours of deep miners are 09.00-16.00 WITA. At that time to become a miner did not require special skills. Anyone who comes with an ID card can go straight to work. In other words, the transmigrants become providers of cheap labor for PT

In the late 1980s Kertabuana grew to become part of the largest rice supply center along with other villages in Tenggara Seberang. This success was marked by the emergence of dry grain storage *geblek* in people's homes, the emergence of rice milling businesses, and the entry of public transportation into the village. The Balinese transmigrants began repairing the *canangs* where the offerings were placed, pretending that they were starting to be repaired using more kayaking materials. Kertabuana village is known as the 'Bali Village of East Kalimantan. Balinese culture is brought to life by transmigrants from Bali, marked by the adaptation of the Subak system, the growth of Pure-Pure and Balinese rituals.

Until 2000, residents were still only cultivating land-1, land-2 was still a forest in hilly areas with no ownership boundaries, even though the transmigrants has pocketed land certificate 2. This location used to be known as Mount Malang, now it has turned into a former mining valley.

### **The Strategy of Hegemony of Power of Mining Companies, Destruction of Agriculture and Living Space of Kerta Buana Villagers**

Open pit mining marks the collapse of the government's hegemony of power over food politics in Kerta Buana. The fall of the Suharto government has shifted the political dominance of food self-sufficiency towards an extractive economy. When regional autonomy was mandated to manage natural resources, the government of Kutai Kartanegara Regency also granted coal mining exploration permits to local companies. Kutai Kartanegara soon became the largest coal producing district in East Kalimantan Province. East Kalimantan Distamben data 2017. Kutai Kartanegara has 60 coal companies, with a total production of 65.11 million tons (78.57%) of the total coal production in East Kalimantan of 82.87 million tons.

Table. 1: Corporate hegemony strategies and the impact on Kerta Buana Village

No	STRATEGY	MECANISM	APPARATUS	EFFECT
1	Village relocation consensus (2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Massive socialization in the village field</li> <li>- Exhibition of the new village master plan at the Village office</li> <li>- Door to door pressure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Corporate Public Relations</li> <li>- Village officials</li> <li>- Public figure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The division of fellow citizens</li> <li>- Failed to reach an agreement</li> <li>- Relocation failed</li> </ul>
2	Clearing mountain forests for irrigation water for rice fields (2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Clash with locals and immigrants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ward</li> <li>- Corporate Public Relations</li> <li>- Public figure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Compensation is very cheap</li> <li>- The source of irrigation water and clean water is lost</li> <li>- Rice fields depend on rainfall</li> <li>- Chaos due to lack of clean water Difficulty in clean water</li> </ul>
3	Cultural Strategy: Lure Compensation and improvement of social status (2003-2005)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Door-to-door approach</li> <li>- Community/religious leaders are pressured to persuade citizens</li> <li>- The lure of Hajj and social attributes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Corporate public relations</li> <li>- Realtor</li> <li>- Village officials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- NTB transmigrants lose arable rice fields, the phenomenon of 'evicted pilgrimage', &amp; the rise of 'walking gold shops'</li> <li>- Rinjani Indah farmer group goes bankrupt and dies</li> </ul>
4	Intensification of racial issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Claims of local residents and terror smelling sara</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- local residents</li> <li>- the company behind the scenes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Land owners are scared</li> <li>- Land acquisition in Blocks A and C</li> <li>- Compensation is shared with local residents</li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Threats are shrunk</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Thugs disguised as local residents against anti-mining farmers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reduced demonstration time</li> <li>- Land owner releases land</li> </ul>
5	Blocks of fertile land with high prices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active land is given high compensation, inactive land because it is polluted is not / less approachable</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Realtor, public relations company</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A lot of fertile land is released</li> <li>- Land that is not fertile is released at a low price</li> </ul>

In Kerta Buana village, open pit mining began when the Jakarta Mining and Energy Department's Amdal Commission passed the revision of PT Kitadin's Amdal dated December 22, 2000. This Amdal revision approved the expansion of PT Kitadin's concession area of 2000 ha, previously only had a concession area of 973 ha, to 2973 Ha. In PT Kitadin's new Amdal, it is stated that the operational area will also penetrate Kertabuana village.

In 2003, PT Kitadin began exploring coal using the open pit mining method at the concession expansion site, besieging Kertabuana from the south side. In 2004, PT MSJ explored coal from the north side of the village. Over the past 20 years, Kertabuana has continued to face land release pressures. Jatam Kaltim notes, currently there are 14 gaping ex-mining holes around the village, the smallest measuring 1 ha and the largest measuring 30 ha. The monograph of Kerta Buana village currently shows only 25% of rice fields, 15% is non-productive rice fields. Of the total paddy fields that exist, 80% has become the property of the company which will be explored at any time. Villages are surrounded by mines, soil fertility is declining, rice productivity has plummeted, houses and temples are cracked and peppers are falling. Open pit mining has completely changed the face of Kerta Buana from a village with a dominant view of green rice fields and forests to a village surrounded by mining with ex-mining pools.

Open pit mining is the turning point of the government's hegemony over food politics to the hegemony of coal mining companies over the extractive economy. The company started a new historical block with a hegemonic strategy that was completely different from what the government did when it carried out a historical block to maintain the political hegemony of food self-sufficiency. The most striking difference in the company's hegemony strategy is the change in the role of the security forces (formerly the Babinsa army. In the past, Babinsa has always been the protector of transmigrants from interference with local community tenure claims, but after the open pit mining period, all informants agreed that they were deliberately left face to face. directly with local communities. In several cases of demonstrations, according to informants, the company deliberately used thugs from local communities to dispel community demonstrations, with the alibi of local people supporting the mine. The company's hegemonic strategies to ensure exploration activities do not get people's resistance are shown in the table. 1

### **Socialization of Massive Village Relocation (2003)**

The informants remember well the massive socialization of village relocation after PT Kitadin's Amdal revision. Talks about relocation began to spread in crowded places. The company, using village officials and community leaders, began to discuss the relocation of the residents of Kerta Buana Village to the southwest of the village. The villagers were immediately divided into groups for and against relocation. The peak of socialization occurred on August 28, 2003, residents were gathered at the village hall to get an explanation about this relocation. Each KK is promised to build a new dwelling along with arable land of the same size. At the village hall, a picture of the village relocation master plan is attached, the design of the house to be built and a plan for the village location plus arable land. This village relocation master plan exhibition is installed at the village hall for a week, residents are welcome to look around while listening to explanations from company employees and village officials.

The group of transmigrants from NTB tended to accept this relocation. Meanwhile, the Balinese transmigrant group objected to several things. First, the houses and land are the same, while the housing conditions and land ownership of each household are different. Second, the issue of places of worship. The Balinese transmigrant group has several temples that are affiliated with the ritual culture of their respective home villages, outside



the big village temples. Meanwhile, the company will only build I Pura Desa only. The Balinese transmigrant group, represented by the head of Parisada Hindu Dharma Kerta Buana, IBP, stated that they refused to relocate the village. The socialization and deliberation on village relocation took place without a decision at that time.

The community leaders' rejection of the village relocation was highlighted by the national newspaper Kompas on 12, 15 and 16 September 2003. However, not long ago the company announced the results of the IPB opinion poll in collaboration with a foreign consulting agency named Moores Roland. The results of this opinion poll are completely different from those presented by representatives of Balinese transmigrant figures. The results of this study stated that 44% of households agreed to the relocation, 11% accepted it with conditions, 7% were unsure, 13% did not comment and 22% did not agree with the relocation. The transmigrants, especially the Balinese transmigrant group, who did not agree with the relocation, suspected that this study was part of a company trick.

### **Opening of Mount Malang, a source of irrigation for rice fields and clean water for residents (2003-2005)**

Mount Malang, land with mountainous topography which is the location of land-2 for transmigrants in Kerta Buana. Until 2000 this land was still in the form of forest, there were no ownership boundaries. The second former village head, who is also a leader of the Nahdlatul Wathan community of transmigrants from NTB, AW, when he was just a village head once brought several people to see the location of land II belonging to all the transmigrants of Kertabuana which had not been cultivated. At that time, the condition of the land was still in the wilderness, there were no boundaries for residents' property rights. This situation makes it difficult for them to recognize where their land is and are hesitant to start working on it. Three years later they visited the same place again, but they found that several locations had been opened by other ethnic migrants who were not from among the transmigrants in Kerta Buana. The testimonies of several informants from Balinese transmigrants were similar. When checking land II, they found that several locations had been cleared by other settlers.

The local government did not take any significant prevention against this activity, instead it seemed to allow it. At the same time, another issue arose that this area was claimed by local residents as their land which was taken for granted for the transmigration program. The government's attitude is not in favor of the transmigrants. Even though in the early days of the arrival of transmigrants, the authorities closely guarded against possible disturbances from local residents who claimed the lands of the transmigrants. On the other hand, the processing of land titles for these 2 lands is also protracted. Bali transmigrant information, the former village secretary told how he experienced a complicated and lengthy bureaucratic process in the struggle to get this land title-2. The informants admitted that at that time there was a feeling of helplessness, as migrants, facing fears of clashing with local residents and other immigrants.

For five failed relocation efforts, there has been no agreement between the company and the villagers. Community leaders tried to offer other solutions to the calculation of land compensation prices. There is no agreement yet, but the company through the company has started to persuade the farmers to sell the land to the company. Residents are convinced by the many troublesome problems surrounding land ownership. In the end the choice of releasing the land into the mine seemed to be the best solution, to avoid other problems that residents are more worried about. At that time the land area was only valued at IDR 5 million / ha, a very cheap price at that time.

The loss of land-2 is the starting point for the population to lose water sources for their agricultural irrigation. The position of land II, which is on a hill with still dense forest, will soon be peeled off for mining exploration. Residents who used to live up the Balinese Subak culture by building simple dams around the hills on these lands, now they can no longer use them. The release of these 2 lands also marks the beginning of the entry of mining mud waste into agricultural land, especially in the Block B area, which belongs to the Lombok ethnic transmigrants. Mud waste flows into the rice fields because the stripping occurs in the hills while the residents' rice fields are in the valley. Residents remember it as a land tragedy-2 which marked a time when both ethnic Balinese and Lombok transmigrants had the same attitude. They released their land on the basis of their common concerns as immigrants, the fear of friction with local residents as well as their powerlessness towards the administration of paperwork which they felt inaccessible to them at the time.

### **The Lure of High Compensation, Racial Threats (2003-2020)**

Along with the failed relocation pressure, the transmigrants also experienced the pressure to release their rice fields. Nahdlatul Wathan community leader, Kmd, said that along with the failed village relocation efforts, land brokers began to appear in the village. These brokers come from company employees, village officials, several community leaders and ordinary people as well. Some of the famous land brokers at this time were Kh (transmigration NTB), IWA (Bali) and Mkm (Bali). Company people began to diligently visit residents both at home and in the fields. The most common mode they use is the threat of land damage because it is close to a mine, the threat of conflict due to local residents' claims, the lure of high prices, until some get threats of violence. The informants recalled that at that time there were rumors of racial threats that were quite frightening, that they would be suppressed if they did not want to release the land to the company.

### **Differences between Bali and Lombok Transmigrants Responding to Pressure for Land Acquisition**

There is a stark difference in the attitude of Transmigrants from Bali and Lombok in viewing the value of land and their attitude towards the bombardment of the issue of releasing land to companies. Differences in views on land, attitudes towards the urge to release land and the use of land compensation money are as shown in Table 2. The Balinese transmigrant group is thick with the values of Balinese local wisdom which are summarized in the teachings of Tri Hita Karana (Brown, 2010; Lahiri-Dutt, 2016) (Three causes happiness of life) namely maintaining good relations with God, good relations with fellow human beings and good relations with nature. These three are the harmony of life that must be maintained in balance. Land for Balinese transmigrants is part of Dewi Sri, the life-giving mother of the earth. It is a big sin for Balinese transmigrants to sell their land for no good reason.

Lombok transmigrants, from the Nahdlatul Wathan community, an Islamic splinter community from Nahdlatul Ulama that adheres to Islamic values. This group of transmigrants performs 'community bedol', becoming a group of transmigrants who move from the old land complete with well-respected community leaders. In contrast to the values of Balinese Hindu local wisdom brought by Balinese transmigrants, the Lombok transmigrant community lives up to very strong Islamic values. The ultimate goal of this life is the hereafter (heaven), whatever is in this world is borrowed and temporary. Land and any assets for them are only temporary deposits, can be taken at any time. The pilgrimage to the holy land (Arabic) is considered far more important and the dream of all Muslims. Hajj is their opportunity to visit God's house, which was previously impossible

to achieve. When there is an opportunity to get a lot of money to go for Hajj, they become very easy to let go of the land.

Table 2. Different views on Land and Attitudes in releasing arable land

	Transmigrant Bali	Transmigration Lombok
Views of life	Tri Hita Karana (balance relationship with God, Humans and Nature)	True happiness in the afterlife, the main preparation for the afterlife
View of the land	Dewi Sri, Mother Earth, a gift from God that must be guarded with all her soul	God's loan, can be there and taken at any time, the best use for worship
Ground Release Reason	Polluted, decreased fertility, can no longer be planted, under pressure and threats	Price is right, others also sell land, polluted land
Use of compensati on money	Land money must return to the land. Land investment outside Kertabuana (oil palm plantations)	Going on hajj, buying trucks for business, opening shops and other business ventures
The current situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Agricultural land is very narrow, but what can still be cultivated is maintained</li> <li>- Those who no longer own arable land in Kerta Buana, own land elsewhere</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Almost all residents no longer own their own land, working on land that already belongs to the company (became laborers on their own former land)</li> <li>- Only 1 family still has their own land, and even then 1 is already in the process of being sold to the company</li> </ul>

Differences in cultural values lead to very striking differences in views of the land. For Balinese transmigrants, land is the heirloom of Dewi Sri, the mother of the earth, the Goddess of life. The sale of land for non-urgent reasons is considered a grave sin. It is forbidden for the Balinese to let go of the land for an easy reason. Moreover, this land for the transmigrants is considered an infinite gift, considering that in their original area they do not have land as large as Kerta Buana.

They just let go of the ground with a very forced reason. If the land is already too close to the mine, it is heavily polluted by mine waste and it is very difficult to cultivate again, then the land has to be released to the company. Another reason that is considered important is if the land in question is in dispute with local residents, it is claimed that it used to be owned by local residents so that there is a potential for conflict which is considered to endanger their safety. It is very rare for Balinese transmigrants to release land outside of these two reasons. They used the compensation money to buy oil palm plantations outside Kertabuana. Currently, many Balinese transmigrants have small agricultural land in Kerta Buana, but have large oil palm plantations outside Kertabuana.

In contrast to the Balinese transmigrants, the Lombok transmigrants appear to lack strong ties to land. Their asceticism towards the afterlife, and a very high regard for the Hajj makes it easier for them to sway their land to the company. For them at that time the pilgrimage was everyone's dream. With the title of Hajj, a Muslim automatically has a higher position than other Muslims who have not performed this worship. The dream of going on a pilgrimage became one of the strong motivators for them to give up their land.

### **Phenomenon of the 'eviction pilgrimage' and the emergence of a class of landless farmers in the transmigrant group from Lombok**

The year 2003 was a record for Kerta Buana Village to dispatch 40 hajj candidates for a village with less than half the Muslim population. Even at that time there was a family who lived together with 4-5 people going on Hajj together. In addition to going to Hajj, most ethnic Lombok transmigrants use compensation money for business ventures. In the mid-2000s, many entrepreneurs in the transportation of goods and shop owners emerged among the Lombok ethnic transmigrants. But unfortunately, the lack of experience and business competence makes these emerging businesses go bankrupt. Several informants said that many residents could afford to buy trucks for rent to transport goods, but had no knowledge of machine maintenance. As a result, once damaged it cannot be operated again. The alarming situation began to appear prominently among the Lombok ethnic transmigrants. Most of them no longer own their own land, fail in business ventures. They return to their profession as farmers but work on land that has been owned by a company that has not been explored.

According to HA, who lives in Block B, Dusun Rinjani (the majority is inhabited by the Lombok Transmigrants), this year 100% of the paddy fields in Block B are owned by the company. In the beginning, the land was valued at 60 million Rupiah for 1 Ha of paddy fields, a very large amount for the residents at that time. Land prices are rising, reaching 300 million/ha. In 2005, there were only 2 people in the Lombok transmigrant group who were still defending their land. Informant AW had released his land in 2002 in blocks A and B, he sold 0.75 rice field land for Rp. 70 million, and 0.75 million dry land for 35 million. Just like HA, AW uses the compensation money to go to Hajj and return home. Currently WA only has a yard the size of a 4x5 m house. According to AH and WA, half of the residents of Block A and Block B are hajjis from land compensation money in 2002-2003, they call it an eviction pilgrimage. Most of them are tempted by the compensation money or decide to let go of their land because they are afraid of rumors of sara issues, fearing that they will be expelled with violence like the case of the Sara conflict in Sampit, West Kalimantan.

In addition to the booming pilgrimage phenomenon, in these years what they call a 'walking gold shop.' The mothers from block B in this land clearing season display a change of appearance by wearing very flashy gold jewelry. According to AW's memory, the most severe phenomenon was that many transmigrants from Lombok were forced to return to their hometowns because they ran out of assets. Informant F, a former ticket seller who lives in Manunggal Jaya Village, said that in recent years, nearly 50 percent of airline ticket consumers came from Lombok transmigrants in Kerta Buana who returned home.

Data from PPL in Kertabuana Village in 2003 showed that the members of the Rinjani Indah group in Block B were 41 farmers with a land area of 45.7 ha. In 2007 this farmer group lived with estranged 34 people, they are cultivators of 30 ha of company land which used to be their lands. This farmer group had died in 2004 because the land had been transferred to the company. In 2007, through village government negotiations, this farmer group was allowed to work on unexplored land. The area of arable land becomes narrower,

less than 1 ha/person, the land is no longer as fertile as it used to be. If there is contamination of the flow of waste or company oil into the fields, they can no longer protest because the land no longer belongs to them.

### **The emergence of classes of oil palm plantation owners from transmigrant groups from Bali outside Kerta Buana Village**

Balinese transmigrant groups have many considerations for releasing land. In 2007-2008, 13 Balinese transmigrants who owned land in Block D released land to PT MSJ because their efforts to defend the land with demonstrations collided with a group of local people who were allegedly ordered by the company. With very tough negotiations and constant intimidation, the company finally paid for field D for 1 billion rupiah. The compensation money was used to buy rice fields 500 meters from the village office, to build 2 houses in the village and a rented house in Samarinda.

The release of the IWD family's land in Block C was carried out after being visited by several local residents who previously claimed to own this land. They keep threatening to release the land themselves to the company, that means the land is lost without getting any compensation. Finally, the land was released with a compensation of 3 billion rupiah, but divided by 2 with the local residents. The compensation of up to 1.5 billion was used to buy a yard in the village, build a bigger house and open a laying hens business. Except for reasons of intimidation which were very uncomfortable and clashed with people who claimed to be natives, the Balinese transmigrant group sold a lot of land to companies because the land was no longer fertile. Lands that are directly adjacent to mining exploration, they finally let go.

Negotiations for Balinese transmigrants are stronger and more resilient when faced with the choice of having to relinquish residential land to the company. They have detailed calculations of the temples where they worship, both those that stand in every house and temples belonging to the village. Each family has a temple in their own house, and considers the value of the temple to be much more expensive if it has to be converted to nominal rupiah. To build a temple in people's homes, residents have to bring in sculptors from Bali to produce delicate Balinese paintings. It is calculated that temple construction is often more expensive than a house, because some materials for temple ornaments must be imported from Bali. Included in it is the calculation of the total cost of the ritual ceremonies they have performed during the construction of the temple. The company also has to pay the cost of a series of rituals that must be used for the transfer of temples, both family temples and village and hamlet temples. These calculations will fall no less than the price offered for houses and yards.

Balinese transmigrant groups tend to use compensation money to buy back land elsewhere. Most of them bought oil palm plantations in Kerta Buana, in the districts of Paser and East Kutai. This oil palm plantation is managed by relatives who are transmigrants there. Some of them bought land in their hometown and rented out the rest of the money to use for small businesses in Kerta Buana.

### **Match from below**

Slowly but surely, the destructive power of the mine began to change the people's living space. Villagers began to feel the impact of drastic environmental changes. TL, a local PPL officer said that he had been a witness in the trial of environmental pollution cases that were demanded by the residents. In 2003, shortly after the start of exploration, the Kitadin waste flooded the residents' land. Since Mount Malang turned into a valley due to mining, floods occur in almost every rainy season and flow into the people's rice fields. In the early years neighboring the mine, residents only blamed each other for this loss.

However, several years later, spontaneous protests took place, because the losses to the residents were getting bigger day by day.

In 2005, farmers in Sidakarya and Cultivation Hamlets failed to harvest because the land was contaminated with mining waste and heavy equipment oil. The farmers protested this incident to the kelurahan. The PPL in Kerta Buana Village helps to calculate the farmers' losses, including the cost of seeds, tractor rental, and the purchase of fertilizers and anti-pest drugs. According to PL, the farmer's loss for one rice production is around Rp. 5 million at the time. However, the company only replaced 1 million rupiah/ha for total damage, and up to 50% damaged was only replaced with 750 thousand rupiah.

In 2006, PT MSJ's embankment collapsed. The flood again inundated the residents' rice fields, this time the flood entered people's homes. The former headmaster of SDN 011 Tenggara Seberang in Kerta Buana recounted that at that time there was a massive demonstration from the residents of the rice fields and the residents of Blocks A and B. The demonstration occurred spontaneously because the flood suddenly entered houses. Mrs. D said that at that time she lost Rp. Rp. 6 million because the rice fields failed to harvest. The rice fields where the long bean, cassava, corn and taro vegetables are grown were also damaged due to the flood. Though the plant is very meaningful to save cash outlay. This incident again makes women marginalized. This condition is getting tougher, for farmers as well as single parents like salmiah's mother.

In 2006 the residents of Blocks C1 and C2, which are the closest neighbors to the PT Kitadin operation site, are only 50 m from the settlement. Behind the house of NKB, the wife of the first village head of DEsa Kertabuana (deceased), when the mine started operating, this block felt a very loud blasting vibration, when the mine detonated, it produced a very strong vibration, making the houses of nearby residents crack, rumbling sounds very loud, uncontrolled dust and the disappearance of groundwater sources for the daily consumption of residents. Many residents' plants in the yard have died from mining waste. Mining operations day and night are very disturbing for residents during their working hours and during their resting hours.

After the residents protested, the company distributed water barrels with a capacity of 1200 liters. This very limited water supply has created a new problem. Long queues waiting for the water supply created an uncomfortable atmosphere for the neighbors because the water was not evenly distributed. The women protested to the local village and RT officials, but they were unable to change the company's decision to increase its water supply capacity. The water jars only lasted 1 year, after which the women became dizzy again with water issues. In the past, people's wells were able to get water at a depth of 15 meters, but this year they dig at a depth of 40 to 50 meters and only get water. The cost of constructing a well has increased almost 4 times. Finally, most of the residents chose to subscribe to PDAM. Water is not free anymore, they end up having to pay Rp 75 thousand - Rp 100 thousand per month.

A longer protest took place in 2007, by 13 farmers who own rice fields in Block D, led by IND. The demo lasted for about a week, on the 3rd day only 7 people were left and only IND were left in the last seconds. At that time, PT MSJ's operation blocked the irrigation channel for their rice fields. They made a fence of raffia rope, surrounding the affected rice fields. On Day 7, IWD suspected that the company had deliberately hired thugs claiming to be Kutai people, who intimidated them with their alibis, sons of the mining area. This intimidation discouraged 6 demonstrators, causing them to release land to the company from what was originally only 30 million/ha on the first day of the demonstration, to 80 million/ha on the 7th day. The only thing left for IND is to demonstrate alone in the same way, in the middle of the entrance to the rice fields, a red and white flag is attached.

The company repeatedly persuaded IND to give up its land, but was always refused. Various kinds of inducements with the lure of far higher prices than their previous counterparts. Intimidation by using thugs again under the guise of local men was again carried out, but they were still bravely resisted. The commotion with these thugs made IWD arrested by the police and sent to prison for 3 months without trial. Luckily, an empathetic local official managed to help IND got out of prison and put pressure on the company. With very tough negotiations, IND finally released the land to the company at a price of 1 billion rupiah, 10 times more than the land price of its previous partners.

In 2015-2015, a youth and student group of Kerta Buana initiated by a student of the Faculty of Law, Mulawarman University demonstrated several times demanding the termination of all mining operations around this village. According to the former initiator, this demonstration was then also clashed with local community groups who claimed to fully support the existence of the company. This strategy was allegedly chosen by the company so that the demonstration would cause a commotion among the residents, so that later there was a reason for the security forces to disperse it. The demonstration was finally dispersed by the security forces without any response from the company to the demands of the protesters. From now on, residents tend to avoid demonstrations because according to informants, demonstrations will only happen.

In 2017, Jatam Kaltim noted that there were 39 cracked houses in RT 16 Dusun Sida Karya. At that time almost one RT was affected. The company compensated and bought the damaged houses. In mid-June 2019, Prajapati Temple collapsed, after several times it was cracked. This temple is only 450 m from the PT Kitadin mine site, less than 500 m, the minimum allowed operation limit according to the Minister of Environment Regulation no 4/2012. Many opinions from the public and the mass media suspected that the collapse of this temple was caused by mining activities that were quite close. But this time there was no serious citizen protest to the company.

## CONCLUSION

The government is two-faced in treating transmigrants in Kerta Buana village. On the one hand, the government appears with the face of an angel, so kind, it gives new hope to hundreds of poor people from Bali and NTB. they were given arable land, housing, logistical assistance in the early days, and assistance in farming businesses by agricultural extension workers, assistance in family planning and protection from jealousy from local communities. On the other hand, the government puts on an evil face, granting concessions to mining companies to encircle villages, allowing residents to fight against the urge to release land and suffer tremendous damage to living spaces.

In the era of open pit mining, companies, government institutions, local residents, become part of the 'political society' which hegemony transmigrants in Kerta Buana to approve coal mining exploration that destroys their living space. Hegemony is carried out by building historical blocks with knowledge, institutions and apparatus deployed to support extractive economic ideology.

Meanwhile, transmigrants become civil society which is hegemonized by the company's power. With their meager strength they held small but poorly organized protests, making it difficult for the negotiations to produce a favorable outcome for the transmigrants. An organic intellectual group had appeared, trying to expel the mine from around the village, but was soon broken because it was collided with other civilians who supported the mine by using racial issues. Although Balinese transmigrants have a stronger resilience strategy, both Balinese and Lombok transmigrants have suffered severe damage to living spaces due to coal mining

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