

The Conflict in the Iron Sand Mining Construction in Yogyakarta (A Study of the Society's Social Movement Against the Iron Sand Mining Construction Project)

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Abstract

National development often causes various kinds of problems. The problems happen because the policies about national development made by the Indonesian government tend to take sides with businesspeople and impact on the oppression of the society. National development argued for the society's welfare eventually turns out to be detrimental for the society and threatens the survival of the society. Moreover, it tends to destroy the natural environment where the society depends its life. Currently, there are many natural resources that should be used as much as possible for the society's welfare. However, many of those natural resources are controlled by businesspeople that are regulated in the free market and camouflaged in democratization existence. The Indonesian government, which is supposed to have a significant role in protecting the society, evidently takes sides with businesspeople in the interest of seeking financial benefits without paying attention to various aspects of the society's life. This condition has brought several kinds of the society's social movements as the response to neoliberalist policies that basically eliminate the concept of the society's sovereignty. The social movement conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, as a discussion focus of this paper, is a form of the society's response to the government's policies related to national development in the iron sand mining construction project that tends to take sides with businesspeople and harms the society in many aspects.

Keywords

Social Movement, Society's Resistance, National Development, Iron Sand Mining, and Construction Project.

1. Introduction

The society's welfare is a keyword often conveyed by the Indonesian government as a goal of "the national development concept" that still becomes the main priority of the Indonesian government up to this day (Sufyan 2015). Indonesia, which is included in the category of developing countries, continuously strives to make improvements through actions (work programs) called "the national development concept". National development conducted by the Indonesian government is intended to lead Indonesia to be a powerful developed country equal to other countries that have been included in the category of developed countries. With this goal, it is not surprising that national development

conducted by the Indonesian government refers to the national development model conducted by developed countries. Obviously, developed countries welcome (*read: use*) Indonesia's national development goal by providing loans on the pretext of giving help (Khor 2005).

National development conducted by the Indonesian government by the loans from other countries, whether it is realized or not, evidently it has highly eroded the natural resources management regulation. Although the loans from other countries give positive results in several industrial sectors, at the macro level they also give detrimental effects (Butkiewicz and Yanikkaya 2005). Country's regulation to protect Indonesia's abundant natural resources wealth actually has been made by the founding fathers of Indonesia, especially in article 33 section 3 The 1945 Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia which reads "the earth, the water, and the natural resources contained therein are controlled by the country and used as much as possible for the society's prosperity" (Astuti 2012). However, that regulation has been greatly violated and it is barely as "an ideological embellishment" in The Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia.

The mistake in implementing "the national development concept" actually has been occurred since the New Order era, the regime of the second Indonesia's President Soeharto (Fuady 2012). This is the first time when national development was realistically planned using economic logic. However, the development planning tended to be centralized because of the strong influence of the central Indonesian government located in Jakarta and ignored the aspiration of local governments. Moreover, the development planning was technocratic because it is dominated by a handful of technocrats (Haris 2005). As the result, national development policies had greatly eroded the regulation on the natural resources management. The national development orientation in the regime of President Soeharto consciously or unconsciously inclined more in giving facilities to the growth of capitalism, especially global capitalism, and more specifically the expansion of capitalist market from the developed countries that provide loans (Nath et al.; Suharyanto et al.). Thus, the New Order era can be said as the regime that reflects the character of "a predatory state" because it has supported and reformulated the beginning of the development of capitalism in Indonesia (Astuti 2012). These policies under the regime of Soeharto as the encouragement for the development of capitalism in Indonesia were made clear by the existence of the second open door political policies in 1967 for the country's economy through efforts to open the door as widely as possible for foreign investors. At that time, Indonesia deliberately accommodated the interests of foreign investors in the security and political stability aspects for the investment assets security through the application of the predatory system supported by the political bureaucracy (Endaryanta 2007). Apart from the aforementioned points, the Indonesian government assisted by the Indonesian military evidently also oppressed the rights and the functions of organizations (collective actions) that should have rights to participate in determining the government's policies as the implementation of a democratic country (Astuti 2012). Thus, it is not surprising if at that time foreign investments flowed profusely to Indonesia by ignoring the impacts in the social and environmental aspects that would be caused. Therefore, it can be said clearly that the New Order era was the beginning time when global capitalism entered Indonesia, which so far has been undermining many aspects of the society's life especially in the social and environmental aspects that threaten the sovereignty of Indonesian society.

In the 1970s, the Indonesian government during the New Order era intensively exploited Indonesia's natural resources through the term of national development under the pretext of the society's welfare. However, that was only one of the deceptions in the New Order era. It can be seen from the significant effect of investment that has a high indicator value on economic growth compared to the increase of local income (Kurniawan, Militina and Suharto 2017). The exploitation of natural resources was conducted in the presence of foreign investments that significantly damaged Indonesia's natural environment, tormented Indonesian society, and enriched only a handful of people (Agustino 2011). This situation raised "the client bourgeoisie" who are businesspeople (many are foreigners) who thrive by facilities from the Indonesian government. In addition, "political monism" also thrive in which the Indonesian government was authoritarian and patrimonial, hierarchical, and semi-feudal. At that time the Indonesian government defined natural resources as a production factor for the purpose of capital accumulation. The predatory strategy in the New Order era can be said to have transformed natural resources capital into financial capital that only prospered a handful of people (Indonesian businesspeople, foreign businesspeople, and the elite government). On the other hand, this predatory strategy certainly had caused detriment to many parties, especially Indonesian society (Endaryanta 2007). These kinds of policies caused a condition in the society in which the rich people were getting richer and the poor people were getting poorer.

The situation in the New Order era did not stop after the downfall of President Soeharto in the 1998 reformation event. The injustice committed by the coalition of the Indonesian government and businesspeople apparently has been continuing to this day. It can be seen especially from the power of the Cendana Family (the name for Soeharto's Family) that still can manage the country's assets easily for personal interest instead of returning and managing the country's assets for the society's interest (Pausacker 2018). The exploitation of natural resources that has the high potential to cause detrimental effects on the society is still happening in this era, for example, the case of the Benoa Bay reclamation plan in Bali (Adharani et al. 2020), the cement factory construction plan in Kendeng Mountains (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi 2019), the iron sand mining construction project plan in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta (which will be the focus of discussion in this paper), and many other cases that exploit the natural environment, oppress the society, cause detriment, and benefit only a handful of people. The injustice that has been done by the coalition between the government and businesspeople in managing natural resources has led to many kinds of resistance movements. The resistance movements come from civilians and they are often assisted by various non-governmental organizations, environmental activists, and academics. These resistance movements are of course caused by the conflict between the civilians and their supporters against the government. This conflict occurs because of the society's dissatisfaction against the policies made by the government because the policies tended to take sides with businesspeople and oppress the society (often taking away the society's rights). Simply, this kind of conflict happens because of the differences in interests of the natural resources management between the society and the government-businesspeople. Natural resources that used to be collective goods, now they turn into private goods due to the country and companies' intervention and of course this situation causes the detriment for the society.

Based on the aforementioned description, it can be said that the government's policies related to the natural resources management that still take sides with businesspeople (foreign investors) so far, of course, will cause the emergence of the conflict in various regions in Indonesia. At the end of the New Order era, the gap between the society and businesspeople blew up through the riot and the massacre against the Chinese ethnic who at that time dominated the economy and had a very close relationship with the Indonesian government (Ginting and Ekwandari 2019). This is because the society felt oppressed and deprived of rights. Moreover, the society felt that the society had received injustice from the government so that the society moved and tried to demand justice from the government. One of the injustice traditions that is passed down since the New Order era has been faced by the society that lives in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. The people who live in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta experience injustice related to the natural resources management in their area, especially Karangsewu Village, Bugel Village, Pleret Village, and Garogan Village people (henceforth referred to as the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta), Kulon Progo Regency.

2. Literature Review

As theoretical bases, previous studies are needed as bases for conducting research. The first study entitled "Analisis Resolusi yang Tepat terhadap Konflik Kebijakan Penambangan Pasir Besi di Pesisir Selatan Kabupaten Kulon Progo Provinsi D.I. Yogyakarta", is an analysis of appropriate conflict resolution in the iron sand mining policies in the south coastal area of Kulon Progo Regency, D. I. Yogyakarta, conducted by Yunanto (2017). His research has a theme and focus similar to this research but focuses more on the best option of the conflict resolution. The result of his research indicates that the previous resolution placed PT. JMI as the most benefited party without leaving the opportunity for local communities to take advantage of the natural resources that they should own and manage themselves. Lack of involvement and inappropriate communication models exacerbate the conflict between the company and the society. Thus, the resolution recommended through his research is a win-win solution approach, where the community still has the opportunity to utilize natural resources either independently or by joining a mining corporation. Unfortunately, the approach adopted in his study tends to only accommodate the economic aspect of the iron sand mining activity without considering the social, political, and environmental impacts it causes. In formulating the appropriate resolution options for the ongoing conflict, it is necessary to have a comprehensive study to describe the conflict that occurs before designing resolution recommendations. Therefore, this research presents a more comprehensive study to describe the conflict holistically so that policies and resolutions can be formulated more maturely and thoroughly (Yunanto 2017).

The second study was conducted by Shakil Khan and Ai Sugie (2015) with the title "Sand Mining and Its Social Impacts on Local Society in Rural Bangladesh: A Case Study of a Village in Tangail District". This research was conducted in Bangladesh. The research illustrates that sand is an important resource with a high level of demand, both for construction and industrialization activities. The study also describes the condition of sand mining and the social

impacts experienced by the society. The data collection methods used were participatory observation and semi-structured interviews with the society and sub-district administration officials. The result shows that mining sand from the river causes serious disasters for the local society. The real impacts of sand mining include an increase in water discharge which results in riverbank erosion, loss of society's land due to erosion, as well as the conflict between local society who refuse mining and mining parties. The exploitation of river sand, which only benefits a few parties, turns out to have a serious negative impact on the society. This sand mining was apparently done illegally but systematically, and the applicable legal regulations were not able to stop this illegal activity done by corporations with the support of the local government. The similarity of the research conducted by Shakil Khan and Ai Sugie with this research lies in the conflict between those who are pro-mining and the local society who are against the sand mining activity. The result of the study can also be used to describe the real impact of the sand mining activity that need to be considered in the future, even though the mining object is different, those are river sand in their study and iron sand of the coastal area in this study (Khan and Sugie 2015)

3. Methods

The data used to explain the social movement reality of the society that lives in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta in this paper is secondary data obtained through the search of scientific journals, articles, books, and reports on previous research results. In addition, this paper also uses primary data obtained through descriptive-qualitative research conducted by the authors using the in-depth interview data collection technique. Furthermore, the authors use the snowball technique in the determination of informants. The use of the qualitative method in this study is intended to be able to explain the social reality deeply in the form of the social movement conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta to fight the government and businesspeople who are trying to build the iron sand mining in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. Primary data collection in this research was conducted in four villages; Karangsewu Village, Bugel Village, Pleret Village, and Garogan Village. These four villages are chosen because they are different villages compared to other villages. In the villages other than the four villages, especially the villages west of Garongan Village, most of the people have sold their land to PT. Jogja Magasa Iron. Meanwhile, the people of these four villages remain steadfast so far in rejecting the iron sand mining construction in their land. Thus far, the process of the construction project in the land belonging to the societies of these four villages has only been running as a pilot project. According to the local people, the process of the iron sand mining construction project in their area is being suspended (postponed) due to the transfer of company ownership. However, the local people admitted that they remain ready to fight and refuse if the iron sand mining construction project will be continued.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 The Root of the Problem

The root of the problem on the emergence of the social movement conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta actually occurred because of the differences in interests on the natural resources management between the local society and the government-businesspeople. The coastal land farmers who live in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, who always depend on agriculture for their livelihood, now they are intimidated of leaving their own land (Kartiko et al. 2020). With the issuance of the government decree that granted rights to PT. Jogja Magasa Iron (JMI) in terms of land ownership and authority for the land management by the country through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, JMI company has full authority to exploit the coastal land which the local people claim as their land from their ancestors' inheritance since a long time ago. The government together with JMI unilaterally, without negotiating and also notifying the society in advance, signed a contract for the mining project on November 4th, 2008. The contract contains full authority for JMI company to manage the iron sand mining project throughout Kulon Progo coastal area because this area is considered of having high iron sand mining potential so that in the future it can provide a large accumulation of financial benefits (Candraningrum and Hunga 2015).

PT. Jogja Magasa Iron (JMI) is a coalition between PT. Jogja Magasa Mining, which is a family-owned company of the Yogyakarta palace, with Australia Indo Mines Ltd., which is a foreign company from Australia. JMI company will establish a sand mining construction in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta with an area of 22 km X 1.8 km (Widyanta 2011). Whereas four villages have been in existence at that location, those are Karangsewu Village, Bugel Village, Pleret Village, and Garogan Village, which have been inhabited by the society for a long time. The area that will be used as the iron sand mining area is the residential area and the agricultural area belonging to around 30,000 people. The society that inhabits the area has not got certainty yet at the time when the natural exploitation is started by JMI occurs. The content of the contract between PT. JMI and the government only states that the use of local labor for the mining project is 8.000 people, while around 22.000 people are not used and they will automatically be stranded

without certainty because the agricultural land where they used to depend their lives has been turned into iron sand mining big holes (Antoro 2012).

As usual, the coalition between the government and businesspeople in this mining project is also on behalf of "the society's welfare". The government-businesspeople that sustain the iron sand mining project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta have the main goal of getting a high profit (surplus) in the form of finance with the lure of the society's welfare. JMI as the large company with great capital strength has made a friendly pledge with the government to establish the iron sand mining project under the guise of "national development" with the aim of increasing the capital and the country's economy in order to increase the country's per capita income as a benchmark for the country's improvement. The benchmark of the country's improvement demands the government to conduct the national development model that creates high financial benefits and at the same time causes poverty and detriment as the result of this kind of national development model. The kind of national development in this case, of course, will create greater wealth only for a few people, that are businesspeople and the elite government who get the share of the profit (Muller and Barnet 1984). Meanwhile, a large number of people are forced to live in detrimental conditions, accept the eviction resolve of the land that has been their livelihood, and poverty will automatically haunt their daily lives. In this context, the government and businesspeople are responsible for providing problem solving because their presence threatens the sustainability of local community livelihoods (Fatkhullah et al. 2021).

Table 1. Conflict of Interest Mapping on the Iron Sand Mining Project in Kulon Progo Regency

Actor	Context	Activities and Impacts	Conflict of Interest
PT. JMI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Performs iron sand mining in the south coastal area of Kulon Progo Regency to get material benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Performs project installation Performs society eviction or relocation Performs iron sand mining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Obtains management rights according to the permit document released by the government
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Receives the levy of profit for regional development Gains benefits as a shareholder of PT. JMI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grants licenses to perform iron sand mining Urges the society to leave the area for iron sand mining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gets income from the levy of iron sand mining project as planned
Society (Farmers and Fishermen)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depend their livelihood on natural products from the area diverted for mining activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lose the resources that have supported their livelihood Environmental problems arise due to iron sand mining activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Get new jobs due to displacement of residence and livelihood Encourage the government and businesspeople not to exploit and destroy the environment

Source: Authors (2022)

Realizing the injustice done by the government-businesspeople regarding the iron sand mining construction project plan in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, finally, a large number of people conducted the social movement in order to put up resistance. In addition to the factor of the society's survival that is threatened, the environmental impact prevention factor also becomes the reason for the society in attempts to thwart this project plan. The society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta is aware and strongly believes that bad consequences will occur if the iron sand mining project is actually realized. The mining process will destroy all elements of life that exist in the soil and when the earth is injured due to the mining activity, major disasters will occur such as overflowing groundwater and the entry of seawater into the residential area. Major disasters due to the damage of the natural environment are the consequences that the society will receive if the mining project plan is actually implemented. This is a belief firmly entrenched in the minds of the most people who live in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta.

Meanwhile, the government and businesspeople certainly have a different paradigm regarding the iron sand mining project plan. The government and businesspeople put themselves (humans) as the center of life on this earth. They position themselves ideologically at the top of the pyramid of life. With this point of view, they place nature as an

object that can be exploited and dredged as much as possible to get high financial benefits (Cuomo 1998). Ecologically, the society's belief regarding the reciprocity in the form of disasters that will be caused by nature if nature is destroyed is true (Habib and Mahyuddin 2021). Both directly and indirectly, the destruction of nature by humans has been proven to impact various kinds of disasters which eventually also harm humans (Candraningrum and Hunga 2015). The differences in interests and also the differences in paradigms become the root of the problem between the society and the government-businesspeople related to the iron sand mining construction project plan in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta.

4.2 The Society's Social Movement against the Iron Sand Mining Construction Project

The differences in interests between the government-businesspeople and the society that lives in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta as previously described, lead to the conflict. The conflict that occurs has been going on dynamically since 2006 to the time when this research is conducted and sometimes comes to the surface in the form of the local society's resistance movement against actions done by the government-businesspeople. However, sometimes the conflict seems to recede even though there is still a lot of potential for the emergence of the conflict, like embers in the husk, which from the outside looks dim but it is still burning inside (Table 2).

Table 2. Forms of Resistance from Society

No.	Action Type	Forms of Resistance
1	Interaction	Maintain correspondence with the central government (commission VII DPR RI)
		Internalize the movement of resistance to the younger generation
		Joint prayer movement for rejection efforts
2	Cooperation	Establish an institution to reject the development of iron sand mines
		Collaborating with external organizations (NGOs)
3	Conflict	Refused an invitation to attend the socialization of iron sand mine development
		Put up banners that contain the rejection of development
		Conducting demonstrations demanding the cancellation of construction
		Blocking roads for construction project heavy equipment

Source: Authors (2022)

The form of resistance conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta in the first year was in the form of rejection toward the socialization activity conducted by the government-businesspeople (Astuti 2012). The society rejected the socialization activity because the society felt disappointed with the government's decision, which had unilaterally given authority to PT. Jogja Magasa Iron (JMI) to conduct exploration activity for the iron sand mining in the coastal area of Yogyakarta. In this first year, the society felt disappointed with the decision of the government, especially the government of Kulon Progo Regency. Thus, it caused the vertical conflict between the society and the government of Kulon Progo Regency. The society's disappointment in the first year against the government's performance caused the basis of a more progressive society's resistance movement emerged in the following years.

In the second year, the people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta began to have common awareness to unite in opposing the government-businesspeople party they thought had oppressed them. The society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta then formed Kulon Progo coastal land farmers association named *Paguyuban Petani Lahan Pantai Kulon Progo* (PPLP KP) as a forum for gathering the societies from four villages, those are Karangsewu Village, Bugel Village, Pleret Village, and Garogan Village to take action against the iron sand mining construction project. This association then becomes the media for the society's social movement in the action against the iron sand mining construction project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. This resistance movement actually put the family as its basis. Members of the family, such as the father, the mother, and also the children, become an inseparable part of this resistance movement because agriculture performed by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta is an economic organization with the family basis. Thus, family members become administrators or workers in this organization (Candraningrum and Hunga 2015).

Furthermore, after the formation of Kulon Progo coastal land farmers association, the PPLP KP, the society began to fight in a systematic, planned, and organized way. With the establishment of the PPLP KP, the conflict could be seen explicitly, so the external parties other than the conflicting parties started to look at this matter. These external parties include NGOs, human right activists, environmental activists, and also academics. They all began to get involved and

take part in the turmoil of the ongoing conflict. The society and its supporting NGOs began to hold meetings to discuss the latest issues related to the government's policies for the iron sand mining construction project. The NGOs provided much information to the society regarding the actions planned by the government-businesspeople. Some of the information given by NGOs made the society became more anxious, thus it caused greater turmoil and resistance (Astuti 2012).

With the increase of the society's anxiety about the iron sand mining construction project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, it sparked real action (in physical form) in the form of demonstrations conducted by the society and its external supporters. However, according to the society's recognition, some NGOs were not sincere in helping the society's resistance effort. Moreover, NGOs asked for "payments" from the society in joining the resistance action conducted by the society. Thus, some people admitted that they were dissatisfied with the insincere assistance provided by the NGOs.

The society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta also took action to block highways to stop heavy vehicles and equipment from PT. JMI that will enter the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. The society struggled to close the road access to the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, especially for project vehicles aimed to be used for the iron sand mining construction project. Hundreds of people took action to block the roads because the government and businesspeople did not pay attention to their aspirations and refusal. The government and businesspeople ignored the demands of the society and even denied the agreement that had been made together with the society. Irrespective of the future of the society, the government and businesspeople continued to make efforts to realize the iron sand mining construction project using heavy equipment and vehicles to execute the construction project. This condition triggered the society to block the roads for the entry of heavy equipment and vehicles from PT. JMI.

In addition, to do the resistance in the form of actions (demonstrations and roads blocking), the society also tried to fight back through the banners that were affixed and hung on the roads side in the area of residence. The location of the set banners is more precisely located on Deandels Street that crosses Karangsewu Village, Bugel Village, Pleret Village, and Garongan Village. The content of the banners that were set by the society of course contained a rejection of the iron sand mining construction project conducted by the government-businesspeople. Some of the banners are read: 1) "*Kami segenap warga bersatu menolak pembangunan proyek pasir besi*" (We are all civilians are united to refuse the iron sand mining construction project); 2) "*Bertani atau mati, tolak tambang pasir besi*" (Farm or die, refuse the iron sand mining); 3) "*Selamatkan alam kami dari tambang pasir besi!*" (Save our nature from the iron sand mining!). Those are the contents of some banners the authors found in Deandels Street area.

The society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta that are members of Kulon Progo coastal land farmers association, the PPLP KP, also held an audience with Commission VII of the Indonesian House of Representatives (which is in charge of energy, mineral resources, research, and the environment) in Senayan, Jakarta. According to the society, the result of the meeting with Commission VII of the Indonesian House of Representatives provided information that Commission VII of the Indonesian House of Representatives had only obtained information unilaterally from the government-businesspeople coalition as the proponent of PT. Jogja Magasan Iron stated that there had never been any problems in the field regarding the iron sand mining construction project plan in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta and the local society also supports the construction project plan. Knowing such information, Commission VII of the Indonesian House of Representatives at that time had no reason not to approve the project. Because of the information conveyed by the PPLP KP, Commission VII of the Indonesian House of Representatives planned to go directly to the field to find out what actually happened so that no society members in that area were aggrieved (Widyanta 2011).

In addition to using physical efforts and also emphasizing the government-businesspeople, the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta also made a subtle refusal by instilling ideology into the next generation. Parents instill an ideology in their children to love nature and not destroy nature. Moreover, the parents explain to their children that the iron sand mining construction project is a form of exploitation and destruction of the natural environment that not only threatens the economic sustainability of the local society but also causes disasters. They instill an understanding to the future generation to always love nature because nature is like a mother figure that is able to nurture with a reflection in the form of bringing up the life to plants and animals to fulfill the needs of human life. As well, nature can also be angry if it is treated badly with a reflection in the form of major disasters that will be caused by nature. Besides, several local people who work as teachers also admitted in instilling a similar understanding to their students at school. The people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta admitted that this method is an effective way to pass

on a mindset of refusal of injustice done by the government and businesspeople, thus if one day their children grow up, go to high schools, and become successful people, they can continue the struggle of their predecessors who have been treated unfairly.

The people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta also admitted that they struggle through their prayers that they deliver to God every day. The society believes that this kind of effort will provide strength and also a way out in the fight against the government-businesspeople who oppress the society's life. This method is a way the society can do to get justice from Almighty God because the land as a place to earn the only livelihood for the survival is taken by the government-businesspeople for their sake.

4.3 The Government-Businesspeople's Resistance

Not only the society, but also the government-businesspeople were also aware that they were involved in the conflict. Seeing the various actions conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, the government-businesspeople did not just keep quiescent, they also fought back against the society to realize their desire to execute the iron sand mining construction project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta that promises a lot of financial profit (Table 3).

Table 3. Forms of Resistance from the Government-Businesspeople

No.	Action Type	Forms of Resistance
1	Interaction	Released news regarding the analysis of the feasibility of developing an iron sand mine
		Attract sympathy and support from external parties (community, educational institutions, and NGOs)
		Campaigning for promises to return community's land in good condition
2	Coordination	Pitting people against the construction of iron sand mines
		Bribing several opposing community leaders to turn their backs on the development of a mining project
3	Conflict	Taking legal action to obtain land rights to be developed by a mining project
		Violating the agreement by continuing to carry out the development pilot project
		Carrying out acts of terror and threats to the public against development
		Criminalization of people who oppose development

Source: Authors (2022)

The Government of Kulon Progo Regency wrote on its official website regarding the condition of "moor" in Karangsewu Village, Bugel Village, Pleret Village, and Garongan Village which will be used as the location of the iron sand mining construction project, which is a barren area (Candraningrum and Hunga 2015). The government tried to convince external parties to support its policies in an effort to realize the iron sand mining construction project by writing on the official website claiming that the location is indeed feasible and should be used for the iron sand mining construction project. The government seems wishing to reveal that the current condition of the available land is indeed neglected and does not produce any benefit. Thus, an innovation that is more financially profitable is needed. Whereas, the reality in the field is very different from what is stated on the official government website. The authors saw that the barren area is the fertile area of agricultural land that actually becomes a place for growing muskmelons, watermelons, cucumbers, chilies, eggplants, mustard greens, and long beans. "The wrong information" conveyed by the government on the official website is a form of resistance movement conducted by the government-businesspeople against the society.

The government through the legal way also fought related to the land ownership right. The government admitted that the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta that will be used as the iron sand mining area is the *Paku Alam* Land. The government provided proof of ownership in the form of a map since the Dutch colonial era which marked the coastal area with a red line as *Paku Alam's* land. In addition, the government also provided other evidence in the form of a decree from *Paku Alam* and the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta which stated that the coastal area was *Paku Alam's* proprietary. Furthermore, with the approval of the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, *Paku Alam* has given authority to the Government of Kulon Progo Regency to manage the coastal area for the iron sand mining project. Seeing the government's acknowledgment, the society denied it by claiming that the coastal area was the *Paku Alam's* land which has been managed by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta as agricultural land to improve the welfare of the coastal society. The hard work of turning the barren coastal land into fertile

agricultural land for decades is also the reason for the coastal land farmers to fight. When it is viewed from the legal side, actually the case of the ownership right of the land in this matter has overlapping legal dualism. On one side, referring to the implementation of the Yogyakarta Sultanate *Rijksblad* number 16/1918 and *Paku Alam Rijksblad* number 18/1918 and on the other side refers to the enactment of *UUPA* number 5/1960. The dualism of implementing the law clearly contradicts the two legal principles. First, the higher legal provisions abolish the lower legal provisions (*lex superior derogat legi inferiori*). Second, the legal provisions that came first can be abolished by the most recent provisions (*lex posterior derogat legi priori*). Thus, the demand from the government for the land ownership cannot be entirely justified legally (Yunianto 2009).

The government also opposed the society's opinion related to the environmental damage that will be caused by the iron sand mining construction project by making an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The government tried to convince the society as well as external parties that the iron sand mining construction project will run safely and will not damage the environment because the EIA will be conducted before the iron sand mining construction. However, this effort got the resistance from the society that are members of Kulon Progo coastal land farmers association, the PPLP KP. The society did not believe in the EIA conducted by the government-businesspeople because the government-businesspeople will certainly manipulate and try hard to use the EIA as an instrument to support the government-businesspeople's decision. The society assumes that even though the EIA has been conducted, the social, economic, and environmental impacts that the society will bear are still very detrimental. The society's refusal of the EIA plan led to clashes between society members and the polices at *Gedung Kaca* as the office of the government of Kulon Progo Regency during a demonstration.

The next effort done by the government-businesspeople is in the form of giving a promise (lure) that the coastal area turned into the iron sand mining area will be returned to the society in "an intact condition" or will be returned to the normal condition without any damage on the ecosystem or damage on the soil structure. The government-businesspeople promised to return the coastal area after the mining activities that will be ended in about 30 years. As an effort to show the seriousness, then the government-businesspeople cooperated with the Faculty of Forestry of Universitas Gadjah Mada to conduct the research related to post-iron sand mining rehabilitation so that the environmental condition can return to the normal condition. However, this promise was also refused by the society because the society did not believe in the lure conveyed by the government-businesspeople. The society still firmly refused the persuasion because various cases similar to this case often happen, the government often only gives "sweet promises in the form of humbug" which have never been realized. Furthermore, the society through the PPLP KP forum sent an official letter to the Faculty of Forestry of Universitas Gadjah Mada that contained a request for the Faculty of Forestry of Universitas Gadjah Mada in order not to get involved, moreover help the government-businesspeople in the conflict of the iron sand mining construction project plan. After sending the letters for 3 times and the letters were not responded by the Faculty of Forestry of Universitas Gadjah Mada, then the society conducted a real action in the form of demonstration in front of Universitas Gadjah Mada in order to urge the Faculty of Forestry of Universitas Gadjah Mada not to get involved in this case. Eventually, this demonstration led to the agreement of the Faculty of Forestry of Universitas Gadjah Mada not to get involved in this case.

The government and businesspeople embodied in PT. JMI then fought back against the refusal of the society by continuing the process of the iron sand mining construction project (especially in pilot project trial activities) in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. PT. JMI violated the agreement that had been made together with the society by continuing to conduct pilot project trial activities and using heavy equipment and vehicles to realize the trial activities. Certainly, this condition resulted in the reaction of the society that felt betrayed by the government-businesspeople because they violated the agreement that had been made together. In the agreement, PT. JMI is only able to conduct the iron sand mining construction project (including the project pilot trial) after the issuance of the EIA. The society then blocked the highway so that it could not be passed by heavy equipment and vehicles belonging to PT. JMI.

The local society also admitted that the government-businesspeople had put up a fight by pitting the local society into two opposing parts. According to the local society, the government has incited several society figures and several members of society by providing incorrect information. This pitting process was done through the presence of NGOs that were actually pro toward the government, but NGOs were present in the midst of the society and claimed that they were pro toward the society. NGOs often provided incorrect information and then incited the society to break up and raise the conflict to each other within the society. The government-businesspeople also sought the internal support from the local society by providing "bribes" so that the local society will take sides and agree with the iron sand mining construction project. Realizing that they were being pitted against each other, the people of the southern coastal area

of Yogyakarta began to be careful in accepting various information provided by external parties. The people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta also began to sort out the various external organizations and institutions that were present in their midst to help them. From this occurrence, the most important thing is that the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta started to realize the threat toward its unity, thus the local society then had a stronger commitment to remain united so that they were not easily pitted against each other. However, as a result of the pitting done by the government, the people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta have been divided into two opposing parts, some remained firmly against the iron sand mining construction project and some turned to take sides with the government-businesspeople.

In addition to using ways that are considered "fair" to be done, evidently, the government-businesspeople also took real actions in the form of terror and threats to the local society. The first terror action was the destruction of the PPLP KP's post by people who were referred to as accomplices of the government-businesspeople according to the society. The destruction of the PPLP KP's post is considered by the society as a form of terror used to scare the local society for the refusal of the iron sand mining construction project. Not only the destruction of the PPLP KP's post, but Garongan Village people also admitted that they had received attacks from hundreds of unknown people who did the destruction. Garongan Village is a base village against the iron sand mining construction project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. According to the local society, the attack was not only a form of terror but also an attempt to divert the issue by the government-businesspeople so that the major issue in the form of the society's social movement opposing the iron sand mining construction project were ignored. Although the society had received such terror, the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta remained steadfast in refusing the iron sand mining construction project without fear.

The terror and threats did not stop, several local people were prosecuted by the government-businesspeople on charges of having taken seven employees of PT. JMI. For example, Mr. Tukijo, one of the people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta who opposes the iron sand mining construction project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta. Mr. Tukijo was detained (imprisoned) because he was accused of committing a criminal act. Although some of the people of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta were immobilized by the government-businesspeople, thousands of other people behind them were still strong and steadfast against the iron sand mining construction project in the coastal area. While some of these partisans were in detention cells, the local society admitted continuing to raise their hands together to pray for justice from Almighty God so that the partisans who were in the detention cells would always be given strength and fortitude, as well the people that struggled outside the detention cells were also given strength to fight the oppression and injustice.

4.4 Disadvantages of the Society of the Southern Coastal Area of Yogyakarta

The iron sand mining construction project in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta is a form of new colonialism. The fact that there were evictions, oppression, threats, and intimidation experienced by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta become proof that national development is a form of terror for the middle to lower society. In general, the society that lives in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta is placed as the object of power that can be played and treated by the government-businesspeople as they please in order to get big financial benefits. The financial benefits that will be obtained will certainly not be relished by the society in general, but the benefit will only be relished only by a handful of people, those are the elite government and foreign businesspeople as investors (Henry and Petras 2014).

5. Conclusion

The case of the society's social movement conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta against the iron sand mining construction project actually occurs because of the differences in interests and perspectives related to the natural resources management. The government and businesspeople view that natural resources of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta, especially in Kulon Progo Regency, is an object and asset belonging to the government that can be exploited to earn billions of rupiahs in profit each year. Meanwhile, the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta views that the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta is the fertile land that they have managed for decades as a legacy from their ancestors. Moreover, the coastal land is the main source of livelihood for the local society which is used to fulfill the society's daily needs. The society also views that changing the function of land into the iron sand mining area can damage nature which can cause major disasters that threaten the society's life. With this view, the society places nature as a subject that is able to give feedback on the treatment given, if nature is preserved and treated well, then nature will also provide the benefit in the form of providing sources of life that can be used to

meet the needs of daily life. However, if nature is exploited and treated badly, nature will also provide feedback in the form of disasters that can threaten the safety of the society.

The national development concept promoted by the government in general are "for the society's welfare", "for the society's benefit", "for the country's development", and so on. However, in the reality, national development done by the government eventually will only benefit a few people. In this case, the biggest share profit will definitely belong to PT. Jogja Magasa Iron, which is a foreign company (an Australian company) and partly owned by the elite government that is Yogyakarta Palace family. Apart from these two parties, the elite government of Kulon Progo Regency, which extremely supports the presence of the project to the point of being willing to put aside the society's interests, will certainly also get the share of the profit. Apart from the parties above, it is certain that the society (especially that lives in the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta) will not be more prosperous but will be worse with the presence of the iron sand mining project. The land where they can earn daily income will be lost, the environment in which they live every day will be damaged, and they will feel the pollution every day as the impact of the iron sand mining project.

The resistance movement conducted by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta is actually a reaction to disappointment with the performance of the government. Instead of protecting the society and taking sides with the society's interests, the government takes sides with businesspeople's interests in order to obtain financial enefits. The resistance movement conducted by the society when it is viewed from the pattern actually is a form of reaction to the act of injustice, oppression, and intimidation done by the government-businesspeople. This bitter life experience that must be experienced by the society of the southern coastal area of Yogyakarta has shaped the society to use the mind and physical in responding to the situation of injustice the society accepted.

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