

Social Reconfiguration and Marginalization of Farmers in Transmigrant Village in the Context of Coal Industrialization in Tenggarong Seberang, East Kalimantan

Komunitas: International Journal of
Indonesian Society and Culture
16 (2) (2024): 245-258
DOI: 10.15294/komunitas.v16i2.14222
© 2024 Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia
p-ISSN 2086-5465 | e-ISSN 2460-7320
Web: <https://journal.unnes.ac.id/journals/komunitas>

Sri Murlianti*¹, Purwaningsih¹, Aji Qamara Dewi Hakim¹, Henni Sriani¹,
Nia Annisyatul Khusna¹, Charles Tabilangi¹

¹Universitas Mulawarman, Indonesia

Abstract

The extractive political economy chosen by the New Order since the beginning of its rule has transformed natural resource-rich areas in Indonesia into areas at the heart of global capitalism. In the past, extractive politics began by opening the tap for foreign capital to exploit forests, converting scrubland into monoculture plantations and exploiting coal deposits. At the same time, colonial demographic politics were revived to open up major extractive areas, transforming scrubland from former HPH concessions into agricultural areas, alongside coal mining exploration. Tenggarong Seberang District, East Kalimantan has experienced social reconfiguration many times, from an area with a subsistence production model to a major coal extractive area in Kutai Kartanegara Regency. This article describes how Manunggal Jaya Village, which was previously managed by the local farming community, became a center for transmigrant settlements that successfully transformed the village into a center for Kutai rice farming during the New Order era; and drastically changed into a center for supporting services for the multinational mining industry after regional autonomy. The research was conducted for 2 months involving 3 researchers, 2 research assistants throughout August-October 2024. Primary data was collected through observation and in-depth interviews with 10 key informants. The results of the study found a social reconfiguration of the position and role of transmigrant farmers in Tenggarong Seberang. Transmigrants came from poor areas in East Java, became the dominant social class throughout the 1980s-90s, changed drastically into the most vulnerable marginal class entering the mid-2000s. Agricultural land conversion to mining sites, reduced government support; pressures from companies, village bureaucrats, and land brokers have placed significant burdens on farmers. They face water scarcity, land degradation, pollution, new pests, and psychological stress; discouraging younger generations from farming and leaving remaining farmers to struggle under these challenges.

Keywords

coal mining, farmer, marginalization, social reconfiguration, transmigration

Corresponding author
Email: sri.murlianti@fisip.unmul.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony explains how global capitalists and governments dominate local populations through discourse rather than violence. Hegemony, as Gramsci defines it, is a consensus-based compliance achieved through the acceptance of minority classes under dominant leadership, not coercion (Cox, 1983, #). Schmidt (Schmidt, 2023, #) examines power dynamics in agriculture, questioning "what is right" amidst rural development, global market dominance, and farmers' struggles. Modern agriculture faces challenges like climate change, social and environmental injustice (Smith, 2022) (Schmidt, 2023, #). A stark power imbalance exists between wealthy, state-backed investors and marginalized rural communities defending their land rights. In regions like Africa and Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, governments often facilitate land grabs by offering favorable deals to foreign entities, ignoring indigenous land rights and exposing local farmers and communities to displacement and poverty (Liberti, 2013, #)

During Indonesia's New Order era, "development" was an ideological tool used by the government to control the population through centralized programs (Wirutomo, 2022, #). In the late 1970s, the transmigration program relocated poor residents from Java and Bali to remote areas, often indigenous lands, under the guise of promoting equity, food self-sufficiency, and poverty reduction. State officials, including agricultural and family planning advisors, police, and Babinsa officers, were mobilized to support the program and suppress local resistance. By the late 1980s to early 2000s, this program contributed to a period of food self-sufficiency in Kutai Regency.

In terms of population movement, Mukrimin and Acciaioli (2023) describe Indonesia as the most ambitious country in the world. Kalimantan has become one of the main destinations for population transfers when transmigration became the main demographic policy throughout Soeharto's reign. The local Manpower and Transmigration Office recorded that 299,455 heads

of families were accepted in 240 transmigration settlement units spread across the province (Purba et al., 2018). The largest wave during Soeharto's New Order (1969-1996) was 277,246 families moved to 172 transmigration settlements in the province (Purwaningsih et al., 2019). Transmigration changed the face of Tenggarong Seberang from a thicket of former PT Lamiri concessions to the main rice producing center in Kutai Regency at that time. This sub-district was once nicknamed the rice barn of Kutai Regency (now Kutai Kartanegara) before finally becoming the main area for coal mining exploitation in Kukar.

The transmigrants' fortunes changed when the government prioritized coal as a key export commodity. Coal-rich areas were reclassified as mining zones, marginalizing farmers under the guise of economic growth. Officials, once supportive of agriculture, shifted to pressuring farmers to sell their land, often involving companies, village leaders, the military, and even thugs. Resistance was met with legal action, while mining operations caused land degradation, irrigation issues, and new pests, severely harming transmigrant farmers' livelihoods. Currently, there are at least 60 coal mines operating in Tenggarong Seberang sub-district.

The villages in Tenggarong across have undergone a massive transformation from rice centers to coal extraction centers in Kutai Regency, but the characteristics of the transformation of the villages within them are not uniform. The villages surrounded by 2 multinational coal corporations, PT Kitadin and MSJ, have experienced massive landscape changes, 70% of agricultural land has been lost. In Buana Jaya village, it was recorded that 100 Ha of housing land, 93 Ha of rice fields and 72.5 Ha of fields/plantations have turned into mining concession areas. This village now has only 3 RTs (Rukun tetangga/Neighborhood Association) left from the previous 11 RTs, most of the residents have released their land to the company (Salsabilla & Murlianti, 2023). Almost 60% of the population has changed jobs due to the loss of agricultural land, or the second generation of transmigrants who are no lon-

ger interested in becoming farmers.

Mulawarman Village has suffered more severe impacts than other villages in Tenggara Seberang. The village area that has become a mining concession has reached 90%, leaving less than 750 families with a population of 2710 people (Salsabilla & Murlianti, 2023; Sidik, 2021). Only 216 residents work as farmers (10%), and most of them no longer have land to cultivate, having the status of farmers who lend land to the company.

As the capital of Tenggara Seberang Regency, Manunggal Jaya Village is not close to the exploration of multinational coal corporations such as Kerta Buana Village, Bhuana Jaya Village, Mulawarman Village and its surroundings. However, recently Manunggal Jaya Village has begun to be surrounded by 2 local coal companies and has carried out illegal mining practices. This paper explores how the agricultural economic patterns in Manunggal Jaya Village differ from other villages united by multinational corporations. The analysis focuses on how local corporations and illegal mining practices supported by the regional political regime marginalize farmers in Manunggal Jaya Village.

Previous research has provided extensive analysis of the communities surrounding the coal industry in its early days. Philip describes how the coal industry in the UK began as a local economic venture, grew into a major industry, but was later deemed less viable as UK industrial jobs dwindled (Fearnside, 1997). In India, pride in the coal economy led to extensive deforestation, impoverishing local communities who traditionally depended on forest resources for their livelihoods, thereby minimising India's role in efforts to save the future realities of the planet (Ranjan, 2019). A similar situation in Indonesia is also discussed by Irwan et al. (2018), Arief (2020), and Brata et al. (2022). In South Africa, Mbalenhle Mpanza has observed the irony of how the large foreign exchange contribution of gold mining was accompanied by significant negative impacts on the local environment and agriculture, including dust pollution, water

source degradation and pollution of agricultural irrigation.

J Kirshner has discussed how the city of Tete in Mozambique has transformed into a power plant and a global investment center at the same time (J, 2015). Tete has become the fastest growing city in Mozambique, giving rise to many closed pockets as a result of some parties benefiting and being integrated into the global circuit. On the other hand, there have also been parties experiencing the dispossession of space through displacement. Connor's research in New South Wales, Australia found many inequalities in the approach to landowners that may become a legacy of serious environmental problems and issues (Connor, 2016). G Evans, and L Phelan analyzed how two groups of civil society organizations called 'Stop T4' and 'Groundswell' carried an environmental justice perspective, but unfortunately this movement failed to build solid solidarity between 3 sides of interest, namely between local environmental justice goals, workers' aspirations and trade unions for safe and quality jobs (Evans & Phelan, 2016).

In Indonesia, the industrialization of monoculture plantations and coal mining in the post-timber economy has transformed tropical forest landscapes into pockets of multinational industry that marginalize local communities. In the 1980s, after the decline of Indonesia's timber export glory, coal began to attract the government's attention to earn foreign exchange. The National Mining Network (Jatamnas), an NGO that has long advocated for mining policies in Indonesia, reported that as of 2018 there were 8,588 Mining Business Permits (IUP), opening up 17.1 million hectares of land in Indonesia. East Kalimantan Province had the largest IUP, namely 1,190 or 13.87%. By the end of 2021, coal mining had produced 1,735 gaping, unmanaged lakes, 749 of which were in the city of Samarinda, the capital of East Kalimantan ((Jatamnas), 2017) (Koporasi-Negara et al. n.d.).

Sibirian describes the change in production methods from conventional agriculture to a mining economy as a natural

dynamic (Siburian, 2018). However, many other studies show that this transition process is not natural but occurs hegemonic. Maimunah explains how a Dayak Murung traditional village in Murung Raya Regency has changed its face from an indigenous community dependent on forests to a consumer society dependent on manufactured commodities due to the extraction of natural resources. In Kerta Buana, the release of fertile land occurred with many intrigues that left transmigrants with no other choice (Ardan et al., 2020; Hardjanto, 2016; Murlianti et al., 2022; Purba et al., 2018). These processes change the landscape and culture at the same time. In Long Bentuk Village, Busang, oil palm plantations and coal mines marginalize women from local food sources and eliminate access to important decisions related to natural resources (Großmann & Gullo, 2022; Toumbourou et al., 2020).

Two multinational coal companies PT Kitadin (1980s, underground mining) and PT MSJ changed the natural and cultural landscape of farming villages such as Kerta Buana, Buana Jaya, Mulawarman and surrounding areas. The natural landscape changed, agricultural land turned into a sea of critical land with gaping cavities, many farmers lost their cultivated land (Korporasi-Negara et al., n.d.).

Manunggal Jaya Village shows a different phenomenon compared to other villages in Tenggarong Seberang District. This village did not bear the direct physical impact of multinational company operations until the 2000s. As the capital of the Regency, this village even holds several physical artifacts of the glory of rice farming in Tenggarong Seberang. This article explains how Manunggal Jaya escaped the exploration of multinational coal companies, but became the target of illegal mining practices by local actors.

METHOD

This research was conducted in Manunggal Jaya Village, Tenggarong Seberang District, Kutai Kartanegara, East Kalimantan, at coordinates $0^{\circ}23'9.28''S$, $117^{\circ}6'35.71''E$. Located 19.1 km from Samarinda and 25 km

from Tenggarong, it is accessible within 35-45 minutes. Established in 1980 as a transmigration site for settlers from East Java and Lombok, the area was formerly part of the indigenous-managed region of Teluk Dalam.

This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The research analysis examines how coal mining industrialization alters social configurations and marginalizes farmers in Manunggal Jaya. In-depth observations focused on the remaining farming communities, the condition of agricultural land, the reduction of living space, the interactions between these communities, local government, and companies. Critical historical analysis was used to see the trajectory of natural resource capitalization, changes in community livelihood models and the reconfiguration of the community that was formed.

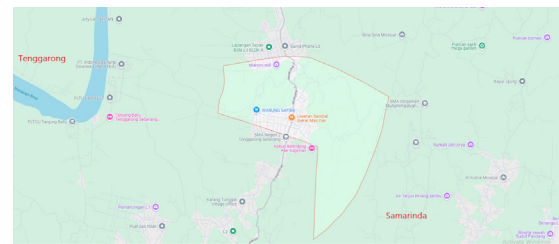


Figure 1. Map of Manunggal Jaya Village Accessed from Google Map 12/29/24, 6:15 PM

A critical historical analysis interprets a series of events not as natural social change but as outcomes of unequal power dynamics between resource-rich entities and those with limited or no access to, control over, or use of resources (Thomas & Leed, 2013, #). With a critical historical analysis reveals that the social reconfiguration and marginalization of farmers in Manunggal Jaya is not a natural process but a deliberate government construct. The shift in political-economic priorities, from food self-sufficiency to foreign exchange generation, involved mobilizing all levels of government bureaucracy and corporate influence, creating an illusion of natural change. Under the pretext of generating state foreign exchange, policies and treatment of transmigrant far-

mers shifted entirely to prioritize corporate interests, disregarding and marginalizing the farmers' needs.

The subjects of this study comprised the farming population in Manunggal Jaya. The study, conducted over two weeks in September 2024, included observations, interviews, and secondary data collection. Data collection was conducted through preliminary observations, detailed field observations, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. A total of 21 key informants participated in comprehensive interviews, including 3 village officials, 3 senior community members, 2 youth leaders, 9 farmers (6 men and 4 women), 3 agricultural extension officers, and 1 former agricultural extension officer. In-depth group interviews with groups of farmers, village elders, village officials and youth groups. Secondary data is used to see the new configuration patterns of the Manunggal Jaya community today. Village landscape appearance data from drone monitoring results is used to support the relationship between natural resource capitalization and community reconfiguration analysis that occurs over time.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The early industrialization period in Tenggarong Seberang: forest exploitation, demographic politics and underground mining

The extractive economic policies of the New Order transformed Indonesia's rich regions into Frontier Assemblages ((Maimunah, n.d.), a kind of terrace of global capitalism. Pockets of natural resources were exploited massively to serve global industry, while global industrial commodities flooded communities down to remote villages. This global industrialization transformed the natural and cultural landscapes of communities, marginalizing local communities from their original identities and dependence on nature.

Indonesia's natural resource pockets have undergone social, cultural, and economic reconfigurations due to the encounter and conquest of complex relations between state power, global corporations, and local

elites intertwined in the political economy of coal mining. Maimunah explains how the Dayak Murung community in Central Kalimantan has undergone repeated reconfigurations of ethnic identity, from a riverine society to a highly consumerist society dependent on global commodities (Maimunah, n.d.).

Information about the situation in the Tenggarong Seberang area before the 1960s, formerly known as Teluk Dalam, is inadequate. Most likely, this area was managed by the local indigenous people (Kutai, Dayak), who lived by farming, hunting, and utilizing forest products. The Tenggarong Seberang area is also known as the L area, the initials of PT Lamiri, a timber company that has a HPH (Forestry exploitation rights) along Tenggarong Seberang (HPH/Forestry exploitation rights).. When it was designated as a transmigration destination area, this area was divided into L-1, L-2, L-3, and L-4. The industrialization of natural resources in Tenggarong Seberang resulted in a social reconfiguration that was very different from what Maimunah wrote in Murung Raya. The HPH, transmigration, and coal industrialization policies removed indigenous people from this area.

In 1980, Tenggarong District became the destination for thousands of transmigrants from Java, DKI Jakarta, NTB, DIY and Bali. Manunggal Jaya Village, located in L-2, became the destination for transmigrants from Java. Manunggal Jaya Village is located at 0007' 0027' South Latitude and 116058' - 117008' East Longitude with an area of 1,710 Ha. This village is located 15 kilometers east of Samarinda City and is the main route to villages in the Tenggarong Seberang area..

Informants said that when the transmigrants first arrived, several local tribes became part of the transmigrants, but they never felt comfortable living together with other transmigrants. Then, almost no local tribes lived in the transmigrants' settlements. In 1983, PT Kitadin from Thailand conducted coal exploration using an underground mining system at L-4, to the right of the Kerta Buana village gate (south of the village). Previously, the largest shareholder

Table 1. Dynamics of Natural Resource Industrialization and Social Reconfiguration of Manunggal Jaya Village Community

	Colonial Era	Old Order (1945-1960s)	New Order (1965-1990s)	Regional Autonomy (2000s)
Political economy	Subsistence	Subsistence	Opening of foreign capital-foreign exchange of wood industry, Food self-sufficiency-transmigration	Decentralization, legal-illegal coal mining,
Commodities	Rattan, wood, honey, fish, game Rattan	Rattan, wood, honey, fish, game Rattan	wood, honey, fish, game Wood industry, rice, vegetable and fruit cultivation	Coal, rice, employee transportation services, catering services, employee boarding/rentals
Landscape	Tropical Forest	Tropical Forest	Transmigration settlement, rain-fed rice fields, Sub-district capital	Transmigration settlement, rain-fed rice fields, Sub-district Capital, illegal mining underground mining, open pit mining
Infrastruktur/Infra-structure	River	River River, road, wood pond, camp	River, road, school, camp, RPU, Sarepo, irrigation channel, pier	River, road, school, camp, Pier, RPU, Sarepo, irrigation channel, howling road, pier
Actors	Community, Kutai kingdom authority	Community, Kutai kingdom authority	PPL, KB Extension Worker, Development Extension Worker, Babinsa, 'Company PR'	Field Extension Officer, PPL, Family Planning Counselor, Development Counselor, Babinsa, 'Company Public Relations,' Mass Organizations
Community	Indigenous people	Indigenous people	Javanese transmigrants, indigenous people become a minority as local transmigrants	urban society, 2nd generation Javanese transmigrants, multi-ethnic skilled migrant workers, no more indigenous people
livelihood	hunting, gathering, farming,	Hunting, gathering, farming,	farmers, manual laborers in timber companies, manual laborers in mines, rice collectors, vegetable and fruit traders	Mining laborers, mining employees, farmers, rice collectors, vegetable and fruit traders, catering entrepreneurs, transportation entrepreneurs, lodging entrepreneurs, or company employee dormitories, teachers, doctors, nurses, contractors

of PT Kitadin was Indocoal. In 1999, the majority of their shares were sold to the Banpu Group of Companies in Thailand. This giant land from Thailand invaded an area of 973 Ha .

Underground mining does not have much impact on the community's agricultural efforts because it does not erode agricultural land, in fact many transmigrants have turned to being manual miners to support their agricultural efforts. Agricultural efforts were not easy at the beginning of the arrival of transmigrants, even though government support was maximized. All government resources were mobilized to make this transmigration program a success. Transmigration logistics were guaran-

teed by the government for 1.5 years. The Transmigration, Agriculture, Information, Population, ABRI and POLRI Services were integrated to support the success of this program. Transmigrants along the L region recalled their closeness to PPL (Field Extension Officer), Family Planning Counselor, Development Extension Workers, Babinsa and Kamtibmas.

From the late 1980s to the early 2000s, the scenery throughout the Tenggaraong Seberang District was dominated by green rice fields. This period was the golden age of agricultural glory in Tenggaraong Seberang. As the district capital, Manunggal Jaya Village became the center of rice farming development activities in Tenggaraong Seberang. The

golden age of rice farming was marked by 2 visits by New Order cabinet ministers and one visit by President Soeharto. The Srapo building, a kind of pavilion with a large building, was built in the early 1990s, to welcome the arrival of Soeharto and the ministers of the development cabinet who visited Tenggaraong Seberang. In 2002, the Rice Processing Unit (RPU), a rice milling factory, was built to accommodate rice from farmers throughout Tenggaraong Seberang. The value of this infrastructure project reached 80 billion rupiah, which could be said to be a giant project at that time which was built in an inland area that had developed into a rice production center in Kutai Regency. This RPU was built during the reign of Regent H.R. Syaukani, became a symbol of the success of food self-sufficiency and became the pride of Kutai Regency at that time. This RPU was once able to produce high-quality rice as much as 5 to 20 tons per hour, and if operating for 8 hours could produce 160 tons of rice a day, and 57,600 tons of rice a year.

Open Mining, Agricultural Decline in Tenggaraong Seberang and Reconfiguration of Manunggal Jaya Village Community

Social configuration is a model or pattern of culture of a region at a certain time that has become a characteristic of the region. New Order-style development intervened in society and its environment in a structured/systematic manner, causing drastic changes and producing new social structures (Wirutomo, 2022, #). In the development process, the impacts felt are not the same between levels of society, some groups may benefit from development, others may be marginalized. Development that only focuses on foreign exchange and economic growth has been proven to marginalize lower-class people and make them vulnerable to poverty.

Until the beginning of the New Order government, the social configuration of the entire Tenggaraong Seberang was an area managed by indigenous people with a farming culture. Since the intervention of the New Order, this area has changed its face

into a HPH concession area (1970s), a food production center (1980-90s) and a coal production center (2000s). Coal industrialization has changed and produced a new social configuration in Manunggal Jaya, from a rice farming community to a service industry community that supports the operation of the coal industry. Currently, farmers are the most marginalized group that is most vulnerable to pressure from entrepreneurs and security forces.

In 2003, PT Kitadin started exploration using the Open Pit Mining method at the Embalut Site, closer to Kerta Buana Village, covering an area of 2,973 Ha which produces sub-bituminous coal with a calorific value of 5,850 kcal/kg and a sulfur content of 0.2% (12) (13). In 2004, PT Mahakam Sumber Jaya (MSJ) conducted coal exploration from the north side of the village. The concession area of PT. MSJ is 20,380 Ha. Informant H who works as an employee of the Mahakam Sumber Jaya (MSJ) contractor, PT. PCP--Mahakam Sumber Jaya (MSJ) has 2 contractor companies tasked with extracting coal in its concession area, namely Leighton and Cipta Kridatama (CK). In addition to the 2 giant coal companies, there are still 3 mining companies that have obtained exploration permits from the Regent of Kutai Kartanegara, namely CV. Intan Bara Mandiri, CV. Sardila and Kintamani Bara Utama, which covers an area of 239 Ha (13).

This open-pit mining operation became a turning point in the decline of the glory of Tenggaraong Seberang rice farming. The supply of rice to the rice mills and RPU decreased drastically because the mining company's activities converted agricultural land in the L3-L4 area. The villages of Kerta Buana, Bangun Rejo, Mulawarman, Buana Jaya, and the surrounding areas changed their appearance into villages surrounded by mines. Many agricultural lands were turned into open-pit mining areas. In the villages of Kerta Buana, Buana Jaya, and Mulawarman, several RTs were relocated because they were converted into mining areas. In Kerta Buana, mining exploration resulted in 14 lakes of varying sizes, which swallowed 3 high school students. By 2010, only 25% of the

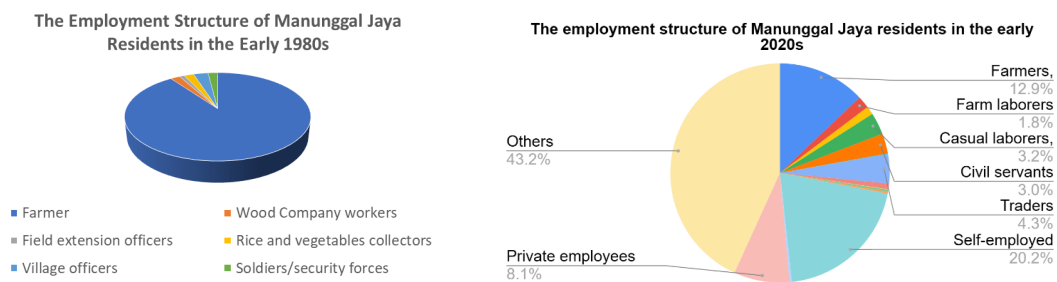


Figure 2. Comparison of the employment structure of Manunggal Jaya residents in the early 1980s with the early 2000s

Source: Focus Group Interview with Farmer and Manunggal Jaya Village Data, 2020

rice fields remained, 75% of the rice fields had been converted into mining areas.

Manunggal Jaya Village did not bear the impact of land damage because the mining location was far from the village. As the sub-district capital, Manunggal Jaya Village actually experienced rapid progress. Since underground mining, many Manunggal Jaya residents have become miner workers. Viktor, the village secretary, still remembers that in his childhood he often saw miners coming home from work with black faces due to being exposed to coal dust. New professions have emerged in the second generation of transmigrants in Manunggal Jaya village. This village became a business center in Tenggara Seberang.

The configuration of society changed completely. In the early 1980s, all residents of Manunggal Jaya village were transmigrant farmers from Java. Statistical data on the occupational structure of the Manunggal Jaya population during the New Order era is not available. However, through in-depth discussions with village community leaders, estimated data were obtained on the occupational structure and percentage of the population in the early 1980s as shown in Figure 2 on the right. The complexity of changes in the occupational structure of the population is clearly visible in the village profile data for 2024 which is also shown in Figure 2 on the right.

In the 2010s, the ethnicity of the residents of Manunggal Jaya village became more diverse due to the wave of migrant mine workers. New classes emerged such as employees/miner classes, transporta-

tion entrepreneurs, lodging & house rental entrepreneurs, owner farmers, sharecroppers, and even covert prostitution services. The latest village profile of this village shows that the variety of professional classes in Manunggal Jaya is very diverse, as shown in Table 1.

The number of people still farming in Tenggara Seberang District has decreased quite drastically. The number of farmers and farm laborers only reached 602 people or 12.94% of the total working age population, while other professions reached 87.06%. Buana Social Mapping Data in 2018 shows that the number of remaining farmers who still have land is only 234 people (38.87%), the remaining 368 people (61.13%) are sharecroppers or farm laborers. Of all the remaining farmers, those who still have land between 1-5 Ha are 162 people (69.23%) and the remaining 72 people (30.77%) only have a maximum of 1 Ha of land.

The villages around the multinational mine experienced severe degradation of agricultural land. The supply of rice and rice mills to the RPU decreased drastically. Only 3 years after open mining, the RPU has not been functioning since 2006 and has turned into an abandoned building. The monumental Serapo building has also been abandoned. According to the village secretary, the land in Serapo was used for a volleyball court, which was still there until 2010, then dismantled because it was misused for negative activities by young people. The building was auctioned off, the large woods used for building materials became private property through auction. However, BPS data from

2013 shows that until 2012 Manunggal Jaya Village still received an award as a Rice Granary Village because it contributed 40% of rice in East Kalimantan (BPS, 2013).

Table 2. Population of Manunggal Jaya Village by Type of Occupation in 2023

Type of work	Male	Female
Farmers,	373	229
Farm laborers	52	31
Honorary workers,	19	38
Casual laborers,	122	28
Civil servants	67	71
Home craftsmen	1	4
Traders	120	80
Livestock breeders	31	8
Private doctors,	1	2
Midwives	5	9
Retired TNI/POLRI	13	0
Self-employed	929	12
Tailors	5	13
Private employees	372	7
Others	797	1213
	2.907	1.745

Source: Manunggal Jaya Village profile 2023

Illegal mining practices and local mining, marginalization of the agricultural sector in Manunggal Jaya

The marginalization of farmers began to be clearly seen after regional autonomy, when Tenggarong Seberang sub-district became a coal production center in Kutai Kartanegara district. The government's treatment of farmers has changed drastically. The three main changes in the government's attitude towards farmers are in special agricultural assistance programs, assistance to farmers and the attitude of security forces (police and military) towards farmers when they have problems with companies; as shown in Table 3.

During the New Order era, assistance to transmigrant farmers was very intensive, involving 3 field extension workers from 3 different departments. Agricultural extension workers from the Department of Ag-

riculture helped farmers in farming, were very responsive and diligent in going down to the residents' rice fields to assist farmers. Development extension workers from the Department of Information helped residents in village development, increasing residents' national insight, and the role of transmigrants in supporting the food self-sufficiency program. In the 1980s-1990s, development extension workers actively assisted village officials and farmer groups, especially in terms of fostering farmer group achievements, understanding Pancasila and living together in harmony; both oral socialization and by showing films with development nuances in the village hall. And Family Planning (KB) extension workers were tasked with assisting families in family welfare planning.

Government assistance during the New Order was well planned, routinely provided to all farmers according to the needs of the farming cycle. During the New Order, transmigrant farmers were assisted starting from seeds, fertilizers, medicines and various agricultural tools. There were no costs that farmers had to pay, assistance came according to the needs of the planting cycle. The security forces stationed in the village were very alert in protecting the security disturbances of the farmers. The soldiers used to be very close to the farmers, very fast and firm when some people claimed to be local residents claiming the transmigrants' land. Incidents like this did not take long, were immediately resolved by the authorities and the farmers remained calm in farming.

This condition was very contrasting when Tenggarong Seberang District became a coal production center. Agricultural development was no longer the center of government attention, in fact it is clear that this sector is marginalized in a structured manner. There was no longer a well-organized cross-departmental assistance program. There was only 1 agricultural extension worker, who plays a role more as a bureaucrat who carries out ceremonial government tasks than as an intensive farmer companion. Assistance for farmers was very rare, paid and often became a source of con-

Table 3. Differences in Government Treatment of Farmers during the New Order and After Autonomy

Assistance	Government Treatment of Farmers	
	New Order Era, before there were mines	Post regional autonomy, after there were mines
Field Extension Officer	There were 3 field extension officers from 3 different departments, assisting transmigrant farmers intensively.	There are only agricultural extension officers, whose activities are more often at formal events in government offices, and they very rarely accompany farmers in the rice fields.
Problems of Assistance for Fertilizer, Agricultural Equipment and Medicine	Routine, assistance according to needs in each agricultural business cycle; Free, farmers are not charged Evenly distributed, all farmers receive assistance in the form of agricultural tools, fertilizers and medicines	Rarely, charged, small amount, not all farmers can get it, Often a source of conflict between farmers Assistance most often comes during regional head election season; from candidates for council members, candidates for regents or candidates for village heads, often not according to needs/not on target
Support from the Army/Security Forces	Very responsive and firm in dealing with agricultural business security disturbances. Promptly assisting in repairing agricultural infrastructure, such as repairing irrigation channels, building village culverts	Rarely, charged a fee, small amount, not all farmers can get it, Often a source of conflict between farmers Assistance most often comes during the regional election season from candidates for council members or district heads, often not according to needs/not on target

Source: Data from Focus Group Interview with Farmers, Manunggal Jaya, 2024

Table 4. List of assistance for Manunggal Jaya farmers in the last three years

Type of Assistance	Assistance Provider
Hand Tractor (2 unit)	Village Government and elected Deputy Regent
Organic fertilizer and hoe	elected Member of Parliament II Kukar
Training in making proposals for submitting company assistance	Agriculture Field Extension Officer
Training in planting rice, providing fertilizers and controlling diseases	Agriculture Field Extension Officer
Assistance in making rice field demonstration plots	Agriculture Field Extension Officer
Repair of farmers' rice field irrigation channels (outside the transport road)	ABRI (Army soldiers)

Source: Data from the Agricultural Extension Officer of Tenggara Seberang District, 2024

flict between farmers because the amount is small and cannot be distributed evenly to all those in need.

Since then, residents have felt the difference in attitude of village officials, agricultural extension workers and security forces; especially when farmers have to face conflicts with companies. This was different from the early days of transmigration, where village officials, field extension workers and security forces were quick to defend farmers from any disturbances. Currently, farmers find it very difficult to get just moral support, there is no hope of serious defense for farmers when faced with losses due to the

impact of mining operations near their land. After regional autonomy, there are 2 models of coal mining operating in Manunggal Jaya village, namely illegal mining and local mining. Illegal mining, or commonly called corridor mining by residents, is an individual mining business that cooperates with individual land owners. This type of mining business only has one or two heavy equipment (owned or rented), enters into a business agreement to take coal deposits based on an agreement between the capital owner and the landowner. Once the coal deposits run out, the capital owner will move to another place. These illegal mining practi-

ces have left many gaping holes around Manunggal Jaya, on the side of the main road to the village and several other places close to settlements or residents' fields/rice fields.

Local mining is an official mining company owned by local entrepreneurs, and has an official mining business permit from the relevant agency. Unlike illegal mining, this local mining has a large operational location behind the village, involving dozens of workers. The location of this local mining is directly adjacent to the rice fields and gardens owned by the villagers, so it is quite detrimental to the residents' agricultural business.

The turning point in the destruction of agricultural land in Manunggal Jaya Village occurred when illegal mining or what residents commonly call corridor mining began to become rampant in Manunggal Jaya Village. This corridor mining expanded along with the existence of regulations that allowed local governments to grant permits to mining business actors after regional autonomy. It is called corridor mining, because even though it has illegal status, the community considers it not completely illegal, because there is support from government bureaucratic apparatus, starting from the police, military, to mass organizations.

In 2014, Kompas Daily reported that illegal mining was rampant in 10 sub-districts in Kutai Kartanegara Regency. According to the Secretary of Manunggal Jaya Village, this illegal mining is difficult to control by the village government, because land rental transactions are direct personal transactions with landowners. Traces of this exploration are now visible on the right and left sides of the main road into the village which is full of holes from illegal mining. The Secretary of Manunggal Jaya Village said that if there is a location on the side of the road that is covered with zinc boards, it is certain that it is a corridor mining location. This practice is completely untouched by security forces, even though it is clearly visible from the main road of the village.

The government's ambivalent attitude towards the agricultural sector in Manunggal Jaya is beginning to appear. On the one

hand, Manunggal Jaya Village and Tenggara Seberang are still referred to as proud rice farming centers. Assistance for farmers has also flowed abundantly from various parties. However, on the other hand, at the same time, the practice of corridor mining and local mining that are detrimental to agriculture is still being ignored, even strongly supported by security forces. Subsidy assistance for seeds, fertilizers, and medicines continues to be provided to farmers even though the amount is limited.

Manunggal Jaya as the sub-district center, became a contestation arena for votes ahead of the regional elections, and a show of strength after the regional elections. In addition to routine assistance from the Agriculture Service, Table 2 shows many types of assistance provided to farmers by various parties. As long as it does not conflict with the interests of the company, farmers receive a lot of support in the form of tools, seeds, medicines, and agricultural business training. The Deputy Regent and elected member of the DPRD II, provided donations in the form of agricultural tools and organic fertilizer. PPL officers and other officers from the Agriculture Service provided counseling, training, and assistance for agricultural businesses. Even the ABRI through the ABRI Masuk Desa program helped open and widen irrigation channels for rice fields. However, the main assistance that farmers need most is the cessation of mining activities that damage agricultural land or the provision of adequate compensation for land damaged by flooding.

The results of the 2018 Jatim Kaltim investigation found 20 illegal mining points in Manunggal Jaya Village and Karang Tunggal Village. Several illegal mines are less than 10 m from residential areas. This clearly violates the Minister of Environment Regulation Number 4 of 2012 stipulating that the minimum distance between the edge of a coal mining pit and residential areas is 500 meters. The peak of this illegal mining practice occurred during the pandemic. The illegal mining practice has damaged many of the residents' agricultural lands, especially dry land. However, the village claims that

it has no legal right to prohibit it because the practice has been approved by the landowner. The landowner sells coal to local capitalists without having to release his land. Meanwhile, the landowner's neighbors bear the impact of dust pollution, cracked houses, and the threat of landslides. The practice has begun to recede after the pandemic because it has received sharp attention from local media, although it has not completely disappeared.

In 2015, the regional company PT Gerbang Daya Mandiri (GDM) operated on the east side of Manunggal Jaya Village, with an underground mining system, but did not carry out massive land clearing. However, in the same year the company built a haul road for the purpose of transporting coal out. This haul road passed right through the middle of the rice fields, without making adequate culverts. The river flow was also closed, only one culvert was made. The river flow from Bangun Rejo Village and Karang Tunggal Village all overflowed into the rice fields of Manunggal Jaya Village. Not long after, they also built a waste disposal tunnel from the other side which also borders the residents' rice fields.

This incident sparked anger among farmers. A wave of protests was carried out, both individual and collective. Mr. Boiman (pseudonym), whose rice field was immediately submerged, blocked the company's vehicle that was about to pass through his rice field to demand accountability. This action made the company invite security forces, Boiman was then directed to the village office, to carry out mediation witnessed by the village head. The security forces and village officials did not reprimand the company's actions that were detrimental to farmers, instead Mr. Boiman was intimidated because he was considered to have violated the law.

Still in the same year, Mr. Boiman and 20 other farmers who were harmed tried to complain to the village office. However, the village head at that time did not respond well, instead seeking protection from the company. Informants said that at that time the farmers actually only wanted to con-

vey their aspirations to the village to find a way out of the losses they had experienced. However, the action was considered by the village head as a demonstration. The village head then invited security forces and the company to confront the residents. In the tense and intimidating mediation moment, the company promised to compensate the farmers for their losses, but the promise was not kept. What happened was that the farmers were intimidated so as not to take actions that disrupted the company's operations.+

2018-2019 was a time when residents of Manunggal Jaya Village held many demonstrations against mining companies. The peak of residents' anger occurred in 2019, when a howling road caused 170 hectares of residents' rice fields to be submerged. The residents' rice fields had been developed using the Mina Padi cultivation system; seeds had been spread in the residents' rice fields, an average of 50,000 per rice field. At least one rice field cost around IDR 3 million in feed at that time. Instantly, the fish that were almost ready to be harvested were swept away by the flood. Several informants said that during the flood, fish from the rice-fish cultivation program entered residents' homes. The peak of illegal mining occurred. The peak of illegal mining occurred during the pandemic, although it has now decreased significantly, the practice has not completely stopped.

The loudest protest occurred in 2019, residents blocked the Howling road for up to 1 week. This protest action received support from local NGO institutions such as Jatam Kaltim, Walhi Kaltim and Pokja 30. This action caused the company to lose billions and forced the company to be willing to compensate the farmers. In addition to security officers being deployed to secure mining interests, PPL also played an important role in calculating the amount of losses to farmers. Informants said that the compensation of IDR 5 million received by the affected farmers at that time was very disproportionate to the loss of income because they could not cultivate the rice fields for almost five years.

The company has yet to build ade-

quate ditches so that the clogged irrigation channels can function and the water that has flooded their rice fields until now. For almost 9 years, water has flooded dozens of hectares of rice fields, forcing farmers (farm laborers) to switch jobs to become construction workers or odd jobs. Farmers who do not have land elsewhere become farm laborers on other people's land or switch to becoming construction workers. The governor, regent, and several council members took turns conducting inspections due to the widespread news coverage, but were never able to pressure the company to open a haul road or build adequate culverts.

CONCLUSION

Manunggal Jaya Village experienced a unique social reconfiguration among other villages in Tenggara Seberang. The area that was previously managed by the indigenous community was transformed by the New Order into a HPH concession in the 1960s, into a sub-district capital, a rice farming center for transmigrants in the 1990s, and a service city supporting the coal industry after regional autonomy. Until the end of the New Order era, Manunggal Jaya Village as the sub-district center was not targeted by foreign coal investors, and succeeded in becoming an icon of the success of the transmigration program.

Decentralization of mining permits after regional autonomy made this village a target for local investors, both those who played legally with permits from the local government and illegal mines that were protected by the local ruling network. This mining dominance has pushed farmers as the most vulnerable social class to face mining pressures. Farmers are faced with a new realm of social life, where they become the lowest social class in a sector that is considered marginal and will not be disturbed only as long as it is not considered detrimental to mining actors. The bureaucratic apparatus that during the New Order fully supported agricultural interests, changed its role to become a guardian of the interests of mining investors. At the end of this study, the author supports further research efforts on how

the remaining farmers struggle to survive in the marginal sector.

REFERENCES

- Ardan, M., Sunarti, S., Ghozali, G., Rahman, F. F., & others. (2020). Edukasi Risiko Gout melalui Media Audio Visual pada Lansia di Desa Kerta Buana. *Jurnal Abdimas Mahakam*, 4(02).
- Arief, M. (2020). The Dynamics of Social Relations and Conflicts in the Mining Area in Indonesia study of Mining in Bahodopi of Morowali, Central Sulawesi. *Komunitas Internasional Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture*, Vol.12 (2), 259-279. DOI:10.15294/komunitas.v12i2.23290.
- Brata, N.T., Setyowati, D.L., & Setiaji, K. (2022). Agrarian Conflict Resolution, Forestry Companies Versus Plantation Companies in North Kalimantan. *Komunitas Internasional Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture*, Vol.14 (1), 66-76. DOI:10.15294/komunitas.v14i1.34551
- Connor, L. H. (2016). Energy futures, state planning policies and coal mine contests in rural New South Wales. *Energy Policy*, 99. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2016.05.026>
- Cox, R. W. (1983). Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations : An Essay in Method. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 12(2). 10.1177/03058298830120020701
- Evans, G., & Phelan, L. (2016). Transition to a post-carbon society: Linking environmental justice and just transition discourses. *Energy Policy*, 99. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2016.05.003>
- Fearnside, P. M. (1997). Transmigration in Indonesia: Lessons from its environmental and social impacts. In *Environmental Management* (Vol. 21, Issue 4, pp. 553-570). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s002679900049>
- Großmann, K., & Gullo, A. (2022). Mining and Masculinity in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 23(2). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2021.2019824>

- Hardjanto, Y. S. (2016). Kerta Buana, Desa Penghasil Padi yang Merana Akibat Himpitan Tambang Batubara. Mongabay.Co.Id.tps://www.mongabay.co.id/2016/08/31ht
- Irwan, Afrizal, Zuzmelia, & Maihasni (2018). Conflicts of Land Confiscations in Sogo Village: Community Versus PT. Bukit Bintang Sawit. *Komunitas Internasional Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture*, Vol.10 (2), 259-279. DOI:10.15294/komunitas.v10i2.14050
- J, K. (2015). Power M. Mining and extractive urbanism: Post Development in a Mozambican boomtown. *Geoforum*. 61.
- Liberti, S. (2013). "Land Grabbing: Journeys in the New Colonialism" (1st ed., Vol. 1). verso.
- Maimunah, S. (n.d.). (2018). At the Capitalist Frontier: Changing the Riverine Ethnic Identity in Central Kalimantan. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/366090950>
- Mukrimin, & Acciaioli (2023). Transmigration, the Indonesian Engineered community: an Insight from Baras of West Sulawesi. *Komunitas Internasional Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture*, Vol.15 (2), 157 -o 173. DOI:10.15294/komunitas.v15i2.13487
- Murlianti, Sri. , Demartoto, A., Johansyah, M., & 'Agustiorini, S. (2022). The Hegemony Of The Coal Mining Corporation, The Destruction Of The Kutai Rice Barn Center And The Damage To The Living Space Of Transmigrants. *Journal Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies*, Vol. 2(8).
- Purba, Juniar., Listiana, Dana., & Sri Murlianti, . (2018). Integrasi sosial transmigran Bali di Desa Kerta Buana, Kec. Tenggarong Seberang, Kab. Kutai Kartanegara, 1980-2000an. Diva Press.
- Purwaningsih, P., Ayuwat, D., & Cadchumsang, J. (2019). Transmigration Policy in the Context of Autonomy Era in East Kalimantan. Iapa Proceedings Conference. <https://doi.org/10.30589/proceedings.2019.257>
- Salsabilla, N., & Murlianti, S. (2023). Analisis Dampak Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Lingkar Tambang Desa Bhuana Jaya, Kecamatan Tenggarong Seberang, Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara. *EJournal Pembangunan Sosial*, 2023(4), 25-34.
- Schmidt, D. (2023). Farming for sociologists: A new key text for rural sociologists. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*. 10.5304/jafscd.2023.124.004
- Siburian, R. (2018). Diaspora Orang Bali: Dinamika Sosial-Budaya Umat Hindu-Bali di Desa Kerta Buana. *Kebudayaan*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.24832/jk.v11i2.27>
- Sidik, A. (2021). Studi Perubahan Mode Produksi Dari Era Pertanian Ke Era Pertambangan Batubara Di Desa Mulawarman Kecamatan Tenggarong Seberang Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara. *EJournal Sosiatri-Sosiologi*, 9(1).
- Thomas, P., & Leed, O. (2013). Constructing 'the history of strategic management': A critical analysis of the academic discourse. *Business History*, 55(7).
- Toumbourou, T., Muhdar, M., Werner, T., & Bebbington, A. (2020). Political ecologies of the post-mining landscape: Activism, resistance, and legal struggles over Kalimantan's coal mines. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 65. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101476>
- Wirutomo, P. (2022). *Imajinasi Sosiologi Pembangunan Sosial* (1st ed., Vol. 1). Penerbit Buku Kompas.