Research Article

Infrastructure Development and Conflict:
A Conflict Resolution in The Construction of An Oil Refinery

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Abstract
The construction of an oil refinery in Tuban Regency, a National Strategic Project (PSN), has been rejected by the Tuban community. This study aims to explain the efforts made by PT Pertamina and the government in resolving the land acquisition conflict regarding the construction of an oil refinery in Jenu, Tuban Regency. The researchers used the descriptive qualitative method, collected data using interviews and documentation, and analyzed the collected, reduced and presented data. The results showed that the parties resolved the conflict through litigation, mediation, and negotiation. The process resulted in the provision of employment for locals, scholarships for outstanding students in five affected villages, development of fishermen's cooperatives in Mentoso Village, food and social assistance for farmers, opportunities for locals to continue working on the acquired land before the construction, and several Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs around the premises. After the resolution, out of 1219 parcels, 1222 were acquired with a total land area of 814 hectares from 961 owners. This research only focuses on the agreements between the parties. Further studies are advised to observe PT Pertamina's and the community's consistency in adhering to the agreements.

Keywords: Conflict Resolution; Land Acquisition; National Strategic Project; Oil Refinery; Tuban

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INTRODUCTION

To increase economic growth, equitable development, community welfare, and regional development, President Jokowi chose infrastructure development (Aritenang, 2020; Barker, 2017; Davidson, 2021; Dharma, 2016; Sloan et al., 2018). One of the main goals is to create connectivity between regions so that economic transformation can run smoothly (Sloan et al., 2018). However, there are still many obstacles to implementing the project (Sandee, 2016).

Through further infrastructure development, President Jokowi attempts to accelerate projects considered strategic and have high urgency to be realized in a short period (Sujadi, 2018). The National Strategic Project initiated by President Jokowi has 201 projects and ten programs, as stipulated in the President Regulation Number 109 of 2020 concerning the third amendment to the Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of Implementation of National Strategic Projects (Ervianto, 2017). The allocated funds of US$342 billion were disbursed for developing infrastructure projects, especially in strengthening the energy sector and the stable flow of goods and services traffic (Revelation, 2018). Infrastructure development is expected to influence other sectors (multiplier effect) (Nobel & Larasati, 2017).

The President Regulation Number 109 of 2020 states that one of the National Strategic Projects is building an oil refinery in Tuban Regency. The construction is a part of the prioritized oil and gas infrastructure projects (Indonesia, 2020). These projects significantly impact the central and regional economies (Primadani, 2019). The criteria for selecting these projects are based on Article 5 of the President Regulation Number 75 of 2014 in conjunction with the Presidential Regulation Number 122 of 2016, comprising the conformity with the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) or the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD, the sector’s strategic plan, the accordance with the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW), the interconnections between the infrastructure sector and regions, strategic roles, and government’s support and assurance for the Government and Business Entity Cooperation projects (KPPIP, 2016).

President Jokowi assigned PT Pertamina to manage the construction project of the Tuban oil refinery. In 2017, the company partnered with the Rosneft Oil Company from Russia, an oil and gas company. (Arlan, 2020). The oil refinery construction project will produce 300 thousand barrels daily (KPPIP, 2019). Indonesia had experienced an oil balance deficit since 2003, when its oil production was 1.18 million barrels per day, with oil consumption reaching 1.21 million per day (Thirafi, 2020). Indonesia’s oil balance deficit
continued to widen until 2018 in line with the increasing consumption and declining national oil production in Figure 1. Consequently, the government has decided to build new oil refineries, one of which is in the Tuban Regency.

![Graph showing Indonesia's Oil Production and Consumption Data in 2000-2018](image)

**Figure 1.** Indonesia’s Oil Production and Consumption Data in 2000-2018

*Source: BP Global Company, 2019 (Kusnandar, 2019)*

However, in practice, the land owners rejected the land acquisition process for constructing an oil refinery in Jenu, Tuban Regency, due to the Location Determination *(Penentuan Lokasi/Penlok).* According to the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA), there have been several conflicts due to the construction of the National Strategic Project, as shown in the following Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Conflict due to PSN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>83 cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>30 cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>38 cases</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: KPA year-end notes, 2021 (Febryan, 2022)*

The locals refused the acquisition because their land is still agriculturally productive, and they argued that the construction of an oil refinery does not directly impact them and only benefits the Government and SOEs. This phenomenon is in line with David Harvey's view that the buildings of toll road infrastructure, airports, oil and gas facilities, tourism industry, and extractive mining projects such as smelters only contribute to a capitalist environment and...
capital accumulation (Ridha, 2016). Instead of benefitting the public, the infrastructures mainly serve the business class and oligarchs (Ridha, 2016). In addition, the community also consider the environmental impact and increasing air pollution because there is already a company named PT Trans Pacific Petrochemical Indotama that is also engaged in the oil and gas sector and steam energy.

Based on the issues, the government and PT Pertamina should provide an effective solution to the conflict. Thus, this study investigates how the government and the company resolve the dispute. Pertamina is the executor of the oil refinery construction project Jenu, Tuban Regency.

The authors use Wirawan's conflict resolution theory as an analytical tool in this study. According to Wirawan, conflict is defined as a process of dispute expressed between two or more interdependent parties regarding the object of the conflict (Ansori, 2018). In addition, conflict is a relationship between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have or feel they have different goals (Rosa Gamayanti, 2019; Fisher & Sablan, 2018; Hager et al., 2017; Moreno-Cebrián et al., 2017; Raines, 2018). One of the causes of conflict is the struggle for economic resources (Dennison & Geddes, 2021; Dinicu, 2020; Patel, 2019). In this article, the conflict between PT Pertamina and the community occurred because of a territorial dispute over valuable land. The community needs the land for agricultural purposes, while PT Pertamina needs to build an oil refinery.

Meanwhile, according to Wirawan, conflict resolution is achieving outcomes using conflict resolution methods. Conflict resolution is a conflict management process used to produce a conflict output (Helpitia, 2018). It is also used to resolve problems/conflicts (Influs et al., 2019; Mackerras, 2020; Rokhim et al., 2020; Shamshiripour et al., 2019). According to Wirawan, conflict resolution methods are grouped into self-regulation of the parties involved in the conflict (self-regulation) or through third-party intervention using the litigation/court methods, administrative processes, and alternative dispute resolution (Mediation, arbitration, and Ombudsman) (Wirawan, 2016). In this research, self-regulation is in negotiation and mediation, and third-party intervention is present as a court. Wirawan (2016) explains that litigation is an alternative to conflict resolution by involving the court. In conflict resolution, the government is needed as a mediator. The government has the power and responsibility to regulate and resolve social conflicts. For example, in the case of the Jenu conflict, the local House of Representatives becomes the mediator and acts as the manifestation of the supervisory function.
Several studies related to conflict resolution in infrastructure development in Indonesia have been conducted previously. Prime (2021), in his study of the conflict between the State Electricity Company (PLN) of APP Bandung Raya with the Neglasari village community regarding the construction of the Very High Voltage Power Lines (SUTET). He found that the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program, carried out through the construction of security posts, road repairs, street lighting, and plans to build wells for the community, has resolved the conflict. In addition, Hartati & Susatyo (2021) found that the method used by the Government to resolve disputes with the community during the construction of the Geothermal Power Plant Development Project in Sumatra was paying commensurate compensation and recruiting the local workers. Using Ralf Dahendrof's theoretical framework, Nopitasari (2019) explained how the government resolved conflicts with the people of Bantar Gedang Village, Mekarsari, in the construction of the Indonesia-China Fast Train (KCIC) in Ngamprah District, West Bandung Regency by providing the commensurate compensation for affected communities.

This study has novelty takes a different perspective with two explanations. First, the location of the conflict in Jenu village has never been studied before. Second, conflict resolution applies in a different order since it starts from court, mediation, and negotiation. Generally, the previous studies cover a different sequence starting from mediation, negotiation, and eventually, the court.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses descriptive research methods with qualitative methods. According to Cresswell, qualitative research is a method to explore and understand the meaning of several individuals or groups of people ascribed to social or humanitarian problems (Cresswell, 2016). Research using qualitative methods can produce an in-depth description of the conflict resolution process regarding land acquisition and oil refinery construction in Jenu, Tuban Regency. The data were collected through interview and documentation techniques. Meanwhile, the interviews were conducted with the assistance of Mr Fajar, a member of the Indonesian Surveyor Team from PT Pertamina, Mr Fahmi Fikroni, the Chairman of the Commission A of DPRD of Tuban Regency as a mediator, Mrs Wartini, the Head of Jenu District Government, and Mr Narto, the Head of Land Procurement of National Land Agency (BPN) of Tuban Regency. The documentation data comprised the data of land area for oil refinery development provided by the BPN of Tuban Regency, maps of land acquisition for oil refinery development by the Indonesian Surveyor Team, the results of oil refinery...
measurements, relevant sources from the Indonesian Surveyor Team, and the trial results of the Supreme Court provided by the BPN of Tuban Regency. Furthermore, the data were analyzed using four procedures: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In 2016, the government assigned PT Pertamina to manage the oil refinery construction in Tuban by issuing the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 807 K/12/MEM/2016 con Assignment to PT Pertamina in the Construction and Operation of Oil Refinery in Tuban Regency, East Java Province. In 2017, PT Pertamina determined that it required an area of 800-900 hectares in Mentoso Village, Remen Village, Rawasan Village, Wadung Village, Kaliuntu Village, and Beji Village in the Jenu sub-district for the construction, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Land Needs for the Oil Refinery Development (Jenu 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Available Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pertamina's land</td>
<td>40 ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land owned by KLHK</td>
<td>340 Ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents' land (stage 1)</td>
<td>219 Ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents' land (stage 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Alternative A</td>
<td>281 Ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Alternative B</td>
<td>270 Ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Exposure PT. Pertamina to Coordinating Minister for the Economy (December 2017)

However, on 5 November 2017, after the company announced the plan, the landowners made a mass rejection by issuing an open letter of refusal regarding the project. The letter was signed by Soewarto Darmandi S.H., their legal representative. In the letter, the Mentoso Village and Remen Village residents conveyed several points regarding the plan. First, they demanded that if an oil refinery is constructed in Jenu District, it is not related to upstream businesses. There should be no upstream oil and gas business activities in the
villages, as stated in the Law Number 2 of 2012 on Land Procurement for Public Interest. There is also absolutely no exploration or exploitation of oil and gas in the entire area of Jenu District as referred to the Law Number 22 of 2001 on Oil and Gas. Second, the oil refinery is only part of the oil processing infrastructure, which is included in the category of downstream business activities as stated in Article 1 Clause 10 of the Law Number 22 of 2001 on Oil and Gas. Therefore, constructing an oil refinery in Jenu District cannot be categorized as a development of public interest.

As a result, PT Pertamina reviewed its plan regarding the location of the construction. After a reassessment, the company decided to build an oil refinery in the regency under the Decree of the Governor of East Java Number 188/23/KPTS/013/2019, dated January 10, 2019, on the Determination of Land Acquisition Locations for Oil Refinery Development in Jenu District, Tuban Regency, East Java Province. The decree stipulated that the construction of the oil refinery, which was initially to be built in Mentoso Village, Remen Village, Rawasan Village, Wadung Village, Kaliuntu Village, and Beji village, was finally relocated to Kaliuntu Village, Wadung Village, Sumurgeneng Village, Mentoso Village, and Rawasan villages. The construction required an area of 841 hectares in the villages comprising the lands owned by the communities, the National Forestry Company (Perhutani), and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) (Hidrantto, 2021).

The Provincial Government and PT Pertamina were highly determined to build an oil refinery in Jenu District since PT Trans Pacific Petrochemical Indotama (TPPI), a company also engaged in the oil and gas sector, operates in the area. They planned to integrate with TPPI to generate added value. In addition, due to the geographical location of Jenu District, which is directly adjacent to the northern part of the Java Sea, several areas in the district are rich in petroleum.

The construction of the oil refinery in Jenu, Tuban Regency, was fortified by various legal products, including the President Regulation (Perpres) Number 3 of 2016 on the Acceleration of National Strategic Projects, the President Instruction (Inpres) Number 1 of 2016 on the Acceleration of Implementation of National Strategic Projects, and the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 807 of 2016 on Investment Discourse in the Oil and Gas Sector. To further support the development of an oil refinery in Tuban Regency, the neighborhood and community associations (RT and RW) in the area have been replaced, and all areas which initially were agriculturally-productive regions were turned into oil and gas mining areas. Moreover, the Tuban Regency government established the Oil and
Gas Regionally Owned Enterprises (BUMD) since the area has a high potential for oil and gas on a national scale.

Due to the issuance of the Decree of the Governor of East Java related to determining the location for the construction of an oil refinery in five villages in Jenu District, the landowners took action against it. The community's refusal actions also occurred in several ways: (1) Refusing the dissemination by PT Pertamina; (2) Lodging a protest against the government in front of the DPRD Building; (3) Blocking the road during a land survey by the BPN; (4) campaigning their rejection through Facebook and YouTube accounts @TubanDaruratAgraria (TubanAgrarianEmergency); and (5) producing a documentary film about the battle of the Jenu farmers against the construction of an oil refinery entitled “Namaku Tolang!!!” (My Name is Tolang!!!). These refusals slowed the land acquisition process, and the company had to go through several stages of conflict resolution to reach an agreement with the community.

The conflict resolution stages comprised negotiation, mediation, and court/litigation. However, different from the usual conflict resolution step, this resolution started with litigation. It happened since the sectoral egos and conflict of interest complicated the communication between the two parties. The landlords defended their lands by cutting off contact with the company. This action exacerbated the negotiation process.

Moreover, the landlords refused to engage in the dissemination organized by the company and the government. The plan in the initial dissemination was to deliver the decision to determine the location for the construction in the five villages, referring to the Decree of the Governor of East Java Number188/23/KPTS/013/2019 on the Determination of the Location for Land Acquisition for the Construction of Oil Refinery in Jenu District, Tuban Regency.

**Conflict Resolution Through Litigation/Courts Method**

The landowners took legal action since many parties did not respond to the letter of rejection sent on January 17, 2019. The letter was addressed to eight relevant agencies of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the National Resilience Council, the National Commission of Human Rights of Indonesia, the Governor of East Java, the Head of the Bureau of the Administration of the East Java Government, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, and the President Director of PT. Pertamina. The letter contained an application to protect the ownership rights of productive land owned by the community against the construction of the Tuban oil refinery.
On March 8, 2019, 17 residents of Wadung and Sumurgeneng Villages sued the local government decision issued by the Governor of East Java to the Surabaya State Administrative Court (PTUN). They considered constructing an oil refinery in Jenu District irrelevant to upstream oil and gas activities and thus violates the Law Number 2 of 2012 on Land Acquisition for Public Benefit.

After several trial procedures, on April 15, 2019, the Surabaya Administrative Court repealed the Decree of the Governor of East Java Number 188/23/KPTS/013/2019 and declared it as "null or invalid", and the company should cancel the land acquisition process for the construction.

However, after the decision from the PTUN Surabaya, the Governor of East Java and PT Pertamina submitted an appeal to the Supreme Court on April 24, 2019. After several trial procedures, on July 25, 2019, the Supreme Court granted the cassation. Through its Decision Letter Number 350/K/TUN/2019, Pertamina stated, "Referring to the Decision of the Surabaya Administrative Court Number 29/G/PU/2019/PTUN.SBY, the Decree of the Governor of East Java Number 188/23/KPTS/013/2019 on Determining the Location for Land Acquisition for the Construction of Oil Refinery in Jenu District, Tuban Regency is legal and has a binding legal force.”

The decision issued by the Supreme Court is based on the following considerations. First, the law must prioritize the public interest. The land acquisition is not compensation, but the value is higher than the Tax Object Selling Value (NJOP). Second, the judex facti (the judges who checked the facts) have misinterpreted the "Public Consultation” under the democratic principles contained in the Law Number 2 of 2012 concerning Land Procurement for Development in the Public Interest. Eight hundred nine landlords, or about 80% of the population, support the construction. The voice of the majority must be heard. Third, the construction plan, which Cassation Petitioner I (PT Pertamina) has proposed to Cassation Petitioner II (East Java Governor), is the implementation of the National Strategic Project (PSN) as stated in Appendix J Number 107 of the President Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2016 in conjunction with the President Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 58 of 2017 in conjunction with Presidential Regulation Number 56 of 2018. The oil refinery construction project also conforms with Spatial Planning based on the Decree of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency Number 3342/11.3/IX /2017 on September 6, 2017, on the Recommendations for Spatial Suitability for Oil Refinery Development in Jenu District, Tuban Regency.
Fourth, concerning the implementation of the National Strategic Project (PSN), the provisions of Article 2 Paragraph (1) in conjunction with the Article 21 Paragraph (2) of the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2016 as amended by the Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2017 states that the local governments are required to take a role in accelerating the National Strategic Projects and any process of land acquisition should be completed immediately. Therefore, according to the Supreme Court, the defendants’ actions in determining the location of the procedural land acquisition were according to laws and regulations.

Fifth, regarding usability and futurism, as stated in the decision on the object of dispute, the land acquisition for constructing an oil refinery in Jenu Districts will effectuate the sovereignty of national energy and cause multiplier effects on the regional and national economy. The defendants’ actions in issuing the decision conformed with the principles of good governance, particularly the *audi et alteram partem*.

Eventually, the Supreme Court stated that there were sufficient reasons to grant the cassation request from PT Pertamina and the Governor of East Java without further consideration.

**Conflict Resolution Through Mediation Method**

After the court process and more protests in front of the DPRD Building, the Commission A of the DPRD Tuban finally devised a mediation process between the residents and PT Pertamina.

In the early stage of the mediation process, the commission's chairperson attempted to explain to the residents the positive effects of the construction on economic development. He added that the construction of an oil refinery would directly impact the country and provide employment for locals. In the next stage, the chairperson conducted hearings from both parties regarding the conflict. According to the hearings, the residents demanded decent work in the refinery construction, compensation for orphans and low-income families, and capital assistance for SMEs.

In this mediation, the commission only acted as a mediator and did not authorize to make decisions. After the submission of demands from the landowners, the commission suggested the two parties renegotiate. Essentially, the goals of the mediation were to achieve a win-win solution and restore the communication previously cut off between the two parties.
Conflict Resolution Through Negotiation Method

After the mediation process and communication between the two parties had been re-established, PT Indonesian Surveyors, an affiliation of PT Pertamina, negotiated with the landowners. This negotiation was a follow-up step from the previous mediation process. PT Pertamina conducted the process through joint discussions at the village hall and personal negotiation.

The results of the negotiation are:

1. Allowing the community to continue farming on land purchased by PT Pertamina as long as it is not in the construction area.
2. Compensation for farm workers in the form of food assistance before the construction begins.
3. Employing the Ring-1 residents in the early stages of construction as manual laborers or contract workers according to their ability, age, and level of education.

In addition, as a form of corporate responsibility to the community around the construction, PT Pertamina also organized programs in the socio-economic field, education, health, and environment.

In the social field, in exchange for a 200 Ha coastal reclamation project to construct the oil refinery, PT Pertamina provided 552 traditional fishermen of Mentoso Village, Kaliuntu Village, and Beji Village premium life insurance to protect them from the impact of work accidents, such as being hit by boat engines, being wounded by fishnets, or drowning in the sea.

In the economic field, PT Pertamina provided fishing nets and nylon ropes for Mina Jaya Fishermen Association. It also established a fishermen's cooperative in Mentoso Village, Jenu District, expected to improve the fishermen’s economy. The company cooperated with the Institute for Research and Community Service (LPPM) of Universitas Airlangga Surabaya in this program.

In the educational field, PT Pertamina provided scholarships for five outstanding local students to attend the Diploma III of Energy and Mineral Polytechnic (PEM) program at Akamigas Cepu. In 2019, 21 students acquired the scholarship. Two years later, 30 students got the same opportunity. By 2022, the program will provide scholarships for outstanding students in the prioritized villages and to all exceptional students in Jenu District.
In the health field, PT Pertamina provided 10,000 masks to the central points of community activity around Jenu District and ambulances for the health centers in Purworejo Village, Remen Village, and Tasikharjo Village.

In the environmental field, PT. Pertamina organized a program of planting and reforesting mangrove plants along the coast of Jenu Village, Mentoso Village, and Purworejo Village to encourage the restoration of the coastal environment. In this program, PT. Pertamina cooperated with the Tuban Regency Mangrove Center Foundation. This program is a commitment of the company to run the project and prioritize environmental sustainability based on the Sustainable Development Goals in handling climate change and preserving the marine ecosystem. Since the construction began, this program has been expected to provide ecological functions, absorb carbon dioxide, and support the development of marine biota such as shrimp.

Furthermore, according to the appraisal results from the Public Appraisal Service Office (KJPP), the compensation given to the landlords ranges from IDR 675,000 to IDR1,000,000 per square meter of land and IDR3,500,000 per square meter of building. Plants are not included. Previously, people refused the land acquisition because they thought their land would only be valued/purchased by the company with a relatively low price of 4 x NJOP, which is equal to IDR14,000. However, after the Office of Public Appraisal Service (KJPP) announced that the compensation price was quite large, the landlords finally agreed to sell their lands.

There are two forms of compensation provided by PT Pertamina to the landlords: money and relocation. As stated in Article 36 of the Law Number 2 of 2012 concerning Land Procurement for development in the Public Interest, compensation can be given in the form of money and replacement land. Both parties finally agreed on the resettlement and stock ownership.

For compensation in the form of land and buildings, PT Pertamina has prepared the land with an area of 20 ha in Sumurgeneng Village for 151 families affected by the oil refinery construction in Wadung Village. Sumurgeneng village is filled with agricultural land and vacant areas.

From the land acquisition process, the amount of land that has been measured is as follows in Table 3:
Table 3. Total Land Measurement Result for Tuban Oil Refinery in September 2021

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of Fields</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reservoir</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>1,573,534</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumurgeneng</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>2,186,193</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliuntu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12,856</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perhutani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,090,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sumurgeneng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLHK</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,287,846</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mentoso and Rawasan)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,222</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,149,459</strong></td>
<td><strong>961</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Indonesian Surveyor Team*

Table 3 shows that in September 2021, the National Land Agency (BPN) of Tuban Regency measured 1,222 plots of land with a total land area of 8,149,459 m² with 961 landowners. Meanwhile, three areas were in the acquisition process, where one site was being fought over between families and the rest were in the court consignment process.

The results of this study confirm an essential key in the settlement, namely the presence of a vital government. The findings of this study have similarities to studies regarding conflicts in other locations/foci, such as Reddy (2018) in Post-Tsunami Aceh, Gusti et al. (2021) in Indonesian Transportation, Damonte (2016) in the Peruvian Amazon, Dhiaulhaq et al. (2015) in the Forests and Soils of Cambodia, Indonesia, and Thailand, Yusran et al. (2017) in Indonesian National Parks, and Edwards et al. (2015) in Sierra Leone. These studies confirm that the government is a significant leading actor in conflict resolution because it has the privilege to uphold justice and appropriate policies.

**CONCLUSION**

Under Jokowi’s leadership, the Indonesian Government has made infrastructure development one of its top priorities: constructing an oil refinery in Tuban Regency as a National Strategic Project (PSN). Initially, the project was rejected by the community. This conflict occurred due to the community's fear of losing their jobs and the absence of direct economic benefits from the program. Since there was no mediation between both parties, the land acquisition took a long process. The conflict has been resolved through a long conflict resolution process, from court/litigation, mediation, and negotiation. It indicates that the escalation of the conflict was exceptionally long due to the high tug of war of interest. However, the consensus was indeed successfully generated by employing the locals,
scholarships for outstanding local students in the five affected villages, development of fisherman cooperatives in Mentoso Village, provision of social and food assistance for farm laborers, opportunities for locals to continue working on the acquired land before the construction, and several Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs around the premises. However, both parties must comply with the agreements to prevent further conflicts. Unfortunately, in some cases, all the parties involved, especially the government, often breached the agreement. Therefore, conflicts were unavoidable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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BIBLIOGRAPHY


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