

‘WHO HAS GOT WHAT’: The political economy of land conflict in local development

Sait Abdullah¹
Deni F. Ramdhani²
Rofi’ R. Iyoeaga³
Solahuddin Bin Ismail⁴

^{1,2,3}Polytechnique STIA LAN Bandung
Jl. Hayam Wuruk No.34-38, Citarum, Kec. Bandung Wetan, Kota Bandung Indonesia
⁴Universiti Utara Malaysia
06010 Sintok Kedah Darul Aman Malaysia. Malaysia

Correspondence Email: sait@poltek.stialanbandung.ac.id

Submitted: 13 March 2023, Reviewed: 31 May 2023 Published: 27 June 2023

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the political and economic angles of the land conflict between the government and the local people. The land conflict between the government and the local people has been popular in Indonesia. In the case of the local government in Indonesia, particularly in the Bandung City development, previous researchers have studied this issue by investigating the conflict through an institutional or a people perspective. However, they have failed to investigate the political-economic aspects inherent in the land conflict. This political economy dimension is missing from their studies. By using the political economy approach proposed by Hughes and Hutchison, who understand the material and political dimensions underlying the land conflict, the study contributes to the debate on studies of the land conflict. In Investigating the phenomenon, the research uses qualitative methods by interviewing the people of the Tamansari area, government officials, and the civil society organization. The research findings suggest that the political economy aspect is useful in understanding and mapping the political economy actors involved. The political economy perspective also contributes to the Bandung City Government in making the local government aware of the interests of the wider community, especially those affected by the conflict.

Keywords: Political economy, conflict, actors, policy

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi dimensi ekonomi politik yang terkandung dalam konflik tanah antara pemerintah dan masyarakat lokal. Konflik tanah antara pemerintah dan masyarakat setempat telah menjadi fenomena yang populer di Indonesia. Dalam kasus pemerintah daerah di Indonesia, khususnya dalam pembangunan Kota Bandung, para peneliti sebelumnya telah mempelajari masalah ini dengan menganalisis konflik baik melalui pendekatan institusi maupun perspektif masyarakat. Namun, para peneliti tersebut gagal dalam menganalisis aspek politik dan ekonomi yang melekat dalam konflik tanah tersebut. Dimensi ekonomi politik ini hilang dari studi mereka. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan ekonomi politik yang dikemukakan oleh Hughes dan Hutchison yang memahami dimensi material dan politik yang melatarbelakangi konflik, studi ini berkontribusi pada perdebatan literatur akademis tentang konflik tanah. Aspek ekonomi politik penting untuk mengungkap alasan ekonomi dan politik di balik permukaan konflik. Dalam menyelidiki fenomena tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan mewawancarai masyarakat kawasan Tamansari, pejabat pemerintah, dan organisasi masyarakat sipil. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa aspek ekonomi politik berguna untuk memahami dan memetakan aktor-aktor ekonomi politik yang terlibat. Perspektif ekonomi politik juga memberikan kontribusi bagi Pemerintah Kota Bandung dalam menyadarkan pemerintah daerah terhadap kepentingan masyarakat luas, khususnya masyarakat yang terkena dampak konflik.

Kata kunci: Ekonomi politik, konflik, aktor, kebijakan

BACKGROUND

This paper discusses the political economy aspect inherently embedded in the land conflict between the local government and the people in Tamansari, Bandung Wetan District, Bandung City. There is a significant gap where previous researchers have never studied the political economy aspect of the Tamansari case, especially from the perspective of economic interests and the political rights of the people of Tamansari. To examine the dimensions of political economy in the case of land conflicts, the research questions in this research are "Why and how does the political economy dimension entail in the Tamansari land conflicts?"

Concerning the Tamansari conflict, several studies examine the phenomenon of this conflict, both of which are library and empirical studies in the field. The authors classify this type of research into two aspects of the approach used by previous researchers: the institutional perspective and the people-centred approach.

Researchers use the institutional perspective to contribute that the Tamansari conflict can be resolved by using an institutional approach, namely by forming social workers as mediators and advocates for conflict resolution (Arridho & Ishartono, 2019). Arridho and Ishartono (2019) view that the conflict between the Bandung City Government and the residents of Tamansari Urban Village occurred due to several factors, namely misunderstandings about compensation for land ownership for urban development projects, which led to a mismatch between the demands of the residents of the Tamansari villagers with the realization of land and building

compensation implemented by the government, namely 70% of the Sales Value of Tax Objects, the government's authority to determine the process of unilateral compensation and government acts of violence in resolving conflicts with the residents during the eviction process of residents' buildings (Arridho & Ishartono, 2019).

The researchers emphasize a lack of effective communication between the government as the holder of power and the citizens as parties who must comply with government decisions. To bridge the interests of both parties, the researcher proposes the formation of social workers who act as advocates and mediators who will handle conflicts between the Bandung City Government and the residents of Tamansari Village. However, the study was not supported by the theoretical concept that backs up their arguments about the urgency social workers need to deal with the Tamansari conflict, and adequate empirical data do not support this research.

Further research on the Tamansari land conflict was written by Fahira and Ferdiansyah (2020), who examined specifically the use of conflict trees as an analytical tool in dissecting the causes of conflict between the Bandung City Government and the residents of Tamansari Village. Using a conflict tree analysis, the researchers conclude that the root cause of the Tamansari conflict is the unclear land ownership status where the land ownership status is claimed to belong to the Bandung City Government. At the same time, residents who occupy houses and buildings in the Tamansari Village area insist they have rights to the building. The finding of

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

this research is the government's coercion in the form of eviction by using the police with violence. This problem led to public resistance against the government, allegedly acting unilaterally. To bridge the conflict resolution efforts between the Bandung City Government and the residents of Tamansari Village, Fahria and Ferdiansyah (2020) proposed the formation of a special team from the Bandung City Government who would review the compensation policy and disseminate the Row House construction policy to the public. However, the research was not supported by a clear conceptual framework and minimal field data, which only used the library study method.

A similar study was conducted by Akbar (2019), which focused on a structured negotiation strategy carried out by the Bandung City Housing and Settlement Service. in resolving land conflicts in Tamansari Village. Akbar (2019) proposes that conflict resolution be carried out in a structured manner, from negotiation preparation and implementation to the evaluation stage. However, the research merely focuses on the strategy of the Bandung City government in resolving land conflicts in the Tamansari Village. This study misses how conflict-affected residents also have a strategy to reject the row house construction policy in Tamansari Village.

Furthermore, the case of land conflicts in the Tamansari sub-district also attracted the attention of researchers who focused on studies of communities affected by government policies or people approaches. In other words, this research focuses on the efforts of the residents who still survive in the area and continue to fight by utilizing the public space around the

residential area to show that they reject the construction of Row Houses by the Bandung City Government (Purnama, 2018). In his research, Purnama (2018) emphasises how communities affected by evictions can survive in conflict areas by trying to adapt to the new environment. However, the community politically expresses their aspirations for rejection by drawing mural paintings with content that rejects the Row House development policies by the Bandung City Government. Besides that, Purnama (2018) examines the problem of the Tamansari conflict that occurred due to the neglect of the rights of residents, namely the right to obtain transparent information about the development policy of the Bandung City Government, the right to get proper compensation for the losses suffered by the community and the right to file a legal lawsuit for losses due to development carried out by the government. Even so, the research conducted by Purnama (2018) is still limited to aspects of citizen resistance by utilizing physical space as a form of adaptation, expression, and articulation of citizens' rejection of government policies. Purnama (2018) does not discuss the political economy aspects of the Tamansari case, especially regarding how residents defend their economic and political rights. In line with Purnama (2018), Kharsima (2019) also conveys a similar argument about the importance of public space to express and articulate resistance. The Tamansari community was against the actions of the officers who forcibly demolished the buildings of the residents of Tamansari. Even though many buildings have collapsed, the surviving residents

continue to carry out activities representing the resistance by holding discussions, showing films, and reading a collective prayer at the eviction site (Kharisma, 2019).

In line with several relevant studies that previous researchers have carried out, the authors find the literature gap and research focus that no researchers focus on the political economy aspects of the Tamansari case. The author argues that the two approaches used by previous researchers have several limitations. Researchers who use institutional and people-centred approaches cannot map the actors involved in the conflict, including dissecting the political economy interests of the actors behind it. The two approaches fail to explore deeply and comprehensively the vested interests of the actors involved in resolving land conflicts in Tamansari. This paper uses a political economy analysis to propose a different approach to understanding the Tamansari conflict.

Why is the political economy approach?

From the authors' point of view, this concept is very relevant in dissecting cases of land ownership conflicts in the Tamansari, where the policy for the construction of Row Houses is a program of the Bandung City Government to rearrange slum areas in urban areas or known as slum areas by building Row Houses for the community to live in a more decent, healthy, and beautiful life. However, the row house construction is full of conflicts of interest. In the construction project, the city government involves the developer building row houses with economic interests. Meanwhile, the people who were evicted lost their economic opportunities and rights.

However, after most of the residents' houses were torn down to construct row houses, several households in the conflict area still survived and even fought both legally and non-legally against the policies of the Bandung City Government. They still retain their property, including their rights to live in their homes. This is what has been missing from the previous researchers. The interests of political economy have caused conflict between the Bandung City government and some residents of the area of Tamansari, especially those who still survive and fight for their economic and political rights.

The political economy approach is a perspective that emphasizes the aspects of material interests and the ideology that underlies the actors involved in a development program or project (Hout et al., 2013). According to Hout et al. (2013), development as a social phenomenon is full of conflicts of interest between the actors involved. Hout et al. (2013) assume that development as a political process is full of conflicts of interest. Development should be directed at improving the standard of living of the community. There is a phenomenon of internal consolidation among interested actors to obtain material benefits from the development program or project. Hout et al. (2013) concluded that development oriented towards improving the standard of living and lives of the marginalized involves many conflicts of interest. According to Hout et al. (2013), the political economy approach assumes that governance reform includes development in controlling the interests of the dominant parties (the owners of capital).

Meanwhile, other subordinated parties (marginal people) always fail to gain

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

access to decision-makers (Hout et al., 2013). The political economy approach views development projects are an arena for the struggle of the dominant class, namely those who have access to power and economic resources and those who are subordinated, namely groups who do not have access to economic power and resources. Government policies, ideologies, and governance patterns mediate this power and economic resources. Development takes place in the context of the interests of the dominant class through state and non-state networks that seek to block the interests of subordinated parties. Although development cannot be separated from the interests of capital owners, the political economy approach also emphasizes the efforts of subordinated parties to build coalitions to fight for their political rights as the oppressed (Hughes & Hutchison, 2008; Hout et al., 2013; Hutchison et al., 2016).

How the political economy can be used in the research?

First, the political economy approach initiated by Hughes and Hutchison (2008), Hout et al. (2013), and Hutchison et al. (2016) requires taking sides with community groups that are severely impacted by development and, at the same time, dissecting the struggle for rights, particularly those who are marginalized by development. Second, the approach they developed is very operational because the concept of political economy has mapped the actors involved, the typology of actors and the strategy of the developed coalition or alliance. The typology model developed by Hughes and Hutchison (2008), later adopted by Hout et al. (2013), divides the

typology of actors from the dominant class close to the status quo group and those with the status quo group weakens. Hughes and Hutchison (2008) use the term actor as a reformer divided into a group of dedicated reformers. Hout et al. (2013) and Hughes and Hutchison (2008) suggest that if reform is an important aspect of development, then alliances with those who are pro-reform and pro-poor should be forged either in the form of a dedicated reform alliance or in the form of a tactical alliance.

Hout et al. (2013) stated that the alliance with the reformist idealist group is crucial because these idealists usually always fight for the ideological realization of democracy, the rule of law, and transparency. In their struggle, the idealists fight for the marginalized and the poor to influence the outcome of government policies. Hout et al. (2013) explain that idealists are committed to the struggle for human rights and oriented to long-term reform. Alliances with this group are very likely to occur if the ideals of development change are directed at the community's welfare. This dedicated alliance with idealists is reflected in groups calling themselves Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), known as civil society groups. Idealist groups concentrate on policy advocacy, human rights struggles and intervention efforts in public policies issued by the government. While alliances with opportunist groups, namely those with short-term vested interests in the decision-making circle and those who have access to power, resources and policies, are also very possible if they are also committed in the short term to defending the rights of the community, especially the marginalized

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

(Hout et al., 2013). Hout (2013) and Hughes and Hutchison (2008) explain that these opportunists' alignments with marginal people are usually for their short-term interests in gaining public sympathy, financial benefits, competition with competitors and access to power. These opportunists might reflect in local elite groups in the government or bureaucracy, and local entrepreneurs are also possible. The other type of alliance is the group of pragmatists. Coalition with the pragmatist group is possible if the pragmatist group commits to change, democracy, and good governance in the long-term goals. However, they also pay attention to short-term goals in the context of redistribution and allocation of resources to vulnerable, marginalized, and poor communities. This pragmatic group is represented by local parliamentary politicians of regional government and members of the central parliament or those who tend to be populist and defend small communities. Campus academics can also represent the pragmatic group, the central government. They have idealism and are also pragmatic for changes that are incremental but have an impact on small communities. Alliance with group pragmatic can be dedicated and tactical. Alliances with more opportunist groups tend to be tactical, considering that their motivation tends to be instantaneous profit gains. However, sometimes they also pay attention to improving the welfare of the marginalized and poor. Thus, the alliance must be careful, selective, and adjusted to the goals and strategies.

METHOD

The research uses a qualitative approach. According to Sarantakos in Chariri (2009), the method is an instrument for social researchers by selecting the basic elements in the methodology, such as perceptions of the reality of social phenomena and perceptions of human behavior and character. The qualitative approach aims to explore a phenomenon that exists. In this case, it is the phenomenon of land conflicts that occurred in Tamansari Bandung City.

The qualitative approach used in the study describes what appears and examines the phenomenon that can occur in detail, thoroughly and deeply from various points of view. This time, The method used is a case study of the conflict in Tamansari. Seeing how the process of reconciliation, debate, and negotiation to defend the rights of citizens is separated from the attention of the Bandung city government by involving various actors. Therefore, case studies are natural. According to Yin in Faa'iz (2018), an empirical inquiry investigates phenomena in real-life contexts if the boundaries between phenomena and contexts are not visible and where multiple sources of evidence are utilized.

Data collection method using Focus Group Discussion (FGD). According to Purnama (2015), FGD is a discussion group which is not just an interview. The dynamics of an FGD lie in the interaction. Without interaction, an FGD turns into a focus group interview. This happens when the more dominant moderator always confirms each topic individually to all participants. Based on phenomena and literature studies, FGDs were carried out with the Bandung city

government and the local people. In addition to using the FGD method, this study used in-depth interviews with related parties, including representatives of affected residents Taman Sari Village and Bandung Legal Aid Institute, an NGO that defended Tamansari residents.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In the following study results, we have mapped the actors and their roles and alliances that should be developed by the Bandung City Government as an agent of reform in the development of Bandung City.

Table 1 The actor’s typology mapping and Division of roles
Source: Hughes and Hutchison (2008) (modified by the research team)

<i>Dedicated Reformer</i>	<i>Tactical reformer</i>
<p><i>The idealists</i> Civil society organisation (CSO/NGO) the Legal Aid Institute and the Association of Legal Aid and Human Rights representatives of West Java, the National Human Rights Commission and the National Commission for Women and Child Protection.</p>	<p><i>The opportunists</i> Developers of the Row House project and local political elites</p>
<p><i>The pragmatists</i> the regional and central parliaments, members of the local parliament and the central parliament, also officials from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning, academics and the media</p>	

The Bandung City government efforts, represented by the *Camat*, are extraordinary to help reduce their socio-psychological burden in persuasive and informal ways. This is a crucial form of informal conflict resolution mediation. However, even though the *Camat's* strategy is based on a quick win calculation during the one hundred days of the *Camat's* leadership. However, it should also be noted that if the Bandung City Government wants to reinstate its

role as an inclusive development reformer and pay attention to the political economy of development, it is not enough to take an informal approach. The informal approach is necessary for all parties because the *Camat*, an actor in regional development, is present during conflicted

citizens. However, it should also be kept in mind that when the government assumes its role and position as a development reformer, the Bandung City Government is represented by both the *Camat* and Heads of Departments, and even the Mayor of Bandung himself must pay attention to who the actors involved in the conflict are. Therefore, in the beginning, the Bandung City Government should map out the actors involved in constructing the Row House.

Reflecting on the typology when speaking in the context of reform, the Bandung City Government should have assumed the role of a development reformer. By placing development reformers in place, the government will find it easier and more enthusiastic to dissect the actors involved in the conflict. To map these

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

actors, the Bandung City Government must carefully look at who and what their roles, commitments and involvement in development are. The Bandung City Government must understand that groups must be involved in developing the political economy. In that context, some are highly dedicated to development reform, some are pragmatic, but some are opportunists. The key is how the Bandung City Government manages this group by looking at the commitment and involvement of these groups. Reflecting on the Tamansari case, idealists who always voice the interests of the marginalised, the people affected by the conflict, are idealists. They are committed not only to the framework of short-term development but also to a long-term commitment that the development of the city of Bandung must always be based on sustainable, inclusive, and collaborative principles. They are defenders of marginalized groups, namely the Legal Aid Institute and the Association of Legal Aid and Human Rights representatives of West Java. Meanwhile, many civil organisations are still committed to development, especially in fighting for good governance, human rights and transparency in regional development that, are involved in fighting for the rights of the *Tamansari* people. The coalition that was built should be cooperative and mutually supportive, considering the government is committed to building inclusiveness and collaboration in sustainable development. This coalition is known as a dedicated alliance. In conflict, *Tamansari* also has community groups committed to the affected citizens, namely the National Human Rights Commission and the National Commission for Women

and Child Protection. Then we see that in the *Tamansari* case, there are also pragmatic groups in society. They paid attention to the *Tamansari* case and sympathized with the conflict-affected communities.

They are government circles, namely the regional and central parliaments, members of the local parliament and the central parliament committed to short-term development, especially regarding their political commitments to the constituents (voters). However, they also pay attention to the conditions of conflict-affected people and inclusive, collaborative development in the future. In the *Tamansari* case, there are also officials from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning who provide neutral information on the status of the land and those who sympathize with the marginalized, namely academics and the media who intensify news about the *Tamansari* case. The government should consider that pragmatic groups like this can be used as alliances by building dedicated alliances.

While the last one is the opportunist group, which has a high political economy interest because of financial or other material benefits. However, the government must be observant, and the government could build it with this opportunist but with a tactical alliance, provided they are willing to help the marginalized. Opportunist groups in this context act as entrepreneurs or developers of this Row House project or local political elites who have a momentary interest in defending their constituents and gaining their sympathy. Based on this actor mapping, the Bandung City government, as an agent of reform or an agent of change as a prime mover of development, re-

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

positioned its role in overseeing the development process in the city of Bandung.

The handling of land conflicts in *Tamansari* Village cannot be separated from the role of the *Bandung Wetan* Sub-district Head in dealing with conflicts with different mechanisms and approaches, namely through informal means. The *Camat* of *Bandung Wetan* is organizationally responsible for peace and order in the *Bandung Wetan* area, which includes the *Tamansari* Village. The sub-district head realizes that in the construction of the row houses, there are conflicts of interest, not only the interests of the government to run the row houses program, the interests of developers to continue the row houses construction, the interests of residents who are both pro and contra with the government, residents who demand compensation, but the status of the land is also problematic. The length of the development process and the disruption of the economic ecosystem of the people who live around *Tamansari* Village. However, based on the government's perspective, the construction of row houses has a positive impact, namely housing that is organized, clean, healthy, and decent for the community and can improve the welfare of the surrounding community.

The *Camat* Bandung Wetan said there is goodwill from the Bandung City Government to resolve the conflict with the residents of *Tamansari* Village regarding the construction of the Row House, which has formally become a policy of the Bandung City Government. The Head of *Bandung Wetan* Sub-district has clearly explained the efforts made to make residents aware of the importance of building row

houses in Bandung. The sub-district head is like an all-out going to the field to cooperate with good citizens who are pro and contra with the government in constructing this row house.

The successes claimed by the *Bandung Wetan* Sub-district include the construction of the *Tamansari* Row House, which has entered Phase 1 of Development and has reached 56.61% of the construction of the building structure in Block A and Block C. There is only 1 family who has not agreed with the construction (previously 13 families who refused) Socialization and Approach to residents who reject the development. The *Camat* took a persuasive and familial approach to residents who refused regarding the reasons, objectives, and benefits of the *Taman Sari* Row House Construction to the community. Free medical treatment was held for refused residents, shared meals, community service, residents, morning prayers, and the insertion discussions related to the development. Efforts were made to anticipate conflicts, such as through persuasive and familial outreach to residents who were against it and dispatching the Sub-District Team to secure development activities with residents who support the local government. The form of support from the region is by monitoring and implementing security in the implementation of the development in *Tamansari* Village and by installing banners supporting the development. The sub-district head assessed that the level of support in realizing the project was very effective, one of which was considering that the development could be implemented. Fewer residents were against the development. There was no horizontal

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

conflict between residents who were pro and contra. The results of searching data and information related to land conflicts in *Tamansari* from several sources, both respondents whom we interviewed directly to locations, especially residents who still survive in the Row House construction area as well as primary data sources through interviews with the staff of the Bandung City Legal Aid Institute stated that there are several aspects of political economy contained in the policy of building row houses in *Tamansari*. This political economy aspect is recorded from several important points, namely the issue of the interests of the contractor (PT *Sartonia Agung* Company), the existence of a disrupted economic ecosystem, and efforts to fight legal and political citizens.

Interests of the Developer (Contractor)

The construction of the *Tamansari* Row House involved the contractor, namely PT. *Sartonia Agung* Company won a project tender worth 66 billion rupiahs in 2017 (CNN Indonesia, 2019). Although PT. *Sartonia Agung* has been appointed as the developer of the Row House. However, based on the results of secondary data analysis, namely through electronic mass media, information was obtained that PT. *Sartonia Agung* has been blocklisted into the blocklist of companies with poor performance by the Government Goods and Services Procurement Policy Institute. However, PT. *Sartonia Agung* is still being used as a row house development company by the Bandung City Government (Tirto, 2019). Through SK PA/KPA 617/KPA/BRSDM/VII/2018, Marine and Fisheries Education Center, PT. *Sartonia*

Agung was denied listed for violating government regulation number 17/2018 Article 3 letter g, which "provisions that do not carry out the contract do not complete the work, or unilaterally terminate the contract by the PPK due to the fault of the provider of goods/services". Nevertheless PT. *Sartonia Agung* continues constructing the Row House (Tirto, 2019).

Related to the existence of the political economy interests of PT. *Sartonia Agung* regarding the row houses, the research found crucial information from the affected residents, especially those who still live in the area around the row houses construction.

Another piece of information that was successfully gathered was that business interests were also attached to the construction of this row house. According to the information from the West Bandung Regional Government ASN, a Jakarta businessman was influential in constructing the row house in *Tamansari* Village. Even more surprising is that the Row House project is a development program funded by the city government. However, the scenario for reimbursement of the money is financed by a contractor or developer (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

Disrupted Residents' Economic Ecosystem

One of the important aspects in the case of the *Tamansari* conflict is the disruption of the local community's economic ecosystem. This is highly recognized by the Bandung City Government, in this case by the *Bandung Wetan* Sub-district Head, where the government has indeed had a miss from the start, which is less pay attention to the

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

economic ecosystem of the residents. Hence, they indeed lose the opportunity to do business. This is also by the narrative of the *Tamansari* resident, whom we successfully managed to gain the information directly at the location where the Row House was built, which stated that she regrets that the construction of the Row House in *Tamansari* Village was carried out without considering those who have boarding houses and other businesses. Undertaken residents of *Tamansari* Village lose their livelihood because they are engaged in the informal sector, such as opening a shop, trading, and others.

Legal Resistance and Political Efforts Taken by Residents

Politically, some residents living in *Tamansari* still refuse and have collaborated with the Legal Aid Institute) Moreover, had demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning National Land Agency office in Jakarta in 2020 and front of the Human Right Commission Office in Jakarta. The residents demanded the establishment of the land status quo in *Tamansari* Village. However, the evictions still occurred on December 12, 2019, consisting of the local government officials and the Police totalling 1,260 personnel. Unfortunately, during the eviction, there was violence and 37 residents and human rights activists were injured because of the clashes (*Komnas HAM*, 2020; Permana, 2020). In this clash, the Human Right Commission stated that there were human rights violations in the *Tamansari* case (CNN Indonesia, 2020, Tuasikal 2018). This case is ironic even though previously, on December 10, 2019,

the City of Bandung was named one of the Cities Cares for Human Rights (LBH Bandung, 2019). To defend politically, residents of *Tamansari* have conveyed their aspirations to members of parliament, namely the Bandung City parliament and have received a positive response suggesting that the Bandung City Government should re-evaluate the construction of Row Houses in *Tamansari* Village (*Kompas*, 2019; *Tempo*, 2019). Regarding the *Tamansari* case, the Civil Society Coalition, YLBHI, Kontras, LBH, ICJR and Amnesty International Indonesia condemned the eviction (Bahtiar, 2021). However, the most interesting effort from the results of this study found that residents who survived in conflict areas had carried out what was called 'an informal silent struggle' by farming and farming around and making fishponds and catfish for them to meet their daily needs and grow crops to survive the crisis hit by residents. This is a form of informal resistance by residents to defend their buildings and residences and shows other parties that they are still surviving and fighting for their rights.

The political economy approach repositions the role of the city government as a development reformer actor. The mission of the City of Bandung, through inclusive and collaborative development, is to position the city government as an agent of development. Therefore, the key to successfully resolving the *Tamansari* conflict lies with the city government as an agent of change and a pioneer in the realization of good governance within the framework. In this case, the government must reposition its role and function as an actor reformer development as the region's

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

prime mover of development, both pro-growth and pro-poor. Judging from the *Tamansari* case, the intention of the Bandung City Government to fix the slum area, especially where the Row House will be built, is good because it wants to create a slum-free city and make life in *Tamansari* Village becomes more beautiful, healthier, and cool to the eye. Especially with the vision and mission of the City of Bandung, which wants to realize the development of environmentally friendly infrastructure immediately, it deserves a thumbs up. However, this policy has drawn strong protests from the community, especially residents of *Tamansari*, whose house was torn down. They formally argued that the row house construction policy is standing on state land where houses have been built for residents who have lived for decades (Nugraha et al.; Adi, 2019). Some have paid Land and Building Taxes, and some residents have also paid the Bandung City Government rent.

All the power and efforts of the government have almost been able to realize the construction of the Row House, which has now reached stage two, where construction is being continued amid the efforts of several residents who demand justice from the Bandung City Government. Until now, after we investigated the field, three heads of families still live at the Row House construction site. They live in their own small house, which they built themselves. They cultivate crops, raise livestock, and build a life amidst the rubble of collapsed buildings. Human rights activists are still aggressively demanding justice for the construction of this row house. They are preparing to file an appeal to the

Cassation level at the Supreme Court while the residents continue to survive in the rubble of the building and live their lives there with their daily activities.

This condition inspires our research team always to provide an overview of the conditions and how future solutions in dealing with similar land conflicts occur. This is important considering the role and position of the government as an agent of change and a prime reformer of development that is friendly to human rights and the political and economic interests of the locals. It is necessary to apply the concept of political economy by dissecting and mapping the actors involved in the *Tamansari* conflict and assigning their roles and functions so that future infrastructure development in Bandung City always pays attention to this political-economic aspect. In this case, the city government must be different and dare to fight for both sustainable and inclusive development programs for the rights of citizens. The government dares to occupy its role and position as a reformer who will be at the forefront of development in the city of Bandung. The government must be fully aware that development is full of various interests. The key to successful development is how the Bandung City Government deals with and works with various actors in development, both the city government itself, members of the local parliament and parliament at the center, vertical agencies in the city of Bandung and other stakeholders such as civil society organization, academia, the media and those affected by development. The Bandung City Government's mission is inclusive and collaborative development, placing the

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

Bandung City Government as an agent of development. Therefore, the key to successfully resolving the *Tamansari* conflict is back to the City Government as an agent of change and a pioneer in the realization of good governance within the framework. In this case, the government must reposition its role and function as an actor in reformer development and a regional prime mover.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of observations and in-depth studies that have been carried out, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the study has identified an important dimension in highlighting the land conflict in *Tamansari* Village: political-economic in the economic dimension reflected in the economic interest of the developer who reaped the benefits of the Row House construction project in *Tamansari* Village. Another economic aspect is disrupting the economic ecosystem of the people who originally made a living at the *Tamansari* location by selling and renting boarding houses. This Row House construction project deprived them of their only source of income to survive. The political dimension can be observed starting from the government issuing land ownership certificates, which, according to residents, does not meet proper legal regulations and is very detrimental to residents because it is far from the principle of justice. Second, the study also found that residents carried out a form of political resistance called 'an informal silent struggle' using farming and growing crops around the settlements of those evicted. This is the form of informal resistance of citizens to show others that

they still survive and continue to fight for their rights. Second, the group of political economy actors in the land conflict in *Tamansari* Village, Bandung *Wetan* District, is divided into three, namely the first group is called the idealist group, those who are committed not only to the framework of short-term development; in this case, is the construction of Row Houses but also committed in the long term. It has long been said that the development of Bandung City must always be based on sustainable and collaborative principles. The second group is the pragmatic group, which pays attention to the *Tamansari* case and sympathizes with conflict-affected communities, such as members of the local parliaments and other government officials. The third group is those with high political economy interests who want to reap financial or other material benefits or are referred to as opportunist groups. They are groups of entrepreneurs or developers as well as political elites who have temporary interests and benefit from the construction of the Row House project. Third approaches to conflict resolution in *Tamansari* Village have been carried out through formal and informal channels. However, until now, the conflict has not ended, so another strategy is needed through a more constructive approach. The conflict management strategy offered by the researcher is to map the political economy actors directly or indirectly involved in the Row House construction project. The government must be able to embrace idealist groups in society because they have a high commitment to improvement towards inclusive and collaborative governance. The Legal Aid Institute and the Association of Legal Aid

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

and Human Rights representatives of West Java, together with the Human Right Commission and Commission for the Protection of Women and Children, is what is called the Dedicative Alliance strategy. The Bandung City Government as an agent of development reform occupies, returned to its role of overseeing the development process in Bandung. Fourth, the research has a significant theoretical impact on developing the political economy perspective in the literature of conflict resolution studies.

REFERENCES

- Akbar, Asep Kiki Saepul. (2019). *Strategi negoisasi Dinas Perumahan dan Kawasan Permukiman, Pertamanan dan Pertanahan Kota Bandung dalam menyelesaikan konflik: studi kasus konflik dengan warga Tamansari, Kota Bandung*. [Tesis UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung]. Digital Archive. <http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/26917/>
- Alaydrus, Fadriyah. (2019, December 24). Kontraktor rudet Tamansari bermasalah Pemkot Kota Bandung mengabaikan. *Tirto*. <https://tirto.id/kontraktor-rudet-tamansari-bermasalah-pemkot-bandung-mengabaikan-eoHA>.
- Arridho, A. & Ishartono. (2019). Konflik Kepentingan Lahan Warga RW 11 Tamansari, *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik*, Volume 1 (2), pp. 70-141.
- Bahtiar, Fahmi. (2021, February 15). Koalisi masyarakat sipil minta Jokowi hentikan penggusuran di Taman Sari. *Sindonews*. <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/335370/13/koalisi-masyarakat-sipil-minta-jokowi-hentikan-penggusuran-di-taman-sari-1613361752>.
- Chariri, A. (2009). Landasan Filsafat dan Metode Penelitian Kualitatif, Makala,. Workshop Metodologi Penelitian Kuantitatif dan Kualitatif. Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang.
- CNN Indonesia. (2019, December 13), *Pemkot Bandung Sebut Penggusuran Tamansari Sah Secara Hukum*. <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191212191722-20-456488/pemkot-bandung-sebut-penggusuran-tamansari-sah-secara-hukum>.
- CNN, Indonesia. (2020, January 15). *Komnas HAM sebut ada Pelanggaran dalam Penggusuran Tamansari*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200114232036-20-465408/komnas-ham-sebut-ada-pelanggaran-dalam-penggusuran-tamansari>.
- Faa'iz, M. (2018). *Analisis manajemen program Jabar dalam berita di TVRI Jawa Barat* [Tesis UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung]. <http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/11405/>
- Fahira.T & Ferdiansyah, Muhamad. (2020). Analisis konflik sengketa lahan Di kawasan Tamansari Kota Bandung menggunakan pohon konflik. *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik*, 3 (4). <http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/jkrk/article/view/31978>
- Hughes, C. & Hutchison, J. (2012). Development effectiveness and the politics of commitment, *Third World Quarterly*, 33 (1). Pp. 17-36.
- Hout. W. Jane Hutchison, Caroline Hughes, Richard Robison. (2013). Political Economy Analysis and the Aid Industry: The Road to Nowhere?. *International Institute of Social Studies*, The Hague. Netherlands.
- Hutchison.J, Wil Hout, Caroline Hughes, Richard Robison (2016). *Political economy and the AID industry in Asia*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Kharisma, Hirson (2020, October 22), *Gerakan Perlawanan dan Produksi Ruang*. Indoprogess. <https://indoprogess.com/2020/10/g>

Vol.9, No.1, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i1.45836
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

[erakan-perlawanan-dan-produksi-
ruang-publik-kasus-tamansari-
bandung/](#)

Komnas HAM (2020, January 15). *Korban penggusuran Tamansari Bandung mengadu ke Komnas HAM*. <https://www.komnasham.go.id/index.php/news/2020/1/15/1307/korban-penggusuran-tamansari-bandung-mengadu-ke-komnas-ham.html>.

LBH Bandung. (2019, December). *Bandung tidak ramah HAM: Penggusuran Tamansari tidak sesuai Prosedur dan disertai kekerasan disaat Proses Pengadilan masih berlangsung*. <http://www.lbhbandung.or.id/1724-2/>.

Nugraha, Arie & Ahdiat, Adi. (2019, December 19). *Konflik Lahan Tamansari, Pengadilan Tolak Gugatan Warga, KBR*. <https://kbr.id/nusantara/12-2019/konflik-lahan-tamansari-pengadilan-tolak-gugatan-warga/101720.html>.

Permana, Erric. (2020, January 15). *Komnas HAM: Terjadi pelanggaran HAM saat penggusuran Tamansari, Bandung*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/id/nasional/komnas-ham-terjadi-pelanggaran-ham-saat-penggusuran-tamansari-bandung/1702711>.

Purnama, Fiqih R (2018). *Adaptasi warga kampung kota yang bertahan dalam konflik penggusuran : studi kasus penggusuran Kampung*

Kota Tamansari Bandung, [Skripsi Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, Bandung].

<https://repository.unpar.ac.id/handle/123456789/8473>

Purnama, S.G. (2015). *Panduan Focus Group Discussion (FGD) dan Penerapannya*. Universitas Udayana.Bali.

https://simdos.unud.ac.id/uploads/file_pendidikan_dir/1c86eedd20eac93ba4705cf4f4f882e.pdf

Tempo. (2019, November 12). *Bahaya Konflik Agraria*, Tempo, <https://kolom.tempo.co/read/1271078/bahaya-konflik-agraria/full&view=ok>.

Tuasikal, Roi (2018, September 16). *Di Tengah Proses Hukum Warga Tamansari Bandung Hadapi Tekanan Pergusuran*, <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/di-tengah-proses-hukum-warga-taman-sari-bandung-hadapi-tekanan-penggusuran/4573121.html>.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In this paper, we thank our collages Deny, Rofi and Solahuddin Ismail from University Utara Malaysia as our Research Teams and Mr Nur Afandi as Director of Polytechnique STIA LAN Bandung. We also would like to thank the *Camat* Bandung Wetan and the people of Tamansari for their gratefulness to our team.