ABSTRACT

The catastrophic eruption of Mount Agung in 1963 had spewed deposits of lava and sandstone covering the lower reaches of the Sebudi Village area. After the eruption of Mount Agung, the lava and sandstone deposits were explored as minerals C and used as a new source of income for their welfare, but the community did not pay taxes. The purpose of the study is to describe struggles in fighting for capital between actors in the realm of the type-C excavation in Sebudi Village. This research was carried out with a qualitative approach, using a triangulation technique, namely by observation, in-depth interviews with informants with the technique of purposive sampling, and documentation studies. The theory used is the theory of hegemony, the theory of power-knowledge discourse, and the theory of social practice. The results of the study reveal that factors that trigger the occurrence of chaos are due to regulatory factors issued by the government which cause conflicts of interest between agencies in managing the type-C excavation. The implications of the chaos of type-C excavation have been changing the structure of infrastructure buildings, unclear topographic and geographical boundaries. Additionally, local government policies in law enforcement have made a shift in status of land ownership which is closely related to the interests and powers of actors and agencies in determining their actions.

Keywords: regulation, chaos, type-C excavation, land ownership

INTRODUCTION

Sebudi Village is one of the villages located on a mountainous plateau with a land height of 850 meters above sea level. The area of Sebudi Village is 3,092 km² stretching from south to north. Sebudi Village is classified as a self-sufficient village with the type of land not being paddy fields but in the form of fields and plantations. The typology of the soil in Sebudi Village after the eruption of Mount Agung in 1963 is a stretch of sandstone that covers almost 7 km² downstream, changing the topography and geography of Sebudi Village (Sutomo & Wahab, 2019). Lava and sandstone deposits spewed from the eruption
of Mount Agung, have an impact on the community to be more oriented in carrying out land use changes and start exploring these deposits as excavation material C. Excavations are increasingly being carried out around the Banjar area of Sebudi Village.

In line with the political changes that occurred in Indonesia, since the issuance of the 1997 the law of environmental management or UUPLH, to the regional level which was given a new policy, namely the issuance of government regulations in the form of the Regional Autonomy Law no. 22 of 1999 (Astrawan et al, 2014). Authority in implementing regional autonomy in accordance with Article 10 of Law no. 22 of 1999 is that regions are given the authority to manage natural resources (SDA) available in their territory and are responsible for maintaining environmental sustainability in accordance with statutory regulations. To bridge this goal, according to Article 10 of Law no. 22 of 1999, local governments issued policies and collaborated with entrepreneurs (investors). The use of modern tools began to arrive, and the exploration of the C excavation began. The success of the government in hegemonizing the community and investors indicated that there was a struggle in the mining sector C, between; government, investors and society, each of which has a different ideology of interest.

As a political decision, the power relation of the regional government as an extension of the central government, is that as the holder of power begins to exercise its domination. The relationship between the government's power in making decisions or policies, as well as the authority is to ask for demands and provide mineral C as an economic source in regional original income (PAD) (Astuti, 2012). This government policy at the village level is considered capable of contributing to the availability of jobs in the excavation sector C. The existence of C excavation exploration carried out by investors is growing by absorbing labor from local villages. Investor-driven regulation and operation of excavation C without local control. The local community does not yet have a strong enough position to oversee the whole issue of excavation C. Investors can manage the flow of operations in excavation C in a short time with the accumulation of large profits. This situation further adds to the dominance of investors over local communities. The power of the community is felt to be paralyzed in the mechanisms carried out by the government and investors.

Not many local people are investors in excavation C, they are mostly employed as labor in excavation C. However, the employment creates inequality, because the volume of work with wages earned is not directly proportional to the expected results. Investors with dominant power apply supervision in C excavation activities with a higher profit target. There are strong indications that investor dominance tends to develop into “destructive”,

causing environmental degradation that hides behind regulations with the will to go beyond the interests of local communities. Exploration of excavation C is carried out violently or freely without thinking about the negative effects on community safety and the balance of natural ecosystems. Excavation activity C has not yet had an impact on increasing the economic welfare of the local community. In addition, at the district level, there are still fluctuations in economic problems as a result of the illegal management of excavation C by not following government regulations (Nugrahanto, 2016).

Government policies are conveyed by various techniques that are not only passive and formal but active and informal. The implementation is carried out by Satpol PP or regional official police through unannounced inspections to monitor the miners of excavation C, not only questioning permit issues but at the same time checking for environmental degradation which often causes chaos in the exploration of excavation C (Nurmilawaty, 2017). Government policies are conveyed by various techniques that are not only passive and formal but active and informal. The potential for chaos as part of the dynamics related to natural resources in the form of mineral C tends to be an arena for a struggle of interests that refers to economic competition in capital ownership in the excavation arena Type-C mining in Sebudi Village Bali.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Mantra and Dirksen (2013), in their research focused on legal aspects, especially those related to the problem of violations. Efforts are taken in case of a violation, namely by applying repressive laws, namely environmental law enforcement. There were various reactions from law enforcers who commented on the inclusion of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) into the criminal justice system (Imeara, 2019). The arguments put forward are basically based on a normative view and a sociological view on the application of a legal rule (Anggraeni, 2020). The existence of these different views must refer to the basic values of the law, namely justice, expediency (usability) and legal certainty. Although these three are basic legal values, tensions often occur between the three.

Saputra et al (2017) and Cahyati (2014) put forward about the problem of land conflicts in urban areas, especially in fighting over space. The struggle turned out to involve many parties, both local governments, the private sector and city residents, each of whom had an interest. Various points of view also helped to sharpen the crisis of the conflict. As the executive, the local government must act according to the law and be fair in dealing with any land disputes Saputra et al (2019). The case of land conflicts that occurred in Surabaya is a concrete example of how the struggle for land in urban areas
requires political decisions that favor the interests of the people. According to Surbakti, there are several reasons why city problems are closely related to space problems. Further in his study, Surbakti also discusses social issues, such as;

Jahn et al (2020) and Sonbay (2016) revealed that forest management environmental conflict is a relationship between two or more parties who own and/or feel they have incompatible goals in forest management due to differences in social relations/communication, interests, data, and information, values, and structures that occur in a space, so that the environmental function of the forest is disturbed. Environmental conflicts in protected forests are caused by problems of scarcity, negative externalities, structural imbalances, and different perspectives on forest values (Syahputra, 2021). Krampe (2017) and Novoselov (2016) state that environmental conflict in the management of natural resources, including forest resources, is a conditional arena with political content, be it socio-economic politics or environmental politics, almost all conflicts related to natural resource management always start with different interests. These differences in interests make natural resources an arena for conflict. Abiodun (2014) states that conflict is a relationship between two or more parties who have, or who feel they have, incompatible goals. As for the pressure in the difference is the target. Hussein (2019) states that conflict is a situation that occurs when a person or group of people (could be more) demonstrate practices to eliminate the recognition (rights) of another person or group regarding the object or position being contested. These differences in interests make natural resources an arena for conflict.

Isa (2015) states that conflict is a relationship between two or more parties who have, or who feel they have, incompatible goals. As for the pressure in the difference is the target. Akhtar, et al (2020) assume that conflict is a situation that occurs when a person or group of people (could be more) demonstrate practices to eliminate the recognition (rights) of another person or group regarding the object or position being contested. These differences in interests make natural resources an arena for conflict. The emphasis of this difference is on the right to property and/or position. Abugre (2020) defines that conflict is a clash that occurs between two or more parties, caused by differences in values, status, power, and scarcity of resources. The emphasis in this difference lies in the value, status, power, scarcity of resources (Nisah, 2020). Orgeret (2021) states that conflict is a social condition when two or more people/parties manifest their belief in a different goal. According to Suryani (2015), the emphasis on differences is a matter of belief, and goals. As from several definitions of conflict that have been collected by the experts, it shows that there is the simplest definition of conflict, which is the relationship between two or
more parties who have, or who feel ownership, incompatible goals (Dauh et al, 2020), and conflict definitions (Rusmini, 2021) that emphasize social conditions of the several conflicts presented, there is a condition that always accompanies the definition of conflict, namely differences. The locations of these differences include differences in beliefs, values, status, power, goals, needs, and interests, rights to objects and/or positions, and scarcity of resources, all of which are inherent in each of the conflicting parties (Dahiya & Dahiya, 2018).

Komugabe-Dixson (2019) is motivated by problems of damage to the physical environment, such as pollution, village facilities and infrastructure as well as the social environment in Pacific. The authorities encourage the community to invite other communities to carry out social movements in demanding and rejecting the mining. The results of the study show that the social movement for the closure of mining departed from the impact of damage to the physical and social environment as well as the hegemony of the corporate towards the local community. The hegemony of the ruler then developed into a progressive hegemony (Hota & Behera, 2016; Ristianti, 2016). In progressive hegemony, local elites as leaders of social movements go through three stages, namely corporate-economics, awareness of economic solidarity, and awareness of solidarity on long-term environmental conservation. To seek the success of social movements, in progressive hegemony the local elites apply several strategies, namely: first; mobilize human resources (human assets) through strengthening social networks and community commitment through socialization in joint deliberation. Second, the strategy to mobilize tangible resources includes facilities and finance by establishing a portal to raise and share the results of portal retribution for social activities of the community (Sudarma, 2017; Yunita, 2016; Astrawan, 2014).

Nugrahanto (2016) researched the effectiveness of the revitalization of ex-mining C excavation in Candimulyo Village, Kecamatan Kertek, Wonosobo Regency, aiming to determine the effectiveness of the revitalization program for ex-mining C excavation in the village. The results of the study show that the revitalization policy has not been effective. Effective measurement is carried out with the right 5 (five) indicators, namely the right policy, the right target, the right environment, the right process, and the right implementer. Of the five factors, the policy for revitalizing ex-excavated C land in Candimulyo Village has achieved the right process, the right environment, and the right implementer. However, the revitalization policy has not been right on target and has the right policy. Due to the inaccuracy of several factors, the revitalization policy has not been effective (Zari, et al, 2020). The inhibiting factor of this policy is that there are several programs that
are not in accordance with the target quantity and the lack of enthusiasm of the mining community towards the program. The supporting factor of the revitalization policy is a positive response from the community (Savage, et al, 2020).

Reed & Haggard (2020) regarding community perceptions regarding the impact of mining in some developing countries is motivated by changes in the current mountainous landforms, many mountains around this area have been lost due to continuous scouring, as well as other changes such as coastal stockpiling which damage coral reef activity. Another problem is the occurrence of air pollution that occurs due to company activities so that it interferes with public health due to existing dust or factory engine noise due to activities in it.

METHOD

In broadening knowledge in research, it is necessary to have several studies that are referred to as literature reviews, with a critical qualitative approach compiled with triangulation technique i.e by collecting data in the form of observation, in-depth interviews with informants using purposive techniques, documentation studies, and literature studies through library research. The data analysis technique was carried out in a qualitative descriptive manner. At this stage, data reduction is carried out, namely the process of collecting primary and secondary data about research problems in the excavation area, and other data related to this research and adjusting to the nature and characteristics of the data. In the next stage, data presentation is carried out, namely the observed facts to be reorganized according to the relationship between categories with the chaos paradigm model including; the factors that trigger the chaos, the form of the chaos, and the implications of the chaos in the exploration of excavation C in Sebudi Village, Selat District, Karangasem Regency.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overlapping among the Issuence of Regulations

The issuance of government regulations relating to exploration for excavation C, there is overlap between sectors. Regulations issued by local, provincial and central governments have actually triggered new chaos. The government through its regulations has the function of determining and enforcing tenure rights as well as supervising the natural resources that are explored as mineral C. In carrying out its function of exploration of excavation C, the government still requires that every investor fulfills the agreement to have a business license and environmental permit. However, this expectation has often
become a new chaos, especially since the issuance of regulations in the form of Regional Regulation on RTRW of Karangasem Regency No. 17 of 2012 which prohibits the excavation of non-metallic minerals and rocks in areas with an altitude of 500 meters above sea level.

![Figure 1. Transportation of Materials in Excavation C, Sebudi Village](Photo by Ida Bagus Gde Putra, 2019)

The regulation has not been able to run effectively in Sebudi Village. The government's power relation behind the enforcement of regulations is to have an interest in collecting taxes and levies from the exploration of excavation C in order to increase PAD. Investors are expected to have permits, but many are still illegal. The overlap in regulations between sectors is used as an excuse by investors not to seek permits because the management of permits is considered selective and convoluted, and investors are trying to avoid efforts to administer permits for the management of excavation C. The government continues to carry out its functions by assigning the Satpol PP to carry out inspections to the location of excavation C in an effort to awaken investors and at the same time monitor the activities of the mining community of excavation C. The community has an interest and considers that the environment used as an exploration area for excavation C is land in the village area, and it needs to be empowered. This effort is utilized by the community in the C excavation area by making posportals in each area of their land that is used as a means of transportation to the C excavation area. The practice of thuggery began to be carried out by collecting excise fees from truck drivers who were deliberately directed to pass through their land to the excavation area C.
Community’s Perception towards the Type-C Mining

The exploration of excavation C was initiated by the perception that came from the community is considered to be the second chaos. The community considers that the excavated land belongs to them, even though the land does not yet have a land certificate. Exploration of excavation C, which is carried out almost every day, causes violence to the environment and causes serious damage to the environment. The government and its power relations are still trying to make people aware to take preventive, countermeasures and restoration measures to the environment and urges the community to fulfill their obligations in managing permits based on land certificates. However, in practice, the role of the licensing agency cannot be fully controlled by the government and the application of regulations overlaps so that its implementation does not run effectively. This overlapping regulation is also used as an excuse for managers not to seek permits, in addition to the lack of understanding and public participation in the process of seeking business permits.

Excavation project area C has so far been an arena for conflict of interest, presenting economic imbalances and access to natural resources in the form of sand, stone, and gravel as an arena for conflict, especially between sand traders. In addition, chaos still occurs as it is; the existence of violence against the environment and humans as a result of poor public governance of the environment, problems that arise from conflicts between sand carriers, the closure of public information about varying sand prices, transactions of political interests that sparked public resistance to the management of excavation C were based on the power relations between the government and investors. The government's power relation to investors also occurs in determining the
price of sand. The price provisions are often a price competition between sand traders. The difference in the price of sand from sand traders is often a form of chaos. The difference comes from the price that has been set by the government, with the price given by the managers of excavation C.

Confusion also arises from the community, they also want to feel the results of the exploration of excavation C. The community is resistant to the manager of excavation C. This form of resistance that raises a violence is not carried out in a general manner, but it is carried out in the form of excise levies for truck drivers transporting minerals C. Community power relations with truck drivers through excise levies are carried out on each side of the land used as truck roads with posportals installed in their plantation areas. Excise collection caused chaos among truck drivers, because the amount of excise collection was felt to be unbalanced with the travel route between one portal distance and another so that truck drivers felt overwhelmed in paying excise duty on every port they passed to the C excavation management area in the area of Sebudi Village.

**Vested Interests of Managing the Type C Mining**

The prohibition of disturbing the comfort of the community, smooth traffic and tourism activities are considered to be the third chaos. In this condition of infrastructure, there are indications that the government has not yet paid for it and is temporarily siding with investors. This kind of support is because the government is moving in a development paradigm, that excavation C must be explored in the interest of the welfare of the community. Although it is not realized that the development goals will not be achieved
when the community, which should be the subject of development, is made the object of the interests of investors that excavation C must be explored in the interest of public welfare. The implication of changes in topography and geography is that there are many inter-sectoral government policies, for example; the overlapping spatial planning, protected forest areas and mining areas have led to unclear topographical and geographic boundaries used in the exploration of Excavation C. Although this policy is in line with the regulations for the utilization and exploration of Excavation C, this policy seems far from being expected because it is more leads to those defined and allocated based on the map and its legality. There are indications that these policies seem to hegemony over investors, and ignore the carrying capacity and capacity of the environment, as well as sacrificing the socio-cultural interests of the people.

Bali Province Environmental Law Enforcement Team
Monitoring the impact of excavation C in Sebudi Village
Source: NusaBali.com (2016)

Implications for local government policies in law enforcement in managing the environment as a resource, wise management is needed. However, investors in exploring excavation C can freely determine the volume of activity and the level of risk as well as the size of the operation without taking into account the environmental conditions used as excavation C projects. For this reason, the regional government again issued the Karangasem RTRW Regional Regulation number 17 of 2012 that the maximum height limit is 500 meters above sea level with a depth of 40 meters above sea level. This shows that Regional Regulation No. 17 of 2012 is not effective considering the height of Sebudi Village is 850 meters above sea level. The government's dominance over investors firmly enforces its regulatory rules, but on the other hand it allows investors to dig without taking firm action, and its implementation is preventive and coaching. There are indications that the government is letting investors explore excavation C without a permit, the government
is moving in a narrow development paradigm, namely the potential for excavation C is still being explored for the benefit of the welfare of the community through increasing PAD. Consequently, it seems that excavation C activity has departed from local government policies and applicable laws, so that indicates that the government is lacking in applying the principles of justice and has created new chaos.

The implications of the chaotic exploration of excavation C for socio-cultural, show that the previous activities of the Sebudi Village community were struggling in several potential sectors, such as; agriculture, and animal husbandry, then less and less and even abandoned. Socially, the procurement of exploration of excavation C on the one hand seems to shift their status from farmers to laborers in excavation C. The hope to create new jobs and obtain maximum results from the work in excavation C becomes the foundation of life. However, on the other hand, it was inevitable that behind the emergence of excavation C, there was also a lot of gambling, as well as the proliferation of prostitution practices among drivers in the excavation area of excavation C. In addition, the activities of excavation C itself had created a new social class group, namely with the emergence of the skippers and concurrently thuggery (brokers) as the new managers of the C excavation activities. The aim is to increase capital by taking advantage of new opportunities and increase wealth by seeking new reserves (production), and culturally there was a shift in value as evidenced by the demolition of the house and rebuttal area as an effort to procure exploration for excavation C.
CONCLUSION

The problem of chaos in the exploration of excavation C in Sebudi Village Bali sometimes still occurs, and some of the main substances regarding the factors that trigger the occurrence of chaos, the form of chaos and their implications are considered as the whole factors of chaotic system. Firstly, the issuance of government regulations in the form environmental laws which serve as guidelines for the implementation of sectoral licensing, in fact stand alone; the incoherence of changes in regulations issued by the central, provincial, and local governments so that in their application they are overlapping; as well as the emergence of thuggery which marked a change in power relations over access and control of the natural resources excavated C in Sebudi Village. Secondly, the forms of chaos in the exploration of excavation C, which are the arena for the struggle of the interests of the three actors; imbalance in access to natural resources in the form of sand, stone and gravel; poor public governance of the environment; the disclosure of public information about the price of sand; community resistance due to political interest transactions; environmental degradation and the creation of a pattern of marginalization. Thirdly, the implications of the chaos in the exploration of Excavation C, namely the development of infrastructure that prioritizes the management of Excavation C over the needs of the community; changes in topography and geography of the mining C area, unclear boundaries due to overlapping government regulations; government policies that are not effective in implementing and enforcing the law; the emergence of a new social class due to the practice of gambling, prostitution, and thuggery as well as the shifting cultural values of society. The chaotic system of managing the type-C mining has emerged a finding that horizontally, the seeds of chaos began to emerge among the community which emphasize the existence of internal conflicts. The government's alignment with managers or investors can be seen in the issuance of various policies that lead to incoherence in the licensing system. The government's policy to save so many dimensions of people's lives in Sebudi Village has caused new chaos in the exploration of excavation C and is considered a product of failed development.

As a suggestion, this study recommends the need for policies and programs from the Karangasem Regency Government, especially the regulation of sectoral permits regulated in a separate law, it is enough to be handled by the local authority so that there is no integration of the licensing system in the C excavation business, such as in re-mapping the area, especially land that is owned by individuals with land that does belong to the state. The aim is to clarify ownership so that there is no land theft in the name of the state. Meanwhile, the excavation sector C which gives hope as a promising livelihood
is considered as the seed for the emergence of chaos that emphasizes the existence of claims of land ownership between families. Additionally, Investors are expected to change their business paradigm by referring to the principle of balance and equity. This principle is sought to maintain balance in the relationship between investors and local communities. Local governments are still treated as "rulers" who have rights and obligations in regional development. To the local community, it is necessary to have a control mechanism so that violent disturbances, even though it is a last resort, must be avoided. The community should know what they think about balance and equity in the C excavation practice in the Sebudi Village area. The community should create a control system so that it is not easily intervened or provoked while at the same time avoiding violence in the event of chaos in the Sebudi Village area.

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