



THE COST OF CONFLICT

FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S PERSPECTIVE

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April 2022

1. ABSTRACT

In a development model that targets economic growth, various development initiatives, especially those based on land, have the potential to cause conflicts, especially conflicting land claims between businesses and communities. When that happens, conflicts over land and natural resources could become unavoidable "costs" in development activities, and those "costs" would then become the burden of the conflicting parties, be it community groups, businesses or the government. The Study on the Cost of Conflict from the Government's Perspective attempts to understand how the government views conflict, including the burden to be borne when dealing with conflict. This perception will affect how governments respond in dealing with land and natural resource conflicts in their jurisdiction in the form of policy directions and actions.

Keywords: conflict costs; conflict; perception; natural resources.

1. INTRODUCTION:

WHAT IS THE COST OF CONFLICT?

A. Conflicts over land and natural resources are the costs of economic growth.

To encourage economic growth, Indonesia's development plans are directed to encourage business investment and spur exports, consumption and government spending. The Government targets economic growth of up to 8 percent with a total investment of IDR.26.558 trillion in 2019. Meanwhile, the Government has also set the targets of the poverty rate reduction at 7-8 percent, the unemployment rate to become approximately 4 - 5 percent, the value of the Human Development Index (HDI) to reach 76.3 and the Gini ratio of 0.36.¹

To achieve those economic growth targets, the Government has established its Policies, Plans, and Programs (PPP; Kebijakan, Rencana dan Program or KRP) which includes a strategy as a direction for the implementation of development. However, in its implementation in the field, these PPPs have not been fully effective in responding to community needs. In some respects, the implementation of those development PPPs has become a source of the conflicts, especially in land-based investment enterprises. Several PPPs have given rise to colliding claims on land and natural resources between local communities and businesses. As such, conflicts over land and natural resources eventually have become an unavoidable development cost in the implementation of development activities.

The Agrarian Reform Consortium (Konsorsium Pembaharuan Agraria or KPA) noted that in the period of 2015 - 2019 during the reign of President Joko Widodo, there were 2047 cases of land conflicts². In 2017 there were 659 agrarian conflicts. Meanwhile, the occurrence rate of conflict cases jumped by 78.67 percent in the 2015 to 2016 period. Meanwhile, in

2018 there were 410 conflicts related to land covering an area of 807,117.6 hectares and involving 87,568 Heads of Families (KK).³

B. Conflicts over land and natural resources cause losses for all parties.

Conflicts over land and natural resources pose risks and costs or losses to all of the parties. A study on the costs of land and natural resource conflicts from the perspective of oil palm companies reports that conflicts cause financial losses due to the disruption of production activities. It is estimated that companies can lose up to 51 - 88 percent of the company's operating costs and 102 - 177 percent of investment costs per year due to conflicts⁴. This estimate is measured by the loss of operating costs, staff time which had to be diverted to efforts to resolve conflicts and the loss of potential profits (opportunity costs) due to those diversions.

Meanwhile, a 2017 study shows the costs of conflict from the communities' perspective. The main loss felt by communities around forests are due to conflicts over land and natural resources caused by changes in the pattern of meeting their daily needs, where previously forest products were obtained for free, after the conflicts occurred those must now be purchased. The study estimated that the costs due to the impact of the conflicts to be IDR 51,617,040 per year per family for the farmers who owned an oil palm garden or participated in the nucleus-plasma program. Meanwhile, families who did not own gardens had to bear a burden of IDR. 32,294,844 per year. These findings showed that conflicts that occur, are not resolved and continue to fester for a relatively long time can trap communities in a process of deepening impoverishment. This

¹ RPJMN 2015 - 2019 Buku 1 Agenda Pembangunan Nasional

² <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200106132321-20-462771/konflik-lahan-era-jokowi-2-kali-lipat-dari-2-periode-sby>

³ <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2019/09/10/konflik-agraria-tak-kunjung-pudar>

⁴ Daemeter bekerjasama dengan CRU-IBCSO. 2016. *The Cost of Conflict in Oil Palm in Indonesia*.

is indicated by the weakening of people's ability to save or invest, which includes the narrowing of opportunities for social mobility due to limited opportunities for better education.⁵

These two studies show that conflicts cause losses to the conflicting parties. Because conflicts are unavoidable in development interventions, their reality requires serious attention from the Central and Regional Governments.

The mandate of the Central and Regional Governments in handling conflicts has been stated in the parliamentary decision TAP MPR RI Number IX of 2001 concerning Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management. This parliamentary decision mandates the Central and Regional Governments to "resolve conflicts related to agrarian resources that have arisen so far and concurrently anticipate potential conflicts that might happen in the future in order to ensure the implementation of law enforcement based on the principles as referred to in Article 4 of this provision" and "Try to earnestly seek financing for the implementation of agrarian reform programs and the resolution of agrarian resource conflicts that might occur"⁶.

The consequence of this mandate is that the Government must: (1) synchronize its policies to end legal dualism or overlapping authorities; (2) implement land reform by prioritizing land ownership for the people; (3) initiate land inventory and registration for land reform; (4) prevent and resolve agrarian conflicts; (5) strengthen the institutional capacity and authority of relevant agencies; and (6) ensure financing for the implementation activities of Agrarian Reform and agrarian conflict resolution.

To understand the factors that can create a sense of urgency for the government to seriously deal with land and natural resource

conflicts based on the consideration of the various affected stakeholders and carry this out thoroughly and comprehensive, CRU - IBCSD in collaboration with the Urban and Regional Development Institute (URDI) initiated this study on the Costs of Conflict from the Central and Local Governments' Perspective.

C. Pengetahuan tentang dampak potensial konflik sebagai pertimbangan perencanaan yang lebih baik.

An understanding of the Central and Local Governments' perception of conflict is very important in handling conflict, especially in seeking their support and commitment to conflict resolution. The commitment of the Central and Local Governments in handling conflicts is very necessary to strive for agreed upon resolutions that are sustainability and implementable, and can be expected to reduce the emergence of new conflicts in the future.

⁵ Perkumpulan KARSA bekerjasama dengan CRU-IBCSD. 2017. Studi Biaya Konflik Tanah dan Sumber Daya Alam dari Perspektif Masyarakat.

⁶ TAP MPR RI Nomor IX Tahun 2001 tentang Pembaruan Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam

2. METHODOLOGY: HOW THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

This study focused on two main questions, namely (1) what are the perceptions of the Central and Local Governments regarding the potential losses or risks of ignoring conflicts, delaying conflict resolution, or handling conflicts less than optimal?, and (2) what are the policy directions and actions of the Central and Local Governments related to conflicts that are felt to be impeding and/or interfering with the continuity of development initiatives?

The study team defined a land and natural resource conflict as a dispute over land and natural resources that has a broad social, political, economic, security or cultural impact. Departing from this definition, the costs and losses borne by the central and local governments include financial, social, political, economic, security and cultural aspects, so that the costs of conflict in this study are qualitative. In addition, quantitative data and information aim to strengthen the explanations of the perception of the Central and Local Governments regarding the potential losses and risks due to conflict.

The Costs of Conflict in this study are interpreted as risks, costs, losses and consequences that arise due to the absence of the Government's response when facing social, economic, and political turmoil, due to public feedback on the implementation of government's development PPPs.

This study used several data collection methods, namely literature studies, in-depth interviews and Delphi through the URDI Learning Forum (ULF). Meanwhile, the analytical methods used include media analysis, mapping of actors and stakeholders, modeling the dynamics of the development planning and budgeting system related to investment, policy impact analysis as well as policy and institutional analysis.

To understand the complexity of the government's work system related to the division of authority and responsibilities in handling land and natural

resource conflicts, this study used the government's jurisdictional capacity approach as an analytical tool. The team analyzed three main elements, namely (1) effective leadership, political communication and bureaucratic management; (2) formulation of policies and institutional arrangements; and (3) development planning and budgeting. These three elements were used to look at the Central and Local Government's perceptions on the causes and the costs of conflict, as well as their responses and the challenges they face.

Furthermore, a case study approach was used to obtain an overview of the implementation of the Central and Local governments PPPs and its implications, as well as to gain an understanding of local governments experiences in conflict management at the local level. The selection of case studies was based on the existence of local government initiatives and support in handling land and natural resource conflicts. The cases selected as the object of the case studies were the Provincial Government (Pemprov) of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) in North Lombok Regency and the Provincial Government of South Sumatra (Sumsel) in Musi Banyuasin Regency. The mainly consideration for the choice of the Musi Banyuasin Regency was the existence of a Task Force (Satgas) for the Acceleration of Agrarian Conflict Resolution (P2KA) in which had the support of local civil society organizations. Meanwhile, the North Lombok Regency was chosen considering the need for land certainty after the 2018 earthquake and its development priority for regional development in the tourism sector. Another consideration in this choice was that in the North Lombok Regency there was also a conflict resolution initiative involving a company holding an HTI concession with communities in three villages in Bayan District.

This study limits its observation to the period of 2014 - 2019 of the Working Cabinet administration with a main focus of discussion on priority development PPPs, especially related to public investment and domestic and foreign private investments, as well as their implications for land and natural resource conflicts.

3. ABOUT POLICY

A. GOVERNMENT PLANS AND PROGRAMS FOR THE PERIOD 2015 – 2019

Nawacita is the national development guideline for 2015 – 2019, which has been broken down into the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) as the Government's work agenda to create a politically sovereign country, economically independent, and having a cultural personality. The government implemented the work agenda by establishing a development strategy that includes three dimensions of development, namely human development (education, health, housing, etc.), leading sector development (food sovereignty, energy sovereignty and electricity, maritime and marine, tourism and industry), and equity and territoriality (between income groups, and between regions covering villages, suburbs, outside Java, and Eastern Indonesia).

These development dimensions then become a guide in the formulation of the Government's Development PPP as instruments for implementing development. The description above explains that the dimensions of the leading sector development and the dimensions of equity and territory are related to the conflict context which is the focus of this study because these two dimensions include aspects of land and natural wealth management to meet economic growth targets. With these considerations in mind, the development PPPs which will be discussed in this study includes: (1) Developing Indonesia from the Periphery by Strengthening Regions and Villages within the Framework of a Unitary State; (2) Acceleration of Infrastructure Provision; (3) National Strategic Projects (PSN); (4) Economic Policy Package, (5) Agrarian Reform; and (6) One Map Policy.

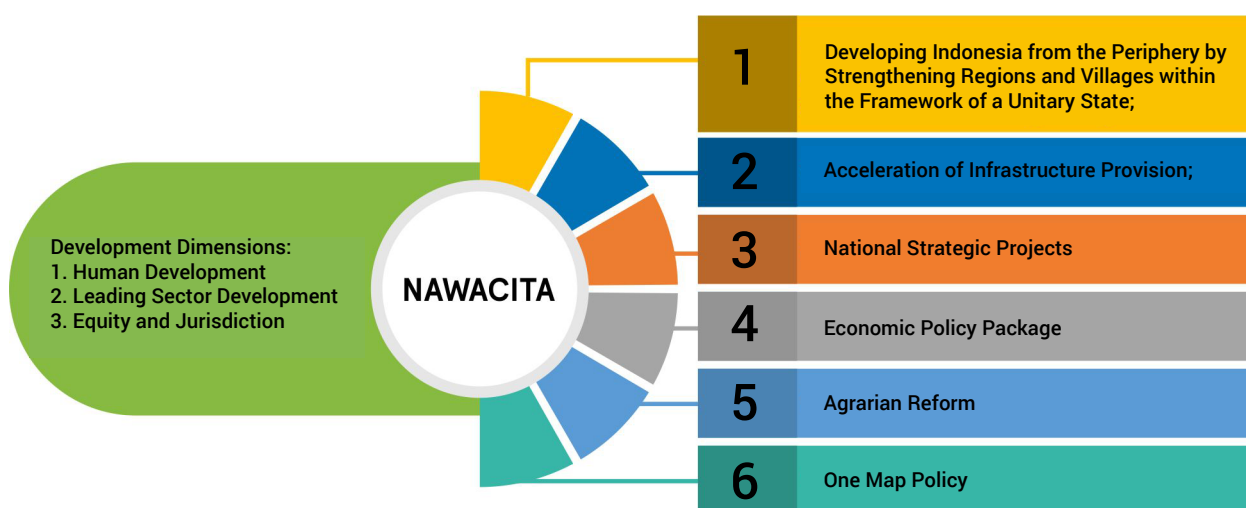


Figure 1.: Development PPPs relevant to the study.

4. THE IMPLICATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT PPPS ON LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICTS

The literature study carried out compiled several conflict incidents that occurred during the implementation of the development programs during the 2015–2019 period. Those conflicts could be categorized as follows:

A. Conflict incidents related to the increasing need for land for infrastructure development: Increased infrastructure development always implies an increasing demand for land. Infrastructure development carried out by the Government in order to pursue competitiveness and economic growth is contained in the 2015 – 2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) and was reaffirmed by Jokowi's Economic Policy Package, Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 3 of 2016, and

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) Number 1 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategic Projects.⁷

One of the conflicts over land acquisition for infrastructure development occurred in the Mandalika's Special Economic Zone (SEZ), NTB Province. The Mandalika SEZ, which was originally designed during the Suharto era, but could only be implemented in Joko Widodo's era. The President with Presidential Instruction Number 1 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of Implementation of National Strategic Projects immediately anticipated the problem of protracted land acquisition. With this

⁷ <https://setkab.go.id/komitmen-pemerintah-dalam-penyediaan-infrastruktur-perpres-nomor-3-tahun-2016-dan-inpres-nomor-1-tahun-2016/>

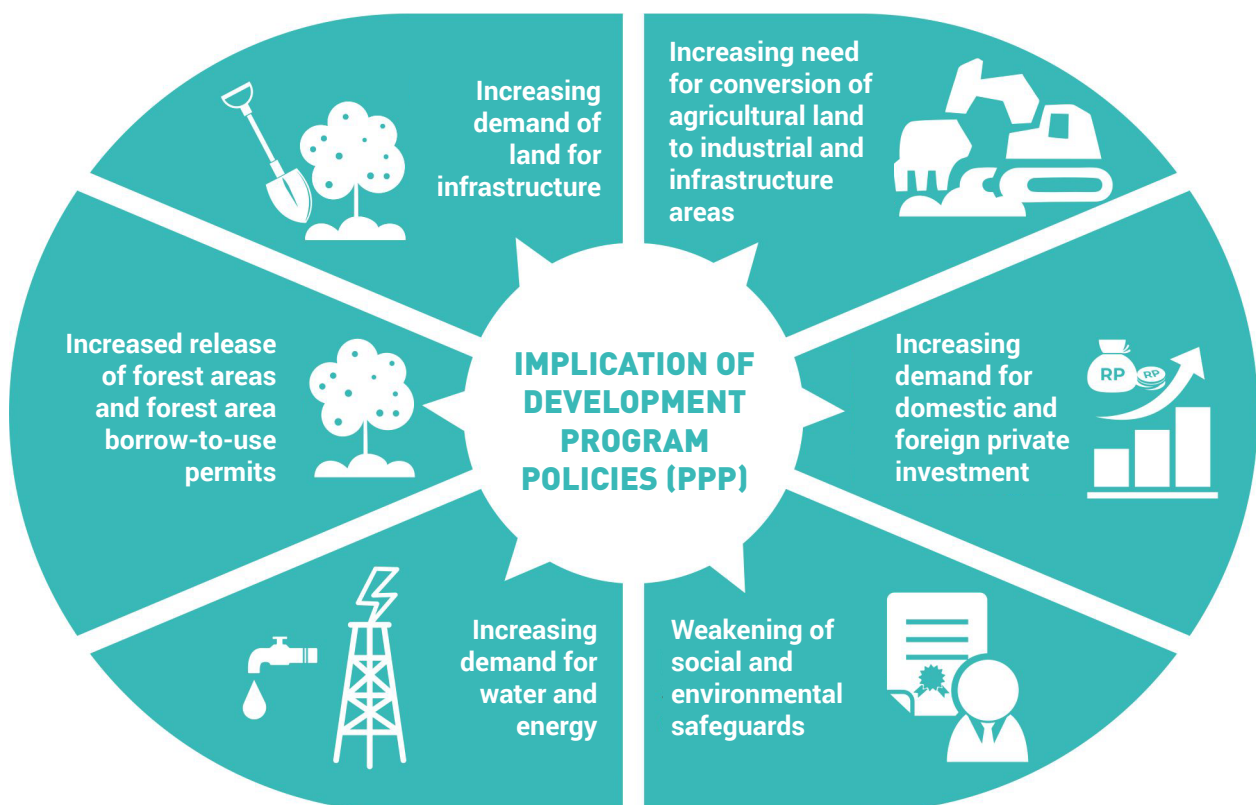


Figure 2: Implication of development PPPs that triggered land and natural resources conflicts.

Presidential Instruction, land acquisition could be carried out so that basic infrastructure could be built, including the Batu Jai Praya clean water treatment plant with a capacity of 200 l/second, the Lombok Airport, the Kuta Substation with a capacity of 150 Kv, the Lembar Harbor and roads.⁸

B. Conflicts due to increased conversion of agricultural land to industrial areas and infrastructure.

The incessant development of industrial areas and infrastructure requires a large area of land. This land requirement is fulfilled by converting agricultural land. This conversion of agricultural land can be seen from the continued decline of the area of rice fields.

Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2018 it could be known that the area of rice fields decreased from 7.75 million hectares to 7.1 million hectares.⁹ Meanwhile, the Government's ability to maintain agricultural land is lower than the rate of conversion of agricultural land. Data from the Ministry of Agriculture in 2014 showed that the average number of agricultural lands established by the Government per year is only 40 thousand hectares, while the average conversion of agricultural land nationally reaches 100 thousand hectares annually.

The conversion of agricultural lands for industrial and infrastructure areas also triggered land conflicts. One such case occurred in the Wongsorejo District, Banyuwangi, East Java Province. Local farmers rejected plans to develop an industrial area in the Bongkoran area, Wongsorejo. The development of industrial estates is considered to reduce agricultural land for the majority of the population who are farmers. Therefore, the farmers asked the Banyuwangi Regency Government to cancel the plan to develop an industrial area in Wongsorejo District.¹⁰

C. Conflict incidents due to increased release of forest areas and Leasehold of Forest Area Licenses.

The Government's efforts to achieve economic growth through development have made it easier to release forest areas and grant permits of borrow-to-use forest area (IIPKH). The Ministry for the Environment and Forestry (KLHK) has provided 69 million hectares of conversion production forest for infrastructure development through the Leasehold of Forest Area License (IPPKH) mechanism. Until 2015, the conversion production forest area that has been utilized has reached 56.3 million hectares.¹¹

To encourage ease of doing business and an investment climate for economic growth, the government facilitates the mechanism for releasing forest areas by reducing the duration of management and the number of requirements that have to be met. This facility is a "red carpet" for business actors to develop land-based businesses in Indonesia. Based on data from the Ministry for the Environment and Forestry, the total area released for oil palm plantations during the 1987-2018 period has reached 5,418,413 hectares. The development of those plantations surely has social and environmental adverse consequences, including potential land conflicts.¹²

One example of land conflicts related to the release of forest areas and leasehold permits is the case of the release of forest areas in Buol Regency, Central Sulawesi province. The local government and Buol residents rejected KLHK's Decree Number 571 of 2018 concerning the Release of Forest Areas and Determination of Boundaries for the Conversion Production Forest Areas for Oil Palm Plantations covering an area of 9,964 hectares. This refusal was made because of concerns about the reduced allocation of community land and the threat of flooding and landslides due to changes in the function of buffer areas.¹³

⁸ <https://ads.kontan.co.id/news/mengukur-dampak-pembangunan-infrastruktur>

⁹ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20181025153705-92-341433/bps-sebut-luas-lahan-pertanian-kian-menurun>

¹⁰ https://kbr.id/nusantara/07-2018/petani_banyuwangi_tolak_wongsorejo_jadi_kawasan_industri/96520.html

¹¹ <https://properti.kompas.com/read/2015/03/31/210000621/Perizinan.Penggunaan.Kawasan.Hutan.untuk.Infrastruktur.Hanya.90.Hari>

¹² https://ppid.menlhk.go.id/siaran_pers/browse/1729

¹³ <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2019/05/07/menyoal-pelepasan-kawasan-hutan-buat-perusahaan-sawit-di-buol/>

D. Conflicts due to increased domestic and foreign private investments

Financial support is clearly needed to accelerate infrastructure development and economic development. According to the 2015–2019 National Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMN), the total cost of infrastructure development in Indonesia reached IDR 5,000 trillion. The Ministry of National Development Planning (PPN)/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) estimates that Indonesia's infrastructure investment needs in 2020–2024 will reach USD 429.7 million. Meanwhile, the State Budget (APBN) is only able to finance around 8.7 percent of the total infrastructure financing needs and the State-Owned Corporations (BUMN) as well as national banks are only able to contribute 30 percent. There is still a financing gap of IDR 3,000 trillion.¹⁴

To close the financing gap investment opportunities are generally offered to domestic (PMDN) and foreign (PMA) investors. In land-based investments, especially those that are carried out without complying to the principles of sustainable investment, those efforts often lead to conflicts that are triggered by uncertainty over land status and rights.

Therefore, the Government's efforts to attract investment needs to be accompanied by a guarantee of land certainty so that the investments could be realized and provide income to the Government.

E. Conflicts due to the increasing demand for water and energy

The need for water and energy will continue to increase along with the increasing development and growing population. The increasing demand for water is needed to meet domestic, irrigation and industrial needs. Meanwhile, rampant development accompanied by an increasing population has also resulted in an increase in energy demand.¹⁵

One example of a conflict over water supply occurred in the Musi Rawas Regency, South Sumatra Province. The damage to the primary irrigation dam caused conflicts and a tug-of-war between rice farmers and freshwater fish farmers. Food farmers want a smooth and even irrigation, especially for rice fields while fish farmers need water for their ponds. Although mediation has been carried out, the conflict has not yet been resolved.¹⁶

F. Conflicts due to the weakening of social and environmental safeguards

The government has implemented several policies that function as safeguards to manage the unavoidable risks from development processes, such as environmental permits, Strategic Environmental Studies (KLHS), location permits, Environmental Impact Analysis (Amdal), Building Construction Permits (IMB), etc. On the other hand, the Government's efforts to encourage economic growth and competitiveness through investment and infrastructure development requires an easier process for obtaining business permits. For this the Government's response has been to eliminate the requirements for Environmental Impact Analysis (Amdal) and Building Construction Permits (IMB) for the establishment of business activities. Such conditions have the potential to increase the risk of environmental damage and threaten public safety due to the reduced control over the impacts of project development or investments.

An example of the weakening of social and environmental safeguards is the construction of a cement factory in Kendeng. The process of constructing the cement factory caused various rejections from the public and academics because it was considered to violate the rules, namely the preparation of the Amdal was only carried out when the factory was inaugurated.

¹⁴ <https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/4003494/ri-butuh-investasi-infrastruktur-usd-4297-miliar-pada-2020-2024>

¹⁵ <https://www.wartaekonomi.co.id/read102980/pertumbuhan-ekonomi-tingkatkan-kebutuhan-energi-dalam-negeri.html>

¹⁶ <http://dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/24474/t/Komisi+IV+Harap+Konflik+Kepentingan+Air+Terselesaikan>

5. PERCEPTIONS OF THE CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON THE LOSSES AND RISKS OF DEVELOPMENT DUE TO LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICTS

Development losses and risks due to land and natural resource conflicts are multi-dimensional. This study found that the perception of the central and local governments on land and natural resource conflicts is broadly divided into two. Firstly, conflict is seen as an opportunity that can be used to gain public and investor trust as well as maintain electability. This opportunity is created through conflict resolution efforts that result in an agreement which can be accepted and carried out by the parties. This situation generally occurred in most regions in Indonesia, one of which is in the Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra Province. The existence of conflict resolution efforts carried out by the then Acting Regent, indirectly increasing his electability when running for regent in the regional head election. This increase in electability did have an impact in reducing the political costs incurred.

Secondly, the Central and Local Governments perceive conflicts can negatively affect the implementation of the main tasks and functions (tupoksi) of each Ministry and Institution (K/L) if not handled. However, this perception is fragmented according to the authority of each Ministry and Institution (K/L). For example, for the Ministry of Home Affairs, conflict is seen as something that can disrupt national stability. Meanwhile, for the Coordinating Ministry for the Economy, conflict is seen as a problem arising from poverty and unemployment. Meanwhile, for the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, conflict is seen as something that threatens the sustainability of forests and environment. Meanwhile, for the Ministry of Agriculture, conflict is seen as something that can disrupt the continuity of agricultural production. In general, it can be said that conflict

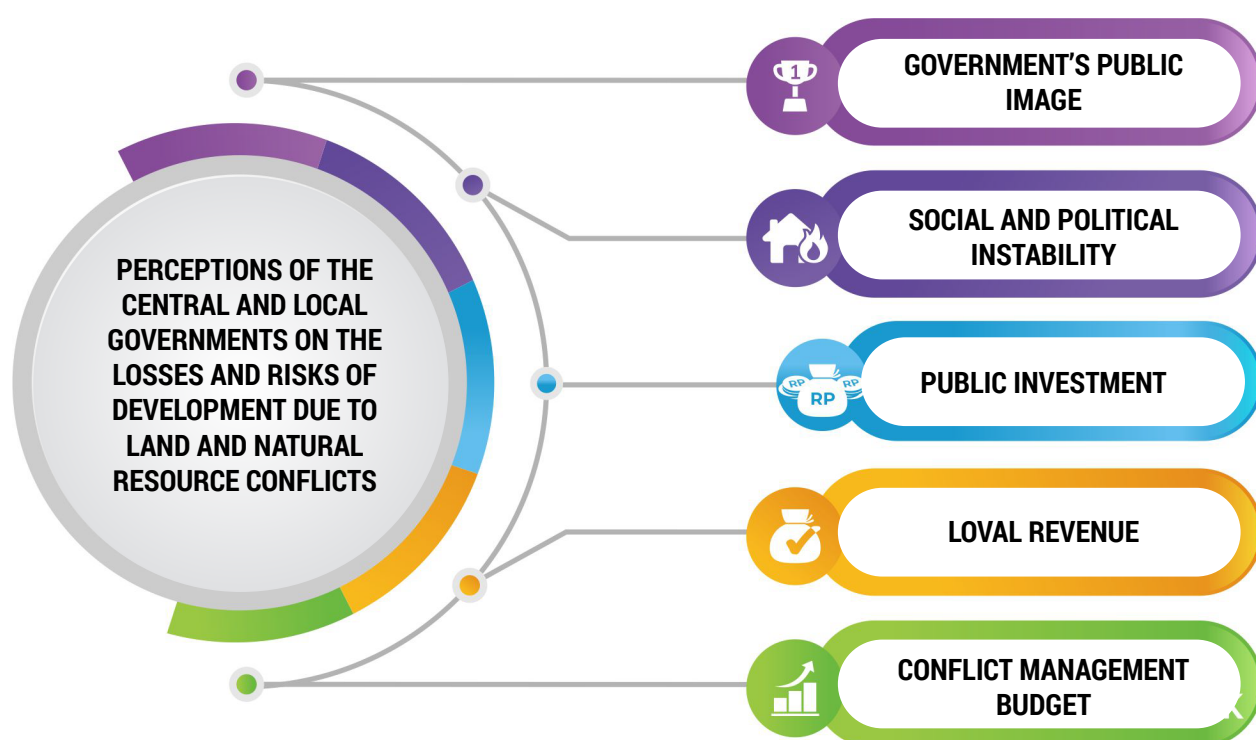


Figure 3: Perceptions of the Central and local governments on the losses and risks of development due to land and natural resource conflicts

is seen as something that can interfere with the implementation of the main tasks of each Ministry and Institution if not handled.

This perspective of the Central and Local Governments cannot be separated from a government system that combines dynamic political aspects, a rigid bureaucracy and community participation, especially in the election system of government leaders.

Indonesia, which still has a substantial dependence on natural resource-based economic resources, and this dependence has a very close reciprocal relationship with the occurrence of land and natural resource conflicts. There are at least five categories of Central and Local Government perceptions of development losses and risks due to land and natural resource conflicts.

A. Conflict can reduce the government positive image

Direct general elections are the result of the development of democracy in Indonesia, which places the community as the holder of voting rights in the election of government leaders. Here, conflict is often used as a political "commodity" that can be used to influence the populist and positive image of leaders and candidates for government leaders both at the national and local levels.

The government's commitment to handling conflicts, especially those that have been translated into a program of activities, will affect the electability of political leaders in the political constellation in the future. At the national level, the electability of the incumbent in the 2019 presidential election was quite high in areas where land certificates had been distributed in the Agrarian Reform program. The Agrarian Reform Program is a program that is expected to be a response to the inequality in land ownership in the community.

This phenomenon is also seen in the Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra Province, where the seriousness of handling conflicts was

one aspect that boosted the electability of the incumbent deputy regent in the regional head election contestation in 2018.

B. Conflict causes social and political instability

Investors and potential investors who will invest in an area will consider the social stability factors of the area. If there is social instability, the attractiveness of the area as an investment destination will decrease. This is implied by social stability as one of the indicators of investment competitiveness as stated by the World Bank in its ease of doing business index.

Social instability can occur if existing conflicts are not resolved and manifest as conflicts such as actions to express aspirations, either peacefully or anarchically in the form of destruction of property or even violence. This study on the costs of conflict in the business sector notes that there are various manifestations of conflict that can disrupt the company's operations. If those disturbances are not handled, it can eventually affect the course of government administration and disrupt investment performance.

The conflict between PT. BHM, an industrial forest concession holder (HTI) () in the area of the Simpang Heran River to Sungai Bekuyu Forest Group, in Ogan Komering Ilir Regency, South Sumatra Province, is one of the conflicts that affect social instability. The company's operational activities on the land that has been used as community agricultural land has become the root of the conflict. The community then took action to express their aspirations to the company, then to the Regional Government as well as to the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM).

C. Conflict can hinder public investment

Conflict can prevent the Government from fulfilling one of its obligations in making public investments. Public investments in the form of development of regional facilities and infrastructure generally are facing obstacles in land acquisition.

One of the conflict cases that hindered public investment was experienced by the community living in the Bentayan Wildlife Reserve, Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra Province. The community has lived in the area for decades and there was already a school there. However, because the Wildlife Sanctuary was included in the forest area, the existence of the community members was considered illegal. Because of this status, the people there could not benefit from development financed by the Musi Banyuasin District Budget and the Village Fund (DD).

D. Conflict affects central and local government revenues in the form of taxes and non-tax state revenues (PNBP).

An investment plan is meaningless without investment realization. And conflicts can hinder the realization of investment that has been planned by investors. The realization of investments that are hampered will have a negative impact on government revenue, both from taxes and non-tax state revenues (PNBP).

This case was experienced in the tourist area of Gili Trawangan, North Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province. There were a lot of abandoned lands left by their rightful business licenses (HGU) and building permits (HGB)

holders. In their absence, local communities used the land for various purposes including for business. When the time came to develop their business, the entrepreneurs found it difficult to get permits because they collided with the status of the land. In addition, due to the unclear land status as it was still disputed, the North Lombok Regency Government could not collect the advertisement tax, restaurant tax and other taxes from the business owners.

E. Conflict can increase the budget for conflict management

The amount of budget allocation is a reflection of program priorities. Optimal conflict handling requires sufficient budget support. Meanwhile, the budget allocation depends on the authority of the relevant institutions and is highly dependent on the priorities of the Central and Local Governments.

In South Sumatra Province, the support shown by the Commission I of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD), which initiated a supplement to the regency's budget for conflict resolution. This was done in 2015-2016 as a response to the many conflicts reports that occurred between the communities and the company.

6. RESPONSES AND CHALLENGES FOR MANAGING LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICTS

This study examined how the Central and Local Governments responded to conflicts or potential conflicts within their government areas. Using the government's jurisdictional capacity approach, this study attempted to examine the responses of the central government as a national development policymaker and the response of local governments that had to elaborate those central policies in their regional development strategies. Some of the findings of this study are as follows:

◆ Leadership

The commitment of government leaders is the first step in conflict resolution efforts. Both in the central government and local governments, the commitment of leaders provides guidance and demonstrate the seriousness of efforts to resolve conflicts over land and natural resources.

The central government has shown its seriousness in conflict resolution efforts. The president's commitment to conflict resolution efforts can be seen in several policies that function as safeguards to manage the risk of development implementation in the 2015-2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). Conflict is one of the risks of implementing development which when not handled, might hamper development and economic growth by reducing regional competitiveness. The government's commitment to dealing with conflict is clearly stated in Presidential Regulation Number 45 of 2016 concerning the 2017 Government's Work Plan.

This serious effort was then followed up with the issuance of several derivative policies related to handling social conflicts, changes in forest allocations and functions, use of forest areas, guaranteeing agricultural land areas, one map policy, providing land for national strategic projects, agrarian reform and systematic land registration.

Meanwhile, local governments have responded to the central government's Development Work Plan (RKP) in various ways that are influenced by regional development priorities and local political dynamics, which in turn have an impact on changes in the direction of local government policies.

For the officials of the North Lombok Regency government, the conflicts did cause the regional competitiveness to decrease and, in the end, resulted in the decrease of regional income. However, conflict did not become a special part in the preparation of the North Lombok Regency's Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) of 2016 - 2018.

Meanwhile, at the West Nusa Tenggara provincial government level, during the governorship of Muhammad Zainul Majdi, resolving land conflicts was one of the priorities in the 2012-2018 Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD). However, after the change of the governor, land conflicts were no longer included in the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD). However, the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan includes responses from the Central Government's Development Work Plan (RKP) related to the handling of social conflicts through the Rehabilitation of Social Forestry and Partnership Programs, the Program for the Improvement of Orderly Land Administration and the Spatial Utilization Program.

The Musi Banyuasin Regency addresses the issue of land conflicts at different levels. Land conflicts are a priority issue contained in the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan of Musi Banyuasin Regency for 2017-2021. Together with the issue of legal certainty of land ownership, prevention of ecological crises, and land conflicts, they are part of the Agrarian reform program, which is predicted to be a strategic issue for the government.

◆ Institutional arrangements

The Central and local governments respond to conflicts through institutional arrangements for conflict management. This step was carried out in a concrete way by appointing several institutions, both structural and non-structural institutions, to undertake partial conflict resolution efforts in accordance with their respective work areas. Both, the central government and local governments did this.

Each ministry/government agency is given the authority to handle conflicts that have the potential to disrupt the performance of the ministries/agencies concerned. For example, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry provides public services for handling tenurial conflicts through a non-litigation approach through the Directorate for Tenurial Conflict Resolution and Customary Forests (PKTHA). One of the policies issued by the Government in overcoming conflicts in forest areas is the possibility of granting access rights to land management to underprivileged communities through a sustainable forest management system in state forest areas, private forests, or in customary forests. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Home Affairs has formed an Integrated Team for Handling Social Conflicts to coordinate the handling of social conflicts. Meanwhile, the Directorate General of Plantations at the Ministry of Agriculture handles plantation land disputes through the Sub-directorate of Business Disruption, Climate Change Impacts and Forest Fire Prevention.

Non-structural institutions are also involved in providing support for efficient conflict management, especially of conflicts related to strategic issues. One example of this is the formation of the Agrarian Conflict Dispute Resolution Acceleration Team by the Presidential Staff Office which provides support for conflict resolution through mediation or coordination of conflict resolution initiatives with other parties such as the Ombudsman and the Anti-Corruption Commission (KPK). Apart from these two institutions, there is also the involvement

of the Peoples Representative Assembly (DPR) and the Regional Representative Council (DPD) who are also accepting complaint reports and carry out facilitation and/or mediation.

Meanwhile in the regions, consideration of local wisdom made non-structural institutional involvement more effective. In West Nusa Tenggara, for example, the North Lombok Regency Government initiated promulgated Regent Regulation Number 20 of 2017 concerning Guidelines for the establishment of the Village Conflict Resolution Councils (Majelis Krama Desa). These village institutions are mandated to handle conflicts and disputes, which include minor crimes, petitioned offenses, civil cases and customary disputes. Meanwhile at the provincial level, the West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government has issued a regional regulation on Bale Mediation (district level conflict resolution agency) and formed an integrated team for the handling of social conflicts.

The government of the Musi Banyuasin Regency has done the same thing. The Regent has formed The Task Force for the Acceleration of Agrarian Conflict Resolution (Satgas P2KA) as well as an integrated team for handling social conflicts. The district government's special attention to the P2KA Task Force, which a membership consisting of a combination of personnel from government officials and NGO activists, which has succeeded in in gaining more attention from the communities.

◆ Development planning and budgeting.

The third step taken by the government to reduce the impact of conflict is to accommodate conflict management programs in the government development plans. Based on Presidential Regulation Number 45 of 2016 concerning the Government's 2017 Work Plan, the Government has prepared priority programs to strengthen the regulatory framework for resolving agrarian conflicts. This has been done to support efforts to resolve structural land conflicts and provide legal certainty over land,

through: (1) Reviewing laws and regulations to support the implementation of agrarian reform; (2) Identification and verification of cases of structural agrarian conflicts in various strategic sectors; (3) Analysis and preparation of legal opinions as well as submission of recommendations for settlement of agrarian conflict cases; (4) Preparation of a review of Business Permits, as well as adjusting the boundaries of forest areas for the people; (5) Coordination and supervision with Ministries and government Agencies in carrying out the recommendations for the resolution of agrarian conflicts; and (6) Mediation and other Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) initiatives to accelerate the resolution of agrarian conflicts in all strategic sectors.

Those three government responses are facing several challenges in their implementation:

The government's targets set out in the National Medium-Term Development Plan are very ambitious. This could be clearly seen in the agrarian reform target to be achieved, which are still considered not attained during the first term of President Joko Widodo's time of office. Agrarian reform is targeted at legalizing assets of an area of 4.5 million hectares and land redistribution of 4.5 million hectares. The target for asset legalization has been achieved, but the target for redistribution of assets has only reached 1.44 million hectares.

Even though quite concrete institutional arrangements have been made, in practice, there is still a lack of coordination among the ministries/agencies in issuing policies. As a result, there are overlaps and conflicts between policies that create legal uncertainty in their implementation. This lack of coordination is also occurring between the central government and local government. Considering that each local government is different in its capacity to respond to the government's development program plans, this is one of the challenges.

Mapping of potential conflicts has not been accommodated in the development plan. From a planning perspective, the Central and Local Governments need to develop a conflict map for each region to identify potential conflicts. Early detection will facilitate the Central and Local Governments in designing the approaches needed for conflict resolution. This conflict mapping and early detection could be used as the basis for drafting a conflict management plan that could be accommodated in the governments' development plans.

The above challenges have arisen due to political factors related to the change of government leaders, rigid bureaucratic factors related to various laws and regulations, and sustainability factors that are not accommodated in the governments' development planning and budgeting documents.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Conflicts over land and natural resources as given implications of development activities require a comprehensive management strategy. It is undeniable that policies across sectors and periods of government often overlap. Identification of Central and Local Government development PPPs in different sectors and the related potential conflicts with will assist in conflict resolution efforts.

The following are some recommendations for resolving land and natural resource conflicts formulated based on the above findings:

1. The Central and local governments need to consider conflict resolution over land and natural resources in their future development policies, especially policies of particular institutions and sectors related to conflicts over land and natural resources. Where possible, conflict resolution initiatives should be embodied in and strengthened by new policies, particularly policies of sectoral institutions related to land and natural resource conflicts. Thus, the conflict resolution initiatives that have been achieved could be maintained.
2. The Central and local governments need to increase their commitment to resolve conflicts over land and natural resources and not just make it a short-term political motive in the Regional Elections. Such short-term political motives are very risky, especially because they can trigger new conflicts if the commitment to conflict resolution is abandoned when there is a change of leadership.
3. The mandate of parliamentary decision (TAP MPR RI) Number IX of 2001 concerning Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management needs to be used as a guideline in efforts to handle conflict while at the same time anticipating the potential for new conflicts to emerge, and to provide financial support for the implementation of conflict resolution programs.

4. The Central and local governments need to deal with land and natural resource conflicts in comprehensively in the sense that there is a need for structural solutions aimed at the roots of the problem, which among others might include overlapping and contradictory policies, socio-economic inequality, environmental degradation and various other causes according to the local context where the conflict occurs.

The Central and local governments also need to reform the institutions that deal with land and natural resource conflicts. An independent institution that has cross-sectoral authority and consists of various stakeholders of land and natural resource management will be required. The main factor for the establishment and operationalization of this independent institution is that it is free from political aspects, adaptive, without a rigid bureaucracy, and has sustainable operational financing. This institution could play a role as a standard setter in the handling of land and natural resource conflicts and forming an awareness regarding the importance of handling conflicts both at the center and at the regional level.

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This material has been funded by UK aid from the UK government; however the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies.