Social Conflict in the Revitalisation Agenda for the Citarum Flood Area, Tarumajaya Village, Kertasari Sub-District, Bandung Regency

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The occurrence of social conflicts in the application of policies is not new. Conflicts usually start from a disagreement between the community and the government related to the birth of a new policy, which tends to be detrimental to small communities. Although the conflicts are in the regular stage in the form of verbal and written protests, they still have an impact on the stability of human security where the conflict occurred. Anticipatory steps must be taken so that the existing conflict does not enlarge and harm more people. The revitalisation agenda for the upstream Citarum watershed area in Tarumajaya Village, Kertasari Subdistrict is a form of government policy in dealing with the Citarum problem. However, the revitalisation plan cannot be effectively carried out because some community groups are protesting the policy as it is considered to be detrimental to the local community, especially economically. The conflict began with the issue of land ownership by shifting the status of the forest to community-owned plantations, which the government considered to violate the rules. Until now, the agreement offered by the public has not received a definite answer from the government, especially the compensation issue that was promised.

Keywords: Social conflict, Human Security, Upstream Revitalisation of Citarum Watershed

Introduction

The occurrence of conflict in every application of government policy is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. This is usually triggered by the dissatisfaction of the community
against the government and the differences in interests between the two. Such a conflict will result in social stability which can threaten the security of the community itself. The birth of conflict can be interpreted as a form towards a new change, that is based on a sense of dissatisfaction with a group of people about things that are considered coercive. Conflict is a form of protest or resistance by a group of people to maintain their existence (Kilmann & Thomas (in Luthans, 1983)). Conflict can not only be seen from a negative angle, which is interpreted as a form of destruction by undermining existing social control but on the other hand, the conflict can also be assessed as a form of change towards a new and more integrated social order.

Understanding of social conflict can be divided into two (2) forms, namely vertical and horizontal forms of conflict (Susan, 2008). Vertical conflict is a conflict that involves the community with the government (stakeholders), while horizontal conflict is a conflict involving two (2) groups of people who conflict with each other in carrying out their vision and mission. In vertical conflicts, the community is usually faced with a policy or regulation made by the government and is considered to be impartial to the community, which actually harms the community itself.

In any conflict that involves relations between the community and the government, or what is referred to as vertical conflict, always positions the small and weak community as victims of existing policies. Such cases are usually caused by violations committed by a group of people against what is prohibited by the government, for example, building buildings in the green area or along a river, littering, selling in places that are not supposed to, and carrying out business activities in areas that are prohibited by the government because they are government-owned land. When the community was reformed, they protested by making demands for compensation to the government, but often to speed up the process of policy implementation. It was not uncommon for the government to involve the security forces to settle the situation. When viewed from the side of human security, this, of course, violates human rights because there are lives of a group of people who are not protected.

An example of this is the case of the revitalisation of the upstream area of the Citarum river in Tarumajaya village, Kertasari sub-district. In 2018, the Citarum watershed area will become part of a government program to be revitalised as a form of handling the Citarum problem. However, this is constrained by the existence of some community groups who reject the revitalisation plan because it is considered to have a harmful impact on their lives, especially regarding the economy which so far they depend on living in the seasonal vegetable farming sector which they manage along the slopes of Tarumajaya Village, Kertasari District.
In each case, the conflict itself is interpreted as a struggle carried out consciously and directly between individuals and groups to defend their goals. Kilmann and Thomas (in Luthans, 1983) conflict is a condition of objective incompatibility between values or goals, such as behaviour that intentionally interferes with the achievement of goals, and emotionally contains an atmosphere of hostility. According to Gibson (1997), in addition to being able to create cooperation, interdependent relations can also lead to conflict.

The people who initially relied on life as a source of livelihood and shelter were disturbed by the birth of a policy adopted by the government in an effort to deal with the Citarum problem, especially upstream areas which every year causes landslides and floods in low-lying areas along the Citarum River Basin. There have been many programs issued by the provincial government of West Java to improve the situation of Citarum since 2001. However, these programs have always failed to be implemented due to weak coordination and regulation between stakeholders. The programs made were not consistent in accordance with the vision and its mission.

Through Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2018, a new program for Citarum was rolled out again with the theme of Citarum Harum. The central government, the regional government of West Java province, and Kodam III / Siliwangi collaborate to organise the upstream area of Citarum, by taking decisive action against the public or business actors who committing violations in this area, either throwing garbage directly into the river or sabotaging the environment to be used as a vegetable farm as they used to do so far in the area. However, this has become a new problem for some groups of people who occupy the upstream area because the government is considered too excessive by deploying the TNI directly involved in their daily lives. In this context, part of the community considers this is a form of indirect threat from the government against weak communities. They are worried about the role of the TNI from time to time forcibly evicting them from their current homes. The government is still unclear about the compensation if at any time the upstream community must leave their current place of residence.

The problem is, what is the social conflict between the upstream community and the government related to the upstream revitalisation plan of the Citarum watershed in Tarumajaya village, Kertasari Subdistrict? The purpose of this research is to see and study the process of implementing revitalisation policies in the upstream area of the Citarum River Basin, and to see who are the actors involved in conflicts related to the upstream area of Citarum.
Human Security in Social Conflicts

Social changes that occur within community groups according to conflict theory are caused by the occurrence of conflict within the community itself. Types of conflict can vary and are caused by certain reasons. In every conflict, it will affect the life and security of the lives of groups of people who are dragged into the conflict situation. The impact of conflicts can vary, can be the loss of lives as a result of disputes between groups, or the loss of property and the emergence of violations of the right to live on a group of people by the consequences of implementing a policy (vertical conflict).

The term conflict comes from the Latin verb, which is "Configere" which means hitting each other. Dahrendorf (in Nazir, 2009, p.24) sees that society has a double side, that is cooperation and conflict. According to Dahrendorf, the spread of social conflict is based on the opposition of class interests, and the consequence of the emergence of conflict is social change, while the class itself arises from power relations concerning subordinates and superiors. Dahrendorf further explained that class interests are divided into manifest and latent interests. So in every social system that must have the same latent interests, which are called pseudogroups. The essence of power, according to Dahrendorf, is a control that allows those who have the power to give various commands and get what they want from those without power. Johnson and Johnson (1991) revealed that the appearance of a conflict of interest is based on (1) differences in needs, values and goals; (2) scarcity of resources; and (3) importance. According to Soetopo (1999), in terms of material conflict is divided into four (4) groups, namely:

1. Conflict of purpose that is, conflict occurs when there are two objectives or even competitive ones which are contradictory;
2. Role conflict is a conflict that arises because humans have more than one role, and each role does not always have the same interests;
3. Value conflicts are conflicts that arise because basically, the values possessed by each individual in the organisation are not the same so that conflicts can occur between individuals, individuals with groups, groups with organisations; and,
4. Policy conflict, namely a conflict can occur because there is a disagreement of individuals or groups concerning differences in policies raised by one party and other policies.

In a conflict situation caused by a policy, it is no longer a taboo that small communities are always sacrificed over the war of interests between groups of people who have mass and power with the government as the policymaker. In conflicts between communities and government relating to environmental problems according to Wijardjo (2001) most environmental conflicts over natural resources including forests have multiple causes; usually, a combination of relations between parties to conflict leads to open conflict. Because
it often becomes complicated, it is essential to define the main problem or cause of the dispute by observing and understanding the parties to the conflict. The roots of conflict in the management of forest areas differ from one area to another. From the empirical facts in various regions in Indonesia, the primary source of conflict in the management of the environmental areas is the occurrence of problems caused by damage to a particular area.

McGuire (2014, p.59) explains that the method used to solve environmental problems must initially approach to see what is the main cause of environmental damage, by observing how human behaviour treats nature, then looking at crucial market concepts that can be linking the environment, society and economy. That can help to show the underlying causes of the use of a situation by a group of people.

**Conflict Stage**

The conflict situation will always change from time to time if the conflict continues to be allowed to occur without any efforts to handle or resolve the conflict parties. Fisher (2001) mentioned that there are several tools to analyse conflict situations, one of which is the stage of the conflict. Conflict changes at any time, through different stages of activity, intensity, tension and violence (Fisher, 2001). These stages are:

1. Pre-Conflict: is a period in which there is a mismatch of goals between two or more parties, resulting in conflict. Conflict is hidden from public view, even though one or more parties may know the potential for confrontation. There may be a tense relationship between several parties and or a desire to avoid contact with each other.

2. Confrontation: at this time, the conflict is becoming more open. If only one party feels there is a problem, perhaps their supporters will start a demonstration or other confrontational behaviour.

3. Crisis: this is the peak of the conflict when tension and violence occur most severely. In large scale conflicts, this is a period of war, when people from both sides are killed. Normal communication between two parties may break, public statements tend to accuse and oppose the other party.

4. Consequences: both parties may agree to negotiate with or without intermediaries. A party that has the authority or a more powerful third party might force both parties to stop the dispute.

5. Post-Conflict: finally, the situation is resolved by ending violent confrontations, tension is reduced, and relations are more normal between the two parties. However, if the issues and
problems that arise because their conflicting goals are not appropriately addressed. This stage often returns to pre-conflict situations.

**Research Methods**

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method, with a descriptive approach to factually describe findings in the field in writing and not based on numbers. Participants for the study were the Bandung District Government through the Regent and Head of the Environmental Service, the Head of the Conservation Division of the DLHK, the Camat Kertasari and the Tarumajaya community who were randomly selected as many as five people, and the NGO Love the Environment using the in-depth interview technique. The type of data used in this study is primary data and secondary data. The method of collecting data is observation.

**Discussion**

Citarum River is one of the longest rivers in Indonesia with an area of 6,614 Km with a length of 269 Km, which stretches far from the foot of Mount Wayang in South Bandung regency until it empties into Bekasi district. It is a strategic river that flows through and supports 12 districts, cities and 133 sub-districts in West Java. The river is a source of water for 420,000 hectares of agricultural land, a source of raw water for residents of DKI Jakarta and a source of electricity of 1,900 MW for the Java-Bali region. It is home to three large dams in Indonesia (www.citarum.org/ accessed on 26 May 2019).

However, since 1980 the condition of the Citarum river flow began to change in condition, along with the rise of industries around the river flow and the many human activities that live along the Citarum watershed and dump garbage into the river. Those cause the Citarum river to become dirty and polluted. And day by day the conditions of the Citarum watershed are increasingly worrisome with the river being filthy and dangerous for human life.

Environmental damage and pollution in the Citarum watershed, which is estimated to start from the upstream area, cause many adverse impacts on the lives of the surrounding communities that inhabit the Citarum downstream area. There are not only diseases caused by dirty and toxic water, but also frequent landslides and floods each year, which is caused by the high flow of rainwater. The blocking of water pipes by garbage that fills the river flow, which makes the water rise to the mainland and causes disaster for many people around it.

The upstream area which is considered as the starting point of Citarum pollution. The area which was initially a quinine forest area and as a water catchment, has now turned its function into a densely populated area and agricultural hill. A large number of villages
around the upper reaches the Citarum watershed with the characteristics of high population
density and low land ownership. Also, the livelihood of the people who are highly dependent
on forests with a culture of farming and land-based economic systems are the driving factors
for the great pressure on vegetated land in the Citarum watershed upstream. These pressures
cause an increase in the amount of vacant land where communities convert forest land into
land for agriculture and settlement.

On February 2018, through Presidential Regulation No. 15 of 2018, a new program for
Citarum was rolled out again with the theme of Citarum Harum. The aim of the government's
agenda this time was to revitalise the area along the Citarum River Basin. This program was
controlled directly by the central government through the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime
Affairs. The implementation is carried out in an integrated manner to the central government,
through the provinces as the Task Force Head, regency/city as well as all relevant ministries.
While the Kodam III / Siliwangi and the West Java Regional Police acted as the coordinator
of the field supervisor who took firm action against all forms of violations committed by the
community around the Citarum River Basin. In this revitalisation agenda, the government
first focused on improving the upstream areas of the Citarum watershed throughout the
Kertasari sub-district. The conditions were already very critical with the appearance of forests
that have been very deforested due to the conversion of forest land into seasonal vegetable
plantation areas by the community (www.mongabay.co.id / accessed on 18 December 2018).

In the current revitalisation effort, the government has instructed that the area around the
upper reaches of the Citarum watershed be sterilised from residential areas to be returned to
its function as a water catchment area (News.detik.com/ accessed on February 13, 2019). The
government plans to relocate the residential areas of upstream communities to a place
deemed appropriate and appropriate to serve as a settlement for them. Not only is the
relocation plan. The government is also directing people in the area to shift their livelihoods,
which were original as farmers for the statements of the people who claim that they live
there according to procedures because they pay taxes. They have proof of land ownership, as
revealed by Nenden (41 years old, a resident of Tarumajaya Village), we live here legally
because we have a certificate of land and we pay taxes to the government. So if we get kicked
out, it means the government has to compensate.

The statement was later denied by the Bandung Regency government, and still, basically,
they live on government land. Further, Asep explained that they lived there without a
certificate, even though some people outsmarted it by making illegal certificates, so that they
seemed to be strong in the eyes the law at the time of eviction, but still based on the rules.
They are still wrong because they occupy government land. The Regent of Bandung Regency
confirmed even this, Dadang Nasser, who said that for a long time the area was indeed a
wilderness. Still, it was under the protection of Perhutani; if later the community claimed that
the area was empty and unprotected then they made land certificates, it was wrong and broke the law.

The issuance of PP No. 15 of 2018 made the community disappointed because in this case, the community felt that so far the government had never been invited to discuss the matter in making regulations. They only knew when the policy was in place. This is not the first time that has happened. When the West Java provincial government issued a policy for Citarum in 2001, 2004, 2008, the government also did not involve the community in formulating policies. Ordinary people only knew their products. This statement was expressed by Dadan (51 years) from the Community of Love Environment. The community regrets the attitude of the government, which is considered not transparent.

In this situation, it can be seen that the Government feels that they are the rulers and considers that the community is the group they control so that the authorities freely issue policies without asking the community for consideration first. So, the government is considered to be less transparent towards the people and seems to be covering up the policies they have set.

Furthermore, Dadan revealed that several community groups had protested to the West Java provincial government regarding this matter. There were several times we sent letters to the provincial government and demanded that the government would involve the community in formulating and establishing a policy to be more open and transparent. Their response (government) is agreeing. But in reality, they (the government) only choose specific people who are involved and not people who directly engaged in the events in this region.

**Social Conflict**

Social conflicts that occur in the upper reaches of Citarum are not a new story as Asep Kusuma said in the interview. The problem of land grabs began in the 1980s, at which time the area was still in the form of wilderness. Some former Perhutani officials asked permission from the government at that time for some of the forest area to be given to former Perhutani officials to build buildings and houses because so far they did not have land to live. In other words, they asked for rewards because they had served to the government. However, this was rejected by the government on the grounds as it was a green area and water catchment.

But these people still insisted and built semi-permanent buildings without permission, initially for them to occupy as a place to live, but more and more the number is making houses in the area. Even people outside the former Perhutan officials flocked to erect buildings there as dwellings. Similar to former Perhutani officials, the people who later built
buildings in the upstream area were also people who previously did not have land to occupy and they built, then encroached into the forest area.

Based on the data collection conducted by the Bandung regency government, currently it is known that the number of people living in the upstream area of Citarum, Tarumajaya village, Kertasari sub-district as of May 2018. Approximately 69,208 people are occupying the Kertasari sub-district area with around 15,865 livelihoods as agricultural labourers. (www.bandungkab.go.id/kategori/kecamatan-kertasari/ accessed on 28 September 2018). They currently occupy the area permanently; even they create business land to support their economy. The fertile land in the upstream Citarum is used as an advantage for them to be able to grow crops; they then make a vegetable farm. Initially, there were only a few plots of land for the livelihoods of those who did not have a job, but day by day there were more and more of them, and now it became a plantation hill. Besides that, in some other villages in Kertasari Subdistrict, they are also producers of dairy milk.

Seeing the promising benefits of vegetable farmers in Kertasari, it makes investors interested in investing in these lands. This was initially driven by officials Perhutani, who gave business licenses to investors because they felt the area was theirs. At present, the Citarum upstream area is no longer solely run by a minority of ordinary people. However, above them, there are still capital owners who provide funds for the economic process to continue and ignore the reprimands from the government.

As informant A (49 years old) said that in the 1990s, there was a reprimand by the government to economic activists (Bandar-Bandar) and a person who was a former Perhutani official because initially they were permitted to carry out commercial activities because they felt they owned the area. Up to entering the legal turmoil and entering the court. However, the mass originating from upstream people, mainly dominated by farmworkers, supporters and colleagues urged the police and the government to release those concerned with guarantees. The person is considered a hero to the people who live upstream because he has helped economically by providing employment and living land. Since that time, factories have emerged that manage vegetables and dairy milk led by the private sector. The existence of a community that runs routines as farmers, farm labourers and breeders is not a group that can manipulate the situation. They just joined in when there are rules they cannot help but accept even if there is discomfort, what is essential for them is that they only pay attention to their basic needs, namely shelter and economic fulfilment. If then the government solely focuses on this group of people, then the problems that exist in the upper reaches of Citarum will not be finished with any policy.

Differences in interests are things that always exist in the social life of society, both disagreements between individuals or groups with other individuals or groups. Soekanto said
that one of the factors causing conflict was differences in interests. He stated, "When at the same time each individual or group has different interests. Sometimes, people can do the same activity, but their goals are different ". So it can be said that the needs or interests of people towards the same object sometimes vary, for example, done by people with the same person that is running an economic routine, but different goals. Ordinary groups will think that they can make ends meet, that is eating, in contrast to selfish people, they will think of getting as much profit as possible to run the wheels of a broader economy even if they have to commit violations.

As revealed by Mc Guire (2014, p.59), in solving environmental problems, it must be seen first what is the main cause of damage and who is responsible for the loss—not just blaming other people without monitoring first. While from the series of policy implementation events for Citarum, the government seems to corner power minority groups. Though they are only used as scapegoats by real actors, until now, these actors have never been completely handled by the government.

While the community which some groups used as a period by the actors to fight government policy was only extras, ordinary people in the village of Tarumajaya, Kertasari sub-district did not object to the government's plan to revitalise as long as they could get their rights as explained by A (49 years).

**Conclusion**

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the social conflict that occurred in Tarumajaya village, Kertasari sub-district emerged due to the birth of a policy issued by the government to improve the upstream area of the Citarum River Basin. The difference in interests between the community and the government in relation to the function of forest land in Hulu Citarum has caused conflicts that have existed since 1980 to be resolved so far.

The involvement of actors who have power, in this case, makes the case of destruction of the upstream area of the citarum difficult to resolve. The weak or minority are often used as extras that are blamed. Yet in reality, they are only victims who demand justice to make ends meet.

The conflict that occurred in Tarumajaya village of Kertasari sub-district with the government until now is a type of vertical conflict, with a type of confrontation conflict, and is considered not dangerous until riots and disputes occur.
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563


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