

Social Conflict and Military Roles in Public Oil Mining in Bojonegoro

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Abstract. This article examines a work phenomenon in working system of public oil mining from the perspective of functionalism and conflict. This is a unique phenomenon because in Indonesia there are only four areas of public oil mining; in Bojonegoro, Blora, Musi Banyu Asin, and Langkat. The research employed ethnographic method. Data were collected through observation, participation observation, and in-depth interviews. Results and discussion indicate that there are mutually integrated elements in the work system of oil mining people. In the work activity sometimes internal conflict and external conflict occur. Internal conflict may occur due to different ideas or interests among those who work such as competition, wages, fraud, and injustice. External conflict can occur because of the oil mine ban, ban on making new wells, monopoly, destruction of refinery, interception, and arrest. Military/police were present in oil mining activity with an ambiguous role, which can be on Pertamina's side at one time and on miners' side at another.

Keywords: function, conflict, public oil mining

Introduction

There are some researchers who conducted researches on mining phenomenon, one of them is Ibrahim et al (2016). His study devoted to the three districts of gold mining areas in West Sumbawa regency. Besides gold mining, there is also oil mining as the one in Cepu region.

According to Koesoemadinata, there are approximately 30 oil fields have been found in Cepu region since 1887. One of them is in Ledok, which was first operated by *Dordtsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (DPM) in 1891 (Edy; 2006, in Batubara, 2006:3). Mining activities are divided into large scale mining by companies and small scale mining by people/individual. According to Aspinall (2001; 5-6), there are four main sectors of small-scale mining, namely gold mine, diamond mine, coal mine, and tin mine. Those four mining sectors widely spread in various regions in Indonesia. The term of people mining, or artisanal mining, was first popularized in Indonesia through a decree issued by President Sukarno in 1959. The presidential decree stated that artisanal

mining is characterized by non-commercial mining, non-commercial operator, traditional method, and intended to fulfill the food needs.

According to Erman (2005: 5-6), study on the socio-political aspects in mining sector in general in Indonesia or in South East Asia is still rare. However, such studies in African and Latin American countries are far more developed than those in Southeast Asian. Nevertheless, studies on socio-economic and political aspects in the mining industry in Indonesia have started to emerge since the 1980s.

In Indonesia, mining activities of *lantung* (crude oil) in public oil mining field in Bojonegoro Regency has taken place since the early days of Indonesian independence. Public minefields (*mluntur* or *mbateg*) --in the location of what was called Dandangilo-Wonocolo in Dutch colonial era--situated in the concession (mining cooperation contract) area of *Tambang Tinawoen*.

Oil mining community has a folklore on "oil mining license" from the soldiers-followers of General Sudirman who had fought

Received: December 28, 2017, **Revision:** January 23, 2018, **Accepted:** June 04, 2018

Print ISSN: 0215-8175; **Online ISSN:** 2303-2499. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v34i1.3330.195-203>

Accredited B based on the decree No.040/P/2014, valid on February, 18, 2014 until February, 18, 2019. Indexed by DOAJ, Sinta, IPI

and were helped by people in defending oil field in Cepu against the Dutch army in the early days of independence. However, the existence of the license was unknown. As a matter of fact, it contains a message that Dandangilo-Wonocolo oil field has a very important meaning so that a conflict or war is required to control it. When the oil field has been "controlled" and then mined by the people, conflicts would occur either internally among those people or externally between the people/miners and KUD (cooperatives at village unit) of Bogasasono and PT Pertamina (Indonesian Oil Company) EP Cepu, and often involve the military /police.

In such a long period of time, the activities in people's oil mining (PMR) of Hargomulyo are characterized by many conflicts. Regarding the conflicts, it can be seen that structures and functions in every social life of human beings is diverse. The conflict cannot be separated from the existing social structure, and the conflict basically functions to create social life integration. The discussion of conflict is not limited to the process in which it occurs, but it is necessary to understand the background, resolution, and functions of the conflict for such community (Mulyadi, 2002: 284).

The conflict can be triggered by money politic or vote buying in local and national election. Kurniawan et al., (2017:359) said that almost all political scientists agree vote buying or money politics is a dangerous phenomenon and bad for democracy because it can obscure the principle of honesty and fairness in the election.

Conflict is a relation between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have or may have dissimilar goals. Conflict is real, inevitable, and often creative. Conflict occurs when people's goal is dissimilar (Simon Fisher, et al., 2001 in Muryanti, et al.: 2013: 7). The functionalists tend to see people informally which is bound by norms, values, and morals. Conflict observers see any of order existing in the community comes from the pressure on its members by those who are in the top position. The functionalist focuses on cohesion created by community's shared values. Conflict scientists emphasize the role of power in maintaining order in society (Ritzer, 2015: 148). Dahrendorf (1959, 1968 in Ritzer, 2015: 148-149) is the main figure who holds that society has two faces (conflict and consensus) and, therefore, the sociological theory should be divided into two: theory of conflict and

theory of consensus. Society will not exist without consensus and conflict that serve as the requirements to each other. Dahrendorf focuses on broader social structure. The core of his thesis is the idea that various positions in society have different qualities of authority. Authority does not lie within the individual, but in the position.

This study is aimed at understanding and explaining the role of the elements in working activities of people oil mining. Later attempts to understand and explain why and how conflicts occur in oil mining activities. It employed functionalism theory and conflict theory. As proposed by Kaplan & Manners (2000: 77-78), "functionalism as a theoretical perspective in anthropology is based on an analogy with living organisms/beings. Accordingly, socio-cultural system is analogous to the system of organism, whose parts or elements are not only interconnected but also play a role for maintenance, stability, integration, and survival of the organism. With such analogy, all the cultural systems have functional requirements or cultural systems have social needs that must be fulfilled in order for socio-cultural system to survive. If those needs are not fulfilled, the socio-cultural system will disintegrate and die, or it will turn into another system but in a "different kind". Anthropological functionalism approach was developed by two British anthropologists, namely Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown (Kuper, 1996; 40).

Research Method

The research employed ethnographic research method. The research was based on a case study conducted in the community who worked in POM (Public Oil Mining) Hargomulyo, so that the research method appropriate with the characteristics of the data to be collected was ethnographic method. According to Atkinson and Hammersley (2009; 316-317), the definition of ethnography invites controversy among academicians. Some experts define ethnography as a paradigm of philosophy that guides researchers to total commitments, while some other explain that ethnography is a method which will only be used if it has relevance to the object in question. In this research the informants were comprised of oil miners, village officials, respected community figures, and security forces. The researcher stayed at the house of one of the informants near the people oil mining field so that he could explore the data

more intensely and could feel the dynamics of the daily life of the community in question.

Working System

This research took place at the oil field which in the Dutch colonial era was known as "Dandangilo-Wonocolo district". At the time of the research, the researcher identified the location as Public Oil Mining (POM) Hargomulyo because mining activities are done by local people and located in Hargomulyo Village, Kedewan District, Bojonegoro Regency, East Java Province. Local people named this location "nggunung" (mountain) or "wana" (forest). POM field is located on *Piring* hill and Jotayangan hill platter surrounded by teak forest owned by PT Perhutani KPH Cepu.

The oil field of Dandangilo-Wonocolo has 227 oil wells, exploited during the Dutch colonial government. Adrian Stop was the first Dutch who led oil drilling in this field. The well in Dandangilo-Wonocolo field or Hargomulyo Village was first drilled in 1894 with a depth of 25 m. Until 1929, this field could still produced 148.5 m³ oil per day from 67 pump wells. In 1929, due to the decreased production in the oil wells of Dandangilo-Wonocolo field, NV BPM (Baatafsche Petroleum Maatschappij) as the last oil company that formally managed the field began to stop the production. Due to safety and environmental reasons, the wells were isolated by covering the surface using a layer of cement concrete (PPT MIGAS; 1994). After BPM left Dandangilo-Wonocolo field, there were no oil companies in the Dutch colonial era, the Japanese occupation era, and the era of independent Indonesia which formally undertook production activities in the Dandangilo-Wonocolo field. As a result, people living around the oil field felt free to take the oil or take the well pipes and sell them second-hand goods.

Based on the aforementioned thinking framework, observation, and interviews in the field, it can be identified the existence of elements in POM work system activities, namely miners/ managers, contractors, drivers, *nimbel*, *ajok*, and *nyuling*. Those who hold power and undertook the oil mining activity in every well are comprised of a group of miners/managers and contractors. The category of workers consists of four elements, namely drivers, *nimbel*, *ajok* and *nyuling*. Each of these elements interacts with each other and plays roles to each other in order to create an integration which is realized in

the process of the working activity in POM.

Table 1
The Structure of Work Organization in Public/People's Oil Mining (POM)

Element	Roles
Miner groups	Take control the old wells
Contractor	Providing used-car engines to mining the oil.
Driver	Driving a used car engine
Pusher man (<i>tukang-nimbel</i>)	Push the mining tools when they are above the wells
Bearers man (<i>tukang-ajok</i>)	Shouldering the crude oil
Refiner oil man (<i>tukang-nyuling</i>)	Refining the crude oil traditionally.

Source: Survey result in Bojonegoro, 2016.

The presence of (used) car engine in the early 1990s as a source of energy to lift/draw oil from the center of the earth resulted in the change of working activity system. The elements *mluntur* or *mbateg* disappeared because it was replaced by car engines. Therefore, since the early 1990s workers who initially served as *mluntur* or *mbateg* are turning to *ajok* (persons in a charge of lifting and transporting) and *nyuling* (persons in charge of cooking oil).

When the oil mining still employed manpower to draw *lantung*, this mining area was referred to as a traditional oil mining (TOM). However, when the used-car engine power began to be used as a power source to draw the *lantung* bucket, this mining arena could no longer be referred to as traditional oil mining, but identified as an area for people oil mining (POM).

Internal Conflict

Although people work together in the POM field, conflicts may occur among them while they are working. For example, driver in POM is a prestigious job among workers because only the driver is required to have skills in driving a car and not everyone has such ability. The driver is paid higher than *ajok*, *nimbel* and *nyuling*. As a result of wealthiness, the driver has more than one wife. By having two or more wives would make them proud and look great among the workers in POM. Among fellow drivers, a dispute could also occur and lead to conflict or death.

Table 2
Conflicts in Public/People's Oil Mining Area

Conflict category	Actors
Internal conflict	Contractor
	Driver
	Pusher man (<i>tukang-nimbel</i>)
	Bearers man (<i>tukang-ajok</i>)
External conflict	Refiner oil man (<i>tukang nyuling</i>)
	Miner groups
	Investor
	Pertamina
	KUD
	TNI/POLRI
	Trader

Source: Survey result in Bojonegoro, 2016.

The incident which occurred a few years ago about the death of a driver whose his neck was caught on *tali-seling* (bucket-pulling wire) when he was controlling the wire and the car, it was turned out that there was an intent element committed by a fellow driver who works in the same place. This incident is the impact of competition which led to a conflict and death. Another conflict could be triggered due to unfair profit sharing among members of miner groups. Initially, the relationship between members of the miner group was harmonious while working together in searching for old wells, cleaning or "*korah*" the wells, mining oil, and enjoying the revenues from selling the oil. Such harmonious relationship could turn into tension, conflict, and hostility between them due to unfairness in the process of sharing the revenues from selling the oil. Such unfairness started from the differences in understanding the meaning of fairness in the process of revenue sharing. On the one hand, it can be argued that fair means that all group members enjoy the same rights, but others believed that fairness must be based on the role or contribution of each member of the group, which was not equal.

"One morning on Thursday around 08:00 am, after returning from Dangilo market, Wagiyono immediately went to the POM field by motorcycle. About 15 minutes, he arrived at the POM field. Apparently he wanted to give wages to 4 workers in the well number 81. The driver got Rp50,000; *ajok* or *nyerok* got Rp30,000; *nimbel* got Rp30,000 and *nyuling* got Rp100,000. Each wage was given based on every drum produced. Although earning relatively

more wage, *nyuling* was responsible for the cost of fuel in the form of firewood. Firewood was combined with steam of gas wells which was flowed into the furnace with hoses and steel pipes. Wagiyono looked arguing with workers (because of that)". (Observation, July 26, 2012 in the POM Hargomulyo field).

"*Narik bayaran*" (receiving wages) is a term that each members of the miners in a well receive their rights in the form of revenue sharing equitably. The average rent fee for a bucket-pulling car/truck is Rp 200,000 per drum of *lantung* produced. In addition to getting the rent fees of 5 cars in 5 wells, Wagiyono as a contractor also gets money from the revenue sharing as a member of miner groups in 5 wells. On this Thursday, Wagiyono got Rp 2,500,000 from the rent fees of 5 cars and from the revenue sharing as a member of miner groups in 5 wells.

The researcher did not see any process of writing signatures when Wagiyono paid the wages to drivers, *nimbel*, *ajok*, *nyuling*, rental car fees, and for the revenue sharing to members of miner groups. Wagiyono also did not show any record of the results of *lantung* mining, the sale of *solar*, and sale of gas oil. It could be seen that all communication was done verbally, and the money was given in cash. The research saw the "tension" between Wagiyono and one of the *nyuling* workers in making common perception about the number of *solar* drums produced which then affected the amount of wages that should be given to workers. It seemed that there was a process of negotiation between Wagiyono and the worker. Finally, the money was handed over and the tension did not heighten. Wagiyono with an annoyed face then went to the other wells. It turned out that the tension was triggered by the absence of *lantung* production and the results of *solar* sales. Everything was done based on memory. When the researcher asked why Wagiyono did not have the record of production and sales results, he answered that in fact there were record of production and sales, but he did not brought it to the POM fields because he had forgotten at home.

On the one hand, the conflict can be triggered due to suspicion of workers like *nimbel*, *nyuling*, *ajok*, and drivers to the contractor who is in charge of collecting the money from the sale of oil and then distributed it as wages to workers or as revenue to members of the miner groups. Such untransparent record of oil sales that

the contractor could not prove with the sales book might have an impact on the lack of transparency of wage payments which were calculated based on the percentage of oil revenues. On the other hand, the contractor could be offended and angry and said expletives and profanity to workers because he felt insulted by the workers' suspicion.

Such competition and conflict at one time are latent or hidden so that they are not easy to be recognized by others. The conflict can be resolved or settled without any dispute because among those actors in conflict have a shame feeling if the conflict is known by many people. Social values in Javanese community, such as the attitude of *isín* or embarrassed when fighting with others, become a tool to suppress the feelings of offended, angry, which may lead to conflicts with others. In Javanese culture an ideal relationship in society is a relationship of respectful, harmonious, and *isín* (shameful). However, such competition, suspicion, and sense of unfairness escalate and lead to covert and overt conflicts.

External Conflict

This section will discuss the conflicts occurred at POM Hargomulyo and focused on the conflict between the miners against KUD Bogasasono and Pertamina. This conflict occurred because the monopoly on purchasing crude oil produced by miners at a price determined unilaterally by Pertamina. In addition, the miners also were labeled as the perpetrators of illegal mining.

People felt marginalized by the state because they were stigmatized as illegal miners who has violated state regulations although they mined oil in their own village.

The marginalization of the community reached its peak when the New Order regime intervened in the working activities of the community through "the hands" of Village Unit Cooperative (KUD) Bogasasono located in Kasiman Subdistrict. In this context, the state allied with the market or the domestic capitalist represented by PT Pertamina. From 1988 to 2006, oil mining community was not allowed to refine oil. They had to sell *lantung* they mined to KUD Bogasasono at a price determined by cooperatives and the community was not allowed to bargain. Subsequently, KUD sold crude oil to Pertamina in Cepu at a higher price and gained huge profits. KUD was considered oppressive to

society that increasingly completed their poverty and suffering. As a result, people's dream of a prosperous mountain village (Hargo mulyo) was very difficult to realize. The marginalization led to resistance among the villagers. For instance, a demonstration which was held by the miners in Pertamina office in Mentul, Cepu Subdistrict, Blora, Central Java Province in 2006.

The miners felt hurt because of the article mentioning; "Wages for miners and wages for lifting-transporting". That means that the mining community served as the workers of Pertamina and KUD Bogasasono, while in fact they mined oil with their own efforts and capitals in groups. They invested human capital and financial capital. They felt as a free or independent society but later subordinated to be workers or laborers because they worked in the Hargomulyo oil field which was unilaterally claimed as the property of Pertamina. This monopoly practices on oil purchasing began in 1988 when Indonesia was still under the centralized and authoritarian of New Order era. The miners demanded that Pertamina remove those articles in the cooperation contract between Pertamina and KUD Bogasasono. They presented their demand during the demonstration in 2006, which continued with the talks in the office of Pertamina, but the demand was rejected by Pertamina.

Pertamina had a different perspective that crude oil prices determined unilaterally by Pertamina and enforced by KUD Bogasasono as a Pertamina partner in the field was valid. The purchase price of oil given to the miners, according to Pertamina, was actually wages for laborers working to lift oil from the underground to the ground and then transport or move to a transfer station provided by Pertamina. In other word, the price was wages for lifting-transporting laborers, who were oil miners in the Dangilo-Wonocolo field.

The miner demonstration in 2006 was continued with a negotiation in the office of Pertamina Cepu. The negotiation, with Mujiono as the spokesman for the miners, was very tensed and ended with deadlock. However, there was a surprising thing in the negotiation attended by Police Chief of Bojonegoro, Military District Commander of Bojonegoro, Police Chief Blora, and Military District Commander of Blora. The Police Chief of Bojonegoro at the end of the negotiation stated that the police would act free and "close their eyes" if the miners wanted to sell oil to

any parties.

From the aforementioned description, it can be understood that the miners were under the monopoly from 1988 to 2006 which made them aggrieved and angry. Such events occurred for many years which made them organizing an open protest in a form of demonstration at the office of Pertamina in Mentul, Cepu in 2006. The leaders at that time such as Bojonegoro Regent Mohamad Santoso, Police Chief of Bojonegoro, and Commander of Bojonegoro took the initiative to facilitate the negotiation between the protesters and Pertamina. Unfortunately, there was no solution agreed by Pertamina and the miners. In such a deadlock, the Regent, the Police Chief, and the Commander of Bojonegoro were committed to the mining community to "close their eyes" or as if they did not know if people continued mining and freely refined crude oil and sold the refined oil.

Due to the absence of agreement and support from the state security forces (police and military) of Bojonegoro Regency for Pertamina, KUD Bogasasono and Pertamina were no longer monopolized the purchase of oil from POM Hargomulyo fields. Mining, refining, and selling oil activities since 2006 were carried out again by the people and continued until the study was conducted (2011-2015). The District Police of Bojonegoro from 2006 to the present time (2015) never "disturbed" the mining.

Actually, PT Pertamina had never or not been presented and mined oil in the POM Hargomulyo field. This oil field was considered as a complex of old oil wells that had been extensively mined so that their oil content was low. Therefore, Pertamina only claimed itself to be the ruler of this POM Hargomulyo field. It became unreasonable when people mined oil in this field, but the results had to be given to Pertamina based on the articles of cooperation between Pertamina and KUD Bogasasono. This was the strong reason for the miners to reject the monopoly system.

At first people did not change their protest into an open fight because they were afraid of repression by state security forces in the New Order era. The miners put up resistance by processing the oil in the woods or on the hillsides that were difficult to reach by the security forces. The next resistance was selling the refined oil (*solar*) to "black market" through direct transactions with traders from outside the area. With the covert resistance the miners obtained more profit,

but Pertamina supported by the military and police repeatedly perform a burning operation on *pawonan*, a place to process oil, and operation to arrest oil transportation on the highway.

Stealing crude oil in small quantities by the people when NV BPM was still going on in the colonial era, refining oil in the middle of the forest, selling oil from their own mining and refining, and collaborating with the cooperatives other than KUD Bogasasono are the images of the resistance done by the people who are relatively powerless --and always lose in confronting with companies and states. The companies and states in this case are represented by NV BPM, Pertamina, KUD Bogasasono, police, and military police. In the view of James C. Scott (2000: xxiii-xxiv), the class which is powerless and always lose rarely take risks by directly confronting with the authorities. Instead of reclaiming lands of large plantations or state forests, they prefer open small farmland. Instead of holding an open rebellion, they prefer to flee. Instead of attacking/reclaiming logistic warehouses, they prefer to steal a little. Thus, the weapons of such powerless people are behaviors of slowing down the work, pretending to meet demand, pretending not to know, escaping, stealing, ruining reputation through gossip, burning, sabotage, and so on.

Accumulated tension between Pertamina-KUD Bogasasono and the miners due to monopolistic practice from 1988 to 2006 resulted in public resistance which finally "exploded" into the miners' public demonstration. Using three trucks, the miners were heading to the office of Pertamina in Mentul, Cepu in 2006. At that time there were five people who spoke in front of the office of Pertamina, including Marto and Sanggup, who also acted as coordinators of the action. This condition is in line with the statement of James C. Scott (1994: 51) that for those who are at the marginalized position, poverty accompanied with uncertainty is more painful and more explosive than poverty alone.

After the fall of the New Order government in 1998, which was followed by a more democratic life in the state affairs, the miners' anger finally beat their fears. As stated by Popkin (1986: 24-26), farmers make decisions rationally so that they can calculate the success they will get. This is an antithesis of Scott's view about the moral economy that farmers prefer survival to making risky decisions. In the context of POM

Hargomulyo field, Popkin's view can explain why the miners make decisions rationally to secure their freedom in producing and marketing the oil in the POM field. The first step was to hold an open demonstrations to reject the monopoly of Pertamina and KUD Bogasasono. Finally in 2006 the monopoly stopped and was replaced by the era of independence and freedom in processing and selling oil which gave more profits for the miners.

Roles of Military/Police

2006 was an important milestone for the miners because they successfully released themselves from the monopolistic practice of crude oil purchases by Pertamina and KUD Bogasasono. This event was preceded by people's resistance in some previous years by refining crude oil in the forest and then sold refined oil covertly to consumers. Pertamina responded by asking for the police and military to conduct raids on oil refining practices in the forest. The arrests of the perpetrators of the refinery and the destruction of *pawonan*, places for refining oil, were common but painful for the mining community. On the highway the raids were also conducted on the vehicles transporting the refined oil from the POM Hargomulyo. If the vehicles were caught, the refined oil as well as the vehicles would be seized by the police or military forces. After 2006, although there was freedom in mining and selling the oil, such freedom was not fully achieved.

There was a unwritten rule agreed upon by the mining community that the security forces (police and military) and PT Pertamina were not allowed to sell oil in large quantities and people had to sell oil just enough to be able to meet the needs of the lives of the oil miners and people working in the POM field. The sales of oil in large quantities could be seen from the use of tank trucks or cars for transporting. Thus, the use of tank trucks and cars were banned by the security forces. Wagiyo's car had been arrested by the Police of Bojonegoro while being used to transport jerry cans of *solar* from the POM field to Bojonegoro. The sales were only allowed using jerry cans. People responded it by utilizing "moped" attached with baskets that could carry 6 jerry cans equivalent to 210 liters of oil (a capacity of 1 drum).

The risk of being arrested by the security forces was often experienced by those who

bought and transported refined oil from the POM Hargomulyo field. Using a car as a means of transportation indicated that the capacity of the oil carried was in large quantities so it could be charged with a violation. It would be different if the motorcycle was used as a means of transport because of its small capacity for transporting, i.e. 6 jerry cans (35 liters per jerry can) equivalent to one drum (210 liters). Transporting oil using motorcycles was usually tolerated by the security forces.

The role or presence of security forces - formerly ABRI, now Military (TNI) and Police (POLRI) - was not only in the case of oil miners demonstrations in 2006, or in previous years requested by Pertamina to raid the transport of oil on the highway and destroyed the oil refineries. On September 13 - 20, 2015, when the researcher looked for additional ethnographic data, there was a group of army soldiers in camouflaged green uniforms in the "*kemantren*" post of Hargomulyo village which was usually used as a place for forestry police to check and control the traffic of teak logs. This incident was unusual because previously (2011-2014) when the researcher conducted a fieldwork in POM Hargomulyo, military forces with the official uniform were never seen, especially in large numbers and carrying firearms. Sugeng said that;

"The army was brought by PT Pertamina to the wells since June 16, 2015, or the day after Pertamina terminated the cooperation contract with KUD Sumber Pangan and KUD Usaha Jaya Bersama. The army was assigned to prohibit people from drilling/creating new well." (Interview with Sugeng at 14 September 2015, in Hargomulyo).

After the people were free to mine, refine, and sell the refined oil after the demonstrations in 2006, people actually were hesitant to make new wells. In addition to being prohibited by Pertamina, there was also an accident at the well D.138, a new well which had not been side-drilled completely by PT Phoenix, which suddenly spat out oil into the air without control. The POM field was shocked because Lapindo disaster in Sidoarjo had just occurred in 2006 and people of Hargomulyo worried that the accidents in the POM field would be like Lapindo disaster. The new well stopped spitting out the oil within one week, but the incident was traumatic. External Investors such as PT PEL, PT Phoenix,

and PT Tripika, which later came illegally to the POM field, were initially worked with the groups of miners. The investors brought the money to operate the old wells with a revenue-sharing system from the oil sale of 70% for investors and 30% for miners groups. All of the production process, bucket-pulling car, equipment, and labor costs were borne by investors who entrusted the oil mining operations to the people trusted. The arrival of companies and individual investors from Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong violated the rules of exploitation of people mining in the old wells.

From the perspective of politics of production, the presence of security forces was necessary to secure the production process of oil mining, although illegally. The security forces backed the illegal drilling process of new wells which was prohibited by the government. In order to deal with the illegal drilling of new wells, in 2015, Director of PT Pertamina cooperated with the Commander of TNI to safeguard the National Vital Objects, namely oil mining area. Pertamina placed bulletin boards that contained a ban on oil mining in the area of National Vital Objects and sanctions for the perpetrators in the POM field. However, such notice board became meaningless because people still mined the oil. The commander of TNI then sent a Task Force of Army based in Kediri, East Java to the POM of Hargomulyo field. Two leaders of the Task Force I said that this military task force was assigned to stop the drilling of new wells by the local community or external investors. Due to the presence of this Task Force, the drilling of new wells was no longer took place, but the oil mining in old wells and new wells that had been previously operated were tolerated by the Task Force.

Conclusion

During a long period of time, oil mining activities in the POM Hargomulyo field were influenced by internal and external conflicts. Such conflicts occurred due to differences in ideas or interests among the people involved and working in the field of POM. The internal conflicts could be triggered by competition between workers, disagreement about the wages of workers, workers' fraud, contractors' cheating, or unfairness in the revenue sharing. Meanwhile, the external conflicts that could trigger conflicts between people working in the field of POM and the other parties including ban on mining and processing

the oil, monopoly oil purchases by KUD Bogasasono and Pertamina, destruction of the places for oiling process by military/police, interception and seizure of oil transportation to the outside of the field of POM, and ban on making new wells. The conflicts could be in a form of competition, hostility, arguments, not speaking to each other, scramble, fight, or armed combat. Military/Police were involved in mining activities in the field of POM Hargomulyo because they were invited or requested by Pertamina to prevent and stop people to sell oil, mine oil, and make new wells. Initially, Military/Police (formerly ABRI) played roles in raiding the transport of oil sales from the POM Hargomulyo field and destroying oil refineries owned by the people. Moreover, Military/Police also played a role in tolerating the mining and sales of oil after the demonstration of the miners in 2006. Military/Police played ambiguous roles, at one time was on the side of Pertamina, but in different time at the side of the miners.

The findings of this study indicated that the POM Hargomulyo field became a contested arena by several parties because the oil mined could support parties that wanted to control. Its status of illegal mining was an opportunity for those who wanted to gain advantages over illegal activities.

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