

The Phenomenon of Vertical Conflict in the Preservation of Historical Sites: Ngurawan, Madiun-East Java

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ABSTRACT

Madiun is one of cities in the province of East Java, Indonesia which has a lot of historical tourism. This is because in Madiun there are many historical discoveries such as temples, inscriptions, artifacts, historical heritage buildings, ancient mosques and other historical sites. In the discovery of historical objects, there are often some tensions occurring between land owners and the government and other interest groups. One of the examples is in Ngurawan site. Tensions sometimes lead to such conflicts as land grabs, land management rights, ownership of found objects and so on. The research method is qualitative on with in-depth interviews with prominent figures involved in the conflict. The snow ball sampling technique is used to get informants who really master the topics discussed on a rolling basis. The results of study indicate that the inadequate understanding of the applicable legislation regarding historical objects is the main factor generating tension. This is triggered by the existing conditions of economic factors / elements of profit arising along with the findings of these historical objects. The need for socialization of legislation and the process of excavation or preservation of cultural heritage involving the community is a practical solution in resolving these vertical tensions. The mechanism applied at the Madiun site is expected to be a pattern of conflict resolution applicable to other places without overriding the characteristics of the problem.

Keywords: conflict, socialization, community participation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Madiun is an area in East Java which has a lot of historical heritage assets, whether it is in the form of buildings/structures, sites, or areas needing to be preserved. The historical heritage is scattered in several places in the Madiun area. Some have been well managed and others are still being made to get better management. One of these historical buildings is the Ngurawan site, located in Ngurawan village, Dolopo district, Madiun. The history of this Ngurawan site is still being studied today. Apart from being related to one of the major kingdoms in Indonesia, namely Majapahit, this site is also thought to be closely related to the origin of the Madiun district. Many historical relics have been found at the Ngurawan site, ranging from building foundations, statues, phallus-voni to neatly stacked bricks in several places. The existing Ngurawan site is located on a garden land owned by local residents. From generation to generation there is a story

circulating in the family that their land contains an ancient building.

Officially, the National Archaeological Center has carried out the excavation in 2016 after preliminary research was held two years earlier. However, initially there were tensions between the land owners and the local government regarding the excavation effort. The land owner feels that the historical heritage is on his private land, while the local government, without the permission of the owner, has prohibited activities related to the excavation of the site, which in fact is on private land. Things like this often happen because the discoveries of historical heritage today are generally on land that has been controlled by someone or is no longer owned by the government.

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The land context that intersects with elements of economic interest will have an impact on the changes in the status of the land. It can turn out to be more expensive and strategic or vice versa. However, the discovery of a valuable historical heritage from various perspectives on a land or area will automatically change the status of the land into the one with very high value. This triggers tensions if there is no mediation process and constructive dialogue between land owners and parties authorized to take over the land.

The study of land disputes covers many aspects and has a very long history. However, some of the conflicts related to the discovery of historical heritage can be examined in the following reviews. Weak aspects of the application of legal protection to historical heritage are common in Indonesia. This has an impact on the destruction of the historical heritage, and the non-optimal management of the cultural heritage. There needs to be a regional regulation to follow up the existing laws and commitments that accompany them¹.

Surbakti ² discusses the conflict in the discovery of historical heritage that intersects with the community regarding the provision of incentives and compensation. In his opinion, archaeologists are expected to understand and understand the laws and practices in the field in carrying out their duties. Providing incentives, compensation and giving taxes to land owners for the discovery of historical inheritance is considered as part of the efforts to protect the historical heritage itself. The importance of building a good perception and involving community participation has been studied by many researchers, one of which is the Ekowati et al.3 In her opinion, efforts to create good perceptions in the community of the importance of historical sites and to invite people to get involved together are very relevant to the preservation of historical sites that exist today.

The studies above emphasize that local government really needs to build community capacity in terms of understanding the existing legality aspects and fully involving the community in the context of managing and preserving the existing historical heritage. The remaining issue is what kind of situation and conditions must be created to provide a meeting point between the authorities and local communities in order to support the efforts to preserve historical heritage, especially in Ngurawan village, Dolopo, Madiun.

3. METHODS

This paper wishes to analyze the emergence of conflicts that have arisen between land owners and local governments regarding the discovery of the Ngurawan site. To uncover the root of the problem, the researchers tried to dig up the story that developed the understanding and responses of the community and government to the Ngurawan site and the tensions arising. To obtain this data,

the researcher conducted a series of in-depth interviews and written literature on the topic. The first in-depth interview focused on the land owner where the Ngurawan site was found, community leaders in Ngurawan village, informants who were thought to know the initial situation of the conflict.

In this context, informal searches were carried out using the *snow ball sampling* technique where the next informant was obtained from the previous informant accompanied by the previously obtained data. After the data was collected, categorization and sorting were carried out based on the proposed topic. Similar information was grouped and different information was developed separately. The linkages between information were matched with existing conditions and related parties. This inter-information analysis would be concluded based on the data obtained in the field and literature.

This study emphasized on the qualitative aspects because it was closely related to the elements of exploring people's understanding of the objects around them. In this case, it is an understanding of the historical heritage found in the land around which they live. The public's perception of this historic finding will have an impact on their behavior. Through field observations of existing conditions and in- depth interviews with the community and related stakeholders, it is hoped that the findings will support the goals expected by both parties: the community and the government.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 NGURAWAN SITE

Research conducted by one of the authors on the Ngurawan site reveals many things. Habsari⁴ wrote in the results of his research on this site as an interesting finding. Apart from dealing with major kingdoms such as the Kadiri Kingdom, the Majapahit Kingdom and the Sogaten Kingdom, this site is also related to the history of the founding of Madiun Regency. From the first excavation, a kind of building was found where the ashes were stored. There is a large brick building foundation. The excavation was eight meters deep. It also found other ancient objects such as ceramics, jars, jaladwara (water channels), ukel, umpak, wuwungan, pots, kepeng, bells, nandi statues, miniature buildings, and so on. About 15 meters from the former excavation, there are two large umpak stones lined up in the residents' garden. Further excavations were carried out in May 2016 and ahead of the 2017 holiday. After that there were no more excavations. From the second excavation, statues and pottery fragments were

Sri Margana et al in their book⁵ wrote that, according to the Archaeological Center of Gajahmada University (BALAR UGM) based on excavations and excavations in 2016, a number of ancient objects in the Ngurawan Site



were from the 14th and 15th centuries, namely during the heyday of the Majapahit Kingdom. They stand on an andesitic stone pedestal with the number of Caka 1320 (1398 AD). At that time, Majapahit was being ruled by King Hayam Wuruk with Gajahmada being the governor. Umpak is a building support. The size is so large that you can imagine the building area. In addition, ornamental pottery and Uang Kepeng were also found. In particular, the team of archaeologists called the Ngurawan site a settlement site during the Majapahit kingdom. This is marked by the finding of jars, pottery, plates and jugs that show the peculiarities of the Majapahit period. In addition, the team found a pot from the Ming Dynasty, around the 14th and 15th centuries AD. The residential site of the Majapahit kingdom relics is also based on a brick-walled building model. Archaeologists assume that this building is a building related to water management. Because it is not far from the building, there is indeed a river. Until now the river is still flowing fast.

In the past, the people living in the area were Shiva or Hindu. This is evidenced by the discovery of a statue of Dewi Parwati. In Hindu mythology, Parvati was around the Ngurawan village mosque. According to myth, Parvati was the daughter of a king from the Himalayas named Himawan. Parvati also got the nickname as Shiva's second wife. In the vicinity of the grave behind the Ngurawan village mosque, yoni was found as high as 60 centimeters with a length of 90 centimeters. Yoni is a symbol of fertility. During the development of Hinduism, yoni was a symbol of Goddess Parvati, the wife of Lord Shiva. Yoni is the support for the phallus or statue. In addition, toponymy was also found which strengthened a kingdom in the area. The area is called "Kedaton" or puntuk dhaton. Another more powerful toponym is the name of the region itself. Ngrawan village reminds us of the name Ngurawan.

4.2 SOURCE OF CONFLICT

As mentioned in the previous description, the Ngurawan site is on the land of the villagers. In an interview conducted by the researcher with Pak Suhanto or more familiarly known as Pak Gatot, a story was told that the Pak Gatot's late parents had told him that a building was buried in their land. This story has been passed down from generation to generation by his ancestors. Even villagers sometimes accidentally find ancient objects when digging the ground for brick-making materials.

Starting from this hereditary story, on March 2016 Pak Gatot took the initiative to conduct excavations in his backyard. Previously he informed the village apparatus and the nearest police. Assisted by residents surrounding, the excavation activity was carried out. It was during this excavation that tensions arose between the land owner (Pak Gatot) and the regional government of Madiun district. The government determined that excavation was prohibited while the land owners considered that they were excavating on their own land. Government officials came and forbade the excavation because it was deemed to have damaged the site. Meanwhile, the land owners feel that

they are carrying out excavation activities on their own land and have not found anything from the results of this independent excavation. In addition, the yard is also planted with sea sengon trees which are expected to be used when they are big.

A few days after tensions arose, a team of authorities from the Yogyakarta Archeology Center came that was asked by the local government to carry out excavations on Pak Gatot's land. Previously they also prohibited independent digging by villagers or planting trees on the land. This increased the anger of the land owners. However, the land owner could only emphasize that whatever happens, the homestead to be excavated is his private property. Excavation is based on the permission and willingness of the non-other land owner.

Since then, excavations have continued and it has taken a long time to reveal the findings comprehensively. During that time there was no certainty in management. The local government also did not issue any regulations to provide legality with the findings obtained from the excavations carried out and the participation of the family owners of the land.

Until now, the findings obtained from excavation have been temporarily placed in the landlord's house. It is placed in a storefront and the land owner hopes that the findings will not be removed because according to his perception, it will reduce the historical value of these objects with the location where they were found. The showcase for displaying found objects comes from the Madiun regional government, but the maintenance and management costs, the land owner admitted that the funds came from private pockets. The tensions that have arisen and the failure to reach an agreement between land owners and the authorities have made local governments think to reduce unexpected things.

The above phenomenon leaves the problem that the findings of historical relics tend to provoke tension. This is because there is a tug of war between the land owners and the government authorities' interests. Excavation activities on the land also change the status of the land in the area. The news about the excavation implies the marketing of the area for the area which has an impact on land prices. If this is not resolved, there will be prolonged conflicts, especially between land owners and the government. The discourse of the local government to develop the area has added the complexity of the existing problem. This leads to unfair competition among landowners.

In connection to the existing conditions, it is necessary to conduct socialization on an ongoing basis between the authorities, especially the archeology office, local government and village officials about the whereabouts of the site findings. This forum intended to socialize the will of the government with community members must be cohesive in order to bind the same interests related to the existence of these historical sites. The forum must be able to develop a discourse on the same perception between the government and citizens. The forum should also accommodate ideas about community involvement that are supportive of government activities. On the other hand, the government is expected to provide



facilities and act as a facilitator to bridge residents' expectations and the authorities', in this case the archaeological center. The community can be involved in efforts to conserve historical sites by repairing and adding facilities and infrastructure as well as applying the technicalities of Law No.11 of 2010 concerning Cultural Heritage. A sense of belonging must be cultivated among the community around the site by means of improvement and if necessary increasing the welfare of residents by creating traditional moments related to the site.

Currently, the road infrastructure has been repaired with asphalt roads. Every year a bracelet-bracelet festival is held in the village of Ngurawan with the distribution of posters as publications. The entrance to the Ngurawan village was also built with a gate with a classic design which at first glance indicates that there is a historical heritage in the village that must be preserved. Slowly but surely the arrangement of the area and revamping activities to make it a historical tourism village have begun to be developed.

5. CONCLUSION

The conflict or tension that occurred at the beginning of the discovery of the Ngurawan site is a basic phenomenon that is acceptable generally. Changes in land values that occur due to the discovery of historical sites with great potential for development allow for the changes in the value of land around the area. This was triggered by the weak application of Law No. 11/2010 relating to the discovery of cultural heritage on land owned by residents. The technical guidelines serving as implementation guidelines in the field must be well understood by land owners and local government officials and the archaeological office so that none of the parties with an interest in the site feel aggrieved and even their ownership is taken away in the name of state power.

Comprehensive socialization accompanied by involving community participation is needed in this context. It is inevitable because cultural heritage is an invention whose management should ideally involve all components and related stakeholders because it is very complex. Inequality in one factor will lead to endless disputes only and harm many parties including cultural heritage itself.

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