



The Power Relation Contestations Behind the Escalation of Water Conflicts in the Post Decentralization Era

Waskito Waskito
Universitas Negeri Malang
Malang, Indonesia
waskito.fis@um.ac.id

Deny Wahyu Apriadi
Universitas Negeri Malang
Malang, Indonesia
deny.apriadi.fis@um.ac.id

Nanda Harda Pratama Meiji
Universitas Negeri Malang
Malang, Indonesia
nanda.harda.fis@um.ac.id

Abstract — This study aims to reveal the contestation of power relations between various actors behind water conflicts in Indonesia after the decentralization era. The research was conducted on three cases of water conflicts that had occurred in Batu City (East Java), Klaten (Central Java) and Sleman (Yogyakarta). This research uses a qualitative approach with a narrative research design. The subjects of the study were actors involved in contesting power relations in water conflicts. Research data were collected through participatory observations, in-depth interviews with the social actors involved, and literature studies of various research reports, journal articles, theses and dissertations, and online mass media news. Data analysis is carried out cyclically through the stages of data condensation, data display and conclusions. The results showed that the political authority of regional head actors in the era of decentralization was used to establish power relations with corporate actors in controlling water resources through maladministration practices in issuing licensing documents in industrial infrastructure development. Fear of water scarcity caused by industrial infrastructure development fueled resistance by grassroots actors fighting to save their water resources, escalating water conflicts. The findings of this study contribute to research on the political ecology of water conflicts that spread after the decentralization era that threatens the sustainability of water rights in grassroots groups and sustainable development policies in Indonesia.

Keywords — water conflicts, power relations, decentralization, contestation

I. INTRODUCTION

Water conflict is a phenomenon of disputes between regions, countries, groups or individuals to fulfill the right to access water resources. Water conflicts in Indonesia show an increasing escalation after the decentralization era was implemented in 2001 [1], [2]. The decentralized system refers to Law No. 5 of 1974 concerning the principle of governance in regions, especially handing over government affairs from the higher government or the superior level of the region to the lower to become their household affairs. The system was implemented in Indonesia along with the enactment of Law No. 22 of 1999 concerning the Regional Government. The juridical basis of the system is experiencing dynamics through Law no. 32 of 2004 through a new Law No. 23 of 2014, the implementation of which is carried out, among others, through several regulations: the Government Regulation No. 38 of 2007 concerning the Distribution of Affairs between the Central Government, Provincial Governments, and District/City Governments and the

Government Regulation No. 41 of 2007 concerning Regional Apparatus Organizations. The implementation of the decentralization system is regional autonomy.

Regional autonomy as an implementation of decentralization contains the problem of increasing regional and sectoral egoism in managing natural resources, including water resources [4]. Water resources located on the border of two or more regions in the decentralization era have triggered an increase in sectoral ego and regional egoism, leading to water conflicts between the regions. In addition to the water conflicts, various forms of conflicts that are increasingly experiencing escalation after the establishment of the decentralization system include: water conflicts between peasants [5], [6], conflicts between peasants and corporations [7], conflicts between urban communities with corporations and local governments [8], conflicts between peasant communities or rural communities with corporations and local governments [9], [10], [11] as well as conflicts between peasants and various other actors or stakeholders [12].

Various studies on water conflicts in the decentralization era discussed conflicts' causes, descriptions, and social and ecological impacts [5], [6], [12]; conflict relations between peasants and corporations with the neglect of government policy agendas [7]; decentralization relations with increased sectoral ego and regional egoism which trigger inter-regional conflicts [4]; social movements triggered by the construction of hotels and industrial bottled drinking water factories [8], [9], [10], [11]. In contrast to the problems of these studies, this study discusses the contestation of power relations behind the increase in water conflicts after the decentralization era.

II. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The contestation of power relations in this research refers to Foucault's perspective that does not see power relations simply between oppressors and oppressed [13]. His perspective is "one that involves a mode of action exercised over the actions of others who have available to them a range of possibilities [14]. Power, according to Foucault ", is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations"[14]. The power is interpreted as a network, a system of relations that spreads through society [13]. Individuals are not seen simply as recipients or holders

of power but as a 'place' where power is maintained or resisted [13]. Power is spread everywhere, and where there is power, there is resistance [15].

The power relation idea is combined with the perspective of Political Ecology, viewing water resources as an arena where various social actors with unequal political power compete to control natural resources [16]. In this perspective, the problem of social conflict related to the control of water resources and the environment is a socio-political problem [17]. Social and political conditions are assumed to be closely related to the complexity of causes, experiences and management of environmental problems [18]. The political ecology theory also assumes that environmental change is not sterile from power relations [15]. However, it is a form of the politicized environment which involves many interested actors at various levels [2], [18]. The hotel building or the establishment of a bottled drinking water factory that local people are concerned about is a form of politicized environment [17]. This policy is a political decision to utilize water resources for corporations without considering various physical/ecological, psychological, social and economic risks [21]. Various social movements that emerged in the water conflict cases in Batu, Klaten and Yogyakarta were individualization [21], namely collective action as individual initiatives that seek to overcome various risks that arise in their lives due to the social process of decentralization.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach with a narrative research design supported. The fieldwork was conducted in Bulukerto village, (Batu City), Ponggok village (Klaten) and Karangwuni, Yogyakarta. A literature search was conducted at the Gadjah Mada University Library in Yogyakarta and the Batu City Library. In addition, the researcher also explored various online mass media reports covering conflicts over water resources in the three regions, which spanned from 2006 to the present (2023).

Data collection techniques in this study were carried out through in-depth interviews, participatory observation and documentation. In-depth interviews were conducted with informants using an interview guide instrument to explore narrative data. The selected research informants consisted of 5 residents of Bulukerto Village, 5 residents of Ponggok Village, 5 residents of Karangwuni, 1 activist from the NGO Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute, 1 female activist in Batu City, 1 activist from the NGO, Indonesia Forum for Living Environment (WALHI) Yogyakarta, 1 WALHI East Java activist, 1 Malang Corruption Warch activist. Documentation was carried out by recording the results of interviews with informants and taking pictures and videos of the ecological impacts that are occurring at present in the three research locations. Meanwhile, the data was obtained through literature searches on various online mass media reporting on the conflict over water resources in Batu, Klaten and Yogyakarta.

Data analysis in this study was carried out cyclically: data condensation, data verification, data display and drawing conclusions. This research will explore current narrative data related to the various impacts experienced by the people in the three regions. Through an analysis of

historical data on water resource conflicts and the narratives of various affected residents, this research reveals the contestation of power relations between actors involved in water conflicts in the post-decentralization era, which has been going on for more than two decades.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Water Conflicts in Batu, Klaten, and Yogyakarta

The water conflict in Batu City is a dispute between the residents of five villages living around the Gemulo Spring and the Rayja Hotel Corporation and the Mayor of Batu, which lasted from 2011 to 2016 [10], [11], [22]. Villagers supported by campus activists, NGOs, artists, environmental activists, and various elements of society joined Forum Masyarakat Peduli Mata Air/the Forum for Water Care (FMPMA). The FMPMA aims to reject the building of The Rayja Hotel, which was only 150 meters above the Gemulo spring. It could damage or even kill this spring. At the same time, the spring supports around 5,000 villagers in Bulukerto, Sidomulyo, Bumiaji and several other villages.

The FMPMA, in one of its movement tactics, dismantled the maladministration practice of issuing hotel establishment documents [26]. The maladministration practice occurred through the power relations of the mayor of Batu at that time with the Rayja Hotel corporation. The issuance of documents not following procedures was successfully disclosed through the power relations of FMPMA actors. After struggling for about 5 years through a series of collective actions in Batu, Surabaya and even Jakarta and a protracted court process, the FMPMA managed to stop the construction of The Rayja Hotel [11].

The second case of water conflict is between the village community in Klaten and the corporation PT. Tirta Investama. The conflict was a dispute in 2005-2006 related to the struggle for the Sigidang Spring. The peasant community has a power relationship with Kraked. In contrast, PT Tirta Investama has a power relationship with the Klaten Regency Government, which has the authority to grant water withdrawal permits from the Sigidang Spring [9].

PT Tirta Investama is a corporation that produces bottled drinking water (AMDK), AQUA. The common unrest experienced by the community has triggered the conflict. The communities build coalitions as a forum to fight for interests collectively. The coalition increased the tension of the conflict because the issues raised were not only about water scarcity but also environmental issues, compensation, and concerning the responsibility of the local government for the company's operations [24]. Even though there has been a conflict resolution through mediation where PT Tirta Investama disbursed 1 billion social program funds in 2006, the local peasants still have risks to water resources for their agriculture.

In 2014, a conflict erupted between villagers who were not employees and those who were employees of PT. Tirta Investama. This conflict was triggered by damage to the road passed by a truck transporting the company's products [29]. The conflict erupted again in 2023. Throughout 2023, the local actors and external actors who form the Aliansi Masyarakat Gugat AQUA (AMGA) will continue to carry out demonstrations against the power relations of the Klaten

Regent - PT. Tirta Investama. Thus the conflict is still ongoing to this day.

The third case is the conflict between urban residents in Karangwuni against the corporation PT. Bukit Alam Permata, which built the Utara apartment located on the edge of Jalan Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. This area is a densely populated residential area, service industry, trade and student boarding houses. The construction of the Utara apartment has caused the Karangwuni community to split into two groups, the pro-apartments and the contra-apartments [27]. The contra community formed a forum called the Karangwuni Residents Association Rejecting Utara Apartments/ Paguyuban Warga Karangwuni Tolak Apartemen Utara (PWKTAU). The PWKTAU refused the apartments because the construction had potential and violated social, environmental impacts and human rights. There are also indications of licensing violations. The potential aspect that residents are worried about is water drought due to competition for water, waste, flooding, and traffic jams.

Social impact violations include the construction of apartments carried out for 24 hours, the occurrence of verbal and nonverbal threats and even the criminalization of residents who take action against apartments. Meanwhile, the pro community formed the Association of Karangwuni Residents Concerned for Change/ Paguyuban Warga Karangwuni Peduli Perubahan (PWKPP). The PWKPP supports the development of Utara because it is considered to positively impact the local residents. It supports the construction of apartments because the apartment residents will undoubtedly blend into the community, the Utara apartment will also bring progress to the economy in Karangwuni, and the apartments will assist in building a hamlet hall [27]. Even though it impacted the occurrence of a prolonged conflict, the construction of the apartment was successfully completed.

Contestation of Power Relations Behind the Water Conflict

The water conflict involving many actors in the three cases above shows that behind the conflict, there is a contestation of power relations between the actors. In Batu, the contestation of power relations began when the Mayor of Batu, through his bureaucratic apparatus, permitted the establishment of the Rayja Hotel. It is through this power relationship that the Batu City Government provides a series of legal documents for the construction of The Rayja Hotel, such as a Building Permit (IMB), Environmental Management Efforts (UKL), Environmental Monitoring Efforts (UPL), Environmental Impact Analysis (AMDAL) and Environmental Permits and various other supporting documents.

The threat of damage to the Gemulo spring as the only source of water supply for villagers, if the hotel continues to be built, has encouraged local actors to establish power relations with outside actors to carry out a resistance movement by forming the FMPMA. The FMPMA local actors consist of thousands of residents from 5 villages who oppose the construction of The Rayja hotel, Forest Village Community Institutions, local water management organizations, the Association of Drinking Water Users/Himpunan Penduduk Pengguna Air Minum (HIPPA) and HIPPA (Himpunan Penduduk Pengguna Air/Water User Association). Meanwhile, external actors who joined

FMPMA included activists from the Malang Corruption Watch (MCW), activists from the East Java Forum for the Environment, activists from the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), NGO activists from the Pusaka Foundation, academics and campus activists, and artists.

This power relationship between the local and external actors has enabled the FMPMA to develop various movement strategies and tactics, such as holding dozens of demonstrations in Batu City, Malang, Surabaya and Jakarta [22]. The most critical and strategic tactic of power relations contained in FMPMA is the disclosure of various maladministration practices of the IMB, UKL, UPL, and AMDAL permit documents and violations of regulations in the establishment of hotels by the activists of MCW and WALHI [26]. In addition, the advocacy carried out by the LBH also greatly supported the FMPMA movement when there was a legal process of mutual lawsuits between the corporation and the chairman of the FMPMA, which took place from the District Court level, the High Court, to the Supreme Court. The power relations also produce tactics of reporting various maladministration practices, violations of hotel establishment regulations, and the criminalization of several members of the FMPMA to the KOMNAS HAM, the ORI, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and the DPR RI [22]. The contestation of power relations in the water conflict in Batu ended after the Supreme Court ordered the hotel construction to stop. However, it did not revoke the IMB of the Rayja Hotel.

The contestation of the power relations behind the water conflict in Klaten also started with granting of permits to use Sigidang Spring by the Regent of Klaten at that time to the corporation PT. Tirta Investama. This policy has raised concerns among the peasant communities in several villages, such as Ponggok, Tulung, and Polanharjo. The peasants from various villages feel threatened by a decrease in their agricultural irrigation water supply, which has come from Sigidang and Kapipaler Springs. Most local actors are peasants from several villages who have established power relations with Kraked. The demands put forward by this movement concern the issue of threats to environmental damage, a decrease in water supply, to the issue of compensation for affected residents.

The operation of the second dwell by a corporation which is suspected by the community has not yet had a permit and the damage to the road has triggered another water conflict in 2014 [25] and exploded again in 2023 [23]. The Local actors who are residents of the affected villages form the AMGA community. The AMGA revealed various negative impacts from the existence of PT. Tirta Investama [26]. First, the residents' welfare is not affected by the existence of the Aqua mineral water factory because they are just laborers. Second, the second dwell drawing up 45 liters of water per second is assessed by residents as needing a formal permit. Third, the productivity of peasants' land has decreased because the water supply from Sigidang and Kapipaler springs for irrigating the villagers' agricultural land has drastically reduced. Fourth, PT Tirta Investama is forcing the practice of over-dimensional and over-loading (ODOL) of trucks on class III C roads traversed in residential areas. This practice causes road damage and endangers the local community.

The Power Relations Between the Government of Sleman Regency and the Corporation also Triggered the water conflict in Yogyakarta. PT Bukit Alam Permata regarding granting a permit to construct the Utara, The Icon apartment. The people of the Karangwuni, as local actors who are counter-development are threatened by water drought, have formed the PWKTAU. The community, as a local actor, establishes power relations with external actors, including UGM Center for Legal Aid Studies, Yogyakarta Forum for the Environment, activists from student organizations in Yogyakarta, and various NGOs in Yogyakarta as well as support from the KOMNAS HAM Yogya and Yogyakarta Ombudsman Commission [27]. Meanwhile, the local actors from the Karangwuni community who were pro-development formed the PWKPP community. Thus, the PWKPP is a network of power relations between the Regent of Sleman and PT. Bukit Alam Permata.

Like the conflicts in Batu and Klaten, the PWKTAU's power relations with various external actors seek to reveal maladministration practices and violations of rules and regulations produced by the power relations of the Sleman Regent with PT. Bukit Alam Permata. The PWKTAU revealed indications of violations of licensing documents owned by Utara Apartments, from Land Utilization Permits (IPT) to the IMB, allegedly violating the legislation. For example, the IMB has been issued without environmental documents. Meanwhile, until now, the Sleman government has yet to have regional regulations governing Spatial City Detail Plan (RDTR) [28]. Apart from zero RDTR, the Utara Apartment is suspected of violating the mechanism for issuing permits for the UKL and the UPL. According to the Sleman Regency Environmental Service, the UKL-UPL issuance mechanism requires approval from the community. Meanwhile, until the permit was issued, the community had not agreed.

On the other hand, the power relations between the Regent of Sleman and PT. Bukit Alam Permata has its own legal basis for alleged maladministration and regulatory violations. The Head of Licensing and Spatial Planning for Sleman Regency confirmed that the government still needs the RDTR regional regulation. However, he claims that the buildings in Sleman are following the spatial plan because the IMB was issued based on the RDTR study and recommendations from the Coordinating Board of Regional Spatial Planning (BKPRD) of Yogyakarta [2]. The contestation of power relations in the case of Yogyakarta was finally 'finished'. It is proven that the corporation can complete the construction of Utara's apartment.

Viewed from the political ecology perspective, the contestation of power relations in Batu, Klaten and Yogya is a competition between actors to control natural resources [16], [17]. A similar pattern of triggers for water conflicts occurred in the three cases, granting permits to establish business premises (hotels and bottled water factories) without considering the various risks that would occur. Regional heads with political resources (authority to grant permits) are increasingly broad in this decentralization era, establishing power relations with corporate actors with economic resources under the pretext of investment to increase local revenue. Thus, the two actors have a power relation in the political economy. In accordance with Foucault's opinion [15], where there is power, there is resistance. The power relations between regional heads and corporate actors build

resistance in affected communities whose survival is threatened. When affected local actors establish a network of power relations with various external actors (especially with NGO and campus activists) to form a movement community, there is a contestation of power relations [15] in the struggle for natural resources.

The water conflict in the three cases above articulates the contestation of power relations between actors involved in a politicized environmental process [17]. The contestation developed into water conflicts because the actors carried out practices Peluso and Lund [30] called land control, namely "practices that fix or consolidate forms of access, claiming, and exclusion for some time". Through the practices, each group of actors asserts their power over the disputed natural resources, which means, at the same time, excluding other groups of actors.

The contestation results determine whether the various physical/ecological, psychological, social and economic risks, as stated by Beck [21] are actualized in the form of various negative impacts on the victims of the policies. In addition, there is a similar pattern of power relations between regional heads and corporate actors which has led to the practice of maladministration in issuing various building permit documents and violations of the laws and regulations that apply to the three cases. A decentralization system that provides wider space to explore regional revenue sources and greater administrative, and political authority for regional heads actually provides opportunities for corrupt practices in issuing licensing documents [26]. These findings strengthen the assumptions developing in society that one of the negative impacts of the decentralization system is causing corruption [4].

V. CONCLUSION

The contestation of power relations behind the water conflict is inseparable from the decentralization system implemented by the Government of Indonesia. Fiscal, political, legal and administrative decentralization provides wider space for regional head actors to establish power relations with corporate and local actors for policies on utilizing natural resources in their respective regions. The power relations between the three groups of actors trigger water conflicts when contra-policy actors from regional heads carry out resistance. The threat of uncertainty over the sustainability of people's lives is the fundamental reason for the opposing group of actors to carry out resistance.

The contestation of power relations behind the increasingly escalated water conflicts since 2001 reflects the complexity of the problems in the decentralization system in Indonesia. Based on the three cases above, the water conflicts are inseparable from the domination of power relations by regional heads and corporations supported by local actors that ignore the aspirations of social movement actors who resist local government policies. In this context, the decentralization system has provided more significant space for the regional heads to appropriate natural resources through power relations with corporate and local actors in government policies.

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