Grassroots Movement and Urban Environment Governance Adjustment:

A political ecology perspective on the conflict on riverside area in Surabaya, Indonesia

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Preface

Living with various people, almost slum area, "pesantren" (Islamic Boarding House), student houses in Surabaya, Jogjakarta and Groningen, gave me abundant memories that cannot be easily eased. Witnessing inequality surrounding me encourage me to more understand about grassroots people. Chatting with them, living with them, has not been sufficient enough to relieve my thirsty of curiosity about these special human beings. Then after several changing of my topic research, I have an opportunity to explore and understand their difficulty and their achievement.

Many things that made me feel, what I had achieved can not be counted to be a contribution to the theory. It is far far away. However, achieving something in my life, beyond my expectation, but still rooted from which I have grown, is an honor for me. Having studied about grassroots has enriched not only my cognitive knowledge, but also my human wisdom side. I learned that politic is always human's part. It is surprised me that examining about politic of grassroots people is related to my main study about planning, the never ending process. Limited time made a difficulty in interviewing my respondents. Many things can be explored if there is a chance to see the respondent directly face to face.

Finally, having watched European Cup episode to Beijing Olympic Game episode, concurrently my adrenalin was racing with my thesis deadline. Dramatic episode being loser or winner is a consequence entering a battle. Fighting against my self in doing my thesis research has enlightened me about how wonderful the human relationship is. Affection and love expressed by wonderful people surrounding me is a priceless treasure of God's blessing. There fore, I would like to address special thank to my Supervisor, Johan Woltjer that motivate and enlighten me whenever I get stag and difficulty in developing my thesis. And to Kawik Sugiana, I thank for motivating me to continue my study in RUG. I would like to thank to my UGM buddy, Widodo Pramono that has brought serial discussion episodes about inequality and what mankind is, since my study in Jogjakarta. To my parents and my sisters, thank for being my spirit. To my classmates and my other mates that always cheer me up, together we passed trough hilly path, bitter and sweet in Groningen, far away from our family. I do appreciate everything that we had experienced together.

Yessiana Arifa
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Abstract

Political ecology, a movement defending humanity value and environmental value, is a perspective to examine about relation of grassroots people struggle to keep their livelihood with its surrounding environment. Relocation program has initiated by government in order to solve flood problem in Surabaya. Giving land to the river is the government strategy, but the riverside community refuses to be relocated. Operating actor mapping (Aligica, 2006; Latour, 2005) and using derived variable from French and Raven (1959) about sources power basis to see the relations among actors that involved in the conflict and about operating power basis and structure power domination by Scott (2001) can explain the conflict between grassroots riverside community against goverment.

Discussing about grassroots conflict between riverside community against government, it can be learned that there is a value that is contested. The conflict raises is because of lack of environmental awareness, poverty and inconsistency law enforcement. Other factor important is the situation within the container, namely the political system, environmental problem as the setting, less consistency of state corrective power, disappointment when state fail to accommodate citizen right increasing awareness about political right, political system opening chance to everybody to speak of movement and the most important is cul-de-sac situation as effect of pressing.

Many consequences have been resulted. Since they made a protest, the grassroots people political awareness has been increased, as well as their environmental awareness. The relations between citizen and state institutions go improve. Other important thing is that the grassroots raising bargain power, in offering planning competitor community based riverside management, they made a solid coalition, between grassroots people, NGO as expert power sources and Legislative board as decision maker. This coalition forced the provincial government against the grassroots. Because of this coalition, grassroots has replaced the power of planning. There is a repositioning role of actors in planning process within the conflict, or it said actor adjustment.

On and on, grassroots has latent power that can give a new perspective, the meaning of participation within planning process.

Keywords: Grassroots, marginal people, political ecology, actor mapping, power relations, actor adjustment, environment, riverside community

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Chapter 1
Introduction

> "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and
> rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and
> should towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."
> (Article 1, Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948-1998)

Inalienable right, concept of right from John Locke then Francis Hutcheson, is an idea to reduce marginalization trough out the world. There fore, United Nations proposed to ease inequality through out the world. This awareness is to be goal for development new millennium or famous with Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which inequality presented in number 2 of 8 goals in the MDGs.

According to the famous Bruntland report in 1987, Our Common Future, there is a strong connection between socioeconomic inequality and environmental degradation. This studies shows that inequality generates environmental degradation and vice versa. For instance, a peasant, enduring huge losses because of water pollution and insects, decided to sell his small land, and then go to the city with big hope to find a job. Without high educational background, he works as a porter in a traditional market. Then with small money he has limited choice of housing. He builds a non permanent house for his family with other people that has same unlucky situation, in a riverside area. There are no healthy facility, no healthy toilet, just discharge directly all the waste to the river. Many people come to this area, by the time the area becomes slum area with high volume waste disposed directly to the river. The river becomes polluted. The number of fish and other living things in the river decrease. Environmental degradation has occurred. MDG goal number 8 is to achieve sustainable environment for future generation. Due to this goal, environmental degradation has become world problem since enacted by United Nations.

Regarding to interrelated issues (inequality and sustainability), there are two issues within my further discussion, first focusing on marginal people, and second stressed on a relationship between marginal people and their environment. This interrelated issues, the conflict between how do marginal people survive and the effort to preserve environment that gradually endures degradation is a very interesting topic to discuss. That surprise me every time when I witness marginal people in my neighborhood since I was a kid is how their capability to survive. They are remarkable people in their limitation of resources. And the hot issue about global warming, its impact and energy crisis is never aside in mass media discussion. From talk show program, news program until economy program in the television sometimes talk about environment degradation and global warming and the impact to our daily life. Exploring the nature of their interrelationship using perspective of political ecology will give different point

Political ecology brings a research perspective of winners or loosers, hidden costs and the differential power that generates social and environmental outcomes (Robbins, 2004). Therefore, political ecology emphasizes on defending two value, humanity and pro

environment. More over, a battle on getting resources that sometimes is limited in our environment only can explain sufficiently using political ecology perspective (Bradnock and Saunders, 2000). This means that political ecology perspective concurrent with the interrelated issue that I present within this study, marginal people and its environment. Case of marginalized people to get equal position or to keep their existence is an important to be presented. Especially related to their relationship with their environment, their dynamic relationship is important to be understood to get explanation and input to the planning system.

When talking about planning system, it is implied to planning process. Due to political decision making is source of problem that contribute to alieanation (Turton, 2000) and it is strong correlation between planning process and political decision making (Alexander, 1986), there fore, government play important role in increasing or decreasing inequality in its country. This implies that government has responsibility of creating marginal people. Such as government policy about emphasize on urban development rather than rural. Government rationality realized that focusing urban development, especially for the economic development, can encourage rural development (trickle down economy). But instead of encourage rural development, it create urbanization problem, urban poverty and urban environmental problem.

There fore, in which poverty is outlooked as main source of environmental problem (Bryant, 1997), environmental problem faced by third world countries has attracted many researchers interest. Then, it is sensible to choose one of case in third world country as case study. I chose Surabaya, a city famous of heroic battle to against colonialism in the end of World War II, with a problem of the struggle of riverbank community to achieve equal right as citizen, to have a place to live on. While Indonesia, in which the country Surabaya exists, is a member of United Nations, has to achieve the 8 goals. Case study of my research is taken place in Indonesia, a country that has experienced political system changing since reformation in 1998.

Problem Statement

The different interests and perspectives in the environmental management in third world country commonly raise a tension, between state and citizens that encourage competing interest among actors in political ecology arena (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). One of the Bryant and Bailey discussion, Indonesia as third world country has many narrative about political ecology.

- Case Study: The Struggle of Riverbank Community in Surabaya

Like other city in developing countries, Surabaya has problem with the informality sector, far range of economic discrepancy and urban sprawl. Enduring regular flood in rainy season, recommendation of Surabaya Drainage Master Plan (SDMP) 2000 suggests widening the Kali Wonokromo River and Kali Surabaya River 50 meter both sides of river. Along riverside there are many crowded settlements that have to be removed due to the SDMP plan.

As a target of the resettlement program the community along the river bank made a protest to the government plan. Reported by the information department of East Java province on 10 November 2007, for the first time in history, their movement was end in involving the community and Environmental NGO in decision making process about river bank order act. This act allows them to live along riverside with several requirements. Riverbank community should revitalize their settlement, change their front house not against the river, treat their waste not directly discharge to the river and give space between river line and their house with 3 meter wide inspection patch along the river. Even tough the act is still verified by the ministry of internal affair, but the emergence of the act which involved active participation from the citizens is a milestone in the democracy context of Surabaya and Indonesia in general.

Riverbank community views that they have no equal rights in the plan that proposed by local government. They believe that they are always be marginalized even though what local government proposed is reasonable. If they comply with the local government plan they have to restart their life from zero, with a new neighborhood atmosphere, new spatial relative position to their work, their neighbor, their relative, and their economic distribution route, totally different from their custom. They do not have other choice. The choice options is a dichotomy, obey the plan or against the plan. They decide to against the plan. How they institutionalize their movement and involve other actors to support their movement is an interesting study.

What the act enacted have been compromised two values, pro environment value and pro humanitarian value. Through a consensus among institutions that give community more space in the decision making process, Surabaya political system has been enlightened to new paradigm, more participative system politics.

Objective and Research Question
This study is expected can give a feedback to the planners and decision makers about positioning community within their plan, and give a new perspective about a problem from grassroots people point of view. Due to achieve the study objectives, here are the research questions that I develop to get the answers:

1. *What framework theory that can be used to explain conflict between grassroots and government upon riverside area in Surabaya?*
   In order to answer this question, I conduct a literature review to get appropriate perspective that I can use to explain the conflict. The perspective is useful for analyzing the jungle of theory, to select which theory that more applicable explaining my study discussion.
2. *Due to East Java provincial act of riverbank order 2007, how can grassroots protest end to the act that change resettlement program become community based renewal settlement program?*
   It is analyzed how riverbank community organized and institutionalized themselves to gain bargain power to get involve in the decision making process. And how they influence the act, changes the act essence, from resettlement program to community based renewal program.

3. *Who are the actors behind the conflict of Surabaya?*
   Related to this question, an actor mapping analysis is applied to recognize who are the actors behind the act. Actor typology is based on Bryant and Bailey observation that presented in their book Third World Political Ecology. Bryant and Bailey presented 5 actors, state, multilateral institutions, business, environmental non-governmental organization and grassroots actors. From this typology, it can be recognize which actor that involve within the conflict. To recognize the actor, the method of actor mapping is implemented.
4. *What the role of each actor in building the conflict?*
   After recognizing the actors behind, I analyze each actor role. Actor role can be recognized from the relations among the actors. And these relations explained by power relations among the actors. The variables that operated in actor analysis are derived from French and Raven's basis power sources.
5. *What consequences of the conflict of riverside area in Surabaya?*
   Further analysis is directed to find what conflict implications to the grassroots that made a protest, and to other social aspect implications. This analysis is using qualitative analysis which is operated in order to dig fact and evidence about the consequences of the protest.
6. *What can be deduced from the discussion about the conflict of riverside area in Surabaya*
   After analyzing consequences, for the next discussion is about what can we seize for a new perspective about grassroots position within planning practice as the objective of the research.

Relevance
This research can give different perspective about what behind the slum, poor and underdeveloped. This research is expected can give contribution especially to planning practice alternatives and to planning theory in general. As always discussed about is planning free of value or not, this research is expected can give a new perspective about justice and value within planning context. Talking about grassroots within planning practice, the position of marginal people is commonly become a problem for the planning. Marginal people and slum area is commonly associated with poverty and underdeveloped condition. This association sometimes is used to generalize that environmental problem related to poverty and underdeveloped condition. There fore, this perspective can enrich planner to which approach that is selected.

Scope
Focusing the discussion about power relations within political ecology perspective that is defending environmental value is an important key that links the grassroots movement and political context of planning process. In this discussion grassroots is associated with marginal people that is enduring inequality. Regarding to specific case that is presented in this research, the delineation place is in Surabaya, Indonesia, focusing on target relocation people which live along riverside that made a protest to government from 2002 until 2007.

Methodology Approach

The method is applied in analyzing the study is a qualitative approach, using case study. The data collection is performed through literature review, interview and observation. The secondary data is gathered from literatures and available data of the Surabaya government. Purposive interview is performed through distant interview to several actors, namely, the government, the NGO and Riverbank community. Distant interview is performed due to the limitation of resources and time.

The research is conducted in several steps:
1. Preparation
   The first step is processing the proposal from the background the justification of the research topic then formulating the research question and the research objective that guide the research process. In this step, the literature review yields a theoretical background that provides framework analysis of the research and a research organization that guide the steps should be accomplished to gain the research objective. This step is in order to build chapter 1 that produces research objective and research question that is answered in step 3 and 4.
2. Gathering data
   This step is conduct in order to provide data in order to answer the research question. The data is selected according to the objective and research question. First, the secondary data is gathered from literature review and early research reports. Second, secondary data is the available statistic data and report from mass media, especially electronic newspaper, official government website, and official riverbank community website. Primary data is needed to cross check and cover secondary data collected. Primary data is gathered by interviewing some purposive persons related to the riverbank community actions.
3. Building theoretical framework for analysis
   From literature review, I build a theoretical framework as a guideline to analyze the case study. It is conduct in order to get answer of question 1.
4. Analyzing data (Case study)
   I reconstruct the narrative of community protest since 2002 until 2007. The narrative is very important to give setting and facts according to the emergence of the act of riverbank management. From the narrative, it can be derived following actions:
   - Mapping the actors
     It is important to recognize who the actors involved. The mapping actor is conduct using Aligica (2006) and Latour (2005) approach, which explained in chapter 2. Mapping actor is conduct to answer research question no 3.
   - Analyzing actors
     It is important to know who the main actor is which plays the most important role and supporting role. In this work, I use variable that derived from power sources framework and domination-counteraction framework in order to understand the actor's actions. The variable is dichotomy of two actor relationship, A role and B role. Descriptive analysis is applied in this stem. This step is conducted in order to answer research question 4

- Analyzing the emergence

  This analysis is using qualitative approach that elaborated the facts and information provided by previous step in order to get main reason and factors influencing. In order to answer question number 2, the discussion in this chapter is using analytic comparison and analogy regarding to explanatory and comprehensive analysis.

- Analyzing consequences

  To answer question number 5, this analysis is conduct in order to identify consequences of the conflict emergence to social context of actors and to position of actors. This step is using qualitative approach, analytic comparison and analogy regarding to explanatory and comprehensive analysis.

- Analyzing implications and further synthesis

  To answer question number 6, this step is elaborating all analysis into synthesis and its implications for future discussion to yield conclusion and recommendation.

Report Organization

In order to present my report, the organization to link chapters that I developed is needed to get overview about the structure. To present my thesis report, here is the organization of my report:

Chapter 1 Introduction

   This chapter present about research justification to perform the research.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework: Political Ecology and Its Actors

   This chapter gives guideline and some principles to chapter 3 and 4 that perform as analyzing chapter or body of my study.

Chapter 3 Narration: Grassroots Struggle

   This chapter describes the narrative from community protest which ends to provincial act that require them to renew their settlement. Then it goes to recognizing the actors involving in the process from protest process to provincial act process negotiation with decision makers. In this chapter, after actors mapping is performed, then it is analyzed the level of influence of each actors.

Chapter 4 Grassroots, Resilience, Repositioning and Governance

   This chapter discuss about consequences of the movement, the emergence of the movement and factors influence.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and recommendation

Following scheme is explaining about correlation between methodology approach and report organization
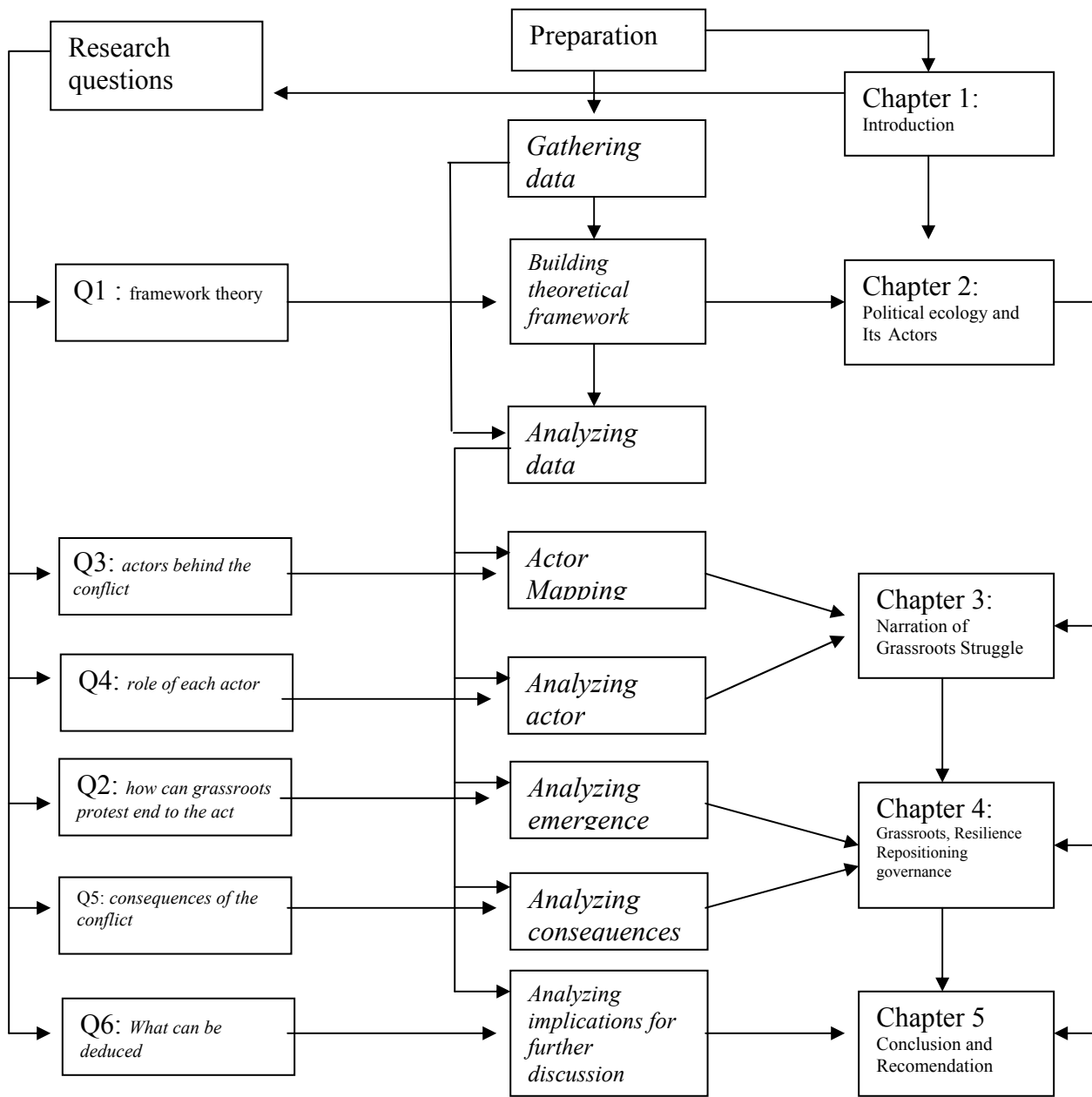
Figure 1-8 Methodology and Report Organization

Chapter 2
Political Ecology and Its Actors

> Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself
> the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they.
> (JJ Rousseau, The Social Contract, Or Principles of political right 1762)

Although man is originally born free, according to Rousseau, chain is the reason why man can be a slave or a lord, a citizen or a president, a powerless man or a powerful man. Hence, who we are is socially constructed through the social chain construction.

There fore, become powerful or powerless is only about how we are related by fiber of social networking. Defending our value within our relations in the social network is a political movement. Talking about value, especially since world people attention has been increasing, world people attention is attracted by many natural disasters that some of them are believed caused by environmental degradation. To defend environmental value to get better environment quality is involving politic as means.

Talking about politic defending environmental value, political ecology as perspective or atmosphere that gives soul to the next discussion is the first key to enter further discussion. The theory has high relevance to the problem of inequality and environmental issue as argued by Heynen et. al.(2006). Next after a slight narrative about political ecology, it is a discussion about power relation and conflict. Then finally, it is explained a framework theory of actor mapping and typology actors of political ecology in third world country, which is as key action to be taken when using political ecology to assess the interrelated issue of inequality and environmental problem.

Political Ecology
Most scientists such as Swijngedouw (2003); Greenberg and Park (1994); Deleage (1994) agree that originated idea of political ecology comes from Marx idea about human and nature interaction. Latour (2004) and Deleage (1994) sees that it is a response of the movement of political economy. As the nature of proponent and opponent, political ecology is a movement against political economy, which is associated as a capitalist action in order to build mountains of profit bigger and bigger. Political ecology as the antithesis of political economy tries to counter the greedy and destructive political economy.

Even though the movement of political ecology derived from socialist movement has been known for centuries, the emerging of political ecology term is proposed first time by Eric Wolf in 1972 in his article 'Ownership and Political Ecology' then later on an article by Ensenberg in 1974 'A critique of political ecology' (Stot and Sullivan, 2000). Contested several years, political ecology has brought large influence in the discourse of ecology and politic as stated by Greenberg and Park (1994):

> "Political ecology expands ecological concepts to respond to this inclusion of cultural and political activity within an analysis of ecosystems that are significantly but not always entirely socially constructed."

From the statement, the changing is experienced by the concepts of ecology, from the branch of biology now ecology is more multidiscipline science. Ecological concepts that discuss about relations or interactions between organisms and their environment situates culture and politic as part of the ecological discussion. Within the political ecology, it allows open a dialogue within those diver disciplines of science. Researches in the political ecology represent wide disciplines, such as economy, social, politic, anthropology, geography, moreover physics and gender.

Separation between scientist and ordinary people inspired Latour to open the blackbox of scientist to the ordinary people. Proposing an idea about bringing science into democracy, Latour (2004) tries to answer why in the Greenberg and Mark statement that "not always entirely socially constructed". The Latour idea about bringing science into democracy is not only about voting which theory having many followers but rather than opening more rational alternatives to the power contest of politic.

Power Relations and Conflict
When a politic play important role in human relations, then political ecology discussion emphasize on unequal power relations (Bryant, 1997), it is impossible to separate political ecology and power relations. Political ecology as a movement, where politic is used as means in order to get a desire, understanding power relations and conflict is very important. Power relation can use to explain what happen among the actors that involves within political ecology movement. An event happens sometimes as result of power relations among actors. Understanding conflict can explain reason behind the conflict and understanding the pattern of the conflict. In the following discussion, it is explained about power sources, structure of domination and conflict.

According to French and Raven (1959), there are five basis sources of power which are modified by Raven into six basis sources of power. Resources power that a dominating person A can influence a target person B to change her/his beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors. Related to sources of power, I.C. Macmillan defined that "power is the capacity to restructure actual situations". He also defined that "influence is the capacity to control and modify the perceptions of others". From those definitions, the sense of power closes to the ability to influence other people. Then power play important role in the society, where a person and other person are connected each other. Here are the five basis power sources according to French and Raven (1959):

1. Coercive power comes out from the perception of the target person B that A has ability to give a punishment if the target does not obey.
2. Reward power emerges from perception of B that A is able to give B a reward if B fulfill the A's requirement.
3. Legitimate power is in B's dedication to admit influence of A because of B's believing that A has reasonable right or authority to influence.

4. Expert power materialize from the perception of B that A has reputable knowledge or expertise
5. Referent power is A's ability to control B because B recognizes that it is a necessity of A's influence, or has desire to recognize the A's influence.

According to Scott, 2001, he divided elementary forms of power into two groups, corrective influence and persuasive influence. Corrective influence tends to be more rational approaches and persuasive influence give stress to arguments, appeals and reasons for convincing. It focuses on sanctions work. There are two sub groups of corrective influence, force and manipulations. Force has effect to social relationship physically or emotionally, while manipulation hides the main agenda behind several alternatives offered. Like the corrective influence, persuasive influence has sub group, signification and legitimation. Signification is persuasion with cognitive symbols while legitimation is persuasion trough building of commitments of certain ideas or conditions.

Scott also recognized structures of domination. Domination trough constraints are coercion and inducement. Domination trough discursive formations are expertise and command. Then the counteraction of domination is represented by protest and pressure. All of the domination and its counteraction, there is interpersonal power. The map of power relations is presented below in Figure 1.

Elementary forms of power	Corrective influence		Persuasive influence	
	Force	Manipulation	Signification	Legitimation
Developed forms of power	Domination			
	Through constraint		Through discursive formation	
	Coercion ('lions')	Inducement ('foxes')	Expertise ('owls')	Command ('bears')
	Counteraction			
	Protest		Pressure	
	Interpersonal power			

Figure 2- 1 A map of power relations
Source: Scott, 2001

From the map presented in figure 1, related to chapter 1, this study is focus on counteraction of domination especially the protest. Scott (2001), presented in his book about social movement and a protest movement:

"Social movements mobilize social power for a variety purpose, and a protest movement is a social movement whose program and constituent associations pose a challenge to establish social order. The 'challenge' that is involved in a protest actions involves the solidaristic organization of people in pursuit of shared interests that conflict with those of others and whose satisfaction requires a restructuring of the system in which they are acting."(Scott, 2001, pp 115)

In the Scott explanation, a protest movement needs a container in order to accommodate their acting, what he called 'the solidaristic organization'. Organization play important role as the mode of action that presents the collective aim of the people involved. This organization is competing its interest to the others that have domination of power.

More over, explanation about counteraction power is described by Gaski 1984 as countervailing phenomenon. The phenomenon is an attempt to prevent the opponent party to accomplish the goal or objective.

"Power refers to the ability of A to control the decision variables B. Countervailing power is channel member B's ability to inhibit channel member A's power over B's decision variables" (Gaski, 1984)

Explaining about countervailing power of collective protest that will explain in next chapter, according to March and Olsen (1984) institutions as a result of social, politic and economy process, grow to be more significant in collective life, or has more power. And then he argued that major actors in the modern world are formal organizations, in which the institutions of law and bureaucracy play as a central role in contemporary life. This means that collective power in modern world is play important role. But March and Olsen neglected the role of the informal institutions in third world country that can be a source of social capital to improve quality of life.

Theory of Organized protest historically came from classical theory of Marxist. Many years ago, the symptom of conflict between social classes had been proposed by Karl Marx, who criticized the political economy of accumulating capital in his famous book "Daz Kapital". Marx acknowledged the conflict among classes of society that have different interests, the capitalist and the working class. According to Merriam-webster dictionary conflict is defined as competitive or opposing action of incompatibles. Then a situation in which actors utilize conflict behavior against each other to reach incompatible goals and/or to express their opposition is called conflict. (Bartos et al, 2002). Other definition of conflict is presented below:

"Conflict is a tension between two or more social entities (individuals, groups, or larger organizations) which arises from incompatibility of actual or desired responses" (Raven and Kruglanski 1970, in the Gaski 1984).

Conflict is presented as tension that is rooted from different desired responses. If there is a same perception, thus there is no conflict. In other word, conflict comes up from different perception about one object.

Pondy (1967) classified conflicts based on its character into five types of conflicts, namely:
(1) latent conflict: underlying sources of conflict;
(2) perceived conflict: perception only, when no conditions of latent conflict exist;
(3) felt conflict: tension, anxiety, disaffection in addition to the perception;
(4) manifest conflict: behavior which blocks an- other's goal achievement;
(5) conflict aftermath: post-conflict conduct, either resolution or suppression

After understanding power relations and conflict, understanding typical actors that usually play within political ecology is very important for next chapter discussion that will discuss about political movement of grassroots. Following discussion can explain further about typical actors within political ecology.

Typology of actors
Arguing that the politic is about power competition among actors, Bryant and Bailey (1997) emphasize that political ecology is about the actors. In the book "Third World Political Ecology", they recognized five groups of actors as the state, multilateral institutions, business, environmental non-governmental organization and grassroots actors. Each actor has different interest, different role, different degree of influence depends on the context and situation.

State
State has privilege to perform violence to its citizen (Scott, 2001) in order to manage and maintain the nation existence. In order to operate its authority, state makes regulation that give rule and limitation to the citizen, then nation life is lawful and fair. Governmental attitude is vital in shaping the possible results of the community effort (Choguill, 1996). Therefore coercive power and dominant power in the context of state-citizen relationship is goes to state. In this context other actor can play as B, which has less power, but can inhibit state decision and action. Using causality principle, what actor B performs is caused by A in this case state.

According to Bryant and Bailey (1997) study, state plays contradiction role in the political ecology. One role, state has to promote economic development, and it is a state consequence, that it has to preserve the environment from degradation. Bringing both two different values, state has difficult position in order to preserve its citizen from insufficient resources and environment degradation threat. Because of this difficulty, some states of third world have failed in both tasks (Bryant and Bailey, 1997)

Multilateral institution
According to Sanyal (2005), planning culture in a country can be influenced by internal factors as well as external factors. Multilateral institutions here have power to give color to planning culture system in such country. From Bryant and Bailey (1997) study, the influence of multilateral institutions comes from the power of finance. Most of multilateral institutions have given technical and financial assistance to third world country. Within their assistance sometimes they make the recipient countries has no other

choice in implementing idea of these multilateral institutions, what Dolowitz (2000) said as coercive type of policy transfer.

Business actor

The contribution of business within global capitalist system is that they take a part in generating environmental degradation and social inequality in third world country (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). As explained about the reason of political ecology movement that against political economy, it is undoubted that business actor here is associated with the opponent of political ecology. In third world country that poverty is still the number one of problem must be solved, economic development has been the means in order to achieve higher income. Then global capitalists have seen this as an opportunity to legitimate their action to exploit resources in the third world country, to promote economic development. But, consistent with Bryant and Bailey, the business actors only accumulate their capital rather than promote economic development.

Grassroots actor

In some discourses, grassroots people is associated with poor people, even though the grassroots meaning is not always related to poor people. According to Choguill (1996) study the poor people's demands can be supported, manipulated, rejected or neglected by the authority. Authority, associated with government, plays as a dominant that is given a privilege to manage the citizen. As explained in chapter 1, sometimes marginal people or poor people are blamed to be one of causes of ecology degradation (Durraiappah, 1998; Rozelle et al, 1997; Ravnborg, 2003) and government sometimes forget that it is a state obligation to protect its citizen from deprivation of economy and environment. However, grassroots people in third world countries have remarkable resistance since colonial era up to postcolonial era (Bryant and Bailey, 1997).

Environmental non-governmental organization

To increase level of participation of community in governance process, it needs a catalyst which can encourage community to participate more, it can be a government or NGO (Choguill, 1996). Bryant and Bailey argue that roles of NGOs in the political ecology movements distinguish in three modes. First mode is they make some efforts to influence the environmental policies and practices of states, multilateral institutions and business. Second mode is they support directly conservation and development project managed by grassroots people. Third mode is they raise public awareness of environment preservation trough public campaign. What NGO does is more defending action of environment value that is neglected by state or business. But, regarding to the three modes of NGO roles, it is questioned is NGO role is not that far, what some studies explained that NGO has no formidable power compare to state with coercive power and multilateral institutions and business with financial power.

Consistent with Bryant and Bailey, there are three types of organization related to ENGO, namely Grassroots Organization, Grassroots Support Organization and Regional, National and International Advocacy Organization.

Table 2-1. Main Types of ENGO

Grassroots Organisations (GOs)	These organisations are based within urban or rural communities where community members have organised themselves into a movement to campaign about particular environmental issues which have a direct impact upon community quality of life. In the Third World, environmental GOs often develop as a response to threatened livelihood concerns, such as the depletion of forest resources, upon which local incomes depend, by logging and mining practices. However, many also develop from anxieties concerning general quality of life within the community, such as pollution from nearby factories or from a lack of adequate basic amenity provision in the community.
Grassroots Support Organisations (GRSOs)/Service Organisations (SOs)	These organisations are often established by teams of highly skilled professionals, such as scientists, economists, agronomists or ecologists, in both the First and Third Worlds. The intent is either to help support community-based movements in the promotion of environmentally sustainable projects, or by themselves to initiate such projects in areas threatened by ecological destruction from local economic practices. Unlike GOs, many GRSOs/SOs are non-membership based, and are staffed by educated non-community members.
Regional, National and International Advocacy Organisations (AOs)	These are often large, highly professional organisations which initiate campaigns concerning a multitude of environmental issues at the regional, national or international scale. Campaign methods often involve publicity-grabbing educational programmes and the lobbying of governments, multilateral institutions or businesses on a variety of environmental concerns such as tropical deforestation and nuclear arms testing. The most prominent AOs are the membership-based First World NGOs such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace. However, many First World-established AOs do have a direct influence in the Third World for a number of reasons. First, they are made up of affiliations, many of which are now based in the Third World. Second, many of the issues they campaign on, are directly relevant to the Third World, for example, deforestation. Increasingly, indigenous national and regional AOs are being established within the Third World, particularly in those regions with a growing middle class (e.g. South and South-East Asia and Latin America).

Source: adopted from Clark 1991 in Bryant and Bailey 1997

Actor Mapping

Within political ecology discussion in which actor play important role, actor mapping is needed to identify which actors are involved within the movement. According to Aligica (2006), mapping process of institutions and stakeholders contains two dimensions, namely, static dimension and dynamic dimension, as he stated:

"A comprehensive institutional mapping procedure should be able to outline not only actors, resources, interests and institutions but also the trajectories, laws of motion, natural histories and accidents and contingencies hinging on a specific case." (Aligica, 2006)

In his book, actor network theory, Bruno Latour, 2004 proposed that, that to understand the actors, it needs to outline what actor has done. From the traces that actor left, it can be described the role of actor and the relations to its network. From both point of views, Aligica and Latour, then actor mapping is a study that try to trace or outline all the actor has done related to its action within a case or a container setting, what Bruno said a network. Then the container setting contains what Aligica said the trajectories, laws of motion, natural histories and accidents and contingencies.

Concluding remark:
This chapter shows that political ecology is a movement, which defends environmental value. The theory emphasizes that basis sources of power can be used to explain relation among actors. Within the theory is also a clue that domination power structures can explain how an actor influenced by other actor due to which source of power that is owned. Finally it is pointed out that contesting interests among actors which have different value usually use political power to gain what the actor desire.

Power relation theory explains about the relations among society using power as means to influence other person. Every actor's action has aim to influence other person. This theory is useful to explain the relation among actors that involves in the protets movement that will I discuss further in the next chapter. There fore, every actor relation can be understood as well as the implications and the impacts.

From the conflict definition provide general reasoning of a conflict happen. Using this generalization it can be recognized what behind the conflict of grassroots protest. More over staging conflict from pondy can be applied in identify the pattern of the conflict happen.

The theory also pointed out that every actor that typically plays within political ecology has unique characteristic. While in this chapter I elaborated and purpose that using actor mapping those characteristic can be convoluted into discussion about grassroots struggle that play important role in a social movement against government, in next chapter.

Actor typology founded by Bryant and Bailey can be a guidance to understand character of the actors that play in within the conflict. Understanding the actor character can distinguish to wich extent the actor interest, demand and value operate in order to gain more influence in the battle of power within the conflict.

Chapter 3
Narration of Grassroots Struggle
Between Equality-Environmental Dilemma

> "Everyone has right to own property alone as well as in
> association with others"
> (Article 17:1, Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948-1998)

The elaborated political ecology approach in chapter 2 emphasize the important of actor mapping, while regarding to the principles in actor mapping, it is important to outline what actor has done from the traces left by the actor. However before doing so, according to Aligica (2006), it is important outlining firstly the context, and then the character of the environmental problems, a flood problem in Surabaya, and inequality that encourage social protest. The reconstruction about what happened since 2002 until October 2007 will serve all those variables. In order to recognize actors behind within the conflict and its role, this chapter mainly presents the context, the character of the problems, chronicle of the protest and finally about actor mapping.

Environmental Problem: Surabaya and flood problem
Environmental justice said that every element of environment has the same right. Opportunities and inequalities happen in the relation among elements in environment. Those opportunities and problems are resulted from change, complexity, uncertainty, and conflict (Mitchell, 2001). Originally every element has the same right, but the dominance takes over more.

An example of inequality due to change, complexity, uncertainty, conflict resulted from human-environmental interest in Surabaya is riverside conflict, a conflict between government and community that live along riverside illegally. Flood problem is a starting point in this conflict.

Nevertheless, before come up to the detail, let me described the geographical, demographic, and economic situation of Surabaya. Surabaya City is situated on the lower reach of Brantas River Basin, which is located on East Java Province, Java Island. In geographical term, Surabaya City is located between 110° 30' and 112° 55' East Longitude and between 7° 01' and 8° 15' South Latitude. Based on government yearly report 2007, up to December 2007, the number of Surabaya municipality population is about 2,861,928 persons with average growth 1.2% per year.

Brantas River Basin is bounded by Mt. Broom (2,393 m) and Mt. Seer (3,676 m) in the east, and a series of mountainous area (elevation 300 to 500 m) in the south. In the middle reach, the Basin is bounded by the Arjuno mountain complex consisting of Mt. Arjuno (3,339 m), Mt. Butak (2,868 m) and Mt. Kelud (1,731 m). Mt. Wilis (2,169 m) and its ridges bounded the western area of the Basin, and the lower reach of Brantas River Basin, including Surabaya, is located around Madura Strait. The basin covers nine regencies or districts: Sidoarjo, Mojokerto, Malang, Blitar, Kediri, Nganjuk, Jombang, Tulungagung,

Trenggalek and five urban centers or municipalities; Surabaya (capital of East Java Province), Mojokerto, Malang, Kediri, Blitar. Below in figure 1 is illustrated Surabaya relative position in Brantas River Basin.
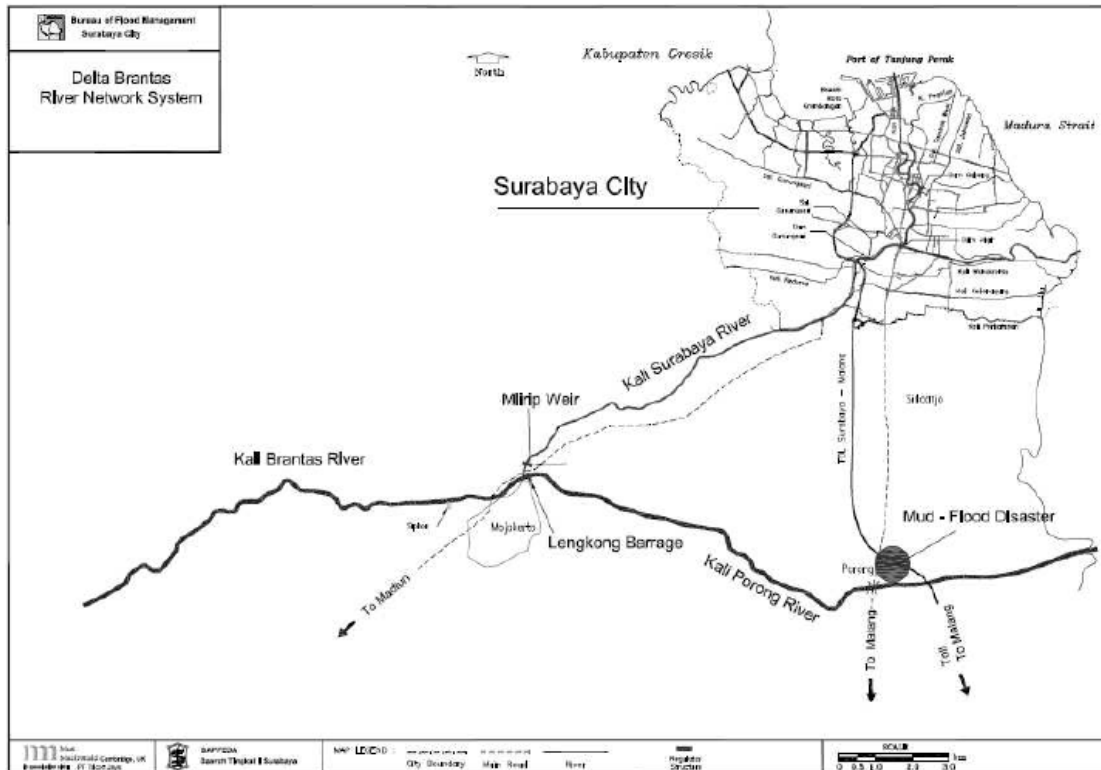
Figure3- 9 Delta Brantas River Network System
(Source SDMP, 2000)

From upstream to downstream river has an essential function in supporting river basin community life. Since ancient time, many people live close to the river bearing the river basin ecosystem life, water. As agricultural area, Brantas river basin is relying on river as the irrigation main source. Thus, paddy field, plantation and fishpond can to be kept on up to now. As sedimentation happened in lower reach area, Brantas delta area or Surabaya is fertile enough for agriculture. It is a reason why people came and developed agriculture in this area. And many factories rely on Brantas River as source of raw water, such as paper factory, textile factory, melting process etc. Surabaya drinking water company also use Brantas River as raw water for supplying clean water consumed by most Surabaya citizens even though the quality cannot be compared to potable water in most European countries. Other function of this river is for drainage system. Beside storm water drainage, from agriculture, factories to settlement area discharge their used water to the river. Undisputed, Brantas River has an important role for Surabaya life.

As the result of Brantas River attracting people to live in the delta part, land use in Surabaya City consists of both urban and rural activities. Urban land use consists of housing, commercial, industrial, offices and public service buildings, while rural activities consists of agricultural fields and fish ponds. The urban area is mainly in the

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central, southern and northern part of the city, but spreading to newly developing areas to the west and east of the city centre. Build up areas in Surabaya City in 2001 made up 63% of the whole city, while the rest are non-built-up areas such as agricultural, fishery, and vacant land. Fishery is a biggest component of non-built-up areas in Surabaya City. The vacant land is occupied mostly by private that nowadays probably some of them is developed to be a built up area. For instance, stated by Endra Saleh Atmaja[1] the mall construction in Surabaya should be stopped, the development is beyond the city demand and it can be resulted of imbalance economic development. Land use plan for Surabaya 2010 is presented below, figure 2:
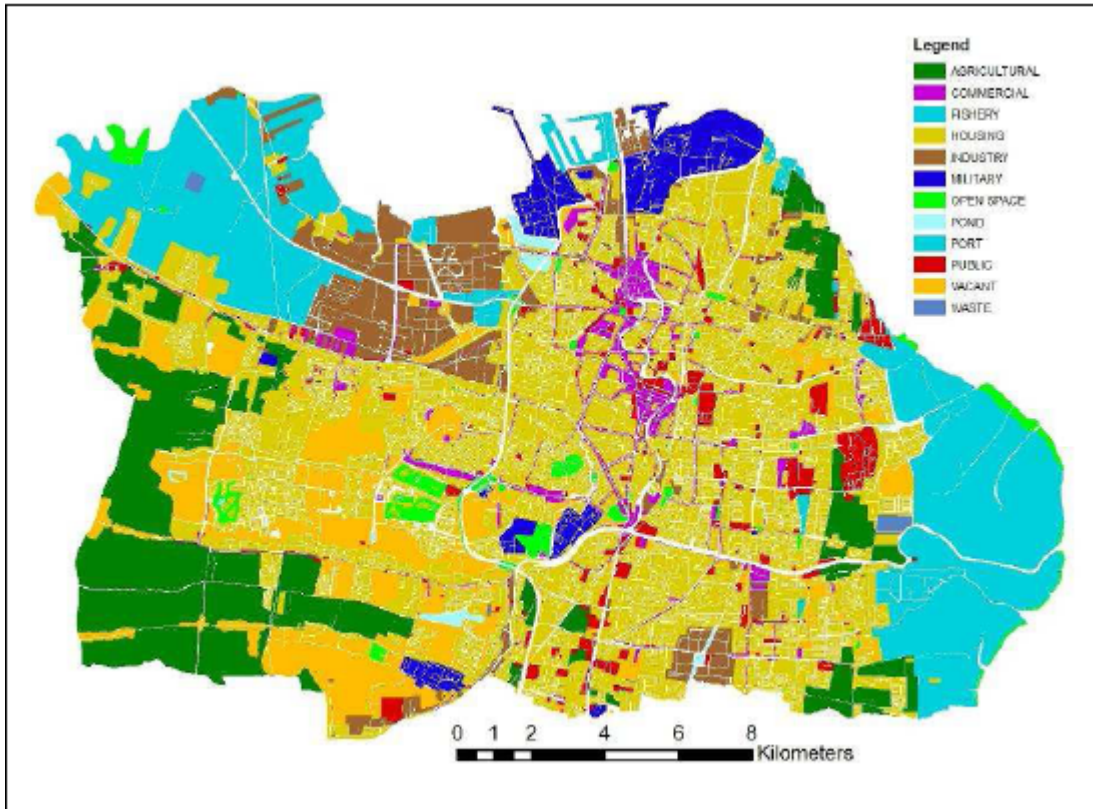
Figure 3- 10 Land Use Plan of Surabaya 2001

(Source SDMP, 2000)

While highly valued by people, Brantas river frequently serves flood problem to the society. According to Surabaya Drainage Master Plan 2000 (SDMP 2000), it is recognized that the major factors of increasing flooding in Surabaya are land development and increasing urbanization along Brantas River Basin, from upstream to downstream. However, the impact of proposed developments on drainage and flooding is not considered when building permits are issued. Developers are not required to provide adequate drainage in their development proposal. As consequence, government cannot go in pursuit of providing appropriate drainage network. The development of drainage network is not concurrently follow the development of built up area. Or in other word, the

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[1] Expert staff of national department of public work of Indonesia

drainage network development is less behind the built up area development. Reported by Kompas, on 24 November 2006, Suparto Wijoyo[2] stated that the flood problem is because of inappropriate policy, in which government focusing more on economic development than environmental preservation.

The other factors are the climate change, locally and globally and the tidal movement of the sea. The climate change locally is indicated by the report of BMG about increasing temperature within 100 year 1,5-1,6 ^{o}C. The urban heat island, the increasing temperature in urban area compare to surrounding, creates gap of air pressure that stimulate more rainfall intensity in urban area. Global climate change consequences to the city along coastline area are the raising sea level, uncertainty rainfall intensity and storms. From the BMG press statement about flood happened without experiencing any rain previously in Surabaya urban area 2007, the full moon and the sun initiate high tide flooding coastline area trough the river and drainage network.

Other issue related to Brantas lower reach river is pollution. As mentioned before, that Brantas River has drainage function for storm water and waste water, pollution become part of Brantas river problem. Lack of knowledge and littering costume cause Brantas River quality becomes worst, as shown by physical appearance of the water, turbid and dark. Littering costume of some people in Surabaya, put solid waste becomes one of flood causes as stated by government reported in Kompas, 7 March 2001. Solid waste clogs the sewers as seen in Figure 3. The solid waste volume is resulting river sedimentation.

Figure3- 11 Sewer and solid waste in Surabaya

Currently, flood becomes part of Surabaya daily life in rainy season. Within several years, flood comes to Surabaya regularly. Enduring flood yearly is one of public dissatisfactions to the local government performance. Prior study of social and economy

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[2] Envirobmental expert of Airlangga University, Surabaya

impact that endorsed the SDMP 2000, showed that flood displease the citizen of Surabaya especially for travel, movement and good distribution. According to Kompas 20 February 2003, based on Statistic Bureau Data interpreted by Wijoyo Santoso[3], flood has significant impact to economic inflation in East Java, 2002. The result of prior survey for SDMP 2000, in 1999 over 600 households in inundated area of Surabaya was 43% affected flood inundating their homes every year with average frequency 16 times per year, the average duration 11 hours and the average depth 16 cm. The worst flood was experienced by the few citizen happened 50 to 60 times per year, with duration 2 to 5 days and the depth 50 to 100 cm. Since, flood occurs during peak of rainy season from December to March for four months, thus these people got flooded inside their homes once a week in peak season.

Of these 600 households, 87% is affected street flooding every year outside their homes, with average frequency of street flooding was 30 times per year, average duration 12 hours and average depth 24 cm. And the most terrible flood was 70 to 85 times per year, with flood duration 3 to 7 days and flood depth 70 to 110 cm. A survey showed that area was affected by flood in Surabaya City is up to 14.5% of the total area. Built-up area that was suffered from flood is 15,826 ha or 22.7% of the total built-up area in Surabaya City. Below are figure 3 and 4, are the illustrations of inundation area which are characterized by the depth and the duration in 2002 and 2005.

The local government has tried to find a solution to the flood problem. Surabaya Municipality Government hired Mott MacDonald Ltd. (in Association with PT. Triconjaya) consortium, a private expert from foreign country to examine drainage problem. This consultant present in the plan document Surabaya Drainage Master Plan 2000 (SDMP 2000). According to SDMP 2000 , the river of Kali Surabaya and Kali Bratang should be widened 50 meter both side to catch more run off that are increase due to urbanization process. Sedimentation process in the delta also reduce the capacity of the river, there fore in spite of widening plan, there is regularly a excavating project every year prior to rainy season. River widening project is very crucial due to the unusual flood height in 1999 as I witnessed that many parts of Surabaya that never experienced flood was inundated by flood. Besides SDMP, Bath et. al (2005) stated that Brantas River Basin, since 1990, has been managed fully integrated by Brantas River Basin Management Corporation, or Perum Jasa Tirta I (PJT I) for the purpose of flood control and regularization of supply for irrigation, industry, and power generation.

Nevertheless, even though the flood management system is applied fully integrated, it is still a constraint for urban government to minimize the flood level. The occurrence of flood is reported every year by the press. The flood problem is forecasted will occur in next coming years as reported by Jatim Info 7 April 2008. Surabaya Municipality Department of Public Works (Dinas Pekerjaan Umum) stated that the number of pumps, 32 pumps, is not appropriate to overcome flood problems.

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[3] Wijoyo Santoso was a Chief of Economy and Monetary of Bank Indonesia (Indonesian Bank)
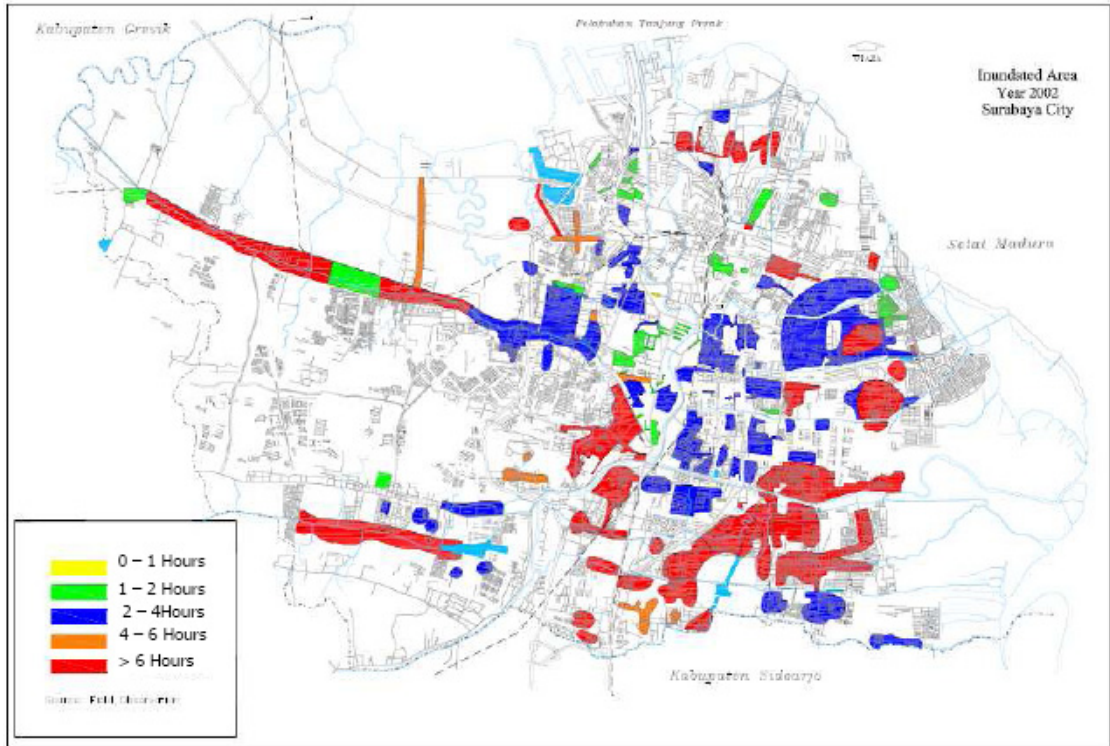
Figure3- 12 *Inundated Area of Surabaya City 2002*
(Source: Planning Board Surabaya Municipality)
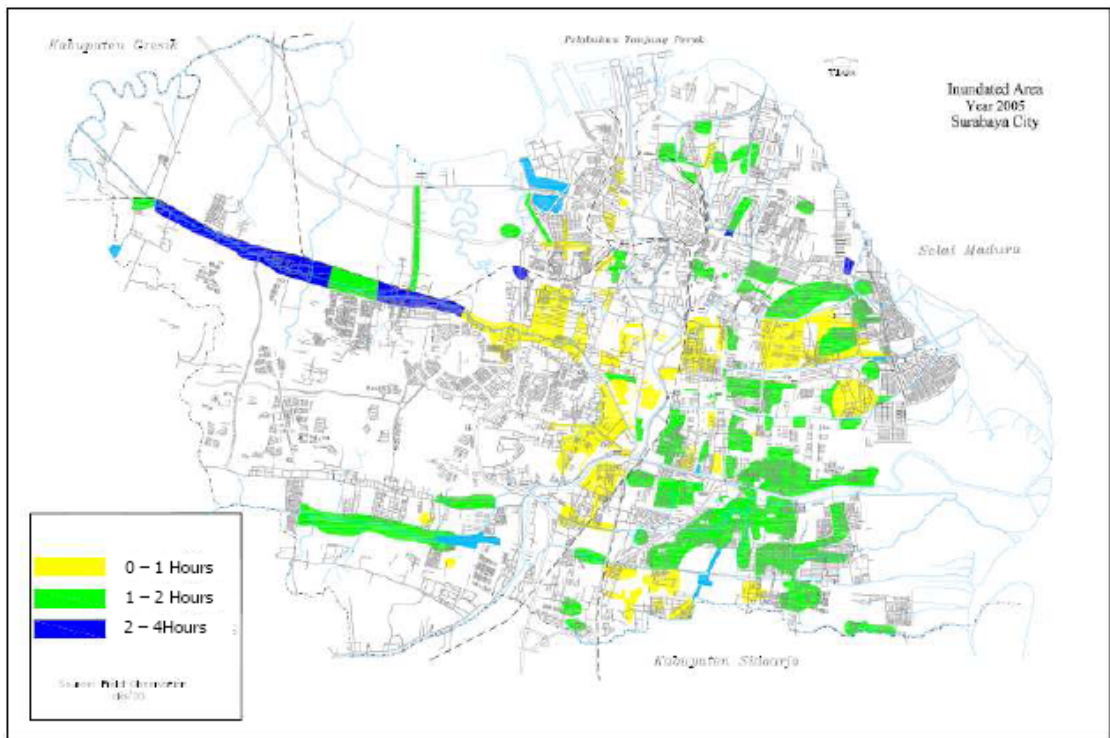
Figure 3- 13 *Inundated Area of Surabaya City 2005*
(Source Planning Board Surabaya Municipality)

Inequality: Riverside community (non dominant power) against State (dominant power)

Before entering the narrative about riverside community of Surabaya against government in competing their interest on riverside area, it is important to understand the political context that is a container for the social movement.

Indonesian Political System context, Reformation 1998

What happened in national level has impact to Surabaya Municipality and The Provincial Government of East Java. Budget constraint and corruption are two problems that sometimes create political tension in local level. Budget is considered as the constraint. Surabaya government claims that they need 50 pumps to overcome flood problem whereas the available budget is not adequate to provide additional pumps in the next 5 years. The statement indicates that the government financial is less supported in overcoming flood problem. Currently it is stated that the serial disaster has impacted to the government budget such energy crisis, that most of government budget is allocated in order to overcome socio-economic disaster by the energy crisis, such as health insurance and social financial support for poor people impacted by raising oil price.

Limited budget in Indonesia create competition among development sectors. For an illustration lately central government stated that by 2009, the financial allocation for education sector become 20% of government budget. It is higher than previous years. What education sector achieved is something that needs a long struggle movement from educational NGO, students, parents and PGRI (Indonesian national teacher association). Other illustration is oil price raise. Limited budget encourage government reduced the oil subsidy. Consequently, started after the announcement of raising oil price plan in early 2008 there were many protests against government plan. There are pro and contra among politicians and their devotee. Political tension boiled into culmination point in May 2008, when an anarchy protests in MONAS (Indonesian National Monument) happened and a student protests became student and police fighting.

Long before, serial protests were organized in order to fall down the Soeharto regime. Witnessing Indonesian Political changing in 1998, I believe that Indonesian people try to develop a new system which is more democratic than before. Experiencing the Soeharto regime that had power over Indonesia from 1967-1998, for almost 32 years, the system applied was such kind of limited democracy. It is portrayed by criticism song of Iwan Fals[4], famous Indonesian singer and composer that describe the legislative (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat) condition that only reproducing the powerful regime opinion.

Under regime Soeharto, there are many intellectuals and young politicians that were enlightened by the situation that restrained their movement. Then their idea spread out trough out the country, especially the young generation that disagree with the way

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[4] Iwan Fals is famous of songs with honest description lyric about situation under Soeharto regime. Many songs he composed in order to criticize the Soeharto regime. He had been banned by Soeharto regime because of his song lyric. Many people especially young generation becomes his fans. His songs were usually performed by students that made protest to the Soeharto regime in order to stir up spirit of protest.

government manage the nation. There fore after the fall of Soeharto regime, when there is no obstacle in expressing unusual or different idea, it is euphoria, everybody wants to be listened. Grassroots people that usually never spoke up, suddenly present their opinion. Filtering information was always done by regime Soeharto, after there has been implemented a new act about freedom in journalism, mass media reported not only what regime polished information but also inequality, injustice and many other bitter facts.

After the reformation, transparency and expressing opinion is something that inexpensive. People are not afraid to express their opinion. The citizens learn how to present their desire and opinion freely. They have a political awareness to speak their mind up. There is no frightening like previous period. They also learn how to deal with politic. Atmosphere of democratic nuance has started. War against inequality, injustice and corruption has been established.

As a unique institutional system, government system in Indonesia is well-known dominated by clientism, it becomes a problem in every sector of development including flood risk management. After ten years of heroic reformation, good governance is still a utopia for most citizens. Corruption is still become number one constraint. Inequality in the government

Narrative of "warga stren kali" protest (2002-2007)

I represent narrative conflict from both sides in order to get balance perspective, from the NGO and grassroots people, and the Government. Unfortunately there is limited source of Government's point of view. Overall the government still wants to continue the plan. More complete documentation comes from the NGO minute. This part will present the documentation of the dynamic comes from the NGO minute. The schematic presentation about the dynamic of the protest episode 2002-2007 is presented at the end of this part.

2002
After big flood in 2002 in capital city, Jakarta, that devastated infrastructure and economy of Jakarta, and suffered thousands people, Surabaya municipality paid more attention to flood problem in its city. The psychology effect, from NGO point of view, is the initiator why Surabaya Municipality took several actions related to flood management. One of actions is river revitalization, give back space to the river. To implement the plan, the government has to relocate crowded settlement along the Kali Surabaya and Kali Wonokromo which is occupied by thousand people.

It is different from the municipality point of view, that reason why it is initiated a relocation program is based on SDMP 2000 recommendation. Due to responsibility of Kali Surabaya and Kali Wonokromo management is related to higher authority, the municipality had to coordinate with Provincial Government of East Java authority.

Regarding to the act and regulation from higher level institutions, legally[5], the community has no right to live along the riverside.

But, according to NGO data, the settlement has existed since 50 years ago. A census of 1300 households show that most of the community 51,4% has been lived there more than 21 years, and 4,3% has been lived for more than 50 years. Among nine settlement areas along Kali Surabaya and Kali Wonokromo, the oldest area was Kampung Jagir and Kampung Bratang that has recognized as settlement area since 1960. 59,3% is a permanent settlement, 30,9% is semi permanent houses and 9,8% is non permanent houses.

In the NGO minute, on 26 March 2002, community that lives along Kali Surabaya got an official letter from Dinas Pengairan Propinsi Jawa Timur (Irrigation Board of East Java Province) which ordered them to demolish their settlement. Second official warning letter arrived on 4 May 2002. Prior to the first and second letter there was no prelude information that gave alert about relocation. What makes the community feels marginalized by their own government is that the business class, which has factories along the river, had a different service from government. That the business class had a meeting with the municipality government on 1 June 2002 was to discuss relocation program, the same thing that happened to riverbank community but in different way.

First relocation program was conducted in Kampung Panjangjiwo, Kampung Medokan Ayu and Kampung Nginden settlements in October 2002. The community in those settlements had to demolish their houses. They were promised to be relocated in public story house built by government. But the public house that was promised had not been finished. For three months those people lived in tents that were built over the ruins of their houses. They did not get loss payment of their land and house, instead of it they only got two years money for renting house. When the public house finished in 2005, unfortunately, only legal citizen of Surabaya, proved by official citizen identity card, is allowed to occupy the public housing. As ineffective database population updating in Indonesia, as well as in Surabaya, some of these suffered people did not have the identity card of Surabaya as requirement. As the result, some of them can not dwell in the public housing that was promised before.

2003
Regarding to that case, in January 2003, remains community, starting to organize themselves according to which settlement they live, refuse the relocation program. In early protest, the community was supported by Jaringan Rakyat Tertindas (Group of

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[5] Indonesian National Law Number 11/1974 about Irrigation
Government Act Number 35 / 1991 about river
Ministry of Public Work Act Number. 63/PRT/1993 about riverside, river usage, river basin and ex-river area
Ministry of Public Work Act Number 70/PRT/1996 about riverside line manual for Perum. Jasa Tirta work area for: Kali Surabaya, Kali Wonokromo, Kali Kedurus dan Kali Porong
East Java Governor Enactment No. 93 /1997 about Kalimas management
East Java Governor Enactment No. 134 /1997 about riverside usage plan along Sungai Kali Surabaya, Kali Wonokromo, Kali Kedurus dan Kali Porong

Marginalized Society). 6 January 2003, they went to see the Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure (Pemukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah). In 9 January 2003, the ministry sent a special team that had duty to observe and communicate with relocation victim and remains relocation target.

According to municipality government, why there is no following relocation program after the first relocation is because the government can not provide place for relocation. It is reasonable as reported in the mass media that government cannot provide adequate financial support to realize the SDMP 2000. That is why province government has pended the program until the government find appropriate place for relocation. This tension is probably a new constraint in order to widen the river. This is the challenge for the government in applying the plan. And more over, the constraint is the land property price, which is higher than the year plan of budget estimation. Most land reoccupation for the infrastructure development in Indonesia faces problem of overrun budget and takes longer time than the project estimation schedule plan.

Different explanation presented by grassroots people and the NGO, that in 10 June 2003, there was a dialogue between riverside community and government attended by the Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure, member of fourth commission of Indonesian Legislative Board, all member of Commission D of East Java Legislative Board, Secretary of East Java Governmental Province and Head of Irrigation Board of East Java Governmental Province. The community was supported by two NGO, Urban Poor Linkage and Jaringan Rakyat Tertindas. Consistent with this explanation, Kompas[6] reported on 11 June 2003, there was a meeting between riverbank community and the Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure. The results of the dialogue are:

1. The Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure ask the Government of East Java Province to stop the relocation program until it is enacted a provincial act about riverbank management.
2. In order to arrange the act draft, the Minister will form a special team that consists of delegations from National government, provincial government, municipality government, independent intellectual, NGO and relocation victim and relocation target.
3. The Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure is impressed by the community based river management that is offered by the riverside community.

On 18 June 2003, there was a meeting to discuss team making between riverside community supported by NGOs and government. The government asked the community to send name for team members from the community side. The day after, on 19 June 2003, the NGO and community gave the names for the special team to the government from their side including NGO and experts for technical assistance. The community spread the organization involving other communities which live along riverside and the organization become bigger consisting of 10 Kampong (settlement).

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[6] One of National News Media based in Jakarta

On 18 September, there was another meeting between riverside community and provincial government, Provincial Board of Public Work and Settlement. Community asked about the special team for analyzing riverside management. From the dialogue, there was an explanation why the team formation has not been established:

1. That there is an ambiguity about who suppose to establish the team formation for analyzing riverside management, the minister of settlement and infrastructure or the Governor of East Java Province.
2. There is not clear about names for team member, two sub districts have not submitted delegation names.
3. There is no expert that represent the riverside community

Waiting for the special team that was promised be founded by government, the grassroots people felt insecure. The Government proposed a draft act of riverbank management to the Provincial Legislative Board in September 2003. Feeling betrayed, riverside community supported by Urban Poor Linkage, arranged protest to the Legislative Board. They refused the draft act proposed by government because from their point of view the draft was not apt with the agreement, which was authorized by the Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure. And the result, the legislative board responded them and endorsed the riverside community's petition. Legislative Board refused to authorize draft and asked the government to form the special team as Minister of Settlement and Infrastructure order.

According to the government explanation, the draft was proposed because of the crucial problem that has to be coped immediately due to flood hazard risk management and the broad consequence to other sectors. Consistent with SDMP 2000, it is expected that by 2018 Surabaya will be free from flood. The government already arranged serial projects and programs in order to implement the SDMP 2000. If the relocation program is postponed, the widening program is postponed then the drainage network can not be connected to the river as the primary channel for drainage management. It is kind of government word that should be realized in 2018. Hence, the failure of government in establishing its word is burgeoning of distrust among citizens and further implication is economic development related to gain more investment.

According to NGO minutes, the Governor of East Java formed a team for examining the technical view about riverside management community consisting of experts that give community technical assistance. Both of team, community team and government team came to the same perception, that there will be a renovation for the river, giving land to the river, but how far the river width should be extended had not came to an agreement. In line with SDMP 2000, government was consistent proposing widening 15-25 meter to each side of the river, 62 meter in width for Kali Surabaya River and 66-100 meter in width for Kali Wonokromo River.

2004
Until December 2003, the team did not reach any draft, because it was always dissimilar opinion about the river width, the land width for the river and the drainage calculation. Then Minister of Public Work launched a ministry enactment number 380/KPTS/2004 about Riverside Line Adjustment in Part of Kali Surabaya River in Surabaya City, again

the riverbank community made a protest to ban the enactment applied for provincial act. The provincial legislative board made a negotiation to the minister about postponing the minister enactment.

2007
There was no progress of the act draft until May 2007 when the government proposed a new draft for riverside management act to the provincial legislative board. Of this new proposal, the community made a mass protest. They tried to convince the legislative board and asked them to visit their settlement that has been renewed since 2003. Responding to the community action, the legislative board made a discussion and negotiation with the riverside community. Supporting by NGOs the community raised the bargaining position with a presentation of riverside management proposal to the legislative board (Suara Indrapura, 10 November 2007).

NGO gave support with providing experts, which analyzed from hydrology, social and economic point of views. Both management riverside concepts, from community and government, were presented and discussed. Community proposed a concept of community based settlement renewal program and government consistent proposing concept give land to the river.

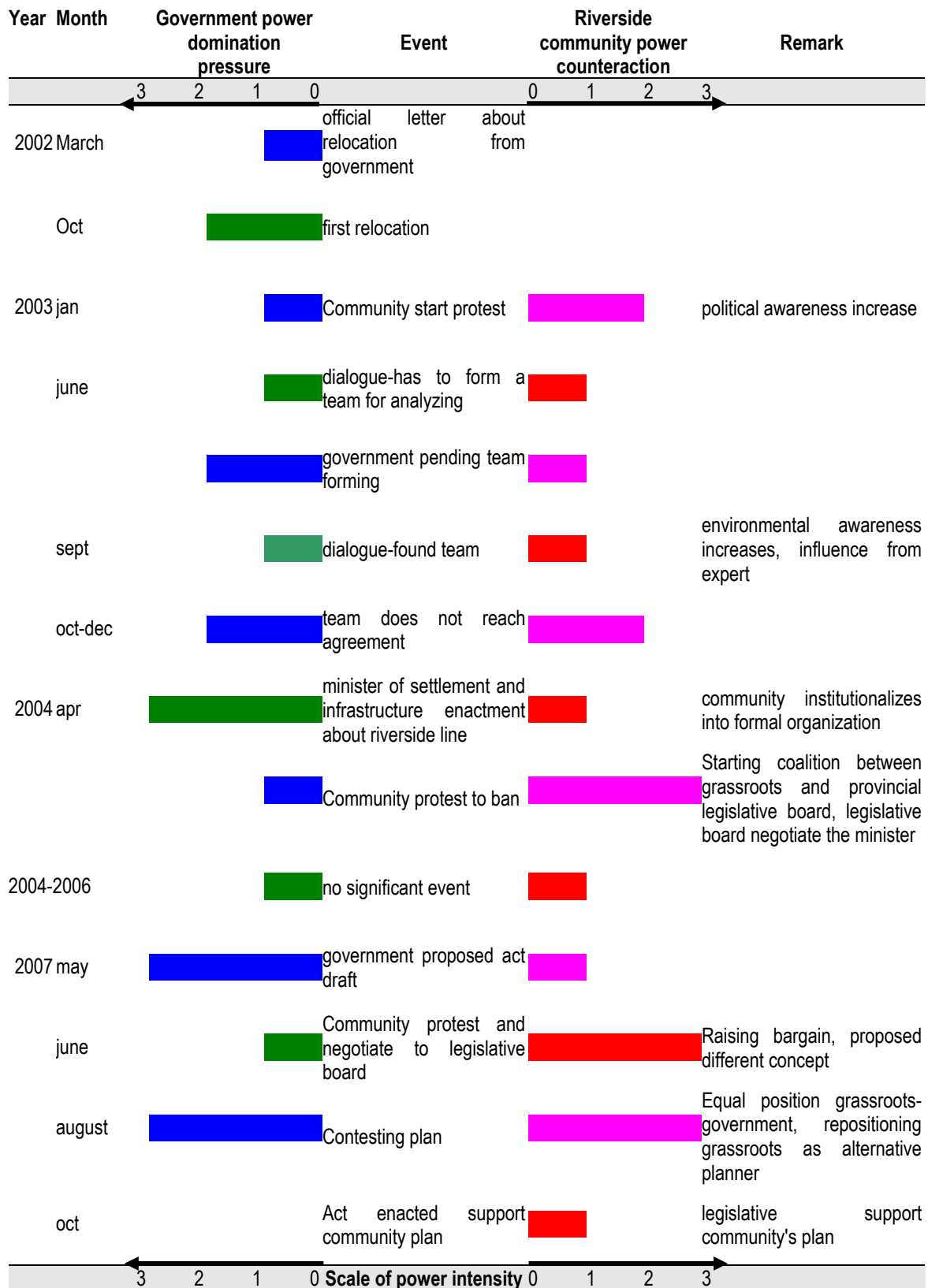| Year	Month	Government power domination pressure	Event	Riverside community power counteraction	Remark
		3 2 1 0		0 1 2 3	
2002	March		official letter about relocation from government		
	Oct		first relocation		
2003	jan		Community start protest		political awareness increase
	june		dialogue-has to form a team for analyzing		
			government pending team forming		
	sept		dialogue-found team		environmental awareness increases, influence from expert
	oct-dec		team does not reach agreement		
2004	apr		minister of settlement and infrastructure enactment about riverside line		community institutionalizes into formal organization
			Community protest to ban		Starting coalition between grassroots and provincial legislative board, legislative board negotiate the minister
2004-2006			no significant event		
2007	may		government proposed act draft		
	june		Community protest and negotiate to legislative board		Raising bargain, proposed different concept
	august		Contesting plan		Equal position grassroots-government, repositioning grassroots as alternative planner
	oct		Act enacted support community plan		legislative support community's plan
		3 2 1 0 **Scale of power intensity** 0 1 2 3			

Figure 3- 14 Intensity of power contest within grassroots-government riverside conflict in Surabaya 2002-2007

Characteristic of both community proposal and government proposal in order to cope flood in Surabaya is summarized in table 3-1 below:

Table 3- 2 Summary of Community Proposal vs Government Proposal

Community proposal	Government proposal
Community based riverside management	Giving land to the river
River as integrated river basin, all elements have responsibility to manage the river	River for receiving runoff of drainage system with 100 years rainfall peak estimation
Cause of flood : degradation of river basin catchments area from upstream to downstream	Cause of flood: poor drainage system
Provide inspection patch, 3 meter from the river	Widening river 66-100 meter in width, 15-25 river extension in both side of river
Strategy: Settlement renewal program, water front settlement plan	Strategy : Relocation program
More participative and communicative	Bureaucratic, rational approach
Minimizing social and economic impact	Put legal aspect over other aspects
Community self funding	State funding

After contesting both proposals, on 5 October 2007, legislative board took a decision, and put several point of the community proposal in the act of riverside management. However, this decision is not an absolute decision. There is a mechanism in which the act should be verified by the ministry of internal affair, to find out, whether the act against higher regulation or not. Up to now, the community is still wondering their future of living along riverside.

Actors Mapping

From the narrative explanation there are traces that left by the actors. Based on the traces, it can be outlined the actors within the movement. State/government and riverside community are two primary actors within the conflict. The conflict emerged because of these two actors competing their interest on the riverside. Other catalyst or prohibit is played by NGO.

State
State is the main actor within the conflict. Indonesia political system place the government as the executive and legislative board as the lawmaking. Within the conflict, it is recognized those two function, government that has relocation program and legislative board as the decision maker whether the program can be implemented or not.

- Government

In order to serve the citizen, the government has tried to solve flood problem that displease most of its citizen. According to flood problem analysis, there is a recommendation that encourage government to widening the river. Having coercive power (French and Raven, 1959), state/government has used its power to implement the plan. Everything that might be prohibited the implementation should be diminished, including the settlement along riverside.

Having two roles, promoting economy and preserving environment (Bryant and Bailey, 1997), the government took an effort to cope flood problem. Solving flood problem has broad impact to other sectors. It is good for economic sector. For instance the good distribution will be improved and the investors are not hesitated to invest their money. Citizen's financial allocation of survive in flood problem can be allocated for other demand, such as food quality or kid education. It is good for infrastructure life cycle. The infrastructure damage caused by flood can be reduced. It is good for citizen health. Prevalence of endemic illness caused by flood that happen every year can be reduced.

Here, state plays as A role that has legitimate power (French and Raven, 1959), in which State has authority influence to force its citizen that play role B. Also in this conflict, state believes that it has coercive power in which it can punish the citizen if the citizen does not obey to the rule made by the state. According to the legal aspect about riverside, it is clear that the most riverside community disobey the rule. As the dominant power state has to discipline its citizen that against the law. Implementing this power is very important to give certainty for the citizen about law enforcement.

But in this case, the law enforcement has implemented less consistent. Some of the riverside community has lived for more than 50 years without any warning or litigation. It is such kind of permission for other people to live there. After 50 years, gradually the area becomes a crowded settlement, it is difficult for government to enforce the law upon hundreds people. When the government relocated three settlements in October 2002, post relocation shows that state's preparation of the relocation is inadequate. Budget constraint is blamed of this failure. Many people suffered because of this relocation. The public housing had not finished yet when relocation was operated. And when it finished, the capacity was not sufficient to get all of them dwell in.

Inconsistency and failure in implementing its program created a chance for role B to counter the A role. A little distrust about the A power made the B dedication to A less than before. The chance is used by B role to rationalize its counteraction against A domination. As B role, the riverside community presents their counteraction trough a protest.

According the power map by Scott, 2001, in running the power domination, state get constraint from counteraction power set up by its citizen. Corrective influence that

should be promoted by state is lowering because of state mistake. Consistency in operating corrective is needed to block any chance for the B role to activate the counteraction power. So that, coercive or force power is lessening by itself. In this case, government can not continue its relocation program. Relocation program is operated in order to establish the corrective influence that owned by government. But counteraction power, a mass protest by riverside community is a constraint for domination power.

- Legislative board

Resonance the citizen aspiration within democracy system is very important to prove the legislative existence within the system. As formal institution, the legislative board has to consider the act and regulation besides representing citizen opinion when takes a decision.

Legislative board has played the role to defend the citizen desire. What legislative has done is blocking the government plan. Legislative board is positioning itself against the government. The community has convinced the legislative board to support them in order to block the government plan and allowing them to live along riverside. The power of expertise play important role. Even though the government also supported by reputable experts, the legislative board come into decision to support the community and believe what community proposed is better.

According to riverside management act, only part where community lives that is not widened. Other part such as business site or factory site is widened as stated in the government plan. This decision has opened other counteraction from business people. But the legislative is already blockage other counteraction. With the statement to the press, that there is no privilege to the business along riverside, they have to obey the act that has been enacted.

Riverside Community
As a citizen, marginal people has right on a place to live in. Other political right that should be considered as a citizen is a right to speak. As the target of relocation program established by government, opinion of the riverside community should be considered. This community has right to live in their country, and it is stated by Indonesia Constitution.

Compare to Indonesia period before reformation 1998, marginalized people could not present their opinion freely. Under regime Soeharto, military play important role to keep atmosphere of social politic under control. Intelligence division played a vital role. A little repressive movement against the state or government happened always redeemed by the military action. Participation means that citizens do not inhibit the government program or project.

The changing political system trigger the riverside community to made protest against the government plan. Also, the inability of government dealed with the first relocation upon

riverside community especially in providing enough public housing for the relocation targets encouraged them to fight for their life. It was inequal position, according to the law, state has right on the land where the community live on. State has power to make them move away. But state has obligation to garantee that all the citizen can live properly in this country.

The existence of the riverside community is a long history. According to the interview with the NGO, most of people of the community is low class with small income. Limited income made them live in the riverside area even though it against the law. Land tenure system implemented in Indonesia keep aside people with less money. Only with money or from inheritance, a citizen can possess a land. Case like this community is commonly happen in big cities in Indonesia. Most of them earn money from informal sector or work as small labors. Day to day of their earned money is only to keep their survival.

Poverty is still number one problem in Indonesia. Approximately 30% of Indonesian population live with poorness. Budget constraint and large foreign debt are two primary problem for government financial. There fore, inability to provide social housing for the less fortune people is reasonable. Conssequently, many less welfare people can not afford appropriate housing like the riverside community. It is consistent with Choguill (1996) argument that state sometimes neglect the poor people's demand.

Relocation program planed by government made the riverside community feel insecure. Their livelihood is threatened. Gloomed by insecure future life, changing relative geoposition from their present life, made the community in big trouble. Feeling insecure, having same problem, encourage this community to organize themselves against the program. Life and existence are something worthy to be fight for.

Blocking the government goal about relocation program has been done by community trough several actions: (1) they make a protest every time when government takes action in order to continue its plan (2) they negotiate to the minister of settlement and infrastructure (3) they negotiate the provincial legislative board. First action was taken to block the government plan temporary in order to gain extension time. Second and third actions were taken in order to raise their position equal with government. They borrow third party that has more power than provincial and municipality government. The minister in hierarchy of government has higher level position. And provincial legislative board has power in decision making process together with provincial government. As citizen representation, they should listen to citizen voice.

Within their movement against relocation program from government, riverside community has raised their bargain. The NGO role cannot be aside. NGO play important role in raising the power position of the community. In order to convince the legislative board, the community of riverside has broaden their knowledge about environment and improved their behavior on environment. Here are several efforts which have been done by the community:

- In 2004, officially the riverside community founded an organization that estalished to promote environmental quality improvement, Paguyuban Warga Stren Kali Surabaya.
- Broadening their knowledge about environmental awareness
- Build environmental awareness since kid age with five reading zone for kid.
- Improving their financial through entrepreneurship activities, paving block and brick procesing, traditional medicine procesing and garbage composting procesing.
- Collecting money for renewal fund trough monthly saving that organized by the woman
- Solid waste management, segregating the garbage, organic and inorganic waste, then treat the organic waste trough composting process and sell the inorganic waste to be recicled.
- Regreening surrounding area and riverside line
- Do self planning for settlement renewal program with experts supporting from Petra University, Surabaya and Duta Wacana University, Yogyakarta

Raising their bargain the community can convince provincial legislative board that the community has a commitment to manage the riverside. The presentation which they performed about their renewal program is more convincing the legislative board than the government did. For many years the riverside community was blamed as one of the pollution source. Their littering habit, throwing garbage to the river and discharging black water and grey water to the river has changed to fulfill their commitment to the act. Obeying the act can give secure feeling for the community. They have chosen better choice to survive.

NGO
The role of NGO within the conflict is important. There are two important NGOs that support the community. The NGO succeed to promote environmental awareness to the community. NGO also strengthen the community bargaining position. NGO here plays as catalyst for the resolution emergence. What NGO did cannot be aside. Funded by foreign organization, Germany and Canada, the NGO also give financial aid to the community. What NGO had done is consistent with Choguill (1996).

NGO play important position in improving political awareness of the community. Organization that is formed by the community cannot be solid enough without the role of the NGO. In this case the official NGO that is registered in the government record. This NGO has broad network in national level. According to NGO website, Urban Poor Lingkage Organization has national and international network.

The network made the Surabaya branch get information from the broad network. It is a possibility to exchange and transfer idea, from one region to other region, or from one nation to other nation. Like what they did when transferring the idea of water purification from Thailand to the Surabaya riverside community. This network also has rich expertise about other environmental quality improvement. Having expertise make the NGO has significant power to influence the community, government and legislative board. What they did in providing expert that help the community to make renewal plan

is an expert power. It agrees with French and Raven (1959) basis power, that power can be sourced from expert power.

When grassroots people organized themselves to promote environmental quality improvement in their area in order to keep their survival, it can be categorized as a non governmental organization. According to Clark (1991) in the Bryant and Bailey (1997) there three type of NGO. The organization of the community itself can be categorized as a grassroots NGO. In this case, organization is founded to institutionalize their movement. Having the same goal, to keep their interest to live along riverside legitimated, the organization is important to present the collective voice of the community. Containing community into an organization has a lot of benefit to their movement. The collective voice is more listened than individual voice. Individual voice only represents individual desire. The same fate made the community feel strengthen each other, because there are many friends with the same problem.

Within a community, a leader that can resonance the desire and has charisma or higher level knowledge is very important in the community. Reported by press (Suara Surabaya and Kompas) several times, the leader play important role to establish their existence, desire and problem to the public. In this case, French and Raven (1959) basis power can explain the relation between A and B as referent power. A is defined as the leader of the community and B is defined of the rest persons in the community. B recognized that it is a necessity to be controlled or influenced by A because they need A influence to lead their movement. There is a hierarchical structure within the organization that establishing Waras Riyanto as the leader of community. Other important role is negotiator role. Negotiator has vital position to promote the organization desire to its opponent.

Concluding remark: Inequality and Environmental problem (flood problem)
Learned from the narrative, this chapter shown that Environmental problem is the setting of the conflict. Environmental problem is the setting of the conflict. Environmental problem has encouraged marginal people to fight to have more power in the political system. Environmental value is a material that is defended. The main actors reposition the environmental problem as the main discussion. Government put flood problem and pollution problem to legitimate its relocation plan. And the community makes a bargain with offering environmental quality improvement for coping the flood and pollution problem.

Inequality to have a better place to live on is the main reason why the community is very stubborn to continue their dwelling upon riverside. As marginal community that lives with small income, inequality does not stop them to participate promoting better environmental quality. Inequality within the relationship between state and citizen in the power distribution cannot stop their movement to get equal right to live according to their own choice. And they believe that where they live does not disturbing other citizen right to have better environment quality. They believe what they has done is a participation for city development.

State domination is lessened within the movement. The power has been distributed. This case has been redefined the position of the actors within political ecology. This conflict indicates the ability of grassroots people to participate in the planning process. Their desire and commitment to promote environmental quality improvement are an advantage for the planner and decision maker to listen to their problem and limitation of livelihood in order to make an appropriate planning decision. Planning is not free of value.

After recognize the role of actor, next chapter will describe how resilient the grassroots people and they has ability to reposition their position and others. It is interesting to see the shifting resulted from the consequence of grassroots movement.

Chapter 4
Grassroots, Resilience, Repositioning and Governance Adjustment

> "Everyone has the right to take apart in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representative" (article 21:1, Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948-1998)

The relation between citizen and government is established world wide. Everybody has right to participate in performing good governance and to get advantage as citizen of a country from the governance system. Thus, the good governance is a collective action involving all citizens together to achieve national goal. The discussion about conflict between government and riverside community in Surabaya has broadening political movement in Indonesia. An abstraction of this unique case can be summarized into two schemes namely: staging conflict and shifting of actor position before and within conflict will become one of the important substances in this chapter

Besides those schemes, after mapping the actors presented in chapter three, it is obviously clear about the actor roles in building the conflict, from actor who stimulate the conflict, actor that fight and bargain, actor that make a coalition to actor that make resolution. The process of emerging the movement and the roles of actors in it, is important to recognize the pattern and primary cause of the movement. Factors that make the movement happen and be maintained by the actors is a container or specific situation enabling the movement. End of discussion, it is important to understand what consequences can be generated from this conflict.

General process of movement emergence
The conflict between government and riverside community happened because of incompability of the demands, desires, and point of views. It is consistent with Raven and Kruglanski (1970) definition about conflict. The incompability is showed by government intention to relocate the riverside community and the community desire to continue their dwelling on riverside area.

If it is compared to heroic drama, grassroots play as the hero, protagonist or center, in which, what other role do is related to what grassroots do. The protagonist finally solves the problem and quit as the winner of the battle against the antagonist. The protagonist can manipulate the situation whatever terrible event happen. Protagonist is blessed with tough potential. Grassroots has proved it, that they can change situation, from under pressure, to win the battle. And they have resilient from terrible situation.

Shown by raising bargain position of grassroots, like in kung fu movie such as animation movie Kung Fu Panda[7], the hero trained to have equal position in the battle against the antagonist that usually has more power, grassroots has been trained to have awareness of politic and environment. NGO play support actor in developing grassroots political awareness. Pressures from government made grassroots in cul-de-sac[8] situation. The only way to survive is defeating the antagonist. Like Darwin's natural selection law, the winner of competition will survive. Whenever people faces cul-de-sac situation, the latent power of mankind usually appear.

The power sources can be generated from everything surrounding cul-de-sac path. In order to achieve his/her desire and interest, grassroots use politic as the means of enabling the aim. In this case grassroots generate power in politic battle trough three approaches, namely (1) collective power; (2) coalition power; (3) cul-de-sac power. They institutionalize themselves to get solid power of collective. The bigger the organization, the more people are represented. Then they make coalition in order to gain more power with NGO and finally with the legislative board. This coalition has flipped the situation of being under pressure to be being equal. Cul-de-sac power means that a latent power of grassroots has emerged in cul-de-sac situation enabling the collective power and coalition happened.

This flipped situation forced the government to compete with grassroots that usually was neglected. Like antagonist role, government does not allow the grassroots win the battle. Tricking and playing its domination power, government position is forced against the grassroots people. The government has to present its plan that significantly done by reputable expert. Lot of money has been paid to the consultant in order to get significant plan in order to solve flood problem in Surabaya.

Regarding to flood problem and riverside settlement, go beyond 50 years before first settlement was built on riverside, the reason why there is a settlement is questioned. Lack of environmental awareness and poverty make people start to live on riverside area. They do not aware of the consequences of living on riverside. Littering solid waste and domestic waste to the river is bad costume that makes the river polluted. River sedimentation resulting more narrow and shallow Kali Surabaya River and Kali Wonokromo River, resulted flood problem. According to the interview with the NGO, most of people that live on the riverside area is less welfare households with low income. Living on riverside is because of limited choices of place to live on. Logically, According to the NGO, if those people aware of the environmental consequence of living on riverside and there is another choice for the poor people to live on, those people will not live on the riverside. Concurrently, if the government is constantly keep the riverside free of settlement as said by law and act, there is no settlement along riverside like what happen today. Then, there had not been a conflict between grassroots and government.

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[7] Kung Fu Panda animation movie, directed by John Stevenson and Mark Osborne, Po the lazy panda has no experience at all of kung fu. The master trained him in order to against snow leopard, Tai Lung, a kung fu master that is powerful but evil. A hero is needed in order to protect the city from evil Tai lung.
[8] Cul-de-sac; a dead-end street, an impasse (www.thefreedictionary.com/cul-de-sac)

The pattern of the conflict episode of grassroots against government can be described in the scheme conflict episode, shown in figure below:
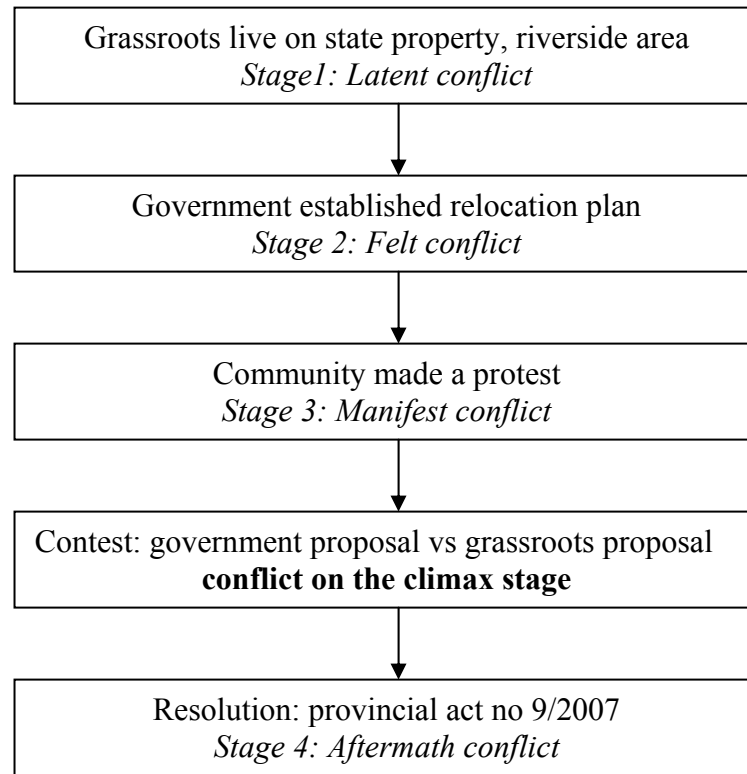
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Grassroots live on state property, riverside area │
│            Stage1: Latent conflict            │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│       Government established relocation plan  │
│             Stage 2: Felt conflict            │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│            Community made a protest           │
│           Stage 3: Manifest conflict          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Contest: government proposal vs grassroots proposal │
│          **conflict on the climax stage**     │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      │
                      ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Resolution: provincial act no 9/2007   │
│           Stage 4: Aftermath conflict         │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 4-1 Staging conflict of grassroots vs government (adopted from Pondy 1967 conflict staging)

This finding pattern can be analyzed using Pondy's framework. Conflict staging by Pondy 1967 can explain the movement emergence. Latent conflict was started when some people began to live on state land along riverside 50 years ago. Then, when government established relocation plan, tension is started. The community felt insecure. It was felt conflict started. Community initiated to organize themselves to raise the tension. Then they promote a protest against the government plan. It is a manifest conflict when the community tried to block the government goal of relocation. They raise their blocking power trough many activities, institutionalizing their movement into renewal program that established since 2003, promoting a community based riverside management program with NGO and experts, and making negotiation with legislative board and government. The climax of conflict happened when there was a contest of proposal plan on riverside area between grassroots and government. Their fighting comes into a remarkable achievement when their existence and desire are legitimated into provincial act about riverside management. This act is a tribute to their movement. The act is an indication of conflict aftermath. It is such kind of resolution between government and riverside community.

Factors enabling the conflict

The emergence of the conflict can not aside other factor as container of the conflict. Like a chemical reaction in an experiment laboratory, where temperature, catalyst, concentration of the material and the characteristic of materials reaction are factors that enable a chemical reaction happen. In the reaction tube those material happen. This reaction tube associated with the conflict container, and then there are factors that influence the conflict. Discussing about factors that trigger the conflict, there are several factors that are adjusted from the narrative and descriptive analysis of actors:

1. Environmental problem as the setting
   The first issue that launched by the government is environmental problem, crucial problem of flood. Then the physical appearance of river is black and in some part covered by garbage. Government that responsible to environmental quality, has duty to defend this value. Therefore a plan to solve the flood problem is proposed. But counteraction of the grassroots made the corrective power of government lessen. The grassroots propose a solution without relocating them.

2. Less consistency of state corrective power
   The inconsistency of legitimated state to correct disobey citizen has give opportunity to the emergence of counteraction. As illustration, when a person is not consistent with his/her words, then it might be a hypocritical person. What you say is different from what you do. Other people tend to distrust this kind of people. State has many regulations about riverside, but for almost 50 years, the regulation is only meaningless paper. There is no warning or litigation to the people that disobey the regulation. Therefore, there is an ambiguity of law enforcement.

   The grassroots people do not feel that the problem is only because of them. With expert power, provided by NGO, the grassroots counter the government justification, that flood problem is about river basin management from upstream to downstream. The cause of the flood is not only because of them, but also involving all elements that connected to the river, like rainforest, agriculture, illegal logging etc. therefore, relocation thousand people after 50 years without law enforcement action, is very late action due to a bunch of regulations

3. Disappointment when state fail to accommodate citizen right
   Disappointment about government performance has burgeoned among the citizens. Many people live in less welfare situation. 17,75% of population or more than 39 million people is live in poverty, stated by government in 2007. But relating to Indonesian daily life, the number is questioned. In the contrary, stated in the Indonesia constitution that state has to guarantee all the citizen right including, right to take a part in the government, right to get a livelihood, right to get to be taken care of by the state. Also the state responsible to develop a social security system for everybody and empowers the weak and underprivileged in society in accordance with their dignity as human beings.

Grassroots people is part of citizen that their right should be guaranteed by state. Therefore a lot of disappointment related to government performance, in the contrary, the press report lately is dominated by corruption issue among government staff. While, budget constraint always be reason that government can not maximize the performance. The grassroots people questioned the government, why it is such kind of discrimination that they are always blamed and sacrificed in the name of development.

4. Political system changing, opening chance to everybody to speak
   Transparency or "openness" is a spirit that enables people to speak in front of public about their opinion. The different perspective of seeing flood issue, grassroots people is has wide chance to express it in front the public. This new political system of Indonesia enables the people to make a counteraction if the domination power is bias in implementing its power. Less consistency of corrective power and disappointment of government performance, encourage the people activate the counteraction. More over they feel to be blamed for the less consistency of corrective power. However, if the political system is autocratic or dictator, it is difficult to make a countervailing to the domination power, because the domination power is too powerful and need an equal power to compete.

5. Increasing awareness about political right
   Even though the situation is relevant for raising conflict, political awareness is important to elaborate the initiation of a movement. Without political awareness, that they have right to speak. This people will not initiate a protest. Compare to Suharto regime, only few die hard people that made a protest. Now anybody can make a protest without being afraid.

6. Cul-de-sac situation as effect of pressing
   As explained about cul-de-sac situation that can push latent power of grassroots has appeared. In the cul-de-sac situation there is almost no fighting from the grassroots, this remarkable people try to have equal position, not only equal as citizen but also equal to have right take a part in the government. The power relations and supported by NGO then experts. Made their power cannot be neglected by state.

Social movement consequences
Further discussion is about social consequence of the movement. Sometimes the consequence is only a slight almost invisible, and sometimes the consequence is very extreme. From the case of riverside community against government, several consequences are indicated by several evidences that spread out in the political context container. Social change and adaptation of actor role within planning process of riverside area in Surabaya brought a new perspective about grassroots position.

Social Change
The riverside community and NGO have broadly used the press power in promoting their movement. Not only local press they use for promotion but also the national press level.

There fore, what they did has been broadly known by public and other formal institutions in other part of Indonesia.

It is discussed about the consequences within informal and formal institution perspective. Informal institution consequence is shown by the individual perspective changing. More interesting is shown by a shifting perspective of formal institution within the conflict episode.

o   informal institution (individual perceptual change)
Within and after the conflict there is a changing about environmental awareness. The community is demanding to broaden their knowledge about environment in order to raise their bargaining position against the government. Individually the community voluntarily learn about environmental management, because they believe that what happen to them at that time is because their lack of knowledge. Voluntarily they provide their settlement to be renovated because they believe what they offer can raise their bargain in the negotiation and convince the state that they have a commitment.

Environmental awareness is stated by Waras Riyanto, 50 years old, the riverside community leader when he was interviewed by Kompas on 23 June 2007. He stated that:

> "Once, I run after a person that had littered trashes on our kampong path. We really do not want our kampong becomes dirt or slum."

What Waras Riyanto stated indicates that the community has been enlightened that they have to be aware about environmental quality. There fore, voluntarily they improve their behavior to the environment. Other evidences are shown by the activities that they have held since 2003. Such as
-   Building environmental awareness since kid age with five reading zone for kid.
-   Managing solid waste, segregating the garbage, organic and inorganic waste, then treat the organic waste trough composting process and sell the inorganic waste to be recicled.
-   Regreening surrounding area and riverside line

Political awareness has increased since they made a protest to the government and legislative board. Even though they aware that they live illegally on the state property, they aware that they have right to be protected from inequality as stated in the Indonesian Constitution that an Indonesian citizen has right to be free from torture. Their right to live on an appropriate place should be protected. State should not abandon them. Supporting by NGO, they maintain the social movement to get justice and to get legal acknowledgement from the state. They do not quit until their desire is acknowledged by state.

Other evidence is shown by organization, paguyuban warga stren kali or riverside community organization that was founded in 2004. According to Indonesian

constitution law article 28, a citizen has right to assembly, association and expression of opinion. They had expressed their desire and demand without being afraid to be tortured by anybody or by state that usually happened in the past under Soeharto regime. As illustration, under regime Soeharto, there were serial kidnapping actions of activists that made serial protests against the regime. The climax of the kidnapping actions happened during reformation period 1997-1998. Up to now, KOMNAS HAM (Indonesian Human Rights Commission) still investigates what happened to the kidnapping victims.

Compare to implementation of Indonesian relocation program in the past, such as transmigration program that could not be refused by citizen, what the riverside community did is a brave action. Under Soeharto regime, if government stated that they had to migrate to other island, they had to obey what government said. Like what happened to community in Kedung Ombo, Wonogiri, Central Java in middle 80s. 37 villages were drowned to be a huge dam. 23,000 people were relocated for the dam. They could not refuse the relocation program. The loss payment was corrupted by some people in the government. The community was being terror until they obey what government said. The military troops sent to coerce and intimidate the community. They had no other choice. They had to move. They migrated to other islands of Indonesia. Eventually, the transmigration program failed to reach the main aim of the program, as stated in the Indonesia's Transmigration Program – An Update, that transmigration program failed, rather than alleviated poverty, the program has redistributed poverty (Adhiati, 2001).

What community has done is indication for better democracy process and better environmental behavior. The changing political system is on the right track. The awareness of political right has increased as well as environmental awareness. Limitation and situation encourage them to get awareness why they are marginalized. Recognizing that lack of knowledge of environmental behavior is one of the reasons they are blamed as pollution cause, they are brave people that voluntarily improve their environmental behavior.

o   formal institution
    This case shows the changing perception of state institutions and society institutions. In the planning process, according to Indonesian national law number 24/2004 about planning system, citizen can participate in several stages. In the lower level, citizen can state their desire or demand in neighborhood level that will be continued by the leader to kampong level, village level, sub district level then municipality level. It is rare that community directly influence the planning process in the decision making stage. The case of riverside community against the government in Surabaya that the decision maker allowing riverside community proposing a plan is claimed to be the first case in Indonesia. The changing happened within the relations between (1) legislative board and citizen, (2) government and citizen and (3) citizen and citizen

    Legislative board and citizen. Within the conflict between riverside community and government, the legislative play role as the citizen desire. It acts supporting the

community desire and defend the community right and interest. This is a changing political system, in which the legislative has been re-functioned into its original function for representing the citizen voice in the governance. This case indicates that democracy process especially in Surabaya, is on the right track. Reformation era which has goal to reposition the state institutions and citizen as stated in the Indonesian Constitution, has been success in containing good governance that is one of many goals of reformation. It is a transparent process, in which public has wide access to the decision making process. There is no blockage of citizen political right in the governance context.

Within Indonesia political system, the member of legislative board covers the partisan's aspiration in order to get input for decision making process. Why it is a privilege for the riverside community allowed to involve in decision making process is correlated with the legislative board duty to cover the citizen aspiration. It is a changing. Related to reformation process, in which in the previous period, when Soeharto had power, covering citizen aspiration is only a lip service to rationalize the government program. In the interface period, from Soeharto period to reformation period, role of legislative board has been adjusted gradually.

The interest of marginal people was usually neglected. Lately, Indonesia's public attention goes to legislative board activities. Reported by press frequently, some legislative board members only focus on elite people interest, not the general public interest. What East Java provincial legislative board allowing the riverside community involves in the decision making process directly, has changed the old perception about legislative board. From this case, legislative board has proved that they visibly care about marginal people and poverty alleviation. This proved that the intensity of legislative put up citizen voice has increased.

What the legislative had done with the community plan is a short cut to bureaucracy. Within Indonesian system, the legislative member can propose an act draft, but it is very rare case, mostly government that proposes the draft. Usually, the act draft is proposed by fraction that represents a party. But in this case, the riverside community proposed in front of the legislative, not fraction. This case indicates that government role in providing a policy plan can be replaced by collective citizen power. So that, there is a changing perception among public about government role in providing act draft and plan on state property. The short cut provided by the legislative board is the way for citizen to get access of proposing a plan or policy on state property.

Government and citizen. As explained before, about Indonesian planning system that citizen involvement in the planning process is a representative staging system like a pyramid process, from lower level to higher level of government institutions. A citizen can propose a project or program regarding to his/her demand or desire trough this staging. Within this process, the standard whether the project or program proposed by citizen is appropriate or not to be realized depend on the government strategic plan. There fore, rarely all citizen's demands and desires are covered in the government final draft proposed. Budget constraint and limited government's work

capacity are the reasons why it is happened. It is rare that the citizen can directly propose a plan within the decision making process.

In this case, citizen position is in the same level with the government. Both of them proposed riverside management plan. This case indicates that citizen collectively can propose a plan without filtered by government's strategic plan. Indonesian system is allowing private developer propose a plan on their own land. Compare to this case, the developer only has authority upon their property, not the state property like the community did upon riverside area. And the developer proposes a plan to get permit from the government, not propose a policy on the state property.

Compare to empowerment program, such as Kampong Improvement Program conducted by Indonesian Government, riverside community did is relatively different. For Empowerment program conducted by government, the impact of the program is aimed to the community target. They make a plan by themselves, to be conducted by themselves, to improve their quality of life. What Surabaya riverside community did is slightly beyond empowerment program. They improve their quality of life in order to get equal position with the government. They felt marginalized by government plan and policy. Improving quality of life is a bargaining power against inequality. They want to change their future which has impact to other sectors, other government programs, other institutions, and other citizens.

Citizen and citizen. This entire case shows collective power of citizen in which the relation between a citizen and other citizens has been institutionalized into an organization. Then, there is applicable to make a relation between a citizen and organization or between one organization and other organization. The non government organization is play important role in the perception changing. The NGOs, namely, grassroots organization and the support organizations together maintaining their movement against government plan on riverside area has brought many changing on public perception.

The collective power of grassroots organization supported by NGO is a new institution that had won a battle against government domination within planning process. That always maintaining their movement against government can bring a new perception about institution concept. Legally, their collective movement has been acknowledged as a new non government institution that can provide a competence plan upon state property or natural resource. In this case riverside area is part of river basin, a natural resource.

This case shows that community can institutionalize themselves into a formal organization that has a leader, structure and reporting mechanism. This member of organization is based on geo-position of their settlement. Previously, under Soeharto regime, community organization based on geo-position is formed as a result of government program, like Family Welfare Movement known as PKK (Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga), a woman movement, that has structure from neighborhood level into national level, which staffing is related to husband position

in the governance system. This empowerment movement is related to establishing government program. Compare to riverside community organization, what the organization had done has influenced to government policy. This is a mile stone in Indonesia planning practice, in which a new concept of grassroots institution involving in planning process has been established.

Actors – role of actor adjustment and adaptation
Political ecology container has brought influence to the actors playing in the planning process in Indonesia. Environmental and political awareness has increased the participation of citizen in the planning process. Perception that planning is only can be promoted by the state has changed. It is such kind of power distribution. The power to plan has been distributed. The citizen can participate more active formally. Previously, only government has authority to propose a plan. Participation does not only mean that people know about the government plan. People have power to disagree, present their desire and change the government plan.

Related to those changing, the role of actor has been adjusted and adapted into new concepts of actors-interrelationship. To what extent the role in Indonesia planning context has been adjusted and adapted is interesting to be discussed further.

The actor position within conflict can be described using simple diagram figure 6 below. Examining power relations that arise among actors, the changing planner position can be explained based on these power relations. Finally, a coalition between NGO, grassroots and legislative, happen empowering the grassroots people.
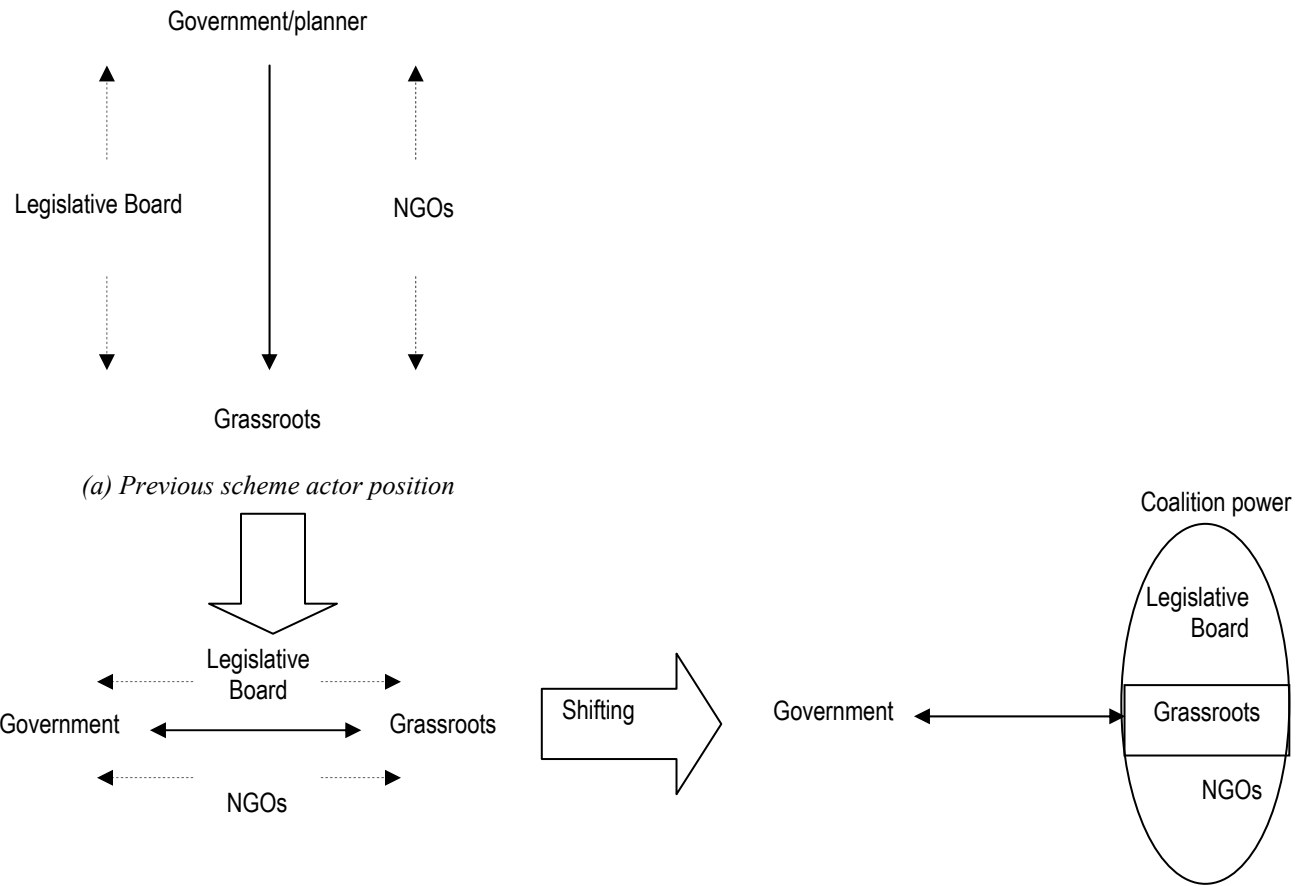
(a) Previous scheme actor position

(b) Scheme actor position within conflict

(c)Scheme actor position in climax conflict

Legend:

→   *Relation: Planner and target*

- - - →   *Moveable position*

←→   *Relation: exchange position of planner*

Figure 4-2. Shifting of actor position before and within conflict

The (a) scheme describes pervious position of actor. Government as planner has right to propose a plan upon grassroots as target of plan (legitimate power). Legislative board as decision maker has moveable position, support government or support grassroots. Due to which value that is defended, NGOs such as decision maker, with non-formidable power have moveable position, support government plan or support grassroots. The (b) scheme describes the tendencies and possibility after the grassroots start identifying and elaborating power bargain. The legislative and NGOs, can take to which position they

will stay, that relatively consistent with their value and interest due to which value they defend. The (c) scheme describe, the expert power of NGO and decision maker power (legitimate power) of legislative board tied by grassroots make a coalition that establishes grassroots as competitor planner for the government. Dichotomy of extreme model has been shown in this case. Previously, planning is a centralistic and very bureaucratic. Then within this case, the government role is contended by grassroots people. Both of them has expert behind their plan that made bargain position is equal.

Within the conflict process, there is adjustment and adaptation of actor role and its relative position within planning process. There is no rigid position of actor. Elasticity of actor role in the planning process can bring more alternatives like what riverside community has proposed a plan for riverside management

Concluding remark:
Based on this research, to contribute to political ecology, I will propose that assessing the role of grassroots can be done through two framework: (1) citizen/subject framework (2) target/object framework. Citizen framework, seeing community as a citizen within the conflict between citizen and state, citizen has right on a place and speaking up their opinion. In democratic country, state has function of protecting its citizen rights. Citizen participation in the government should be continue and preserve. Participation action of the grassroots can enrich good governance and improve the social capital of a country.

As a target framework within the environmental setting, the marginal people that usually blamed as the environmental problem has to promote themselves that they can take action improving the environmental quality. Improving their interaction with their environment is an asset to survive and continuing their livelihood. The important thing is as a target of political movement, marginal people can avoid the bullet of the movement by positioning themselves as the advocate of environment value.

The emergence of social protest, grassroots against government, lack of environmental awareness, poverty and inconsistency of law enforcement are main factor of latent conflict that can explode anytime. The political system of Indonesia has enabled the conflict happened. Government problems, such as budget constraint and corruption are constriction to many aspects. Distrust and disappointment among grassroots people, make them feel marginalized by government. Eruption of conflict that it started from latent to manifest conflict, has proved that maintaining a grassroots as citizens that has equal right is important. Corrective power cannot be implemented whenever counteraction power developed larger.

Consequences of the political ecology are socially constructed into perceptual changing of political awareness and environmental awareness. The relations among institutions within state context have established a relative consistent changing to be better democracy system. The relations between citizen and state institutions show a raising improvement. Therefore, sometimes a protest or a critic has good implications to the future development.

Learning from the resilient grassroots, the power of collective power combine with coalition power with NGO and Legislative Board indicated that there is a repositioning role of actor. It is a possibility for planning in the future to be open mind to jungle alternatives that are possible implemented in different situation and context.

On and on grassroots has potential power to make a fundamental changing in the planning context, development context and state context.

Chapter 5
Conclusion and Recommendation

To be winner and looser or a compromy emergence, is the consequence of a conflict. Hence this consequence accords with Robbins (2004) statement about political ecology perspective. Explanation about who is the winner and why he/her becomes the winner, within previous discussion about conflict between grassroots and government, has enlightened a new perspective to the planning process. After profound discussion about conflict emergence and its consequences in the chapter 4, that elaborate chapter 3 into further analysis, what can be deduced from the discussion about the conflict between grassroots people and government is explained further in the following section, conclusion and recomendation.

Conclusion
Discussion about grassroots movement and its consequences within **chapter 3 and 4** has enlightened a new perspective of the movement. As mentioned in **chapter 1** that the objective of this research is about how positioning community in a plan, can be answered that there is a potential participation and involvement of community as shown by the struggle grassroots movement to influence government policy and they got sweet experience to be a planner. The East Provincial Act Number 9/2007 indicates the role of grassroots is very important in developing act material. There is a new perspective about grassroots people, that they are is potentially can be a solution rather than a problem. As mentioned by Bryant (1997), that environmental problem is caused mainly by poorness, this case indicates that this perception can be changed, a grassroots can give contribution to encironmental problem solution without neglected their interest and demand. Following segment will explain the findings of this research.

The useful of framework theory in explaining the conflict
Political ecology perspective brings the inequality and environment problem on the stage of conflict and resolution, as explain the serial chapter before. Related to question 1, **chapter 2** explains the framework theory that can be operated in order to develop **chapter 3 and 4**. The power relations theories, namely sources power basis by French and Raven (1959) and power relation map of Scott (2001), elaborated the actor action and role related to relation of an actor with other actor that explained in **chapter 3**. More over within **chapter 4**, it has explained the implication of actor movement to other actor and consequences of the movement. Conflict generalization has succeeded to identify the mainstream the emergence of conflict that is discussed in **chapter 4**. And the staging of Pondy (1967) has identified the pattern of conflict that is explained in **chapter 4**.

Shifting of riverside plan orientation
. Within the case, the reason that made a conflict possible to happen is different interest on riverside area between government interest and grassroots interests. This reasoning is consistent with generalization conflict definition by Raven and Kruglanski 1970, in the Gaski 1984 and Bartos et al, 2002 that conflict is about incompability.

In relation to **chapter 4**, it can be concluded that lack of environmental awareness and poverty and inconsistency of law enforcement can promote a conflict between grassroots as citizen and government in the state context. It is clear that the conflict started when these situations have brought uncertainty to get appropriate livelihood among the grassroots. Unsecure position made the grassroots fight to have legitimation in their own country, that their existence is acknowledged by the state. And sources of power used within the conflict, consistent with French and Raven (1959), that coercive power and legitimate power belongs to government, also legitimate power belong to legislative and expert power belongs to NGOs and its expert. Grassroots has succeed in elaborating the NGOs expert power and legislative legitimate power as decision maker to be sources of their counteraction power against government. Community based riverside management by grassroots replaced government plan giving land to the river

Consistent with Scott (2001) about power relation map, a counteraction power emerge when the grassroots made a protest to domination power, state. The fact that government power is lessened by itself is because of less consistency of state corrective power and burgeoning distrust due to grassroots' dissapointment. Thus, the counteraction has reasonable reason to be executed. Other factor that influences the movement is political system that enables freedom to speak, in which this changing system gives a chance to increasing of political awareness. Related to **chapter 4**, cul-de-sac power play important role to make possible the grassroots movement that forced the government to acknowledge the equal position of grassroots compared with government.

As political ecology perspective focus on defending environmental value and equal position, according to **chapter 3** and reinforced in the **chapter 4**, the problem is set off environmental problem as the setting, in this case, flood problem. Without a setting of competing resources within the environment, this case provides riverside area competition, there will be no conflict. It is agree with Bryant (1997), Bradnock and Saunders (2000), and Robbins (2004).

Actors behind the conflict
Using actor mapping (Aligica 2006; Latour 2005), there are recognized several actor within the conflict process. Every actor play their role naturally according to situation and goal that they want to achieved. Power relations among the actors show that, within conflict process, they performed several actions in order to achieve their goal or to defend their interest and value. Main actors are performend by state and grassroots that obiously take a part in the battle face to face. And then supporting actor played by NGOs and legislative that lend the grassroots the power that they have.

Role of actor
Recognizing the actors that generally follows the Bryant and Bailey (1997) typology of political ecology actor in third world country, discussed in **chapter 3**, and their role and in this case presenting grassroots as protagonist and government as antagonist or vice versa. As I prefer a happy ending rather than bad ending, put grassroots as protagonist is more sensible due to lot of torture that they experienced before. However, the government that firstly I placed as antagonist, through intensive learning process that

includes process of increasing understanding, contemplation, negotiating, and compromising, finally, plays important role to create situation that encourage the people valuing what they believe. Thus, I would say that antagonist role does not mean negative when it is well managed.

The antagonist role is a demarcation to create a container of improving environmental and political awareness. Related to **chapter 4**, the case shows that without pressure from the government, the grassroots could be more difficult to be convinced to be more aware to the environment; NGO as the captain of environmental value cannot broaden the grassroots knowledge; and as the judge, legislative board can not announce who is the winner of the battle.

Consequences of the conflict
Related to **chapter 4,** there are several consequences that presented. The conflict has brought several consequences to the informal and formal perception. There are significant improvements of political awareness as well as environmental awareness to the individual riverside community. The changing is expected sustain and improve by the time. The conflict also changes the Inter-Actor Relation. Relation between state and citizen is changed to give citizen space for participation in government. And legislative gradually play like stated by constitution that should represent the citizen voice. Then it is a freedom to speak and make association without frighten being terror.

When it is a dominant power, consequently it opens counteraction. This is consistent with Scott (2001). Grassroots' counteraction to government has succeeded to win the battle, flip the situation and bring a new perspective that as citizen, a collective citizen can replace domination government role function as planner. Because planning is about future, repositioning who is the planner will be the next battle regarding to which value or interest that is defended.

Lesson learned
Defending environmental value and equal position within its movement (Bryant, 1997; Bradnock and Saunders, 2000; Robbins, 2004), political ecology has brought a new perspective into planning practice. Grassroots people with struggle latent power, according to **chapter 4**, has changed many social perception both formal and informal perception. From neglected people to be powerful people, we learned that there always a new hope and a new perspective in the future. Continual changing can not be avoided. Theory and practice should be correlated. Within the planning practice there is a dynamic process that can contribute to planning theory. The episode about grassroots people in Surabaya might be only a single case, but it is not possible that there are parallel episodes in other part of the world. There fore, the power collective of parallelism can bring bigger contribution the planning theory.

Politic as means has colored planning practice in Indonesia, in which power relations is about defending value, desire and interest of the actors involve within planning process. Planning is not value free. When planning process come into decision making stage,

arguing about adjustment of plan will take value, desire and interest as the framework to be defended.

In accordance with **chapter 4**, in this case, in order to defending their interest and demand, grassroots movement shows that the power of politic can change the typical system that exists before. This brings a new perspective to the potential of grassroots people that sometimes usually neglected as proposed by Choguill (1996). Third world country is an arena, in which political ecology perspective can be operated (Bryant, 1997), has abundant fact and reality that can give broad perspective to the jungle theory. It is a chance to more explore what happen in third world that has attracted western society since colonial era.

Recommendation
Lot of lesson learned can be obtained from grassroots struggle form political ecology perspective. There fore, a set of recommendation can be proposed regarding to the discussion and conclusion. Here are several recommendations:

Recommendation related to main source of problem
Since the problem sources, according to chapter 4, are lack of environmental awareness, poverty, and inconsistency of state corrective power. There fore effort of empowerment should be applied within those less developed society in Indonesia. Main source of problem is poverty that force the grassroots community start to live in the riverside. This is consistent with Bryant (1997) discovery. And as poverty is socially constructed and the causes are very complex, plan of empowerment program should be thoroughly performed. Social and economy impact should be analyzed in order to minimize the impact of the program. Such as mentioned in chapter 4 about transmigration program that impact of this program, instead of reducing the poverty, the program redistributed poverty in other islands (Adhiati, 2001)

Regarding in **chapter 4** about factors thatAs less consistency of state corrective power is a trigger for the conflict, it is wise for the state to reinforce the law enforcement consistently. Legitimation power attached to the state (French and Raven, 1959) and corrective influence of domination power possessed by state (Scott, 2001) should be principals to manage a country to achieve welfare for the citizen. Ambiguity of justice should be avoided in order to get certainty and secure among citizens

Recommendation related to the factors that influence the emergence of conflict
As lack of environmental awareness and political awareness play important in making the conflict, political and environmental education should be performed formally or informally. Those increasing awareness should be maintained in the political system context that allow citizen participation more active. Political system is important aspect to give guarantee that everybody without exception can take a part in the government, there fore, participation level will increase Thus only in a democratic country the political awareness is important
.

Recommendation related to positioning grassroots in governance and planning system
Grassroots people proved that they has more power, there fore involving them within the system of governance is not bad choice. The balance of political distribution will enable political conflict indeed, but with good conflict management, the conflict can bring lot of enlightenment to the state and governance system. That transparency and participation play important role in making good governance possible, allowing grassroots to take a part might be bring new perception within governance context, such as shown by grassroots people in Surabaya that grassroots with the coalition power can be a new power planner. In the future is not impossible to open other new perspectives.

There is changing perception in the planning process, the actors position is not a rigid position. There fore I propose a model of elastic actor position, because it can be operated in different situation and context due to degree of complexity. Like national planning that has high level of complexity, government is still single planner, so that there is no other competitor. But in small scale problem, it is possible to change the government position. According to discussion about the case of grassroots against government, the changing only occurs whenever there is an equal power position between competitor planner and government. To get equal power, there should be a political movement increasing the power of competitor planner. I put the NGO position together with grassroots or citizen, because, NGO has possibility to play as a planner due to expert power that it has. I present legislative board has a moveable position, because, it has responsibility take a decision support the government or support the competitor planner.

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