

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the processes of Accumulation by Dispossession (ABD) within Indonesia's extractive frontier, focusing on the ways in which the state's legal-technocratic instrument—Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL)—functions to legitimize dispossession. Dominant scholarship on dispossession typically relies on a “vertical conflict model” (State/Capital vs. Community) and treats AMDAL primarily as a technical failure. Challenging this view, the dissertation argues that dispossession is a horizontally mediated, class-differentiated process, and that AMDAL operates as a legal-hegemonic instrument (Gramsci, 1971) that effectively performs its political function.

Using a critical case study of Mulawarman Village—a transmigration settlement in East Kalimantan with a formally egalitarian baseline (2 hectares per household)—the research employs an Agrarian Political Economy (APE) framework to demonstrate that dispossession is path-dependent, shaped by long-term historical trajectories. The central thesis is that mining-led dispossession unfolds in three class-structured stages.

The first finding (Prerequisites – Chapter IV) reveals that the egalitarian baseline of transmigration is a myth. Endogenous class differentiation, driven by ecological pressures (acidic soils) and the “simple reproduction squeeze” (Bernstein, 2010) involving subsistence crises and indebtedness, produced a highly unequal pre-mining class structure characterized by a small agrarian elite (Landlord-Capitalists or “Masters of the Countryside”) and a majority composed of vulnerable Classes of Labour (Petty Commodity Producers and proletarianized workers).

The second finding (Mechanisms – Chapter V) shows that AMDAL strategically exploits this class structure. It functions through a process of “Class Selection,” whereby agrarian elites are co-opted as the legitimate “community representatives” who mediate their own “capital conversion” opportunities. Simultaneously, AMDAL enacts “Institutional Filtering” through the hegemony of technical language, effectively depoliticizing and erasing subsistence claims (water, land) made by lower classes.

The third finding (Consequences – Chapter VI) demonstrates that dispossession continues as a differentiated socio-ecological reproduction crisis. Drawing on the World-Ecology framework (Moore, 2003) and Social Reproduction Theory (Nightingale, 2003; Çelik, 2024), the dissertation shows how the costs of “Cheap Natures”—polluted water, dust-laden air—are disproportionately transferred as double burdens to the lower classes. Conversely, these crises generate new political opportunities for elites, who monopolize CSR compensation channels and consolidate their hegemony through renewed alliances with capital.

The dissertation concludes that the absence of collective resistance (a “silent surrender”) is not an indicator of false consciousness but the logical outcome of political fragmentation rooted in irreconcilable pre-mining class interests. Dispossession does not merely create classes; it operates through existing class formations. The key contribution of this work is the formulation of a three-stage model (Prerequisites, Mechanisms, Consequences) demonstrating that legal-

technocratic instruments such as AMDAL constitute a central arena in which agrarian class struggles are negotiated, legitimized, and reproduced.

Keywords: Accumulation by Dispossession, Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL), Agrarian Class Differentiation, Legal Hegemony, Agrarian Political Economy, Social Reproduction, Masters of the Countryside, Transmigration, Coal Mining.

ABSTRAK

Disertasi ini mengkaji proses *Accumulation by Dispossession* (ABD) di *frontier* ekstraktif Indonesia, dengan fokus pada bagaimana instrumen legal-teknokratis negara—Analisis Mengenai Dampak Lingkungan (AMDAL)—berfungsi melegitimasi perampasan. Literatur dominan tentang *dispossession* cenderung menggunakan "model konflik vertikal" (Negara/Modal vs. Komunitas) dan memandang AMDAL sebagai kegagalan teknis. Menantang pandangan ini, disertasi ini berargumen bahwa *dispossession* adalah proses horizontal yang dimediasi oleh kelas, dan AMDAL adalah instrumen legal-hegemonik (Gramsci, 1971) yang *berhasil* menjalankan fungsi politiknya.

Menggunakan studi kasus kritis Desa Mulawarman—sebuah desa transmigrasi di Kalimantan Timur dengan *baseline* egaliter formal (2 ha per KK)—penelitian ini menggunakan kerangka *Agrarian Political Economy* (APE) untuk membuktikan bahwa *dispossession* bersifat *path-dependent* (bergantung pada lintasan sejarah). Tesis utamanya adalah bahwa *dispossession* oleh tambang adalah proses tiga tahap yang ditentukan oleh struktur kelas.

Temuan pertama (Prasyarat - Bab IV) menunjukkan bahwa *baseline* egaliter transmigrasi adalah mitos. Proses diferensiasi kelas endogen, didorong oleh tekanan ekologis (tanah asam) dan "simple reproduction squeeze" (Bernstein, 2010) (krisis subsistensi, hutang), telah menciptakan struktur kelas pra-tambang yang sangat timpang: segelintir elite (*Landlord-Capitalist* atau "Masters of the Countryside") dan mayoritas *Classes of Labour* (PCP, Proletariat) yang rentan.

Temuan kedua (Mekanisme - Bab V) membuktikan bahwa AMDAL mengeksploitasi struktur kelas ini. Ia berfungsi sebagai mekanisme "Seleksi Kelas" (*Class Selection*), di mana ia mengooptasi elite agraria sebagai "wakil masyarakat" yang sah untuk memediasi "konversi modal" mereka. Sekaligus, ia melakukan "Penyaringan Institusional" (*Institutional Filtering*) melalui hegemoni bahasa teknis, yang secara efektif mende-politisasi dan menghapus klaim subsisten (air, lahan) dari kelas bawah.

Temuan ketiga (Konsekuensi - Bab VI) menunjukkan bahwa *dispossession* berlanjut sebagai krisis reproduksi sosial-ekologis yang terdiferensiasi.

Menggunakan kerangka *World-Ecology* (Moore, 2003) dan Teori Reproduksi Sosial (Nightingale, 2003; Çelik, 2024), kami menunjukkan bahwa biaya "Alam yang Dimurahkan" (*Cheap Natures*) (air tercemar, udara berdebu) dialihkan sebagai beban ganda ke kelas bawah. Sebaliknya, krisis ini menjadi peluang politik baru bagi elite, yang memonopoli mediasi kompensasi CSR dan memperkuat hegemoni mereka dalam aliansi baru dengan modal.

Disertasi ini menyimpulkan bahwa kegagalan resistensi kolektif (*silent surrender*) bukanlah tanda kesadaran palsu, melainkan hasil logis dari fragmentasi politik yang berakar pada kepentingan kelas pra-tambang yang tidak dapat didamaikan. *Dispossession* tidak hanya *menciptakan* kelas; ia bekerja melalui kelas yang sudah ada. Kontribusi disertasi ini adalah menawarkan model tiga tahap (Prasyarat, Mekanisme, Konsekuensi) yang membuktikan bahwa instrumen legal-teknokratis (AMDAL) adalah arena sentral di mana perjuangan kelas agraria dinegosiasikan, dilegitimasi, dan direproduksi.

Kata Kunci: *Accumulation by Dispossession*, AMDAL, Diferensiasi Kelas Agraria, Hegemoni Legal, *Agrarian Political Economy*, Reproduksi Sosial, *Masters of the Countryside*, Transmigrasi, Pertambangan Batubara.