

**KAJIAN KEBIJAKAN PERTAMBANGAN BATU BARA:
Studi Kasus Analisis Peran Aktor dan Pola *Rent-Seeking* dalam Kontestasi
Kebijakan Perizinan Pertambangan Batu Bara Tahun 2009-2014 di Provinsi
Kalimantan Timur**

INTISARI

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Rent-seeking dan kebijakan pertambangan di Indonesia merupakan diskursus yang menarik. Salah satu masalah kebijakan pertambangan batubara di Indonesia adalah dualisme kebijakan perizinan antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap kepentingan dalam praktik *rent-seeking* melalui pemanfaatan celah dualisme kebijakan tersebut. Kepentingan dalam praktik *rent-seeking* dipahami melalui relasi peran antaraktor dengan menggunakan teori *rent-seeking* oleh Khan dan Parker, dan teori Elite Laswell-Mills dan Schumpeter dengan pemodelan masyarakat *Patron-Client* oleh Scott. Argumen kajian ini adalah bahwa terdapat kompleksitas dan anomali relasi antaraktor dalam praktik *rent-seeking*. Anomali hubungan *Patron-Client* tersebut terjadi karena ikatan yang lebih persisten dalam klaster *Patron-Client* akibat hubungan kekeluargaan yang membentuk pola hubungan *individual triangle* maupun *linier*.

Menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan non positivis, penelitian ini berusaha mengungkap makna yang dinamis dalam memahami relasi sosial antaraktor. Pendekatan penelitian yang digunakan adalah studi kasus yaitu studi kasus eksploratif terhadap praktik *rent-seeking* kebijakan pertambangan batu bara di Provinsi Kalimantan Timur tahun 2009-2014.

Temuan utama penelitian yaitu: (i) Peran orang ketiga dalam mengungkap kepentingannya dapat menentukan *output* dan menentukan keputusan penting dalam proses formulasi kebijakan, (ii) Daya tawar pengusaha dalam fenomena “penguasa-pengusaha” menjadi penentu dalam memperoleh akses untuk masuk arena *rent-seeking* untuk mengakomodir kepentingannya, dan (iii) Peran birokrat melalui regulasi yang mengakomodir kepentingan *rent-seeking* dengan kebijakan dan regulasi turunan. Peran tersebut mewujudkan menjadi “Tiga P” yaitu perantara yang berperan sebagai mediator antara birokrat dan pengusaha, perempuan sebagai negosiator dan menentukan besaran transaksi *fee*, sedangkan paranormal berperan dalam proses *screening* terkait *lobby illegal* kebijakan di lingkungan birokrat.

Peran aktor dan relasi antaraktor membentuk jaringan mafia dengan memanfaatkan kelemahan tata kelola dan kedekatan dengan penguasa. Kuatnya *patron-client* dalam jaringan *rent-seeking* berada pada 6 titik yaitu: (1) Jaringan *rent-seeking* perizinan pemerintah daerah, (2) Jaringan *rent-seeking* perizinan pemerintah Provinsi, (3) Jaringan *rent-seeking* perizinan Kementerian Kehutanan, (4) Jaringan *rent-seeking* perizinan Kementerian ESDM, (5) Jaringan *rent-seeking* lembaga *surveyor*, dan (6) Jaringan *rent-seeking* bisnis politik daerah.

Kata kunci: ekonomi politik, *rent-seeking*, pertambangan batu bara, peran *elites*, Kalimantan Timur

**POLITICAL ECONOMY STUDY ON COAL MINING POLICY:
Case Study Analysis of the Role of Actors and Rent-Seeking Patterns in the
Contestation of the 2009-2014 Coal Mining Licensing Policy in East
Kalimantan Province**

ABSTRACT

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Rent-seeking and mining policy were two essential discourses that have enriched the Indonesian policy studies. One of the prominent problems in this sector was the authority in which the government took part in formulating the policy of mining permit as explained as two different permits namely IUP send PKP2B. In 2009 UU Minerba has determined the proportion of power for local and central government. But the second body seems to exist since then for the sake of different interests.

The importance to unwrap the dynamic of relationships made it essential to use specific theory. The Elites theory is considered sufficient to analyze the role of actors through policy formulation. The Elite Theory by Laswell-Mills-Schumpeter was emphasized in Patron-Client society use. The argument is the complexity that provides anomaly in term of interaction and relation among the actors. The defect can be supplied by stronger and more persistent bonding in patron-client. This bonding is caused by kinship relation that produces a specific pattern relation of individual triangle linear. The study employed the qualitative method and non-positivist approach, and the investigation has tried to understand the social relationship among the policy actors in both mining regulation.

The findings of the study were expected to be the answer to RQ. Three most exciting results in the study were (i) the role of “3P” namely Perantara-Perempuan-Paranormal (Middle Men-Women-Supernatural). The part of these figure played prominent roles in delivering the interest and determine the output of policy. (ii) Bargaining power of the businessman to get access to penetrating the bureaucracy as a rent-seeking society, and (iii) the role of bureaucrat through regulation to accommodate their interest through policy formulation and new regulation making.

The 3rd persons played their roles figures namely Perantara-Perempuan-Paranormal (Middle Men-Women-Supernatural). Perantara mostly played as the mediator to mediate the needs of both sides of corporation and government. Furthermore, the role of “Women” was as negotiator especially in term value of fee transaction and other rent-seeking costs and the paranormal use their “supernatural expertise” to have selection process through screening of anyone who wants to access in term of policy lobby in the bureaucracy circle. Governance weaknesses and the weaknesses of the local political leader. Both produced the the strength of patron-client 6 spots of rent-seeking network namely: (1) Local Government rent-seeking system, (2) Provincial level rent seeking network, (3) Ministry of Forestry rent seeking network, (4) Ministry of Energy and Mineral resources rent-seeking system, (5) surveyor institution rent seeking network, and (6) Local politics rent seeking network.

Keywords: political economy, *rent-seeking*, coal mining, *elites*, local and central government, East Kalimantan.