

INTISARI

Istilah pertambangan rakyat (*artisanal mining*) dipopulerkan di Indonesia melalui dekret Presiden Soekarno tahun 1959. Tujuan penelitian ini berusaha memahami dan menjelaskan mengapa rakyat bekerja secara ilegal di lapangan pertambangan minyak rakyat dapat berlangsung selama puluhan tahun. Metode etnografi dipilih dalam penelitian ini karena sifat dari masalah yang diteliti menuntut peneliti untuk memahami dan mengungkap fenomena bekerja dari sudut pandang masyarakat yang diteliti. Peneliti melakukan analisis terhadap data primer dan sekunder yang bersumber dari observasi, partisipasi observasi, wawancara kepada para informan, dan kajian literatur. Lokasi penelitian di Desa Hargomulyo, Kecamatan Kedewan, Kabupaten Bojonegoro, Provinsi Jawa Timur. Dengan mempertimbangkan data hasil penelitian, fenomena pertambangan minyak rakyat (PMR) di Hargomulyo dapat dikaji dengan perspektif strukturalisme. Struktur adalah pola-pola relasi antara agensi-agensi atau antara unsur-unsur baik relasi kerja sama maupun relasi konflik. Struktur organisasi kerja adalah struktur yang muncul seiring dengan keberadaan usaha penambangan minyak. Organisasi kerja dibuat oleh masyarakat penambang minyak dalam melakukan strategi adaptasi terhadap lingkungan kerja dalam aktivitas pertambangan minyak.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, lapangan PMR Hargomulyo menjadi ajang kontestasi kuasa atas sumber daya alam antara rakyat penambang berhadapan dengan negara yang direpresentasikan oleh Pertamina/BUMN. TNI hadir di arena kontestasi secara personal dan terselubung di pihak rakyat penambang sebagai petugas keamanan ilegal, anggota kelompok penambang, dan investor. TNI juga hadir di pihak Pertamina. Pertamina dibantu POLRI, PM, dan TNI AD secara kelembagaan merazia dan melarang pembuatan sumur baru serta mencegah perdagangan minyak hasil pertambangan ilegal.

Di balik deru mesin-mesin mobil penarik timba dalam aktivitas pertambangan minyak ilegal terdapat narasi panjang yang terkait dengan sejarah kapitalisme era kolonial, perjuangan rakyat mendapatkan sumber kehidupan, praktik monopoli, dan kontestasi berebut kuasa atas sumber daya alam. Sumber daya alam menjadi "bancakan" yang dapat menghidupi bagi semua pihak yang hadir di dalam penambangan minyak di lapangan PMR Hargomulyo.

Tesis studi ini adalah; "Struktur organisasi kerja PMR pada awalnya bersifat tradisional dengan memanfaatkan tenaga manusia, tetapi dengan masuknya modal teknologi mesin mobil yang menggantikan tenaga manusia kemudian berdampak pada peningkatan hasil produksi pertambangan, peningkatan kondisi ekonomi penambang, dan pergeseran struktur sosial masyarakat di sekitar arena pertambangan minyak rakyat".

Sejak masa awal pertambangan tahun 1942 hingga tahun 1990 aktivitas ini memanfaatkan tenaga manusia untuk menambang minyak, aktivitas kerja ini disebut *mbateg* atau *mluntur*, hasilnya relatif kecil. Namun pada awal tahun 1990-an sejak modal teknologi diadopsi dengan memodifikasi mesin mobil bekas maka hasil pertambangan meningkat, sehingga penjualan minyak meningkat, dan penghasilan dari bekerja di PMR juga meningkat. Meningkatnya penghasilan dari bekerja di PMR ini melahirkan orang-orang kaya baru yang membuat mereka menjadi elit desa karena kekayaannya. Struktur sosial masyarakat kemudian mengalami pergeseran, dahulu elit desa adalah orang kaya dari hasil berdagang candu kemudian bergeser kepada orang kaya baru dari bekerja di PMR. Relasi-relasi dalam masyarakat juga mengalami pergeseran.

Kata kunci: dampak, kontestasi, menghidupi, struktur organisasi kerja, dan pertambangan minyak rakyat (PMR)

ABSTRACT

The term *people mining* or *artisanal mining* was popularized in Indonesia through presidential decree issued by President Soekarno in 1959. Related to this kind of mining activities, the objective of this research is to comprehend and explain how a group of people or a community has managed to keep working in artisanal oil exploration site illegally for many years. Ethnographic method was chosen in achieving the objective since the research requires thorough understanding and elucidation of the observed phenomenon from the perspective of the people involving in the study as participants. Analysis was performed on the primary and secondary data which were collected through observation, participant observation, interview with the informants, and literary study. The research was conducted in *Desa Hargomulyo* that is located in *Kecamatan Kedewan, Kabupaten Bojonegoro* in the Province of East Java. Based on some considerations related to the data derived from the results of the research, the artisanal oil exploration/mining (AOM) phenomenon in Hargomulyo could suitably be studied using structuralism perspective. The structure addressed in the study refers to patterns of relations between agents or elements in terms of both cooperation relations and conflict relations. Structure of work organization is a structure that develops along with the establishment of work organization among the artisanal oil mining community. The work organization was established by the community as a strategy to adapt themselves to the work environment in their oil extraction activities.

This research resulted in the findings that AOM site in Hargomulyo has become a contestation of control over natural resources between the artisanal miners and the government represented by Pertamina (State-Owned Enterprise/SOE). Indonesian Military (TNI) gets involved in the contestation in personal and covert way on the miners' side as illegal security guards, the members of mining community, and investors. However, they also have a role on Pertamina's side as an institution. Assisted by the National Police (POLRI), Military Police (PM), and Indonesian Army (TNI-AD), Pertamina bans and carries out a raid on the drilling of new oil wells and prevents trades in oil produced in illegal exploration.

Behind the roaring car engine pulling buckets of oil in the illegal oil extraction is a long story involving the history of capitalism in Indonesia's colonial era, people's struggle in earning a reliable livelihood, monopoly practices, and conflicts in securing control over natural resources. In fact, natural resources have been treated like a feast that provides fortune for everyone with vested interest in the economic pursuits in AOM site in Hargomulyo.

The thesis of this study is: "The structure of AOM work organization was initially a traditional mining which relies on manual labor but the introduction of technological innovation such as car engine modification that replaces manual labor has increased crude oil production, improved miners' economic well-being, and affected a shift in the social structure of the community living in the artisanal oil mining arena.

Since the beginning of oil mining in Hargomulyo in 1942 until 1990s, oil exploitation relied on physical labor to accomplish its processes. This manual activity of oil exploration is called *mbateg* or *mluntur*. The crude oil production gained using this method is relatively low. By the early 1990s, a technological innovation began to be adopted by making a modification on used car engine. This development improved oil production, increased oil trade, and brought in higher income for the people working in PMR site. The significant increase in income brought about newly rich individuals and made them rise into the upper class in their village. The phenomenon has made a social structure shift in the observed village in which the higher social position which was once occupied by the people who accumulated their wealth from opium trade is now secured by AOM miners. In turn, social relations within the community is also been affected by the shift.

Key words: impact, contestation, provide, structure of work organization, and artisanal oil mining (AOM)