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Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat Kecamatan Kapuas Murung pada Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah Tahun 2020

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ABSTRACT

Partisipasi pemilih dalam pemilu di Indonesia dapat terlihat dari pemilihan umum Presiden dan Wakil Presiden, pemilihan DPR dan DPD. Sedangkan di tingkat lokal, ada pemilihan langsung Kepala Daerah (Pilkada) di tingkat Provinsi dan Kabupaten/Kota. Pada Pilkada Langsung (Pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah) pada tanggal 9 Desember 2020, Jumlah partisipasi pemilih di Kecamatan Kapuas Murung mencapai 66,33%. Pencapaian ini di bawah target provinsi yaitu 70% dan target nasional yaitu 77,5%. Apakah hal itu menandakan kurangnya partisipasi masyarakat dalam menggunakan hak pilihnya pada pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah Tahun 2020 di Kecamatan kapuas Murung. Penelitian ini berupaya mendeskripsikan penyebab terjadinya capaian target nasional partisipasi masyarakat pada pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah Tahun 2020. Peneliti

menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan jenis penelitian deskriptif, teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan wawancara dan dokumentasi, dengan sumber data primer dan data sekunder. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 7 faktor untuk melihat mengapa di Kecamatan Kapuas Murung tidak mencapai target nasional pada pemilihan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah Tahun 2020 yaitu faktor pandemi Covid-19, faktor kepercayaan, faktor money politic, faktor pendidikan, faktor lingkungan keluarga, faktor pekerjaan, serta faktor situasi dan kondisi. Faktor-faktor tersebut menjadi penyebab tidak tercapainya target nasional pada pemilihan Gubernur dan wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah Tahun 2020 di Kecamatan Kapuas Murung.

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Environmental Political Model and Deforestation Analysis in South Kalimantan, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

In Banjar Regency, South Kalimantan, Indonesia, there has been a reduction in the forest area of 32,209.24 hectares over the last 10 years. The area experiencing deforestation is on the east side of Banjar Regency which is one of the production forest areas. Environmental change does not occur naturally but is an implication of the socio-political aspects that surround it. This study aims to explain the model of environmental politics in the context of deforestation in the Banjar Regency. The theory used is the theory of political systems from Gabriel Almond and the concept of environmental politicization. The research method used is descriptive qualitative. The type of data is in the form of secondary data related to legal documents on forest management authority, and primary data in the form of findings on the characteristics of actors and the motives of the interests of the actors involved in them. The informants of this research include elements of the South Kalimantan provincial government, the district government, the Environmental Care Community, and local community groups. The results show that the environmental politics model in the context of deforestation in Banjar Regency is centralized. The centralized political environment model is a model that shows the alternating political currents that ultimately refer to the interests of the central government. This interest is oriented towards forest management to support the acceleration of national economic growth.

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1. INTRODUCTION

South Kalimantan Province is one of the areas with a fairly large forest area, one of which is in Banjar Regency with a forest area of 252,973 ha. Forests in Banjar Regency consist of various types based on their functions, namely: Production Forest (HP) Limited Production Forest (HPT) Conversion Production Forest (HPK) Protection Forest (HL) Conservation Forest (KSA), and Other Use Areas (APL) (Ramdhoni et al, 2019)

Deforestation occurs massively in Banjar Regency. Deforestation is the process of removing natural forest by logging for timber or changing the use of forest land to non-forest. (Shafitri et al, 2018) In Banjar Regency, there was a reduction in the forest area of 32,209.24 hectares over 10 years. Areas that have been deforested is located on the east side of the Banjar district which is one of the areas of production forest area (Ramdhoni et al, 2019)

Deforestation provides a further impact on the surrounding environment and the resulting disruption of the balance of energy between the earth and the atmosphere, so the impact on global warming (Irawan et al, 2015). This condition can affect vegetation conditions and water balance so that it has an impact on increasing erosion that occurs and increasing environmental risks (Malek, 2015).

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Based on the perspective of political ecology, political ecology is a field of study related to socio-political aspects of environmental management. The basic assumption of political ecology is that environmental change is not neutral but rather a form of politicized environment that involves many actors at the local, regional, and global levels (Bryant, 2005). Further explanation regarding political ecology in general, political ecology focuses on political explanations to changes and environmental damage (Forsyth, 2003). The socio-political aspect is considered to be related to the occurrence of environmental changes.

Peters and Pierre (2004) define the politicization of public servants begin to take on tasks that previously (and formally) might have been considered to be political." Meanwhile, Martini (2010) defines politicization as making or trying to make something according to its interests. Meanwhile, Richard M. Ebelin as quoted by Erdogan (2004) stated "Politicization can be defined as that now pervasive tendency for making all questions political questions. In a political system, there is always a flow from input to output and back and forth. Input consists of demands and support that come from the environment. According to Gabriel A. Almond, input has several functions. Input functions are political socialization and recruitment, articulation of interests, the association of interests, political communication. Decision-makers and political actors will consider the inputs and reactions of the policies made. The information is collected and produces an output. The output function is to make rules, apply rules, and decide rules. In this system, it is also explained that the pressure is not only from outside but also comes from within the system itself.

Regarding environmental issues, Bryant and Bailey (2001) explained that a politicized environment is a form of actor-oriented environmental problems (Actor Oriented-AO). The actor approach examines the interests, characteristics, and actions of actors in political and ecological conflicts. In the politicized environment, some dimensions are used to identify the process. These dimensions include every day, episodic, and systemic. These three dimensions have different characteristics and impacts on society. In this theory, five actors are the focus of Bryant and Bailey (2005), namely the state/government, entrepreneurs, multilateral institutions, NGOs, and grass-root actors. The state or in this context the government has two functions at once, both as an actor user and protector of natural resources, therefore the state often experiences conflicts of interest, between economic and environmental interests. Next is the entrepreneur actor. Entrepreneurs are profit-oriented capital owners. Its role, in this case, is as a massive group to encourage the government to support its business development.

Between the government and entrepreneurs can sometimes be in line or also contradict each other. Meanwhile, grassroots actors are the weakest parties in the political environment. These actors almost always experience a process of marginalization and are vulnerable to various forms of environmental degradation that take place every day or episodic. This happens because other actors such as the state, businessmen, and MNC (Multi-National Corporation) have greater political power in controlling the use of natural resources.

In the political process that occurs, some models can be identified. The model is an imitation of an object, system, or event containing information that is considered important to be studied so that there is a unique model (Mahmud Achmad, 2008). One system can have various models, depending on the point of view and interests of the modeler. System modeling is a collection of activities in modeling where the model is a representation or abstraction of an object or actual situation, a simplification of a complex reality.

The environmental issue discussed in this study is deforestation. In the perspective of forestry science, deforestation is defined as a situation where forest cover is lost and its attributes have implications for the loss of the structure and function of the forest itself. This meaning is strengthened by the definition of deforestation as outlined in the Regulation of the Minister of Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia No. P.30/MenhutII/2009 concerning Procedures for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) which explicitly states that deforestation is a permanent change from forested areas to non-forested areas caused by human activities.

Based on a series of literature reviews and facts in the field, it is important to research environmental politicization in the context of deforestation in Banjar Regency. Banjar Regency is the most appropriate government area to be researched at this time, not only because deforestation occurs massively, but because in 2021 it will be the most flood-affected area in South Kalimantan. Environmental changes have a continuing impact on the surrounding area. In addition, environmental issues are massive issues to be studied, because ecosystem sustainability has an impact on national and international stability. Today's policy orientation is also directed to consider global environmental conditions, considering that there has been massive environmental degradation in various countries and has an impact on changes in natural phenomena that are not conducive to global society. It is necessary to review the aspects of political ecology in addressing environmental degradation. In addition, research results can be used as a basis in the formulation of environmental management policies, by knowing the root cause of environmental changes, will help in reducing deforestation that occurs. Therefore, this study aims to identify a model of environmental politics in the context of deforestation in Banjar District, South Kalimantan, Indonesia.

2. METHOD

In this study, the author uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is research on research that uses in-depth analysis. Process and meaning (subject perspective) are more detailed in qualitative research. The theoretical basis is used as a guide so that the research focus is on the facts on the ground. This type of research is a type of qualitative descriptive research. While the types of data in this study are primary and secondary data. This method is used with the consideration that it is relevant to the research material, where the research conducted is descriptive in nature, that is, it describes the reality of the events being studied, making it easier for the authors to obtain objective data to know and understand the aspects needed in determining the model of environmental politicization in the context of deforestation. in Banjar Regency, South Kalimantan.

The research location in Indonesia took the sample in Banjar Regency, South Kalimantan. Banjar Regency is a significant area of environmental degradation in this case deforestation. In addition, this deforestation has had a follow-up impact in the form of the biggest flood disaster since the last 50 years in Banjar Regency, as well as the most affected area in South Kalimantan. So that this location becomes relevant to be researched to see the significant level of natural degradation. To find valid data, researchers set several research informants. Research informants were determined purposively because they are sources that can provide information related to the environmental politicization of deforestation in Banjar Regency, South Kalimantan. The informants include elements of the government, businessmen, and the community. In more detail, these informants include the Banjar Regency Government, namely the Regional Head, Forestry Service, Environment Service, DPRD, Entrepreneurs, Environmental NGOs, and the Community.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the political process system according to Gabriel Almond, there is a continuous flow of inputs to outputs back and forth. Inputs consist of demands and support that come from the government's external environment. The input is in the form of articulation of interests and political communication. The following is a description of the facts based on the theoretical framework of environmental politics in the context of deforestation in Banjar Regency.

Deforestation in Socio-Political Studies

In the analysis of Greenberg & Park (1994), it is explained that what needs to be studied related to social issues from ecosystems is the history of the ecosystem itself, the economic system, human geography (human relations with nature), and also the ongoing development. This shows that the discussion related to environmental problems cannot be separated from the relationship between the community environment itself.

The population of the Banjar Regency consists of the Banjar Tribe. Banjar people know the expression *gawi manuntung* which means that someone who is doing something must be able to finish it well. (Makkie and Seman, 1994) Based on the results of interviews with cultural observers in Banjar Regency, it was explained that there are four Banjar cultural values, namely cultural values in human relations with God, in human relations with humans, in human relations with oneself, or related to human activities. as a form of self-development and the value of Banjar Culture in human relations with nature. More specifically, cultural values, namely the relationship between humans and nature, explained that with the environment, humans must be able to adapt, or known as *can-can maandak*. This advice is usually given to adjust to customs. This is intended so that humans themselves can be comfortable in living life, namely living in peace with nature. (Istiqomah and Setyobudi Hono: 2017)

Based on the values of human culture and the environment, the pattern of community adjustment to the environment has an impact on forest sustainability in Banjar Regency. Based on the results of interviews with environmental activists, it was explained that the socio-cultural aspects of community activities affected forest fires in Banjar Regency. The dominant factors include habits, clearing of agricultural land, accidental activities such as burning garbage or when looking for firewood, and the lack of public awareness of the dangers of forest fires. Therefore, environmental activists in Banjar Regency carry out community empowerment as an effort to prevent environmental damage from getting even higher.

In addition, related to community interactions with nature, it is known that community participation in the implementation of KPH (Forest Management Unit) policies is relatively low. This is reflected in the lack of community motivation to fulfill biological, social needs, to be recognized by other communities, as well as to preserve nature. This low community participation occurs in various forms of society, both in the form of support from non-governmental organizations, support from community leaders. In addition to low community participation in forest management, the Social Acceptance Index (IPS) on the results of forest

area boundary demarcation in the Banjar Regency KPH area is categorized as moderate. (Hafizianor and Mokhammad, 2017). According to the local community, the Banjar KPH is not yet clear regarding the delimitation of forest areas. Most of the villagers claim the area is managed so far as property rights with the force of law at the village level (village head seal), while legally, the forest area managed by the community is included in the Industrial Plantation Forest (HTI) management area.

Based on the results of interviews with community leaders in Banjar Regency, it is explained that the socio-political process in Banjar Regency has implemented an oligarchy on the environment and is in a comfort zone in producing environmental policies. This comfort zone is based on the economy and is carried out pragmatically based on development economic interests, sectoral-based development, administrative normative, without holistic supervision. This oligarchic system is close to the local government and has easy access to convey its interests, and in this condition tends to be difficult to change because it has been going on for a long time.

In addition to these community groups, there are also NGOs (Community Social Institutions) that care about nature conservation in Banjar Regency. These groups include the MaMFus Association (Masyarakat Peduli Sungai) (Green Community Forum which is engaged in reforestation by planting trees, WALHI (Indonesian Environmental Forum) which focuses on spatial emergencies in South Kalimantan and ecological disasters, and the Melingai Community (Masyarakat Melingai). /Protecting Rivers), and Eco Mosque. This community group is part of the community that also provides input or demands to the local government to restore natural functions, including forest and river ecosystems. Environmental sustainability groups are active in making demands to the Regional Government. Following the activist's explanation environmental organization MaMFus explained that the demands have been submitted to the local government by letter to make environmental improvements and offer a Community-based Environmental Restoration Movement Program and scientific religiosity. Only based on interests with views to the Banjar Regent, but hopeful The constellation did not receive a response from the local government. The religious culture of the Banjar community influences the substance of the community's political voice in environmental management.

Based on the existing description, it can be explained that the community is divided into 3 (three) categories in terms of socio-political aspects. A first group is a group of ordinary people who contribute to deforestation in Banjar Regency. The relationship between nature and the community around the forest area shows a form of adjustment to nature in the form of using the forest to support its survival. This utilization is not accompanied by an awareness that the forest is a sensitive part of the environment, if it is continuously used in massive quantities without considering the function of the forest, it will cause damage. In addition, the integration of the local government and the community is also minimal, even though it aims to invite the public to have awareness in being aware of the boundaries of forest use areas. The second category is the oligarchic group that his closeness to the ruler. However, in addition to the social conditions of the community, there are social groups who care about the environment, by embracing other communities and providing input to the local government to restore the function of natural resources in Banjar Regency.

Deforestation in the Study of Political Economy

In the study of environmental politics, political economy aspects have an influence. The rate of deforestation in Banjar Regency does not just happen but is an implication of the policy of accelerating long-term national economic growth. This began with the enactment of Law Number 1 of 1967 concerning Foreign Investment (PMA). Article 5 explains that PMA is carried out according to the applicable law to run a company in Indonesia. This policy was carried out with the consideration that in dealing with economic downturns, there should be no reluctance to utilize technology, skills, and capital originating from abroad.

Following the Law on Foreign Investment, the May 6, 1986 Package of Deregulation was also enacted, loosening permits for imports of goods, supporting capital, and the use of foreign workers. This deregulation is specifically for export-oriented investment or opening a business in the region. This package was later reaffirmed in the June 1987 Package and the December 1987 Package. The same applies to Government Regulation No. 20 of 1994 concerning share ownership in companies established for foreign investment. This Government Regulation stipulates provisions for guaranteeing the continuity of foreign investment in the form of the establishment of a foreign investment company in the form of a Limited Liability Company (PT) in Indonesia.

Over the years, foreign investment has taken priority over domestic investment. (Muzdalifah, 2020) This gap is contained in Law no. 25 of 2007 concerning Investment to replace the Foreign Investment Law no. 1 of 1967 and the Domestic Investment Law No. 6 of 1968. In the latest law, the strategic sector that controls the livelihood of the people can be controlled in the majority by foreign capital and the granting of special rights through an agreement with the state. The impact of the regulations formulated by the

government is an increase in the flow of foreign capital to Indonesia and the strengthening of the private sector's role in the country's strategic sectors.

Since the enactment of Law no. 25 of 2007 concerning Investment to replace the Foreign Investment Law no. 1 of 1967 and the Domestic Investment Law No. 6 of 1968, this change also influenced the regulation of forest and land management in Indonesia. Permits to manage forest areas in Indonesia by the private sector are increasing, including for forest areas in Banjar Regency, forest area exploration activities are also getting higher.

These forest fires occur systematically. The burning is carried out by companies holding forest concession permits. Based on data from the Ministry of Forestry and the Environment, companies holding forest concession permits in addition to local companies are also foreign investment companies. A foreign investment company is a company whose capital is a foreign investment or merger with domestic capital. The flow of foreign capital to Indonesia in the 1960s was practically non-existent and has strengthened since the enactment of Law no. 1 of 1967 concerning foreign investment, Packages of May 6, 1986, and Pakto 1993, PP No. 20 of 1994. Through this flow of foreign capital, Indonesia received economic income, particularly from the forest management sector.

Based on Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, it is explained that forestry affairs are the authority of the Central Government and Regional Governments. Furthermore, in Appendix Point BB page 116, it is explained that the authority of the Provincial Region is to assist forestry planning, which can be in the form of proposals for technical considerations for forestry planning. More specifically, these authorities include the implementation of forest governance in the Forest Management Unit (KPH) and the implementation of the FMU management plan.

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The utilization of natural forests in Indonesia has been on a large scale since 1969 with the issuance of Forest Concession Rights (HPH) permits outside Java. The use of this forest has a positive impact on Indonesia's economic growth. In its implementation, HPH is oriented towards the sustainability of timber forest products, which does not pay attention to the balance with aspects of environmental sustainability and the socio-economic conditions of the people living around the forest, and raises the problem of deforestation in Indonesia. Forest degradation through legal land-use change, as well as by the community, is a matter of great concern (Alvia and Suryandari, 2009). The

achievement of the interests of accelerating national economic growth is further strengthened through changes in forest management authority. Based on Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, it is explained that forestry affairs are the authority of the Central Government and the Provincial Government. This is different from the previous one, where forest management in Appendix Point BB page 116 explains that the authority of the Provincial Region is to assist forestry planning, which can be in the form of proposals for technical considerations for forestry planning. More specifically, this authority covers the implementation of forest governance in the Forest Management Unit (KPH) and the implementation of the FMU management plan. This provision is different from the previous provision, namely that the district government also has the authority to manage forests in its territory. Before the enactment of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government and Government Regulation (PP), Number 18 of 2016 concerning Regional Apparatuses, each KPH area unit (especially KPHL and KPHP) was handled by regional institutions established by the provincial government. for KPH area units. across districts and by district/city governments for KPH area units within districts/cities.

The change in authority in the law is a step to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of regional government administration, by considering aspects of the relationship between the central and regional governments, and between regions, regional potentials and diversity, as well as opportunities and challenges. global competition in the unified state administration system. (Decision of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia)

Through the existing descriptions, it can be understood that the current rate of deforestation does not just happen, but is correlated with the orientation of the interests of accelerating national economic growth. This is facilitated by policies that provide wider legal opportunities and guarantees to investors, both domestic and foreign. This support for capitalism includes the forest management sector for massive

economic interests and business development in various regions. In addition, the change in forest management authority to be under the central government and provincial governments is an efficient strategy of the government to increase government control so that forest management is in synergy with national economic interests.

Deforestation in the study of Environmental Politics

Based on the previous explanation, environmental changes in the form of deforestation in Banjar Regency do not occur naturally but are the result of environmental politicization involving many actors, both local, regional, and global actors with various interests. The politicization of the environment that occurs involves many actors who are connected in the political process with alternating currents between inputs and outputs. The actors come from different circles with different interests.

Based on the socio-political aspects of environmental change, the following is an explanation. Local actors involved include the community, environmental care groups, and oligarchic groups. This ordinary community group is not only a group affected by environmental changes but also as perpetrators of forest fires in Banjar Regency. This is done by clearing land for agriculture for economic purposes and becoming resistant to forest management policies. A second actor is a group that cares about the environment, which generally voices environmental improvements, including restoring forest functions so that they are not used for economic purposes. Some of these environmental care groups recommend a religiosity-based environmental improvement program, actively making demands to the local government. The political system in Banjar Regency is controlled by a very strong oligarchic system, influencing, proposing, and involving business interests in government, including forest management.

National interest is a perception of the national economy, which from time to time this orientation is getting more massive. Natural resources in the form of forests are commodities that produce high economic value and become national megaprojects. In this condition, the division of roles between the government and the private sector, both at home and abroad, is increasing. In addition, for strategic forest management, forest management is centralized, ie all planning is under the authority of the central government. The Provincial Government acts as the implementer of planning. The district government only manages urban forests and loses the authority to manage forests within its territory.

Through this explanation, it can be observed that in the current political environment, the role of the central government is very strategic. This is shown through the orientation of economic growth policies that rely on domestic and foreign capital flows. Next is the provincial government which is the implementing party that has a significant role in granting forest management permits. In local politics, the grip of oligarchs is so strong to include their business interests.

Based on the discussion related to deforestation and environmental politics, a model of environmental politics can be formulated. This environmental political model is a representation or abstraction of the reality of environmental politics in the context of deforestation in Banjar Regency.

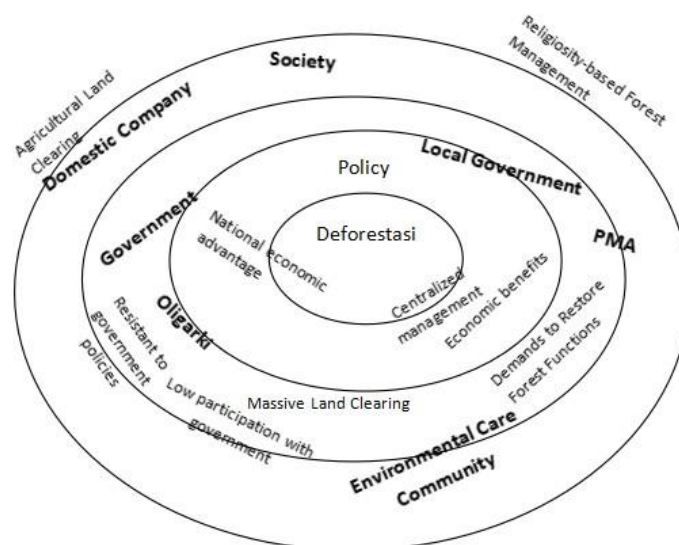


Figure 1. Environmental Political Model in Banjar Regency, Indonesia

Through the abstraction of the model, it can be seen that in the context of deforestation in Banjar Regency, it is closely related to environmental political orientation. This orientation involves many actors with various interests, so that forest management policies are not focused on maintaining forest functions. The actors involved include elements of the community around the forest area in Banjar Regency, environmental care groups, oligarchic groups, entrepreneurs, and the government itself. Community groups in this case are not only affected by forest destruction, but also as groups that are resistant to forest conservation policies, as well as part of the perpetrators of forest fires. The next actor is an environmental care group that actively raises public awareness to protect forests and demands the government to restore forest functions with a religiosity approach. A next actor is an oligarchic group that is close to the ruler. These actors together with the government formulate forest management policies or programs based on regional development. A next perpetrator is a group of entrepreneurs who are granted wide concessions in forest concessions and carry out forest fires. Next is the government actor itself, with the complexity of existing actors and interests, the government in this case does not formulate policies that are oriented towards maintaining the existence of forests, but rather a combination of interests in accelerating national economic growth, accommodating business groups, and oligarchs.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the formulation of the political model of the forest natural environment in Banjar Regency, it can be concluded that the political model of the forest natural environment in Banjar Regency is centralized. There are many actors involved in the political process, but forest management is carried out centrally. This is manifested through the transition period of forest management policies since Law No. 23 of 2014 and began to be realized seriously in 2018. This centralization places the central government, through representative agencies of the central government in the regions, in this case, the Ministry of Environment in South Kalimantan. The central government stipulates a forest management plan, which is assisted by the provincial government, that is, it only provides proposals for technical considerations and forestry planning. This shows that the central government plays a strategic role. There are many actors and various interests related to forest use so far. The dominant actors include the government, capitalist business groups, and oligarchs. Economic interests and national development become a priority over the preservation of the forest function itself.

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