



LAPORAN PENELITIAN TERAPAN

MODEL RESOLUSI KONFLIK ASET TANAH PASCA NASIONALISASI
ANTARA PT KERETA API DENGAN MASYARAKAT DI EKS JALUR REL
SEMARANG-GROBOGAN BERBASIS KEARIFAN LOKAL

Peneliti

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SUMBER DANA DEPUTI BIDANG PENGUATAN RISET DAN
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A. PENDAHULUAN

Jalur rel kereta api di Jawa semula dikuasai oleh pihak swasta Belanda. Akan tetapi sejak 1958, jalur itu dikuasai oleh Pemerintah Indonesia. Sejak itu pengelolaan aset tanah saling sengkaret antar instansi. Khusus di jalur Semarang-Grobogan aset tanah itu telah dikuasai oleh rakyat untuk pemukiman dan Pemerintah Kabupaten untuk public area misalnya pusat kuliner, terminal angkudes. PT Kereta Api pada saat ini bermaksud untuk merevitalisasi jalur kereta api tersebut tetapi terhalang oleh kondisi aset tanah dan bekas rel yang telah dikuasai rakyat dengan cara sewa dan pemerintah daerah dengan bentuk kerja sama. Konflik antara pemilik dan pengguna sering terjadi, dan sampai saat ini belum ada titik penyelesaian. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan model rekayasa sosial dalam penyelesaian konflik tersebut berbasis nilai-nilai kearifan lokal yang berkembang dalam masyarakat pengguna lahan kereta api tersebut. Penelitian menggunakan model penelitian dan pengembangan dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Tahun pertama ini peneliti melakukan inventarisasi tanah- tanah milik PT KAI yang saat ini digunakan oleh masyarakat yang berada di jalur Semarang-Blora yang berada di Kabupaten Grobogan. Aset PT KAI tersebut merupakan tanah dan bangunan yang sudah tidak beroperasi yang berada di beberapa tempat antara lain jalur rel yang dan Stasiun yang ada di Kecamatan Godong, Kecamatan Purwodadi , Kecamatan Wirosari dan Kecamatan Kuwu.

B. TUJUAN DAN MANFAAT

Dalam setiap melakukan aktifitas tentu mempunyai tujuan yang hendak dicapai. Tujuan dan manfaat yang akan di capai dalam penelitian ini antara lain adalah sebagai berikut:

1. Memetakan proses nasionalisasi jalur kereta api swasta kolonial jalur Semarang-Grobogan.
2. Memetakan penguasaan aset-aset tanah milik PT kereta api di jalur Semarang-Grobogan dan konflik-konflik yang muncul dalam rentang historis dari masa nasionalisasi tahun 1958 hingga masa kini.
3. Membuat model rekayasa sosial untuk menyelesaikan konflik antara PT Kerete Api, Pemerintah Daerah, dan masyarakat.
4. Mengembangkan mediasi antara pihak yang berkonflik sehingga dalam jangka panjang terjadi akomodasi kepentingan antara PT Kerete Api, Pemerintah Daerah, dan masyarakat.
Mengembangkan jejaring antar lembaga sehingga terjadi penyelesaian konflik yang sinergis dan permanen.

C. METODE PENELITIAN

1. Data yang diperlukan

Data yang diperlukan dalam penelitian ini berupa sumber-sumber sejarah. Sumber sejarah meliputi sumber kebendaan, tertulis, dan lisan. Sumber kebendaan terdiri dari situs Stasiun, pemukiman, dan lingkungan yang ada disekitar jalur kereta api antara Semarang- Blora. Sumber tertulis terdiri dari sumber sekunder dan primer. Sumber sekunder terdiri dari buku-buku sejarah dan sumber tercetak lain yang relevan. Sumber primer terutama berupa arsip tentang jalur kereta api dan arsip lain yang terkait dengan jalur kereta api Semarang- Blora.

Sumber lisan berupa informasi lisan dari masyarakat yang ada di sekitar jalur kereta api Semarang- Blora (Wasino, 2007).

2. Fokus Penelitian

Penelitian ini akan difokuskan pada masyarakat yang berada dan tinggal di tiga stasiun kereta api jalur Semarang- Blora, yang sudah tidak beroperasi lagi yaitu Stasiun Godong, Stasiun Purwodadi dan Stasiun Wirosari . Tiga stasiun tersebut dijadikan fokus penelitian karena ketiga wilayah itu menjadi tempat yang mengalami perubahan fungsi keruangan yaitu menjadi pemukiman, tempat usaha dan aktifitas lain setelah jalur kereta api tersebut tidak berfungsi.

3. Teknik Pengambilan Data

Data akan dikumpulkan dengan berbagai teknik. Teknik *pertama* adalah dokumentasi. Dokumentasi dilakukan dengan cara penelusuran dokumen yang memuat informasi tentang pengoperasian dan berhentinya jalur kereta api Semarang- Blora. Dokumen itu akan ditelusuri di Arsip milik PT KAI di Bandung, Arsip milik PT KAI Daop IV di Semarang, Depo Arsip Suara Merdeka dan Badan Arsip Daerah Jawa Tengah, Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, dan sejumlah perpustakaan di Jogja.

Teknik *kedua* adalah diskusi kelompok terfokus (*Focus Group Discussion* atau *FGD*), pengamatan terlibat, wawancara mendalam, dan studi dokumen. FGD merupakan strategi memperoleh data awal secara cepat di wilayah penelitian. Melalui FGD akan diperoleh informasi dari sejumlah orang dalam suatu tempat, dan waktu yang relatif singkat. (Tohir, 2004:10-11). FGD akan diselenggarakan di tiga stasiun yang menjadi fokus penelitian, yaitu Stasiun di Godong, Stasiun

Purwodadi dan Stasiun Wirosari. FGD ditujukan kepada masyarakat yang tinggal di Stasiun, tanah milik PT KAI dan para pemangku kebijakan dari PTKAI, Dishub dan tokoh masyarakat .

Data yang diperoleh melalui FGD ini akan diuji silang (triangulasi) dengan cara pengamatan lapangan. Pengamatan mempertanyakan apa, di mana, kapan, dan mengapa tentang pokok persoalan yang diteliti (Abdullah, 2001:42).

Data hasil pengamatan akan diperdalam melalui wawancara mendalam. Wawancara mendalam bertujuan untuk “menguji” pemahaman sementara yang telah diperoleh melalui teknik penelitian sebelumnya (Sairin, 1995:4). Dalam wawancara ini terjadi interaksi yang baik antara pewawancara dengan yang diwawancarai. (Abdullah,2001:43). Wawancara ditujukan kepada sejumlah informan yang terdiri dari: pengurus RT,RW, masyarakat penghuni tanah milik PT KAI, pemilik usaha,masyarakat umum, pejabat PT KAI Daop IV dan tokoh masyarakat.

D. HASIL PENELITIAN DI LAPANGAN

Proses Nasionalisasi awal perusahaan kolonial Belanda khususnya Kereta Api di Indonesia dilakukan dengan diterbitkannya Surat Keputusan No 2 tanggal 6 Januari Tahun 1950 oleh Menteri Perhubungan, Energi dan Pekerjaan Umum RIS. Dengan Surat tersebut ada pengalihan asset semua Semarang Spoorwegen(SS) dan Nederlands Indonesische Spoorweg Maatshappij NISM) kepada Djawatan Kereta Api(DKA) Republik Indonesia.Dengan pengambilalihan tersebut menyebabkan selama 2 tahun DKA berusaha untuk memperbaiki rel stasiun yang rusak akibat perang supaya berfungsi kembali baik jalur maupun rumah dinas para pegawai yang berada di wilayah Jawa Tengah termasuk Kota Semarang dan di luar ibukota Propinsi tersebut .(Joko Marihandono Dkk,2018:412-15)

Nasionalisasi seluruh perusahaan swasta yang berada di pulau Jawa didasarkan pada Undang- Undang Nasionalisasi No 56 Tahun 1958 dan dituangkan dalam Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 40 Tahun 1959 tanggal 25 Juli. Dengan PP tersebut 10 perusahaan kereta api tersebut dinasionalisasi dan pemerintah Indonesia harus memberikan ganti rugi sebesar 600 juta gulden. Proses Nasionalisasi tersebut bisa diselesaikan dengan pembayaran Panjang selama 30 tahun sejak kesepakatan masa Orde Baru tahun 1973 dan baru terselesaikan sampai tahun 2003 dengan sisa hutang 564 juta gulden (Joko Marihandono Dkk, 2018: 440-444).

Pada masa Orde Baru terjadi perubahan kebijakan ekonomi yang berpengaruh terhadap sistem transportasi darat. Orde Baru menekankan kebijakan pertanian pangan terutama padi menjadi titik fokus dalam bidang pertanian. Hal ini berbeda dengan masa kolonial yang menempatkan agro-industri terutama tebu sebagai aspek penopang ekonomi kolonial. Akibatnya transportasi yang diutamakan yang dapat menembus pada sentra-sentra ekonomi rakyat, yakni kendaraan bermotor (Hartatik, 2014). Perubahan kebijakan ekonomi pangan tersebut sejalan dengan kebijakan transportasi darat. Kereta api yang menjadi primadona pada masa kolonial Belanda tidak menjadi fokus pengembangan transportasi pada masa Orde Baru. Fokus transportasi darat beralih ke jalan raya. Perubahan fokus ini disamping karena pertimbangan pesan ekonomi pemberi pinjaman (*IGGI*), juga karena pertimbangan praktis karena jalan raya dapat dikembangkan sampai wilayah-wilayah pelosok desa tempat sentra-sentra pertanian pangan diproduksi, terutama beras. Perubahan kebijakan transportasi pada masa Orde Baru telah mengakibatkan menurunnya kereta api sebagai penopang transportasi masal di Jawa, termasuk Jawa Tengah. Sebaliknya meningkatkan jumlah angkutan darat yang menggunakan jalan raya sebagai mode transportasi seperti bus, colt, truk, motor, dan sebagainya. Akibat kebijakan ini maka Kereta api eks kolonial dibangun untuk agri industri. Akibatnya jalur kereta api yang jarak pendek seperti Semarang-Grobogan tidak mendapat perhatian. Sementara itu pihak PT Kereta Api melakukan pembiaran aset-aset bangunan dan tanahnya di sejumlah

tempat tidak terurus. Dalam jangka puluhan tahun aset tanah yang tidak diurus itu dikuasai oleh masyarakat dan Pemerintah Daerah. Kondisi demikian menjadi dasar untuk lahirnya sebuah konflik (Hartatik, 2016).

c

Jalur Semarang- Blora yang melewati jalur tengah yang berada di kabupaten Grobogan pada masa Orde Baru merupakan sarana transportasi darat yang mampu membawa penumpang dan barang dengan jumlah yang banyak. Transportasi ini menjadi primadona karena menghubungkan dari kota- kota yang dilalui dengan sekali jalan. Akan tetapi setelah kebijakan pemerintah Orde Baru memperkenalkan kendaraan bermotor untuk mengangkut hasil pertanian sawah pada era penghujung tahun 1970an primadona kereta api sebagai angkutan massa mengalami penurunan karena kalah bersaing dengan mobil pic up dan sejenisnya yang mampu mengantarkan orang dan barang sampai di deoan pintu rumah(Hartatik,Endah Sri,2017:5). Kemunduran dan penurunan jumlah penumpang dan pengangkutan barang tersebut membawa konsekuensi ditutupnya jalur Semarang _ Blora lewat jalur tengah tersebut. Banyak stasiun dan rel- rel yang dulu di pakai oleh kereta sekarang kosong dan tidak terpakai lagi.

Berdasarkan penelitian di lapangan baik di Lembaga arsip di PT KAI dan Depo arsip Suara Merdeka dan Dinas Arsip dan Perpustakaan Propinsi Jawa Tengah diperoleh informasi bahwa berhentinya beroperasinya jalur tengah Semarang Blora lewat Purwodadi terjadi pada awal tahun 1980-an. Ini terjadi karena jalur ini sepi penumpang sehingga perusahaan kereta api mengalami deficit. Faktor utama yang menjadikan jumlah penumpang sepi adalah mulai maraknya transportasi darat lain lewat jalan raya yang mampu mengantarkan pemakai jasa ini sampai ke tempat tujuan bahkan ke depan pintu dengan dukungan maraknya pertumbuhan kendaraan bermotor.

Sebelum aset dan tanah milik PT KAI Daop IV beralih fungsi menjadi pemukiman penduduk dan tempat aktifitas ekonomi lain kurang lebih 10-15 tahun mangkrak tidak ada aktifitas apapun di jalur kereta ini. Pemakaian asset yang berupa Stasiun dan tanah- tanah yang ada disepular itu berawal pada penghujung tahun 1990an setelah reformasi berlangsung.

Hasil inventarisasi yang berhasil penulis temukan dilapangan dari Jalur Semarang_ Blora yang berada di Kabupaten Grobogan yang tidak berfungsi lagi adalah tanah asset PT KAI yang berada di seputar Stasiun Godong dan sekitarnya. Jalur rel sekarang sudah tidak terlihat karena tertimbun tanah dan perluasan jalan raya dan pemukiman penduduk. Area di stasiun kereta api di Godong ada fakta unik ditemukan dimana ada perebutan fungsi ruang yang dilakukan oleh pemakai angkutan darat yaitu jalan raya. Terminal yang ada di kecamatan ini tidak luas sehingga tidak mampu menampung jumlah kendaraan yang ada sehingga areal stasiun digunakan sebagai tempat terminal bagi bis antar propinsi yang jumlahnya sekitar 10 PO bis. PO Bis itu antara lain Zentrum, Haryanto, Garuda Emas, Maju Lancar, Hiba Putra dan lainnya dengan tujuan Jakarta dan Bandung. Penggunaan are stasiun ini baru Nampak pada sore hari dan mengalami puncak kepadatan penumpang pada waktu weekend. Aktifitas lain yang terlihat di bekas stasiun ini adalah perdagangan kendaraan bermotor bekas yang ada di beberapa kios, pencucian motor, warung makan dan jasa penjualan tiket.

Sementara di Stasiun Purwodadi sebagai area asset PT KAI yang terbesar diantara yang lain. Stasiun ini pada awalnya disewa oleh Dinas Perhubungan Kabupaten Grobogan selama 25 tahun sejak tahun 2000 sebagai terminal angkutan Desa(Wawancara dengan dengan Bapak Mohamad Huda tanggal 26 Agustus 2019). Sewa tertulis Departemen Perhubungan kepada PT KAI Daop IV tersebut tidak berfungsi sebagaimana mestinya yang disebabkan oleh karena perkembangan kendaraan bermotor jumlahnya semakin banyak maka terminal angkudes

ini menjadi sepi sehingga stasiun ini beralih fungsi menjadi tempat tinggal kaum gelandangan, tuna wisma dan warung. Warung- warung makanan tersebut pada akhirnya menjadi tempat tinggal bahkan ada diantara warung di area stasiun digunakan untuk tempat prostitusi(Wawancara dengan Bapak Sarmin dan Ibu Hartono tanggal 23 Agustus 2019). Ketidakadaan control yang baik tersebut mengakibatkan fungsi ruang public tersebut mengusik ketenangan warga yang tinggal di seputar area stasiun tersebut sehingga warga menutup salah satu jalan yang menghubungkan antara rumah pemukiman warga dengan stasiun.

Sama seperti stasiun lainnya di areal stasiun Wirosari sekarang lokasi ini dijadikan warung- warung dan tempat tinggal dan tempat usaha lain dengan model sewa. Ada sekitar 25-30 KK yang menempati tanah area Stasiun. Warung- warung yang menempati asset tanah PT KAI ada sekitar 20 warung. Sedangkan di Stasiun Kuwu karena merupakan stasiun kecil hanya ditempati sekitar 10 sampai 15 KK. Kepemilikan warung awalnya dikelola oleh pegawai PT KAI yang berkoordinasi dengan perangkat desa/ kelurahan untuk membagi dalam petak- petak. Model pemungutan dan kepemilikan sementara ini dikelola oleh pegawai PT KAI secara individual. Tidak jelas uang kepemilikan awal ini untuk kepentingan apa dan dikumpulkan ke rekening siapa. Para penghuni tanah asset PT KAI ini secara random mengatakan bahwa uang kepemilikan pertama diserahkan kepada petugas dari perusahaan tersebut yang ditemani oleh pegawai kelurahan.

Aset lain yang dimiliki oleh PT KAI yang lain adalah berupa tanah. Tanah- tanah yang ada di seputar stasiun tergantung dari besar dan kecilnya stasiun tersebut. Tanah asset yang paling luas terletak di areal Stasiun Purwodadi yaitu ada sekitar 5 RT dalam satu RW. Dari Rukun Warga(RW) 16 tanah- tanah milik PT KAI yang menjadi tanah sewa terletak di Rukun Tetangga(RT) 5,6,7,9 dan 10 yang terdiri masing- masing RT ada 20-30 keluarga. Di Stasiun Wirosari tanah yang di jadikan tempat tinggal ada sekitar 30 keluarga sedangkan yang dijadikan warung

ada sekitar 20 warung. Tanah untuk tempat tinggal tersebut berukuran 6X 12 M sedangkan warung2 tersebut berukuran rata- rata 4X6 M. Sedangkan di Stasiun Godong hanya sedikit sekitar 10 yang jadi tempat tinggal dan 20 yang menjadi warung atau ruko.

Berdasarkan informasi yang diberikan oleh beberapa informan dan pada saat dilakukan FGD dengan warga 2 RT yang menempati tanah milik PT KAI di RT 5 dan RW 16 kelurahan Purwodadi di peroleh deskripsi bahwa tanah- tanah yang mereka tempati awalnya diperoleh dengan membeli tanah kapling dengan ukuran 6 X 13 dengan harga 10 juta kepada petugas dari perseroan tersebut. Pada setiap tahunnya mereka membayar uang sewa sebesar Rp 85 ribu kepada petugas yang ditunjuk sejak tahun 2000-an. Uang tersebut oleh petugas diberikan kepada siapa tidak jelas, akan tetapi masalah muncul di kemudian hari karena ternyata uang sewa tersebut tidak masuk ke perusahaan tetapi ke kantong pribadi. Sejak Masa kepemimpinan Jonan sebagai Direktur Utama PT KAI dibentuk satu devisi dalam manajemen perusahaan tersebut yaitu Devisi Kepemilikan Aset Perusahaan. Realisasi dari devisi tersebut adalah melakukan pendataan asset PT KAI yang ada diseluruh Indonesia yang masih terpakai ataupun yang sudah mangkrak(Wawancara dengan Bapak Yudi tanggal 26 Oktober 2019). Pihak PT KAI mulai melakukan pendataan dan evaluasi kepada para penghuni tanah- tanah miliknya pada tahun 2015. Semua asset tanah yang berada di jalur rel Semarang- Blora yang berada di Kabupaten Grobogan sudah terinventaris dengan baik(wawancara dengan Bapak Galih tanggal 17 September 2019). Masyarakat dari 5 RT yang ada dikumpulkan dalam suatu pertemuan yang terletak di RT 6 dengan agenda inventarisasi penyewa tanah PT KAI dan penentuan uang sewa dari masyarakat. Masyarakat diajak berdialog untuk mereka membayar sewa sesuai dengan NJOP terendah tanah di kabupaten Grobogan sesuai dengan kesepakatan bersama. Pemutihan bayar pajak oleh PT KAI disepakati mereka bayar sejak tahun 2009 sampai dengan 2015 dan dapat di cicil selama 1 tahun. Berdasarkan

informasi yang di peroleh dari ketua RT 6 bapak Karmin sekarang ini uang sewa yang di kenakan kepada penghuni tanah PT KAI dalam setiap tahun sebesar Rp1,3 Juta untuk ukuran tanah yang standard 6X 13 M. Uang sewa tanah tersebut tidak lagi di Tarik secara individual dari pintu ke pintu akan tetapi di setor ke rekening PT KAI di Bandung dengan menggunakan rekanan bank BRI. Dalam pembayaran uang sewa inipun ditemukan berbagai masalah di lapangan antara lain adalah belum semua KK memiliki Surat Perjanjian Sewa dari Perusahaan PT KAI, bagi mereka yang belum memiliki surat resmi kontrak sewa merasa was- was kalau nanti terjadi sesuatu di kemudian hari, misalnya pengusiran dan lainnya. Pertemuan Rukun Tetangga maupun Rukun Warga jadi tempat untuk memberikan informasi bagi warga tentang hal- hal yang berhubungan dengan pemerintah daerah, PT KAI dan lainnya terutama tentang Surat Peringatan (SP1,2 dan 3) untuk pembayaran uang sewa.

Bagi para penghuni stasiun Purwodadi tanggung jawab di serahkan pada ketua kelompok pedagang yang menempati area tersebut kepada pihak Dinas Perhubungan karena pengelolaannya di dasarkan pada kerjasama dengan hak sewa antara PT KAI dengan Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Grobogan lewat dinas terkait sejak tahun 2000 selama 25 Tahun. Pengalihan fungsi ruang tersebut sekarang ini menjadi lokasi yang meresahkan warga yang tinggal tepat berbatasan dengan lokasi stasiun. Konflik muncul di karenakan masyarakat merasa terganggu dengan para penghuni stasiun yang bukan merupakan warga asli dari Purwodadi dan mereka datang dari berbagai daerah dengan berbagai perilaku yang dianggap meresahkan warga di RT 6 karena berbatasan langsung. Tindakan yang dianggap meresahkan adalah para penghuni yang menempati lokasi stasiun main bola yang kadang memecahkan genting warga, minum minuman keras, membuang hajat seenaknya dan ada beberapa warung yang digunakan untuk tempat karaoke dan prostitusi terselubung. Guna mengantisipasi masuknya penghuni ke lokasi rumah warga maka pintu masuk

yang dahulunya ada di seputar stasiun 2 sekarang tinggal 1 yang digunakan untuk aktifitas keluar masuk gang.

Berdasarkan hasil penelitian dilapangan penulis berhasil menginventaris beberapa permasalahan yang akan menimbulkan konflik antara pemerintah daerah, masyarakat dan PT KAI. Permasalahan pertama terjadi antara Pemerintah Daerah dengan PT KAI sehubungan dengan persewaan yang dilakukan Pemda Grobogan dalam hal ini Dinas Perhubungan dengan tidak berfungsinya terminal Angkudes sebagaimana mestinya karena sepiunya jumlah angkutan dan jumlah penumpang sehingga fungsi ini berubah menjadi tempat yang kumuh dan menimbulkan kerawanan social sehingga harus segera diatasi dengan cara pemetaan kefungsian ruang stasiun tersebut untuk pusat pameran dan lain sebagainya sehingga permasalahan social bias diminimalisasi. Keadaan ini tentu harus ditata ulang perjanjian yang dilakukan antara PT KAI dengan Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Grobogan

Permasalahan kedua yang penulis temukan berdasarkan observasi dan wawancara di lapangan adalah penggunaan Stasiun sebagai ruang public di Stasiun Godong. Penggunaan stasiun sebagai terminal bayangan bis antar propinsi tersebut akan menimbulkan permasalahan tersendiri . Karena belum ada kerjasama antara Dinas Perhubungan dengan pihak PT KAI Daop 4 (Wawancara dengan Bapak Muhammad Huda tanggal 25 September 2019). Permasalahan ini harus segera diatasi dengan membuat kerjasama atau sewa antar dua instansi tersebut. Negosiasi dan nota kesepahaman merupakan cara jitu untuk menyelesaikan permasalahan diatas.

Permasalahan yang muncul yang berhubungan dengan masyarakat dengan PT KAI adalah tentang sewa tanah antara masyarakat dan perusahaan kereta api yaitu penginventarisasian kembali dan hak sewa tanah. Asset milik PT KAI tersebut masyarakat menginginkan supaya bias menjadi hak milik. Akan tetapi setelah penulis menanyakan kepada pihak perusahaan maka hal itu tidak mungkin terjadi. Model pendekatan emik berbasis pada pemikiran, pandangan, tradisi, dan kebiasaan yang terdapat dalam lingkungan pelaku konflik. Model ini yang digunakan oleh masyarakat dan PT KAI dalam menghadapi permasalahan tentang sewa tanah.

Pendekatan emik merupakan pendekatan yang paling baik pada masyarakat sipil yang demokratis. Pendekatan ini digunakan dalam menghadapi

permasalahan tersebut dengan cara mengumpulkan warga penyewa tanah asset PT KAI untuk berdialog tentang harga sewa tanah. Untuk menyelesaikan masalah tersebut tidak diperlukan dalam penyelesaian konflik karena sudah dilakukan dengan cara membuat nota kesepahaman dengan cara musyawarah. Musyawarah dan mufakat dilakukan antara kedua belah pihak. Masyarakat telah memiliki kearifan lokal untuk menyelesaikan konflik (Raharjo Jati, 2013). Kearifan lokal itu bisa melahirkan kesepakatan antara pihak-pihak yang bersengketa seperti konflik lahan kereta api di Wonogiri yang melahirkan kesepakatan bersama (*MOU*) antara pihak masyarakat dengan PT Kereta Api (Hariyanti, 2008). Kasus di Kabupaten Grobogan untuk sewa tanah asset PT KAI tidak melahirkan konflik.

Peta konflik lahan eks jalur kereta api Semarang-Grobogan pasca nasionalisasi hingga sekarang yang berhasil teridentifikasi tersebut antara lain adalah perubahan keruangan dari sewa dan kesepakatan antara Dinas Perhubungan Kabupaten Grobogan dengan pihak PT KAI selama 25 tahun yang dulunya untuk keperluan terminal angkudes kemudian berubah fungsi menjadi tempat yang dapat menimbulkan kerawanan sosial. Bentuk kerjasama dan sewa lahan tersebut harus dikaji ulang sesuai dengan perkembangan kebutuhan masyarakat, pemerintah daerah Kabupaten Grobogan.

Pengembangan model partisipasi masyarakat, Pemerintah Daerah, dan pihak manajemen PT Kereta Api Indonesia dalam penyelesaian konflik dilakukan pada saat menentukan sewa tanah asset yang digunakan oleh masyarakat untuk tempat tinggal dan warung/ toko. Kesepakatan dengan cara musyawarah mufakat dilakukan untuk penentuan harga sewa sesuai dengan NJOP terendah tanah di kabupaten Grobogan. Pembayaran juga dilakukan secara online dengan melibatkan pihak Bank Pemerintah yaitu BRI ke rekening pihak perusahaan PT KAI yang berada di Bandung. Kesepakatan ini tentu dilakukan untuk menghindari rasa kecurigaan dan korupsi yang dilakukan oleh pihak-pihak terkait.

Pengembangan model mediasi antar pihak yang konflik serta jejaring untuk penyelesaian konflik dengan para pihak yang terlibat konflik berbasis kearifan lokal ini berhasil menyelesaikan masalah yang berhubungan dengan pembayaran dan besaran sewa tanah. Bagi masyarakat yang masih menunggak dan belum membayar diberi toleransi pembayaran dengan jangka waktu tertentu dengan diberikan Surat Peringatan (SP) dari 1 sampai 3 kali. Para penunggak dan tidak mau membayar sewa tanah tersebut dari hasil

inventarisasi dan wawancara dengan pihak manajemen PT Kai justru datang dari keluarga pegawai perusahaan tersebut yang merasa dirinya sebagai pemilik tanah tersebut.

E. SIMPULAN

Persoalan penggunaan asset tanah milik PT KAI oleh masyarakat dan Dinas Perhubungan Kabupaten Grobogan menimbulkan permasalahan akan tetapi permasalahan tersebut berhasil diselesaikan dengan cara yang baik yaitu musyawarah untuk mencapai mufakat untuk menentukan harga sewa tanah milik perusahaan tersebut. Musyawarah mufakat dan inventarisasi yang dilakukan oleh manajemen perusahaan tersebut disikapi dengan positif karena sesuai dengan kearifan yang ada dalam masyarakat. Kesepakatan musyawarah tersebut cara yang ampuh untuk menyelesaikan konflik yang terjadi (pendekatan emik).

Laporan Lanitan 2022

A. PENDAHULUAN

Konflik Merupakan suatu hal yang sering terjadi dalam masyarakat apakah kecil atau besar bentuknya. Konflik dapat terjadi karena adanya beberapa sebab bisa karena ucapan yang membuat orang tersinggung diawali dengan adu mulut kemudian beralih kearah adu fisik. Dalam tulisan ini kami tidak akan membahas tentang konflik antar individu tetapi konflik yang muncul dari masyarakat penghuni asset tanah milik PT KAI dengan masyarakat, PT KAI dan lainnya. Penelitian ini berusaha memberikan sebuah model resolusi konflik berdasarkan pada kearifan local yang ada dan sudah dikenal oleh masyarakat kita secara turun-temurun. Penelitian ini menggunakan data yang dilakukan dengan melakukan observasi, wawancara langsung dengan masyarakat penghuni

tanah asset PT KAI dan Focus Descution Group (FGD) dengan para pengambil kebijakan yaitu dari PT KAI, Pemda dan anggota DPRD Kabupaten Grobogan. Data sejarah digunakan untuk membuat inventarisasi tanah asset PT KAI di wilayah penelitian dan mencocokkannya dengan sumber dilapangan. Tahun ketiga dari riset ini bentuknya adalah sosialisasi tentang resolusi konflik berbasis masyarakat tersebut di ujikan kepada masyarakat di ketiga lokasi penelitian yaitu di kecamatan Wirosari, Kecamatan Purwodadi dan kecamatan Godong.

B. PEMBAHASAN

Kereta api di Jawa merupakan sarana transportasi massal terpenting di Pulau Jawa. Mode transportasi ini mampu mengangkut sejumlah penumpang dalam jumlah besar dengan biaya yang relatif terjangkau. Secara historis mode transportasi ini sebagai warisan Kolonial Belanda akibat proses peralihan hak antara pihak pengelola perkeretaapian Kolonial dengan pihak pemerintah Indonesia pasacakemerdekaan yang dikenal dengan nama nasionalisasi (Hartatik, 2014).

Nasionalisasi perusahaan kereta api milik Belanda didasarkan pada Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia nomor 40 tahun 1959. Dengan dilakukaannya nasionalisasi perusahaan kereta api oleh pemerintah Indonesia, maka kepemilikan dan pengelolaan perusahaan kereta api menjadi di bawah tanggung jawab pemerintah Indonesia (Wasino, 2016).

Pasca nasionalisasi terjadi silang sengkabut pengeloaan aset tanah kereta api. Hal itu terjadi karena pengelolaannya terbelah antara kementerian pertahanan, kementerian perhubungan, pemerintah daerah, dan akhirnya kementerian Badan Usaha Milik Negara (BUMN). Dalam rentang ketidakjelasan sejumlah aset tanah tersebut, rakyat memanfaatkan aset tanah tersebut untuk tempat hunian, tempat usaha dan dalam jangka puluhan tahun telah menjadi pemukiman yang tetap di sekitar rel kereta api. Di Kota Purwodadi Grobogan stasiun kereta api telah berubah menjadi wilayah pasar dan pemukiman. Di Kecamatan Godong Grobogan stasiun kereta api berubah menjadi bangunan ruko. Di

Kecamatan Wirosari Grobogan stasiun kereta api berubah menjadi bangunan ruko.

Sebagian aset tanah di sekitar rel telah bisa diselesaikan dengan model ganti rugi dan tali asih, sementara di sejumlah tempat yang jalur kereta apinya telah tidak berfungsi seperti jalur kereta api Tawang-Tanjung Mas, Semarang-Grobogan, dan Semarang-Kudus belum dapat diselesaikan dan masih terbuka konflik di masa yang akan datang. Akibatnya rencana pemerintah untuk merevitalisasi jalur-jalur kereta api lama tidak dapat dilaksanakan karena masalah sengketa lahan. Pendekatan hukum telah banyak dilakukan dalam penyelesaian konflik tersebut namun berlangsung dalam jangka panjang dan hasilnya membawa konflik baru antara pihak PT Kereta Api dengan masyarakat dan Pemerintah Daerah. Sehubungan dengan permasalahan tersebut diperlukan model resolusi konflik yang berbasis kearifan lokal masyarakat, untuk memediasi pihak-pihak yang saling bersengketa agar tidak ada pihak yang merasa dirugikan.

Wilayah kabupaten Grobogan merupakan daerah dataran rendah yang subur untuk pertanian sawah berupa padi dan polowojo. Sebagai penghasil beras dan pemasuk polowijo terbesar di Jawa Tengah tentu memerlukan sarana transportasi darat baik berupa truk, colt , kereta api dan lainnya. Transportasi kereta api yang ada di wilayah ini sudah dibangun pada masa kolonial Belanda. Dalam klasifikasi jalur kereta api wilayah Grobogan yang dijadikan penelitian penulis adalah klas kedua yang menghubungkan antara Semarang ke Blora dengan melewati daerah di Kabupaten Grobogan.

Tahun pertama riset menghasilkan hasil pemetaan dan inventarisasi asset tanah PT Kai yang berupa stasiun, tanah yang dijadikan tempat pemukiman penduduk dan tempat kuliner. Berdasarkan hasil temuan dilapangan yang dilakukan di Stasiun Godong, Stasiun Purwodadi dan Stasiun Wirosari maka di peroleh data bahwa Stasiun Godong dan Purwodadi digunakan oleh Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten

Grobogan sebagai terminal Angkutan Pedesaan sementara Stasiun Wirosari hanya difungsikan sebagai pertokoan. Tanah asset di seputar stasiun yang dihuni oleh masyarakat di Wirosari sejumlah 56 Kepala keluarga dan 26 warung dan toko. Para penghuni bermata pencaharian sebagai pedagang, pensiunan ASN dan wirausaha lain.(Wawancara dengan Bapak Rahmen dan Sutopo 29 September 2019)

Para penghuni tanah-tanah di seputar stasiun yang ada di Purwodadi sebagian besar berasal dari kelompok masyarakat kelas menengah kebawah dan para pensiunan pegawai yang belum punya rumah sendiri. Penghuni area stasiun Purwodadi berdasarkan data yang terkumpul terdiri dari kurang lebih 100 KK yang terbagi dalam 3 Rukun Tetangga (RT). Mereka berprofesi sebagai pedagang pisang, sayur, bunga tabur di pasar, buruh bangunan, sopir becak, sopir angkot, pegawai salon dan lainnya dengan penghasilan dalam 1 bulan sebesar 2 sampai 2.5 juta dengan anggota keluarga sejumlah 4-5 orang. Dengan penghasilan sebesar itu hanya cukup untuk memenuhi kebutuhan sehari-hari dan membayar uang sekolah serta kumpulan warga. Para penghuni tanah sewa tersebut walaupun mereka telah membayar sewa secara rutin tiap tahun sebesar rata-rata 1-1.5 juta tetap merasa was-was apabila tanah ini akan diminta kembali oleh PT KAI sewaktu-waktu. Pembayaran sewa tanah kepada perusahaan BUMN tersebut pada awalnya dibayarkan kolektif oleh pensiunan pegawai KAI akan tetapi oleh karena faktor keamanan dan tidak jelas pembayarannya maka sekarang penghuni oleh manajemen perusahaan diwajibkan membayar di Bank yang ditunjuk perusahaan bagi mereka yang sudah mendapatkan surat wajib sewa penghuni (Wawancara dengan Ibu FX Hartono dan Wiwin tanggal 23 Juni 2019).

Stasiun Purwodadi oleh pihak pemerintah daerah dialih fungsikan sebagai terminal Angkutdes sejak tahun 2000an. Oleh karena angkot mengalami penurunan penumpang maka suasana terminal pada tahun 2019 sepi sehingga area tersebut digunakan untuk para pedagang

barang- barang bekas misalnya baju, sepatu alat elektronik dan lainnya. Selain itu eks Stasiun multi fungsi untuk tempat istirahat para tuna wisma, berjualan pedagang bunga tabur, tukang becak, warung makan dan lainnya. Alih fungsi tersebut sekarang tidak berjalan semestinya dan terlihat kumuh.

Berdasarkan penelusuran data di lapangan di peroleh gambaran bahwa rel dan bantalan rel yang berupa kayu jati pada awal tahun 1990-an ada yang diambil oleh pihak PT KAI tapi ada juga yang belum diambil kemudian diambil oleh masyarakat dengan cara di potong- potong untuk di jual secara kiloan. Rel dan bantalan rel yang tidak diambil tertimbun dengan tanah dan akhirnya tidak nampak dari luar. Sementara para penghuni yang menempati tanah- tanah milik PT KAI yang digunakan sebagai sarana tempat tinggal sebagian besar terjadi pada sekitar tahun 2000-an. Kepemilikan lahan yang digunakan sebagai tempat tinggal awalnya membeli tanah untuk tersebut secara kaplingan dengan ukuran rata- rata 6 X 13 M dengan harga 10 Juta pada tahun 2002 di tanah- tanah seputar Stasiun Purwodadi dan 6 X 10 M 5 juta di tanah seputar Stasiun Wirosari. Status tanah yang ditempati oleh masyarakat adalah hak sewa dengan bukti akta sewa tanah yang ditandatangani oleh pihak PT KAI dan pengguna tanah tersebut. Adapun di areal stasiun Godong di gunakan sebagai tempat pangkalan bis Zentrum yang melayani jalur Purwodadi – Jakarta sedangkan di serambinya di buat kotak- kotak dengan ukuran 4 X 6 Meter untuk toko, penjualan tiket bis, warung makan, pencucian motor dan jual beli kendaraan roda 2(Wawancara dengan Teguh Imantoro dan Basuki Mulyono tanggal 27 Mei 2020)

Tanah asset milik PT KAI yang berada di seputar stasiun Wirosari dihuni oleh 56 kepala keluarga dan 26 warung atau kios. Pengguna tanah asset PT KAI yang berada di seputar stasiun Purwodadi sejumlah 160 KK dan 60an kios yang berada di komplek Stasiun dan Pujasera. Pujasera tersebut dibangun pada tahun 2017 dengan system sewa kepada Dinas

terkait yaitu Perindustrian kabupaten Grobogan. Masalah muncul antara warga penghuni asset tanah yang menempati untuk tempat tinggal dengan penghuni kios yang ada di kompleks stasiun dimana mereka merasa terganggu oleh adanya suara karaoke yang cukup kencang dan para penyewa kios yang main bola yang menyebabkan genteng pecah kena lemparan bola dan lainnya. Guna mengantisipasi rawannya konflik maka pintu masuk yang dahulunya ada di sebelah timur dan barat stasiun dengan perkampungan sekarang ditutup oleh warga dengan kesepakatan antar kedua belah pihak. Sebagian besar warga yang menempati tanah milik PT KAI tersebut sudah paham kalau mereka itu hanya punya hak sewa jadi secara hukum paham hak dan kewajibannya.

Pada kasus perubahan keruangan bagi penduduk yang tinggal di tanah milik perusahaan PT KAI Daop IV Semarang penulis menggunakan model pendekatan emik. Model pendekatan emik berbasis pada pemikiran, pandangan, tradisi, dan kebiasaan yang terdapat dalam lingkungan pelaku konflik. Dari model pendekatan itu, maka pendekatan emik merupakan pendekatan yang paling baik pada masyarakat sipil yang demokratis. Pendekatan ini dirasa cukup pas bagi penyelesaian masalah yang kemungkinan terjadi antara masyarakat dan pihak perusahaan. Pihak luar diperlukan dalam penyelesaian konflik dengan cara mediasi. Untuk dapat melakukan mediasi maka harus memahami nilai budaya konflik dan model penyelesaiannya yang telah berkembang dalam masyarakat tersebut. Masyarakat telah memiliki kearifan lokal untuk menyelesaikan konflik (Raharjo Jati, 2013). Kearifan lokal itu bisa melahirkan kesepakatan antara pihak-pihak yang bersengketa seperti konflik lahan kereta api di Wonogiri yang melahirkan kesepakatan bersama (*MOU*) antara pihak masyarakat dengan PT Kereta Api (Hariyanti, 2008).

Berdasarkan data yang ditemukan di lapangan baik di tanah asset yang berada di Stasiun Wirosari, Stasiun Purwodadi dan stasiun Godong serta Kuwu mereka pada dasarnya memahami bahwa tanah yang mereka tempati tersebut bukanlah tanah milik mereka dan hanya sebagai penyewa dengan ketentuan hukum yang ada dalam surat perjanjian sewa dengan membayar pada rekening kas PT KAI yang beralamat di Bandung. Mereka hanya menempati tanah *magersari* kalau jaman kerajaan. Istilah *magersari* dalam kamus bahasa Jawa yang ditulis oleh Widada,dkk berarti *wong sing ngindung ing pomahane para leluhur/* maksudnya adalah orang yang berdiam atau tinggal ditempat leluhur (Widada,dkk, 2001. hlm 483). Dalam konteks disini bukan leluhur atau keluarga tapi milik PT KAI. *Magersari dan* *dunung* memiliki makna yang hamper sama yaitu menempati lahan tanah yang bukan miliknya dan jika suatu saat tanah tersebut digunakan oleh yang memiliki maka mereka harus untuk meninggalkan lahan tanah asset tersebut.

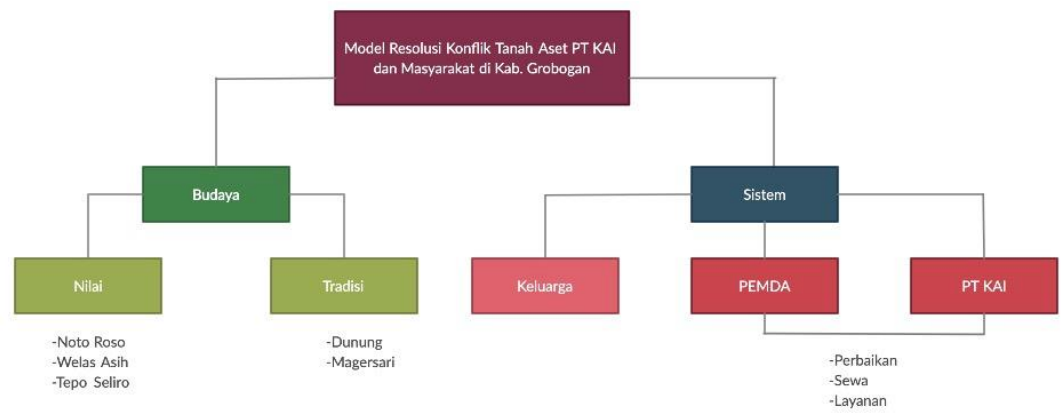
Para penghuni yang “*dunung*” (Widada,dkk 2001:169) di tanah PT KAI tersebut sadar betul jika sewaktu- waktu yang memiliki tanah memerlukan maka mereka harus pindah tetapi dengan syarat mereka di beri waktu antara untuk mencari lokasi hunian baru.Istilah *Dunung* ini dalam Kamus Bahasa Jawa, berarti *papan,mapan, panggonan,ndunungi*=*mapan ngenggoni* dalam bahasa Jawa, dalam bahasa Indonesia berarti menempati tempat tertentu.

Apabila tanah asset yang ditempati tersebut diminta Kembali oleh yang memiliki tanah maka para penghuni bersepakat untuk diberikan tenggang waktu dengan sikap yang “*welas asih*”(Widada,dkk.2001:847). *Welas asih* ini merupakan bentuk kearifan yang ada dalam masyarakat jawa yang berasal dari 2 kata *welas* berarti kadunungan rasa mesakke marang liyan= perasaan yang ikut prihatin dengan orang lain dan *asih* yang berarti tresno sama dengan rasa cinta. Sikap *welas asih*yang dimaksudkan adalah adanya rasa cinta dan bentuk prihatin terhadap orang lain. Dalam hal ini *welas asih* tersebut selain berhubungan dengan pemberian waktu bagi penghuni tanah tersebut untuk meninggalkan tempat jika pihak PT KAI membutuhkan tanah itu. Selain itu memberikan dana kerohiman yang disepakati dengan pertimbangan kemanusiaan. Sikap *tepo seliro* juga dibutuhkan dalam penyelesaian konflik yang sekitanya terjadi antara pemilik Aset dan yang menempati tanah tersebut.*Tepo seliro* dalam kamus bahasa jawa berarti orang yang dapat memahami perasaan orang lain(S Prawiraatmaja,1981:29). Sikap *tepo seliro* ini juga bermakna ganda artinya orang yang menempati tanah tersebut tahu posisinya dan sebaliknya mereka apabila tidak tahu diri juga dianggap tidak memiliki *tepo seliro*. Sikap ini mendorong dan meminimalisir orang yang akan bertindak tidak berperikemanusiaan. Sikap dasar yang ditanamkan oleh nenek moyang kita pada jaman dahulu dan masih diterapkan di masyarakat maka konflik yang berujung adu mulut dan adu fisik bisa dihindari. Sikap kearifan local ini apabila masih digunakan dalam penyelesaian konflik antar masyarakat dengan pemilik asset yaitu PT KAI akan berujung damai dari beberapa kasus yang terjadi di Jawa Tengah. Sikap *noto roso* antara pengguna tanah dan pemilik tanah apabila diterapkan akan mengurangi konflik dalam masyarakat. *Noto roso* berasal dari dua kata *noto* yang berarti mengatur atau memasang dan *roso* yang berarti perasaan, bicara (S Prawiraatmaja,1981:396 dan 132).*Noto roso* tersebut berarti menata hati. *Tepo seliro, noto roso* dan *welas asih* tersebut merupakan nilai yang ada dalam masyarakat jawa dalam mengantisipasi munculnya konflik yang ada dalam masyarakat. Nilai kearifan untuk menghindari konflik antar anggota masyarakat tersebut ada secara turun –temurun yang diwariskan dalam masyarakat oleh nenek moyang. Mereka faham tentang nilai itu tetapi mereka tidak paham untuk membedakannya.(Wawancara dengan Bapak Sutopo, Ibu Ningsih, Bapak Rahmen, Ibu Sri tanggal 30 September 2020)

Sementara itu dari pihak Manajemen PT KAI Daop 4 dalam menghadapi mensosialisasikan program dan meminimalisir terjadinya konflik dengan masyarakat mengenalkan Program dalam sebulan sekali secara periodic dengan istilah CLBK ASYIK (Cek Lintas Bersama dan Khusus Aset Yang Intensif dan Kompak) (Wawancara dengan Bapak Yudhi dan Muh Huda tanggal 4 Oktober 2020). Dengan adanya program ini PT KAI berharap segala persoalan yang berhubungan dengan masalah yang timbul akan segera teratasi.Selain usaha tersebut maka ada beberapa hal yang harus diperbaiki antara pihak pemerintah kabupaten Grobogan dengan PT

KAI yaitu tentang kontrak keperuntukkan Stasiun yang sebelumnya digunakan untuk terminal angkutdes setelah angkutan mati suri maka akan digunakan untuk apa harus jelas keberuntukkannya karena lokasi tersebut sekarang digunakan untuk tunawisma dan para pengontrak dengan bisnis yang meresahkan masyarakat yang berada di dekat lokasi tersebut. Penulis dan masyarakat yang diwawancarai tentang keberuntukkan tempat itu setuju apabila digunakan untuk lokasi pasar oleh-oleh khas dari kabupaten Grobogan misalnya hasil UMKM dan produksi local kabupaten dengan mengundang investor. Selain menghindari kesan kumuh dan tidak terawat karena posisinya di jalan utama dan berada di pusat kota kabupaten Grobogan(hasil Wawancara dengan ibu FX Hartono, Bapak Sriyanto dan Wiwin tanggal 12 September 2020).

Sementara itu dari aspek system ada tiga hal yang menjadi perhatian utama yaitu keluarga, PT KAI dan Pemerintah Daerah. Keluarga sebagai pihak penyewa tanah asset PT KAI harus diberikan satu pemahaman tentang hak dan kewajiban dari system sewa tersebut dengan baik dan siapa yang akan meneruskan kewajiban tersebut apabila orang tua tersebut meninggal dunia. Hal ini sangat sensitive dan penting supaya di kemudian hari tidak ada konflik yang merugikan di kedua belah pihak. Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten memberikan peluang usaha dan kemudahan dalam mengurus ijin usaha bagi masyarakat yang memanfaatkan tanah tersebut untuk warung makan, toko kelontong dan lainnya sehingga masyarakat mampu membayar sewa kepada pemilik tanah yaitu PT KAI. Perbaikan sewa tersebut dianggap sangat mendesak untuk dilakukan sehingga potensi konflik antar masyarakat pengguna dan penyewa tidak terjadi. (Wawancara dengan Bapak Suyatno, tanggal 13 September 2010) Gambaran model resolusi konflik yang peneliti lakukan berdasarkan penelitian dilapangan dan FGD dapat di liat dalam began di bawah ini.



Oleh karena pandemic covid 19 dan PPKM dilakukan di wilayah Kabupaten Grobogan yang masuk level merah di Jateng dan sekarang statusnya sudah turun di level 3 maka mengumpulkan warga masyarakat

tidak diperbolehkan maka peneliti mengambil inisiatif sosialisasi dilakukan dengan cara membuat poster. Poster tersebut di buat dengan 2 versi yaitu poster besar untuk ditempel umum di ruang baca warga dan yang kecil di bagikan pada masing- masing kepala keluarga yang menempatilokasi tanah milik PT KAI. Keputusan tersebut dilakukan setelah peneliti berkonsultasi dengan pihak RT dan RW di lokasi penelitian karena mereka selama pandemi melakukan komunikasi lewat group WA warga . Informasi apapun sekarang ini dilakukan lewat media sosial. Sedangkan iuran bulanan dilakukan dengan cara tranfers via m banking kepada bendahara dan memasukkan uang tunai ke amplop di meja depan/ teras bendahara RT. Ini dilakukan untuk menjaga penyebaran virus covid 19. Melihat kondisi tersebut akhirnya peneliti melakukan sosialisasi dengan cara yang di sarankan ketua RT tersebut.

Sosialisasi pertama dilakukan di RT 2 dan Rt 3 RW 3 Kecamatan Wirosari tepatnya di Kedusan yang secara geografis terletak di Kawasan bekas stasiun Wirosari. Bapak ketua RT 2 dan 3 yaitu Bapak Sutopo dan Rahmen menyarankan sosialisasi dilakukan dengan cara poster 1 di tempel dilokasi strategis di rumah RT dan RW dan Stasiun Wirosari. Sosialisasi kedua dilakukan di kecamatan Purwodadi tepatnya di Jl Sopyonyo gang 1 dan 2 yang secara geografis menempati tanah milik PT KAI. Sama dengan yang pertama sosialisasi dilakukan dengan cara pembagian poster kepada kepala keluarga yang ada di wilayah tersebut. Reaksi yang dilakukan masyarakat baik dan responnya jg baik sehingga tidak ada masalah. Mereka berharap pihak PT KAI setuju dan mau menyelesaikan sesuai dengan poster yang dibagikan.

Sosialisasi di kecamatan Godong sedikit berbeda karena lokasi stasiun paling banyak digunakan untuk tempat usaha dan terminal bagi angkutan bus antar propinsi dilakukan dengan cara membagi poster kepada para pemilik tempat usaha saja dan reaksi mereka biasa saja. Mereka membaca poster yang dibagikan dan membacanya dengan baik

dan berharap pihak manajemen PT KAI akan menyelesaikan dengan baik. Poster tersebut antara lain adalah:

Sosialisasi dilakukan peneliti secara individual dan secara bersama-sama dengan mengumpulkan 5-10 orang. Model sosialisasi dilakukan karena covid 19. Dengan sosialisasi ini diharapkan masyarakat mengetahui akan maksud dan tujuan yang dilakukan peneliti. Apabila ada pertanyaan berkenaan dengan poster dan leaflet yang dibagikan peneliti menjawab pertanyaan dari mereka. Sosialisasi secara individual dari rumah ke rumah ini lebih efektif karena para penghuni merasa nyaman dan enak karena bisa bertanya langsung pada tim dan tidak malu jika dibandingkan dengan bersama-sama. Sosialisasi yang rencananya berbarengan dengan PT KAI tidak dapat dilakukan karena belum ada event yang tepat.

Foto-foto bukti sosialisasi di lapangan

C. PENUTUP

Simpulan yang dapat ditarik dalam penelitian ini adalah ada dua model penyelesaian konflik yang berbasis pada kearifan masyarakat di Kabupaten Grobogan dengan pemilik asset tanah yaitu PT KAI. Model pertama dilakukan dengan pendekatan budaya yang ada dalam masyarakat yaitu dalam nilai dan tradisi yang ada. Nilai ini menyangkut sikap *noto roso*, *tepo seliro* dan *welas asih*. Sedangkan dalam tradisi ini berkenaan dengan tradisi turun – temurun yang ada dalam kehidupan nenek moyang berkenaan dengan menempati lahan/ tanah dengan system *magersari* dan *dunung*. Pada aspek system maka perlu adanya kesepahaman antara keluarga, pemerintah daerah (Pemda) dan PT KAI berhubungan dengan model sewa, perbaikan keberuntukan tempat sesuai kontrak dan layanan yang diberikan oleh pemerintah daerah kepada masyarakat dan PT KAI. Tiga komponen tersebut harus saling bersinergi. Dalam usahanya meminimalisir konflik PT KAI Daop 4 juga mengenalkan system *CLBK ASYIK* yang dilaksanakan secara periodik satu bulan sekali.

Oleh karena pandemic covid 19 maka sosialisasi tentang produk penelitian ini dilaksanakan dengan menggunakan media leaflet dan

poster. Media ini dianggap tepat karena dapat dilaksanakan dengan menyebarkannya kepada para penghuni tanah eks jalur kereta api Semarang Blora lewat kabupaten Grobogan. Di kecamatan Wirosari poster tersebut diberikan pada ketua RT untuk dibagikan dan ditempelkan di ruang public di masing- masing RT di lokasi obyek penelitian.

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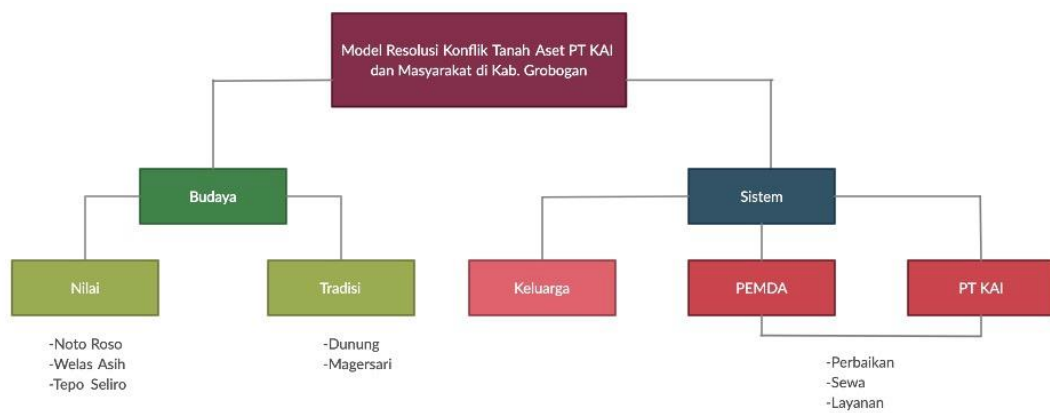
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Luaran:

1. Model Resolusi konflik



2. Artikel Jurnal Internasional

CONFLICT RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE SEMARANG-JOANA TRAM COMPANY (SJS) BASED ON LOCAL CULTURE, THE CASE IN GROBOGAN REGENCY, CENTRAL JAVA, INDONESIA

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Abstract

This article aims to map the history of land tenure conflicts in the former Semarang-Joana Stroomtram Mastchappij (SJS) and create a conceptual conflict resolution model based on local wisdom. The research method uses research and development, which begins with mapping the history of SJS assets after the nationalization and developing a conceptual conflict resolution model. The result shows that SJS assets managed by the Railway Company (PJKA) later morphed into the Indonesian Railways Company after nationalization. The community controls many lands belonging to PT KAI until now, which has led to a prolonged conflict between the parties concerned. The research process developed an open dialogue through FGD between the disputing parties and a conflict resolution model based on the values of local wisdom adopted by the community and the adaptive importance of the Railway Company. The model building is likely to be a solution to solving problems faced by the government and society.

Keywords: history, land tenure conflicts, transportation, conflict resolution

Introduction

The essential land transportation in Java from the late 19th century to 1960s was the train. At that time, this mode of transport could carry many passengers at a relatively affordable cost. Historically, this mode of transportation is a legacy of the Dutch railway companies, both private and government companies. These companies changed ownership after Indonesia's Independence,

either through institutional shifts (for government railway companies) or nationalization for private railway companies.¹

The development of railway companies on the island of Java is related to economic development on the island, which is driven by the plantation industry, especially the sugar industry. In this regard, the first railway line to be built in the Semarang-Surakarta area. At the request of sugar entrepreneurs who had invested in the area since early 19th century and required transportation facilities connecting the sugar factory to Semarang port. The construction of the railway line was funded by a private railway company known as the *Nederlands Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij (NIS)*. Even though it took decades, the construction of this private railway network has succeeded in connecting transportation between plantation areas in the royal place and the Port of Semarang since the 1870s.²

In addition to the government railway company, founded in 1875, the successful construction of Semarang-Local Kingdom railway line by NIS provided an incentive for other companies to open railway lines in other Java islands. The opening of these railway lines was supported by the issuance of the Agrarian Law of 1870, which opened up great opportunities for private companies to lease land to indigenous people in the long term for 25 to 75 years. One of them is the Semarang-Joana *Strootram-Maatschappij (SJS)* company.³

The domestic tram company was founded in Den Haag, the Netherlands, on October 17, 1881. Due to the company's operational activities in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies), the head office of SJS was located in Jakarta. The person in charge of the company was the Reyns & Vinju Firm and

¹ Wasino, et al., *Sejarah Nasionalisasi Aset-Aset BUMN dari Perusahaan Kolonial menjadi Perusahaan Nasional* (Jakarta: Kementerian BUMN, 2014), 683-686.

² Wasino, *Kapitalisme Bumi Putra: Perubahan Masyarakat Mangkunegaran* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2008), 260-261; Endah Sri Hartatik, "From Rail Road to Highway: Shifting Use of Land Transportation System in the Northern Coast of Central Java", *Paramita Historical Studies* 29:2 (2019), 228-229.

³ Endang Susilowati, *Peranan Tram Semarang-Juana sebagai Sarana Pengangkutan pada Tahun 1885-1900* (Mini Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada 1984), 6.

was recognized by the Dutch East Indies Government based on the decision of the Dutch East Indies Government dated January 17, 1882, number 5.⁴

This tram company started operating in Semarang City in 1881, two years after establishing the tram company. Semarang is the first city to build a tram line on the island of Java. The first line created by the SJS company is Semarang-Joana along 87.6 km. Semarang-Joana is the northern coastal route of Central Java, which was built adjacent to the existing highway. The Semarang City followed the city streets, while the Semarang route follows the phenomenal Dandle's highway. However, some are outside the road, especially those connecting sugar factories and the plantation industry.⁵ With the development model that coincided with the street, SJS did not face difficulty acquiring land to construct the rail line. The process of construction of the railway station had a problem with land use. The grounds on the street side used for the railway station are generally already controlled by the owners of capital, especially Chinese and Arabs. As a result, the company's costs for land acquisition were more expensive.⁶

This tram line has become a means of short-distance transportation, such as "mini trains" in the early years of its operation, which has earned quite a lot of profit. Therefore, the tram company is expanding its network with branch lines. The first branch line was the Mayong district route (11.6 km) opened on September 6, 1887. The second is the Demak, Wirosari district route through Purwodadi along 60.1 km, which completed construction in 1889. The third the Wirosari- Blora, which opened in 1891. The fourth branch line is the Purwodadi-Gundih line along the 17.1 km, purchasing a concession or takeover from another company, namely *Poerwodadri-Goendih*

⁴ *Regeering Almanak voor Nederlandsch Indie*, 1883, 192.

⁵ Djoko Suryo, *Sejarah Sosial Pedesaan Karesidenan Semarang 1830-1900* (Yogyakarta: PAU-Studi Sosial, 1982), 135.

⁶ Endang Susilowati, *Peranan Tram Semarang-Juana sebagai Sarana Pengangkutan pada Tahun 1885-1900* (Mini Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1984), 33.

Srtoomtram Mastchappij, in 1891. Another route opened is the Wirosari-Kradenan line, which completed construction in 1898.⁷

After Indonesia's Independence, the tram line underwent a nationalization process together with other private Dutch companies. This nationalization was physically in control by freedom fighters since the early years of Indonesian Independence. However, legally nationalization could only be carried out after 1958 because in that year, the implementation of Law number. 86 of 1958 concerning the Nationalization of Dutch-owned Companies. The Indonesian Government's primary objective to nationalize Dutch-owned companies was to further strengthen Indonesia's⁸ national economic potential. The management of railway companies (including trams) is under the responsibility of the Indonesian Government.⁹ Its management is under the Ministry of Transportation and technically carried out by the Railway Department (DKA), currently known as Indonesian Railways Company.

After the nationalization, there was an upside-down cross over the management of railway land assets. The administration split between the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Transportation, the local Government, and the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises. However, almost all railway lines were still operational until the 1960s. However, since the 1980s, several short-distance railway lines have not functioned because they were economically unprofitable. Besides, it was strengthened due to the policy of the New Order Government, which changed the policy of mass transportation to switch to roads, which allowed fleets to carry passengers closer to residential

⁷ S.A. Reitsma, *Indische Spoorweg Politiek, Deel 1* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1916), 177; Endang Susilowati, *Peranan Tram Semarang-Juana sebagai Sarana Pengangkutan pada Tahun 1885-1900* (Mini Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1984), 49.

⁸ Thomas Lindblad, *Bridges to New Business* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), 105.

⁹ Wasino, "From A Colonial to A National Company: The Nationalization Western Private Plantation in Indonesia", *Lembaran Sejarah*, 13:1 (2008).

areas. As a result of this policy, short-distance railway lines such as the former SJS were not functioning because they were not profitable.¹⁰

As a result of the closure of the tram line, until the end of the New Order administration, the assets of the former SJS managed by Indonesian Railways Company were neglected. As a result, there was the seizure of support in the form of occupation of station land and theft of railroad tracks. The community occupied the grounds around the railway stations and channels for residential and business purposes and, over the decades, have become permanent settlements around the railroad tracks.

After the reformation, the Indonesian Government wanted to revitalize the closed railway lines during the New Order. One of the railway lines that will revive is the Semarang-Demak-Purwodadi-Wirosari-Blora tram line. However, this plan has failed to materialize because residents have occupied almost all stations, and many rail lines have become the residential areas. The Grobogan Regency Government and the people rejected the revitalization process because it would create a conflict between Indonesian Railways Company the Regional Government, and the people who inhabit the ex-SJS Indonesian Railways Company's land. As a result, there was tension and conflict between the management of Indonesian Railways Company and the residents of the former SJS land. The Grobogan Regency Government and Indonesian Railways Company have tried to find a way to resolve the conflict but have not succeeded in finding common ground. PT Indonesian Railways Company was trying to take legal action, while the Regional Government was trying to take a political route. Meanwhile, the people who live on Indonesian Railways Company's land are trying to occupy the ground because they feel they are buying land from a

¹⁰ Rosa Kusuma, Arif Purnomo, Romadi, "Sejarah Kereta Api Rute Semarang-Rembang Tahun 1967-1988", *Journal of Indonesian History* 10:2 (2018).

third party, paying taxes and taxes to the Government. Hence, this research seeks to map out conflicts, potential conflicts, and conflict mediation based on local wisdom based on this reality.

Theoretical framework

Nationalization of Dutch enterprises

During the Dutch colonial period, the railway network was controlled by the state and the private sector. The railway network owned by the condition is known as the Staats Spoor (SS), while the private railway network consists of various companies. Companies that are classified as rail transportation companies are: *NISM (Nederlandsch India Spoorweg Matschappij)* which began building a railway line in 1863, *Staats Spoorweg Matschappij (SS)* which began opening the line in 1875, *Semarang-Joana Straotram Matschappij (SJS)*, *Serajoedal Spoorweg Matschappij (SPM)* in 1896, *Semarang-Chirebon Strootram Matschappij (SCS)*, and *Oost Java Strootram Matschappij*. These companies control the main routes on the North Coast of Java and their branches.¹¹

After Indonesia's Independence, the management, and ownership of colonial companies, including railways, were transferred to the Indonesian Government. The transition took place through two events, namely institutional change and nationalization. The institutional change occurred in companies managed by the Dutch Government. In this institutional transition, the Government did not provide compensation. Meanwhile, nationalization occurred in Dutch colonial private companies, including railway transportation companies. In this nationalization, the Government offered balance to the private company.

¹¹ Purwanto, "Kajian Arsitektural Stasiun NIS", *Jurnal Ilmiah Perancangan Kota dan Pemukiman volume 7:2* (2008), 98-105.

The nationalization of Dutch colonial private companies originated from the concept of "*Indonesianization*." This concept was developed in other currents of anti-colonial thought, such as "progress", "nation formation", "independence", "democracy" and "populist". This concept is an ideal concept inspired by movement figures who lived in the colonial world in the Dutch East Indies, an anti-foreign political concept.¹² The dissemination of the concept of Indonesian's stems from the political process, which has implications for the economic process. The process of *Indonesianization* of the economy begins with efforts to become independent as a nation from dependence on foreign economies.

There are six forms of the *Indonesianization* process, namely: a) transfer to the Government of Indonesia of State Economic enterprises established by the colonial Government; b) establishment by the Government of Indonesia a new State enterprise; c) transfer to the Government of Indonesia of private alien enterprises; d) increase governmental control over alien business; e) transfer to Indonesian and their organizations of private alien enterprises; f) establishment by Indonesians and their organizations of new enterprises in fields of economy virtually closed to Indonesian in the past; g) increased Indonesian stockownership in corporations established by aliens; h) increased Indonesian participation in the executive and administrative staffs of alien companies; and i) return of landholding by alien enterprises to the Indonesian community."¹³

Nationalization refers to the abolition of supervision by the Dutch and a fundamental reorientation of the Indonesian economy during the decolonization period and the years immediately following the recognition of Indonesian Independence in 1949. The term

¹² Wasino, "Nasionalisasi Perusahaan-Perusahaan Asing Menuju Ekonomi Berdikari", *Paramita Historical Studies Journal* Volume 26:01 (2016), 64

¹³ John Orval Sutter, *Indonesianisasi, A Historical Survey of Politics in the Institutions of A Changing Economy From The Second World War To The Eve Of The General Elections (194-1955)* (Cornell University Ph.D, University Micro Films, Michigan, Inc, Ann Arbor, 1959), 8.

nationalization can also interpret as replacing Dutch employees and Indonesian managers in the bureaucracy and companies. The legal basis for nationalization was in 1958. Nationalization brought about structural changes in the broader context.¹⁴ Legally, nationalization has a fairly specific meaning. This concept is distinguished from similar and often misunderstood concepts, namely "confiscation, *onteigening*, and revocation of rights." Erades, argued that nationalization is a rule to accept (*dwingt te gedogen*) that the rights to something or several kinds of objects owned by a person or group of people transferred to the state. Based on that argument, S. Gautama argued that nationalization is a way of forcibly moving rights from the private sector to the state. Thus, nationalization is a "species" from the origin of *onteigening*.¹⁵

The nationalization of railway companies was based on Government Regulation No. 41 of 1941, namely on the nationalization of Dutch-owned trains and telephones. As a result of this nationalization, transportation management is under land transportation and operated by the Railway Department (DKA). However, most of its land assets are occupied by the military.¹⁶

After the nationalization of Dutch-owned foreign companies to the Indonesian Government, new problems emerged. Especially in the transportation sector, the conflict was triggered by government policies that ignored post-nationalization assets. This neglect has mainly occurred since the New Order came to power. During the New Order era, a change in economic policy affected the land transportation system. The New Order emphasized that food agriculture policies, especially rice, were the focal point in the agricultural sector. This decision is different from the colonial period, which placed agricultural-industry, especially sugar cane, to support the colonial

¹⁴ J. Thomas Lindblad, "The Economic Decolonization of Indonesia: a Birds' Eye View" in *Humaniora: Journal Indonesian and Humanities* 4:1 (2011), 6; Thee Kian Wie, *Indonesia's Economy Since Independence* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2012), 13-14.

¹⁵ S. Gautama, *Segi-Segi Hukum Internasional pada Nasionalisasi di Indonesia* (Bandung: Alumni, 1975), 6.

¹⁶ Wasino, et al., *Sejarah Nasionalisasi Aset-Aset BUMN dari Perusahaan Kolonial menjadi Perusahaan Nasional* (Jakarta: Kementerian BUMN, 2014), 800-801; Arfita Meifiana Setiono and Gayung Kasuma, "Dinamika Pegawai Perusahaan Kereta Api Di Jawa Tahun 1945-1965", *Verleden: Jurnal Kesejarahan* 3:1 (2014), 69-76 .

economy. As a result, transportation prioritized can penetrate the economic centers of the people at large, namely motorized vehicles.¹⁷

The change in food economic policy is in line with the land transportation policy. The train that became the *prima donna* during the Dutch colonial period was not the focus of transportation development during the New Order era. The emphasis on land transportation shifts to roads. This change in direction is due to the lender's economic message (Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia/ IGGI) and practical considerations because can be developed roads to remote areas of the village where food agriculture centers produce, especially rice. Changes in transportation policy during the New Order era had resulted in the decline of trains as a support for mass transportation in Java, including Central Java.

On the other hand, increasing the number of land transportation using roads as a mode of transportation such as buses, colts, trucks, motorbikes, and soon. As a result of this policy, the former colonial railway was built for the agricultural industry. As a result, short-distance railway lines such as Semarang-Grobogan-and Blora do not receive attention. Meanwhile, Indonesian Railways Company has neglected its building and land assets in many places. For decades, land assets that not been managed and controlled by the community and the district government. Such conditions have given rise to conflict.¹⁸

Conflict resolution

Resolve can do asset conflicts can be done in various ways. Istijab argues that there are three ways to resolve land conflicts, namely: (1) through direct deliberation, (2) settlement through the

¹⁷ Endah Sri Hartatik, "The Development of Agro Industry and Transportational Network in The Central Java During Dutch Colonization:", *Paramita Historical Studies*, 24:01 (2014), 1-16.

¹⁸ Endah Sri Hartatik, *Dua Abad Jalan Raya Pantura: Sejak Era Kerajaan Mataram hingga Orde Baru* (Yogyakarta: Nurmahera, 2018), 171-222

judiciary, and (3) through arbitration. The settlement of deliberation is carried out directly between the disputing parties. Settlement through the judiciary through the parties who feel aggrieved submit their case to the general court civilly or criminally as permitted by Indonesian Law number 51/Prp/1960. Meanwhile, arbitration is a settlement using third-party mediation, which is conducted informally. The product of the arbitration is a special agreement made by the disputing parties which have binding legal force.¹⁹

Inland disputes, the choice of non-legal pathways has begun to be widely chosen. For that purpose, the role of mediation becomes essential. In Indonesia, mediation is possible based on the Decree of the Head of the Indonesian National Land Agency number. 11 of 2009. There are two stages of the mediation process, namely: (1) pre-mediation stage, and the mediator builds confidence, contacts the parties, explores and provides initial mediation information; (2) the implementation stage of mediation is the stage where the conflicting parties have faced each other and started the mediation process.²⁰

One of the mediation models that can be successful is mediation with a local cultural approach combined with modern (Western) mediation models. In the cultural approach, conflict advocacy is carried out using indigenous ethnographic values, norms, and practices as the basis for conflict resolution. Combining the western model and the local model can produce an alternative way of conflict resolution that is more efficient and successful.²¹ This model can overcome deadlocks in purely court-based conflict resolution.²²

¹⁹ Istijab, "Upaya Penyelesaian Sengketa Kepemilikan atas Hak Tanah", *Lex Privatum* 1:4 (2013).

²⁰ Juwita Tarochi Boboy, Budi Santoso, and Irawati, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Pertanahan Melalui Mediasi Berdasarkan Teori Dean G Pruitt dan Jaffrey Z Rubbin", *Notarius* 13:2 (2020).

²¹ Ken Ahorsu and Robert Ame, "Mediation with a Traditional Flavor in the Fodome Chieftaincy and Communal Conflicts", *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 1:2 (2011), 6-33.

²² Matthew Allen and Rebecca Monson, "Land and Conflict in Papua New Guinea: The Role of Land Mediation, Security Challenges", *Security in Papua New Guinea* 10:2 (2014), 1-14.

The cultural approach model is sourced from the local wisdom of the community. Local wisdom refers to a view of life, knowledge, and various life strategies in local community activities to answer multiple problems in fulfilling their life needs. The formation of local wisdom must be based on the experience of trying out ideas and problem-solving in the long term to give birth to local knowledge. Local wisdom is proven to be sophisticated to solve life's problems passed down from generation to generation.²³

Research method

This study used a research and development research model based on two years of research and development.²⁴ The first year is mapping research. In this mapping research, historical methods²⁵, survey methods, and qualitative methods were used. Secondary and primary sources used respectively. Secondary sources are books and printed sources related to the SJS pathway. Primary sources include newspapers, land contracts, and oral history interviews. The historical data obtained were analyzed for the relationship between facts to produce a historical reconstruction of the management of railway assets from the time of nationalization until the 1980s, when the SJS railway line was closed. The survey method carried out an inventory of the occupants of the

²³ Charisme Nugroho, Fred Charden, Hans Antlov, "Generating and managing local knowledge", dalam buku *Local knowledge matters* (Great Britain: Bristol University Press, 2021), 89-118; Mohammad Jamin, "Social Conflict Resolution Through Empowerment of Local Wisdoms", *Yustisia* 9:1 (2020).

²⁴ Yoshikawa Hiroyuki, *Design Methodology for Research and Development Strategy Realizing A Sustainable Society* (Japan: Center for Research and Development Strategy Japan Science and Technology Agency, 2012); Scovdal Morten and Corinsho Flora, *Qualitative Research for Development: a Guide to Practitioners* (Rugby, UK: Practical Action Publishing, 2015).

²⁵ Wasino and Endah Sri Hartatik, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah, Dari Riset Hingga Penulisan* (Yogyakarta: Magnum, 2020).

railroad assets. Carried out the list was at several former stations, namely the Godong, Pirwodadi, and Wirosari emplacements. The analysis used occupant categorization and existing conflict and settlement patterns. Conducted qualitative research was to obtain information on the problems behind land conflicts and the values of local wisdom in the Grobogan community. Conducted the qualitative study by interviewing Indonesian Railways Company, the Regional People's Legislative Council (DPRD), and the residents of Indonesian Railways Company's assets. Qualitative analysis was carried out using a phenomenological approach, namely, to understand the meaning behind the occupation of assets belonging to Indonesian Railways Company by community members, the dynamics of conflict, and the values of local wisdom in the community Indonesian Railways Company's management.

The product is in the form of maps on land asset ownership, land asset control, land asset-based conflicts, resolutions are taken into overcoming disputes, and the values of local wisdom in the community. In the second year, a conflict resolution model was developed by referring to the importance of local knowledge based on the culture of the people in Grobogan and Blora Regencies by checking the data obtained through focus group discussions (FGD). This process carried out at least three times, namely FGDs to gather public opinion, FGDs for developed models, and FGDs for model improvement. The result is a conceptual model of conflict resolution based on local wisdom to resolve land disputes between Indonesian Railways Company and the people who occupied the land assets.

Research Results and Discussion

From nationalization to abandonment

After Indonesia's Independence, the management of the railways underwent several changes. The first transition occurred in the management and railway line of the Government (*Staatspoor*) in 1950. At that time, *Staatspoorwegen en Vereenigde Spoorweg Bedrijf (SS/VS)* was taken over by the Republic of Indonesia and combined its management with the Indonesian Railways Department (*DKA*) to be a company called *PT Kereta Api Indonesia* (Indonesian Railways Company) on January 1, 1950. This *DKA* has responsibilities in managing national railways, including the manufacture and operation of government trains; supervising private railway companies; organizing education to get railway experts, and providing materials for setting tariffs and general regulations regarding rail transportation.²⁶ *Second, since December 3, 1957, there was the nationalization of Dutch Railway Companies which only legalized in the following years, namely through the Law on Nationalization of Dutch Companies No. 86 of 1958 and Government Regulation number 40 of 1959—nationalized, including NV Semarang- Joana Stoomtatram Matschapoij which abbreviated as SJS.*²⁷

When the SJS company nationalized into the property of the Indonesian Government, the railway infrastructure had damaged. The Indonesian Government tried to improve it but did not succeed optimally due to limited funds.²⁸ As a result, the rehabilitation targets focused on significant routes or main routes, such as Semarang-Jakarta, Semarang-Surabaya, Semarang-Solo, and soon. Meanwhile, small lines or branch lines such as the Semarang-Joana, Demak-Purwodadi, and Purwodadi-Blora lines have received less attention.²⁹

²⁶Aldi Rizaldi and Endang Susilowati, “Dinamika Perkereta-apian Lintas Semarang-Juwana Tahun 1950-1998”, *Historiografi* 1:1 (2020).

²⁷ The Indonesian Constitution Number of 86, 1958; Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number of 40, 1959, Article 2.

²⁸ Tim Telaga Bakti Nusantara, *Sejarah Perkeretaapian Indonesia Jilid 2* (Bandung: CV. Angkasa, 1997).

²⁹ Aldi Rizaldi and Endang Susilowati, “Dinamika Perkereta-apian Lintas Semarang-Juwana Tahun 1950-1998”, *Historiografi*, 1:1 (2020).

Although it received less critical attention from the Government, the former SJS railway line in the 1960s was still a means of land transportation connecting Semarang Demak and its connecting lines. When at the end of February 1965, there was a flood in Demak, the relationship between the Demak area and other areas, including Grobogan area, became disturbed.³⁰

The decline in the function of small railway lines such as SJS has been decreasing since the 1970s. The New Order government determined development priorities in the agricultural food sector, especially rice, as a priority for economic development. During the Dutch Colonial and Old Order eras, rice fields were sugarcane plantation areas converted into rice farming lands. The new decision resulted in the collapse of the sugar industry in Indonesia in the 1980s, which initially supported the development of the railway industry. The public transportation policy reinforces this condition since the 1970s, which emphasized road transportation. Built Highways were to rural areas, where developed rice production was. The highway construction was followed by opening a permit for more accessible transit of people using buses and transportation of goods using trucks and colts to areas initially covered by the small and short-distance rail network.³¹

The changing in transportation policy of the 1970s, the railway line of Semarang-Demak-Purwodadi-Blora had died around the 1980s. The rampant construction of the highway has made the Railway Company suffer losses due to a lack of passengers. The railway lines that were maintained were long-distance lines. Central Exploitation PJKA only prioritizes rehabilitation on the Cirebon-Semarang-Cepu and Cirebon-Purwokerto-Yogyakarta crossings.³² The railway line,

³⁰ *Suara Merdeka*, 25 February 1965.

³¹ Endah Sri Hartatik, *Dua Abad Jalan Raya Pantura: Sejak Era Kerajaan Mataram hingga Orde Baru* (Yogyakarta: Nurmahera, 2018), 171-222.

³² *Suara Merdeka*, 1 August 1978.

primarily located in the highway area, was often disturbed by road transportation, especially when a truck slips and hits the rail line.³³

The SJS line, including the one through Grobogan Regency, namely through Godong, Purwodadi, and Wirosari stations, experienced a total death in 1986. Previously used this railway line was to transport goods and people from the area covered by the train route. In the past, the goods transported were in the form of teak wood from a wood stockpile (TPK) in the Blora and Grobogan regencies and rice and secondary crops. With the development of road transport routes, these goods were transported by road fleets. Because it has functioned, for decades, the land assets in the form of rails and station emplacements have been left untreated by the Railways Department. Retired railway employees and descendants occupied some buildings, but residents for business and residential purposes occupied some land assets.

From occupation to conflict

The occupation of the former SJS land in the Grobogan Regency area started in the 1970s. Land occupation is carried out by establishing buildings where street vendors do business, such as setting coffee shops, food stalls, and residences that stand on the banks of railroad tracks without official permission from the Government³⁴. These stalls are inhabited by people who do not have a permanent home from an economic perspective. This condition occurred in the Wirosari sub-district and some in Godong and Purwodadi sub-districts. This coffee and food shop provides services for busy highway passers who carry out activities daily because of its strategic position. However, after the 1980s, stalls and informal residences on the railroad tracks were dismantled and brought under control.

³³ *Suara Merdeka*, 6 June 1984.

³⁴ Personal interview with Sriyati, 8 September 2019

Some of these railroads are adjacent to the main highways in existing cities to become a magnet for business. The non-functioning of these lines creates problems in managing the company's assets. In the mid-1980s, many people took rails, the asset rail bearings of the state company were cut into pieces of rail iron and sold for kilograms.³⁵ The taking of the rail pads in the form of teak wood and pieces of rail was carried out at night and sold by taking the rails in the form of teak wood and rail pieces.³⁶ The process of occupying and controlling the assets of land and equipment belonging to Indonesian Railways Company, according to the data obtained by the authors based on the research divided into four reasons; first, these assets indirectly controlled by company workers who live and have the right to live in official homes while private homes not owned because of their positions. For example, the head of the station, conductor, and others according to their working area. Second, the assets sold in collaboration between the local Government at village district and company employees on a lease basis. Third, occupying the land by buying and selling lease rights from the first party or buying a plot of land. Fourth, occupy the land of the former rail line for business without any documents, but they understand that they will move if they use the rail line.

The residents of the lands around the station in Purwodadi mostly come from the lower-middle-class community groups and retired employees who do not have their own homes. Based on the collected data, the residents of the Purwodadi station area consist of approximately 100 families, which are divided into 3 local sub districts community *Rukun Tetangga (RT)*. They work as traders of bananas, vegetables, sow flowers in the market, construction workers, pedicab drivers, public transportation drivers, salon employees, and others with an income of 2 to 2.5 million in a month with 4 to 5 family members. With that amount of income, it is only enough to meet their daily

³⁵ Personal interview with Siti Fatonah and Ibu Sriyati, 12 October 2019

³⁶ Personal interview with Widi Nuroho, Parman and Kukuh tanggal, 23 May 2021

needs and pay for school fees and a group of residents. Even though they have paid rent regularly every year in the amount of 1 to 1.5 million, the residents of the leased land still feel anxious if this land will be asked for back by Indonesian Railways Company at any time. The payment of land rent to the BUMN company was initially paid collectively by retired Indonesian Railways Company's employees. Furthermore, due to security factors and unclear fees, now residents are required to pay at the bank appointed by the company for those who have obtained a mandatory tenant lease (Interview with Mrs. FX Hartono and Wiwin on June 23, 2019).

Purwodadi Station by the local Government has been converted into a Rural Transport terminal (*angkotan desa*) since 2000s. Because rural transportation (*angkotan desa*) has decreased passengers, the atmosphere of the bus station (terminal) in 2019 was quiet so that the area used for traders of used goods such as clothes, shoes, electronic equipment, and others. In addition, the former multi-function station is a place for the homeless to rest, sells flower traders, pedicab drivers, food stalls, and others. The function transfer is now not working correctly and looks rundown.

Based on the data search in the field, obtained it was an illustration that the rails and rail pads in the form of teak wood in the early 1990s were taken by Indonesian Railways Company, but some were not taken and then taken by the community by cutting them into pieces to be sold shop (kilos) separately. The rails that did not pick up were buried under the ground and eventually not visible from the outside.

Another conflict is the issue of land occupation. Residents occupied the lands around the railway station, which were well managed. This aligns with the momentum of political change from the New Order Government to a reformed government that grants autonomy to local governments. The regent and DPRD agreed to give land rights belonging to the train used by the

people as business and residential units. Occupants who occupied lands owned by Indonesian Railways Company used as housing facilities mainly occurred in 2000s. They initially purchased the ground for the dwellings in lots with an average size of 6 X 13 M at 10 million in 2002 on lands around Purwodadi Station and 6 X 10 M 5 million on land around Wirosari Station. The land occupied by the community is a lease right with evidence of a land lease deed signed by Indonesian Railways Company and the land user. As for the Godong station area, bus station was used as a *Centrum* base that serves the Purwodadi - Jakarta line, while in the foyer it is made of boxes with a size of 4 X 6 meters for shops, bus ticket sales, food stalls, motorcycle washing and buying and selling of 2-wheeled vehicles. (Interview with Teguh Imantoro and Basuki Mulyono on 27 May).

The land assets owned by Indonesian Railways Company, located around the Wirosari station, are inhabited by 56 families and 26 stalls or kiosks. The owners of the land assets of *PT KAI* located around the Purwodadi station are 160 families and 60 kiosks located in the Station and “*Pujasera*” complex (food shop area). Built the food court was in 2017 with a rental system to the relevant Office, namely the Grobogan Regency Industry. Problems arise between residents who occupied land assets for housing with residents of kiosks in the station complex where they feel disturbed by the sound of karaoke, which is quite loud, and the tenants of the stall (kiosk) play soccer which causes the tiles to break when thrown by balls and others.

The presence of kiosks around the former Purwodadi station has created a commotion at the main entrance to the station, which was previously the main road to the settlements of residents living around the station. The presence of the kiosk occupants can lead to conflict with the old residents. The management of Indonesian Railways Company made a change of the entrance to the village located on the Purwodadi station. The west gate of the station, which was initially the main gate, is closed. The closure is based on an agreement between the parties, residents, PT Kereta

Api, and the Grobogan Regency Government. The change in the entrance is detrimental to the residents behind the station, but to maintain mutual safety, the residents agree. They were willing to go through the east door farther away than the main train station door. The residents' acceptance of the change of entrance and exit is a form of accommodation for residents who realize that they are not landowners, but only as users with rental status, which in the local culture is called "*dunung*"³⁷ or in the Javanese language it is called "*magersari*".

The massive and patterned occupation of railroad land has caused the assets of the Demak-Purwodadi-Wirosari railroad to be damaged. The plan to reactivate the railway line as it had served during the SJS era has failed. The only thing that is done by the management of Indonesian Railways Company is to keep the land assets from transferring ownership to the residents who occupied them. (Interview with Mr. Yudi, Head of Asset Management Division of PT Indonesian Railways Company, Daop IV, Central Java Province).

Proposed conflict resolution

Conflict resolution between Indonesian Railways Company and the people who inhabit the land and buildings owned by Indonesian Railways Company has been attempted to be handled by the management of Indonesian Railways Company, namely the Asset Division. Some of the land assets around the tracks have been completed using the compensation and compassion model, while in a number of places where the railway lines are no longer functioning, such as the Tawang-Tanjung Mas stations, Semarang-Grobogan-Blora stations, Semarang-Kudus railway lines, it has yet to be completed and still open conflict in the future. As a result, the government's plan to revitalize the old railway lines could not be implemented due to land disputes. There have been

³⁷ Widada, et al., *Kamus Bahasa Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2001).

many legal approaches to resolving the conflict, but it has been going on for a long time and the result has brought new conflicts between Indonesian Railways Company and the community and local government. In this regard, a conflict resolution model based on local wisdom is needed.

In spatial changes for residents who live on land owned by the Indonesian Railways Company *Daop IV* (Trains Transportation regional IV) Semarang company, the author uses an emic approach model. The emic approach model is based on thoughts, views, traditions, and habits contained in the environment of conflict actors. From this model approach, the emic process is the best in a democratic civil society. This approach is considered quite appropriate for solving problems that may occur between the community and the company. Outside parties are needed in resolving conflicts through mediation. To mediate, one must understand the cultural value of conflict and the model for its resolution that has developed in the community. The community already has local wisdom to resolve disputes (Raharjo Jati, 2013).³⁸ This local wisdom can give birth to an agreement between the disputing parties, such as the railroad conflict in Wonogiri, which gave birth to a mutual agreement (MOU) between the community and Indonesian Railways Company (Hariyanti, 2008).³⁹

Based on the data found in the field, both on the asset land located at Wirosari Station, Purwodadi Station, and Godong and Kuwu stations, they understand that the land they occupy is not their land and is only a tenant with the legal provisions contained in the lease agreement with pay to the cash account of Indonesian Railways Company which located in Bandung. They only occupy the land of *Magersari*⁴⁰ when the kingdom and “*dunung*” era on land owned by *PT KAI*, if one day the land is used by the owner, then they must leave the land asset. If this happens, the residents agree to be given a grace period with a “compassionate” attitude. This compassionate attitude, in addition to being related to providing time to leave the place, Indonesian Railways Company also provided spiritual funds, which were agreed with humanitarian considerations. The attitude of “*tepo seliro*” is also required in resolving conflicts that occur between the owner of the asset and those who occupy the land. This attitude encourages and minimizes people who will act inhumanely. The basic attitude instilled by our ancestors in ancient times is still applied in society so that conflicts that end in verbal and physical fights can be avoided. If this local wisdom attitude is still used to resolve conflicts between communities and asset owners, namely Indonesian Railways Company, it will lead to peace from

³⁸ Warsito Raharjo Jati, “Kearifal Lokal Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan”, *Walisongo* 21:2 (2013).

³⁹ Septi Hariyanti, *Penanganan Masalah Aset PT Kereta Api Indonesia (Persero) yang Dikuasai Masyarakat di Kecamatan Baturetno, Kabupaten Wonogiri* (Thesis, Universitas Diponegoro, 2018).

⁴⁰ Widada et al., *Kamus Bahasa Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2001).

several cases in Central Java. The attitude of “*noto roso*” between land users and landowners, if applied, will reduce conflict in society. *Tepo seliro*, *noto roso* and compassion are values in Javanese culture in anticipating the emergence of conflicts in society. These values have been passed down across generation in society by their ancestors. They understand the value, but they do not know how to tell the difference.

Conflict resolution is also based on corporate cultural values. The management *PT Kereta Api* develops global and local cultural values that have packaged to resolve land asset conflicts that have occurred so far. The cultural value of the term *CLBK ASYIK* (Joint Cross Checks and Special Intensive and Compact Assets). The Management of **Indonesian Railways Company** *Daop 4* is socializing the program and minimizing conflicts with the community, introducing that the program periodically. System improvements must support good cultural values for conflict resolution. The relationship between the Grobogan Regency Government and **Indonesian Railways Company** in the use of land assets and station buildings must be clarified. In other words, they must implement the ties in an apparent contract. If the train station is used as a rural transport terminal in the previous contract, the following agreement must be explicit after the transport has died. Due to the unclear use of the contract, the station area was occupied by a homeless group, resulting in the station environment becoming a slum. It made the residents of the land around the station uncomfortable. Data from interview show that the residents of the leased land agree that the ex-station land in Purwodadi and Wirosasri is used for the location of the typical souvenir market from Grobogan Regency. This method will encourage the development of small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), most of which are the occupations of residents of leased land owned by **Indonesian Railways Company** (Interview with Mrs. FX Hartono, Mr. Sriyanto and Wiwin on September 12, 2020).

There are three main concerns from the system aspect: the family, PT KAI, and the local Government. Families as tenants of PT KAI's land assets must understand the rights and obligations of the lease system properly and who will continue these obligations if the parent dies. It will be very sensitive and essential to be no conflict in the future that will harm both parties. The District Government provides business opportunities and convenience in managing business permits for people who use the land for food stalls, grocery stores, and others to afford to pay. Lease to the landowner, namely PT KAI. Contract repair of the lease is considered very urgently carried out so that the potential for conflict between the user and the tenant community does not occur (Interview with Mr. Suyatno, September 13, 2010). The description of the conflict resolution model that the researcher conducted on field research and FGD can be seen at the diagram below.

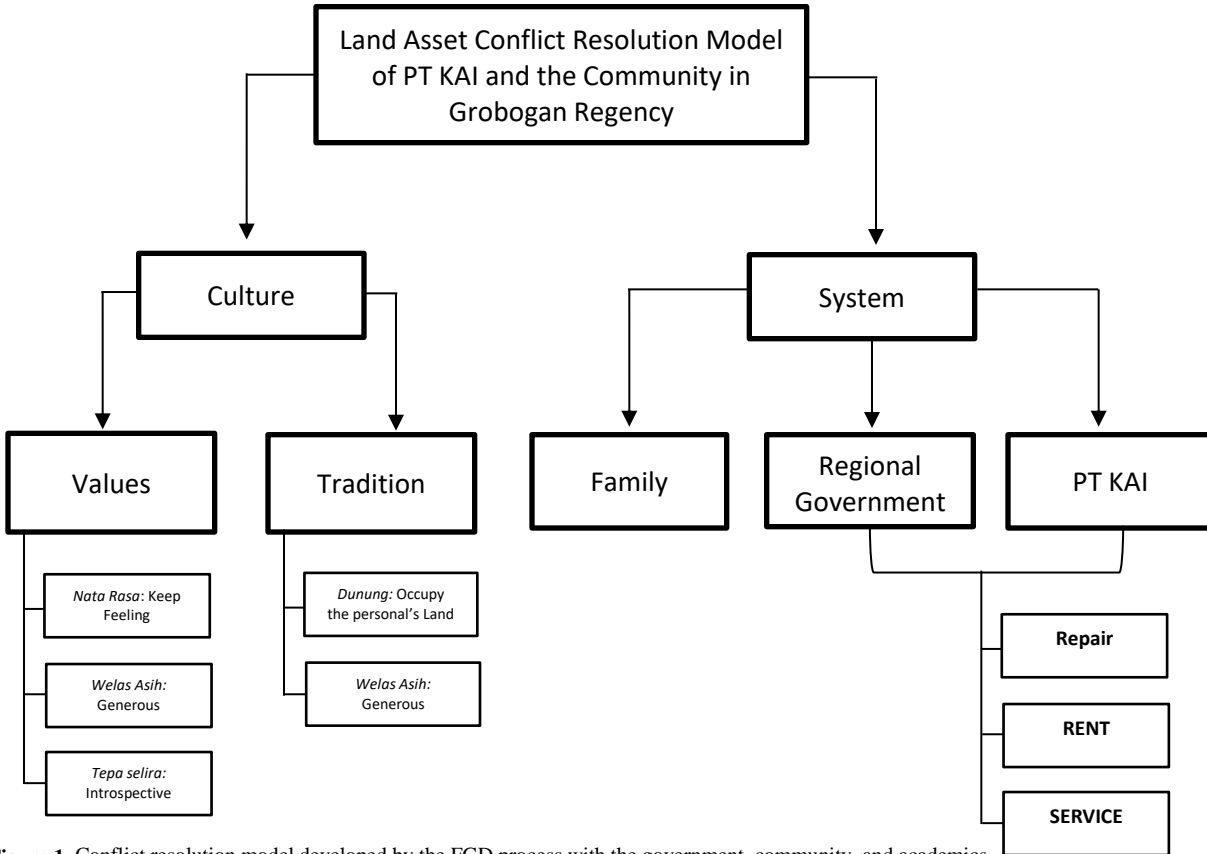


Figure 1. Conflict resolution model developed by the FGD process with the government, community, and academics

Based on the picture, the approach to handling conflicts between asset occupants and *PT Kereta API Persero* with two models, namely the Cultural Approach and the System Approach, can be explained. The cultural policy refers to the values that develop in the Grobogan Regency community. These people as adherents of Javanese culture who have local wisdom in conflict resolution in abstract and habitual forms. Conceptual values in conflict resolution are reflected in the concepts of "*nata rasa*", "compassion," and "*tepa selira*". The idea of "*nata rasa*" means that Javanese people always keep their feelings from hurting other people. This concept can be applied both from the management of **Indonesian Railways Company** as well as residents. The control of **Indonesian Railways Company** legally own the rights to the land, but it is not appropriate to expel the occupants arbitrarily.

Meanwhile, the occupants must feel that their occupied land is not their property, so they must obey the rules issued by the owner, namely the management of **Indonesian Railways Company**. The concept of "compassion" has the meaning of love for each other. In this case, **Indonesian Railways Company** as the landowner, must not arbitrarily expel the occupants but must give affection to the residents

as a partner in maintaining their assets. Meanwhile, the residents must also feel sorry for the Indonesian Railways Company's field officers who have to regulate the management of their land assets. The concept of "*tepo selira*" is related to the second concept, namely that both parties must be aware of their respective positions, namely as owners and tenants.

Both must be aware of their rights and obligations. The cultural conception is related to the traditions understood in Javanese society, namely "*dunung*" and "*magersari*". In Javanese culture, both practices have the meaning of building a dwelling on someone else's land. If the "*dunung*" occupies land owned by individuals, while the "*magersari*" occupies land owned by the state. The residents are aware of their position to build good communication with the owner of the state. If the owner uses the ground, then he will give it up.

Meanwhile, the owner sincerely allows people who do not own the land to use their land because the land has not been used. If you use it, it will provide good information with a deadline and do not throw it away arbitrarily. In many cases, the charity gave so that those who evicted could move to another land with respect.

This cultural approach model can be implemented in a systems approach. The system, in this case, is the relationship between elements involved in land disputes between the occupants, Indonesian Railways Company, and the local Government. Indonesian Railways Company should hold a dialogue with the local Government about the status of its land. Meanwhile, the Local Government and Indonesian Railways Company provide socialization to the families of Indonesian Railways Company's land residents. The residents' families communicate to family members about the land they live in concerning Indonesian Railways Company. The pattern of this relationship is then made a contract agreement between the occupants, owners, and local Government, which contains and obligations of the occupants and management of Indonesian Railways Company.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the study, can be drawn several conclusions:

1. The Nationalization of Private Colonial Railways has resulted in a decline in the performance of rail transportation management in Indonesia. Thus, the decline in performance has resulted in the declined management of short-track railway lines such as SJS.

2. The lack of maintenance of these short routes was reinforced by the New Order's policy which placed roads as the main public transportation instead of trains. It is related to the green revolution policy, which changed the plantation of agricultural industry into rice farming land.
3. There was neglect of the assets of the former SJS which resulted in the occupation of lands belonging to Indonesian Railways Company, including several main stations in the Grobogan Regency area. As a result of the occupation, there was confusion in terms of land ownership in the area.
4. When after the 1998, Indonesian Political Reformation, the management of Indonesian Railways Company intended to revive the Semarang-Blora railway network through Grobogan Regency, all stations were controlled by the residents with the support of the local Government, so that they failed to revitalize the old line, resulting in conflicts between residents and Indonesian Railways Company.
5. The management of Indonesian Railways Company refused to do so, but they tried to collect data and regain control of their assets by using a formal legal and cultural approach, namely through deliberation, but it still creates feelings of insecurity for the occupants.
6. Based on exploring the conflict resolution model built in this study, a model based on local community wisdom and corporate management wisdom was found that could resolve future conflicts.

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TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM AND SPATIAL CHANGE IN SEMARANG IN 1990s

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ABSTRACT

Since the nineteenth century, the construction of Daendels Highway in the northern coast of Java, Semarang was integrated with other cities in Java. As a result, the transportation network in Semarang started to develop and changed the city layout. Hence, this paper will analyze the change of city layout since the early nineteenth century to 1990s. The urban ecology approach was used in order to analyze these changes. By using history methods, the results showed that the spatial change occurred in Semarang in 1990s was caused by the development of road transportation system. The development included had an impact of spatial change in Semarang. Furthermore, the centers of industrial activity had shifted, so the settlements increasingly developed in the suburb and the number of motor vehicles raised.

Keywords: transportation, highway, space.

Introduction

In Java North Coast area (Pantura), Central Java, there are centers of economic growth which develop along with the strengthening of the highway. Those centers or cities are Kudus, Semarang, Pekalongan and Tegal. Those cities have developed since the Dutch Colonial era until now. Semarang have developed into a trading city and become the capital city of the province. As the capital city of Semarang, it develops

faster than other cities. In addition, as the center of industrial activity, Semarang has networks to East Java, West Java, Jakarta, Banten and the inland areas of Surakarta and Yogyakarta.

In this era, the discussion concerning highway and transportation system is a very important study because the issue is an interesting study to be immediately addressed by major cities in Indonesia. Both printed mass media and television talk about the issues concerning the traffic density of the highway, facilities and infrastructure of mass transportation, social vulnerability, road damage and so forth. In dealing with these issues, it is found that policy makers usually blame each other and determine policies without looking at previous historical roots. There are a number of scientists who have conducted studies concerning highway and modes of transportation in Indonesia.

Pioneer scientist who specifically conducted the research concerning highway in Indonesia was an anthropologist from the Netherlands named Freek Colombijn. The research which has been conducted by Freek tries to see the relationship between the development of the construction of highways that were built from Pekanbaru to Dumai and the people on the East Coast of Sumatra. Freek's research has generated a new theory which states that the existence of the highways built has given a positive impact in the form of economic growth of people who live along the highways. While, the negative impact generated is that many production forests in the area are lost (Colombijn, 2002).

The approach used was a kind of genealogical approach, although it was not supported by the research of established historical methods (Tour, 2005). Pieter J.M.Nas and Pratiwo specifically discussed the building process of the Daendels's Highway which he called "la Grande Route". By using an analysis of the pictures, photographs, and films, the writer analyzed the condition of Daendels's Highway. The impacts caused by Daendels's Highway especially towards social, economic, and ecological aspects were also stated. The existence of the Daendels's Highway has led to the establishment of new settlements, changes in economic patterns, and ecological damage, especially flood (Peter and Pratiwo, 2002).

A historian named H. W. Dick (1981), who was contained in Prisma magazine in 1981, has tried to reveal the City Public Transport and Participation of Indigenous People in the 1970s and chose three cities in Java, Surabaya, Malang, and Jakarta as the locations of his research. The results of the research resulted in a finding that the small-scale urban transportation industry has experienced a shift in ownership that was once held by non-indigenous entrepreneurs then moved to indigenous entrepreneurs who came from urban middle class. This research also generated a finding that during the New Order era, there was an

increase in prosperity in the middle class and at the same time, it proved that the indigenous entrepreneurs could advance without getting help and relying on government subsidies.

Two centuries after the construction of the Daendels's Highway, the condition of the highway experienced changes. Based on the results of the information contained in the Kompas newspaper in 2001, an information that there was a conversion of agricultural land which increased every year between 200-300 hectares of rice fields in the North Coast of Java, especially in Cirebon City was obtained. The conversion of agricultural land was used for settlements, industrial areas, and transportation. Even, between 2003 and 2007, it was stated that 280 hectares of rice fields were turned into housing, factories, and highways (Kompas, 2001).

According to what has been written in Kompas newspaper published on November 18th, 2008, the Minister of Public Works explained that the government would undertake the construction of Trans Java highway with all the consequences including the shrinking of fertile agricultural land in Java. The highway will be built from Cikampek, West Java to Surabaya in East Java with a length of 652 kilometers by consuming 4,264 hectares of land, mostly rice fields. The problem will be more complex because the construction of the highway will usually be followed by the construction of industrial areas, shopping centers, and new settlements (Kompas, 2008).

Just like other big cities on the north coast of Java that are traversed by the Pantura (Java North Coast) highway, Semarang is a big city which has experienced rapid development in transportation sector. The development of the road transportation sector has brought influences on economic growth, especially in the centers of trade activities. Urban space in Semarang has been widely used so that its growth reaches beyond the limits of city administrative, especially areas that have direct access to Semarang, namely areas located in the east which have access to the main highways of Semarang-Demak and Semarang-Purwodadi. In the west corridor, the highway that connects Semarang with Kendal and the North Coastal cities of Central Java is Semarang-Kendal highway. In the south corridor highways that connect Semarang City with Semarang Regency and inland cities are Semarang - Solo, Semarang - Magelang - Yogyakarta, and Semarang - Temanggung - Purwokerto - Cilacap highways. The development of transportation facilities in Semarang has led to the heavy traffic on the highways. The density of highway traffic is affected by the increasing number of motorized vehicles without being balanced by the area of the highway. Eventually, the density has brought an impact to the spatial change problems in Semarang city.

Method

The research conducted by the author used historical data derived from historical sources. The historical sources include material, written, and oral sources. Material sources are in the form of highway sites, settlements, and the environment around the highway. Written sources consist of secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources consist of history books and other relevant printed sources. While, primary sources are mainly in the form of highway archives and other archives relating to highways which can be obtained in the Central Java Provincial Archives and archives is Library Office in the form of archives concerning road construction, road repair, otobus company entrepreneurs, route license, workshop, food stalls, gas station, and so forth. Books and magazine publications are also found in Ignatius Library, Kotabaru, Yogyakarta, Gadjah Mada University Library, Semarang City Development Planning Agency Library, and Central Java Statistics Bureau (BPS) Library. Oral sources are in the form of oral information derived from the people affected by the development of transportation system in Semarang. Verbal sources receive special attention because they can form new discourse aside from written sources (Purwanto, 2006).

Oral interviews concerning history were addressed to gas station officials, public transportation drivers, food stall sellers, and others. Oral interviews concerning history were used to uncover facts that were not recorded by written documents or provide deeper information from data obtained from document sources.

There are two aspects of interview, namely topic interview and life story interview (Daniel, 1998). Topic interview is conducted with a focus on certain topics related to spatial changes resulting from the transportation system, for example traffic policies, driver behavior, environmental changes and so on. Life story interview will reveal a person's life related to the historical context under study. Because, the context of the problem concern about the impact of the transportation system, the important thing that will be revealed through interviews are the life stories of people involved in road activities due to the existence of transportation system such as policy makers, users, police officers, public officials, entrepreneurs, and drivers. The interview will address a number of informants who are considered as historical actors or historical witnesses who have seen, heard, or even received information from other people such as business leaders or

owners, parents, or friends about information related to the topic being interviewed. Topic interview techniques were carried out using individual model (Slim and Thomson, 1998).

Results and Discussion

Spatial Change in Semarang

Land transportation system that was developed in the early decades of the twentieth century was road transportation because at that time, asphalt had just been produced in the Dutch East Indies. The condition of the highway which was getting better and increasingly develop was followed by the import of cars and motorcycles from Europe to the Dutch East Indies. The construction of the highway was associated with the presence of another mass land transportation, namely train. During the early twentieth century, the railroad was a well-known mass transportation vehicle for transporting crops, traveling, and so on. However, according to the fact in 1981, this condition was inversely proportional that trains began to be abandoned by its customers because of emergence of better road facilities that can reach up to the countryside. According to Taufik Hidayat, a railroad observer, this phenomenon is caused by the development of truck and bus land transportation modes that are far more flexible and capable to deliver or transport trade and human commodities from one place to other places (Sataatsblad, number of 231).

Pantura (Java North Coast) highway has led to the emergence of new linkage or a connection with other cities, both in Central Java and outside Central Java. The construction of the Pantura highway, which was continued with the construction of intersection and other main roads, has made the flow of goods, services, and people transportation run smoothly and consume a relatively short time. Highways that have been developed in Semarang also affected the transportation system it developed. In the early twentieth century, Semarang has developed into an important industrial city because it became a city that accommodates plantation commodities from inland area to be sent abroad or outside the island through Tanjung Mas Port. As an important city, it certainly becomes a magnet for small cities around it, namely Demak, Kendal Salatiga, Grobogan

and others. Many people came to Semarang to stay forever, while others chose to stay temporarily. They came to become industrial workers or blue-collar workers in this city.

According to the research conducted by Andrew, he argues that in the development of transportation system, a city must look at the indicator factors of the economic level of its people. His research was conducted in the United States where a conclusion successfully drawn states that because cars are dominant transportation vehicle that operates effectively, it results in critical situation occurred in public spaces in American cities. This condition occurred because the level of transportation have different critical factors and conflicts between layers. In a general space, the problem arose was that cars consume more space and cause density.

Talking about transportation problem, another element that is no less important is the issue of land use. In the context of planning, transportation and land use have specific and purposeful objectives. Transportation is a human activity that takes place on the surface of the earth. Transportation is carried out on the basis of differences in environmental conditions between one region and another, both in social, economic, cultural, and natural resources. Land use is the final result of the activities and dynamics of human activity on the surface of the earth that have not stopped and are still continuing. The relationship between transportation system and land development is a study that cannot be separated from the existence of space in geography studies. In transportation system, the main purpose of planning is to provide facilities for the movement of passengers and goods from one place to another or from various land uses. While, the purpose of the land development planning is to achieve the functions of the buildings with beneficial results. Frequently, the goals between those two lead to conflict. Therefore, an analysis of spatial impact used to bridge those two goals above is very important. It is because the transportation planning and land development processes are binding on one another. Land development will not occur without transportation system. Likewise, transportation system may not be provided if economic interests and development activities are not noticed and served.

Systematically, the analysis of the impact of transportation towards land use is divided into several parts. The first one is retail. In this activity, the land is used to build one unit of store, food stall, plant sales center, and gas station. The second is for business or employment. Land is used to build offices, business parks, industrial estates, and warehousing. Third, for housing / residential, both private housing, apartments, and dwellings. Fourth, for education which includes schools, universities, and training centers. Fifth, for health services which include hospitals, health

centers, and doctors' practices. Sixth, for hotels and restaurants. And seventh, for recreational facilities including sports center, amusement park, and arts center (Thomson, 2010).

As in other developing countries, Indonesia has also experienced the impact of the development of transportation system which led to the reduction of fertile agricultural land in the transportation route due to the conversion of productive land which resulted in built-up land. This change occurred both in terms of quantity, quality and physical patterns of spatial land use. Indeed, the development of the transportation system is not the only factor causing these changes, whether directly or not. Transportation planning is an inseparable part of urban and regional planning. Thus, these two must synergize. If this is not carried out well, then there will be traffic chaos in the future. This condition will eventually result in an increase in the number of accidents, violations, reduced traffic manners, and increased air pollution.

Moestikahadi (2000) highlights the impact of the development of transportation in urban areas which is associated with the problem of the intensity of environmental impacts. Transportation, as one of the sectors of urban activity, is an activity that has the potential to influence air quality in urban space that develops dynamically on a scale of space and economic activity. Therefore, it is necessary to think about a transportation policy that is full of environmental insight. There are three main aspects that determine the intensity of the impact on the environment, especially air pollution, noise and energy used, namely:

1. The aspect of transportation planning which includes goods, people, and services.
2. The aspect of transportation engineering, including transportation mode flow patterns, road facilities, traffic systems, and other transportation factors.
3. Mechanical aspects and the source of energy or fuel for transportation vehicle

According to Miller (1985), there are three main types of transportation that people use in cities. This is connected with his opinion which states that the transportation system in urban areas is the main factor that determines the spatial pattern, degree of chaos, and the level of economic growth of an urban area. There are three types of transportation used by urban residents. First, private transportation or individual transit, for example private cars, motorbikes, bicycles, and by walking. Second, mass transit, for example trains, buses, jitney, colt and so forth. Third, rental transportation / transit, for example rental car or taxi that runs a fixed route, one way, and so forth.

Ideally, a good transportation policy in urban areas should be the result of studies from various relevant departments including the Ministry of Public Works, the Department of Transportation, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Defense, and the Ministry of Finance. This condition is carried out because the policy concerning the pattern of road networks can affect land use. It is expected that a properly planned road network will be a good traffic regulator.

In his book entitled *Urban Spatial Structure*, Yunus (2008) suggests the oxial theory which is a perfection of concentric theory. In this theory, Babcock, as written by Yunus, emphasizes the role of transportation in influencing the spatial structure of cities. In concentric theory, it is argued that the mobility of functions and people has the same intensity in a uniform configuration of city relief. In reality, there are major factors influencing mobility. Thus, in some cases, distortion will occur. The main factor influencing mobility is the transportation axis connecting the Central Business District (CBD) with its outer regions. The existence of the transportation axis will cause concentric patterns distortion because along the transportation route, it will be associated with high mobility. The area traversed by transport will have a different physical development from the regions between the transport routes. The result of spatial that arises is a form of spatial distribution which is called "star shaped pattern". In this case, accessibility is defined as the comparison between time and cost (time cost confirmation) in relation to the existing transportation system. The development of the zones along the transportation axis looks bigger compared to the regions located between them. The development in the regions along the axis are limited by competition with regions which are closer to the CBD even though they are not served by rapid transport facilities (Yunus, 2008).

A transportation geography expert, Edward J Taafle suggests that in understanding a city that is connected to the other cities through transportation facilities, the development can be seen through two theoretical models, namely the theory of gravity and linkage models. Based on the theory of gravity model, it is stated that the development of a city can be seen by connecting two or more factors influencing the number of flows or interactions between two or more points, namely population and distance. While, linkage, in the aspect of transportation geography, is defined as the relationship between one spatial point or place to another spatial point. For example, a city which is connected with another city. The relationship between these points is tied to a system called a network (Edward et al, 1996). The inter-spatial or spatial relationship model can

be carried out with gravity and road network models. The land transportation system through the highway can connect between spatial points, namely a city with other cities, both big city and regency city, for example Semarang and Pekalongan, Pekalongan and Tegal, and vice versa. In addition, the highway also connects small towns with villages, and a village with other villages. The relationship between these places affects the distribution of products from a village to a city and vice versa. Products coming from outside can enter the village area through important port cities in the north coast of Central Java such as Semarang. The distribution of products from a city to a village and vice versa influences people's consumption patterns and lifestyles.

It is in line with Bacon's opinion contained in Zahnd's work which states that to see the linkage between big cities in the north coast of Central Java, the writer chooses three big cities namely Tegal, Pekalongan, and Semarang which represent city fragments that connect them with other areas around them. Those three cities are the main focus because they have dominant and prominent characteristics and have special meaning and function within the city compared to other cities. For example, Semarang has an industrial area and a port city so that it can be a magnet which attracts the residents of Demak, Kendal, Salatiga, and Purwodadi to try their luck as factory workers, porters, and other jobs.

Semarang, which serves as the center of trade and services on the north coast of Central Java, eventually became an industrial city by grouping its certain areas, namely Candi industrial area, Bugangan Small Industrial Environment (LIK), the border of Semarang Ungaran, Plamongan and so on. By looking at this industrial areas grouping, there are primary agglomeration and also secondary agglomeration. Agglomeration in Semarang can occur due to a large and skilled workforce, easy transportation due to the development of Semarang, and the development of companies that have existed since the beginning of the twentieth century, for example the industry of herbal medicine, textiles, food and so forth. Pekalongan, which is the center of the batik industry since the colonial period, is an industrial center that has been able to survive until now. Pekalongan has brought colors to the history of the development of home industries in Indonesia. Certainly, in marketing the products produced by companies both in Semarang and Pekalongan, they need land transportation facilities via highway to reach their destination. This such a reality, in addition to causing economic agglomeration in certain areas. there is also a linkage relationship between producers and consumers supported by the highway so that it leads to the emergence of a trade network.

In the network concept, the trade between trading cities and port cities viewed from the positive aspects is a trigger for economic integration. This is different with the old concept which sees it as "competition". The concept of this economic network can also be applied to the case of the history of Pantura (Java North Coast) Highway. The sea network using ships can be analogous to the land network using land transportation starting from two-wheeled bullock cart, bus, to its connection with train. In addition, the road network must be connected to a broader network of sea networks that have emerged in port cities along the north coast of Java. Based on this logic, the highway is part of the Java Sea network. In other words, there is a "linkage distribution" between the distribution of products through the sea and those through the land.

The sea network of Java and land network of Java North Coast can be developed not only in the distribution aspect. The impact of the distribution network has resulted in the increase in production in trading cities or related regions. In addition, it also has given an impact on the influence of the consumption pattern of society which is strongly influenced by the global network of capitalism. The history of the Java sea network has opened broader study opportunities concerning the history of the destination cities involved in the network. The cities included are Jakarta, Semarang, Makassar, Banda, and so on. Those cities can be studied from the economic, political, and cultural aspects related to the impact of the global network.

It is in line with Bacon's opinion contained in Zahnd's work which states that to see the linkage between big cities in the north coast of Central Java, the writer chooses three big cities namely Tegal, Pekalongan, and Semarang which represent city fragments that connect them with other areas around them. Those three cities are the main focus because they have dominant and prominent characteristics and have special meaning and function within the city compared to other cities. For example, Semarang has an industrial area and a port city so that it can be a magnet which attracts the residents of Demak, Kendal, Salatiga, and Purwodadi to try their luck as factory workers, porters, and other jobs (Zahnd, 2006).

Referring to port concept, the activity of Semarang port is very much determined by the productivity of the hinterland in producing export commodities and the purchasing power of its inhabitants to consume (buy) imported commodities. In connection with this, infrastructure and facilities are needed, especially transportation to facilitate economic relations between the port and hinterland. It is undeniable that the development of infrastructure, especially transportation infrastructure and facilities that have been built between ports and hinterlands, are driven by the

demands of the need to transport export and import commodities. The choice which is most suitable and appropriate with technological advancements according to the time measure is train. In this case, Semarang was a pioneer in the Dutch East Indies era which is proven by the establishment of a railroad company named N.I.S. (Nederlandsch Indië Spoor Maatschappij) in 1867. Initially, this company built a railroad network for Semarang-Temanggung route through Surakarta and Yogyakarta areas to transport agricultural products that were profitable and desired by many people in the European market from Vorstenlanden (the former kingdom of Surakarta and Yogyakarta) to Semarang Port, especially sugar, tobacco, and indigo (Suryo, 1989).

The construction of the railroad line from Ambarawa to Magelang and Yogyakarta was completed in 1903. Although it was carried out by NIS, the government has taken part in determining the network type, namely narrow gauge. The last railroad line which started from Secang (including the Magelang region) to Temanggung, Parakan was completed in 1907. Therefore, since then, N.I.S. has had a railroad transportation network that connects Semarang (with its port) with Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Magelang (the second area including Temanggung) to Willem I or Ambarawa. For the transportation within the city, in 1889, S.J.S. (Semarang-Joeana Stroomtram Maatschappij), a subsidiary of N.I.S., built a steam tram network that connects Jurnatan (as a central station) to Bulu and Jomblang. However, S.J.S. in 1887, expanded its network to the east, starting from Mayong, Demak, and finally to Blora. To the west of Semarang, a tram network was opened by the S.C.S. company (Semarang-Cirebon Stoomtram Maatschappij) in 1908. With the construction of the Semarang-Cirebon railroad network carried out, almost all of Central Java areas can be reached from Semarang by train. The construction of this railroad has opened up opportunities for residents to be able to take advantage of this railroad as a mode of transportation besides highways which have existed since a long time ago. The use of railroad transportation systems experienced a decline in the 1980s. There are several routes that are not utilized anymore due to the lack of passengers, including the Semarang-Blora route via Purwodadi and Semarang-Rembang. The revival of the train emerged again in the era of the 2000s.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the network of Semarang's highways, both within cities and between cities, has developed well. This development was realized by carrying out the construction of ring roads, arterial roads, and toll roads. This condition was carried out because the dominant transportation system was land transportation, especially highways. Residents carried out social and economic mobility within one region and to other regions using the highway. To accelerate

and make time efficient, good roads and transportation hubs in the form of terminals are needed. Terminal is used to arrange and unload passengers from inside and outside the city so that the transportation system runs smoothly.

As time goes by, the development of transportation flows in Semarang increased considerably. This condition can be seen from the existence of a bus terminal in Jurnatan that was overwhelmed. Therefore, Semarang city government moved the terminal to the Genuk area precisely in Terboyo in 1983. However, but its use had just begun in the end of 1985. After Terboyo terminal was operated, the city government through related agencies built five sub-terminals namely Taman Lele, Watu Gong or Banyumanik, Pedurungan, Jalan Gatot Subroto, and Genuk. These sub-terminals served the flow of transportation within the city of Semarang. From those five, the sub-terminals which were located on the edge of the city and connecting the city center and inland areas were Pedurungan, Watu Gong, Lele Park (located in Mangkang Kulon), and Genuk sub-terminals. The function of the sub-terminal is to be a stop for minibuses and as the buffer zone of the transportation flow so that the needs of the community for transportation facilities can be achieved. Here are five zones of the development of transportation facilities (seen from the construction of the terminal based on its location):

1. The center of city development was located in Sendowo Terminal.
2. The center of the development in the northeast area was Terboyo Main Terminal.
3. The center of the development in the southeast area was Pedurungan Terminal.
4. The center of the development in the south area was Banyumanik Terminal.
5. The center of the development in the south area was Gatot Subroto Terminal (Suharto, 1990).

The impact of the existence of large number of vehicles towards transportation facilities is the unbalanced parking places. In an effort to anticipate vehicles that were parked in the streets near the trade center such as Johar Market, MT Haryono Street, Agus Salim Street, Semarang City government, in 1980, was conducted the construction of parking facilities on Pungkuran Street or Yaik Permai Market Complex and Pasar Johar which consist of five floors. This first floor of the parking building is used for street vendors. The second floor to the fifth floor serve as four-wheeled

vehicles parking places that can accommodate 400 vehicles. The operation of the parking building was carried out in December 1989.

Conclusion

The existence of transportation system that developed in Semarang since the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1990s has given a very big influence towards spatial changes in the city. The change is due to many migrations carried out by people who were outside the industrial city to try their luck to work as industrial workers, construction workers, domestic workers and so forth. In addition, the increasing number of motorized vehicles in the city also contributed to the local government's adoption of policies to reduce city density by making arterial and toll roads. Another spatial change as a result of the transportation system in Semarang which is related to environmental changes that have given a negative impact is the emergence of floods at several points in Semarang.

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