



The History of Farmer Resistance toward the New Yogyakarta International Airport Construction in Kulon Progo Regency: A Social Movement Study

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to reconstruct history of the resistance movement toward the New Yogyakarta International Airport project in Kulon Progo Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region. It was motivated by the brave of people from lower class against interests of the highest class in the region. In this study, the movement was placed as a social movement. The research method used in this study was the historical methods, including the collecting data, sources criticism, selection, analysis, and interpretation as well as writing. The data collection resources were done through interviews and documentary studies. In-depth interviews were conducted on the leaders involved in the social movement. Documentary studies are intended to assess the background and the occurrence of the denial movement. Results show that the Wahana Tri Tunggal (WTT) which resisting the airport construction in Temon District initially shown as a very powerful mass organization. However, pressure from various parties and the limited ability of its leaders, made the WTT gradually decline, both in terms number of members and its bargaining power to the government.

Keywords: *Social Movement; Kulon Progo; Airports Construction; Farmer; Wahana Tri Tunggal*

Introduction

Since the Reformation occurred and replaced a long period of New Order authoritarianism in 1998, one of the interesting developments in Indonesian society was the increase of the brave of people to voice their interests. They are no longer silent in defeat when dealing with the authorities, both in the sense of government as political authorities and employers as economical authorities. People from the lower class no longer shy and scared to protest when their interests are ignored or marginalized. The ruler claims that were used since the New Order era, such as "for economic progress", "increased local revenues", "common interests", and "the truth and the rule of law", in order to suppress the people from the lower class to obtain fierce resistance. But in the Reformation era, people did not trust anymore to the claims.

Protest of people from lower class happened in many places in Indonesia. One of them which appeared in national level was opposition for the construction of a cement plant in Rembang, Central

Java. They rejected a plan exploration of karst stone found in Kendeng hills to be used as a cement raw material. The reason given is that the White Stone mountainous region is their home and their livelihood.

The social movement becomes stronger when they obtained support from various Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and social groups, such as; *Wahana Lingkungan Hidup* (WALHI/ the Forum for the Environment) in Central Java, Yogyakarta's Students Alliance who care toward the case in Rembang, and also religious leaders (clerics and priests). WALHI supported the popular movements with a view to saving the environment in Kendeng hills, and the White Stone Hill (*Watu Putih*) in general. WALHI sees that the factory premises and mining exploitation located on the area of Ground Water Basin. This region is an area that has a water reserve storage function. Data collection conducted by Semarang Caver Association and *Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng* (JMPPK/ the Community Network for Saving Kendeng Hill) found that there are caves scattered in the region. Among the cave, there is a cave which has underground rivers that are still active (WALHI, 19 September 2014).

Besides producing discourses through mass media, a social movement against the construction of the cement plant in Rembang was also used actions that could attract public attention, such as setting up a struggle tent in Tegaldowo village, Gunem, Rembang on June 16, 2014. In fact, they also took legal action by sue the court government to State Administrative Court. However, legal action taken had not good results. The judges of the State Administrative Court rejected the claims of the Rembang people and WALHI toward the location permit of Cement Indonesia Corporation (Nurdin, 2015).

The growing resistance of the Indonesian lower class against the ruling class were very interesting phenomena to be studied. However, considering the various limitations of the researcher, on this research the study will be directed only to the lower class movement in Yogyakarta. In the region of Yogyakarta itself, there are various kinds of resistances and spread over three regencies. So, this research will be focused on one case, which is the community's resistance to the plan of airport construction in Kulon Progo Regency. The research was directed to examine the background and occurrence process of the movement. If it is formulated in the form of research questions, the issues to be studied are as follows:

1. Why the resistance movement against the airport's construction in Kulon Progo?
2. How has the process of the resistance movement happened in Kulon Progo?

Methodology

This study puts the resistance movement carried out by a lower class against the ruling class as a social movement. Giddens describes the social movement as 'collective attempts to further a common interest or secure a common goal through an action outside the sphere of established institutions' (Giddens, 2009, p. 1010). The position of social movement actors as 'outside the sphere of established institutions' shows that the movement as being outside the circumference of the institutions that have been established (Sztompka, 2005, p. 325). From this perspective, social movements raised from the impossibility for the members of the social movements to fight for their interests through the institutions that have been already existed, because as a de facto they do not belong to be part of these institutions.

To analyze the social movements this study used theory which is constructed by Sidney G. Tarrow (2011). In the theory, the social movement has four main elements in it, namely:

a. Collective challenge

Collective Challenge is one of the characteristics of social movements that distinguish it from other social actions, such as football supporters or election of public officials. A number of contentious collective challenges drove communities to resist the elites, authorities, other groups, or certain cultural

rules (Brinkerhoff, Ortega, & Weitz, 2014). Furthermore, Tarrow explained that 'contentious collective challenges most often are marked by interrupting, obstructing, or rendering uncertain the activities of others. But particularly in authoritarian systems, where overt protest is likely to be repressed, they can also be symbolized by slogans, forms of dress or music, graffiti, or renaming of familiar objects with new or different symbols. Even in democratic states, people identify with movements by words, forms of dress or address, and private behavior that signify their collective purpose' (Tarrow, 2011, pp. 9-10).

b. Common purpose

The social movements were always encouraged by social unrest and shared goals. When governments or ruling powers offer no means for their interests, people look outside of the system to achieve its goals (Turner, 2013). However, in its development, many new members who joined the social movement with the new goals can be categorized as an additional purpose. Tarrow explained that 'many reasons have been proposed for why people affiliate with social movements, ranging from the desire of young people to Flaunt authority all the way to the vicious instincts of the mob. While it is true that some movements are marked by a spirit of play and carnival and others reveal the grim frenzy of the mob, there is a more common - if more prosaic - a reason why people band together in movements: to mount common claims against opponents, authorities, or elites. Not all such conflicts Arise out of class interest, but common or overlapping interests and values are at the base of Reviews their common actions' (Tarrow, 2011, pp. 10-11).

c. Solidarity and collective identity

A most important factor that drives people to take actions together or the common denominator in social movements is a common interest. The interest develops the social movements into action. In this step, the role of activists is very important. They acted as facilitator, motivator and sometimes provocative to reach a consensus among people who have the same fate. Usually, the leaders of a social movement created a consensus through digging deeper feelings about the common good and developed it to be cement for the growth of social solidarity and shared identity. Tarrow emphasizes that 'the leaders who can create a social movement only when they tap into and expand the deep-rooted feelings of solidarity or identity. This is almost certainly why nationalism and ethnicity or religion has been more reliable bases of movement organization in the past than the categorical imperative of social class (Tarrow, 2011, p. 11).

d. Maintaining the political opposition

A social movement only will be formed or organizationally birth if the movement is able to maintain its collective resistance actions. Furthermore, Tarrow explained that 'common purposes, collective identities, and identifiable challenges help movements to do this; but unless they can maintain their challenge, movements will harden into intellectual or religious sects, or their members will defect from activism into isolation. Sustaining collective action in interaction with powerful opponents marks the social movement off from the earlier forms of contention that preceded it in history and accompanies it today' (Tarrow, 2011, p. 11).

This study used a historical method consisting of five main stages (Gottschalk, 1986), namely: resource collection, source criticism, source selection, source analysis, and interpretation and reconstruction.

Deadly Pressures from the Rulers

Indonesian development programs that happened since the New Order (1967) and it makes Indonesia ingrained influenced by the capitalism and inevitably, have to follow the rhythm played by the multinational companies when they built a global system in the 1990s. One of the vociferations of the Indonesian government's efforts to follow the globalization is by providing various facilities and

infrastructure in welcoming the free trade era for Southeast Asia (2015) and the Asia Pacific (2020) (Chesters & Wels, 2006, pp. 36-42).

In Yogyakarta, the bustle happened in order to welcome the free trade among Southeast Asia and Asia Pacific countries can be seen at Adisucipto international airport redeployment effort. The reason given was the growing number of passengers, both domestic and international. Angkasa Pura I Corporation branch Yogyakarta (AP I) said that Adisucipto Airport capacity is very limited, i.e. only 1.2 million passengers per year. The capacity of the land (landside) and the air side (water side) in Adisucipto Airport was unable to accommodate the existing traffic. Based on the limitations of Adisucipto airport and to developing the safely and comfortably airline business, and in order to get more passengers in the upcoming years, especially related to the Asia Pacific Free Trade Area in 2020, the AP I Yogyakarta intended to build international airport services with a wider and sufficient area.

Based on the results of the consultant's feasibility study from the Czech Republic, Temon District area was the best location for a replacement of Adisucipto airport. the area allows the construction of an adequate international airport with a capacity of 28 aircraft, consisting of 11 boarding bridges and 17 on the side of the runway (Suara-Pembaruan, 2012).

In addition to its relatively flat area, the area in Temon District also has other advantages, namely its proximity to the land transportation routes, especially railway. This strategic position enables the integration of air and ground transportation so that the efficiency and effectiveness of the traffic, goods, and people can be optimized. Head of the Transportation Department, Communication and Information in Yogyakarta Special Region, Sigit Haryanta, said that the new airport ground transportation network will be supported by two roads, the national road along the 40 kilometers and southern highway. In addition, the new airport is also supported by railway lines from Yogyakarta to Temon District where a new airport is built (Nurchahyo, 2015).

Adisucipto airport resettlement plan could not be executed easily. Many obstacles were occurred, such as the high price of land and the rejection of Temon District people. In the land prices case, after hearing the resettlement plan of Adisucipto airport to Temon, the high class took much speculation by bought land in the region (Sumayanti, 2012b). As a result, land prices were raised doubles in a relatively short period from IDR 20 - 50 thousand to IDR 300 - 500 thousand per meter (Lestari, 2013).

In addition to the price of land, thorny obstacles that must be faced by the government were the refusal of local people. The airport construction evicts settlements is quite a lot. From the results of the initial identification, there are 479 heads of families to be relocated because their houses entered in the area will be used towards the construction of the service (Sumayanti, 2012a). The rejection was motivated by at least two reasons: the psychological bond with the homeland and an uncertain future after being relocated.

Wahana Tri Tunggal Movement

1. The Emergence

Blumer called this stage as "social ferment" (Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 150) characterized by the widespread of social unrest and dissatisfaction (Macionis, 2012). Social unrest in Temon triggered mainly by news of the construction of an international airport in their area. President Director of AP I, Tommy Soetomo, said that it has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with GVK at the end of January 2011 in New Delhi, India. Parallel to the news delivered by AP I, the GVK (2011) also wrote news about the MoU on building a new airport in Yogyakarta as follows:

With immense tourism potential, the Government of Indonesia is focused on developing and investing in new airport infrastructure across the country. To take advantage of this opportunity, GVK has

embarked on developing two prestigious airport projects in Indonesia that will showcase GVK's technical and infrastructural expertise in bringing reliable airport infrastructure that would also promote economic growth across the region.

GVK has signed a MoU with the Govt of Indonesia for developing an international greenfield airport in Yogyakarta in central Java. This is an agreement between Angkasa Pura Airports (the Government of Indonesia owned Airport Operations and Management Company) and GVKPIL.

From many news and issues that produced, none of them include people of Temon District as a subject which affected the most. In the situation that completely uncertain about their future, on March 24, 2012, some farmers have been invited to the Glagah Village Hall and attended also by Vice Chairman of *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (DPRD/Regional Assembly) Kulonprogo, Sudarto, and Akhid Nuryati as DPRD member. The result of the meeting was that they built an organization called *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* (LPM/the Community Empowerment Institution) *Rukun Sejahtera* and claims as the representation of Glagah villagers in supporting the airport construction program (Triangga, 2012).

The government's maneuver by establishing *LPM Rukun Sejahtera* conducted the angered of people who felt ignored and discredited so that they unite themselves to jointly face the government pressures. On September 9, 2012, they form an association named *Wahana Tri Tunggal* (WTT). The meaning of *Wahana Tri Tunggal* is a forum/place for three components of local society: landholder farmers, tenant farmers, and farm labors to struggle for their common interests (Martono, 2016). Members of the organization came from six villages affected by the construction of the airport; they were Glagah, Palihan, Sindutan, Jangkaran, Kebonrejo, and Temon Kulon.

Disputes in the community increasingly heated disagreement between parties who pros and cons towards the construction of the airport. On September 12, 2012, just three days after the establishment of the WTT, Kulon Progo regency government received in audience with members of the *LPM Rukun Sejahtera* to show that most of the people supported the project (Attamami, 2012).

The maneuver of the Regent by receiving *LPM Rukun Sejahtera* members was viewed by WTT as an attempt to negate or even drowning out the refusal of the airport. With motivated by a desire to aspirations and their interests are taken into account, on October 19, 2012, WTT made mass demonstrations. In the demonstration, Purwinto as chairman WTT stated that whatever the reason, they will reject the construction of the airport in their villages (Kuntadi, 2012). That statement was not intended as an anti-modernization and development or forms of intransigence. The statement was a manifestation of the belief that the land has a very high value for the farmers' life. The land is not just the capital goods as often discoursed by the business world, but for farmers, the land is a heritage and even life. The loss of land did not only mean the loss of capital, but also socio-cultural identity.

2. Building Coalition

To fight for their interests, members of WTT build communications and coalitions with various parties. One of the organizations supported the WTT struggle was *Paguyuban Petani Lahan Pantai* (PPLP/Coastal Farmer Association). PPLP membership includes people from 4 districts and 10 villages, from Glagah in the west to Bugel in the east. PPLP's objective is to challenge the presence of PT Joga Magasa Iron (JMI) who wanted to explore and exploit iron sands along the coast of Kulon Progo (Widodo, 10 and 12 March 2016).

Other community groups that support the WTT struggle are students from various universities in Yogyakarta who are members of the *Forum Sekolah Bersama* (*Sekber*) Yogyakarta. Supports of *Sekber* were provided in several forms such as participating in demonstrations initiated by the WTT, conducting solidarity actions and research to support WTT struggle as initiated by the students of the Physics Department, UGM.

3. Development

WTT members struggle looks increasingly hard to do because AP I and regional governments determined to make Temon as the location of the international airport. President Director of AP I, Tommy Soetomo, said that the location was considered to have fulfilled the feasibility study. At a hearing with Commission XI of the House of Representatives (DPR) on March 4, 2013, he explained that the importance of building a new international airport in Yogyakarta because the old airport belonged to the military and it was too small. On that occasion, Tommy Soetomo outlines that the airport in Yogyakarta is currently a military center. Thus, any aircraft that want to land, usually always disturbed. These conditions were becoming the reason why in 2011 they proposed to move. Adisucipto Airport passenger capacity was already full, which reached 4.9 million passengers per year so that the manager of the airport refused many airlines and passengers to come to Yogyakarta (Purwanto, 2013).

On November 11, 2013, the Ministry of Transportation issued *Ijin Penunjukan Lokasi* (IPL/Designation Area Permit) Number 1164/2013 on the Appointment of Kulonprogo as the location of the Airport for Yogyakarta Special Region (Admin_Bandar-Udara-Online, 2013), after various files are filled to be the requirements IPL by AP I declared complete. The IPL is a sign of a new chapter for social movements made by WTT. The members of WTT feel that their voices were not heard by the government at all since the IPL discharge means that their yard and land will almost certainly be evicted by the construction of the airport

With the slogan "Survive and Fight" WTT members tried to resist any activity related to the airport construction in their region. On January 7, 2014 hundreds of members of the WTT gathered in the streets of their village after hearing the news by word-of-mouth in that the day government agents would fixing the boundaries of the airport construction area. They intended to prevent the installation of the stakes.

The allegations of the people were true. The joint team from the Government of Kulonprogo Regency, *Badan Pertanahan Nasional* (BPN/ National Land Agency) and AP I that was called as a team of *Persiapan Pembangunan Bandara Baru* (P2B2/ the New Airport Construction Pathways). They intended to install the stakes. Seeing of so many mass concentrations, the team decided to undo the stakes installation, so that there is no physical conflict with the people. However, the departure of the team did not make the WTT members disperse. In the evening, they were seen gathering on the streets of the village, on suspicion of mounting pegs would occur in secret when residents slept (Singgih Wahyu Nugraha, 2014c).

The action continued on January 10, 2014. The mass of WTT members came to Glagah Village Hall, Temon. The villagers urged to revoke the village head stakes placed by the P2B2 a few days before. However, the Chairman of Glagah village, Agus Parmono, did not dare enough to revoke because it is out of his authority. He stated that he was only asked to watch the installation of stakes on January 7, 2014, but did not have the authority to approve or reject it.

The unavailability of the Village Head provoked the resentment of the villagers. The mass of WTT then walked to the installation of stakes located in Logede, Glagah, and Bebekan. The emotions of the WTT members were expelled by plucking the stakes (Kuntadi, 2014b). The revocation made against 13 airport land stakes, three stakes in the Palihan area and 10 stakes in the Glagah.

On January 15, 2014, the students of the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga organized solidarity action for the residents affected by the construction of the airport. They balked *Masterplan Percepatan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia* (MP3EI/ the Master plan of Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development), including the construction of the airport in Kulon Progo (Indrakrista, 2014). The student groups make the spirit of the WTT members stronger. In mid-January, the residents returned to take an action by blocking the road in Daendels street.

This blockage made in order to make the officer or team of stakeholders cannot enter the territory (Rochmatin, 2014).

For the consolidation of power, WTT on Monday night of February 17, 2014, held *mujadah* or together in prayer. The event was held in Sidorejo, Palihan village, Temon (Singgih Wahyu Nugraha, 2014b). To further strengthen the solidity of its members and sympathizers to add support, on Sunday, March 30, 2014, WTT members distributed leaflets to everyone passing on the Daendels Road around Glagah and Palihan villages area. Martono, as the secretary of WTT, explained that the action was attended by about 300 people, divided into three locations (Martono, 2016). Members of WTT stood on the road and displayed banners which expressed the rejection to the plan of airport construction. They stopped short of passing vehicles then provide leaflets containing the phrase "Please support the rejection of the airport construction plan, our homeland is for local people not for regional affairs" (Singgih Wahyu Nugraha, 2014).

Subsequent action done by WTT committee was asking for an explanation to the government about the issue that there was a survey to people who are affected the airport construction. The issue circulated in the community was confusing, moreover, it was stated that the data collection had been done, but not a single member of the WTT visited by the data collection officer. In this action, WTT made a coalition with students from various universities in Yogyakarta who are belonging to the members of *Sekber Yogyakarta* (Singgih Wahyu Nugraha, 2014a).

4. Deterioration

In the midst of hectic action initiated by the WTT, suddenly appeared two mass organizations in Temon, particularly in areas affected by the construction of the airport. Both organizations are *Forum Rembug Warga Transparansi* (FRWT/the Citizens Transparency Discussion Forum) and *Masyarakat Peduli Kulon Progo* (MPK/the Care for Kulon Progo Community), which was established on April 14, 2014, just four days after the WTT went to the district office. In contrast to the WTT aspirations, FRWT and MPK take acceptance airport construction in the Care for Kulon Progo Community district. In his explanation, Chairman FRWT Budi Setyo Raharjo stated that FRWT is established to provide positive views of the airport construction plan. They will give positive feedback to the people who do not agree with the airport construction plan, put up a banner containing moral messages so that citizens will think rationally and mature, so they have the willingness to start a dialogue with the government (Tribratanews, 2014).

Unlike the *Forum Rembug Warga Transparansi* (FRWT) who takes a subtle proposition, *Masyarakat Peduli Kulon Progo* (MPK) explicitly take a position in supporting the construction of the airport. On Saturday, April 26, 2014, MPK installs 10 banners in the area affected by the airport construction. MPK chairman, Bayu Putro Puspo Pangaribowo, revealed that the banner was an initiative and solidarity of coastal communities that support government programs. They want to show people outside that not all coastal residents as a counter to the construction plan of the airport, as there are also people of the affected area who supported the existence of the airport (Atmasari, 2014a).

The Maneuvers of support group looks quite prominent. On May 8, 2014, FRWT held an audience with the Regent of Kulon Progo, Hasto Wardoyo. By claiming to be a representative group of people from six villages in Temon District, FRWT expressing support to the airport construction and wanted to establish communication with the district government in order to obtain clear, correct and effective information. The Regent welcomed to the attitude and response of Temon people who supported economic development programs in Kulon Progo. Nevertheless, the Regent asked the FRWT members to keep the situation in the area where they lives remain conducive, given there are groups of people who do not agree with the construction of the airport in Kulon Progo .

The presence of the two organizations which supported the airport construction, in addition to lowering the solidarity rides of WTT also triggered a social disintegration which easily developed to be a horizontal conflict. For example, it happened when a team of the Acceleration of Airport Construction held formal socialization on 16-23 September 2014. In response to the socialization, WTT members protested against the socialization by concentrating its members on the Daendels road on September 16, 2014. They stopped people who supported the airport construction and wanted to attend the socialization meeting and yelling them as betrayers (Atmasari, 2014b).

The social disintegration also looked at the location of the airport construction socialization. After a day earlier socialization carried out at some point in Sindutan village, on 17 September 2014 the team of the Acceleration of Airport Construction held socialization in four-points of Palihan village. At 09.30 am the hundreds of WTT members marched into the socialization place which located on the edge of Daendels road. They walked through Daendels road by carrying WTT flags, banners, and posters that expressed the rejection of airport construction plan.

Entering the socialization meeting site, dozens of police blocked the WTT members. They were not allowed to enter the room because the area was not enough to accommodate the number of them. As a solution, officers allow WTT representation to participate in the socialization and some WTT residents who have an invitation only. However, in the midst of the exposure of the airport construction plan by the socialization team, a WTT leader, Martono, took a microphone and stated that they rejected the construction of the airport in Kulonprogo and asked to stop the socialization process. Some WTT members who were in the room walked while shouting to ask for socialization to be stopped. WTT members who were out in the crowds approached the socialization room and shouted to urge the socialization to be stopped.

As the atmosphere is no longer conducive, the Second Assistant of Regency Secretary, Triyono, tried to stop the socialization. He asked the security officer to monitor the situation. After members of WTT out of the room, the socialization process was resumed (Atmasari, 2014c).

From the processes of socialization could be taken an understanding that the number of people who are pros and cons is relatively in balanced. A government officer of Yogyakarta Special Region, Haryanto, declared that from dissemination to the public, which held at 11 points in seven villages, the level of presence is already above 50 percent (Sutarmi, 2014). From the perspective of WTT, the reality shows that the deterioration of the number of its members. Such a massive pressure from mass pro-development organizations airports are supported by the government apparatus has made many residents who previously refused to be a switch or a change of attitude.

Deterioration of the number of members does not make WTT discouraged. On September 30, 2014, hundreds of members of the WTT were visiting their village government. The aim of this action is to ask village head, Agus Parmono, about the promise of District Military Commander and head of the county police a week before to bring the Regent of Kulon Progo to them. WTT members wanted the clarity and firmness of the Regent related to the airport construction plan. The explanation given by the village head does not seem to satisfy the people so that the problem be widened. Even then WTT asked the village head to make a written statement that he refused the airport construction plan. They also asked the village head to resign if the airport construction plan continues.

Like the feeling of urgency, the village head, Agus Paryono, at around 12:30 pm leave the meeting and go into his office for a while. However, after a long-awaited, he was no longer enter the meeting room and when someone visited his office he was also gone (Kuntadi, 2014c). Seeing this, WTT members became angry. They spontaneously then sealed the village hall by nailing the doors with a wooden cross. The doors are then also inscribed "Sealed by the Citizens" using markers and paint. Chairman of the WTT Purwinto said that this action reveals the spontaneity because they have been

waiting for a long time. Initially, people did not plan to seal the village hall, but the attitude shown by the head of the village made the people disappointed (Natalia, 2014b).

None of the WTT members thought their action in Glagah village hall would be a problem. At around 17:00 pm, the village chairman of Temon and Glagah with a number of witnesses reported a figure and leader of WTT initials S (Sarijo) and P (Purwinto) to the Police. The allegations are the instigation and destruction of public goods when the group of citizens who reject the new airport's construction plan staged a seamless action sealing the Village Hall Glagah. In response to the legal case, WTT has coordinated with *Lembaga Bantuan Hukum* (LBH/ Legal Aid Institution) Yogyakarta. In fact, LBH Yogyakarta has assured that the sealing cannot be processed because no articles can be imposed. He dismissed in the sealing case that there was an instigation effort. According to him, all was done spontaneously by the residents, after the village head of Glagah, Agus Parmono, go out and left the village hall (Kuntadi, 2014a).

After going through a long process, on 17 November 2014 the head of the county police, Superintendent Yulianto, stated that Sarijo was a suspect in the alleged incitement that triggers the action of sealing and destruction Glagah Village Hall (Hary, 2014). A month later three other members, i.e. Wakidi, Tri Marsudi, and Wasiyo were also to be suspect vandalism for the Glagah Village Hall (Natalia, 2014a). Meanwhile, the status of Purwinto was only as a witness by reason of insufficient evidence and information his involvement in the related case.

From the time, bargain power of WTT against the government was fell away sharply. Public Consultation related to airport construction which was carried out since December 1, 2014, until January 4, 2015, in the four affected villages, could proceed smoothly, although a small number of WTT members demonstrated a rejection. The ineffectiveness of WTT's action in preventing the airport construction could be seen in the issuance of the Decree of the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region Number No.68/KEP/2015 on *Ijin Penetapan Lingkungan* (IPL/Location Permit) dated March 31, 2015. In the Decree it was established that the site for the new Airport construction in Yogyakarta is located in Temon district, precisely in the villages of Jangkarán, Sindutan Village, Village Palihan, Kebonrejo Village, and Glagah. The total land required for the construction is 645.63 ha (Six hundred forty-five point sixty-three hectares). Since the IPL was issued, there can be no land sale transaction at the new airport site. For its supervision, the BPN has been requested to control all land transactions in the site and not to pass if a transaction is found at the airport location (Admin_Bandar-Udara-Online, 2015).

Responding to the issuance of the IPL, members of WTT were accompanied by Legal LBH Yogyakarta preferred to take legal action. On Monday, May 11, 2015, WTT formally filed a lawsuit to the *Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara* Yogyakarta (PTUN/Yogyakarta State Administrative Court). The lawsuit was registered to the court by the legal team of LBH Yogyakarta, and registered with the number 07 (Victor Mahrizal, 2015).

After several trials, on June 23, 2015, the Administrative Court judges took the decision to grant the claim and cancel the DIY Governor's Decree about the location permit of airport construction (Admin_Putusan_MA, 2015). The judge's decision shows that the WTT stand is in the right position, despite having to deal with the power holders. Nevertheless, the decision of the PTUN was not final. The government of Yogyakarta brought the case to the Supreme Court on July 10, 2015 (Ridarineni, 2015). The process ended with the victory of the governor of Yogyakarta so that IPL for construction of a new airport in Temon district remains valid (Viktor Mahrizal, 2015).

Conclusion

From the studies that have been done, WTT as social movement organization grew rapidly from 2012 and reached its peak at the beginning of 2014. In that period, social unrest was widespread among residences in Temon district which was triggered by issues about the construction of a new airport in the area. The residences, most of them are farmers, tenants and agricultural laborers, were deeply troubled by the issue and uncertainty of their future. In such conditions, WTT became a social niche, which was to be a gathering place for people who were in the same boat and built solidarity between them. By finding friends who had the same fate from various villages in Temon district, the residences individually and socially can feel calmer life although colored by uncertainty. The motto "Survive and Fight" is a representation of people who reject the feelings of uncertainty of their fate and future related to the airport construction plan.

Emotional ties between members of the WTT were getting stronger when they know that supports were also coming from the various components of society from outside the affected area. PPLP is their nearest neighbor and since 2008 has been the patron of farmers of coastal land. Its members supported the struggle of WTT by engaging in almost every action. Likewise, the LBH and students from *Sekber* Yogyakarta actively and fully supported WTT actions in the fight against government oppression.

WTT strength began to decline in April 2014, marked by the emergence of two new social organizations in the area affected by the construction of the airport, i.e. FRWT and MPK. The two organizations take an opposite position to the WTT interests. FRWT supported the airport's construction through discoursing that the construction has goodness and positive impacts to their life. On the other hand, MPK supported the airport construction with more militant and tend to be hard to WTT members.

The two organizations were supported by the government, especially formal leaders in Temon district. Even Kulon Progo regent was willing to meet with them to hear their opinions and interests. From this point of view, it is not excessive if then people suspected that the two new organizations were created by the government to break the power of WTT. It was an evidence that many of WTT members gradually joined the two organizations or at least made a distance to the WTT activities. From the perspective of the number of members, at the beginning WTT members were more than 600 households. When the study was conducted, the number of members of the WTT was decreased to be 200 families.

The decline of WTT is also could be seen at the estrangement of coalitions and their supports. PPLP is the nearest neighbors. In the beginning, PPLP was always invited by WTT to be involved in every action taken. However, over time, the invitation is no longer given. Even sometimes, PPLP members knew the activity of WTT from media. From this perspective, coordination and communication with other social movement activists in Yogyakarta to collaboratively make a great action and blown-up by mass media could not be arranged by the leaders of WTT. As a result, every action, WTT seemed just do themselves and devoid covers by big media.

The social movement of WTT lost confidence when few of its members were accused as actors in the incitement and destruction of public facilities (sealing the Glagah village hall). Resistance and defense of its members cannot be waged optimal. WTT strength is no longer able to suppress complainants, so its four members were subjected to be jailed.

WTT was no more a strong social movement when the Governor of Yogyakarta issued the IPL on March 31, 2015. WTT effort to refuse construction of the airports was a success at the PTUN Yogyakarta. But at the national level, WTT legal action was defeated when the Supreme Court granted the appeal filed by the provincial government of Yogyakarta.

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