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# Naturalizing Land Dispossession:

*A Policy Discourse Analysis of the Merauke Integrated  
Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE), Papua, Indonesia*



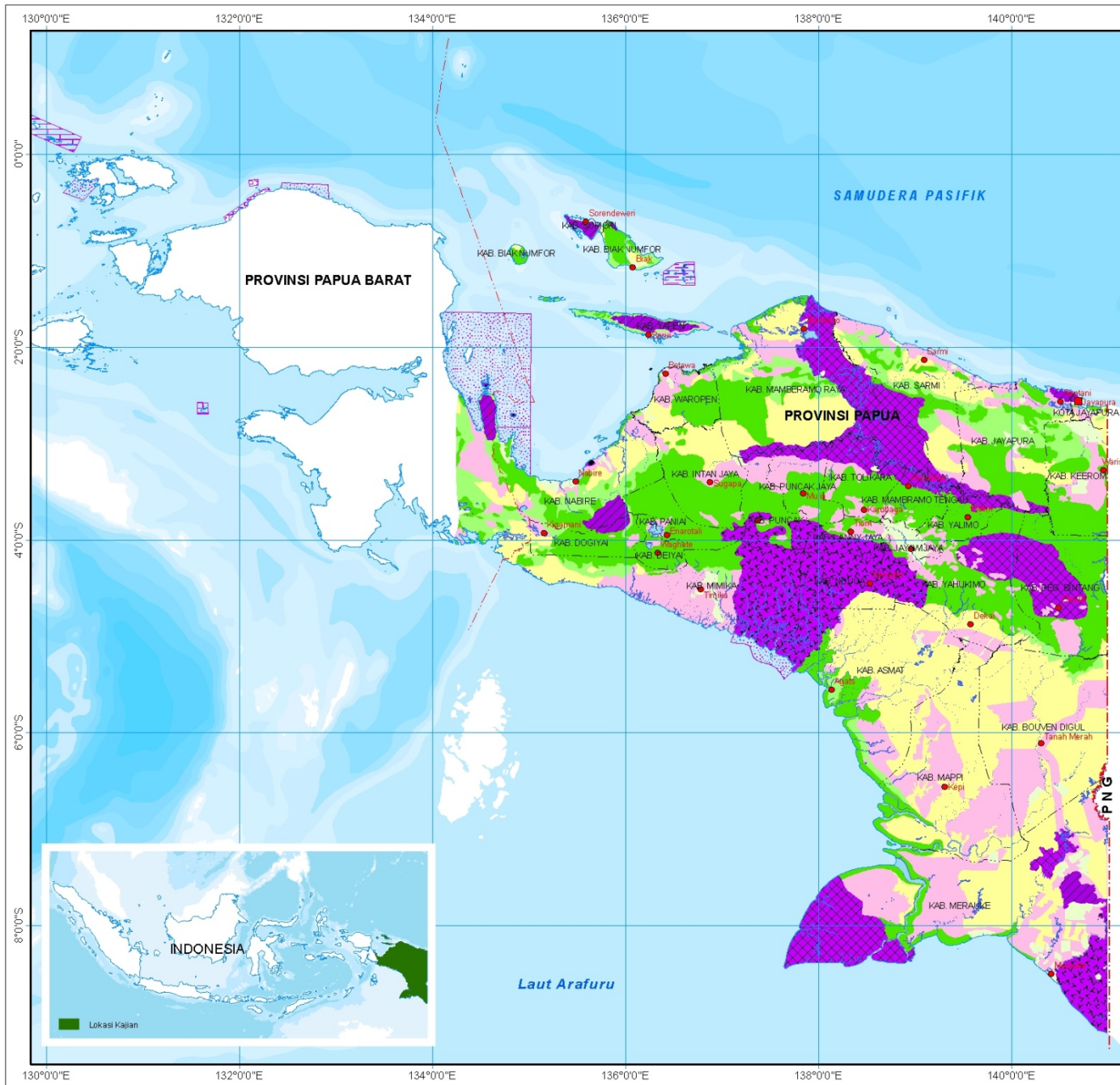


# Merauke Integrated Food & Energy Estate (MIFEE)

- “a modern large-scale agricultural industry based on modern science and technology, financial capital, modern organisation and management, and put to the fore a local wisdom on environmental management and cultivation techniques” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2010)
- Located at Merauke, the frontier of eastern Indonesia
- Recommended total area was originally 1.282.833 hectares; The short-term targeted area is 228.023 hectares.

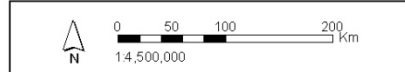






**RENCANA TATA RUANG WILAYAH (RTRW)  
PROVINSI PAPUA  
TAHUN 2010 - 2030**

**5.01  
KAWASAN HUTAN DAN PERAIRAN  
MENURUT SK MENHUT No. 891/1999**



- LEGENDA**
- Ibukota Provinsi
  - Ibukota Kabupaten
  - - - Batas Negara
  - - - Batas Provinsi
  - - - Batas Kabupaten
  - ~ Garis Pantai

- Kawasan Hutan dan Perairan**
- Hutan Lindung
  - Hutan Produksi
  - Hutan Produksi Terbatas
  - Hutan Produksi Konversi
  - Areal Penggunaan Lain
  - Cagar Alam Darat
  - Cagar Alam Laut
  - Suaka Margasatwa Darat
  - Suaka Margasatwa Laut
  - Taman Nasional Darat
  - Taman Nasional Laut
  - Taman Wisata Alam Darat
  - Taman Wisata Alam Laut
  - Perairan

Sistem Proyeksi : Geographic WGS 1984  
 Sumber:  
 1. Peta Rupa Bumi Indonesia 1:250.000, Bakosurtanal, 2004  
 2. Bappeda Prov. Papua, 2009  
 3. BPKH Wilayah X Provinsi Papua, 2006





# MASYARAKAT DAN PEMERINTAH KABUPATEN MERAUKE



Mengucapkan

TERIMAKASIH KEPADA PEMERINTAH PUSAT  
YANG TELAH MENJADIKAN KABUPATEN MERAUKE  
SEBAGAI PUSAT PANGAN NASIONAL



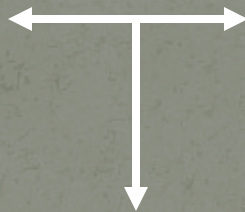
Bankod Bekai Izakor  
Satu Hati & Satu

*“People and Government of Merauke district thank to central government for making Merauke district to be national food basket”*



# Methodological guide

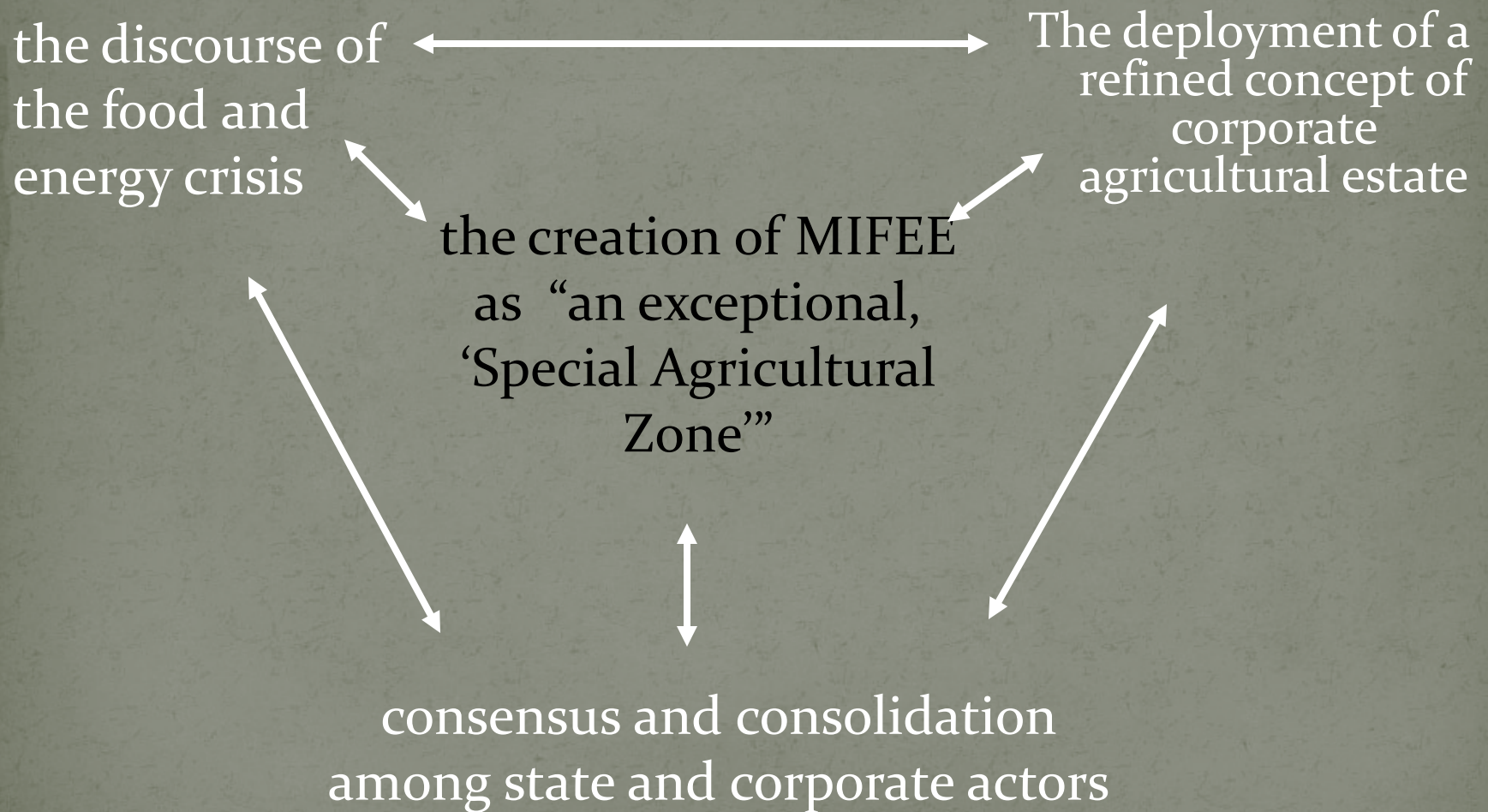
Selecting a set of  
“diagnostic events”



The policy processes by  
which the MIFEE was  
created

Conclusion on the ability of the State  
to conduct rule as well as the role that  
the State plays in facilitating and  
enabling land appropriation by  
corporate actors

# How did the ruling elites within the Indonesian State do when they rule?



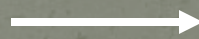


## The first key event

The 2006 great rice harvest: An event to introduce the concept of 'rice estate'



Family farm/  
smallholder  
Agriculture



Industrial-Corporate  
"Rice Estate"  
Agriculture

## The second key event:

The inauguration of MEDCO Energy Corporation's CEO as a member of Gebze clan (Aug. 2009) - *paving the way to large-scale land dispossession*







QuickTime™ and a  
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

*Areas of 11 million hectares in south Papua, covering Merauke, Asmat, Mappi, Boven Digoel districts, have almost never been touched by agriculture,...*

*If the idle lands in Merauke were touched by productive hands, our food security will grow stronger. Moreover, those agricultural products could be processed to become renewable energy (biofuel) for domestic need....*

*In short, from the solitude and “virginity” of Merauke, I could have a better understanding of the thought of Thomas L. Friedman about the contemporary world which is hot, flat, and crowded, and his insistence to a green revolution in all part of the world to sustain life on this earth.*

*(Arifin Panigoro 2009)*

# MEDCO RESEARCH CENTER FOR MIFEE

[ MERRAKE INTEGRATED FOOD AND ENERGY ESTATE ]







## The third key event:

# The 2010 Grand Launching of MIFEE



Series of important related events:

1. Yogyakarta Presidential Meeting with Indonesian Chamber of Commerce (KADIN)
2. President Instruction no.5/2008
3. President Instruction no.1/2010
4. KADIN Feed the World Seminar & exhibition:
5. MIFEE grand design
6. National Spatial Plan Coordinating Body (BKPRN) recommendation on Merauke Spatial Plan

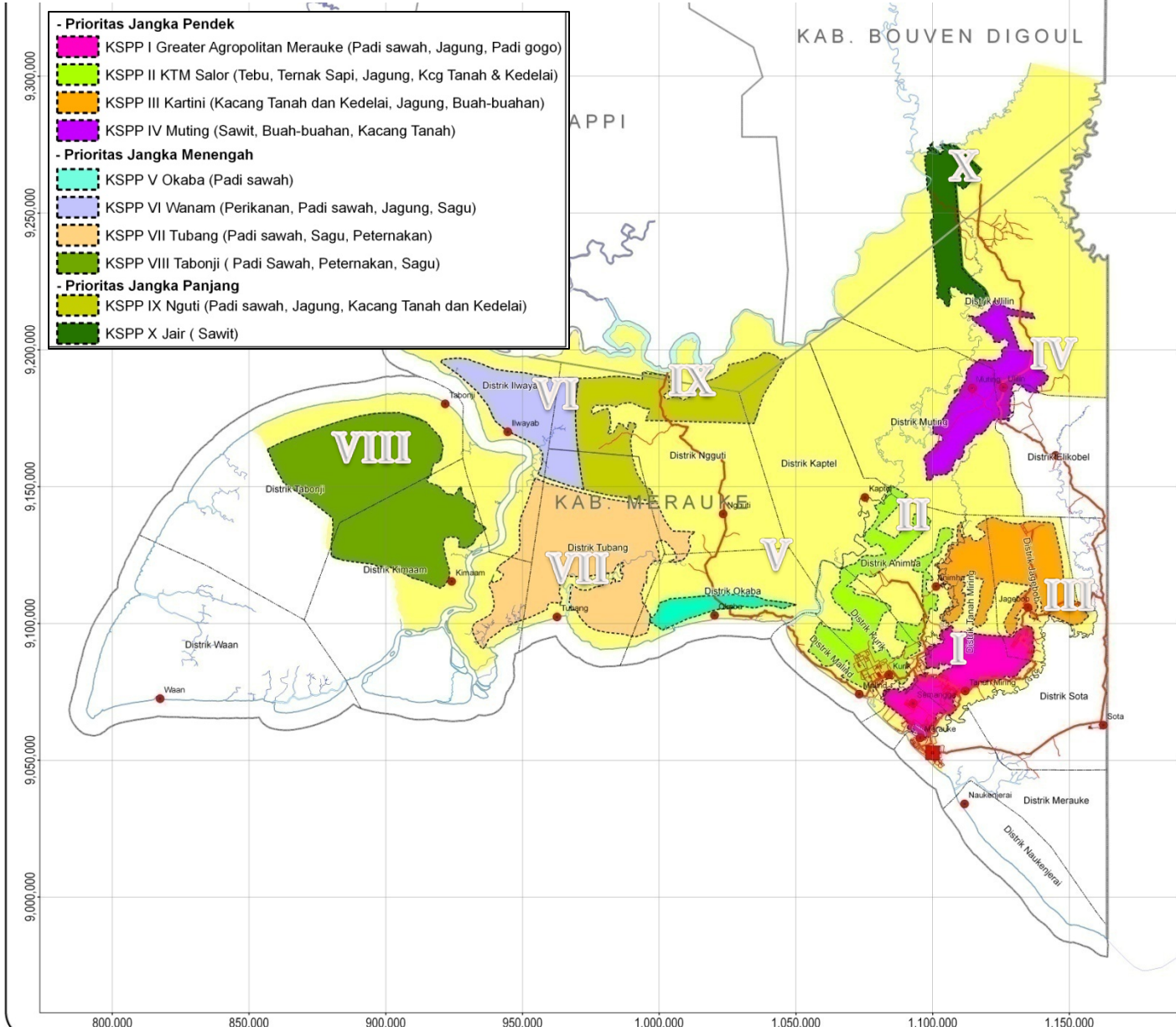
Turning crises into opportunity: a need for large scale farmers to grow & proposal to designate Five Special Agricultural Zone

The government is to guarantee through the spatial plan: the availability of enough land for agriculture, consistent land use policy at all level, easy process to attain land and secure its utilization, and a guarantee of land rights.





# Direction for clustering agricultural production



- Prioritas Jangka Pendek**
- KSPP I Greater Agropolitan Merauke (Padi sawah, Jagung, Padi gogo)
- KSPP II KTM Salor (Tebu, Ternak Sapi, Jagung, Kcg Tanah & Kedelai)
- KSPP III Kartini (Kacang Tanah dan Kedelai, Jagung, Buah-buahan)
- KSPP IV Muting (Sawit, Buah-buahan, Kacang Tanah)
- Prioritas Jangka Menengah**
- KSPP V Okaba (Padi sawah)
- KSPP VI Wanan (Perikanan, Padi sawah, Jagung, Sagu)
- KSPP VII Tubang (Padi sawah, Sagu, Peternakan)
- KSPP VIII Tabonji ( Padi Sawah, Peternakan, Sagu)
- Prioritas Jangka Panjang**
- KSPP IX Ngguti (Padi sawah, Jagung, Kacang Tanah dan Kedelai)
- KSPP X Jair ( Sawit)

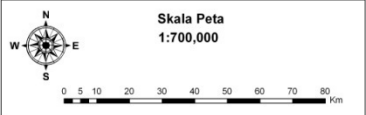
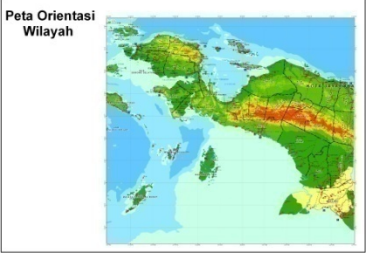
## REKOMENDASI BKTRN TERKAIT PENYUSUNAN DAN PENETAPAN RTR KAWASAN MERAUKE

### Peta Arah Kluster Sentra Produksi Pertanian (KSPP) Kawasan Merauke

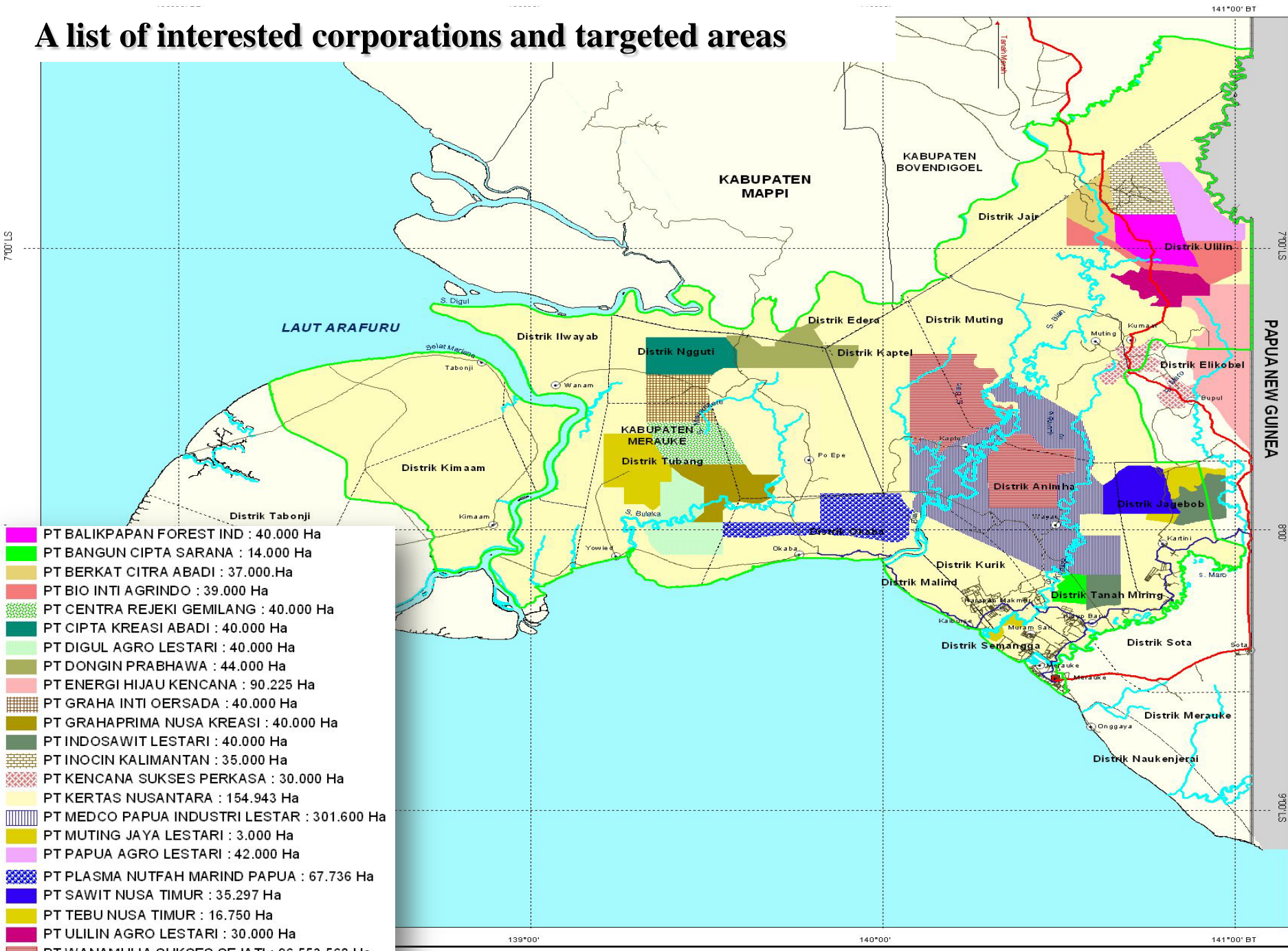
- Legenda :**
- Ibukota kabupaten
  - Ibukota distrik
  - Batas Negara
  - Batas Kabupaten
  - Batas Distrik
  - Garis Pantai dan Sungai
  - Sungai
  - Jalan Utama
  - Jalan Lainnya
  - Deliniasi Kawasan Merauke

- Rencana Kluster Sentra Produksi Pertanian (KSPP)**
- Prioritas Jangka Pendek**
  - KSPP I Greater Agropolitan Merauke (Padi sawah, Jagung, Padi gogo)
  - KSPP II KTM Salor (Tebu, Ternak Sapi, Jagung, Kcg Tanah & Kedelai)
  - KSPP III Kartini (Kacang Tanah dan Kedelai, Jagung, Buah-buahan)
  - KSPP IV Muting (Sawit, Buah-buahan, Kacang Tanah)
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  - Prioritas Jangka Panjang**
  - KSPP IX Ngguti (Padi sawah, Jagung, Kacang Tanah dan Kedelai)
  - KSPP X Jair ( Sawit)

Sumber:  
 - Peta RBI BAKOSURTANAL Skala 1 : 100.000 dan 1 : 250.000  
 - Peta RTRW Nasional (PP/2008)  
 - Status Kawasan Hutan, Dep Kehutanan  
 - RTRW Kabupaten Merauke



# A list of interested corporations and targeted areas



- PT BALIKPAPAN FOREST IND : 40.000 Ha
- PT BANGUN CIPTA SARANA : 14.000 Ha
- PT BERKAT CITRA ABADI : 37.000.Ha
- PT BIO INTI AGRINDO : 39.000 Ha
- PT CENTRA REJEKI GEMILANG : 40.000 Ha
- PT CIPTA KREASI ABADI : 40.000 Ha
- PT DIGUL AGRO LESTARI : 40.000 Ha
- PT DONGIN PRABHAWA : 44.000 Ha
- PT ENERGI HIJAU KENCANA : 90.225 Ha
- PT GRAHA INTI OERSADA : 40.000 Ha
- PT GRAHAPRIMA NUSA KREASI : 40.000 Ha
- PT INDOSAWIT LESTARI : 40.000 Ha
- PT INOCIN KALIMANTAN : 35.000 Ha
- PT KENCANA SUKSES PERKASA : 30.000 Ha
- PT KERTAS NUSANTARA : 154.943 Ha
- PT MEDCO PAPUA INDUSTRI LESTAR : 301.600 Ha
- PT MUTING JAYA LESTARI : 3.000 Ha
- PT PAPUA AGRO LESTARI : 42.000 Ha
- PT PLASMA NUTFAH MARIND PAPUA : 67.736 Ha
- PT SAWIT NUSA TIMUR : 35.297 Ha
- PT TEBU NUSA TIMUR : 16.750 Ha
- PT ULILIN AGRO LESTARI : 30.000 Ha
- PT WANAMULIA SUKSES SEJATI : 96.553.560 Ha



# Naturalizing Land Dispossession

Land dispossession in MIFEE were designed by the ruling elites within the state by two ways:

1. Deploying Discourse of Food and Energy Crises, and a refined concept of industrial agriculture estate;
2. The creation of Special Agricultural Zone by which various exceptions are allowed, including through “spatial planning”.





# Denaturalizing land dispossession



Protests against MIFEE were launched by social movement organization, including AMAN, SORPATOM, KOMALI, PUSAKA, SKP MERAUKE, YASANTO.





# Conclusions:

- The whole policy processes were orchestrated by the ruling elites of the state and corporate actors, including through “spatial planning”, to transfer the existing land control and ownership to selected large corporations to run industrial agriculture
- This enormous transfer of land control requires a decision and initiative from the very top hierarchy of the state power (the President himself) to ensure that land dispossession was a legitimate process.



# Final remarks

Policy processes related to land dispossession are always sites of struggle, contestation and negotiation.



The processes to design and naturalize land dispossession in MIFEE were far from complete, and have been challenged not only by (potentially) dispossessed peoples and social movement groups, but also by the a range of actors who participate directly in the policy processes.

Our challenge is how to adequately grasp these struggles which are multiple, interrelated, and changed overtime.