

ABSTRAK

Pembangunan *Yogyakarta International Airport* (YIA) dirancang dalam Masterplan Percepatan dan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia (MP3EI) 2011-2025. YIA dibangun di atas lahan seluas 637,1 hektar di Kecamatan Temon, Kabupaten Kulon Progo, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Pembangunan YIA mendapatkan penolakan dari petani Temon maupun organisasi sipil dari tahun 2012. Gerakan penolakan YIA menarik untuk diteliti karena menunjukkan beberapa karakteristik, di antaranya sikap oposisi mereka terhadap pemerintah, aktor-aktor yang terlibat di dalamnya mampu saling terhubung dan membentuk kekuatan positif menolak YIA, dan penggunaan *platform* politik sebagai sarana perjuangan mereka. Untuk itu, penelitian ini mendalami pluralitas aktor penolak YIA, formulasi hegemonik penolak YIA dan perjuangan politik mereka. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep diskursus subjektivitas aktor sosial, hegemoni dan politik dari Ernesto Laclau dan Chantal Mouffe. Saya menemukan bahwa pluralitas aktor sosial anti-YIA terdiri dari organisasi petani, masyarakat miskin kota, organisasi bantuan hukum, aktivis demokrasi, gerakan perempuan, gerakan anarkis dan gerakan lingkungan. Mereka mengartikulasikan ikatan sosial dan argumentasi penolakannya dalam *chain of equivalence* yang membentuk formasi hegemoni penolak YIA. Mereka melakukan perjuangan politik untuk membatalkan pembangunan YIA. Namun pada tahun 2019 perjuangan mereka terkalahkan karena pokok perjuangan penolak YIA ditumpukan kepada pundak petani Temon sehingga terjadi dominasi antar kelompok, ikatan sosial dalam *chain of equivalence* cukup rapuh sehingga menyebabkan munculnya pertentangan antar kelompok, dan pemerintah tidak serius berpolitik di YIA. Pemerintah menggunakan kekuatan represifnya untuk membungkam perjuangan penolak YIA. Secara politik, perjuangan para petani penolak YIA berhasil membangkitkan kesadaran politis mereka untuk membela haknya dan melawan negara yang mengambil properti mereka. Potensi politik gerakan sipil ini perlu didorong menuju perjuangan politik jangka panjang melalui jalur intelektual publik, ekonomi alternatif dan politik kerakyatan untuk mentransformasi politik dan ekonomi Indonesia.

Kata kunci: *Yogyakarta International Airport*, pluralitas aktor penolak YIA, hegemoni, perjuangan politik.

ABSTRACT

The construction of Yogyakarta International Airport (YIA) was designed as part of the Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development (MP3EI) 2011-2025. The YIA was built on an area of 637.1 hectares precisely in Temon district, Kulon Progo, the Special Region of Yogyakarta province. However, the construction of the airport has been rejected by Temon farmers and various civil society organizations since 2012. The YIA resistance movement shows several interesting characteristics, including the oppositional stance of the actors against the government, the ability of those different actors to find connections and form positive forces against YIA's construction, and the use of political platforms as a means of their struggle. Therefore, this research explores the plurality of actors who oppose YIA, the actors' hegemonic formulations, and their political struggles. This study uses the concept of subjectivity discourse on social actors, hegemony and 'the political' from Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. I found that the plurality of anti-YIA social actors consisted of farmers' organizations, urban poor communities, legal aid organizations, democracy activists, women's movements, anarchist movements and environmental movements. They articulate their social ties and arguments against YIA's construction in 'the chain of equivalence' that form the formation of the YIA repellent hegemony. They carried out a political struggle to thwart YIA's construction. However, in 2019 they were defeated because the main struggle against YIA rested mainly on the shoulders of the Temon farmers which resulted in the groups dominating each other, the social ties in 'the chain of equivalence' were also quite fragile which caused conflicts between groups, and the government's lack of seriousness of politics in YIA. The government used its repressive powers to silence the struggles against YIA. Politically, the farmers' struggle against YIA has succeeded in raising their political awareness to defend their rights and property from the government expropriation. The political potential of this civil society movements need to be pushed towards a long-term political struggle through means such as public intellectuals, alternative economies and popular politics to transform Indonesian politics and economy.

Keywords: Yogyakarta International Airport, plurality of anti-YIA actors, hegemony, political struggle.