

The Struggle Over 'Surat Ijo' Land in Surabaya: Legal Mobilization After Reformation

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Abstract: This article discusses the dynamics of GERATIS in fighting for the abolition of the Land Use Permit ("Surat Ijo"/IPT) scheme in Surabaya during the period 1970–2010. Using a historical method, this study relies on primary sources such as local regulations, court decisions, National Land Agency documents, and media reports, which are critically analyzed both internally and externally to ensure validity and reduce bias. The findings reveal that the combination of litigation strategies and post-reform mass mobilization successfully introduced new legal discourse regarding the status of the "Surat Ijo," but its implementation was hindered by organizational fragmentation and resistance from city government policies. This study highlights the limitations of legal victories without comprehensive bureaucratic reform and provides policy recommendations for improving land asset management at the local government level.

Keywords: GERATIS, Land, Surat Ijo, Reform

INTRODUCTION

In addition to its economic value, land can also serve as a source of sustenance for human life. Land is a place to live and carry out activities, and even after death, it remains necessary (Ginting, 2013). As an immovable asset, land's value consistently rises due to its inability to easily increase or decrease, despite the annual population growth. The increasing population has led to a higher demand for land, which naturally means that more parties require land rights (Sriwati, 2019). Land is important to humans because it has social, cultural, and especially economic value, which helps many people improve their welfare and quality of life. Everyone is entitled to land (Praditya, 2021). Over time, population growth has also influenced the demand for land. This is because land use plays a crucial role in improving the welfare of the community. However, population growth has led to a scarcity of available land (Aristo et al., 2022). Land has become a luxury commodity constantly contested by various parties, leading to numerous land-related disputes (Panjaitan, 2019). This highlights how vital land is to human life, serving as both a place to live and a source of economic opportunities. Ironically, the land issue has remained sensitive over time because the limited availability of land does not match population growth. Individuals' widespread land conflicts serve as evidence of this.



Figure 1. Cartoon of Limited Land in Surabaya
Source: Surabaya Post, 5 September 1994 in Sukaryanto, 2017

The picture shows the limited land in Surabaya, which the caricature depicts as the rampant industrialization. However, more broadly than that, the land problem in Surabaya is also inseparable from the struggle for hegemony, in which there is a role for policymakers. Surabaya is a metropolis and the second largest city after Jakarta. With an area of 374.36 km² and a metropolitan population of 3 million, Surabaya is the center of business, trade, industry, and education in East Java Province (Kurniawan, 2012). Surabaya is a city with complex problems, including in the land sector. The journey of the City of Surabaya in the time dividers gave birth to changes in land management, which is an absolute requirement for human life to be able to continue living. Land conflicts that occur in several corners of the City of Surabaya express different patterns. The tendency of the conflict that occurs sometimes shows a clash of different ideologies (Wirayuda, 2011). Symptoms of dissatisfaction (discontent) over land policies in Surabaya can encourage social movements.

According to the Theory of Relative Deprivation developed by Stouffer, the gap between expectations and reality then makes someone disappointed. This scenario can be illustrated in the Surabaya community, who have difficulty getting legal access to land (Basundoro, 2009). It is not uncommon in Surabaya itself that land conflicts occur so massively. Not only between individuals, but also complicated and complex to legal, political, and agrarian issues. The problem in Surabaya is quite unique because there are differences in legal perspectives between the local government and the community. This then led to the emergence of policies that made the community increasingly rebellious through the "Surat Ijo." How the community then tried to free their land from the "Surat Ijo" is the focus of this essay. This will also be connected to the political period at that time, namely the Reformation, with its characteristic of freedom of speech.

The topic of the Surat Ijo/IPT conflict in Surabaya is not new; previous research on this topic has been conducted by Sukaryanto, Badundoro, Dharma, Wirayuda, Wiranti, etc.

However, this article aims to provide additional insights by focusing on the struggle of GERATIS to utilize legal channels in their fight for rights. This article also aims to present primary evidence from court rulings, BPN archives, and local regulations. It also seeks to employ a stronger theoretical approach to explain the mechanisms of change through the interplay between political opportunity structures and litigation strategies. Previous research has largely analyzed the historical existence of the Surat Ijo. This research places greater emphasis on the community's struggle to claim their land rights. This research aims to (1) understand the community's struggle to free their land from the Surat Ijo through GERATIS, and (2) understand the relationship between the GERATIS people's movement and the political dynamics of reform, which are characterized by freedom of expression.

METHODS

The method used in this study is the historical method, which consists of five stages, including topic selection, heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). Topics should be selected based on emotional and intellectual proximity (Kuntowijoyo, 2003). The topic chosen by the author in this study is the struggle of GERATIS (Gerakan Rakyat Anti Surat Ijo) in liberating land in the city of Surabaya. In this heuristic stage, the author uses literature research techniques from books, journal articles, photo archives, and newspapers as historical sources related to the topic chosen by the author. In the critical phase, the author compares one source with another, and various historical data are collected to test the limits of objective truth (Wasino & Hartatik, 2018). This phase is done by the author, for example, by comparing sources from books, journal articles, photo archives, and newspapers.

From these sources, the author then interpreted the information through analysis. The analysis was conducted by breaking down the facts based on the information contained in the sources. The analysis was carried out by analyzing books, journal articles, photo archives, and newspapers. The author interpreted sources from books and journal articles. The author also utilized photo archives and newspapers to support the sources from books and journal articles. After the analysis was completed, the author then carried out a synthesis process. In this synthesis process, the author combined the correct sources to produce historical facts. The final stage, known as historiography (the writing of history), was written based on historical facts that were the result of interpretation. Historical writing, or historiography, in essence, is the result of criticism of sources and their interpretation (Irwanto & Sair, 2014). Historical writing is carried out by the author in a chronological manner with clear and systematic timing, resulting in a clear narrative flow.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Emergence of the “Surat Ijo” In Surabaya

After Indonesia's independence, land that was formerly owned by private parties or the ex-gemeente of the Netherlands was then acquired by the Indonesian government through various policy regulations. The emergence of the “Surat Ijo” in Surabaya began in the 1970s-1980s when the Surabaya City Government carried out "land restoration" for residents. The program turned out to have taken over residents' land that was considered customary law ownership and became Surabaya City Government asset land. The city government issued a Land Use Permit with a green cover, so it was called the “Surat Ijo.” Surabaya residents who were not familiar with the law at that time were initially grateful because the status of their land had increased from customary law ownership to formal law. The “Surat Ijo” procedure is the initial step before obtaining a Building Use Right (HGB) and a certificate of ownership according to the government's version. The program was considered a trap for residents to sign that the land belonged to the Surabaya City Government and would not object if the City Government issued an HPL. The city government then claimed the land as a government asset, and residents were required to pay monthly rent (Dharma, 2012). Residents objected to the Surabaya City Government's policy because they had to pay rent on their own land since 1966. This means that they have been burdened with rent since 1966 and must pay it until the year the “Surat Ijo” policy was issued.



Figure 2. Differences in HM and IPT Certificate Covers

Source: Sukaryanto, 2017

Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2016 provides the legal basis for the Surabaya City Government to collect levies from residents who have green certificate assets. The Regional Regulation fundamentally contradicts Law Number 34 of 2000, the UUPA, PP Number 24

of 1997, and SKHPL Number 53/HPL/DPN/97. So in the case of collecting green certificate rental fees, there are two parties who made mistakes, namely the Surabaya City Government, which carried out PMH, and the BPN, which carried out maladministration. The Surabaya City Government can be clearly stated to have carried out PMH because it has fulfilled the elements of PMH. Meanwhile, the BPN can be clearly stated to have committed maladministration because the BPN has issued SHPL Number 2/Kelurahan Baratajaya, covering an area of 231,598 m², dated September 2, 1997, according to Situation Drawing Number 10469/1997, dated August 21, 1997, on behalf of the Surabaya City Government, by not paying attention (negligence) to the legal procedures contained in PP Number 24 of 1997. So, it is clear that the existence of this “Surat Ijo” has caused many material and immaterial losses for residents of Surabaya City who have “Surat Ijo” assets, and of course, in the case above, it has not been in accordance with the theory of legal objectives that was once put forward by Gustav Radbruch (David, 2021).

The basis for the emergence of this “Surat Ijo” conflict is because the material of the regional regulation that regulates the issue of “Surat Ijo”s, namely Regional Regulation No. 1 of 1997 concerning Land Use Permits, is contrary to the UUPA but refers to PP No. 8 of 1953. While all land policy issues should refer to UUPA of 1960, which is newer than PP of 1953. This contradiction is the basis held by the community to demand the Surabaya City Government abolish the “Surat Ijo” by canceling the Regional Regulation (Wiranti, 2004). This indicates that the city government's regulations are not in accordance with the regulations above, so that it becomes a loophole for residents affected by the “Surat Ijo” to carry out protest movements.

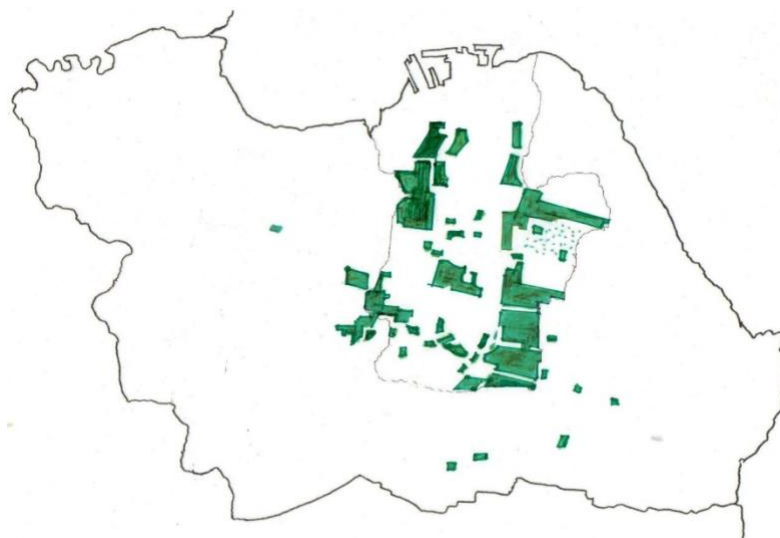
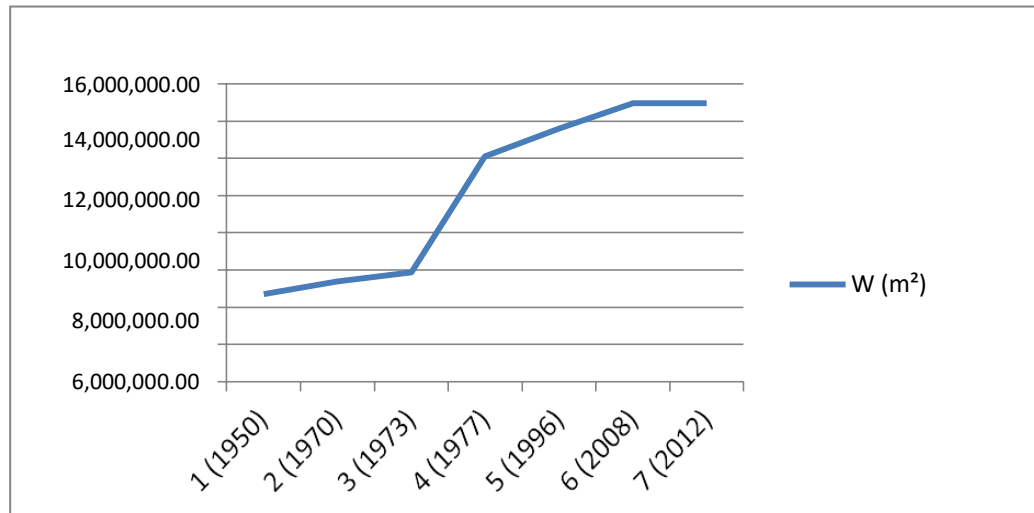


Figure 3. Location of “Surat Ijo” Since the 1977 Whitening Program

Source: Sukaryanto, 2017

During the New Order, land claims became stronger due to increasing rent and the obligation for residents to pay PBB (Land and Building Tax). The area of land included in the "Surat Ijo" in Surabaya is as follows:

Diagram 1. Development of the Area of Surat Ijo Land 1966-2008



Source: DPT of Surabaya City in Sukaryanto, 2017

From a philosophical aspect, the status of the land used by the holders of the Land Use Permit wants to live in peace until the end of their lives, but the social status/degree of residents of the Land Use Permit land is considered lower than the status of city residents who own land with Freehold status. Legally, residents of the Land Use Permit land as Indonesian citizens have the need to have a legal shelter (residence) and have legal force; this is the ownership of residential land with Freehold status. Sociologically, residents of the Land Use Permit land who are in difficult circumstances can be viewed as having a lower status compared to city residents who own Freehold land or as being less prosperous overall.

Table 1. Area of Green Land in Surabaya 1966-2008

Year	Σ Surface Area	Who have IPT (Surat Ijo)		Not yet had IPT (Surat Putih)	
	(m ²)	(m ²)	%	(m ²)	%
1996	13.257.081,45	7.582.281,30	57,19	5.674.800,15	42,81
2005	13.836.687,08	8.231.435,30	59,50	5.605.251,78	40,50
2006	14.238.133,93	8.257.630,28	58,00	5.980.503,65	42,00
2007	14.256.933,75	8.257.970,28	57,92	5.980.963,47	42,08
2012	14.256.933,75	8.257.970,28	57,92	5.980.963,47	42,08

Source: DPT of Surabaya City in Sukaryanto, 2017

From an economic aspect, the market price of Land Use Permit land is not as high as land with Freehold status, nor can it be used as collateral for banks to borrow money. Although it can be allowed as collateral for credit, it is only by certain banks, usually banks owned by the local government, and even then through a long process of waiting for the issuance of approval/recommendations from the Surabaya City Government. For credit collateral, only the value of the building is valued, while the land is not valued because it is considered an asset belonging to the Surabaya City Government (Supriyo, 2021). This situation illustrates the losses experienced by the people of Surabaya as a result of the "Surat Ijo" policy. Therefore, it is appropriate for the people of Surabaya to unite in their fight against the arbitrary hegemony of the government.

Reform: Voice Out for Land Rights

The 1998 Reformation was the gateway to a new chapter in Indonesia's democratic tradition. The next agenda was longer and not easy, namely the process of changing the traditional order to a democratic one, one of which was in the land issue (Prasisko, 2016). Since the fall of Soeharto, there have been significant changes in political life in Indonesia. Some of these changes have opened up opportunities for the realization of a transition to democracy; however, there is no guarantee that the transition that began concretely with the formation of the new government after the 1999 election will truly provide conditions conducive to the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia (Selian & Melina, 2018).

During the 1999 reform era, most residents no longer obeyed the rules regarding "Surat Ijo"s. "Surat Ijo" was viewed as a method of renting land that circumvented state regulations, similar to practices during the colonial era. The community then formed a mass organization as an effort to obtain land ownership rights. A conflict occurred between the community in the organization and the government. Conflict resolution occurred up to the high court but did not become a solution to the problem. The enactment of Regional Regulation No. 16 of 2014 concerning the release of assets has not been able to resolve the conflict (Sukaryanto, 2015). Reformation is the right time to fight because there is space for freedom to express aspirations without worrying about threats from the authorities. The fall of the New Order regime directly resulted in people daring to express their opinions (Sukaryanto, 2016). This political event then supported them to fight harder, because there was no political pressure like during the New Order so that people did not hesitate to fight to uphold justice.

Land use is allowed for individuals and organizations who need it, as long as the regional government does not use it. IPT holders, both long-term and short-term, are obliged to pay levies in accordance with applicable provisions, comply with and obey all provisions set, and use the land in accordance with its designation to pay levies annually (Abdullah & Farida, 2017). After the fall of the hegemony of the New Order, there was a

redefinition of the existence of the IPT letter in the eyes of the residents. The IPT letter is not considered a sacred object whose truth can be accepted absolutely and cannot be criticized. Its existence can be reinterpreted, especially in relation to regulations or laws that have a higher status than regional regulations. The IPT system likely does not consider aspects of social justice for residents of Greenland (Sukaryanto, 2016). The existence of a resistance movement indicates the ongoing social dynamics in a community group in the city of Surabaya.

The social dynamics of the citizens of the city of Surabaya are very much influenced by the movement of the citizens of green land, state land which, according to the citizens, only exists in Surabaya and is still in the process of moving towards a status in accordance with existing regulations. Meanwhile, according to the Surabaya City Government, it is an asset land owned by the regional government, which is very useful for efforts to increase regional original income (PAD) (Sukaryanto, 2016). The factor that gave rise to the movement to liberate the citizens of Greenland was the difference in understanding of the applicable laws and regulations, especially land laws and regulations in the region. This difference in views gave rise to a difference in perception between the two parties regarding the status of rights to state land that had been inhabited by the citizens (Sukaryanto, 2016). This movement is natural for the people of Surabaya to carry out because the land belongs to the citizens and was then forcibly taken over by the government through policies.

Community Struggle Through Free Organizations

A social movement is often born in third-world countries, especially in order to fight for land rights, which are often depicted in the farmers' movement. Land control is very important for farmers as their production land to meet their needs. However, the city of Surabaya has a problem regarding land status, which has become a unique political phenomenon. Several points in the Surabaya area inhabited by residents for housing are claimed as land owned by the Surabaya City Government, which is better known as green land certificates. This incident ultimately disturbed residents and gave rise to a movement as a symbol of resistance to the Surabaya City Government to remove the "Surat Ijo" (Putra, 2015). Due to the collective disappointment of the community, they then formed an organization as a basis for the struggle against the city government.

The mass organization established a socio-political movement focused on land issues under the name GERATIS (People's Movement Against the "Surat Ijo" of Surabaya). This movement is an urban community movement from heterogeneous urban circles. This movement is not based on class differences as other social movements that occur. The movement focuses on the struggle for freedom of property rights related to land ownership. This movement with an urban context shows the dynamic and elegant side of the movement through law and politics as the basis for the movement with a very dynamic

urban community life. GERATIS was born from the similarity of the conditions of the community who were fighting for land liberation, especially in Jagir and Ngagelrejo. This movement is the antithesis of the existence of the “Surat Ijo” that has been enforced by the Surabaya government. The concept of “universal movement” in GERATIS is not bound by religion, cultural identity, ideology, or class. They are united by fate and purpose because they are disadvantaged by the existence of the “Surat Ijo.” The dynamics of the GERATIS struggle are divided into three, namely the political struggle by the pre-GERATIS organization, the legal struggle through the establishment of GERATIS with a lawsuit to the Surabaya District Court, and then the socio-political movement after the rejection of the PN decision by filing an appeal to the East Java High Court (Dharma, 2012). Through this organization, the community then fought not only in the form of demonstrations but also through legal and political channels as a characteristic of the post-reform period.

Based on the arbitrariness of the city government, in 1999 the people of Surabaya launched a resistance action against the “Surat Ijo.” The Ngagelrejo and Dukuh Kupang areas became the initial base of resistance led by Soewoto and Soegito. At first, the resistance had not been organized through an organization, only solidarity for a common fate. However, it later became organized through anti-“Surat Ijo” organizations in several areas of Surabaya, such as Dukuh Kupang to Ngagelrejo, while in the north, from Perak Barat and Krembangan to Jagir. The resistance action began with a rental payment strike, mass meetings, lobbying of political elites, election campaigns, and demonstrations to the Surabaya City DPRD and city hall. These various actions did not reach a bright spot. Initially, the anti-Surat Ijo community was called PMHT (Perkumpulam Panitia Meraih Hak Milik atas Tanah Surabaya), which was coordinated by Soewoto and Soegito (Dharma, 2012).

The Surabaya City Government, as the party holding the management rights, has the authority to hand over part of the land it manages to a third party, especially the residents of Surabaya City. One of these authorities is the issuance of a Land Use Permit (SIPT), or what is known as a “Surat Ijo,” because the SIPT has a green cover. “Surat Ijo” land is a place of residence for the community that is built on state land based on the legality of the Land Use Permit. Regarding the SIPT, it is further regulated in Surabaya City Regional Regulation Number 1 of 1997 concerning Land Use Permits. The existence of this regulation is to guarantee legal certainty that the “Surat Ijo” is an asset of the Surabaya City Government that can be subject to a levy or rent to the party renting it, in this case the people of Surabaya. The withdrawal of the rent is considered burdensome to residents because not only must the rent be paid, but there are also other levies such as Land and Building Tax (PBB), Land and Building Acquisition Fee (BPHTB), and other costs that must be paid. This is the main conflict between Surabaya residents and the Surabaya City Government (Larasati & Irianti, 2020).

In the following developments, PMHT experienced a split in 2003. The split was because the organization's figures were pitted against each other by the city government to weaken movements that threatened the existence of Surat Ijo. The internal split within PMHT hindered negotiations with the city government and undermined the movement's existence. The internal organization of PHMT was split into two groups, namely PHMT led by Soewoto and PMHMT (Perkumpulan Panitia Meraih Hak Milik Tanah) of the people of Surabaya holding Surat Ijo led by Soegito. Political interests supporting election candidacies made the struggle to eliminate Surat Ijo vulnerable. The split between the two groups lasted for approximately three years, ending in 2006. In 2006, there was an attempt by the city government to invite PHMT activists to be offered the revival of the study team that had been formed by the city government together with the community. The team was formed with the aim of investigating the origin of the land so that it was known which areas were city government assets and which were not. In addition to the offer, the city government also offered a second offer for land that had a "Surat Ijo" to be given HGB above HPL (Dharma, 2012). Both offers were then given to the community as mediation material. However, various responses came from the community affected by the "Surat Ijo."

The community accepted the first offer because it was considered to clarify the status of the land being fought for. However, on the contrary, the second offer was firmly rejected by the residents because HGB above HPL had indeed been offered by the city government for a long time so that it would only kill the residents' struggle to dispute the "Surat Ijo" politically and legally. The rejection of the second offer from the city government made the city government officials restless. The city government then issued a letter from the Head of the Surabaya City Land and Building Management Agency numbered 590/922/436.6.9/2006 dated August 29, 2006, addressed to the Head of PMHMT, the contents of which were to maintain the land with the "Surat Ijo." This shows that the dialogue efforts carried out by PMHMT and PHMT activists with the city government have failed. So that PMHMT and PHMT activists have the initiative to fight through legal channels (Dharma, 2012). Activists chose this legal channel after realizing the importance of their struggle for land legality.

The struggle is more difficult because the internal conditions of PMHMT and PHMT are still experiencing conflict because the power is vulnerable to being divided. Activists from both PMHMT and PHMT then consolidated in this legal process. On October 17, 2006, there was a meeting and consolidation by PMHMT and PHMT activists to discuss the strategic plan for the struggle going forward. The meeting was held at the house of Prof. Dr. Basuki Rekso Wibowo, which was attended by Drs. Soegito (Chairman of PMHMT), H. Soewoto (Chairman of PMHT), Mustaqim, Prof. Basuki Rekso Wibowo, Hj. Pinto Ulupi Wibowo (wife of Prof. Basuki), and 8 community members who supported the struggle to eliminate the "Surat Ijo." The meeting resulted in the formation of an organization called

GERATIS (Anti-“Surat Ijo” Movement), with Prof. Basuki Rekso Wibowo appointed as its chairman. The establishment of GERATIS was carried out with the concept of "Universal People's Struggle," which means that the GERATIS struggle was carried out by all citizens with full awareness and understanding of their basic rights. These rights include the right to occupy state land without renting because it is based on the history of land ownership that has a political and legal basis (Dharma, 2012:47-48). This proves that their efforts to fight for land are serious through legal channels. This is inseparable from the fact that previous negotiations had failed.

Geratis Demand in Legal Channels and Change to GPHSIS

The relationship between individuals and groups in carrying out cooperation has a specific purpose. The goals that are to be achieved together must be maintained together so that there is no friction of interest between group members (Jaelani, 2021). As an organization, for the first time GERATIS registered a lawsuit on February 20, 2007, with attorney Prof. Dr. Basuki Rekso Wibowo, S.H., M.S., as the chairman of GERATIS. Through case number 84/PDT.G/2007/PN SBY, they sued for several things:

1. The court stated that the land occupied by residents of Kel. Ngagelrejo and Jagir is state land or land directly controlled by the state.
2. The city government does not have any legal rights to the land.
3. Declare the “Surat Ijo” null and void
4. The city government's actions in collecting retribution money for land with the “Surat Ijo” are unlawful.
5. Order Co-Defendant II (BPN) to accept and protest the registration of the lands submitted by the plaintiffs (Certification), namely residents of the Ngagelrejo and Jagir sub-districts.
6. Order the Defendant to pay in cash and immediately to the plaintiff material losses due to the illegal collection of retribution amounting to IDR IDR.64,774,000,000,- and immaterial losses amounting to IDR 61,690,000,000.
7. Impose penalties on the Defendant (City Government) and the co-defendants (BPN and DPRD) for the case (Dharma, 2012).

On February 22, 2007, GERATIS held a press conference to emphasize GERATIS's demands against the city government. The press conference was held at the Taman Sari restaurant located at Jalan Taman Apsari 3-5 and attended by 13 journalists from both electronic and print media. It spent approximately 1.5 million IDR. The contents of the press conference were:

1. Explaining the mistakes made by the Surabaya City Government, BPN, and DPRD

2. Explaining that the residents of Ngagelrejo and Jagir Villages felt disadvantaged by the actions of the City Government, BPN, and DPRD with the "Surat Ijo"
3. Explaining that the residents of Ngagelrejo and Jagir Villages had registered a lawsuit with the Surabaya District Court on February 20, 2007, with the City Government as the Defendant, the Surabaya City DPRD as Co-Defendant I, and BPN as Co-Defendant II (Dharma, 2012).

GERATIS also prepared mass mobilization to put psychological pressure on the Surabaya District Court and the Surabaya City Government as the defendant. GERATIS appointed a coordinator to plan and implement the mechanism for mobilizing residents to attend the trial. In democracy, mass mobilization politics is almost impossible to avoid. Because democracy itself is also born from public or mass awareness of their rights as the highest owner of power. Samuel P. Huntington explains that people's political participation is based on two tendencies, namely, based on awareness, then creating independent participation (autonomous participation), and based on invitation or mobilization to participate (Kambo, 2021). The coordinator then formed a team with two village coordinators. The coordinator worked together with the field coordinators (korlap), who had been formed by the RW-RW to coordinate the masses from each RW area. On March 25, 2008, the Surabaya District Court read out a lawsuit that rejected GERATIS' lawsuit on the grounds that it did not comply with existing legal procedures. Essentially, the decision of the Surabaya District Court did not favor either party: the city government or GERATIS. This means that legally, the decision of the District Court made the land status status quo (still in dispute) (Dharma, 2012). In conditions like this, legally, residents are not required to pay retribution because the legal status of the land is not yet clear.

GERATIS' struggle did not stop after the trial's decision; they then took several further steps. First, GERATIS filed an appeal to the provincial level, namely the East Java High Court. On November 26, 2008, GERATIS submitted the appeal file to the East Java High Court, and then it began to be handled in January 2009 by the High Judge. Second, GERATIS is committed to winning the case of their land ownership status as state land so that it can later be certified. The process can even reach the Supreme Court if, in the subsequent appeal process, the following also do not attain justice for them. Of course this process cannot be completed in one or two years, maybe even dozens or tens of years. In the grace period of the legal process, GERATIS recommends residents not pay the retribution. Third, based on the experience of this legal process, the residents of Ngagelrejo and Jagir are increasingly legally literate and increasingly intelligent to fight again in the future. GERATIS also immediately reported the results of the decision to the Judicial Commission and the Supreme Court on May 13, 2008. The effort was responded to positively by the two national court institutions.

As a result of the unprofessional decision and hurting the residents, the Chairman of the Surabaya District Court, Deputy Chairman, and three panels of judges who all handled the lawsuit and decided the GERATIS lawsuit case were finally transferred outside Java. As a final step, the GERATIS lawyer also made an effort to block the Surabaya City Government from submitting Land Ownership Rights (HPL) to the BPN for the lands in the two sub-districts. The GERATIS group replied to the Surabaya City Government's pressure on residents with "Surat Ijo" in Jagir and Ngagelrejo by asking them to follow the current legal process.



Figure 4. The Struggle of Surabaya Mass Organizations in the Liberation of Surat Ijo
Source: Sukaryanto, 2017

The success or failure of an effort to achieve the predetermined goals will be largely determined by the ability of the leader, who plays an important role in motivating people/subordinates. Good and effective leadership skills are essential for building, encouraging, and promoting quality over quantity in production within a strong company, ultimately leading to success. Therefore, leadership skills are needed to improve efficiency and achieve organizational goals (Badu & Syamsu, 2017). After the leadership in the GERATIS movement led by Nur Hidayat was considered not to provide active struggles, Soegito, with the support of the "Surat Ijo" residents, took over the leadership in 2009. However, during his journey, Soegito died in 2010 due to illness, so the other administrators formulated a plan to continue fighting for the "Surat Ijo." In the last phase, in 2010, GERATIS was replaced with the name GPHSIS (Gerakan Pejuanghapus Surat Ijo Surabaya); with this change, it is hoped that a new spirit will be born from the "Surat Ijo" residents to unite again to fight for the rights to land taken or seized by the Surabaya City Government. Then, from the results of the deliberation of the "Surat Ijo" movement administrators, Dr.

Bambang Sudibyo, M.M., was chosen as the chairman of GPHSIS on April 10, 2010, because Bambang Sudibyo was considered more active and capable of bringing the movement to achieve its goals (Putera, 2015).

The management within the movement encourages taking steps through political channels that are considered close and have the power to make policies, namely with political strategy and practical politics. Political strategy is a method used by the movement by taking actions that are considered to be against or in conflict with the Surabaya City Government. Practical politics is a step used by the movement to cooperate with political actors. However, this step is what is then not wasted by political actors by utilizing the "Surat Ijo" residents through the movement to gain support in the general election, so that the politicization of the "Surat Ijo" occurs (Putera, 2015). During the election campaign, candidates visit the community and articulate their commitment to supporting the community. But even after the election, the problem remains unsolved. This instance shows that this problem is often ridden by political actors who will forget their promises when they have been elected.

CONCLUSIONS

The "Surat Ijo" conflict highlights the importance of paying attention to legal products. The Surabaya City Government issued regulations that differed from the 1960 Land Law (UUPA) with the "Surat Ijo" product. This was met with negative reactions from the public because they had to pay annual rent in addition to property tax. This coincided with the post-reform period, so they had the freedom to voice their opinions. The people of Surabaya then formed the GERATIS (Gerakan Rakyat Anti Surat Ijo Surabaya) organization, which became the basis for the struggle to abolish the "Surat Ijo." They pursued legal avenues from the city to the provincial level. Even GERATIS had to change its name to GPHSIS in 2010. In contemporary times, their struggle has been exploited for political purposes, especially during election campaigns. However, once they became officials, the issue was not resolved. To this day, the conflict over the "Surat Ijo" remains unresolved, and they continue to fight for full ownership rights over the land they possess. The hope with this article is that the Surat Ijo issue can be resolved effectively through the government's seriousness in addressing the problem. This article also serves as a recommendation for the BPN and the central government to pay more attention to the issues occurring in the Surabaya region. Further research could examine how community movements are addressing the Surat Ijo issue in the contemporary era.

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