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Land Dispute, State Absence and Social Movements Analysis on Sociology of Peasant Movement in Indonesia Plantation

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Abstract

Background: PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) formed a social movement in Kalibakar plantation region due to differences of opinion, lack of factual news and the state's participation in managing incidents of land grabbing for plantations in Kalibakar.

Objectives: This research will look at the factors that lead to conflicts over land ownership and how the state responds to land grabbing for plantations in Kalibakar, Malang Regency, involving residents from three different sub-districts, including Dampit, Tirtoyudo, and Ampelgading.

Methods: this research method is qualitative using a descriptive approach with social movement theory. The data analysis technique in this study uses a flow model with stages that are divided into three stages of data analysis, namely the data reduction stage, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification.

Result: Violence, both physical and political, is being used to resolve the disagreement between the people and PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero). The seizure of plantation land in Kalibakar demonstrates how the state's current function is not to preserve the rights of its people, but to become an actor who contributes to the development of confiscation by becoming a state actor itself. Singojayan Village (Ampelgading District) farmers have this problem, as do Tlogosari Village (Kepatihan, Tirtoyudo) farmers in Kepatihan, Tirtoyudo, and Bumirejo Village (Dampit District) farmers in Dampit

(Sumbermanjing Wetan District). Agrarian reform (LRL) from below should be revived as a paradigm to counteract the state's hegemony over land. Because it is primarily through this movement that comprehensive land reform can be implemented. Farmers gain control of their land through LRL, and that land is then allocated equally among all farmers. agrarian reform from the bottom has a better chance of being implemented because it is conceptually closer to the people's actual material position and condition.

Novelty: The emergence of social movements in the conflict over plantation land in Kalibakar is the lack of the role of the state in helping to solve the problems in this agrarian conflict, it is the state with its various instruments that are the actors that contribute to fertilizing the seizure of plantation land in Kalibakar. This gave rise to the idea of agrarian reform from below (LRL) as a concept to stop the domination of land power by the state.

Introduction

The action of community or group activities to attain goals is referred to as social movement. The definition of mandatory activity as a series of collective actions with an explicit conflictual focus on certain social and political opponents, carried out within the scope of a close inter-institutional network by actors who are bound by solidarity and a strong collective identity that transcends other forms of ties in society, can be given the following definition: alliances and collaborative campaigns are two terms that come to mind (Porta and Diani, 2006).

The agricultural dispute in the Kendeng mountains, Central Java Province opposing the construction of a cement mine (Fitri & Akbar, 2017), the socio-political movement of Omah Tani as a movement-based farmer organization in Central Java. Customary community conflicts related to refusal to build a Sugarcane Factory in Wanga Village, Umalulu District, East Sumba Regency (Djawa & Jacob, 2021), conflicts in Pamanukan and Ciasem lands in West Java (Imadudin et al. 2012), Unra Farmers conflict in South Sulawesi (Kasih et al., 2012; Syawaludin, 2014). Social movements are distinct from crowds or revolutions. A crowd is a spontaneous mass action that lacks order, is explosive, and vanishes. In this view, revolution is an attempt to reconstruct the social, political, and economic order (Singh, 2001).

The driving force behind a social movement is an organization. It's also not uncommon for them to have leaders, albeit temporary ones who are based on need rather than following a normal organizational structure. There is also a lot of cultural creation in the organization, in addition to studying mobilization and how it relates to the future political process. Environmental activists are joining forces with women's and transgender rights activists in an effort to create a new collective identity that would allow them to take collective action (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly, 1997).

A major aspect of the global democratic road has grown in importance since the 1960s: social movements and protests. Traditional political actors like political parties and labor unions are losing influence in favor of social movements (Porta and Diani, 1999). Sandinistas overthrew Nicaraguan dictator Daniel Ortega; Islamic fundamentalists ousted Iran's Shah; and terrorists in both Germany and Italy targeted military leaders, politicians, and other hegemonic symbols during the 1970s. Political

transformations and democratization were experienced by several countries in the 1980s and 1990s such as China and South Korea; Taiwan; Thailand; Malaysia and Myanmar. A variety of social movements have sprouted as a result of this, including traditional ones from the past and newer ones from the present (Callahan, 1998).

In Indonesia, in particular, the swelling ranks of opponents of the New Order administration cannot be isolated from the role played by social movements in the country's development (Denny, 2006). Pro-democracy movements in the 1970s, such as those led by farmers, workers, indigenous peoples, urban poor, the press, as well as groupings of intellectuals and professors, were essential in launching this movement. Thus, these intermittent and transient resistances have been established as a foundation for the student movement's eventual overthrow of the New Order's rule in 1998. (Budiman and Tornquist, 2001).

In addition, social movements have sprung up around land disputes between communities and enterprises, both private and state-owned, including one state-owned plantation in southern Malang's Kalibakar estate. Local communities, farmer organizations functioning in an area with companies are typically welcomed by social movements as part of the pro-democracy movement.

There is a risk of conflict between local populations and corporations in the land dispute area. It should be realized that the land-peasant connection is ideologically political. Separating the two is equivalent to killing a farmer and his family. So it's hardly unexpected that peasants' resistance to land grabs is accompanied by bloodshed. The peasant movement's ups and downs typically mirror the state's violent response, both in pressing development projects and in serving the military and capitalist interests.

For a long time after the New Order regime took control, violence was a necessary component of achieving social progress in the name of the state. Mass murder, kidnapping, torture, rape, prosecution, and stigmatization of peasants were all widespread practices among New Order government personnel. A tiny group of people utilize their position of power to build a conspiracy business among those in positions of authority at the national and regional levels (Perdana, 2003).

Malang Regency's Kalibakar district saw some opposition to plantations in the shape of a social movement. An estimated 2050-hectare property dispute exists between Persero Kalibakar and the local community since 1997, according to the available information. Administratively, however, no one has the authority to govern because the Hak Guna Usaha (HGU) is PT's property. Since the 30th of December, 2013, the Perkebunan Nasional (PTPN) has run out of money. PT. Perkebunan Nasional Kalibakar (Persero) and the community are now embroiled in an agrarian battle over this.

Theoretical Study

Social movement

As a kind of coordinated activity, social movement works for social restructuring in both an orderly and flexible, unstructured manner (Sociology

Dictionary, 2010). Societal change occurs when individuals and groups work together to attain common goals. To put it another way, social change occurs when individuals and groups work together to accomplish something they both want (Putra et al, 2006).

Social movement is a form of collective activity that tries to bring about social reform. It can be organized in a formalized fashion or it can be fluid and informal (Sociology Dictionary, 2010). A social movement is a movement that is carried out collectively in order to attain goals that are mutually wanted by the group; in other words, a social movement is a collective action to achieve a desire that is a common aim among the members of the community (Putra et al, 2006).

The theory of historical development describes the historical process as having a distinct logic, meaning, or shape, and as progressing in a specific manner in accordance with the "iron law" of historical development. As a result, according to this idea, social movements are only Simpsons or occurrences of ongoing societal change. In times of societal crisis, the movement came to be regarded as a "sick fever," while in other times it was regarded as a revolutionary breakthrough. The true source of social change can be traced back to historical necessity itself. In civil society, social movements are regarded as a type of action that is distinctive to that community. In social movements, actors engage in independent action while being bonded together by a collective identity that is based on the need for and knowledge of one's interconnection with others (Diani and Bison, 2004).

There are numerous variations on social movements. The number of people who can be accommodated and mobilized by social movements ranges from a few hundred to many thousands or perhaps millions. Social movements can operate legally within a society's defined scope and bounds, or they might operate unlawfully as shadowy underground organizations (Sujatmiko, 2006). There are two types of social movements, according to Klandemans, in Suharko (2006): proactive and reactive. Proactive social movements arise when people's lives are subjected to circumstances they cannot tolerate, and their goal is to promote social change. Reactive social movements, on the other hand, are movements that occur when conditions in society change and the community reacts to reject the change (Henslin, 2006).

Aberle (1966) proposed another type of social movement, classifying social movements into four types based on the magnitude of desired social change and the type of social change desired, including: 1) Alternative Movements, a social movement that seeks to change some people's behavior; 2) Social Movements, a social movement that seeks to change some people's behavior; 3) Social Movements, a social movement that seeks to change some people's behavior; 4) Social Movements, a social movement that seeks to 2) Redemptive Movements, which are societal movements that attempt to modify individual behavior as a whole, such as religious movements; 3) Reformative Movements, which are social movements that attempt to transform society but have a limited impact, such as the women's equal rights movement. 4) Transformative Movements, i.e.

movements that attempt to change society as a whole, such as the Cambodian communist movement

Aside from building a new social movement strategy, there is also a resource mobilization theory (RMT) approach in an effort to examine and explain social movements in contemporary society. The RMT approach focuses its study on a set of contextual processes involving resource management, organizational dynamics, and political change that enable social movements to maximize their structural potential in order to achieve their objectives. This approach tries to investigate how social movement actors build strategies and interact with their surroundings in order to fight for their causes.

The RMT approach includes two models: 1) the Tilly, Gamson, Oberschall, and McAdam (Canel in Sujatmiko, 2006) political-interactive model approach, which emphasizes the importance of changing the opportunity structure for collective action, the existence of networks, and the horizontal links built with aggrieved groups (groups oppressed) as a determinant of social movement success. As a result of this approach, the relationship of social movements to the state and political system is also one of the important factors determining the success of social movements. For example, if a country has a very strong and repressive system, social movements will have a difficult time achieving their goals (Phongpaichit in Sujatmiko, 2006). Using this paradigm, according to McCarthy and Zald (1997), the success of social movements is more closely tied to organizational dynamics, leadership, and resource management. To understand social movements, this model applies organizational development theory and argues that formal organizations act as carriers. Social movement organizations, according to McCarthy and Zald (1977), are formal organizations that identify their goals with the preferences of the social movement and seek to attain these goals. They are complex organizations.

There are many distinct organizational types that fall under the umbrella of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in general. Voluntary organizations, people's organizations (people organizations), public service contractors, and government non-government organizations are examples of these organizational structures (Korten, 2002). There is a theory of social movement that is distinct from the theory of movement based on Marxist ideology, at least in principle. However, despite the fact that old theory is rarely employed as a source of information for social movement analysis, it has a long history in the fight for social justice. The following are some hypotheses that have been developed in social movements:

Classical/Old Social Movement Theory

Those who hold this view believe that social revolutions begin as a result of the support of those who are marginalized and disenfranchised. As a result, social movements are always led and centered by workers, as this classic social movement reflects the class struggle in the production process. In this movement, Marxist Theory serves as a paradigm, and as a result, the movement is always

engaged in ideological rhetoric that cries "anti-capitalism," "class revolution," and "class warfare." Its focus has always been on overthrowing the government and installing a dictatorship of the working class in its place (Marx, 1867).

New Social Movement Theory

The new social movement theory develops as a critique of the old social movement theory that has always been in the ideological class discourse. The new social movement is more issue-oriented and less engaged in revolution. The new social movements have a more diverse appearance, ranging from anti-racism to anti-nuclear, feminism to civil rights, and so on. Because the capitalism system has damaged those outside the production system, the new social movements expect that resistance will develop not only from the labor movement, but also from those who are not directly involved in the production system, such as students, urbanites, and the middle class.

New social movements arose in tandem with changes in society's structure. Of course, how to notice developing forms of social movements, the techniques employed, as well as the vision and changes to be achieved, are all factors to consider in the development of contemporary society. In forming current society, social theorists have also refined their thought. Alain Touraine coined the word "programmed society," Daniel Bell coined the term "post-industrial society," Jean Baudrillard coined the term "postmodern society," Jean-François Lyotard coined the term "computerized society," and Anthony Giddens coined the phrase "advanced capitalism."

In essence, they believe that excessive technical progress, capitalism, and industry have a negative impact on society's culture. Of course, society's structure and social ties are becoming more complex. The qualities of their conflict led Touraine to identify four types of societies: mercantilist, industrial, and programmed. Society's progress and evolution are terms that are rarely used, although the four categories are meant to overlap. Agrarian societies are marked by conflict between the two classes of people: workers and landlords. Slavery-to-merchant mercantile exchange. The battle in modern industrial society is between the working class and the financiers. In contrast, in a computer-controlled society, the conflict is more nuanced (Touraine, 1987).

Resource Mobilization Theory

In this view, rather than an anti-capitalist trumpet, social movements necessitate a sophisticated method of communication and coordination. The availability of sources of support for the movement, the availability of coalition groups, financial assistance, pressure, and effective organizing efforts, as well as ideology, all contribute to the emergence of social movements. Theorists of resource mobilization begin their argument by rejecting the emphasis on the significance of sentiments and pain, as well as psychological categories, in explaining social movement events.

According to Tilly (1978), the emergence of leaders who mobilize group resources is the cause of social movements. These actions are reasonable and have a purpose in achieving particular political goals. Theoretically, social unhappiness might be represented when there is awareness of injustice produced by state pressure and discrimination. Feelings of injustice, pressure, and discrimination occur as a result of the disparity between people's expectations and the state's ability to meet those expectations (Klandermans, 2005).

According to McCarthy and Zald (2009), from the standpoint of resource mobilization, more emphasis is placed on factors that allow the transformation of values into concrete action, as well as on conditions that make it easier for social movement organizations to collaborate and compete (Singh, 2010). Support bases, methods and approaches, as well as relationships with the broader community, are all discussed in detail by McCarthy and Zald in their book, *Mobilizing Resources*. Rather of being a closed movement, the social movement maintains a wide range of contacts and networks with other groups. An investigation into the diversity of resources that must be mobilized within a social movement, the interrelationships between social movements and other groups, the social movement's reliance on external support in order to achieve success, and the tactics used by authorities in order to control or carry out activities are all investigated through the lens of the resource mobilization approach. Social movements are a type of movement that takes place in a group of people (McCarthy and Zald, 2009).

Method

Research Design

Research methods employed in this study are described below. A qualitative approach was taken in conducting the research. By describing phenomena in the form of words and language, qualitative research seeks to comprehend phenomena about what is experienced by research participants in a holistic manner. It is conducted in a natural setting and use natural methods to accomplish this goal (Moleong, 2006; Basrowi & Utami, 2020).

Data and Data Sources

Primary and secondary data were used to compile the findings for this study. Original data is information gathered from the earliest places in the field, such as primary data sources (Bungin, 2011; Soenyono & Basrowi, 2020). Interviews with members of the community, PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero), the government, and non-governmental organizations provided the bulk of the data used in this study. When it comes to secondary data, that's data that's been gleaned from other sources (Bungin, 2011). There are two types of secondary data. We'll start with internal data, such as written records from secondary sources such as PT. Nasional XII (Persero). Data received from outside sources, such as local journalists, news on the internet, and library sources are referred to as external data.

Research Focus and Subject

When it comes to qualitative studies, the focus of this research is intended to limit qualitative studies while at the same time limiting research in order to choose which data is relevant and which is irrelevant; however, this limitation in qualitative studies is more based on how important the problems encountered in the research are. The author's research was carried out in the districts of Dampit, Tirtoyudo, and Ampelgading, all of which are located in the Malang Regency in the East Java province.

Data Collection Technique

Researchers classify six types of data in this study: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations, and physical evidence. These data sources can all be employed in case study research like this (Yin, 1984). As a result of the case study's unique characteristics. The study will employ any and all data collection methods that are both feasible and pertinent to the research issue. These include: 1). Interviewing is a method of communicating directly between informants and researchers. All informants were interviewed in-depth using a list of questions (Gulo, 2005); 2. Documentation is the process of gathering information through conducting research, evaluating existing materials, and consulting archival materials held by relevant government organizations. Records include written documents (books relevant to the investigation) as well as films and images created upon request by an investigator based on their areas of expertise and passion (Moleong, 2005).

Data Analysis Technique

Techniques of data analysis were used in this investigation. In data analysis, there are numerous strategies to choose from, one of which is the flow model. Specifically, this flow model is divided into three stages of data analysis, which are the data reduction stage, the data presentation stage, and the conclusion drawing/verification stage (Salim, 2001). In the first stage of data reduction, referred to as the selection process, special attention is paid to the simplicity, abstraction, and transformation of rough data gathered in the field of investigation. First and foremost, information is presented in a structured manner (data display), which allows users to draw conclusions and take appropriate action based on the information. The narrative text format is widely used to convey qualitative data, and it is a popular method of doing so. The third step is to form conclusions and conduct verification (conclusion drawing and verification). Throughout the duration of the research project, any conclusions reached will be continually checked to ensure that they are legitimate and solid. This will continue until a valid and solid conclusion is reached (Salim, 2001).

Results And Discussion

As a specific example, land conflicts develop between individuals and individuals, individuals and legal entities, legal entities and other legal entities since land is a conflict of interest in the defense industry (Husein, 1997). PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII is at the center of this property dispute because it is a legal body with which the parties are negotiating (Persero).

There were roughly 279 agrarian conflicts in 2019, according to the Consortium for Agrarian Reform's final report (KPA), with specifics covering an area of 734 hectares and involving approximately 109 family heads (KK) (Sari and Ahdiat 2020). Comparing the number of disputes this year to the previous year's, which totaled roughly 410 conflicts over an area of 807,177,613 hectares and involved 87,568 families, there appears to be a decline. Nevertheless, conflict is spreading and intensifying worldwide. According to KPA records, there have been 1,769 agrarian clashes in the last four years, according to statistics (KPA, 2018). There will be around 2,048 agricultural disputes in all by the end of 2019.

Overall, this data demonstrates how the government deceives farmers with the distorted agricultural changes that it promises again and time again. Additionally, this demonstrates how the true nature of the neoliberal state is that it openly facilitates the expropriation of people's lands, whether by the government through national strategic projects and state corporations such as Perhutani and PTPN, private corporations, or even by the armed forces. Particularly concerning is the statistics on conflict in the forestry and plantation industries, which remains high, particularly in East Java and, more specifically, in the South Malang region.

According to the Tanahkita.id website, the South Malang region is engulfed in a complicated conflict that is mostly focused on the seizure of people's land. The Jogomulyan tribe have been expelled from their land since 1965, when PT. Sumber Manggis claimed it as its own territory. The majority of the Jogomulyans are farmers. Approximately 2,252 families in Harjokuncaran, Sumbermanjing Wetan, Malang Regency were required to surrender their land, including yards and agricultural lands, from the former Tlogorejo Verponding 1289 and 1290 plantations to the military, namely Puskopad DAM V Brawijaya, during the period 1975 to 1977. Not only that, but the villagers of Ringin Kembar Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan District, were confronted by the Puskopad DAM V Brawijaya, who claimed ownership of the land that had previously been part of the Sumber Mas Kalipadang plantation.

According to Fauziyah (2018)'s research, three villages in South Malang were unilaterally seized by the Kalibakar plantation operated by PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII: Singojayan Village (Ampelgading District), Tlogosari Village (Tirtoyudo District), and Bumirejo Village (Dampit District) (Persero). The battle began in 1996, lasted 17 years, and peaked again from 2013 to 2016. The conflict arose as a result of ambiguous land title and unilateral claims to state plantations, in this case PTPN. This demonstrates the structure of state authority in the theft of

people's land, which is legitimized by autocratic legislation such as the Ministry of Agriculture's Decree on HGU recognition. Decree No. 49/UM/1953: 17-4-1958s served as the foundation for the granting of an HGU to PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) in 1988, with a land area of approximately 2,050 hectares.

In 2019, agricultural disputes in the South Malang region, particularly plantations, were exacerbated by land grabs by PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) Pancursari Plantation, which is based in Tegalrejo Village (Sumbermanjing Wetan, Malang Regency) in 2019. The battle began with the HGU PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero), which had a total land size of 1,300 hectares, but it quickly grew to include an additional 2000 hectares, resulting in the confiscation of farmers' land. As a result, farmers took unilateral action by attacking PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (National Agricultural Corporation) (Persero). Brimob was dispatched to Tegalrejo as a result of this action taken against him. In response to the destruction of around 60 hectares of private sugarcane land, the action was started. It was the climax of tensions that had been building for a long time before the action was launched. The inhabitants of Tegalrejo were also subjected to various forms of intimidation between December 2019 and February 2020. Their job and personal lives are disrupted by the Brimob traffic. A few people were even contacted by the authorities and expelled from their homes. The Malang District Court, however, determined that PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) was not entitled to an HGU covering around 2000 hectares and that the company was not entitled to the HGU at all (notes of joint advocacy with Tegalrejo, 2020).

In South Malang, agrarian conflict has erupted between two private companies, PT. Sumber Manggis (Private) and Puskopad DAM V Brawijaya, over land claims based on the former Tlogorejo Verponding Plantation 1289 and 1290. In Jogomulyan Village, Kec. Tirtoyudho, PT. Sumber Manggis (Private) claimed community land in 1965, and its existence It was estimated that this claim affected 2,252 families. In 1975, Puskopad DAM V Brawijaya claimed the land as being entitled to the previous plantation of Sumber Mas Kalipadang. 3) Twin Ringin Village, Kec. Sumbermanjing Wetan with Puskopad DAM V Brawijaya; 4) Singojayan Village, Kec. Ampelgading, Tlogosari Village, Kepatihan, Tirtoyudo, Kec. Tirtoy The Kalibakar Plantation, administered by PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero), unilaterally claimed 2,050 hectares in 1996; 5) Tegalrejo Village, Sumbermanjing Wetan PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) unilaterally claimed 2000 hectares of land in 2019. (Setyawan, 2020).

Seeing the Government's Role in Land Conquest in South Malang

If we take a look at the current condition of land authority, we will quickly realize that there are two types of actors involved: the state and non-state actors. According to Harvey (2005), the state plays a role as an actor who aids the inexpensive disposal of assets in the context of seizure. As a result, it becomes a

source of attraction for capitalists who want to continuously absorb surplus capital. In exchange for the relatively low cost of asset release, the costs of the loss of exploitation operations to raise profits are paid by the controlled region, which includes the poorest and most vulnerable members of the community. This condition is associated with the way in which the expropriation of people's land, such as forest areas, by corporations and the military is indirectly present due to the state's dominant role in facilitating capital accumulation efforts through space grabbing, which is linked to the expropriation of people's land by corporations and the military. This is accomplished by territorial claims that are based on geographical planning, government policies, and acts of violent resistance (Setyawan, 2020).

There is evidence from the Syawaludin (2014) study that agrarian conflicts in Rengas Ogan Ilir Village, South Sumatra, between farmers and PT. Perkebunan Nasional VII (Persero) Cinta Manis Business Unit are more than merely a result of economic and development interests. A situation of altering farmer resistance techniques experiencing dynamic conditions and showing identity contestations must be understood, in other words. In 2011, the Rengas peasant movement chose land reclaiming and redistribution as part of its repertoire, as evidenced by the strength of the resistance that makes resistance contact between the two parties. PT. Perkebunan Nasional II (Persero), according to Afandi (2012), sees that one of the most dominating is the relationship between the state's authority and the seizure of people's land in Deli Serdang. They seized property based on legal grounds because the base was built on former Dutch plantation land that the military had even claimed unilaterally. Many people's assets and rights were taken away after the events of 65. This precedent has a lengthy history.

According to the same circumstances that occurred in South Malang, many farmers were evicted from their land because they were suspected of being involved in the communist movement, particularly in the areas of Sumber Manjing Wetan and Dampit, as well as Tirtoyuda and Donulyo. After 65 years, the state, in this case the military, seized control of the lands that had been occupied by farmers previously. In the region, this is reflected in a number of battles that took place, with a common pattern between the military and state-owned estates, or the military and private plantations.

As was the case in Tegalrejo, where not only is the area under the jurisdiction of PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero), but also the military is there. This relationship demonstrates that the origins of land grabbing in South Malang may be traced back to historical events, such as when the authoritarian New Order administration came to power, then forcefully took peasant lands and legitimized its actions through government regulations. The confiscation is legalized by the state as a kind of dominance of power to open areas for capital production, in this case the plantation company, as a result of the confiscation (Setyawan, 2020).

Here, we see the state's involvement in space grabbing in action. The employment of legality criteria and access to the monopoly of violence are critical

in supporting and developing these processes. To a large extent, the confiscation procedure is dictated by the logic of the state. Although territorial and capitalistic logic aren't necessarily compatible, they're always linked in some way by the state in this situation (Harvey, 2005). This is what transpired in Tegalrejo's town center area. In the wake of the growth of PT Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) Pancursari Plantation, they had to abandon their land.

PTNXII (Persero) Pancursari has annexed land outside the concession area of the HGU, which makes the annexation illegitimate. However, they continue to assert their production area on Tegalrejo farmers' land. The PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) Pancursari uses state security apparatus, in this case Brimob, as security troops because manipulating the HGU area is insufficient. Brimob police sometimes threaten and evict farmers who work on their land without permission. Farmers at the PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) Kalibakar Plantation face a similar dilemma, having to engage with the state security agency in order to acquire and defend their land.

It seems that almost all of the locations of agrarian conflict in South Malang are intertwined with land grabbing by plantations, both public and private, at some point. In addition, there are other players, such as the Perhutani and the military, to consider. This may be seen on the map depicting the spread of violence in South Malang, which includes four sub-districts and represents the entire province. There are around six settlements in this group that are battling for official recognition. They are fighting against the dominance of state power, which has resulted in the state taking away the lands that are the source of the farmers' livelihood. Confiscation was carried out in order to make room for capital accumulation by converting peasant land to agricultural plantations that only benefited a small number of individuals.

This is exactly what we are witnessing in the battle between the people and Perhutani, the PTPN, and the military in the Philippines. All are connected to one another and to the use of violence, both physical and political, to achieve their goals. We can see from the confiscation of space in South Malang that the state's job is not to preserve the rights of its citizens, but to participate in the development of the confiscation by becoming an actor who contributes to its development. Farmers in South Malang, particularly in Singojayan Village (Ampelgading District), Tlogosari Village (Kepatihan, Tirtoyudo, Tirtoyudo District), Bumirejo Village (Dampit District), and Tegalrejo Village (Ampelgading District), are suffering from this situation (Sumbermanjing Wetan District).

Reviving the Landreform by Leverage Idea

When peasant resistance is tempered by agrarian policies that, in practice, have never transformed the plight of the peasants, it invariably leads to a dead end. Farmers in South Malang's Kalibakar Plantation have shown their displeasure by taking unilateral action by reclaiming in 1997. Until now, they have been unable to receive assurances about their assets and the ability for the government to retrieve those assets. No matter how many times DPRD and other government

agencies, as well as individual farmers, have taken part in this effort, their land has never been officially recognized.

A tragic example of the contemporary peasant movement's inability to find a solution is what happened to the farmers in Kalibakar. Similar to the campaign for land rights and distribution, which is being held up by just hoping that the government will be generous. Due to the fact that in reality, it is the state that becomes the agent of land grabbing. It's also unreasonable to expect stolen goods to be returned with kindness.

On the contrary, it will reinforce its dominance as an absolute requirement for sustaining the space for capital accumulation. This situation is represented in Agrarian Reform strategies like as the Land Objects for Agrarian Reform (TORA) and Social Forestry (PS) programs, which are merely manipulative projects designed to give people false hope. The program, on the other hand, is part of the dominance of power over space. The right to land and a decent existence will never be realized if we merely wait for Agrarian Reform from the current dictatorship. Today's peasant movement must reconsider the concept of agrarian reform from the ground up (Land Reform by Leverage, LRL).

According to Powelson and Stock (1996), agrarian reform from below (LRL) is a notion of agrarian reform that involves reclaiming land without waiting for the benefit of the state and is carried out through a strong organization. After taking ownership of the land, the group establishes and controls it. This condition increases farmer organizations' bargaining leverage with authorities or the government, making their positions equal. More broadly, this condition is a sort of bargaining strategy with the authorities or the government, in order to recognize sovereignty over land owned by peasant organizations and force the government to comply to the desire of the people.

It's no secret that LRL is time consuming. Small farmers and farm workers must be organized into a strong farmer-based organization as a bare minimum. Regular people's education was used to carry out this long process in order to build a strong organization, notably against the bourgeoisie's temptations. Agrarian reform has been promised frequently, but the reality is very different. The dispute has widened, and the government has taken on the role of a dispossession agent as well as a facilitator.

Agrarian reform initiatives like TORA and PS aren't really about giving peasants control over their land; rather, they're about suppressing the agrarian movement. For this reason, space grabbers like Perhutani and PTPN are even more adaptable in their tactics. The advent of PS-leaning agrarian policies in Java exemplifies this. Forest cover is used as an explanation by the government, but it forgets that the government and state-owned corporations are both involved in forest degradation. On top of that, mining concessions and industrial estate development devastate productive land and decimate forests alike. Meanwhile, TORA's own regulation does not apply to major HGU holders, and the public is left to hope — all the way to the very end of their hopes.

As a result, agrarian reform from below (LRL) is a serious proposition that should be re-run, particularly in the face of state power. The Pasundan Farmers Union has been putting the LRL principle into effect for quite some time (SPP). Approximately 30,000 bases were created, with the vast majority of the population being landless and underprivileged, in order to struggle for land that the state had not guaranteed them. Through its bases, SPP reclaims roughly 15,000 hectares of land in West Java that is controlled by state landowners in the shape of the State Forestry Company (Perhutani), which is managed by the government (Borras et al, 2008). With the SPP, they are trying to establish an entirely new type of agrarian movement, one in which people seize land held by the state and engage in collective actions to care for and defend the land. Agrarian reform from below is an example of what can be accomplished when the state is unable to offer assets or access.

Agrarian reform movements from below (LRL) have also been carried out by farmers living in the vicinity of PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII (Persero) Kalibakar Plantation, according to Mustin (2007). PT. Perkebunan Nasional XII was targeted by peasants in a series of unilateral acts during the 1997 timeframe (Persero). They were successful in reclaiming the Kalibakar plantation, which had been devouring their agricultural land. This measure is conducted when the state is unable to provide for their subsistence but, at the same time, the excessive imbalance in land tenure is so pronounced that it is necessary. As a result, landless and destitute farmers occupied and controlled the Kalibakar Plantation, which was formerly owned by the government. They have managed to endure the reclamation zone up until this point. In order to protect the land they controlled from the re-appropriation of the Kalibakar Plantation, which was sponsored by the state security apparatus, they battled against and defended the land.

Even though SPP and Kalibakar Farmers have conducted it, and are considered successful, the bargaining position of the people in general has never been equal and is considered by the state. Because the character of LRL is to reclaim land, then hope for the good of the state. Doing mastery, then reporting to the state and waiting for goodness. Whereas those who control people's lands are state actors and actors who are given authority by the state. This condition was not far from the participation of the peasant elites who brought the peasant movement to an attitude that was too submissive, resigned and eventually faded. The peasant organization which was originally a tool for obtaining rights, was turned into a tool to support the rule of the bourgeoisie. This makes the LRL concept progressive, then reduced, and in the end trapped back in Landreform by Grace waiting for the generosity of the state, where the state through its bourgeois elite determines agrarian reform according to their will, not the will of the majority people.

Currently, it is important to bring back the idea of agrarian reform from below as a concept to stop the domination of land power by the state. Because basically, it is through this movement that land reform can actually be carried out

completely. Through LRL, farmers get control over the land which will be distributed fairly to other farmers. Because agrarian reform from below is conceptually closer to the material situation and condition of the people, where they are the ones who know what a fair distribution of land looks like.

But keep in mind, this idea is not easy to implement. Because if you learn from the previous one, even though LRL is implemented, in the end, it is trapped in agrarian reform based on the kindness of the state. This condition is the result of the disease of elitism and opportunism in the agrarian movement, so that we still encounter revisionism on agrarian reform. Therefore, agrarian reform from below (LRL) is one way to realize true agrarian reform that comes from the will of the people. Of course, all of this requires a long struggle in the form of revolutionary peasant education, where landless peasants and poor peasants are the spearheads of the agrarian reform.

Conclusion

Briefly stated, practically all regions of agrarian conflict in South Malang are invariably intersected with land grabbing by plantations, both state-owned and private, which results in a vicious cycle. In addition, there are other players, such as the Perhutani and the military, to consider. The map illustrating the distribution of disputes in the Kalibakar plantation region shows that three sub-districts are involved in the conflict in the Kalibakar plantation area. There are around six settlements in this group that are battling for official recognition. They are fighting against the dominance of state power, which has resulted in the state taking away the lands that are the source of the farmers' livelihood. Confiscation was carried out in order to make room for capital accumulation by converting peasant land to agricultural plantations that only benefited a small number of individuals.

Violence, both physical and political, is used by the populace and PT Perkebunan Nasional XII (PTPN). The seizure of space in Kalibakar tells us how the state's role is not to preserve its people's rights, but to function as a facilitator of confiscation. Singojayan Village (Ampelgading District), Tlogosari Village (Kepatihan, Tirtoyudo District), Bumirejo Village (Dampit District) and Tegalrejo Village (Dampit District) are all affected (Sumbermanjing Wetan District).

To end the state's dominance of land power, agrarian reform from below (LRL) must be revived. Land reform can only be fully implemented through this movement. Farmers gain authority over land that is divided equally to other farmers. People know what a fair distribution of land looks like, therefore agricultural reform from bottom is theoretically closer to their position.

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