

Peasant Resistance Movement towards BKPH (*Bagian Kesatuan Pemangku Hutan – Forest Management Unit*)

(Case study in Kedungkendeng, Jombang, Indonesia)

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Abstract— This study examined the social movements of Kedungkendeng peasants, the resistance carried out by Kedungkendeng peasants using a critical ethnographic perspective, especially the process of the occurrence of the peasant resistance movements, the forms of pre-reform peasant resistance and the forms of peasant resistance post-reform. The research was located in Kedungkendeng hamlet, Jipurapah village, Jombang district. The informants were taken using a purposive sampling, and in-depth interviews were used to explore informants who were actors in the social movement of peasants. This study used deprivation relative and the daily resistance theories.

In conclusion, the social movement by Kedungkendeng peasants is the peasants' social movement happened because of deprivation relative condition in society due to the existence of a dualism of law and supported by the existence of intimidation from BKPH Ploso Barat. They took the land and timber illegally as a form of peasant resistance. Post-reformation, the old forms had been changed, and then they used law and bureaucracy path, yet safety remains a priority.

Keywords—*peasant; movement; resistance*

I. INTRODUCTION

Land is not only a life of rural people whose livelihood is as peasants, but in rural communities land is a social status in the stratification of rural communities [1]. The relationship of land tenure is not only related to the relationship between humans and land, which is in agrarian countries is religious, magical, and ideological but mainly concerns the relationship between humans [2].

In Javanese rural communities, they have a philosophy of life that reflects a close relationship between rural communities and the land they have. Land ownership from the colonial era was even beyond that, when the kingdom era until now the land problem that was identical with the fate of the peasants had not found the signs of improvement. During the colonial era, the land ownership and the way in which this agrarian basis had to be burdened with taxes had begun from the beginning of the 18th century and continued until the 20th

century. In addition, it also became the key to understanding colonial interests [3].

The radicalization of Kedungkendeng peasants is a response to the claiming carried out by BKPH (Forest Management Unit) West Ploso. It is because the land they have occupied for decades is customary land which is a legacy of their ancestors, but it is also a defensive response to the threat to the livelihood that has been supporting the peasants. Radicalism carried out by Kedungkendeng peasants is due to an expectation of a condition to occur which creates a sense of deprivation and hatred in the feelings of the Kedungkendeng peasants which trigger radicalism among peasants.

Peasant resistance is typical of the weak because peasants avoid a direct confrontation with the authorities. The resistance carried out by peasants is half-hearted and careful. The forms of the Kedungkendeng peasant resistance were reflected in the raiding by occupying secretly the land owned by BKPH Ploso Barat, the covert robbery which according to Kedungkendeng Peasants was felt safer than the open land occupation which provoked repressive actions from BKPH Ploso Barat.

The form of resistance carried out by Kedungkendeng peasants was secretly felt safer due to the authoritarian New Order government. The resistance was reflected in the seizure of 15ha of land belonging to the peasants by BKPH Ploso Barat. The peasants chose to hold th principle of resistance prioritizing to survive or avoid direct contact with the parties of BKPH Ploso Barat. The land occupation sparked the anger of the Kedungkendeng Hamlet peasants and made resistance from the peasants of Kedungkendeng Hamlet by destroying the crops belonging to BKPH West Ploso in their own way on the plunder of the peasants. The difficulty of the field to enter the location made the BKPH Ploso Barat less supervises. Unanimity and refusal to give testimony or an attitude that was shown by the Kedungkendeng peasants made it difficult for the parties from BKPH Ploso Barat to find the perpetrators of the destruction. The silent agreement by the peasants is a weapon for those who have no

power. The land is the breath of life for peasants, so the basis of the peasant resistance in Kedungdendeng Hamlet is not based on expecting to get a social status in society but solely because of subsistence fulfillment. With the increasingly open political opportunity after reform, the peasant resistance experienced a change of form in fighting for their land rights, in which in the pre-reform, Kedungdendeng peasants used daily resistance which was very carefully and little coordination changed through legal channels by submitting SPPT (tax notice Owed).

The lack of clarity on the status of the land owned by the peasants was utilized by several parties from BKPH to win votes in the contestation of village heads. It was done by intimidating the peasants, if they did not vote for candidates promoted by BKPH, they would be evicted. The existence of a game in village political contestation with the BKPH party increasingly makes peasants deprived of their roots as human beings as stipulated in the law. The bureaucratic affair between BKPH and the village head, the land conflict is more complicated.

The reformation is a momentum as the struggle of the Kedungdendeng peasants, in which democratic spaces are opened so wide for all citizens and the momentum is utilized as well as possible by the actors who fight for the Kedungdendeng peasants, such as the village apparatus and community leaders of Kedungdendeng Hamlet. Precisely in July 1999, the struggle of peasants experienced a bright spot by legalizing the land and fields which were inherited from their ancestors so that the SPPT was issued by issuing the letter. Accordingly, the Kedungdendeng Hamlet peasants had an evidence of their land and fields. However, with the issuance of the Debt Tax Notice, BKPH Ploso Barat has not acknowledged the existence of the letter because it is in the process of submission in the SPPT which did not involve parties from BKPH Ploso Barat.

II. THEORITICAL

A. *Relative Deprivation*

A deprivation generates a resistance. This resistance can arise when an individual or community feel that something valuable from them is deprived that causes dissatisfaction and hatred. The feeling called relative deprivation is a perception of the deviation between the value of expectation and the value of capability to achieve the required values [4].

These acts of resistance emerged out of feelings of deprivation and dissatisfaction experienced by some of these people who experience the same sense and possessed the awareness that they were being removed at a certain point. Correspondingly, the people experiencing the same feelings perceive that the enemies had to be responsible for their suffering and parties that they opposed in the first place [4].

Relative deprivation is a result of the process of changing expectations and abilities to meet expectations.

Deprivation is categorized into 3 parts: 1. Decremental deprivation, 2. Aspirational deprivation, and 3. progressive deprivation. These three processes or causes occur when a society experiences a situation called relative deprivation to carry out a resistance [4].

B. *Peasant Resistance*

The basic concept of daily resistance from the peasants is the ordinary struggle - but the struggle is continuous between the peasants trying to attract labor, lease taxes, and the benefits of capital owners or landlords. Scott [5] also defines the resistance of villagers as the actions of members of a lower class of society with a view to alleviate or reject demands (e.g. rent, tax, and respect) imposed on the middle class to the upper classes (such as landlords, owners of capital and the state) or to submit their own claims (e.g. work, land, generosity) to the class above [5]. According to Scott [5], resistance is an action that requires at least individual and collective sacrifice in the short and long term. Losses obtained in strikes, boycotts, and denials of employment are short-term sacrifices that they hope will receive long-term benefits. Such an act of resistance called routine voluntariness is a way of powerlessness facing the class above it [5].

An analogous is shown by Scott in his book entitled the peasant resistance describing a peasant hides a part of the harvest to avoid paying taxes while filling his stomach with and stealing rice from the state, if a peasant soldier leaves his army because the crop is mature or it is time to be harvested, a peasants soldier keeps his safety [5].

III. METHOD

This study employed a critical paradigm. This paradigm is a paradigm that diverts minority groups, subordinate groups, and resistance to power [6]. This study was qualitative descriptive research. Since indeed in the phenomenon of the Kedungdendeng peasants' social movements the researchers tried to uncover: (1) the changing form of pre-reform and post-reform resistance from the Kedungdendeng peasants Hamlet, (2) The issue of legal dualism that caused conflicts between peasants and BKPH Ploso Barat. Social settings conducted in Kedungdendeng sub-village, Jipurapah village, Plandaan district, Jombang district. In determining the research informants, a purposive sampling was used. Furthermore, in this method, it was explained that researchers considered in advance with the problems and found the person or community that they want to learn and build relationships with participants so that they provide good data to researchers [7].

Data collection techniques in this study were interviews and observations. The data collection begins with observations by looking at and observing the location of the research conducted, then supported by in-depth Interviews. Data processing was performed after the data has been collected to support analysis techniques. The next stage is data analysis. The data collection was

processed and then analyzed to get a conclusion as the results of the research.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *The Root of Conflict Problem*

Land disputes between Kedungdendeng peasants and BKPH Ploso themselves cannot be separated from the history of land claiming carried out by BKPH Ploso Barat against land owned by the Kedungdendeng peasants community. The land itself for the farming community of Kedungdendeng Hamlet is a source for subsistence fulfillment which only has a livelihood as a farmer.

The root of the problem that occurred in the land dispute between the Kedungdendeng peasants and BKPH Ploso Barat was a legal dualism. The dualism of the agrarian law itself is due to the legal status of the land which is occupied by the law of the country and on one side is controlled by customary law, so that the two legal arrangements are applied to each object. The legal dualism itself that occurs raises a cultural conflict which until now has not met a bright spot. Kedungdendeng peasants hold on to customary law in the community but the BKPH Ploso Barat party itself is against the state law. They are still entitled to the disputed land are because the land occupied by the Kedungdendeng peasants is still included in the territory or map owned by BKPH Ploso Barat. In addition, BKPH Ploso Barat also still pays taxes on the state on their land.

Land disputes that occurred began with the claiming made by BKPH Ploso Barat on land which is a settlement and agricultural land owned by the Kedungdendeng peasant community. The area of land that became a dispute between the Kedungdendeng peasants and the West BKPH Ploso was 66.6 hectares in total. Land disputes used as settlements are 30 ha, while land used as agriculture is divided into rice fields and areas covering 36, 6 ha.

B. *Process and The Inform of Resistance*

The disappointment experienced by Kedungdendeng peasants with the status of land is still in a state of dispute and creates uncertainty in life. With the condition of the land status that is still in conflict raises problems such as roads that are still damaged when the rainy season, the road cannot be passed by motor vehicles which results in medical treatment for people who are sick, as well as teaching and learning activities that affect human resources of young generation in Kedungdendeng Hamlet. Besides that, there are also deliveries of agricultural products out of the village.

In addition, Disappointment experienced by Kedungdendeng peasants resulted in a resistance from Kedungdendeng peasant. The scattered resistance carried out by Kedungdendeng peasants is a response to the disappointment they have experienced so far. The resistance carried out by the Kedungdendeng peasants is a covert resistance because they avoid the existence of a repressive action carried out by BKPH Ploso Barat when they find out the peasants are in conflict.

With the strength of the government in the New Order era, the Kedungdendeng peasants were unable to freely fight for the land they occupied causing the form of covert resistance used by peasants to fight the forces of BKPH Ploso Barat which in the Order government had a very strong position in Jombang government.

Several times of land grabbing were conducted by BKPH Ploso Barat also caused a reaction from the Kedungdendeng peasants but the reaction was not shown publicly, such as demonstrating the BKPH Ploso Barat party, but the Kedungdendeng peasants again chose a resistance which was called prioritizing safety where the crops planted by BKPH Ploso Barat was not killed directly but they chose to continue to cultivate the land that had been cultivated by BKPH Ploso Barat they had the belief that when the plant was not under the plant, the plants planted by BKPH Ploso Barat would not be strong and eventually die, form Such forms of resistance are characteristic of the resistance of the weak or almost without strength because they are also very careful in doing so the Kedungdendeng peasants also keep from clashing with BKPH Ploso Barat.

The form of covert resistance used by Kedungdendeng peasants to oppose the domination of West BKPH Ploso, among others by illegally occupying land and secretly Kedungdendeng peasants who are used as settlements and agricultural land, they assume that when the settlement is large it will not be evicted from the place. Other than that, it is also a covert illegal and illegal logging which is also a defensive reaction used by the community to fight BKPH Ploso Barat which has more power than them. The strategy of resistance by peasants is a very cautious resistance and has the principle of "prioritizing safety" because of the resistance strategy which greatly avoids any direct contact with the authorities.

In the peasant resistance, BKPH Ploso Barat has undergone a change, namely using legal channels and bureaucracy, but in the resistance, it remains principled prioritizing to be safe. The resistance carried out by Kedungdendeng peasants is unique and clever, in the process of resistance the Kedungdendeng peasants are more directed to the form of legal resistance and use third parties before the peasant reforms use more forms of daily resistance. The third party in the land dispute that occurred between Kedungdendeng peasants and BKPH Ploso Barat namely the agrarian Mojokerto which is in issuing SPPT owned by the peasants did not involve BKPH West Ploso. The new conflict that emerged was not only the Kedungdendeng peasants with BKPH Ploso Barat but with the Mojokerto agrarian party who had issued the SPPT. Precisely in 2014, there had also been mediation that were facilitated by the Jombang district government but in the mediation process, it had not yet met the clarity and the solution provided by the Jombang district government as if it would transform the peasants into a structural poverty gap.

V. CONCLUSION

First, the land dispute between the small holders and BKPH Ploso Barat has been running since pre-reform. The land dispute emerged due to the claiming made by BKPH Ploso Barat against the lands owned by the Kedungdendeng peasants. The BKPH Ploso Barat party perceived that the land occupied by the Kedungdendeng peasants was either used as a settlement or agricultural land.

Second, the resistance carried out by the pre-reformed Kedungdendeng peasants, the strong New Order government at that time made the resistance carried out by the Kedungdendeng peasants use a typical resistance of the peasants. Forms of resistance carried out by Kedungdendeng peasants by illegally plotting land and illegal theft of trees belonging to BKPH Ploso Barat. The resistance was taken by the Kedungdendeng peasants because of the strength of the new government. After the reformation, the door to democracy has been opened to all communities and they the right to express their opinions not to be wasted by the Kedungdendeng peasants.

Third, resistance by peasants has undergone change through legal and bureaucratic channels. Exactly in 1999, the submission to SPPT (Tax Return Notification) and a year later the SPPT was dropped but in the submission the Kedungdendeng peasants did not involve the BKPH Ploso Barat as the party that legally had the authority, here it

became interesting that the land conflict occurring between the Kedungdendeng peasants with BKPH Ploso Barat involving a third party, namely from land or agrarian, where the party is a part of the state institution.

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