

# Articulation of The Peasant Movement for Land Rights

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**Abstract**—Sociologically, a social movement is part of the process of social formation. On the other hand, trajectory of recent agrarian studies converges on the interaction between the state and society, and the peasant movement to get land. This research is important because of a high agrarian conflict that occurred in West Java. This study aims to analyze the articulation of the peasant movement to obtain land rights in Sindangsari Village. The research method used is qualitative which is applied to the symptoms that are difficult to measure by the interpretation of the researcher on data or ideas through the process of explanation, with participant observations involved, and in-depth interviews. The results of the study show that the root of the conflict is the unclear of Right to Cultivate or *Hak Guna Usaha* that given to certain corporations, which is then rejected by the local peasant community. Furthermore, the role of the peasant movement represented by the Sundanese Peasants Union or *Serikat Petani Pasundan* has an influence on the success of peasants to obtain land rights. In the future, Sundanese Peasants Union must strengthen the role of peasant community as individuals in terms of developing their knowledge, so that the movement can be maintained in any political condition.

**Keywords**—*articulation, peasant movement, land rights*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Social movements are often categorized as collective resistance to sue an injustice or to reclaim sources believed to be theirs. In this perspective the immanent nature of social movements and basic social conditions that foster social movements lie and are inseparable from relatively permanent social structural contradictions and conflicts which are generally inevitable and continue to exist in the process of forming society. Social contradictions and conflicts are inherent in the nature of the formation of society, people and social organizations. As according to Diani who explained that "social movements are a distinct social process, consisting of mechanisms through room, actors engaged in collective action are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents,

are linked by dense informal networks, and share a distinct collective identity" [1].

Topics about social movements related to land conflicts are very interesting and very important to be discussed in more depth. The main argument is that up to now there is still a high escalation of agrarian conflicts accompanied by collective actions of peasant social movements, and this requires a legitimate settlement. Basically, this conflictual Peasants social movement originates from the domination of a control system that comes or comes from state law, which unilaterally provides so much service to capital owners to develop their business in managing land and other natural resources, including natural products. Meanwhile the rights of local people who have lived and developed a separate system for managing land and other natural resources are ignored and violated.

State recognition of community land rights is essentially a reflection of the willingness of the owners of state power to recognize the existence of an autonomous society, and then also to recognize the rights of the community to the land and all natural resources above and / or in it which is vital to guarantee the physical and non-physical sustainability of the community. In the document "Voluntary Guidelines on The Responsible Governance of Tenure," it is explained that the state must strive to ensure that governance is responsible for land tenure, fisheries and forests is the center for realizing human rights, food security, poverty alleviation, livelihoods sustainable, social stability, housing security, rural development, and social and economic growth [2].

Based on Consortium for Agrarian Reform (*Konsorsium Pembaharuan Agraria*) data [3], in 2015 shows the number of cases reached 506 cases of West Java, the total area of conflict reached 176,758.77 ha, the number of victims in the conflict reached 185,542 households or 821,950 people, the scope of the conflict reached 739 villages in 330 sub-districts and 26 cities and regencies, against the conflict consisting of 193

government agencies, 13 military, 71 state companies, 235 private companies. One case of contemporary conflictual peasants' social movements on plantations in West Java Province can be seen from a case involving PTPN VIII on behalf of Bunisari Lendra plantation. The former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra is located in Cisompet sub-districts with an area of 4,083.62 Ha, in the southern part of Garut Regency. From the total area of the Right to Cultivate, the area of the local community is approximately 590 hectares in Cisompet subdistrict including Jatisari Village, Neglasari Village and Sindangsari Village) with 444 households.

In 1997 the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra ended, along with the monetary crisis which also affected the Sindangsari communities which made the people working in the city return to the Village. Communities in the Sindangsari Village at the urging of economic needs and limited land of smallholders cultivate the use of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra's land that was ended in 1997 and to meet the daily needs of smallholders cultivating the land with the former Right to Cultivate short-term. From literature studies [4], shows that the conditions up to now, people working on the former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra in Sindangsari Village feel the concern over the issue has been extended by the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, because the Right to Cultivate land that was used since 2000s has become their source of life and settlement. In the early 2006s, there was an increase in conflict escalation when PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra reacted by hiring thugs to expel sharecroppers in Sindangsari Village, and until there was a clearing of community-owned crops carried out by hundreds of thugs hired by the plantation.

Based on the explanation of the above problems, the questions can be formulated in detail, namely, how to articulate the peasant movements of Sundanese Peasants Union (*Serikat Petani Pasundan*) in helping for land rights, in the case of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra plantation conflict?

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Kilian [5] *"the genesis of social movements is in the co-existence of contrasting value systems and of groups in conflict with each other"* which is then considered a typical part of social life. Changes in social structure and normative order are interpreted in the process of social evolution through which new ideas arise in the minds of individuals. When old norms no longer succeed in providing satisfying structures, and individuals are 'forced' to challenge social order through various forms of non-conformity. A social movement occurs when feelings of dissatisfaction spread, and existing institutions are less flexible and unable to respond. In other words, as described by Eyerman and Jamison [6] that social movements are organized collective actions, aiming for

social change or more precisely groups of individuals who collectively aim to express feelings of dissatisfaction collectively in public and seek to change the social base and perceived politics that are not satisfying.

One contemporary theory of social movements is political opportunity theory. Political opportunity theory is one of the main theories used by academics of social movements to see a collective action of society in the form of protest, social movements and revolutions. Through political opportunity, McAdam [7] explains that political opportunity can be used in relation to two principles, namely the momentum of collective action and the results of a movement's activities. In addition, several other studies [8] look at external conditions to see the success of a social movement by focusing on the role of political opportunity structures and public opinion as facilitating or preventing social movement.

Eisinger [8] in his writing describes the various phenomena of the emergence of social movements, revolutions and nationalism movements by linking them with political opportunity theory. According to Eisinger the revolution does not occur when certain groups of people are in a state of distress. However, collective action in the form of revolution emerged youth when a political and economic system that was in a closed condition experienced openness and was used by challengers to fight. In addition, Tarrow [9] includes the conditions of regime change as opportunities where the regime consists of ordinary relations between the government, established political actors, challengers, and outside political actors, including other governments. Regime change is a change that includes new actors in this relationship, reduces the power of members of the regime, or imposes new relationships between them.

To see the impact of Giugni's social movement [10] distinguishes between three main explanations of the impact of social movements, namely: direct effects, indirect effects, and combined effects models. The direct model of effect states that movements can have a positive impact on policy with their own strength and without external support. The indirect model effect sees movement as having an impact following a two-stage process, first by influencing certain aspects of the external environment, their political alliances and public opinion, then second by making all these things influence policy. The joint effect model states that the impact of this movement will come when political allies or favorable public opinion (or both) are in line with movement mobilization. Furthermore, he distinguished between three variants of the joint effect model, depending on the specific combination of these factors. In this case, the impact of policy protests is greatest when both political alliances and public opinion form an environment that is favorable for change.

The articulation of interests popularized by Almond and Coleman [11], explains the different ways that interest is input into political systems and processes. De Leon [12] explains that articulating interests means expressing clearly the interests that are usually articulated by organizations, or interest groups, more important is that specific desires are present before relevant political actors, such as the legislature. According to him *"The term interest articulation refers to the way that citizens express their needs, views and demands to government ... Interests can be articulated by individual citizens or by groups of citizens who organize to represent their collective interests"*. In the context of the class struggle, Laclau [13] added that classes cannot assert their hegemony without articulating the people in their discourse; and the specific for this articulation in the case of a class which is to confront the power bloc as a whole, in order to assert its hegemony.

Raising in social movement literature show that political parties can formulate movements, and conversely social movements can formulate political parties [14]. As an alternative to the theory of framing, McAdam et al. [15], for example, shows that social identities and construction actors generated from political processes through lobbying, mass-oriented activities, access points to government. Furthermore, the role of the party in its movement to be a determinant of a particular goal, including the formation of different policy regimes, has been well developed, for example, in Desai's work [16], where he argues that leftists in India appeal to social movements to articulate social blocks different politics supported by the policy regime.

### III. METHODOLOGY

To provide methodological direction and clarity, this study uses a qualitative method of research that is applied to symptoms that are difficult to measure (cannot be quantified, because they are more qualitative). The qualitative method is the attempt of the researcher to interpret data or ideas (Bogdan and Biklen [17], through the explanatory process, through in-depth interview techniques. The research technique is carried out in two ways, namely interactive and non-interactive or documentaries. Interactive techniques namely through interviews both formal and informal in order to collect data and information about conflict construction and morphogenesis of peasant social movements and their articulation in the political arena. In this case what is needed is actually the construction of understanding, meaning, depiction and alignment of and to the subject. Looking at the problem under study, the most appropriate strategy choice is a Case Study that allows dialogue between researchers and research as in critical theory, as well as the interaction between researchers and research in constructivism theory [18].

Research data was obtained through multi-data collection techniques, such as for qualitative data conducted through participant observation (involved

observation), and in-depth interviews. Furthermore, all data are analyzed inductively to get meaning from existing natural conditions. The process of interpreting the data is done by ideographic interpretation. In this study the determination of the source of the data to be interviewed is referred to as the informant. To achieve the validity of the study, in this study using an intersubjective approach, so that the internal validity or credibility that is more important is explained as a form of accountability.

## IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. RESULT

In general, the articulation that occurs in land conflicts in the former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra can be divided into two major phases, the first phase is the phase where reclaiming and insubordinations occurs. While the second phase is the phase where the process of persuasion, audience, and lobby takes place continuously. Some methods of action are also carried out through demonstrations and protest.

Firts phase articulation (early 2000-2006). In the conflict that occurred between the community located in Sindangsari Village, Garut Regency with teh State-Owned Enterprise (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara*), namely PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra caused by several factors, that is the problems regarding the welfare of the people who worked at PTPN and the people who did not work in PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra. The problem spread after the community learned that the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra had expired, so the community made an application on the former Right to Cultivate land to be used as arable land, settlements and public facilities to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency). According to one local community leader, it was stated that: *"the community immediately reclaimed, after the community learned that the HGU had been exhausted and found the land turned out to be neglected, and the company had not worked because of the crisis... the community, after knowing that the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra had run out trying to process to submit to the state the land, but the company still felt that it owned the land so that the conflict ensued"* [19].

With conditions that are very difficult for the economic needs faced by the community due to lack of income, they are forced to make small crops around the Right to Cultivate of land where the plantation are the source of their lives despite their shortcomings. This has resulted in PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra considering as land grabbing. Based on the interviews that the researcher did with the people in Sindangsari Village of Garut Regency, one of the community leaders explained: *"the community did not commit encroachment at all, when the Right to Cultivate runs out, the land becomes free state land to be requested by anyone and the community as the people have the right*



to apply for arable land.... Furthermore, before the 2000s there was an MoU that was agreed upon during an audience in the district that the land that had been cultivated by the community was excluded from the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII. However, the company apparently still hopes to take back the land that has been reclaimed by farmers" [19].

Between the community and PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, the problem slowly grew with the action of PTPN VIII to clear the community's plants in the Right to Cultivate area. According to the information that the author got from the community who became peasants in PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra and the community cultivating the plantation, that around rubber plants belonging to PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra were planted with bananas and plants that could help the economy of the community. Previously, people were allowed to plant these crops in the PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra rubber plantations, with a note that the community plants must be planted in rubber plants that had been aged or had been harvested before, because if the plants grew around rubber plants that were not ready for harvest, the growth would be disrupted. the plant. In other words, the problem is a lot of misunderstanding between the community and PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra. According to the community, *"in 2006 PTPN's fight back began, initially, the community received a letter from the Military District Command (Komando Distrik Militer) of Garut Regency, that the land that was being worked on by the community would be used for state defense training, but it turned out that the training did not appear. In fact, the shot was directed to our village, particularly in Benjang Hamlet, where the people actually welcomed and did not question, but after I observed it turned out it was not a military training but instead revived rubber commodities-guarded military, with the intention of taking back the land that has been occupied by the community. In fact, it symbolically presents officials from Garut regency"* [20].

In the subsequent searches, information was obtained that the community got the crops cleared by PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, and vice versa, that PTPN also thought that the rubber plants had been damaged by the community. From this problem the author asked PTPN in this case represented by the Division of Law of PTPN VIII: *"as I observed, the community illegally cropped the Right to Cultivate of PTG VIII area in Bunisari Lendra, and after commemorating the community took place against the plant owned by PTPN. This has led us to be concerned that our plantations are worried about our rubber plants so that we need to improve security"*. [21]. From this problem, there are individuals from the community and PTPN who want to complicate the situation so that the greater the conflict that occurs. Furthermore, PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra took a stand by bringing police officers in this case The Mobile Brigade Corps (Brigade Mobil) which was deployed to guard the area of the Right to

Cultivate land. According to one of the community leaders': *"conditions after that, the company then involved The Mobile Brigade Corps, which seemed to be a little better than the thugs previously involved by the company... the community actually sued the existence of The Mobile Brigade Corps (Brigade Mobil), because that was not the scope of their duties"* [19]. Namely PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra's decision to maintain its plantation by The Mobile Brigade Corps received a negative response from the community because it actually increased the conflict and the community faced not with PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra directly but with the armed forces. According to the statement of the villager who were directly confronted by the authorities and directly communicated with the authorities, stated: *"the public knows that there is a The Mobile Brigade Corps in the plantation area, the officials who guard around the plant age also give information that they are doing the exercises in the area, but in reality they drove us residents who were doing plantation activities to leave the Right to Cultivate area, even one of the residents was slapped by the authorities"* [20].

The situation that happened did not bring about a better change but a society that was frightened and eventually provoked upheaval between the community and the authorities. There was an act of intimidation from the authorities to the community, so that this could not be detained by the people who felt intimidated by the armed forces until finally a fight broke out between the community and the Mobile Brigade Corps (*Brigade Mobil*) apparatus. And what happens in the field is the large-scale destruction of community crops and their plants cannot be used anymore. This is a step for the community to become one to unite strength for their common interests which eventually complained to the West Java Regional Police, West Java Governor, BPN West Java Regional Office, namely to request West Java Regional Police to withdraw The Mobile Brigade Corps from PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, then to the Governor to intervene to help resolve the problem the community, then to the Regional People's Representative Assembly (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) of West Java to keep this problem to completion, and to the National Land Agency to request land for arable land, settlements and public facilities. The community, which at that time also provided information on the chronology of the problem, follows an explanation from one of the community leaders: *"but suddenly word spread that the new Right to Cultivated had been published, and the public questioned the evidence. But it turned out that it was only a lie, and The Mobile Brigade Corps (Brigade Mobil) was only used as a tool to drive people out of conflicted land"* [19].

According to Sundanese Peasants Union staff, *after a long time this problem has peaked until in 2012 there was a meeting between the The Committee B (for Right to cultivated extension) the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs*

and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) of West Java Regional Office, Garut Regent who was represented by the Head of the Plantation Service, head of Sindangsari Village District, officer of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, and all village heads in this sub-districts, essentially the meeting discussed about Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra's Extension processes but some Village Heads immediately refused after learning that the meeting discussing the Right to Cultivate extension actually happened to be a fistfight between one community members who participated in the meeting. So that the meeting was dissolved by the security apparatus and did not produce any recommendations [22]. The community and Village Chief who was accompanied by the Sundanese Peasants Union near the plantation held an audience with the Regent, the Regional People's Representative Assembly (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*), and the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) of Garut Regency to reject the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra Extension, the meeting produced several agreements. The community cultivators who are members of the Pasundan Peasants Union (*Serikat Petani Pasundan*) organization and the Village Head send a letter requesting the land of former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) to be used as arable land and settlements. The Garut Regent sent a letter of Rejection of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra's extension to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) of West Java Provincial Office, to be forwarded to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) as a follow up to the results of the hearing in 2012. According to one local community leader, "at present it is still in the process of submitting the community independently, assisted by Sundanese Peasants Union and other NGOs, and also an official advocate, then academics are also involved" [19].

In the next phase as second step articulation based on online media reported what happened during the clash between the community and The Mobile Brigade Corps, "Hundreds of peasant who joined the Sundanese Peasants Union came to the National Police Commission (*Kompolnas*) and the National Human Rights Commission (*Komnas HAM*). They reported the practice of intimidation carried out by The Mobile Brigade Corps officers against peasants in Garut, West Java. One of the peasants and the administrator of the Sundanese Peasant Union, demanded that PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra to influence the Mobile Brigade Corps to intimidate the peasant peasants. Moreover, PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra has not extended its Right to Cultivate. PTPN VIII must not influence The Mobile Brigade Corps to intimidate the people working on it. PTPN VIII's land also has not extended its Right to Cultivate. Not infrequently, the Mobile Brigade Corps members evicted peasant using complete

weapons and were pointed at the people. Not only that, The Mobile Brigade Corps officers also closed access to people's production by blocking the access roads to the people's land [23].

Respond to this complaint, the National Human Rights Commission (*Komnas HAM*) Commissioner with the initials DB promised to contact the West Java Regional Police Chief regarding the complaint submitted by the peasants. In addition, the National Commission on Human Rights will also urge BPN to carry out a re-mapping involving the people. The National Human Rights Commission added that the intervention and intimidation actions of the police in the area of agrarian conflicts were not the first time. In the conflict, 3 peasants were criminalized for allegedly looting and occupying PTPN land. In fact, they are working on their own land which he has occupied for 13 years [23].

From the incident and the settlement effort, there was news that in 2013 the PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra sent a letter to the Village Heads in Sindangsari Village whose contents is notify that Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra certificate has been extended and Village Heads are expected to socialize it. Responding to this, 13 village heads in Cisompet sub-districts (included Sindangsari Village) sent letters of objection and a request for review of the extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra which was submitted to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) and sent to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) West Jawa Regional Office, and also the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) of Garut Regency. According to Sundanese Peasants Union staff stated that, "the lack of certainty provided by the government, the community cultivators who are members of the Pasundan Peasants Union organization took action to the Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi*) to immediately investigate the alleged gratification of the Right to Cultivate extension process and the National Land Commission with demands that the Right to Cultivate extension of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra process should be reviewed because there are still conflicts or conflicts with the people working on it [22].

In 2014, the community cultivators who are members of the Sundanese Peasants Union (*Serikat Petani Pasundan*) organization conduct audience with the Garut Regent and the Regional Government who were responded well by the Garut Regent and will soon form a Garut Land Reform Committee Team and the Garut Regent will send a letter to the Indonesian National Land Agency regarding reports that the land of former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra part of the land has been used by the community. In the same year, an online mass media also recorded information about the demonstrations carried out by the people who are members of the

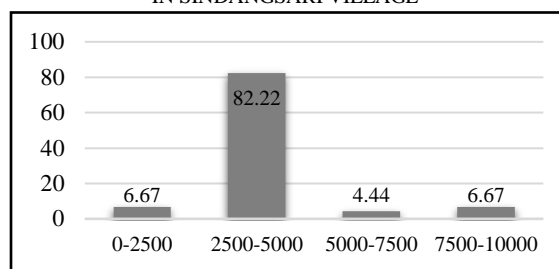
Sundanese Peasants Union, in the news explained that *"thousands of peasants who are members of the Sundanese Peasants Union of West Java held a demonstration in front of the National Land Agency of West Java Regional Office, in Bandung City. The protesters forced to push in to express their aspirations regarding the various problems of peasant's land conflicts which until now had not been resolved by the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency)"* [24].

For the validation, this research was triangulated the source so that the truth can be proven, the stated from the National Land Commission at the District level to the West Java Regional Office level. Interview with the Deputy for Land Conflict and Settlement Assessment and Settlement of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) West Java Regional Office, stated that *"National Land Commission received many reports, especially from PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra that the community seized the Right to Cultivate land of PTPN and conducting plantation activities on the land, even the people do logging and damage to PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra plants..... and another one of me as a person views this problem as a simple problem that can actually be solved with legal channels"* [25]. However, according to one community leader what happened was that there was a kind of lie carried out by PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra that the new Right to Cultivated had been published, according to him: *"but suddenly word spread that the new Right to Cultivated had been published, and the public questioned the evidence. , and The Mobile Brigade Corps is only used as a tool to drive people away from conflicted land"* [19].

From the data by using literature studies, it can be ascertained that up to now the people working on the former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra in the two sub-districts feel the concern over the issue has been extended by the cultivation rights, because the land of former Right to Cultivate that was used since 2010 has become their source of life and settlement. By looking at the articulation of social movements, in general the results of the movement can be said to have succeeded in accordance with the expectations of the peasants. However, according to one local community leader, *"at present the process of submitting land rights by the community is being carried out independently, assisted by Sundanese Peasants Union and other NGOs, and is also an official advocate, then academics are also involved"* [19].

The results of land mastership mapping conducted by Sundanese Peasants Union in 2017 show that the average tenure of land mastership in Sindangsari village is 5000 m<sup>2</sup> or ½ hectare, which is 82.22%. Even some peasant are 10.01% more than ½ hectare of land. This data also shows the success of Sundanese Peasants Union in ensuring the livelihoods of peasant through guarantees of working for local peasant.

TABLE 1. AVERAGE LAND MASTERSHIP BY PEASANT IN SINDANGSARI VILLAGE



n = 45; M= 26, F = 19; in m<sup>2</sup> unit.

Source: Sundanese Peasant Union, Field Study 2018.

Another combined effects success for this peasant movement was shown when the Global Land Forum 2018 conference in Bandung came out a new policy, namely Presidential Regulation No. 28/2018 on Agrarian Reform, which the point is that the state recognizes the land cultivated by the community. According to one community leader who was also present at the conference, there was an indirect success when the entry of state plantation land into the land of the agrarian reform object (*Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria*). According to him, *"At that time it was explained that the land that had been controlled by State-Owned Enterprise (PT. Perkebunan Negara) was not included in the land of the agrarian reform object, but after being pushed by the NGOs coalition finally the former State-Owned Enterprise (PT. Perkebunan Negara) land could enter into the land of the agrarian reform object* [19]. Furthermore, according to one Sundanese Peasants Union staff, stated that, *"there is currently an agenda for the formation of an agrarian reform task force including the redistribution in the Sindangsari Village in 2019"* [22].

## B. DISCUSSION

One of the tasks of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) is to form a policy on Land Rights, where there are several types including Property Rights, Right to Cultivate and Right to Build. The Cultivation Right is explained in Government Regulation Number 40 of 1996 CHAPTER 1 General Provisions Article 1. The Government Regulation explains that the BPN as the Land Regulating Agency has the authority to issue Right to Cultivate policies. The task of the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Commission) of West Java Regional Office in the process of extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra as a technical implementer to conduct research on the terms of the Right to Cultivate extension and afterwards provides a policy recommendation on the conditions for fulfilling the Right to Cultivate extension procedure. In the process the National Land Commission determines whether the extension is validated or not. One of the government policies in this case the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) of West Java Regional Office is issuing a recommendation for the



Right to Cultivate extension policy for PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra. This policy is a request from PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (National Land Commission) to be able to revive its plantation activities, which in this case PTPN VIII as a State-Owned Enterprise (*Badan Usaha Milik Negara*) has many purposes for the interests of the state.

The activities carried out by PTPN VIII were aimed at the benefit of the people's welfare, especially the people who worked at PTPN VIII and were in PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra. Regarding PTPN VIII which is a part of the business of State-Owned Enterprise which is stated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 19 of 2003 concerning State-Owned Enterprise where the explanation about State-Owned Enterprise is an effort carried out by the state by using the state budget and then which underlies a country to do business that is basically referring to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 33 of 1945. This is to clarify the strong reasons why PTPN VIII extended the Right to Cultivate to carry out business activities that were aimed at as described earlier. In the extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, that some of the Village Heads in Cisompet Sub-districts (included Sindangsari Village) did not give a recommendation on the extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra and the Village Heads submitted a rejection letter and objections to the extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra and reviewed repeated to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) of West Java Regional Office and the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) for the policy of extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra. The results of a review of the documents that the researcher did, can be explained that basically PTPN VIII conducted an extension according to the rules and the plot, but the question in this matter was the written requirement that the land be applied to be extended to National Land Commission when there were problems with the community. However, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) still gave a proposal to PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, and this policy was forced out with the assumption that it could resolve the problem after the policy came out.

For data validation, this research compared the data from the Sundanese Peasants Union that had been accompanying the people of Sindangsari Village who were also part of the Sundanese Peasants Union (*Serikat Petani Pasundan*) organization, with data from the Village Head in Cisompet Sub-district (included Sindangsari Village). The results confirmed that in 1997 the Right to Cultivate PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra ended, along with the monetary crisis which also affected the Sindangsari Villager who made the people working in the city return to the Village. The

community began to apply for land use to be used as community land, as an alternative to meet economic needs, besides being applied for settlements and public facilities. During the Right to Cultivate extension process, and research carried out by the National Land Commission (the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning) of West Java Regional Office in the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra section, the people who knew the Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra ended their time, Land of Right to Cultivate to meet the economic needs of the community planted in the land of former Right to Cultivate with short-term crops (bananas, corn, etc). But PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra, who knew about this, reacted by hiring thugs who were aiming to expel the cultivators in the Sindangsari Village and until there were clearing of community crops carried out by thugs who were deployed by PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra.

#### V. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the previous analysis, it can be concluded that, first, the articulation of the peasant movement in the former Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra land was carried out by the Sundanese Peasants Union or *Serikat Petani Pasundan* organization in two phases among various ways. Some of the methods carried out involve building the intellectual capacity of peasants about the rights of citizens to obtain land as stated in the agrarian law. Then to provide guidance through public hearings and actions, which will be directed to the National Land Agency at all levels of government at the district, provincial and national levels. In relation to the government, Sundanese Peasants Union has good articulation, which has been seen by the characteristics of the Sundanese Peasants Union movement that uses non-violent hearings. In this point Sundanese Peasants Union succeeded in framing to articulate its interests in defending peasant by using nonviolent action. Secondly, the extension of Right to Cultivate of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra is not in accordance with the terms of the Right to Cultivate extension where there is still conflict in the requested Right to Cultivate area, so the researcher believes that BPN as the government in charge of land has failed in carrying out the extension of Cultivation Right of PTPN VIII Bunisari Lendra. Therefore, Institutionally, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (the National Land Agency) as the institution responsible for agrarian relations has failed to justice guarantee for the parties to the land conflict.

The suggestion that the researchers propose in this study is, first, as a Sundanese Peasants Union (*Serikat Petani Pasundan*) organization must strengthen the role of the community as individuals in terms of developing their knowledge, so that the problems they experience can gradually be resolved through better self-ability. Second, to strengthen the capacity of the community requires strict control of their ideology and economics

so that the people are not scattered in various ideologies that can actually ruin their cohesiveness in the future.

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