

# Agrarian Conflict and the Persistence of Peasant Resistance: Case Study from Lampung, Indonesia

Ikram Badila  
Sociology Department  
Lampung University  
Lampung, Indonesia  
ikram.badila@gmail.com

Fuad Abdulgani  
Sociology Department  
Lampung University  
Lampung, Indonesia  
fuad.abdulgani@fisip.unila.ac.id

**Abstract—** The Agrarian Reform under Joko Widodo's presidency was designated as one of the national prioritized programs. Paradoxically, the recorded numbers of agrarian conflict under his governance increased, including the prolonged and unsolved land dispute inherited from previous regimes. This article describes the underlying processes that conditioned the persistence of agrarian conflict, mainly referring to a case study conducted in Tulang Bawang Regency, Lampung, Indonesia. The research employs a qualitative approach where first-hand data was gathered in 2018 and 2019 combined with analyses of archival sources collected in 2021. The research confirmed that understanding the processes of agrarian transformation in a specific context is necessary to comprehend the root of the agrarian conflict. It also highlights the importance of identity, the relationship between "internal" and "external" activists, and political opportunity structure to explain the persistence of peasant resistance as a form of political reaction from below. The research suggested exploring the generational aspect associated with the inheritance of conflict memory and resolution.

**Keywords—** agrarian transformation, the political reaction from below, agrarian conflict, struggling for land, Lampung

## I. INTRODUCTION

In September 2016, hundreds of Banjar Margo peasants in Tulang Bawang Regency, Lampung, occupied sugarcane plantation owned by PT Bina Nusa Indah Lampung (BNIL), a company part of Sungai Budi Group, one of the largest business entities in Lampung. The occupation was held for a month where the peasant installed tents and partly replaced the sugarcane with "peasant's plants" such as cassava and maize [1], [2]. This occupation was accompanied by a peasant march and demonstration in the Regional House of Representatives in the capital city of Bandar Lampung to enforce the long and unsolved land dispute between Banjar Margo peasant and PT BNIL. The

chain of events culminated when the peasant clashed with a paramilitary group, followed by the police arresting several villagers and peasant activists [3]. This mass protest was not the only form of contentious politics in the history of Banjar Margo peasants since they were evicted during the New Order era in 1991.

Under the Joko Widodo presidency, the Agrarian Reform policy has been mandated to solve prolonged land disputes regarding their priorities [4], [5], but this program's realization seems unclear. The Banjar Margo case is an example of prolonged and unsolved agrarian conflict in Indonesia involving peasant versus plantation companies. Moreover, the prolonged conflict could lead to humanitarian crises where the rights of the people are abandoned while violence then tend to be cyclical, as exemplified in the Register 45 of Mesuji District [6], [7], next to the Banjar Margo district. The central government has prioritized the Agrarian Policy; however, data collected by Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) showed that agrarian conflict tends to increase under the Joko Widodo presidency, consisting of 1770 cases in their first period (2014-2019) [8]. Even though the agrarian conflict was raised under the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono second period (2009), its tendency to increase in the Joko Widodo period articulates a paradoxical situation since the Agrarian Reform policy emerges as national priority agenda.

The raising of agrarian conflict in Indonesia from 2009 indicates that the land grab process expanded. Production of new global commodities that often intersects with the politicization of food crises [6] or national economic development agendas have been driven by land grabbing accompanied by the establishment of an industrial agribusiness complex [9]. However, as Hall et al. mentioned, land grabbing always causes political reactions from 'below', not only formed as resistance and but also acceptance without protest and incorporation of the local population to the

capital accumulation process in the new commodity production [10]. Within this framework, we seek to comprehend the Banjar Margo peasant resistance. The question is why such resistance could persist even the land grab had occurred 20 years ago? What process of agrarian transformation in Tulang Bawang preconditioned the emerging of prolonged agrarian conflict? How could the peasant resistance persist in a long period since the land grab happened?

This article refers to what Borras and Franco had conceptualized to describe two critical elements in understanding the political reaction from 'below' as a response to land grab [11]. First, it needs to look at the dynamic of agrarian transformation. Second, it is essential to analyze the relationship which interlinked various actors involved in the political conflict. Following Borras and Franco and Hall et al., we argue that to understand the articulation of Banjar Margo peasant resistance and its persistency, it needs to consider aspects related to identity, the relationship between peasant leader ("internal activist") and actors outside of the peasant community ("external activist"), and political opportunity structure as theorized by Tarrow [12].

## II. AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN TULANG BAWANG, LAMPUNG

Analyzing the agrarian transformation in Tulang Bawang started from observation on its present demographic and economic condition associated with the legacy of the transmigration program [13], [14]. Similar to another region in Lampung, and generally in Indonesia, the transmigration program had significantly impacted its destination area's social, economic, and environment [15]. From the environmental aspect, the transmigration had caused changes in the ecological landscape. The forested area was converted into agricultural land with a cultivation model partly brought from the area of transmigrant origin (Java, Bali, and Madura Island) or followed the government instruction to cultivate new commodities such as rubber or oil palm. Thus, from an economic aspect, this had raised a different cultivation and livelihood pattern between the transmigrant and indigenous people of Lampung, which traditionally acknowledged as a swidden agriculturalist. The transmigration program in Tulang Bawang was conducted in Repelita I (1969-1979) and Repelita II (1979-1989) period under the New Order regime [16], where the first transmigrant arrived in 1977 and settled in Unit 1 located in today Banjar Margo district. There is a different schema of land plots throughout the program's implementation. It consists of incorporating smallholders into new global commodity products such as oil palm (Trans-PIR scheme) and rubber. Hence, the program was not only providing means of subsistence for smallholders. Moreover, it incorporates them with larger market and commodity production.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that only transmigrant smallholders integrate with the international market through commodity production. Even though the Lampung people traditionally practiced swidden agriculture to produce their staple food (rice), they also integrated with a larger market by producing pepper in their gardens. This integration with the international market occurred since pre-colonial times. The trading of pepper was facilitated through the Tulang Bawang river, which became the main road in pre-colonial and colonial times, and it placed Menggala as the main port and marketplace of its trading before the pepper shipped to the Melaka strait or Singapore via the river [17]. This strategic position of Menggala as a gate to the east coast of southern Sumatera had to cause the two political centers, Palembang sultanate in the north and Banten sultanate in the south Lampung, involved in a battle to colonize before the Dutch then intervened to gain control of Menggala. However, as the economic and political structural transformation in the Nusantara archipelago preconditioned the emerging of the modern Indonesian state occurred, the trading of pepper gradually decreased.

The comparison of the production of pepper by indigenous people of Lampung during the pre and colonial era, with the transmigrant and rubber or oil palm in the Indonesian New Order regime, reveals that observation on agrarian transformation in Tulang Bawang, and generally Lampung, needs to consider the relationship between actors and commodity within the changing political economy associated with capitalist development. In this respect, ethnic identity, cultural variation, and geopolitical processes such as migration are considered variables interlinked with the mode of economy. The transmigrant from Java and Bali Island creates a new demographic contour in Lampung, and it needs to be seen in the light of the broader political economy spectrum. Particularly in the economic transformation where the production of a new commodity, part of the larger framework of the international division of labor, prerequisite new frontier (land) for new production site interlinked with the new patterns of cultivation (such as plantation) and supply of labor so as the capital accumulation can work. From this perspective, we could understand why the transmigrants play an essential role in the agrarian capitalist development in Lampung, which is based on the capital needs to ensure labor supply. This, in turn, is also associated with the panorama of resistance in Lampung, which mostly involved the transmigrant themselves. Hence peasant resistance is comprehended as a reaction that emerges from the incorporation process involving them into the capital accumulation mainly conditioned by the empirical process of its incorporation.

The land that was stated as an object of dispute between Banjar Margo peasant and PT BNIL was formerly the Transmigrasi Swakarsa settlement. The Transmigration Swakarasa was one of the

transmigration schemes where the transmigrant funded their resettlement. The determination of Transmigrasi Swakarsa in Banjar Margo started with the release of indigenous people of Lampung's land as a transmigration area in 1983. An announcement then followed that this location opened for especially the "landless people". Every household could have a plot of land (2,25 ha) consisted 0,25 ha for housing and 2 ha for the farm. The applicant has to pay Rp. 10.000 for down payment where the rest of the cost will be paid from the selling of harvest. In other words, land deals occur between the indigenous people of Lampung (represented as village administrative) and the transmigrant.

The arrival of the Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese transmigrants, in turn, formed a new, multi-ethnic rural landscape in the Banjar Margo region. The initial transmigrant hamlets' settlement units are Dewa Agung, Banjar Dewa, Bandar Rejo, Pagar Agung I, Pagar Agung II, Karya Agung, and Tanjung Mulya, which were later designated as villages. These new villages are located in areas that were previously part of the two older villages, namely Banjar Agung and Indraloka II. From an economic point of view, a new landscape was formed where the Lampung people practiced swidden agriculture while the transmigrants generally grew rice on dry land and secondary crops. Thus, the discussion of the identity aspect needs to stress the social, economic, and cultural background of the transmigrant associated with the peasant community's history in a particular place. The transmigration program has contributed to the establishment of new rural areas and new ruralities.

### III. THE CONTEXT OF LAND GRABBING

The critical process in agrarian reform lies in the re-structurization of ownership and control of the land. These tasks should be the state's responsibility as mandated in Agrarian Law 1960. The process has become crucial these days since overlapping in control of land is more acute, and it has significantly contributed to increasing agrarian conflict associated with a land dispute. The agrarian conflict in Tulang Bawang, specifically between Banjar Margo peasant and PT BNIL, is rooted in unsolved and prolonged land disputes even though the government prioritizes the Agrarian Reform program. This section will reconstruct the root of the agrarian conflict in Tulang Bawang that lies in the context of changing economic policy, the expansion of plantation, and overlapping within land policy.

The capital accumulation through the production of the new commodity in Lampung was marked by private corporate large-scale agribusiness in the 1980s. Their establishment was conditioned by changing developmental policy, notably in responding to the fall of oil world price in the dawn of the 1970s. The launch of the economic liberalization policy in 1983 had provided the growth of the export-oriented

manufacturing sector and the spread of large-scale plantations, such as oil palm, in the agricultural sector. The development of such plantation was directed to be implemented in outer Indonesia island where the forested area is relatively large. Nevertheless, the development of plantations acquired another mechanism to ensure the supply of labor since the number of populations in outer island relatively less than Java and Bali. At this point, the forested area in the outer island provided for the transmigration program becomes a strategic location for large-scale agribusiness development since it could present a labor reserve. It also conditioned the relevance of the Trans-PIR scheme, where the population resettlement was integrated with the liberalization of the agriculture sector to boost export-oriented commodity production.

In Tulang Bawang, capital accumulation was not only implemented through private agribusiness companies. It also consists of the incorporation of smallholders with the production of global commodities. Agribusiness investment pioneered in the last 1980s, such as sugarcane plantation (1990), oil palm (1989), hybrid coconut (1989), and shrimp pond (1989). Meanwhile, smallholders' incorporation into commodity production operated in the production of rubber and oil palm. Oil palm smallholders were established within the Trans-PIR program in 1994 and ended in 2000. Nowadays, most of the fresh fruit bunch of oil palm in Tulang Bawang is supplied from the smallholder's plot. On the other hand, rubber was introduced through the government's (Dinas Transmigrasi) transmigration allocation land plot, where 2 ha from the total of 5 ha was set aside for the rubber plant. These two commodities play a significant role in the regional economy, where 54% of the Tulang Bawang population depends on oil palm and rubber production [18].

In this study, the land dispute that became the object of the agrarian conflict began when the government determined the status of "reserved land" (*tanah pencadangan*) at the location of the already populated transmigrant settlement in Banjarmargo. Determination of the location of "reserved land" allocated for agribusiness production activities is aimed at facilitating oil palm and hybrid coconut plantations due to the economic liberalization policy in the plantation sector. The background for improving agricultural productivity occurred in the 1970s when coconut production in Indonesia declined [19]. In 1976 the government purchased hybrid coconut seeds produced in France to be tested in Indonesia to increase coconut production, one of which was to be planted in Lampung [20]. This context allows agribusiness companies such as PT BNIL to invest in establishing oil palm and hybrid coconut plantations. In detail, the process of transmigrants' dispossession in Banjarmargo has been described in another article [21]. Here, we only reiterate that the government's failure at that time located in terms of land use allocation resulted in the emergence

of the seeds of conflict. In addition, it is essential to underline that the nucleus-plasma (contract farming) scheme offered by the government as a solution to land disputes is a way of incorporating smallholders into commodity production. However, in the case of Banjarmargo, peasants who have agreed to hand over this 1 ha land experienced fraud in the land deals process so that their plasma land was handed over to the company. The case has been the main reason for the Banjarmargo peasants to demand land rights.

#### IV. THE PERSISTENCE OF RESISTANCE

Banjar Margo peasants struggling for land have occurred for three decades (1986 – 2021). During this time, the political actions of peasants transformed from spontaneous and unorganized forms of resistance into more systematic and organized political actions, primarily when the Serikat Tani Korban Gusuran PT BNIL (STKGB) or PT BNIL Evicted Peasants' Victims Union was formed in 2016. The peasants' political action is understood as a form of political reaction from below. We argue that understanding the emerging articulation of resistance and its persistence of Banjar Margo peasant needs to consider aspects related to identity, the relationship between peasant leaders and activists outside of peasant community, and the importance of political structure opportunity [12].

Based on the diversity of political actors, peasants' resistance can be divided into two phases. The first phase is resistance without any alliance with political forces outside the community. The second phase is resistance involving political alliances with groups outside the peasant's community (especially activists, hereinafter referred to as "external actors"). In the past three decades, these external actors have been political elements that consist of different groups and individuals. The distinguishing feature of the first and second phases lies in the existence of case advocacy. In the first phase, resistance arose as a direct reaction to the eviction process, in the form of avoiding meetings for the resettlement process (facilitated by the government or companies) or confrontations against the relocation efforts. A confrontation occurs as an individual response and not an organized action. Individual farmers who resisted the eviction process resulted in physical abuse by the security forces. This first phase does not involve alliances with other community groups that assist farmers to fight for their interests.

The second phase in which peasants' resistance involves external actors from their communities after the forced evictions are carried out. In this second phase, the forms of action are carried out collectively by multiple actors, both the peasant community and external activists. The form of action is also determined by the structure of political opportunities that arise. The structure conditions peasants' actions in strengthening community capacity, advocating the government, or

street politics (open protests, boycotts, land occupations). Table 1 shows a chronology of the political actions of farmers to show who they are in alliance with, the forms of action, and the structure of political opportunities that condition these actions.

As previously described, the identity of Banjar Margo peasants is multi-ethnic. Even among Javanese transmigrants, their areas of origin are different, and we cannot generalize the specific characteristics of each rural community in Java. However, the experience of evictions and marginalization economically and spatially, in turn, forms a new identity as expressed in the name of the farmer union they founded, namely as the "victims of the eviction by PT BNIL". The identity as victims of eviction confirms their position that is vis a vis towards the company and perpetuating their interests in the effort to reclaim land rights. Moreover, through this identity, the experience of being a victim in the land grabbing process is crystallized as a new identity that becomes a bond between them that transcends cultural differences such as language and places of origin.

Another point to note is the trajectory of peasants' relationship with activists (groups and individuals) outside the Banjar Margo, which is also related to the different strategies of the struggle for land rights. This appears in contrast to the political actions carried out by the peasants' community itself. As can be seen, the forms of political action initiated and carried out by farmers tended not to emphasize advocacy efforts. Although there were demonstrations by farmers during the early Reformation period to the government led by village heads, there was no visible trace of legal advocacy efforts, except for the efforts made by the Peace Reform Team (*Tim Reformasi Damai*) through lobbying with the local government. Thus, forms of action carried out by the peasants themselves tend to be contentious politics, whether through demonstrations in government offices to frontal forms such as sabotage and destruction of company property.

**TABLE I. FORMS OF RESISTANCE, DIVERSITY OF ACTORS, AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE**

	<b>Year</b>	<b>Events</b>	<b>Forms of resistance</b>	<b>Actors</b>	<b>Political opportunity structure</b>	
The first phase of peasant resistance	1983	The establishment of transmigrant settlement area (10.000 ha) in Banjar Margo		Department of Transmigration, Provincial and Regency Government, Village level government, transmigrant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Order regime</li> <li>• Developmental policy on transmigration</li> <li>• Economic liberalization policy</li> </ul>	
	1986	The arrangement of transmigrant settlement area as "reserve land" ( <i>tanah pencadangan</i> ) for industrial use by the Provincial Government of Lampung		Provincial Government of Lampung		
	1986-1991	Resettlement process in Banjar Margo transmigration area	Spontaneous actions: Evading meetings with government, company, and security (military) agents	Peasant/transmigrant (individual)		
	1991, 1993	Eviction of transmigrants in 7 villages	Spontaneous actions: confrontation within eviction process	Peasant/transmigrant (individual)		
The second phase of peasant resistance	1991-1998	The development of oil palm and hybrid coconut plantation of PT BNIL	Training for peasant and consultation (through a "Study Circle"), lobbying to central government	LBH Jakarta	Reformation Era	
	1998	The collapse of the New Order regime	Demonstration, sabotage, destruction of company's property	Village community (mass action)		
	1999	Unstable national and local political conditions, peasant's uprising in many agrarian conflict areas	Demonstration, local government's office occupation, riot protest in the local government office	Village community (mass action, led by the head of villages)		
			Riot protest in PT BNIL's factory	Village community (mass action)		
			Mass theft and boycott of cassava in PT BSSW's factory (part of Sungai Budi Group)	Village community (mass action, led by peasant leader)		
			Consultation and networking	LBH Bandar Lampung		
	2000		Lobbying to PT BNIL, facilitated by the local parliament	Peaceful Reformation Team (village elites from non-evicted peasant)		
			Lobbying to the local and central government, advocacy	DPD Petani (urban NGOs, based in capital city of Lampung)		
	2013-2015	Dispute between Regency Government and PT BNIL. The government revoked PT BNIL's Plantation Operational License ( <i>Izin Usaha Perkebunan</i> ), followed by PT BNIL's lawsuit against the government.	Organizing peasant, establishing AGRIBS (rubber peasant collective)	Local peasant leader (HM) and community organizer from YABIMA (SG)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President Joko Widodo's Agrarian Reform policy (2015-2019).</li> <li>• The Regency government revoked PT BNIL's Plantation Operational License since the company did not fulfill the Social and Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL)</li> </ul>
			Street protest, demonstration in Regency Government offices	Group of peasants (led by peasant leader)		
Street protest, demonstration in Regency Government offices			PT BNIL's workers			
Land occupation in BNIL's plantation			Peasant mass action (led by peasant leader)			

	2016	Contentious politic and advocation process of PT BNIL's land dispute	The establishment of Peasant union STKGB	Local peasant leader, group of peasants, community organizer (individual)
			Advocation process in Jakarta	STKGB, community organizer (individual)
		Criminalization of STKGB activists (consist Banjar Margo peasant and external actor/activist)	Land occupation in PT BNIL, trans-Sumatera Road blockade	STKGB

<sup>a</sup>. Sources: STKGB's archive and interviews in 2018, Kompas archive (1999, 2001, 2016), tirta.id archive (2016), KPA (2016), and Ikram (2020).

Concerning the external actors, differences in efforts to fight for land rights are also influenced by the political character of the institutions and individuals (activists) involved in them. In their history of resistance, we have identified several institutions associated with Banjar Margo farmers, namely LBH Jakarta, LBH Bandarlampung, and DPD Farmers. Capacity building for legal understanding and organizational capacity is their central point, although in this case, there is no trace of farmer organizations resulting from collaboration with LBH. Relationships with Legal Aid Institutions (based in Jakarta and Bandarlampung) programmatically use a structural-legal aid approach in their advocacy practice, emphasizing the process of legal consultation and community organizing. The advocacy process with local governments was also carried out by DPD Farmers, a local NGO based in Bandarlampung, although its traces and outcomes are not traceable.

A different form of relationship emerged when SG, a community organizer, was volunteering to assist rubber farmers in the village of Bujuk Agung. SG is a priest of the Southern Sumatra Christian Church (GKSBS). He has a long track record of activism since he was studied in Yogyakarta and joined the Kali Code community organizing activity led by Y.B. Manguwijaya, a Catholic priest, prominent Indonesian writer, and social activist. During his community empowerment activity, SG met with HM, a rubber farmer from Bujuk Agung village whom he had known since becoming a humanitarian volunteer in the case of evictions in the conflict area of Register 45 Mesuji. HM had experience in forming Farmers' Unions on Register 45 when he worked the land there. The organizing activities were then accommodated into an organization called AGRIBS that focused on empowering the economic capacity of rubber farmers.

The context that needs to be considered in seeing the transformation of farmers' resistance from spontaneous and sporadic forms to an organized form is the structure of political opportunities that are open when a dispute over PT BNIL's plantation land occurs. The momentum started with replacing PT BNIL's plantation commodities from oil palm to sugar cane

which the district government approved in 2013. However, in 2015 the Regent issued a decree revoking PT BNIL's plantation business license because PT BNIL had not submitted the results of the Environmental Impact Analysis as required in the 2013 decree. Nonetheless, PT BNIL's then filed a lawsuit against the Regent's decree, and the Supreme Court granted it in 2015 [22].

The event gave rise to a polemic when PT BNIL's plantation operating license was temporarily suspended, and it is emerged as momentum for the peasants to submit their demands. The strategy of street politics came to the fore, both aimed at the government and companies. It is interesting to note here the political expressions of different generations. At the 2015 mass demonstration, Mr. KM, one of the first generation Banjar Margo transmigrants who experienced the eviction process first-hand, emerged as a movement leader. On the other hand, without any organizational correlation, the political expression of the second generation of Banjar Margo farmers who incidentally did not experience the process of land eviction was manifested in the occupation of plantation land by clearing the land and planting their crops. This incident shows that the experience of marginalization is cross-generational even though the political expression between generations is different and that the opening of the structure of political opportunities allows the emergence of these various political expressions.

Another essential context to comprehend the transformation of peasant resistance is the social network among activists that consists of the relations between urban and rural activists, marginalized groups, and human rights activists/organizations. Meetings that bring together individual activists from urban NGO circles and marginalized communities are often facilitated by organizations such as LBH Bandarlampung, whose main activity is advocacy. Through LBH, Mr KM and other Banjar Margo farmers (internal activists) with SG (external activist) and HM met. The moment became a starting point to transforming the peasant resistance into an organized form, marked with the establishment of STKGB.

The transformation of the struggle for land rights of Banjar Margo peasants identifies from the resource mobilization efforts that STKGB has implemented. Through STKGB, the peasants designed organizational structures and programs and developed work agendas, both litigation, and non-litigation. They carried out the socialization of peasants' unions among the communities who were victims of BNIL evictions to reach constituents and build a social base. There is also an agenda to collect data on union members and families of eviction victims and their heirs as parties who have rights to the claimed land. Forming a women's organization, "Srikandi", and initiating the practice of collective vegetable gardening. They were collecting files and documentation and describing the land dispute cases as material for the legal advocacy process through legal means. Create self-financing through membership dues and establish financial, operational standards to support union activities. They also establish networking with other NGOs and send cadres to attend training organized by a network of NGOs whose focusing on agrarian reform agenda. The result from organized farmer constituency basis reflected in the occupation of PT BNIL's plantation lands that occurred in October 2016 in which around 2000 Banjar Margo farmers occupied the land for almost a month, even though this incident led to conflicts with company paramilitaries and the criminalization of STKGB activists [23].

In social movement theory, resource mobilization is one of the crucial elements that condition the strength of a particular social movement in achieving its goals [24], [25]. The establishment of STKGB became a means for Banjar Margo peasants to systematize their interests, strengthen their social base, and mobilize resources. STKGB's main agenda is to reclaim plasma land (1 ha) acquired by PT BNIL and involve itself in supporting agrarian reform within the framework of a broader social (peasant) movement. In this context, the external role of activists such as SG with the breadth of its social network is vital to link the Union with various organizations and individuals at the provincial and national levels. This allows litigation efforts in land dispute cases to be advocated through consultations with state institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission, which also involves the role of national NGOs such as the KPA. Through this effort, the PT BNIL land dispute case was fought for priority in the government's Agrarian Reform program, especially concerning the resolution of protracted agrarian conflicts. In other words, the transformation into an organized form of struggle through the peasant union organization can be seen as an agrarian reform by the leverage [26].

## V. CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, this study concludes that, first, an understanding of the agrarian conflict in Tulang Bawang needs to be placed in the

analysis of agrarian transformation. It underlines the importance of looking at changes in economic policy, the process of capital accumulation, land policy, and land deals processes at the micro-level. Second, understanding the persistence of peasant resistance in the context of prolonged agrarian conflict needs to address the trajectory of relationships between peasant communities (internal activists) with external activists who have wider social networks at the provincial and national levels.

The agrarian transformation in Tulang Bawang shows the importance of observing the relations between communities with different economic, social, and cultural backgrounds conditioned by particular geopolitical processes. These two variables are interrelated with changing economic modes conditioned by economic policies and processes of capital accumulation. Concerning land ownership and control, at the initial stage when the transmigration location was opened, land deals occurred between the indigenous people of Lampung and the transmigrants. At this point, the second form of land deals involving transmigrants (smallholders) and agribusiness companies occurred. The existence of transmigrants plays an essential role in capitalist development because it provides a source of labor in the process of capital accumulation. Transmigrants are incorporated into commodity production through contract farming schemes such as nucleus-plasma in a company-controlled industrial agribusiness style. In this process, fraud and violations of farmers' rights often occur, which explains why many agrarian conflicts in Lampung involve transmigrant communities. Furthermore, such a condition constitutes a new contour that formed new ruralities in Lampung. Rural areas become a contested space between smallholders, different ethnic groups [27], and large-scale agribusiness companies to access resources.

In the context above, the emergence of peasants' resistance against the power of plantation agribusiness needs to consider aspects such as identity and the relationship which interlinked various actors involved in the political conflict. The political opportunity structure and the pattern of relations between internal and external activists condition how peasant political expression manifests in struggling for their interests. Concerning identity, this study shows the critical point that the articulation of a new identity marks changes in the form of a struggle over land. The birth of STKGB marks the emergence of a new identity that transcends their cultural, linguistic, and their previous identity as transmigrants. The new identity used in the peasants' Union name is an act to eternalize the dispossession they experienced. The articulation and the use of new identity are essential if we use a generational point of view to understand a social movement's persistence.

Furthermore, the persistence of peasants' resistance is influenced by the relationship between internal

activists and external activists. Observation of this relationship is crucial to understand the differences in efforts to fight for land rights influenced by the character and activism strategies of these external institutions or individuals. The existence of external activists plays a crucial role in two directions. On the one hand, namely "outward orientation", they advocate cases through their social networks. They play a role in connecting communities with wider social networks. On the other hand, or "inward orientation", they contribute to forming the social base within the peasants' community through organizing activities. We observe that the relationship constituted between internal and external activists is part of the agrarian reform by leverage process [26].

Several questions were raised for further research. First, regarding the relationship between resistance and generational aspects, it is essential to know how this experience of marginalization is passed on to the younger generation since the third generation from the first transmigrant generation has been present. How has this collective memory of land grabbing been transmitted, and how today's younger generation views this experience and the struggle for land rights conducted by the first and second generations?. Second, concerning the agrarian reform by leverage process, it is crucial to examine the extent to which the grassroots social movements could enforce genuine agrarian reforms and policy. The relevancies occur when the Agrarian Reform agenda tends to be reduced into technical means rather than enforcing equitable distribution of land ownership and tenure.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This research was supported by BLU Research Funds at the University of Lampung in 2018 and 2021. We express our gratitude to the STKGB members, Rev. Sugianto, and informants from Bujuk Agung and Agung Jaya villages for their openness during the data collection. Thanks also to Zurya Nazalal Zikri, Tria Fadila, and David Ramadhan, who helped collect data.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] KPA, 'Kronologis dan Latar Belakang Konflik PT BNIL', Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, Kronologi Peristiwa, Oktober 2016. Accessed: Feb. 05, 2018. [Online]. Available: <http://www.kpa.or.id/news/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Kronologis-dan-Latar-Belakang-Konflik-PT-BNIL.pdf>
- [2] M. Kresna, 'Musim Konflik Agraria yang Tak Pernah Berakhir', Feb. 27, 2017. Accessed: Feb. 05, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://tirta.id/musim-konflik-agraria-yang-tak-pernah-berakhir-cc6j>
- [3] M. Kresna, 'Ketika Tuntutan Petani Tulang Bawang Dijerat Pidana', Feb. 27, 2017. Accessed: Feb. 05, 2018. [Online]. Available: <https://tirta.id/ketika-tuntutan-petani-tulang-bawang-dijerat-pidana-cjLw>
- [4] Kantor Staf Presiden, Strategi Nasional Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria 2016-2019. Jakarta: Kantor Staf Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2016. [Online]. Available: <https://hanibalhamidi.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/naskah-stranas-pelaksanaan-reforma-agraria-ksp.pdf>
- [5] Kantor Staf Presiden, Pelaksanaan Reforma Agraria, Arahan Kantor Staf Presiden: Prioritas Nasional Reforma Agraria dalam Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Tahun 2017. Kantor Staf Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2017. [Online]. Available: [http://kpa.or.id/publikasi/baca/buku/47/Prioritas\\_Nasional\\_Reforma\\_Agraria\\_dalam\\_Rencana\\_Kerja\\_Pemerintah\\_Tahun\\_2017/](http://kpa.or.id/publikasi/baca/buku/47/Prioritas_Nasional_Reforma_Agraria_dalam_Rencana_Kerja_Pemerintah_Tahun_2017/)
- [6] O. H. Wahab, *Alienated in Their Own Homeland: Critics on People's Constitutional Rights Ignoring in Register 45 Forest*. Mesuji, Lampung. Bandar Lampung: Indepth Publishing, 2012.
- [7] O. H. Wahab and M. Ridho, 'Menjejak Akses Terhadap Keadilan Dalam Konflik Agraria (Studi Pada Warga Moro-Moro Mesuji Lampung)', *Jurnal Cita Huku, Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum UIN Jakarta*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 209–224, 2016, doi: 10.15408/jch.v4i2.3599.
- [8] KPA, 'Catatan Akhir Tahun 2019 Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria', Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria, 2020. [Online]. Available: [http://kpa.or.id/publikasi/baca/laporan/82/Catahu\\_2019:\\_Dari\\_Aceh\\_Sampai\\_Papua\\_-\\_Urgensi\\_Penyelesaian\\_Konflik\\_Agraria\\_Struktural\\_dan\\_Jalan\\_Pembaruan\\_Agraria\\_ke\\_Depan/](http://kpa.or.id/publikasi/baca/laporan/82/Catahu_2019:_Dari_Aceh_Sampai_Papua_-_Urgensi_Penyelesaian_Konflik_Agraria_Struktural_dan_Jalan_Pembaruan_Agraria_ke_Depan/)
- [9] B. White, S. M. Borras Jr., R. Hall, I. Scoones, and W. Wolford, 'The new enclosures: critical perspectives on corporate land deals', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3–4, pp. 619–647, Jul. 2012, doi: 10.1080/03066150.2012.691879.
- [10] R. Hall, M. Edelman, S. M. Borras Jr., I. Scoones, B. White, and W. Wolford, 'Resistance, acquiescence or incorporation? An introduction to land grabbing and political reactions "from below"', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 42, no. 3–4, pp. 467–488, 2015, doi: [dx.doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2015.1036746](https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2015.1036746).
- [11] S. M. Borras and J. C. Franco, 'Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions "From Below"', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 9, pp. 1723–1747, Oct. 2013, doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.843845.
- [12] S. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- [13] R. Tirtosudarmo, *From Colonization to Nation-State: The Political Demography of Indonesia*. Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2013. [Online]. Available: <http://ebook3d.pddi.lipi.go.id/konten/28/files/assets/basic-html/index.html#5>
- [14] R. Elmhirst, 'Displacement, Resettlement, and Multi-local Livelihoods: Positioning Migrant Legitimacy in Lampung, Indonesia', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 131–152, Mar. 2012, doi: 10.1080/14672715.2012.644891.
- [15] P. M. Fearnside, 'Transmigration in Indonesia: Lessons from Its Environmental and Social Impacts', *Environmental Management*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 553–570, Jul. 1997, doi: 10.1007/s002679900049.
- [16] P. Levang and O. Sevin, '80 years of transmigration in Indonesia 1905 - 1985', *Departemen Transmigrasi dan ORSTOM*, p. 27, 1989.
- [17] G. A. Ariwibowo, 'Sungai Tulang Bawang dalam Perdagangan Lada di Lampung pada Periode 1684 hingga 1914', *JMB*, vol. 19, no. 2, p. 253, Jan. 2018, doi: 10.14203/jmb.v19i2.442.
- [18] BPS, *Kabupaten Tulang Bawang Dalam Angka 2020*. Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020.
- [19] TEMPO, 'Dari Lampung dengan Harapan', Oct. 29, 1979. [Online]. Available: <https://www.datatempo.co/MajalahTeks/detail/ARM2018061280319/dari-lampung-dengan-harapan>

- [20] TEMPO, 'Mengawinkan si Jangkung', Mar. 08, 1986. [Online]. Available: <https://www.datatempo.co/MajalahTeks/detail/ARM2018061235621/mengawinkan-si-jangkung>
- [21] Ikram, 'PENGELOLAAN KONFLIK AGRARIA ANTARA PETANI DENGAN PERUSAHAAN PERKEBUNAN SWASTA PT. BNIL; Studi Kasus di Kabupaten Tulang Bawang, Provinsi Lampung', Tesis, Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana, Yogyakarta, 2020. [Online]. Available: [https://katalog.ukdw.ac.id/2549/1/54150001\\_bab1\\_bab6\\_daftarpustaka.pdf](https://katalog.ukdw.ac.id/2549/1/54150001_bab1_bab6_daftarpustaka.pdf)
- [22] Putusan PTUN Bandar Lampung Nomor 13-G-2015-PTUN-BL. [Online]. Available: <https://putusan3.mahkamahagung.go.id/direktori/putusan/81c84e77058ea1839151c08c9d777a24.html>
- [23] M. Kresna, 'Ketika Tuntutan Petani Tulang Bawang Dijerat Pidana', *tirto.id*. <https://tirto.id/ketika-tuntutan-petani-tulang-bawang-dijerat-pidana-cjLw> (accessed Oct. 06, 2021).
- [24] J. D. McCharty and M. N. Zald, 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 82, no. 6, pp. 1212–1241, 1977.
- [25] Hartoyo, E. Soetarto, A. H. Dharmawan, and R. M. Lawang, 'Dekonstruksi Struktur Politik Pusat dan Penguatan Sumberdaya Mobilisasi di Wilayah Pinggiran Sebagai Basis Munculnya Gerakan Petani di Lampung', *AGRISEP*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 83–100, Mar. 2010.
- [26] G. Wiradi, *Seluk Beluk Masalah Agraria, Reforma Agraria dan Penelitian Agraria*. Yogyakarta: STPN Press, 2009.
- [27] R. Elmhirst, 'Resource Struggles and the Politics of Place in North Lampung, Indonesia', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 284–306, Nov. 2001, doi: 10.1111/1467-9493.00111.