

# Moving with the Soul: Cipari Peasant Movements for Land Rights in Indonesia

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## ABSTRACT

This research explains movements by peasants in Cipari, Cilacap, Central Java, Indonesia, in demanding their land rights. Compared with similar cases in Indonesia, efforts by Cipari peasants paid off in the end and presented a unique case of success. Cipari peasants obtained ownership rights to the land on their terms. Through an empirical case study approach, we found that the Cipari peasant movement to fight for land rights lasted for a long period of time, beginning in the post-independence era and extending through the post-collapse of Indonesia's New Order regime. For Cipari peasants, land is not just a means of production or economic resource but also has socio-cultural value and, more importantly, embodies spiritual (religious) values. These social and cultural factors provided the main driver for Cipari peasants to persist in undertaking their resistance movement. Over a long process, Cipari peasants obtained legal title to land in the form of land certificates. We show that the Cipari peasant social and resistance movement emerged and continued to develop not solely because of political opportunities but especially due to its socio-cultural values about land.

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## KEYWORDS

Social movements; Peasant movements; Cultural values; Land rights; Land certification.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of the Indonesian New Order regime in the mid-2000s, peasant movements reclaiming plantation and forestry lands against plantation companies occurred across the country. The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) noted that reclaiming movements by peasants often led to disputes with plantation and/or forestry companies. Within two years (2010-2011) KPA documented 106 incidences, 59% of which were disputes between peasants and plantations, 19% of the incidents were spread over several issues of mining, aquaculture, waters, and others, while disputes to reclaim forested land were around 22% (Nababan, 2012; Cahyaningrum, 2016). In Java, resistance movements to reclaim land took place mainly in large plantation areas. For example, in South Malang, East Java Province, peasants carried out a reclaiming of Land Cultivation Rights (*Hak Guna Usaha*/HGU) for Kalibakar plantation land (Wahyudi, 2005). After going through a long struggle that did not yield results, the peasants put 'pressure' through a reclaiming strategy. However, that effort also did not produce results. In Central Java, similar movements also took place in Batang and Pekalongan. In these areas, peasant movements reclaimed HGU land by plantation companies (Safitri, 2010). The Batang District Peasant Association Forum sought to be involved in practical political agendas to place cadres in formal decision-making positions from the village to higher levels of government. This strategy complemented the reclaiming strategy. However, these efforts also yielded limited results relative to peasant interests (Safitri, 2010).

Reclamation cases also occurred in Cipari of Cilacap Regency, Central Java. Peasants in the area made an action to claim the right to HGU land controlled by a

private plantation company. The peasant movement in Cipari was motivated by a long dispute between the surrounding community and plantation companies. The movement arose because peasants tried to reclaim their ancestors' lands seized by the state to benefit plantation companies. The struggle of Cipari peasants began in the 1960s. At that time, the peasants carried out the reclaiming of private plantation land, which was still sporadic. The movement was halted following the events of September 30, 1966. The incident was referred to as a rebellion against state power carried out by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), and thereafter everything related to the PKI was banned by the state, including the peasant movement. In Cipari, the party is known as a party that defends the interests of peasants. Those political condition halted the peasant movement (Setiaji & Saleh, 2014).

In the New Order era, a similar movement repeated itself and began in the 1980s. Several Cipari peasants' reclamation actions failed because of no strong organizational structure. Wahyudi & Sulistyowati (2022) mention the failure of the peasant movement in Indonesia during this period due to the movement's lack of institutional structure and only based on informal leadership. The political situation was also not in favor of the peasant movement. During this period, state power was very repressive towards all peasant movements. When Indonesia entered the Reformation era, Cipari peasants resumed reclaiming in 1999. The widespread movements in demanding land rights in the Reformation era occurred due to the political changes provided spaces of freedom for civil society (Afiff et al., 2005; Lucas & Warren, 2003). In Lounela & Zakaria's (2002) report, in a number of areas, many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged and took a significant role in defending the interests of peasants, including Cipari peasants. In about five years, Cipari peasants managed to control the land. People's demands were not only around the right to control land, but also on the land re-distribution with certificates of ownership. Kamajaya (2010) writes that the demand for land redistribution by peasants has resulted in conflicts between peasant and plantation companies, as in Cipari. Through a long process, the Cipari peasant movement obtained legal title through land certificates.

The success of Cipari peasants in fighting for land rights did not instantly emerge. It was built through long-term struggles and changes in political situations. In such a long and tiring struggle, the cultural values and characters of the community became a driving force to its success. Understanding the cultural values and character of the community as symbols, values, meanings, icons, and beliefs are adapted and molded to suit the movement's aims and frequently are injected into the broader culture via institutionalization and routinization (Johnston & Klandermans, 1995). The success is a dynamic process which involves the political situation, the role of the state, and the efforts made by peasants in mobilizing resources, such as formal and informal leadership, cultural strength, and in framing issues as a movement strategy. Therefore, it is interesting to study further the movement of the Cipari peasants.

There have been many studies on the peasant movement in Indonesia since the Reformation period. Lucas & Warren (2003) examined the resurgence of the peasant movement in reclaiming disputed lands during the Reformation Era. These "reclaiming" actions included occupation of plantation estates, golf courses, and neglected "idle land" and acquired by investors for speculative purposes. In East Java alone, according to Legal Aid Foundation sources, there were more than fifty actions by displaced peasants reclaiming disputed lands. Lucas & Warren's (2003) study provides an overview of the rise of the peasant movement in reclaiming during the Reformation Era. Since then, there have been several studies examining the

movement of peasants in several areas. Just to mention a few names, in Garut (Fauzi, 2003), in Papua (Ngadisah, 2003), in Malang (Wahyudi, 2005), in Toba Samosir (Silaen, 2006), in West Kalimantan (Dewi, 2006), in Asahan, North Sumatera (Ikhwan, 2007), in Lampung (Hartoyo, 2010), in Batang (Safitri, 2010), in Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara (Regus, 2011), in Manggarai West Nusa Tenggara (Rahmah & Soetarto, 2014) in the Kendeng mountains, Central Java (Fitri & Akbar, 2017), in Nagari Koto West Sumatra (Fringka, 2017), in Wanga Village, Umalulu District, East Sumba Regency (Djawa & Jacob, 2022) and many more.

Some of the studies above examine the peasant movements from various perspectives, such as the political situation, movement networks (non-peasant parties, socio-religious organizations, and political organizations), non-governmental organization networks (NGOs), the character of government and security officials, and student activists. Several studies examine the success of peasant movements, such as the struggles of the Pasundan Peasants Union [SPP] in West Java and the Bengkulu Peasants Union [STaB] in Southwest Sumatra (Bachriadi, 2010). However, in general, the emerging studies show that the peasant movement can only win the land they are fighting for to control the land *de facto* control, but rarely succeed in securing *de jure* outcomes (Winarjo & Sulistyowati, 2022). This is because the peasants do not have a certificate of ownership or property right on the existing land. There are frequent disputes and fragmentation of peasant movement directions (Hartoyo, 2015). This condition stagnated the peasant movement and has undermined its broader organizing goals (Wahyudi & Sulistyowati, 2022).

Disputes and even group divisions that occur in the peasant movement in Indonesia are also quite similar to the peasant movements in several countries in Southeast Asia, Latin America and Africa. In Thailand (Nishizaki, 2014), for example, the peasant movement is split into several groups that are more diverse and politically divided. More or less the same situation also happened in Brazil (Fernandes, 2013), Mexico and Ecuador (Henderson, 2017), and South Africa (Baletti et al., 2008). Based on the review of the several studies in Indonesia and other countries above, it is important to see how the movement of peasants in Cipari has resulted in occupying land not only *de facto* but also *de jure*. This study aims to explain the rise of the Cipari peasant movement in fighting for land rights held by plantation companies. Since the movement took place over a long period, this analysis was limited to the period from the New Order to the Reformation era, between 1970 and 2010. This study also explains the dynamics of the Cipari peasant movement during this period and its success in obtaining land certificates. It is important because the study of peasant movements in fighting for land, only comes to the right to control land, and rarely extends into the important material aspects of land certification.

The study of the peasant movement in demanding land rights to obtain land certificates, like the peasant movement in Cipari, is not the first to happen in Indonesia. Lucas & Warren (2003) have demonstrated this when examining the movement of Indonesian peasants after the collapse of the New Order. However, their study is still general in nature, not specifically examining a particular area. Silva-Castañeda (2012) examined the role of third parties (NGO's) in carrying out land certification which became a land of conflict between communities and oil palm plantation companies. Furthermore, Brad & Hein (2022) examine land titling conflicts between communities around oil palm plantations and transnational companies. Meanwhile, Rachman's (2011) study reviews farmer movements related to state policies. Other studies, such as the Bakker & Moniaga (2010) study and Lund (2021) examine the relationship between demands for land tenure and land titling based on

legal aspects. Safitri's (2010) study shows the success of the peasant movement in Batang in obtaining plantation certificates. However, only some of the peasants get certificates. Several studies have shown unity between claims for land rights and legal recognition of land in the form of land certificates. Looking at the several studies mentioned above, it remains important to study the dynamics of the Cipari peasant movement in demanding land rights as part of the civil society movement and its urgency in the process of agrarian transformation to fight for (change) the fate of the peasants.

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In sociology, the theme of social movements is related to the discussion of attraction between agents and structures (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). In other words, social movements are placed in discussing tensions between macro and micro. In this way, social movements are understood as inclusive organizations consisting of various interest groups and various strata of society, such as peasants, laborers, women's groups, students, youth, and intellectuals (Tilly, 2004). The interests of these community will be bound together by general complaints and, in many cases, are related to a minimal democratic climate in the political system. In this sense, there is a link between social movements and the process of democratization (Anugrah, 2015). In a dictatorial power, the democratization process is hardly found (Tilly, 2004). Therefore, social movements are challenging to develop. Snow et al. (1986) attempted to link two different factors in explaining social movements, namely micro factors (social psychology) and macro factors (structure and organization), through the elaboration of the frame alignment process, a process in which social movement organizations convey an issue or orientation of the movement that has been interpreted to the masses or individuals who have not been mobilized. The issue can be individual interests, values, beliefs, organizational activities, movement goals and even ideology.

Porta & Diani (2006) mention that social movements consist of mechanisms for the involvement of actors in collective action, such as: (i) engaging in conflictual relations with clearly identified supporters; (ii) relating to dense informal networks; and (iii) the collective unity of different identities. In this sense, two aspects are emphasized, namely actors and collective action. Actors in social movements are the main actors who determine social movements. They organize and manage collective action. Using Della Porta's thoughts, the Cipari peasant movement can be called a social movement, because it engages in conflictual relations with plantations, is associated with networks, and is a collective unity.

Broadly speaking, when describing social movements, at least one must consider synthesizing three elements, namely the structure of political opportunity, the structure of mobilization, and the framing process (McAdam, 1996). The social movements carried out by Cipari peasants took place in different periods of power, namely the Old Order era, then the New Order period, and ended in the Reformation era. Each period has a different political environment, influencing the development of social movements. This is where political opportunity structure becomes important (McAdam, 1996).

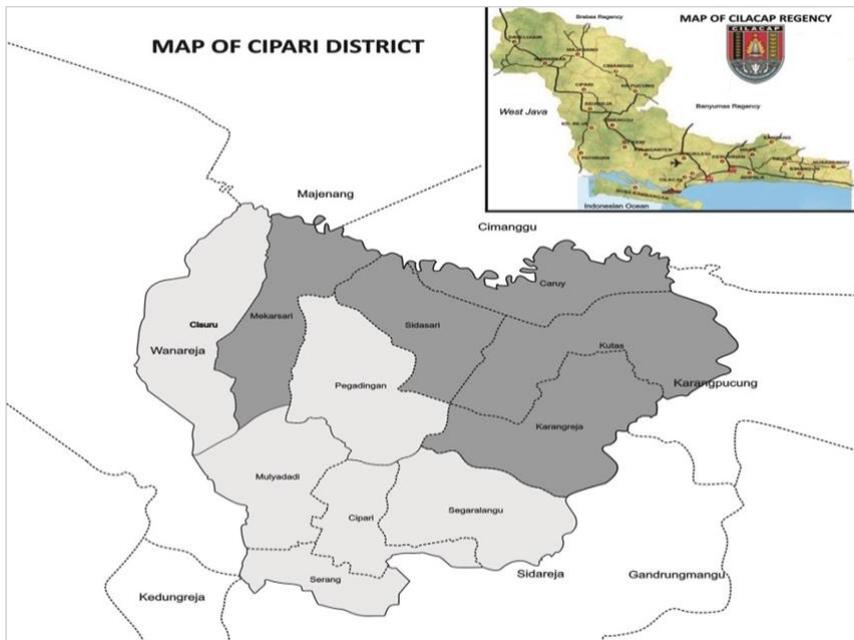
## 3. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach (Gerring, 2007). The qualitative method in this study explains the peasant movement that took place over a long period of time and in a different political climate. The existing political

climate will at least affect the peasant movement, especially in mobilizing resources and cultural framing. The case study approach is chosen on the grounds that the Cipari peasant movement, especially in its success in obtaining land certificates.

As an illustration, Cipari District consists of 11 villages, with total population of approximately 63,172 inhabitants. The area of this sub-district is approximately 121.47 square km. Cipari is one of the largest sub-districts in Cilacap Regency. Most of the Cipari area is in the form of hills. The average height of the Cipari district is around 50 meters above sea level. In hilly areas, there are many plantations, such as rubber, pine, teak, coffee, cocoa, and rice fields.

The main subjects of this study are peasants, both residence and incorporated in local peasant organizations, and *Serikat Petani Mandiri* or SeTAM (the Independent Peasants Union). The research also explored information from village officials, community leaders, Cilacap district land staff, National Land Agency (BPN) employees, and plantation staff.



**Figure 1.** Map of Cilacap Regency and Cipari District

Data collection techniques in this study were in-depth interviews using interview guidelines and focus group interviews (FGI). The FGI activity was carried out once and involved 12 participants who were comprised of peasants (5 persons), members of the SeTAM organization (1 person), village officials (1 person), community leaders (1 person), staff from the land division of Cilacap Regency (1 person), BPN staff (1 person), and plantation staff (2 persons). The determination of FGI participants was carried out purposely, namely those who knew the peasant movement in Cipari. The criteria were obtained after carrying out the snowball technique of determining informants. This FGI was conducted to obtain comprehensive information from several research subjects at once and was carried out in limited groups (Creswell, 2012). In addition, researchers also supplemented the data with documents (Yin, 2003), which were obtained from district and village governments and NGOs.

This study uses thematic data analysis. Bryman (2016) states that thematic data analysis is a common approach to qualitative data analysis because it is flexible, does not require standard procedures, and can be used in very different contexts, making it very useful for case study research. The main emphasis in thematic analysis is determining themes and sub-themes. They are recurring motifs in data sources (observations, interview transcripts, and documents). Determination of themes and sub-themes is needed to understand the data theoretically.

## 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 The beginning of the Cipari peasant movement

Chronologically, Cipari peasants had secured the land through *trukah* or land opening. However, in its development, the peasants had no sovereignty in controlling land. The Cipari peasant movement began with the annexation of the citizens' land by the state (plantation). An informant from Mekarsari Village named Seng stated the following:

*“Around 1962 the cultivators of the plantation land were expelled by the plantation. In expelling the peasants, the plantations were assisted by state security forces. The forced evictions were accompanied by threats. If one of the peasants refused, his house would be burned. The evicted people are then accommodated and gathered in one place (area). The area was then known as the tapongan area (resident shelter). They made bunk houses”* (Interview with Seng).

Peasants who feel they have proof of ownership, in the form of *kartu kuning* or yellow card<sup>1</sup>, began to make a move. Politically, Cipari peasants made various efforts, both at the local level (local government) and national level- through the National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional or BPN), to regain land rights. They also sought to mobilize through resource collection and network development using cultural values. At the beginning of the movement, they were accompanied by Buruh Tani Indonesia (BTI) - the Indonesian Peasants Labor organization. Regarding this matter, Setiaji and Saleh (2014) stated that almost 90 percent of the residents of Caruy, Cipari, are members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Caruy was considered the PKI base in Central Java. Fe, an activist who advocated for the peasant movement in Cipari, also stated:

*“It could almost be said that in the regions where land disputes occurred, they were always related to the basis of the PKI movement, including in Cipari. In these areas, there are usually progressive cadres. In Cipari, if not BTI, they were PNI Asu cadres (Ali Surachman-red). Party cadres often work together and compete to win mass supporters or movement cadres. In Cipari, BTI competes with PNI Asu by bringing up land issues”* (Interview with Fe).

Along with the dynamics of national politics, the 1965 events and the emergence of the New Order regime, the peasant movement continued despite the ups and downs. The movement persisted in small groups and was sporadic. After the New Order government collapsed in the late 1990s, peasants began to form a movement organization. Thus, peasants successfully mobilized internal resources, as local

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<sup>1</sup> The “Yellow Card” is a registration card for plantation land users issued by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in 1955, based on Emergency Law No. 08 of 1954. In 1958, the government withdrew the card and replaced it with land tax payment card, known as ‘Petuk’. However, instead of carrying out the plan, the card withdrawals were carried out by force (Setiaji & Saleh, 2014).

peasant organizations (Organisasi Tani Lokal-OTL) emerged in several villages. The OTLs then joined forces and formed an organization called Serikat Tani Mandiri (SeTAM).

OTLs, under the auspices of SeTAM, began to network with various parties. The shape of the network can be strategic or tactical in nature. Strategic network, for example, is by establishing contact with the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum* - LBH), while a tactical network is by accepting advocacy carried out by NGOs. The presence of this NGO was not the main factor causing peasants to make a movement. Cipari peasants have started the movement over a long period of time. This shows that the Cipari peasant movement had considerable militancy in fighting for their demands. Besides, Cipari peasants were able to unite their concerns on issues of injustice, poverty, and land reform as the basis of their awareness to build and carry out social movements in fighting for lost land rights.

In general, the success of Cipari peasants in conducting movements to fight for land rights can be observed through the character of political opportunities, mobilization structures, and framing processes. The success of Cipari residents proves that the openness of the political situation does not simply encourage the development of social movements. Conversely, a repressive political situation also will not easily negate social movements. Meanwhile, it is not only the framing of important issues but also the movement's strategy. This is understandable since the struggle for land ownership needs a strategy for resolution.

The movement of Cipari peasants to regain plantation land cannot be separated from the history of land tenure. Cipari peasants control the land inherited from their parents, which is acquired by land clearing and then used for farming. Land cultivation lasted a long time and continued for generations. The land gained legitimacy from the government through legal yellow cards in the 1950s. Cipari peasants had controlled the land for about 15 years. In 1966, there was eviction by the plantation assisted by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) apparatus. The eviction shows the state's arbitrariness. Cipari residents, at that time, were still holding a yellow card as valid proof of land ownership. The evidence was a mainstay weapon to fight for land rights. Peasants were trying to regain their lost lands. This is the beginning of the Cipari peasant movement.

This study sets the theme of when the Cipari peasant movement occurred, namely during the New Order and the Reformation periods, as the main theme. For each period of the Cipari peasant movement, three main themes were set, namely the political opportunity structure, mobilization structure, and framing process. The political opportunity structure theme is divided into several sub-themes, namely the political access, policy position, movement alliance, and nature of power. The mobilization structure theme is divided into several sub-themes, namely the movement agency, network organization, external resources, and the forms of the peasant movement. A brief description can be seen in the table below.

**Table 1.** The Dynamics of the Cipari Peasant Movement in Demanding Land Rights.

		Periods	
		New Order Era	The Reformation Era
1.	Political Opportunity Structure		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political access</li> </ul>	In a repressive political system, peasants' access to political institutions/government institutions is minimal, so peasants cannot move freely.	The political system is starting to be open. Peasants have access to government institutions, such as the Provincial Government, Regency Government, and BPN, as well as to political institutions,

<b>Periods</b>		
	<b>New Order Era</b>	<b>The Reformation Era</b>
		such as DPRD and political parties. Peasants use open access to politics to file demands with the agency so that plantation HGU land is distributed to sharecroppers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Existing policies</li> </ul>	In this era, no policies favored peasants, so they encountered obstacles in making demands on the state and plantations. Peasants make demands on plantations through the village government	In this era of openness, MPR Decree No. IX of 2001 concerning Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management and the National Agrarian Reform Program was issued. In this way, peasants can easily make demands on the state/plantations so that abandoned HGU land can be distributed to cultivators.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alliance</li> </ul>	Peasants have no ties with other institutions outside of peasants. Consequently, peasants struggle alone in demanding land rights. None of the non-governmental organizations have become friends with peasants. This was because the political conditions at that time made it impossible for non-farmer movement organizations to get involved and support the interests of the peasants.	Peasants have ties with the Village Government, Parliament, political parties, and NGOs. This alliance can be established since the political system provides space for civil society organizations and others to get involved and support peasants. In other words, the peasants have quite a lot of friends in carrying out the movement, so the energy of the movement is even greater.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Repressive tendencies</li> </ul>	The tendency of the state to carry out repression every time a movement appears makes peasants unable to carry out movements freely and openly. Every time the peasants made a movement, they always met resistance from the plantation party with the assistance of state security forces. Therefore, the peasant movement experienced ups and downs.	In a weak state position, it is easy for peasants and their allies to make moves. The movement at that time was more open and blatant. Peasants can make movements continuously until the results are obtained.
<b>2. Mobilization Structure</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Actor/Agent</li> </ul>	A closed and authoritarian political system makes peasants carry out the movement alone. At that time, there were no NGOs to help the peasants' struggle to carry out the movement. It was only in the middle of the New Order that peasants received support from UGM student activists.	In a political system that is in transition, peasants are not fighting alone. At that time, many NGOs came and helped peasants to carry out the movement. Besides OTL, SeTAM is an important actor in this era.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organization</li> </ul>	In authoritarian politics, the peasants did not have the	In a more open political system, peasants have the courage to

Periods		
	New Order Era	The Reformation Era
	courage to formally form a movement organization. They carried out the movement in small groups scattered in every village. The movement group was formed based on the same interests, namely to work on plantation HGU land.	form organizations (local farmer organizations: OTL). In addition, peasants form a larger and more established organization, namely SeTAM. This organization was formed from various OTLs in each village.
• Network	Peasants do not have networks with non-governmental organizations yet. It is because during the authoritarian era, not a single NGO dared to defend the peasants. What is more, the peasant movement demanded land rights.	During this transitional period, many non-governmental organizations came to Cipari to provide advocacy and support for peasants in carrying out the movement. At that time, there was a relationship between OTL, OTL with SeTAM, LBH, KPA, RAB and others.
• External resources	Even though the political system does not provide space for movements to emerge, peasants are still trying to make movements. At that time the peasants received support from UGM student activists.	In this era of openness, peasants can take advantage of various kinds of external resources in carrying out their movements. The external resources referred to are a number of NGOs, such as LBH, KPA, RACA, and RAB
• The Movement Form	In an authoritarian political climate, the form of the peasant movement is to submit requests to plantations through the district government so that the abandoned HGU land can be cultivated by the community around the plantations.	The opening of political opportunities and space for freedom encouraged peasants to dare to occupy plantation land. After the land occupation is carried out, the peasants submit a request to the government (BPN, Provincial, and District Governments) so that the abandoned HGU land can be distributed to the community around the plantation.
3. Framing Process	At a time when state power was so strong, peasants used the issue of "give back our land". This is based on the peasants' belief that the land resulting from the trucks of their ancestors was confiscated by the state for the benefit of plantations.	In the reform era, peasants used the issue of land injustice and land reform to gain support from the wider community, so they wanted to be involved in the movement. Therefore, the issue raised was "carry out land reform".

**4.2 Movements in the New Order era: Cipari peasants against the state's grip**

*4.2.1 Resistance of Cipari peasants against repressive state power*

Starting in 1971, the Cipari peasant movement demanded plantation land. At that time, the community representatives came to the plantation demanding the peasant's land be returned. In Cipari, only Caruy peasants carried out the movement. Other village peasants did not dare to do it. This is possible because in Caruy there are still traces of organizers from BTI (Hardiyanto, 2021). However, the main reason is that

compared to other villages the imbalance in land tenure in Caruy is so wide. Based on archival data from Caruy Village, it shows that there is land that cannot be planted with rubber, reaching 535.55 hectares or 41.5% of the total area of *Erfpacht* rights (1,288.476 hectares). The data illustrates the condition of land tenure formerly held by *Erfpacht* Caruy in the 1970s, prior to the issuance of the HGU (Setiaji & Saleh, 2014). The wide disparity of control has made the peasants in Caruy makes a move. Suharko (2006) mentions that a movement can emerge because it is the only resource for opposing perceived injustice. The following is the narrative of Sal, a resident involved in the Caruy peasant movement.

*"As a citizen, I want to join the movement because there is no other choice, the leader is the village head. So, I'm not afraid if there is anything. My hope is that if this movement is successful, I will get land. If it doesn't work, that's okay. I do not have anything. I am only a farm worker and do not own land. All I own is the land I live on. So, land is very valuable to me"* (Interview with Sal).

The courage and enthusiasm of Caruy peasants were mobilized and supported by Rekso, the village leader. The character of villagers who respect their leaders is manifested in their participation in the movement. Throughout the years, from 1966 to 1971, the peasant movement in Cipari received great support from the community. Almost all residents participated in the movement. They have high hopes for land acquisition.

This initial movement shows two phenomena. First, the political situation at that time wronged the peasants. The granting of the HGU made the legal position of the plantation company far stronger than that of the farming community because the New Order government had revoked the proof of ownership (yellow card) in 1966-1967. However, the movement proved that Caruy peasants were reluctant to give up, although legally, they did not have bargaining power. Second, the role of the village head as the formal leader of the village as well as an agent of the movement makes the movement gain its significance. The village head is not only seen and placed as a regional leader but also someone who has charisma. Thus, Rekso's courage became a justification and legitimacy for the movement. Unfortunately, the movement failed. Rekso as a leader of the Caruy peasant movement in Suharko's (2006) term functions as a 'resource person' for a movement. He is the movement's source, the companion, and even the advocate for the movement's goals. The leadership model of the peasant movement in Caruy shows that the peasant movement at that time was a traditional leadership model (Wahyudi & Sulistyowati, 2022).

At this point, it is true that in a repressive political situation, social movements are difficult to develop (McAdam et al., 1996). In the Caruy case, the New Order government withdrew the yellow card and gave the HGU to the plantation company. In this repressive situation, the power is not in the hands of the peasants but the ruler. This is proven by the arrest of Lurah Rekso by the authorities.

Since Lurah Rekso was arrested, it was difficult for peasants to move. A year after Rekso was arrested (in 1972), residents restarted the movement led by Rekso's son. However, the movement failed. It diminished the peasants' enthusiasm. The arrest of Lurah Rekso illustrates that the state is not playing around with land issues. This arrest is also a form of 'scaring' the community.

In 1980s, peasants returned to the movement. The movement was sparked by a sense of injustice regarding the wages received by peasants in the 'intercropping' cropping model. At the same time, there was changed the types of plantation crops in Caruy. Fauzi (2021) states that in Cilacap there has been a change in the types of

plantation crops. The change in the type of plant made some areas of land unable to be planted with this type of plant. In Caruy, there are 535.55 hectares of land that cannot be planted with rubber (Setiaji & Saleh, 2014). This condition gave rise to a sense of injustice for the Caruy peasants in the midst of them not having arable land. The issue raised is 'return our land'. However, the movement did not take place continuously. The New Order government used various maneuvers to suppress the peasant movement. This shows that the New Order's power was more repressive than in previous years. In fact, every movement carried out by peasants was constantly faced by the state security apparatus. It was even more difficult as the New Order government stigmatized the peasant movement. The New Order government often stigmatized the bearers of the land reform issue as identical to the communists. The state sometimes discredited the peasant movement as an organization without form (*Organisasi Tanpa Bentuk* - OTB), anti-development, and anti-government. Consequently, social movements lacked agents.

In 1992, the movement resurfaced. The emergence of demands from peasants was triggered by PT RSA's action to revoke cultivation without conditions and not return the *borg* to the tenants. *Borg* is a kind of share money that land cultivators must pay with a profit sharing system (Setiaji & Saleh, 2014). Peasants have the support of several village heads. Five village heads (Karangreja, Sidasari, Mekarsari, Kutasari, and Caruy), on behalf of the peasants, filed a lawsuit against a plantation company called Perseroan Terbatas Rumpun Sari Antan (PT RSA). An informant named Sat said that support from the five village heads occurred when residents in the five villages experienced livelihood difficulties. The leasing system implemented by PT RSA resulted in only wealthy peasant being able to own the land. Not many peasants can afford to rent land. As a result, the abandoned land is still large and uncultivated. An area of approximately 350 hectares that has been abandoned is right in front of the eyes of the peasants who long for cultivated land. Because of that, the village heads tried to sue PT RSA so that residents in the five villages had a source of income from cultivating the land. The demand was for the abandoned plantation land to be cultivated by peasants, especially farm laborers who did not have land. The village heads' claim was granted by PT RSA. Peasants were given the right to work on the plantation, but with a rental system. However, peasants opposed the system and urged for the production sharing system. Some information gathered shows that behind the establishment of the rental system, PT RSA was worried that if the land had already been transformed into paddy land, PT RSA would find it difficult to take it back. An activist who once accompanied a Cipari peasant with the initials Bar expressed further suspicions:

*Companies often make many excuses and ways so that the land does not belong to peasants. It happened in several places, including in Cipari. I suspect there is greater importance than that. The state's interest was greater, namely, to hinder the development of PKI participants. Usually, where there was a land conflict, it was previously a PKI base (interview with Bar).*

In early 1993, the peasant movement reappeared. The Cipari peasant movement emerged after receiving support and advocacy from external parties- among them are a number of students from Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Yogyakarta. Students helped peasants in demanding land rights held by plantations. Budmiko, who was involved in Cipari farmer advocacy at the time, stated the following:

*"At that time, as a student, let alone I came from Cilacap, I felt that peasant had to get their rights. That's why I came to Curay Village to work together with the community to fight for their rights..." (in Setiadi, 2012:94).*

Several studies state that the peasant movement in Indonesia during the New Order always received student support (Peluso et al., 2008; Lund & Rachman, 2016). The support changed the strategy of the 1990s student movement from elitism to populism, a change in alliance from student-military or student-bureaucrat to student-people alliance (Sujito, 1999; Usman, 1999). Student advocacy against the Cipari peasant movement is a form of the student-people alliance. However, it failed because the state was responding harshly to every movement. This can be seen in the absence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to defend the peasants' interests. Around 1994, until the collapse of the New Order's rule, no NGOs defended the Cipari peasants.

#### *4.2.2 Local Peasants Organizations as a means of struggle*

Factually, the main agents of social movements were the peasants (Wolf, 1966). They lost land because the state seized it to benefit plantation companies. Such a situation gives rise to collective action, where peasants are collectively involved in conflictual relations with other parties (Porta & Diani, 2006). Thus, social movements in Cipari involve an interrelated relationship between agents and collective action. The agents of social movements are not only individuals but also a group (McCarthy et al., 1996). The agent of Cipari's social movement is a group of peasants who have a common problem, namely the loss of land rights. Departing from this same problem, the collective action of peasants in fighting for land rights can be developed. In other word, the emergence of a movement is due to a belief in the same interests and values (Tarrow, 2011). It becomes the foundation of collective action. In Cipari, it is manifested in the form of peasant groups. Members of the group are land cultivators whose land is adjacent to each other.

In Cipari, peasants work on part of the company's land in groups. The loss of their land has made life more difficult. Meanwhile, as they looked around them, fertile and vast land belonging to plantation companies was untapped. Thus, according to Flynn (2011), an imbalance of resources and power appears. The plantation company has large tracts of land uncultivated, and it has rights to the land, while peasants do not have land to work on. The emergence of the peasant movement is an attempt to balance power over land tenure structures.

Groups fighting for land are found in several villages in Cipari. There are six groups of peasants who are struggling to claim land against plantations. The Mulyadadi village peasants' group is fighting for and demanding land against the Cisuru plantation. Meanwhile, peasants' groups of Mekarsari village, Sidasari village, Kutasari village, Caruy village, and Karangreja village are struggling to claim land rights under the management of PT RSA. The peasants' groups only rely on volunteerism. This kind of group meets obstacles when dealing with financiers such as the plantation.

During the New Order era, the Cipari movement faced a closed political system (Situmorang, 2007). The system hampered the articulation of interests outside the state. The state usually favors the elite and has a repressive tendency (Buffonge, 2001). Cipari peasants often received threats from state officials when fighting for their interests. The New Order Government stipulated that 'openness' in articulating the interests of peasants could be conveyed through peasant groups under the auspices of the Agriculture Office in each region. However, realizing the trauma of the

past that the peasant movement to claim land rights was identified with the BTI affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), peasants' groups under the auspices of the Agriculture Service had never thought and done anything related to land rights.

What Cipari peasants did, therefore, becomes very interesting. In a situation that is limited and not conducive, Cipari peasants tirelessly fight for their rights. They try to organize themselves in the form of a local peasants' organization (OTL). The OTL that first appeared in Cipari was the Ciseru-Cipari Victim Peasants Group (*Kelompok Tani Korban Ciseru - Cipari-Ketanbanci*) in Mulyadadi village. This OTL was established to fight for the land controlled by PT Djawatie. In its development, the Ketanbanci OTL inspired peasants' groups in other villages. Ketanbanci OTL is called the embryo of the Cipari peasant movement as well as the birth of OTLs in other villages, namely Singatangi in Mekarsari, Tapungan Bangkit in Caruy, Mangkubumi in Karangreja, Margorukun in Sidasari, and Tri Manunggal Sari in Kutasari village. The birth of these five organizations is to fight for lands controlled by PT RSA.

Despite the formation of the OTLs in Cipari, the organization was not yet established. They are still at the stage of organizational awareness. OTL is formed through the habit of peasants conducting *ngendhong* activities. *Ngendhong* is the activity of meeting or gathering with other people to talk about something. The meeting can be held anywhere (home, rice fields, guard post and so on). Through *ngendhong*, the peasants build togetherness and enthusiasm among OTL members. As such, *ngendhong* is a representation of struggle. Snow & Benford (Jasper, 2007) argue that it is done to win the battle for meaning. *Ngendhong* by the peasants is an effort to maintain the urgency of the movement. It is meant to convince diverse target groups so that they are motivated to make changes. Another cultural value that is no less important and becomes the spirit in mobilizing peasants in Cipari is the expression of *sedumuk bathuk, senyari bumi* (Wiyana, 2009). The phrase means that albeit an inch of land taken must be defended to death. The expression becomes a spirit that connects all efforts made by the people of Cipari to claim their land rights. Thus, the phrase became a kind of credo for the people. In the soil contained the basic guidelines of life such as guidelines for life in religious doctrine. The phrase is also a chain that connects generation to generation in the Cipari community.

### **4.3 Movement in the Reformation Era: "Harvest season" of the Cipari peasant movements**

#### *4.3.1 The political opportunities and dialectics of the Cipari peasant movement*

After the collapse of the New Order regime, various forms of collective action were carried out by Cipari peasants. The Reformation Era can be called the 'release' action of the Cipari peasants. Singatangi and Mangkubumi were the first OTLs to submit claims to government agencies and plantations. They demanded the return of their lost land since 1965. Not only did they deliver the demand verbally, but they also submitted letters to the local government. The request contained the community's demand that a portion of the plantation's HGU land be given to the surrounding community, mainly the land cultivators. The community's demand is the implementation of land reform.

In Cipari, the support of formal political leaders strengthened. This can be seen from the willingness of the village head to be involved in the actions. However, the power gap between the district government and peasants remains wide, which means political opportunity structure (POS) in Cipari is not open. The incessant actions of the Cipari peasant movement are an attempt to uncover political opportunities, namely

the local political structure. This continuous effort is through a continuous action-reflection process. Action-reflection of the Cipari peasant movement is seen in making a claim against PT RSA in several points of demand. The demands submitted by each OTL are seen as ineffective and seemingly not in harmony. Further, the lawsuit is made into one lawsuit under the name of SeTAM, as all OTLs in Cipari and surrounding areas have joined the consortium called SeTAM. Thus, SeTAM becomes the engine of the movement.

Another form of movement taken by Cipari peasants is land occupation. It is done by pegging the boundaries of plantation land that will be controlled by peasants. The land occupation was first carried out by the Ketanbanci. This OTL conducted a frontal land occupation action in Cisuru village. This peasant group is demanding land annexed by the company PT Djawatie. In 1999, the organization carried out a pegging of land. Before the pegging was done, they also cut down rubber trees on the disputed land. Dozens of peasants, young and old, were involved in the action. PT Djawatie was assisted by the state security apparatus to take security measures. At first, the state security apparatus was just on guard, but then there was a repressive action against the peasants. As a result, clashes between citizens and security forces are unavoidable. Some Ketanbanci members were forced to deal with judicial institutions because they were accused of destroying the Cilacap police mobile brigade car. For this repressive action, Cipari peasants complained about the problem to LBH Yogyakarta.

The events in Cisuru opened a negotiation between the Ketanbanci organization and the Cilacap Regency Government, Central Java Regional Office, and BPN of the Cilacap region. The negotiation process took a long time, draining the energy and minds of activists, including the peasants' assistants. Initially, the peasants demanded hundreds of hectares of land to the plantation company to be distributed to the community. However, the plantation only offers a land area of 12 hectares.

The success of the Ketanbanci OTL in the struggle for land rights inspired other OTLs. OTL Cipari formed a partnership and even asked Ketanbanci to help in dispute resolution. Finally, peasants from five villages (Mekarsari, Sidasari, Caruy, Kutasari, and Karangreja) that are members of the Cipari OTL carried out the occupation of land owned by PT RSA and joined the land pegging movement. This boundary marking is carried out as a sign that the land inside the stake is land owned by community members, not the estate. The land occupation movement was led by SeTAM.

The occupational movement took place without clashes despite the pressure from the security forces. It indicates that the state power in the transition period is not as strong as in the past. The masses involved in the land occupation movement are huge, and their enthusiasm for acquiring land is also quite large. This can also be understood as the ability of peasants to define POS in the place where they do the movement. Opp (2009) mentions that the POS can also be seen as an agent of the movement's efforts to define the political structure subjectively. Subjective understanding is the agent's ability to see opportunities, advantages, and disadvantages in making movements under the power pressure.

SeTAM has a major role in mobilizing the resources (knowledge, money, media, manpower, and solidarity) available in the community. The issue of land redistribution received support from the wider community. The collective occupation of land carried out by OTL and the community is quite strategic. They also have a good knowledge about land issues. The 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) mentions that the state land that does not have an owner can be requested and utilized by local residents. Such a request is placed as the first priority to be given to tenants.

In such flows, the Cipari peasant movement undertakes various actions. The protest was manifested in the occupation of the plantation's HGU land. There are several reasons for peasants to occupy land. First, plantation HGU land is not used for plantation crops. Second, HGU land has been disputed (community versus plantation) for many years. Third, the state has never resolved disputes between communities and plantation companies. As a result, the community settled in its own way, namely land occupation.

The peasant movement in Cipari was not merely due to the opening of political opportunities in the Reformation era. Another factor that makes peasants make massive movements is the end of PT RSA's HGU permit.<sup>2</sup> Peasants used the situation to make demands, even occupy land. The peasants considered that the government did not provide an extension of the HGU over the land so that the land could be distributed to communities around the plantations.

While the peasants were struggling, the plantation proposed a permit extension of the HGU. This is a moment for the peasant movement. Peasants filed a lawsuit against the state (BPN), so the HGU extension was rejected. Post-occupation and cultivation of plantation HGU land, peasants through a peasant organization apply to the Central Java Provincial Government with a copy to the Regional BPN of Semarang Regional Office, Cilacap Regency Government and the Cilacap BPN Office. During the peasant struggle, the government more frequently sided with PT RSA as the owner of the HGU. Intimidation is even more often done by government officials.

In 2004, the Central Java Provincial Government and Cilacap District Government formed Committee B to resolve land disputes between communities and plantations. Committee B recommended that around 355.16 hectares of land be released from the HGU. The decision of committee B would be easy to understand, considering the National Agrarian Reform Program (PPAN) prioritizes the resolution of land conflicts.

#### *4.3.2 Moving through the network*

The recommendation shows the success of the Cipari peasant movement in mobilizing resources continuously. In a social movement, resource mobilization becomes an important prerequisite (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996), where social movements can utilize resources to make changes (Edward & McCarthy, 2004). The change is the achievement of social movement targets. Efforts to reach targets in social movements are built through organizations. Organization is one of the main factors in the success of the movement to achieve goals (Franke, 1992). A formally structured organization will be more effective in mobilizing resources than a decentralized informal organizational structure.

In the post-New Order era, Ketanbanci organization members increased and received greater community support. LBH Yogyakarta facilitated the formation of working groups. They made critical education programs and trained members of peasant organizations. In Cipari's case, this cannot be separated from the change in strategy of peasant organizations and movements in post-New Order Indonesia that tried to enter, influence, and even seize formal political spaces, especially at the local level (Sujiwo, 2000). The weakening of state control, the implementation of regional autonomy policies, and the strengthening of the political position of peasant organizations in several regions of Indonesia also provide a reason for the movement

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<sup>2</sup> Based on the decision of the Minister of Home Affairs Number: SK3/HGU/DA/74 dated February 29, 1975, the HGU permit for PT RSA expired on December 31, 1999. The extension of the HGU in the name of PT. RSA, located in Karangreja Village, Cipari Sub-District, Rumpun Sari Antan, was issued on September 14, 2004, with the number 59/HGU/BPN/2004.

to take the initiative to seize these political spaces. The establishment of a number of OTL in Cipari shows that the organization was used as a tool for their struggle to demand their ancestral lands.

In social movements, organizations play an important role in achieving the objectives of the movement. The organization is a potent source for determining the identity of social movements (Porta & Diani, 2006). With an identity owned by an organization, the agents of social movements will find it relatively easier to determine who their opponents and friends. Clarity in determining friends and opponents will also accelerate the development of the network organization in social movements. The process of forming an organization's network in social movements in Cipari took the form of building alliances between the OTLs.

In Cipari, each OTL seeks to strengthen the organization. Internal consolidation is often done to form mutual understanding. It also began to identify problems encountered, including devising a movement strategy plan. Consolidation is usually done through direct meetings between members. These meetings, following Passy (2003), constitute the socialization function. As such, the organization and network of movements will continue to be solid. The solidity is further strengthened by building coalitions continuously. In addition, OTL built networks with other peasant groups and cooperated with the Cinta Tani peasant group which was demanding land against PTPN IX. At this point, peasants in Cipari adopted a strategy called Skocpol (Ariendi & Kinseng, 2011) to build solidarity and collective action.

Social movement is a system of actions consisting of mobilizing networks of individuals, groups, and organizations based on collective identity to achieve social change collectively (Rucht in McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Collective actors have networks with other parties in the form of alliances. The alliance is meant to strengthen the identity network. Networks are the main source of identity and loyalty for members or participants. Actors can share resources in order to achieve common goals. In Cipari, this network also has the potential to maintain self-help, namely mutual help, solidarity, and efforts to work together in a community (Dudwick, et al, 2006).

Networking, cooperation, and collective action are closely related to the dimensions of trust and solidarity. This collaboration emphasizes how people (actors) work together with others in the community. It is also related to how to respond to the problems faced by the community. Such conditions are common in informal networks. The informal network of Cipari peasants is an inter-farm social network, inter-OTL, OTL with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as well as inter-institutional networks involved in claiming land rights to implement land redistribution. The social network of Cipari's peasants is a relationship generated based on neighbor and kinship relations. Neighboring relations occur between peasants in one area or village, while peasant relations between villages are based on kinship relationships. This last social relationship occurs when they need each other's lands as a means of production to meet food needs. This social relationship was getting stronger before the fall of the New Order regime.

This kind of social relations and cooperation actually developed decades ago when they were engaged in trucking or clearing land. When they struggled to control the land controlled by plantations, the social relations were no longer individual but organizational. The OTLs that grew in each village interacted with each other, shared information, and worked together to achieve goals. Cooperation between peasants around Cipari was well developed. They built strength so that their struggle could succeed in a wider scope. What Cipari peasants did is a process of building a movement strategy related to culture. In Shohibuddin's (2007) language, this process

goes through the stages of forming the foundation of the movement, struggling to gain recognition, consolidating the movement, and disseminating movement ideas.

The organization built in the Cipari peasant movement is a combination of two types of movement organizations; they are organizations that emerge internally from within the peasants' own groups, and those emerging externally (Mustain, 2007). The establishment of OTLs shows that the formation of organizations is an initiative from peasants. The presence of several NGOs in Cipari and then formed a network to create a larger peasant organization called SeTAM Cilacap showed that the development of a movement organization could not be separated from the close links between internal and external movements. In Cipari, peasant organizations were interconnected in the network after they built a solidarity movement.

The formation of a larger peasant organization indicates that there has been a change in the movement patterns in Cipari. During the New Order, the Cipari peasant movement was on the path of non-organization. During the Reformation era, it moved in the way of the organization by building a structured organization. Cipari peasants also built networks between organizations to get support. The network development indicates a strategy in the peasant movements (Shohibuddin, 2007). In Cipari, the organizational foundation formed long ago, even when the political structures were repressive and coercive. The shift to a more formal organization, forging relationships with other organizations shows that Cipari peasant movements pursued an agenda of gaining recognition, consolidation as well as dissemination of movement ideas.

The choice of peasant movements in Cipari using organizations also shows a shift in movement strategy from the 'everyday resistance' strategy articulated by Scott (1976; 1985) to an organized collective resistance strategy. This means Cipari peasants understood the movement in a rational view. Peasants can be seen as rational actors able to make decisions that are no longer isolated but relatively open (Bachriadi, 2012). Thus, they were able to sort, based on rational calculations, whether to join or not with a social movement. This approach follows Olson's (1966) view of logic and the dilemma of collective action, which pays attention to the importance of a number of incentives and the distribution of the personal benefits generated when mobilizing or engaging in collective action. If the incentives are deemed not commensurate with the risks that may be faced, peasants are reluctant to engage in collective actions challenging power.

Seeing their ability to form movements shows that Cipari peasants have managed the resources they have. The Cipari peasants' movement strategically handles resistance, avoiding direct and radical confrontations to minimize the risk of weakening the movement. The presence of the SeTAM organization also shows that the Cipari peasant movement successfully managed a network to fight for their goals. At that point, the movement transformed in patterns and strategies in the Reformation era.

#### **4.4 Cipari movement in New Order Era and Reformation Era: A comparison**

The cipari peasant movement has its own dynamics from the Old Order period to the end of the Reformation. This fact shows that movements and conflicts do not develop in isolation but tend to be concentrated in certain political and historical periods (Porta & Diani, 2006). In each period, the strategy, tactics, and forms of a movement underwent changes. The following compares the Cipari peasant movement during the New Order and the Reformation.

#### *4.4.1 Structure of political opportunity*

In the New Order era, when the state prioritized political stability, every time a movement emerged, it always responded in a repressive manner. None of the policies, both at the local and national levels, favored peasants. Peasants took action because they did not have access to institutions authorized to deal with agrarian issues (Tarrow, 2011).

Political opportunities in the Reformation era gave opportunities for peasants to get the support from the ruling elite. The PAPAN policy provided a way for peasants to gain access to agrarian resources and to carry out demands that the plantation HGU land could be cultivated by the community around the plantation. The PAPAN policy offered Cipari peasants support from the village government and the district government. In other words, the PAPAN policy presented a political opportunity for Cipari peasants.

#### *4.4.2 Resource mobilization*

The political openness produced an opportunity for Cipari peasants to mobilize the movement. Porta & Diani (2006) mentions that agents, organizations, and activists of the movement play an important role in mobilizing collective resources where social movements take place. When the New Order was in a strong position, none of the civil society organizations defended the interests of peasants. Cipari peasants were not encompassed in an organization and did not have a relationship with any organizations. Peasants could not spot who their friends or their foes were (Porta & Diani, 2006). Although the number of peasants engaged in the movement was still limited, they dared to carry out the movement. It proves the persistence and enthusiasm of peasants in the struggle over a long period of time.

In the New Order era, the main agents of the peasant movements were peasant laborers. In its development, agents of the movement were not only peasant laborers but also students. The number of people that could be mobilized was relatively small. The organization had not yet been formed. Peasants struggled in unorganized groups. Their movements were only based on the solidarity of members.

The number of movement agents became more significant in the early Reformation era. Cipari peasants were supported by NGOs and especially by the existence of SeTAM. SeTAM shows the changing strategy of the Cipari peasant movement in the Reformation era. Political openness gave rise to many OTLs, which then joined and formed SeTAM.

The existence of SeTAM implies that leadership in the organization of the movement had begun to develop. Morris & Herring (1984) states that the existence of organization and leadership is one of the factors in the development and continuity of social movements. Leaders play many roles, such as fostering the basic ideas of the movement, planning appropriate methods to spread ideas, getting them accepted, and influencing people to act on their behalf. Thus, the leader acts as a scientist as well as a propaganda (Flynn, 2011). Through the leader, all resources can be mobilized.

The social network is important in resource mobilization. Through a network of activities, a group can be facilitated, so that its goals are more easily achieved (Coleman, 1988). In the New Order era, Cipari peasants did not yet have a network with other organizations. Even inter-group networks had not yet formed. The movements were still sporadic. During the Reformation, the network between peasants and NGOs began to open. Peasants also networked with political parties and members of Cilacap representatives. In this era, many NGOs came to Cipari to provide support.

In the New Order era, peasants brought a lawsuit against the state over HGU land controlled by plantations. In another way, peasants put up a subtle resistance (Scott, 1976). Individually and clandestinely, they worked on abandoned plantation lands to avoid overt resistance from the plantation, while allowing them to also control the land.

In the Reformation era, the tactics and strategies used by peasants were different. The movement did not merely make demands on plantations, the government, and BPN but also occupied land. The act shows that, factually, peasants had mastered the land. Also, land occupation confirmed that peasants really needed land. More importantly, it was a form of 'reclaiming' lost land.

#### 4.4.3 Framing process

In the New Order era, injustice and land grabbing became the main issue of the Cipari peasant movement to get community support. However, it did not affect the movement. This is not because the issues raised did not attract public attention, but rather the structure of political opportunities had limited the public's ability to protest or initiate collective action.

After the New Order era, the issue changed into injustice and land reform. The framing raised the value of land as an important issue. The issue raised an awareness that land is not merely a means of production, but people's lives are at stake and land also serves as a symbol of self-esteem for rural people whose life depends on the agricultural sector (Mustain, 2005).

The interesting element about the Cipari peasant movement is the cultural value that contributes to their movement. Since the emergence of the Cipari peasant movement, cultural aspects have contributed to mobilizing peasants. For example, the *trukah* land being confiscated by the state (plantations) is the main driving force of the movement. Peasants uphold and defend the land of their ancestors. Thus, *trukah* has a special meaning for Cipari peasants and forms the soul and the inner character of the peasants' identity, that anyone who seizes their ancestral land will definitely be opposed. The spirit appears in the expression, '*sedumuk bathuk senyari bumi*'. This cultural value then encourages peasants to form a movement. This means that in any political situation, peasants would fight back.

The peasants continued to preserve the cultural value through their daily activities called *ngendhong*. In Banyumas Javanese, the word means visiting neighbors. Through *ngendhong*, Cipari peasants exchange ideas and information about their struggle to obtain land rights. In the *ngendhong* activity, togetherness is built among people, so the Cipari peasants form an organization (OTL).

With regard to the names of OTL, the Cipari peasants named key ideas in ways also inseparable from their cultural values. OTL Ketanbanci is a case in point. 'Ketan' is an acronym that also refers to a type of rice that is bigger and has a longer grain. People call it glutinous rice (*Oryza sativa glutinosa*). This type of rice differs from the rice usually consumed for daily food. When cooked, glutinous rice becomes very sticky. They grain with one another, difficult to remove because they stick together. The stickiness is symbolized by attachment to one another. Thus, 'ketanbanci' shows the cohesiveness of the relationship between farmer members of the OTL. Meanwhile, the word 'banci' refers to the notion of a gendered identity that is unclear whether they are male or female. The word 'banci', thus in this context, refers to obscurity. Based on such an understanding, Ketanbanci is a farmer group with cohesiveness, but the resistance that is carried out does not occur openly. There is an organization, but the movement has not been significant.

The above description reinforces the struggle of peasants, which never fades, despite the unfavorable political climate. The struggle is even greater in a democratic political system. The structure of political opportunity, the structure of mobilization, and the process of framing interact dynamically with each other and influence the movement in Cipari.

Through a long period of struggle, the peasant movement managed to reclaim its land. Peasants own land with proof of ownership in the form of a land certificate. Peasants managed to get a total land area of 291 hectares. The land was then distributed to 5,141 peasants. Each peasant received an average of 500 square meters. A brief description of the dynamics of the peasant movement during the New Order and Reformation era can be seen in table 1.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The Cipari peasant movement in resisting for their land over time shows peasants as active actors. This study found that the Cipari peasant movement emerged from the Old Order era in the 1950s and was sustained in various forms until the post-New Order era. In the New Order era when the state was so strong in limiting the POS, the Cipari peasant movement continued. Peasants dared to establish movements because of internal factors in the peasant communities. The main driver of the Cipari farmer movement is not just POS, or the the availability of support organizations and the ability to network, but also the cultural aspects. Cipari peasants have an awareness of maintaining the ancestral message that *trukah* land must be protected and maintained.

The role of the mobilization structure is significant in providing explanations about the movement, including the involvement of individuals in collective action, the tactics of the movement, and the availability of movement organizations. However, in the Cipari peasant movement, the organization formed was an initiative from within, namely forming the Ketanbanci organization during the New Order era. The research findings show that Cipari peasant movements are only equipped with an element of solidarity, which becomes the main energy of the movement. Solidarity means coming from internal factors, namely the peasants' identity and soul.

Based on the above explanation, the results of this study argue that first, social movements are continuous activities that work towards achieving a particular goal. In other words, a social movement is not result-oriented, but rather, a dynamic process by which actors carry out the means of resistance or change. Second, the driving factor in the social movement in Cipari is rooted in cultural values, which creates a shared awareness to maintain economic and political resources. Cultural factors, which are the internal resources of the Cipari peasant movement, also determine the success of the Cipari peasant movement.

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