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Communities of Burno - Lumajang Village in
Constructing Resistance to Forest Exchange
Policies

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ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT AND HEGEMONY OF THE COMMUNITIES OF BURNO - LUMAJANG VILLAGE IN CONSTRUCTING RESISTANCE TO FOREST EXCHANGE POLICIES

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ABSTRACT

In social life, conflict is often unavoidable. This occurs because of different interests between two or more groups. Agrarian conflicts can happen anywhere, anytime, and are often unavoidable. Conflicts occur because of disputes that cannot be resolved by the parties. This happened in Lumajang Regency, where in the middle of 2020 on July, the people of Burno village, especially Karanganyar Hamlet, experienced a conflict which ended with the making of land certificates. The qualitative research method was chosen by the author because it is in accordance with the research object under study, namely the exchange policy conflict in Burno Lumajang Village. The results of this study include, Conflicts occur because of different perceptions of interest in the policies that have been proposed, resulting in a wave of conflict in society. The form of public rejection of this policy is an act of resistance to people's aspirations. In this conflict there has not been a resolution set because the TMKH side considers this to be resolved due to the inability of the residents to pay the price proposed in the exchange of forest areas, but the residents still express their attitude towards the proposed policy and continue to fight for the procurement of land certificates.

Keywords: *Conflict, hegemony, and conflict resolution*

Introduction

In social life, conflict is often unavoidable. This occurs because of different interests between two or more groups. In article 1 point 1 of Law no. 7 of 2012 concerning handling social conflict describes the definition of social conflict, namely feuds and/or physical clashes and violence between two or more community groups that lasts for a certain time and has a broad impact that causes discomfort and social disintegration and disrupts national stability and hinders social development.

In Ritzer and Douglas (2010) regarding Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory where society follows the flow of change, disputes a conflict in the social system and see various social relations also contribute to disintegration and change. The order that exists in society comes from coercion on its members by those at the top by emphasizing the role of power in maintaining order in society. From this theory, an understanding can be drawn that society is formed by the existence of rules that have been prepared and adapted and mutually agreed upon, and a conflict will occur when these rules are not relevant to the social conditions of society.

According to Adams (1977) Seeing the social facts that are the cause of the conflict, the approach taken is an approach to the relationship of power and power that occurs between actors. Power in question is the ability of a person or social unit to influence behavior and other

decision-making through control over the form of energy in the environment. Thus according to Budimanta (2007), social structure is a fabric of power relations that occur between actors based on the strengths and abilities possessed by each actor in maximizing economic benefits and resources in the region.

The definition of conflict refers to Miall's (2000) definition that conflict is an expression of heterogeneity of interests, values, and beliefs that emerge as new formations caused by social change that appear contrary to inherited barriers.

Based on the theory of the concept of conflict that has been described, it can be concluded that social conflict is a phenomenon, namely the process of an interaction between individuals or groups in social practice that is carried out to fight over the same object but with different interests. One example of conflict that often occurs in society is agrarian conflict. This conflict is a conflict that occurs in relation to land. In an agrarian country, one example is Indonesia, land is the most important asset in social life because land is the main source of life so that land matters in Indonesia are related to ownership rights, usufructuary rights, rental rights regulated in the basic agrarian law.

In KPA records, at the end of 2020 there were 241 cases. The highest occurred in plantations (122 cases) followed by forestry (41 cases), which increased significantly from the previous year. AMAN (Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago) recorded 40 cases, the highest in plantations (10 cases) followed by forestry and infrastructure development. For rural communities, land is a source of livelihood that must be maintained for their survival, and maintained as a form of gratitude for the gift of God Almighty (Article 1 of the Basic Agraria Law/UUPA). Land ownership also shows one's dignity and self-worth. For other parties, especially investors, land is an item that can be traded, both the land and the products it produces, as long as it provides economic benefits (land as a commodity).

For farmers/rural communities, land is also a place of residence and a link to their predecessors/ancestors. For them, land is irreplaceable, so if forced to let go, their way of thinking is: how to get "replacement" for their source of livelihood along with the values that accompany it.

Perceptions of land are related to the relationship between people and land with various dimensions. From the economic dimension, rural communities tend to maintain ownership as a source of livelihood and not to be commercialized for investors, land and natural resources need to be processed/worked out so that they can be traded. Judgmentally, formal proof of ownership is absolutely necessary for investors, while for village communities, proof of physical ownership takes precedence. Unfinished land registration throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia opens opportunities for conflicts to arise due to territorial claims by various parties.

According to Zakie (2016) in the Legality Journal, agrarian conflicts arise because human needs for land always increase along with population growth. This gave birth to the paradigm that the need for agricultural land for farmers at this time is very urgent. While a lot of abandoned land that is not cultivated is a necessity for farmers who do not have arable land, especially on land controlled by Perum Perhutani. Local farmers who live on the edge of the forest view that traditionally the land in the area is a source of livelihood, reserves for expansion of arable land, and at the same time as a food security area (Permadi, 2016).

In examining the phenomenon of conflict, information is needed to answer questions, among other things, what is important is the root of the problem, the trigger, the perpetrators-between who and whom, the attitude of the actors in dealing with the conflict, the process and chronology, how the outcome is, and the victims (Gunawan Wiradi , 2003. Brief Notes on Agrarian Conflict).

Agrarian conflicts can happen anywhere, anytime, and are often unavoidable. Conflicts occur because of disputes that cannot be resolved by the parties. Everything that happens in human life and activities can lead to disputes and lead to conflict. Disputes can start from misunderstandings between one human being and another human being. The existence of efforts to achieve their respective goals, of course, will have an impact on unhealthy competition which can cause harm to one of the parties who can avoid this risk, each party will try to find ways that can be done to be able to avoid losses. .

The authority to control and manage forest resources is given to Perum Perhutani based on Law no. 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry (hereinafter referred to as the Forestry Law), where Perum Perhutani is a State-Owned Enterprise (BUMN) which is under the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. Perum Perhutani's right to forest resources is a management right derived from the state's right to control through three main roles, namely as forest landlord, forest enterprise and forest conservation institution. The juridical consequence that arises is that farmers who work on forestry land (including utilizing forest products) often cause conflicts over forest land in several regions.

This happened in Lumajang Regency, where in the middle of 2020, around July, the people of Burno village, especially Karanganyar Hamlet, had a conflict which resulted in tourism being managed by Perhutani so that local residents felt uneasy because the land being managed included the people's arable land, and then socialized it. program for settlement of land tenure in forest areas, through Presidential Decree No. 88 of 2017, one of which is through the concept of swapping forest areas. Even though this rule has been in effect since 2017, it will only be implemented in the Karanganyar hamlet of Burno Village because there have been many requests for the issuance of land certificates by the community.

To apply Presidential Decree No. 88 of 2017 a TMKH (Forest Area Swap) was formed in Karanganyar hamlet, Burno village, chaired by Edi Santoso who also serves as chairman of the LMDH (Forest Village Community Institute) in the same area. The task of this team is to oversee and assist the process of resolving disputes by certifying forest area land through an exchange mechanism for forest land.

Theoretically, scientists define the phenomenon of conflict differently, depending on their respective perspectives. But in general, in the social sciences, one definition of conflict is "a process situation", namely the process of interaction between two or more individuals or groups in fighting over the same object for the sake of their interests". In other words, "conflict is an extreme and violent form from competition (CF. TF Hoult, 1969). at the stage of "racing" overtake each other to achieve goals, its nature is still within the limits of competition. But when they then block each other's path - and face each other - a "situation of conflict" ensues.

Materials and Methods

Research methods are used to facilitate researchers in understanding the object that is the target of the science concerned, so that in determining the research method used must consider suitability with the object under study. The method used in this research is a qualitative research method.

The qualitative research method was chosen by the author because it is in accordance with the research object under study, namely the exchange policy conflict in Burno Lumajang Village. By using this method, it is hoped that it can answer research problems, namely describing the conflicts that occur and explaining the appropriate conflict resolution in overcoming these problems.

This research will be carried out in the hamlet of Karanganyar, Burno Senduro Village, Lumajang Regency, which is located in a forest area, namely the Burno forest, where the area is the center of a conflict over the policy of exchanging forest areas, so that the source of the data obtained comes from residents who carry out a policy resistance.

In this study, researchers looked for data obtained by doing three ways, namely:

1. Observation

In this study, researchers conducted a detailed observation of the situation of a conflict that occurred in Burno Village and the community's current response to the exchange policy.

2. Interview

The researcher conducted an interview with several residents of the village of Burno, one of whom was a community leader, the interviews were carried out in a structured and

unstructured manner and were carried out over a period of time, and the results of the interviews were made into a verbatim form.

3. Documentation

The researcher tried to document the things that were done in the research process, namely the form of resistance of the Burno villagers to the exchange policy. In addition, it requires media in the form of cameras and mobile phones to take sound and images that are used as complementary data.

The research design shows an overview of the research that will be carried out by the author. In this study, the author chose a qualitative method of descriptive analysis to describe the phenomenon of conflict in the roll-over policy in the village of Burno-Lumajang. Descriptive research aims to accurately describe the phenomenon, the mechanism of a process and explain a set of stages or processes, so that by using this type of descriptive research the phenomenon of conflict related to the swap policy in the village of Burno-Lumajang.

Subheading

SOCIAL CONFLICT

Conflict is always present in the social structure. The factors that cause conflict are varied, ranging from social class conflict; between capital owners and workers, power structures; between authorities and society, as well as class and organizational issues. Simmel also stated that conflicts can be ended by eliminating the foundations. Owens, RG (Sembiring, 2014: 4) which states that the cause of conflict is "written and unwritten rules and procedures that can cause conflict if the application is too rigid and hard. From this definition, a rigid rule causes a person to can freely move or act. These rules are seen as a barrier and cause cross-opinions that lead to conflict. Meanwhile, according to Schyut (Sembiring, 2011:4) conflict is: " It can be concluded that conflict occurs because of competition between two parties competing to achieve their respective goals. Then both parties are limited by rules or procedures that are sometimes not in accordance with the wishes and desires of both parties. It can be concluded that conflict occurs because of competition between two parties competing to achieve their respective goals. Then both parties are limited by rules or procedures that are sometimes not in accordance with the wishes and desires of both parties.

COMMUNITY HEGEMONY

Hegemony is a consensus on social action that is carried out as a result of the oppression of social class, as in Gramsci's 1976 theory that hegemony is a chain of wins that is carried out by carrying out a consensus that occurs as a result of an oppression of social class differences, hegemony can be carried out in various efforts that arises from the actions taken by the community directly and indirectly, this arises from the cognitive community. For this reason, hegemony is an attempt to lead the community to think as well as perceive and evaluate a social problem.

Through the concept of hegemony, Gramsci argues that power in order to be lasting and lasting requires at least two sets of work. First, is a working apparatus that is capable of carrying out coercive acts of violence or in other words, power requires a working apparatus with the nuances of a law enforceman. This first set of work is usually carried out by state institutions through institutions such as the law, military, police and even prisons. Second, it is a work tool capable of persuading the public and its institutions to obey those in power through religious life, education, the arts and even the family (Heryanto, 1997). It is this second device that is usually used by NGOs or community intellectual figures in hegemony.

COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Resistance is a form of resistance by people who experience an oppression of injustice carried out by influential parties or have a power, a resistance carried out collectively by the oppressed is a form of a conflict where resistance occurs which can be in the form of demonstrations, aspirations, or written messages containing a refusal to fight injustice.

Henry A. Landsberger (1981) in his book *Peasant Upheaval and Social Change* argues that protest movements or actions are the reaction of collective resistance by the oppressed who are vulnerable to injustice in the social, economic and political sectors. Bruce Peter (2003) suggests a group that has a sense of sympathy for social conditions and then dominates in political debates such as agents of change, rebellion or forms of demonstrations that are carried out is called a movement.

Scott, James (1976) identified that there are two characteristics of resistance that can be carried out, the first is serious, meaning that a resistance is carried out in a systematic, organized and cooperative manner and selflessly and has revolutionary goals, where the struggle is based on eliminating the domination of the authorities, the second is resistance that is incidental means a resistance that is carried out on the basis of self-interest, on the basis of profit and this is difficult to achieve a revolutionary which is carried out individually which results in chaos, Scott divides this type of resistance into two, namely open resistance and closed resistance. Open resistance has a fairly clear systematic, namely the presence of participants,

Result and Discussion

Overview of Karanganyar Hamlet- Burno Village

Burno Village is a village located in the Senduro sub-district, Lumajang Regency, Burno Village is a village located at an altitude above 700 m above sea level and is located at the foot of Mount Semeru, 4 km from the sub-district capital and 25 km from the Lumajang Regency capital. The total area of the village reaches 548.75 ha. The total population is 1,220 households or 4,268 people, with the main livelihood being forest farmers. Burno Village has six hamlets, namely Dusun Krajan I, Krajan II, Gondang, Karanganyar, Tugu, and Mlammbing. The percentage of people's arable land includes agricultural land (paddy fields and dry fields) and private forests.

Climate change adaptation and mitigation activities in Burno Village have been coordinated by LMDH (Forest Village Community Institute) Wono Lestari since 2006. LMDH currently has 1,175 members and has implemented the PHBM Cooperation Agreement with Perum Perhutani KPH Probolinggo in 2007, and has various business activities independently such as processing bananas, dairy cows, waste crafts, and so on. LMDH has fields to handle five-year long-term, medium-term and short-term activities and work programs.

The Origin of the Conflict of Exchange of Forest Areas

Most of the livelihoods of the people in Burno Village, especially in Karanganyar Hamlet, are mostly dairy farmers and palawija farmers. The residents of Karanganyar Hamlet use land that has been cultivated by residents and their families for generations since 1942. The types of crops cultivated by residents are secondary crops in the form of long beans , beans, corn etc., residents also plant their land with elephant grass as animal feed.

Starting from the central government's agrarian reform program related to asset management which made it easier for residents to apply for land certificates, then one of the residents of Karanganyar Hamlet took the initiative to apply for land certification that belonged to them and local residents, when the process of submitting certificates and completeness of residents' files experienced problems because the land in Karangnyar Hamlet According to KSKPH/Waka adm Perhutani Lumajang is still in Perhutani territory. From these obstacles, a TMKH (Forest Area Swap) committee was formed which was chaired by Mr. ES who was also the head of the LMDH in Burno Village. After that, there was a

discussion between the committee and the local residents and a solution option emerged, namely the exchange of forest areas with a monetary value of Rp. 35,000 per meter of land.

From this proposal, there were many counter responses from the residents, one of whom was Mr. YT, one of the residents who rejected the proposal because he felt sorry for the people who were unable to pay the set price. Apart from that, the residents also felt that the solution was inappropriate because the land was already occupied by the residents. hereditary since 1942 while in Article 24 paragraph (2) Government Regulation (PP) No. 24 of 1997 concerning Land Registration confirms that a person who physically controls land for a period of 20 years can continuously register himself as the holder of rights over the land, plus residents have also paid a tax on the land they own each year in the amount of Rp. 360,000 per hectare. It is on this basis that the residents consider that the land already belongs to the residents and does not need to pay fees for exchanging forest areas.

On the other hand, one of the residents and Mr. PY confirmed that Karanganyar Hamlet is customary land managed by the Karangnyar Hamlet residents, in that hamlet there is a site that is considered a traditional symbol in that area, and that place is also often used as a place for traditional ceremonies, Mr. PY also explained that residents and Perhutani were the ones who planted the woody plants there, but until these plants could be harvested, the residents did not receive a penny of wages. The residents were even prohibited from taking branches from trees for animal feed. Residents were only allowed to use the land under the trees with elephant grass and crops. From there, the residents felt that Perhutani through TMKH seemed to be eliminating the residents' rights to their own land.

From the TMKH committee, Mr. ES said that residents misunderstood this policy, thinking that the policy was a swap policy, where residents were relocated to another place, but this assumption was wrong. Mr. ES said TMKH was a change of forest area where to obtain a land certificate replace the forest area on other land, because according to the rules that the forest area cannot be less than 30% of the land area. In addition, he also said that the work of the TMKH team was in accordance with the rules, namely the applicable form of Presidential Regulation 88 2017 concerning settlement of land tenure on forest area roads where the price per meter of land is still being studied or proposed.

In Scott's theory, J(1976) related to this phenomenon explained that farmers are in two typologies, namely: a) Farmers are cultivators who live in rural areas, focus their efforts on fulfilling the family economy and continue to rotate on periodic planting and harvesting cycles. b) Farmers are people who depend on the management of agricultural products for

their lives. This typology clearly explains the importance of land for farmers as commodity land. Anyone who threatens or changes the pattern that has been formed long ago will certainly raise resistance against these parties.

Hegemony and Community Resistance

The actual condition in Karanganyar Hamlet regarding the TMKH policy was that not all residents made a rejection even though in fact they also did not agree with the solution but the residents felt afraid to express their refusal to Perhutani. However, this changed when community leaders who had an understanding of the problem and the courage to hegemony the residents had the courage to express an attitude of refusal. In line with the theory of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) regarding hegemony, Gramsci does not argue that a social revolution will occur only because of a historical inevitability, but that a revolution can only be achieved through a movement to raise public awareness of the condition of an oppressed society. The hegemony carried out by several figures became an injection of the enthusiasm of the residents to carry out a resistance in order to restore the people's rights to land.

The conflict that occurred in Karanganyar hamlet, Burno village, district. Senduro - Lumajang between residents and Perhutani is basically inseparable from the multiple system proposed by Zastrow (2007) which explains that every individual is constantly and dynamically involved in interactions with their social environment both in micro, mezzo and macro systems (multiple systems).

Regarding the conflict in the Karanganyar sub-village in the micro system, individually the farmers have problems related to not having the legality of ownership rights to the land that has been controlled for decades. As an effort to fulfill this need, individual power pushed them to apply for legal land ownership in the form of land certificates, but encountered problems due to land ownership issues with Perhutani. In terms of the mezzo system, it can also be understood that the problems that occur in Karanganyar hamlet residents are not only experienced by one individual but more broadly, namely experienced by almost the majority of residents in the hamlet. In the macro system, efforts to solve the problem by submitting land certificates have created new problems, until then they consulted with the local DPRD, it was from there that the residents felt they had support and moral support to have the courage to fight for their rights, namely by taking forms of refusal. Residents' rejection of this policy was also strengthened by support from other intellectual figures who are members of the SPL (Lumajang Farmers' Union) who helped educate and help oversee the process.

In carrying out a refusal, the residents carried out a peaceful demonstration in front of the Lumajang DPRD office to convey directly the situation in Karangnyar Hamlet in the hope of getting attention and follow-up by the council. Apart from that, Karangnyar Hamlet residents who rejected the policy by sticking slogans in front of their houses and a street that reads "Reject Exchange of Roll". The emergence of turmoil and rejection by the community, the teamwork process or the TMKH committee became stuck. The TMKH also considered that the residents did not agree because they could not afford to pay the nominal amount that had been proposed, therefore the TMKH committee decided not to continue the process of exchanging the forest area.

Conflict Resolution

From a social conflict that occurred in the hamlet of Karanganyar, Burno village, with all the dynamics of the conflict, the two parties did not decide what resolution to use as a way out of the problem. However, this did not dampen the enthusiasm of the residents in fighting for their rights to their land, the residents still had the enthusiasm and enthusiasm to fight for land certificates belonging to local residents, while the TMKH and LMDH committees considered this process to be no longer possible because the residents did not have the desire and ability to pay a nominal fee. proposed exchange. Residents are also still coordinating with the government in completing the land legalization process

Conclusion

From the presentation related to the explanation above, it can be concluded that:

1. Conflicts occur because of different perceptions of interest in the policies that have been proposed, resulting in a wave of conflict in society.
2. The form of public rejection of this policy is an act of resistance
3. In this conflict, no resolution has been established because the TMKH side considers this to be resolved due to the inability of the residents to pay the proposed price in exchanging forest areas.

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