

INTISARI

Studi tentang gerakan petani dalam reklamasi atas tanah Hak Guna Usaha (HGU) perkebunan dan keberhasilan dalam memperoleh hak milik atas tanah secara legal belum banyak dilakukan. Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk menjelaskan gerakan petani dalam menuntut hak atas tanah terhadap perkebunan PT Rumpun Sari Antan (RSA) Cipari, Cilacap. Dibanding dengan kasus-kasus yang sama namun terjadi di tempat lain, upaya yang dilakukan para petani Cipari, dapat dikatakan membuahkan hasil sebagaimana yang diharapkan yaitu diperolehnya hak milik atas tanah. Untuk memahami kompleksitas gerakan yang dilakukan oleh para petani tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan teori gerakan sosial di bawah naungan pemikiran McAdam et.al (1996:2), yaitu struktur kesempatan politik (*political opportunity structure*), struktur mobilisasi (*mobilizing structure*), dan teori budaya atau proses pembingkai (*framing process*) isu.

Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus (Creswell, 1994; Yin, 2003). Subjek utama dalam penelitian ini yaitu petani yang tergabung dalam organisasi petani lokal (OTL). Selain itu, untuk mendukung data dipilih informan dari organisasi non pemerintah (Ornop), tokoh masyarakat, birokrat, dan staf perkebunan. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara mendalam (*indepth interview*) secara individual dan wawancara berkelompok (*focus group interview*) (Creswell, 1994:188). Analisis data dilakukan secara simultan dan berjalan terus (*on going*) dengan pengumpulan data.

Hasil penelitian memperlihatkan, gerakan petani untuk memperjuangkan hak atas tanah berlangsung dalam rentang waktu panjang, sejak masa pasca kemerdekaan hingga pasca runtuhnya kekuasaan Orde Baru. Munculnya gerakan petani berawal dari hilangnya hak atas tanah *trukah* para leluhurnya yang dirampas oleh negara untuk kepentingan perkebunan. Di masa Orde Lama, petani melakukan okupasi tanah. Kala itu petani mendapat dukungan organisasi politik Barisan Tani Indonesia. Isu ketidakadilan dan land reform diusung sebagai dasar dan strategi untuk melakukan gerakan. Di masa Orde Baru, dimana negara begitu kuat, petani Cipari tetap melakukan gerakan. Pada saat itu struktur kesempatan politik tidak memberikan ruang bagi petani untuk melakukan gerakan. Demikian pula, struktur mobilisasi, seperti organisasi gerakan, jaringan sosial antarorganisasi, dukungan organisasi di luar petani belum tersedia. Petani Cipari lebih menekankan pada mobilisasi internal, yaitu membangun solidaritas antarpetani. Mereka berjuang dalam kelompok-kelompok kecil di tiap-tiap desa. Tanah hasil *trukah* para leluhurnya yang hilang dan dirampas negara dijadikan dasar dan strategi untuk melakukan gerakan. Oleh sebab itu, meskipun negara begitu mendominasi dan hegemonik tetapi petani Cipari berani melakukan gerakan menuntut tanah yang hilang. Pergantian kekuasaan dari era Orde Baru ke era Reformasi berpengaruh pada bentuk dan sifat gerakan petani Cipari. Di masa transisi, struktur kesempatan politik terbuka bagi munculnya serta berkembangnya sebuah gerakan. Kesempatan politik ini secara tidak langsung berpengaruh pada mobilisasi sumber daya, baik sumber daya internal maupun eksternal. Artinya, agen gerakan dengan mudah memobilisasi massa untuk mendukung gerakan. Pada saat bersamaan, petani mendapat dukungan dari banyak pihak, seperti LSM, partai politik, media, dan kekuatan masyarakat sipil lainnya.



Gerakan petani Cipari mengalami dinamika seiring dengan iklim politik yang berkembang pada saat itu. Dinamika gerakan petani terutama dapat dilihat dari perubahan cara memobilisasi sumber daya, pengkerangkaan isu sebagai strategi dan dasar untuk melakukan gerakan. Gerakan petani Cipari muncul dan terus berkembang bukan semata-mata karena terbukanya kesempatan politik, melainkan karena faktor lain. Faktor utama yang mendasari gerakan petani yaitu nilai sosial-kultural tentang tanah. Bagi petani Cipari, tanah bukan sekedar alat produksi maupun sumber ekonomi, melainkan tanah memiliki nilai sosial-kultural, bahkan lebih dari itu, yakni nilai spiritual (religi). Tanah leluhur yang diperoleh melalui *trukah* harus dijaga dan dipertahankan, melekat dalam pikiran petani. Artinya, petani melakukan gerakan karena pesan dari para leluhurnya, meski hanya sejengkal tanah, harus dipertahankan. Faktor sosial dan kultural inilah yang mendasari petani untuk melakukan gerakan sepanjang waktu. Melalui proses panjang, akhirnya gerakan petani berhasil, yaitu diperolehnya hak milik tanah dengan kekuatan hukum berupa sertifikat tanah.

Kata kunci: gerakan petani, dinamika gerakan, nilai sosial kultural, hak milik atas tanah.

ABSTRACT

Research on peasant movement in reclaiming the Cultivation Rights (HGU) of plantation and the efficacy in acquiring the property rights over land in a legal way is yet considered rare. This study aims at explaining the peasant movement to prosecute PT Rumpun Sari Antan (RSA) in Cipari, Cilacap, regarding the property rights over the plantation. In comparison to those with the same cases in different areas, the efforts conducted by Cipari's peasants have brought them to fruition since they could finally acquire their property rights over land as expected. In order to comprehend the complexity of the movement conducted by the peasants, this research adopts the theory of social movement brought by McAdam et.al (1996:2), which consists of political opportunity structure, mobilizing structure and cultural theory or framing process on issue.

The research method that is used in this research is qualitative research method using a case study approach (Creswell, 1994; Moleong, 2002; Yin, 2003). The main subject is the peasants who belong to local peasant organization (OTL). Besides, in order to support the data, the informants are taken from non-governmental organization (Ornop), public figure, bureaucrat and plantation staff. Data collection is conducted by indepth interview individually and focus group interview (Creswell, 1994:188). Data analysis is performed simultaneously and continuously (on going) by collecting the data.

Results of this study reveal that the peasant movement in fighting for their land rights takes a long time starting from the post-independence era until the fall of the post-New Order era. The emergence of peasant movement was due to the the loss of their ancestor's rights over *trukah* land which have been seized by the state and allocated for plantation. In the era of Old Order, the peasants occupied the land. At the time, the peasants were supported by a political organization, namely Barisan Tani Indonesia. The injustice and land reform issues were carried as the basic and strategy to provoke the movement. In the era of New Order, where the state was really strong, the peasants in Cipari kept making a move. At the time, the political opportunity structure did not give space for the peasants to take a fight. Similarly, the mobilizing structure such as the movement organization, social network across organization, organizational supports outside the peasants were not available yet. Peasants in Cipari emphasized more on internal mobilization, that is by establishing the solidarity among peasants. They struggled in a form of small groups in every village. The *trukah* land as the heritage of their ancestors which have been deprived and seized by the state were the basic and strategy to start the movement. Therefore, eventhough the state was supremely dominating and hegemonic, the peasant in Cipari had no fear and made a move to demand the seized land. The change of power, from the New Order era to Reformation era, affected the form and nature of the peasant movement in Cipari. In the transitional period, the political opportunity structure was open for the emergence and the development of a movement. This political opportunity, indirectly, affected the resource mobilization, both the internal and external. That is to say, the movement agent easily mobilized the masses in order to support the movement. At the same time, the peasants got supports from many parties, such as NGO, political parties, mass media and other civil society power.

Peasant movement in Cipari faced their dynamics along with the developing political climate at the time. The peasant movement dynamics could especially be seen on the changes

of the way they mobilized the resource, framed the issue as the strategy and basic in making a movement. The peasant movement in Cipari emerges and keeps growing not only in consideration of the political opportunity, but there are also other factors. The main factor that underlies the peasant movement is the value of socio-cultural on land. For the peasants in Cipari, land is not merely a production tool or economic resource, but it contains socio-cultural value, even beyond, that is the spiritual (religion) value. Their ancestor's land which had been derived from *trukah* should be kept and maintained, and it was inherent in the mind of every peasant. In other words, the peasants made a movement on the ground of their ancestor's errand that their land, no matter how small it is, should be maintained. This socio-cultural becomes the ground for the peasants to keep making a move all the time. Through a greatly long process, the peasants are finally managed to achieve the target, that is the retrieval of property rights over the land which is reinforced with legal power in the form of a land certificate.

Keywords: peasant movement, movement dynamics, socio-cultural value, property rights over the land.