

ABSTRACT

The central problem experienced by peasant is state regulation on land reform. It is the fact that peasants are Indonesia's majority population, yet its land regulation orientation for decades has given nothing but disadvantage for them. It is caused by capitalistic-oriented development that put land as commodity. This study aimed at exploring peasant reclaiming movement in reform era towards land occupied by PTPN XII in Kalibakar, South Malang. Several theories on social movement, particularly Scottian Perspective, are used as the main theory to direct the study. It is also supported by classical social movement model on contention politics by Mc Adam, Tarrow and Tilly. This study revealed that land conflict in Kalibakar, South Malang mostly happened around the issue of claim-counter claim on land plantation between peasant and PTPN XII. Peasant reclaiming movement on land occupied by PTPN XII, thus, happened within the context of law dualism problems (legal gaps). Throughout the process, it causes cultural conflict. It further is complicated by state and peasant interest differentiation. At the same time, legal gaps are still going on, even becomes more polarized. With the support of such law system, the implementation of developmentalism paradigm has resulted peasants subsistence crisis that according to Scott plays as a flame related to 3 forms of volatile: structural, ecological and monocultural. It affects a more open and expressive resistance. Moreover, this study showed that peasant reclaiming movement erupts not only because of subsistence crisis factor (Scottian) and peasant rationality (Popkin), but also the existence of movement leader who develops framing processes and mobilizing structures toward social values and local institution after finding opportunity and moment during reform era in 1997. Within the situation where state hegemony on plantation is so strong, peasant resistant movement is seen through Scottian model. However, it is altered when there is a political change that has been seen by peasant as an opportunity to have an open and expressive resistance. Besides taking advantage of the moments (space) to develop claim and reclaim (in the form of statement or land), the leader is also utilizing state institution (using program and local government institution) to mobilizing the mass, maintaining movement cohesiveness as well as doing reclaiming action. Eventually, this study showed that Scottian theory is significant enough to explain peasant resistance phenomenon in South Malang before reform era, whereas resistance action during reform era can be explained by MacAdam, Tarrow and Tilly theory on the classic social movement for contentious politics.