

## RINGKASAN

Penjualan tanah negara oleh elite desa di Desa Kedamean berawal atas apriori hilangnya keberadaan tanah negara yang diakibatkan oleh perencanaan pembangunan perumahan oleh PT. Prima Damai Permai. Selanjutnya, hasil dari penjualan tanah negara dialokasikan sebagai prasarana desa atau perbaikan pembangunan yang terdapat di desa itu sendiri, seperti rumah ibadah, TPQ dan tempat-tempat pelayanan masyarakat. Jika menilik ke belakang, tanah negara di Desa Kedamean sudah bertahun-bertahun digunakan sebagai lahan cocok tanam oleh petani setempat, dan ironisnya para petani tersebut tidak dilibatkan atau tidak disosialisasikan terlebih dahulu oleh elite desa akan adanya peralihan hak atas tanah negara dan diperjualbelikan.

Dari hak penguasaan atau kepemilikan atas tanah negara tersebut sampai saat ini belum terdapat hak legal terhadap penguasaan maupun kepemilikan. Sehingga elite desa dalam penjualan tanah negara tidak melibatkan para petani penggarap. Selanjutnya, dari kekosongan hak atas tanah negara, elite desa berupaya mendominasi kelompok masyarakat untuk menyatukan cita rasa dalam tindakan elite desa untuk memperjualbelikan tanah negara. Selain itu, elite desa membentuk individu-individu sebagai aktor pemohon atas tanah negara ke Badan Pertanahan Nasional.

Bagi para petani itu sendiri, tindakan elite desa dalam penjualan tanah negara telah menghiraukan Peraturan Pemerintah pasal 24 No. 24 Tahun 1997. Dalam peraturan tersebut dirumuskan bahwa peralihan hak atas tanah negara menjadi hak perseorangan dibuktikan dengan bukti tertulis dan keterangan pihak saksi atau bukti kenyataan fisik atas penguasaan bidang tanah selama 20 tahun maupun lebih. Namun, para petani menilai bahwa tindakan elite desa dalam permohonan atas tanah negara tidak meliputi sebagaimana hukum terkait peralihan hak atas tanah negara. Sehingga para petani berupaya untuk mengembalikan penguasaan tanah negara kepada para petani dan meluruskan tindakan elite desa dalam penjualan tanah negara.

Permasalahan yang diangkat pada penelitian ini, diantaranya: Bagaimana proses politik elite desa dalam penjualan tanah negara dan Apakah gerakan petani mampu menghasilkan keputusan yang memuaskan?. Selanjutnya, teori hegemoni ala Antonio Gramsci dan teori gerakan sosial baru berperan sebagai pisau analisis terhadap fenomena sengketa pertanahan di Desa Kedamean. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan desain penelitian kualitatif deskriptif serta menggunakan jenis pendekatan studi kasus. Fokus pada penelitian ini pada gerakan petani sebagai respon terhadap tindakan elite desa dalam penjualan tanah negara.

Dari temuan peneliti menunjukkan bahwa elite desa dalam melanggengkan penjualan tanah negara dan menghadang adanya gerakan petani melalui kelompok masyarakat yang berhasil didominasi, seperti tokoh agama, tokoh masyarakat yang memiliki kelebihan pada bidang hukum serta kebijakan Kepala Desa No. 141/01/KEP/437.110.04/2019. Adapun tahap-tahap pada proses politik penjualan tanah negara yakni mengatasnamakan sembilan orang sebagai pemohon tanah negara, membentuk panitia penjualan tanah negara, dan melakukan hubungan dengan pejabat pembuat akta tanah. Sedangkan pada gerakan petani, mereka memfokuskan untuk mempidanakan elite desa beserta kroni-kroninya yang terlibat dalam penjualan tanah negara. Gerakan petani berhasil menghimpun dukungan dan kekuatan pada organisasi non pemerintah, awak media dan anggota DPRD Gresik. Di sisi lain, gerakan ini tidak melibatkan advokat dikarenakan minimnya dana operasional/uang sebagai alat untuk memobilisasi sumber daya guna mencapai kepentingan yang diinginkan.

## SUMMARY

The sale of state land by the village elite in Kedamean Village started with a priori the loss of the existence of state land due to the housing development planning by PT. Prima Damai Permai. Furthermore, the proceeds from the sale of state land are allocated as village infrastructure or improvement of development found in the village itself, such as houses of worship, TPQ and places of community service. In retrospect, state land in Kedamean Village has for many years been used as suitable planting land by local farmers, and ironically these farmers are not involved or not socialized in advance by the village elite about the transfer of rights to state land and being traded.

From the right to control or ownership of state land until now there has been no legal right to ownership or ownership. So that the village elite in the sale of state land does not involve cultivating farmers. Furthermore, out of the emptiness of state land rights, the village elite seeks to dominate community groups to unite their tastes in the actions of the village elite to sell state land. In addition, village elites form individuals as petitioning actors on state land to the National Land Agency.

For the farmers themselves, the actions of the village elite in the sale of state land ignored Article 24 of Government Regulation. 24 of 1997. In this regulation it was formulated that the transition from state land rights to individual rights was evidenced by written evidence and witness statements or evidence of physical reality over the control of parcels of land for 20 years or more. However, the farmers considered that the actions of the village elite in appealing for state land did not include as per the law regarding the transfer of state land rights. So that farmers try to restore control of state land to the farmers and align the actions of the village elite in the sale of state land.

Issues raised in this study include: What is the political process of the village elite in the sale of state land and is the peasant movement able to produce satisfying decisions? Furthermore, Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory and the theory of new social movements acted as a knife for analyzing the phenomenon of land disputes in Kedamean Village. In this study, researchers used qualitative methods with descriptive qualitative research designs and used a case study approach. The focus of this research is on the peasant movement in response to the actions of the village elite in the sale of state land.

From the findings of the researchers show that the village elite in perpetuating the sale of state land and blocking the movement of farmers through community groups that were successfully dominated, such as religious leaders, community leaders who have advantages in the field of law and the policy of Village Head No. 141/01/KEP/437.110.04/2019. The stages in the political process of the sale of state land are in the name of nine people as applicants for state land, forming a committee for the sale of state land, and making contact with officials who make land certificates. While on the peasant movement, they focused on criminalizing village elites and their cronies involved in the sale of state land. The peasant movement managed to gather support and strength in non-government organizations, media crews and members of the Gresik DPRD. On the other hand, this movement does not involve advocates due to the lack of operational funds/money as a means of mobilizing resources to achieve the desired interests.

## ABSTRACT

Study concerns on the hegemony of the elite village in perpetuating the sale of state land located in the field of Kedamean village subdistricts. The sales of state land does not considered in accordance with the laws and regulations related to the sale of the ground state, giving rise to the existence of a movement of the farmers to restore the rights of the land tenure of the country is missing. So, this study focuses on the farmers movement on the hegemony of the elite of the village in the sale of state land.

This study uses a qualitative research method which can be obtained the data and information related to the process of political elite of the village in the sale of state land through observation, interview and documentation. The research informants selected by snowball sampling technique. The framework of the theory of hegemony, Antonio Gramsci and the new social movements play a role as a data analysis research.

The results showed some of the findings include: First, the political process of the elite village in the success of the sale of state land influenced by the society, the portray leadership, policy No. 141/01/KEP/437.110.04/2019, form a committee for the sale of state land, on behalf of the community as the applicant state land and conduct relations with social organizations, elite religion, notary and land deed official. Second, the farmers movement tend to focus giving punishment the village elite rather than take back control of the land lost. The actors from the farmers movement was dominated by individuals who have a background as an intermediary to take care of the related sale of land. The farmers movement collect various strength with non-Government organizations, the media and members of ministry of Commission I of the Nasdem Party. The role of money become an obstacle to the current operations of the farmers movement and does not involve lawyers to achieve success in restoring the control of the state land to farmers.

**Keywords:** *Hegemony, Farmers' Movement, Village Elite, Sales of State Land*