

# Claiming Injustice: The Struggle Of Pakel Communities In The Agrarian Conflict 2001-2024

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**Abstract:** This article analyzes the struggle of the people of Pakel Village, Licin District, Banyuwangi Regency, in the agrarian conflict that lasted from 2001 to 2024, using the agrarian conflict theory of Lee J. Alston, Gary D. Libecap, and Bernardo Mueller. This conflict focuses on land disputes that are considered customary land between local farmers and PT Bumi Sari, which causes social and economic injustice for the community. Using an agrarian conflict theory approach, this article identifies the factors that cause tension, including uncertainty over customary land rights. The struggle of farmers, especially women farmers who are at the front line, shows the importance of social solidarity and collective action in defending their land rights. This article provides insight into the urgency of agrarian reform to overcome injustice in customary land management and create more equitable social justice.

**Keywords :** agrarian conflict, Alas Pakel, land rights, farmers, PT. Bumi Sari

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Pakel community's struggle in the agrarian conflict reflects the existence of humans as creatures who struggle to defend their rights to land as a source of life, identity and sustainability, while also showing the relations of injustice inherent in the social and political systems that dominate them.

Discussing the issue of agrarian conflict in Indonesia is a complex matter. This is not only related to the economic system, but also the struggle and struggle for the management of agrarian resources which involves economic and political policies. The definition of agrarian conflict, as stated by the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA), can be understood as "structurally, namely a manifestation of the seizure of community land by state and private business entities, which is facilitated by policy and regulated by capital. ." (KPA, 2023). For the record, agrarian conflicts continue to occur and throughout 2023 there will be 241 conflicts that will occur on land. covering an area of 638,188 hectares (KPA, 2023).<sup>1</sup> In East Java alone there are at least 11 conflicts covering 14,731 hectares of land (KPA, 2023, p. 23). From these widespread conflicts, various cases of criminalization faced by small farmers were also recorded. One of them is the conflict and criminalization of farmers that occurred in Pakel Village, Licin District, Banyuwangi Regency on February 3 2023

(Sajogyo Institute, 2023). Three farmers were arrested by the Banyuwangi Police without undergoing clear arrest procedures.<sup>2</sup> This is thought to be related to the century-old conflict that occurred in Pakel Village. Problems that commonly occur in agrarian conflicts, violence and criminalization of farmers, further complicate the conflict resolution process.

The accumulation of capital and reinvestment in capital that took place during the Dutch East Indies colonial period required a process of population removal and taking over access through the legitimization and legalization of space. This resulted in a change in control of the area, from previously being managed by the people to being designated as a plantation area. The next consequence is unequal control of land (managed by farmers and companies) and/or farmers becoming laborers on the land they previously managed. A century ago this process occurred, unfortunately nothing has changed regarding the pattern of control. Through various legal instruments, state and private business entities, through legal instruments and legitimacy, still give control to capitalists to control areas even though there are many landless residents. In this way, land has become the property of one institution and is supported by state administrators with

<sup>1</sup> This structural conflict refers to conflicts that occur between farmers, indigenous communities, fishermen, rural communities and urban poor communities who deal directly with business groups (state and/or private) and the government. Thus, the scope of this study on structural agrarian conflict does not include cases of personal land

conflict against other individuals, or cases of individual inheritance rights and so on.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology of the arrests can be seen in further detail on the news website and/or via the sajogyo-institute.org website.

the aim of multiplying capital. Practices like this became known as *land grabbing* or land grabbing.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of capital accumulation occurs everywhere, including in Pakel Village. At the same time, various dynamics and changes in land tenure have emerged in Pakel Village. This dynamic has occurred throughout the history of Pakel Village and its people, even a century ago, before Indonesia became independent. The dynamics of land tenure and ownership claims occur repeatedly to this day. Since 1929 (deed of 1929) until after the New Order, the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village has not been resolved, even today. The Pakel community must continue to be under fear of violence and criminalization which could threaten them at any time. This is a representation of the tip of the iceberg regarding the agrarian conflict that occurred. In matters of subsistence, society has to deal with large capital and legal rationality in the style of a siding state.

The agrarian conflict in Pakel Village also confirms the process *reclaiming* occurred over a century, while confirming that the struggle of the Pakel community and farmers for land took a long time. The total land area of Pakel Village (1,309.7 ha) is divided into three groupings of land management rights: (1) PT. Bumi Sari covering an area of 257.1 hectares; (2) 318.2 hectares owned by Pakel residents; and (3) 729.5 hectares owned by Perhutani KPH West Banyuwangi.



Map Image overlay land tenure in Pakel Village (Setiawan, 2023)

Reclaiming is a conscious choice for Pakel residents and until now it has not been realized. Reclaiming can be

translated as an effort to regain land rights. In another sense, the reclaiming route is a form of land reform by leverage, which according to Wiradi (Sutaryono, Nugroho, & Afifi, 2014, p. 41) is an attempt and effort to encourage changes in the structure of land tenure initiated directly by farmers in an organized manner. Even though the reclaiming process has occurred repeatedly, in the period of modern Indonesian history, land rights have never been given to Pakel residents. This is in contrast to the "prosperity principle" contained in the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 which states that UUPA 60 seeks people's prosperity through agrarian-related businesses. Therefore, in UUPA 60, the state must guarantee the provision of access and assets to small farmers and farm workers, as an effort to improve the standard of living of the people, in order to achieve shared prosperity. Ideally, the state should provide land rights to Pakel residents as part of efforts to realize citizenship recognition and avoid unresolved agrarian conflicts (Shohibuddin, 2018, p. 179).

This article wants to photograph the struggles of the Pakel community from 2001-2024. Since early 2001, the community in Alas Pakel began organizing discussion forums to convey their demands by trying to build bridges of dialogue with the government. The Alas Pakel community faces major challenges in maintaining rights to the land they have managed for many years. This conflict not only covers legal and economic aspects, but is also rooted in deeper social, political and cultural issues. Thus, the title of this research, "Contesting Injustice: The Struggle of the Alas Pakel Banyuwangi Community in the Agrarian Conflict 2001-2024," aims to explore and understand the dynamics of agrarian conflict and the community's struggle in facing the injustice they experience.

## 2. THEORETICAL STUDY

### 2.1 AGRARIAN CONFLICT THEORY

Agrarian conflict is an event that occurs due to claims over control, ownership, use or distribution of agrarian resources, especially land. These conflicts are often triggered by unclear status of property rights, unequal distribution of land, overlapping claims between indigenous communities, farmers, corporations and the government, as well as unfair or ineffective agrarian policies. Agrarian conflicts are also influenced by weak legal institutions in regulating and enforcing rules regarding land ownership, which often trigger violence, criminalization or marginalization of certain groups, such as small farmers or indigenous communities. In the context of developing countries, agrarian conflicts often occur

<sup>3</sup> Term '*land grabbing*' first appeared in a report from an NGO in Spain that supports small farmer groups (Aprianto, 2016, p. 3).

due to structural inequality inherited from colonial times and exacerbated by the exploitation of resources for large-scale economic interests, giving rise to social tensions and hampering inclusive development.

In this paper, we use the theory of agrarian conflict developed by Lee J. Alston, Gary D. Libecap and Bernardo Mueller, focusing on the relationship between land ownership rights, inequality in land distribution, and the dynamics of agrarian conflict. This theory is adapted from an institutional economics approach which highlights how weak institutions and ineffective agrarian policies trigger conflict, violence and social instability in rural areas. In their research entitled "Rural Conflict Model: Violence and Land Reform Policy in Brazil" (1999), they explain how threats to land rights can create incentives for various actors to use violence or other non-legal strategies to defend or seize land. This uncertainty arises from weak legal institutions, weak regulatory enforcement, and irregularities in the recognition of property rights, all of which are exacerbated by long-standing inequality in land distribution. They found that in contexts like Brazil, where land distribution is highly unequal, agrarian conflicts are often fueled by overlapping claims to land, whether by small farmers, large landowners, or landless communities. This conflict is exacerbated by institutions that are unable to provide fair and comprehensive protection of property rights (Alston, Libecap, & Mueller, 1999, pp. 135-138).

The idea that agrarian conflict occurs because there are strong economic incentives to defend or seize land, while the social, political, or economic costs of the conflict are considered lower than the potential benefits obtained. They explain that when property rights are uncertain, certain groups tend to use coercive means, including violence, to secure their claims to land. This violence does not only occur between large landowners and small farmers, but also occurs among small farmers themselves, especially when the government issues agrarian reform policies that create hopes for land redistribution. In many cases, conflict escalates ahead of or during the implementation of land reform policies, as various parties seek to exploit opportunities to gain access to land through various means (Alston et al., 1999, pp. 140-143).

Violence is often used as a tool to strengthen claims to land, especially in rural areas where state institutions do not have the capacity to resolve legal settlements. One of the key elements of this theory is the role of land reform policies in creating the dynamics of agrarian conflict. Alston and his colleagues note that although agrarianism is often proposed as a solution to address unequal distribution of land, these policies often fail to achieve their goals due to weaknesses in implementation and lack of institutional support. They show that poorly planned land reform can actually trigger new conflicts by increasing competition among groups competing to benefit from land redistribution.

In the Brazilian context, for example, land reform policies often face obstacles due to resistance from large landowners,

corruption at the bureaucratic level, and weak supervision and law enforcement. In addition, they found that when the government is unable to provide guaranteed property rights to groups who receive land through reform, new conflicts can emerge, either in the form of direct violence or prolonged law enforcement (Alston et al., 1999, p. 145- 150). The agrarian conflict model developed by Alston, Libecap, and Mueller provides an important contribution to understanding the roots of land conflict problems in developing countries. They explained that protecting land property rights not only creates social tensions but also hinders rural economic development. When land rights are not protected, small farmers are reluctant to invest in land management because they are not sure they will own the land in the long term. This creates a cycle of economic and social instability that is difficult to break. In their model, the solution to agrarian conflict lies in strengthening institutions that are able to provide clarity and protection of land ownership rights. They emphasized that strong institutions are needed to ensure that land reform policies can be implemented fairly and effectively, without giving rise to new conflicts. Additionally, they highlight the importance of creating a legal system that is transparent and accessible to all parties to resolve land settlements peacefully (Alston et al., 1999, pp. 152-155).

Alston, Libecap, and Mueller's research is specific to the Brazilian context, but the concepts they develop have broad relevance for other developing countries, including Indonesia. In many ways, the situation in Brazil has similarities with agrarian conditions in Indonesia, such as high inequality in land distribution, weak recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples, and the existence of legal institutions that are often unable to resolve land restoration effectively.

Agrarian conflicts such as the case in Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, can be resolved using theories by Lee J. Alston, Gary D. Libecap and Bernardo Mueller. In Pakel, unclear legal status of land, overlapping claims between indigenous communities and companies, and weak protection of local community rights create conditions similar to those described in Alston's model of agrarian conflict. This theory provides a useful framework for understanding the roots of these conflicts and designing sustainable solutions through strengthening institutions and more inclusive agrarian policies. Thus, this theory is not only relevant for understanding agrarian conflicts in Brazil but also has wide application in the global context, especially in countries that face similar challenges in managing agrarian resources and creating social justice in the rural sector.

## **2.2 Agrarian Tree Law**

The Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) Number 5 of 1960 is the main legal basis that regulates land control and use in Indonesia (Marzuki, 2005). UUPA was born as a response to the need to manage agrarian resources more fairly and evenly, in line with the principles of democracy and social justice (Budiardjo, 2008). In the context of colonial history, UUPA

functions to eliminate systems that harm indigenous peoples and provide fairer rights to all Indonesian citizens.

One of the agrarian principles regulated in the UUPA is land rights. Every person or legal entity has the right to control and use land in accordance with applicable legal provisions (Salim, 2016). This land right is recognized as a basic right that must be protected, providing certainty to the owner in control of his land. This is important to avoid agrarian disputes which often occur due to unclear ownership rights.

The UUPA also recognizes the customary rights of customary law communities over the customary land they own. Customary land is land that has been controlled and used by indigenous peoples for generations. This recognition aims to respect and preserve the traditions and local wisdom of indigenous communities. Thus, these customary rights become an instrument for maintaining the cultural and social identity of indigenous peoples in Indonesia. Legal certainty is one of the important principles in the UUPA. Every land owner has the right to obtain formal recognition of his rights through land registration. This registration aims to provide legal certainty and protection of land rights. In practice, legal certainty is very important to reduce land disputes and facilitate more transparent agrarian transactions (Salim, 2016).

The UUPA emphasizes that land is a natural resource that must be managed wisely and sustainably (Nurdin, 2022). Therefore, every land owner has the right to manage and utilize the resources within it. This right is not only limited to economic use, but also includes the responsibility to preserve the environment and the sustainability of natural resources. Apart from land rights, UUPA is also closely related to the right to a good living environment. This is in line with the principles of sustainable development, where the use of land and natural resources must consider environmental impacts. People have the right to a clean and healthy environment, so this right must be protected in every agrarian activity.

UUPA provides space for the community to participate in land management and use. This participation is important to ensure that land-related policies and decisions reflect the interests of the community. Through active participation, the community can monitor the management of agrarian resources and voice their aspirations and interests. In the case of land control by the state or other parties for public purposes, the land owner has the right to receive fair compensation. The UUPA regulates provisions regarding compensation as a form of protecting the rights of land owners. This aims to avoid unfair losses for land owners and ensure that the land tenure process is carried out with transparency and fairness.

The UUPA emphasizes that land control must be oriented towards the public interest. This means that land use must provide benefits for the wider community and not only for the benefit of certain individuals or groups. In this context, land control for infrastructure development projects or natural

resource utilization must consider social and environmental impacts and involve the community in the decision-making process. The basic rights regulated in the UUPA reflect a commitment to creating social justice and sustainable management of agrarian resources in Indonesia. Recognition of these rights is very important in maintaining a balance between the interests of individuals, society and the state. Therefore, good implementation of UUPA and protection of agrarian rights is a strategic step to reduce agrarian conflict and improve community welfare.

### 2.3 ALAS PAKEL

Pakel Village is located in Licin District, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java Province. Geographically, this village area is a middle area (midstream) which connects the upstream area around Mount Ijen with the downstream area around Kabat, Rogojampi and Banyuwangi City. The majority of the topography in the Pakel Village area is surrounded by hills, forest areas controlled by Perhutani and plantation areas controlled by private companies.

Pakel Village administratively has an area of around 1,309.7 hectares with a population of around 2,760 people. Specific information regarding the jobs of the majority of the population is not widely available, especially in the annual reports of BPS Banyuwangi and *Slippery District in Numbers* for the period 2019 to 2022, which does not contain detailed data on the main occupation of Pakel residents. However, the 2018 census and below stated that the majority of the population worked as farmers. The latest data for 2015 shows that around 626 people work as farmers, 51 people in the industrial sector, 181 people in the trade sector, and 19 people in the transportation sector, with a total of 877 people working. The rest are not recorded in the census. This data also includes agricultural land area and crop productivity in Pakel Village. According to BPS data for 2015-2022, the rice harvest area ranges from 300-500 hectares with a yield of around 2,000-3,000 tons per year, while secondary crops cover 30 hectares with a productivity of 185-200 tons per year. Compared to other areas, harvest area and agricultural productivity in Pakel Village are relatively low. For the smallholder plantation sector, this village has a harvest area of around 136 hectares for copra, 51 hectares for coffee, and 7 hectares for cloves.

However, the results of observations and *assessment* Walhi East Java provides different data. Walhi noted that the majority of Pakel Village residents work as farmers, agricultural laborers, plantation workers and informal sector workers. They also revealed that more than 1,000 residents worked as farm laborers, plantation workers, or outside the village, data that was not recorded by BPS Banyuwangi. Walhi's analysis also highlights the low productivity of agriculture and smallholder plantations in Pakel Village even though the area is quite large. This is reinforced by the fact that the number of people working in the agricultural or food sector based on BPS data does not reach half of the total village population. On the other hand, Walhi records show



that more than half of the population is involved as agricultural laborers, plantation workers, or working in other sectors outside agriculture and smallholder plantations.

### 3. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses the literature study research method by Creswell (2014) which states that literature study is a systematic process that involves collecting, evaluating and synthesizing published scientific works to provide a theoretical basis or context for research. Literature studies help researchers identify gaps in previous research and provide justification for the need for research being conducted.

In the context of the article "Contesting Injustice: The Struggle of the Pakel Community in the Agrarian Conflict 2001-2024," literature study is a very relevant approach to comprehensively understand and analyze the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village. In accordance with the definition put forward by Creswell (2014), literature studies can be used to identify information from various sources such as the book *In the Name of Tanah Pakel* by the Puputan Pakel Committee, legal documents, reports from advocacy organizations such as Walhi, news archives, as well as agrarian theories from experts. Researchers can collect and synthesize this information to find the root causes of agrarian conflicts, such as unfair land distribution, the impact of government agrarian policies, and the Pakel community's struggle strategies in fighting for their rights.

Through literature studies, researchers can also place the Pakel agrarian conflict in a broader context, link it to the theory of structural inequality, and analyze the role of actors such as government, companies and local communities. This is in accordance with the aim of literary studies according to Creswell, namely providing a theoretical basis and justification for research. With information from various sources, this research not only documents the struggles of the Pakel community, but also reveals patterns of agrarian injustice that are systemic and nationally relevant.

### 4. DISCUSSION

The changes that occurred in Indonesia in the late colonial period (19th century) were caused by the intensification of western influence through the formation of Western plantation companies (Nawiyanto, 2018, p. 1). In the Tapal Kuda area (Besuki Residency) the emergence of large plantations only began in the same century. The integration of the Besuki region into Dutch rule opened up opportunities for economic exploitation by opening various plantations managed by the state and private parties. This exponential development increases production as well as capital accumulation.

Pakel Village was previously called Soemberredja Village which is located at the base of Pakel. In the past (17th century) this area was part of the White Tiger kingdom whose residents were involved in the Puputan Bayu war in the 18th century (Ghazali, 2023, p. 69). The settlement became an "unknown" area until it was finally recorded in the administrative documents of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government as Soemberredjopakel Village under the Kabat district, Rogojampi District, Banyuwangi Regentschap (Ghazali, 2023, p. 70). The formation of the settlement in Pakel Village coincided with the development of the Dutch East Indies colonial political economic situation. As a result of the crisis that occurred in the 1920s (malaise) many residents of Banyuwangi, both the Osing, Madurese and Javanese tribes, cultivated the land around the Pakel base. These farmers even founded a farmers' association spearheaded by Doelgani, Senen, and Karso (Puputan Pakel Committee, 2023, p. 2). Around 2,900 farmers from various locations manage forest land nicknamed "Sengkan Kandang" for subsistence needs. In terms of subsistence, the forest or Pakel area provides the daily needs of the residents. In this forest they grow rice and various commodities such as tobacco, coffee, sweet potatoes, corn, bananas and so on.

The occupation of Pakel grounds gave rise to conflict when the plantation expansion interests took place by the Pakuda Plantation company (N.V. Cultuur Maatschappij Pacouda). This company was founded in September 1911 and is based in The Hague and has a branch office in Jember (Ghazali, 2023, p. 74). This plantation cultivates several lands for cultivating coffee and rubber plants in Garahan, Taman Glugo-Gunung Patrang (Banyuwangi) and Sri Wulseng (location unknown). Pakuda also had a permit for 75 years in the Dutch East Indies. One of the managed areas of this private plantation company is partly in Alas Pakel. Although part of the area was under the colonial agricultural department to be managed as a plantation area (Ghazali, 2023, p. 74). Conflicts of interest, between private companies-state plantations-and-Pakel farmers, emerged for the first time in Alas Pakel.

The Pakel people's struggle in the agrarian conflict is always remembered. The Gus Dur era, the third year of reform, became new hope for the struggle of the Alas Pakel people. The local community, the majority of whom are farmers, feel threatened by development projects launched by the government and private companies who control their agricultural land. This conflict is not only about land ownership, but also about their survival as farmers who depend on agricultural products. The struggle of Pakel farmers to defend land in their village is not easy. For years, the Pakel people have relied on land as their main source of livelihood. Pakel farmers have carried out reclaiming on a large scale. The conflict between Pakel farmers and forestry is getting hotter. Pakel farmers' crops are being damaged and stolen and threats against Pakel farmers are increasing, including arrests of Pakel farmers.

As a form of the Pakel farmers' mounting anger, the Pakel farmers stood guard on the agricultural land and detained Perhutani officers and foremen who entered *Alas Pakel*. The peak of Pakel farmers' anger occurred on August 14 2000, because Perhutani always entered the *Alas Pakel* area and arrested the farmers, Pakel farmers chose to counterattack Perhutani, the warehouse and as many as 3 Perhutani trucks were damaged and burned to the ground (Puputan Pakel Committee, 2023).

After the ceremony on 17 August 2000, the Brimob motorcade entered the Sumberejo Pakel area, Pakel farmers were attacked by the authorities. Pakel farmers' houses were shot at, doors broken down, and all the men along the village roads were arrested and thrown into Brimob trucks. Several Pakel farmers were shot, many were arrested, some were herded with little clothing, they were forcibly transported with violence, and ended up in prison. Some other Pakel farmers tried to continue the struggle by surviving in the forest. Others fled the city and even left the island to find temporary work. The events of August 17 2000 are remembered as the "Desa Janda" tragedy. Many Pakel farmers were imprisoned and served varying terms of detention. Pakel farmers feel the need for a joint organization. From the long history of struggle of the Pakel people who are members of the national organization "Roekoen Tani" but do not yet have a joint organization. On May 12 2002, led by Mohammad Slamet, Pakel farmers declared the formation of the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Rukun Tani.

At the beginning of the reform, Pakel farmers began to face two land grabbers at once, Perum Perhutani PKH West Banyuwangi and PT. Bumi Sari (Earth Sari Advanced Success Plantation and Trading Company). PT. Bumi Sari applied for a HGU extension in 2004, covering the Songgon and Kluncing Village areas. However, even though the area managed should only be in Songgon and Kluncing Villages, in practice the company has encroached on planting areas as far as the Sumberejo Pakel Village area. (Puputan Pakel Committee, 2023 : 44)

Banyuwangi National Land Agency (BPN) on February 14 2018, in one of its letters stated that PT. Bumi Sari controls land based on HGU certificate No.1/Kluncing Village covering an area of 1,902,600 M<sup>2</sup> and HGU certificate No.8/Bayu Village covering an area of 9,995,500 M<sup>2</sup> with a total area of 11,898,100 M<sup>2</sup> (1,188.81 Ha) which is valid until 31 December 2034. (Puputan Pakel Committee, 2023: 46). So based on this report PT. Bumi Sari only has the right to manage these 2 areas and not encroach on the Sumberejo Pakel Village area.

In mid-2020 the Pakel Farmers began to build a new organization, based on democratic principles, not relying on just a few people and involving the role of women. It has more than 1,000 members under the name Rukun Tani Sumberejo Pakel. On September 24 2020, Rukun Tani Sumberejo Pakel carried out *reclaiming* on land that has been confiscated by PT. Bumi Sari. Break through the plantation guard post, then

build several huts and plant various plants such as bananas, corn, peanuts, durian, ginger, jengkol, eggplant, chilies, cassava, coconut, coffee, rice and so on on the land.

However, when the Pakel Farmers were carrying out a mass action in Banyuwangi Regency on December 2 2020, the foreman and plantation security came to the hut and pulled out stakes and damaged the Pakel Farmers' banana and coffee plants. The actions of the plantation people annoyed the Pakel Farmers who finally negotiated to expand their territory *reclaiming*. Throughout December 2020 to February 2021, several attacks occurred, so that Pakel Samkin Farmers strengthened security on their land. In early 2022, Pakel farmers experienced violence from the police and plantation security. This made the Pakel Farmers angry and damaged the guard post and PT entrance office. Bumi Sari.

In 2023, three Pakel farmers were kidnapped, namely Suwarno, Untung and Mulyadi. The kidnapping was related to the struggle against land confiscation carried out by PT. Bumi Sari in Sumberejo Pakel Village. (Puputan Pakel Committee, 2023:64). The three farmers have been detained until now. Support for the Pakel Farmers' struggle comes from various community groups in various regions in Indonesia. Support from students, farm workers, academics, researchers, journalists, artists, football supporters and various other groups.

According to the records of residents who are members of the Sumberejo Pakel Tani Association, the Pakel Farmers were attacked for days by the PT plantation crowd. Bumi Sari, from 2 March 2024 to 14 March 2024. (Kabar Trenggalek, 2024). PT. Bumi Sari dropped off 5 trucks of plantation employees and dozens of motorbikes suspected of being security guards and thugs. The attacks, which have been going on for several days, have had a significant impact on female farmers in Pakel. Women farmers feel stressed and cannot carry out their agricultural activities normally because of the fear of attacks that could occur at any time. In fact, the incident of a PT Bumi Sari mass member shooting a gun into the air further worsened the psychological condition of the farmers, who were filled with anxiety and discomfort. The impact of this intimidation also disrupts household chores, such as washing and cooking, which often have to be abandoned due to the threat of attack.

Despite facing increasing intimidation and threats, Pakel farmers, especially women, continue to try to defend their agricultural land. They fight to protect the plants they have cared for with such care. In facing these attacks, women farmers actually took an important role by being on the front line. The role of women on the front line is important to maintain calm and avoid greater physical conflict, because women are considered more capable of controlling emotions in tense situations compared to men.

On March 10 2024, a male farmer was beaten until he fainted due to attacks from security and thugs who were thought to be from PT Bumi Sari. This incident motivated

women farmers to be on the front lines to protect their colleagues and prevent further violence. Women farmers argue that by being on the front lines, they can further reduce the potential for violence against male farmers. The Pakel farmers now hope that there will be solidarity from the wider community to stop the ongoing attacks from PT Bumi Sari. The National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) of the Republic of Indonesia has also responded to this issue and plans to ask for clarification from PT Bumi Sari and the East Java Regional Police regarding the incident.

The fighting spirit of the Pakel people continues to burn, even though they realize that this struggle is not an easy matter. They continue to support each other and share experiences to face various existing challenges. Their commitment to fighting for land rights and the sustainability of life in their village is the main driver in every step they take. In 2024, the Pakel community will feel a positive change in the government's perspective on agrarian issues. There is a push for fairer agrarian reform, and the public is invited to participate in the policy-making process. This change is considered a step forward in recognizing people's rights that have been neglected. The struggle of the Pakel people is a reflection of the spirit of resilience and social justice that is rooted in society. They prove that people's voices can shape public policy and bring about meaningful change. The Pakel people remain committed to continuing to fight, not only for themselves, but also for future generations who will inherit their land and culture.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The Pakel community's struggle in facing prolonged agrarian conflicts reflects injustice in the management and distribution of land in Indonesia, which has historically been influenced by colonial policies and the interests of large companies. This conflict not only involves land ownership issues, but also the struggle to maintain rights to customary land which has become a source of livelihood for local communities, including women farmers. Despite facing increasing intimidation, violence and threats, Pakel farmers, especially women, have played an important role on the front lines of their struggle, showing extraordinary resilience and solidarity.

Women's involvement in defending their land reveals the gender dimension of agrarian struggle, where they not only play a role in domestic activities but also become the main actors in facing external pressures. This struggle also highlights the importance of fairer agrarian reform to ensure that community rights, especially those based on customary land, are recognized and protected.

In the future, the Pakel community's struggle reflects hopes for fairer policy changes, as well as recognition of customary land rights that should not be evicted by capital interests. Support from various parties, including the wider community and state institutions, is very necessary to realize social and economic justice for the Pakel community, as well as strengthening agrarian reform efforts in Indonesia.

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