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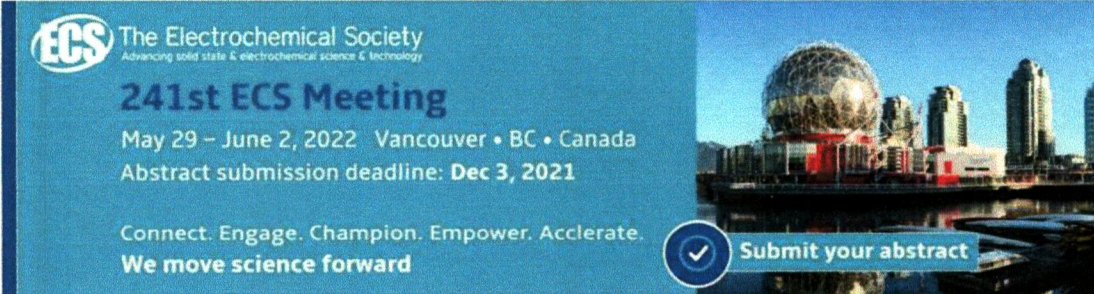
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The strategy of women in facing agrarian land conflict: Case of female farmers of Makassar Ethnics

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Abstract. One of the crucial issues in developing country is land conflict. It occurred since 1978 and still unsolved. This research aimed to investigate and analyze (1) the social and cultural values of Makassarese Women (2) the impact of the land conflict on Makassarese Women, (3) the strategy of female farmers in facing land conflict. The research was conducted in the villages of Timbuseng and Kampung Beru, North Polongbangkeng Sub-District, Takalar Regency, Indonesia. The research employed qualitative method combined with ethnography case study with in-depth interviews, observation, document study, and focus group discussion (FGD). The results indicate that the land conflict happened in North Polongbangkeng Sub-District had an impact on the socio-economic and cultural life of the community. The women had to play a role and the same position as the man in productive, social and domestic matters. For 25 years, the community had to avoid and wait. Since 2007, the community had thought that the contact with PTPN XIV land had ended and the community could take over the land they owned. The strategy done by women was to join the man in their fight to get back their land. They started with confronting actions to forming an organization called Polongbangkeng Farmers Unity. In 2014 the partnership program was established as an effort to settle the land conflict, though until now this program had not answered the primary needs of the community in the region.

1. Introduction

Intensity of conflict in natural resource management has continued to increase within the last few years. In Indonesia one of the causes of agrarian conflict and natural resources is the inequality of ownership of natural resources. Vast lands controlled by the state or private sector while the peasant, majority owned only small farm [1]

The disparity and scarcity of land for the farmers is a rational reason behind farmers struggle that lead to the many agrarian conflicts spread throughout Indonesia. In 2016 released by KPA noted that there have been at least 450 agrarian conflicts throughout 2016, with an area of 1,265,027 hectares and involving 86,745 households spread across provinces in Indonesia. In 2015 there were 252 agrarian conflicts, thus it was a significant increase, almost double the figure. If on average, every day there is an agrarian conflict and 7,756 hectares of land are



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involved in the conflict; then the community lost about nineteen times the size of the province of DKI Jakarta [5].

There are two conditions that contributed to the widespread poverty in rural areas in Indonesia [3]. The first is the increasing percentage of small farmers, whose proportion is already majority since 1963 to 2003. The second condition is the growth in the number of farmers' households without land. Two of the many in-depth studies conducted by SDP-SAE (Survey Agro Economy) in the 80s concluded that rural poverty mostly occurs in landless farmer households [4].

The change from nature to "natural resources" has resulted very bitterly for the peasants who had to be ousted from their own land and partly forced to transform into wage labor. This is a forced process of creating people who no longer tied to the land and nature. These people rely only on their strength, then become free workers [5].

Farmers and the most rural community have difficulty to meet the educational and health needs of their families. They are constantly experiencing economic downturns and quality of life due to the insufficient wages, the high cost of production and the low price of their products. This as a result of the monopoly and control of the lands, agricultural production (work tools and agricultural input) even the market as well as the price of agricultural products by imperialism and their accomplices in the country [6].

Women are most affected by the agrarian conflict. They have to experience the doubled oppression and the burden of poverty. According to Rozaki [7] women experience two forms of violence at once, namely structural violence resulting from agrarian conflict and cultural violence in the form of family and community habits that do not empower women. These situations encouraged women to take a role in fighting for their rights.

The role of women in fighting for the source of livelihood directly involved in the various of mass action, namely women of Sugapa hugging trees that will be torn down by PT. Inti Indorayon main in Porsea, North Sumatra. Women in Bojong, West Java along with men blockade the machinaries of the companies to enter their reclaiming lands that was taken by the company. Similar action done by Mrs. Werima who fought against PT.Inco in South Sulawesi [8].

The role of women is also seen in the land conflicts in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng, Takalar. Economic pressure and the character of Makassarese women who are brave are the factors of women farmer involvement in the peasant struggle movement to reclaim their land in North Polongbangkeng. This study aims to analyze the strategy of women farmers land conflict in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng, Takalar.

2. Materials and Method

2.1 Types of Research

The type of research used in this study was qualitative descriptive research by combining case studies and ethnography. Case study is a research that is used and done intensive, detailed, and deeply to a problem that became the object of research, whereas narrow ethnography can be interpreted as a description of a particular ethnic in space and in a certain period.

2.2 Time and Research Site

The research was conducted from September to December 2017. The location of this research is in two villages, namely Timbuseng and Kampung Beru, Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng, Takalar Regency, Indonesia.

2.3 Informant

Informants in this study were selected in accordance with the interests and objectives of the study. The informants in this study are: 1). Women farmers in Timbuseng Village and Kampung Beru Village are experienced direct impact of the agrarian conflict. They are small farmers and farm labore who used to own land claimed by Sugar Cane Plantation. 2). The head

of the Polongbangkeng Farmers' Union organization represents both men and women. Polongbangkeng Farmers Union is an organization built by Farmers of Polongbangkeng as a means of peasant struggle since 2009. Informants are considered have deep understanding about the conflict, and are also considered able to provide all the required information.

2.4 Data Collection and Analysis

The data in this study were obtained through in-depth interviews, field observation, document review and focus group discussion. Data analysis in this research use interactive model of Miles and Huberman, a model consists of three processes, which take place interactively. First, data reduction where researchers will sort, focus, simplify and abstract the data those researchers get from interviews, observation, document review and FGD. Secondly, compiling and presenting existing data is needed for easy understanding. Researchers will use tables, and images to present existing data. Thirdly, drawing the initial conclusions from the initial data that researchers have and compose final conclusion at the end of the study.

3. Results

Land conflicts in North Polongbangkeng Sub-District have been around since 1978 until now. Various problems have arisen and never resolved. The people of North Polongbangkeng have been dependent on agriculture for a long time. They have farmed the land and lived separately on their land since 1942 during the Dutch colonial period. This is evidenced by the discovery of old graves, the former wells and settlements inside the sugar cane plantations.

3.1 The Beginning of Land Conflict

The presence of sugarcane plantation in Takalar Regency started in 1974. Initially as a form of gratitude Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX for Takalar people's for their assistance in defending Jogjakarta from the Dutch attack during the war. In 1978 PT. Madu has just started the land acquisition, managed by the committee of 9 people and the decree of KDH Takalar Regent number 24/Kpts/1978, dated March 1, 1978 on stipulation of the amount of compensation. The decree stipulates the amount of compensation: (1) for the first grade paddy field of IDR. 350,000 per hectare, (2) paddy field belonging to class II and III amounting to IDR. 275,000/ hectare (3) land / moor of IDR. 200,000 / ha, (4) arable land or P2 land of IDR. 107.000 / ha.

Upon the publication of the Decree of the Regent of Takalar, the community spontaneously refused and since then the community began to make efforts to defend continues farming activities on their land. On the other hand, PT. Madu Baru was assisted by the government along with some members of army, forced the community to accept the settlement by in various ways such as intimidation, arrest, detention and firing the firearms against people who still do farming activities on land they owned. Communities were also perceived to be inhibiting development and accused of being member of communist if they do not want to give up their land.

To facilitate land acquisition, the committee promised that their land would only be rented for 25 years and would be returned after the lease term ended. Land acquisition conducted by the committee of 9 has many fraudulent transactions, thus PT. Madu Baru releases its assets in Takalar to PTP XXIV and XXV. In 1996, the management of sugarcane plantations was handed over to PTPN XIV. Until now, the area of sugarcane plantation managed by PTPN-XIV Takalar sugar factory, based on 10 temporary land used certificates, is an area of 6,546.22 ha. In addition, land tenure is based on temporary building used certificate, which is 181.93 ha. Therefore, the total land area controlled by PTPN-XIV PG.Takalar is an area of 6.728.15 ha, located in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng and South Polongbangkeng, Takalar Regency.

3.2 The Impact of Land Conflicts

Conflict in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng has an impact on socio-economic conditions of the community. Losing land makes it difficult for the community to meet the economic

needs of the family. Fulfillment of nutritional intake is no longer important, as long as they have food to consume. People often consume corn, yams and bananas instead of rice because they can not afford rice. Many children drop out of school due to lack of funds. The culture of mutual cooperation in managing the land has been abandoned.

Another perceived impact is violence and threat since the inception of sugar cane plantations. On land acquisition the community will be accused of being a communist for impeding the construction if they refused to surrender their land. From WALHI data in South Sulawesi, there were at least 14 victims of violence since the sugar cane plantation until 2009. 13 farmers were detained in 2009 and 23 people received a summons from the police.

3.3 The Social and Cultural Value of Makassarese Ethnic Women Farmers

In Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng, Takalar, men and women have the same roles and positions. In the division of domestic roles, productive roles, and social roles, even in family decision making, men and women have equal positions. In fact, often found the portion of work taken by women in the land much more than men. Men also did not hesitate to do domestic work such as cooking or doing housechore for the family.

When land conflicts between PTPN XIV and communities at peak, women also took many roles. Some of the Polongbangkeng Farmers Union (*STP*) members are women, and frequently in a family women who join and become members of Polongbangkeng Farmers Union (*STP*). Their husbands do not object to his wife's activeness to the organization.

Buginese-Makassarese cultural values known as the "*sulapaq appaq*" philosophy are "*caraddeq*" (smart), "*lambusuq*" (honest), "*kalumangnyang*" (rich), "*barani*" (brave) do not distinguished between men and women. In this study the researchers found that the value of the philosophy is also described on women farmers in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng. Out of four philosophies, the value of "*caraddeq*" (smart) and "*barani*" (brave) most prominent than others. While the value "*kalumangnyang*" (rich) is not found because the people of North Polongbangkeng has lost their livelihood since the involvement of PTPN XIV.

3.4 Farmers' Strategies Face Land Conflicts or Farmer's Strategy in Dealing with Land Conflicts

In the face of conflict with PTPN XIV Takalar Sugar Factory, Polongbangkeng Farmers Union (*STP*), run the general strategy of the struggle they call "Master - Keep - Maintain". The mobilization of Polongbangkeng Farmers Union (*STP*) members to work together in the field also as a show of strength of the peasants in conveying the message to PTPN XIV, that Polongbangkeng farmers have strong unity and fighting power to regain their land. With the collective work of land tenure not only facilitates and accelerates the completion of work, it also strengthens the confidence and spirit of the peasants in taking over their land.

In carrying out the strategy of maintaining the land of the farmers of Polongbangkeng incorporated in the Takalar Polongbangkeng Farmers Union (*STP*), divide the work into three parts of the job field, namely organizational work, politics, and alliance work. In the organization section, *STP* Takalar carries out educational work both at the level of group members and at the leadership level. Political work is done with mass campaigns and propaganda through mass action. While alliances work is done by strengthening forces in external Polongbangkeng Farmers Union (*STP*), mainly student organizations, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and Legal Aid Institutions (LBH) located in the city of Makassar.

After the mass action carried out in early 2014 the concept of partnership back in the idea by PTPN XIV. In a letter sent to *STP*, PTPN XIV is willing to grant 2 Ha / KK area to *STP* Takalar members. Takalar *STP* members generally agree with the proposed partnership pattern with the record that all *STP* Takalar members get the land to be managed. However, until now the partnership program is still unclear. PTPN XIV in the end only gives the land area of 125 Ha to be managed as people's sugar cane. The lack of land provided by PTPN XIV to *STP*

Takalar to be managed as a sugar cane makes only a small proportion of *STP* members who can grow sugarcane. Average *STP* members who manage partnerships between 40 and 60 are.

4. Discussion

This study finds that the strategy undertaken by women in facing agrarian conflict is by joining men to fight for the right to land. The loss of land has made people lose their livelihood. The absence of skills other than farming has impoverished society and deprived them of the agrarian culture they have been practicing for decades. Women farmers as part of the community do not abide with the conditions that occur in the socio-economic conditions of the family. Women to deal with the impact of the conflict implement various strategies. The presumption that women only live in the shore, wells and rooms does not apply.

The study also found that the cultural values contained in the "sulapaq appaq" philosophy of "caraddeq" (smart), "lambusuq" (honest), "kalumangnyang" (rich) and "barani" (brave) can be found in this study. The value of "caraddeq" (smart) and "barani" (brave) is very prominent compared to other values. The value of "kalumangnyang" (rich) in the sense of physically rich can not be found until 2007. Improvement of economic conditions in *STP* members can be found after the tenure of land for 5 years, but again declined since 2014. The value of "caraddeq" (smart) was done. They put their cattle into a sugar cane plantation that they claim to own. This strategy is done subtly and very effectively in the process of community land acquisition. Incorporating cattle into sugarcane plantations keeps the community protected from the threat of land acquisition reports. The strategy of inclusion of more massive livestock is done after the establishment of *STP* because the organization considers that the strategy is very effective and can avoid intimidation and violence from PTPN XIV and security apparatus. While the value of "barani" (brave) can be seen since the beginning of manifest conflict until now, women are always at the forefront when dealing with security apparatus or with PTPN XIV.

In the conflict that took place in Takalar, in addition to sharing productive roles by doing various jobs to make money for families, the women of North Polongbangkeng also took over social roles by engaging directly with the Polongbangkeng Peasant Union either as a member or a leader. Even before the arrival of the Polongbangkeng Peasant Union women had begun the resistance in taking over their land. The role of women in North Polongbangkeng is in line [9] the Folklore text describing the activities of women and men in carrying out their natural (reproductive role) roles and cultural roles (domestic role, productive role, and social role) shows that there are no restrictions on the rights and powers for men and women in various areas of life.

In latent conflicts, communities were forcibly accepted land contracts for 25 years. Women choose avoidance strategies until their land contract expires. To survive the community one by one left his hometown. Men become construction workers, pedicab drivers, and freelance workers in other areas to become migrant workers abroad. While women living in villages are also looking for strategies to not fully rely on their husbands' incomes.

In this period there was no female resistance to defend the land. Women choose to do a strategy to survive with "mappulung-pulung" (looking for remnants of rice) and "makkat" (rice harvest workers) in Wajo Regency, Pinrang Regency, and Sidrap Regency. A sugarcane farm worker faces the risk of violence and threats from sugarcane plantation workers, *mattesang* fields and livestock, and looking for work outside Takalar.

At the beginning of the conflict, the community considers that their land contract has ended. In addition to the basic ownership claims that led to farmers' resistance to land tenure by PTPN XIV, another factor that contributed to the resistance of farmers was the socio-economic factor where since land tenure by PTPN XIV had many negative impacts on socio-economic community [10]. In this period women are more involved in fieldwork in mastering and maintaining land. Women still lack confidence to speak in meetings and forums.

Women's role and involvement became more visible after the formation of Polongbangkeng Farmers Union. The consolidation work garnered the strength of the alliance for the struggle of Polongbangkeng Farmers Union, many played by women by visiting NGO offices and visits to campuses in Makassar. After delivering testimony regarding the land conflicts they face, visits to offices and campuses will end with a request to join the alliance and give support to the Polongbangkeng peasant struggle.

The mode used by companies to silence people protesting land grabs is by using law enforcement such as police and army, they also hired thugs [11]. This condition also occurs in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng, from the land acquisition process until reclaimed the land with expired contract by the community. In order to avoid violence or physical clashes in the field during the action to defend the land, prioritizing the strength of women farmers to survive in the good location as a negotiator while arguing with the PTPN XIV and police officers, as well as a pioneer in the formation of defensive action against police officers, employees and PTPN XIV's tractors that will go to cultivate farmers' land.

Women also began to emerge as a leader figure after the establishment of *STP*. In the First Major Consultative Assembly, there were no women who became heads. At the Second Deliberation II was elected 1 woman from 9 collective leaders of *STP*, and III Deliberation III was elected 3 women from 13 *STP* collective leaders.

The efforts to resolve this conflict have not been clear. Partnership program initiated by PTPN XIV and local government still proceed to this day, but not yet able to solve the main problem that happened in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng. The concept of partnership can actually be a middle ground for land conflicts that occur in Sub-District North Polongbangkeng. Where by submitting the land to be managed as sugarcane of the people to *STP* Takalar then both parties in conflict will be equally benefited. Farmers will return with their livelihoods and PTPN XIV will get raw materials for its sugar industry. The idea of conflict resolution is to hand over the responsibility of producing raw materials to farmers [12] to enhance agricultural and rural development [13] and improving income through agriculture [14]. Production of raw materials is basically not difficult to be implemented by farmers; the problem is the unavailability of land for farmers. So the way out is to hand over land utilization to farmers to produce industrial raw materials. Furthermore, the company focuses on running the industry or processing raw materials produced by farmers.

5. Conclusion

Land conflicts occurring in Sub-District of North Polongbangkeng between farmers and PTPN XIV has had an impact on the economic, social and cultural life of the community. Women farmers in the face of the conflict took the strategy of joining men in fighting for their land rights. This strategy has advanced women and made women stronger and more confident. The value of *caraddeq* (intelligence) and *barani* (brave) in the philosophy of *sulapaq appaq* affect women farmers in determining strategy. This research hopes to solve conflicts that are just for the community. The government must find a middle ground to solve the problem of land conflict in Sub-District North Polongbangkeng without harming the community.

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