

Land Grabbing and Its Effects on The Social Life Of Farmers In The South Coast Of Tabanan

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Abstract. Land ownership is an essential factor for people who still depend on agriculture for their lives. The issue of land ownership is important because it relates to the access and social livelihoods of farming communities. So, land is not only an asset but also functions as a means of production for farming communities and a source of income for people in rural areas. This study aims to see how the social process of land ownership transfer as part of tourism development in the southern coast of Tabanan. The two villages that are the case studies of this research are Belalang Village and Pangkung Tibah Village, wherein these two villages there has been a large-scale transfer of ownership since the early 1990s. The method used in this research is a literature study with a literature review using journals, books, articles, documents, and other literature searches. The data obtained is then analyzed by reading the information that appears and quoting, paraphrasing, and interpreting the data on the results obtained. The study results indicate that there has been a large-scale transfer of land ownership in these two villages carried out by strong actors, namely the government and investors, to develop tourism areas. The transfer of ownership is also carried out in a compelling way and by using aspects of physical violence to get the land from the community. The land sale is also the result of the socio-economic inequality of agricultural products with the demands of life to quickly sell their land.

Keywords: land grabbing; land ownership; power; tourism development

1 Introduction

Problems regarding land in people's lives have developed significantly following the times, and disputes over ownership from debates to conflicts show that land has a high value (Notonagoro, 1984). Agrarian issues have long dynamics in Indonesia's history. From the colonial period until independence, the land issue surfaced and found its characteristics and characteristics. During the Dutch East Indies colonial period until the Japanese occupation, farmers did not have rights to their land or land due to the Agrarian Law of 1870. After independence, starting with the oppression of the people, there was an attempt to redistribution of land, which was the mainstay of the Old Order government (Fauzi, 1999). In the process, the Basic Agrarian Law No. 5 of 1960 provides legal certainty for the people of Indonesia related to agrarian matters, especially the farming community.

The land issue then found a point of turbulence between development and agrarianism during the New Order era. At this time, the government is intensively carrying out development in all fields. The government argues that carrying out development is for the community's welfare through a legal monopoly of land rights. To this day, Indonesia's agrarian face is a legacy of the agrarian face of the new order. If you look at the pattern, the pattern of agrarian problems of the new order until now is certainly different from the face of the old order agrarian where the conflict that occurred in the old order was between landlords and farmers, while now it is experienced between the government, investors and the community (Fauzi, 1999). When we talk about agrarian dynamics in Indonesia, we will focus on the struggle of interests between strong and weak actors in land tenure. The built narrative is often won by strong actors, namely the government and investors, while the losers are, of course, weak actors, namely the community, in this case, the farmers.

These control patterns are also seen in Bali, an area synonymous with tourism, which is undoubtedly considered to have its charm for investors. Tourism development is supported by Law no. 9 of 1990, which states tourism development as part of national development by prioritizing local wisdom, which is currently being updated with Law no. 10 of 2009. Nevertheless, land-use changes continue to occur whose designation is dominated by tourism supporting accommodation such as hotels, villas, restaurants, etc. If we look further, there are indications that Bali's tourism development targets southern coastal areas that offer natural attractions in the form of beaches. This pattern is visible from the southern coastal areas such as Nusa Dua, Kuta and continues to move west along the southern coastline of Bali.

The development of the tourism industry, which began to move in the 1980s, has more or less changed the appearance of the Bali tourism landscape. It should be proven by the dominance of market logic which is considered responsible for this condition. Tourists who came to Bali were caused by culture, but now Bali is the one who must have a culture that is by the wishes of the market (Suryadana, 2013). This shift arises due to the tourist saturation of modern tourism models such as traffic jams, cafes, night entertainment, or mainstream tours that trigger the desire to travel towards green tourism. The tourism in question is tourism wrapped in traditional activities that emphasize local culture, such as rural air, the daily life of local people, and even being directly involved in religious rites (Pramestisari, 2019).

As a result of this shift, investors try to change tourism offerings through modifications of attractions and tourism supporting facilities to suit the market's wishes. What is meant by the market's desire related to agrarian issues is how tourism accommodation facilities, especially lodging in the form of hotels, villas, and resorts, are built by utilizing natural assets in excess to gain profits. In other words, today's tourism products are more oriented towards nature tourism. Various types of resorts stand on land that covers tens or even hundreds of hectares. What's more, the resort provides a traditional rural feel that is commodified in lodging accommodations.

Bali's tourism climate has garnered a lot of attention both in terms of spatial and socio-economic aspects. Triggered by concerns about the spatial implications related to the context of land ownership by investors, this has led to efforts to privatize public spaces. Community access to beaches, mountains, rivers, and others is not impossible to be limited. Alienation of the community due to the unfriendliness of the tourism climate is unavoidable, pushing the community to the outskirts of the economy.

At this level, alienation of the community can emphasize that the relationship in agrarian matters is not just a human relationship with the land, but rather a power relationship between humans and humans, including in terms of access, interaction, and social dynamics that are influenced by the existence of land (Wiradi, 2000). Compensation for the expropriation of

community land is often very cliché with the lure of work for local communities, especially for previous landowners. Investors often consider local workers to be less productive because of the frequent occurrence of religious rites (Raharjo et al., 1998).

In several studies, the phenomenon of land ownership does not necessarily make Balinese people, especially farmers, lead a more prosperous life. You can imagine how the bargaining position they have is very low on their land. If examined further, the common thread for understanding the transfer of land ownership reflects the inability of agricultural productivity to meet the needs and necessities of life for the community. It is ironic for an agrarian country that produces or produces food to be hit by poverty (Tauhid, 2009).

Returning to land, the transfer of land ownership began to bloom in the early 1990s when the tourism industry was encouraged. Land shrinkage was recorded from 2000 to 2012 conversion of agricultural land into non-agricultural land of 460 hectares (Pramestisari, 2019). As an area considered a rice granary for Bali, Tabanan District has become the highest contributor to land conversion compared to other districts in Bali. In the period 2004 to 2011, the number of land conversions reached 171 hectares.

Meanwhile, during 2011-2017, there has been a conversion of 196.6 hectares of rice fields per year, with the conversion rate of rice fields into housing and tourism accommodation of 66.80 hectares. The Head of the Facilities and Infrastructure Division of the Tabanan Agricultural Service, Gusti Putu Widiadnyana, said that there were indeed several land conversions into housing and tourism accommodation, and this happened in tourism development areas, especially in the southern coastal area in Kediri District (Mustofa, 2018). From this explanation, the purpose of this study is to see how the social process of land ownership transfers as part of tourism development on the southern coast of Tabanan?

2 Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach which is a method to explore and understand meaning based on social problems. This exploratory research is conducted to find out and explain the problems that exist in general that have never been identified and then try to find or reveal problems (Bungin, 2010). The method used is a literature study carried out by examining the literature evidence needed in the research (Nazir, 2014). Secondary data in this study were obtained from references obtained through literature studies such as journal articles, books, reports, and other relevant sources. Data analysis was carried out by reading all the information contained in the research and the background of the research problem, then citing the information contained in the reading and paraphrase as well as concluding and interpreting the data on the results obtained.

3 Results and Discussion

Land ownership or control is essential for rural communities whose livelihoods still depend on the agricultural sector. Land ownership is not only crucial for agricultural businesses but also determines other needs in people's lives. The land has a function as a productive asset and functions as a commodity that yields can trade. This matter causes the land to become an asset and a commodity that can change hands at any time or change its ownership status. This situation has implications not only for the status of the land but also for the socio-economic living conditions of the people in rural areas. Changes in ownership and land tenure for a farmer

have a significant effect on the economic life of a farming family. This change is either in the form of loss of ownership rights or ownership rights over the land. Loss and emergence of land rights can go through various processes such as buying and selling transactions, inheritance sharing transactions, grants, profit sharing, leases, pledges, and so on (Winarso, 2012).

Land grabbing is a dynamic that often occurs in rural areas, especially villages, based on agrarian socio-economic life. It is said that agrarian land is the primary basis of economic and social activities. The problem is that the dynamics of changes in land ownership status and land tenure status, directly and indirectly, have implications for the lives of farming communities, especially for people who have lost their rights to land. Changes in land tenure status can have an impact on sources of livelihood, also on social status, and even daily activities. Land tenure in rural areas, such as the southern coastal area of Tabanan beach, which is located in two villages in the Kediri sub-district, namely Belalang Village and Pangkung Tibah Village, has experienced this phenomenon. The two villages adjacent to the Tanah Lot tourist attraction have experienced a significant rate of land ownership transfer. The attraction attracts investors to enter these two villages in the southern landscape as a beach with attractive waves, especially for surfing activities.

Before investors entered these two villages, the existing agricultural land was fertile with a sound irrigation system. Investors began to enter these two villages in 1989 to start releasing agricultural land on a large scale to be used as new areas for the tourism industry, which was being promoted at that time. Investors did not enter alone, of course, with the help of the Tabanan District government, which the District Chief Ketut Sundria then led. The area of agricultural land on the southern coast of Belalang Village is 118.97 hectares and has been successfully released or controlled by investors is 75.76 hectares (Rapiana, 2017).

Meanwhile, in Pangkung Tibah Village, 145 hectares of agricultural land, which was planned to be released, was successfully controlled by around 140 hectares (Purba, Rajendra, Agusintadewi, 2020). In Belalang Village, the targeted land is in the Banjar Kedungu area, whose area is in direct contact with the beach. In Pangkung Tibah Village, the land being transferred is in Banjar Pangkung Tibah Belodan and Banjar Langudu.

Spatial changes in Banjar Kedungu are the large number of paddy fields that have turned into dry land and buildings, and most of the existing agricultural land is owned by investors. Changes in land ownership and function in this area will undoubtedly affect changing the lifestyle of the surrounding community, which tends to sell rice fields to earn money to fulfill their daily needs. The farmers were forced to sell their land because of the planned development of the kedungu area, which will become a tourism area and cause the value of tax payments to increase. Indeed, this is difficult for farmers because most of them cannot afford to pay high taxes. In Kedungu, economic and social factors are dominant in selling land by farmers to investors. Economic reasons are the increasing and expensive cost of daily living and the increasing price of goods for the necessities and necessities of life.

Communities quickly sell their agricultural land, the proceeds of which are used as business capital and as collateral to obtain funds. At the beginning of the land release process, the price was one million five hundred thousand rupiahs per acre. Most of the farming community admitted that the funds obtained from selling their production equipment were for repairing holy places or places of prayer, repairing houses, school fees, and other living expenses. In the early days of investors' acquisition of agricultural land in Kedungu, the investor did not immediately build the land into physical buildings to support tourism. At the beginning of 1991, investors had started to enter, but not many accommodation buildings typical of tourism areas were built. Only later in 2010 began to bloom in the construction of tourism-supporting accommodations such as villas. The pattern of land tenure in Kedungu between the community and investors is

36 percent owned by the community, and the remaining approximately 64 percent is investor ownership (Rapiana, 2017).

Meanwhile, a similar case occurred in the neighboring village of Pangkung Tibah, precisely in Banjar Pangkung Tibah Belodan and Banjar Langudu. Although investors who entered this area were later successful in taking community land, the success in taking it was somewhat higher, namely 140 hectares, all of which covered the area directly opposite the coast. There was a lot of resistance in this area compared to the Kedungu area, until finally, the people gave in and wanted to sell their land to investors. The sale process is, of course, also the military's intervention as a means of violence owned by the state to smooth the desires of the government and investors.

In Pangkung Tibah Belodan and Langudu, one acre of land was valued at one million two hundred thousand rupiahs at the time, unlike what happened in Kedungu. Investors do not entirely control the land acquisition process that occurs. There are still lands controlled by the community, which later become isolated lands because they are maintained and not sold to investors (Purba, Rajendra, Agusintadewi, 2020). Unlike what happened in Kedungu, in Pangkung Tibah Belodan and Langudu, there was no physical development in the area from the beginning of land acquisition and even became idle land for more than ten years until finally there was a transfer of ownership from one investor to another. Only around 2016, investors begin to build resorts in residential houses (Balipost, 2019).

The socio-economic situation of the community has also changed. In Pangkung Tibah Village, the number of farmers is around three hundred people. Of that number, most of them now do not have land anymore. Due to the unused land in their old area, there is no physical accommodation to support tourism built by investors. The farmers are asked to rework their former land whose cultivation is managed by each Banjar who oversees the land. Most of the proceeds from land sales are allocated for living necessities as reflected in the Kedungu community.

So that after everything is used for necessities, no more effort can be made so that residents are requested to be able to reprocess their former land. The entry of investors into rural areas and taking over ownership of agricultural land, which is a means of production or capital from farmers, is a business called land grabbing. Land grabbing was born as a warning that there has been a loss of large-scale agricultural land managed by small farmers that threaten rural life (Savitri, 2011). Talking about land grabbing also means controlling, benefiting, and using land from small groups of poor and marginal farmers to powerful actors who have power (Borras and Franco, 2012). In addition, large-scale land acquisitions are accompanied by dispossession of the rights of marginalized communities to land and resources on the land by large business-oriented corporations (White et al., 2012).

In addition, the entry of large corporations into rural areas is related to the accumulation of capital for land objects that are part of the expansion of tourism businesses that commodify nature to extract capital. The rural economy is always related to the subsistence economy. As stated by Boeke and Burger (1973), the subsistence economic system or local economic system is driven by the habitus or culture of the local community without prioritizing capital maximization. The influence of the modern capitalist system being forced into and applied to the context of subsistence society can undoubtedly have a bad influence and lead to the destruction of the social structure in the rural area (Siskandar, 2010). When discussing the cases in the two villages mentioned above, the transfer of land ownership can be considered a method of land grabbing. The contestation of land ownership raises strong actors who are often pinned on the government and investors.

In contrast, the weak actors are often local people who politically lack power and tend to be marginalized. When large corporations enter the village to take agricultural land owned by residents with development jargon, it is not surprising that in the end, the ownership of the land falls into the hands of powerful actors. The land acquisition process also cannot be said to be a completely legal process. Still, there are attempts at persuasion and even the use of physical force to subdue the community. This subjugation of the community is part of the revocation of land rights, both production and communal rights related to the land.

4 Conclusion

The shift of land ownership in the southern coastal area of Tabanan that occurred in Belalang and Pangkung Tibah reflects that there have been deviations and development imbalances in agricultural areas. The entry of politically strong actors and great power causes the powerlessness of the farming community to maintain ownership of their means of production, namely land. The defeat of the subsistence economic system from the capitalist economic system becomes a mouthpiece for the transfer of land ownership. Beginning with the entry of investors oriented to the tourism industry, making offers for agricultural land with the jargon of developing new tourism areas, contributing to the loss of the subsistence economy of the farming community. Inequality in the fulfillment of life and income from agricultural businesses have contributed to causing farming communities to sell their land and their means of production.

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