

# Karya Ilmiah Buku

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## Narrative in Islamic Resistance Repertoire Peasant PTPN VII of Land in the Village Rengas Payaraman Ogan ILIR South Sumatra

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**ABSTRACT:** This research focuses on the reality of the peasant Rengas who take action and the tactics of resistance in various innovative ways that the group or movement moves to realize the final goal. The method of research uses a qualitative case study. It is a phenomenon that is formed by human beings that is considered a social aspect of culture, culture, and material based on social aspects. The approach uses social movement by the variation of politics process theory, politics is an opportunity that is expanded, and the theory of mobilization action. This study shows that Islamic wisdom and tactics used that explain the tactics of resistance and dynamic tactics of resistance is dynamic and integrative. A choice of events, place of choice and forms of resistance.

**KEYWORDS:** *Repertoire Of Contentious, Islamic Narratives, Social Movements, Tactics and Strategy, Electrical Contentious.*

### I. BACKGROUND

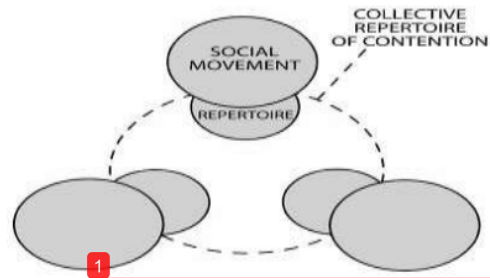
Rengas peasant resistance phenomenon with repertoire is a case that has its own peculiarities which different from similar forms of peasant resistance. The resistance that the peasants generally result from competing systems, and reaction. While the forms of resistance repertoire peasant in Rengas occurred from 1981-2010 specifically explains the agrarian conflict between peasant versus PTPN VII CintaManis Unit is not just part of the reality of structural conflicts derived from economic interests and development, but there is a reality that needs to be clarified is a condition shift peasant resistance strategies in a dynamic and shows contentions identity. Another interesting point is the common narratives of Islam into a binding solidarity resistance movement.

### II. THEORETICAL STUDY

The results of analysis of data in the field found three main interrelated elements that drive the repertoire of tactics contentions, identity resistance and intensity of resistance. The third element is connected to the political opportunity structure and the political process, mobilization, and collective framing. Resistance to collective action repertoire is positioned as an action movement, because the three main elements of each movement is a campaign, repertoire of contentions and WUNC Display. Such actions are carried out continuously until the objectives and results of the resistance movement reached. While in every movement to fight existing repertoire and every repertoire is always followed by strategy and tactics. Changes continue to occur in the repertoire, strategy, tactics, actors, performance goal of keeping the results achieved in accordance with the purpose of resistance in order to continue. Continuity resistance is an important episode to arrive at repertoire of contention, because it greatly affects the interaction of contention with the other side stronger and internal processes which

connected with a repertoire of tactics. According to Tilly repertoire is as follows:

Repertoire exists initially at the level of a specific group, where it describes the available means of contention for that group. However, as 'similar groups generally have similar repertoires, we can speak more loosely of general repertoire that is available for contention to the population of a time and place'<sup>1</sup>.



Resources : Brett Role : Social Movement Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, 65–74, May 2005 Even Tilly reaffirm the core concept of the Repertoire;

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Innovation at the margins is the most accepted account of change, proposing that contenders 'generally innovate at the perimeter of the existing repertoire rather than breaking entirely with old way'<sup>2</sup>.

The convergence of social movements and repertoire for their means of resistance which claims the right to anything. According to Tilly Brazilians claim the property of the repertoire:

Hewhole set<sup>1</sup> of means [a group] has formakingclaims of different kinds on different individuals or groups<sup>3</sup>. Tilly said " Repertoire exists initially at the level of a specific group, where it describes the available means of contention for that group. However, as 'similar groups generally have similar repertoires, we can speak more loosely of a general repertoire that is available for contention to the population of a time andplace"<sup>4</sup>.

Although the claim could have been done by the resistance groups in the realm of collective action, but it is only acts of resistance that can be resistance movement, all these claims become common purpose and identity binding resistance. So, claims and identity resistance as the property repertoire of contention, there is another element<sup>2</sup> that serves to connect between the resistance properties repertoire expressed openly and publicly.

The unit of analysis is generally the collective action event, which is defined using three criteria: the event must be collective, involving more than one person; the actors must be making a claim or expressing a grievance either to change or preserve the system; and the event must be public"<sup>5</sup>.

Repertoire woke up with a strong and could be a social cohesion well preserved in the movement's commitment to collective action capable of changing the peasant movement Rengas action both in terms of organization of structured and unstructured, movement strategies, and contentions. In the change of color of interest, confidence, organization leadership, the ideology of the assurance and the ability of each to contribute to the change of identity struggles. It looks at the basic elements of the resistance that comes from the reality of injustice and the threat of loss of economic resources. Epinomen emergence of consciousness continue the re<sup>5</sup> stance actions and building a resistance force to the identity of peasant resistance movement is a form of

<sup>2</sup> Charles Tilly, Contentious repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834, in: M. Traugott (Ed.) Repertoires and Modes of Collective Action (Durham, NC: Duke University Press). 1995: 28

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid:4-5

<sup>5</sup> Ibid: 15-42.

protecting and maintaining airway resistance against the stronger party. Various resistance actions such as protests, mass demonstrations, occupying Parliament's office is always connected with the narrative of Islam as a force of "ideological" and the solidarity movement. Islam narrative that is not in the form of a doctrine of spirituality but rather to a way a Muslim to give up his life to God in order to be given the power to change something just call it the phrase *Allahu Akbar* accompanied by the words themselves did not fail even "Urangdiri" (*Allahu Akbar our people will not retreat even an inch*)

According to Tilly dynamics of resistance actions are determined by a number of conditions including;

- a. conditions interest
- b. Forming conditions claim
- c. Issues conditions
- d. Irregular action and strategy make up the series
- e. Conditions perpetrators
- f. Government conditions
- g. Political conditions
- h. Support and Networking
- i. Conditions Social Movement
- j. Organizations and Movements
- k. Ideological

Tilly argues that the repertoire of a movement can also be influenced by the cultural resources, skills, and sense of justice of the participants. According to Tilly repertoire of contentious arising from their ideological power. Because it could bind electrical position contentious repertoire. Even the "belief or ideology" is an integral part and connects the opposition interactions work in the resistance. Ideology into energy repertoire to remain in a state of resistance episode. Actions by electrical resistance Rengas peasants organized through solidarity and ideology embedded in movement manifested itself in acts of resistance sustainable. It becomes part of the repertoire of contention. Interpretation of the condition, the ability and strength of the movement greatly affect the performance of the contentious repertoire..

a broad correlation between the rhythm of state making and the rhythm of rebellion will leave open many alternatives interpretations of the interest, opportunities, and organizations at work<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, The Universitas of Michigan, 1978: 234

The ability of the interpretation of the actors open for resistance utilizing alternative measures of labor interest, opportunity and organization. This means that many alternative forms of resistance that can be sustained and how to have premises opposition stronger opponents. Interpretation itself is a useful method of understanding the workings of the activation of collective action model of resource mobilization, because correlate the work rhythm of the insurgency. <sup>7</sup> Tilly suggests that:

Theorists of contentious politics have used the concept of repertoires of contention as part of a larger framework for analyzing differences in types of contention in particular historical periods and identifying the factors that lead to new and innovative forms of collective action<sup>8</sup>.

Based on these reasons, it is a "social movement" in this study refers to "peasant movement" that is, as a social movement composed of actors peasants and non who framed the issue or agenda carries the agrarian structure changes with the mass base<sup>17</sup> primarily peasants. From the position in question should also be understood that;

1. The peasant movement is a form of social movement that brought the change agenda norm (structural) and values (cultural) agrarian
2. Movement of peasant is only performed by actor peasants

Mapping social movement theory is needed, because so many experts from different streams and in different time spans. In the repertoire of social movements that developed in the West, a lot of perspectives to analyze the emergence of social movements. According to Singh at least four perspectives or approaches in understanding the social movements among others <sup>9</sup>.

III. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CONCEPTS

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- 7 McAdam, Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer. American Journal of Sociology, 1983, vol, 92, 64-90
- 8 Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke, "Get up, Stand up": Tactical repertoires of Social Movements, The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements Edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi Copyright © 2004 Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004: 271.
- 9 Rajendra Singh, 2010, *lok-cit*, p: 89-114

Resources: Charles Tilly (1978); Canel (1997), Tarrow (1998); dellaPortadanDiani (1999); Singh(2001)<sup>10</sup>.

In mapping this social movement theory, the researchers used the views and classifications developed by Rajendra Singh to make a map of the theory of social movements in this study

| Perspective of Social Movements | Support and Understanding How Social Movements   |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Collective actions              | 1. Tarrow (1998) There are four ways to understand social movements Perspective collective behavior (collectivebehavior)<br>2. Mobilization of resources (resourcemobilization)<br>3. The political process (political process)and<br>4. New social movements (new socialmovements).   |
| Political Process               | 1. McAdam (1982, 1989, 1998), Peter Eisinger (1973), Jenkins and Perrow (1977), There are three ways to understand social movements. Mobilization of resources (resourcemobilization),<br>2. Opportunities politics (political opportunities)and<br>3. The process of framing (framingprocess).  |
| New Social Movements            | Canel (1997) Alain Touraine (1977-1981), Claus Offe (1985), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), MELUCCI (1982, 1989,1996), There are two ways to understand social movements<br>1. Mobilization<br>2. New Social Movements   |
| Resource Mobilization           | Charles Tilly (1978) Zald and Ash (1966), McCarthy and Zald (1977), Anthony Oberschall (1973, 1978), There are three ways of understanding social movements:<br>1. Mobilization<br>2. PoliticalOpportunity<br>3. PoliticalProcess  |
| Repertoire                      | Charles Tilly (1978), Tarrow (1989, 1998). There is another way to analyze the collective action and social movements:<br>1. The collective actions of resistance in therepertoire.<br>2. There are tools (mean) or a set of tools that are used as a strategy andtactics<br>3. There was a series of protest actions or circles in general or specifically. |

B. Prior Art Relevant Results

There are several studies that generally come to give effect to the study of peasant resistance repertoire is mainly on the concept of resistance among peasants;  
Dissertation Hotman Siahaan, the focus of study to answer two things namely;  
1. Reality veiled defiance in the TRI

<sup>10</sup> Charles Tilly, *lok-cit*, 1978, p: 56-57, Doug McAdam, , John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald (eds) *cit*. 1996: 2-14. See too Eduardo Canel, *op-cit*, 1997, p: 28-34. See too Rajendra Singh, 2001, *lok-cit*, p: 30. d, Della Porta, dan Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford dan Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006, p: 10-22

program is a rational reaction to the hegemony of bureaucracy that failed to articulate the interests of the peasants.

2. The covert disobedience in order to maintain a safety margin for survival of subsistence peasants. In the theoretical rationale and hypothesis, this study uses the theoretical of James C. Scott; *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* and Samuel Popkin; Rational-Actors Theory, which uses to test several hypotheses, namely; Covert disobedience committed by peasants in the TRI program is a rational reaction. Thrifty, this study theoretically would like to address in the context of covert disobedience theory theories that talk about social protests and collective action of peasants that can be categorized as everyday forms of peasant resistance. Hafis's research focus examines two thingsnamely;

1. The reality of the resistance strategy undertaken by peasants Jenggawahis collective resistance.
2. Tactics resistance with demonstrations and networking strategy undercurrent with some legal institutions and NGOs our research found that there is an obligation for members States like PetaniPasundan (SPP) conduct mass actions. Some of the mass action is reclaiming or actively control of land, the expansion of new members in the surrounding environment to increase the number of memberssupport

Hafis basing his studies on the theory of actors movement of McAdam that social movements in society that is undergoing change, transitional towards social change since the opening chance of actors to respond, mobilizing social structures and cultures that exist to enable a communication, coordination, and commitment among actors resulting in common sense and collective consciousness. While Musdalifah's dissertation, focusing examine to answer the three

(3) thingsnamely;

1. Relationships between government actors, private and public at the micro and macro in a conflict between PT. Lonsum with thepeasants.
2. The positive impact, the negative economic and social aspects between PT. Lonsum the farm community as well as the occurrence of moral judgment and rational dialectics peasants.
3. The influence of external factors in converting latent conflicts into a manifest conflict between PT. Lonsum with farming communities; and other forms ofresolution

Musdhalifah based his theory on the concept of Scott on considerations of morality through protest, resistance, even a peasant revolution as a defensive action against capitalism that threatens the security of subsistence society, and the concept of Popkin on considerations of rationality through a deal to take the fight which was considered as an effective way in demanding rights them. While the dynamics of conflict within each shape used to the concept of dialectics J.Gultung conflict.

Purwandari's<sup>11</sup> research, the focus of study there are three things;

1. The conditions were the deciding factor shaping peasants' organizations in response to the economic and politicalproblems.
2. Characteristics of organizing peasants who potentially provide solutions to existing problems
3. Character peasant resistance when linked with the character of the state and a global actor.

By basing the study on the theory of neo-Marxian thinking in this regard is placed in the position of assessing the factors that are interrelated in the structure of society. One problem faced by peasants is a structural problem that has to be seen from the integration of the three factors of economics, politics, and ideology.

The findings of this study istheoretically resistance can be done in a gentle way, without changing the existing structure, or by way of social deconstruction. Resistance to maintaining the reliability of the terminology Scott is known as hidden resistance, or resistance in compliance, while resistance by means of deconstruction is done by overhauling the existing structure. Patterns of resistance developed by the peasant organization SPPQT not done by changing the existing structure, but rather use existing structures and be part of the system and then fix the systemResearch.

<sup>11</sup> Purwandari research 'Resistance Organization Fuzzy Farmer: Farmer Efforts Understanding Social Movements. Rural Sociology Graduate Thesis IPB 2006

Muhammad Romdloni,<sup>12</sup> focus on reviewing the background of peasants to the resistance movement radically the underlying on the economic aspects, land ownership history, culture and religion, against forced land evictions and intimidation is a crime and must be resisted. This context becomes theology movement of peasants to take the fight commitments, integrity and ability of organization among peasants is not biased separated from non-peasants as actor rocks "WALHI Batang" district.

HilmaSafitri<sup>13</sup> also conducted a study of the peasant movement in Batang findings afford members an explanation that the patterns and movement strategies undertaken by FP2NB not be separated from intellectual work actors who are in an environment organic tension. Peasants have difficulty and death to the action of counter-measures undertaken by the State. Peasants should be able to make sense of togetherness and commitment back by learning from previous peasant movements which always fails.

GeidyAriendi<sup>14</sup>, Tiara, was able to explain that the strategy of the struggle of peasants in gaining access to and control over land the number of dependents, experience and role in the organization, as well as the number and extensive relationship with the level of involvement of peasants in the fight for access to and control over land. Peasants are fully aware that the land can't be private property. The study results Kartodidjo<sup>15</sup> Banten's peasant uprising in 1888, showed that the resistance peasants can take the form of an open, loud and formally organized. The radicalization of peasants is a term often used to describe the resistance of peasants in an open and use violence to achieve that the tendency of peasants became a radical act can't be separated from the role of ideology or jihad fair queen-*sabilillah*.

According to most studies Kartodidjo resistance movement of peasants in Indonesia are based on the assumption that the peasant revolts rather an explosion of fanaticism or riot against taxes. These studies have been satisfied with the proposed religious factors or the economy as the cause. In the line of this study, Sartono mention names like G.W.J. Drewes, Van der Kroef,

<sup>12</sup> Romdloni, "Farmer Theology: Analysis of the Role of Islam in Radicalism Movement Farmers Farmers Fishermen Struggle Forum BatangPekalongan (FP2NB) in Batang and Pekalongan", Thesis, UMS 2005

<sup>13</sup> HilmaSafitri, "Political Movement Batang Farmers Association Forum (FPPB)". Bandung, AKATIGA 2010

<sup>14</sup> Tiara GeidyAriendi, "Strategy peasants Struggle In access and land tenure: Resistance Study of Farmers in Cisarua, Dissertation, Department of Communication Science and Community Development, Faculty of Human Ecology, IPB, 201

<sup>15</sup> Kartodirdjo, Sartono, 1984, the Peasants' Revolt in 1888. Banten Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya. See also Kuntowijoyo, Rural Communities and Farmers radicalization ", Essays History Dr. Kuntowijoyo: Radicalization peasant. Yogyakarta: Cultural Landscape, 2002

Cohen Stuart and Brandes. According to the factors triggering the uprising has fairly broad dimension that includes at once economic, social, political and religious.

Given our results HotmanSiahaan, Musdalifah, Hafisand HeruPurwandari are all classified research on peasant resistance. The findings of the study stated that the peasant's resistance is a result of state power that makes the land as capital construction by way of industrialization and exploitation occurs. While this study see the resistance of peasants from different perspectives: one side as a movement born of ideology ground and the other as a social movement of peasants who want agrarian reform by committing acts of resistance and build continuum end of the movement that is organizing. This study will examine a series of side action and tactics of resistance against PTPN VII Rengas peasants. The series of action and tactics are done in innovative ways and repetitive. Conditions such resistance in the theoretical called a repertoire. Conditions repertoire describes a condition that is dynamic and innovative resistance due to the narratives of Islam

#### IV. METHOD OF THINKING RESEARCH

There are two issues that is in issue, namely: the conditions that led to the Islamic narrative repertoire and the repertoire peasants Rengas, data that will be studied is dynamic, open and occurs within social relationships, this research is qualitative methods and interpretation contains inductive logic. This approach gives emphasis on the formation of social reality, the relationship with what is happening. Given the problems studied is complex and dynamic, so the data obtained from informants were captured with a more natural method that is a direct interview informants to obtain the natural answer. While the interpretive analysis will be carried out, because trying to understand the events and its relation to people who are in a particular situation. While theoretically be used several theories such as; social movements and repertoire. The reason for choosing this approach because this theory is seen explaining the circumstances to make the presence and how this process takes place.

## V. DISCUSSION

Resistance begins conducted personal development into mass and form a movement has been running 30 years. This fact reinforces a new form of resistance is not just a structural conflict prolonged or conditions of limited network owned by peasants or peasants do not have the ideology of strong resistance, but there are conditions that describe that peasants Rengas not remain silent, peasants Rengas continue to commit acts of resistance conditionally and innovative adjust the context of time and place the events of the New Order in the years 1981-1997 up to the time of the Reformation in the years 1998-2010. A force capable of stringing acts of resistance would be sustainable and have the power disruption to the resistance that occurs. This is done adjustment of the conditions of the strategy and tactics of resistance used as a result of the dissemination of religious beliefs and ideology of Islam in particular.

This fact shows that changes in collective actions of resistance carried out by peasants Rengas actually represents a form of repertoire that is not determined by period and dichotomous, but there are other conditions that make space for the birth of strategy and new tactics as learning from the experience of failure in achieving objectives resistance. These conditions constitute reality of what happened and fused with political resistance. Space beliefs and ideology and it does not create dichotomous who defended a form of resistance but precipitating resistance that makes the interaction between the two sides firmly. This condition describes the resistance of

peasants Rengas part of building a repertoire *contentious* utilizing narratives of Islam<sup>16</sup>.

During the resistance period lasts for 30 years through New Order period and the Reformation period. Affect its resistance actors namely peasants, issues, processes, forms, strategies, tactics external achievement and other conditions. Strategy and tactics of resistance emerging and evolving into a new form that is determined by the condition and other factors that the power of belief and ideology. Changes in strategy and tactics of resistance not be partial, but with the presence of Islamic narratives reinforce collective action series resistance from time to time which is always undergoing a process of learning from previous acts of resistance that condition resistance between peasants Rengas with PTPN VII CintaManis which always fails. Each episode of the repertoire peasants Rengas against PTPN VII turns always brings new actions and engage new supporters. Mechanism of action of each episode of resistance precisely

<sup>16</sup> Studies on the power and authority to meet with network economic interests, power, elite communities, businesses and natural resources supported by the existence of the political system of transitional creates a condition Connect the power relations that are based on the powers possessed by the offender and this is the relation mutual advantage and dependence (interdependence) is continuously maintained, reproduced and strengthened in society.

explain the strong influence of ideology and faith-based teachings of Islam such as the call for jihad, martyrdom, militants of human rights,

*AllahuAkbar*, and the company infidels. The narratives of Islam spread among peasants and into the social issues of speeding up work acts of resistance. The presence of Islam in the resistance narrative performed by peasants Rengas describe acts of resistance with the strategies and tactics of resistance are dynamic and have the pressure on the PTPN VII CintaManis Business Unit. As collective action by peasants Rengas resistance in the form of protests and refusal in the period of 1981-1982, a similar action was also carried out in 2002-2003, but with different strategies and tactics. The interconnectedness of resistance not only influenced by the strength of resistance the same actors, but there are ideational factors that bind all frame of the resistance.

This condition shows the use of strategy and tactics of dynamic resistance, and pressure to achieve different interference resistance purposes. Further resistance above collective action is a way for peasants to fight demanding Rengas back their land, but also a way to keep peasants preserve and maintain political resistance. Match not limited to loss of response, but a continuation of collective action games through innovative strategies and tactics. Two different era of New Order and Reform resulted in various insurgency peasants in Indonesia. During the New Order insurgency peasants often done by a closed, limited and more emphasis on rational organizational form of empowerment. Style games in this era greatly influenced by the political system of repressive regimes. While the Reformation era insurgency is more often done by means of an open, structured and confrontational and cuts. Even this style insurgency affected by a democratic political system. Rengas peasant uprising showed that the resistance force is also affected two of the era and is connected to some other factor such determination; the conflict, the conflict interaction,

Form of resistance, transitional episode, purpose and identity of the opponents. Conflict Rengas peasants versus PTPN VII CintaManis which is based on natural resources and the environment (natural resources conflict) is a social conflict with the issue of "claim and reclaiming 'mastery of natural resources (land or water) as the most important disputed amount.

In many ways, natural resource conflicts coincident with the agrarian conflict, where a group of people fighting



for the rights of land ownership is claimed as their property against the state, private entities or other social groups. This study found the conditions that trigger conflict resistance actions of collective peasants in resistance interactions associated with the attitudes of the authorities from controlling land resources reserve land on the legal basis of land for sugar cane plantations nationwide. People from their land with coercive powers and the status of the takeover and control of the land by intimidation. This fact creates a steering problem, because the conflict is a condition of structural domination, group that resides in the authority structure with a variety of devices capable of directing various forms of policies and rules beyond the authority structure. This means that peasants Rengas dealing with counterparties that strong both power and capital.

The history of the conflict noted that the inclusion of PTPN VII CintaManis in 1982 based on the letter of the minister of agriculture number: 076 / Ministry of Agriculture / 1/1981 dated February 2, 1981, concerning the license in principle PT CintaManis at Regency of Oganlirand District LamatanglirOgan Central Sumatra - South. Followed up with a letter Regent Level II Regional Head OKI number: PU.000 / 4117/1981 dated March 27, 1981 regarding Backup area for sugar cane plantations and so the acquisition of land by decree of the Governor of South Sumatra No. 379 / Kpts / 1 / 1981 dated 16 November 1981, the State Land About Backup + Covering an area of 20,000 ha for sugar factory project in District Tanjungraja, Muarakuang, Inderalaya, and Tanjungbatu, Regency of Oganlirand Regency. PTPN VII CintaManis Unit as a country is in the company's structural dominance that has the ability and the authority to set policies and rules therein. Fact finding field data interpretation "State Land" which in its decision letter is referred to as the backup area.

A sugar plantation in the district of Tanjungbatu and the surrounding areas, and further expanded its meaning through the Governor Decree Sum-Cells in 1981 with a mention of the term cane land reserves above the ground state. This study found the conditions that shape collective resistance actions undertaken by peasants Rengas, even though the action does not have any meaning for PTPN VII. But the insurgency least able to activate other resistance that could be included in the episode resistance or frame structural tension between PTPN VII CintaManis Business Unit. Rengas insurgency collective peasants as protests refused compensation cost and maintain the land by cultivating it on a limited basis or reject the minutes of the taking of land from peasants to PTPN VII. Research in the field found that there was resistance actions collectively to the New Order era performed by peasants know Rengas from 1981-1996.

Collective action sign that collected residents, peasants and farm families within a restricted group. The purpose of these groups is to conduct resistance and defense.

On land taken PTPN VII by way of planting and maintaining the land. Although in the realm that is still very limited. These groups constantly doing resistance activities either individually or in groups. In individual resistance is often done by destroying the irrigation water, maintaining the disputed land near the plantation community. While group activities carried out by way of resistance sugarcane plantation access roads, demonstrations or regency to occupy the disputed land without damaging sugarcane plantations. The presence of peasants' collective action Rengas resistance in limited groups and continues to evolve in the direction of extension of the support from outside the village seems to be more affected by the conditions of repression and existing facilities. It is also influenced by factors of resource mobilization. In theory Tilly mobilization collective action include: organization, interest, threats and opportunities on the ability of the group in the face of repression and social control.

Aspects of interest related to economic issues and the political, organizational aspects Related to well defined groups<sup>17</sup> and aspects of the repression associated with the ability to maximize the opportunities and threats facing each other with an existing interest. Well defined group must not be interpreted a collective action or social movement is already strong and conducive and originating from within the organization, but it may be activation of a resistance driven by external organizations.

The theory of resource mobilization Tilly is more to see that the emergence of collective action in the beginning of the shifting of the insurgency into a social movement because of their interaction with the environment contention (repertoire contentious) and the availability of supporting elements such as their sources of support, availability of coalition groups and their support of potential resources such as pressure and organizing efforts are structured. Another thing that is important is the ideology, these findings is positioned as a potential resource base of peasants whose accumulation can be realized in strengthening the repertoire of tactics. In the New Order era, collective uprising that lead to the condition of interaction.

<sup>17</sup> For Tilly aspects of the organization to be a prerequisite for the creation of an collective act organization that later served to manage interest into the process of mobilization.

resistance and resistance conditions is sustainable; protest the refusal of compensation by the peasant, The protest refusal land (SKHT) peasants, action defend the land near the neighborhood, the action of closing the road to the plantation, at the end of this era is action demanding redress through litigation. In the era of the Reformation in 1998, the collective action of peasants Rengas resistance continues, because the union has not yet their main purpose and identity resistance. At the end of 2000, the collective uprising turned into resistance. This was stated by main purpose and the identity of the resistance movement. The main purpose Rengas peasant resistance movement is the return of land from the control of PTPN VII. The era of social movements indicate that resistance into the episode resistance identity, purpose, sustained and increased solidarity opponents. This study found that the support of organizations such as the village government as LKMD, Pesirah and Kerioencourage activation repertoire. Support from government organizations village at that time can occur because the village chief and his aides from the beginning rejected the existence PTPN.VII in Rengas and the majority of peasants who fought for the return of land from the village Rengas.

Here already apparent space support the mass mobilization of the organization although it is still very limited. With organizational function will play a role and developing its own search for and expand support beyond the farming community itself to enter the repertoire contention. Year 1998-2008 resistance traits have been openly confrontational and movement. The parties involved in the dispute arena began to explicitly show that the peasants themselves and the party Rengas PTPN VII. Repertoire contentious built based planning and adapted to the conditions of interaction with the other side stronger. In 2009 final confrontation, shooting 12 peasants Rengas and continued high reclaiming and redistribution and 1,500 Ha of land to peasants Rengas. This episode confirms that the repertoire is a way out of the agrarian policy tangles. The resistance movement action is part of a contentious repertoire.

According to the repertoire there is an interesting phenomenon that occurs as a variable assemble the momentum of the rise occurred when peasants Rengas Rengas residents and peasants who have merged into Rengas peasants expressed a great desire to join the SPI South Sumatera, following the direction of SPI and WALHI in Palembang. In the process, the collective action of peasants activated by various activities of institutions, local organizations that exist and support the struggle of peasants are often referred to as tactical repertoire. Tactics played resistance as a form of mobilizing resistance movement. Therefore, to arrive at the resistance movement, the mobilization of collective action it should take into account the opportunities and threats or situations of tension. As a form of resistance against authority through a wide range of public protests, including actions outside the formal political participation pathways regulated by laws and regulations, to indicate that the group is solid, committed, and representing a significant amount

Such efforts should pay attention to the opportunities and threats or environmental situations that exist in the tensions that happen, so reading these tensions situation should see social control activities undertaken by the other party. The situation is understood as the repertoire of contentious. From here there will be a way to interact and how people are in opposition from interacting in political disputes (contentious interaction). Collective action has the feel of resistance when the action was carried out by people who lack access to the institutions to file new claims or claims that can be accepted by the authorities or parties other opposed. Collective action against a base of social movements to be able to perform repertoire. In this context Rengas peasant resistance movement not only by the forces of civil and organic elements such as resource mobilization and organizational interests, but also a belief formation that appears and spread strong as the narrative movement of the *words Allahu Akbar, Fii Sabilillah, Jihad* wrongdoers, narrative religious a symbol statement that the objective of the struggle of the resistance movement peasant Rengas not stop in the interests of the return of their land but merely to fight for the rights of humanity universally namely the rights of oppressed peasants<sup>18</sup>.

The encounter between the narratives of Islam with a repertoire of peasants Rengas resistance occurs through an effort to master the role of ideas and social identity. The new identity they define their opponents. This process is often called framing.

1. This resulted in Strengthening collective awareness, strategic decisions as part of the
2. Movement; Reinforce and strengthen the subject of contestation between the actor as the representation of motion movements with the state and the opposing groups.

The encounter between the Islamic narratives with collective action is a form of identity group is not limited in the categorization of cognitive or psychological. This condition has been

<sup>18</sup> Tilly, 2004. "Trusts and Rule". Theory and Society, Vol. 33, No. 1, p: 1-30.

helped by sociological factors or social density as a catalyst. In such a position Rengas repertoire peasant movement which is actually derived from the religion of Islam and derived from indigenous tribes Panesak have kinship networks that are superior and easier to build broad collectivity that are not only united by ideology but also reinforced by social density. Making of beliefs and ideologies as issues that accelerate the formation of a more varied action and massive resistance that is capable sparked in large and bold as the resistance patterns of reclaiming. Not just action occupying and cultivating but also exert great power of the people by the thousands and supported by the community. Besides doing protests and demonstrations in a variety of ways to take back possession of the land. Inequality category becomes very important in creating the conditions continuity of belief and ideology of Islam. In penemonea repertoire resistance Rengas peasants spread of Islam narrated beliefs through social containers daily used by people Rengas like mosque, Masjid, Rumpoeng, Panje and the like.

The current study found a determinant condition changes or the use of action and tactics are always different. This condition is a central condition for the other changes in the presence of religious figures such as cleric, religious educator, leading people in school (pesentren) are on *tausiya* and teaching of Islam is to give effect to the ability of the actors involved in reading and interpreting the state of the state into action or resistance tactics. Teaching Islam is often associated with *maqosidursyari'i* given, as is our obligation to defend the rights, obligations and liabilities we maintain our honor against *zhalim*.

These conditions provide the emergence of alternative actions and other tactics and invent new forms of action. The above conditions are often called activation namely; a human way to understand something is in the social system, so that it can capture the meaning of something to do action. The activation can be done naturally, through the process of daily intercourse, or through an organized effort. Supporting network of social movements have a very important role in assisting the activation process is recitation like *majlistaklim*. The presence of the narratives of Islam in every action and always tie tack resistance determinant conditions that change; actors, resources, support, networking, performance objectives and processes. Even the support network of the study, *majlistaklim* and other Islamic organizations are the determinants as important as the elements which have been mentioned. Without the support of networks, collective behavior-oriented norms or interest will not be able to take place. The central role of peasants Rengas figures charismatic and influential apparently play accelerate the creation of innovative actions and strategic. This shows that the characters are able to perform the role as a cultural broker, they introduced a grain of critical culture to the community Rengas, moving changes locally, even making peasants Rengas is needed for policy changes plantation

The concept of cultural broker seems like in Hiroko Horikoshi, the charismatic figure like Kyai and Ulama can play the function of an intermediary or mediator for a process of great change in society can be even embody their authority as local leaders rather than their function as religious leaders or community leader, Social processes in the Islamic narrative repertoire of peasant resistance in Rengas, as the followingtable;

| NO | Narrative Islam                            | Repertoire Constentius                               | Values   |
|----|--|--|--|
| 1  | Jihad                                      | Creating Strategies and Tactics of Resistance        | The Resistance action and changeable Varies  |
| 2  | <i>Syahid</i>                              | Solidarity and Identity Formation Resistance         | Childbirth Actor and Supporting New Various circles  |
| 3  | <i>AmalMa'ruf NahiMunkar</i>               | Resource Mobilization                                | Increasing farmers' bargaining position against PlantationCompany  |
| 4  | Zhalim                                     | Collective action Resistance                         | Resistance Do Openly and Massif  |
| 5  | Allah together with us (Innallaha ma'ana). | Maintain Interest and Utilize existing opportunities | Utilizing channel Bureaucratic Politics and Social Strength More like, Taklim Assembly of Social Movements Network Pesantren and more. |

Resorcers: inquiring data 2015

It should be noted that the phenomenon of peasant resistance Rengas repertoire and the presence of Islamic narratives undergoing a process of adaptation to local elements and diversity of the Islamic background of the actors, namely; Traditionalist, Modernist and fundamentalists. That Islamic ideology in case Rengas, becomes soluble and eliminates the ideological boundary itself. The findings of this study confirm that social reality that treats the rights of the peasants that the dominance of Muslims in Rengas encourages peasants to take a realistic and pragmatic approach, with the belief actions conflict with the authorities. The above description shows that since resistance to emerge and rise Rengas peasants tend flexible and adaptive when faced with the reality outside itself, including the repression of power, because the presence of narratives humanist Islam as a comprehensive solution for human life. Suspected, "attraction" between these two tendencies of idealism and pragmatism because Muslims were accommodate dealing with the authorities can also be seen as a response to the democracy process in Indonesia.

Rengas peasant resistance repertoire in which there are narratives of Islam in which mobilization of resources they are doing is a form of extremism in the name of faith, and their involvement in resistance in many ways more of a strategy to uphold justice on the right rather than a commitment to the democratic process. In fact, the existence of religion is a matter of expression, not domination, because it is not merely a reaction to the feeling, but also statement of belief that the values and religious doctrine not only is in the private sphere.

The research found that the issues that spread among peasants Rengas such as the criminalization of peasants, mobilization of security forces and burning a community garden turned out to be an important part of the tactics and strategies of resistance. The issues are always proceeds from one condition to another and increases from one period to another reinforces the emergence of resistance actions. Meeting narratives Islam with issues of labor can become a hub repertoire from one period to another period. Issues and narrative of Islam which happened to be the strength that frames the collective action of peasants Rengas resistance.

## VI. CONCLUSION.

The study concluded that there are at least four basic things into action by peasants Rengas reclaiming as an act of mass resistance and movement. namely; the continuity of the episode resistance, social movements, the condition of resistance and tactics repertoire. Rengas peasant resistance against PTPN VII in Oganlilir, South Sumatra, which has lasted 30 years. Resistance itself is through two periods of different political systems namely the New Order Era and the Reform Era. Rengas peasant uprising starting from 1981 up to the bloody confrontations and acts of mass reclaiming 2010. During that period resistance actions carried out by peasants Rengas change in the interaction the collective actions of social movements into action that has an identity of resistance. While changes in their strategies of collective action to movement is a rational act increments peasants to make policy changes. Various activities of institutions, local and national organizations that exist and support the struggle of peasants and narrative confidence in the faith. As fact that the words *Allahu Akbar, FiiSabilillah, LaailaHaillalahu*, is a unifying element and reinforcing the value of the struggle to achieve these changes and affirmation as the identity of the resistance movement.

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