

## CAPACITY OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCACY REALIZING AGRARIAN REFORM

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### Abstract

*The purpose of this study is to analyze the capacity of CSOs to realize agrarian reform, namely land redistribution for landless farmers and / or landless farmers. This research is a qualitative study, because it explores phenomena that occur in the field, understanding and deepening certain contexts, identifying phenomena that have not been anticipated, understanding the processes behind phenomena, building explanations of causality and describing patterns. The research analysis unit is governance capacity which includes actors, policy arrangements and collective problem solving, advocacy capacity of CSO leaders. This capacity consists of leadership indicators, adaptability, management and advocacy technical and management skills. The results showed that the capacity of CSOs in conducting advocacy to realize overall land redistribution needs to be continuously updated.*

*Keywords: agrarian reform; advocacy capacity; civil society organization*

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### Introduction

The phenomenon of tenure and ownership of agricultural land as shown by the Agricultural Census of 1963-2013, shows the level of inequality of land ownership for more than 40 years based on the Gini co-efficient ratio of 0.55 in 1963, 0, 70 in 1973 , 0.64 in 1983, 0.67 in 1993, 0.72 in 2013 (International Land Coalition (ILC) in Indonesia, 2014). Long-standing inequality, and in many places has created inequalities in land tenure and an increase in the number of landless farmers, especially absolute-landless. This inequality contributes directly to the emergence of agrarian conflicts (Huizer, 1972; Bachriadi and Wiradi, 2011; Lucas and Waren, 2013; Cahyono, 2015).

Partisanship to capital owners, such as to entrepreneurs who have HGU (land cultivation rights), proves that the management of resources is far from the spirit of Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Regulations, then UUPA. In 2000, 2,178 companies owned 3.52 million ha, and in 2002, around 6 million ha out of the 18 million ha allocated for oil palm plantations (Colchester, 2006). In 2015, only 200,000 families controlled 80% access to natural resources including mines, sea, forests and plantations (KPA, 2015). The 2003 Agricultural Census, describing only 21.5 million ha for agricultural land with 37 million farmer households, of which 36% is landless, and causes problems of food insecurity as indicated by the 2013 agricultural census. Except for palm oil and salt, Indonesia is sovereign with more than 17,000 the island is a 100% importer for wheat supply, 78% for wheat beans, 72% milk, 54% sugar, and 18% from beef (BPS, 2013).

With an area of Sukabumi Regency totaling 412,799.54 hectares, there is indicated land that is abandoned with an area of 12,652.8 hectares, both with the status of HGU and HGB. Data submitted by the Chairperson of DPW SPI West Java (15 April 2017) shows 20,000 ha of land indicated to be abandoned in Sukabumi District, which includes private plantation land and other land with HGU, HGB status. Not all land tenure is used according to the submission proposal. The people who inhabit the area around the land control do not get the treatment according to the provisions of the applicable Law and or Regulation. Some of the HGU's land tenure actually proved not to pay taxes. Some other

HGU land tenure contracts have expired. SPI Note (2017) to land handling indicated by PT. Surya Nusa Nadi (Certificate of HGB No. 103 dated June 21, 1996) covering an area of 370 ha under the control of 486 cultivating farmer families in Pasir Datar Indah Village and Sukamulya Village Caringin District Sukabumi District, has been going well before the SPI handled 2000, and continues to this day.

Civil society advocacy called Kimberlin (2010), 'advocacy is their prime mission', demands that OSM continue to renew its advocacy capacity throughout the entire policy cycle. In this regard, CSO advocacy capacity can be a measure of success in conducting policy advocacy, such as Suleiman's (2013) study which found that CSOs did not contribute to the formation of democratic governance. Based on the description above, this study aims to analyze the capacity of CSOs to realize agrarian reform, namely land redistribution for landless farmers and / or landless farmers.

## Research Methods

The research will be conducted based on philosophical assumptions and qualitative research approaches, as well as the use of an interpretive framework of social constructivism as presented in Table 1, Qualitative Study Design, as follows.

Table 1. Qualitative Study Design

<b>Framework for Thought</b>	<b>Ontological Beliefs (nature and reality)</b>	<b>Epistemological beliefs (how reality is known)</b>	<b>Axiological beliefs (role of values)</b>	<b>Methodological beliefs (research approach)</b>
Social constructivism	Various realities are built through our life experiences and interactions with others	Reality is built together by researchers and those researched, and shaped by various personal experiences	Individual values are valued, and negotiated among individuals	Approach more than one writing style. The use of inductive methods from new ideas (through consensus) obtained through methods such as interviews, observations, FGDs, and text analysis.

Source: Author, elaboration from Creswell (2015)

The research was carried out, for the first time, familiarization that directed researchers such as Richie and Spencer (1994) aware of key ideas that contained qualitative philosophical assumptions and made notes for each recurrent themes. Local permission was obtained from the place and participants by taking into account the reality of differences. Data collected with in-depth descriptions of the circumstances, people, interactions, behaviors, events, attitudes, thoughts and beliefs observed and direct quotes from people who have experienced or experienced the dynamics of land redistribution advocacy struggles. The data obtained is not only in the form of text, but includes non-intellectual data such as tables, audio and video recordings. Technically, deep interview data was collected with informants classified into several categories, namely the management of the Indonesian Farmers Union (SPI) both Regional, Branch and Base and members namely farmers. In addition, observations of various facts related to the advocacy process were held. Observation is important because of methodological considerations for seeking non-verbal communications explanations in order to

explain a phenomenon being studied. Next, focus group discussion (FGD) to get credible and valid answers, with cross referring to answers or information from informants. The actor that was observed and or interviewed, namely the leader of the CSO, has been advocating for land redistribution for years.

In this research, as well as studying previous relevant research, capacity is a function of the core capabilities that combine to enable an organization to achieve the desired collective goals while maintaining itself over time. The capacity in question consists of indicators of leadership, adaptability, management, technical. External factors are the context of CSO operations. The context of these external factors can include local political constraints, distribution of power and authority, availability of resources, legal and administrative framework. The final results proposed, on the right hand side of the picture, include increasing the capacity of local governments to provide services; the implementation of agrarian reform namely redistribution effective land. In terms of thinking it looks like the following.

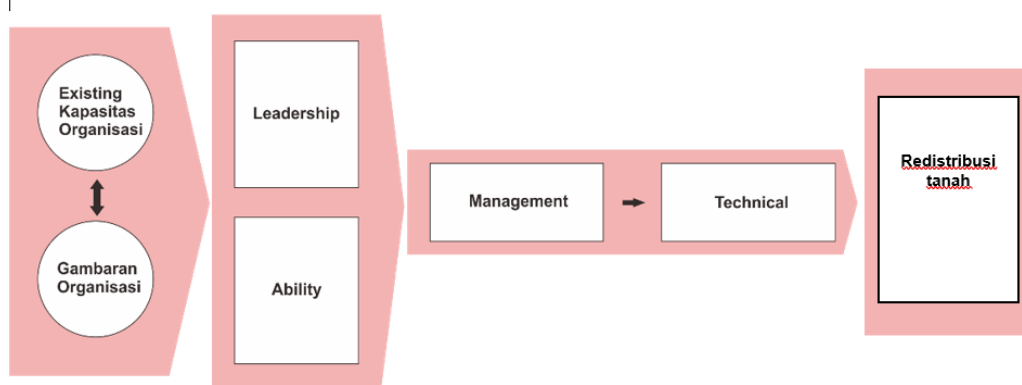


Figure 1: Organizational Advocacy Capacity

Sources: Authors, elaborated from Brinkerhoff, 2005; Raynor, Yorke and Sim 2009; Antlov, Brinkerhoff and Rapp, 2010; Wetterberk, Brinkerhoff and Hertz, 2015.

## Results and Discussion

Astronomically Sukabumi Regency is located at 106049' - 107000' East Longitude, 6057' - 7025' South Latitude. It has an area of 4,161 km<sup>2</sup> or 11, 21 percent of the area of West Java or 3.01 percent of the area of Java. with an area of 4,161 km<sup>2</sup>, almost 10 percent are coastal areas, 48 percent are located on the slopes of mountains / hills, 47 percent on ordinary plains, while almost 5 percent are in mountain valleys.

The administrative area of Sukabumi Regency is divided into 47 subdistricts and 67 villages categorized as urban villages and the remaining 319 villages are rural villages. The population of Sukabumi Regency in 2015 is as follows:

Table 2. Population Statistics of Sukabumi Regency

Category	Amount
Population	2.434.221
Male	1.234.673
Female	1.199.548
Population Growth	0,005 %
Population density	585 inhabitants / km <sup>2</sup>

Source: Statistics of Sukabumi Regency (BPS, 2016)

The 2015 National Labor Force Survey (Sakernas), in Sukabumi District 89.95 percent of the working-age population who work from the entire workforce with an open unemployment rate of around 10.05 percent.

The agricultural sector still dominates the labor market in Sukabumi district with 33.79 percent, the industrial sector 18.94 percent, the trade sector 9.90 percent and followed by other sectors such as mining, electricity, gas, water, buildings. Transportation, warehousing, communication and finance by 21.62 percent. In the field of education, it can be seen from one indicator to measure the school participation rate (APS) which is 99.65 percent for APS aged 7-12 years. In the health sector, the largest number of population outpatient referral facilities in Sukabumi District in 2015 is utilizing the practice of health workers (doctors / midwives), reaching 63.11 percent. The level of welfare and the level of knowledge of the population in the health sector are starting to improve, especially in remote areas but still do not realize the importance of the safety of mothers and babies born. The Human Development Index (HDI) in Sukabumi District experienced an increase from the previous year which was 64.07 percent. HDI can be used as a reference in looking at human development and the quality of life of the population explicitly.

From a general description of the Sukabumi Regency, the geographical location which includes the mountains to the coast, there are including highlands, medium and low. This makes the climate in Sukabumi varied. Agriculture is one of the most vulnerable sectors affected by climate change and / or climate variations. The decline in agricultural productivity caused by this phenomenon will ultimately threaten food security for humans. Drought, flooding and sea water intrusion are examples of threats that will increasingly be encountered by farmers in Indonesia. Including in Sukabumi District there was a decline in rice production. In 2014 rice productivity was 932,770 tons and decreased in 2015 which was 842,654 tons. Damage to the environment and agricultural practices that are not environmentally friendly can also cause disruption of the ecological balance. The occurrence of pest attacks, the higher salinity is a result of the above threats (Guntoro, 2011; Wiryono, 2012).

In the Sukabumi region, the role of the agricultural sector still contributes greatly to the GRDP, such as in Sukabumi District by contributing 22.89 percent of the total GRDP at current prices. This is almost the same as research conducted by Sofyan, et al (2015) in Aceh, the agricultural sector also made a significant contribution, but employment opportunities in the agricultural sector have decreased. Improved agricultural human resources will produce a high GDP. The improvement in economic conditions accompanied by investment in the industrial sector will absorb agricultural labor to switch to non-agriculture such as labor in factories that are currently happening in the Sukabumi region.

The search for CSOs that consistently advocate agrarian reform leads to the Indonesian Farmers Union (SPI) emerging as an organization of peasant movements driven by three factors. First, the imbalance of power over agrarian resources and land grabbing. Second, activist involvement in advocacy around land disputes, education for farmers, and building a network of farmers' movements at the regional and national levels. Third, the momentum generated from new opportunities for political involvement. This new awareness among farmers and activists collaborates to build local farmer organizations, as well as regional and national networks. In 1998 the existence of SPI was officially declared with a federative structure. SPI is known to be part of La Via Campesina, an international organization consisting of farmers and small-scale farmers. Based on the 2014 SPI Congress, Henry Saragih was elected as the Chairperson of the SPI Central Implementing Agency (BPP), 2014-2019.

SPI was originally named the Federation of Indonesian Peasant Unions (FSPI). This organization was declared on July 9, 1998 in Kampung Dolok Maraja, Lobu Ropa Village, Bandar Pulau Subdistrict, Asahan District, North Sumatra by a group of Indonesian peasants. In its efforts to push the agrarian reform agenda, SPI uses the 1945 Constitution and the Basic Agrarian Law No. 5/1960 as the legal basis for his struggle. SPI believes the two legal instruments are the result of a desire to make fundamental changes to the agrarian structure of the colonial era. SPI's struggle to realize agrarian reform has several strategic objectives. First, implementing a popular education program, developing critical awareness, so farmers can emerge with the leadership skills and practical expertise needed to regulate social movements. Second, to strengthen the organizational structure and expand the mass support of the third organization, mass action to reclaim or occupy land to pressure the government and other groups who oppose their demands. Fourth, develop alternative sustainable

practices as a form of struggle against hegemony. Fifth, influence policy in every space where decisions are taken. Sixth, build alliances with other social movements. Seventh, involved in the struggle of international farmers through La Via Campesina to challenge the policies of the World Bank, WTO, IMF, TNC and all other international organizations that put pressure on farmers or endanger the farmers' way of life.

Advocacy capacity is defined as non-profit best practice performance in general; the ability to carry out advocacy activities; the capacity associated with specific advocacy. Using the Chen and Locke (2010) framework, advocacy capacity consists of leadership capacity, adaptability, management, and technical capacity.

### **Leadership Capacity**

Leadership capacity is the ability to motivate and mobilize; the existence of organizational leadership, strategic vision; leadership distribution. Based on interviews and surveys, advocacy capacity based on leadership is illustrated as follows.

Table 3. Organizational Leadership Capacity

No.	Leadership capacity	Condition
a.	The ability to motivate and mobilize	Regional, Branch and Base Administrators, has the ability to move.
b.	The organizational leadership that exists	in the Management of SPI is formed up to the Basic Management level
c.	Strategic vision	Having a strategic vision related to land redistribution
d.	Leadership distribution	Leadership rotation, the distribution of the role of responsibilities is relatively running

The leadership capacity of the SPI board is quite good. The ability to motivate farmers to move together looks reliable. The case of the detention of SPI activists provides enough lessons for administrators to continue to refresh their motivation to fight for land that is believed to be constitutional and justified by religion. The return of activists who had been freely celebrated was lively, and became the joy of all the villagers. Those who have appointed management at all levels of leadership, although not easy, have been relatively reluctant. Likewise, the relative rotation of leadership has taken place.

### **Adaptability Capacity**

Adaptive capacity is the ability to build strategic partnerships, strategic positioning; resource flexibility; and the ability to measure and monitor the progress of advocacy. The adaptability capacity of CSO advocacy can be stated as follows.

Table 4. Adaptability Capacity

No.	Adaptability Capacity	Condition
a.	Ability to build strategic partnerships, strategic positioning	Strategic partnerships continue to be built
b.	Resource flexibility	Flexible
c.	Ability to measure and monitor the progress of advocacy	Adequate ability

The SPI's adaptability capacity to the strategic environment that influences land redistribution advocacy shows its ability to be quite flexible. The case of the detention of SPI activists for alleged land grabbing has pushed SPI to mobilize all strategic partners to defend farmers.

### **Managerial Capacity**

Managerial capacity for advocacy is the ability to manage resources, coordinate management, explain roles and tasks, finance advocacy movements in addition to managing relationships with various advocacy networks. The SPI managerial capacity shows the dynamics as follows.

Table 5. Managerial Capacity

No.	Managerial Capacity	Condition
a.	Ability to manage resources	Not sufficient
b.	Coordination of administrators	Effective
c.	Clarity of roles and tasks	Clear
d.	Human resource development	Formal and non-formal regimes are on going
e.	Financing	Limited financing
f.	Capacity to manage relationships	Good relationships with stake holders

It is not easy to ensure that the entire advocacy agenda is carried out. SPI is seen trying to fix all the daily affairs of the organization. Efforts to collect membership fees as well as from non-binding sources are used to hold meetings that are designed as a form of cadre, especially those related to the dissemination of knowledge about agrarian reform.

### **Technical Capacity**

Technical capacity is the capacity relating to knowledge of policy law and advocacy work; external communication skills (including with media); knowledge of theory and policy content; financial management and fundraising skills; interpersonal skills; facilities / equipment availability. CSO technical capabilities that demonstrate CSO technical capacity can be explained as follows.

Table 6. Technical Capacity

No.	Technical Capacity	Condition
a.	The capacity relating to knowledge of policy law and advocacy work	Systemically is constantly being renewed.
b.	External communication skills (including with media)	Adequate communication skills
c.	Knowledge of theory and policy content	Continuously updated
d.	Financial management and fundraising skills	Not maximal
e.	Skilled interpersonal	Skill
f.	Facilities / equipment availability	Adequate

SPI periodically invites all management from all levels of management to hold dialogues, especially those related to various provisions, laws and agrarian reform policies. SPI seems to be trying to show the principle 'beyond land redistribution' in managing organizational communication.

Not only matters regarding the theory and / or content of a policy, SPI is involved in the daily affairs of its members. The researcher felt very well how the religious celebration became a momentum for the management's consolidation. Although financial management has not been maximized, SPI has been able to make Saung Petani a symbol of the strong commitment to tidy up the lines of advocacy for land redistribution.

### **Conclusions and Suggestions**

Based on the research results, the SPI's advocacy capacity is still not optimal enough so it needs to be continuously updated. Thus, strengthening the advocacy capacity as well as exploring the strategic environment that influences the advocacy capacity needs to be carried out continuously by SPI.

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