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Tunachism Farmers Become a Real Portrait of Land Loss Due to Structural Poverty and Urgent Economic Pressure in Mowila district, South Konawe

Muhammad Arsyad^{1*}, Peribadi², La Patuju³

Universitas Halu Oleo

Corresponding Author: Muhammad Arsyad arsyad1965@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the phenomenon of tunachism farmers in Mowila District, South Konawe, as a real portrait of land loss due to structural poverty and urgent economic pressure. With a qualitative approach and case study strategy, this study found that land loss is not only due to market mechanisms but is triggered by unequal power relations between the state, corporations, immigrant elites, and weak local institutional protections. Using access theory (Ribot & Peluso, 2003) and Paulo Freire's (1970) critical education approach, this study uncovers how farmers' access to land is restricted, while structural awareness and collective resistance have not been able to keep up with external dominance. The theoretical contribution of this research lies in the integration between access theory and critical education in explaining agrarian marginalization. In practical terms, the study emphasizes the importance of strengthening local institutions, peasant solidarity, and transformative agrarian policies to achieve agrarian justice and village socio-ecological resilience

INTRODUCTION

Farmers are the backbone of national food security, so improving their lives is the key to realizing sustainable and fair food sovereignty. The results show that farmers, as the backbone of food security, have a central role in achieving SDG2, where strengthening the agricultural sector, private empowerment, gender equality, decentralization, governance, and data support are key factors for success (Kennedy et al., 2020). Improving farmers' lives is the main key to food sovereignty, where the rapid expansion of soybean production in Argentina shows that, without fair regulation, agribusiness growth actually exacerbates inequality, even though improving farmers' lives is the main key to realizing sustainable food sovereignty (Liberali, 2008). The concept of sustainable and equitable food sovereignty needs to be understood as an integral part of food system transformation, by combining the principles of agroecology, local markets, and democratic participation as a complement to the food security approach in the context of contextual and multiscale policies (Byaruhanga & Isgren, 2023).

Inequality of access to land, capital, technology, and markets makes farmers marginalized from the mainstream of economic development in rural and national areas. Inequality in access to capital, technology, and markets has left smallholder farmers in South Africa lagging behind commercial actors, so that despite increased food production during the COVID-19 pandemic, the food security of poor households has worsened (Manfouo, 2024). Research shows that income inequality between provinces in Congo is influenced by human capital, technology, infrastructure, and labour market frictions, where partial policies can actually exacerbate inequality and poverty, especially in the informal sector (Ibale et al., 2024). Farmers are marginalized from rural and national economic development, that cattle ownership in conservation buffer areas is influenced by age, culture, and limited access to animal health services, reflecting how farmers are marginalized from the mainstream of rural and national economic development (Moyo & Mlilo, 2019).

Improving the welfare of farmers has a direct impact on agricultural productivity, village poverty alleviation, and social stability in rural areas. Improving farmers' welfare has a direct impact on agricultural productivity, and the development of the food processing sector in agriculture-based countries such as Benin has been proven to drive demand for agricultural raw materials, raise the price of agricultural products, and reduce poverty (Kinkpe et al., 2023). Agricultural contracts can improve farmers' welfare and agricultural productivity, but high participation tends to reduce the use of sustainable agricultural practices, thus having an impact on the challenge of maintaining food production as well as environmental sustainability (Dubbert et al., 2023). Poverty alleviation and social stability in rural areas, as the results of the study have analysed the sustainable poverty alleviation in rural areas through a sustainable livelihood approach, emphasizing the importance of strengthening the five main capitals to maintain social stability and prevent poor households from falling back into poverty (Pan et al., 2022).

Partisan agricultural policies, strong institutional support, and local innovation are essential to building a competitive agricultural system. Agricultural policies can support agricultural institutions, as innovations in agricultural systems that face climate change show a significant increase in global publications, emphasizing the importance of participatory research and the need for agricultural policies that support institutions in the adoption of technology according to the local needs of farmers (Betancourt et al., 2022), and the results of the study show that a country's dominant policy paradigm is often a major obstacle to policy convergence, where risk management support in agricultural policy is strongly influenced by historically established institutions (Popp, 2021). Local innovation builds a competitive agricultural system, as well as local policies in Magelang Regency. Land degradation due to landslides shows the need for local innovation in building a competitive agricultural system through the integration of natural resource resilience and the

sustainability of highland irrigation systems (Widayanti et al., 2024).

Improving the lives of farmers is not only about the economy, but also about social justice, the preservation of agrarian culture, and the sustainability of Indonesia's rural ecology. The results of the study show that the lives of salt farmers in Indramayu reflect the inequality of social justice, so normative juridical studies are needed to encourage legal changes that favor the protection and empowerment of farmers in order to achieve a decent and just life (Kusumah, 2022). Knowledge fairness highlights the importance of involving farmers' local knowledge in the production of science, to ensure social justice when the interests of the state and public health are at odds with each other, as in the case of the H5N1 virus that ignored the voices of smallholder farmers (Egert & Allen, 2019). Dharmis religious views rooted in South Asia, shape an environmentally friendly agrarian cultural system through social institutions such as caste and village communities, which play an important role in the preservation of agrarian culture and the sustainability of rural ecology (Alekseeva, 2023), reorientation of Participatory Design as a complex social process to encourage the preservation of agrarian culture and the sustainability of rural ecology through cross-disciplinary collaboration and integration of local knowledge in sustainable development (HASDELL, 2016).

Social reality shows that blind farmers are a real portrait of agrarian inequality that continues to occur due to land conversion and large investment expansion in rural areas. Farmers with autism are a real portrait of agrarian inequality caused by inequality of access to land, where this study shows that the opening and expansion of land access by the state has a significant impact on increasing farmers' household expenditure (Samosir & Moeis, 2023). A stark portrait of agrarian inequality due to inefficient allocation of cultivated land and unequal land tenure, most of which are controlled by the forestry sector, thus hindering the success of true agrarian reform (Soedomo, 2021). Timber plantation expansion, while potentially supporting the SDGs, often

displaces agricultural land and natural vegetation, exacerbating rural poverty due to land conversion and large investment expansion that ignores local spatial planning (Bey & Meyfroidt, 2020).

The loss of access to land has made farmers lose the main source of livelihood that has been supporting their families' economic lives for generations. Research in Morogoro, Tanzania, shows that land acquisition programs have a negative impact on indigenous peoples, especially in the form of loss of access to land and key sources of livelihood, due to relocation, land conflicts, and inadequate compensation (Kusiluka et al., 2011). The loss of access to agricultural land that averages only 1–2 hectares per family in Dibrugarh, Assam, has threatened the main source of livelihood of smallholders, necessitating exploration of the potential and barriers to improve their welfare (Ahmed & Sarma, 2021). In classical Fiqh literature, property rights to land as a source of family economic life are limited by various social and legal provisions, such as zakat obligations, alimony, inheritance, debts, and neighbourly rules, in order to maintain balance and justice together. (ACAR, 2022).

The process of land loss often occurs without the full consent of farmers, taking place through formal and informal schemes that are fraught with pressure and structural injustice. Based on the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) entropy and cloud model, land loss by farmers has an impact on the decline in household welfare, especially for farmers with limited assets, so different support policies are needed according to the condition of their assets (Zhang & Xie, 2019). China's Grain for Green (GFG) program encourages farmers to return farmland to forests, leading to loss of livelihoods, and encourages rural women to adapt and increase their role and decisions in maintaining family well-being (Zhu & Maharjan, 2023). The structural poverty of rice farmers in East Aceh is caused by inequality of access to land, education, and capital, as well as dependence on the upper social class, reflecting the loss of farmers' land and deep structural injustices (Nurlina et al., 2019).

This condition forces farmers to become farm labourers, urban migrants, or depend on the informal sector for a living that does not guarantee their economic sustainability. This particular issue highlights the importance of building progressive politics against right-wing populism and capitalism by understanding progressive movements as cross-urban movements rooted in the working class and small producers, where these conditions force peasants to become farm labourers and urban migrants (Pattenden, 2023). Research shows that rural-urban migration tends to increase the social mobility of most community groups, except for the children of farmers, reflecting the conditions that force farmers to become farm labourers and urban migrants for better life opportunities (Paping & Pawlowski, 2018). In the past two decades, smallholders in Pakistan have faced high risks due to productivity gaps with developed farmers, low profitability and market share, limited access to formal credit, forced to rely on the high-interest informal sector, lack of institutional coordination, and fragile livelihoods (Hussain et al., 2022).

The phenomenon of stunted farmers reflects the state's failure to protect land rights and promote fair and sustainable agrarian reform for the small people. An article highlights that smallholder farmers' resilience to drought in Sub-Saharan Africa is influenced by practical, political, and personal factors; Failure in the last two aspects reflects the weak role of the state, as seen in the Tunachism farmers (Nzeyimana et al., 2023). Access to and utilization of smartphones among smallholders in rural developing countries is still limited, reflecting the state's failure to empower smallholder farmers, even though these devices have the potential to increase their capacity through fast and reliable agricultural information (Landmann et al., 2021). The implementation of agrarian reform policies through the release of forest areas has been slow due to weak leadership, coordination, and understanding of regulations, so it has not become a common agenda to realize fair and sustainable agrarian reform for the small people (Salim et al., 2021).

The solution is that the State needs to strengthen agrarian reform based on social justice by ensuring smallholder access to land through land redistribution and transparent legal protection. Agrarian reform based on social justice is expected to be able to realize people's welfare through comprehensive asset and access arrangements, the implementation of which needs to be evaluated so that GTRA and the government can guarantee land rights in a fair and sustainable manner (Fajar et al., 2022). Strengthening smallholder access to legitimate land ownership, especially through land redistribution programs, has been shown to significantly increase agricultural productivity compared to leased land, so the government needs to accelerate agrarian reform in rural areas (Mdoda & Gidi, 2023), accompanied by transparent legal protection, such as the case of Rempang Island from the perspective of environmental law, emphasizes that the protection of the right to a healthy environment must be realized through transparent law enforcement to prevent environmental damage and human rights violations (Habiba et al., 2023).

Strengthening local institutions and farmers' participation in agrarian decision-making is important to prevent corporate dominance of village living space and resources. The results of the study show that the management of Lake Bakuok is not optimal because local institutions are still weak, characterized by a lack of human resource development, weak organizational sustainability, and low compliance with customary rules, so that it is necessary to strengthen local institutions systematically and sustainably (Nasution et al., 2021). Strengthening the participation of farmers, such as Cavendish banana smallholders in agricultural contracts in the Philippines, triggered by Agrarian Reform, shows that experience, education, and financial support influence their decisions, confirming the importance of farmers' involvement in fair agrarian decision-making (Loquias et al., 2022). And to prevent corporate domination over the living space and village resources, it is important to understand the Lapindo mud eruption case which reflects structural injustices due to state and

corporate control of resources, which triggers the suffering and resistance of residents (Sukmana, 2017).

Community-based critical education should be developed to build the collective consciousness of farmers in countering structural injustices and strengthen social solidarity at the grassroots level. Research shows that community-based critical education for the elderly can be developed through a participatory approach that explores participants' life stories, cultural expressions, and local contexts, thereby fostering historical awareness, participatory democracy, and meaningful learning engagement (Brown, 2020). In the context of farmers' growing collective awareness of structural injustice, Iris Marion Young's social connection theory model is reflected in transnational art practices that critique inequality, such as migration, climate crisis, and restorative collective memory (Nualart, 2022). Strengthening social solidarity at the grassroots level, where pro-social subjectivity is a latent construct reflected in individual actions for the common good, manifested through various forms of social action such as civic engagement, concern for democracy, and self-giving, all of which demonstrate individual reflexivity in strengthening social solidarity at the grassroots level through collective initiatives, cultural support, and close social networks (Stochmal, 2020)

Literature Review

Social justice-based agrarian reform has become a central issue in critical agrarian literature because it concerns the rights of small farmers to land that has long been marginalized by exploitative economic systems. According to Borras and Franco (2010), in the context of the expanding global land grab and climate crisis, land redistribution is becoming increasingly urgent even though it is complex, because agrarian justice and climate justice are interrelated and full of contradictions, but they are inseparable (Borras & Franco, 2020). Tunachism farmers, i.e. landless farmers, are a real representation of the state's failure to protect its people from structural poverty. When land as a source of production is controlled by corporations or

elites, farmers fall into economic dependence and lose independence, thus reinforcing the cycle of poverty and agrarian vulnerability that persists in rural areas.

The strengthening of local institutions and the participation of farmers in agrarian decision-making is a response to corporate dominance and weak state protection of agrarian communities. As stated by Ribot and Peluso (2003), access to resources is not just formal ownership, but includes the ability to benefit from various things, such as technology, capital, identity, and networks that allow a person to access resources in real terms (Koch, 2008). In this context, farmers with disabilities are victims of institutional inequality, where their voices are often ignored in the formulation of agrarian policies. Without inclusive and democratic institutions, farmers' living spaces continue to be eroded by large investments and agribusiness expansion, further strengthening social exclusion and agrarian conflicts at the village level.

Community-based critical education is a transformative strategy in building farmers' collective awareness of the injustice structures they face. Referring to the idea of Paulo Freire (1970), the importance of involvement and inclusivity in engineering education through science, technology, and society (STS) approaches, emphasizing the need for a curriculum that questions politics, policy, and citizenship, in line with Paulo Freire's (1970) thought that education must liberate, not oppress, for the creation of a just and sustainable society (Pritchard & Baillie, 2006). Visually impaired farmers, who are vulnerable to economic stress and land loss, need an empowering educational process to understand the structural roots of their poverty. Through this education, social solidarity can be built, strengthen the peasant movement, and open up opportunities for policy advocacy that is more in favor of the small people in realizing true and sustainable agrarian reform.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study strategy, which aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and social realities faced by tunachism farmers in Mowila District, South Konawe Regency. This approach was chosen because it is able to contextually explain the process of land loss experienced by farmers as a result of agrarian inequality, structural poverty, and urgent economic pressures. The qualitative approach allows researchers to understand social phenomena holistically through direct involvement in the field. The case study strategy was chosen to intensively explore the socio-economic and political dynamics of agrarian politics that occur at the community level, especially in the Tunachist peasant group. Data Collection Techniques, In-depth interviews, were conducted with various key informants, including: Tunachism farmers affected by land loss, community leaders, village officials, local farmer organizations. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to explore the experiences, perceptions, and survival strategies of farmers in the face of agrarian pressure. Field observation is used to directly capture social situations, land use patterns, and interactions between farmers, the government, and the private sector at the local level. Documentation studies, in the form of tracing official documents and related archives, such as: Investment permits, land use documents. This approach is in line with the framework of access theory by Ribot and Peluso (2003), which emphasizes that local communities' access to state forests in Indonesia has undergone a transformation through social forestry programs, but based on access theory, these programs actually limit the ability of communities to benefit from these forest resources (Maryudi & Krott, 2012). In the context of Mowila, the Tunachism farmers are a tangible portrait of the state's failure to guarantee

land rights and the weak protection of agrarian communities from corporate penetration and large-scale investment expansion. This method also integrates a community-based approach to critical education as developed by Paulo Freire (1970), Paulo Freire's approach to critical education has inspired academics and social activists to explore a wide range of global interpretations of his ideas, including the epistemological dynamics that shape the way he reads and understands his texts (Barros, 2020). Thus, this research method is not only descriptive-exploratory, but also transformative, as it aims to produce a deep understanding while encouraging social change in Favor of agrarian justice. Research Orientation, namely: Produce a deep understanding of the marginalization of Tunachist farmers in the context of agrarian policies and practices at the local level. Contributing to social change efforts towards agrarian justice, through the production of knowledge that is critical and in favor of vulnerable groups.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Tunachism Farmers as a Representation of Structural Poverty

Visually impaired farmers represent the real face of structural poverty in rural areas, which arises from the state's failure to protect land rights, the dominance of economic-political elites, and inequality of agrarian access. Through this matrix, it is illustrated that land loss is not solely due to individual decisions, but the result of economic pressure, low literacy, and unequal power relations. This condition creates a recurring cycle of poverty that weakens the socio-ecological resilience of villages, making local farmers more vulnerable and marginalized in an unjust agrarian system.

Matrix 1. Tunachism Farmers as a Representation of Structural Poverty

Aspects	Description	Indicators/Narrative	Consequences
Land Rights and the Failure of State Protection	The state has not optimally guaranteed the basic rights of citizens to land as a source of livelihood.	Local farmers who were born and raised in their own villages became land borrowers on the land of the pesantren.	The emergence of farmers with tunachism (landless farmers), long-term life insecurity.
Elite Political Economy Dominance and Migrant Migration	The inability of smallholders to maintain land due to socio-economic pressures from economically and culturally stronger immigrant groups.	Bugis-Makassar immigrants with a high agrarian ethos accumulated locally owned land through legal but asymmetrical transactions.	Land tenure shifts to minority hands, marginalized local communities.
Household Economic Pressures	Economic pressure encourages households to sell vital assets for urgent needs (education, health).	"Land is sold for the cost of living" – an economic cycle that traps farmers in recurring poverty.	Decline in family economic resilience, loss of long-term sources of production.
Lack of Economic Literacy and Social Protection	No social security system or economic education can hold people back from selling important assets.	Local leaders have warned against selling land, but it is still being done because of urgent pressure.	Poverty is reproduced because of short-term decisions that are detrimental to the future.
Structural Agrarian Inequality	Inequality of access to agrarian resources occurs due to a combination of weak policies and free markets.	The structure of land ownership in the village changed drastically—local farmers were landless, and immigrants controlled the land.	Expansion of agrarian inequality and decrease in farmers' adaptive capacity to socio-ecological risks.
Vulnerability as a Poverty Racket	Inability to manage risk leads families to sell land in a crisis.	This vulnerability drives a spiral of poverty.	The socio-economic structure of the village is getting more fragile, and the reproduction of poverty is spreading.

The results of the study show that deaf farmers are a real representation of structural poverty that accumulates through unequal social, economic, and political relations. The state's inability to protect land rights reinforces the vulnerability of local farmers, while the dominance of immigrant elites the legal but unfair transfer of land ownership. Economic

pressure, low financial literacy, and the absence of social security encourage farmers to sell their vital assets forcefully. Agrarian inequality is widening, causing local farmers to lose their main means of production. The Indonesian government has implemented agrarian reform through asset legalization, land redistribution, and social forestry,

but agrarian inequality and farmers' access to the means of production persist because policies are more focused on investment and free trade, rather than the protection of farmers' rights (Fadillah Kaban & Harahap, 2022). The case of agrarian inequality in Pakistan is reflected in the ownership of the means of production dominated by large landowners, leading to an unequal distribution of wealth and income, even though 58% of farmers are smallholders who face various structural and ecological vulnerabilities (Phambra et al., 2020). In this condition, vulnerability becomes a cycle that continues to reproduce poverty, weakening the socio-ecological resilience of village communities systematically and sustainably. The poverty that afflicts informal settlements in mountainous regions such as Konso and QwaQwa weakens their socio-ecological resilience to climate change, as limited

assets and dependence on external assistance weaken their long-term adaptive capacity (Melore & Nel, 2020).

2. Agrarian Reform as a Strategy to Eliminate Agrarian Injustice

Agrarian reform is a fundamental strategy to eliminate agrarian injustices that have taken root in rural socio-economic structures. As a political process, not just a technical policy, agrarian reform demands fair land redistribution, legal protection for poor farmers, and addressing the roots of poverty so that land re-release does not occur. In the midst of rampant land speculation and capital domination, the active involvement of local communities is the main requirement. In the context of Mowila Village, this strategy is crucial to reverse power inequality and restore agrarian rights for marginalized residents.

Matrix 2. Agrarian Reform as a Strategy to Eliminate Agrarian Injustice

Aspects	Explanation	Relevance to the Mowila Village Case
The Character of Agrarian Reform	Agrarian reform must be understood as a political process that aims to reorganize the structure of land ownership and tenure in a fair manner, not just an administrative technocratic project.	Agrarian injustice in Mowila is not just a technical land issue, but reflects an unequal power structure and socio-economic relations, including ethnic dominance and the weak capacity of local residents to defend their land rights.
Fair and Transparent Redistribution of Land	It is necessary to redistribute land to the poor and disadvantaged in a fair, open manner, and based on the principles of social justice.	Locals who lost their land due to necessities of life and economic pressures did not have regained access to land. This reform is important so that the land is not only concentrated in a more powerful group, such as immigrants with a high work ethic and large capital.
Legal Protection of Poor Farmers & Tunachism	Smallholder farmers and disabled groups must be legally protected so that the land they have acquired through agrarian reform is not reclaimed by local elites, corporations, or land speculators.	Local residents on the land of the Gontor Islamic Boarding School are in a position prone to eviction because they do not have land legality. Without legal protection, they are vulnerable to becoming victims of marginalization again.
Addressing the Root Problems of Poverty and Vulnerability	Agrarian reform must be accompanied by strengthening economic capacity, such as access to capital, education, and health services	The case of land sales by locals shows that economic vulnerability drives the release of vital assets. Without structural

Aspects	Explanation	Relevance to the Mowila Village Case
	so that residents do not resell their land.	solutions, agrarian reform could lead to failure.
Prevention of Monopoly and Land Speculation	The state needs to supervise and control land transactions so that there is no speculation, accumulation by corporations, or local elites posing as "investors".	The tendency of immigrants to control land and organize capital gave rise to new dominance. Unsupervised redistribution will create new inequality.
Local Community Participation	The agrarian reform process must ensure the active involvement of local communities in the planning, implementation, and oversight of programs.	The absence of local residents in the decision-making process causes them to be marginalized on their own land. Their participation is a condition of agrarian justice.

The results of the study show that Agrarian Reform in Mowila Village has not been able to eliminate agrarian injustice substantively because it is still understood technocratically and administratively, not as a political process that reorganizes the structure of land tenure in a fair manner. The inequality of land access between locals and migrants reflects economic dominance and weak legal protections for vulnerable groups. A development approach that removes social justice reproduces the inequality of access to land and reinforces the economic dominance of the elite, where NGOs are often part of this structure, rather than its challengers, thus marginalizing the real struggle of the people (Manji, 1998). The non-involvement of local residents in the decision-making process further strengthens social exclusion. Without fair redistribution, legal protection, strengthening economic capacity, and oversight of land speculation, Agrarian Reform risks perpetuating new inequality instead of being an effective strategy to eliminate agrarian injustice. Agrarian reform in Latin America since the beginning of the 20th century has undergone significant changes, from its

role in industrialization to market-based reforms of the 1990s, but social inequality and land ownership issues remain unresolved until the current global era (Botella-Rodríguez & González-Esteban, 2021). Over the past three decades, the region of agrarian reform in Brazil has undergone significant changes but still faces social inequality in access to water, energy, and food, especially in peri-urban areas, due to the dominance of sectoral political and economic interests (Granero de Melo et al., 2020).

3. Corporate Dominance and the Fragility of Local Institutions

Corporate dominance and the fragility of local institutions are two sides that reinforce each other in aggravating the vulnerability of deaf farmers. Inequality of access to land, exclusive decision-making, and weak local power bases cause farmers to lose control over their living space. Meanwhile, the inability of village and customary institutions to provide legal, social, and economic protection makes them powerless to face market pressures and agribusiness policies. As a result, local farmers are marginalized and lose their land rights systematically and sustainably.

Matrix 3. Corporate Dominance vs Local Institutional Fragility in the Context of Vulnerability of Tunachism Farmers

Aspects	Dominance of Corporations/External Actors	The fragility of local institutions
Access to Land	Corporations, large investors, and capitalists have an easier time controlling land through unequal market mechanisms.	Lack of protection of customary/local land rights and weak structure to supervise land distribution.
Agrarian Decision Making	Dominated by outside actors, without involving local farmers or the landless poor.	Weak representation of local communities in village institutions or decision-making forums.
Power Base	Access based on economic capital and regional/national political-economic networks.	Customary/local institutions do not have formal or legal powers to protect villagers.
Socio-Economic Resilience	Local farmers are left out because they lose competition in terms of technology, access to capital, and market networks.	There is no socio-economic protection system when residents sell their land due to emergency conditions.
Narrative/Policy Production	The discourse of agribusiness and economic growth is used to legitimize the deprivation of living space.	Weak advocacy capacity of local communities in voicing land rights and sustainability.
Implications for Tunachism Farmers	The marginalization of local farmers became tunachism in their own villages due to their inability to defend their land.	Local institutions are unable to prevent the sale of vital land and the loss of the right to live on a sustainable basis.

The results of the analysis based on Matrix 3 show that the dominance of corporations and external actors accelerates the process of marginalization of local farmers, especially the disabled, through unequal land tenure and exclusive agrarian decision-making. On the other hand, the fragility of local institutions, both in terms of rights protection, representation, and advocacy, makes village communities lose their resilience in maintaining their living space. This inequality is exacerbated by the narrative of agribusiness development that legitimizes land grabbing, while village institutions do not have formal powers to protect their citizens. Modernization policies in the Amazon encourage land grabbing by states and corporations over indigenous and local peoples' territories, weaken traditional village institutions,

and ignore local knowledge systems in governance and sustainable development (Hecht et al., 2021). As a result, disabled farmers continue to be marginalized without social protection or sustainable access to land. Environmental conservation behaviours have been shown to improve the subjective well-being of farmers, but for disabled farmers who do not have social protection, these benefits are difficult to feel due to limited access to education, incentives, and inclusive social space (Qi et al., 2023). The mechanism of dissemination of agricultural land protection policies (CLPPs) through farmers' social networks, which is influenced by relationship structure and literacy levels, reflects the weak access to information of visually impaired farmers who are not socially protected and vulnerable to inequality (Lu et al., 2021).

4. The Importance of Local Institutional Strengthening and Grassroots Participation

In the context of the vulnerability of farmers in Mowila Village, strengthening local institutions and grassroots participation is very urgent to address the social, economic, and agrarian challenges they face. Land loss due to economic pressures, immigrant dominance, and lack of control over policy and

investment, put farmers in a vulnerable position. Community-based institutions can strengthen social protection, increase bargaining power, and ensure farmers' involvement in decision-making. Therefore, strategies to strengthen local institutions and citizen participation are essential to build agrarian resilience and justice.

Matrix 4. Strengthening Local Institutions and Grassroots Participation in the Context of the Vulnerability of Mowila Village Farmers

Aspects	Conditions Described	The Importance of Institutional Strengthening and Grassroots Participation	Strategic Implications
Social and Economic Vulnerability of Farmers	Farmers lost their land due to the pressure of economic needs (education, health, and basic needs), as well as the absence of an adequate social protection system.	Community-based local institutions can become social and economic safety nets, providing access to information, emergency assistance, and solidarity in the face of crises.	It is necessary to establish farmer cooperatives, farmer groups, or community microfinance institutions that strengthen farmers' economic resilience.
Inequality of Access and Bargaining Power	Local farmers are excluded by immigrant communities who have a high work ethic and mastery of capital, leading to dominance of land and the local economy.	Local institutional empowerment increases the bargaining power of local farmers against capital expansion and immigrant flows by organizing collective assets and community-based negotiations.	Local leadership training and strengthening of the structure of farmers' organizations in village forums are needed.
Lack of Representation in Decision Making	The decision to sell the land was made individually without institutional intervention or community deliberation, due to low agrarian literacy and participation in village forums.	Grassroots participation in village forums and agrarian decision-making ensures the protection of land rights and the sustainability of agrarian reform.	There must be regulations and village participatory mechanisms involving farmers in planning and monitoring land and investment policies.
Lack of Social Control over Investment and Agrarian Policy	There is no community control over the pattern of land accumulation and the buying and selling process that takes place in an untransparent manner.	Democratic and inclusive village institutions function as a tool of social control over agrarian policies and investment flows to remain in accordance with the interests of local residents.	Village institutional reform to be more transparent, accountable, and deliberation-based in determining the direction of development and investment.

The results show that the vulnerability of farmers in Mowila Village is not only triggered by economic factors, but also by weak local institutions and lack of grassroots participation in decision-making. Inequality of access, loss of social control over investment, and lack of representation in village forums exacerbate farmers' bargaining positions. Therefore, strengthening local institutions is crucial as a collective instrument in providing social protection, strengthening bargaining power, and ensuring citizen involvement in every agrarian policy. To respond to the impact of COVID-19 on vulnerable groups, low-middle-income countries need to expand social protection through the synergy of aid programs, strengthening local institutions, and engaging non-state actors to reach hard-to-reach groups (Gerard et al., 2020). The results of the study emphasized the importance of strengthening local institutions of Community protection through training and supporting facilities so that the community is more independent and resilient in the face of disasters, while strengthening social

protection based on regional capacity and real needs of the community (Indrayani & Wasistiono, 2021). Grassroots participation allows for a better and equitable development process, as well as maintaining the sustainability of land tenure and utilization by local communities.

5. Critical Education as a Means of Collective Consciousness

Critical education plays a strategic role as a means of building collective awareness among grassroots communities, especially smallholders and the disabled. Through reflection, dialogue, and structural analysis, this education uncovers the roots of agrarian injustice and systemic vulnerability that are often unrealized as structural problems. With participatory methods, critical education fosters a new understanding that poverty is not solely the result of individual choices, but the result of an oppressive system. This awareness is an important basis for encouraging collective action and social transformation in favor of agrarian justice.

Matrix 5. Critical Education as a Means of Collective Consciousness

Aspects	Explanation	Examples of Narratives
Critical Education Goals	Dismantling structures of oppression and injustice through collective reflection and dialogue.	Farmers with disabilities do not realize that the loss of land is not just an individual fault, but the result of economic pressures and an unjust agrarian system.
Educational Subject	Grassroots communities, particularly smallholders and the disabled.	20 families in Mowila Village who live on the land of the Gontor Islamic boarding school without ownership status, even though they are native to the village.
Educational Content	Structural analysis: agrarian inequality, economic vulnerability, policy influence, and patterns of marginalization.	The pressure of the cost of living, education, and health that encourages farmers to sell their land. The influx of immigrants with high economic competitiveness accelerates the transfer of ownership.
Educational Methods	Reflective dialogue, group discussions, collective problem mapping, and awareness through life experiences.	The story of Irham Kalenggo (chairman of the regional people's representative council) who repeatedly reminded farmers not to sell their land, but was not persuaded because there was no collective reflective space beforehand.

Aspects	Explanation	Examples of Narratives
Critical Awareness	Realize that poverty is not just the result of individual choices, but is linked to social, economic, and cultural structures.	The narrative refers to poverty as a way of thinking and unawareness of the future, even though it is the result of systemic vulnerability.
Collective Action	Encourage social solidarity, agrarian advocacy, and efforts to change policies that are more in favor of smallholder farmers.	Critical education encourages farmers to form alliances, cooperatives, or advocacy networks so that land is not resold and can be accessed fairly.
Expected Impact	Social transformation: farmers become conscious and organized actors to fight for land rights and sustainable living.	Farmers are no longer borrowers of land in their own villages, but rather sovereign managers of their land and lives.

The results of the study show that Critical Education plays a strategic role as a strategic means in building farmers' collective awareness of the agrarian oppression structures they experience. Through reflective dialogue and mapping of common problems, farmers began to understand that poverty and land loss were not purely personal faults, but the result of an unequal system. This awareness triggered collective action in the form of the formation of cooperatives and advocacy networks, as a form of resistance to marginalization. Farmers' lack of awareness of the relationship between land use and flooding hinders participation in mitigation, so a policy strategy that fosters collective awareness is needed to encourage joint action in soil conservation (Schad et al., 2012). Ethical awareness in graduate education can spark collective action that shapes responsible design and engineering practices, by encouraging cross-disciplinary collaboration to integrate moral values in products, systems, and interactions between people and technology (Ferraello, 2019). Thus, Critical Education not only opens up structural insights, but also organizes

farmers to become agents of change who fight for the right to land and a more just and sustainable life. Biophysical and socio-economic constraints affect the adoption of climate-smart farming practices, but farmers as agents of change, have local awareness and experiences that are essential for designing adaptive, gender-responsive, and agroecological context-based policies (Autio et al., 2021).

6. Social Solidarity as the Basis of the Agrarian Reform Movement

Social solidarity is an important foundation in the agrarian reform movement because it is a collective force capable of fighting structural injustice and social fragmentation due to land capitalization. Based on the case in Mowila, the weak collective consciousness, the absence of peasant organizations, and the lack of critical education caused the community to lose control of their land. Therefore, building social solidarity through education, organizing, and joint action is a strategic step to strengthen the position of farmers, pressure the state, and build community-based agrarian resilience in a sustainable manner.

Matrix 6. Social Solidarity as the Basis of the Agrarian Reform Movement

Aspects	Description	Relevance to the Mowila Case
Collective Awareness	Shared awareness of oppressive structural conditions (poverty, agrarian inequality, land loss) through critical education and reflective dialogue.	The Mowila people sold land due to economic pressure without understanding the long-term impact on agrarian sovereignty.
Critical Education	The process of building awareness through mentoring, discussion, and alternative education that invites farmers to understand their agrarian rights.	The lack of understanding causes people to sell vital land; needs strengthening Through Critical Education.
Farmer Organizations	A collective forum that strengthens the bargaining position of farmers in fighting for land rights and rejecting the practice of eviction or control by outsiders.	There is no organization that oversees the 20 Tunachism families to fight for their land status on the land of the pesantren.
Social Solidarity	A sense of belonging born of collective experience of structural injustice, reinforced by local social and cultural ties.	Fragmentation occurs due to the influx of strong immigrants from capital; local people are marginalized and lose control of their land.
Pressure on the State	Collective action and social movements pressure the government to implement substantive agrarian reform, not just administrative or symbolic.	The Regional Government has not been effective in providing protection or assistance to residents who have lost land.
Resistance to Social Fragmentation	Solidarity is a force against social divisions due to market pressures, land capitalization, and the dominance of capitalized groups.	Local communities are socially and economically dispersed, needing reunification through the peasant solidarity movement.
Agrarian Resilience Development	Building farmers' independence through land ownership, access to production, and strengthening community socio-economic networks.	Without land, farmers lose their source of livelihood; There needs to be a recovery and strengthening of community-based agrarian positions.

The results of the study show that weak social solidarity is the root of the agrarian crisis in Mowila, characterized by low collective awareness, lack of critical education, and lack of peasant organizations that are able to protect the agrarian rights of citizens. The sale of land by local communities due to economic pressure reflects the collective inability to understand and counter structural injustices. Although conventional economic approaches often fail to capture the collective value of ecosystem services, especially in the context of economic

pressures and the collective inability to assess cross-generational interests, the deliberative multicriteria evaluation (DMCE) method reinforces participatory assessment through social deliberations and future scenarios (Mavrommati et al., 2017). Social fragmentation due to the influx of financiers exacerbated the situation, while the state was not present effectively. Therefore, social solidarity needs to be rebuilt as the basis of the agrarian reform movement by raising awareness, forming peasant organizations, and encouraging collective action for

the sovereignty and agrarian resilience of local communities. An article describes how traditional farming communities in the highlands have maintained their social solidarity, sovereignty, and agrarian resilience despite experiencing external interventions that have triggered significant technological, economic, and structural changes (Tadem, 2009), Traditional farming communities in mountainous rural areas are able to maintain social solidarity, sovereignty over agrarian resources, and household economic resilience despite the pressure of change from outside through state and non-state interventions. (Tadem, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion of the research, it can be concluded that the deafness farmers in Mowila District, South Konawe, represent a real portrait of land loss caused by structural poverty and urgent economic pressure. Agrarian inequality in this village is not only the result of market mechanisms or individual choices, but is accumulated through unequal power relations between the state, corporations, immigrant elites, and local communities. Agrarian reform, which is supposed to be a solution, actually fails to eliminate injustice because it is implemented technocratically and administratively, without touching the structural root of the problem. The dominance of external actors, weak local institutions, lack of citizen representation in decision-making, and the absence of social protection further accelerate the marginalization of deaf farmers. Critical education has been proven to be able to build structural awareness and encourage collective resistance, but this is not enough if it is not accompanied by strengthening social solidarity, the formation of peasant organizations, and agrarian policies that favor smallholders. This situation shows that the loss of land experienced by the deaf farmers is not only due to economic pressure, but is the impact of the unfair agrarian system and the lack of state partisanship. Therefore, a transformative approach that places farmers as active subjects in the change process is very important to realize sustainable

agrarian justice and socio-ecological resilience at the village level.

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