

## **Bab IV**

### **Kesimpulan**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana kondisi human security masyarakat India terdampak oleh praktik *land grabbing* yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah India guna melancarkan target pertumbuhan ekonomi melalui pembangunan infrastruktur, pengembangan industri, dan mengundang investor asing untuk berbisnis di India. Melalui teori *critical security studies* dan konsep *human security*, penulis meneliti bagaimana upaya India membangun kekuatan ekonomi melalui kebijakan pembangunan yang berorientasi pada ekonomi justru menciptakan masalah keamanan manusia dalam bentuk praktik *land grabbing* atau akuisisi tanah skala besar yang dilakukan.

Paradigma pembangunan neoliberal yang digunakan secara global saat ini menonjolkan pertumbuhan ekonomi sebagai cara meningkatkan kesejahteraan masyarakat. Namun, fokus pembangunan neoliberal pada perdagangan bebas dan eksploitasi sumber daya membuat lingkungan hidup dikomodifikasi atau diperdagangkan guna memenuhi kebutuhan ekonomi nasional. Komodifikasi lingkungan hidup di bawah perspektif neoliberalis memunculkan praktik *land grabbing* atau akuisisi tanah skala besar sebagai bagian dari upaya negara memenuhi kebutuhan akan tanah, terlepas dari makna sosial-budaya dan sosiologis tanah bagi masyarakat yang memilikinya

Penulis menemukan bahwa perubahan yang sama terjadi pada India. Meskipun kepercayaan Hindu yang banyak dianut di India memandang lingkungan hidup

sebagai sesuatu yang suci dan harus dijaga, namun India di bawah paradigma pembangunan neoliberalis fokus pada nilai ekonomi tanah sebagai lahan untuk proyek pembangunan dan bukan pada nilai sosial-budaya bagi masyarakat yang memiliki tanah tersebut. Neoliberalisme menjadi paradigma pembangunan yang diusung India sejak reformasi ekonomi tahun 1991, ketika India menjalani penyesuaian struktural di bawah arahan Bank Dunia dan IMF guna memenuhi syarat mendapatkan pinjaman uang. Keterbukaan pada investasi asing dan serta kebutuhan infrastruktur yang besar untuk menunjang perdagangan bebas kemudian menjadi dasar kebijakan pembangunan India seterusnya. Hal ini kemudian mendorong India untuk melakukan *land grabbing* terhadap tanah masyarakat dan melonggarkan regulasi terkait tanah guna memudahkan proses mendapatkan lahan untuk proyek.

Dalam mengkaji praktik *land grabbing* oleh pemerintah India melalui teori *critical security studies*, penulis menemukan bahwa praktik *land grabbing* dijustifikasi untuk mencapai kepentingan perekonomian nasional, yang dijadikan sebuah ‘kepentingan bersama’. Peraturan kepemilikan tanah yang ada sengaja diarahkan untuk memenuhi kebutuhan bisnis dan bukan untuk menegakkan hak atas tanah yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat ataupun mencegah kerusakan lingkungan akibat pelaksanaan proyek. Terlihat bahwa pembuat kebijakan di India yakni pemerintah pusat dan pemerintah daerah belum sepenuhnya menjadikan keamanan manusia masyarakat sebagai fokus. Upaya seperti pemberian kompensasi dan penerapan analisis dampak lingkungan belum maksimal diterapkan, sehingga membuat

pemerintah seakan baru mempertimbangkan dampak sosial dan lingkungan dari *land grabbing* setelah timbul masalah dan bukan dari awal perencanaan proyek.

Penulis melihat bahwa hilangnya tanah sebagai sumber daya bagi masyarakat akibat praktik *land grabbing* memberi dampak negatif pada masing-masing pilar *human security*, yakni *freedom from fear*, *freedom from want*, dan *freedom from hazard impact*. Dari pilar *freedom of fear*, justifikasi *land grabbing* untuk keperluan perekonomian nasional mendorong tindakan represif dari pemerintah atau perusahaan asing yang hendak mengambil tanah, seperti penangkapan aktivis dan penggunaan kekerasan dari kepolisian. Dari pilar *freedom of want*, masyarakat yang kehilangan tanah akibat praktik *land grabbing* ikut kehilangan mata pencaharian, pekerjaan, tempat tinggal, hingga identitas teritorial karena tidak lagi memiliki akses pada tanah. Terakhir, kerusakan lingkungan akibat pengalihan fungsi tanah dari untuk pertanian menjadi lahan proyek, serta lemahnya pengawasan terhadap dampak lingkungan proyek pembangunan meningkatkan resiko bencana alam bagi masyarakat yang tinggal di daerah sekitar proyek, sehingga mempengaruhi pilar *freedom of hazard impact*.

Dari pengamatan tersebut, penulis menyimpulkan bahwa secara fundamental, praktik *land grabbing* menghilangkan kepemilikan masyarakat akan tanah, yang merupakan sumber daya yang penting bagi pemenuhan *human security* karena fungsi ekonomi, sosial-budaya, dan ekologis yang dimiliki oleh tanah. Hilangnya kepemilikan masyarakat akan tanah secara individual menjauhkan mereka dari beragam elemen *human security*, mulai dari mata pencaharian, sumber makanan, lingkungan hidup, hingga keamanan fisik. Dengan absennya tanah, masyarakat

menjadi rentan akan berbagai ancaman terhadap pilar-pilar *human security*. Hal ini tentu bertolak belakang dengan tujuan India mengakuisisi tanah, yakni untuk melancarkan proyek pembangunan dan menggerakkan ekonomi guna meningkatkan kesejahteraan masyarakat. *Land grabbing* yang dilakukan sebagai proses India untuk meningkatkan *economic power* dan keamanan melalui pembangunan justru menjadi sebuah ancaman *human security* yang menghalangi masyarakat yang terdampak *land grabbing* dari mencapai emansipasi, karena hilangnya sumber daya yang penting untuk kesejahteraan dan kelangsungan hidup mereka dalam proses *land grabbing*.

Penelitian ini juga merupakan kritik terhadap pembangunan neoliberal yang menempatkan pertumbuhan ekonomi sebagai solusi atas permasalahan sosial yang dihadapi oleh masyarakat sipil. Dari penelitian yang dilakukan, penulis berpendapat bahwa pembangunan neoliberal yang diusung India untuk meningkatkan *power* dalam hal ekonomi memiliki kekurangan dalam hal menjaga atau meningkatkan *human security*. Pemikiran untuk meningkatkan pertumbuhan ekonomi dengan cepat menuntut India untuk meningkatkan infrastruktur dan perindustrian secara masif, serta meningkatkan kemudahan berbisnis dan mengundang investor asing ke India. Memang langkah tersebut telah berhasil melejitkan prestise India di antara negara-negara lainnya, berkat keberhasilan India mencapai pertumbuhan ekonomi yang pesat dan melakukan modernisasi. Namun, pertumbuhan ekonomi masih lebih banyak dinikmati oleh lapisan ekonomi menengah ke atas. Sementara itu, masyarakat menengah ke bawah seperti petani, nelayan, masyarakat adat, dan kasta termarjinalkan yang banyak

menjadi korban *land grabbing* justru seringkali terpaksa mengorbankan hak asasi mereka untuk menunjang perdagangan yang digerakkan oleh pebisnis kaya dan konglomerat. Pembangunan yang dijalankan secara eksploitatif dan mengabaikan kondisi sosial dan lingkungan tidak akan mencapai tujuan aslinya untuk menciptakan emansipasi atau pembebasan masyarakat dari kekurangan hidup.

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