



Observing Indonesia's Agrarian Conflict During The Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

The Covid-19 epidemic has caused problems, especially in the economic field, which has an impact on the increasing number of residents at the local, national, and even global levels. It is also a health catastrophe throughout 2020. Long-term social distancing laws and restrictions on human movement and activities have rendered economic centers inoperable. Unusual events such as pandemics and reported weak economic growth cannot slow or even limit the rate at which companies acquire community land. According to the community, PSBB means complying with the government's request for restraint and creating a conducive environment by severely limiting mobility and activities outside the home. Meanwhile, Large-Scale Social Restrictions have become a driving force for the widespread appropriation of agrarian resources for large groups of companies with agrarian roots. Obviously, when the pandemic crisis is most severe and Large-Scale Social Restrictions are applied intensively, agrarian conflicts increase. Therefore, during the COVID-19 outbreak, agrarian disputes in Indonesia are very important to watch out for.

Keywords: Agrarian Conflict, Covid-19 Pandemic

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INTRODUCTION

Seventy percent of Indonesians are employed in agriculture (agrarian), either as landowners, cultivators, or farmworkers. Therefore, possessing land for agricultural purposes is crucial for the community's survival. Everyone requires land since no activity or human activity can exist without it. Given the connection between land and human life, the relevance of land for human existence is crucial (Laesang, 2014). Additionally, the dynamics of the subject land's development hold a special place in the manufacturing process as a capital that cannot be replaced, transferred, or replicated. The term "homeland" connotes a struggle for national independence, even among Indonesia's diverse people, where land also serves as a place of residence (Fauzi, 1997).

As a result, land is an important resource and need for human life. Land is no longer seen as a direct agricultural problem that is only associated with agriculture but has developed both in terms of benefits and uses, leading to increasingly complex negative impacts. Even land may often surprise communities and stop development efforts in their tracks. According to Article 33 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution, "land and water and the wealth contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people". The mandate means that the state must manage its resources fairly to ensure the welfare of its citizens. As expected by most Indonesians, this mandate now seems increasingly distant from implementation (Purwanto, 2022). In contradiction, the government's neglect of ensuring a sense of justice, especially for

farmers, is justified in the name of progress and economic growth. The current government has enacted regulations that provide wider space for capital owners, including foreign investors, to manage various strategic resources, including agrarian resources. Since their land was the only means of subsistence that gave them hope, many peasants were forced to face mass poverty because of being driven from them. There have been several protest policies that are considered discriminatory, and these protests often turn violent (Astuti, 2011).

According to data from the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) on agrarian disputes, there were fewer conflicts when the global economic crisis hit in 2008. KPA only "registered" 24 agricultural conflict eruptions in 2008, which happened throughout the year. However, the pandemic crisis is far from ended, with 241 agricultural confrontations taking place in 2020 in the middle of a recession in the country's economy. It stands to reason that the economic crisis brought on by the Covid-19 crisis will be able to prevent the outbreak of agrarian conflicts in the field. This is so that many investment plans and the growth of domestic and international business groups won't proceed as planned if economic growth is below expectations (KPA, 2020).

Atypical events like a pandemic and weak economic growth reportedly couldn't slow down or even restrict the rate at which corporations were acquiring people's lands. According to the populace, PSBB entails adhering to the government's request for restraint and creating a favorable environment by severely restricting mobility and outside-the-home activities. Meanwhile, PSBB is a driving force for widespread agrarian resource deprivation for huge corporate groups with agrarian roots. When the pandemic crisis was at its worst and the PSBB was vigorously implemented, agrarian conflicts increased (KPA, 2020).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative descriptive methodology, which involves the use of a literature study methodology. Examining the agrarian conflicts that occurred in Indonesia during the COVID-19 pandemic is the main goal of this research. The scope of this research is limited to examples of agricultural conflicts related to COVID-19 in Indonesia. A literature review was conducted to collect data, and special attention was paid to books, journals, and publications from the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) from 2019 to 2020. Data analysis techniques included data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions. (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Areas Escalation of Agrarian Conflict

During the Covid epidemic, which had an impact on many different sectors of society. does not lessen the rising number of conflicts in the agricultural industry. Limiting activities is one of the dispute resolution strategies that is typically used in person rather than virtually, which is seen to be unproductive. This results in a drawn-out disagreement. 241 outbreaks of agrarian conflict were recorded in Indonesia's 30 Provinces in 2020. The issue that predominates the conflict is the subject of confrontation with plantations. This supports the continued exploitation of land for economic reasons. Community land grabs are still widespread, as evidenced by private businesses and local conflicts, demonstrating that legislation to prevent or stop this are still relatively weak (Tarigan & Karuniasa, 2021). As a result, the conflict can continue to escalate without urgent regulation. Like table 1;

Table 1. Regions of Agrarian Conflict

Province	Total Conflicts	Causes of Conflict	Details
Riau	29	Dominance of oil palm plantations	21
		Industrial Plantation Forest	6
		Power generation infrastructure	2
Jambi	21	Plantation	21
		Industrial Plantation Forest	11
Sumatera Utara	18	Plantation	8
		Industrial Plantation Forest	4
		Infrastructure	3
		Property	1
		Military facilities	1
Sumatra Selatan	17	Plantation	11
		Industrial Plantation Forest	
Nusa Tenggara Timur	16	Properti	4
		Plantation	3
		Infrastructure	3
		Forestry	3
		Mining	2
		Agribusiness	1

Source: (KPA, 2020)

Research shows that there is some dominating concentration of conflict. Five major agrarian wars occurred up to 16 conflict explosions in East Nusa Tenggara, 21 in Jambi, 18 in North Sumatra, 17 in South Sumatra, and 29 in Riau. In 2020, Sumatra will be the main location of agrarian disputes. The conflict is a direct result of the dominance of oil palm plantations, which is closely related to this. A total of 21 conflicts involving oil palm plantations, up to 6 conflicts involving industrial plantation forests, and up to 2 incidents involving conflicts related to the construction of power plants were mentioned for Riau province. The palm oil business that causes conflicts is evaluated by the community and other businesses (Cnnindonesia.com, 2021). Meanwhile, plantations dominated 11 of the 21 conflict explosions in Jambi Province, and there were 9 agrarian disputes in forest areas. The lack of conflict resolution, and weak regulatory regulations, make it important to put this issue into a major priority (Antaranews.com, 2021). Problems of conflict resolution regulation, authoritative institutions, and opening policy breakthroughs are considered capable of resolving conflicts (Cahyono et al., 2019).

Furthermore, North Sumatra consists of agrarian conflicts in the plantation sector as many as 8 explosive conflicts, industrial forest plantations (4), infrastructure (3), property (1), food estate (1), and military facilities 1. According to Komnas HAM, North Sumatra is a province with

complaints of the largest agrarian conflict in Indonesia (Tribunnews.com, 2021). The conflict in North Sumatra is full of interests, politics, and the economy. This can be seen from the great attention from the center to immediately resolve various agrarian conflicts, especially with customary issues. On the other hand, in South Sumatra Province, of the 17 conflict explosions that occurred throughout the year, 11 of them occurred in plantation areas, while the rest occurred in industrial plantation forest areas. In East Nusa Tenggara Province, conflict explosions occurred in almost all sectors, including property conflicts 4, plantations (3), infrastructure (3), forestry (3), mining (2), and agribusiness (1).

Looking at the case, sector plantations became the largest contributor to the conflict that dominated the agrarian society. This conflict area places Riau as a place where there are frequent conflicts between communities. This is inevitable because many palm oil companies are taking away community land rights. The Industrial Plantation Forest sector is a sector that cannot be separated from the question of land conversion. For example, this forest has customary values that are controlled by the surrounding community, they must change to company owners. Of course, this collision is a trigger for conflict to occur.

Table 2. Widest Area of Conflict

Province	Spread of Conflict	Ranking in Indonesia
Papua	283.800 hectares	1
Bangka Belitung	66.534,2 hectares	2
Riau	60.339.218 hectares	3
Sumatera Barat	37.350 hectares	4
Sumatera Utara	23.969,61 hectares	5

Source: (KPA, 2020)

The five most dominant conflict areas appeared. First, is the issue of plantations, both regional disputes, and Industrial forests that occur between the community and the company. The main actors in the conflict are palm oil companies and indigenous peoples. This reinforces the Forest Peoples Program (FPP) that the fate of indigenous peoples in Indonesia living around forest areas is increasingly around. Weak governments and non-siding with indigenous peoples are the main factors (Mongabay.co.id, 2015). This implies that the increase in conflict is caused by society's minimal protection. Second, disputes over land transfer, development, and pollution are the main causes of infrastructure conflicts. This conflict arises because the construction of infrastructure improves the position of the community, both work, land, and culture. Data in 2021, the Consortium for Agrarian Renewal although cases have decreased, agrarian conflicts in the infrastructure sector, especially related to the development of National Strategic Projects (PSN) occurred (Republika.co.id, 2022). This means that it is not only a problem between the community and the company but extends to state institutions.

Agrarian Conflict Relief

The infrastructure development sector is the main obstacle to the increasing conflicts in Indonesia. Previously, conflicts were dominated between indigenous peoples and companies due to land conversion. In (2020) the previous agrarian conflict occurred in 30 Provinces, while in 2021 agrarian conflicts erupted in 32 Provinces in Indonesia. One of the obstacles to infrastructure

development. Said, East Java's Province experienced a drastic increase this year. There were 30 incidents with an area of 54,573,986 hectares. The explosion rate is up 150% from the previous year, with only 12 cases.



Figure 1. Agrarian Conflict Spreading Map 2021
Source: (KPA, 2021)

Accelerated development of National Strategic Projects dominates infrastructure development. Such as the construction of the Kediri Kertosono Toll Road, Tulungagung-Kediri Toll Road, Sukodardi Ring Road, and the Paciran Industrial Estate in Lamongan. West Java Province, which experienced 17 conflict incidents, was in second place. The conflict eruption occurred on an area of 8,597,834 hectares. This number increased by 100% from 8 conflicts in 2020. The national PSN also played a significant role in the outbreak of agrarian riots in West Java through the construction of the Jakarta-Cikampek II Toll Road, Cisumdawu Toll Road, Cimanggis-Cibitung Toll Road. The Toll Road, the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail Project, and Special Economic Zone covering an area of 3,000 hectares in Bogor and Sukabumi Regencies. With a total of 16 confrontations over an area of 21,564.55 hectares and 359 family deaths, Riau Province ranks third in terms of the number of conflicts that occurred that year. According to KPA, the increase in PSN conflicts has led to accelerated executions guaranteed by the government based on public interest (Kompas.com, 2021). According to KPA, the National Strategic Project (PSN) accounts for most agrarian disputes in the infrastructure sector, which increased from 17 incidents in 2021 to 38 cases in 2022, an increase of 123 percent from 52 conflicts (Kumparan.com, 2022).

Typology of Agrarian Conflict

Typology of conflicts in Agrarian conflicts occurs in several ways. First, agrarian conflicts in the plantation, forestry, and mining sectors. This is like the case in Riau, Sulawesi Selatan and North Sumatra.

Table 3. Tipologi Typology of Agrarian Conflict

Province	Number of Cases	Extent of conflict
Riau	Plantations (10 cases), forestry (5 cases) and development infrastructure (1 case)	Undetectable
Sulawesi Selatan	plantations (3), forestry (3), mining (2), infrastructure development (2), agriculture (1), and conflicts between the state security apparatus and residential residents	37,380.74 hectares with 3,034 households
Sumatera Utara	11 plantation and infrastructure conflicts	88,458.66 hectares with casualties reaching 102,000 households

Source: (KPA 2021)

Riau Province is considered to have various conflicts involving oil palm companies and about Industrial Plantation Forests. This conflagration occurred for many years in Riau as if to emphasize that there was no solution to the solution that occurred. There is more desire and ego in the settlement of both sides, making it difficult to do well. Different wishes and orderly administration are one of the factors in the conflict of mediation being resolved properly. (Jeliantika & Tua, 2021). Then in South Sulawesi, the plantation sector was caused by the control of One of the state companies oil palm plantations in Wajo, Enrekang and East Luwu. Meanwhile, forestry conflicts occur due to overlapping boundaries of forest area claims with communities in Gowa and Tana Toraja Regencies. Furthermore, agrarian conflicts due to forest area claims in Soppeng Regency. North Sumatra Province in this province occurs due to oil palm plantations, a National Strategic Project. Conflicts over oil palm plantations occurred due to One of the state companies on community arable land.

Second, the infrastructure development sector, one of which is the existence of regulatory protection against the acceleration of development. It is said that the conflict occurred due to the construction of the Pekanbaru Bangkinang Toll Road. The battle that took place in Riau painted a picture of the failure to solve systemic agrarian problems and carry out agrarian reform. Because disputes in the forestry and plantation industries usually last for years and even decades. The long settlement has contributed to the escalation of the ongoing conflict and the possibility of more casualties every year. The government's promise to take care of the abandoned Cultivation Rights many times was only limited to lip service, there was no concrete action. This is due to the ongoing tensions in the surrounding environment. Plantations, forestry, and infrastructure industries face serious disputes in Riau due to local circumstances. The indigenous mediation initiative is one of the steps taken to resolve disputes (Bachtar, 2017). Then North Sumatra in the infrastructure sector, conflicts that occur due to land acquisition for infrastructure supporting the Lake Toba tourism area. In the mining sector, community conflicts in Dairi Regency with one of the private companies erupted again. Meanwhile, in the property sector, one of the conflicts occurred due to the Deli Megapolitan development plan which was built in collaboration with one of the state companies and private companies. Furthermore, South Sulawesi does not show significant in infrastructure.

Criminalization Increasing During the Covid Epidemic

Policies that favor the community are a solution to avoid conflicts that occur in the community. This is expected to reduce the practice of violence, criminalization, and intimidation. The Covid pandemic has not only had an impact on aspects of the decline in life areas such as declining people's

income. This is a serious threat to people who are experiencing health, economic, and food crises. However, the decline is inversely proportional to the increase in conflict during the increasingly massive covid pandemic. People are struggling not only with the crisis but also to defend their livelihood source from industrial threats.

However, efforts to demand people's rights have received a repressive response from the security forces. The pandemic period makes the situation of resolving agrarian conflicts even more difficult. A total of 150 victims of the criminalization, 125 men and 25 women. 51 (44 men and 7 women) were estimated, 2 people were shot and 3 people died in agrarian conflict areas. Compared to 2020, the increase in criminalization cases compared to the previous year, from 139 cases rose to 150 cases. There are rules that limit crowd activity, so democratic efforts cannot be made. Then there is access to equal information and communication, which is difficult to meet due to reduced opportunities for face-to-face meetings. As a result, conflict handling efforts tend to depend on the use of information and communication technology field (Conflictresolutionunit.id, 2021).

Conflicts that occur in many areas with limited access to information technology, make the resolution of conflicts hampered. The high pressure from the community in enforcing its rights has a variety of channels ranging from hearings, demonstrations, and physical conflicts. The data above shows violence and criminalization among victims who are responsible for handling agrarian conflicts that are still unchanged, still repressive, and discriminatory. The massive criminalization in 2021 can be seen from the increase in conflicts caused by the existence of land exploitation both for deer and infrastructure. In what was experienced by the Tano Batak Indigenous Peoples Representative, 21 representatives from the community were secured by the security forces in the demonstration. This demonstration action was carried out to collect promises due to land grabs due to the activities of forestry corporations. Ironically, this conflict has been going on for decades. Repressive actions range from physical clashes and criminalization. The company is considered to be displacing indigenous territories that harm the surrounding community.

Table 4. Violence Location Data

Victim	Amount	Location of Violence	Case
Representatives of the Tano Batak Indigenous Peoples	21	Ministry of Environment and Forestry	The deprivation of forestry corporation one of privat companoes
Rendu indigenous people in Nagakeo Regency, East Nusa Tenggara	25	Lambo Reservoir Construction	Authorities forcibly dismantled guard houses built by the community

Source: (KPA, 2021)

Then the criminalization of 25 farmers in seven areas of agrarian conflict was subjected to criminalization by the authorities in the field. As a result of the incident, two (2) mamas were injured, and five (5) other people (men) suffered serious injuries due to the violence of the authorities. The guard house was built by the community as a guard post during the action of the Lambo Reservoir construction plan which will rob the community's customary lands. The house that was used as an action post was demolished by the security forces, causing conflicts. In both cases place, violence and criminalization are still the main weapons in suppressing the voices of the people in guiding the rights caused by the deprivation carried out by individuals through a systematic process. The threat of imprisonment and physical violence is still considered to be the best solution to suppressing conflict. It ignores the process of dialogue and the voices of the people who want to be heard. In addition to self-defense parties, the government is also in a circle of conflict with many

infrastructure projects that take community land under the pretext of regulatory protection and public interest.

Actors in a Circle of Conflict

It is undeniable that many cases of agrarian conflicts place several actors who play a role in violence in the handling of agrarian conflicts. The basis for handling and safeguarding efforts is often used as the basis for the normalization of violence. In cases of agrarian violence, placing individual members of the state security apparatus was recorded as the party that committed the most acts of violence, namely as many as 36 cases. 11 cases of protecting companies, and 2 cases of local government officials maintaining public order. Acts of violence and discriminatory actions that are still being carried out by police officers in areas of agrarian conflict and/or in addressing the agrarian situation on the ground should serve as a warning to the President to become a special note for law enforcers. Because at the end of 2020, the National Police Chief was summoned to the Palace and instructed by the previous President to end violence and discrimination against farmers in conflict areas and in priority areas for agrarian reform (KPA, 2021). Meanwhile, victim actors place indigenous peoples as the aggrieved party in agrarian conflicts. Starting from the bargaining position that was cornered and the violence faced in resolving and fighting for agrarian rights. This support places government actors inseparable from efforts to reduce the rate of conflict. marginalization of indigenous groups (Syafi'i, 2016), has been an aspect that has always been disadvantaged for years.

Communication In Agrarian Conflict Resolution

The context of the communities in the perspective of this conflict can be assessed in two aspects. First, communication can cause conflicts ranging from misunderstandings of communication from communicators to communicants in which there are differences in perception, and inconsistency of communicators and messages. The message as the core, as the relationship of social relations with various effects of communication (political messages, and economic messages) (Amen, 2017). The media as a source of information does not provide balanced information, thus adding to the conflict. What happened in Riau, the conflict that has not been resolved for many years involving indigenous peoples and palm oil companies has not been resolved. The communication process here places not limited to the intention of the communicator's wishes, but rather involves political, customary, and economic interests. This makes there an effort that emphasizes the perception of wanting to control and respect the territory. Communication not only places the individual in the process of communion in the completion of the conflict but concerns the identity of the individual who not only represents oneself, but rather the family, customs, and collective identity (e.g., a particular group). This is often outside of legal issues placing the issue of communication as one of the obstacles to conflict.

Communication as conflict resolution twists Shannon and Weaver (1977), explaining communication as all procedures in one mind can affect (Nugroho, 2021). This means that without all conflict problems including agrarian, it can be resolved by communication. Referring to the 3 forms of conflict resolution from Ralf Dahrendorf (1986) considered appropriate in resolving conflicts.

1. First, conciliation is an attempt to control a conflict by means of discussions between all parties to reach a resolution without involving third parties who can suppress or dominate the discourse. In 2021, the KPA documented at least 150 criminal cases involving Indonesian land rights

activists, including farmers, indigenous peoples, and agricultural activists. This means that conciliation here is not going well and instead the dominant third party takes a role in overcoming the conflict. The lack of involvement in dialogue in resolving conflicts is a problem that continues to be faced. At its peak, when the situation escalates, repressive resolution becomes one of the solutions that is considered to suppress conflict. It is precisely this way of closing the space of dialogue that is the capital in the settlement without harming both material and casualties.

2. Second, there is mediation, which is a kind of dispute resolution in which third parties—experts, institutions, or other figures—act as mediators but do not have the authority to make decisions. This step was made to emphasize the emotional situation of the actors involved in it. This effort cannot be separated from suppressing actions that harm both parties. It is said that the role of the national human rights commission consistently suppresses the harshness caused by conflict. One of them is in accepting all conflicts in Jambi involving residents and companies about licensing (Kornasham.go.id, 2022).
3. Third is arbitration, in which both parties agree that the arbitrator renders a binding award to resolve their dispute. It is usual for the steps to be carried out with the judicial process. This step becomes the last option if the first and second attempts are deadlocked. The path of violence and crime carried out in the handling of conflicts reached a total of 150 victims of criminalization (men 125 people and 25 women). 51 (44 men and 7 women) experienced an estimate of as many as, 2 people were shot and 3 people died in agrarian conflict areas. Compared to 2020, the increase in criminalization cases compared to the previous year, from 139 cases rose to 150 cases. In the perspective of communication, there are obstacles that make communication not work well which refers to ambitious communication, power-level messages and inability to communicate. This is the point where violence is rife. Through legal channels that take a long time, making this a solution to resolve conflicts.

CONCLUSION

The pandemic crisis and widespread land grabs in 2020 have made the conditions of farmers, farmworkers, women, and children in underprivileged populations in villages and cities much worse. In this regard, it is important to consider in advance how the government and security forces view the existence of agrarian conflicts as structural issues and how people's rights to land are understood and practiced in "state-owned" and "forest areas". Second, political breakthroughs are also needed to find solutions rather than returning to tried and correct ways of business as usual. This is a reminder of the need, in accordance with the objectives of agricultural reform, to establish a special body to resolve agrarian structural problems. In this method, the community can realize the process of releasing claims and concession rights in a concrete, systematic, fast, and targeted manner. Given the large number of institutions handling complaints and dispute resolution has not yielded the results expected by the wider community. Third, protracted agrarian conflicts also show an urgent need to realign land tenure and redistribute it to farmers and the poor. Therefore, there needs to be fundamental changes made to stop agrarian reform from stagnating the routine land certification scheme.

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