



Peasants' Social Action Strategies In Agrarian Conflict (Study Of The Indonesian Peasants' Union)

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Abstract

Movements that are carried out to get resources or desire to achieve social justice, the community needs to regulate the strategies used in carrying out social action. Including for the peasant community in the face of agrarian conflict, as well as SPI (Indonesian Peasants' Union) which organizes peasants' communities facing agrarian conflicts to carry out actions. the struggle for land tenure of conflict. Therefore, it becomes a formulation of the problem in this paper that it is necessary to elaborate and analyze how the dynamics and realities of the use of social action strategies in the face of agrarian conflict by the SPI member peasant community. Using narrative research methods in qualitative approaches, this paper is based on the results of research conducted in two SPI base locations, namely Mekar Jaya Village, Wampu Subdistrict. Langkat Regency and Sei Kopas Village Bandar Pasir Mandoge District Asahan Regency, North Sumatra Province. Based on the findings of the study, it is known that the soial action carried out on the study object using strategies that focus on strengthening the mass of action, survives in land occupation, raising support, and weakening of the opposing party.

Keywords: Social Action, Peasant, Agrarian Conflict

How to Cite: Sinaga, Randa Putra Kasea (2022). Peasants' Social Action Strategies In Agrarian Conflict (Study Of The Indonesian Peasants' Union). Journal of Peasants' Right's, Vol. 1 No. 1: 20-29

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INTRODUCTION

Social action is usually related to the existence of issues that are confused (conflict) by the community simultaneously that can be a driving force to organize the forces that will rise to the collective solidarity until the emergence of the community movement (Glen, 1993). The relationship with aspects of study in community intervention, is a social action or collective action approach that is often used as an approach that looks at problems in a positive way. Radical and tend to be in conflict. As explained by Rothman (2007) that social action approach presupposes the existence of an aggrieved or disadvantaged segment of the population that needs to be organized in order to make demands on the larger community for increased resources or equal Treatment... the style is highly adversarial, and social justice is a dominant ideal. Therefore, in the movement carried out to obtain resources or the desire to achieve social justice, the community needs to regulate the strategies used in doing social action.

Regarding the choice of strategies used in social action, Mondros (2013) explained that social action strategies are used "by groups that organize to garner sufficient power to change conditions that are injurious to their members, or on behalf of others who cannot organize for

themselves". The strategy in question is one that is aimed at helping people to enlarge and strengthen their social networks, help them understand the common problems they face, and create mechanisms between them to take collective action in an effort to fix the problems they identify with. Including for the peasants community in the face of agrarian conflict, Rohmad (2008) describes that the resolution of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia in the efforts of the people's movement in carrying out action agrarian struggle, often occurs in the form of litigation that focuses on legal channels (courts) and forms of non-litigation based sociologically with other types of models of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation. However, the litigation approach becomes a difficult choice for the peasant community to choose because of the accessibility of legal power that the peasant community has often thanks to the category. Weak in agrarian conflict. On the other hand, the approach to the model of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation also requires collective action in the working layers of peasant society. This is because the object of land for peasants is more bound in historical value (magical) than only economic value to achieve the goal of conciliation (Wiradi, 2009).

In Indonesia, agrarian conflicts that often occur to this day can't be separated from the history of policies oriented to capitalistic development. Fauzi (1999) describes how authoritarian political strategy and capitalistic development strategies in the 'New Order' in Indonesia have given birth to agrarian conflicts and their various embryos. Fauzi (1999: 197-201) noted that there were several factors for agrarian conflict during the New Order, namely 1) the Government obliged peasants to use elements of the green revolution in order to the maintenance of rice self-sufficiency; 2) plantations take over land previously controlled by the people; 3) The government conducts the expropriation (eviction) of land for what is declared as a 'development programme', both by the government itself and the private sector; and 4) conflicts due to forest exploitation. Politically, with the transfer of power (followed by a paradigm shift in development), Wiradi (2009) describes how ambivalent his New Order is in responding to the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 (as an effort of the Old Order in reorganizing the post-colonial agrarian system that is still stuck in the domination of justice by Landlords) as well as neutralizing development ideology oriented to economic growth have participated in giving birth to several agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. Therefore, there is an agrarian conflict between the peasantry and the suppressor, in addition to marginalizing the peasantry as a weaker class in terms of access to power. Also the sequence encourages the birth of resistance efforts in various forms of social action, both occur naturally (internally) and as encouragement from the organizers (outsiders).

The existence of forms of resistance and struggle of peasant communities based on conditions of agrarian conflict and peasant poverty has brought the birth of peasant community actions as a social movement or only limited to the reactionary form of the pressure faced by peasants. In Indonesia, there is a mass organization of peasants that makes the issue of agrarian reform one of the issues of social movements built, namely SPI (Indonesian Peasants' Union). In addition to focusing on agrarian policy, SPI also organizes peasant communities (as members/masses) who face agrarian conflicts to carry out actions of the struggle for land tenure. conflict. As it is known that the strategy in carrying out social action will determine the achievements of the peasant community in mastering the source of life (land) in the agrarian conflict faced by the. Therefore, it becomes a major thought in this paper that it is necessary to elaborate and analyze how the dynamics and realities of the use of social action strategies in the face of agrarian conflict by the SPI member peasant community.

Methodology

To describe and analyze how the dynamics and realities of the use of social action strategies in the face of agrarian conflict oleh community of peasant members of SPI, this paper is based on the results of research that uses qualitative approach with narrative research method. This research method focusing on studying one or two individuals, gathering data through the collection of their stories, reporting individual experiences, and chronologically ordering the meaning of those experiences (or using life course stages) (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Using field research techniques (Neuman, 2014), the research was conducted at two SPI base locations, namely Mekar Jaya Village, Wampu District, Langkat Regency and Sei Kopas Village, Bandar Pasir Mandoge District and Asahan Regency, both of which are located in North Sumatra Province. The selection of the two villages is due to differences conditions of agrarian conflict in the two villages, where the conditions of agrarian conflict experienced by peasants in the Mekar Jaya has experienced two evictions (after successfully controlling land conflict), while the condition of peasants in Sei Kopas has made it through the conflict period. According to the author, it is interesting to see the choice of social action method carried out on both groups of peasants. As for deepening information, researchers also dug up information on the Central Board (DPP) of SPI based in Jakarta and the Regional Governing Council (DPW) of North Sumatra SPI based in Medan City.

The study took place from July 2018 to March 2019, using data collection techniques in the form of literature studies, in-depth interviews, observation of participation as observers. As for the determination of interview informants, this study uses purposive sampling techniques with informant based on the required information. In addition, the data analysis techniques in this study use the Narrative Research Analysis approach.

Peasant's Social Action Strategy (SPI members) in Agrarian Conflict

Based on these studies, it is known that forms of social action carried out by SPI members in the face of agrarian conflicts focus more on land reclaiming action. Other forms of action, such as demonstrations and outdoor meetings, are part of efforts to strengthen the land tenure struggle and deal with agrarian conflict. Therefore, parsing the research findings related to social action strategies run by SPI member peasants in the face of agrarian conflict is more related to land reclaiming action strategies. It is known that implementing land reclaiming action takes place not within a short time, from entering the conflicting land to guarding land tenure, mass action. Carry out various strategies. The strategies in land reclaiming action carried out by SPI Peasants of Mekar Jaya Village Base and SPI Peasants Basis Simpang Sei Kopas are outlined in several points below.

Strategies to Strengthen The Mass of Action

This strategy is carried out by strengthening mass action regarding resources (human capacity and community logistics), spirit, and cohesiveness. This is done as a condition so that the mass of action can carry out social action in an educated, organized, and guided social movement. Recent tactics used in carrying out this strategy are organizing the structure of peasant communities, mass education, and consolidation.

The tactics carried out to strengthen the mass of this action do not have to be done sequentially, i.e., it is necessary to run as a whole. Nature runs the organization of the structure of the peasant community. This process is encouraged to create organizational structures, mass

leaders, and logistics collection mechanisms. In the findings of the study, it is known that this tactic is carried out as it has become the culture and rules of the SPI organization (organizational constitution), that the organization of community structures Peasants conducting utilizing democratic deliberation through formal meetings (Basis Deliberations) and informal (base management meetings). While in terms of carrying out mass education, there is also something under the provisions of the organization, namely the existence of cadre education (to become the administrator of the organization), at the base /village level are required to have received training to-SPI-an level one and technical education (such as Paralegal Education, Community Organizing Education, and Simulation Training Action). Using the 'adult style' education model, the mass education run by SPI focuses on increasing mass action's cognitive and psychomotor capacity. The increase in cognitive capacity in question is related to increasing understanding and development of awareness in the issues being fought for while increasing psychomotor mass. Action is related to advocacy skills and the skill of acting (before descending into the land of conflict). As for related in carrying out consolidation, this process is carried out to increase the spirit and cohesiveness of the mass of action. Spirit and cohesiveness can be awakened and even more substantial by conducting mass meetings of action regularly / periodically, both internally by the action mass and involving SPI managers from higher structures (outsiders).

Survival Strategies for Controlling Land

This strategy is carried out after implementing land reclaiming action carried out by mass action by going down to occupy the land of conflict. After the mass action down to occupy the land of conflict, the action carried out efforts to remain in control of the conflicting land in various forms of pressure faced by the parties. The tactics used in carrying out this strategy are planting polarization tactics, planting tactics and rebuilding from destruction; territorial control tactics; Avoid-face-compromise tactics on the bully; and counterintelligence/espionage tactics.

In implementing the polarization plantation tactic, the mass of action needs to determine the plants to be planted in the early stages of land reclaiming action by prioritizing food crops. One of the steps taken in implementing land reclaiming action when the action mass has entered the farmland is to establish mass post buildings and plant seeds. Seeds that have been prepared before. Although still adjusted to the ability of the community in accessing the type of seed/seed, considering the need to prepare seedlings/seeds as much as possible, but in running Land tenure strategies that require robustness, more strategic types of plants are needed, namely seedlings/seeds of food crops. The type of plant selected, such as cassava, is considered to be directly consumed and reduces the mass load of action when land reclaiming action takes place.

This tactic is carried out in reaction to planting and rebuilding tactics when the opposing party destroys crops or peasants' buildings. This tactic is carried out to survive the interference of the parties. When plants and buildings belonging to the action masses on the conflicting land destroying, the mass of action must be ready for planting and rebuilding. It is known that the mass of action has anticipated this before carrying out land reclaiming action by preparing themselves mentally and logistically (seedlings and building materials)—the possibility of destruction by the other party. On the same side, the mass action does not participate (prohibited) to retaliate through destruction to the other party, but rather take advantage of the condition. To scare the destruction of crops/buildings belonging to the peasants by spreading the discourse that the case of destruction has been reported to law enforcement parties.

Furthermore, in carrying out the strategy of defending land control, territorial control tactics in conflict land. This tactic is carried out by building huts owned by peasants in strategic positions on conflict land, such as locations on the entrance to conflict land and in Crossroads within the conflicting land, where one of the huts is used as the main headquarters (central), and the other is used as a guard post (the entrance road), and the residence of the action masses. These peasants' huts are constructed to monitor the conflicting parts of land when there is interference, such as destruction and arrests. In addition to the construction of huts, territorial control efforts were carried out by planting seedlings belonging to mass action in the path of vehicles commonly used for transporting crops belonging to the other party. Mass action makes it difficult for the opposing party to carry out production activities in conflict land.

Another tactic in carrying out a strategy to survive controlling land is to avoid, deal with, or compromise on the part of bullies. In terms of evasion from interference from the other party, such as arrest attempts from the police, this is the way of territorial control tactics, with control of territory will facilitate individuals from the mass of action and target of arrest to hide or escape as an attempt at avoidance. This is when the action mass has taken control of the territory of the conflicting land. In addition to facilitating and monitoring policy, it facilitates hiding or escaping mastery terrain. This avoidance effort is made not to interfere or weaken the mass of action when the leader or members of the action mass are arrested. In addition to evasion, efforts can be made by dealing with interference of the other party in an attempt to arrest expulsion. The thing to do in the interference of the opposing party is to carry out a blockade action. Especially in the case of arrest attempts, the blockade is carried out by members outside the person who is the target of the arrest. The way commonly used in this blockade process is with formations based on gender, namely the front row occupied by the mass of action. The female sex to avoid physical collisions between the action masses with the bully. Even for the case in Sei Kopas Village in carrying out the blockade, the mass of action type gender women to undress to make the bully feel uncomfortable. In addition to formations based on gender, the thing done in this blockade process is to record through the camera to avoid action. Violence is acceptable to the mass of action.

In addition to avoiding and dealing with interference, the technique that can be done in anticipating interference by the other party is by way of compromise. This technique can be done not only when facing the police but also (even considered more helpful) when the party faced is a civilian (thugs) who become the orders of the opposing party to scare the mass of action. The way used in this technique is to establish a cooperation relationship with the bully who becomes the other party's commission. Assuming that the bully is only oriented to implementing the task (source of income) when the conflict is short, the source of income cannot walk in the long run. Therefore, the action mass will offer cooperation in the form of a conspiracy to the bully to not seriously commit acts of intimidation or intimidation. Until carrying out forced expulsions to the mass of action.

The last tactic, in this case, is counterintelligence/espionage tactics. In this case, the action mass performs undercover techniques to deceive the other party or anticipate the disturbances that come. The known incognito techniques from the study results are divided into two forms: 1) disguise as a journalist to dig up information from the other party or the bully side; Others, 2) disguise as a person who seems to betray the mass of action by joining the opposing party to provide false information about the mass of action to the other party at once Dig up important information related to the opposing party so that the action masses can know it.

Support Rallying Strategies

This strategy is carried out by the mass action by rallying support from other parties (outside the community). By involving various other elements linked to the land tenure of conflict, this strategy aims to strengthen the mass of action or weaken the opposing party. The tactics that can be done to carry out this strategy are building alliances, building political power, and efforts to form public opinion.

In the implementation of alliance-building tactics, mass action requires good relations with parties that are considered to help/support the social action in land tenure conflict, as for the parties targeted by the alliance in question some sectors. The main target of the alliance is other peasant organizations/communities. Internally, as known as two communities that are the object of research are part of the SPI organization, then automatically, the mass of SPI action from the beginning of joining the organization already has this alliance. In addition to internal organizations, mass action builds relationships with other peasant communities at the local level, both in different and non-organized ones. Therefore, in the local sector, each mass action community (within one SPI organization or outside the organization) will quickly get support from other communities, such as support in human capital, finance, and technology. This is because there is a feeling of mutual need in the same problem: a victim of agrarian conflict. Even in the context of SPI organizations, the benefits of the alliance are not only in the local sector but nationally and internationally (La Via Campesina) as known that the case of agrarian conflict by the action masses in Mekar Jaya Village facing multinational plantation companies also participated in the spotlight of La Via Campesina by encouraging the involvement of mass peasants' organizations in Malaysia (members of La Via Campesina) by participating in pressure on the Malaysian-based company.

In addition to the alliance with fellow peasants, the action masses also establish relationships and support scholar-activism. The term scholar-activist was taken from the term used by Borrás (2016) to refer to academics who have alignment in the approach of conflict in disadvantaged people through steps. Involvement of practitioners and issued the results of a siding study. The involvement of scholar-activist in supporting the movement carried out by the mass action in the results of this study supports legal academics by providing analysis for the problem. The legal academic does not purely look at the agrarian problems faced by the action masses with the right to legal legality alone but also understands how the birth of legality often deviates based on abuse of power and interests of capital.

In addition to requiring good relations with parties considered to help social action, the mass of action also needs to have good relations with other parties that are considered debilitating, the mass struggle of action. In principle, the movement in reclaiming land actions needs to reduce the number of enemies, assuming that the enemy is considered only the main enemy, namely the ruling party/param in the land of conflict. Other parties that are considered to weaken social action need to have a good relationship with these parties to minimize the possibility of intercession with the main opposing party.

Another tactic in carrying out the strategy of rallying support by the land reclaiming action masses is to build political power. In building political power, the mass of action creates political influence at the village government level, such as carrying members of the action mass as candidates for the head of the village government or only supporting one candidate. It is done by utilizing the amount of mass action in the election of the head of the village government that is carried out democratically. In addition to building political power at the local level, political power at the national level built an effort made by organizations at the higher levels. As SPI did in the

case that occurred in Mekar Jaya Village, SPI encourages parties from the central government (Presidential Staff). Furthermore, KOMNAS HAM RI present directly to the field.

Furthermore, in carrying out the strategy of rallying support, the action mass conducts opinion formation to attract public empathy. The technique carried out in this tactic is to spread pamphlets, memes, and documentary videos featuring the phenomenon of agrarian conflict faced by the action masses. Even in the case faced by the mass action in Mekar Jaya Village, the spread of videos on various social media platforms and news media has also attracted wrong empathy. One famous artist in Indonesia came to the field to see firsthand the condition of peasants after experiencing land grabbing. Not only that, after the discourse of agrarian conflict becomes public consumption, efforts to form opinion continued by conducting dialogues with the owners of political influence (government and legislature).

Strategies to Weaken the Opponent

The action masses carry out this strategy by weakening the opposing party by trying to create losses to the other party as a plantation company. In the context of economic weakness, the focused principle in carrying out this strategy is to suppress the company's source of income as small as possible and encourage the release of as big a company as possible.

In its implementation, the tactic of suppressing the company's source of income is carried out by the action masses by disrupting the agricultural production of opponents in the field (land conflict sites). In line with the tactics of territorial control and polarization of plants, this tactic is carried out by placing plants right in areas that will make it difficult for company workers (opposing parties) in harvesting the company's crop yields, such as in the transportation path and around the fall of the company's crop fruit (palm oil). The plants belonging to the action mass are placed in a position that can be damaged when the harvest process from the production of the company's crops. Then this tactic will complicate the production of the opposing party because the company's workers will fear lawlessness if they damage the crops owned by the masses. Action to carry out the process of harvesting and transporting. The fear is born out of the actions of the action mob using recording devices while scaring workers for lawlessness when damaging crops. Belongs to mass action, in addition to lawlessness, efforts to interfere production of the opposite party are also carried out by the action masses in a deceptive way that seems mystical. This is done by mass action by creating frankincense smoke as a mystic engineering to scare workers into entering the production land. The method is also done not only for workers to interfere with the production of the other party but also to scare the parties police when intimidating the mass action.

In addition to suppressing the other party's source of income, the action mass also needs to do things that can harm the other party by pushing the expense burden as much as possible. In principle, this tactic is carried out by mass action to as often as possible provoke the opposing party to bring the police to the location of the conflicting land or to add security power. The way that is often used to provoke the opposing party's reaction is the spread of false discourse (to be the secret of the action mass) spread by the action masses. Intentionally related to the existence of plans to do things that are feared by the opposing party, such as false discourse related to the plan of time for the implementation of the occupation land or false discourse about the plan to destroy crops belonging to the opposing party.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has used a qualitative approach to describe the dynamics of social action carried out by SPI peasant masses in agrarian conflicts driven by strategies that focus on strengthening mass of action, surviving in land occupation, raising support, and weakening of the opposing party. The case studies have also demonstrated how peasant masses are the main actors in carrying out social action in agrarian conflicts. Therefore, this paper aims to contribute to discussions and consideration about what form of strategy of social action in agrarian conflict is most effective, and where those aiming to make an impact (at different scales) should direct their energies.

Related to the strengthening of mass action carried out by SPI members by organizing the structure of the community and mass education of the action, illustrates how the need for the power of the mass action Educated, organized and guided in carrying out social action. This is as explained by Alinsky (1989) how important the position of the leader in social action is rooted in the mass action and how social action can be carried out consciously and Organized by mass action. So it can be said that a strategy to strengthen mass of action is very much needed, considering the dynamics of social action that is carried out by placing the peasant masses as the main actor of the movement.

At the local level, when mass of action must build strength and maximize opportunities, mass of action is encouraged by activists to form and/or join organizations. The birth of a mass organization (civil society organization) consisting of peasants as an institutional peasant community is considered as a reinforcement of joint efforts in overcoming the problems faced by peasants. by the peasant himself. This is as explained by Uphoff (1986), that peasants' institutions located in local institutions, membership organizations, or cooperatives are peasants who are members of the cooperation group to overcome the problems faced. Therefore, the institution of peasants is an overview of how peasant communities can be independent and empowered in the establishment of social movements. While in the global context, La Via Campesina's involvement in agrarian problems faced by SPI members (in the case study) has shown that the agrarian movement run by farmer organizations needs to operate in a multi-layered structure, from the local level to the international level. This is as explained by Della Porta and Tarrow (2005), that resistance to agrarian change now connects actors across a wider range of spatial scales than ever before, and activists must learn to operate in multi-layered opportunity structures in which the opportunity structure international dynamics interact with domestic structures.

As a strategy carried out by actors from the masses, the agrarian problems faced need the support of an alliance. This is also explained by Temper (2019), that activists have succeeded in creating a mobilizing 'master frame' around land grabbing which has contributed to pushing land issues back on the global agenda, and where the various groups fighting against dispossession have been able to channel concerns through alliances in the long term. In addition to building alliances, efforts to raise support were also carried out by the action period by strengthening political power, starting from taking power at the local level (village government) to political relations at the national level. This is as described by Hall et al. (2015), that a model of political resistance is urgently needed in response to land grabbing by activists and peasant masses. Therefore, in gathering support, mass action requires acceptance of public opinion that benefits the movement being carried out.

Furthermore, when the stage of social action has entered the occupation phase, the masses of action must be ready with all situations to stay in the field. The use of crop polarization by

prioritizing food crop types is indeed an important thing, considering the economic situation of peasants when entering the early stages of implementing land reclaiming action is the worst condition compared to the all other stages in the agrarian conflict (Sinaga and Adi,2020). So it can be categorized that the choice of prioritizing the types of food crops as plants used in land reclaiming is used to minimize weaknesses and threats in the midst of the economic vulnerability of the mass of action when it enters the initial phase of the occupation action.

In line with the implementation of strategies to raise support and weakening of the opposing party, the formation of public opinion with campaign efforts and other practical tactics, targeting land grabbing companies as opposing parties. This is clearly intended as a form of economic and social pressure that can weaken sources of income, increase spending, and weaken the ability to raise capital. This is as explained by Bloomfield (2014), that the weakening of the company as a counterparty aims to encourage behavioral changes in the company that can threaten damage. Therefore, the strategy of weakening the opposing party is a suitable effort to minimize the threat during the land reclaiming action. This will clearly benefit the masses of action, given the magnitude of the threat that the peasant masses can get from the opposing party, which actually has stronger logistical power.

Based on the findings of research and analysis conducted in looking at the dynamics and reality of the use of social action strategies in dealing with agrarian conflicts by the SPI member peasant community, it can be concluded that the social action strategies carried out by the masses of farmers in agrarian conflicts are based on maximizing the strengths and opportunities they have, as well as the existence of efforts to minimize the weaknesses and threats faced by the peasant masses. Therefore, it is hoped that this can be an input for other masses of action in dealing with agrarian conflicts, that the use of social action strategies needs to be focused on maximizing strengths and opportunities, as well as minimizing weaknesses and threats, in order to achieve the main objectives of each social action.

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