

Farmers 'Livelihood System in Agrarian Conflict Areas (Case Study: Setrojenar Village, Buluspesantren Subdistrict, Kebumen Regency)

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Article history: Received : January 8th 2025 Revised : June 17th 2025 Accepted : June 28th 2025 Published : June 30th 2025</p> <hr/> <p>Keywords: Agrarian Conflict, Livelihood Asset, Livelihood Strategy</p> <hr/>	<p>Agrarian conflict in Setrojenar involves various actors; military, farmers, and governments, as they have different interests of land. These varied interests cause significant problems regarding rights and access to utilizing resources among those actors. The military utilizes land for training purposes. On the other hand, farmers cultivate the land for agriculture. This article scrutinized how farmers' involvement in agrarian conflicts allows them to experience conditions of uncertainty in their efforts to survive, especially when the level of conflict increases. Farmer households must be able to adapt and implement survival strategies with the</p>

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livelihood assets/capital (natural physical, capital, human, and financial capital, and social capital) they have. This study aims to analyze the correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and farmer households' strategy and livelihood assets. This study applied a quantitative method supported by a qualitative method. Quantitative data were obtained using a research questionnaire and processed using Spearman's rank, while qualitative data were collected by conducting interviews. The results of the study show that the level of agrarian conflict significantly correlates with the livelihood assets and strategies of farmer households. The uncertainty experienced by farming households is regarding the agricultural activities they carry out when the intensity of the conflict increases or when the Indonesian Army (Tentara Angkatan Darat) training activities take place.



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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has abundant natural resources as shown through state revenue that reached 254 trillion in 2023 (Kementerian Keuangan RI 2023). The 1945 Constitution, Article 33, paragraph 3, states that natural resources such as earth, water, and natural resources are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people. In agrarian studies, those natural resources align with agrarian resources that should be used to meet the needs and welfare of people. This does not guarantee a peaceful life for the community because there are conflicts between the community, private sector, and government regarding agrarian resources (Annisa et al., 2009; Bakker, 2023; Rahmah and Soetarto, 2014). The relation between various stakeholders is called the agrarian structure, which explains how parties' access related to resources (Sihaloho et al., 2016). Agrarian conflicts arise as a result of relationships between people or groups related to agrarian resources (Zakie, 2017).

Throughout 2019, the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) reported 279 cases of agrarian conflicts with an area of 734,239.3 hectares and involving 109,042

households in various provinces in Indonesia (KPA 2020). The majority of agrarian conflict in Indonesia is a result of government policies, unfair agrarian arrangements, and ease of conversion and even land grabbing (Shabia, 2021). Agrarian conflicts are caused by two main problems: land administration and land use (Soni et al., 2020). Agrarian conflicts are common in people's lives. This is because there are differences, such as perceptions, interests, values, and recognition of ownership rights in utilizing agrarian resources (Lestari and Dharmawan, 2011). The different views between the community and other parties lead to different perceptions of similar resources, which trigger land conflicts (Syah and Murdianto, 2021).

Agricultural land is an agrarian resource that often becomes the object of agrarian conflicts. This land cannot be optimally utilized and also fails to provide economic benefits to either the owner or the broader community (Kurniati and Fakhriah, 2017). Meanwhile, agrarian issues (land) represent a vital resource and serve as a primary means of livelihood, especially for farmers (Tauchid, 2020). Agrarian conflicts on agricultural land cultivated by farmers have tangible negative consequences.

In 2018, the KPA recorded that 10 farmers and agrarian fighters died, six were shot, 132 experienced acts of physical violence, and 216 were detained without clear procedures (KPA 2019). The repressive situation due to agrarian conflicts puts pressure on peasant households to survive. The loss of access and control over agricultural land amid instability experienced by farmer households makes them helpless. Martini et al., (2019) reveal that the exclusion of farmers from agrarian land due to conflict has severely affected their capacity to sustain their livelihoods. The agrarian conflicts represent a serious threat to nations worldwide if not addressed effectively (Mulyani, 2018).

Agrarian conflicts tend to escalate as their intensity increases. According to (Dahrendorf, 1986) intensity refers to the level of energy expended and the degree of involvement by the parties or groups engaged in the conflict. This intensity can be observed through the farmers' responses, which may include expressions of anger, fear, blame, protest, and active resistance. In the case of the agrarian conflict between

local communities and PT Hevea Indonesia (Havindo), affected residents have experienced fear, anxiety, and a sense of insecurity, often accompanied by intimidation from authorities (Suharto and Basar, 2019).

Conflict is divided into three forms: closed, open, and surface conflict (Fisher, 2001). Closed conflicts are hidden in nature and need to be brought to the surface so that they can be handled effectively. Crises compel farming households to adopt a greater variety of strategies compared to times of stability (Dharmawan, 2007). Agrarian conflicts, in particular, exert significant pressure on these households, forcing them to actively implement various livelihood strategies. According to Ellis (2000) a livelihood strategy encompasses the combination of assets—such as natural, physical, human, financial, and social capital—along with activities and access, which are shaped by institutions and social relationships, and together determine the well-being of individuals or households. Any social or ecological change affecting the household livelihood system plays a critical role in influencing how households mobilize and integrate their available resources (Dharmawan, 2007). Livelihood capital is valuable or an asset owned by a person or a group of people to meet their living needs. The use of livelihood capital is different in each layer of farmer households. However, human capital is the capital that is widely used by each household to increase household income by involving other household members in participating in livelihood activities (Brigita and Sihaloho, 2018).

In order to understand the phenomenon of how farmers survive by optimizing livelihood capital/asset while facing agrarian conflict, this article will raise the case of conflict between the Indonesian Army and farmers in Setrojenar. Setrojenar Village, Buluspesantren District, Kebumen Regency strongly opposes the unilateral claim of agricultural land by the Indonesian Army (TNI AD). A significant portion of agricultural land in Setrojenar Villages is involved in agrarian conflict with the Indonesian National Army (TNI AD), and the resistance actions in these villages have been the most intense compared to those in surrounding areas. The existence of unilateral agricultural land claims by the Indonesian Army through fencing land that farmers have cultivated for decades has caused rejection and has led to the emergence

of agrarian conflicts. According to conflict theory (Scott, 2000), resistance is an action taken by subordinates to reduce or reject claims made by superordinates, carried out openly (public transcript) or closed (hidden transcript). This theory helps explain how farmers act during conflict, escalating and decreasing. Based on this, agrarian conflicts are caused by the intensity of resistance carried out by farmers as subordinate people. The reaction or response given by farmers is not always directly against, but there is also a movement that avoids the pressures of agrarian conflict itself (Lestari and Purwandari, 2014). In light of this, the existence of agrarian conflicts on the source of livelihood that is the basis of farmers' livelihoods requires farmers to manage their livelihood systems, including capital and strategies to survive. Therefore, it is important to conduct further research and assessment on how farmer households can manage their livelihood system in agrarian conflict areas in Setrojenar Village, Buluspesantren District, Kebumen Regency.

METHODS

This study employed a quantitative method supported by qualitative data to comprehensively explore the livelihood strategies and livelihood capital management of farming households in the context of agrarian conflict in the research location. The quantitative method, conducted through structured questionnaires, was used to measure and analyze patterns across a sample, such as the distribution of livelihood capitals and the prevalence of livelihood strategies. Meanwhile, the qualitative method, conducted through semi-structured interviews using prepared interview guidelines, provided deeper insights into the lived experiences of farmers, their perceptions of conflict, and the reasoning behind their livelihood decisions.

This study was conducted in Setrojenar Village, Buluspesantren District, Kebumen Regency. The research location was deliberately selected (purposive) because Setrojenar Village, Buluspesantren District, Kebumen Regency is a village where part of its agricultural land is involved in agrarian conflicts with the Indonesian National Army (TNI AD), with the strongest rejection compared to other surrounding villages.

The respondents were selected from a population of 128 farmer households whose agricultural land is the object of agrarian conflict in Setrojenar Village. The respondents are members of households who are able to answer the question (80% responden are male and 20% are female). The population is spread across four hamlets, including Kepek Hamlet, Kuang Hamlet, Duren Hamlet, and Godi Hamlet. The selected respondents are a sample that is considered to represent the characteristics of the population. The households were grouped based on land size into three categories: small ($< 1,000 \text{ m}^2$), medium ($1,000\text{--}2,000 \text{ m}^2$), and large ($> 2,000 \text{ m}^2$). Based on this proportion, 40 respondents were selected using stratified sampling following the distribution of 20% of small land, 50% of medium land, and 30% of large land. Meanwhile, the respondents were selected based on purposive (intentional) sampling. The selection criteria is that the person must know in detail about the agrarian conflicts that occurred in Setrojenar. The selected respondents were the coordinator of Urutsewu Bersatu in Setrojenar Village, an informal leader, and representatives from the Setrojenar Village Government.

As for data processing based on data types, namely data obtained quantitatively through questionnaire instruments and then processed using Microsoft Excel 2013 and the SPSS 25.0 program. Three variables were tested; the level of agrarian conflict, the level of livelihood capital management (which consists of natural capital, physical capital, human capital, financial capital, and social capital) and the implementation of livelihood strategies includes intensification and extensification, livelihood diversification, and migration. **Two hypotheses are:** it is presumed that there is a correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and the management of livelihood capital among farming households, and it is presumed that there is a correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and the implementation of livelihood strategies among farming households.

A statistical test using Spearman's rank was also used to analyze whether there was a relationship between the two variables studied. Spearman's rank was chosen because the data involved ordinal variables and did not meet the assumptions of normality required for parametric tests. The basis for decision-making in the

Spearman correlation test is if the significance value is >0.05 ; thus, it can be concluded that there is a significant correlation between the two variables that are linked. Conversely, if the significance value < 0.05 , then it can be stated that there is no significant correlation between the two variables. According to (Sarwono, 2006) the following criteria can be used to interpret the strength of the relationship between two variables:

1. 0,00 – 0,20: The two test variables have a very weak correlation
2. 0,21 – 0,40: The two test variables had a weak correlation
3. 0,41 – 0,60: The two test variables have a moderate correlation
4. 0,61 – 0,80: The two test variables have a strong correlation
5. 0,81 – 1,00: The two test variables have a very strong correlation

There are several stages in the analysis of quantitative data. First, the data obtained were checked for completeness and consistency of answers through questionnaires, small notes, and audio recordings. Second, after checking the data, the next step is to code the data. All data obtained from the questionnaire were entered into Microsoft Excel 2013 without missing a single one. The data were decomposed per variable and then encoded by assigning symbols in the form of numbers according to the predetermined answer category.

Third, after the data were input into Microsoft Excel 2013, data processing was carried out by calculating the number and percentage of respondents' answers in using a frequency table and a correlation test in SPSS 25.0. Qualitative data from interviews and field observations were analyzed in three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and verification (Effendi and Tukiran, 2012). The first stage, data reduction, involves sorting, simplifying, and transforming data from interviews, observations, and documents to separate the relevant data and facilitate analysis. The second stage, data presentation, involves compiling the reduced data as an easy-to-understand report. The last stage, verification, which is drawing conclusions from the processed and compiled data to ensure the validity of the findings

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

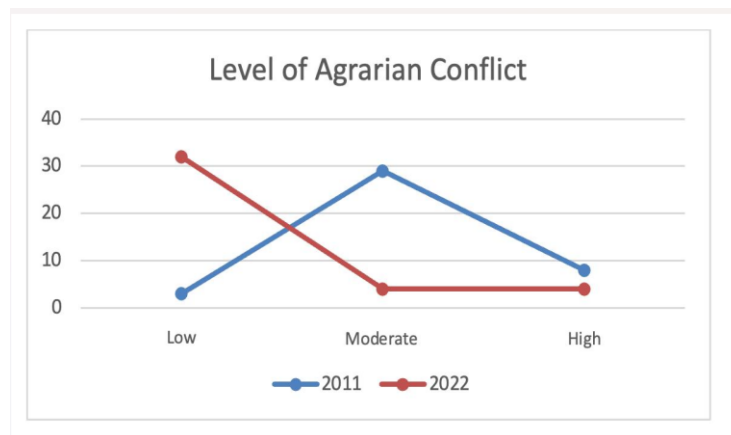
Level of Agrarian Conflict

The agrarian conflict that occurs in Setrojenar Village is a prolonged and chronic conflict. The conflict in Setrojenar Village is prolonged, as the agricultural land being disputed between the farmers and the Indonesian Army (TNI AD) is perceived differently by both parties. The TNI AD claims the land as a shooting range area inherited from the colonial era. However, the farming community, which has lived in Setrojenar Village for decades, asserts that they own the land for agricultural cultivation. Both the TNI AD and the farmers claim to have evidence of ownership over the coastal land in Setrojenar Village. This situation is in line with the explanation that the agrarian conflicts that have emerged today are the result of socio-agrarian inequality (Shohibuddin, 2018). In this case, the parties to the conflict are farmers and the Indonesian Army, each of which has different desires and goals in land use, which is the object of conflict.

In the struggle for land ownership status between farmers and the Indonesian Army, both parties admitted to having official evidence of the land. Farmers have proof of Letter C issued by the Setrojenar Village government, which is used to pay land taxes annually. In addition, farmer households claimed to have land certificates issued in 1960, at the time of the 1960 UUPA. Meanwhile, the TNI AD claimed the land through a letter of evidence that the land was a relic of the KNIL in 1949. The TNI AD stated that the land is State Property (BMN) because it has been registered in the State Wealth Inventory (IKN) of the Ministry of Defense/TNI, c.q TNI AD Kodam IV/Diponegoro with the Registration Number 3070034. The Indonesian Army also claimed land through Presidential Decree No. 04 of 1960, which concerned all war spoils controlled by the state and divided according to their departments.

The agrarian conflict in Setrojenar Village intensified in 2011 (escalated from 2007 when the head of Setrojenar Village issued an official statement letter regarding the *berasengaja* land) due to a physical clash between farmers and the Indonesian Army. A comparative picture of the level of agrarian conflict in 2011 and 2022 is seen from the level of conflict intensity, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The level of agrarian conflict in Setrojenar Village in 2011 and 2022



Source: primary data, 2022

Figure 1 shows that in 2011, agrarian conflicts were at a moderate level, and in 2022, agrarian conflicts tended to be at a low level. This refers to the intensity of agrarian conflicts in Setrojenar Village, as seen from the perspective of consistency and level of mobility. In 2022, when the research was conducted, the conflict in Setrojenar Village led to a closed or latent conflict. The actions of farmers involved in the agrarian conflict include avoidance behaviors, such as ignoring or showing indifference toward the regulations and prohibitions issued by certain authorities. The level of protest of farmer households for agrarian conflicts tends to be low.

The decline in the level of agrarian conflict in Setrojenar Village is based on measurements carried out by BPN Kebumen for land certificates, so that farmer households feel safe about the status of the agricultural land they are fighting for. Agricultural land measurement is considered a good sign for farmer households because a land certificate from BPN is valid evidence and is officially recognised by the state as the property of farmer households. The following testimony comes from an informant (informant leader) who supported the farmer protest.

"...now I am happy that my land is already certified." (Interview-S-2022)

"...Saiki mandan ayem mbak wong lemah kidul (objek konflik) kan wis disertifikat senajan rung metu sertifikat e." (Interview-S, 2022)

Legality is a structural factor that underlies agrarian conflicts over land in Setrojenar Village. This is because this legality factor points to a fundamental problem

in the form of social, economic, and political inequality that has been going on continuously for a long time. The agrarian conflict in Setrojenar Village is closely related to the unclear land ownership status. The land measurement carried out by the BPN of Kebumen Regency in 2020 was an effort by the local government to resolve agrarian conflicts in Setrojenar Village. The local government, through the decision of the Regent of Kebumen Regency, decided that agricultural land in the Urutsewu area of Setrojenar Village belongs to the community. However, the TNI AD also has the right to use the land as part of its efforts to carry out Indonesian state security. There was a statement from the village staff that the submission of land certificates resulting from the measurement of the Kebumen Regency BPN will be made in 2023 after all administrative matters are completed.

"... That's right, we have measured in 2020 with BPN at that time and the plan is that in 2023 the certificate will be distributed to all people who have agricultural land in Urutsewu." (Interview-I-2022)

"...Betul mbak, kita sudah pengukuran tahun 2020 sama BPN waktu itu dan rencananya tahun 2023 ya mbak sertifikatnya bakal dibagikan secara massal untuk semua masyarakat yang memang memiliki lahan pertanian di Urutsewu." (Interview - I, 2022)

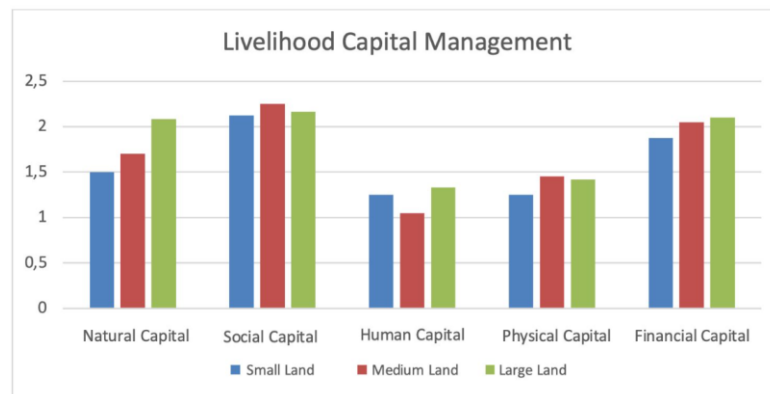
Moreover, the reconciliation and mediation processes resulted in several decisions, including demands for compensation from the TNI AD, requests for the removal of boundary markers installed by the TNI AD, suggestions to replace those markers with red flags or signboards if they are meant as safety boundaries, and a demand for compensation to residents whenever the TNI AD conducts military training, as such activities prevent them from carrying out agricultural work, which is their main source of livelihood.

Livelihood Capital

The utilization of livelihood assets/capital (natural, social, human, physical, and financial capital) by farming households in Setrojenar Village varies across households. Existing livelihood capital is interconnected with other livelihood capital. The correlation between the various forms of livelihood capital shows that the

utilization of one form of livelihood capital influences the utilization of the others. Figure 2 shows us how the households that own small, medium, and large land activate each livelihood capital differently.

Figure 2: Management of capital based on the area of land ownership



Source: primary data, 2022

Based on Figure 2, the utilization of natural capital (the surrounding environment of humans, including both abiotic and biotic elements) by farming households in Setrojenar Village refers to the area of agricultural land ownership dominated by large-land farming households. Although the agricultural land pursued by farming households is an object of agrarian conflict, its management is ongoing. During agrarian conflicts, farmers' household farmland can still be accessed and managed to pursue various types of agricultural crops, such as rice, palawija, and horticulture.

Regarding social capital management, there is a relative balance between farmer households with small, medium, and large land ownership. The good correlation between farmer households and their families and neighbours, as well as their participation in the organization, is used to help each other and work together when affected by disasters or crises, such as agrarian conflicts.

Human capital utilized by farming households in Setrojenar Village is measured based on the level of education, the number of household members who work or have skills that contribute to household income. Human capital in large-

landholding farming households is more dominant because of more adequate access to education and skills so that family members can more easily access jobs.

Regarding physical capital (infrastructure and productive asset/tools) management, farming households with medium and large lands have greater opportunities to manage their agricultural and non-agricultural assets. Meanwhile, the management of financial capital utilized by farming households is based on two indicators: income level and savings ownership. Financial capital is related to both human and natural capital. This means that the wider the ownership of agricultural land managed by farming households and the more working household members, the greater the financial capital they use to survive the agrarian conflict crisis.

In this study, farmer households emphasized more on the use of social capital when facing crises due to agrarian conflicts. In communities experiencing agrarian conflict, social capital holds a crucial role, especially in building relationships and seeking support when households face life difficulties. In conflict situations, trust becomes a valuable asset. Trust can be developed through frequent interaction, communication, and face-to-face relationships. This study measures the number of networks owned by farming households and their participation in groups or organizations. Therefore, social capital is essential as a bridge that facilitates farmers in accessing other livelihood resources or forms of capital. In a study by (Amalia et al., 2015), upper-, middle-, and lower-strata oil palm farming households predominantly utilize natural and social capital. This shows that the characteristics of farmer households will reflect behaviors that show motivation, characteristics, self-concept, knowledge, and values in the utilization of their livelihood capital.

Livelihood Strategy

Each farmer household has a different livelihood strategy from one to another depending on the farmer household that combines the various livelihood capitals they have. Referring to theory, Scoones (1998) divided livelihood strategies into three types: agricultural livelihood source engineering, multiple livelihood patterns, and

spatial engineering. According to Widiyanto et al. (2010), the five types of alimony capital owned by each household are used to build a sustainable alimony strategy.

Tabel 1 Livelihood strategy of farmers household in Setrojenar Village in 2022

		Livelihood Capital				
		Natural	Social	Human	Physical	Financial
		Capital	Capital	Capital	Capital	Capital
Livelihood Strategy	Agricultural Intensification	√		√	√	
	Multiple Source of Income		√	√		√
	Migration		√	√		

Source: Primary Data, 2022

The results of the study in Table 1 show that farming households in Setrojenar Village, whose residents are facing conflict, implement livelihood strategies by modifying their agricultural income sources through the use of natural, human, and physical capital. Natural capital is the main source of livelihood for farming households, while human capital in the form of labor is used for the agricultural sector. This finding aligns with Astuti et al. (2008), who emphasize that the income structure resulting from the use of natural capital is largely shaped by the richness of natural resources available in a region. In the case of Setrojenar, access to and control over natural capital play a decisive role in determining the resilience and adaptability of farming households in the face of conflict. In addition, physical capital is used to increase production, such as agricultural and non-agricultural assets that support agricultural activities.

Farmer households (especially the head of households) in Setrojenar Village apply multiple sources of income by utilizing financial, human, and social capital. Financial capital encourages the opening of businesses, such as trading, while for

those who do not have capital, skills such as sewing, construction, or driving are utilized. This “*serabutan*” (odd jobs) exist as people trying to survive by maximizing their opportunities. Social capital helps establish networks that support the household economy, facilitate access to employment information, and increase skills through interactions with relatives or neighbors.

Based on the interview, it was found that migration strategies are carried out by many farming households by utilizing their social and human capital. The jobs that are widely engaged in during migration are factory workers in the country. Jobs outside the village are chosen because of the desire to seek experience and get better opportunities outside the agricultural field. The majority of respondents whose family members carry out migration strategies generally have low financial capital, so the agricultural sector in the village alone cannot support their daily needs.

“... My son migrated to Jakarta. He graduated from vocational school and immediately applied for work. The income he sends helps families in the village.” (Interview- S-2022).

“...Anak kulo sing merantau mbak, nang Jakarta. Bar lulus SMK terus nglamar ng PT kan alhamdulillah ketempo dadi ya bisa ngrewangi wong tuo lah ng ndesa.” (Wawancara Informan Suparjo, Juli 2022)

The implementation of the agricultural livelihood strategy by respondents in Setrojenar Village was carried out side by side with the existence of agrarian conflicts, where the object of the conflict was agricultural land owned by farming households. Despite this, farming households can still access farmland as their source of livelihood. The implementation of the household livelihood strategy of farmers in Setrojenar Village is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: The number and percentage of respondents by implementation of the household support strategy of farmers in Setrojenar Village in 2022

Livelihood Strategy	Category	Total (n)	Percentage (%)
Agricultural Intensification	Low	3	7.5
	Middle	12	30.0
	High	25	62.5
Multiple Sources of Income	Low	17	42.5
	Middle	9	22.5
	High	14	35.0
Migration	Low	32	80.0
	Middle	1	2.5
	High	7	17.5

Source: Primary Data, 2022

Based on the interview process, the majority of farming households carry out the agricultural intensification strategy even though their agricultural land is the object of agrarian conflict, and when there are TNI AD training activities, farmers are prohibited from carrying out agricultural activities. However, farming households are looking for other solutions and alternatives to continue to take care of their crops so that agricultural activities remain active as a source of family livelihood, namely by carrying out agricultural activities before or after TNI AD training activities. This finding is different from previous research by Fridayanti and Dharmawan (2013) which revealed that the land in Cipeuteuy Village was affected by the zoning system of Mount Halimun Salak National Park (TNGHS), resulting in an unsafe land tenure status for farmers as land users, thus affecting their livelihood strategy.

Meanwhile, the multiple sources of income strategy tends to be low due to people's limitations in accessing jobs outside the agricultural sector. The migration strategy carried out by farming households in Setrojenar Village is in a low category because even though the situation squeezes them due to agrarian conflicts, the majority of respondents are reluctant to carry out migration strategies. This is motivated by the assumption that farming households have to maintain their agricultural land, so that they have to stay in Setrojenar Village.

The Correlation Between the Level of Agrarian Conflict and Livelihood Capital of Farmers in Setrojenar Village

Table 3: The correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and livelihood capital of farmers in Setrojenar Village in 2022

		Livelihood Capital Management				
Level of Agrarian Conflict		Natural Capital	Social Capital	Human Capital	Physical Capital	Financial Capital
	Correlation Coefficient	-.002	.330*	.392*	-.371*	.019
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.992	.038	.012	.018	.909
	N	40	40	40	40	40

Source: Primary Data, 2022

The results of the Spearman Rank correlation test show that there is a significant and an insignificant correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and livelihood capital. A significant correlation emerges in social, human, and physical capital, with the level of correlation in the weak category. The correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and social and human capital is positive, which means that the higher the level of agrarian conflict, the higher the management of social

capital and human capital by farming households. When the level of agrarian conflict increases, farming households use social capital to evacuate to relatives' homes.

In human capital management, farmer households maximize their household members to survive in the midst of crisis conditions and agrarian conflicts. In addition, awareness of the importance of education and skill improvement is also improving over time. Meanwhile, there is a negative correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and physical capital, which indicates that the higher the level of agrarian conflict, the lower the management of physical capital. This is because when the level of agrarian conflict is increasing, farming households tend to be less than optimal in carrying out agricultural activities, so they do not utilize physical capital in the form of agricultural assets they have.

The Correlation between the Level of Agrarian Conflict and the Livelihood Strategy Implementation of Farmers in Setrojenar Village

Tabel 4 The correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and the livelihood strategy implementation of farmers in Setrojenar village

	Livelihood Strategy Implementation			
		Agricultural Intensification	Multiple Sources of Income	Migration
Level of Agrarian Conflict	Correlation Coefficient	-.321*	.335*	-.107
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.043	.035	.510
	N	40	40	40

Source: Primary Data, 2022

The correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and the livelihood strategy of farmers' households has both significant and insignificant correlations. A significant correlation exists between the level of agrarian conflict and the agricultural

intensification and multiple sources of income strategies, with a weak correlation rate. Meanwhile, there is a negative correlation at the agrarian conflict with agricultural intensification level. The negative correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and agricultural intensification and migration strategy means that the higher the level of agrarian conflict, the lower the use of agricultural intensification and migration strategies. This occurs because, as the conflict intensifies, farmers tend to show greater resistance by increasing their agricultural activities and postponing work outside the area (migration). Meanwhile, the correlation between the level of agrarian conflict and the multiple sources of income strategy has a positive direction, indicating that the higher the level of agrarian conflict, the higher the implementation of multiple sources of income strategy by farming households.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that the level of agrarian conflict that occurs in Setrojenar Village - measured by the intensity of the parties involved - is at a low level. The management of livelihood capital carried out by farming households, seen from the area of land ownership, has a different dominance of variables in each indicator. Social capital has the highest average score in managing livelihood capital among farming households compared to other types of livelihood capital. Social capital serves as a key element in bridging farming households to interact, access information, and receive support. The participation of some respondents in *Urutsewu Bersatu*, an organization that addresses agrarian conflict, acts as a form of protection for these households. The most widely adopted livelihood strategy among farming households in Setrojenar Village is the modification of agricultural income sources. The high use of this strategy amid conflict is due to the farmers' continued access to and control over their agricultural land. They continue to tend to their crops, allowing agricultural activities to remain active as a primary source of household income.

The suggestions that can be recommended based on the results of this study include the following: First, there needs to be protection and guarantee of security and

safety for farmer households that can be pursued by local governments and village governments. This is based on the findings of this study, which show that farming households continue to engage in agricultural activities on their land, even though the land is the subject of an agrarian conflict. If an agreement has not yet been reached, protection can be provided by the village government by informing farmers about the scheduled training times of the military (TNI), so that farmers can temporarily avoid those periods. The character of the conflict requires farmer households to be able to prepare themselves for the worst possible scenario, considering that this phenomenon of agrarian conflict intersects with their main source of livelihood, namely agricultural land. This research can be a starting point for future studies, especially to better understand how farmer households manage social capital in areas affected by agrarian conflict. It is also important to explore more about how these households choose and apply different livelihood strategies during conflict. In addition, future research could look at the roles of other important groups, such as local governments, NGOs, and the Indonesian Army, in solving the conflict. Researchers can also study how agrarian conflict affects farmers' income and mental health, or compare the situation in Setrojenar Village with other regions in Indonesia to find out if there are similar patterns or unique differences in how people respond to conflict.

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