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The Politics Of Agrarian Conflict And Community Struggles For Land Access Rights: The Role Of Contemporary Education

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Abstract

The agrarian conflict in Moro-Moro Register 45, Mesuji Regency, Lampung, has significantly impacted the local community, particularly in restricting children's access to education. The enforcement of Law No. 18 of 2013 on the Prevention and Eradication of Forest Destruction and Law No. 30 of 2014 on Government Administration has further complicated the situation by limiting the community's rights to manage and utilize natural resources, making it difficult for residents in forest areas to access adequate educational services. This research examines two key issues: the role of education as a tool of resistance for the Moro-Moro Register 45 community in defending their rights and the impact of agrarian conflict on their struggle for land access. Using a qualitative and socio-legal approach, this research integrates legal analysis with social inquiry, drawing on desk research, direct observations, and in-depth interviews with community members and stakeholders. The findings indicate that the politics of education is a crucial instrument for the Moro-Moro community in advocating for social change, particularly in addressing agrarian disputes and seeking social justice at the governmental level. Furthermore, agrarian conflicts often stem from systemic injustices in the distribution and management of natural resources, with land emerging as a central point of contention between the state, private enterprises, and local communities or small-scale farmers.



A. Introduction

Agrarian conflicts persist due to longstanding land distribution inequalities, rooted in policies dating back to the New Order era that prioritize corporate interests over those of ordinary citizens. Land that should be returned to the people is instead allocated to large companies under the guise of investment and development.¹ As a result, many farmers and Indigenous communities lose the land they have cultivated for generations, facing eviction and the loss of their livelihoods. In contrast, corporations readily obtain permits to control vast land areas, exacerbating social injustice by restricting access to land for those with rightful claims.²

Proponents argue that corporate investment in agriculture fosters economic growth by creating jobs and stimulating local economies. However, the reality often diverges from these promises, as the employment opportunities provided fail to compensate for the land and livelihoods lost. Communities also face increasing restrictions on access to natural resources, which are not merely economic assets but fundamental human rights. This contradiction stands in direct opposition to Article 33(3) of the 1945 Constitution, which mandates that "the earth, water, and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people."³

Government policies often prioritize corporate interests over community welfare, creating significant disparities in land access. While communities struggle to obtain forest utilization permits, companies readily secure land ownership rights, highlighting systemic inequality. This imbalance has direct consequences for local livelihoods, particularly for families reliant on agriculture. As land dispossession increases, poverty rises, as seen in Lampung, where 1.1 million people lived below the poverty line in September 2013.⁴ Although this figure showed a slight decline from March 2013, poverty levels remained high, with agrarian conflicts as a key contributing factor.

Forestry-related land disputes are among the most challenging to resolve. Many long-standing residents of forested areas are suddenly deemed illegal occupants once the government grants corporate land management rights.⁵ Communities that depend on forest resources—such as farming and logging—are forced into economic hardship. Efforts to assert their rights often lead to confrontations with security forces, while legal protections for community land rights remain inadequate. Although the government frequently pledges agrarian reform, progress has been slow, whereas corporate permits continue to be issued at a rapid pace.

An example of this conflict is the case of Moro-Moro, Register 45, in Mesuji Regency, Lampung. Residents who had lived in the area for years found themselves displaced after land management rights were granted to a company. Beyond losing their homes and livelihoods, they also lost access to essential services such as education and healthcare. As a result, many

¹ Andreas, R., Adi, L. K., & Sulastuti, S. (2019). The Effect of Colonialism on Implementation of Agrarian Reform in Indonesia. *Fiat Justisia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 13(2), 101-114.

² Ricco, A., Sumarja, F. X., & Sulastuti, S. (2017). Kemitraan Akses Hutan Berbasis Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Di Moro-Moro Register 45 Kabupaten Mesuji Lampung. *Humanitas: Jurnal Kajian dan Pendidikan HAM*, 8(1), 37-53.

³ Mangunjaya, F. M. (2006). *Hidup harmonis dengan alam: esai-esai pembangunan lingkungan, konservasi, dan keanekaragaman hayati Indonesia*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

⁴ Angka Kemiskinan Lampung September 2013, dilansir dari Badan Statistik Provinsi Lampung, 2 Januari 2014

⁵ Indonesian Labor Union, this figure increased by about 60% compared to the agrarian conflicts that occurred last year of 143 cases, the most significant conflict in the entire Indonesian region with a total area of agricultural conflicts covering an area of 770,341.

children in Moro-Moro face significant barriers to schooling, as ongoing land disputes disrupt their education.

Education is vital for communities to assert their rights and escape poverty. Without it, systemic inequalities persist. Agrarian conflicts highlight the need for tangible government action. Reform must go beyond rhetoric, prioritizing communities over corporate interests by returning long-managed land to the people.

The conflict in Moro-Moro, Register 45, Mesuji Regency, illustrates these injustices. Law No. 18 of 2013 and Law No. 30 of 2014 have further restricted community access to forestry resources, worsening educational inequality. Without state support, children in affected areas struggle to access schooling.⁶ The government must protect its citizens, not corporations. Without real change, agrarian conflicts will persist, deepening inequality. Upholding Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution is essential to ensuring land and resources serve the common good.

This research employed the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method to analyze agrarian conflicts and the role of education in communities' struggles for land rights. Using a socio-legal approach, it examined the issue from legal, social, political, and economic perspectives that shaped agrarian policies in Indonesia. The SLR process involved collecting, filtering, and analyzing sources such as scientific journals, books, and academic documents to identify conflict patterns, evaluate past policies, and explore how education empowered communities in land disputes.⁷

A normative legal approach was applied to assess agrarian laws and their implementation in social reality. The research analyzed primary sources (laws and court rulings), secondary sources (journals and research reports), and tertiary sources (legal encyclopedias and academic references). Through qualitative analysis, it investigated the political dynamics of agrarian conflicts and the role of education in securing land rights.⁸ By reviewing prior research, analyzing relevant regulations, and synthesizing findings, this research provided new insights into the intersection of law, agrarian conflict, and education. The socio-legal approach highlighted policy-driven inequalities and their societal impact. The findings aimed to inform policy recommendations that promote inclusivity and better support communities affected by agrarian conflicts.

B. Discussion

1 Contemporary Education Politics as a Tool of Struggle for the Moro-Moro Community

a. Education Value

The agrarian conflict in Register 45 of Mesuji Regency has led to the disruption of educational services, a fundamental right that the government is obligated to fulfill. Education

⁶ Ulum, M. C., & Ngindana, R. (2017). *Environmental Governance: Isu Kebijakan dan Tata Kelola Lingkungan Hidup*. Universitas Brawijaya Press.

⁷ B. and Charters Kitchenham, *Guidelines for Performing Systematic Literature Reviews in Software Engineering, Technical Report EBSE 2007-001* (Keele University and Durham University Joint Report, 2007).

⁸ Romi Satria Wahono, "A Systematic Literature Review of Software Defect Prediction: Research Trends, Datasets, Methods, and Frameworks," *Journal of Software Engineering* 1, no. 1 (2015).

is essential for societal development and national progress.⁹ While access to education has improved compared to the colonial era, it remains financially burdensome for some groups.¹⁰

Ki Hajar Dewantara is the father of Indonesian education who resisted Dutch colonialism and promoted education for all. His motto, *Ing Ngarsa Sung Tulada, Ing Madya Mangun Karsa*, remains relevant in Indonesia's education system today. The nation's founders recognized education as a cornerstone of state development, as reflected in Article 28C(1) and Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution, as well as Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights.¹¹

The development of Indonesian education has enabled broader access across various social groups. The enactment of Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System aimed to enhance educational accessibility, particularly through the implementation of nine-year compulsory education. However, in many regions, the primary challenge is not cost but the effective provision of educational access by local governments.

National Education Day (May 2) should serve as a moment for improving education and fostering enthusiasm among students. However, it has increasingly become an occasion for demonstrations, highlighting ongoing struggles for the right to education as stipulated in the Constitution.¹²

The National Education System Law is a political product shaped by institutional decision-making. In practice, its implementation often deviates from government provisions, particularly concerning students' rights. Article 12 guarantees every student access to educational services, yet significant gaps remain in its application within educational institutions.

Children in agrarian conflict areas no longer require assistance in establishing school facilities, as communities are capable of independently organizing teaching and learning activities. However, local governments, despite their obligation to provide public services, often fail to support education in these areas. A major barrier is the denial of permits for educational activities, justified by regulations prohibiting settlement in forest areas—an issue frequently linked to agrarian disputes. This restriction undermines children's constitutional right to education.

Conflict zones present significant challenges for local governments in delivering essential services, including education, health, and welfare. Education is a fundamental driver of national progress and social well-being, serving as a foundation for development. As an intermediary between the central government and local communities, local authorities have a constitutional duty to ensure access to education, even in conflict-affected areas. However, in practice, restrictive local policies often hinder educational initiatives, exacerbating the challenges faced by affected communities.

b. Fulfillment of Citizens' Education Rights

The right to education encompasses two key elements: first, the freedom for individuals, both private and non-private actors, to establish and operate educational institutions; and

⁹ Wangid, M. N. (2006). Peran Pendidikan di Daerah Konflik. *Dinamika Pendidikan*, 13(2).

¹⁰ Zakso, A. (2011). Esensi Nilai Pendidikan Bagi Daerah Rawan Konflik Kalimantan Barat. *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi dan Humaniora*, 2(2).

¹¹ Anana Triningsih, *Politik Hukum Pendidikan Nasional Analisis Politik Hukum Dalam Masa Reformasi*, Jurnal Konstitusi, Volum 14, Nomor 2 Juni 2017, HLM 333

¹² Rukmana Amanwinata, Hernadi Affandi, *Makalah Politik Hukum Dalam Mewujudkan Pendidikan Yang Bermutu Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional*, Fakultas Hukum Program Studi Magister Kenotariatan, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, tahun 2017, Hlm 3

second, the right of parents to choose schools beyond the public system. The state must respect parents' and guardians' freedom to guide their children's education and moral development in accordance with their beliefs.

The state's role in ensuring education includes the availability of institutions and programs in sufficient quantity. This requires not only the existence of educational facilities but also protection for communities to access them. In the context of human rights obligations, the state has three primary duties: to respect, protect, and fulfill the right to education. As an economic, social, and cultural right, education is a positive right that demands active state involvement. Failure to uphold this right constitutes a violation of state responsibility.

c. Development of Moro-Moro Education

Moro-Moro is located in Way Serdang Sub-district, Mesuji Regency, Lampung Province, approximately six hours from Lampung City, near the border with South Sumatra. The area falls within the concession of PT Silva Inhutani, which was granted Processing Rights (HPHTI) through Minister of Forestry Decree No. 93/Menhut-II/1997 (February 17, 1997) and SK.322/Menhut-II/2004 (August 27, 2004), covering 42,762 hectares in Lampung Province.

Moro-Moro is endowed with rich natural resources. Before Register 45 was allocated to PT Silva Inhutani, the area was abundant in natural timber, but this resource was largely depleted under the Forest Management Rights (HPH) granted to PT BG Dasaad. Additionally, Moro-Moro contains high-quality natural sand suitable for construction, though its extraction is restricted and requires permission from PT Silva.

Data on Community Ethnicity and Religion¹³

Number	Ethnic Group
1	Javanese
2	Bali
3	Lampung
4	Batak
5	Others

Number	Religion	Percentage
1	Islam	60%
2	Hindu	35%
3	Christian	5%
4	Buddha	1%

These data indicate that ethnic diversity has significantly contributed to the community, particularly through the exchange of linguistic knowledge, the development of production skills, and collective efforts to secure access to natural resources. However, due to government indifference and the perception of Moro-Moro residents as encroachers, they are denied fundamental constitutional rights, including access to healthcare, political participation, and, most critically, education—services that are the government's responsibility.¹⁴ In response, the

¹³ Wawancara pengurus Persatuan Petani Masyarakat Wayserdang 25-05-2024

¹⁴ Ridwan Hardimansyah, *Kami Bukan Superman*, Bandar Lampung, Indepth Publishing, Thau 2013, Hlm34

community has independently established essential social facilities. Their dedication to village development is evident in their self-reliant construction of various infrastructures. Remarkably, despite being unofficially recognized, Moro-Moro exhibits a high level of organization, with orderly housing along the eastern cross-country road (Jalintim). The community has also constructed more than 45 wide roads, many of which are in better condition than those built by large plantations within their concession areas.

Public facilities data

Number	Facility	Amount
1	Worship	10 Mosques, eight temples, and three churches.
2	Kindergarten	2 School
3	Primary school	3 School
4	Junior High School	1 School

The data indicate that both religious and formal education serve as crucial political struggles for the community in asserting their right to access natural resources. Schools in Moro-Moro Hamlet were established through community initiatives by residents committed to their children's education. The independent construction of elementary schools began in 1999 in Moro Dewe and Moro Seeneng Hamlets, followed by Suka Makmur Hamlet in 2004. Since the administrative education process commenced in 2004, many students have graduated from these schools and continued their education at Harapan Rakyat Elementary School. However, these schools require official government recognition, which has been sought through affiliations with parent schools in Mesuji and West Tulang Bawang Regencies.¹⁵

Recognizing education as a means to improve their circumstances, the community independently built Harapan Rakyat Junior High School (SMP) in 2007. To meet administrative requirements, SD Moro Dewe has been affiliated with SDN 04 Indraloka II, Way Kenanga District, Tulang Bawang Regency—located approximately 12 km from Moro Dewe Hamlet—since 2004. Despite numerous challenges, including the agrarian conflict between 2006 and 2011, the educational initiatives in Moro-Moro have persisted for over 14 years, reflecting the community's resilience and commitment to securing educational opportunities.

The establishment of schools in the region, including Moro Dewe Elementary School, has significantly contributed to providing children of farmers with access to formal education. Many children who previously assisted their parents in agricultural work or as tappers at PT Silva Inhutani have shifted their focus to schooling, aspiring to improve their families' socioeconomic conditions.

However, the administrative restructuring in 2008, following the formation of the New Autonomous Region of West Tulang Bawang, had a notable impact on education in Moro Dewe. Previously affiliated with Indraloka Village in West Tulang Bawang Regency, Moro Dewe Elementary School functioned as a distant class (filial) under the jurisdiction of Mesuji

¹⁵ Oki Hajiansah Wahab, *Terasing di Negeri Sendiri*, Bandar Lampung, Indepth Publishing, Thau 2012, Hlm15

Regency. Due to the differing administrative boundaries, West Tulang Bawang Regency could no longer accommodate the distant class system in Moro Dewe.¹⁶

d. Denial of the Right to Education

The parent school began socializing the termination of educational services from Tulang Bawang Barat Regency in 2013, with full implementation taking effect in September 2014. Both the school and the Tulang Bawang Barat Regency Government recommended that the school seek affiliation with a new parent school in Mesuji Regency. However, the Mesuji Regent refused to issue a permit for a distant class (filial), citing the legal basis of Law No. 18 of 2013 on the Prevention and Eradication of Forest Destruction and Law No. 30 of 2014 on Government Administration.¹⁷ The Regent maintained that such an arrangement would only be permitted if the Minister of Forestry issued a decree authorizing educational services within the forest area.

This decision has posed significant challenges for students, as the nearest primary school is located 15 km away, requiring them to travel along the heavily trafficked and hazardous Trans-Sumatra road. The risk of accidents is considerable, and many parents, who must also attend to their livelihoods, struggle to transport their children to school daily.

The Mesuji Regent's policy fails to acknowledge the community's dedication in independently establishing Moro Dewe Elementary School long before Tulang Bawang Regency was divided into three districts. Without government assistance, residents constructed the school's first building using a rickshaw, despite inadequate educational facilities. As a result of the policy, 111 students from grades 1 to 6 were unable to attend school, leading to a significant number of dropouts. In August 2016, the community reopened Harapan Rakyat School in Moro Dewe Hamlet with 49 students. However, to this day, the school remains unrecognized administratively, leaving students without official access to education.

Beyond Moro Dewe Elementary School, two other schools—Moro Seneng Elementary School (189 students, affiliated with Labuhan Batin Elementary School) and Suka Makmur Elementary School (129 students, affiliated with Gedung Boga Elementary School)—are also affected. Since 2016, class 1 students have been excluded from their parent schools' administrative records, effectively preventing these schools from continuing teaching and learning activities. If the Regent maintains this restrictive policy on distance education (filial schools), the future of many children will be jeopardized, as they will be denied access to education.

Further government intervention in regulating schools within the Moro-Moro Register 45 Mesuji Lampung area would likely force all three elementary schools to cease operations. This would disproportionately impact children from economically disadvantaged families, as the increasing distance to alternative schools would make attendance impractical. The arbitrary policies of the Mesuji district government have dashed community hopes for accessible

¹⁶ Wawan cara dengan Guru Induk Indraloka Septa pada November 2022

¹⁷ Hearing with the Regent in March 2014. With the postulate that it is not the region's authority, the issue of issuing this education permit is the basis for the Regent not to give access to education. However, the Regent also did not issue a decree as the basis for not accepting it in Mesuji Regency, which is still the authority of the forestry minister. It also explains Law No. 18 of 2013 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of Forest Destruction and Law No. 30 2014 concerning Government Administration as a postulate to strengthen.

education, leaving many children at risk of dropping out and depriving them of a fundamental right that the state is obliged to fulfill.

“In 2013, before Moro Dewe Elementary School was no longer allowed to conduct teaching and learning activities in the area until 2015, it was not allowed anymore; then there was a school that was affected the earliest, namely a junior high school with 96 students affiliated with Indralolka II Private Junior High School. This is essentially the same as a junior high school affiliated with West Tulang Bawang district, and its location is in the Mesuji area, so it was allowed to carry out administrative transfers to Mesuji; if not, then this school must conduct teaching and learning activities at the parent school Until finally, the school was no longer operating in 2013.¹⁸”

“Basic services are the rights of every citizen. The government's obligation to organize them (without exception) in Moro-Moro, with the existence of education, becomes one of the tools of the community's struggle to maintain the right to access land. Register 45, educational politics as a tool of struggle is a way for the community to fight for their rights, and with schools closing. Hence, this is also a way for the government to weaken the people's struggle.¹⁹”

e. Land Access Rights Through Agrarian Politics

Moro-Moro Village is home to approximately 955 households, comprising 3,518 residents distributed across five village-level areas.²⁰ The population consists of 1,863 men and 1,655 women, with the community organized into 28 farmer groups, each consisting of 18 to 30 members.

The village is ethnically and religiously diverse, with Javanese, Balinese, Lampung, and Batak communities forming the largest ethnic groups. The religious composition includes Islam (60%), Hinduism (35%), Christianity (5%), and Buddhism (1%). This diversity has enriched the community by facilitating the exchange of linguistic and production skills.

Moro-Moro community has demonstrated remarkable resilience and commitment to village development. Through collective effort, they have independently built essential infrastructure, despite the village being unofficially recognized within the administrative structure of the Indonesian government. The village's well-organized layout is evident in the neatly arranged houses along the eastern cross-country road (Jalintim). Additionally, the community has constructed over 45 wide roads, many of which are in better condition than those built by large plantation companies within their concession areas.

Moro-Moro community comprises diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, with generally low levels of formal education. As market dependence has intensified, leading to wage labor and various forms of exploitation—such as land rent, trade intermediaries, and usurious practices—traditional collective practices have declined. This includes cooperation in

¹⁸ Interview with PPMWS Management Sahrudin Sidin in November 2016

¹⁹ Wawan with the Head of Public Policy and Human Rights Studies of Faculty of Law Unila Dr. H.S Tisnanta, S.H., M.H in October 2020

²⁰ According to community regulations, the name Moro-moro comes from the Javanese language. This name is given because most farmers who enter the Register 45 area come from the Javanese tribe. The meaning of "Moro" comes from the Javanese word "come." Several hamlets in the Moro-Moro area use Moro, such as Moroseneng, which means to come to be happy; Morodewe, which means to go alone; and Morodadi, which means to come ready.

agricultural work, trade, and mutual assistance. However, collective efforts persist in certain areas, such as the construction of houses, places of worship, and public facilities.²¹

Despite ongoing uncertainty and marginalization due to government policies that fail to provide security or recognition, the Moro-Moro people continue to uphold the spirit of solidarity embodied in Pancasila. Their struggle for survival reflects a deep awareness of their existence and rights. To prevent further structural inequality in land redistribution, it is crucial to revitalize and strengthen rural agricultural production systems.

Agrarian reform, when carefully implemented and controlled step by step, can serve as a vital mechanism for redistributing welfare by ensuring equitable land ownership. Land is a fundamental resource for welfare, and the values of brotherhood promoted by religion strengthen social harmony in addressing agrarian conflicts. Religious communities often play a role in advocating for land rights, as unresolved agrarian disputes continue to cause suffering for many.

Beyond land, agrarian policies also encompass the management of other natural resources, such as forests and water, which frequently intersect with environmental concerns and indigenous rights. However, government policies often fail to reach affected communities, particularly in areas like Register 45, where local populations still lack access to resource management rights.

The complexity of agrarian politics is deeply intertwined with socio-political dynamics.²² At its core, national agrarian policy should aim to ensure that all agricultural resources contribute to social justice, as stipulated in the fifth principle of Pancasila and Article 33(3) of the 1945 Constitution. This provision emphasizes that natural resources must be managed by the state for the greatest benefit of the people.²³

While forest conservation is a shared responsibility between the government and society, current forestry policies tend to involve communities only in the implementation stage, excluding them from planning and decision-making. This top-down approach to forest designation often leads to conflicts between the government and local communities, highlighting the need for a more participatory and just approach to resource governance.²⁴

C. Conclusion

Based on the results of this research, the following conclusions were drawn: (1) The politics of education serve as a strategic instrument in the struggle of the Moro-Moro community in Register 45, Mesuji Regency. Improved access to education enhances public awareness of fundamental rights, including land, economic, and social rights. Furthermore, education plays a crucial role in developing the skills and capacities necessary for advocating social change, particularly in addressing agrarian disputes and pursuing social justice at the governmental

²¹ Interview with the management of the Moro-Moro Way-Serdang Farmers Association, Mr. Nyoman Aryanes, February 2017

²² Asmarani, A. (2023). Komunikasi Politik Kepala Desa dalam Konflik Agraria (Studi Deskriptif Kualitatif Komunikasi Politik Kepala Desa Cipanjalu Kecamatan Cilengkrang Kabupaten Bandung dalam Konflik Agraria Lokal). *JIIP-Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*, 6(4), 2721-2726.

²³ Pabesak, A. S. (2022). Peran Serta Masyarakat Terhadap Perlindungan Hutan Di Kota Palopo Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 41 Tahun 1999. *Jurnal Delik ADPERTISI*, 1(1), 17-21.

²⁴ Pabesak, A. S. (2022). Peran Serta Masyarakat Terhadap Perlindungan Hutan Di Kota Palopo Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 41 Tahun 1999. *Jurnal Delik Adpertisi*, 1(1), 17-21.

level. (2) The politics of agrarian conflict in the struggle for land access rights is deeply embedded in Indonesia's social, economic, and political context. This is particularly evident among the residents of Register 45, Mesuji, who continue to fight for their land rights. Agrarian conflicts frequently arise due to systemic injustices in the distribution and management of natural resources, with land serving as a focal point of contention between the state, private corporations, and local communities or small-scale farmers.

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- Serikat Buruh Indonesia, angka ini bertambah sekitar 60% dibandingkan konflik agraria yang terjadi di Tahun Lalu sebesar 143 kasus, konflik terbesar di seluruh wilayah Indonesai dengan total luas konflik agraria seluas 770,341.

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