
AGRARIAN CONFLICT IN INDONESIA: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HEGEMONY AND ECOLOGICAL IMPACT

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Abstract

Agrarian conflict in Indonesia is a pressing structural issue, as it involves unequal access to land between the state, corporations, and indigenous communities. This study aims to examine the dynamics of agrarian conflict and state hegemony in controlling agrarian resources, while analyzing the resulting ecological impacts. The method used is a literature study with a descriptive qualitative approach, analyzing various legal documents, reports from civil society organizations, and academic and media articles. The results of the study indicate that the state, through national strategic projects and the granting of concessions such as HGU, often ignores the customary rights of local communities, triggering social conflict and damaging the ecological order. This form of domination is reinforced by the weak recognition of customary law and minimal public participation in the formulation of agrarian policies. Ecologically, agrarian conflict has an impact on deforestation, land degradation, environmental pollution, and a sustainability crisis. The study's conclusions confirm that the state exercises hegemony in agrarian conflict in Indonesia through coercive and ideological power, which legitimizes land grabbing in the name of development. Case studies show a pattern of land acquisition without community consent, which causes social conflict and ecological damage, and marginalizes the role of local communities in decision-making.

Kata Kunci:

Konflik Agraria; Hegemoni
Negara; Dampak Ekologis.

Abstrak

Konflik agraria di Indonesia merupakan persoalan struktural yang mendesak, karena melibatkan ketimpangan akses terhadap tanah antara negara, korporasi, dan masyarakat adat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji dinamika konflik agraria serta hegemoni negara dalam penguasaan sumber daya agraria, sekaligus menganalisis dampak ekologis yang ditimbulkan. Metode yang digunakan adalah studi pustaka dengan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif, menganalisis berbagai dokumen hukum, laporan organisasi masyarakat sipil, serta artikel akademik dan media. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa negara melalui proyek strategis nasional dan pemberian konsesi seperti HGU, kerap mengabaikan hak ulayat masyarakat lokal, memicu konflik sosial dan merusak tatanan ekologi. Bentuk dominasi ini diperkuat oleh lemahnya pengakuan hukum adat dan minimnya partisipasi publik dalam perumusan kebijakan agraria. Secara ekologis, konflik agraria berdampak pada deforestasi, degradasi lahan, pencemaran lingkungan, dan krisis

keberlanjutan. Kesimpulan penelitian menegaskan perlunya transformasi tata kelola agraria yang berkeadilan dengan menempatkan masyarakat sebagai subjek utama dalam pengambilan keputusan demi menjamin keadilan sosial dan keberlanjutan ekologis.

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INTRODUCTION

Amidst the wave of national development and global economic expansion, Indonesia faces an acute agrarian paradox. On the one hand, land is positioned as an economic commodity that supports growth; on the other hand, for indigenous peoples and local communities, land is a living space, an ancestral heritage, and an irreplaceable source of collective identity (Diniyanto, 2019; Hasan et al., 2023). While the state prioritizes infrastructure development and extractive industries through national strategic projects (PSN) and massive investments, customary lands that have been managed for generations are instead targeted for confiscation or forced eviction (Nashirulhaq, 2017; Prayitno, 2024; Umam, 2022). This phenomenon has given rise to structural inequalities in the control, utilization, and management of agrarian resources that are increasingly wide and layered.

Land grabbing not only results in prolonged horizontal and vertical conflicts but also results in social fragmentation and erosion of local knowledge systems (Anshari et al., 2024; Sholahudin et al., 2020). The criminalization of citizens defending their land rights, the use of security forces to secure industrial projects, and the absence of state recognition of customary law are recurring patterns in various contemporary agrarian conflicts in Indonesia (As'ad et al., 2023; Assyifarizi & Purwanto, 2023; Sari, 2021). This is reinforced by the results of the Agrarian Consortium Report, which found that throughout 2022 alone, there were 212 conflicts and 497 cases of criminalization experienced by land rights defenders in various regions. It can be concluded that there has been no significant change in the agrarian issues occurring in Indonesia. This conflict directly affects 346,000 families, spanning a land area of 1.03 million hectares (Admin, 2025). Notably, the dominant conflict is increasingly coming from within the government rather than from community interactions with the private sector.

Agrarian issues are recognized as highly complex. In addition to social issues, environmental issues are directly impacted by agrarian issues. Agrarian issues also have ecological impacts that are often overlooked in policy discourse (Zahrani et al., 2023). When indigenous peoples' living spaces are converted into industrial or mining areas, systematic

ecosystem destruction occurs (Dwijayani et al., 2023). Customary forests, which have been protected through local wisdom through prohibitions on indiscriminate hunting, land rotation systems, and nature preservation rituals, are threatened with extinction because they are not recognized as part of the formal legal system (Dwijayani et al., 2023; Farina et al., 2024; Wiyono, 2018). In this context, the loss of customary land rights poses not only a threat to social justice but also to long-term ecological sustainability. Watershed damage, soil and water pollution, and reduced biodiversity are unavoidable ecological impacts of agrarian inequality (Agustino & Andalus, 2022).

The above-mentioned issues demonstrate that agrarian issues are inextricably linked to power structures and unequal access to resources (Safitri & Hamid, 2023). Complex formal laws demonstrate a tug-of-war between the state, the private sector, and the community (Hartana, 2020). While development requires land resources, community land, and especially customary land, must also be protected. Therefore, a bridge is needed between development needs and respect for indigenous peoples' rights and environmental sustainability. Research conducted by Sintia et al. (2023), This study demonstrates that the agrarian conflict that occurred was a form of contestation between three paradigms of political ecology: eco-developmentalism, eco-conservationism, and eco-populism (Safitri & Hamid, 2023). This conflict reflects the dominance of state and corporate power in controlling natural resources, which marginalizes local communities. The hegemony of development and conservation is implemented without considering ecological sustainability and social justice. As a result, not only is there the seizure of living space, but also environmental damage and the severing of the relationship between society and nature. Research conducted by Leon et al. (2025) shows that agrarian conflicts result in the loss of land rights for local communities, exacerbate inequality in land ownership, and contribute to ecosystem damage due to state-facilitated expansion.

Based on this background, this paper aims to analyze how state and corporate hegemony in development projects impact agrarian conflicts and ecological damage in Indonesia, based on a literature review. The primary focus of the discussion is on how agrarian conflicts and state hegemony have occurred in Indonesia and the resulting environmental impacts. This study is expected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the structural roots of agrarian conflicts and encourage the formulation of more equitable and sustainable policies.

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with library research methods to

explore agrarian conflict and forms of state hegemony in land resource management in Indonesia. This approach was chosen because it allows researchers to understand the meaning and structure of power relations deeply, and the ideologies hidden behind texts, documents, and public discourse related to agrarian conflict (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This study aims to explore the sociopolitical context that shapes the conflict and reveal how the state plays a hegemonic role in the process of appropriating people's living space.

The data sources used are secondary data consisting of written documents such as scientific journal articles, books on sociological theories of conflict and agrarianism, reports from civil society organizations such as the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) and WALHI, as well as news articles from online media such as Kompas, Tempo, and Mongabay. Case studies were selected purposively to represent forms of contemporary agrarian conflict in various regions, including the conflict over the construction of the National Capital City (IKN) in East Kalimantan, the mining conflict in Wadas Village, Purworejo, the conflict between residents of Simalingkar A and PTPN II in North Sumatra, and the eviction conflict in the Cisumdawu toll road project in Sumedang. These cases were analyzed to trace patterns of state domination and forms of community resistance.

The analytical technique used is content analysis with a focus on text interpretation to uncover the structure of meaning, dominant narratives, hegemonic strategies, and practices of state power in agrarian discourse (Ahmad, 2018). The analysis process involves reducing data to extract relevant information on conflict actors, political-economic motives, and the hegemonic instruments employed by the state through regulations, security apparatus, or formal institutions. This study uses two main theoretical foundations: Ralf Dahrendorf's (1959) conflict theory, which emphasizes conflict as a result of a struggle for authority and resources, and Antonio Gramsci's (1971) hegemony theory, which explains that state domination occurs not only through coercion but also through the formation of ideological consensus by institutions such as law, media, and education. The final results of this study are compiled in the form of a narrative case study that illustrates the dynamics of power and contemporary agrarian conflict.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Agrarian issues in Indonesia are not simply land disputes, but rather reflect deep-rooted inequalities in the way land is managed and controlled. Clashes between the interests of the state, large corporations, and communities often escalate into open conflict, particularly when customary or community-owned land is seized in the name of development (Alfit & Koeswahyono, 2022). In many cases, residents defending their right to life are

criminalized and treated like lawbreakers, even though they are merely fighting for the space they have occupied for generations (Admin, 2025). Beyond this, the environmental impacts are no less alarming: deforestation, disappearing water sources, and the destruction of local ecosystems exacerbate the suffering of communities whose land is seized. Agrarian conflict, therefore, constitutes both a social and ecological crisis (Bahri et al., 2017; Ramadhan, 2019).

Agrarian Conflict and State Hegemony

The occurrence of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia is undeniably the result of overlapping interests and unequal distribution of resources, as well as the failure of institutions to accommodate existing tenure systems in society. One of the most prominent patterns in agrarian conflicts in Indonesia is related to the structural domination of the state and corporations over access, control, and distribution of land (Fuad, 2017; Maladi, 2012; Umar & Papuluwa, 2024). More deeply, this conflict pattern demonstrates structural inequalities that are not only economic, but also political and social (Roring et al., 2025). Land is not simply a matter of physical space; it concerns the identity, history, and sustainability of a community. When access to land is revoked or restricted, what is lost is not only the means of production but also the very existence of the community itself.

One example of an agrarian conflict that occurred was the conflict between indigenous peoples in the case of the relocation of the national capital (Hidayat, 2023). A study by Hidayat (2023) explained that indigenous peoples in the IKN area were concentrated in two districts: North Penajam Paser Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency. The North Penajam Paser area is known to be inhabited by the Paser Tunan and Paser Balik tribes, which are now the Paser tribe. In addition, this area is also inhabited by the Dayak Kenyah and Dayak Modang sub-ethnic groups. In contrast, the Kutai Kartanegara area is home to many ethnic communities from Kutai, Dayak Modang, Benuaq, Tunjung, Kenyah, Punan, and Basab. Therefore, given the diverse tribes and ethnicities across the IKN area, the community's existence warrants attention due to their minimal participation in the IKN. The most obvious example of a case that occurred in the IKN was regarding the clarity of land owned by indigenous communities and that controlled by the state, which was then followed by the installation of a sign that was considered a unilateral decision-making (Sucipto, 2022).

Agrarian conflicts in the Indonesian Capital City (IKN) reflect the ongoing inequality in land ownership that has persisted since the New Order. The government granted large-scale concessions to mining and plantation companies on land long managed by indigenous communities, particularly the Paser Tribe (Prasetya et al., 2024). Prasetya et al. (2024) wrote that land traditionally managed by indigenous communities is categorized as Forestry

Cultivation Areas (KBK), thus lacking legal recognition. Consequently, when concession companies enter, communities lose their land and livelihoods without any clear protection scheme.

In the context of agrarian conflict in the Indonesian Capital City (IKN), the existence of Land Use Rights (HGU) is a crucial factor reinforcing the unequal structure of land ownership. HGU is granted by the state to corporations or certain business entities for long periods and significant land areas, often on land that indigenous communities have managed for generations. In many cases, including in East Kalimantan, the granting of HGU occurs without the participation or consent of the communities directly affected (Gibran et al., 2025; Kurniawan, 2025). Currently, there are over 160 concessions within the IKN area, and nearly all of them overlap with residents' claims. Past trauma and distrust of the state remain strong, as although some land was reclaimed after the reforms, the root causes have never been fully addressed (Hidayat, 2023; Kurniawan, 2025; Sholahudin & Sair, 2023).

Furthermore, a journal article by Erika (2018) emphasized that customary law is often reduced or reconstructed by the state for development purposes. The state, through the Basic Agrarian Law, has the power to adjust the interpretation of customary law to ensure the smooth running of national projects. This approach negates the essence of legal pluralism and subordinates customary law (Erika, 2018).

In addition to the capital city, similar conflicts have also occurred in other regions in Indonesia, such as research conducted by Anggraeni (2022) on the agrarian conflict that occurred in Wadas Village, a National Strategic Project. This study explains that the rejection of the Dam Construction project in Purworejo ultimately gave rise to social tensions and repression by the authorities. What is interesting in this article is how the state uses regulations in Law No. 2 of 2012 concerning land acquisition for public interest, which often results in evictions, even though they contradict the principles of social justice, which then provides formal legitimacy to the process of seizing people's living space for development purposes (Anggraeni, 2022). Therefore, in practice, this law is often used to strengthen corporate claims while weakening the legal position of local communities. One concrete example is the Wadas case, which truly demonstrates that the state has interpreted the public interest narrowly and technocratically.

Another case, studied by Adiansah et al. (2019) in Sumedang, demonstrated a similar pattern of conflict: a mismatch between local farmers and Perhutani regarding forest management. Communities that had long depended on cultivated land felt marginalized because state forest management policies did not provide space for their claims. The conflict

arose from an imbalance in relations between state institutions and communities, as well as the absence of a participatory conflict resolution mechanism (Adiansah et al., 2019).

Another case that further emphasizes the complexity of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia is the resistance of the Pandumaan-Sipituhuta indigenous community against PT Toba Pulp Lestari in North Sumatra (Rumapea et al., 2024). In this conflict, the community defended the frankincense forest they had traditionally managed from the threat of expanding forestry industry concessions. The state's absence in protecting customary rights and granting permits without public participation demonstrates structural inequalities similar to the conflict in the IKN. Furthermore, in the PT. The Hevea Indonesia conflict in Nanggung District arose from a dispute between the community and the company over unclear land boundaries, which in turn strengthened the resistance (Suharto & Basar, 2019).

In addition to the issue of the national capital in East Kalimantan, other agrarian issues also arise, where indigenous communities face mining companies that have obtained permits from the government, even though they have long managed the area according to customary law. The lack of legal recognition and consultation practices is a key trigger of conflict, demonstrating a familiar pattern where investment projects often compromise local communities' land rights (Nofisa et al., 2024; Sonny & Wardhana, 2020).

In Launch Village, Simalingkar A, Langkat, the community is also embroiled in a protracted dispute with PTPN II over land they have cultivated for decades. PTPN II claims the land as part of its HGU (Cultivation Rights), while residents object, citing traditional ownership. This conflict reinforces the narrative about the state-owned company's role in maintaining an exclusive land tenure model that is incompatible with local rights (Ritonga et al., 2022).

In Tanjung Labu Village, South Bangka, residents protested mining activities by CV SR Bintang Babel, which were carried out without public participation. The residents' protests escalated into open conflict, as the mining activities were perceived as threatening their living space and water resources. In Batam City, conflict erupted between the Kampung Tua community and the Batam Business Entity Agency. Despite various efforts, the conflict remains unresolved due to the state's weak recognition of the history of local land ownership and the dominance of land management by state authorities (Ferdian et al., 2022).

Based on the several conflicts discussed above, agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are not solely rooted in disagreements over territorial boundaries or land ownership. A deeper examination reveals that most conflicts stem from power relations regarding access, control, and distribution of agrarian resources. A series of cases, such as those in the IKN, East

Kalimantan, Wadas, North Sumatra, and Bangka, demonstrate that agrarian conflicts are fueled by state and investment interests, with the rights of local communities ultimately marginalized.

This view can be understood in line with the conflict theory in the thinking of Ralf Dahrendorf (1959), which suggests that the agrarian conflict that occurs is the result of the unequal distribution of authority among social groups, so that the dominance and subordination in the authority structure then have the potential to give rise to latent conflict. This opinion aligns with Mihrob (2020) in its view of the conflict between farmers and investors in Sumenep (Mihrob, 2020). In the agrarian context, this structure is clearly visible in the relationship between the state, corporations, and indigenous communities, where the former has control over regulations and resources. At the same time, the latter is marginalized from the decision-making process. Furthermore, Antonio Gramsci's perspective on hegemony can be used to understand how the state and dominant actors form consensus on development projects through legal narratives and national interests (Kerebungu, 2023; Rifqi, 2020).

The logic of hegemony in agrarian conflicts occurs not only at the physical level, but also in the symbolic and cultural domains, where development discourse is used as justification to sideline local and ecological values. The inequalities demonstrated through HGU (UU Land Use Rights), mining permits, and national strategic projects also strengthen the argument that agrarian conflicts are an expression of unequal access to the means of production. As emphasized by Prasetya et al. (2024), the granting of concessions in the IKN area fails to consider the existence of indigenous communities who have long managed the land collectively. This situation creates social dislocation that is not only spatial but also existential.

Thus, agrarian conflicts in Indonesia cannot be viewed as merely administrative issues, but rather as a consequence of socio-political configurations that perpetuate the domination of one group over another. Conflict resolution must move beyond legalistic and technocratic approaches, toward substantive recognition of legal pluralism, distributive justice, and active community involvement in the formulation of agrarian policies. Only through this path can the transformation toward a more just and sustainable agrarian order be achieved.

Environmental Impacts of Agrarian Problems in Indonesia

As global demand for palm oil increases, there has been a massive expansion of land for cultivating this commodity in Indonesia. According to data from the Directorate General of Plantations at the Ministry of Agriculture, from 1980 to 2019, the area of oil palm

plantations increased sharply from around 295,000 hectares to over 16 million hectares. This expansion has been most prevalent in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Papua. In the past two decades, the direction of oil palm plantation growth has shifted from Sumatra to Kalimantan, reflected in declining deforestation rates in Sumatra but increasing rates of forest loss in Kalimantan. This shift indicates that pressure on natural ecosystems is expanding into areas that previously had relatively intact forest cover. Currently, more than 90 percent of the land deemed suitable for oil palm in Sumatra has lost its natural forest cover. This fact emphasizes that oil palm expansion not only impacts land-use conversion but also causes significant and ongoing ecological degradation (Ayu, 2021; Tim Riset dan Publikasi, 2019).

The ecological impacts that arise are undeniably the result of land-use conversion activities. In this case, forest land, agricultural land, or community plantations can be transformed into industrial or residential areas. In Indonesia, the expansion of oil palm and plantations dominates, resulting in the loss of livelihoods and ecosystem damage. The conversion of rice paddy fields to oil palm plantations in Jatibaru Village, Siak Regency, as studied by Dharmayanthi et al. (2018), has had profound impacts on agricultural productivity and the sustainability of local ecosystems. The shrinking rice planting area has resulted in decreased yields, exacerbated by increased pest infestations, particularly rats. This pest proliferation is believed to be related to the disruption of the ecological chain caused by the expansion of oil palm plantations, which has led to the migration of specific fauna into residents' agricultural areas. Furthermore, the high water absorption capacity of oil palm plants has led to a decrease in soil moisture and subsurface water reserves, resulting in drier agricultural land that is no longer optimal for rice cultivation. In the long term, this damage accelerates agroecosystem degradation, ultimately threatening food security and reducing the community's adaptive capacity to the dynamics of environmental change.

A similar phenomenon also occurred in Gunung Sari Village, Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan, where the conversion of forest cover to oil palm plantations drastically altered ecological conditions (Amalia et al., 2019). The loss of forest canopy resulted in an increase in microclimate temperatures due to direct exposure to sunlight. Furthermore, the forest's role in absorbing and retaining rainwater was also lost, increasing the risk of flooding and erosion. Soil material carried by water currents caused river sedimentation and decreased water quality. This loss of environmental services made it increasingly difficult for local communities to access natural resources such as vegetables, forest fruits, fish, and game. Thus, the expansion of oil palm plantations not only caused

ecological disruption but also eroded the socio-economic foundations of local communities, which are highly dependent on the balance of nature.

Ecological issues occurring in mining areas are also studied. Coal mining activities in the Binuang area, Tapin, South Kalimantan, have had significant ecological impacts, primarily in the form of the conversion of agricultural land to mining areas. Land previously used for rice farming, rubber plantations, and oil palm plantations has now drastically shrunk, causing degradation of the area's ecological function. As a result, areas that once served as food barns in the upstream part of Banjar Regency have experienced a decline in their environmental carrying capacity for food security. This land degradation exacerbates pressure on local ecosystems, as the loss of natural vegetation and the destruction of soil structure disrupt the water cycle and soil fertility. Furthermore, land use conflicts between agriculture and mining trigger an imbalance in natural resource utilization, ultimately accelerating environmental degradation and threatening the sustainability of the lives of surrounding communities (Nasdian et al., 2020).

Furthermore, based on research conducted by Rahman (2018), it explains that coal mining activities in the Samarinda area and its surroundings have caused severe environmental damage, ranging from overlapping areas due to the sale of permits without planning to the formation of former mining pits that are left open without rehabilitation. These pits contain toxic water and heavy metals that pollute the environment and threaten the safety of residents, especially children, who have become victims of drowning. As recorded by the end of 2017, as many as 28 children died in former mining pits. This condition shows that the ecological impact of mining has spread to a social crisis. However, unfortunately, it is not balanced by firm law enforcement, because most cases end without resolution or only receive light sentences, reflecting the weak commitment of the government and stakeholders in protecting the environment and public safety (Rahman, 2018).

Furthermore, environmental issues have also become a public demand, according to research conducted by Angi & Wiati (2017), which discussed deforestation and forest and land degradation in Paser Regency, East Kalimantan. The research results revealed that the agrarian problems that occurred began with overlapping forestry, mining, and plantation permits in East Kalimantan. With the large number of mining and plantation companies in East Kalimantan, forest and land damage continue to increase, and this has not been addressed.

Literature studies consistently show that land conversion in Indonesia, for both palm oil plantations and mining, has been a significant cause of widespread and systemic

ecological degradation. Findings from various studies demonstrate tangible impacts in the form of forest cover loss, disruption of ecological chains, decreased agricultural productivity, reduced groundwater reserves, increased risk of ecological disasters such as flooding and erosion, and decreased water quality. Furthermore, land use conversion also directly impacts the socio-economic lives of local communities, particularly farmers and indigenous communities who lose their livelihoods and access to natural resources. Exploitative development practices and minimal oversight exacerbate this situation, creating an environmental crisis that is not only ecological but also social and structural. Therefore, these studies emphasize that environmental problems in Indonesia cannot be resolved solely with a technocratic approach, but must be addressed through improvements in fair and sustainable natural resource governance, including through agrarian reform, recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, and law enforcement against perpetrators of environmental damage.

CONCLUSION

This research finds that the state's hegemonic strategy in agrarian conflicts in Indonesia is implemented through two primary means: coercive power in the form of security forces and unilateral regulations, and ideological power through narratives of development, modernization, and national interests. Case studies on the National Capital City (IKN) project, the andesite mine in Wadas Village, the conflict between PTPN II and Simalingkar A residents, and the evictions in the Cisumdawu toll road project show a similar pattern: the state and corporations take over land without the full consent of affected communities, using legal legitimacy biased towards power. This practice not only gives rise to horizontal and vertical conflicts but also accelerates ecological damage due to massive land clearing. In all cases, local communities lose control over their living space and experience marginalization in the decision-making process.

SUGGESTION

Further research is recommended to conduct direct field studies through interviews and observations to obtain a more concrete picture of agrarian conflicts. Furthermore, it is important to combine legal, social, and environmental approaches for a more comprehensive analysis.

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