

Land Conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012

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Submission Track:

Received : 2021-09-27

Final Revision : 2022-06-29

Available Online : 2022-06-30

Abstract

'Sadumuk batuk sanyari bumi, ditohi pati' is a Javanese proverb that implies that land is sacred to someone and some are even willing to sacrifice their lives to own land. The aims of this article include knowing the factors that trigger land conflicts in Lampung, describing the types of agrarian conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012, and knowing the parties and issues of the conflict. The methodology in this article is a literature study in the form of books, journals, research reports, observations, newspapers, and websites. The data analysis process was carried out descriptively. This writing is arranged systematically starting from the observation of the problem to the recommendation of suggestions to be followed up. Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the land conflict in Lampung from the 1990s to late 2012 was caused by the original ethnicity of Lampung being displaced by ethnic immigrants as a result of transmigration. The government's incompetence in allocating land to each newcomer has led to land conflicts. Moreover, the existence of private parties who carried out plantation developments in Lampung trigger land conflicts in Lampung, such as the Mesuji Incident.

Kata kunci : *Sejarah Agraria, Konflik Sengketa Tanah, Lampung*

Abstrak

Sadumuk batuk sanyari bumi, ditohi pati merupakan pepatah Jawa yang mengisyaratkan bahwa tanah adalah hal yang sakral bagi seseorang bahkan ada yang rela mengorbankan nyawanya untuk memiliki tanah. Tujuan artikel ini meliputi *pertama*, mengetahui faktor-faktor pemicu konflik pertanahan di Lampung. *Kedua*, menjelaskan jenis-jenis konflik agraria di Lampung tahun 2011-2012. *Ketiga*, mengetahui pihak dan isu konflik. Metodologi dalam artikel ini adalah studi pustaka yang berupa buku, jurnal dan laporan penelitian, observasi, surat kabar dan web site. Proses analisa data dilakukan secara deskriptif. Penulisan ini disusun sesuai dengan sitematika dimulai dari pengamatan terhadap permasalahan sampai pada rekomendasi saran-saran untuk ditindak lanjuti. Berdasarkan hasil analisis data yang diperoleh dapat ditarik kesimpulan bahwa konflik pertanahan di Lampung sejak tahun 1990-an sampai 2012 akhir disebabkan oleh etnisitas asli Lampung tergeser oleh etnis pendatang

sebagai akibat dari transmigrasi; ketidaktuntasan pemerintah dalam membagikan lahan untuk masing-masing pendatang menyebabkan pemicu adanya konflik tanah; dan adanya pihak swasta yang melakukan perkembangan perkebunan di Lampung seperti peristiwa Mesuji.

Kata kunci : *sejarah agraria, konflik sengketa tanah, Lampung*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an agricultural country. Land is a valuable asset for the people of Indonesia, especially those who make their living as farmers. However, land is a source of conflict that never ends. People are disappointed that so many concessions for plantations have been given by the state to capital owners and have undermined the interests of people based on customary law, namely communal land rights.¹ This has also happened recently. The rights of the people based on customary law, which are legally protected by the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) 1960, are increasingly being pressed against new rights based on written legal regulations granted by the state, which is evident in various agrarian conflicts in Indonesia, such as the land conflict in Lampung.²

Agrarian issues are not only about land or agricultural matters. The term agrarian means the territory or land of the state, which is very broad in scope. It includes the flora and fauna, mining goods, and people. The concept of space is at the heart of agrarian issues, including resources.³

The population of Java was dense, which prompted the government to carry out the transmigration program. The transmigration in Lampung Province began in 1905, known as the colonization program, with the initial placement of 155 families of settlers from the Kedu region of Central Java to Bagelen Gedong Tataan Village, 25 km west of Bandar Lampung. From 1905 to 1943, 51,010 families of transmigrants, or a total of 211,720 people were settled in Lampung Province in the areas of Gedong Tataan, Gadingrejo Wonosobo in South Lampung, and Metro, Sekampung Trimurjo and Batanghari in Central Lampung.⁴

¹ Noer Fauzi Rachman. 2012. *Land Reform dari Masa ke Masa*. Yogyakarta: Tanah Air Beta, p. vii.

² *Ibid.*, p. viii

³ Ahmad Nashih Luthfi, dkk 2010, *Pemikiran Agraria Bulaksumur Telaah Awal atas Pemikiran Sartono Kartodirjo, Masri Singarimbun, dan Mubyarto*, Yogyakarta: STPN Press, p. 172.

⁴ Program Transmigrasi di Propinsi Lampung. Downloaded in <http://bto.depnakertrans.go.id>, accessed on 04-01-2013.

From 2011 – 2012, land conflicts in Lampung have culminated in the Mesuji tragedy that claimed many lives. This proves that the Land Law has not been able to serve as a guideline for resolving land conflicts in Indonesia. In reality, land in Indonesia is very valuable. In the Reformasi era, there was an amendment to agrarian reform that resulted in MPR Decree No. IX of 2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management. However, all of those measures have not been able to solve it.

For this reason, the author is interested in addressing agrarian issues, especially land issues in Lampung. This is because land conflicts in Lampung occurred continuously from 1998 to 2012. Moreover, the diverse ethnicity in Lampung is the main node in the Lampung problem, or there are other things that are more important than that. Land that belongs to farmers should be restored to farmers, not become the property of the state that regulates everything. The government should not massively exploit land and farmers to avoid conflicts over land, and the Agrarian Law should be revised and an agrarian policy made in accordance with custom and adapted to regions throughout Indonesia. Additionally, the government should also curb foreign capital that is damaging to local farmers so that agrarian problems can be resolved.

The purpose of this article is to examine several issues regarding land conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012. Firstly, to identify the factors that triggered land conflicts in Lampung. Secondly, to explain the types of agrarian conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012. And third, to explain the parties involved and issues of the conflict.

METHODOLOGY

This article was compiled through various literature studies, which include books, journals, research reports, newspapers, and websites. The process of data analysis is done in a descriptive manner. This article was written in various stages as follows:

1. Analyzing the problems of agrarian conflicts that occurred in Lampung from 1998 to 2012. However, the author limits the temporal scope of this article to the period 2011-2012.
2. Studying information from the literature review and several research that agrarian conflicts in Lampung can be used as a material for the study of agrarian history, that agrarian law, namely the UUPA 1960, has not been well implemented.

3. Formulating problems about agrarian history: agrarian conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012 consist of three problem statements, first, finding out the factors that trigger land conflicts in Lampung. Second, explain the types of agrarian conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012. Third, explain the parties and issues of the conflict.
4. Collecting data and information from various sources, namely literature in print and electronic media as well as accurate data obtained from journals and research.
5. Explaining the formulation of the problem by using the relevant literature from various sources that have been obtained and analyzed in a descriptive manner. The results of the problem formulation are contained in the results and discussion. According to Amr Abdalla, the conflict mapping technique with the SIPABIO model is as follows:
 - a. Source. The sources of Lampung's conflict include land conflicts, transmigration, and ethnic diversity.
 - b. Issues. These issues are developed by the involved parties and others who have not been identified as the sources of the conflict.
 - c. Parties. Parties to the conflict consist of primary parties, which are directly related to the conflict; secondary parties, which are not directly related to the conflict; and tertiary parties, which are often used as neutral parties to intervene in the conflict.
 - d. Attitudes are feelings and perceptions that influence conflict behavior patterns, which can come in both positive and negative forms.
 - e. Behavior and action, is the social behavior aspect of the conflicting parties, both in the form of coercive action and noncoercive action.
 - f. Intervention is the involvement of another party. The Lampung conflict saw the government intervene to resolve the conflict.
 - g. Outcome is the final result. The end result of the Lampung conflict is loss, both materially and non-materially, such as lives.
6. Drawing conclusions in accordance with the problem statement.
7. Recommending suggestions for further research and writing.

DISCUSSION

Factors Triggering Land Conflicts in Lampung

Lampung is the southernmost province on the island of Sumatra, bordered to the north by Bengkulu and South Sumatra. Lampung Province with the capital city of Bandar Lampung, which is a combination of the twin cities of Tanjungkarang and Telukbetung, has a relatively large area and holds marine resources. Geographically, Lampung Province is located in the position: east-west between 103° 40' - 105° 50' E; north-south is between 6° 45' - 3° 45' S.⁵

According to Hilman Hadikusuma in his book (*Adat Istiadat Lampung: 1983*), the first generation of Ulun Lampung came from Sekala Brak, at the foot of Mount Pesagi in West Lampung. Based on recent research, it is known that Paksi Pak Sekala Brak experienced two eras, the era of the Hindu Buddhist Kingdom and the era of the Islamic Sultanate. This kingdom was located in the Sekala Brak highlands at the foot of Mount Pesagi (the highest mountain in Lampung) which became the ancestor of the current Lampung ethnic groups.⁶

Originally, Lampung people came from Sekala Brak, but in the course of its development, Lampung indigenous people were generally categorized into two groups: Lampung Saibatin and Lampung Pepadun. The Saibatin community is characterized by its aristocratic values, while the Pepadun community has developed later. The Pepadun community is more democratic than the Saibatin community.⁷

The transmigration program in Lampung has been implemented since 1905. The total number of people who moved to Lampung Province through the transmigration program from 1905 to 1969 was 104,273 families or 432,755 people. It continued during the New Order period from Repelita I-VI (1969-1999). This transmigration supported the establishment of 340 new villages and 45 new districts. In addition, transmigration villages have led to the formation of 5 (five) new regencies, namely: 1). Metro City, with Metro as its capital; 2). Tulang Bawang Regency, with Tulang Bawang as its capital; 3). East Lampung

⁵ <http://www.bpkp.go.id/lampung/konten/131/> accessed on 20 September 2021.

⁶ http://p2k.unkris.ac.id/id3/1-3065-2962/Suku-Lampung_43248_widyakartika_p2k-unkris.html accessed on 20 September 2021.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Regency, with the capital city of Sukadana; 4). Way Kanan Regency, with Blambangan Umpu as its capital; 5). Tanggamus Regency, with the capital city of Kota Agung.⁸

Following the enactment of Law No. 22/1999 on Regional Government which was later supplemented by Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government, Law No. 25/1999 on Financial Balancing between Central and Regional Governments, and Government Regulation No. 25/2000 on Government Authority and Provincial Authority as Autonomous Regions, the process of transmigration in Lampung Province was greatly influenced. For the period 1999-2002, a total of 1,845 families or 7,330 people were resettled. Until 2002, 5 UPTs were still being developed with a total of 1,666 transmigrants, spread across three districts as can be seen in the following table:

Table 1: Number of Transmigrants in Lampung in 1999-2002⁹

No.	Regency/Location	Scheme	Year	Families/people
1	Tulang Bawang - Mesuji Atas SP. 13	TPLB	1999	450 / 2.010
2	Lampung Tengah - Way Terusan SP.1 - Way Terusan SP.2 - Way Terusan SP.3	BUN BUN BUN	1997 1997 1997	360 /1.427 406 /1.666 300 /1.202
3	Lampung Selatan - Legundi	TPLK	2002	150 / 619

Source: Program Transmigrasi di Propinsi Lampung (Taken from <http://bto.depnakertrans.go.id> accessed on 04 January 2013)

However, the transmigration program launched by the government also experienced many issues, including unequal facilities, environmental carrying capacity, and small capacity so it did not support the economy of scale with the increasingly dense population in Lampung Province. This is one of the triggers for conflict in Lampung. Furthermore, the transmigration program has made the ethnicity in Lampung more diverse, with Javanese, Balinese, and Lampungese ethnicities.

The Lampung conflict began to emerge in the 2000s until 2012, which received considerable attention from many parties, because of the death toll and the unresolved

⁸ Program Transmigrasi di Propinsi Lampung. Downloaded on <http://bto.depnakertrans.go.id> , accessed on 04 January 2013.

⁹ *Ibid.*

conflict in Lampung. The pattern at that time caused no assimilation between migrants and local communities. This was triggered by the transmigration process. Deputy Secretary-General of the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) Iwan Nurdin said that transmigrations in the past brought all the social institutions of a society. Built-in institutions are applied in the destination area to make transmigrants feel at home. "As a result, transmigration villages do not blend in with local villages. Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese, and other villages appear in transmigration destination areas," he said on Wednesday (31/10/2012) in Jakarta.¹⁰

In addition, conflicts in Lampung are also caused by other factors. According to Novri Susan, the causes of land conflicts involving communities are as follows:

- a. Corporate violations of land use contracts owned by indigenous communities. As a result, members of indigenous communities are prohibited from cultivating these land areas; they are evicted from lands claimed as HGU (Cultivation Rights) areas, and companies often neglect to pay compensation for land concessions to communities.
- b. Claims over unused land between companies and farming communities. HGU (Cultivation Rights) land areas that have expired or are not managed by the company often remain unused for years. This leads to landless farming communities cultivating the unused lands.
- c. Negligence in land administration by the National Land Agency (BPN). In a case in Lampung, one particular plot of land could have 10-20 certificates under different names. Each party feels that they have rights to the land for which they have a land certificate. In this regard, land conflicts can occur between farmer communities (horizontally) and farmer communities against private or state companies.

Agrarian Conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012

Bungkuk Conflict

The conflict in Bungkuk arose from the purchase of 4.5 hectares of land by a Javanese in Suber Rejo village from an ethnic Lampungese. The purchase had been settled by correspondence (not certificates) and in the negotiations, it had been explained that the land being sold was a coconut plantation with seeds that had been loaned from the Way Jepara

¹⁰ Kris R Mada, *Bentrok Lampung Dampak Kebijakan Transmigrasi, dari Konflik Lampung/Bentrok Lampung Dampak Kebijakan Transmigrasi*, diunduh di: <http://www.kompas.com>. Diakses pada tanggal 04-01-2013.

plantation project for Rp. 625,000/hectare. The land was sold for Rp. 1,250,000/hectare and a half payment was made (Rp. 625,000/hectare); the remaining amount was used to pay the debt to the project. However, four years later a new problem arose when the project issued a notice that half the loan of coconut seedlings to the project was given free to the community and only half was paid. So, the Lampungese inquired again to the Javanese about the debt. An agreement was reached and both parties agreed that the debt would be repaid after the coconut harvest.¹¹

This ultimately led to casualties. Lampung people who passed through Javanese areas had to pay with their lives. Recently, another major conflict occurred. This time it happened in South Lampung, specifically in the Kalianda area. Judging from the root causes, the Lampung case - to some extent - can be considered classic. It involves a primordial type of conflict, reminiscent of the conflicts that occurred in Sampit, Sambas, West Kalimantan, and a number of other regions after the reformation. Although some people see the conflict between villages in Lampung as unrelated to ethnicity, ignoring this factor is not correct. This is because the parties involved in the conflict are closely related to the two ethnicities involved, namely Lampung and Bali.

Since their arrival, the Balinese - unlike the Javanese - had been perceived as problematic by some Lampung communities. This group of problems included the "legitimacy of presence" of the Balinese, which was considered problematic because they occupied an area that had not been fully authorized or because of differences in customs and religion. There was also the fact that the two ethnicities lived relatively separately in enclaves. Unsurprisingly, the two ethnicities often still feel alienated from each other. This was the case, especially in South Lampung and North Lampung.

Kebondamar Conflict

The Kebondamar conflict was a conflict between Banjarmas and Brajafajar villages and Kebondamar village. Kebondamar was formerly an area of Teluk Dalem village, Labuhan Maringgal sub-district, where the residents were transmigrants from East Java. Banjarmas and Brajafajar villages were transmigrants from Jepara. The conflict started over land that was originally a scrub forest. It started in 1960 and lasted until 2003.

¹¹ Hartoyo, 2004, *Konflik Kekerasan pada Arus Lokal*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p. 87.

In 1966, the village head of Teluk Dalem held a meeting on boundary setting between neighboring villages, which was witnessed by the Ministry of Transmigration. However, the boundaries of Brajmas and Bajafajar villages had not yet been measured. As a result, since that year there were signs of land conflicts emerging between land reform object land recipients and transmigration land recipients.¹² Then there were actions demanding land from each other, which reached their peak on 28 February 2003. Residents of Brajafajar and Brajamas villages attacked Kebondamar village. All residents were displaced. Houses were burned and damaged. Losses were estimated at around Rp. 3392 billion. The refugees returned to their areas because the situation was safe on 1 March 2003.¹³

Mesuji Conflict

This Mesuji conflict was a palm oil land conflict that occurred between farmers in Mesuji Regency and PT. Barat Selatan Makmur Investindo. Based on the information of Rundam, who is the victim's mother from the Mesuji conflict, said that the cause of the land conflict was because in 1993 all residents in the villages of Sritanjung, Nipah Kuning, and Kagungan Dalam were asked to collect certificates and proof of land ownership to the company. The farmers were promised that they would become plasma farmers. "Later the company claimed the land belonged to them. We can no longer grow crops on our land," said Rundam in Mesuji, 17 December 2011.¹⁴

In 2003, there was a massacre of 30 Mesuji farmers. The massacre stemmed from the process of expanding the land use area by PT Silva Inhutani in 2003. The revelation of the massacre made clear that Indonesian society suffered from the embers of land conflicts. The fundamental problem that was small communities with little capital, such as indigenous communities and smallholders, were always the losers in the embers of these conflicts. The dimension of land conflicts had increased from year to year. According to the Directorate of Land Conflicts, there were 322 cases of land conflicts involving communities in 2006, 858 cases in 2007, 520 cases in 2008 and 194 cases in 2009. These cases accumulate unresolved

¹² *Ibid.*, h. 93.

¹³ *Ibid.*, h. 97.

¹⁴ Nurochman Arrazie, *Asal Usul Konflik Tanah Mesuji Versi Petani*, diunduh dari <http://www.tempo.com/Sabtu>, 17 Desember 2011| 13:32 WIB. Diakses pada tanggal 23-11-2012.

and tend to be characterised by violence in the dynamics of the conflict. This included the case of the land conflict in Mesuji, Lampung.¹⁵

Parties and Conflict Issues

Conflict is a disagreement signaled by the movement of several parties resulting in a clash. The characteristics of Indonesian society that are conflict-prone are: 1) high levels of social segregation; 2) low skills in democratic political participation; 3) isolation on small islands. This social segregation has a major influence on political and economic dynamics, such as the establishment of a web of cooperation among collective identities and the concentration of inter-group identities. In turn, this also affects democratic political participation.

In understanding the conflict in Lampung, it is important to conduct a conflict mapping because it can provide a description of the various attitudes, behaviors, and situations that developed in the conflict.¹⁶

Land conflicts in Lampung, which were initially private cases between people selling and buying lands, such as those in Kebondamar and Bungkok, became collective actions. This can be seen in the following diagram:

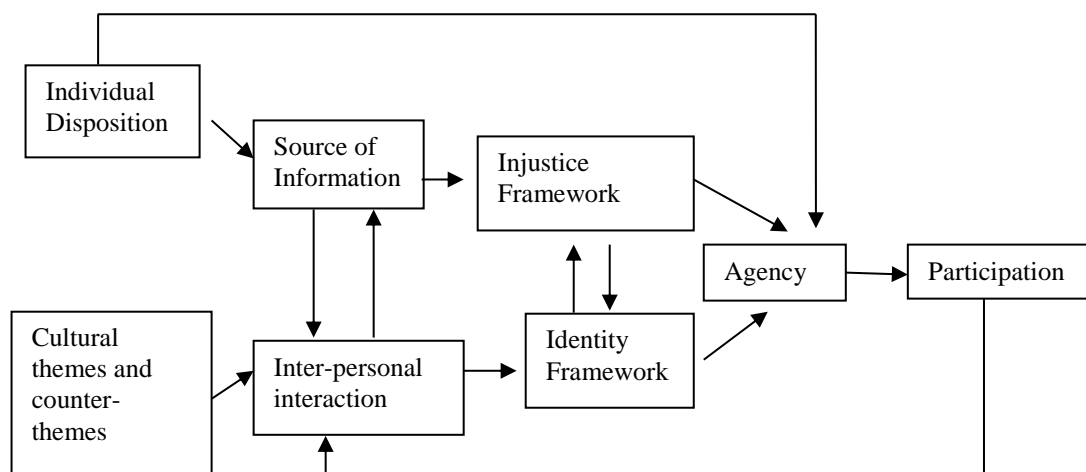


Figure 1: The Process of Establishing a Collective Action Framework

Source: Bert Klandermers, 2005, *The Social Psychology of Protest*, translated by Helly P.

Soetjipto, *Protes dalam Kajian Psikologi Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p. 16.

¹⁵ Novri Susan, *Bara Konflik Pertanahan*, diunduh dari <http://www.tempo.com/> Rabu, 21 Desember 2011 | 10:47 WIB. Diakses pada 32-11-2012.

¹⁶ Novri Susan, *Pengantar Sosiologi Konflik dan Isu-Isu Konflik Kontemporer*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2010, h. 95.

Participation from various parties occurs due to interpersonal interactions that result in injustice, identity, and agency. Each individual has their own motivation. The movement that occurred in Lampung in the struggle for land is inseparable from the incentive value to carry out social movements in the form of protests, demonstrations, burning houses, looting, and so on. The incentive value includes selective and collective value, hence the motivation of Lampung residents, as happened in Kebondamar, Bungkok, and Mesuji to participate in the movement to take their land. The expectation or motivation to participate is illustrated in the following chart:

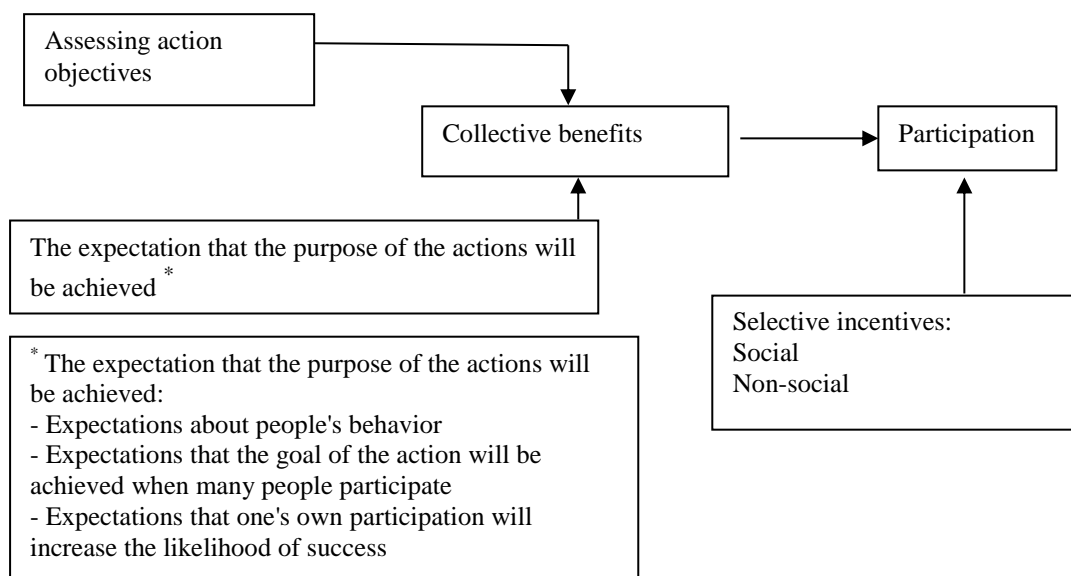


Figure 2: Motivasi untuk Berpartisipasi

Source : Bert Klandemers, 2005, *The Social Psychology of Protest*, translated by Helly P. Soetjipto, *Protes dalam Kajian Psikologi Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p. 27.

In carrying out social movement actions in Lampung, the community defended their land from foreign companies that claim to have full rights to plantation land, such as the Mesuji case. What the Mesuji community did was inseparable from affective commitment and participation, which both reinforce each other: higher commitment would strengthen participation and strong participation would result in higher commitment and always so as long as participation was considered mutually beneficial. Similarly, a lack of active

participation would further reduce effective commitment. The chart of the commitment model can be seen as follows:

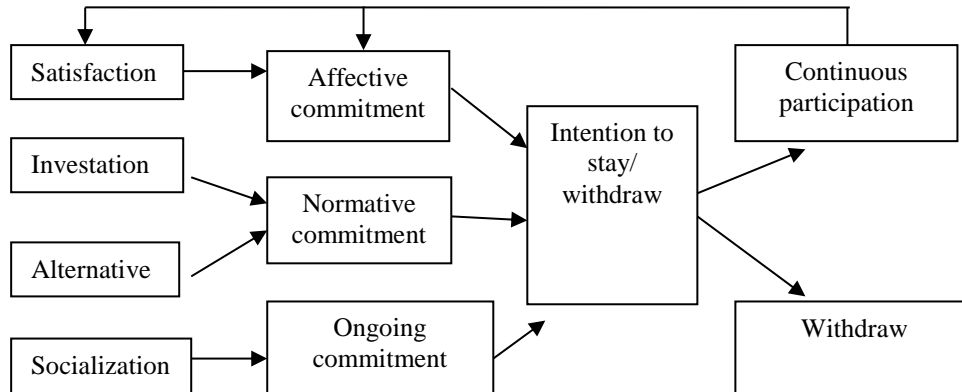


Figure 3: Model Komitmen

Source : Bert Klandemers, 2005, *The Social Psychology of Protest*, translated by Helly P. Soetjipto, *Protes dalam Kajian Psikologi Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p. 36.

In understanding the Kebondamar and Bungbuk conflicts, we can use Galtung's Conflict Triangle analysis model. The three dimensions of Galtung's Conflict Triangle include: attitude, behaviour and contradiction. The attitude of the Javanese towards land issues relating to the Balinese led to the conflict in Bungbuk. This was similar to the conflict that occurred in Kebondamar, the attitude between East Javanese and Central Javanese ethnicities. The behaviour between different ethnicities showed hostility due to land disputes and differences in ethnicity. Hence, it creates a contradiction in the form of resistance between two different ethnicities. So, attitudes led to behaviour and then contradictions occur. The Galtung Conflict Triangle chart is as follows:

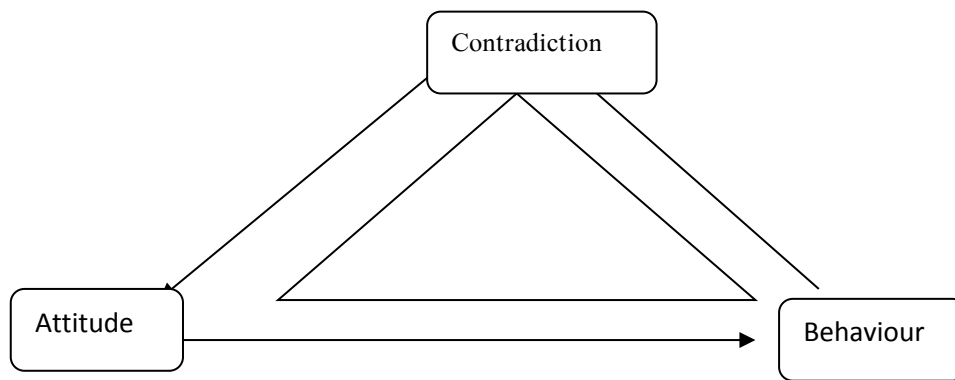


Figure 4: The Galtung Conflict Triangle chart

Source : Novri Susan, *Pengantar Sosiologi Konflik dan Isu-Isu Konflik Kontemporer*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2010, p. 90.

The conflict in Lampung was due to the existence of diverse ethnicities, such as Javanese, Balinese, and Lampungese themselves. The conflict in Lampung did not happen in a year or two, but had been going on for a long time. So, this type of Lampung conflict was a latent conflict. Latent conflict is a situation in which there are many problems, hidden in nature, and need to be brought to the surface so that they can be dealt with. A seemingly harmonious life is not necessarily a guarantee of no more conflict. This inter-ethnic disharmony played a major role in the latent conflict in Lampung. The chart of the latent inter-ethnic conflict is as follows:

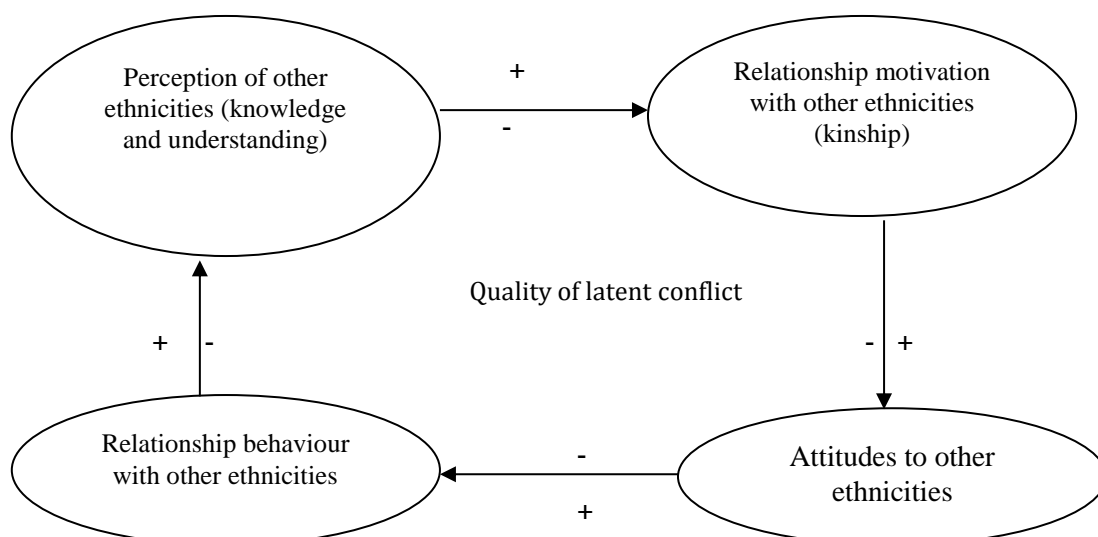
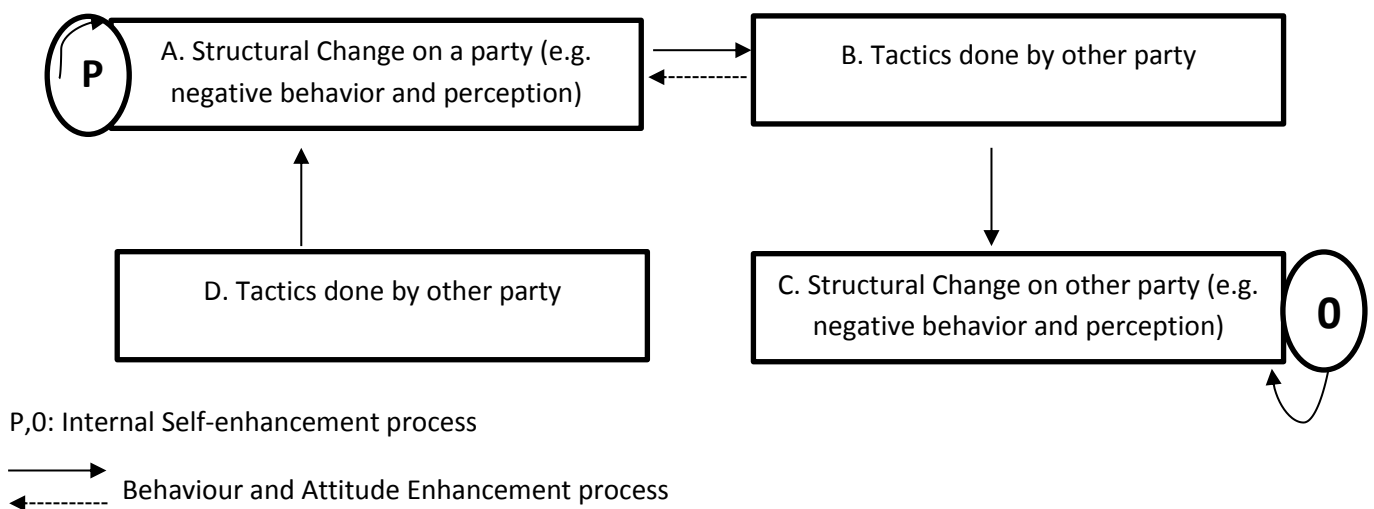


Figure 5: Quality of Latent Interethnic Conflict

Latent conflict can occur if inter-ethnic prejudice arises. According to Hatnon, this social prejudice occurs due to five factors, namely: 1) ethnocentrism, i.e. feeling that one's own ethnicity is the best; 2) too easily generalizing the behaviour of other ethnicities with their limited knowledge and experience; 3) choosing stereotypes that support their beliefs about relationships and what privileges they should have; 4) tending to develop social prejudices against other ethnicities that compete with them. The negative perceptions experienced by each ethnicity in Lampung would be related to psychological mechanisms, namely selection perception, self-fulfilling prophecy, and autistic hostility. The way these three psychological mechanisms operate is as follows:



A → B → C → D → A: Vicious circle reinforcement process

Figure 6: Full Structural Change Model, showing the self-reinforcing process of conflict escalation

Source: Dean G. Pruitt and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, 2004, *Social Conflict Escalation, Settlement, and Settlement*, translated by Helly P. Soetjipto and Sri Mulyani Soetjipto, *Teori Konflik Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p.253

In understanding the conflict in Lampung, especially in Bungkok and Kebondamar, we recognize cultural violence. This was due to one ethnicity hating another, such as the Javanese hating the Balinese, and the Central Javanese hating the East Javanese. For example, a view stated that the Balinese were greedy for not being allowed to occupy the Bungkok area. As Galtung says, cultural violence results in structural and direct violence,

where the process takes place within socio-political life. Galtung's model of violence is as follows:

Table 2: Galtung's model of violence

	The need to survive	The need for positive conditions	The need for identity	The need for freedom
Direct abuse	Murder	Devastating strikes, dire sanctions	Desocialisation, Resocialisation, second-class citizen	Repression, displacement
Structural abuse	Exploitation	Exploitation	Penetration, segmentation	Marginalisation, fragmentation

Source: John Galtung, *Cultural Violence* (1990: 292)

The conflict in Lampung was an open conflict, because the social conflict situation had surfaced and was deeply rooted, very real, and required action to address the root causes and effects. A chart of the dynamics of the conflict that occurred in Lampung is as follows:

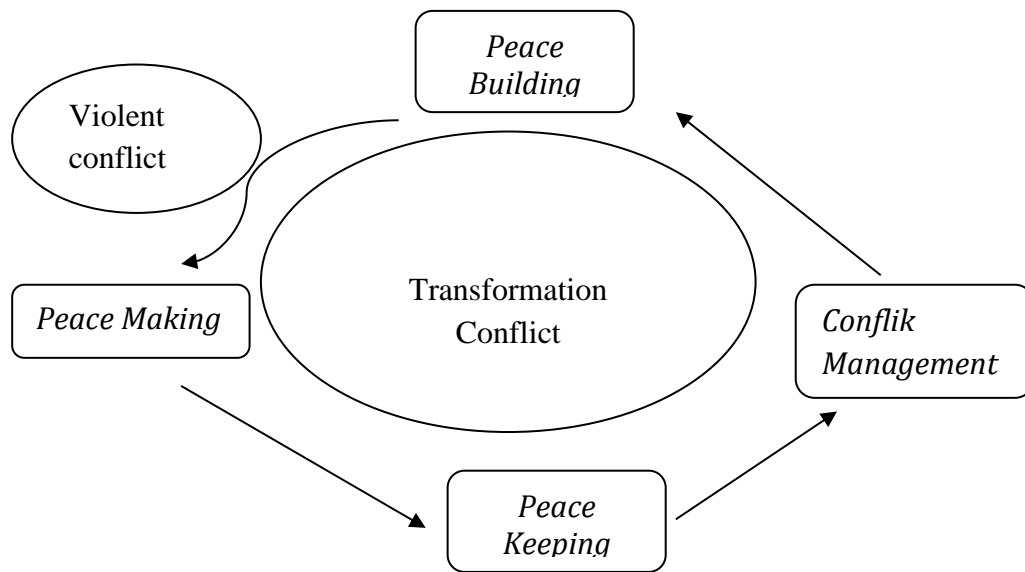


Figure 7: The Dynamics of the Conflict

Source: Novri Susan, *Pengantar Sosiologi Konflik dan Isu-Isu Konflik Kontemporer*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2010, p. 105.

Given the complexity of Lampung's conflict, peacemaking is needed, which usually takes the form of military intervention. Later, peacekeeping is maintaining the peace. This is done by various parties, such as the government and NGOs. Further, conflict management is carried out, such as mediation, arbitration, workshop, and others. Afterward, peace building is welfare development, such as infrastructure development and reconciliation.

CONCLUSION

Factors contributing to land conflicts in Lampung include transmigration, which led to ethnic diversity in Lampung and shifted the existence of Lampung ethnicity; the government's incompetence in distributing land to each migrant; and the private sector that would develop plantations in Lampung. Agrarian conflicts in Lampung in 2011-2012 included the Mesuji, Kebondamar and Bungkok conflicts. Land conflicts in Lampung were initially private cases between people selling and buying land, as happened in Kebondamar and Bungkok and then became collective actions. In addition, these conflicts in Lampung, especially in Bungkok and Kebondamar, were due to cultural violence.

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