

The Dynamics of Agrarian Conflict Governance between PT Lonsum and the Kajang Indigenous Community from the Perspective of Karl Marx's Conflict Theory

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze the dynamics of agrarian conflict between PT London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk (PT Lonsum) and the Kajang indigenous community in Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. The conflict arises from overlapping land claims, non-transparent extensions of plantation concessions (Hak Guna Usaha/HGU), and the lack of recognition of indigenous land rights. This study employs a qualitative case study approach using interviews, observations, and document analysis. The findings reveal that the agrarian conflict represents a manifestation of class struggle as described by Karl Marx, where PT Lonsum, as a representation of capital owners, receives state legitimacy to control the land, while the indigenous community faces subordination and marginalization. The Kajang people have carried out various forms of resistance—symbolic, advocative, and collective—including the involvement of youth in protests and legal advocacy. The study concludes that resolving agrarian conflicts requires more than legal-formal approaches; it demands recognition of indigenous land rights, community empowerment, and sustainable social justice.

Keywords: *Agrarian Conflict, Kajang Indigenous People, Land*

INTRODUCTION

Land is a strategic resource that holds not only economic value but also social, political, and cultural dimensions, particularly for indigenous communities whose livelihoods depend on their ancestral territories. In the Indonesian context, land is not merely a means of production but also an integral part of collective identity and an inherited legacy imbued with spiritual significance. Nevertheless, land ownership often becomes a source of conflict, especially when state interests and large-scale capital confront the rights of indigenous peoples (Wiradi, 2009).

Agrarian conflicts in Indonesia frequently arise from overlapping claims between indigenous communities and corporations granted legal rights through Cultivation Rights Title (Hak Guna Usaha/HGU). Plantation companies assert land ownership based on state-recognized positive law, while indigenous peoples

rely on customary rights (*hak ulayat*) inherited across generations. Inequities in resource distribution and regulatory biases favoring capital interests have led to the marginalization of indigenous communities. Within society, social stratification essentially consists of populations divided into several groups with varying positions, ranging from higher to lower status (Syarifuddin, 2017). This condition is in line with Karl Marx's conflict theory, in which class struggles emerge as a result of the domination of the capitalist class over weaker groups within the social structure.

One prominent case is the conflict between PT London Sumatra Indonesia Tbk (PT Lonsum) and the Kajang indigenous community in Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. Since the 1960s, disputes over customary land have persisted, even escalating into physical clashes and casualties in the early 2000s (Ansar, 2019). PT Lonsum claims ownership of the land through a Cultivation Rights Title (HGU) issued by the state, while the Kajang indigenous community asserts that the land constitutes their customary territory (*wilayah ulayat*), which cannot be transferred due to its sacred value and strong cultural identity. The situation is further complicated by the government's tendency to favor investment interests, whereas the constitutional mandate—such as Article 18B Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, which recognizes and protects the rights of indigenous peoples—has yet to be fully realized (Hastarini, 2022).

Several previous studies have also highlighted similar agrarian conflicts. Ansar (2019) found that the ambiguity in the recognition of customary land rights (*hak ulayat*) was a major factor triggering the conflict between the Kajang indigenous community and PT Lonsum, which was further exacerbated by the criminalization of indigenous people. Dewi et al. (2020) This demonstrates that development oriented toward economic growth often neglects the livelihoods of indigenous communities, thereby triggering resistance against both corporations and the state. Meanwhile, Sevrina (2020) It underscores that the uncertainty of customary law weakens the position of indigenous communities in confronting corporations, thereby opening space for marginalization and discrimination. These studies illustrate that agrarian conflicts are not merely a matter of land legality, but are also closely related to power relations, legal uncertainty, and non-inclusive

development patterns.

In this context, the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community not only reflects a struggle over economic resources but also reveals dynamics of power, legal uncertainty, and the marginalization of indigenous peoples. Its impact extends beyond the loss of economic access, reaching into the social, political, and cultural spheres, thereby threatening the very existence of the indigenous community itself.

Based on this background, this study aims to identify and analyze the factors that have led to the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community. The analysis focuses on the root causes of the dispute, the power relations that have emerged, and the consequences of the conflict for the indigenous community. Accordingly, this research is expected to contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of agrarian conflict in Indonesia, while also offering reflections for the formulation of more just and equitable agrarian policies.

METHOD

This research employs a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study design. The rationale for using this method is to describe and understand the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community in depth, based on the perspectives and experiences of the participants. The case study approach was chosen because it enables the researcher to examine the phenomenon within its real-world context, where the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly distinguishable (Assyakurrohim et al., 2022; Rusli, 2021). Thus, this study focuses on tracing the dynamics of the prolonged conflict and its implications for the survival of indigenous communities in defending their rights over customary land.

Informants in this study, following Hendarso as cited in Suyanto (2005), are categorized into three groups: key informants, main informants, and additional informants. Key informants consist of local government officials who play a strategic role in managing the conflict area; main informants include traditional leaders and youths directly involved in the dynamics of the conflict; while

additional informants comprise NGOs, students, or activists who provide supporting data and information related to the issue. The data collected in this research include primary data derived from observations, interviews, and documentation, as well as secondary data obtained from journals, archives, news reports, and relevant previous studies. The research instruments used consist of observation sheets, interview guidelines, and field documentation. Data collection techniques were carried out through three methods: direct observation to understand the social conditions in the research site, in-depth interviews with informants, and documentation in the form of archives, news, and research photos. To ensure data validity, the researcher employed source and technique triangulation. Thus, this research method is expected to produce a comprehensive understanding of the factors underlying the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study reveal that the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community is fundamentally rooted in divergent paradigms regarding land. For the indigenous community, land is regarded as ancestral heritage that embodies spiritual, cultural, and collective identity values. This perspective highlights the ideological resistance of the Kajang community toward the commodification of land.

In contrast, PT Lonsum perceives land primarily as a productive asset within the framework of capital expansion. The process of land acquisition was carried out through the establishment of concession boundaries without transactions recognized by customary law. This mechanism reflects the practice of primitive accumulation as described by Marx, in which communities are separated from their means of production through coercive measures for the purpose of capital accumulation (Brewer, 2000). The presence of state security forces in guarding concession areas further illustrates the alliance between corporations and the state, legitimizing capitalist interests through coercive power. Within this framework, the state functions as an instrument of the dominant class, protecting the interests of capital and preserving the existing power structure (Kurniawan, 2024).

Field evidence also indicates a process of economic degradation among the Kajang community. Once independent farmers, many have been transformed into wage laborers with low income or into precarious informal workers. Promises initially made by the company regarding leasing arrangements later shifted into unilateral claims of land ownership, thereby creating long-term uncertainty over the status of customary land. This situation has also generated internal fragmentation, as some members of the community accepted compensation while others resisted. Such divisions weakened collective solidarity and placed local government actors in a dilemma between corporate interests and the demands of the indigenous community.

These findings are consistent with previous research by Dewi et al. (2020) and Sevrina (2020), which emphasized that the weak recognition of hak ulayat (customary land rights) contributes significantly to the recurrence of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. In the case of the Kajang, it becomes evident that the issue of land ownership cannot be addressed solely through legal-formal mechanisms. Rather, it requires substantive recognition of the cultural legitimacy and historical rights of indigenous peoples in order to achieve a more just and sustainable resolution.

Factors Causing the Agrarian Conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang Indigenous Community

Agrarian conflict in Indonesia is not a new phenomenon but rather a recurring aspect of broader social dynamics that stem from inequality in land ownership and utilization. The case of PT Lonsum in Bulukumba, particularly in the Kajang customary territory, exemplifies this condition. Field data indicate three primary factors underlying the conflict: overlapping land claims, the absence of transparent communication regarding the extension of cultivation rights (Hak Guna Usaha/HGU), and the lack of formal recognition of customary land. These findings resonate with Komnas HAM (2021), which reported that land disputes constitute the largest portion of agrarian conflicts in Indonesia.

For indigenous communities, land is not merely an economic asset but also a cultural identity and spiritual symbol. The conversion of customary land into rubber plantations by PT Lonsum represents not only economic dispossession but

also the erosion of the living space of the Kajang people. This situation underscores the multidimensional nature of agrarian conflicts, which extend beyond legality to encompass social, cultural, and existential dimensions.

From the perspective of Karl Marx's conflict theory, the root of the problem lies in structural inequality. The means of production—in this case, land—are controlled by capital-owning groups with the support of the state, while indigenous communities lose access and sovereignty over their livelihoods. As emphasized by Raya et al. (2024), conflicts are produced by economic and political structures that perpetuate inequality, wherein dominant groups preserve their interests by subordinating weaker groups.

The findings of this study are also consistent with Barnasaputri (2021), who highlighted that overlapping land rights between local communities, private corporations, and the state are a significant driver of agrarian disputes across Indonesia. Therefore, the Lonsum–Kajang conflict should not be understood merely as a matter of licensing procedures but as a manifestation of class struggle within the structure of agrarian capitalism.

Internal fragmentation further exacerbates the situation. Some community members accepted compensation offered by the company, while others rejected it, leading to weakened collective solidarity. This division placed village authorities in a dilemma, caught between corporate demands and the aspirations of the indigenous people. Such conditions align with the findings of Mukti and Syarifuddin (2024), who argue that social solidarity is a crucial factor in maintaining community cohesion amid social pressures and structural tensions.

Power Relations between Indigenous Communities, PT Lonsum, and the Government

An important factor sustaining the conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community is the existence of unequal power relations. Customary land, inherited across generations, lacks formal legal legitimacy, while PT Lonsum operates under legal recognition through the cultivation rights title (HGU) granted by the central government since 1961 and expanded in the 1980s. This situation makes the company's claim stronger in legal terms, even though it disregards the cultural legitimacy of indigenous communities. In this context, the

state, through its agrarian policies, has functioned more as a guarantor of capital interests than as a protector of indigenous peoples. This condition corresponds with Marx's view that the state in a capitalist system often acts as an instrument of the dominant class to maintain hegemony (Prayogi et al., 2025).

A similar pattern was also found in the study of palm oil plantation conflicts in Mamuju Tengah by Mappatunru and Zainuddin (2025), which demonstrated that the sustainability of smallholders is highly dependent on corporations, thereby reinforcing class differentiation and structural dependency. The Kajang case reflects this dynamic, where indigenous communities are excluded from licensing processes while corporations receive full protection from the state. This illustrates the asymmetrical relations of power, in which corporations have access to financial, legal, and political resources, while indigenous peoples are positioned as objects of regulation rather than subjects of negotiation.

The agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community thus cannot be reduced to a mere contestation over land but should be understood as a manifestation of structural inequality within social, political, and legal systems. The state tends to produce narratives that frame indigenous peoples as primitive and as obstacles to development, thereby denying the legal recognition of communal land claims. The implications of this conflict are visible at the household level as well. The loss of access to customary land has forced many Kajang families to rely on wage labor in plantations and the informal sector. This transformation has not only weakened traditional economic systems but also reshaped social and household structures. Suardi (2020) notes that wage labor, particularly female labor, plays a significant role in sustaining household welfare, underscoring that agrarian conflicts extend beyond economic dispossession to alter the socio-economic fabric of indigenous families.

The findings of this study reinforce the argument that the Lonsum–Kajang conflict exemplifies class contradictions as described by Karl Marx. The imbalance in access to land, the dominance of corporations through the legal instrument of HGU, and the lack of recognition of indigenous rights constitute the primary drivers of conflict. These conditions highlight that the state has sided

more with capital interests than with the protection of indigenous communities. This conclusion aligns with previous research (Barnasaputri, 2021; Mappatunru & Zainuddin, 2025), which emphasized that agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are generally rooted in structural inequalities in land control.

Resolving such conflicts therefore requires a reformulation of agrarian policies that are participatory, inclusive, and recognize indigenous peoples as legitimate legal subjects. Three key considerations emerge from this analysis. First, agrarian conflict resolution cannot rely solely on legal-formal mechanisms such as the extension or revocation of HGU. The fundamental issue lies in recognizing indigenous rights as legitimate legal claims. Without such recognition, indigenous communities will remain in a subordinate position, legally and politically. Second, the Lonsum–Kajang conflict demonstrates that the state has tended to function as an instrument of capital rather than a protector of the people, consistent with Marx’s critique of the state under capitalism. A repositioning of the state is therefore necessary, ensuring its role in safeguarding the rights of indigenous peoples by guaranteeing secure land rights through more equitable agrarian policies. Third, agrarian conflicts such as the one in Kajang should not be seen as isolated local disputes but as reflections of broader national agrarian problems. Genuine agrarian reform must be conducted through participatory approaches involving indigenous communities, civil society organizations, and academia, so that policies produced are not only legally valid but also socially and culturally just. Without such a paradigm shift, similar conflicts will continue to recur in various regions across Indonesia.

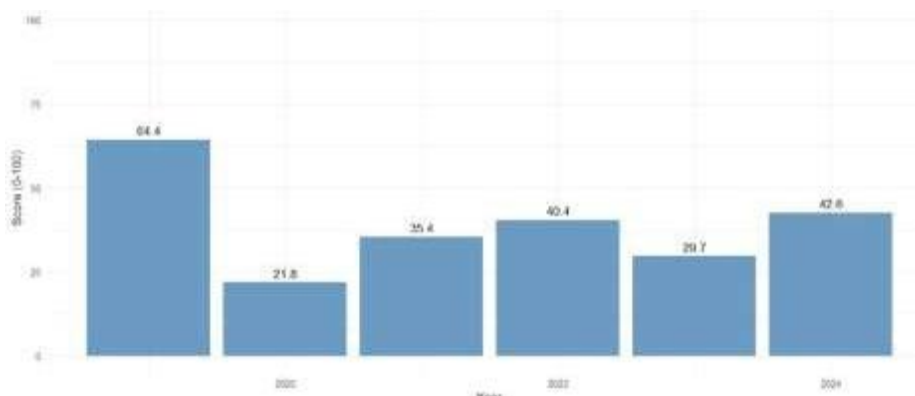


Figure 1. Composite Performance Score of UPT (2019-2024)
 Source Data Processes by the Author

Figure 1 shows the UPT Composite Performance Score from 2019 to 186

2024, showing significant performance fluctuations over the six-year period. In 2019, the score reached its highest point at 64.4, indicating strong performance at the beginning of the assessment period. However, in 2020, the score dropped sharply to 21.8, reflecting substantial challenges that may arise both internally and externally, including the potential impact of the pandemic, which could disrupt work processes, program achievements, or service effectiveness.

In subsequent years, the graph shows a gradual recovery trend. The score increased to 35.4 in 2021 and further increased to 40.4 in 2022, indicating efforts to improve and adapt organizational performance amid changing conditions. However, this upward trend is unstable, as the score declined again to 29.7 in 2023, indicating the re-emergence of various obstacles related to management, human resources, inter-unit coordination, and technical challenges.

In 2024, the score rose again to 42.6, indicating that the UPT had successfully consolidated and improved its performance after a previous decline. This improvement indicates that policy interventions, capacity building, or improvements to performance systems have begun to show positive results. Overall, the graph depicts a non-linear performance trajectory, indicating recurring challenges but also demonstrating the UPT's ability to adapt and improve performance over time.

Class Consciousness and Resistance

Another important dimension emerging from this study is the development of class consciousness and the resistance of the Kajang indigenous community. The prolonged conflict with PT Lonsum has stimulated a gradual transformation in community awareness, particularly among the younger generation. Youth groups have played a central role in articulating resistance through demonstrations, legal advocacy, the documentation of customary land histories, and digital campaigns. These activities illustrate a shift from what Marx describes as false consciousness to critical class consciousness, where collective experiences of dispossession and repression foster solidarity and mobilization for structural change.

This dynamic is consistent with Marx's theory of social conflict, which emphasizes that social change does not occur merely through value adjustment but

through the confrontation of conflicting interests that lead to new compromises. The ownership of the means of production—in this case, land—constitutes the fundamental basis of class divisions within society. In the Kajang case, the dispossession of indigenous communities from their ancestral land demonstrates how agrarian capitalism produces structural inequality, forcing them into positions of economic dependency and labor exploitation.

Civil society organizations have also played a crucial role in strengthening the resistance of the Kajang community. Organizations such as WALHI, JATAM, and AGRA have provided advocacy support, facilitated participatory mapping of customary territories, and connected the community with broader networks, including the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM). These efforts illustrate that agrarian conflicts are not isolated phenomena but part of structural struggles that reflect the uneven power relations between corporations, the state, and local communities.

The growing class consciousness within the Kajang community indicates that indigenous peoples are no longer passive actors but are emerging as agents of social change. Their resistance takes multiple forms—symbolic, cultural, political, and legal—demonstrating a comprehensive strategy to defend their land and identity. However, the weak and ambiguous position of the state in protecting customary land rights remains a major obstacle. The state's tendency to side with capital interests rather than with indigenous communities reinforces patterns of marginalization and exclusion.

From a Marxian perspective, the conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang community reflects the broader contradictions of agrarian capitalism. The process of primitive accumulation, in which indigenous peoples are separated from their means of production, has resulted in alienation, exploitation, and systemic marginalization. At the same time, the emergence of collective resistance demonstrates the potential for transformative social change driven by grassroots movements.

Overall, the findings suggest that agrarian conflicts such as the one in Kajang are not merely legal disputes over land but are deeply political struggles that embody class contradictions. The development of class consciousness among indigenous communities offers a critical lens to understand resistance as not only

a reaction to dispossession but also as a proactive effort to challenge structural inequalities and demand more just agrarian relations.

The discussion in this paper demonstrates that the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang Indigenous community is not merely a dispute over land but reflects a deeper structural imbalance of power involving the corporation, the state, and the Indigenous people. The findings reveal that the tension is rooted in contrasting paradigms regarding the meaning of land. For the Kajang community, land represents ancestral heritage imbued with spiritual value, communal identity, and social continuity. This worldview stands in sharp contrast to the corporate logic that treats land as an economic asset to be optimized for production and capital expansion. These opposing perspectives illustrate that the conflict unfolds within a social arena shaped by competition over access to and control of natural resources.

The study further highlights that the conflict is exacerbated by state legitimization of corporate land control through the issuance of plantation concessions (HGU), while Indigenous land rights remain weakly recognized. Within the framework of Karl Marx's conflict theory, this situation reflects unequal relations of production in which the corporation, as a capitalist class, receives structural support from the state to maintain its dominance. Consequently, the Indigenous community is placed in a vulnerable and marginalized position. The impacts are evident in the socioeconomic transformation of the Kajang people, who previously relied on a self-sustaining agrarian system but now increasingly work as laborers or informal workers due to restricted access to their ancestral land. This shift not only undermines their traditional economic base but also erodes longstanding social structures transmitted across generations.

Recent developments documented in the study also show the growth of class consciousness among Indigenous groups, particularly among the youth. They are becoming more assertive, expressing resistance through demonstrations, legal advocacy, participatory mapping of customary territories, and digital campaigns. The involvement of civil society organizations further strengthens these networks of resistance, indicating that the conflict has extended beyond the

local domain and has evolved into a structural issue tied to broader national agrarian injustices. These dynamics demonstrate that agrarian conflict is not a mere administrative matter but a political struggle reflecting unequal power relations within the capitalist agrarian system. The findings affirm that resolving the conflict requires a shift in the state's paradigm recognizing Indigenous communities as legitimate legal subjects and reorganizing agrarian governance toward a more inclusive, just, and socially sustainable framework.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the agrarian conflict between PT Lonsum and the Kajang indigenous community represents a manifestation of structural inequality in land control, rooted in the dominance of capital legitimized by the state through the cultivation rights title (HGU). The main causes of the conflict include overlapping land claims, lack of transparency in the extension of HGU, and the absence of formal recognition of customary rights (hak ulayat). Beyond legal dimensions, the conflict extends to social, political, cultural, and spiritual aspects, threatening the collective identity and survival of the indigenous community. From the perspective of Karl Marx's conflict theory, these dynamics reflect class contradictions in which dominant groups (corporations and the state) subordinate weaker groups (indigenous peoples), resulting in systemic marginalization. Power relations among indigenous communities, corporations, and the state are highly asymmetrical, with the state favoring capital interests rather than protecting indigenous rights, consistent with previous studies (Ansar, 2019; Barnasaputri, 2021; Dewi et al., 2020; Sevrina, 2020) highlighting recurrent agrarian conflicts in Indonesia due to weak legal recognition of customary rights and development biases. Therefore, resolving agrarian conflicts requires a paradigmatic shift toward structural reform, including stronger legal recognition of indigenous peoples, participatory and inclusive agrarian reform, and a repositioning of the state from a facilitator of capital interests to a protector of citizens' rights, without which similar conflicts will persist and threaten social cohesion and agrarian justice at the national level.

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