



Tenure Conflicts in State Forest Management: A Normative-Empirical Study at the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur

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Tenurial conflicts in the management of state forest areas are one of the problems that frequently arise in forest resource management practices in Indonesia. These conflicts generally arise from differences in interests and perceptions regarding land ownership and utilization rights between the state, as the authority holding forest area management, and the communities living around the forest areas. This study aims to analyze tenurial regulations in state forest management and examine the dynamics of tenurial conflicts that occurred in the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur. This study uses a normative-empirical legal research method with a qualitative approach. Data were obtained through a literature review of forestry laws and regulations and field studies through interviews with relevant parties, such as forest managers and forest village communities. The results indicate that several key factors, including unclear delineation of forest boundaries, limited community access to productive land, and differences in perceptions of land-use rights, influence tenurial conflicts in the KPH Banyumas Timur area. Efforts to resolve the conflict are carried out through a dialogical and collaborative approach, including through forestry partnership programs and joint forest management with the community. This approach is expected to increase community participation in forest management and reduce the risk of tenure conflicts in state forests.

Keywords: *Tenurial Conflict; State Forest Management; Forest Village Communities; Perum Perhutani; Forestry Partnerships*

ABSTRAK

Konflik kepemilikan lahan dalam pengelolaan kawasan hutan negara merupakan salah satu masalah yang sering muncul dalam praktik pengelolaan sumber daya hutan di Indonesia. Konflik ini umumnya timbul dari perbedaan kepentingan dan persepsi mengenai kepemilikan dan hak pemanfaatan lahan antara negara, sebagai otoritas yang memegang kendali pengelolaan kawasan hutan, dan masyarakat yang tinggal di sekitar kawasan hutan. Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis regulasi kepemilikan lahan dalam pengelolaan hutan negara dan meneliti dinamika konflik kepemilikan lahan yang terjadi di Perum Perhutani Kesatuan Pemangku Hutan (KPH) Banyumas Timur. Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian hukum normatif-empiris dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Data diperoleh melalui tinjauan pustaka terhadap peraturan perundang-undangan di bidang kehutanan serta studi lapangan melalui wawancara dengan pihak-pihak terkait, seperti pengelola hutan dan masyarakat desa hutan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ada beberapa faktor kunci, termasuk deliniasi batas hutan yang tidak jelas, akses masyarakat yang terbatas terhadap lahan produktif, dan perbedaan persepsi tentang hak penggunaan lahan yang memengaruhi konflik kepemilikan lahan di kawasan KPH Banyumas Timur. Upaya penyelesaian konflik

dilakukan melalui pendekatan dialogis dan kolaboratif, termasuk melalui program kemitraan kehutanan dan pengelolaan hutan bersama dengan masyarakat. Pendekatan ini diharapkan dapat meningkatkan partisipasi masyarakat dalam pengelolaan hutan dan mengurangi potensi konflik kepemilikan lahan di kawasan hutan negara.

Kata kunci: Konflik Kepemilikan Lahan; Pengelolaan Hutan Negara; Masyarakat Desa Hutan; Perum Perhutani; Kemitraan Kehutanan

INTRODUCTION

Tenure conflicts in state forest areas remain a structural issue in Indonesia's forest resource governance. (Arizona, 2024) These conflicts involve various elements in forest management and utilization, legal legitimacy, access distribution, and power relations between the state and local communities. (Wulandari et al., 2021) Tenure conflicts in this country, which boasts extensive forest areas, are often caused by overlapping land claims between the state, represented by Perum Perhutani, communities, and other stakeholders with interests in forest resources, such as local governments. This fact must be addressed in sustainable forest management so that forests can serve to improve the social welfare of communities surrounding forest areas.

Forests in Indonesia play a highly strategic role as ecosystem buffers, providing natural resources and living space for communities surrounding forest areas. Furthermore, forests also play a significant role in improving economic and social welfare and ecological functions. (Riedl, 2024) However, tenure conflicts remain common, particularly regarding claims over land rights. (Muur, 2018) Between 2015 and 2022, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (now institutionally split into two ministries) recorded 1,051 cases of tenure conflicts in forest areas. (Mutolib, 2022) This fact indicates that tenure conflicts remain a serious issue in forestry governance.

Tenurial conflicts are often related to land rights, access to, and control over, or the use of forest resources. (Golar et al., 2021; Ikhsan et al., 2025) Primarily, these conflicts arise from differing perceptions of land rights status and the legitimacy or legal basis for community land use. (Wiati, 2025; Yendri & Israhadi, 2026) There is a conflict of interest between communities who believe they have the right to manage and use the land because they have long controlled and used it, while, legally, the area is a state forest, the management of which is delegated to a state-appointed institution, namely Perum Perhutani.

Perum Perhutani is a state-owned company regulated by Law No. 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry in conjunction with Government Regulation No. 72 of 2010 concerning the State Forestry Public Company (Perum). Based on this regulation, Perum Perhutani is the only state-owned company mandated to manage production forests on the islands of Java and Madura. Perum Perhutani manages approximately 18% of Java's land area, or 2.4 million hectares of forest. (Pirard et al., 2017) Managing these forest areas is challenging given Java's high population density. This means increasing pressure on forest land use in Java. Approximately 60 percent of the population living in Java's forest areas relies on the agricultural sector, meaning

communities surrounding these areas are highly dependent on forests for both agricultural and other economic activities.

This high level of community dependence on forests has led to various land tenure conflicts. Several studies have focused on this tenurial conflict, demonstrating that it arises from weak recognition of the rights of communities that have long managed and utilized land surrounding forest areas, overlapping regulations, and unclear land status. In many cases, communities claim that the land they cultivate has been used for generations, while the state maintains that the area is part of a state forest that cannot be privately owned.

One forest area that demonstrates the dynamics of tenurial conflict is the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur, a production forest area in Central Java. This area serves both ecological and social functions for the communities surrounding it. For the people of East Banyumas, the forest area is not only a natural resource with economic value but also a living space and a source of livelihoods. Due to this situation, they often use the forest, which then gives rise to land claims, leading to a tenurial conflict with the forest management agency, Perum Perhutani.

Normatively, several forestry regulations govern mechanisms for community-based forest management. The government has introduced various policies, such as social forestry programs, forestry partnerships, and Joint Community Forest Management (PHBM) programs, to reduce conflict between the state and communities. However, implementing these policies at the local level often faces various challenges, such as differing interests among actors, limited institutional capacity, and the complex history of land tenure that cannot be easily resolved through a purely administrative approach. Furthermore, tenure conflicts in state forest areas also demonstrate the tension between the principle of state control over natural resources and demands for recognition of local community rights.

Various previous studies have addressed tenure conflicts in forest areas from the perspectives of forestry policy, the political economy of natural resources, and community participation in forest management. (Fisher et al., 2017; Purnomo & Anand, 2014; Widiaryanto, 2020) However, none have examined tenure conflicts within the framework of the relationship between legal norms governing forest areas and the social realities of local communities. Therefore, a normative-empirical approach is needed to understand how legal provisions governing state forest areas are implemented in practice and how communities respond to these policies in their daily lives, using a case study of the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur. This research is expected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of tenurial conflicts between the state and communities and to contribute to the development of fairer, more participatory conflict-resolution policies to realize sustainable forest management in Indonesia.

METHODS

This research is a qualitative study using an empirical juridical approach. The normative approach examines regulations governing the control and management of state forests. In contrast, the empirical approach examines the implementation of these regulations and the dynamics of tenure conflicts within the community.

Therefore, this research combines research approaches that not only examine positive legal norms but also their implementation and their impact on the relationship between forest area managers and surrounding communities. In accordance with the research categories mentioned above, this study uses both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through field research conducted through interviews. (Ajayi, 2023) Interviews were conducted with relevant parties, such as Perum Perhutani and communities residing in forest areas. Secondary data, on the other hand, came from a literature review that included primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. (Noor, 2023) Primary legal materials include laws and regulations governing state management, including the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Law Number 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry, and various implementing regulations governing Perum Perhutani's forest area management. Secondary legal materials include books, scientific journal articles, research findings, and other literature discussing tenure conflicts, forestry law, and the relationship between the state and communities in natural resource management. Tertiary legal materials include legal dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other sources that support understanding of the terms and concepts used in the research. The data were analyzed qualitatively by systematically reviewing, understanding, and interpreting data from literature reviews and interviews. The analysis phase begins by classifying the data according to the theme or problem under study, then by comparing applicable legal provisions with field practices. Through this process, researchers can identify congruences and inconsistencies between legal norms and empirical reality, and analyze the factors influencing tenure conflicts in the management of state forest areas.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tenure Regulation in State Forest Management

Research results show that land tenure regulations have a strong legal basis in Indonesia. Article 33, paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia stipulates that the land, water, and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest possible prosperity of the people. This fundamental principle serves as the constitutional basis for the state to regulate, manage, utilize, and protect Indonesia's natural resources, including forest areas. However, this state control, including control over forest areas, is not interpreted as private ownership; rather, the state has the authority to regulate and manage forest resources for the benefit of the community. The state has the authority to designate forest areas, determine forest functions, and regulate relationships among parties in the utilization of forest areas.

To implement the authority to manage and designate forest areas as stipulated in the Constitution, the government has issued Law Number 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry (the Forestry Law), which was most recently amended by Law Number 6 of 2023 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation into Law. Article 4 of the Forestry Law explicitly states that the state controls all forests within the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, including the natural resources contained therein, which are used for the

prosperity of the people. The Forestry Law also states that the government is granted state control over these natural resources to regulate and manage all matters related to forests, forest areas, and forest products. This provision demonstrates the state's primary role in regulating and managing forests, including granting various parties the authority to manage forest resources.

Based on this concept, the term forestry tenure emerged to describe the relationships among individuals, community groups, legal entities, and the state in controlling, utilizing, and managing forest areas. (Jati & Sukma, 2025) However, in principle, the state holds primary authority in forestry management. The state, represented by the government, as stated in the Forestry Law, has the authority to regulate and grant limited access to parties through licensing schemes and other arrangements. This arrangement often gives rise to complex dynamics among the state, forest managers, and communities surrounding forest areas.

Under Article 15 of Law No. 41 of 1999, the process of determining forest areas begins with their designation, delimitation, mapping, and determination. These stages are intended to provide legal certainty regarding the status of forest areas as state forests. Certainty about forest boundaries and status is a crucial element in land tenure arrangements because it determines the scope of state control and forest utilization that can be granted to communities, business entities, and other parties. (Ameeralia & Rizkianti, 2025) However, in its implementation, the forest area determination process has not been optimal, leading to boundary uncertainty that could trigger tenure conflicts between communities and government forest management authorities.

To reduce conflicts between communities and forest management authorities, the government issued Government Regulation No. 23 of 2021 concerning Forestry Implementation. This regulation governs various aspects of forest management, including business permits in the forestry sector, forest area management, and mechanisms for granting communities access through social forestry programs. This policy emphasizes the importance of sustainable forest management while considering economic, social, and environmental aspects in the utilization of forest resources. Implementing this government regulation, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 9 of 2021 concerning Social Forestry Management, technically regulates a sustainable forest management system implemented by communities within or around state forest areas with the aim of improving community welfare and preserving the environment. The social forestry scheme encompasses several management forms, such as village forests, community forests, community plantation forests, customary forests, and forestry partnerships. This policy grants communities legal access to forest areas for a specified period, subject to the principles of forest preservation and sustainable management.

In addition, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry also issued Ministerial Regulation Number 4 of 2023 concerning Social Forestry Management in Specially Managed Forest Areas (KHDPK). This regulation governs the management mechanisms for social forestry in forest areas designated as specially managed, particularly in portions of state forest areas previously managed by state-owned forestry enterprises. The regulation emphasizes that the Minister may designate

Specially Managed Forest Areas in production forests and protected forests whose management is no longer delegated to state-owned forestry enterprises. This policy aims to expand community access to forest management and to strengthen the implementation of social forestry programs across various regions, particularly on the island of Java.

In terms of institutions, through Ministerial Regulation No. 3 of 2023 concerning Amendments to Ministerial Regulation No. 19 of 2022 concerning the Organization and Work Procedures of the Social Forestry and Environmental Partnership Center, the government regulates the role of government institutions in providing guidance, assistance, and supervision of social forestry implementation at the regional level. By strengthening these institutions, the government strives to ensure that community forest management is effective, transparent, and sustainable.

However, implementing tenure regulations in state forest management remains challenging. One of the main challenges is the inconsistency between formal legal regulations and prevailing community land use practices. (Liswanti et al., 2025) In many regions, communities have long used land within forest areas for agriculture or non-timber forest products. When the state designates these areas as state forest areas, these community activities are often considered violations of forestry law. This situation can trigger prolonged tenure conflicts if not accompanied by fair and participatory resolution mechanisms. Furthermore, forestry tenure issues concern the legal certainty of boundaries and the status of forest areas. (Sadino, 2024) Unclear forest boundary definitions can lead to differing interpretations among the government, forest managers, and communities about which areas are included in state forests. Therefore, the process of delimiting and designating forest areas is a crucial step to provide legal certainty and reduce the potential for on-the-ground conflict.

Tenure regulation in state forest management in Indonesia is a crucial part of the natural resource management system, aiming to maintain a balance among state interests, environmental sustainability, and community welfare. Various laws and regulations have provided the legal framework for the state to regulate forest area management and the legal relationships between the various parties that utilize them. However, the effectiveness of these regulations depends heavily on their implementation on the ground and on the government and stakeholders' ability to create fair, transparent, and sustainable forest management.

Tenure Conflict Dynamics in the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur

The Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur is a unit under the Central Java Regional Division of Perum Perhutani. Administratively, the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur working area covers approximately 46,452.84 hectares of forest, spanning several administrative regions, including Banyumas, Purbalingga, Banjarnegara, and parts of Cilacap Regency. (Sukirno, 2025) The Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur manages a high-value production forest area, dominated by forestry species such as teak, pine, and other tree species. In addition to its production function, the KPH Banyumas Timur also serves an ecological function as an

environmental buffer, including maintaining water management and preventing erosion.

Geographically, the KPH Banyumas Timur is located in a forested area, with several forest villages adjacent to it. This makes the KPH Banyumas Timur one of the forest areas with quite complex social dynamics in state forest management. Forest areas legally designated as state forests have often long been utilized by forest village communities for various economic activities, such as agriculture, non-timber forest product extraction, and intercropping. This situation creates intense interaction between the interests of forest management by Perum Perhutani and the economic needs of communities dependent on forest resources. Differences in perceptions of land access and utilization rights, limited community ownership of agricultural land, and unclear forest boundary delineations in some areas are factors that trigger tenurial conflicts in the region.

Research results indicate that tenurial conflicts in the KPH Banyumas Timur are generally related to issues of land access and utilization of forest resources. Many forest village communities cultivate land within forest areas through seasonal agricultural activities such as planting corn, cassava, or other secondary crops. These activities are often undertaken due to limited ownership of agricultural land outside the forest area. In some cases, communities perceive the land they cultivate as having long been used for generations, thus giving them a sense of social legitimacy. However, from a forestry law perspective, the land remains part of a state forest area, managed by the state-owned forestry company Perum Perhutani. This differing perception of land status and use rights has fueled conflict between the community and forest management.

According to the data, the land tenure area in the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur, as mentioned above, is spread across the East Gunung Slamet Forest Management Unit (BKPH) within the Tunjung Muli Forest Management Resort (RPH). Within this BKPH, there is a tenure dispute covering 79.50 hectares, spread across three forest areas: blocks 26c, 27a, and 27b, designated as protected forest (HL) and state forest area. Geographically, administratively, it is located in the Sicinde Block, Makam Village, Rembang District, Purbalingga Regency. The land is claimed by the heirs of Demang Wirayuda, son of Sutoyo, who is also Demang Wirayuda's son. The land is a privately owned dry field or plantation.

Another land tenure dispute involves a 0.435-hectare state forest area within the Gunung Slamet Barat Forest Management Unit (BKPH) and a Baturraden RPH located on map 1g. The forest area is a production forest, and the Banyumas Regency Government uses it as a tourist forest or children's play area in Baturraden. Both tenure disputes occur within the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur area, which has been claimed by the community and the local government, which has changed its status and function to a state forest.

The two tenure cases within the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur have been declared *de jure* resolved. In handling the cases, field inspections were conducted between Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur, the user (Claiman), the Purbalingga Regency Government, the Purbalingga Police, the Yogyakarta Regional Development Planning Agency (BPKH) Region XI, and the Salatiga Planning

Agency. The case was heard, an agreement was reached, and it was declared resolved on March 31, 2021. Subsequently, the Purbalingga Police declared the Purbalingga Regency community's state forest claim case illegal logging, not forest land encroachment. Although this case falls under a special criminal offense under Law Number 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry, the elements differ, so the case was dismissed. Meanwhile, the case in Banyumas Regency is still being used by the local government for the Baturraden tourist site. These tenure cases must be processed in accordance with applicable regulations, and these rights must be restored in accordance with their status and function. Furthermore, the community is obligated to maintain the forest environment to preserve and manage it sustainably, benefiting the general public, as forests are a vital source of livelihood for many.

In agrarian conflict theory, unauthorized land acquisition by these parties arises from the unequal distribution of access to land and productive resources. (Schilling et al., 2025) In the context of state forest areas, the state has formal control over the land through forestry regulations. In contrast, local communities often have only informal access, obtained through established social practices. When the state attempts to enforce formal rules governing forest management, long-standing informal practices may be viewed as violations of the law. This situation creates tension between formal legality and the social legitimacy that communities hold over the land they manage.

From the perspective of resource access theory developed by Jesse Ribot and Nancy Peluso, a group's ability to access resources is determined not only by formal rights recognized by law but also by social, economic, and political mechanisms that enable it to obtain those resources. (Ribot & Peluso, 2003) In the context of forest village communities in the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur, access to forest land is often obtained through social relationships at the community level, informal networks, or forest managers' tolerance of certain management practices, such as intercropping. Thus, even though communities lack formal ownership rights to the land, they still have de facto access to use it for a considerable period of time.

From an institutional theory perspective, natural resource management emphasizes the importance of rules and institutions in regulating stakeholder relationships. In the context of Perum Perhutani's forest management, various institutional mechanisms are designed to involve communities, including the Joint Community Forest Management (PHBM) scheme. This approach aims to reduce conflict by providing space for forest village communities to participate in limited forest management and utilization activities. Research on forestry conflicts across various Perhutani areas shows that collaborative approaches, such as PHBM, can serve as a conflict-resolution strategy by enabling cooperation between communities and forest managers to manage forest resources.

However, implementing this collaborative approach is not always effective. In some cases, obstacles such as unequal community access to cooperation programs, a lack of transparency in the distribution of economic benefits, and limited institutional capacity within forest village communities exist. (Maring, 2022; Nindyatmoko et al., 2022) These conditions can fuel community dissatisfaction and potentially lead to new conflicts. Therefore, the successful resolution of tenure conflicts depends not

only on the existence of cooperation programs but also on the quality of institutional governance and the level of community participation in decision-making processes.

The dynamics of tenure conflicts in the KPH Banyumas Timur demonstrate that these conflicts are complex phenomena influenced by various interrelated factors. Structural factors, such as unequal access to land, institutional factors, such as state forest management policies, and social factors, such as the historical relationship between communities and forest areas, all play a role in shaping the dynamics of conflicts. By understanding these dynamics through a relevant theoretical approach, it can be concluded that resolving tenure conflicts requires an approach that emphasizes not only formal law enforcement but also efforts to build more inclusive, participatory, and equitable forest management for communities living around forest areas.

Analysis and Implications for Resolving Tenurial Conflicts

The tenurial conflict in the KPH Banyumas Timur demonstrates the divergent interests between state forest managers and forest communities. Tenurial conflicts generally arise from differing perceptions regarding land access and utilization rights between forest village communities and forest managers. Communities that have traditionally used land in forest areas often assume they have social legitimacy over the land. In contrast, forest managers base their authority on a formal legal framework that places the area as part of state forests. These differing perspectives create tensions that could escalate into conflict if not managed through effective resolution mechanisms. Therefore, resolving tenurial conflicts requires not only formal law enforcement but also a comprehensive approach through dialogue, negotiation, and collaboration with all relevant parties.

From the perspective of agrarian conflict theory, tenurial conflicts are a consequence of the unequal distribution of access to agrarian resources, including land and forests. (Ikhsan et al., 2025; Yongo, 2025) This theory explains that conflict arises when one group holds formal power over resources. In contrast, another group has a high economic need for those resources but lacks formal rights recognized by law. In the context of state forest areas, the state, through management institutions such as Perum Perhutani, has legal authority over these areas. In contrast, forest village communities often have only limited access, obtained through social and economic practices within the community. This inequality is one of the main factors driving the emergence of tenurial conflicts in various forest management areas.

To address these conflicts, a conflict-resolution approach is needed that focuses not only on formal law enforcement but also on the social and economic dimensions of the communities involved. This law enforcement approach can be implemented, among other things, through the implementation of new legal instruments, such as Special Management Forest Areas, as stipulated in the Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation Number 4 of 2023 concerning Social Forestry Management in Special Management Forest Areas. By implementing new legal instruments, such as Special Management Forest Areas, the government seeks to resolve overlapping land claims by clearly separating companies' economic production functions from the social functions of surrounding communities.

In addition to the law enforcement approach, from a conflict-resolution perspective, sustainable conflict resolution requires a process of dialogue, negotiation, and collaboration among parties with competing interests over the same resources, or a collaborative natural resource management approach. (Stepanova et al., 2020) This approach emphasizes the importance of multi-stakeholder involvement in decision-making for natural resource management. In the context of state forest management, a collaborative approach can be realized through cooperation schemes between forest managers and communities, such as joint community forest management programs or forestry partnerships. Through this scheme, communities are granted legal access to portions of the forest while adhering to environmental sustainability principles. With a clear cooperation mechanism, the potential for conflict arising from informal land access can be reduced.

The implications of resolving this conflict are expected to bring significant structural changes to both the Perum Perhutani institution and the socio-political life of communities in the Banyumas region. For Perum Perhutani, the primary impact is a reduction in the size of the managed area, forcing the company to move away from its old timber-based paradigm and toward a more collaborative management of environmental services with forest village communities. This transformation requires the field bureaucracy to shift its role from mere supervisor to facilitator of economic empowerment. This shift in bargaining power automatically alters the power dynamics at the grassroots level, where community involvement is now a prerequisite for the company's continued operations in East Banyumas.

For the community, secure tenure rights provide economic security, directly reducing the risk of criminalization of agricultural activities in forest areas. With clear legal protections, communities are more motivated to participate in forest conservation because they directly benefit from secure access. (Mbeche et al., 2021; Riswandi, 2024) These social implications are crucial for security and stability in the villages surrounding the slopes of Mount Slamet, as they minimize the potential for horizontal friction between residents and vertical friction between residents and forestry officials. This resolution serves as a bridge to a more harmonious, productive long-term relationship between policymakers and legal entities in the field.

However, this resolution also carries challenging ecological implications, as granting land access must be accompanied by strict oversight to prevent massive land conversion that could threaten environmental carrying capacity. Recognition of tenure rights is often seen as a green light for agricultural expansion, necessitating a support mechanism to ensure that cultivation practices prioritize water and soil conservation principles. The successful resolution in KPH Banyumas Timur will ultimately set a new standard for forest governance on Java, requiring that local community welfare be an integral part of forest sustainability. Synergy between legal certainty and preservation of ecological functions is key to ensuring that this conflict resolution is not merely a temporary solution but a lasting policy legacy.

The resolution of the tenure conflict also has implications for Indonesia's forest management policy reform. Conflicts occurring in various regions demonstrate that state forest management cannot be carried out unilaterally by the state without involving communities living around forest areas. Therefore, forest management

policies need to accommodate the principles of social justice and community participation as part of democratic natural resource governance. Therefore, strengthening mechanisms for community participation in forest management and developing equitable partnership schemes can be a crucial strategy for preventing and resolving future tenure conflicts.

CONCLUSION

Tenure regulations in state forest management in Indonesia are based on the principle of state control over natural resources, as mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and various forestry laws and regulations. The state has the authority to designate forest areas and regulate their utilization and management through management institutions such as Perum Perhutani. However, in practice, these tenurial regulations often clash with the social realities of communities that have long utilized forest land to meet their economic needs. The dynamics of tenurial conflicts in the Perum Perhutani KPH Banyumas Timur area reveal tensions between formal legal regulations governing state forest areas and land-use practices of forest village communities. These conflicts generally relate to issues of land access, unclear forest boundaries, and limited community ownership of agricultural land. Analysis using agrarian conflict theory and access to resources theory indicates that tenurial conflicts arise from unequal access between those with formal authority over land and communities economically dependent on forest resources. Efforts to resolve tenure conflicts require an approach that emphasizes not only formal law enforcement but also mechanisms for dialogue, negotiation, and cooperation between forest managers and communities. A collaborative approach through forestry partnership programs and joint forest management with communities can be one strategy to reduce the potential for conflict while increasing community participation in forest management. Thus, more inclusive, participatory, and equitable state forest management is expected to create a more harmonious relationship between forest managers and communities and support the sustainability of forest resource management in the future.

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