

## ABSTRAK

Berbagai studi reforma agraria menjelaskan bahwa redistribusi tanah akan terwujud jika terdapat dukungan negara melalui kebijakan. Studi ini melengkapi argumentasi tersebut, bahwa kebijakan reforma agraria yang telah disahkan melalui Perhutanan Sosial (PS) memerlukan upaya pengungkit melalui gerakan agraria untuk mewujudkan keadilan redistribusi tanah. Gerakan agraria menjadi pengungkit yang kuat apabila terjadi ketidakstabilan pelaksanaan reforma agraria. Berbagai studi menekankan pentingnya demonstrasi dan kampanye (strategi *out-side*) sebagai teknis gerakan agraria. Metode tersebut hanya menghasilkan janji reformasi simbolis untuk meredakan tekanan publik. Selain itu, strategi ini kurang efektif jika diterapkan di negara yang represif, dan justru memperumit konflik agraria yang terjadi. Hasil studi gerakan agraria di Kabupaten Malang menunjukkan kombinasi strategi yang efektif, antara strategi *in-side* melalui lobby dan strategi *out-side* melalui aksi. Strategi *in-side* mampu mendorong gerakan menuju akses ke mekanisme formal, sedangkan strategi *out-side* mampu menjaga tekanan politik melalui gerakan aksi. Gerakan agraria di Kabupaten Malang mampu memainkan kedua strategi tersebut secara bersamaan. Selain itu, hasil studi menunjukkan kuatnya solidaritas dengan kondisi ekonomi koalisi yang minim. Kondisi menambah instrumen gerakan agraria yang hanya fokus pada aspek ekonomi sebagai sumberdaya utama gerakan.

**Keywords:** gerakan agraria, reforma agraria, perhutanan sosial, redistribusi lahan

## ABSTRACT

*Various agrarian reform studies explain that land redistribution will be realized if there is state support through policy. This study complements the argument, that the agrarian reform policy that has been ratified through Social Forestry (PS) requires leverage efforts through the agrarian movement to realize justice in land redistribution. The agrarian movement becomes a strong lever if there is instability in the implementation of agrarian reform. Various studies of emphasis and campaigns (external strategies) as agrarian movement techniques. This method only produces symbolic reform promises to relieve public pressure. In addition, this strategy is less effective when applied in a repressive country, and actually complicates the agrarian conflict that occurs. The results of the agrarian movement study in Malang Regency show an effective combination of strategies, between an inside strategy through lobbying and an outside strategy through action. The inside strategy is able to encourage movement access to formal mechanisms, while the strategy towards the outside is able to maintain political pressure through action movements. The agrarian movement in Malang Regency is able to play both strategies simultaneously. In addition, the results of the study show strong solidarity with minimal economic conditions. Conditions add to the agrarian movement instruments that only focus on the economic aspect as the main resource of the movement.*

**Keywords:** agrarian movement, agrarian reform, social forestry, land redistribution