



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Local Community Resistance to Large Oil Palm Companies

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: Sep 18, 2024 Accepted: Nov 9, 2024	The occupation case of coconut palm oil on the land public is one reason for conflict among agrarians in many Indonesian regions. One occurred in the presence of PT in the village of Sebabi, Subdistrict Telawang, East Kotawaringin Regency, Central Kalimantan Province. Buana Artha Sejahtera (PT. BAS) child company Sinar Mas, which invests in their region, should give effect dripping to down (trickledown effect), which has positively affected the economy. However, in the field that happens instead, the company's presence precisely brings up resistance from the local public. This study aims to describe the resistance of the local public to the presence of investors working on their land without permission. The research method used is descriptive qualitative with a case study approach that focuses on the main actors, the local community. Data collection was carried out using interviews, observations, and documentation. The main theories used to analyze the causes of resistance and forms of local community resistance are the theories of social movements, conflict and civil disobedience. Research results show that the first is the rejection of public locals against PT. BAS changes loss, payment, and sale, and buys to public local as owner land because the land is not yet done. Second, form resistance public local is occupation, stopping activity plantation, evicting plantation workers, and establishing three places stay called betang. Third, to anticipate disturbance of business plantation coconut palm oil, PT. BAS makes extensive excavations all around the garden. However, this effort was unsuccessful, so they used litigation by reporting community figures to the Sampit District Court.
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INTRODUCTION

The presence of investment does not always have a positive effect on local communities. Investment in many areas leaves prolonged conflicts with *indigenous people* over assets controlled by investors. Especially assets in the form of land used by capital owners (capitalists) to carry out industrial activities, both those engaged in the plantation sector, mining, processing of forest products, factories and other business activities.

Especially for the oil palm plantation sector, regulative management policies have shifted since the old order regime, where the market-oriented new order regime opened as much investment space as possible for domestic and foreign investors intending to create jobs, improve people's welfare, increase state income and foreign exchange earnings through the plantation sector.

The new order gave space to the private sector and state-owned enterprises to open oil palm plantations, with the result that by 1980, the area of oil palm plantations reached 294,560 hectares with CPO production of 721,172 tonnes. (Abdul, 2023). The export destination countries for CPO (*Crude Palm Oil*) and PKO (*Palm Kernel Oil*) were the Netherlands, Germany, China, the United States, India, Malaysia and Brazil. (Abdul, 2023). With the massive growth of oil palm plantations in the archipelago, Indonesia has become one of the world's largest exporters of palm oil, beating its African origins.

After 1980, the growth of oil palm plantations penetrated almost all over Indonesia, such as Kalimantan, Papua and Sulawesi, where it was recorded that for the period 1990 - 2015, the area of oil palm plantations grew by around 4.89 per cent each year, from 451,426 Ha in 1990 to 1,444,687 Ha in 2015. The plantations are managed by the private sector, the state and the people, with a cumulative percentage increase of around 8.01 per cent per year. Private plantations grew by 7.37%, state plantations by 1.46%, and smallholder plantations grew from 16% in 1990 to 30% in 2015 every year. (Abdul, 2023). Smallholder plantations are 30%, private plantations are 47% and state plantations, which were dominant in 1990 at around 52%, have decreased to 23% in 2015.

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2023 the area of oil palm plantations in Indonesia is 15,435.70 thousand hectares with details: Aceh 478.10 thousand Ha; North Sumatra 1,371.90 thousand Ha; West Sumatra 444.10 thousand Ha; Riau 2,869.30 thousand Ha; Jambi 1,062.40 thousand Ha; South Sumatra 1,162.70 thousand Ha; Bengkulu 416.90 thousand Ha; Lampung 199.50 thousand Ha; Bangka Belitung Islands 250.80 thousand Ha; Riau Islands 7.60 thousand Ha; West Java 15.80 thousand Ha; Banten 18.20 thousand Ha; West Kalimantan 2,200.80 thousand Ha; Central Kalimantan 2,196.30 thousand Ha; South Kalimantan 516.70 thousand Ha; East Kalimantan 1,328.50 thousand Ha; North Kalimantan 242.40 thousand Ha; Central Sulawesi 143.30 thousand Ha; South Sulawesi 53.10 thousand Ha; Southeast Sulawesi 62.00 thousand Ha; Gorontalo 15.40 thousand Ha; West Sulawesi 147.30 thousand Ha; Maluku 10.20 thousand Ha; North Maluku 5.60 thousand Ha; West Papua 73.30 thousand Ha; Papua 143.60 thousand Ha (BPS, 2024).

Central Kalimantan as one of the investment destination provinces for oil palm plantation area until 2023 is West Kotawaringin 277,642.73 Ha, East Kotawaringin 461,485.56 Ha, Kapuas 134,362.51 Ha, South Barito 4,975.27 Ha, North Barito 29,529.58 Ha, Sukamara 102,545.26 Ha, Lamandau 154,895.90 Ha, Seruyan 441,088.37 Ha, Katingan 102,548.68 Ha, Pulang Pisau 94,537.03 Ha, Gunung Mas 72,820.00 Ha, East Barito 46,164.96 Ha, Murung Raya 136.00 Ha, Palangka Raya 13,873.64 Ha, with a total area of 1,936,605.49 Ha. (BPS, 2024).

East Kotawaringin District, one of the investment destinations for oil palm plantations in Central Kalimantan, cannot be separated from agrarian conflicts, where local communities demand land rights cultivated by oil palm plantation companies. The conflict is known as a land claim, which is the action or action of the community to recognize the land managed by the plantation company as their property. They feel that the land has never been compensated, bought or sold or any transaction that causes the transfer of land ownership.

The East Kotawaringin district government reported that up to May 2024, 83 cases asked to be facilitated through mediation forums against 42 large oil palm plantation companies. Mediation is a non-litigation effort in resolving land conflicts through deliberation forums, seeking mutual agreement and the local government as a mediator. One of the cases facilitated by the East Kotawaringin district government was a conflict between the extended family of Mr Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang, a resident of Sebabi village, Telawang sub-district, and PT Buana Artha Sejahtera (PT BAS), a subsidiary of the Sinar Mas group.

The conflict began in 2004 when the extended family of Mr Y. Sangkang claimed land included in the licensing concession of PT BAS covering an area of ± 1,217.46 Ha, and they asked PT BAS to pay land

compensation of Rp.65,5556,700,000. Consisting of compensation for 1,217 Ha of customary land, with a price per hectare of 35,000,000, totalling IDR 42,595,000,000.595,000,000; compensation for planting rubber and fruit trees as many as 52,548 stems at 150,000 per stem for a total of 7,882,500,000; and rattan plants covering 1,005 Ha, with a price per hectare of 15,000,000, an estimated price of 15,079,500,000.

Research on local community resistance to oil palm plantations aims to examine the problem of rural conflict from a regional perspective, with Dayak Tamuan community actors represented by the family of Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang. The results are expected to enrich social science studies, especially social movement theory, conflict theory and civil disobedience theory from the perspective of local communities. In the future, studies that examine local communities' actors in conflict, social movements, and civil disobedience can be minimized to the individual perspectives of local communities.

Research on the resistance of local communities to oil palm plantations has been conducted (Dewi, 2004), (Maliki & Darwin, 1999), (Thomas, Sikwan, & Rahmaniah, 2015), (Rochgiyanti, 2022), (Sardi, 2017), (Usop, 2023), (Kartika, et al., 2023), (Pujiriyani & Puri, 2013), (Syafnil, 2022), (Sutaryono, Tohari, Iftitah, & Luthfi, 2012), (Puturuhu, Ch.Soselisa, & Tanamal, 2023), (Gultom, 2023), However, all of these studies did not look at family-based resistance actors. In this research, the local actor driving the resistance is the extended family of Dayak Tamuan community leader, Mr Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang.

The causes of conflict are related to three issues: ownership, power and social status. (Dahrendorf, 1990). The sources of conflict are social power, access to resources, and values held in life (Fisher, 2016). Based on Dahrendorf and Fisher's explanation above, conflict causation theory only helps explain the origin of conflict, which in this study relates to ownership and access to land resources of oil palm plantations. Conflict theory cannot explain how local communities attempt to defend their land rights under oil palm company licences, hence the need for social movement theory.

Social movements are a series of joint acts of resistance in the form of protests carried out on an ongoing basis by a group of people because power holders harm their rights. The main characteristics of social movements are *shared identity, organization, self-conscious challenge, and sustained*. (Tilly, Castaneda, & Wood, 2020). However, this theory can only map the form of local resistance movements or actions and cannot explain why defiance occurs in their actions (Riouch et al., 2024; Jam et al., 2019).

Civil disobedience theoretically refers to Henry David Thoreau's thoughts on rejecting community groups against public policies set by the government. People are morally obliged to resist the government if policies go against their *conscience* and sense of justice. Civil disobedience aims to realize community justice, change situations that are not responded to favourably by the authorities, and demand equal rights to the principles of justice if the struggle for community rights using legal means fails. (Thoreau, 2024). The use of *civil disobedience* theory in this study aims to analyze the local community's rejection of legal decisions and the process of field reconstruction by the judiciary.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods to understand the phenomenon of local communities' actions to defend their land rights, including oil palm plantation licences, using a case study type. *Single case* design and instrument because the research object is only one community group. (Yin, 2003). Data were collected using interviews with the extended family of Mr Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang, PT BAS management, and local government. Documentation, namely analyzing mediation documents that the local government has facilitated and observation directly observing the activities of the local community resistance movement in the field. The research data will be analyzed using *pattern*

matching, which compares the pattern of field findings (empirical data) with the predicted pattern of the research design.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Conflicts over land ownership between oil palm plantation companies are an interesting phenomenon after the increasing global demand for palm oil derivatives and semi-finished products. The most widespread conflicts are land claims (recognizing land as a right), one of which was made by the extended family of Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang to PT. Buana Artha Sejahtera (PT. BAS) claims were made in 2004, with an area of around $\pm 1,217.46$ Ha.

Historically, Y. Sangkang's family-controlled/managed the land since 1914, where they tapped *jelutong* (*pantung*), hunted and set *jarat* (traps to catch forest animals such as pigs, deer, deer, partridges), and *berderuh* (shifting cultivation) by the Padong brothers (ancestors of Y. Sangkang's extended family). Since the death of Mr Padong in 1940, the land was used as communal land by his son-in-law, Mr Kupang bin Duhung, until he died in 1952. The land management was continued by Mr Saling bin Kupang until 1986, and from 1986 to 2004, the land was managed by Mr Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang. (Sangkang, 2024).

Y. Sangkang mengelola lahan secara bersama-sama dengan saudaranya kandung lainnya berjumlah sebelas orang yakni Tarang bin Saling Kupang (alm.), Saruan bin Saling Kupang, Juniati binti Saling Kupang (alm.), Sukarti binti Saling Kupang, Yastok binti Saling Kupang, Suciliana binti Saling Kupang, Parimus binti Saling Kupang, Dematius binti Saling Kupang, Liana binti Saling Kupang, Yustinus binti Saling Kupang, and Yuliana binti Saling Kupang. Y. Sangkang's extended family, consisting of father, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, sons-in-law and descendants, totalled approximately 243 people.

The conflict over land ownership between Y. Sangkang and PT BAS began when they opened the oil palm plantation, and no compensation or payment has ever been made for their land. Y. Sangkang's family has made various efforts to ask PT. BAS to fulfil their demands to pay for the land used as a plantation, but these efforts have not produced any results.

Procedurally, Y. Sangkang's family wrote to PT Buana Artha Sejahtera on March 10 2004. After the letter was received, PT BAS conducted measurements and field checks, but the results of the field checks were not recorded. The family also wrote a letter to the East Kotawaringin district government requesting mediation to resolve the issue. (Limbas, 2024).

The East Kotawaringin district government, based on the standard operating procedure for resolving defence disputes in stages, instructed the Kota Besi sub-district head to fix it. Based on this instruction, the Sub-District Head of Kota Besi issued a Sub-District Head Decree number 591.1/242/Pem on the formation of a team to collect data and inventory plantation land within the PT Buana Artha Sejahtera (PT BAS) area in Sebaby village, Kota Besi Sub-District, dated August 12 2005. The sub-district head's decision contains the team's tasks, namely: to collect data and inventory community-owned land/gardens that are included in the PT BAS area; to measure the area; to assess/evaluate the land/gardens recognized by the community; to facilitate land/gardens owners with the company in terms of compensation or *inclave*.

However, after 19 years of waiting, on January 27 2023, the family of Y. Sangkang sent a letter to PT. BAS is requesting compensation for customary land and planting of Rp.65,556,700,000. Because there was no response from PT, BAS sent another letter on February 23, 2023, requesting a response/clarity on the certainty of compensation for customary land and planting. Their letter was only answered by PT BAS on February 24 2023, which stated that the claim made by the Y. Sangkang family could not be followed up only based on documents owned by the claimant.

On May 15 2023, Y. Sangkang's family sent another letter to PT BAS, demanding compensation for the land, the closure of the road with *hinting* (customary fence) and the cessation of PT BAS's activities. *Hinting* is a customary fence in the rituals of the Dayak people. It is believed that if someone else passes, damages and dismantles the wall without using traditional rituals, it will be a disaster. They did this because PT BAS did not have good ethics to resolve the problem. PT BAS replied with letter number 179/S when responding to the letter. Kel/KT3/V/2023, dated May 17, 2023, asked Mr. Y. Sangkang to follow the process according to applicable regulations (Sutomo, 2024).

Located in Sebabi village on May 19 2023, a meeting was held between the family of Y. Sangkang and the management of PT. BAS with the result: PT. BAS asked for 3 days to convey the problem to the leadership and convey the leadership's answer, but the Y. Sangkang family asked for 1 day to be given to the PT. BAS representative to represent the answer to the meeting results; the Y. Sangkang family said that if there were no company decision to compensate, they would take to the field, permanently control, and continue customary *hinting*. (Dematius, 2024).

Following up on their letter on May 15 2023, Y. Sangkang's family wrote to the Damang, the customary head of the Telawang sub-district, demanding land compensation, closing the road with a customary fence (*hinting*) and stopping PT BAS's activities. *Hinting adat* was carried out on May 24 2023, with ritual equipment such as rope/rotan; sufficient wood; axes and machetes for splitting/cutting wood; tarps/plastic mats; one pig, one chicken, incense, *sawang* leaves, *mandau* and other traditional ritual equipment.

After implementing the customary fence, on May 25, the customary head Damang issued an official report of customary violations committed by PT BAS and asked PT BAS to pay the cost of replacing the customary fence (*hinting*) and customary fines (*singer*). According to Dayak customary law, the penalties are in the form of a 50kg male pig for 5,000,000, 1 chicken for 100,000, wages for three people for 2,000,000, 50kg rice for 850,000, 10kg sticky rice for 400,000, *sirau sereh turun dua four kati ramu* for 1,000,000, *singer pasal 58 money 30 kati ramu* for 7,500,000, other costs such as cloth, spices, rattan, sugar, coffee, tea, betel nut, bamboo, cigarette leaves and tobacco worth 2,500,000, for a total of 19,350,000. The total value was multiplied by two because two truck vehicles committed the offence, so the total customary fines (*singer*) was 38,700,000.

Following up on the customary fine (*singer*), the Damang customary head and *mantir adat* conveyed to PT BAS to obey and implement customary decisions. The Sebabi Village Head, as the government suggested, appealed and conveyed that anyone who lives in the East Kotawaringin district area should obey Dayak customary law regardless of ethnic or religious background. Sebabi village community leaders encourage the customary fine (*singer*) set by the customary Damang to be implemented by the company, coupled with customary harassment and insults. In response, the management of PT BAS conveyed the issue to their leadership to immediately reimburse the cost of customary fences (*hinting*) and customary fines (*singer*) (Yustinus, 2024).

The next step was for the Y. Sangkang family to send a letter to PT BAS dated June 13 2023, regarding the total closure or vacating of the company's office in PT BAS' sarea (Mandang estate and Puri estate), which included the customary fence (*hinting adat*). They gave PT. BAS has seven days to vacate the area they claimed. They will also carry out the harvest together (mass harvest) and make land boundaries until the compensation demands are realized.

The plantation workers' union of the PT BAS oil palm plantation employees' organization submitted a request to the management of PT BAS regarding their grievances within the customary fence (*hinting*). Their complaints include not having access to and from health facilities, the supply of necessities to their place being hampered, access to transportation for school children not being passed, and the supply of fuel oil for electricity supply machines (*generators*) for employee housing cannot enter. They asked the management of PT BAS to find solutions to these problems.

In response to the union's complaint on June 17 2023, the management of PT BAS sent a letter to the family of Y. Sangkang, in principle, explaining that they asked for a field check because the area they claimed was 1,217 hectares. The land installed by the customary fence (*hinting*) was 1,600 hectares in the field. They asked for the customary fence (*hinting*) to be removed because the plantation employees do not dare to carry out activities and leave the customary fence (*hinting*) for fear of being subjected to customary fines (*singer*). The management of PT BAS will settle the claims of Y. Sangkang's family with the principle of *equal treatment* and offer compensation of 450,000,000.

Following up on the request, both parties conducted a field check and continued with a meeting between Y. Sangkang's family and representatives of the Plantation Workers Union. The results of the meeting agreed on several things, namely that the customary fence (*hinting*) is only opened and not subject to customary fines (*singer*) for medical treatment; access in and out of logistics vehicles, necessities; access to pick up and drop off school children (school buses); access to fuel supply vehicles; outside the agreed needs are not allowed, and both parties will guard the access by establishing a guard post.

Because the land claim issue was brought to the customary court, the plantation company asked the Damang head of the Telawang sub-district to facilitate a discussion with Y. Sangkang's family. Following up on this request, the Damang head of adat called both parties to deliberate, with the result that PT BAS proposed a payment of compensation for the 1,217 hectares of land claimed by the Y. Sangkang family of 450,000,000; the Y. Sangkang family insisted on compensation of 55,000,000 per hectare and planting of 35,000,000 per hectare for the 1,217 hectares of land.

Responding to the problem, the East Kotawaringin District Government, led by the Regent, summoned both parties to sit together to find a solution through deliberation. The meeting held on July 10 2023, at the Regent's office house resulted in an agreement that the Y. Sangkang family would remove the customary fence (*hinting*) on the condition that the removal was carried out using a traditional ceremony, complete with the requirements of traditional rituals such as the initial installation of the customary fence (*hinting*). They were replacing the customary fence (*hinting*) with an ordinary doorstep whose installation process does not use traditional rituals or beliefs of the Dayak indigenous people.

In the field, the agreement mediated by the Regent did not go as expected and was even less conducive. Responding to the situation, PT BAS appealed to the East Kotawaringin district government for mediation. They also submitted a request for legal protection to the Regent because of the customary fence (*hinting*), which disrupted plantation business activities, and employees and their families became isolated and afraid. The intended legal protection is to create a sense of security for plantation employees, provide conducive access to plantation production, reopen access to plantation production mobilization, and open the customary fence.

Y. Sangkang also sent a letter to the management of PT. BAS notified that there would be a complete closure or emptying of offices and housing, namely the Mandang and Puri estates included in the traditional fence (*hinting*). Responding to the mediation request submitted by one of the conflicting parties, the East Kotawaringin district government made a mediation schedule. Still, the mediation was cancelled because there were parties who could not attend and submitted a written request for postponement.

The next mediation meeting is scheduled for August 25, 2023, led directly by the Regent of East Kotawaringin, resulting in the following conclusions: a field check will be carried out by the East Kotawaringin district land conflict resolution team; Y. Sangkang's family demanded payment of 65,000,000,000 to PT. BAS; management representatives of PT. BAS will only provide compassion of 2,000,000,000. The local government advises each party to find a middle ground on the value offered.

Pihak PT. BAS was asked to increase the payment offer, and Y. Sangkang's family lowered the value of the compensation application.

In September 2023, Y. Sangkang's family notified the Regent of East Kotawaringin that they would close all access roads to their claim area and vacate all PT office infrastructure and employee housing. BAS. The closure and emptying resulted in the expulsion of PT. In anticipation of employees not returning to Y. Sangkang's family, BAS made a guard post, which they guard daily.

They are responding to letters and actions in the field, closing and expelling employees from all facilities owned by PT. BAS made a written response containing information that the company is conducting internal discussions on the application for compensation payment for Y. Sangkang's family and the management of PT. BAS refers to the principles of Indonesian culture that are polite, respectful, and uphold family values consensus deliberation so that each party can restrain themselves and maintain security, order, and conduciveness, not acting/acting in violation of laws and regulations.

Feeling that Y. Sangkang's family did not respond, on October 28, 2023, they took field action, asking plantation employees to leave their office housing and stop the activities of PT. BAS in the disputed land. After the emptying of residential areas and employee offices, the efforts of PT. BAS so that plantation production is not disrupted, asked the Sub-district Head, Telawang District Police Chief, and Kota Besi Koramil to help explain and provide input for Y. Sangkang's family, but the effort has not been successful.

At the end of 2023, after conducting deliberations with Y. Sangkang's family and considering the results of the mediation facilitated by the Regent of East Kotawaringin, they made a letter addressed to the Regent asking for a precise time for the payment of land compensation and asking the government to immediately send a team in the context of a field check. Considering the length of the dispute, which lasted 18 years, Y. Sangkang's family lowered the offer of compensation from 65,000,000,000 to 35,000,000,000 to PT. BAS. Responding to this request, PT. BAS, through a letter addressed to the Regent of East Kotawaringin, informed us that the application is still being discussed internally by the central leadership in Jakarta.

Based on the letter from the Regent of East Kotawaringin in January 2024, the local government team went to the field to conduct a field check led by the assistant for economy and development. The activity was attended by representatives of the East Kotawaringin Resort Police, the 1015 Sampit Military District Command, government and people's welfare assistants, the head of the agriculture and food security office, the head of the environment office, the head of the spatial and land creation office, the head of the East Kotawaringin district land office, the head of the legal section, the head of the governance section, the Telawang Sub-district, Damang Telawang District, the Head of Sebabi Village, The Head of Biru Maju Village, the Chairman of the Sebabi Village Consultative Body, the Chairman of the Biru Maju Village Consultative Body and representatives from the Management of PT. BAS.

After the field check, Y. Sangkang's family submitted a notification letter to the Regent of East Kotawaringin, who wanted the land to be managed by themselves and to clean the oil palm plantation in the area of their claim that PT had planted. BAS. They took this step because of several factors, including the lack of clarity on the settlement of compensation, the length of settlement time and the limited economic conditions of the family.

They were responding to the development of problems that did not find a way out of PT. BAS took the litigation route, namely complaining about this case to the Sampit District Court, through letter number 0139/LPH/II/2024 dated February 12, 2024, regarding a lawsuit for unlawful acts against Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang. The act that is considered illegal is to interfere with the plaintiff's legal interests in running his business by threatening and closing access roads to the oil palm

plantation area since May 24, 2023, after the plaintiff started his business activities in 2004, namely closing employing customary fences (*hinting adat*) and forcibly closing operational offices and employee housing in the oil palm plantation area managed by the plaintiff (Gugatan Perbuatan Melawan Hukum Terhadap Y. Sangkang bin Saling Kupang, 2024).

The step taken by the Sampit District Court to gain confidence in the case is field reconstruction, namely, going directly to the field to see the objective condition of the land in question. However, the arrival of the judges, assisted by security units from the Central Kalimantan regional police, was rejected by the Y. Sangkang group. They are not allowed to enter the disputed land. The Sampit District Court was forced to cancel field reconstruction activities to avoid unwanted things.

After going through a lengthy trial process, through decision number 9/Pdt.G/2024/PN Spt, which contains a peace deed dated August 7, 2024, because the two parties agreed to make peace in writing, which was carried out on August 6, 2024, with several agreements. The agreement includes the following: there was a miscommunication between PT. BAS with Y. Sangkang's family; The parties agreed to resolve the issue peacefully and familiarly; PT. BAS made a social contribution to Y. Sangkang's family in the amount of 13,000,000,000; PT. BAS revoked/stopped the criminal proceedings at the East Kotawaringin Police Station against Y. Sangkang's family (Akta Perdamaian, 2024).

The presence of investment in the oil palm plantation sector based on the results of the above research causes local communities to lose the authority to manage forests and nature, which are their source of livelihood. As a result, friction between plantation companies and community groups is inevitable, both open and closed. Access to land management is the beginning of agrarian conflicts, the resistance of local communities to investors as plantation business license holders, where both parties feel they have the right to land management. Local communities consider that the hereditary land tenure they manage is evidence or the basis for land tenure rights. On the other hand, plantation companies, through the issuance of location permits (ILOK) and plantation business permits (IUP) that the government has granted, are the basis for controlling and cultivating land for business interests.

Agrarian conflicts involving local communities in defending their rights to land make extended families the main actors in resisting plantation companies. They do not include other community groups not from the family lineage to maintain the purity of the movement and struggle so that any interests outside the family's interests do not contaminate it. Shared identity based on bloodline has the power to form the solidity of the resistance movement. They rejected other community groups that tried to join, participating in fighting the dominance of plantation companies over land controlled by local communities.

Culturally, because they come from the same lineage, the resistance movement is organized in one command, an issue that demands that the plantation management pay for their land if they do not want control to be returned to the local community. Although their struggle took a long time, almost nineteen years, and many efforts from the plantation management, they rejected all these desires (*self-conscious challenge*). The long struggle of local communities to defend land rights shows consistency and sustained movements and resistance.

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The consistency of the local community movement led to the control of the company's assets, the expulsion of plantation employees, the use of customary law (*hinting pali*/customary fence) and traditional symbols (Rumah Betang/Dayak traditional house) in pressuring the plantation management, requesting mediation facilitated by the local government, and refusing to reconstruct the District Court field. These efforts are part of civil *disobedience* because they do not consider them to provide a sense of justice for the community.

At the end of the struggle, due to the movement for too long of about 19 years, the reduction of the family's logistical (*financial*) support, the pressure of plantation management through legal channels, reporting the criminal acts of the person in charge of the movement to the East Kotawaringin Police and the Sampit District Court resulted in a peace agreement between the two parties. As a consequence of the peace agreement, the oil palm plantation provides social donations to the local community, where the social contribution is another term for the company's compensation to the community.

CONCLUSION

The resistance of local communities to the presence of investment is a concrete picture that the presence of investors does not make a positive contribution; on the contrary, it is the cause of the birth of the resistance movement. The purity and cohesiveness of the resistance movement of the local community are maintained using the same lineage base; in addition to keeping the family heritage, this is also done to avoid conflict of interest. The struggle lasted too long, causing the resistance movement of the local community to be reduced, coupled with legal pressure.

Using customary symbols, customary laws, and resistance to law enforcement officials carried out by local communities is a strategy to increase the company's bargaining power, namely negotiations to determine the price of compensation payments for land. Capital owners with access to power from the central to the regional level use the law to pressure the community not to impose their will on land compensation.

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