

# Land Conflict Dynamics in the Community of PT. Masmino Gold Mining Area in Latimojong

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## ABSTRACT

**Introduction:** Land conflict in the gold mining community of PT. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong District, Luwu Regency, is a phenomenon that reflects the tension between the company's need for land and the protection of local community rights.

**Objectives:** This study aims to identify the forms, main causes, and actors involved in land conflicts in the area.

**Methods:** Using a qualitative approach, data were collected through field observations, in-depth interviews and analysis of related documents.

**Results:** The results of the study indicate that there are two forms of land conflicts that occur in the gold mining community in Latimojong, namely vertical conflict and latent and manifest conflict. The main causes of the conflict in Latimojong are claims of authority over land, disparities and conflicting interests over land. This conflict involves two groups, namely groups that have power (including the government, the company and local elites) and groups that do not have power (including ordinary local people and people from outside Latimojong).

**Conclusions:** Therefore, land conflicts in the gold mining community of PT. Masmino Dwi Area reflect complex tensions.

**Keywords:** land conflict, PT. Masmino, Latimojong.

## INTRODUCTION

Land conflicts are a common phenomenon that occurs in various resource-rich regions. Land conflicts not only involve economic interests, but also involve social, environmental and political aspects. Mining as one of the sectors that is quite significant in resource exploitation activities, is often the main source of land conflicts in various countries, including Indonesia [1]. Generally, land conflict problems are triggered by ownership status, weak law enforcement and limited community participation in decision-making [2]. A report from the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) shows that, throughout 2023, conflicts in mining communities in Indonesia were recorded at 241 cases involving an area of 638.2 thousand hectares and affecting 135.6 thousand heads of families. This number increased by 7.3% from 2022 with a total of 212 cases, involving 1.03 million hectares of land and affecting 346.4 thousand heads of families spread across 459 villages/cities. The number of conflicts also increased by 2.36% from the previous year, with a total of 207 cases [3]. Land conflicts in the community of the gold mining area of PT. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong, reflect the tensions that commonly occur in areas rich in natural resources. This conflict is not only related to economic aspects, but also to social, environmental and cultural dimensions. Land exploitation activities place local communities in Latimojong in a vulnerable position, especially due to the conversion of land that was previously used for agriculture into a mining area. Land that has been the mainstay of local people's lives, has been converted into a mining area without massive socialization, causing turmoil of conflict. From an environmental perspective, the existence of Masmino with its series of activities has caused anxiety among the community. Land exploitation in this area is feared to damage the local ecosystem, reduce water and soil quality, and cause the loss of productive agricultural land [4]. In addition, the issue of compensation is one of the main focuses in this conflict. Many local people feel that the compensation given by Masmino is not commensurate with the losses they have experienced, adding to the entity of land conflict in the area. Land conversion without guarantee of economic recovery has made dissatisfaction even more widespread [5]. Based on direct observation and analysis of

information reported by various media in the last few years, it shows that a series of PT. Masmino activities in Latimojong, triggered a number of responses. Demands, accusations, and demonstrations by a number of groups were carried out by carrying various issues. The following are some of the highlights and demonstrations that have been carried out, along with the issues raised in the last five years.

- 1). In February 2020, PDIP Luwu Legislator, Ridwan Bakokang and the head of the Luwu Raya Family Association (KKLR), Buhari Kahar Mudzakkar, highlighted the clarity of PT. Masmino's production. They urged the relevant parties to stop all PT. Masmino activities in Latimojong. According to them, the existence of the mine, which has been in Latimojong for decades, has extracted a lot of gold minerals from the earth under the pretext of research [6].
- 2). In May 2022, a demonstration was carried out by the Luwu Youth Student Association (IPMAL). They highlighted the existence of the PT. Masmino Dwi Area mine, which was considered not to have made a positive contribution to the community, especially those living in the mining area. In their action, they urged the government to renegotiate the MOU regarding the position of the community in the mining area [7].
- 3). In December 2023, a demonstration was held by students and the community who were members of the Latimojong Land Anti-Mafia Alliance. They demanded that Supriadi S.Pd., who at that time served as the Latimojong Sub-district Head, be immediately prosecuted. A series of evidence of the encroachment of land ownership rights by the Latimojong Sub-district Head strengthened their demands [8].
- 4). In April 2023, a demonstration was carried out by dozens of cadres of the Luwu Youth Student Association (IPMAL). They demanded that the Luwu district government evaluate infrastructure development by PT. Masmino Dwi Area (MDA). The demonstrators assessed that the flash flood that occurred several weeks before the action was the impact of a number of developments carried out by MDA.[9].
- 5). In July 2024, demonstrations were again held by the Luwu Land Community Struggle Alliance (APMTL). They highlighted the case of alleged extortion (Pungli) from the results of land acquisition by the community in Ranteballa Village, which was stopped even though the perpetrator had been named a suspect. They questioned the integrity and demanded that the police be serious in overseeing the land mafia case involving the Ranteballa village head [10].

## OBJECTIVES

A series of these phenomena make this research important to review in more depth. By analyzing the forms, main causes and actors involved in the conflict, the research can help identify the roots of the land conflict that occurs. In addition, the negative impacts of prolonged conflict make this research important to do. In-depth studies allow for the emergence of a sustainable map for each step to be taken, especially those related to land management based on the principles of environmental sustainability.

## METHODS

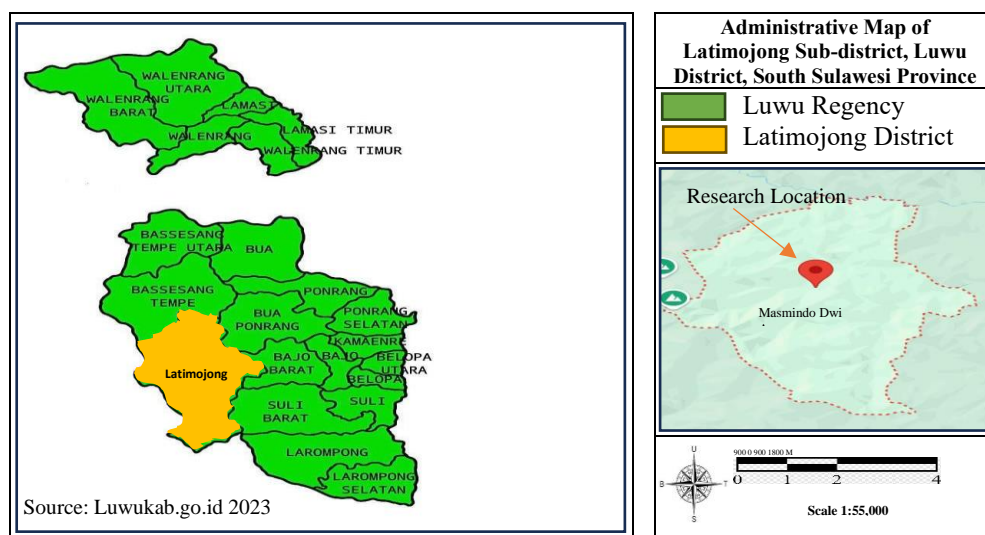
This study uses qualitative methodology with case study techniques to investigate complex contexts and gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of land conflicts that occur in Latimojong. Research data were collected through participant observation, non-participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and analysis of related documents. Interviews were conducted with 9 informants, including village government, community leaders, and communities around the mine (land owners and cultivators).

**Table 1. Research Informants**

Informant Initials	Gender	Age (Year)	Background
NA	L	53	Boneposi village government
M	L	46	Farmer
H	L	50	Farmer
P	L	58	Boneposi village government staff
I	L	37	Luwu district land task force
E	P	56	Rante Balla village government
L	L	60	Public figure
C	L	46	Farmer
air conditioning	L	42	Farmer/cultivator

Data management followed the stages formulated by Creswell (2013). The initial stage involved examining field notes to identify patterns relevant to the research objectives. In the initial stage we identified the forms, main causes and actors involved in land conflicts in Latimojong. The second stage involved thematic coding and organizing,

determining significant keywords, phrases or concepts in the data. Themes were systematically categorized according to their relevance to the study issues. The third stage involved data representation to obtain interpretations of informant statements. This research was conducted in the gold mining area of Pt. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong District, Luwu Regency, South Sulawesi. The research focused on two villages, namely Boneposi and Ranteballa villages. The two villages are the closest villages to Pt. Masmino, as well as Masmino's current operational areas. On that basis, the researcher chose the two villages as the research locations. The research was conducted for two months, namely in September and November 2024.



Picture 1. Research Location Map

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Our research reveals the complex dynamics of conflict that occurs in the community of PT. Masmino gold mining area in Latimojong. The following three approaches describe the form of conflict, what causes it, and who is involved in the conflict.

### 1. Forms of Land Conflict

An overview of the forms of conflict is an important step to identify the root causes of land conflicts that occur in Latimojong. An overview of the forms of conflict helps someone to distinguish the intensity of conflict, whether individual, communal, or involving institutions such as companies and governments. In addition, a good understanding of the forms of conflict can minimize potential losses, increase awareness of the impact and may create collaboration between the parties involved. To understand more deeply the forms of land conflicts in the gold mining community of PT. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong District, the author divides the discussion into several sub-themes, based on the previous theoretical framework (see the section on forms of conflict). First, vertical conflict; occurs when the dominant class that has the power to control land forces the desire to control land for a number of subject groups. And second, latent and manifest conflicts; conflicts that were initially hidden become open due to a number of unfair practices.

#### a. Vertical Conflict

In the gold mining community in PT. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong, vertical conflict arises between the company that has economic power and access to land and the local community that depends on the land as a source of livelihood. The company, as the dominant actor, which has access to economic and political resources, uses its power to control the land that has become an important part of the life of the community in Latimojong. With government support through permits and legal regulations, PT. Masmino uses political power to gain access to lands that local communities claim as their hereditary property. This vertical conflict is seen when local communities who do not have access to formal legal processes feel marginalized in the decision-making process and agreements made without their full involvement. This situation shows the polarization between groups with sufficient resources and those without sufficient resources. The implication is that local communities who feel disadvantaged carry out protests and reject

the existence of the mine. The following is an interview excerpt that shows how the conflict is directly felt by the community.

*“,,I don't know who the government was that first gave permission so that Masmino could enter this village, wanting to take over the plantation for mining. It's difficult, because if they are already on top (have power), we are no longer glanced at if something happens, they just arrange everything. We feel sorry for those who are just ordinary people, considered to have no value when they talk, maybe they think it's useless, do they know, even though we also have rights there. What will we do later if the land has been mined, even though you know that it is the main source of income. Actually, you know this better, because you feel it yourself, from the results of your plantation you can go to school. I mean, ask us if there is anything, especially this is not something small, a gold mine, the impact is big, how come you don't ask us even though we are also native people here, grew up here, even though we are just ordinary people,,,” (Interview with informant I (37 years old), on September 10, 2024).*

The statement shows the dissatisfaction of the local community towards the government that granted mining permits to PT. Masmino Dwi Area without their knowledge and involvement. He felt that the decision was taken unilaterally by the authorities, while those affected were ignored and not considered important. In the perspective of informant I, the role and rights as local communities and legitimate land owners seemed not to be taken into account, this shows an imbalance in the use of power. In addition, there are concerns about the long-term impacts of the mining process later. The statement "what will we do later if the land has been mined, even though it is the main source of income", shows concerns about sustainability in the future. Informant I, feels that they have rights as an original part of the area, and decisions without consulting them are considered unfair and ignore the basic principles of community participation in projects that will affect their lives. Here is another similar statement which also confirms the previous informant's statement.

*“,,2019 if I'm not mistaken the community with students held a demonstration at the regional office, regarding the Masmino permit. I also realize the negative impacts of mining, but there are also many positive impacts. There should have been socialization from the company to the community before the mining permit was issued. If that had been done, there would definitely not have been any protests from the community, in fact the community would have taken the stand if there was a problem,,,” (Interview with Informant H (50 Years Old) on September 14, 2024).*

The rejection of permits by the community and students in 2019, showed a gap in community involvement in the initial operational steps of PT. Masmino. The socialization process that was not carried out, caused dissatisfaction among the community, so that they felt they were not given sufficient information and the opportunity to provide input. Overall, the two interview excerpts above, show a vertical conflict in the community in the PT. Masmino gold mining area. In the first interview excerpt, there appears to be a grip of power between groups without power (the community) and the government and companies that control land resources in Latimojong. Meanwhile, in the second interview excerpt, it strengthens this inequality, as seen from the statement of informant H who stated "there should indeed be socialization before entering the mining permit granting stage".

#### **b. Latent and Manifest Conflict**

In the early stages, land conflicts in the community of the gold mining area of PT. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong were latent. The existence of PT. Masmino in Latimojong, which has been quite long, has triggered hidden conflicts among the surrounding community, where a number of dissatisfactions began to be felt. However, at this stage, the dissatisfaction was not expressed openly for various reasons. The following is a statement from informant I (37 years old).

*“,,No one protested at first when Masmino entered this village because we didn't think the impact would be like this, on the other hand, many also said it would be good if there was a mine in the village, the community would be prosperous. Later, the community protested, because many things did not match the community's expectations. But actually, there were also those who did not agree with the company, but were afraid to speak up so they didn't protest,,,” (Interview with informant I (37 years old), on September 10, 2024).*

The statement illustrates the hidden conflict triggered by Masmino's presence in Latimojong. Initially, the community accepted the company with the hope that there would be benefits for the local community around the mine. However, over time, dissatisfaction began to emerge as a result of the mismatch of expectations, which although many people felt this, the dissatisfaction was not expressed openly. The

statement also shows how fear and hope are hidden factors in surface conflicts. It is this fear and hope that then makes their dissatisfaction buried and only emerges in the form of small hidden protests. Lately, the conflict has entered the manifest stage when issues such as granting permits, land size and compensation, are considered unreasonable by the community and have not been able to fully replace the losses they have experienced. To express their dissatisfaction, the community has carried out several road closures and demonstrations in the hope of getting justice for their land. The following is an additional statement from informant M (46 years old).

*“...There are so many problems, permits, ownership, land size, compensation, all of that. The worst thing is when the land map came out, many land owners were not listed. It was the same when compensation was given, the land price was different. Initially the price was 15,700 per meter, not long after it went up to 35,000 per meter, maybe only for one month, it went up again to 70,000, how could the people not be angry if that happened. Including me, I also joined the demonstration and put up a barrier first, it doesn't make sense, after I let go of my garden the price was 30, a week later it went up to 70, who wouldn't be emotional. Even though previously they (the company) said that the price was fixed, it wouldn't go up again...”*  
(Interview with informant M (46 years old), on September 13, 2024).

The statement shows the public's disappointment and anger towards a number of activities carried out by the company. The public feels that there is an unclear and non-transparent procedure regarding the granting of permits, land ownership, determination of land boundaries, and calculation of compensation. This creates distrust and triggers conflict. In addition, the very significant increase in land prices in a short time is considered unfair and detrimental to the community. This raises suspicions of price manipulation by the company or related parties. The company's statement that land prices will remain the same has not been proven, thus increasing public anger, which is then expressed in the form of actions to close access to the company and demonstrations. The two informant statements above clearly illustrate how latent and manifest conflicts occur in the community of the PT. Masmino gold mining area in Latimojong. Where the conflict starts from the latent stage then enters the manifest stage after dissatisfaction becomes more widespread, which is a form of accumulation of a number of company activities that are considered by the community to be inappropriate and unfair.

## 2. Main Causes of Land Conflicts

Understanding the root causes of land conflicts is an important step in efforts to resolve tensions that arise in society. Often, land conflicts persist for a long time due to a lack of in-depth understanding of the root causes of the conflict. Identifying the root causes of conflict helps to avoid shallow approaches to resolution or simply addressing the symptoms of the problem. Without knowing the root causes of conflict, the solutions provided tend to be unsustainable, even increasing the worst possibilities of conflict. Therefore, by knowing what the root causes of conflict are, the steps taken will be more focused, so that the potential for future conflict can be minimized. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis of the main factors causing the conflict is essential. This includes an understanding of the social, economic, legal, and cultural conditions that influence the dynamics of the conflict. In this way, the parties involved can be more effective in formulating a resolution strategy that not only addresses the direct resolution, but also addresses the root of the problem as a whole. Based on previous theoretical studies, land conflicts in the gold mining community of PT. Masmino Dwi Area in Latimojong, are classified into three main causes of conflict. The following is a description.

### a. Land Authority

Land authority is one of the main causes of land conflicts in the community of the PT. Masmino gold mining area in Latimojong. The most visible one until now is the claim of authority between the land owners and cultivators, each of whom feels they have more rights to the land. Based on the ownership documents they hold, the land owners feel they have full rights to sell the land to the company without having to involve the cultivators of the land they are going to sell. The following is a statement from one of the land cultivators, informant AC (42 years old).

*“...That's the garden I work on near my house, the rest of the house with the house that they (the landowner) didn't sell. It's true that it's their garden, but why didn't you tell us before you sold it. I was surprised when the company came to put up a sign, why was it installed on land that hadn't been paid for, it turned out that it had been sold by the owner. If I hadn't insisted on buying land for my house, maybe it would have been sold too...”* interview with informant AC (42 years old) on September 20, 2024).

In formal law, the landowner's authority to sell their land is protected by law. They have the right to conduct sales transactions without having to get approval from cultivators who do not have legal ownership rights. Because they do not have legal obligations, landowners ignore involvement in the process of selling land to the mining party. From the perspective of cultivators, even though they do not have formal rights to the land, the unilateral decision of the landowner to sell the land without notifying the cultivators is unfair. They assume that their hard work over the years in managing and caring for plants growing on the land should be appreciated, at least they should be informed that the land will be sold. The following further statement from AC (42 years old) provides a clear explanation of this.

*“...I contacted him, to make sure whether the land had been sold. He told me, it was my brother's garden, he was the one who gave the power of attorney. He did tell me that the garden would be sold soon, but that was all, I don't know what happened next, I just found out that the land had been sold. If you hadn't called, I wouldn't have known until now...” (Interview with informant AC (42 years old) on September 20, 2024).*

The following statement clearly illustrates the conflict between the owner and the cultivator, where the owner uses his full right to sell his land without involving or confirming to the cultivator. The installation of ownership signs by the company is a symbol that ownership has been transferred from the previous owner to the company. The transfer carried out without notification to the cultivator shows an attitude of ignoring the rights by the land owner legally, while also indicating a feeling of full ownership (authority of rights) to make decisions without consultation.

#### **b. Profit Gap**

The presence of the PT. Masmino Dwi Area gold mine in Latimojong, created a major change in the social structure of the community. Before the mine came with all its activities, the local community generally depended on the land by farming. With the takeover of land by the company, the community was indirectly forced to adapt to the new situation and environment. Changes that did not occur evenly, gave rise to different perceptions among the community. Some people benefited from the presence of the mine, while others lost access to land and were worried about the long-term impacts. The following is an interview with informant P (52 years old).

*“...Was there any other job other than gardening? Later, there were people working in other sectors, and they must have been farming, while still living in this village. After the mine came in, many changes began. We can't deny that mining has its benefits, many people enjoy its benefits. However, we can't turn a blind eye to its negative impacts, because it is clearly visible to the naked eye, many families really get nothing...” (Interview with informant P (52 years old) on September 9, 2024).*

Agricultural land is an important part of a livelihood that is managed from generation to generation. The takeover and conversion of land for the benefit of resource exploitation has caused the loss of the main source of livelihood for most people in Latimojong. Changes occur not only in the economic aspect, but also have an impact on the social dynamics of the community. Over time, the presence of mining has led to the emergence of new social appearances among community groups. A small number of people who have successfully adapted to the new environment and get jobs from the company, began to feel economic benefits. They experienced an increase in their standard of living, earned income and began to move away from the agrarian lifestyle that was previously the basis of their lives. However, not all people feel the same way. Most people who previously relied on land as a source of income feel marginalized. The following is a statement from informant L (60 years old).

*“...It's difficult because the average Latimojong community has been farmers since long ago, only one or two are not farmers. Then the company can't accommodate everyone inside if they want to come to work, and not just anyone wants to be hired, if people like us who only know how to garden, plus we're old, no longer strong enough to work, the company definitely won't accept us. That's why I asked them first when they came here to ask about the garden in Buntu, if it's not just the good things that you enjoy yourself, but also the bad things, there's no problem. The problem is, you take all the good things, then you want to give the bad things to other people. I mean, we have to enjoy the good things together, the bad things are also borne together. That's also a company, don't just look at the landowners, who are employed inside, also look at the land workers there, they also need to eat...” (Interview with Informant L (50 Years Old), on September 9, 2024).*

Basically, losing land means losing livelihood, and this creates anxiety about future survival. The group that benefits from Masmino's presence certainly considers this change as something positive, a new

opportunity that brings good impacts. This is different from the disadvantaged group, especially the cultivators who simply lose their land. They feel that this change threatens their survival and well-being. This inequality of benefits is what then creates internal conflict in society, reinforcing the sense of injustice between the groups that benefit and those marginalized by Masmino's presence.

### c. Conflict of interest

The abundant natural wealth in Latimojong attracts the attention of several groups with different interests. This potential resource is seen as a great opportunity to improve economic welfare, both by the community, government, and companies. The government views land exploitation as a way to encourage development, increase regional income and a solution to the increasing unemployment rate. Meanwhile, companies see the potential for great profits from exploitation and production. For local people, land is not only an economic asset, but also has irreplaceable social, cultural and spiritual values. Local people, for example, consider land as an inheritance from their ancestors that must be preserved. The following is a statement from informant M (46 years old).

*"...If you think about it, it's not just a place to find food in this village, there are many values that our grandmothers inherited to be worked on. If we sell the garden, it automatically disappears, it will definitely not be worked on if we move to another area. No matter what the story is, we will definitely leave the village if the land has been sold, the company will definitely forbid us from living here if they have paid. For example, the family graves in Tallang, everyone was told to move, in Ranteballa too, the graves on the side of the road, everyone was told to move. Even though only one person sold his garden, many people were affected by the consequences, oh, there was a big commotion there..." (Interview with informant M (46 years old), on September 13, 2024).*

These conflicting interests are further complicated by the role of local governments in a difficult position. On the one hand, the government must ensure economic development through investment in the mining sector, while on the other hand they must protect the rights of local communities. The imbalance in policy priorities that are considered to favor companies has sparked dissatisfaction among communities who feel their rights are being ignored. The following is a statement from informant E (56 years old).

*"...If we are in the middle, we are neutral. We continue to try to find a way out, so that Masmino's activities can also fulfill the demands of the community. But yeah, even if we are honest, there are still those who say that we prefer (side) with Masmino..." (Interview with informant i (56 years old), on September 12, 2024).*

The statement from the informant describes a situation where the government is in a difficult position. They are trying to balance the interests of the local community and the mining company, which even though they (the government) feel they are in a neutral position, there are still people who think the opposite. This also confirms that there are interests that are not aligned between the local community and the company, while also confirming the tension between the two.

## 3. Actors Involved in Land Conflicts

Knowing the actors involved in land conflicts is essential to understanding the dynamics and complexity of the conflict itself. In every land conflict, especially in mining areas, the involvement of various actors with diverse interests forms a complex relationship. The presence of actors with different interests and strengths triggers conflict. Therefore, introducing actors is an important part of analyzing the conflict that occurs. Understanding the actors involved allows us to objectively assess how power influences the direction and escalation of conflict. For example, mining companies as actors with sufficient economic resources, use it to gain government support in continuing land exploitation plans. On the other hand, local communities who depend on land to meet their daily needs do not have the same power to stop land exploitation that they consider detrimental. Substantially, the analysis of actors involved in land conflicts provides a basis for revealing how the power and interests of actors involved in the conflict, and paves the way for a resolution that involves all parties proportionally and fairly. In this section, the author divides the actors involved in the conflict into two groups, namely the group of actors who have power and the group of actors who do not have power.

### a. Power Group

Actors in the ruling group play an important role in determining the escalation and direction of land conflicts in Latimojong. This is due to access to resources and the great influence held by the ruling group in the social order of society. In the gold mining area of PT. Masmino in Latimojong, the ruling group consists of the local government, mining companies and other actors who have strategic positions in the



social, political and economic order. The government as the highest regional institution, has great authority in determining the course of the land exploitation process through policies and granting mining permits. The reciprocal relationship between the government and companies based on financial interests such as taxes and CSR, makes the government tend to side with mining companies. Meanwhile, mining companies that have obtained mining permits from the government, give them legal rights to use land in Latimojong. The following is a statement from informant NA (53 years old).

*"...It is clear that the company, then the government, and these people who have high social status here in the village (local elite). Previously, which has been passed, it has never been heard that companies and the government are in conflict. Then, if there are companies with people who have high social status (local elites), but it is rare, it can even be said that there are none, because if you look at them, they are the ones who help companies to free up land here in the village...". (Interview with informant NA (53 years old) on September 25, 2024).*

The statement shows that, in addition to the government and the company, there are also local actors with political and economic power involved in the land conflict in Latimojong. Community leaders, local politicians, and businessmen often act as intermediaries between the company and the community in the land acquisition process. They are actively involved in the lobbying process for land to be taken and used as soon as possible by Masmino. The following is a statement from informant P (58 years old).

*"...If they (village government and local elites) want to be expected, they can't. For example, the global land used to be, almost all of them controlled it, even though they never worked on the land. Just think of one family, all their names appear on the map, starting from the father, mother, to the children, all their parts are there, even in one family they sold up to 14 hectares. (Interview with informant P (58 years old) on September 9, 2024).*

The statement from informant P (58) illustrates the inequality in land distribution in the PT. Masmino gold mining area, especially carried out by the village government and local elites. There are indications that they use their influence and social position to control land on a large scale, even though they do not physically or directly manage the land. This can be seen from the statement that the names of one family can appear repeatedly on the land map issued by the company, starting from husband, wife, to children, even with a fairly large area of ownership, reaching tens of hectares per family. This practice shows the concentration of land ownership among the government and local elites which is not in line with the principles of village resource distribution. The government and local elites as groups that have power, hold control over the distribution of resources and the determination of land rights, so that they can maintain direct land ownership in their own circles. In the end, the practices that are played trigger long conflicts, because they not only control land massively, but also ignore the rights of other local communities to get decent land access.

#### **b. Group Without Power**

Society can not only be seen as an arena of conflict between groups that have power (dominant groups) and groups that do not have power (subjective groups), but also as a place of conflict between groups, both of which do not have power. Therefore, conflict does not only arise in groups that are not equal or equal in the power system, but also in groups without power. In the context of land conflicts in Latimojong, conflicts between those who do not have power often occur. This conflict occurs between one community and another, which is triggered by various problems, such as claims of ownership, land boundaries and the distribution of compensation from companies that are considered unfair. The following is a statement from informant H (50 years old).

*"...Very often, even a truck once came, people were looking for their grandmother's land. That TN (initials), often stopped here at the house asking where the place was, it was Pongsepon, his grandson said Pongsepon was the one who was accompanied, his grandmother's land was what they were looking for. I also wonder, why didn't they come here before looking for land if there was any, not after the company entered the land compensation, then all came pointing at the land. Almost the same as our friends here in the village, later the company compensation, then they want to go take other people's land, move the garden boundaries, fight over compensation...". (Interview with informant H (50 years old) on September 14, 2024).*

The statement, in addition to showing conflict between local communities, also illustrates the existence of other actors who are not local communities, but rather communities from outside, who are also involved in the conflict in Latimojong. They come from outside the village who feel they have rights to the land around Masmino's operational area, especially in the villages of Boneposi and Ranteballa. Those who come from other areas but claim to have ancestral ties to the land in the villages of Boneposi and Ranteballa come with



the belief that the land is still their family's inheritance. This situation arose along with the circulation of information about land compensation offered by the company which seemed attractive and attracted the interest of many people from outside the village to get involved.

Claims based on ancestral ties broaden the scope of the conflict. Local communities who have long lived and managed the land feel threatened by new claims from outsiders that suddenly appear after the opportunity to receive compensation. The lack of local communities who have formal proof of land ownership (land certificates) further increases anxiety, because their position in defending the land becomes weak when faced with new claims. Local communities generally rely on hereditary evidence that is not formally recognized in the legal process. This gives space for outsiders to more freely submit claims that are often only based on family stories or other informal evidence. As a result, conflicts related to land ownership claims become difficult to resolve and create new tensions between local communities and outsiders who also feel entitled to the land around the mining area. The following statement by informant C (46 years old) clarifies the position of the local community in Latimojong.

*“...It's really outrageous. The problem is not only families in the village who intend to seize it, there are also many people from outside. Nothing is left because it's not just a little that they want to take, dozens of hectares, some even up to 300 hectares which are recognized as their gardens. It doesn't make sense, is there anyone who is able to manage such a large area of land. But they are very insistent, even the case went to court,...” (Interview with informant C (46 years old) on September 20, 2024).*

The statement above also shows the tension that occurs related to land ownership conflicts, especially regarding competition between parties from within and outside the local community. The statement from informant C (46 years old) strengthens the previous statement about land claims that do not only come from internal parties, but also from external parties involved. This shows the interest of various parties to control land in Latimojong. The vastness of the land claimed, even up to hundreds of hectares, has sparked anger from the local community, especially because the scale of control is considered unreasonable and unrealistic to be managed personally. In addition, the statement highlights the stubborn attitude of the land claimants who even brought this dispute to court. The decision to take legal action shows the escalation of the conflict that has passed the limit of informal resolution, while also illustrating that both parties are persistent in defending their respective claims. Overall, the two statements above show how groups that do not have power are involved in land conflicts in the PT. Masmino gold mining area in Latimojong.

**Table 2. Conflict Actors**

Conflict Actors	Main Role	Strategy Used	Strength	Weakness
Government	Policy makers, permit givers	Regulation, mediator	Formal power, resources	Political pressure, bureaucracy
Company	Exploitation of resources	Investment, CSR, lobbying	Capital, resources	Negative image, social conflict
Local Elite	Opening up space	Lobby. Intervention	Informal power, resources	
Local Community	Land protection, social justice	Demonstrations, access closures, lawsuits	Number, solidarity	Lack of organization, lack of resources
People from outside	Land rights	Lawsuit	Ancestral heritage	Legal proof of land

The table presents an overview of the actors involved in the land conflict in Latimojong. The table shows that there are five main actors involved in the dynamics of this conflict, namely the government (village and district governments), companies, local elites (community leaders and landlords), local communities and communities from outside. Each actor involved has different goals, strategies and strengths. The government as the authority holder has the authority to formulate policies or regulations related to the management of land resources in Latimojong. Meanwhile, companies as the investing party have an interest

in exploiting the land to the maximum. On the other hand, the community as the affected actor has an interest in protecting their rights to life and the environment. The table analysis shows an imbalance of power between the company and the community. Companies tend to have great power because they are supported by adequate capital and resources. The community, although they are superior in quantity, often lacks adequate capital and resources to resist policy pressures from the government and companies. This places the community around the PT. Masmino gold mine in a vulnerable condition to suffer losses from the land exploitation process in Latimojong.

Based on the research findings, it seems that Dahrendorf's theory of power is still very relevant to the dynamics of the conflict that occurred in Latimojong. About how the dominance of access and control of land by the dominant group, triggers resistance from the subject group [11]. Power concentrated in certain groups, in this case the government, local elites, and companies, becomes the basis for the birth of awareness of subjective groups consisting of local communities. The difference in interests between these two groups makes conflict something that is inevitable. Power play then occurs, involving the position of each actor in the social structure of society. In addition to economic support, access to law makes Masmino dominant in controlling land in Latimojong. The felling of 48 clove trees of informant C last September, which was guarded by fully armed police, illustrates how the company's power dominates ordinary local people. Under the pretext of accelerating investment, Masmino considers this step as something that must be taken, not coercion, and encroachment on land rights, but rather the interests of many people.

In response to Masmino's treatment, the landowner took legal action with the help of a number of advocates and lawyers who felt empathy for the case that had befallen him. In addition, demonstrations by students and the community who were members of the Luwu Land Struggle Alliance were carried out massively for two days in various different places. Empathy for Informant C, and criticism of the company, seemed to have found a bright spot. Clarification and an apology, accompanied by a statement that they would be responsible for all losses, were conveyed openly by the company. Power is everywhere [12], it is clearly visible in this phenomenon, how criticism (power) from a number of groups changed Masmino's attitude. The dominance of the dominant group's power over land is evident in the land acquisition practices by a number of upper classes (dominant groups) in Latimojong. Mining permits issued unilaterally, without the knowledge of the local community, show how dominant the ruling group is over the subject group over land control. However, the dynamics of land conflicts that occur are not all caused by the dominance of the dominant group over the subject group, as intended by Dahrendorf. Conflicts that occur between the same groups (see the discussion of "conflict actors"), illustrate how competition and conflict over land occurs between dominant groups, as well as between subject groups.

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